

AL1 — 160

Volume 1

ASSESSOR

AL1

Part AL 1"

b. Some Notes on the Call for a National Convention

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

THE HISTORY OF THE CALL FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION

1908-1909 National Convention

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

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

The people take up the call for a new NC

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

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

The isolation of the white minority regime

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

The 1961 call for a National Convention

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

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

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

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

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

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

Attempts at right-wing co-option

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

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

Ultra-left criticism

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

NC and the 1984 Constitution

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

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

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

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

SOME QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But isn't the call for a NC a bourgeois demand?

The call for a NC is no more the property of the bourgeoisie than the word 'freedom'. It all depends what content we give it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wouldn't a NC be another Lancaster House?

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

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

Does the NC involve a '4 Nations' approach?

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

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

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

Would the NC call be a campaign?

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

Would a NC be a kind of parliament?

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

Given the preconditions demanded, why bother with a NC?

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

Internal Colonialism – a faded concept.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We argue in this article that internal colonialism, at

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

Why colonialism in Africa?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Decolonisation in Africa

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

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

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

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

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

The Colonial State

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

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

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

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

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

Independence struggles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Is South Africa a colonial society?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of imperialism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What does IC explain?

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

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

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

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

What kind of struggle is our struggle?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How?

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

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

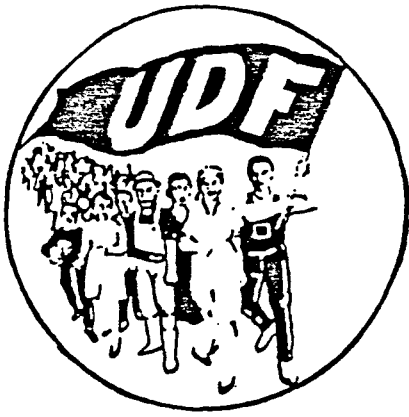
Conclusion

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

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

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

AL2



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New "AL 2"

REPORT ON SACC WORKSHOP ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND KOORNHOF BILLS
AT KIMBERLEY HOMESTEAD TOWNSHIP LUTHERAN CHURCH

Audience present - estimated between 40 and 70.

1. We arrived late at about 5.30 in the afternoon. The workshop was scheduled to start at 2.30 in the afternoon. Many people had left and a few remained.
2. We immediately started with the video tape.
 - 2.1) SACC video tape was torn off and could not proceed with it.
 - 2.2) UDF National Launch video tape was shown.
 - 2.3) Discussions were held with people on Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof Bills.
3. Ms Jill Wellbeloved, from the Community Resource and Information Centre, talked on Constitutional Proposals and the coming Referendum.

Vincent Mogane from UDF presented a talk on the Koornhof Bills, Local Authorities Act and the implications.

Vincent Mogane stressed the need for unity to oppose Referendum and the Constitutional Proposals.

Vincent Mogane introduced UDF to the audience, explained what it is and answered questions from the floor.

4. Discussions held with people after the workshop.

I wanted to know about community organisations and others related existing in Kimberley and was given the following:

 - 4.1) Azapo -Mr J Tire (not present at the meeting)
 - 4.2) Azasm - (not present at the meeting)

4.3) Black Pensioners Committee - Mr Vincent M Thebe,
196 Phemelo Str,
Ipopeng,
Kimberley.
Tel. 43234.

Mr Thebe agreed to talk to his Executive Committee about UDF.

5. Reverend William Nika (President of Northern Cape Council of Independent Churches) 281 Mangwato Street,
Galeshewe,
Kimberley.

5. Cont.
Rev Nika was prepared to initiate moves towards forming a UDF Area committee and consult other organisations interested. He agreed to come to the UDF offices in Johannesburg on 31/10/83 for consultation.

6. Mr Joseph Leburu (anti-Community Council Committee member),
944 Sefulo Str,
Galeshewe,
8301 Kimberley.

Mr Joseph Leburu was also prepared to consult organisations towards forming a UDF Region.

7. Mr Reverend L J Dlamini,
United Congregational Church,
191 Bopape Street,
Ikhutseng.

Mr Rev L J Dlamini was prepared to consult organisations with regard to UDF.

8. Rev M Heraden,
Lutheran Church,
11 Coop Stad Ave,
Homestead,
8301 Kimberley. (Tel. 42782)

COMMENT

I promised the above-mentioned people to come back or send them by post the following UDF materials:

- 1) Declarations in English, Tswana, Afrikaans.
- 2) UDF historical materials.
- 3) UDF posters and all other related materials

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THE EXECUTIVE MEMBERS OF THE EASTERN CAPE REGION

President: Edgar Ngoyi
Vice Pres: P. Manilal, Fikile Kobese
Secretariat: D. Swartz, F. Msutu
Treasury : Stone Sizani; Roland White

A LIST OF AFFILIATES

1. Malabar Residents' Association
2. Nusas (Rhodes)
3. Cosas
4. Westville Youth
5. Fevco
6. Pebco
7. Cosmos
8. Macwusa
9. Gwusa
10. AFCWU
11. Gelvandale Youth
12. Anti InC
13. UY Congress
14. SPC
15. LEMO
16. DESCOM
17. Eastern Province Dancing Association

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No 19 : 379787; 4/8787 **AL3**

No 19
31/8/57

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

few "AL3"

All sections of oppressed South Africans are/will be affected by the Bills : workers, students, rural and urban communities, African, Coloured and Indian.

The government hopes to use the Constitution Bill to :

- divide African from Indian and Coloured
- create divisions within Indian and Coloured communities
- co-opt as "junior partners" certain sections of the Coloured and Indian community
- force Indians and Coloureds into the army to die for apartheid

The Koornhof Bills hope to :

- tighten up influx control
- further divide the African people and create a privileged group of urban residents
- create yet another type of local government structure under the guise of self-determination: but where control still remains in white hands.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN

- to oppose the Constitutional Bill and any elections emerging therefrom
- to oppose the Koornhof Bills and any elections emerging therefrom
- to mobilise every section of our people into the front.
- to educate people about dangers of the proposals and the need for unity and action
- to promote democratic consultation and participation throughout the campaign
- to encourage co-operation and united action between all sections.

TASKS

1. To establish the UDF as the only representative front representing all sections of our people.
2. To popularise the UDF within and outside the country.
3. Mobilise all organisations and communities into the UDF.
4. Establish UDF branches throughout the country.
5. Implement door-to-door campaigns throughout the country.
6. Encourage the strengthening of all grassroots, democratic organisations.
7. Promote meaningful co-operation and united action across all community and other barriers.
8. Ensure democratic participation and consultation in all aspects of the campaign.

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→ against co-optation

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AL4

REFERENDUM

Rev "ALY"

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

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

NEWSPAPERS

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

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

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

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

AL5

NATIONAL CONVENTION

News "AL 5

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

The situation today

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

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

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

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

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

More concretely two things characterize a National Convention:

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

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

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

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

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

QUESTIONS

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

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

AL6

UDF AND THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONA. PREAMBLE:

At the UDF Conference in Port Elizabeth last month, South Africa's constitutional arrangement came under the spotlight. UDF's response to the situation was discussed exhaustively and it came out clearly that conflicted existed among delegates and no consensus could be reached.

At issue was whether UDF should participate in or boycott a referendum of "Coloureds" and "Indians" to test acceptance of the new constitution.

Since no consensus was reached, UDF member regions were asked to go back home and address the matter once more before it is again submitted for discussion. A Commission was appointed in Port Elizabeth to deal with the matter. We are required to look at the Commission's recommendations and formulate our response to the referendum.

Hereunder follows an exposition of the line we took at the P.E. Conference.

B. TOTAL REJECTION:

Which referendum is being addressed? Botha's or one called by the UDF?

(1) Botha's Referendum:

The Koornhof bills from which emanate the referendum issue are not to be seen in isolation from the total apartheid strategy. They are the logical and necessary culmination of a long process of domination; division and exploitation. Even for the racists, principles are fixed, strategies are medium term and tactics are flexible and short term.

- (a) Apartheid and the "cleansing of South Africa of all non-whites" is the basic principle upon which the government in South Africa operates.
- (b) The Constitutional proposals are one of the strategies of Botha and his cohorts (cf. Bantustans; Community Councils; C.M.C's, etc).
- (c) The Referendum is a tactic which the government and its sculleries may opt for in the present crisis.

Our response to these is our total rejection of both the principle as well as strategies and tactics of the government. The biggest question is how to do this effectively and in a principled manner.

The answer to this question should not be arrived at by dint of discussion but by empirical scientific approach. Our context and experience should be taken seriously as we attempt to answer this question.

We are dealing here with a "tough state" which is not in an immediate crisis of collapse -- although the state is in a serious crisis. We are also dealing here with a crook of a player in this game -- South Africa is a stranger to fair play when it comes to things that threaten its very principles and strategies. Moreover, the delegates from both the Western Cape and Transvaal have indicated that their communities ("Coloureds" and "Indians") may still vote "Yes" as a result of lack of guidance or through being cheated at the polls.

The referendum arises from a racist situation and will be on racist lines ("Coloureds" and "Indians"). For this reason, participation therein will lead to the flouting of our principles -- non-racialism. Whatever strategies we adopt should not go against our principles.

The "No" vote campaign seems to be a weak and dangerous tactic. We may be losers in the manipulated polls and find ourselves in an embarrassing situation of having to campaign for a boycott of the elections emanating from a referendum we have participated in. For this reason we agitate for a call to boycott both the referendum, if it is called, as well as the elections. This means more organisation work on the part of our activist.

The boycott should not be seen as a permanent strategy. It is a viable tactic, in our context and experience. We have no reason to think it needs to be changed. It is not a passive tactic. Active campaigning and mobilisation is essential for it to succeed.

