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M. Cachana' 22/3/87

ABETS Akwadi Baw' U.S.-a''

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN : TRANSVAAL WORKSHOP

The Transvaal Fedsaw Interim Co-Ordinating Committee held a very successful workshop for women's groups on the 23rd and 24th of June, 1984.

The workshop was attended by representatives of women's groups from Pietersburg, Mamelodi, Vaal, Soweto, Johannesburg, Bosmont, Lenasia, Benoni, Newclare, Westbury, Kagiso and Riverlea. Among the women were some of the mothers of our Federation as well as student representatives from Cosas and Azaso.

Mrs Mlangeni opened the workshop which consisted of three main parts: How we are organising; Why we organise women; and Our program of action.

HOW WE ARE ORGANISING

Here we heard report backs from five different women's groups who told us why they had started a women's group in their area, the ways in which they organise the women, the problems that they have found, and their achievements.

Vaal Women's Group

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They have been using a number of different ways to organise women: Through holding house meetings: a member of the group invites women she knows to her house where there will be a tea party. At the party they discuss the issues which affect women and then recruit these women to the group. They also organise women by getting them to take part in some of the projects that they do, like jumble sales and catering for other groups, and through talking with women who belong to other organisations such as church women's groups. They have also organised women through the Women's Charter.

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Soweto Women's Group

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The group outlined some of the problems that they have faced in trying to organise: Because of the high political profile that they had in Soweto, many of the grassroots women were scared of joining. This had been made more difficult because of police intimidation and smear campaigns. Also, many of the members were not experienced in organising women and there were not enough members when they started to have house meetings, to explain properly what the group was trying to do. The group has also been faced by problems of lack of money and transport. Even though they have had all these problems, the group has managed to do a lot of work.

Through being involved in the community and political campaigns, the group has managed to teach our women (and our men) that women have an important role in the struggle. Through this they have been able to ease some of the women's fears of being involved and they have also mobilised women to join other organisations, such as Soweto Civic Association and Soyco.

It was also important for us to remember that it was through the initiation of the Soweto women that the Tvl. Interim Co-ordinating Committee was set up, which has helped to strengthen our Federation in the Transvaal.

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They have organised a grocery buying co-operative which has worked well and has gained them many new members. After having a successful fund-raising coffee party, the group bought plates and mugs which they now rent to others for use at funerals - this is bringing them in funds and new members!

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Lenasia Women's Group

Ms. Cachalia 22/3/88

This group has only recently started and are organising the women under the Transvaal Indian Congress. They explained that they had done this because they are all working together to fight the new constitution and the August elections. They started organising the women in their area because they saw that women need to be involved on a mass level in our struggle. But, they have also seen that there are many problems with mobilising women: for example, during the anti-Saic campaign, the women were not very active because they lacked confidence in themselves; there are also not many women who have had experience in organising and women have, in the past, not been included in political activity.

The group is now involved in helping the Civic Association organise against high rents and in working out what issues face women in the community and the issues we face as activist women. They have done a survey in Lenasia Ext 10 on rape. This survey caused some problems in their group as some of the women were against it. Because of this they have drawn up a Women's Manifesto to guide their work in the future.

The group is taking up the slogan "Women Against the Constitution" for their campaign. They will use the new constitution as a starting place to mobilise women to get involved in their work and in the work of other organisations in the area.

Other problems that they had found with trying to organise women were that women were submissive and that often religion caused splits between them. The younger women were more interested in boyfriends and parties but the older women were ready to become involved. They are now mainly trying to get the older women involved.

This group also gave us their ideas for the program of action for August 9. They proposed that we have a joint campaign and that each women's group also hold local meetings in their areas where they can recruit new members. Their plan of action will include house-to-house contacts where they will talk about food price and GST increases, the new constitution and conscription.

These were the groups which were selected to give us an idea of how they are organising. At the same time, we could learn organising skills from them.

After hearing these reports there was a lot of discussion among the women at the workshop. Many felt that we had heard different ways of organising women which we could use in our own areas.

WHY WE ARE ORGANISING WOMEN

This section of the workshop was opened by MaLydia who spoke in her personal capacity about organising women in Trade Unions and she shared with us many of her own experiences as a woman organiser.

MaLydia started her activities in the Unions in the early 1970s with the Metal and Allied Workers Union. For a long time she was the only woman in that organisation and had to do a lot of the dirty jobs - but she perse-

vered. Now she is the Chairperson of the Transport and General Workers Union.

MaLydia explained that women in Trade Unions face many problems: (1) they face men who believe they are "better" than women and behave in a powerful and "superior" fashion; (2) they have to do the cleaning and secretarial jobs in the Union and they also have to do their Union organising work on top of that; (3) they have to face men - who are in the majority in the Unions - who are difficult to talk to and who do not treat them as fellow workers and organisers but who start problems by wanting to have love affairs and things; (4) women also have to do their domestic work at home. This means that many women have to leave their meetings early because they have to go home to cook and clean and look after their husbands and children.

Besides all these problems, MaLydia told us that women in the Unions are the most regular attenders of meetings and they also take part in most discussions and activities. But, they never get elected to the executive positions. This problem of leadership, MaLydia said was also because women have an "enemy of the mind". We are told that we are weak and we believe this. It is even easier for men to organise women in the Unions because the women believe that the men have the answers to their problems.

"But we can have confidence in ourselves as women if we all work together. We can be equals with our men. We can extinguish our own inferiority. We have to break down all the barriers between men and women."

"We think man is our master and we are inferior -
it is time to push this idea away
it is time to have confidence in ourselves
it is time to break down all discrimination."

MaLydia ended her talk by telling the women about the Caucus group that Fosatu has set up to work on women's issues. There is also a Women's Booklet which they have done which costs 30 cents.

Discussion

The women were then asked to go into three different groups to discuss three questions. These questions were: (1) What are the special problems that women face? (2) Why do we need a women's organisation? and (3) How can women work with other organisations and in the political struggle?

After these small group discussions, the women all came together again to report back. The workshop organisers then put all the views from each group together and presented this to the workshop on the Sunday morning.

WHAT ARE THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS THAT WOMEN FACE?

(a) The problems we face as women workers: Women are the cheapest labour in our country. We are not protected by the law from the abuses of the bosses. Those women doing domestic or farm jobs are the worst off. Women are mainly doing unskilled work which pays the lowest wages.

(b) Our problems as women: Women have to face violence and rape. We also have to deal with "sexy" bosses at work. Menstruation and pregnancy also mean that there are special problems which we face as women.

(c) Our self-concept: Because we are taught that we are inferior from childhood, women lack confidence in themselves. Our male comrades take us for granted and don't always show us respect. They also tell us what our women's groups should be doing. Because of all this, we are afraid to talk in meetings - so the men think we have got nothing to say.

(d) Women in the families: As women we have to look after the children and the house. This means that we have to deal with all the financial burdens, the rising prices, GST, increases in community services. We also have to see to the education of our children. So we are the ones who take all the responsibility - we are the sponges at the bottom absorbing all the shocks.

(e) How are traditions and culture affect us: These make us believe that we are weak and inferior. Even our churches make us believe that we are weak. So our traditions and our culture discriminate against us.

(f) The problems of black women: As women we have to face all the problems of low wages, lack of confidence, caring for the family and so on. But it is our black women who are really at the bottom of the pile because they have to face pass laws, influx control and all the other Apartheid laws in our country.

Because of all these problems we often say: As black women we are oppressed; As women workers we are exploited and oppressed by our bosses; and As women we face special problems. This is why we say: Our women face a tripple oppression.

WHY DO WE NEED A WOMEN'S ORGANISATION?

We need a women's organisation because of the special problems that we face as women. In our separate women's groups we can talk about all these things. Because women are not taught to be in competition with each other, we can talk easily to each other. We can look at how women see themselves, why we think we are weak, and we can learn to have confidence in ourselves and our abilities.

In our women's groups we can get other women to realise that they must take part in the broader struggle and that they are more oppressed than men. We can also share our skills and learn from each other. We can build up our faith in ourselves and our skills and then take our places in the broader struggle with confidence. Through our groups we can build leadership and encourage our women to take leadership roles.

In our groups we can share our problems - a problem shared is a problem cut in half. When we come together to discuss our problems we also learn that talk is not just gossip but leads to action. In our groups we can educate ourselves about the struggle in our country. This we can use to teach our children.

Most of all, we need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that women are not "babies", that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. That this struggle will never be won until all the women are involved as well. We need our women's organisations to be able to raise the different problems that women face with other organisations and to make sure that these are discussed and acted upon in these other organisations.

It is also important that we have women's organisations where we can discuss the special problems that face us as women - menstruation and sexual harrassment, for example. Here we will also be able to deal seriously with our special problems.

HOW CAN WE WORK WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE?

We can use our organisations to educate women about the national struggle in our country. In this way we can get women to work with other organisations, such as the Civic Associations. This is important for us to do because these issues are also women's issues. Women are the ones who first have to face higher prices, higher rents, increases in hospital tariffs, GST, etc. These are also issues which other organisations, like the Civics, are fighting.

Women are the ones who bear all the pain yet they are the pillars of strength in the family and the community. We can share this strength we have with other organisations. And at the same time make these other organisations aware of the role of women in the struggle and of the importance of women being involved. We can also get other organisations involved in our activities. We can invite their speakers to our meetings and make sure that there is always a women speaker at all mass meetings. In this way we can also teach our women why the issues that concern us as women are also political issues.

We, as mothers, are the first teachers of our children. We are the ones teaching the future generations. We can use our work with other organisations to make sure that we know all there is to know about our struggle and our situation. Without getting this knowledge for ourselves, we cannot hope to educate our children in a responsible way nor will we be able to teach other women.

Finally, we can work with existing women's groups, such as church and sewing groups, and take them with us in our struggle and the national struggle.

UDF WORKSHOP ON THE CONSTITUTION

At the end of the report backs, about 40 of the women went to join the UDF workshop on the new constitution. Here they shared ideas with other organisations on how we as women can work against Botha's New Deal.

This helped us get a clearer picture of what action should be taken. And we learnt how important it is for our women to stand united with all other organisations in this campaign against Botha.

The elections on the 22nd and 28th of August affect people in Coloured and Indian areas. The workshop looked at how people from African and white communities could be involved in the campaign against these elections. The new constitution does not affect one community only. It affects everybody who wants freedom in our land.

Our women came from this workshop with many ideas for us to discuss and take action about.

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

The mothers of our Federation, MaGreta and MaHelen started the next day's session. They talked to us about the importance of August 9. They told us how we have come to call this day National Women's Day - On the 9th August, 1956, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for African women. They were led by members of Federation. Ever since that day we have celebrated the 9th August as National Women's Day.

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We also heard how our Federation began and how women organised in the 50s and 60s. In 1954, different women's organisations came together to form the Federation, to which they then affiliated. They came together because the oppression, especially of women, was very heavy on our people, and they were all caught up in the struggle for liberation.

At the first National Conference, a National Executive was elected and they were asked to form regional committees which would represent women in their own organisations. It was very hard for them to do all this work. They only had three National Conferences because of the bannings of their leaders and some of their affiliate organisations. For example, during the first five years of 1960 political oppression was very bad. They started organising the women into small groups such as vegetable clubs and sewing clubs.

Despite all these hardships, nothing ever destroyed the relations between these women. Nor did it destroy any of the relationships they had with the mass based organisations to which the Federation was affiliated. At that time there was no competition between men and women - the men were right behind our women in everything they did.

Some of the problems that they had in organising the women in those days, we were told, was that they had tried to organise from the top down - from their National Executive through the regional committees to the grass-roots. And they had somehow lost sight of the problems of women in their fight against all the oppression in our country. At the workshop, all were inspired to hear our mothers congratulate and praise us for the hard work we are doing in organising from the bottom up.

They held their last National Conference in Port Elizabeth in 1961. At this Conference the women committed themselves to going on with the struggle no matter what. And now we can all see that the women are coming back. From 1980 our mothers have seen how the spirit of the women has come back - our spirit is the "finest parting gift that any woman could have."

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

After hearing these inspiring words, the women got into small groups to discuss: (1) what we can do on August 9; (2) what our theme should be; and (3) how we can link up the day-to-day issues that we face to the August 9 program of action.

The women then came together to report back on these discussions and draw up a proposal for our program of action. These are the ideas and suggestions that we all agreed upon:

- (1) that our theme should be WOMEN UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S NEW DEAL
- (2) that there should be a focus week on women
- (3) that we should all have programs in our own areas which we can use to build and strengthen our own groups. There were lots of suggestions for activities for our groups, like: Tea parties; all night vigils, meetings; prayer meetings; a cultural programme; and a focus on the plight of our children under Apartheid.
- (4) that we should have a joint program where all the women from the areas, and women from other organisations and groupings, could all come together. Suggestions for the joint program were: a prayer meeting; a fete; a cultural program; a rally and a picket.
- (5) we all felt that we also needed to have a Newsletter, posters, stickers and T-shirts for this program of action. The Newsletter would keep us aware of what our other women were doing in their groups.

At the end of this discussion, it was decided that we would all go back to our areas and discuss all these suggestions with our women's groups.

There will be a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Fordsburg, Johannesburg on the 14th July where the report backs from the women's groups will be given. The final program of action for August 9 will then be drawn up.

FEDSAW REGIONAL CONFERENCE

At the Regional Conference on the 31st March, 1984, the Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was set up. At this meeting it was decided to set up this Committee to build and strengthen women's groups in the Transvaal and to start new women's groups. The Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was given a mandate by the regional conference to work towards a Transvaal Conference.

The Interim-Committee reported to the workshop on its activities so far and on the work that lies ahead for August 9. The women at the workshop were concerned about when this Transvaal Conference will be held. After a lot of discussion, it was decided that we first have to get August 9 behind us before we begin to work towards the Transvaal Conference.

A date was set for this conference for the third week in November.

The workshop ended on a high note and we all seemed to leave with having been inspired and feeling that we had learnt a lot.

U5-b

Baby Tyana - Phil

Gen'US

REPORT OF THE TRANSVAAL INTERIM COMMITTEE
SUBMITTED AT THE 1ST LAUNCHING CONFERENCE
7 - 9th, DECEMBER, 1984

The Tvl. Interim Committee was formed at a conference in March this year. Close to 150 women attended this conference.

The conference felt that we needed to bring women together to work towards a Transvaal conference later this year. The aim of this conference was to launch a Transvaal organisation of women. An interim committee was set up with each women's group represented.

The committee saw its task as preparing for the conference; starting women's groups where these did not exist and strengthening existing women's groups. We felt that this was important so that we could go to conference and launch a strong organisation.

Activities and Programs of the Interim Committee

1. This year the Federation of South African Women is 30 years old. We felt that we needed to pay tribute to the strength and sacrifice of our women. A successful rally was organised by the Interim Committee and hosted by the Zakeni Women's Group. About 800 people attended the meeting.

This was our first successful activity and it gave us a lot of confidence. Women came from the Vaal, Alexandra, Soweto, Pietersburg, and many other areas.

2. Workshop

In June we organised a two-day workshop which was attended by 60 women from all our women's groups.

Every women's group gave a report on how they are organising and what their problems are. We also learnt about why we organise women and our proud history.

We also discussed our program for August 9, which is National Women's Day.

3. Aug. 9 is National Women's Day

Our Aug. 9 program was a great success. It was the first time in almost 20 yrs. that women in the Tvl. organised on this scale. The 4 - day program was attended by close to 3 000 women.

On Aug 9 women organised programs in their local areas. Close to 100 women picketed on the streets of JO'burg against "Botha's New Deal". And, the 11th, 1 200 people attended our rally. We women made our voices heard. We protested against Botha's new constitution and Koorhof Bills. We joined hands with many organisations under the banner of the UDF to say no to apartheid.

U5-c

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This group has only recently started and are organising the women under the Transvaal Indian Congress. They explained that they had done this because they are all working together to fight the new constitution and the August elections. They started organising the women in their area because they saw that women need to be involved on a mass level in our struggle. But, they have also seen that there are many problems with mobilising women: for example, during the anti-Saic campaign, the women were not very active because they lacked confidence in themselves; there are also not many women who have had experience in organising and women have, in the past, not been included in political activity.

The group is now involved in helping the Civic Association organise against high rents and in working out what issues face women in the community and the issues we face as activist women. They have done a survey in Lenasia Ext 10 on rape. This survey caused some problems in their group as some of the women were against it. Because of this they have drawn up a Women's Manifesto to guide their work in the future.

The group is taking up the slogan "Women Against the Constitution" for their campaign. They will use the new constitution as a starting place to mobilise women to get involved in their work and in the work of other organisations in the area.

Other problems that they had found with trying to organise women were that women were submissive and that often religion caused splits between them. The younger women were more interested in boyfriends and parties but the older women were ready to become involved. They are now mainly trying to get the older women involved.

This group also gave us their ideas for the program of action for August 9. They proposed that we have a joint campaign and that each women's group also hold local meetings in their areas where they can recruit new members. Their plan of action will include house-to-house contacts where they will talk about food price and GST increases, the new constitution and conscription.

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After hearing these reports there was a lot of discussion among the women at the workshop. Many felt that we had heard different ways of organising women which we could use in our own areas.

WHY WE ARE ORGANISING WOMEN

This section of the workshop was opened by MaLydia who spoke in her personal capacity about organising women in Trade Unions and she shared with us many of her own experiences as a woman organiser.

MaLydia started her activities in the Unions in the early 1970s with the Metal and Allied Workers Union. For a long time she was the only woman in that organisation and had to do a lot of the dirty jobs - but she perse-

vered. Now she is the Chairperson of the Transport and General Workers Union.

MaLydia explained that women in Trade Unions face many problems: (1) they face men who believe they are "better" than women and behave in a powerful and "superior" fashion; (2) they have to do the cleaning and secretarial jobs in the Union and they also have to do their Union organising work on top of that; (3) they have to face men - who are in the majority in the Unions - who are difficult to talk to and who do not treat them as fellow workers and organisers but who start problems by wanting to have love affairs and things; (4) women also have to do their domestic work at home. This means that many women have to leave their meetings early because they have to go home to cook and clean and look after their husbands and children.

Besides all these problems, MaLydia told us that women in the Unions are the most regular attenders of meetings and they also take part in most discussions and activities. But, they never get elected to the executive positions. This problem of leadership, MaLydia said was also because women have an "enemy of the mind". We are told that we are weak and we believe this. It is even easier for men to organise women in the Unions because the women believe that the men have the answers to their problems.

"But we can have confidence in ourselves as women if we all work together. We can be equals with our men. We can extinguish our own inferiority. We have to break down all the barriers between men and women."

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MaLydia ended her talk by telling the women about the Caucus group that Fosatu has set up to work on women's issues. There is also a Women's Booklet which they have done which costs 30 cents.

Discussion

The women were then asked to go into three different groups to discuss three questions. These questions were: (1) What are the special problems that women face? (2) Why do we need a women's organisation? and (3) How can women work with other organisations and in the political struggle?

After these small group discussions, the women all came together again to report back. The workshop organisers then put all the views from each group together and presented this to the workshop on the Sunday morning.

WHAT ARE THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS THAT WOMEN FACE?

(a) The problems we face as women workers: Women are the cheapest labour in our country. We are not protected by the law from the abuses of the bosses. Those women doing domestic or farm jobs are the worst off. Women are mainly doing unskilled work which pays the lowest wages.

(b) Our problems as women: Women have to face violence and rape. We also have to deal with "sexy" bosses at work. Menstruation and pregnancy also mean that there are special problems which we face as women.

(c) Our self-concept: Because we are taught that we are inferior from childhood, women lack confidence in themselves. Our male comrades take us for granted and don't always show us respect. They also tell us what our women's groups should be doing. Because of all this, we are afraid to talk in meetings - so the men think we have got nothing to say.

(d) Women in the families: As women we have to look after the children and the house. This means that we have to deal with all the financial burdens, the rising prices, GST, increases in community services. We also have to see to the education of our children. So we are the ones who take all the responsibility - we are the sponges at the bottom absorbing all the shocks.

(e) How are traditions and culture affect us: These make us believe that we are weak and inferior. Even our churches make us believe that we are weak. So our traditions and our culture discriminate against us.

(f) The problems of black women: As women we have to face all the problems of low wages, lack of confidence, caring for the family and so on. But it is our black women who are really at the bottom of the pile because they have to face pass laws, influx control and all the other Apartheid laws in our country.

Because of all these problems we often say: As black women we are oppressed; As women workers we are exploited and oppressed by our bosses; and As women we face special problems. This is why we say: Our women face a tripple oppression.

WHY DO WE NEED A WOMEN'S ORGANISATION?

We need a women's organisation because of the special problems that we face as women. In our separate women's groups we can talk about all these things. Because women are not taught to be in competition with each other, we can talk easily to each other. We can look at how women see themselves, why we think we are weak, and we can learn to have confidence in ourselves and our abilities.

In our women's groups we can get other women to realise that they must take part in the broader struggle and that they are more oppressed than men. We can also share our skills and learn from each other. We can build up our faith in ourselves and our skills and then take our places in the broader struggle with confidence. Through our groups we can build leadership and encourage our women to take leadership roles.

In our groups we can share our problems - a problem shared is a problem cut in half. When we come together to discuss our problems we also learn that talk is not just gossip but leads to action. In our groups we can educate ourselves about the struggle in our country. This we can use to teach our children.

Most of all, we need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that women are not "babies", that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. That this struggle will never be won until all the women are involved as well. We need our women's organisations to be able to raise the different problems that women face with other organisations and to make sure that these are discussed and acted upon in these other organisations.

It is also important that we have women's organisations where we can discuss the special problems that face us as women - menstruation and sexual harrassment, for example. Here we will also be able to deal seriously with our special problems.

HOW CAN WE WORK WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE?

We can use our organisations to educate women about the national struggle in our country. In this way we can get women to work with other organisations, such as the Civic Associations. This is important for us to do because these issues are also women's issues. Women are the ones who first have to face higher prices, higher rents, increases in hospital tariffs, GST, etc. These are also issues which other organisations, like the Civics, are fighting.

Women are the ones who bear all the pain yet they are the pillars of strength in the family and the community. We can share this strength we have with other organisations. And at the same time make these other organisations aware of the role of women in the struggle and of the importance of women being involved. We can also get other organisations involved in our activities. We can invite their speakers to our meetings and make sure that there is always a women speaker at all mass meetings. In this way we can also teach our women why the issues that concern us as women are also political issues.

We, as mothers, are the first teachers of our children. We are the ones teaching the future generations. We can use our work with other organisations to make sure that we know all there is to know about our struggle and our situation. Without getting this knowledge for ourselves, we cannot hope to educate our children in a responsible way nor will we be able to teach other women.

Finally, we can work with existing women's groups, such as church and sewing groups, and take them with us in our struggle and the national struggle.

UDF WORKSHOP ON THE CONSTITUTION

At the end of the report backs, about 40 of the women went to join the UDF workshop on the new constitution. Here they shared ideas with other organisations on how we as women can work against Botha's New Deal.

This helped us get a clearer picture of what action should be taken. And we learnt how important it is for our women to stand united with all other organisations in this campaign against Botha.

The elections on the 22nd and 28th of August affect people in Coloured and Indian areas. The workshop looked at how people from African and white communities could be involved in the campaign against these elections. The new constitution does not affect one community only. It affects everybody who wants freedom in our land.

Our women came from this workshop with many ideas for us to discuss and take action about.

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

The mothers of our Federation, MaGreta and MaHelen started the next day's session. They talked to us about the importance of August 9. They told us how we have come to call this day National Women's Day - On the 9th August, 1956, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for African women. They were led by members of Federation. Ever since that day we have celebrated the 9th August as National Women's Day.

The discussions on the 31st and 1st of August of last year in Coloured and Indian areas. The workshop looked at how people from African and white communities could be involved in the campaign against these elections. The new constitution does not affect one community only. It affects everybody who wants freedom in our land.

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We also heard how our Federation began and how women organised in the 50s and 60s. In 1954, different women's organisations came together to form the Federation, to which they then affiliated. They came together because the oppression, especially of women, was very heavy on our people, and they were all caught up in the struggle for liberation.

At the first National Conference, a National Executive was elected and they were asked to form regional committees which would represent women in their own organisations. It was very hard for them to do all this work. They only had three National Conferences because of the bannings of their leaders and some of their affiliate organisations. For example, during the first five years of 1960 political oppression was very bad. They started organising the women into small groups such as vegetable clubs and sewing clubs.

Despite all these hardships, nothing ever destroyed the relations between these women. Nor did it destroy any of the relationships they had with the mass based organisations to which the Federation was affiliated. At that time there was no competition between men and women - the men were right behind our women in everything they did.

Some of the problems that they had in organising the women in those days, we were told, was that they had tried to organise from the top down - from their National Executive through the regional committees to the grass-roots. And they had somehow lost sight of the problems of women in their fight against all the oppression in our country. At the workshop, all were inspired to hear our mothers congratulate and praise us for the hard work we are doing in organising from the bottom up.

They held their last National Conference in Port Elizabeth in 1961. At this Conference the women committed themselves to going on with the struggle no matter what. And now we can all see that the women are coming back. From 1960 our mothers have seen how the spirit of the women has come back - our spirit is the "finest parting gift that any woman could have."

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

After hearing these inspiring words, the women got into small groups to discuss: (1) what we can do on August 9; (2) what our theme should be; and (3) how we can link up the day-to-day issues that we face to the August 9 program of action.

The women then came together to report back on these discussions and draw up a proposal for our program of action. These are the ideas and suggestions that we all agreed upon:

- (1) that our theme should be WOMEN UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S NEW DEAL
- (2) that there should be a focus week on women
- (3) that we should all have programs in our own areas which we can use to build and strengthen our own groups. There were lots of suggestions for activities for our groups, like: Tea parties; all night vigils, meetings; prayer meetings; a cultural programme; and a focus on the plight of our children under Apartheid.
- (4) that we should have a joint program where all the women from the areas, and women from other organisations and groupings, could all come together. Suggestions for the joint program were: a prayer meeting; a fete; a cultural program; a rally and a picket.
- (5) we all felt that we also needed to have a Newsletter, posters, stickers and T-shirts for this program of action. The Newsletter would keep us aware of what our other women were doing in their groups.

At the end of this discussion, it was decided that we would all go back to our areas and discuss all these suggestions with our women's groups.

There will be a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Fordsburg, Johannesburg on the 14th July where the report backs from the women's groups will be given. The final program of action for August 9 will then be drawn up.

FEDSAW REGIONAL CONFERENCE

At the Regional Conference on the 31st March, 1984, the Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was set up. At this meeting it was decided to set up this Committee to build and strengthen women's groups in the Transvaal and to start new women's groups. The Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was given a mandate by the regional conference to work towards a Transvaal Conference.

The Interim-Committee reported to the workshop on its activities so far and on the work that lies ahead for August 9. The women at the workshop were concerned about when this Transvaal Conference will be held. After a lot of discussion, it was decided that we first have to get August 9 behind us before we begin to work towards the Transvaal Conference.

A date was set for this conference for the third week in November.

The workshop ended on a high note and we all seemed to leave with having been inspired and feeling that we had learnt a lot.

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FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN : TRANSVAAL WORKSHOP

The Transvaal Fedasaw Interim Co-Ordinating Committee held a very successful workshop for women's groups on the 23rd and 24th of June, 1984.

The workshop was attended by representatives of women's groups from Pietersburg, Mamelodi, Vaal, Soweto, Johannesburg, Bosmont, Lenasia, Benoni, Newclare, Westbury, Kagiso and Riverlea. Among the women were some of the mothers of our Federation as well as student representatives from Cosas and Azaso.

Mrs Mlangeni opened the workshop which consisted of three main parts: How we are organising; Why we organise women; and Our program of action.

HOW WE ARE ORGANISING

Here we heard report backs from five different women's groups who told us why they had started a women's group in their area, the ways in which they organise the women, the problems that they have found, and their achievements.

Vaal Women's Group

This group started by organising women around the issues which affect them in their daily lives - high prices, high rents and child care. They get new members to join the group by talking to women in everyday language about these issues and the things that interest and concern women - things like getting food at cheaper prices, the high price of school uniforms, the need for better child care facilities, sewing, cooking, burial societies, high rents, adult literacy, etc.

They have been using a number of different ways to organise women: Through holding house meetings: a member of the group invites women she knows to her house where there will be a tea party. At the party they discuss the issues which affect women and then recruit these women to the group. They also organise women by getting them to take part in some of the projects that they do, like jumble sales and catering for other groups, and through talking with women who belong to other organisations such as church women's groups. They have also organised women through the Women's Charter.

The group has done a lot of work in the time since they started: they have started a program of child care and adult literacy and a grocery co-operative - here each member gives in a sum of money and once a month they do a bulk shopping buy which helps to save on the food bill. They also work very closely with the Vaal Civic Association around the high rents and they are starting a rent fund for their members - the group will raise funds which will be used to help any member pay her rent when she can't pay because of difficulties.

Soweto Women's Group

Because women are the ones who face the hardships in our country: the increases in rents, bus fares, hospital tariffs, food prices, school fees, the water and electricity cuts and the arrest and detention of their husbands, fathers and children - because of all these, women are the first ones to take action and they should be in the forefront of the struggle in our country. This was the main reason for organising women.

The group outlined some of the problems that they have faced in trying to organise: Because of the high political profile that they had in Soweto, many of the grassroots women were scared of joining. This had been made more difficult because of police intimidation and smear campaigns. Also, many of the members were not experienced in organising women and there were not enough members when they started to have house meetings, to explain properly what the group was trying to do. The group has also been faced by problems of lack of money and transport. Even though they have had all these problems, the group has managed to do a lot of work.

Through being involved in the community and political campaigns, the group has managed to teach our women (and our men) that women have an important role in the struggle. Through this they have been able to ease some of the women's fears of being involved and they have also mobilised women to join other organisations, such as Soweto Civic Association and Soyco.

It was also important for us to remember that it was through the initiation of the Soweto women that the Tvl. Interim Co-ordinating Committee was set up, which has helped to strengthen our Federation in the Transvaal.

The group has been organising seminars on topics of interest to women, such as health, religion and nutrition. They have raised funds by holding jumble and cake sales, braais and raffles. At present, they are busy working on a bulk-buying grocery scheme.

The women in this group have been working together since 1980. They felt that it was now time for them to put their group on a different standing. So they invited everyone at the workshop to the formal launch of the Soweto Women's Group on the 1st July, 1984.

Zakeni Women's Group (Mamelodi)

The group started in September 1983 with 5 members - they now have 43 members - to mobilise and educate women in the area.

Since they began, they have assisted the UDF with the campaign against the Community Councils and they were the hosts for the 30th Anniversary Rally of the Fedsaw in May this year.

They have organised a grocery buying co-operative which has worked well and has gained them many new members. After having a successful fund-raising coffee party, the group bought plates and mugs which they now rent to others for use at funerals - this is bringing them in funds and new members!

Some of the problems that they have had included getting co-operation from other organisations in the Transvaal, and problems with transport in the

Pretoria area. For example, they are busy trying to organise one group with members from Atteridgeville, Mabopani and Shoshanguwe, but because of difficulties they only have individual women from these areas belonging to the group.

Medunsa Women's Group

The group, which has about 80 members, was formed to educate and mobilise women on campus. The main areas they are educating women about are: (1) against becoming co-opted into the middle class because they are going to be "professionals"; (2) the tripple oppression that women face in our country; and (3) that no struggle can be successful if women are still oppressed.

They have been organising through Azaso. When they started, each member had to bring one other student to their meetings. It has been very difficult for them to organise on the campus because most of the students are only concerned with getting their degrees and making their own futures secure. So, there main problems are getting new members and lack of money.

Despite these problems, the group holds regular monthly meetings where they have educate each other about issues like pass laws and influx control. Through this education, they drew up a pamphlet against the PC proposals and the Koornhof Bills which they distributed house-to-house. They also had a successful Fedsaw Anniversary Rally in April this year.

In the future they are planning to do more health training work in Winterveld. They have already had a jumble sale to help the needy in Winterveld and their training is going to help them do needed health care work in this area. They are also planning a seminar to celebrate the International Year of Women and are doing some work on how the new taxes will affect women.

Unin Women's Group (Pietersburg)

This group was recently established at Turfloop and is affiliated to the SRC there, mainly for financial reasons.

The main problems that they have had, have come because their group has not yet really defined itself and its aims. Some women have even accused them of "hijacking" them into politics and other members have become confused about women's organisation here after reading about the "women's liberation" movements in England and America.

The group has done good work for our Federation. For example, they had a successful welcoming for MaDorothy Nyembe and they have been working very well with our menfolk in Azaso on their campus.

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At the end of the report backs, about 40 of the women went to join the UDF workshop on the new constitution. Here they shared ideas with other organisations on how we as women can work against Botha's New Deal.

This helped us get a clearer picture of what action should be taken. And we learnt how important it is for our women to stand united with all other organisations in this campaign against Botha.

The elections on the 22nd and 28th of August affect people in Coloured and Indian areas. The workshop looked at how people from African and white communities could be involved in the campaign against these elections. The new constitution does not affect one community only. It affects everybody who wants freedom in our land.

Our women came from this workshop with many ideas for us to discuss and take action about.

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

The mothers of our Federation, MaGreta and MaHelen started the next day's session. They talked to us about the importance of August 9. They told us how we have come to call this day National Women's Day - On the 9th August, 1956, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for African women. They were led by members of Federation. Ever since that day we have celebrated the 9th August as National Women's Day.

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At the first National Conference, a National Executive was elected and they were asked to form regional committees which would represent women in their own organisations. It was very hard for them to do all this work. They only had three National Conferences because of the bannings of their leaders and some of their affiliate organisations. For example, during the first five years of 1960 political oppression was very bad. They started organising the women into small groups such as vegetable clubs and sewing clubs.

Despite all these hardships, nothing ever destroyed the relations between these women. Nor did it destroy any of the relationships they had with the mass based organisations to which the Federation was affiliated. At that time there was no competition between men and women - the men were right behind our women in everything they did.

Some of the problems that they had in organising the women in those days, we were told, was that they had tried to organise from the top-down - from their National Executive through the regional committees to the grass-roots. And they had somehow lost sight of the problems of women in their fight against all the oppression in our country. At the workshop, all were inspired to hear our mothers congratulate and praise us for the hard work we are doing in organising from the bottom up.

They held their last National Conference in Port Elizabeth in 1961. At this Conference the women committed themselves to going on with the struggle no matter what. And now we can all see that the women are coming back. From 1960 our mothers have seen how the spirit of the women has come back - our spirit is the "finest parting gift that any woman could have."

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

MEMORANDUM OF SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL FEDERATION WORKSHOP

After hearing these inspiring words, the women got into small groups to discuss: (1) what we can do on August 9; (2) what our theme should be; and (3) how we can link up the day-to-day issues that we face to the August 9 program of action.

The women then came together to report back on these discussions and draw up a proposal for our program of action. These are the ideas and suggestions that we all agreed upon:

- (1) that our theme should be WOMEN UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S NEW DEAL
- (2) that there should be a focus week on women
- (3) that we should all have programs in our own areas which we can use to build and strengthen our own groups. There were lots of suggestions for activities for our groups, like: Tea parties; all night vigils, meetings; prayer meetings; a cultural programme; and a focus on the plight of our children under Apartheid.
- (4) that we should have a joint program where all the women from the areas, and women from other organisations and groupings, could all come together. Suggestions for the joint program were: a prayer meeting; a fete; a cultural program; a rally and a picket.
- (5) we all felt that we also needed to have a Newsletter, posters, stickers and T-shirts for this program of action. The Newsletter would keep us aware of what our other women were doing in their groups.

At the end of this discussion, it was decided that we would all go back to our areas and discuss all these suggestions with our women's groups.

There will be a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Fordsburg, Johannesburg on the 14th July where the report backs from the women's groups will be given. The final program of action for August 9 will then be drawn up.

FEDSAW REGIONAL CONFERENCE

At the Regional Conference on the 31st March, 1984, the Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was set up. At this meeting it was decided to set up this Committee to build and strengthen women's groups in the Transvaal and to start new women's groups. The Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was given a mandate by the regional conference to work towards a Transvaal Conference.

The Interim-Committee reported to the workshop on its activities so far and on the work that lies ahead for August 9. The women at the workshop were concerned about when this Transvaal Conference will be held. After a lot of discussion, it was decided that we first have to get August 9 behind us before we begin to work towards the Transvaal Conference.

A date was set for this conference for the third week in November.

The workshop ended on a high note and we all seemed to leave with having been inspired and feeling that we had learnt a lot.

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN : TRANSVAAL WORKSHOP

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The Transvaal Fedsaw Interim Co-Ordinating Committee held a very successful workshop for women's groups on the 23rd and 24th of June, 1984.

The workshop was attended by representatives of women's groups from Pietersburg, Mamelodi, Vaal, Soweto, Johannesburg, Bosmont, Lenasia, Benoni, Newclare, Westbury, Kagiso and Riverlea. Among the women were some of the mothers of our Federation as well as student representatives from Cosas and Azaso.

Mrs Mlangeni opened the workshop which consisted of three main parts: How we are organising; Why we organise women; and Our program of action.

HOW WE ARE ORGANISING

Here we heard report backs from five different women's groups who told us why they had started a women's group in their area, the ways in which they organise the women, the problems that they have found, and their achievements.

Vaal Women's Group

This group started by organising women around the issues which affect them in their daily lives - high prices, high rents and child care. They get new members to join the group by talking to women in everyday language about these issues and the things that interest and concern women - things like getting food at cheaper prices, the high price of school uniforms, the need for better child care facilities, sewing, cooking, burial societies, high rents, adult literacy, etc.

They have been using a number of different ways to organise women: Through holding house meetings: a member of the group invites women she knows to her house where there will be a tea party. At the party they discuss the issues which affect women and then recruit these women to the group. They also organise women by getting them to take part in some of the projects that they do, like jumble sales and catering for other groups, and through talking with women who belong to other organisations such as church women's groups. They have also organised women through the Women's Charter.

The group has done a lot of work in the time since they started: they have started a program of child care and adult literacy and a grocery co-operative - here each member gives in a sum of money and once a month they do a bulk shopping buy which helps to save on the food bill. They also work very closely with the Vaal Civic Association around the high rents and they are starting a rent fund for their members - the group will raise funds which will be used to help any member pay her rent when she can't pay because of difficulties.

Soweto Women's Group

Because women are the ones who face the hardships in our country: the increases in rents, bus fares, hospital tariffs, food prices, school fees, the water and electricity cuts and the arrest and detention of their husbands, fathers and children - because of all these, women are the first ones to take action and they should be in the forefront of the struggle in our country. This was the main reason for organising women.

The group outlined some of the problems that they have faced in trying to organise: Because of the high political profile that they had in Soweto, many of the grassroots women were scared of joining. This had been made more difficult because of police intimidation and smear campaigns. Also, many of the members were not experienced in organising women and there were not enough members when they started to have house meetings, to explain properly what the group was trying to do. The group has also been faced by problems of lack of money and transport. Even though they have had all these problems, the group has managed to do a lot of work.

Through being involved in the community and political campaigns, the group has managed to teach our women (and our men) that women have an important role in the struggle. Through this they have been able to ease some of the women's fears of being involved and they have also mobilised women to join other organisations, such as Soweto Civic Association and Soyco.

It was also important for us to remember that it was through the initiation of the Soweto women that the Tvl. Interim Co-ordinating Committee was set up, which has helped to strengthen our Federation in the Transvaal.

The group has been organising seminars on topics of interest to women, such as health, religion and nutrition. They have raised funds by holding jumble and cake sales, braais and raffles. At present, they are busy working on a bulk-buying grocery scheme.

The women in this group have been working together since 1980. They felt that it was now time for them to put their group on a different standing. So they invited everyone at the workshop to the formal launch of the Soweto Women's Group on the 1st July, 1984.

Zakeni Women's Group (Mamelodi)

The group started in September 1983 with 5 members - they now have 43 members - to mobilise and educate women in the area.

Since they began, they have assisted the UDF with the campaign against the Community Councils and they were the hosts for the 30th Anniversary Rally of the Fedsaw in May this year.

They have organised a grocery buying co-operative which has worked well and has gained them many new members. After having a successful fund-raising coffee party, the group bought plates and mugs which they now rent to others for use at funerals - this is bringing them in funds and new members!

Some of the problems that they have had included getting co-operation from other organisations in the Transvaal, and problems with transport in the

Pretoria area. For example, they are busy trying to organise one group with members from Atteridgeville, Mabopani and Shoshanguwe, but because of difficulties they only have individual women from these areas belonging to the group.

Medunsa Women's Group

The group, which has about 80 members, was formed to educate and mobilise women on campus. The main areas they are educating women about are: (1) against becoming co-opted into the middle class because they are going to be "professionals"; (2) the tripple oppression that women face in our country; and (3) that no struggle can be successful if women are still oppressed.

They have been organising through Azaso. When they started, each member had to bring one other student to their meetings. It has been very difficult for them to organise on the campus because most of the students are only concerned with getting their degrees and making their own futures secure. So, there main problems are getting new members and lack of money.

Despite these problems, the group holds regular monthly meetings where they have educate each other about issues like pass laws and influx control. Through this education, they drew up a pamphlet against the PC proposals and the Koornhof Bills which they distributed house-to-house. They also had a successful Fedsaw Anniversary Rally in April this year.

In the future they are planning to do more health training work in Winterveld. They have already had a jumble sale to help the needy in Winterveld and their training is going to help them do needed health care work in this area. They are also planning a seminar to celebrate the International Year of Women and are doing some work on how the new taxes will affect women.

Unin Women's Group (Pietersburg)

This group was recently established at Turfloop and is affiliated to the SRC there, mainly for financial reasons.

The main problems that they have had, have come because their group has not yet really defined itself and its aims. Some women have even accused them of "hijacking" them into politics and other members have become confused about women's organisation here after reading about the "women's liberation" movements in England and America.

The group has done good work for our Federation. For example, they had a successful welcoming for MaDorothy Nyembe and they have been working very well with our menfolk in Azaso on their campus.

the hostels, the group has taken up the issues of their living conditions - poor accomodation and food - and the health of students on campus. They have also been educating their fellow students to be aware that the cleaners and workers on campus are their mothers and should be treated as such.

Lenasia Women's Group

This group has only recently started and are organising the women under the Transvaal Indian Congress. They explained that they had done this because they are all working together to fight the new constitution and the August elections. They started organising the women in their area because they saw that women need to be involved on a mass level in our struggle. But, they have also seen that there are many problems with mobilising women: for example, during the anti-Saic campaign, the women were not very active because they lacked confidence in themselves; there are also not many women who have had experience in organising and women have, in the past, not been included in political activity.

The group is now involved in helping the Civic Association organise against high rents and in working out what issues face women in the community and the issues we face as activist women. They have done a survey in Lenasia Ext 10 on rape. This survey caused some problems in their group as some of the women were against it. Because of this they have drawn up a Women's Manifesto to guide their work in the future.

The group is taking up the slogan "Women Against the Constitution" for their campaign. They will use the new constitution as a starting place to mobilise women to get involved in their work and in the work of other organisations in the area.

Other problems that they had found with trying to organise women were that women were submissive and that often religion caused splits between them. The younger women were more interested in boyfriends and parties but the older women were ready to become involved. They are now mainly trying to get the older women involved.

This group also gave us their ideas for the program of action for August 9. They proposed that we have a joint campaign and that each women's group also hold local meetings in their areas where they can recruit new members. Their plan of action will include house-to-house contacts where they will talk about food price and GST increases, the new constitution and conscription.

These were the groups which were selected to give us an idea of how they are organising. At the same time, we could learn organising skills from them.

After hearing these reports there was a lot of discussion among the women at the workshop. Many felt that we had heard different ways of organising women which we could use in our own areas.

WHY WE ARE ORGANISING WOMEN

This section of the workshop was opened by MaLydia who spoke in her personal capacity about organising women in Trade Unions and she shared with us many of her own experiences as a woman organiser.

MaLydia started her activities in the Unions in the early 1970s with the Metal and Allied Workers Union. For a long time she was the only woman in that organisation and had to do a lot of the dirty jobs - but she perse-

vered. Now she is the Chairperson of the Transport and General Workers Union.

MaLydia explained that women in Trade Unions face many problems: (1) they face men who believe they are "better" than women and behave in a powerful and "superior" fashion; (2) they have to do the cleaning and secretarial jobs in the Union and they also have to do their Union organising work on top of that; (3) they have to face men - who are in the majority in the Unions - who are difficult to talk to and who do not treat them as fellow workers and organisers but who start problems by wanting to have love affairs and things; (4) women also have to do their domestic work at home. This means that many women have to leave their meetings early because they have to go home to cook and clean and look after their husbands and children.