(2) UDF's Referendum:

If the referendum is called by the UDF, there are still dangers there. It will be a bad tactic for the UDF to use -- a racist referendum to solve the situation. Irrespective of who calls for it, an ethnic referendum is racist and is bad tactics.

As for using it to "demonstrate mobilisation skills to the Africans" (NEC) is a bad argument and is also tinged with racism. The struggle is not a forum where races or even tribes are engaged in demonstration of skills. The end goal of the struggle is liberation not conviction. This goes for strategies and tactics to be employed by the people.

Above all, if the UDF calls for a referendum of whatever kind, this would imply the acceptance of the illusion that our problems can still be solved by constitutional means involving "responsible internal leaders." To accept this, we believe, would be a grave mistake. If other people think constitutional solutions are still possible, we need to be told openly and in a hurry.

3/... C. CONCLUSION: ...

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To sum up, we stand for a total non-participation in any referendum. This is based on our experience and context. We also believe that it is the best non-confusing tactic that readily would gain the support of many people. If other regions have tactics that work for them, let them not be misled to think that they can work on a national basis.

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AL7

WEY WE CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTION/REFERENDUM RELATED TO
BOTHA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

(the viewpoint of the Transvaal Anti-P.C.)

Bev AL 7"

There is at present a debate raging over whether the UDF should:

- 1) participate in the event of a referendum called by the state to test "Coloured" and "Indian" opinion on the constitutional proposals.
- 2) participate in an election by putting up boycott candidates
- 3) call for a referendum for "Coloureds" and "Indians" if the state decides on having elections.

It is argued by the advocates of participation that if we agree our aim (strategy) is to STOP the coming into being of the "Coloured" and "Indian" parliaments, then a boycott method (tactic) is inadequate and wrong. This is because despite a massive stay-away, the state will still go ahead and implement its reforms on the basis of whatever percentage of "yes" votes they get. Hence, the argument continues, if we mobilise a massive "no" vote campaign, then the state cannot proceed to establish its ethnic "parliaments" since the number of "no" votes will far exceed the number of "yes" votes.

Although the arguments of those who advocate participation may sound logical, there are too many of them which we consider to be false. Before we get lost in this debate on strategies and tactics, we consider it important to have agreement on the principles which guide us. This has become vital since there is a broad assumption that the membership of UDF all understand and practise the principles which guide us. Through the debate we have learnt (not to our surprise) that we differ about the nature and the content of the struggle, which is why we differ on the issue of strategies and tactics.

WHAT SORT OF STRUGGLE ARE WE FIGHTING IN S.A.?

We believe that the struggle in S.A. has two aspects (NOT phases or stages). We believe that it is not enough just to have "one person - one vote". For the majority of South Africans (namely the working people) "liberation" will be meaningless and empty unless the economy is restructured because that is the only way to guarantee significant and lasting improvements in the quality of life of our working people.

Hence the CLASS STRUGGLE is a vital component of our fight for change. Here the working class and its allies confront the owning class and its allies. Because of the increasing development and industrialisation of the S.A. economy and the increasing organisation of the working class into independent trade unions, we perceive AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN S.A.

Secondly, there is the NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC or POPULAR-NATIONAL STRUGGLE. This aspect of our struggle includes the fight of both workers and non-workers against racism and the anti-democratic, militaristic nature of the Apartheid state.

We believe THAT AT ALL TIMES WE MUST STRUGGLE TO DEVELOP THE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF WORKING PEOPLE. This means that whatever strategies and tactics we employ must in no way hinder this development, but should on the contrary be designed to promote such development. A vital aspect in this regard is the breaking down of ethnic/racist prejudices among working people.

WHAT ABOUT STRATEGIES AND TACTICS?

We believe that we must be flexible as regards method of organisation (tactics) and that we must strive to "go down to the level of the masses". At the same time, however, our methods must not hinder the attainment of our goals. So, for instance, if by participating in "Coloured/Indian" referendum by voting "no" will bring the state to its knees and liberate ourselves, then we should participate because it helps our struggle. The problem with the present debate, however, is whether participation at this stage will not in fact promote "Coloured" and "Indian" conscious-

ness, WORK AGAINST THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND HENCE HINDER OUR STRUGGLE.

Further, there is agreement that our people do have racist attitudes and prejudices directed against each other. The disagreement comes about HOW to break down such prejudices. Some advocates of participation believe that it is correct to appeal to people on the basis of the "Coloured", "Indian" or "African" identity they hold. We believe that it is vital to appeal to people on the basis of non-racialism. We do not believe that we have to bow down to the backward elements in our community, rather that we should drag them along with us. It is our task to guide and direct our people, not to use their backwardness as justifications for our methods. Hence, just because "the masses" may think the reform proposals are good and Botha is a wonderful man because he cares for them and that we must therefore participate in his ethnic parliaments IT DOES NOT MEAN WE HAVE TO AGREE WITH THEM! Hence, even if the "masses" want to call for an ethnic referendum, it does not mean we have to agree with them.

A LOOK AT THE ARGUMENTS FOR PARTICIPATION

1) THE STATE IS IN A CRISIS. IT HAS CHANGED FROM BLATANT REPRESSION TO REFORM, WHICH DEPENDS ON THE MASSES ACCEPTING THE LEGITIMACY OF THE STATE. WE MUST CHALLENGE THE STATE'S LEGITIMACY BY CALLING FOR A REFERENDUM FOR "COLOUREDS" AND "INDIANS".

What sort of referendum, we ask? Will calling for an ethnic referendum not destroy what we have built up? Asking some but not other workers in the same trade union to go and vote "no"?

Further, what power do you have to force Botha to accede to your demands? You have no military or economic power, do you. And economic power? You who minimise the role of the working class and emphasise your "national democracy". Sure, you will call on Botha to have a referendum and he will laugh at you. And if he does agree, it will be because he knows he will win, or do you think he will commit political suicide? So you will still sit without a referendum, yet you will have split the UDF down the middle and done irreparable harm to our struggle.

At the same time, are you saying that the only way to challenge the state's legitimacy is by participating in its ethnic instruments?

2) IF HENDRICKSE AND RAJBANSI GET INTO POWER, THEY WILL DRAW ALL "COLOUREDS" AND "INDIANS" WITH THEM. BY PROVISION OF HOUSING etc. THEY WILL HELP BOTHA STABILISE HIS CRISIS.

How can the crisis stabilise with all the contradictions in our society and in the reform strategy continuing? Surely the crisis will deepen? The Group Areas, Race Classification will remain. Conscription of Black youths will become a reality. The structural shortcomings in the economy, ever-rising unemployment and the general political helplessness of Hendrickse and co. can surely not lead to a stabilisation of the crisis? Once Botha's and Hendrickse's rhetoric produce nothing concrete, will the crisis have been stabilised?

3) "AFRICANS" WOULD PERCEIVE THEMSELVES TO BE BETRAYED BY "COLOUREDS" AND "INDIANS". Woe, woe, woe! "Africans" won't feel betrayed when you go and vote without them? And what about the organisations within the UDF which have access to what you call "Africans". Will they sit back and do nothing to explain to people that Hendrickse and his Labour Party are not the same as the "coloured" people as you call them?

Surely the revolution does not depend on what this or that leader says but upon the collective consciousness of ALL the oppressed and the political programme of the vanguard.

This silly argument exposes ethnic thinking and the pitfalls of the ideology of race.

4) WE ARE INVOLVED IN THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE AND WE MUST UNDERSTAND PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONTEXT. IT IS NOT INCONSISTENT TO CALL FOR A BOYCOTT OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND PARTICIPATION IN A REFERENDUM.

This "National-democracy" that you talk about - what is it really? Does it give you authority to advocate ethnically-based tactics every time there is an issue?

Are you saying that the working class has no role to play in this "phase" of yours? Because remember the working class does not just consist of one "population group."

How do you call for an ethnic referendum and reconcile that with working class leadership and participation within the UDF?

We have no choice but to consider the possibility that this persistent cry of "national-democracy" is an ambush behind which lurks the sinister forces of reaction and middle-class prejudice and interest.

5) THE REGIME IS USING REFORM FOR THE "COLOURED" AND "INDIANS" AND REPRESSION FOR THE "AFRICANS". THE REFORM PROPOSALS FOR THE FIRST TWO GROUPS CANNOT BE SEEN AS SIMILAR TO THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

The "reform proposals" and the Koornhof Bills are surely both part of a Total Strategy to co-opt the elite in the Black community? The P.C. proposals have as much repression involved as the Koornhof Bills, surely? Isn't the difference merely in the degree of sophistication? On a local level the P.C. proposals have the capacity to crush community-orientated structures.

Is your argument not a surrender to the divide-and-rule tactics of the regime. (Botha het julle lekker gevang)

6) EXPERIENCE IN ORGANISING FOR A "NO" VOTE WILL GIVE US A POLITICAL TASK WHICH WILL MAKE SURE THAT WE ARE NOT PASSIVE (LIKE A BOYCOTT MAY LEAD US TO BEHAVE)

Seriously, now. Please. WHAT IS OUR TASK? To organise our people for power or to take part in electioneering politics (Labour Party style). So you will have a statistic which says so many "Coloureds" and "Indians" have voted "no" - but how much stronger will it have made us?

MRAD'S, a no vote campaign will be a big publicity stunt, yes. But what will it mean for organisation? We put it to you that besides the sterility of the tactic you are advocating, you will also split community from community, activist from activist and lead to the disintegration of the UDF.

We therefore call upon you to reconsider your call for participation and to bury it along with other bad memories.