Besides all these problems, MaLydia told us that women in the Unions are the most regular attenders of meetings and they also take part in most discussions and activities. But, they never get elected to the executive positions. This problem of leadership, MaLydia said was also because women have an "enemy of the mind". We are told that we are weak and we believe this. It is even easier for men to organise women in the Unions because the women believe that the men have the answers to their problems.

"But we can have confidence in ourselves as women if we all work together. We can be equals with our men. We can extinguish our own inferiority. We have to break down all the barriers between men and women."

"We think man is our master and we are inferior -
it is time to push this idea away
it is time to have confidence in ourselves
it is time to break down all discrimination."

MaLydia ended her talk by telling the women about the Caucus group that Fosatu has set up to work on women's issues. There is also a Women's Booklet which they have done which costs 30 cents.

Discussion

The women were then asked to go into three different groups to discuss three questions. These questions were: (1) What are the special problems that women face? (2) Why do we need a women's organisation? and (3) How can women work with other organisations and in the political struggle?

After these small group discussions, the women all came together again to report back. The workshop organisers then put all the views from each group together and presented this to the workshop on the Sunday morning.

WHAT ARE THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS THAT WOMEN FACE?

(a) The problems we face as women workers: Women are the cheapest labour in our country. We are not protected by the law from the abuses of the bosses. Those women doing domestic or farm jobs are the worst off. Women are mainly doing unskilled work which pays the lowest wages.

(b) Our problems as women: Women have to face violence and rape. We also have to deal with "sexy" bosses at work. Menstruation and pregnancy also mean that there are special problems which we face as women.

(c) Our self-concept: Because we are taught that we are inferior from childhood, women lack confidence in themselves. Our male comrades take us for granted and don't always show us respect. They also tell us what our women's groups should be doing. Because of all this, we are afraid to talk in meetings - so the men think we have got nothing to say.

(d) Women in the families: As women we have to look after the children and the house. This means that we have to deal with all the financial burdens, the rising prices, GST, increases in community services. We also have to see to the education of our children. So we are the ones who take all the responsibility - we are the sponges at the bottom absorbing all the shocks.

(e) How are traditions and culture affect us: These make us believe that we are weak and inferior. Even our churches make us believe that we are weak. So our traditions and our culture discriminate against us.

(f) The problems of black women: As women we have to face all the problems of low wages, lack of confidence, caring for the family and so on. But it is our black women who are really at the bottom of the pile because they have to face pass laws, influx control and all the other Apartheid laws in our country.

Because of all these problems we often say: As black women we are oppressed; As women workers we are exploited and oppressed by our bosses; and As women we face special problems. This is why we say: Our women face a tripple oppression.

WHY DO WE NEED A WOMEN'S ORGANISATION?

We need a women's organisation because of the special problems that we face as women. In our separate women's groups we can talk about all these things. Because women are not taught to be in competition with each other, we can talk easily to each other. We can look at how women see themselves, why we think we are weak, and we can learn to have confidence in ourselves and our abilities.

In our women's groups we can get other women to realise that they must take part in the broader struggle and that they are more oppressed than men. We can also share our skills and learn from each other. We can build up our faith in ourselves and our skills and then take our places in the broader struggle with confidence. Through our groups we can build leadership and encourage our women to take leadership roles.

In our groups we can share our problems - a problem shared is a problem cut in half. When we come together to discuss our problems we also learn that talk is not just gossip but leads to action. In our groups we can educate ourselves about the struggle in our country. This we can use to teach our children.

Most of all, we need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that women are not "babies", that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. That this struggle will never be won until all the women are involved as well. We need our women's organisations to be able to raise the different problems that women face with other organisations and to make sure that these are discussed and acted upon in these other organisations.

It is also important that we have women's organisations where we can discuss the special problems that face us as women - menstruation and sexual harrassment, for example. Here we will also be able to deal seriously with our special problems.

HOW CAN WE WORK WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE?

We can use our organisations to educate women about the national struggle in our country. In this way we can get women to work with other organisations, such as the Civic Associations. This is important for us to do because these issues are also women's issues. Women are the ones who first have to face higher prices, higher rents, increases in hospital tariffs, GST, etc. These are also issues which other organisations, like the Civics, are fighting.

Women are the ones who bear all the pain yet they are the pillars of strength in the family and the community. We can share this strength we have with other organisations. And at the same time make these other organisations aware of the role of women in the struggle and of the importance of women being involved. We can also get other organisations involved in our activities. We can invite their speakers to our meetings and make sure that there is always a women speaker at all mass meetings. In this way we can also teach our women why the issues that concern us as women are also political issues.

We, as mothers, are the first teachers of our children. We are the ones teaching the future generations. We can use our work with other organisations to make sure that we know all there is to know about our struggle and our situation. Without getting this knowledge for ourselves, we cannot hope to educate our children in a responsible way nor will we be able to teach other women.

Finally, we can work with existing women's groups, such as church and sewing groups, and take them with us in our struggle and the national struggle.

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The workshop on the 11th August was just what we needed in the areas. The workshop was a success and we were able to discuss the situation in our country and what we could do to improve it. We were able to discuss the situation in our country and what we could do to improve it. We were able to discuss the situation in our country and what we could do to improve it.

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It was also important for us to remember that it was through the initiation of the Soweto women that the Tvl. Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was set up, which has helped to strengthen our Federation in the Transvaal.

The group has been organising seminars on topics of interest to women, such as health, religion and nutrition. They have raised funds by holding jumble and cake sales, braais and raffles. At present, they are busy working on a bulk-buying grocery scheme.

The women in this group have been working together since 1980. They felt that it was now time for them to put their group on a different standing. So they invited everyone at the workshop to the formal launch of the Soweto Women's Group on the 1st July, 1984.

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The group started in September 1983 with 5 members - they now have 43 members - to mobilise and educate women in the area.

Since they began, they have assisted the UDF with the campaign against the Community Councils and they were the hosts for the 30th Anniversary Rally of the Fedsaw in May this year.

They have organised a grocery buying co-operative which has worked well and has gained them many new members. After having a successful fund-raising coffee party, the group bought plates and mugs which they now rent to others for use at funerals - this is bringing them in funds and new members!

Some of the problems that they have had included getting co-operation from other organisations in the Transvaal, and problems with transport in the

Pretoria area. For example, they are busy trying to organise one group with members from Atteridgeville, Mabopani and Shoshanguwe, but because of difficulties they only have individual women from these areas belonging to the group.

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Despite these problems, the group holds regular monthly meetings where they have educate each other about issues like pass laws and influx control. Through this education, they drew up a pamphlet against the PC proposals and the Koornhof Bills which they distributed house-to-house. They also had a successful Fedsaw Anniversary Rally in April this year.

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The group is now involved in helping the Civic Association organise against high rents and in working out what issues face women in the community and the issues we face as activist women. They have done a survey in Lenasia Ext 10 on rape. This survey caused some problems in their group as some of the women were against it. Because of this they have drawn up a Women's Manifesto to guide their work in the future.

The group is taking up the slogan "Women Against the Constitution" for their campaign. They will use the new constitution as a starting place to mobilise women to get involved in their work and in the work of other organisations in the area.

Other problems that they had found with trying to organise women were that women were submissive and that often religion caused splits between them. The younger women were more interested in boyfriends and parties but the older women were ready to become involved. They are now mainly trying to get the older women involved.

This group also gave us their ideas for the program of action for August 9. They proposed that we have a joint campaign and that each women's group also hold local meetings in their areas where they can recruit new members. Their plan of action will include house-to-house contacts where they will talk about food price and GST increases, the new constitution and conscription.

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After hearing these reports there was a lot of discussion among the women at the workshop. Many felt that we had heard different ways of organising women which we could use in our own areas.

WHY WE ARE ORGANISING WOMEN

This section of the workshop was opened by MaLydia who spoke in her personal capacity about organising women in Trade Unions and she shared with us many of her own experiences as a woman organiser.

MaLydia started her activities in the Unions in the early 1970s with the Metal and Allied Workers Union. For a long time she was the only woman in that organisation and had to do a lot of the dirty jobs - but she perse-

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MaLydia explained that women in Trade Unions face many problems: (1) they face men who believe they are "better" than women and behave in a powerful and "superior" fashion; (2) they have to do the cleaning and secretarial jobs in the Union and they also have to do their Union organising work on top of that; (3) they have to face men - who are in the majority in the Unions - who are difficult to talk to and who do not treat them as fellow workers and organisers but who start problems by wanting to have love affairs and things; (4) women also have to do their domestic work at home. This means that many women have to leave their meetings early because they have to go home to cook and clean and look after their husbands and children.

Besides all these problems, MaLydia told us that women in the Unions are the most regular attenders of meetings and they also take part in most discussions and activities. But, they never get elected to the executive positions. This problem of leadership, MaLydia said was also because women have an "enemy of the mind". We are told that we are weak and we believe this. It is even easier for men to organise women in the Unions because the women believe that the men have the answers to their problems.

"But we can have confidence in ourselves as women if we all work together. We can be equals with our men. We can extinguish our own inferiority. We have to break down all the barriers between men and women."

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MaLydia ended her talk by telling the women about the Caucus group that Fosatu has set up to work on women's issues. There is also a Women's Booklet which they have done which costs 30 cents.

Discussion

The women were then asked to go into three different groups to discuss three questions. These questions were: (1) What are the special problems that women face? (2) Why do we need a women's organisation? and (3) How can women work with other organisations and in the political struggle?

After these small group discussions, the women all came together again to report back. The workshop organisers then put all the views from each group together and presented this to the workshop on the Sunday morning.

WHAT ARE THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS THAT WOMEN FACE?

(a) The problems we face as women workers: Women are the cheapest labour in our country. We are not protected by the law from the abuses of the bosses. Those women doing domestic or farm jobs are the worst off. Women are mainly doing unskilled work which pays the lowest wages.

(b) Our problems as women: Women have to face violence and rape. We also have to deal with "sexy" bosses at work. Menstruation and pregnancy also mean that there are special problems which we face as women.

(c) Our self-concept: Because we are taught that we are inferior from childhood, women lack confidence in themselves. Our male comrades take us for granted and don't always show us respect. They also tell us what our women's groups should be doing. Because of all this, we are afraid to talk in meetings - so the men think we have got nothing to say.

(d) Women in the families: As women we have to look after the children and the house. This means that we have to deal with all the financial burdens, the rising prices, GST, increases in community services. We also have to see to the education of our children. So we are the ones who take all the responsibility - we are the sponges at the bottom absorbing all the shocks.

(e) How are traditions and culture affect us: These make us believe that we are weak and inferior. Even our churches make us believe that we are weak. So our traditions and our culture discriminate against us.

(f) The problems of black women: As women we have to face all the problems of low wages, lack of confidence, caring for the family and so on. But it is our black women who are really at the bottom of the pile because they have to face pass laws, influx control and all the other Apartheid laws in our country.

Because of all these problems we often say: As black women we are oppressed; As women workers we are exploited and oppressed by our bosses; and As women we face special problems. This is why we say: Our women face a tripple oppression.

WHY DO WE NEED A WOMEN'S ORGANISATION?

We need a women's organisation because of the special problems that we face as women. In our separate women's groups we can talk about all these things. Because women are not taught to be in competition with each other, we can talk easily to each other. We can look at how women see themselves, why we think we are weak, and we can learn to have confidence in ourselves and our abilities.

In our women's groups we can get other women to realise that they must take part in the broader struggle and that they are more oppressed than men. We can also share our skills and learn from each other. We can build up our faith in ourselves and our skills and then take our places in the broader struggle with confidence. Through our groups we can build leadership and encourage our women to take leadership roles.

In our groups we can share our problems - a problem shared is a problem cut in half. When we come together to discuss our problems we also learn that talk is not just gossip but leads to action. In our groups we can educate ourselves about the struggle in our country. This we can use to teach our children.

Most of all, we need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that women are not "babies", that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. That this struggle will never be won until all the women are involved as well. We need our women's organisations to be able to raise the different problems that women face with other organisations and to make sure that these are discussed and acted upon in these other organisations.

It is also important that we have women's organisations where we can discuss the special problems that face us as women - menstruation and sexual harassment, for example. Here we will also be able to deal seriously with our special problems.

HOW CAN WE WORK WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE?

We can use our organisations to educate women about the national struggle in our country. In this way we can get women to work with other organisations, such as the Civic Associations. This is important for us to do because these issues are also women's issues. Women are the ones who first have to face higher prices, higher rents, increases in hospital tariffs, GST, etc. These are also issues which other organisations, like the Civics, are fighting.

Women are the ones who bear all the pain yet they are the pillars of strength in the family and the community. We can share this strength we have with other organisations. And at the same time make these other organisations aware of the role of women in the struggle and of the importance of women being involved. We can also get other organisations involved in our activities. We can invite their speakers to our meetings and make sure that there is always a women speaker at all mass meetings. In this way we can also teach our women why the issues that concern us as women are also political issues.

We, as mothers, are the first teachers of our children. We are the ones teaching the future generations. We can use our work with other organisations to make sure that we know all there is to know about our struggle and our situation. Without getting this knowledge for ourselves, we cannot hope to educate our children in a responsible way nor will we be able to teach other women.

Finally, we can work with existing women's groups, such as church and sewing groups, and take them with us in our struggle and the national struggle.

UDF WORKSHOP ON THE CONSTITUTION

At the end of the report backs, about 40 of the women went to join the UDF workshop on the new constitution. Here they shared ideas with other organisations on how we as women can work against Botha's New Deal.

This helped us get a clearer picture of what action should be taken. And we learnt how important it is for our women to stand united with all other organisations in this campaign against Botha.

The elections on the 22nd and 28th of August affect people in Coloured and Indian areas. The workshop looked at how people from African and white communities could be involved in the campaign against these elections. The new constitution does not affect one community only. It affects everybody who wants freedom in our land.

Our women came from this workshop with many ideas for us to discuss and take action about.

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

The mothers of our Federation, MaGreta and MaHelen started the next day's session. They talked to us about the importance of August 9. They told us how we have come to call this day National Women's Day - On the 9th August, 1956, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for African women. They were led by members of Federation. Ever since that day we have celebrated the 9th August as National Women's Day.

The constitution on the 12th and 13th of August affected the introduction of the new constitution. The work of the constitution was done for Africa and the constitution was introduced in 1961. The new constitution does not affect the commitment only. It affects everyone who wants freedom in our land.

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We also heard how our Federation began and how women organised in the 50s and 60s. In 1954, different women's organisations came together to form the Federation, to which they then affiliated. They came together because the oppression, especially of women, was very heavy on our people, and they were all caught up in the struggle for liberation.

At the first National Conference, a National Executive was elected and they were asked to form regional committees which would represent women in their own organisations. It was very hard for them to do all this work. They only had three National Conferences because of the bannings of their leaders and some of their affiliate organisations. For example, during the first five years of 1960 political oppression was very bad. They started organising the women into small groups such as vegetable clubs and sewing clubs.

Despite all these hardships, nothing ever destroyed the relations between these women. Nor did it destroy any of the relationships they had with the mass based organisations to which the Federation was affiliated. At that time there was no competition between men and women - the men were right behind our women in everything they did.

Some of the problems that they had in organising the women in those days, we were told, was that they had tried to organise from the top down - from their National Executive through the regional committees to the grass-roots. And they had somehow lost sight of the problems of women in their fight against all the oppression in our country. At the workshop, all were inspired to hear our mothers congratulate and praise us for the hard work we are doing in organising from the bottom up.

They held their last National Conference in Port Elizabeth in 1961. At this Conference the women committed themselves to going on with the struggle no matter what. And now we can all see that the women are coming back. From 1961 our mothers have seen how the spirit of the women has come back - our spirit is the "finest parting gift that any woman could have."

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

After hearing these inspiring words, the women got into small groups to discuss: (1) what we can do on August 9; (2) what our theme should be; and (3) how we can link up the day-to-day issues that we face to the August 9 program of action.

The women then came together to report back on these discussions and draw up a proposal for our program of action. These are the ideas and suggestions that we all agreed upon:

- (1) that our theme should be **WOMEN UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S NEW DEAL**
- (2) that there should be a focus week on women
- (3) that we should all have programs in our own areas which we can use to build and strengthen our own groups. There were lots of suggestions for activities for our groups, like: Tea parties; all night vigils, meetings; prayer meetings; a cultural programme; and a focus on the plight of our children under Apartheid.
- (4) that we should have a joint program where all the women from the areas, and women from other organisations and groupings, could all come together. Suggestions for the joint program were: a prayer meeting; a fete; a cultural program; a rally and a picket.
- (5) we all felt that we also needed to have a Newsletter, posters, stickers and T-shirts for this program of action. The Newsletter would keep us aware of what our other women were doing in their groups.

At the end of this discussion, it was decided that we would all go back to our areas and discuss all these suggestions with our women's groups.

There will be a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Fordsburg, Johannesburg on the 14th July where the report backs from the women's groups will be given. The final program of action for August 9 will then be drawn up.

FEDSAW REGIONAL CONFERENCE

At the Regional Conference on the 31st March, 1984, the Interim Co-ordinating Committee was set up. At this meeting it was decided to set up this Committee to build and strengthen women's groups in the Transvaal and to start new women's groups. The Interim Co-ordinating Committee was given a mandate by the regional conference to work towards a Transvaal Conference.

The Interim-Committee reported to the workshop on its activities so far and on the work that lies ahead for August 9. The women at the workshop were concerned about when this Transvaal Conference will be held. After a lot of discussion, it was decided that we first have to get August 9 behind us before we begin to work towards the Transvaal Conference.

A date was set for this conference for the third week in November.

The workshop ended on a high note and we all seemed to leave with having been inspired and feeling that we had learnt a lot.

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN : TRANSVAAL WORKSHOP

The Transvaal Fedsaw Interim Co-Ordinating Committee held a very successful workshop for women's groups on the 23rd and 24th of June, 1984.

The workshop was attended by representatives of women's groups from Pietersburg, Mamelodi, Vaal, Soweto, Johannesburg, Bosmont, Lenasia, Benoni, Newclare, Westbury, Kagiso and Riverlea. Among the women were some of the mothers of our Federation as well as student representatives from Cosas and Azaso.

Mrs Mlangeni opened the workshop which consisted of three main parts: How we are organising; Why we organise women; and Our program of action.

HOW WE ARE ORGANISING

Here we heard report backs from five different women's groups who told us why they had started a women's group in their area, the ways in which they organise the women, the problems that they have found, and their achievements.

Vaal Women's Group

This group started by organising women around the issues which affect them in their daily lives - high prices, high rents and child care. They get new members to join the group by talking to women in everyday language about these issues and the things that interest and concern women - things like getting food at cheaper prices, the high price of school uniforms, the need for better child care facilities, sewing, cooking, burial societies, high rents, adult literacy, etc.

They have been using a number of different ways to organise women: Through holding house meetings: a member of the group invites women she knows to her house where there will be a tea party. At the party they discuss the issues which affect women and then recruit these women to the group. They also organise women by getting them to take part in some of the projects that they do, like jumble sales and catering for other groups, and through talking with women who belong to other organisations such as church women's groups. They have also organised women through the Women's Charter.

The group has done a lot of work in the time since they started: they have started a program of child care and adult literacy and a grocery co-operative - here each member gives in a sum of money and once a month they do a bulk shopping buy which helps to save on the food bill. They also work very closely with the Vaal Civic Association around the high rents and they are starting a rent fund for their members - the group will raise funds which will be used to help any member pay her rent when she can't pay because of difficulties.

Soweto Women's Group

Because women are the ones who face the hardships in our country: the increases in rents, bus fares, hospital tariffs, food prices, school fees, the water and electricity cuts and the arrest and detention of their husbands, fathers and children - because of all these, women are the first ones to take action and they should be in the forefront of the struggle in our country. This was the main reason for organising women.

The group outlined some of the problems that they have faced in trying to organise: Because of the high political profile that they had in Soweto, many of the grassroots women were scared of joining. This had been made more difficult because of police intimidation and smear campaigns. Also, many of the members were not experienced in organising women and there were not enough members when they started to have house meetings, to explain properly what the group was trying to do. The group has also been faced by problems of lack of money and transport. Even though they have had all these problems, the group has managed to do a lot of work.

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(b) Our problems as women: Women have to face violence and rape. We also have to deal with "sexy" bosses at work. Menstruation and pregnancy also mean that there are special problems which we face as women.

(c) Our self-concept: Because we are taught that we are inferior from childhood, women lack confidence in themselves. Our male comrades take us for granted and don't always show us respect. They also tell us what our women's groups should be doing. Because of all this, we are afraid to talk in meetings - so the men think we have got nothing to say.

(d) Women in the families: As women we have to look after the children and the house. This means that we have to deal with all the financial burdens, the rising prices, GST, increases in community services. We also have to see to the education of our children. So we are the ones who take all the responsibility - we are the sponges at the bottom absorbing all the shocks.

(e) How are traditions and culture affect us: These make us believe that we are weak and inferior. Even our churches make us believe that we are weak. So our traditions and our culture discriminate against us.

(f) The problems of black women: As women we have to face all the problems of low wages, lack of confidence, caring for the family and so on. But it is our black women who are really at the bottom of the pile because they have to face pass laws, influx control and all the other Apartheid laws in our country.

Because of all these problems we often say: As black women we are oppressed; As women workers we are exploited and oppressed by our bosses; and As women we face special problems. This is why we say: Our women face a tripple oppression.

WHY DO WE NEED A WOMEN'S ORGANISATION?

We need a women's organisation because of the special problems that we face as women. In our separate women's groups we can talk about all these things. Because women are not taught to be in competition with each other, we can talk easily to each other. We can look at how women see themselves, why we think we are weak, and we can learn to have confidence in ourselves and our abilities.

In our women's groups we can get other women to realise that they must take part in the broader struggle and that they are more oppressed than men. We can also share our skills and learn from each other. We can build up our faith in ourselves and our skills and then take our places in the broader struggle with confidence. Through our groups we can build leadership and encourage our women to take leadership roles.

In our groups we can share our problems - a problem shared is a problem cut in half. When we come together to discuss our problems we also learn that talk is not just gossip but leads to action. In our groups we can educate ourselves about the struggle in our country. This we can use to teach our children.

Most of all, we need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that women are not "babies", that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. That this struggle will never be won until all the women are involved as well. We need our women's organisations to be able to raise the different problems that women face with other organisations and to make sure that these are discussed and acted upon in these other organisations.

It is also important that we have women's organisations where we can discuss the special problems that face us as women - menstruation and sexual harrassment, for example. Here we will also be able to deal seriously with our special problems.

HOW CAN WE WORK WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE?

We can use our organisations to educate women about the national struggle in our country. In this way we can get women to work with other organisations, such as the Civic Associations. This is important for us to do because these issues are also women's issues. Women are the ones who first have to face higher prices, higher rents, increases in hospital tariffs, GST, etc. These are also issues which other organisations, like the Civics, are fighting.

Women are the ones who bear all the pain yet they are the pillars of strength in the family and the community. We can share this strength we have with other organisations. And at the same time make these other organisations aware of the role of women in the struggle and of the importance of women being involved. We can also get other organisations involved in our activities. We can invite their speakers to our meetings and make sure that there is always a women speaker at all mass meetings. In this way we can also teach our women why the issues that concern us as women are also political issues.

We, as mothers, are the first teachers of our children. We are the ones teaching the future generations. We can use our work with other organisations to make sure that we know all there is to know about our struggle and our situation. Without getting this knowledge for ourselves, we cannot hope to educate our children in a responsible way nor will we be able to teach other women.

Finally, we can work with existing women's groups, such as church and sewing groups, and take them with us in our struggle and the national struggle.

UDF WORKSHOP ON THE CONSTITUTION

At the end of the report backs, about 40 of the women went to join the UDF workshop on the new constitution. Here they shared ideas with other organisations on how we as women can work against Botha's New Deal.

This helped us get a clearer picture of what action should be taken. And we learnt how important it is for our women to stand united with all other organisations in this campaign against Botha.

The elections on the 22nd and 28th of August affect people in Coloured and Indian areas. The workshop looked at how people from African and white communities could be involved in the campaign against these elections. The new constitution does not affect one community only. It affects everybody who wants freedom in our land.

Our women came from this workshop with many ideas for us to discuss and take action about.

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

The mothers of our Federation, MaGreta and MaHelen started the next day's session. They talked to us about the importance of August 9. They told us how we have come to call this day National Women's Day - On the 9th August, 1956, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for African women. They were led by members of Federation. Ever since that day we have celebrated the 9th August as National Women's Day.

After hearing these inspiring words, the women got into small groups to discuss: (1) what we can do on August 9; (2) what our theme should be; and (3) how we can link up the day-to-day issues that we face to the August 9 program of action.

The women then came together to report back on these discussions and draw up a proposal for our program of action. These are the ideas and suggestions that we all agreed upon:

- (1) that our theme should be **WOMEN UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S NEW DEAL**
- (2) that there should be a focus week on women
- (3) that we should all have programs in our own areas which we can use to build and strengthen our own groups. There were lots of suggestions for activities for our groups, like: Tea parties; all night vigils, meetings; prayer meetings; a cultural programme; and a focus on the plight of our children under Apartheid.
- (4) that we should have a joint program where all the women from the areas, and women from other organisations and groupings, could all come together. Suggestions for the joint program were: a prayer meeting; a fete; a cultural program; a rally and a picket.
- (5) we all felt that we also needed to have a Newsletter, posters, stickers and T-shirts for this program of action. The Newsletter would keep us aware of what our other women were doing in their groups.

At the end of this discussion, it was decided that we would all go back to our areas and discuss all these suggestions with our women's groups.

There will be a meeting at the Jiswa Centre in Fordsburg, Johannesburg on the 14th July where the report backs from the women's groups will be given. The final program of action for August 9 will then be drawn up.

FEDSAW REGIONAL CONFERENCE

At the Regional Conference on the 31st March, 1984, the Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was set up. At this meeting it was decided to set up this Committee to build and strengthen women's groups in the Transvaal and to start new women's groups. The Interim Co-Ordinating Committee was given a mandate by the regional conference to work towards a Transvaal Conference.

The Interim-Committee reported to the workshop on its activities so far and on the work that lies ahead for August 9. The women at the workshop were concerned about when this Transvaal Conference will be held. After a lot of discussion, it was decided that we first have to get August 9 behind us before we begin to work towards the Transvaal Conference.

A date was set for this conference for the third week in November.

The workshop ended on a high note and we all seemed to leave with having been inspired and feeling that we had learnt a lot.

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We also heard how our Federation began and how women organised in the 50s and 60s. In 1954, different women's organisations came together to form the Federation, to which they then affiliated. They came together because the oppression, especially of women, was very heavy on our people, and they were all caught up in the struggle for liberation.

At the first National Conference, a National Executive was elected and they were asked to form regional committees which would represent women in their own organisations. It was very hard for them to do all this work. They only had three National Conferences because of the bannings of their leaders and some of their affiliate organisations. For example, during the first five years of 1960 political oppression was very bad. They started organising the women into small groups such as vegetable clubs and sewing clubs.

Despite all these hardships, nothing ever destroyed the relations between these women. Nor did it destroy any of the relationships they had with the mass based organisations to which the Federation was affiliated. At that time there was no competition between men and women - the men were right behind our women in everything they did.

Some of the problems that they had in organising the women in those days, we were told, was that they had tried to organise from the top down - from their National Executive through the regional committees to the grass-roots. And they had somehow lost sight of the problems of women in their fight against all the oppression in our country. At the workshop, all were inspired to hear our mothers congratulate and praise us for the hard work we are doing in organising from the bottom up.

They held their last National Conference in Port Elizabeth in 1961. At this Conference the women committed themselves to going on with the struggle no matter what. And now we can all see that the women are coming back. From 1961 our mothers have seen how the spirit of the women has come back - our spirit is the "best lasting gift that any woman could have."

OUR PROGRAM FOR AUGUST 9

U6-a

GEVIND IM BOEKRAK IN SITRAMER



Ben "U6-a"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN
2048

Joanwold Sen
1985-02-14 -05h3
H. GROENEWALD

Dear Comrades,

The UDF Conscription Committee has planned a workshop on Conscription and Militarisation for Sunday the 15th July 1984. All UDF affiliates are invited to send at least 3 delegates.

The workshop will provide educational input on conscription and militarisation as well as discussions on how affiliates and UDF as a whole can take up the issue

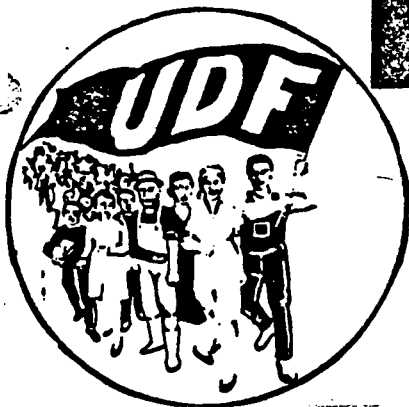
We ask affiliates to prepare for the workshop by:

- (1) preparing a report on any activity you have undertaken on the issue. Please submit this report to the UDF office by the 6th July.
- (2) reading the attached program and discussin the questions with comrades in your organisation before the workshop,
- (3) Please bring any media you have produce around the issue. eg newsletters, posters, pamphlets etc.

Please let the UDF office know how many people from your organisation will be attending the workshop. CONTACT MOHAMMAD AT 838-5501

The UDF conscription Committee.

U6-b



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN
2048

CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

CONSCRIPTION & MILITARISATION WORKSHOP

Date: Sunday, 15th July

Time: 10am to 5 pm

Venue: Khotso House

P R O G R A M

- 10.00 talk: CONSCRIPTION (Tom Waspe)
- 10.30 discussion
- 11.00 talk: MILITARISATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (David Webster)
- 11.30 discussion
- 12.00 talk: WHAT'S HAPPENING IN NAMIBIA NOW (Sue Cullinan)
- 12.30 discussion
- 1.00 LUNCH (Will be provided)
- 2.00 plenary: WHAT ISSUES SHOULD WE ORGANISE AROUND?
- 2.30 plenary: REPORT ON WHAT ORGANISATIONS HAVE DONE ALREADY
- 3.00 small group discussion:
- (1) HOW SHOULD ORGANISATIONS TAKE UP THESE ISSUES IN THE SHORT TERM (with special reference to the elections) AND IN THE LONG TERM?
- (2) HOW SHOULD UDF TAKE UP THESE ISSUES IN THE SHORT AND LONG TERM?
- 4.00 plenary: REPORT BACK AND ASSESSMENT OF IDEAS

PLANNING FOR FUTURE ACTION

U6-c

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THE UDF SAYS NO TO CONSCRIPTION

- we say NO because
 - the government spends millions on 'defence' while our people are deprived of the basic necessities for living
- we say NO because
 - the SADF is used to strenghten our oppressors
- we say NO because
 - the SADF undermines the freedom and independence of our neighbouring countries
- we say NO because
 - the new constitution is a fraud which gives us no real rights but forces us to defend apartheid
- we say NO because
 - the majority of our people are being excluded and made foreigners in the land of their birth
- we say NO because
 - WE ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM , DEMOCRACY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE

REJECT CONSCRIPTION

"You can't ask a man to fight for his country if he can't vote. among the terms of the new dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and Indians will get voting rights . It follows that their responsibility will increase accordingly, which means they will hold obligations to defend these rights"
(F.W.de Klerk, Tv) NP leader)

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

It means that 'coloured and Indian youth will be conscripted, they will be forced to join the SADF to defend apartheid.

The government wants us to defend apartheid, so they give us an apartheid vote

They want us to defend a system

- that forcibly moves people from Magopa
- that increases food and rent prices, while our wages stay low
- that forces our children to go to gutter education schools
- that forces us to pay more GST, so the government can spend all the money on the army

WHAT IS CONSCRIPTION?

Conscription means that we will have to do military service, whether we like it or not.

Conscription means spending two years in the Defence Force, and then for the next 8 years, being called up for 'camps' every year.

Conscientious objectors - people who say NO to the SADF

Ever since the government started conscripting white men into the SADF some have said NO.

At first most CO'S were universal pacifists.
they believed that it is always wrong to fight in any army.
Most universal pacifists belonged to pacifist churches.

As it became clearer that the SADF was defending apartheid, and protecting an oppressive system, more and more CO's said NO for political reasons.
They believe that it is wrong to join the SADF because they believe that apartheid is wrong.

They said no to the SADF because they said NO to apartheid and to oppression

Until last year all CO's were sent to prison for one or two years.

But last year the government "reformed" the laws about CO
As usual it was 'Reform, co-opt and divide'

-they gave concessions to 'bone fide religious objectors'
(that mean pacifists) who can now do 6 years of community
work instead of going to jail for one year *eg working in a pass office*

-they ruled that any objector who has political reasons
for objecting, even religious people, will go to jail for
6 years

This new law tries to divide CO's , it tries to co-opt pacifists
and punishes all other CO's

WHAT IS THE SADF DOING?

The state says that the SADF is protecting all our people

BUT

the SADF mans roadblocks with the police

the SADF surrounded Lamontville

the SADF helped the police with house to house searches in the 1980 boycotts

the SADF is used to overcome the resistance of our people who refused to be moved from the places they have lived in for generations

The state says the SADF is protecting Namibians against SWAPO 'terrorists'

BUT

the people of Namibia say that SWAPO is their liberation movement

and the SADF is an army of occupation

The state says that the SADF is protecting us against the Cubans

BUT

the SADF has invaded and occupied Angola

and supports the UNITA bandits in their fight against the Angolan people

The state says the SADF is protecting us against 'international terrorism'

BUT

the SADF is building up its forces to fight our youth who have left the country because they can no longer live under apartheid.

The state and the SADF talk about a 'total war'

BUT

it is a CIVIL WAR in which the majority are subjected to the violence of starvation, poverty, landlessness, poor education, removals and pass-raids

The state and the SADF are fighting a war against those who are fighting to overcome these evils

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AN ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN.

INTRODUCTION

The government has threatened to extend conscription to coloured and Indian youth, and it is systematically increasing the role the army plays in South African society. In the UDP Anti-Conscription Campaign we aim to combat both of these state strategies and to put forward our own commitment to build a peaceful future for South Africa. The Anti-Conscription Committee's (ACC) short term programme integrates an anti-conscription campaign into the UDP anti-election strategy. But UDP also needs a long term programme. The SADF will continue to try to win the hearts and minds of the people and will continue to be used against our people in their struggles inside the country.

LONG TERM PROGRAMME

UDP is building a national consciousness in opposition to Apartheid and exploitation. Our aims are to build a broad mass opposition to the extension of conscription into this consciousness of the people of South Africa.

To do so, we must build a widespread understanding of how the SADF oppresses us. It is important that the focus of our campaign is not limited to conscription. The army already reaches our communities through TV, propaganda newspapers, youth and school camps. As a result, it is making some progress in winning the hearts and minds of people both in the African townships and in the so-called coloured areas. And, the SADF is used to crush opposition to Apartheid and in the forced removals of people.

We must build a popular understanding of what the SADF is defending; and of who it is fighting against and what their demands are; and of what the conditions for peace are in South Africa.

In the Anti-Conscription Campaign, we must ensure that we build progressive organisation. Student and youth organisations are particularly important because these are the groups who will be conscripted first. All organisation must be appropriate to local conditions. The Anti-Conscription Campaign must popularise and strengthen UDP, and build alliances with other groups like the churches, teachers and affiliates of the End Conscription Committee (ECC).

The UDP is establishing area committees in the areas it calls 'the ru



rural areas'. The government has used these areas as its main source of recruitment for the police and the SADF, especially from those classified coloured and Indian. Over 90% of the recruits for the Cape Corps come from the rural areas, especially from some of the smaller towns like Paarl, Stellenbosch and Saldanha. It is likely that the extension of conscription will have its most immediate effect in the rural areas. So it is necessary for us to work out appropriate ways in which to extend our campaign to these areas, and to assist in building organisation in these areas.

All the organisations affiliated to the UDP - community, youth, student and women's organisations, and trade unions - must develop appropriate ways to counter the long term effects of the SADF's propaganda and its attempts to conscript our youth.

We must start creches, day care centres and junior youth groups in as many areas as possible, where alternative education programmes can be organised. We cannot simply oppose the SADF's attempts to win over our children. We must help our children to understand that an alternative society where we can live together in peace and friendship is possible.

The SADF has identified the schools and other educational institutions as their target. We too should pay special attention to school committees, parent-teacher associations and parent committees. Where necessary such organisations should be started by civic, women and youth bodies to work alongside the existing organisations in our areas. This is very important because the parents themselves must fight the attempts by the SADF to indoctrinate and influence their children.

As the Anti-Conscription Campaign develops, it may be useful to bring out a regular newsletter dealing specifically with the problems related to conscription and the SADF. For the moment, it is more convenient to use space in the UDP News and other community papers to perform this function.

The programme of action must cover both urban and rural areas. Although the dynamics of these areas differ and the campaign will have to take these conditions into account, there must be a unifying focus. This must be borne in mind when choosing slogans and demands, and in producing media.

page three

We need to know exactly what the SADF is doing and planing to work out an effective programme of action. We need to start research in all aspects of SADF work and programmes so that we can respond meaningfully to its win the hearts and minds campaign.

SHORT TERM PROGRAMME

At each stage in the campaign, we must set ourselves identifiable short term objectives which will move us closer to our long term objectives. In order to do this we must a) carry out work amongst our affiliates b) integrate an understanding of conscription into all UDP work c) carry out work in our areas aimed at the general public.

We must build an understanding of the role of the SADF and of the importance of the conscription campaign amongst UDP affiliates. The ACC will continue to have open evenings in various areas. The unsuccessful experience of the Athlone open evening last year should be built on and improved. The ACC must assist the Signature Campaign Training sub-committee to integrate this understanding into the education of activists around the Signature Campaign and the Anti-Election Campaign. The ACC must make its resources accessible to the organisations and to activists and should inform them as to what resources are available. The ACC will collect as much information as possible about the activities of the SADF in our communities by approaching the UDP affiliates, and the area and regional committees. In this way the ACC can try to draw the link between the extension of conscription and the new Constitution and to integrate opposition to conscription as part of the UDP's Anti-Election Campaign.

The ACC must educate the public about the Defence Force's role in maintaining Apartheid and on the importance of democratic change in South Africa as a pre-condition for peace. Posters can be made to popularise the Anti-Conscription Campaign. The ACC can organise poster-making workshops to assist with this. From time to time, the ACC will organise a rally or cultural event to focus on conscription. The ACC should ensure widespread publicity on issue relating to conscription and should write articles for progressive newspapers. The UDP logo and the slogan, 'No to Apartheid Conscription', will serve to identify the Anti-Conscription Campaign. The SADF camps must be opposed as widely as possible in order to build up an understanding of how the SADF is using these camps.

page four

OTHER FACTORS TO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN

The government knows that there is already a growing resistance to the extension of conscription. It may implement conscription for Coloureds and Indians in such a way that it attracts least attention.

The Labour Party has decided to go into the Tri-Cameral Parliament, yet they claim to reject conscription for youth classified Coloured and Indian. UDP should expose this contradiction.

The SADF is capitalizing on the high unemployment amongst Blacks to attract young people to join its ranks. Slogans must be carefully selected to develop overtime, a rejection of the SADF as a whole. But this cannot be assumed as the starting point.

This is particularly true of the rural areas because the SADF has focused on these areas as a supply of people for its various sections and especially for the army.

The peoples attitudes are important in planning a campaign. People distinguish between the army and the navy. The navy is not seen in the same unfavourable light as the army and the Cape Corps.

Our communities no longer only experience the army as an external force. The SADF encourages its members in the black communities to wear their uniforms when they come home from border duty.

Schools and so on need to be aware that the registration process preceded conscription. And it is not illegal to not register.

People do not have a clear rejection of the SADF and are scared of its power. The campaign must take this into account.

The role of the SADF is a very sensitive issue in South Africa. We must anticipate the reaction of the state, and understand the legal position vis a vis the Official Secrets Act and the Defence Act.

The role of the SADF is constantly changing. The new Defence Amendment Act reflects a significant change. The Nkomati Accord and the changing situation with regard to Namibia alter the way in which the SADF interacts with the people of South Africa.

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ANTI-CONSCRIPTION PROGRAMME

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1. The need for a long-term and a short-term programme

The need for an anti-conscription programme, must be looked at from both a long-term and a short-term point of view. Unless we develop a long-term programme, we will just be reacting to what the SADF is doing in the community. We need to develop a programme that will be implemented over a long period of time and will be entirely our initiative. Another reason why we need to develop a long-term anti-conscription programme, is because the SADF, it has become obvious, has a long-term programme to win the hearts and minds of the people. But we also need to respond immediately to what they are presently doing on a day to day basis to win over our young people.

2. The Urban and Rural areas

Generally, people agree (for reasons we need not go into here) that there are differences between the urban and rural areas. What constitutes a rural and what constitutes an urban area, we need not go into here except to say that at the moment, the UDF has areas which it classifies as rural and for our purpose those shall be accepted as such. It is also generally agreed that it would appear that the state has used the rural areas as its main source of recruitment for the police and the SADF, especially for those classified Coloured and Indian. Over 90% of the recruits for the Cape Corps come from the rural areas especially from some of the smaller towns situated near Cape Town such as Paarl and Stellenbosch. And it is for this reason then that at the national conference of the UDF held in Port Elizabeth in December last year, it was decided that the UDF's anti-conscription campaign shall have as its main target, the rural areas. In both the urban and rural areas, we need also to distinguish between areas where the UDF, through its affiliates, has a presence and where it has not. For the moment, our main focus of attention shall be on areas where the UDF has a presence.

3. A Long-term Programme

3.1 All the different types of organisations affiliated to the UDF - community, youth, student and women organisations as well as trade unions - must all look at ways and means which, in the long-term, will counter the propaganda of the SADF to mobilise our

Dear Berika

This paper was drawn up by one of the people on the ACC. It has not yet been discussed by the ACC as a whole. So: i) it is not yet ACC policy and should not be passed around too widely; ii) it is incomplete.

With regard to the last point, there are a number of changes that I would recommend to the ACC. These include:

i) conceptualizing the campaign in the long term and including long term objectives other than developing or progressive anti-SADF hearts and minds campaign - eg mass mobilisation against conscription; popularising UDF; building UDF organisations; developing an understanding of the nature of civil war (who is 'the enemy', what is the role of the SADF, why is there civil war etc).

ii) adding the ACC short-term objectives / tasks which have not been included - eg to integrate anti-conscription campaign into election strategy (NS); to integrate a.c.c. into whatever rallies / meetings are taking place before the elections; to have regular features in progressive newspapers; to react in the short term and anticipate in the medium term school camps organised by the SADF; to encourage community organisations + area committees to give us information on the activities of the SADF; to get such information from other regions.

Regards + solidarity

Laurie N

outh into the army.

3.2 Alternative educational programmes will have to be devised for our crechés and day centres so that we can develop a healthy community spirit in our children at the earliest possible stage of their education.

Junior youth groups, such as Grassroots Brigades, should be established and kept functioning in as many areas as possible by women, youth and civic organisations. Programmes including songs, games and activities involving them in the life of the community must be developed and which are suitable for their age group. This age group must be mobilised in the same way that the older youth are mobilised but with programmes appropriate to their interest.

3.3 The purpose of the long-term programme would be to give the UDF the initiative in mobilising the many unorganised children, the youth and adults of both sexes. Then there are also church, educational and cultural organisations which need to be mobilised around this issue.

The SADF seems to be focussing a lot of attention on schools and other educational institutions and for this reason we too should pay special attention to school committees, parent-teacher associations and parent committees. Where necessary such organisations should be started by civic women and youth bodies but need not necessarily become part of such bodies. This is very important because parents themselves would have to fight the attempts by the SADF to indoctrinate and influence their children.

3.4 The need to bring out a regular newsletter dealing specifically with problems related to conscription and the SADF will have to be looked at. For the moment it may be more convenient and practical to use space in the UDF newsletter and other community newspapers to perform this function.

3.5 Both urban and rural areas should be involved in this long-term programme.

3.6 To work out an effective long-term programme, we need to know exactly what the SADF is doing and planning, and for this purpose we need to start in-depth research in all aspects of SADF work and programmes so that we can respond meaningfully to its win the hearts and minds campaign.