AL8

UDF offices / Castle House

No (19)

24/5/87.

(20)

1079/87

2879/87

WHY THE UDF OPPOSES THE NEW CONSTITUTION ACT

(20)

28/9/87

New "AL 8"

No 20
There is a tradition among Whites in this country to view Black politics with suspicion or down-right condemnation as agitation, extremism, terrorism. The United Democratic Front has not escaped these charges and detractors of the liberation movement took advantage of the long-established attitudes towards Black resistance to Apartheid in order to prejudice the Front.

10/9/87
Many people who support the new deal still cannot understand why we oppose the New Constitution Act as not being a step in the right direction. Their aversion to the UDF feeds on this lack of understanding of our stand-point.

We reject the new constitution act because it excludes the African majority from government. The Act of Union in 1910 extended qualified franchise to Africans in the Cape and Natal. Because it excluded Transvaal and Free State Africans it was flawed. But even that was taken away after 1936. Since then successive White governments have set up structures which have never gained credibility among African people and that includes the present Homeland governments. African people have never accepted Homeland structures because they do not find themselves properly expressed therein.

The new constitution entrenches White monopoly of political power because the White house is the majority house. There is no sharing of power even with Indian and Coloured South Africans. Put together Indian Delegates and Coloured Representatives will constitute only three quarters of the White house. This constitution places responsibility upon Coloured and Indian people for further Apartheid legislation without giving them power to effectively determine what laws may or may not go into the statute books.

Furthermore the tricameral form was adopted so as to preserve the fundamental Apartheid principle of White untouchableness. Racism remains the cornerstone of the new constitution. Indians and Coloureds will still be treated with the same racial contempt as before. Hence the retention of the Free State laws that prohibit Indian settlement in that Province and parts of Northern Natal. Indeed the Minister of Transport has already assured the official opposition that even the Blue Train will be divided into racial coaches, so that White MP's do not mix.

The concept of Local government or own affairs will ascertain that the co-opted groups are confined to the present townships with shortage of housing, lack of schools and other facilities. There is nothing materially that the New Constitution will do to improve the living conditions of the co-opted groups.

More than this the New Constitution is unacceptable for the fundamental reason that it is not the constitution of the people of South Africa. It is the product and property of White South Africans. And only Whites voted to decide whether it is acceptable or not. What we call for is a constitution of the entire people of our country - Black and White.

20

10/9/87

We believe that over centuries of interaction all the people in this country have contributed to the present shape and face of South Africa. All have a rightful claim to the heritage of wealth, culture and residence. S Africa is vast enough to accommodate all. But any constitution which excludes any section, whatever race or colour is a sure formula for racial and violent conflict.

Past and present history clearly confirms this. In 1960, after forty-eight years of campaigning for African political rights and against the hated pass and influx laws, the African National Congress was banned and prohibited. The response was swift and eye-opening. On December 16, 1961 a section of the ANC - The Spear of the Nation - emerged as the armed wing. And in spite of everything ~~there was a~~ ^{is a} rising tide of sabotage and armed engagements with police and army units - points ^{to} a growing trend of resort to armed struggle.

wh

A constitution such as the present one can only intensify African, Indian and Coloured frustration at their failure to attain effective political rights. Such a constitution amounts to fuelling the fires of anger at the government's stubbornness and insensitivity to their aspirations.

Our motivation in the United Democratic Front lies precisely here. It is our realisation that the New Constitution Act does not remove areas of dissatisfaction but, in fact, cushions Apartheid against future and more resistance - especially African resistance. It is generally conceded that the next logical step within the context of the new constitution is to conscript Indian and Coloured youth into the army i.e to strengthen the S A Defence Force as a tool against African resistance to Apartheid.

The SADF's role at Bulhoek in 1922, Sharpville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 has cut out a threatening image in African eyes. When African students refused to study in Afrikaans because White students were not forced to study in Sotho or Zulu it was the SADF & police units which came and shot them. Many of those who left the country took to arms in response.

19

24/8/87

In a letter to the Prime Minister last year the UDF drew attention to these short-comings and called for a national convention of all South Africans - Black and White - to draw up a constitution acceptable to all. We have confidence that given that opportunity ^{S. Africans} they will not choose revolution. We are opposed to the new deal because we are opposed to bloodshed.

wh

P. LEKOTA.
PUBLICITY SECRETARY

Rev "AL90"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES:

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

- a. To strengthen the structure and bond of the Front. Firstly at constituent member basis. Members should not only meet at council meetings, local campaigns on various issues should involve the majority of the constituent members with the working people spearheading the political campaigns.
- b. To intensify our campaigns and in the process we must develop our organisations while we spread and implant the UDF in all areas where no form of activity is taking place.
- c. To isolate the racist government from the people by embarking on an intensified awareness programme aimed at not only uncovering the empty promises of the state, but also at popularising our demands and the Democratic front, while we neutralise the position of reactionaries.
- d. We need to exercise utmost discipline especially now at this moment of unprecedented violent provocations from certain government

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

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

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

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

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

AL10

Million Signature Campaign

(dont know where to slot in)

At the beginning of the year, the UDF launched/ initiated a Million Signature Campaign calling on people to sign a deblazation against apartheid and showing theri support for the UDF.

Signature collectors got an overwhelmingly positive respons when they collected signatures during house visits, at street corners, bus ranks, shopping centres, theatres and soccer mathces.

Signature collecting enabled the UDF to make contact with many thousands of people. In ~~xmk~~ hayelitsha in Cape Town ???

Also need to slot in something about the LP, ^ajbansi, Solidarity etc.

The new constitution

Diagram here which makes the following points :
the dictatorial powers vested in the President
the role and composition of the Presidents Council
the three separate houses of parliaments and the
ratio.

Rather than promoting democratic government, the new constitution under which South Africa is to be ruled, makes more remote the possibility of a government representative of the aspirations of all South Africans.

Whites, coloureds and Indians are given unequal parliamentary representation and the majority of the country's population the African people, are totally excluded.
For every four white representatives in parliament, there are two coloureds and one Indian.

The groups offered representation sit in separate chambers where matters categorised under 'own affairs' are dealt with. This includes health, welfare, education culture and recreation. Representatives will be unable to make any far-reaching decisions as regards these matters as they do not control finances, which is categorised as a 'general affair'

'Matters under 'general affairs' such as finance, foreign policy, and defence are discussed by all three chambers. Clearly the 4:2:1 ratio entrenches white domination at every level of decision making, depriving the Indian and coloured chambers of any meaningful say in the affairs of the country.

In addition the President has the power to veto any legislation, to arbitrate in disputes within and between the different houses and to nominate the cabinet.

The new constitution mentions Africans only once : clause 93 reads: 'the control and administration of black Affairs shall vest in the President'.

the African majority have representation in the Parliament
They are mentioned only once in the entire cons

X African people are meant to exercise political rights in one
of the thirteen homelands, four of which have formal independence
from South Africa. This policy deprives African people of their
South African citizenship and denies them any political
rights in the country where they spend their living and
working lives.

This process is ensured by three Acts that are commonly
referred to as Koornhof's Laws: The Black Local Authorities
Act, the Black Community Development Act and the
Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

IN place of political representation in central government,
structures, the Black Local Authorities Act offers Africans
representation on local Town Councils whose task is to
administer African townships. these Town Councils have no
viable financial base and cannot alter such fundamental
pieces of legislation as the Group Areas Act, which
ensures racial residential segregation, the Urban Areas Act
which covers the pass laws and forced removals.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's
Bill remains on the agenda of the future parliament . This
bill aims at tightening up the pass laws and further
dividing urban Africans from migrants.

Why the new constitution

Since 1976, extra-parliamentary opposition to Apartheid
has increased in African , coloured and Indian communities
Throughout the country, trade unions, student, women's,
civic and political organisations have demanded a democratic
form of government.

At the same time there has been increasing international
pressure on Prime Minister Botha's government to
reform its Apartheid policies.

The withdrawal of the Labour Party from the Coloured People's
Representative Council in 1973 and the low percentage ~~poll~~

poll in the South African INdian council elections in 1981, demonstrated that these bodies enjoyed no popular support in coloured and Indian communities.

These factors made it increasingly difficult for the white minority government to maintain control over the majority of South Africans. This has necessitated the South African government's attempt to set up coloured and Indian leaders as junior partners to control the majority of the people. By drawing in coloured and INdian people into the new constitution, the Nationalist Party hoped to destroy the historical unity of Africans, coloureds and Idians against Apartheid policies.

The basis of the UDF's opposition to the constitution

- * It is the initiative of the minority of the population which aims to entrench white minority rule, racism and ethnicity
- * It is an attempt to divide the people of South Africa
- * It attempts to draw Indian and coloured people into defending an indefensible system and become partners in the oppression of African people
- * It will not alleviate basic problmes relating to the Group Areas Act, to housing , rents, poor facilities etc.

The new constitution is premised on the continuation of the Bantustans where African people are expected to exercise their political rights. To maintain this system, forced removals continue, the new pass laws will mean greater hardship for women separated from their migrant husbands and forced into the Bantustans. The financial control vested in the hands of the whtie parliament will not channel money to redress inequalities in African, coloured and Indian housing, education sporting or health facilities

Finally, the new constitution in no way addresses itself to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources in the country.

The vision of south Africa subscribed to by the UDF is found in the declaration adopted at the national launching at Rocklands Civ Centre. ^{in Cape Town} The central characteristics of such a society would be:

- * the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the governing of the country
- * the creation of a single , non-racial, unfragmented south Africa, free os bantustans and the Group Areas Act
- * An end to all froms of oppression and exploitation.

The UDF beleives that such a society can only come about once all political prisoners have been freed and exiles have been allowed to return safely.

From the very onset, the government's constitutional plans for South Africa received no support. As early as 1982 when the government proposals for a Presidents Council became public, mass meetings called by the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee and *Anti P* condemned the new deal.

A mood of dissatisfaction and ? prevailed especially in Indian and coloured communities where the government was focussing its initiatives.

And so when the Labour Party - who traditionally had adopted an anti-apartheid stance - decided to participate/ "give the ~~tri-cameral parliaments~~/ new constitution a try" and "go in" - it sparked off a major political upheaval in the coloured community.

Outrage and anger from Coloured people was widespread. Meetings addressed by the once popular Labour Party (LP) Leader, Rev. Allan Henrickse, were disrupted all round the country.

The LP's popularity had (indelibly been) reversed and people were seeking for / calling for an alternative, genuinely anti-apartheid body to express their aspirations.

The first congress/ conference of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee/ Anti- South African Indian Council Committee - a committee which had been set up a year previously to oppose elections to the South African Indian Council, a forerunner ~~into~~ to the House of Deputies - was well timed.

~~It~~

Held on 22nd January, 1983, in the wake of the Labour Party's decision it was the first major gathering of Apartheid opponents to reject the new constitution and Koornhof Laws.

Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, sensing the mood of the country, told the conference: "There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite in the struggle for a non-racial democratic and unitary South Africa, pool their resources and inform people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name".

Koornhof bills

The suggestion ^{to form a united front to oppose the constitution and} was greeted enthusiastically by the conference, attended by delegates/representatives/ people from all parts of South Africa and a feasibility committee was given the task of considering the ~~suggestion/~~ proposal.

The idea of a united democratic front caught the imagination of people everywhere and in the months that followed the idea was widely debated and discussed.

As ideas crystallised, structures were decided upon. There would initially be three regions - Natal, Transvaal and the Western Cape. * All student, youth, women, political, civic, ~~religious~~, sporting organisations who were committed to opposing the new constitution and ^{anti-apartheid} laws would be encouraged to affiliate.

Democratic structures for decision making were developed in each region.

* Interim committees were set up in the Eastern Cape and the Orange Free State.

x Presently there are eight regions - Natal, Transvaal, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Southern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border Region and Karoo. and 600 organisations are affiliated to the UDF representing over 2 million people.

Seven months after the idea was first mooted - on the 20th August, 1983 more than 12 000 people converged on Cape Town to launch the UDF.

x Not for two decades had there been such a representative gathering of people opposed to apartheid - 1 000 delegates representing 575 organisations and nearly 2 million people were there, making the UDF one of the strongest groupings South Africa has ever seen. making the UDF one of the most powerful political forces in South Africa.

The launch consisting of a conference preceded by a rally, elected a national executive ~~with~~ with Albertina Sisulu, Oscar Mpetha, and Archie Gumede as the three national presidents. All have long histories of opposition to apartheid politics.

Prominent anti-apartheid campaigners were elected as patrons including Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Dr. Allan Boesak, Helen

Joseph, Nelson Mandela, Hassan Howa, Father Mkhathshwa. who they are

The launch was barely over when the UDF embarked on its first campaign : to call for a boycott of Coloured Management C,mmittee elections in Cape Town/ the Western Cape. These committees have/ are ???

Their call was headed - the poll in the elections was a dismal ? %.

On the eve of the white feferendum - where whites were being given the opportunity to supports or oppose the new constitution - UDF called for a "People's Wweekend". Throughout the country, UDF affiliate held rallies, concerts, fetes, placard demonstrations, ^{and} motor car cavalcades to protest against the new constitution and to celebrate the formation of the UDF./ celebrate the UDF.

The message of the People's Weekend was clear - th was not ~~only~~ for whites to decide on the future of the majority of the people , all people must decide on their own futures.

Throughout October and N^vember 1983, the Front's affiliates in African communities spearheaded/ led a camxpaign against the Black Local Authorities elections. The Black Local Authorities were the government's alternative to homelands for urban Africans, and were regarded ^{as} ~~as~~ as toothless and ineffective ~~and~~ homeland structures.

UDF leadess were asked to address hundreds of meetings in church halls, sheds, garages and houses where they spread them message of the UDF and urged people not to vote.

"We will only be happy when we decide our lives right at the top level - in the government of South Africa", said/ stated the Transvaal edition of UDF's m^outhpiece, "UDF News".

Despite government claims that the Black Local Authorities would receive a far higher poll than their predecessors, the community councils in 1977 , this was not the case.

Almost one third of the wards were uncontested - so low was the interest in the elections. Of those contested, less than half the adult population were registered as voters. The lowest poll recorded was in Kagiso ???? on the West Rand/ Witwatersradd where as few as 3% of the people voted. In Soweto only 5,2% of the eligible adult population voted while the government/ official poll was ? ^{er}cent. In the Western ^{er} Cape the poll was ??? percent.

The low percentage poll in the Black Local Authorities elections was the first major victory won by the UDF and it set the tone for the ?????

It was a victory in ^{two} senses - not only did the majority of urban African express their rejection of ? useless bodies/ ???. But the campaign gave UDF the opportunity to reachmg out to many hundreds of thousands of people for the first time.

In townships where previously no organisation existed, the UDF played a valuable role drawing ppeople together and pspreading ideas, expeiréence and advice. ^{As a result of the work} Through the work of the UDF, new affiliates emerged after the camappaign and existing affiliates grew stronger.

The tricameral elections

Ever since the government announced its new constitution, elections for the Indian and coloured houses were on the cards. There was also talk of referendums - to gauge Indian and coloured support yet the idea was abandoned by the government on the advice of so-called Indian and coloured leaders - leaders of the political parties such as the Labour Party and the Solidarity Party .

need something about these parties ???

In February 1984, after months of speculation and delaying, the election dates were finally announced - August 22 and 28, 1984.

Hard work lay ahead for the UDF and especially for its affiliates in the Indian and coloured communities. It would only be through a highly well organised campaign that they would be able to reach out to the entire Indian and coloured communities and make an impact on all South Africans.

But they were prepared. Over the last year/ previous year organisations had been formed or ~~re~~ revived [to carry out this task.]

Within a few days after the "betrayal" by the Labour Party, an ad hoc Transvaal Anti-PC Committee was formed at a meeting of individuals from community organisations in the coloured areas.

It was officially launched in May 1983 and became one of the first affiliates of the UDF.

At the same congress/ conference of the Transvaal Anti-SIAC Committee where the idea of the UDF was mooted, a decision was made to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress which had been inactive since its leadership had been banned, imprisoned and exiled during the clampdown in the early 1960's.

The TIC was launched on 1st of May 1983 and committed itself to
???

Other areas ????

With the election dates announced, these already existing organisations launched branches and area committees while in other areas organisations formed for the first time who would in the months to come reach out to every single Indian and coloured person.

The TIC launched its first branch on the East Rand, while in Natal, Natal Indian Congress area committees were established up and down the coast.

In the UDF Border region - comprising / centering around East London - a Friends of the UDF Committee was formed and in Natal a Committee of Concern was launched which was to spearhead the campaign in the coloured areas.

Many hundreds of people came forward to participate in these organisations. Old and young, housewives and workers, new people, experienced people and people disillusioned with / disenchanted with their experience in other political bodies committed themselves selflessly to long hours and / of hard work.

The large numbers of volunteers who devoted time and energy to the campaign was the greatest resource the UDF ever had. Access to so many resources / ^{facilities} were closed to them.

constant
It was a continual uphill battle to get access to venues for meetings, permission to put up ~~xxxxx~~ posters from the authorities, printers who would print their leaflets, finances and so on. Election candidates on the other hand had almost unlimited access to these facilities.

In addition the UDF was faced with a barrage of propaganda from the government controlled TV and radio stations urging people to vote and labelling the UDF and its affiliates as "boycotters" and "intimidators".

The backbone of the campaign were ~~xxxxx~~ visits to people's homes. Teams of UDF campaigners / volunteers - often non-racial - would gather each evening and every weekend and go out ~~xxxxxx~~ meeting families ~~x~~, explaining the new constitution and answering questions.

In contrast to what the government was saying - volunteers did not find apathy or support for the new deal. Volunteers who came together at the end of a day or evening to evaluate their work, would report

very favourable responses and ready rejection after the reality of the new constitution had been explained to ^{people} them.

In all the major urban centres, 90 percent of all homes were visited in the three to four months preceeding the elections. But outlying areas ^{and} smaller towns were not neglected. Campaigners from the bigger centres would join up and assist UDF supporters in these areas.

While hundreds of thousands of people were ~~per~~ personally approached and spoken to about the new deal and the UDF, ~~candidates/~~ election candidates were more often than not scared to venture out to meet people. The most many would do would be to drop pamphlets under people's doors.

Door to door work - as this kind of work was called, - was not always easy/ was not without difficulties. ~~Not only did campaigners have to brave fierce dogs - the police often tried to interfere with their work. /~~ ^{and election candidates} the police, unknown agents and supporters of the parties contesting the elections ~~xxxx~~ often tried to interfere with their work.

Campaigners were arrested, had their names taken, and their pamphlets confiscated by the police and were beaten up and threatened at gun point by candidates and their supporters.

To compliment/ back up the door to door work of the UDF and its affiliates as many as ^{one million} 750 000 posters and leaflets were distributed.

?

Editions of "UDF News" - the newsletter/ mouthpiece of the UDF were distributed in all regions - ^{and} for the first time in the Northern Cape and Eastern Cape. In the Transvaal 250 000 copies went out. UDF News is distributed free and is one of the few newsletters to appear in many languages - to ensure maximum possible readership.