A SHORT-TERM PROGRAMME

The aim of our short-term programme should be to :

- 4.1 enlighten our membership of the role of the SADF in the community and the purpose of this role.
- 4.2 to enlighten and equip the general public of the intention and activities of the SADF in the community and how best they can counter the attempts of the SADF to win the hearts and minds of our people - young and old.
- 4.3 A suggested short-term programme:
 - 4.3.1 An educational programme be implemented for all the activists within the various organisations to enable them to effectively integrate an anti-conscription programme into the day to day activities of their different organisations. This is an urgent task, especially for our rural affiliates. A time-table has to be worked out which all our affiliates will have to workshop. For this purpose the are committees of the UDF will be approached with a request to give us time in their area programme to allow us to run a workshop on conscription or to hold an open evening similar to the one we held in Silvertown, Athlone.
 - 4.3.2 The conscription committee will continue having open evenings in various areas. The holding of one such an event (Athlone, last year) is not enough to judge the failure or success of such open evenings. If the open evenings are to be continued, they would have to be better planned though.
 - 4.3.3 To have a number of posters made through which the anti-conscription campaign can be popularised, and to ensure that this materialises, the committee can organise a poster-making workshop.
 - 4.3.4 To develop a logo through which the anti-conscription campaign can be identified. Is this necessary since the UDF already has a distinct logo?
 - 4.3.5 Work towards a rally or cultural focus on conscription. The committee's resources should be made accesible as possible to organisations and activists and be built up and made known to the affiliates.

FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED WHEN PLANNING A CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

- 1 The possibility that the government may implement conscription for Coloureds and Indians in such a way that it attracts least attention because it knows that there is an already growing

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION WORKSHOP

15 JULY 1984

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PRESENT: Winterveld Action Committee; Lenasia Youth League; NUSAS;
YCS; TIC; SAYO; ZAKHENI

The workshop started with three speakers giving input on:

1. CONSCRIPTION

The development of conscription in S.A. - a historical analysis

Conscription and the new constitution - the extension of the call-up to "coloureds" and "indians".

Various forms of resistance to conscription.

Conscription as a new terrain of struggle - the loopholes and the importance of us taking the initiative in challenging enforced conscription.

2. MILITIRIZATION

Increasing militarization of our country - the building up of the army.

The increase in the Defence Budget linked to the increase in GST.

Analysis of why the increase in militarization.

The "hearts and minds" campaign of the SADF - veld-schools, camps etc.

The importance of analysing the issue of militarization and taking up a campaign against it.

3. NAMIBIA

The present situation - role of the SADF; Koevoet and other units.

Extension of conscription to Namibians - linked to the hearts and minds campaign.

Why the hearts and minds campaign failed in Namibia.

S.A.'s resistance to implement U.N. resolution 435.

Possibility of a settlement and the implications for us in S.A.

The position of SWAPO and the level of internal organisation

Lessons to be learnt from the Namibian situation and our response to it.

GROUP DISCUSSIONS

- 1) How can individual organisations take up the issue in the short-term?
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PUBLICITY - Individual organisations can produce media - newsletters; pamphlets; posters and stickers for distribution amongst their own constituencies. The media produced should focus on the role of the SADF in Namibia and South Africa; raise the issue of increased GST in relation to the increased Defence Budget; focus on an anti-election campaign, particularly linking the new constitution to conscription.

If any of the above suggestions are going to be carried out at a mass level it is suggested that it should be produced by UDF and distributed through affiliate organisations.

Religious groups should try and take it up in the churches and other religious places where the priests will be co-operative. It is important that this kind of issue be taken up in the church.

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Community organisations should make an attempt to link the issue of militarization and conscription to the people's struggle around electricity, rent and community councils.

It is important to note that different organisations will take the issues up differently and it will also differ from area to area.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS

Emphasise the issue of conscription at the Youth rally and all other mass meetings and gatherings that are going to take place before the elections.

Organise relief groups to counter the SADF

"Save your sons" campaign - letters to parents

Press statements and letters to the press.

SWAPO solidarity campaign

Work closely with the ECC and invite them to the media workshop

SUGGESTIONS FOR SLOGANS

NO TO SADF

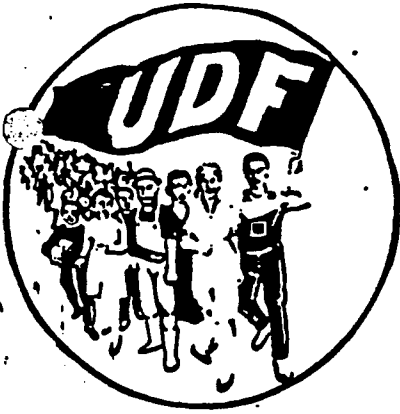
CANCEL THE CALL-UP

NO TO BOTHA'S ARMY

STOP THE WAR AGAINST THE PEOPLE

NO TO ARMY CALL-UP -DON'T VOTE

U6-g



Rev "U6-9"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN**

2048

Dear Comrades,

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During the workshop many ideas were discussed. Many of these were suggestions on how organisations could take up the issue of conscription during the anti-election campaign. We are sending all affiliates a copy of the minutes from the workshop. We hope you will use some of the suggestions during your campaign

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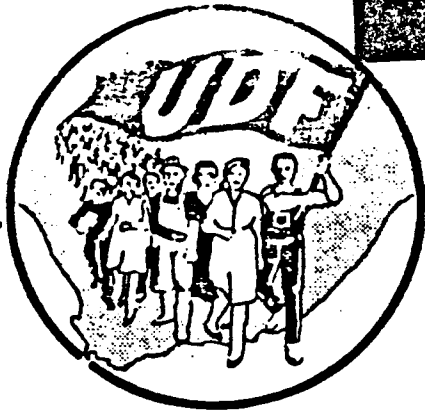
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Rev U7
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE

P.O. 1
SALT
7925

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE ON ASSESSMENT OF THE FRONT

Procedure used in assessment

A workshop attended by affiliate organisations and sub-regions was held where a framework for discussion in organisations and regions was drawn up. Papers covering the following areas were delivered:

1. Assessment of all past campaigns
2. Structures and democracy
The nature of the Front
3. Non-racialism and the leading role of the "african" masses
Working class leadership
4. The way forward.

Through group discussion agreement was reached on the most important aspects which had to be looked at by organisations. The motivation for this method was to ensure that a uniform method and emphasis was used by all affiliates. It also developed an understanding among affiliates for problems which they themselves might not have experienced. A period of about six weeks was allowed for discussion in affiliates. At a General Council meeting held on 6 October the following feedback was given:

ASSESSMENT OF PAST CAMPAIGNS:

1. Management Committee and Community Council Campaigns

Not enough had been done to link the two campaigns. Both campaigns were also very badly co-ordinated. This can however be attributed to the fact that the Front was fairly young at the time.

2. The White Referendum/Peoples Weekend

Had allowed and motivated area committees to establish a presence in communities. Through localised activities, ordinary people could speak to "the UDF" for the first time. The wide dissemination of the Declaration and other media like T-shirts etc. served to establish the UDF.

The issue also allowed us to start making significant gains in the White community.

3. Ciskei

This campaign was particularly well received by the "squatter" communities. Through this campaign we held our first meeting at Crossroads.

4. The Million Signature Campaign

Through the campaign area structure of the UDF were consolidated. It also forced us to work systematically through most of the areas. However, not enough thought had been given to how organisations could be built through the campaign.

The UDF needs to assess what the fate of the MSC will be. It is very demoralising for our activists and many new people who had been drawn in as volunteers for the campaign to just allow the campaign to fizzle out. This also applies to those who had signed. We need to find a way of portraying the signature we have obtained as a victory despite the fact that we have not achieved our target.

The campaign has however taught us valuable lessons about capacity and weaknesses.

5. Elections: See report

In conclusion we can say that through our work over the past 14 months the UDF has established itself as the major opponent of the state. Despite our weaknesses we have built the beginning of a mass political movement.

DEMOCRACY IN THE FRONT

There has been some tension between the need for us to respond quickly and efficiently on issues and the need for broad participation in the decisionmaking process. The UDF has a very complicated and cumbersome structure but it nevertheless makes for participation at all levels. We need to strike a balance between these two important aspects of the Front.

Initiatives come mostly from central points like the REC OR NE. This can be attributed largely to the pace of our work in the past. Often there had not been enough time for organisations to obtain mandates.

A possible solution to this is to divide decisionmaking into 2 categories. (i) Policy matters and broad framework for campaigns and work to be decided by GC only (ii) practical implementation at area/regional level.

WORKING CLASS LEADERSHIP

The majority of the people who create the wealth in our society and fulfill the services needed for the smooth running thereof, are working class people. It therefore follows that if we believe in democracy, we should also believe in the right of working class people to lead our struggle.

Working class leadership means far more than just having workers in leadership positions. It means that workers should be able to effectively participate in those structures and be able to determine its direction. Because working class people have limited access to formal education and other skills, discussion and decisionmaking is often limited to those who have had such privileges. Possible safeguards are to ensure that language used is kept as simple as possible and that translation

The work of the UDF has furthered the interests of the working class. The very motivation for the establishment of the Front, is because the new constitution will undermine the interests of the working class. This was further highlighted during our campaigns through the kinds of issues we highlighted.

We should, however, not underestimate the importance of winning over other social classes. We should therefore assess what the balance is between national and class issues.

The UDF should also pay more attention to how it can strengthen the progressive trade union movement.

PRIMACY OF THE AFRICAN MASSES AND NON - RACIALISM

Most of our resources had been ploughed into the coloured and indian areas in the anti-election campaigns. Not enough had been done to generate substantial opposition from the african sector.

The MSC blitzes had been a small but meaningful start to develop activist and public understanding for the non-racial character of the UDF. Conscious selection of speakers had also contributed.

Our task now is to correct the imbalance created by the anti-election campaign and shift the focus of our work far more to the struggles of the majority of our people. In order to do this we must bear in mind that "Africans" are the most deprived sectors of our society and have very limited access to the material resources needed to conduct campaigns eg. cars, funds, media or fundraising.

The majority of the people in the Western Cape are "coloureds". We need to look at how this fits in with the broad principle.

THE FUTURE

1. We should become far less reactive. Our campaigns must be geared towards presenting positive alternatives. We must look at how we can use democratically drawn up documents like the UDF declaration and the Freedom Charter to do so.
2. We should try and create more space for our organisations to be projected. This can be assisted by making fewer demands on our organisations from a central UDF level. We do however feel quite strongly that the Front needs to be projected because of its importance in bringing together different sites of struggle and building a national political consciousness.
3. Our emphasis need to shift to building our organisations. Our organisations must however be able to build on the heightened political awareness which has been created by UDF campaigns. The nature of our organisations have to accommodate this.
3. Far more attention must be given to systematic education and training of our activists. We have had two open forums to discuss the possible referendum for coloureds and indians and a national convention. The executive was given a mandate to organise more such forums.

Such forums should however not attempt to address policy matters which are being discussed in the Front. This can be a usefull way of raising and discissing general political debates.

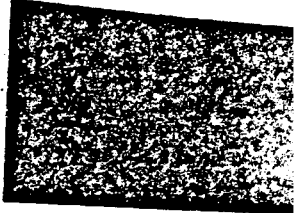
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REPORT ON THE N.C REGIONAL WORKSHOP

ASSEMBLY HOTEL: KIMBERLEY

DATED: 21/10/1984

STARTED: 10h30 m



At least 60 people representing organisations from the region, plus observers, had attended a workshop organised to evaluate campaigns in the region, have an overview of the South African situation and come up with alternative structure for the region.

The following organisations were represented:

1. COLRIDGE RATEPAYERS & TENANTS ASSOCIATION (VRYBURG)
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8. GENERAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION (VRYBURG BR)
9. KURUMAN YOUTH UNITY (KURUMAN)
10. COMMITTEE OF CONCERN (KIMBERLEY)

4. THE FOLLOWING INPUTS WERE MADE AT THE WORKSHOP:

NB

1. SOUTH AFRICA TODAY (UDF ACTING NATIONAL SEC.)
2. CAMPAIGNS IN THE REGION (UDF NC REGIONAL ORG.)
3. ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE FOR N.C.
4. ORGANISATION & IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS (UDF ACT NATSEC)

4.1 SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

NB

- 4.1.1 UDF described as main spiral of political situation.
- 4.1.2 Its campaigns both co-ordinated & isolated ones brought UDF from nowhere to occupy centre-stage in South Africa.
- 4.1.3 Letensions and threats of ban on the front. Its indicates defeat of dovts battle of hearts and minds.
- 4.1.4 Govt's inability to contain resistance showed 20years ago.
- 4.1.5 Resistance in the 60's: ban on popular organisations.
- 4.1.6 Revival of popular resistance 10years ago. New possibilities were thought up.
1973 Workers strikes largely in Natal
1976/80 Organisations mushrooming
Isolated campaigns conducted.
- 4.1.7 UDF born to co-ordinate campaigns & resist New Deal
- 4.1.8 Economic crisis entrenching itself: increasing prices increasing unemployment increasing labour strikes.
- 4.1.9 Govt's choice was the president Council : P.C. crawling tri-cameral constitution.

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- 4.1.10 Intended to bring Coloureds & Indians closer to whites and drove them away from Flacks. Traditional alliance broken.
- 4.1.11 P. W. Botha's overseas trip:
 - (i) To sell constitution.
 - (ii) Popularise Nkomati Accord.
- 4.1.12 Propaganda campaign: TV/Soldiers/Radio/Pro-out newspapers.
- 4.1.13 Initially UDF ignored by state and used to breach opposition so as to appear open & democratic.
- 4.1.14 Implementation of new deal shows costly.
- 4.1.15 Taxes to be increased: People provoked by increase.
- 4.1.16 Chances of frustrating Hendrichses & Raibansis increasing.
- 4.1.17 Programme of the state frustrated:
 - (i) Tricameral parliament failing.
 - (ii) Homeland's consolidation remote.
 - (iii)
- 4.1.18 -Black Local Authorities Frustrated:
 - (i) Vaal Triangle incidents.
 - (ii) Rent protests nationally.
 - (iii) Percentage polls late '83 e.g. 2%.
- 4.1.19 Reaction of govt
 - (i) Police and army used to contain opposition
- 4.1.20 Police and army too overstretched to cope up with the evergrowing tensions.
- 4.1.21 Our strength lies in our:
 - (i) Understanding these contradictions.
 - (ii) Identifying our strength and
 - (iii) exploiting the enemy's weaknesses.

4.2 CAMPAIGN IN THE REGION

- 4.2.1 See attached analysis of campaigns in the N.C.
- 4.2.2 The following observations and contributions were made through commissions under the following topics:
 - Group 1 (i) Racial breakdown
 - (ii) Organisation in the Bantustans.
 - Group 2 (i) Four organisations.
 - Group 3 (i) Lack of resources
 - Group 4 (i) Retaining activists
 - (ii) Harassment.
 - Group 5 (i) The N.C.
- 4.2.3 All groups had to discuss the alternative structure for Northern Cape.
- 4.2.4 Group 1

4.2.4.1 Racial breakdown: It was observed that during the million Signature Campaign & the Anti-election Campaign our different communities (races) participation was often uneven. This results in one community having to tackle an unfamiliar area in another community. This reduces the effectiveness of these participating groups at the level of language and identification of burning issues.

- 4.2.4.2.1 The following proposals were made to relieve the state of affairs on this field
- 1) Organisations be encouraged in all communities.
 - 2) Discussions with politically highly developed people be held on a consistent basis.
 - 3) Activists be equipped with developments in each community in their areas.
 - 4) Activists be able to reproduce themselves in each community and always have somebody on the spot in each community.
- 4.2.4.2.2 Enthusiasm: Due to limited time this topic was not addressed adequately: Bread & butter issues be used in their area also possibilities within official oppositions be explored. Committees in these areas be urged to rise whatever resources they have its advance organisation.

Group 2

- 4.2.5.1 Poor organisation: It was also observed that the campaigns were not able to filter through to a very large section of communities in the region.
- 4.2.5.2 And in that light the following proposals were made and accepted as possible relief measures:
- (1) Activists should have clear understanding of issues.
 - (2) Workshops and other discussion seminars be organised for activists.
 - (3) Activists should be able to overcome intimidation.
 - (4) Enough consultation before embarking on any programme that be done by before-est-whoever is charged with that programme.
 - (5) Material conditions should be borne in mind in setting goals for ourselves.
 - (6) Dedication, discipline and honesty should be displayed at all times in our work.
 - (7) Have contact with other areas so as to learn from their experiences.
 - (8) Need for fund-raising is a vital one.
 - (9) Communication and co-ordination with efficiency should be ensured.
 - (10) Use press to publicise activity in your area.

4.2.6 Group 3

- 4.2.6.1 Lack of resources: The serious lack of resources was one serious observation made. That because of lack of so many vital resources the work on the front was on many occasions delayed.
- 4.2.6.2 However the following possible relief measures were raised.



- 4.2.6.2 (1) Each need be clearly identified and urgently addressed.
- (2) It is necessary to advice centres to understanding or understand our legal position during our work.
- (3) Establish area and regional media committees.
- (4) Establish fund-raising committees.
- (5) Media committees should visit organised area.
- (6) Subscriptions be paid by each member/member organisations
- (7) However lack of resources should be used to hide away other inherent weaknesses.
- (8) Brief introduction of a newly founded project was made: LESADI: It is aimed at providing alternative media: at the moment it is able to produce posters and front t-shirts on a screen (See Sp. inclosed pamphlet)

~~4.2.7.1~~ GROUP 4

4.2.7.1 retaining activists: Again it was observed that there is a common practice in most of our organisations. of activists not being able to remain dedicated members of x of our structures

4.2.7.2 In applying the following possible solutions the situation could be x improved noticeably

- (1) Consist programme of action, extended
- (2) Define the deadline beset for each project work.
- (3) Everyone should be made to feel home by all possible ways.
- (4) Workshop to explain issues should be regular.
- (5) Sub-committees, where all will be given tasks, should be created.
- (6) Leadership should be decentralised and circularised.
- (7) Democratic procedures should be observed at all levels.
- (8) Interests of all members should be treated equally at all times.

4.2.7.3 Harassment: Another observation was that harassment from all levels impairs strength of our organisations.

4.2.7.4 The following proposals were raised:

- (1) Workers shouldn't resign from work but rather join trade unions to alleviate harassment at the factory floor.
- (2) Activists should be provided, though insufficient, with legal representation.
- (3) Literature explaining legal rights of activists should be availed at all times.

4.2.8 Group 5

4.2.8.1 The Million signature Campaign: The aims of the campaign were brain-stormed in this group:

- (1) Expose the referendum lie.
- (2) Reveal true feelings of the people of S.A

- 4.2.8.1 (2) to international community.
- (3) Show our rejection of the new deal.
- (4) Equip ourselves with organisational planning-be-dr-wr skills.

4.2.8.2

- The following proposals were made :
- (1) M.S.C should continue.
 - (2) Better organisational planning be drawn.
 - (3) Committees in each area be formed.
 - (4) Co-ordination be done consistently

4.3 ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE FOR NORTHERN CAPE

4.3.1 Due to peculiar structure problems pertaining to the region, it has proven difficult to get properly structured like all other regions. The vastness of the region, the lack of resources, uneven organisational development, poor communication and co-ordination were largely blamed.

Two alternatives were offered!

- (1) To alternatives undertake to overcome the problem within a specified period and structure the region as any other region.
- (2) To form sub-regions in each area and have a regional steering committee to co-ordinate activities of the sub-regions. Linking these regions and ultimately forming regional general council.

4.3.2 The area-committee in Vryburg was extended to become a regional steering committee.

4.3.3 The deadline to have the regional general council was set as 31st January 1985.

4.4 ORGANISATION & IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS

4.4.1 MOBILIZATION

- 4.4.1.1 Past experiences and historical records show correctness of mobilization.
- 4.4.1.2 National party winner with period of active resistance led by the then legal African National Congress.
- 4.4.1.3 Membership of A.N.C. was mass-based and thus popular
- 4.4.1.3 Pass demonstrations alexandra Busboycotts, Potato boycott and defiance campaign were used to mobilize.
- 4.4.1.4 Membership of A.N.C. was mass-based and thus popular unlike NEUM & P.A.C.
- 4.4.1.5 The Sharpeville incident offered state a pretext to declare state of emergency.

4.4.2 UDF & ORGANISATION

- 4.4.2.1 UDF offering formidable opposition to govt.
- 4.4.2.2 Popularity gains from its mass-base.
- 4.4.2.3 Emphasis placed on involvement of masses at all levels.
- 4.4.2.4 Professionals, businessmen's & other academics support should be lobbied.

- 4.4.2.5 However worker-position in the struggle should not be lost track of workers also need academics
- 4.4.2.6 People who have been shocked into silence should be won over.
- 4.4.2.7 Activists should have sound-level of reach to carry the masses along with them. Confidence should be instilled in the masses.
- 4.4.2.8 A conflict situation between our activists and normally religious rural communities should be avoided at all costs.
- 4.4.2.9 Organisations should not become sole properties of leaders, the masses should be involved in the decision-moving process!
- 4.4.2.10 We must strike to heighten our ability learn to identify our obstacles and endeavour to solve our own problems.

5. POSIBLE APPROACHES FOR REGIONAL ORGANISATION

- 5.1. Setting up advice offices: Help our people form organisations.
- 5.2. Newspaper for the region.
- 5.3. Conscription: Find ways of keeping our youth away from that.
- 5.4. Fund-raising: Initiate fund-raising drives.
- 5.5. Housing: Acute country-wide should be highlighted amongst our youth & communities: With the following themes contextualised to suit our situation: PARTICIPATION, DEVELOPMENT & PEACE used as mobilization factor.
- 5.6. International Youth Year: With the following should be highlighted amongst our youth & communities: With the following themes contextualised to suit our situation: PARTICIPATION, DEVELOPMENT & PEACE.
- 5.7. Farm-workers? Should be reached out and organised.
- 5.8. Women: Organisations for women should be encouraged women organisations are seen as barometers of organisation. N.C. by lack of a women's organisation indicative of its low level of organisational development.
- 5.9. Sports organisation: should strive for non-racing sport.
- 5.10. Education: Student-organisations should be formed. Govt's fake SAC's should be rejected. Observation was made that there's no student organisations in the region.

6. ASSESSMENT OF WORKSHOP

- 6.1. Particular Participation not excellent.
- 6.2. Programme should be available in due course to facilitate maximum participation.
- 6.3. Workshop should have stretched over two days.
- 6.4. Workshop should have stretched Anyway substantial gains were made according participants.
- 6.5. And workshops and other similar forms should be encouraged.

7. THE REGIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE.

7.1 The regional steering committee was formed with the following names serving in the committee:

- (1) G.H. Galeng (Huhudi Civic Ass.) (Chair)
- (2) M. Chetty (Committee of Concern) (Parsons)

- 7.1. (3) J.M.Khasu (Secretary)
- (4) B.R. Hermanus (Publicity Sec.) (comm of concern)
- (5) Rev. Maekane (Kimb. UDF Area Com.) (Committee)
- (6) G. Letimela (Comm. of Concern) (Members)
- (7) K. Crutse (D.P.S.C. (Huhudi) (Co-))
- (8) W. Langeveldt (Cocridge ratepayers) (Treasurer)

8. The committee was immediately charged with a responsibility to organise workshops in all major areas. The next committee meeting was set for the 27th Oct. 1984 in Vryburg.

B.E.W. "U8" (2)



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1972 Workers strikes largely in Natal
1976/80 Organisations mushrooming
Isolated campaigns conducted.
- 4.1.7 UDF born to co-ordinate campaigns & resist New Deal
- 4.1.8 Economic crisis entrenching itself: increasing prices increasing unemployment increasing labour strikes.
- 4.1.9 Govt's choice was the president Council : P.C. crawling tri-cameral constitution.

REPORT ON THE N.C. REGIONAL WORKSHOP

ASSEMBLY HOTEL: KIMBERLEY

DATED: 21/10/1984

STARTED: 10h30 m

At least 60 people representing organisations from the region, plus observers, had attended a workshop organised to evaluate campaigns in the region, have an overview of the South African situation and come up with alternative structure for the region.

The following organisations were represented:

1. COLLIERGE RATEPAYERS & TENANTS ASSOCIATION (VRYBURG)
2. VRYBURG SPORTS UNION (VRYBURG)
3. HURUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION (VRYBURG)
4. MANUSA YOUTH PLANNING COMMITTEE (SCH. EIZER REBEKE)
5. GALESENE & YOUTH PLANNING COMMITTEE (KIMBERLEY)
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8. GENERAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION (VRYBURG BR)
9. KURUMAN YOUTH UNITY (KURUMAN)
10. COMMITTEE OF CONCERN (KIMBERLEY)

4. THE FOLLOWING INPUTS WERE MADE AT THE WORKSHOP:

1. SOUTH AFRICA TODAY (UDFX ACTING NATIONAL SEC.)
2. CAMPAIGNS IN THE REGION (ULF NC REGIONAL ORG.)
3. ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE FOR N.C.
4. ORGANISATION & IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS (ULF ACT NATSEC)

4.1 SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

- 4.1.1 ULF described as main spiral of political situation.
- 4.1.2 Its campaigns both co-ordinated & isolated ones brought ULF from nowhere to occupy centre-stage in South Africa.
- 4.1.3 Detentions and threats of ban on the front. Its indicates defeat of dovs battle of hearts and minds.
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drawing tri-cameral constitution.

- 4.1.10 Intergrouping Coloureds & Indians of whites and Orived their ... blacks. Trade group alliance broken.
- 4.1.11 F... rotha's overseas trip:
 - (i) To self constitution
 - (ii) Popularise Nkomati Accord.
- 4.1.12 Propaganda campaign: TV/Soldiers/radio/Pro-out
- 4.1.13 Initially ... by state and used to bring opposition ... appear open & democratic
- 4.1.14 Implementation of new deal shows costly
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- 4.1.17 Programme of the state frustrated:
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- 4.1.18 Black Local authorities frustrated:
 - (i) Vaal triangle incidents.
 - (ii) Rent protests nationally.
 - (iii) Percentage polls late '83 e.g. 2%.
- 4.1.19 Reaction of govt:
 - (i) Police and army used to contain opposition
- 4.1.20 Police and army too overstretched to cope up with the evergrowing tensions.
- 4.1.21 Our strength lies in our:
 - (i) Understanding these contradictions.
 - (ii) Identifying our strength and
 - (iii) exploiting the enemy's weaknesses.

4.2 CAMPAIGN IN THE REGION

- 4.2.1 See attached analysis of campaigns in the N.C.
- 4.2.2 The following observations and contributions were made through commissions under the following topics
 - Group 1 (i) racial breakdown
 - (ii) Organisation in the East Coast.
 - Group 2 (i) Four organisations.
 - Group 3 (i) Lack of resources
 - Group 4 (i) Retaining activists
 - (ii) harassment.
 - Group 5 (i) The N.C.
- 4.2.3 All groups had to discuss the alternative structure for Northern Cape.
- 4.2.4 Group 1
 - 4.2.4.1 Racial breakdown: It was observed that during the million Signature Campaign & the Anti-election Campaign our different communities (races) participation was often uneven. This results in one community having to tackle an unfamiliar area in another community. This reduces the effectiveness of these participating groups at the level of language and identification of burning issues.

- 4.2.4.2.1 The following proposals were made to relieve the state of affairs on this field
1. Organisations be encouraged in all communities.
 2. Discussions with politically highly developed people be held on a consistent basis.
 3. Activists be equipped with developments in each community in their areas.
 4. Activists be able to reproduce themselves in each community and always have somebody on the spot in each community.
- 4.2.4.2.2 Entustment: Due to limited time this topic was not addressed adequately: Bread & Butter issues be used in their areas also possibilities within official oppositions be explored. Committees in these areas be urged to rise whatever resources they have its advance organisation.

Group 2

- 4.2.5.1 Poor organisation: It was also observed that the campaigns were not able to filter through to a very large section of communities in the region.
- 4.2.5.2 And in that light the following proposals were made and accepted as possible relief measures:
- (1) Activists should have clear understanding of issues.
 - (2) Workshops and other discussion seminars be organised for activists.
 - (3) Activists should be able to overcome intimidation.
 - (4) Enough consultation before embarking on any programme that be done by before-est-~~er~~ whoever is charged with that programme.
 - (5) Material conditions should be borne in mind in setting goals for ourselves.
 - (6) Dedication, discipline and honesty should be displayed at all times in our work.
 - (7) Have contact with other areas so as to learn from their experiences.
 - (8) Need for fund-raising is a vital one.
 - (9) Communication and co-ordination with efficiency should be ensured.
 - (10) Use press to publicise activity in your area.

4.2.6 Group 3

- 4.2.6.1 Lack of resources: The serious lack of resources was one serious observation made. That because of lack of so many vital resources the work on the front was on many occasions delayed.
- 4.2.6.2 However the following possible relief measures were raised.

- 4.2.6.2
- (1) Each need be clearly identified and urgently addressed.
 - (2) It is necessary to advice centres to understanding or understand our legal position during our work.
 - (3) Establish area and regional media committees.
 - (4) Establish fund-raising committees.
 - (5) Media committees should visit organised area.
 - (6) Subscriptions be paid by each member/member organisations
 - (7) However lack of resources should be used to hide away other inherent weaknesses.
 - (8) Brief introduction of a newly founded project was made: LESADI: It is aimed at providing alternative media: at the moment it is able to produce posters and front t-shirts on a screen (See Sp. inclosed pamphlet)

~~4.2.7~~ 4.2.7 GROUP 4

4.2.7.1. retaining activists: Again it was observed that there is a common practice in most of our organisations. of activists not being able to remain dedicated members of x of our structures

4.2.7.2. In applying the following possible solutions the situation could be x improved noticeably:

- (1) Consist programme of action.
- (2) Define the guideline base for each project work.
- (3) Everyone should be made to feel home by all possible ways.
- (4) Workshop to explain issues should be regular.
- (5) Sub-committees, where all will be given tasks, should be created.
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- (8) Interests of all members should be treated equally at all times.

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- (1) Workers shouldn't resign from work but rather join trade unions to alleviate harassment at the factory floor.
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- (3) Literature explaining legal rights of activists should be availed at all times.

4.2.8 Group 5

4.2.8.1 The Million signature Campaign: The aims of the campaign were brain-stormed in this group:

- (1) Expose the referendum lie.
- (2) Reveal true feelings of the people of S.A

- 4.2.8.1 (2) to international community.
(3) Show our rejection of the new deal.
(4) Equip ourselves with organisational planning-be-dr-wr skills.

4.2.8.2

- 4.2.8.2 The following proposals were made :
- (1) M.S.C should continue.
 - (2) Better organisational planning be drawn.
 - (3) Committees in each area be formed.
 - (4) Co-ordination be so done consistently

4.3 ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE FOR NORTHERN CAPE

4.3.1 Due to peculiar structure problems pertaining to the region, it has proven difficult to get properly structured like all other regions. The vastness of the region, the lack of resources, uneven organisational development, poor communication and co-ordination were largely blamed.

Two alternatives were offered:

- (1) To alternatively undertake to overcome the problem within a specified period and structure the region as any other region.
- (2) To form sub-regions in each area and have a regional steering committee to co-ordinate activities of the sub-regions. Linking these regions and ultimately forming regional general council.

4.3.2 The area-committee in Vryburg was extended to and became a regional steering committee.

4.3.3 The deadline to have the regional general council was set as 31st January 1985.

4.4 ORGANISATION & IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS

4.4.1 MOBILIZATION

- 4.4.1.1 Past w experiences and historical records show correctness of mobilization.
- 4.4.1.2 National party winner with period of active resistance led by the then legal African National Congress.
- ~~4.4.1.3 Membership of A.N.C. was mass-based and thus popular~~
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- 4.4.1.5 The Sharpeville incident offered state a pretext to declare state of emergency.

4.4.2 UDF & ORGANISATION

- 4.4.2.1 UDF offering formidable opposition to govt.
- 4.4.2.2 Popularity gains from its mass-base.
- 4.4.2.3 Emphasis placed on involvement of masses at all levels.
- 4.4.2.4 Professionals, businessmen's & other academics support should be lobbied.

6/.....

- 4.4.2.5 However worker-position in the area should not be lost track of workers also need academics
- 4.4.2.6 People who have been shocked into silence should be won over.
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- 4.4.2.10 We must strike to heighten our ability learn to identify our obstacles and endeavour to solve our own problems.

5. POSITIVE APPROACHES FOR REGIONAL ORGANISATION

- 5.1. Setting up advice offices: Help our people form organisations.
- 5.2. Newspaper for the region.
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6. ASSESSMENT OF WORKSHOP

- 6.1. Particular Participation not excellent.
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- 6.3. Workshop should have stretched over two days.
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- 6.5. And workshops and other similar forms should be encouraged.

7. THE REGIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE.

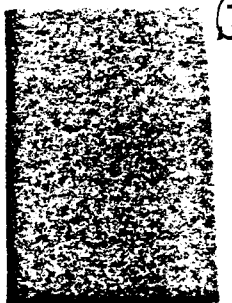
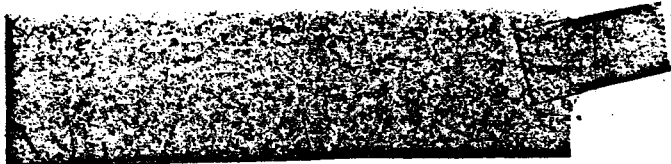
7.1 The regional steering committee was formed with the following names serving in the committee:

- (1) G.H. Galeng (Huhudi Civic Ass.) (Chair)
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- 7.1. (3) J.M. Khasu (Secretary)
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- (7) K. Crutse (D.P.S.C. (Huhudi)) (Co-)
- (8) W. Lan, eveltd (Cocridge ratepayers) (Treasurs)

8. The committee was immediately charged with a responsibility to organise workshops in all major areas. The next committee meeting was set for the 27th Oct. 1984 in Vryburg.

B.E.W. "48"



REPORT ON THE N.C REGIONAL WORKSHOP

ASSEMBLY HOTEL: KIMBERLEY

DATED: 21/10/1984

STARTED: 10h30 m

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- 4.1.9 Govt's choice was the president Council : P.C. crawling tri-cameral constitution.

- 4.1.10 Intended to bring Coloureds & Indians closer to whites and driven them away from Blacks. Traditional alliance broken.
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- 6.1. Part of Participation not excellent.
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7. THE REGIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE.

7.1 The regional steering committee was formed with the following names serving in the committee:

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- (7) K. Crutse (D.P.S.C. (Huhudi)) (Co-)
- (8) W. Langeveldt (Coeridge Katepayers) (Treasurer)

8. The committee was immediately charged with a responsibility to organise workshops in all major areas. The next committee meeting was set for the 27th Oct/ 1984 in Vryburg.

BEW. "U8" ④

REPORT ON THE N.C REGIONAL WORKSHOP

ASSEMBLY HOTEL: KIMBERLEY

DATED: 21/10/1984

STARTED: 10h30 m

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5. SALESHELE YOUTH PLANNING COMMITTEE (KIMBERLEY)
6. HURUDI CIVIC ASSOCIATION (VRYBURG)
7. DETAINED PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE (VRYBURG)
8. GENERAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION (VRYBURG BR)
9. KURUMAN YOUTH UNITY (KURUMAN)
10. COMMITTEE OF CONCERN (KIMBERLEY)

THE FOLLOWING INPUTS WERE MADE AT THE WORKSHOP:

1. SOUTH AFRICA TODAY (UDF ACTING NATIONAL SEC.)
2. CAMPAIGNS IN THE REGION (UDF NC REGIONAL ORG.)
3. ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE FOR N.C.
4. ORGANISATION & IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS (UDF ACT NATSEC)

4.1 SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

- 4.1.1 UDF described as main spiral of political situation.
- 4.1.2 Its campaigns both co-ordinated & isolated ones brought UDF from nowhere to occupy centre-stage in South Africa.
- 4.1.3 Extensions and threats of ban on the front. Its indicates defeat of dovt's battle of hearts and minds.
- 4.1.4 Govt's inability to contain resistance showed 20 years ago.
- 4.1.5 Resistance in the 60's: ban on popular organisations.
- 4.1.6 Revival of popular resistance 10 years ago. New possibilities were thought up. 1972 workers strikes largely in Natal 1976/80 Organisations mushrooming Isolated campaigns conducted.
- 4.1.7 UDF born to co-ordinate campaigns & resist New Deal
- 4.1.8 Economic crisis entrenching itself: increasing prices increasing unemployment increasing labour strikes.
- 4.1.9 Govt's choice was the president Council : P.C. crawling tri-cameral constitution.

- 4.1.10 Intended to bring Coloureds & Indians closer to whites and drove them away from Blacks. Traditional alliance broken.
- 4.1.11 P.W. Botha's overseas trip:
 - (i) To sell constitution.
 - (ii) Popularise Ngomati Accord.
- 4.1.12 Propaganda campaign: TV/Soldiers/Radio/Pro-out newspapers.
- 4.1.13 Initially UDF ignored by state and used to breach opposition so as to appear open & democratic.
- 4.1.14 Implementation of new deal shows costly.
- 4.1.15 Taxes to be increased: People provoked by increases.
- 4.1.16 Chances of frustrating friends & neighbours increasing.
- 4.1.17 Programme of the state frustrated:
 - (i) Tricameral parliament failing.
 - (ii) Homeland's consolidation remote.
 - (iii)
- 4.1.18 Black Local Authorities Frustrated:
 - (i) Vaal Triangle incidents.
 - (ii) Rent protests nationally.
 - (iii) Percentage polls late '83 e.g. 2%.
- 4.1.19 Reaction of govt
 - (i) Police and army used to contain opposition
- 4.1.20 Police and army too overstretched to cope up with the evergrowing tensions.
- 4.1.21 Our strength lies in our:
 - (i) Understanding these contradictions.
 - (ii) Identifying our strength and
 - (iii) exploiting the enemy's weaknesses.

4.2 CAMPAIGN IN THE REGION

- 4.2.1 See attached analysis of campaigns in the N.C.
- 4.2.2 The following observations and contributions were made through commissions under the following topics
 - Group 1 (i) Racial breakdown
 - (ii) Organisation in the Bantustans.
 - Group 2 (i) Four organisations.
 - Group 3 (i) Lack of resources
 - Group 4 (i) Retaining activists
 - (ii) Harassment.
 - Group 5 (i) The N.C.
- 4.2.3 All groups had to discuss the alternative structure for Northern Cape.
- 4.2.4 Group 1
 - 4.2.4.1 Racial breakdown: It was observed that during the million Signature Campaign & the Anti-election Campaign our different communities (races) participation was often uneven. This results in one community having to tackle an unfamiliar area in another community. This reduces the effectiveness of these participating more so at the level of language and identification of burning issues.

- 4.2.4.2.1 The following proposals were made to relieve the state of affairs in this field
- (1) Organisations be encouraged in all communities.
 - (2) Discussions with politically highly developed people be held on a consistent basis.
 - (3) Activists be equipped with developments in each community in their areas.
 - (4) Activists be able to reproduce themselves in each community and always have somebody on the spot in each community.

4.2.4.3 **Enthusiasm:** Due to limited time this topic was not addressed adequately: Bread & Butter issues be used in their area also possibilities within official oppositions be explored. Committees in these areas be urged to rise whatever resources they have to advance organisation.

Group 2

4.2.5.1 **Door organisation:** It was also observed that the campaigns were not able to filter through to a very large section of communities in the region.

4.2.5.2 And in that light the following proposals were made and accepted as possible relief measures:

- (1) Activists should have clear understanding of issues.
- (2) Workshops and other discussion seminars be organised for activists.
- (3) Activists should be able to overcome intimidation.
- (4) Enough consultation before embarking on any programme should be done by before-~~est~~ whoever is charged with that programme.
- (5) Material conditions should be borne in mind in setting goals for ourselves.
- (6) Dedication, discipline and honesty should be displayed at all times in our work.
- (7) Have contact with other areas so as to learn from their experiences.
- (8) Need for fund-raising is a vital one.
- (9) Communication and co-ordination with efficiency should be ensured.
- (10) Use press to publicise activity in your area.

4.2.6 Group 3

4.2.6.1 **Lack of resources:** The serious lack of resources was one serious observation made. That because of lack of so many vital resources the work on the front was on many occasions delayed.

4.2.6.2 However the following possible relief measures were raised.

- 4.2.6.2 (1) Each need be clearly identified and urgently addressed.
- (2) It is necessary to have advice centres to understand or understand our legal position during our work.
- (3) Establish area and regional media committees.
- (4) Establish fund-raising committees.
- (5) Media committees should visit organised area.
- (6) Subscriptions be paid by each member/member organisations.
- (7) However lack of resources should be used to hide away other inherent weaknesses.
- (8) Brief introduction of a newly founded project was made: a LES&DI: It is aimed at providing alternative media: at the moment committee is able to produce posters and t-shirts on a screen. (See Sp. inclosed pamphlet)

4.2.7.1 GROUP 4

4.2.7.1 Retaining activists: Again it was observed that there is a common practice in most of our organisations. of activists not being able to remain dedicated members of some of our structures

4.2.7.2 In applying the following possible solutions the situation could be improved noticeably:-

- (1) Consist programme of action.
- (2) Define the deadline beset for each project work.
- (3) Everyone should be made to feel home by all possible ways.
- (4) Workshop to explain issues should be regular.
- (5) Sub-committees, where all will be given tasks, should be created.
- (6) Leadership should be decentralised and circularised.
- (7) Democratic procedures should be observed at all levels.
- (8) Interests of all members should be treated equally at all times.

4.2.7.3 Harassment: Another observation was that harassment from all levels impairs strength of our organisations.

4.2.7.4 The following proposals were raised:

- (1) Workers shouldn't resign from work but rather join trade unions to alleviate harassment at the factory floor.
- (2) Activists should be provided, though insufficient, with legal representation.
- (3) Literature explaining legal rights of activists should be available at all times.

4.2.8 Group 5

4.2.8.1 The Million signature Campaign: The aims of the campaign were brain-stormed in this group:

- (1) Expose the referendum lie.
- (2) Reveal true feelings of the people of S.A

- 4.2.8.1 (2) to international community.
 (3) Show our rejection of the new deal.
 (4) Equip ourselves with organisational planning-be-~~ar~~-we skills.

4.2.8.2

- 4.2.8.2 The following proposals were made :
- (1) M.S.C should continue.
 - (2) Better organisational planning be drawn.
 - (3) Committees in each area be formed.
 - (4) Co-ordination be done consistently.

4.3 ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURE FOR NORTHERN CAPE

4.3.1 Due to peculiar structure problems pertaining to the region, it has proven difficult to get properly structured like all other regions. The vastness of the region, the lack of resources, uneven organisational development, poor communication and co-ordination were largely blamed.

Two alternatives were offered:

- (1) To alternatives undertake to overcome the problem within a specified period and structure the region as any other region.
- (2) To form sub-regions in each area and have a regional steering committee to co-ordinate activities of the sub-regions. Linking these regions and ultimately forming regional general council.

4.3.2 The area-committee in Vryburg was extended to become a regional steering committee.

4.3.3 The deadline to have the regional general council was set as 31st January 1985.

4.4 ORGANISATION & IDENTIFICATION OF NEEDS

4.4.1 MOBILIZATION

- 4.4.1.1 Past experiences and historical records show correctness of mobilization.
- 4.4.1.2 National party winner with period of active resistance led by the then legal African National Congress.
- 4.4.1.3 Membership of A.N.C. was mass-based and thus popular.
- 4.4.1.3 Pass demonstrations, Alexandra Busboycotts, Potato boycott and defiance campaign were used to mobilize.
- 4.4.1.4 Membership of A.N.C. was mass-based and thus popular unlike N.E.U.M. & F.A.C.
- 4.4.1.5 The Sharpeville incident offered state a pretext to declare state of emergency.

4.4.2 UDF & ORGANISATION

- 4.4.2.1 UDF offering formidable opposition to govt.
- 4.4.2.2 Popularity gains from its mass-base.
- 4.4.2.3 Emphasis placed on involvement of masses at all levels.
- 4.4.2.4 Professionals, businessmen's & other academics support should be lobbied.

- 4.4.2.5 However worker-position in the struggle should not be lost track of workers also need academics
- 4.4.2.6 People who have been shocked into silence should be won over.
- 4.4.2.7 Activists should have sound-level approach to carry the masses along with them. Confidence should be instilled in the masses.
- 4.4.2.8 A conflict situation between our activists and normally religious rural communities should be avoided at all costs.
- 4.4.2.9 Organisations should not become sole properties of leaders, the masses should be involved in the decision-moving process!
- 4.4.2.10 We must strive to heighten our ability learn to identify our obstacles and endeavour to solve our own problems.