Posters bedecked every inch of public space - sometimes illegally since authorities are reluctant to grant permission for posters - giving the impression that the UDF was everywhere.

Volunteers would often go out night after night replacing posters damaged/ vandalised by unknown agents/ people.

In Johannesburg, posters advertsing a meeting were ripped off minutes after being pasted up and dumped in a sticky messy bundle on the doorstep of the home of ^{Transvaal} Anti-PC chairperson, Dr. Ismael Mohammed.

House meetings, ~~xxxx~~ community meetings, mass meetings and mass rallies were called by the UDF and its affiliates attracting larger and larger crowds as ^{the} election days ^{drew} near/ approached. In the three weeks prior to the elections at least one public meeting would be held a night in one or other part of South Africa and on weekends many more.

In every town, meetings called by the UDF or its affiliates attracted at least double the ^{the} numbers of people who attended meetings called by election candidates.

In some parts the LP and other parties were too scared to call meetings - apparently for fear of intimidation " from the UDF although it was widely suspected that the more likely reason was because they feared no one would come.

On the eve of the elections, the UDF held "First Anniversary Rallies" in each region attracting/ in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pietermaritzburg, ??? attracting a total of ? people. The rallies resembled festivals - as speeches were interspersed with singing, poetry reading, plays and dancing.

UDF called rallies for the first time in Pietersburg (and) Kimberley and ???. Over 4000 people attended the Pietersburg rally from all parts of the Northern Transvaal. Buses bringing people to ~~the~~ the rally, ~~often~~ often for the first time in their lives, left as early as 2 am (in the morning) in some places.

~~Police~~ Police were present at many of the meetings - sometimes in one or two cars, sometimes ~~in~~ in large numbers with riot control gear. In Lbaudium, outside Pretoria, 20 police vans surrounded the venue of a Transvaal Indian Congress meeting frightening people away.

In East London a mass meeting called by the Friends of T^{he} UDF Committee was banned. It was allowed to go ahead the following week

with the strigt proviso/ stringent proviso that "only coloureds" could attend. As the audience left the meeting, they were teargasse and shambokked.

In addition many of the affiliates thought of creative and inventive ways of spreading the message and indicating the support of the UDF.

Plays and skits were produced in Johannesburg , Cape Town and ? which were performed/ put on at meetings and even on the street/ at shopping centres and street corners ??? . A UDF media workshop in the Transvaal composed an anti-constitution song.

Placard demonstrations were another feature of the campaign.

In Lenasia on the evening before the Indian elections, placard demonstrators lined the streets for a total distance of 8 km.

from about 5 pm till late evening. People in the community came out of their houses offering refreshments ~~xxx~~ to the placard demonstrators as the night wore on.

other examples

All affiliate organisations to the UDF participated in different ways so that no area or constituency was neglected ??

The theme of South Africa's "ational Women's Day ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{in the Transvaal} was "Women Unite Against Botha's Plans". Women's organisations and womens groups which had sprung up during the campaigng ~~xxx~~ came together and expressed women's opposition to the new deal through meetings, a cultural evening and a placard demonstration where women held placards on almost every street corner in central Johannesburg.

other areas????

Youth organisation in the Transvaal organised a youth rally /Youth Rally where over 1 000 young people said no to the prospect of fighting in the South African army which the government has put on the cards.

other areas?

Unions affiliated to the UDF in the Transvaal came together to hold a Workers Rally .

Civic and political organisations in the Africa areas lent their support to the campaign calling on Indians and coloureds to stand united and not be bluffed by the so called new constitution.

Transvaal civics issued a pamphlet entitled "A Voice from Soweto" where they urged people to boycott the elections and said: "We are confident that Indians and coloureds are part of a long tradition of unity together with all the oppressed in this country" (get better quote)

Support for the stand taken by the UDF and its affiliates to call for a boycott of the elections was received from all quarters in South Africa and overseas.

All the major unions called on their members to boycott the elections. Members of sporting bodies such as the South African Soccer Soccer Federation and the Amateur Swimming Association of South Africa with a membership of were urged by their executives/ were ordered by their executives not to vote.

Key church leaders such as the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dennis Hurley the president of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Rev. Fremont Louw and of course the head of the Abreca ???, Dr. Allan Boesak condemned the elections and supported the boycott c all.

On the international front, the United Nations Security Council debated and passed a motion rejecting the new constitution and supporting the boycott. While the South African government tried to condemn the move as interfering in the internal affairs of another country the move was applauded by the UDF.

India's foreign ministers's statement urging all people of South Africa, especially those of Indian origin, to take no part in the so called elections and maintain unity in the struggle against apartheid, made/ had a very significant impact.

South Africans probably did not realise the full extent of international support since the South African government tries as much as possible to hide the extent to which its policies are rejected abroad.

boycott

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), two national student organisations and affiliates of the UDF called for a nationwide schools boycott to co-incide with the coloured and Indian elections.

Their call received overwhelming support and indicates just how great opposition from all quarters was to the elections. 650 000 Indian, African and coloured students responded to the call on August 22nd. Most remained on boycott until after the Indian elections the following week.

Principals of Indian schools were ordered by the government to suspend boycotting pupils. However, fearing the wrath of the community they declined to take action.

~~Election Day~~

The onslaught against the UDF

The South African government is notorious for the treatment it has meted out to opponents of apartheid. It is hard to find an anti-apartheid campaigner who has not spent a spell in detention, been served with a banning order or served a jail sentence. Many others have been forced to leave the country.

There appeared to be an easing off ~~xxxx~~ during 1983 and the beginning half of this year. UDF was allowed to grow and people were unbanned.

However for opponents of apartheid things were just as tough - for the security police had changed their tactics to ones often more insidious and debilitating than before.

People are still detained - but for short periods of time and often under criminal ^{legislation}. An increasing number of people are being convicted for petty offences such as the possession of banned T-shirts and ^{handed down} ~~given~~ relatively long jail sentences.

Members of organisations and their families are harassed by police who surveil their houses, follow them, and by unknown sources who make threatening phone calls, attack their homes with bricks and contact their employers.

Such tactics did not easily reach the ears of the overseas community ^{UDF been victim of thousands of boycotts leaflets which attempt to discredit UDF person inclusion} who the South African government was so desperately trying to impress.

As the campaign against the tricameral elections began, the attempts to discredit the UDF, victimise its supporters and hinder its day to day work intensified. Many examples have already been mentioned.

And in addition the UDF had to respond to the same kinds of tactics from election candidates. Immensely threatened by the support of the UDF, election candidates often put more energy into attacking and the UDF than urging people to vote for them/ telling people what they were going to do for them/ what they stood for.

For example their views were given constant prominence on the government controlled radio and TV, and ~~xx~~ a survey carried out by

a UDF affiliate showed that as much as 70% of TV time on the elections during the week preceding the coloured elections was devoted to attacking the UDF and so called "boycotters" while a substantially smaller percentage of time was spent giving candidates an chance to explain why people should vote for them.

The overall conclusion of the survey was that the SABC was more concerned to promote a high percentage poll and discredit the boycott position than report on the election campaign. Not one UDF meeting was mentioned although they drew far greater crowds than any of the meetings they reported on.

Election candidates often resorted to desperate and underhand tactics to get people to vote. Pensioners were threatened they would not receive pension money if they did not vote. This claim was substantiated by interviews carried out by an independent journalist from the Star newspaper in Johannesburg.

Others were lured to vote with false promises. Candidates took advantage of the severe housing shortages and promised houses to people who voted.

A few weeks before election day, UDF affiliates began to realise that / be aware that a large number of special votes were being cast. People are allowed special votes if they will be unable to vote on election day.

However a speedy investigation revealed that amongst the special voters were dead people, unheard of people, non-existent people and people who were perfectly able to vote on election day. Many of these had been coerced under false pretences to cast special votes.

The Transvaal Indian Congress has collected many affidavits of alleged malpractices surrounding the casting of special votes and intend bringing a Supreme Court Action to ????

On the eve of the elections the August 22 nd election, the propaganda campaigning against the UDF and its affiliates hotted up with

Minister of Law and Order, Le Grange's allegation that he was aware that the UDF, some of its affiliates and certain individuals were planning to disrupt the coloured and Indian elections "by means of school boycotts, labour unrest, intimidation and other acts of violence".

Yet if one looks at the campaign and at the events of election days ~~xxxxxx~~ the UDF was not the perpetuator of violence and intimidation as the government constantly ^{it was} made out. Instead UDF campaigners were the victims of violence and UDF supporters who the police/government ~~were~~ were trying to intimidate.

later The detention of over 30 UDF leaders and campaigners, followed in the wake of Le Grange's accusations, As' opposition mounted, the government had to resort to its old tactics of detentions and violence and

The swooped on the homes of one of the three UDF presidents, Archie Gumede, the publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, national treasurer, Mewa Ramgobin and other National executive members and UDF vice presidents such as Ram Saloojee, Aubrey Mok and Curtis Nkondo. In addition the presi of the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses, George Sewpersadh and Dr. Essop Massat were detained.

Government unpopularity soared as people were angered by the ^{dete} detention of people who had won their respect and support over in the months past.

And the image they presented on election day must have increased the wrath of the people.

At polling booths there were more police than voters maintaining a large and intimidating presence.

UDF monitors were taunted, insulted, their names were taken ^{arrested} and they were ordered away at polling booths around the country, and thus prevented from carrying out a commonly accepted election practice.

Over 300 people were detained or arrested on August 22nd. Their offences ranged from "wearing illegal placards", putting up posters, sitting in a car opposite a polling station and so called "public violence".

At the polling station in Eldorado Park, outside Johannesburg, protesting school children were baton charged, tear gassed and one man was injured with a rubber bullet. It was later discovered that the injured man was a voter - so indiscriminate was the police violence.

On August 28th the situation was similar. As many as ? incidents of police clashes were reported.

In Lenasia outside Johannesburg anti-election demonstrators repeatedly clashed with police from 11 am until late at night.

Police used shamboks, tear gas and rubber bullets to force the crowds ~~xxx~~ to disperse. Old men, housewives and young children were amongst the 300 people injured. Two people suffered serious eye injuries, one of whom was shot in the eye with a rubber bullet. Scores of people were arrested although many released without charges being laid.

Placard demonstrators, often alone, at many other polling stations were attacked by police shamboks, tear gas and dogs.

Many supporters and even candidates joined the police in attacking the anti-election demonstrators.

It is universally accepted that no free and fair election can take place in a climate of harassment and fear. As the UDF pointed out in a press release at the time - with riot police guarding polling stations, with the detention of respected leaders, with schools being closed down, the situation resembled an undeclared state of emergency. It was not a situation for peaceful elections.

The results/ election results.

The arsenal of mass media and propaganda totally failed to persuade the coloured and Indian communities to support the new constitution or to vote.

Instead the hard work of the UDF paid off./ Instead and people throughout South Africa demonstrated that they are united in their rejection of Apartheid and that the UDF reflects their / expressed the real sentiments of the people/ their real sentiments.

82% of the coloured people and 85% of the Indian people did not vote on August 22nd and 28th. A lot of the people who voted particularly the old and the very poor, did so out of fear of reprisals.

The official polls were 31% for the coloured election and 20% for the Indian elections. However UDF research has revealed that the real polls are far lower. The official polls are based on the numbers of registered voters. Yet a little over half of the coloured population/ 59% of the coloured population is registered and a maximum of 76% of the Indian population is registered.

Thus if one takes eligible voters into account the real percentage polls are 18% for/ in the coloured elections and 15,5% in the Indian elections. These could even be lower since they are based mainly on 1980 census figures which are widely regarded as under estimations.

The discrepancy between the numbers of registered and eligible voters in some areas was particularly great.

The government controlled radio made headline news of the fact that the highest poll was in the Northern Transvaal. However 11% of eligible voters are registered in this constituency. This means that the real percentage poll was a meagre 6,6% and not the high 59% claimed by the government media.

A look at the differences in percentage polls in the different constituencies across the country spells out one message very clearly - the greater the presence of the UDF and its affiliates, the lower the poll.

In the Western Cape, where over three quarters of the coloured population live/ are the percentage of the adult population who voted was a meagre 4,9%. In one constituency only 1,4% of the adult population voted.

In Lesasia where the majority of the Indians in the Transvaal live/ are concentrated and which was the scene of much drama/ police action on election day, the polls were very low. A total of 1829 votes were cast - representing only 4% of the adult population.

In Natal on August 28th ????

The highest poll in the Transvaal was in Easterus, the coloured township outside of Pretoria. ^(59%) On the weekend prior to the election, UDF campaigners had been attacked and held under siege by armed gangs who supported the Labour Party while attempting to go door to door/ to distribute pamphlets. The police's response was to arrest 42 UDF campaigners and charge them for disturbing the peace while leaving the gangsters alone.

Under such circumstances, even UDF supporters did not dare to boycott the elections. / Under such circumstances, Easterus residents feared repercussions if they did not vote.

A significant percentage of votes cast were special votes. In the Indian elections 30% of the total number of votes cast were special votes. This must be viewed in the light of widespread reports of intimidation of poor, illiterate voters as well as pensioners to cast special votes and other malpractices.

In Laudium 73% of the votes cast were special votes raising the poll to a relative high of 32%. In Actonville where a large number of malpractices were reported 59% of all votes cast were special votes.

In Grassby Park in the Cape Peninsula, 46% of votes cast were special votes. ^{where the percentage poll was only 5'}

So low were the polls that often one's family and friendship network were sufficient to get one elected. Many candidates were elected with a few hundred votes and some unelected candidates got as little as ten votes.

In these circumstances it is no surprise that some dubious people were elected. A Mr. amina ??? of the National Peoples Party who was convicted for murder in Ieland in the 1960's was elected in the North Coast constituency in Natal.

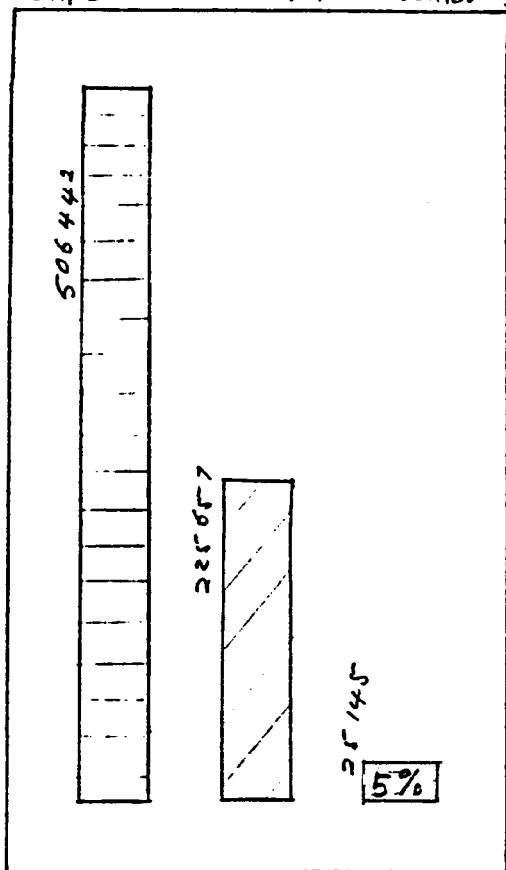
The growing popularity of the UDF and people's faith in extra parliamentary opposition is also demonstrated by the drop in percentage poll since for the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) and South African Indian Council (SAIC).

In 1969, 49% of registered voters cast their votes. In 1984 only 30% did so. In the Western Cape the drop was over half - from 25,6% to 11,1%.

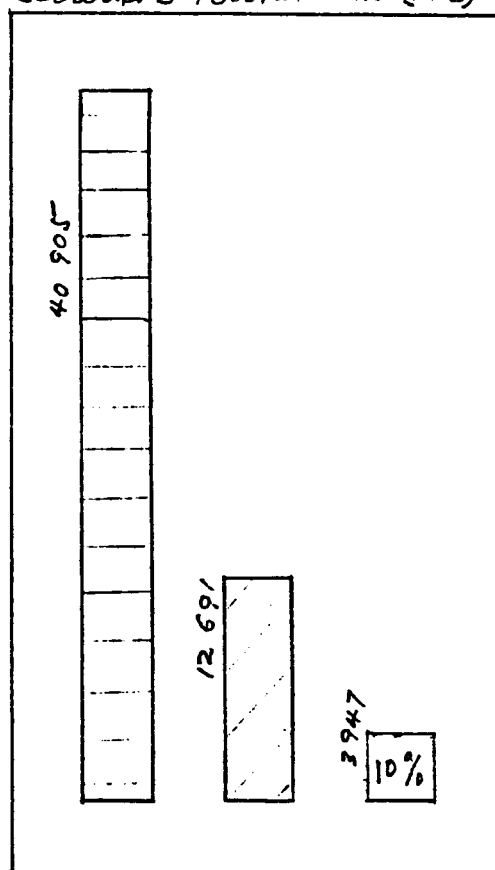
In the constituency of A.J. Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party and one of the most outspoken Indian supporters of the new deal, the ~~percentage~~ percentage poll dropped from 18,4% to 14,1%. He now has a position as a cabinet minister without portfolio after being elected by 1088 votes.

9.

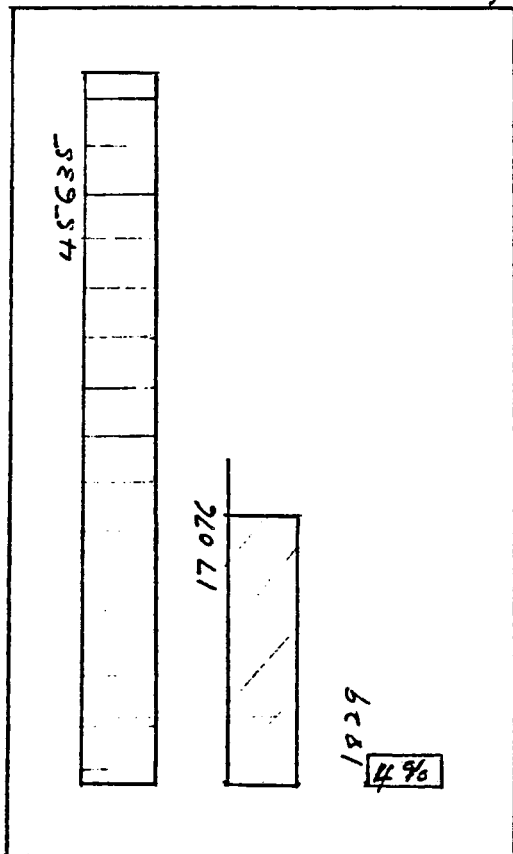
CAPE PENINSULA (COLOURFUL)