5. POSITIVE APPROACHES FOR REGIONAL ORGANISATION

- 5.1. Setting up advice offices: Help our people form organisations.
- 5.2. Newspaper for the region.
- 5.3. Conscription: find ways of keeping our youth away from that.
- 5.4. Fund-raising: Initiate fund-raising drives.
- 5.5. Housing: Acute country-wide should be highlighted amongst our youth & communities with the following themes contextualised to suit our situation: PARTICIPATION, DEVELOPMENT & PEACE used as mobilization factor.
- 5.6. International Youth Year: ~~With the following~~ should be highlighted amongst our youth & communities: With the following themes contextualised to suit our situation: PARTICIPATION, DEVELOPMENT & PEACE.
- 5.7. Farm-workers: Should be reached out and organised.
- 5.8. Women: Organisations for women should be encouraged. Women organisations are seen as barometers of organisation. N.C. by lack of a women's organisation indicative of its low level of organisational development.
- 5.9. Sports organisation: should strive for non-racing sport.
- 5.10. Education: Student-organisations should be formed. Govt's fake SKC's should be rejected. Observation was made that there's no student organisations in the region.

6. ASSESSMENT OF WORKSHOP

- 6.1 Particular Participation not excellent.
- 6.2 Programme should be available in due course to facilitate maximum participation.
- 6.3 Workshop should have stretched over two days.
- 6.4 ~~Workshop should have stretched~~ Anyway substantial gains were made according to participants.
- 6.5 And workshops and other similar forms should be encouraged.

7. THE REGIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE.

7.1 The regional steering committee was formed with the following names serving in the committee:

- (1) G.H. Galeng (Huhudi Civic Ass.) (Chair)
- (2) M. Chetty (Committee of Concern) (Parsons)

- 7.1. (3) J.M.Khasu (Secretary)
- (4) B.R. Hermanus (Publicity Sec.) (Comm. of concern)
- (5) Rev. Maekane (Kimb. UDF Area Com.) (Committee)
- (6) C. Letizela (Comm. of Concern) (Members)
- (7) K. Crutse (D.F.S.C. (Huhudi) (Co-))
- (8) W. Langeveldt (Cocridge Katepayers) (Treasurer)

8. The committee was immediately charged with a responsibility to organise workshops in all major areas. The next committee meeting was set for the 27th Oct. 1984 in Vryburg.

U9-a

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REPORT OF UDF EVALUATION WORKSHOP

HELD ON 4 NOVEMBER 1984

The workshop took place at the end of a momentous year in which the UDF engaged in a number of mass campaigns which established its significance as the major political force in the oppressed community.

The points made arose both from an enlightening input delivered by Curnick and group discussions around questions.

The discussion focussed on an initial assessment of work done during 1984 and some indications of the challenges facing the UDF for 1985.

The questions and a summary of the responses are presented.

1. WAS IT CORRECT TO FORM THE UDF IN AUGUST 1983, WHY?

There was a unanimous view that it was necessary to launch the UDF.

- * Although we had organisations developing in the 30's which were both political but mainly (community, student and youth) mass based, there was a need for co-ordination and greater cohesion at all levels.
- * The state's reform initiatives required of the progressive movement a highly organised and unified response.
- * Historically, the way organisations had developed there were many limitations. To effectively challenge the state, we need to transcend local and regional boundaries to build a national anti-apartheid force to promote a progressive ideology both nationally and internationally.

2. HAVE THE AFFILIATES GROWN STRONGER OVER THE LAST YEAR?
HAS THE UDF STRENGTHENED ITS AFFILIATES?

Although the views was yes, because most affiliates attracted more activists

- * being affiliated to the popular front meant in many cases more public support for affiliates
- * UDF method of carrying out campaigns contributed to improving quality of activists and raising political awareness within organisations.

Some criticisms

- * communication between UDF and affiliates was not adequate

11

- * limited affiliate participation in determining direction and campaigns of UDF;
- * affiliate work in some instances suffered because of UDF emphasis;
- * UDF input of resources and skills into affiliates inadequate.

3. ASSESS THE MSC IN TERMS OF THE OBJECTIVES WE SET.

- * made a major contribution towards educating people about constitution and the Koornhof Bills;

• significant organisational gains in organised areas as well as moving into unorganised areas;

- * popularised UDF throughout the region.

Criticisms :-

- * overestimated organising ability in aiming for 1 million;
- * did not end the campaign on a high note;
- * did not reach out to trade unions, workers and rural areas.

4. WEAKNESSES AND STRENGTHS OF THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Weaknesses :-

- * focussed mainly on Coloured and Indian communities eg. housevisits and pamphlets;
- * anti-election campaign not effectively linked to other broad issues eg. conscription;

• some areas UDF not projected strongly enough eg. NIC areas where NIC more popular.

Strengths :-

- * successful - low poll;
- * won support of people for UDF etc.;
- * help to strengthen non-racial approach to struggle;
- * new structures formed;
- * exposed Western governments support for apartheid;
- * exposed reactionary groups eg. Inkatha;
- * activists well informed and briefed;
- * internal organisation - peak election day organisation provides prototype for strong mass based structure.

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This was noted with much concern to be one of the major weaknesses of the UDF. In Natal, this problem was compounded by the presence of Inkatha. Adding to these objective problems is the tribal infrastructure which is prevalent together with a low level of political consciousness. At the subjective level a serious problem is our lack of an indepth understanding of the rural reality and the fact that working in these areas is outside the experience of our activists.

A sub-committee to look into this area and develop a low profile medium term strategy was suggested.

TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Problems and Weaknesses

- * effective communication between UDF and affiliates;
- * attention needs to be given to ensuring of greater affiliate participation and input in determining the direction and programme of the UDF;
- * inadequate participation of worker organisations in the UDF;
- * UDF presence in rural areas - Inkatha;
- * more active and representative structures need to be operated eg. REC and special functioning sub-committees;
- * intensify process of skills training and political education - with the aim of improving quality of activists and organisations;
- * broadening of Front - not enough new organisations brought into Front of UDF

Issues and Campaigns

- * forced removals, rural areas
- * conscription.
- * cost of living - GST, food prices, bus fares
- * IYY
- * Local authority developments - continue campaign against constitution

U9-b

REPORT OF UDF EVALUATION WORKSHOP

U 9-16

HELD ON 4 NOVEMBER 1984

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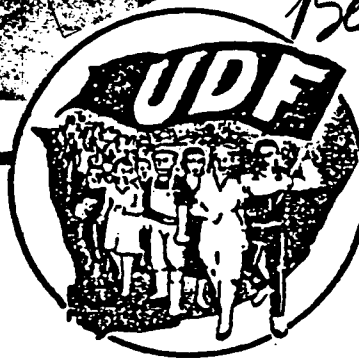
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U10-a

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

DEEL VAN BEW "U10-d"



TRANSVAAL
REGIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS ST
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366,
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

THE PROGRAMME OF SOWETO AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

1. DATE : SUNDAY 13 NOVEMBER 1984

2. TIME : 2PM. - 6PM.

3. VENUE : DUBE YWCA.

PROGRAMME

2.00 pm. - INTRODUCTION.

2. 15 pm. - BRIEF REPORT FROM EACH ORGANISATION.

3. 00 pm - PAPER ON STRUCTURE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE.

3. 20 pm. - GROUP DISCUSSION.

4.00 pm. - REPORT BACK - DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY.

5.45 pm. - ELECTION OF PEOPLE TO SYNTHESISE THE REPORT.

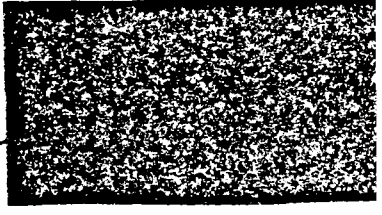
6.00 pm. - CLOSURE.

U10-b

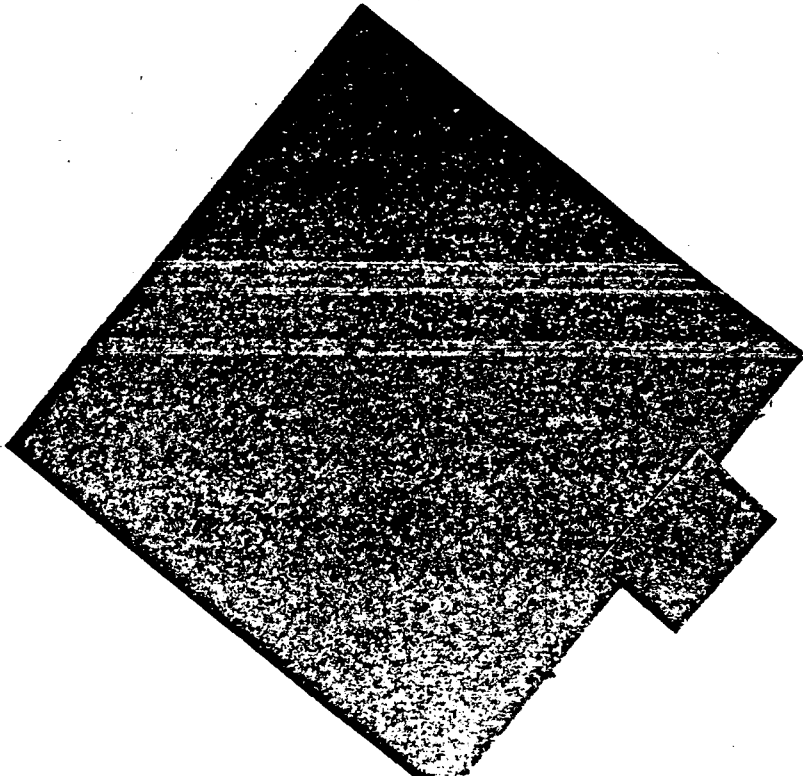
LIST OF ORGANISATIONS INVITED TO THE AREA WORKSHOP

Bew U10

1. HUHUDI CIVIC ASSOCIATION ✓
2. HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION ✓
3. GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION ✓
4. COMMERCIAL CATERING ALLIED WORKERS UNION ✓
5. DETAINEES' PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE ✓
6. COLRIDEG RATEPAYERS AND TENANTS ASSOCIATION
7. HUHUDI FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION ✓
8. TIGER CLAW KARATE CLUB ✓
9. YOUNG CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT ✓
10. METHODIST GUILD (COLRIDEG & HUHUDI)
11. KUDUMANE YOUTH UNITY ✓
12. MAMUSA YOUTH CONGRESS ✓
13. VRYBURG SPORTS UNION
14. REV. FT. F. TSABONE
15. REV. FT. R. VISSER
16. REV. MOLELEKI
17. REV. SEGAE
18. Rev P. Moroka
19. GAWU (Kurnman)
20. Chief Baisitse



Kimberley Area



U10-c

No 9 : 3/3/87

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

file "U 10 - C"

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

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

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

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

The United Democratic Front is structured such that it allows the maximum possible participation of organisations in decision making and in effecting such resolutions. Its structure takes into account the history of organisations within the front. It seeks to allay fears caused by nature of each organisation and the numerical strength of such organisations. Each organisation is accepted and treated as on equal. The key question power over this or that organisation. The dominant factor, especially in the TRANSVAAL, is UNITY. Other regional structures ie. NATAL, the FREE STATE, NORTHERN CAPE, EASTERN CAPE and the WESTERN CAPE are structured slightly different though similar in many respect.

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

The UDF is not a/.....

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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- WEST RAND
- JOHANNESBURG
- EAST RAND

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

(a) DECISION MAKING -

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

(b) DISCIPLINE -

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

(c) PROGRAMME OF ACTION -

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

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

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

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

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

(d) FUNCTIONS:
role

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

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

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

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

Handwritten signature

A. QUESTIONS.

1. WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE ?
 2. HOW WILL THE AREA COMMITTEE AFFECT THE WORK OF YOUR ORGANISATION ?
 3. HOW WILL THE AREA COMMITTEE TAKE AND EFFECT DECISIONS ?
-

B. QUESTIONS

1. HOW SHOULD THIS AREA COMMITTEE BE FUNDED ?
 2. HOW MUCH MONEY SHOULD EACH AREA COMMITTEE KEEP IN ITS ACCOUNT ?
-

C. QUESTIONS

1. SHOULD THE AREA COMMITTEE MAINTAIN A HIGH POLITICAL PROFILE ? WHY ?
 2. WHO SHOULD ISSUE PRESS STATEMENT, THE AREA COMMITTEE OF THE UDF ?
-

D. QUESTION

1. WHAT SHOULD THE PROGRAMME BE FOR THE NEXT FOURTEEN MONTHS (14 MONTHS) ?
-

U10-d

Bobby Tywana - Mb.

UDF AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP.

ben 110-d
+ "u10-a" + u10
UBC

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- 3. ATTENDANCE : CF ATTACHED COPY
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- 6. CONTENT OF PROGRAMME

A. INTRODUCTION: The following pattern was used (a) NAME
(b) AREA

B. BRIEF REPORT FROM INDIVIDUALS ON ORGANISATIONS

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

NAME OF ORGANISATION	PRESENT ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF BRANCHES
5. ANTI PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL COMMITTEE ("ANTI-PC")	- Busy preparing for a workshop on ASSESSMENT of ANTI-PC Campaign	4
6. GENERAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION	- Working on concretising the IDEA of "BLACK CHRISTMAS" - Busy consolidating shop-floor structures	3
7. CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS	- Busy building COSAS Area Committees in SOWETO - Busy on Education Charter Campaign	1 SOWETO BRANCH ie. SOWETO constitutes a branch
8. SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION	- Working on the "idea" of "BLACK CHRISTMAS" - Busy building JHB union structures	
9. SOUTH AFRICAN SCOOTER DRIVERS UNION	- Establishing Branches - Working on the "idea" of "BLACK CHRISTMAS"	

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF ACTIVISTS	PROBLEMS	FUTURE ACTION
		Recovering from repression	
		Many individuals on boycott but no school is boycotting as a whole ie. enblock	
		- Lack of manpower in JOHANNESBURG	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	PRESENT ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF BRANCHES
10. FEDSAW	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working on education crisis - Striving to ESTABLISH BRANCHES - Busy on the preparation for a regional conference 7th-9th Dec '84 	6 branches in SOWETO
11. DETAINEE AID MOVEMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distributing Food parcels - Arranging Transport jointly with DPSC for relatives to "visit" detainees 	
12. RMC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Busy arranging meetings on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PUTCO Bus Fare increases; * Electricity * December 16 - Working on the idea of BLACK CHRISTMAS 	

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF ACTIVISTS	PROBLEMS	FUTURE ACTION
			Co-operation w: *NPSL AND *SHOP KEEPERS

*NB: A brief summary was made and we proceeded to a paper on STRUCTURE OF THE UDF
CF ATTACHED PAPER

c. PAPER ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE UDF

- a) (i) Paper was read cf. attached copy.
- (ii) Participants were then divided into four small groups for 'group discussions'.
The necessary procedure was followed. Please refer to attached questions.

b) REPORT FROM GROUP ONE

- (i) The first group (GROUP ONE) answered a set of questions on FUNDRAISING or FINANCE. the following suggestions were given as a broad guide-line to ALL PARTICIPANTS.

SUGGESTIONS:

- Selling CAKES and T-SHIRTS
- Organising fundraising "BRAAIS"
- Organising RUFFLES
- Organising Mini-cultural festivals
- Organising sporting activities
- Approaching wealthy people within the different communities

 *NB: It was not clear whether it is the TVL regional committee or the Area Committee that should be responsible for raising funds

*NB: Lack of clarity on CONTROL and STRUCTURES

*NB: FUND RAISING ACT to be studied. Area Committee to consult lawyer on the Act.

(ii) SUGGESTED SPECIFIC PROGRAMME ON FUNDRAISING

- film shows with political content
- Amusic festival
- 1985 CALENDAR of the UDF or by UDF should be printed and sold.
- printing of UDF badges and T-shirts

(iii) POINTS THAT EMERGED AFTER GROUP ONE HAD REPORTED

- * It was suggested that each organisation should contribute an "affiliation fee" to the Area COMMITTEE.
- * It was also suggested that AREA COMMITTEE should keep a quarter (1/4) of the money raised (ie. by the AREA COMMITTEE).
- * Some of the participants though that it is not a good idea "to establish 'formal' structures and keep funds at the AREA COMMITTEE-LEVEL....."

REPORT FROM GROUP TWO

This group answered a set of questions on the ROLE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE, the ROLE OF AREA COMMITTEE in relation to AUTONOMY of INDIVIDUAL AFFILIATES and democracy (Within the AREA COMMITTEE).

(i) SUGGESTIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE

- Bring together affiliates into a forum;
- Strengthen organisations
- Popularise the UDF

(ii) SUGGESTIONS ON AUTONOMY OF EACH AFFILIATE

Participants understands the role of UDF AREA COMMITTEE to be:

- (a) Co-ordinating; and
- (b) Seeking and generating active practical support for particular struggles in different communities
- (c) Promoting and showing non-racial struggle in practice eg. ensuring that ACTIVISTS are seen to be doing door to door work together in different communities.
- (d) to organise Petit-bourgeois organisations into the AREA COMMITTEE on condition that they support the struggle of the poor.
- (e) To ensure that organisations affiliated to the UDF are represented by delegates - in all AREA COMMITTEE meetings. Observers not to be allowed into these meetings.

(iii) DEMOCRACY

All decisions taken to be based on - the principles of DEMOCRACY.

(iv) POINTS THAT EMERGES FROM PARTICIPANTS AFTER GROUP TWO HAD REPORTED:

- The General Council should avoid appointing or electing people to serve in commissions (at GENERAL COUNCIL level) without first ascertaining
 - (a) the role of individual at local level; and
 - (b) how busy that person is with local organisational work

- * The AREA COMMITTEE should strengthen organisation by playing a support role in their programmes and activities eg. UDF to consistently tell people that no individual can become its member except by joining affiliates.
- * The AREA COMMITTEE should should popularise the UDF eg. printing UDF T-shirts etc.

- The AREA COMMITTEE should/.....

- The AREA COMMITTEE should organise more organisations that are not affiliated to the FRONT INTO the AREA COMMITTEE.

D. REPORT FROM GROUP THREE

This group answered a question on the AREA COMMITTEE'S PROGRAMME OF ACTION for the next fourteen months. The group felt it was impossible to discuss and draw a "PROGRAMME OF ACTION" in forty minutes. It (the group) listed points that will require attention when such a programme is drawn. These are

- (a) that such a programme should not conflict with programmes of affiliated organisations; and
- (b) that such a programme should be flexible and cater for emergencies.

The group further suggested that the following should constitute the content of the programme:

- Consolidating the AREA COMMITTEE;
- Improving Co-ordination of activities within the AREA COMMITTEE;
- Printing and distribution of the UDF NEWSLETTER; and
- Working on the idea of "BLACK CHRISTMAS"

COMMENTS FROM OTHER PARTICIPANTS:

- * The AREA COMMITTEE should be supplied with a programme of action of each affiliate. This will improve Co-ordination and avoid unnecessary duplication.
- * The 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 1985 should be looked into.
- * The United Nations Organisations's "INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE YOUTH" should be examined and the possibility of building this into the PROGRAMME OF ACTION looked into.

E. REPORT FROM GROUP FOUR

This group answered a set of questions on PRESS STATEMENTS and the POLITICAL PROFILE OF UDF AREA COMMITTEE. These following points were reported by this group:

- (a) UDF AREA COMMITTEE should limit itself to a co-ordinating role;
 - (b) UDF AREA COMMITTEE should avoid a high political profile;
 - (c) UDF AREA COMMITTEE should not stifle but ensure the growth of organisations; and
- ON PRESS STATEMENTS, ^{and} the UDF AREA COMMITTEE

The group said:

- (i) Area Committee should not issue press statements, especially on policy issues.
- Other participant said
- (ii) that some press statement are mere announcements eg. statement on venue, date, time and Agenda of a mass meeting;
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TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF ACTIVISTS	PROBLEMS	FUTURE ACTION
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- (iii) they also felt AREA COMMITTEE should issue press statements only on condition that there is prior consultation with the UDF TRANSVALL executive committee;

F. A committee of 4 people was appointed to work on this REPORT.

G. It was resolved that:

- (a) Each organisation that attended the workshop should send concrete suggestions to the Area Committee on:
 - (i) What is the role and function of your area committee for the next 14 months?
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NB: Each organisation is requested to make the relevant recommendations as soon as possible.

U10-e

UDF AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

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What do you think Christmas?