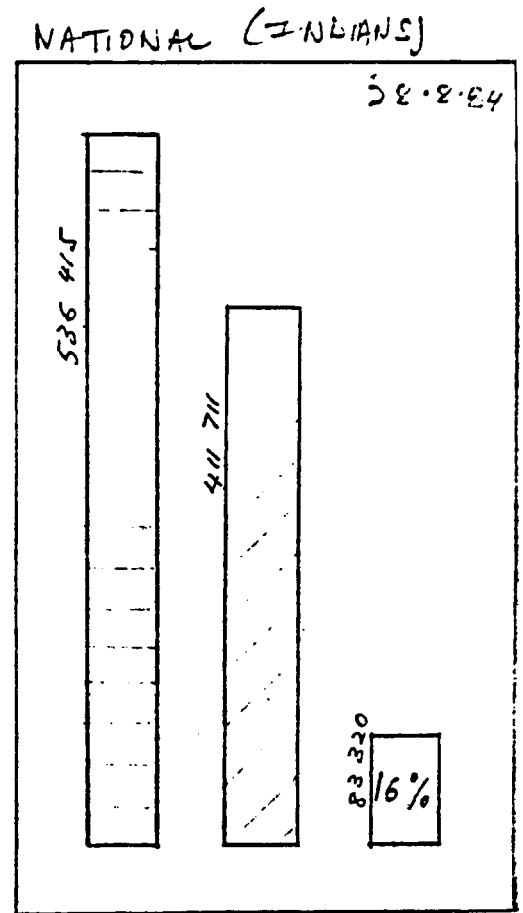
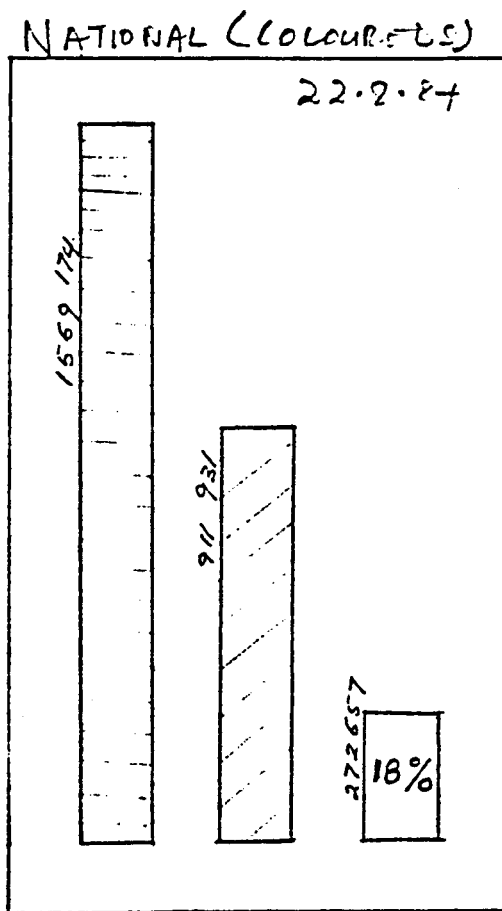
ELDORADO PARK (COLOURFUL TOWNSHIP IN JHB.)






LENASIA (INDIAN TOWNSHIP IN JHB.)



VOTES CAST AS COMPARED TO THE NUMBER OF REGISTERED VOTERS AND THE TOTAL ADULT POPULATION.



KEY:

-  ADULT POPULATION
-  REGISTERED VOTERS
-  ACTUAL VOTERS - VOTES CAST

- Notes
- ① The percentages indicated above is the percentage fall in terms of the adult population
 - ② The numbers on the bars represent the numbers of people.

Conclusion

Ben AL10¹

the results of the Black Local Authorities and Tricameral elections demonstrate clearly that the UDF has succeeded in uniting Africans, coloureds, and Indians against the new constitution and the koornhof laws. Only 12% of adults in these communities took part in these elections.

Events following the August elections have made it clear that opposition to the new deal has not ended with the inauguration of the new parliament. throughout the country there has been widespread unrest focusing attention on the inability of the black Local Authorities to improve living conditions, unequal education and high rents.

The UDF has time and again warned that pursuing such policies against the will of the people can only increase strife and conflict,

The consistent refusal by the authorities to submit to just demands of the people has sparked unrest in many parts of the country.

Peaceful opposition to government policies has met with violence. Many people have been killed as a result of government action. Public meetings in 22 magisterial districts in the Transvaal have been banned and dozens of people have been hospitalised following police baton charges and teargassing of demonstrators.

The response of the government over the last two weeks has revealed that it is as unprepared as ever to allow the voice of extra-parliamentary opposition to speak out.

The attack it has launched on UDF and its affiliate organisation is indicative of an attempt to crush all forms of extra-parliamentary opposition and to push ahead with the constitution despite the overwhelming rejection of this measure by the majority of South Africans.

AL11

How "ALII"

UDF Acceptance Speech for "Let Live" Prize

Malmö - May 27, 1984

M. Chairman, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should not be here today. This honour rightly belongs to the true leaders of the oppressed masses of South Africa. I speak of NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MANDELA, this inspiring leader who is one of the patrons of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT together with Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg and others, who for 2 decades have been incarcerated in the dungeons of apartheid.

This racist repressive regime has also crippled the three presidents of the United Democratic Front, ~~the~~ Albertina Sisulu, Oscar Mpetha and Archie Gumede who could not be given passports.

I feel deeply moved and humbled to accept this honour in the place of these brave leaders. I am overwhelmed at having to represent the oppressed people of my country.

Ladies and gentlemen, we meet here today at a very crucial period in our history. The conclusion of the Inkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique, the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African Army, the deliberate sabotage by South Africa of U.N. Resolution 435 on Namibia, secret pacts between the governments of South Africa and Swaziland designed to dismember our country, (this, in shameless defiance of the O.A.U resolution on the preservation of existing boundaries) the gross violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent countries by inflicting death and destruction in Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho and Namibia. - All these demonstrate conclusively that this repressive regime is determined by all means at his disposal - to impose its evil designs on the sub-continent as a whole.

At the same time the regime is bent on destabilising and disorganising the forces of resistance who are striving for justice, peace and democracy. In pursuance of this objective the South African government is about to perpetuate a massive fraud in

the name of the people, I refer of course, to the new South African Constitution Act. This sham reform is, undoubtedly aimed at lending South Africa international creditability to make the world believe that this Botha regime genuinely intends to end apartheid.

I state categorically that the Thatcher, Reagan, Kohl Axis is deliberately reinforcing this false notion to protect and promote their own financial interests.

Within the next few days, the Chief architect and ambassador of repression, P.W. Botha, will be visiting several European Countries, notably Britain and West Germany.

Any government body or organization who dares to entertain this arch racist is committing a crime against the South African people in particular and humanity in general.

Let us not forget that while Botha presents the World with his camouflaged face of reasonableness and accomodation, his true face, in fact is one of brutality and repression;

- The denationalisation of 8 1/4 million people.
- The forced and violent removal and uprooting of 3 ½ million people.
- The daily arrest of more than a thousand people for pass law offences.
- The imprisonment of more than 100.000 people - the highest prison figure in the world,
- The detention without trial of 453 people in the last year alone.
- The death in detention of approximately 50 people.
- The deprivation of schooling for thousands of our children.

All these and many more prove beyond doubt the point that I am making, a point which, even the South African government cannot deny except to rationalize.

Nevertheless, in spite of this brutality, in spite of all this

repression the march towards peace, democracy and freedom continues inexorably.

Workers continue to fight against exploitation, resistance against the uprooting of our people and the merciless bulldozing of their homes continues, deprived communities continue to fight against high rentals and ever escalating food prices, and the shortage of housing; thousands of people march daily to and from work in their fight against ridiculously high bus fares and there is mounting resistance and protests of thousands of our school children against the imposition of racist and inferior education.

In the face of such powerful forces, repression alone was soon found to be totally inadequate. The regime was forced to resort to using a strategy of offering a carrot in the one hand and a stick in the other. It is in this sense that reforms and repression are two sides of the same coin.

South Africa is presently in the grip of a severe economic crisis. There is rising unemployment, rampant inflation, disinvestments, a huge balance of payments deficit, a massive defence budget and fluctuating gold prices.

Accompanying these, are the growing internecine conflicts within the ruling class itself. The total collapse of all the dummy institutions including the bantustan system necessitated some other more sophisticated manoeuvre.

It is evident that the Koornhof bill (or laws) and the new Constitution are no more than a sophisticated though facile attempt of the regime to extricate itself from a deep seated political, economic and ideological crisis.

The constitution totally excludes the African majority and attempts to co-opt the Coloured and Indian people as junior partners in the oppressive machinery. It offers to the latter two communities separate so-called parliaments designed to create an illusion of democracy and power. In reality however,

all decisions of consequence are determined in the final analysis by the white minority.

This is achieved in a forum in which the oppressor has had the temerity to secure for himself a majority in the ratio of 9:2:1; even in minor matters these dummy parliaments cannot pass legislation without the sanction of their white masters.

Democrats in South Africa reject this constitution with the contempt that it truly deserves for the following reasons.

Firstly, the constitution has been imposed from the arrogant heights of apartheid with neither the consultation nor consent of the South African people.

Secondly, Botha's new deal re-inforces the separation of races and is designed to entrench apartheid, to shatter the solidarity of the people of South Africa.

Thirdly, the constitution does not address the fundamental economic, social & political grievances of the oppressed people.

Above all, the success of the constitution depends solely upon the support of the military machine and the vast arsenal of the South African security system.

It must be emphasized that the South African security legislation and all other unjust racist laws remain part of the statute book and are integral to the new devious scheme.

UDF

At the time of the announcement of the new constitution there existed within the country hundreds of democratic organizations committed to the achievement of freedom, peace and justice.

All rejected the constitution and the Koornhof Bills and, decided to establish and develop the United Democratic Front.

This Front was officially launched in Cape Town on the 20th August 1983, at a conference and rally at which 400 ~~hundred~~ organizations were represented. Fifteen thousand people witnessed and participated in this historic moment in our struggle for liberation.