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B. QUESTIONS

1. HOW SHOULD THIS AREA COMMITTEE BE FUNDED ?

2. HOW MUCH MONEY SHOULD EACH AREA COMMITTEE KEEP IN ITS ACCOUNT ?

C. QUESTIONS

1. SHOULD THE AREA COMMITTEE MAINTAIN A HIGH POLITICAL PROFILE ? WHY ?

2. WHO SHOULD ISSUE PRESS STATEMENT, THE AREA COMMITTEE OF THE UDF ?

D. QUESTION

1. WHAT SHOULD THE PROGRAMME BE FOR THE NEXT FOURTEEN MONTHS (14 MONTHS) ?



UDF AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

- 1. DATE : SUNDAY 18TH NOVEMBER 1984
- 2. VENUE : DUBE YWCA
- 3. ATTENDANCE : CF ATTACHED COPY
- 4. PROGRAMME : CF ATTACHED COPY
- 5. QUESTION GUIDES : CF ATTACHED COPY
- 6. CONTENT OF PROGRAMME

A. INTRODUCTION: The following pattern was used (a) NAME
 (b) AREA

SIEN BEW. U10.
 VIA VOLKEDIGE

B. BRIEF REPORT FROM INDIVIDUALS ON ORGANISATIONS

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

NAME OF ORGANISATION	PRESENT ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF BRANCHES
6. ANTI PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL COMMITTEE ("ANTI-PC")	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Busy preparing for a workshop on ASSESSMENT of ANTI-PC Campaign 	4
6. GENERAL & ALLIED WORKERS UNION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working on concretising the IDEA of "BLACK CHRISTMAS" - Busy consolidating shop-floor structures 	3
7. CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Busy building COSAS Area Committees in SOWETO - Busy on Education Charter Campaign 	1 SOWETO BRANCH ie. SOWETO constitutes a branch
8. SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working on the "Idea" of "BLACK CHRISTMAS" - Busy building JHB union structures 	
9. SOUTH AFRICAN SCOOTER DRIVERS UNION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishing Branches - Working on the "Idea" of "BLACK CHRISTMAS" 	

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF ACTIVISTS	PROBLEMS	FUTURE ACTION
		Recovering from repression	
		Many individuals on boycott but no school is boycotting as a whole ie. enblock	
		- Lack of manpower in JOHANNESBURG	

NAME OF ORGANISATION	PRESENT ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF BRANCHES
10. FEDSAW	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working on education crisis - Striving to ESTABLISH BRANCHES - Busy on the preparation for a regional conference 7th-9th Dec '84 	6 branches in SOWETO
11. DETAINEE AID MOVEMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distributing Food parcels - Arranging Transport jointly with DPSC for relatives to "visit" detainees 	
12. RMC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Busy arranging meetings on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PUTCO Bus Fare increases; * Electricity * December 16 - Working on the Idea of BLACK CHRISTMAS 	

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP	NO. OF ACTIVISTS	PROBLEMS	FUTURE ACTION
			Co-operation with *NPSL AND *SHOP KEEPERS

*NB: A brief summary was made and we proceeded to a paper on STRUCTURE OF THE UDF
CF ATTACHED PAPER

c. PAPER ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE UDF

- a) (i) Paper was read cf. attached copy.
(ii) Participants were then divided into four small groups for 'group discussions'.
The necessary procedure was followed. Please refer to attached questions.

b) REPORT FROM GROUP ONE

- (i) The first group (GROUP ONE) answered a set of questions on FUNDRAISING or
FINANCE. the following suggestions were given as a broad guide-line to ALL
PARTICIPANTS.

SUGGESTIONS:

- Selling CAKES and T-SHIRTS
- Organising fundraising "BRAAIS"
- Organising RUFFLES
- Organising Mini-cultural festivals
- Organising sporting activities
- Approaching wealthy people within the different communities

*NB: It was not clear whether it is the TVL regional committee or the Area Committee
that should be responsible for raising funds

*NB: Lack of clarity on CONTROL and STRUCTURES

*NB: FUND RAISING ACT to be studied. Area Committee to consult lawyer on the Act.

(ii) SUGGESTED SPECIFIC PROGRAMME ON FUNDRAISING

- film shows with political content
- Music festival
- 1985 CALENDAR of the UDF or by UDF should be printed and sold.
- printing of UDF badges and T-shirts

(iii) POINTS THAT EMERGED AFTER GROUP ONE HAD REPORTED

- * It was suggested that each organisation should contribute an "affiliation
fee" to the Area COMMITTEE.
- * It was also suggested that AREA COMMITTEE should keep a quarter (1/4)
of the money raised (ie. by the AREA COMMITTEE).
- * Some of the participants though^t that it is not a good idea "to establish
'formal' structures and keep funds at the AREA COMMITTEE-LEVEL....."

REPORT FROM GROUP TWO

This group answered a set of questions on the **ROLE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE**, the **ROLE OF AREA COMMITTEE** in relation to **AUTONOMY** of **INDIVIDUAL AFFILIATES** and **democracy** (within the **AREA COMMITTEE**).

(i) **SUGGESTIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE**

- Bring together affiliates into a forum;
- Strengthen organisations
- Popularise the UDF

(ii) **SUGGESTIONS ON AUTONOMY OF EACH AFFILIATE**

Participants understands the role of UDF **AREA COMMITTEE** to be:

- (a) Co-ordinating; and
- (b) Seeking and generating active practical support for particular struggles in different communities
- (c) Promoting and showing non-racial struggle in practice eg. ensuring that **ACTIVISTS** are seen to be doing door to door work together in different communities.
- (d) to organise Petit-bourgeois organisations into the **AREA COMMITTEE** on condition that they support the struggle of the poor.
- (e) To ensure that organisations affiliated to the UDF are represented by delegates - in all **AREA COMMITTEE** meetings. Observers not to be allowed into these meetings.

(iii) **DEMOCRACY**

All decisions taken to be based on - the principles of **DEMOCRACY**.

(iv) **POINTS THAT EMERGES FROM PARTICIPANTS AFTER GROUP TWO HAD REPORTED:**

- The General Council should avoid appointing or electing people to serve in commissions (at **GENERAL COUNCIL** level) without first ascertaining
 - (a) the role of individual at local level; and
 - (b) how busy that person is with local organisational work

* The **AREA COMMITTEE** should strengthen organisation by playing a support role in their programmes and activities eg. UDF to consistently tell people that no individual can become its member except by joining affiliates.

* The **AREA COMMITTEE** should should popularise the UDF eg. printing UDF T-shirts etc.

- The **AREA COMMITTEE** should/.....

- The AREA COMMITTEE should organise more organisations that are not affiliated to the FRONT INTO the AREA COMMITTEE.

D. REPORT FROM GROUP THREE

This group answered a question on the AREA COMMITTEE'S PROGRAMME OF ACTION for the next fourteen months. The group felt it was impossible to discuss and draw a "PROGRAMME OF ACTION" in forty minutes. It (the group) listed points that will require attention when such a programme is drawn. These are

- (a) that such a programme should not conflict with programmes of affiliated organisations; and
- (b) that such a programme should be flexible and cater for emergencies.

The group further suggested that the following should constitute the content of the programme:

- Consolidating the AREA COMMITTEE;
- Improving Co-ordination of activities within the AREA COMMITTEE;
- Printing and distribution of the UDF NEWSLETTER; and
- Working on the idea of "BLACK CHRISTMAS"

COMMENTS FROM OTHER PARTICIPANTS:

- * The AREA COMMITTEE should be supplied with a programme of action of each affiliate. This will improve Co-ordination and avoid unnecessary duplication.
- * The 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter in 1985 should be looked into.
- * The United Nations Organisations's "INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE YOUTH" should be examined and the possibility of building this into the PROGRAMME OF ACTION looked into.

E. REPORT FROM GROUP FOUR

This group answered a set of questions on PRESS STATEMENTS and the POLITICAL PROFILE OF UDF AREA COMMITTEE. The following points were reported by this group:

- (a) UDF AREA COMMITTEE should limit itself to a co-ordinating role;
- (b) UDF AREA COMMITTEE should avoid a high political profile;
- (c) UDF AREA COMMITTEE should not stifle but ensure the growth of organisations; and

ON PRESS STATEMENTS, the UDF AREA COMMITTEE

The group said:

- (i) Area Committee should not issue press statements, especially on policy issues. Other participant said
- (ii) that some press statements are mere announcements eg. statement on venue, date, time and Agenda of a mass meeting;
- (iii) they also felt/.....

- (iii) they also felt AREA COMMITTEE should issue press statements only on condition that there is prior consultation with the UDF TRANSVALL executive committee;

F. A committee of 4 people was appointed to work on this REPORT.

G. It was resolved that:

(a) Each organisation that attended the workshop should send concrete suggestions to the Area Committee on:

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

AG: Each organisation is requested to make the relevant recommendations as soon as possible.

A. QUESTIONS

1. WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE AREA COMMITTEE ?
 2. HOW WILL THE AREA COMMITTEE AFFECT THE WORK OF YOUR ORGANISATION ?
 3. HOW WILL THE AREA COMMITTEE TAKE AND EFFECT DECISIONS ?
-

B. QUESTIONS

1. HOW SHOULD THIS AREA COMMITTEE BE FUNDED ?
 2. HOW MUCH MONEY SHOULD EACH AREA COMMITTEE KEEP IN ITS ACCOUNT ?
-

C. QUESTIONS

1. SHOULD THE AREA COMMITTEE MAINTAIN A HIGH POLITICAL PROFILE ? WHY ?
 2. WHO SHOULD ISSUE PRESS STATEMENT, THE AREA COMMITTEE OF THE UAF ?
-

D. QUESTION

1. WHAT SHOULD THE PROGRAMME BE FOR THE NEXT FOURTEEN MONTHS (14 MONTHS) ?
-

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FRONT UDF

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

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

More than 500 organisations had come together to lay a foundation for greater UNITY. Un- of all forces seeking a "single, non-racial, unfragmented SOUTH AFRICA. A South Africa free of BANTUSTANS and GROUP AREAS" "A creation of a TRUE DEMOCRACY in which all South African will participate in the Government of OUR country".

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

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

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

The UDF is not a/.....

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- WEST RAND
- JOHANNESBURG
- EAST RAND

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

(a) DECISION MAKING -

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

(b) DISCIPLINE -

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

(c) PROGRAMME OF ACTION -

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

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

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

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

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

(d) FUNCTIONS:

role

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

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

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

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

U11-a

Bew "U 11-a"

PROGRAMME

1. 2.00 - 2.25 Welcome and registration
2. 2.30 - 3.00 Report back on strength of organisations
3. 3.00 - 3.15 Input on organisation
4. 3.15 - 4.00 Group discussion
5. 4.00 - 4.15 Report backs
6. 4.15 - 4.30 Input paper on role civic organisations
7. 4.30 - 4.45 Plenary discussion
8. 4.45 - 5.00 Input paper on role of youth organisations
9. 5.00 - 5.30 Interval
10. 5.30 - 6.30 Group discussion
11. 6.30 - 7.00 Reports from groups and plenary discussion
12. 7.30 Closure

U11-b

WEST RAND UDF AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

Bew' 11

1- THEME: The Revival and establishment of Organisations.

2- DATE: SATURDAY, 22 DECEMBER 1984

3- TIME: 2pm.

4- VENUE: ST. MARY'S SCHOOL, KAGISO

5- AIMS:

1. To clarify how to revive an organisation.
 2. To clarify how to establish new organisations.
 3. To emerge with practical ways that will lead to the revival of organisations on the West Rand.
-

U11-c

Beu^u U¹

NOTES

ITEM 2:

REPORT BACK ON STRENGTH OF ORGANISATIONS SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- a) Name of organisation
- b) Number of active members
- c) Number of activists
- d) Number of members present at this workshop
- e) What are the structures in this organisation
- f) Past activities and campaigns
- g) Present activity
- h) Two most serious organisational problems.

U11-d

See "U 11-d"

THE COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

The Civic Association is an organisation that concerns itself mainly with the bread and butter issues faced by residents at local level. It is these problems experienced by the people that serve as a common basis for uniting the residents under the leadership of the Civic Association. Here people are brought together to share opinions and jointly develop a desired solution

Problems facing residents are many. Amongst these are the critical shortage of houses, high rentals, electricity and water bills that are beyond what residents can afford, demolishing of shacks, eviction from houses, leaking roofs and sewerage, dog tax and many more. All these problems can be linked directly to the RENT OFFICES and the new COMMUNITY COUNCILS or the so-called BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

Others, such as increases in train and bus fares, the general sales tax (GST) and the high price increases of bread, sugar and maize products, can be seen as introduced by and linked to the STATE, a word difficult to locate and concretise at mass level. The anger of residents against these problems is usually voiced by attacking employers for failing to raise wages and salaries to equal the cost of living.

A closer look into the cost of houses, electricity and water, shows that these are produced and sold for profit. They are like any commodity that is available for a particular price at the supermarket. Ordinary four-roomed houses, the match box type, cost anything from R16 000 to R20 000, electricity costs between 6 and 8 cents per unit in Soweto whilst Johannesburg's almost exclusively white residents pay 5,14 cents a unit. These prices are determined by the Law of Supply and Demand. Thousands of people in Soweto are without accommodation or housing, nowhere else are houses so expensive. The same situation is equally relevant for electricity, water and other services. In the final analysis

Our struggle at local level is both a fight against the BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES and huge profits made by Employers at the expense of residents. It is a fight against Apartheid and Capitalism at local level.

For us to succeed we need to organise all our people. To do this well we should work like missionaries. We need to develop a dedicated group of volunteers who will pledge to go to the masses of our people wherever they may be, in their HOUSES, at HOSTELS, at SOCCER MATCHES, at BEER HALLS and everywhere, Our work should be systematic and thorough. Our patience should be limitless and from each we should demand beyond endurance. In this way we will achieve the best from each dedicated member.

Going to the residents is very important. It makes it possible for us to discover the thinking of the people, to change from wrong ideas that tend to mislead us, to increase our knowledge of our own area and build the necessary confidence. This form of approach brings the Civic Association to the residents, reduces the activist to the level of the masses, enables the residents to ask questions and sometimes even to "interrogate" the activist.

The Civic Organisation is mainly and not solely concerned with the bread and butter issues facing residents at local level. During times of high political activity and campaigns, the Civic Association identifies itself with such situations. Its tone becomes that of the times, reflecting correctly the mood of the masses. This, however, is merely a situation that arises at particular times.

That change will come is certain. The key question to be asked, however, is what role residents are going to play in achieving this goal? Or is change going to be brought about by activists, if so why worry about the masses?

The majority of people in African urban settlements are workers. If the Civic Organisations are to have the necessary appeal, the problems of the working people as residents demand special attention. It is mainly the African workers that hold the key. The role of the activist is important but its significance is not as crucial as that of the masses.

It is important to state that the residents who join the Civic Association do so for a number of different reasons. Others have hopes of unseating the councillors and getting better people to correct the situation from within. Many more are concerned only with the immediate short-term needs or short-term benefits such as those received from BURIAL SOCIETIES or MUTUAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES (STOKVELS). Yet more seek to wipe out crime through VIGILANTE groups (MAGKOTLA) or CULTURAL or SPORTS groups. These groups only want the blessing of the Civic Association.

There are also those who see their role as fellow travellers or passengers. They never worry about the point of departure or destination. Some others, a small grouping, are concerned with or committed to setting up structures, broadening, maintaining and consolidating these from gains made by the broad association. The association is therefore not a disciplined unitary structure but a broad "amorphous" body with both the characteristics of a movement and that of a unitary organisation. The latter is concerned primarily with establishing a stable membership. The way in which the association is built, reveals that the needs of the individual should not be confused with that of an organised group. This does not mean that the two should be in conflict. Likewise, the long-term goal of the association as an organised unit should correspond with its short-term objectives. In this way the possibilities for better co-ordination, planning and organising become brighter.

The hour is late and the challenge is great, BUT our task is more urgent.

U11-e

WEST RAND UDF AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP

Rev "11-e"

1. WORKSHOP RUN BY : UDF
2. THEME : REVIVAL AND ESTABLISHMENT OF ORGANISATIONS
3. VENUE : ST MARYS HIGHER PRIMARY SCHOOL, KAGISO
4. DATE : SATURDAY, THE 22nd DECEMBER 1984
5. TIME : 2pm TO 7pm
6. PROGRAMME : CF ATTACHED COPY
7. ATTENDANCE : CF ATTACHED COPY
8. ORGANISATIONS PRESENT: KRO (KAGISO RESIDENTS ORGANISATION); GAWU (GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION); TIC (TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS); NETO (NEGRO ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS TRAINING ORGANISATION); and Individuals from organisations such as IYCC and YCW.
9. AIMS OF THE WORKSHOP: cf attached copy - (i.e. NOTES IT 2).
10. SESSION ONE: STRENGTH OF ORGNISATION

Participation was fair. The following pattern was used:- Name of organisation; Number of active members; Number of activists; Number of members present at this workshop; Structures in the organisation; Past activity and campaigns; Present activity and two most serious organisational problems.

SUMMARY:

(a) STRUCTURES

- KRO was still being revived. An adhoc committee had been established to do preparations for the re-launching of KRO in MARCH 1985;
- GAWU was busy with the formation of a REGIONAL SHOP-STEWARD COMMITTEE;
- TIC was busy with a process of decentralising its administrative work from FORDSBURG to AZADVILLE. Attempts are also being made to launch a youth organisation and a CIVIC watchdog structure;
- NETO has a structure of volunteers who collects papers and dirt littered in the township (NETO is a youth organisation);

(b) PAST CAMPAIGNS

- KRO had conducted a rent campaign. This led a reduction of rent increase from TWENTY ONE RANDS (21.00) to THIRTEEN RANDS (R13.00). KRO members had also responded positively to the ANTI-ELECTION campaign. Although in the latter case KRO members responded as individuals, they managed to regroup and identified themselves/.....

themselves as KRO. Re-establishing KRO, however, demanded "More than a mere regrouping".

- TIC was involved in the anti tri-cameral parliament elections.
- GAWU was involved in the ANTI-COMMUNITY COUNCIL election campaign.
- NETO has been involved in a campaign aimed at promoting "environmental awareness" in the Community.

(c) TWO MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS CONFRONTING EACH ORGANISATION

- KRO said "members of the committee neglected their duties and responsibilities", and "membership drive".
- GAWU said "difficulties in establishing shop-stewards REGIONAL COUNCIL" and "RETRENCHMENT of our MEMBERS by the BOSSES".
- TIC said "level of commitment of our activist not impressive".
- NETO said "conditions of our people in the township eg. hunger and lack of self respect".

NB: The organisations and people present were not in a position to provide all the relevant information. At the end of the session, a summary of the strength of our organisations was given. It became clear that we were weak and there was an urgent need to organise and build strength inside our organisations and ensure in the final analysis unity of all the oppressed.

11. SESSION 2: ORGANISATION

METHOD: GROUP DISCUSSION.

Participants were divided into 4 groups for group discussions. The following questions were handed to each group:-

- (a) Why do we organise?
- (b) How do we organise?
- (c) What are the common weaknesses of organisers; and
- (d) How can these weaknesses be corrected?

REPORT BACK:

The following overall answers were given on "WHY DO WE ORGANISE?":-

- "Because we are faced with common problems";
- "To bring awareness or education to the people";
- "To help solve problems that are facing the people";
- "To build power and become a stronger force";
- "To shape our own life and destiny";
- "To strengthen/....."

- "To strengthen local organisations";
- "To ensure UNITED and EFFECTIVE ACTION"; and
- "To ensure POLITICAL HEGEMONY".

The following overall answers were given on "HOW DO WE ORGANISE?":-

- Calling and organising mass meetings so as to
 - (a) IDENTIFY SUPPORTERS
 - (b) IDENTIFY SYMPATHISERS
 - (c) IDENTIFY POTENTIAL ACTIVISTS
- "Doing door to door work"
- "Consulting with the masses through pamphlets, questionnaires and surveys"
- "Organising the masses through SOCIAL GATHERINGS"
- "Educating the masses through pamphlets, posters and seminars"
- "Striving to and involving people to solve their own problems".

"Common WEAKNESSES of ORGANISERS" were identified as:-

- "Personality clashes and power struggle";
- "Lack of determination and devotion";
- "Lack of commitment";
- "Lack of clarity on political, economic and social issues";
- "Lack of proper communication between organisers and the masses";
- 'Leading' instead of being with the masses (i.e. doing away with the ELITIST APPROACH)
- "Fear of Repression";
- "Fear of CRITICISM"

Participants saw solutions (to "WEAKNESSES" needing "CORRECTION") to enable "ORGANISERS" to operate successfully as:

- "Continuous EVALUATION of work done"
- "Developing ability to accept criticism and doing SELF-INTROSPECTION"
- "Attending seminars and reading progressive literature"
- "Consciously avoiding being a talk shop and concentrating on practical work. This lessens the possibility of conflicts arising from some abstract realm of ideas".
- "Continuous encouragement to all those who are fighting together with us for change"

12. SESSION3 : PAPER ON ROLE OF A CIVIC ORGANISATION cf attached paper

A. METHOD : SHORT TALK ON PAPER and a GROUP DISCUSSION

B. Questions for the group discussion were;

- (a) What is a civic organisation
- (b) How does a civic organisation differ from a political organisation
- (c) What is it/.....

- (c) What is it that causes residents to join organisations
- (d) What are the lessons that we have learnt after the June 1976 ERA.

C. REPORT BACK AND DISCUSSIONS

*cf attached copy

13. SESSION 4: ROLE OF YOUTH ORGANISATION

This session could not be done due to many participants who felt it was too dark. Candles could not solve the latter problem. Seminar was suggested for the 13th of January 1985. Amos and UDF people were invited to run another seminar.

FOR FURTHER DETAILS, PLEASE CONTACT WEST RAND UDF AREA COMMITTEE.



U11-f

WEST RAND UDF AREA COMMITTEE WORKSHOP
PROGRAMME "Revival & Est."

1. THEME: The Revival and Establishment of Organisations
2. Date: SAT, 22 Dec. 1984
3. Time: 2 pm. (Sharp!)
4. Venue: Str Mary's ^{School} (Cathedral), Kagiso

5. AIMS:

1. To clarify how to revive an organisation
2. To clarify how to establish new organisations
3. To emerge with practical ways that will lead to the revival of organisations on the West Rand.

PROGRAMME

~~to report back on strength of organisations.~~

1. (2.00 - 2.25) Welcome and registration
2. (2.30 - 3.25) Report back on strength of organisations.
3. (3.30 - 4.00) Input paper on organisation
3.45 - 4.30 45 mins. G.D.
4. (4.05 - 4.30) Input paper on the formation and role of civic organisations
4.15 - 4.45
5. (4.35 - 5.00) Input paper on the formation and role of youth organisations
6. (5.00 - 5.30) INTERVAL
7. (5.35 - 6.30) Group Discussions
8. (6.35 - 7.30) Reports from groups and plenary discussions.

PROGRAMME

(2)

1. 2.00 - 2.25 Welcome and Registration
2. 2.30 - 3.00 Report back on strength of Organisations
3. 3.00 - 3.15 Input on Organisation
4. 3.15 - ~~3.45~~^{4.00} Group discussion
5. 4.00 - 4.15 Report backs
6. 4.15 - 4.30 Input paper on role of Civic organisations
7. 4.30 - 4.45 Plenary discussion
8. 4.45 - 5.00 Input paper on role of youth organisations
9. 5.00 - 5.30 INTERVAL
10. 5.30 - 6.30 Group discussions
11. 6.30 - 7.30 Reports from groups and plenary discussion
12. 7.30 CLOSURE.

Notes

ITEM 2:

④ Report back on strength of organisations should include the following:

- (a) Name of Organisation
- (b) Number of active members
- (c) Number of activists
- (d) Number of members present at this workshop
- (e) What are the structures in the organisation.
- (f) past activities and campaigns.
- (g) present activity.
- (h) Two most serious organisational problems.

Item 4:

(First group discussion)