Since then the front has embraced an additional 200 organizations and now commands the support of more than 2 million people.

To this extent the UDF is the most significant mass resistance movement in our country since the Congress Alliance which met in 1955.

WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AWARDING THE LIVE LET-LIVE PRIZE TO THE UDF?

Firstly, it is the beginning of recognition by the international community that this front has united the oppressed people in the shaping of their own destiny.

Secondly, the prize means that the workers of Sweden reject the evil system of apartheid and Botha's sophisticated effort at perpetuating it. In particular you have helped us to impede Botha's efforts which begin in Europe next week.

Thirdly, the awarding of the prize represents the unequivocal support (both material and moral) of the workers of Sweden for the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa.

In the fourth place it is clear that the workers of Sweden have been inspired by the noble principles enshrined in the U. N. declaration of human rights. The award represents the endeavour of the Swedish workers to make these ideals a reality not only in South Africa but in the lives of people throughout the world.

Finally, this event is the beginning of a new tradition which lays the foundation for the building of a unity which will embrace the workers of Sweden and the people of the third world.

For all these reasons the United Democratic Front accepts this significant award with gratitude and humility. We call upon all freedom loving people throughout the world to intensify their efforts for the eradication of the evil system of apartheid in South Africa, and to wipe out racism and inequality wherever they exist.

We join the freedom loving people in this noble task and historic duty which faces humanity. We pledge ourselves to struggle side by side, sparing no effort or sacrifice until we achieve a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

I fully understand that any action on my part contrary to this
declaration will render me liable to any disciplinary action
which the department may deem appropriate.

signed by me at _____ this _____ day of _____ 19____

SIGNATURE _____

DATE _____

WITNESS (1) _____

DATE _____

WITNESS (2) _____

DATE _____

AL12

APARTHEID IN THE BALLOT BOX - APARTHEID IN THE VOTING BOOTH-

APARTHEID IN THE PARLIAMENT.

Rev AL 12"

BY NAKEDI MATHEWS PHOSA

19/8/84

The battle lines are drawn, the chaff must be separated from the wheat, the collaborators, sellouts and fifth-columnists are pitted against one of the biggest national campaigns for freedom, justice and equality never before witnessed in this country.

We meet here today to tell the world and to rededicate ourselves to the course of freedom. It is our concern to promote democracy in South Africa and we are here to say nothing doing with the monstrous and inhuman policy of apartheid.

How long have we suffered humiliation? How long have we been discriminated against, how long have we been oppressed, exploited and trampled upon?

The situation and degree of oppression has so much crystallized that apartheid is being legislated. The country has reached a stage where a white person might in certain circumstances be prosecuted for having failed or omitted to discriminate and walk on our dignity.

We have all felt and experienced, the biting teeth of the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, the Pass laws, the Influx control laws and all other South African Laws seething with apartheid. Enough is enough, we are going to have to bounce back whatever the consequences to our life, limb or liberty, if we do have any liberty at all.

We have/.....2

We have been told by the Rajbansis and the Hendrikse that they are participating in the so-called tri-cameral parliament because they want to work from inside and speak for us. There could be no serious insult to the progressive forces and the masses of this country than what the Hendrikse are saying in justifying their collaboration with the forces of oppression and exploitation. Who gave these politically bankrupt malcontent the mandate? Who do they represent? It should be clear by now to these sellouts that the broad progressive democratic freedom loving South Africans are against this tricameral parliamentary system contrived by the apartheid masters.

On the 22nd August 1984 and on the 28th August 1984 part of the population i.e. the Coloureds and the Indians brothers and sisters, you are facing a historical challenge and we look up to you to take a progressive historical standpoint. You have been asked to decide whether or not you wish to connive, collaborate and caress apartheid. What one should realise is very simple. If you vote, you shall have purchased a political licence to implement apartheid against yourselves and against all the oppressed Black masses in this country. If you vote you shall have agreed to hug apartheid, kiss apartheid and indeed you shall have agreed to go to bed with and had political sexual intercourse with apartheid. I am telling you.

You must realize that we are not fighting for half- a loaf but for the full loaf. There are no shortcuts to liberation, I contend. Liberation has never in the history of mankind been handed over to the oppressed because there is never a common code of conduct between the oppressed and the oppressor. One fights for liberation until one gets it.

The progressive . . .

The progressive forces of this country are not fighting for concessions or reforms. No. It is not possible for anybody to reform apartheid. Apartheid, is of- course capable of dropping sugar - coated pills which if you have lost your soul like the Hendrickses and the Rajbansis you will fall for. If one follows the tactics of the masters of apartheid one discerns a tendency to co-opt the petty burgeoisie from amongst us and use them against us to perpetuate apartheid in all its forms and fashions. Now the tricameral parliamentary system is another form of entrenching apartheid. For the said system to succeed the Bothas of this world have employed the Hendrikse and the Rajbansis as their senior servants, indunas and gangbosses. These people will promise you manna from this tricameral parliament. Such manna shall never come. These people are the unapologetic servants of apartheid. They must be exposed together with their cohorts in collaboration for what they are. They must be isolated and all their children must suffer the same fate. Let the wrath of the progressive forces descend upon them with vigour.

This is not the time to compromise, this is the time to demonstrate once and for all to the oppressive structure that the oppressed people of this country mean business when they declare that we are hostile to apartheid we reject apartheid and all the collaborators, we want a free democratic South Africa, because we believe that South Africa belongs to all of us. There is no justification for 4 million people to rule and regulate the lives of 35 million people. We are not going to have this and we must demonstrate beyond any shadow of doubt that we shall not vote for apartheid.

The struggle for liberation, freedom justice and equality is not geared towards multiracial hotels and toilets. A multiracial toilet cannot give you freedom and equality and justice. As far as I am concerned the oppressive minority can keep their multiracial toilets to themselves. The tricameral parliamentary system for which you are being asked to vote for is a multiracial toilet in a real sense. If you vote for this multiracial toilet you will find your conscience putting you on trial and finding you guilty of having collaborated with evil.

Soon or very soon, that is if you vote for apartheid, this machinery shall crush on you demanding that you pay a price, and that is, having your children conscripted for military services. What a dreadful idea! You are going to find yourselves shooting down our children in Soweto, Lamontville, the Eastern Cape and our brothers and sisters on the other side of the border. You are going to find yourselves in Southern Angola supporting Savimbi under the cloak of fighting our comrades in SWAPO. Literally you are going to fight and die for apartheid. You must decide to refuse to vote for evil and exploitation.

One need to take into account the fact that the constitution which created this tricameral parliament is unrepresentative and illegitimate because it was drawn and approved by less than a quarter of South African citizens. A true constitution must represent the will of all the citizens of a country and this one does not. It merely represent and solidify apartheid. Beware of those lackeys who have developed an irresistible impulse to promote apartheid preaching change and reform. They are the apartheid wolfs up to pull you into the voting booth of human oppression and exploitation.

The Hendrickse and Rajbansis are refusing to heed the writings on the wall, namely, that the progressive South African masses are totally opposed to this tricameral system. You ask yourself why these apartheid indunas are adopting ostrich tactics, the reason is not far to find, they don't care about our freedom, they have no sense of justice, they don't understand the current of the progressive tidalwave that is falling down on the head of the apartheid masters. They do not understand these things because they won't understand. Not when some of them have been promised cabinet posts in the apartheid cabinet to be. Not when they will have the Bothas as their neighbours at Groot Schuur Ackers? To them that means change and freedom. What change? What freedom when our brothers are under a threat to be moved forcefully to Khayelitsha, when the people of Driefontein are being shot for resisting forced removals, when we still carry dompasses, when comrades Mandela, Sisulu Mbeki and others are still lingering in gaol, when scores of our brothers have been forced to go to exile, and when some of our brothers are either restricted bannished or banned. What change is there when the ghost of Biko still haunts the country like the ghost of ^{Bismarck} ~~Macbeth~~, when the laws that led to Biko's death, Timol's death are still in full existence? What change is there? The Rajbansis and Hendrickse have lost their souls under the opium of apartheid.

I want to assure you especially those who like taking political shortcuts at the expense of their conscience and reality, that South Africa is going to be free in the lifetime of the now oppressive minority regime. They shall live to experience and witness a free and democratic non-racial South Africa. If they don't believe me they only have to telephone Mr Ian Smith, accross the border for an answer and he will

tell them..../6

tell them how he was made to swallow his words and pride. South Africa is fast moving in that beautiful direction like it or not. So let us not be diverted from the course of freedom and equality and democracy. Let us have no truck with these unpopular apartheid elections.

You will remember that in Zimbabwe it was the Bishop Muzorewa who in the name of Christ tried to mislead the masses there but without success as the truth caught up with him. The Rev. Hendrickse should telephone Bishop Muzorewa who is presently in a refrigerator and find out what happens to political opportunist and collaborators. Maybe the small Bishop might enlighten him.

I do not wish to threaten or intimidate anybody for I do not have the capacity or facilities to intimidate or threaten anyone but I want you to learn from the lessons of history because history is very unkind to those who refuse to learn from it.

Whenever the Nationalist party goes throw their camps as against the HNP or CP or a combination of both we have heard of scuffles that took place. Nobody has ever talked of political intimidation. We only hear of scuffles. But when chairs fly in the air at meetings of the collaborators the oppressor and his indunas cry foul play and intimidation. What Rubbish is that. The progressive forces of this country are standing on the truth and we shall continue to do so and we are entitled to have our own way of demonstrating our opposition to the violent policy of apartheid. There is no intimidation about it.

I want to...../7

I want to remind you that the struggle is multifaceted and everyone of you in his own small or big way should make a contribution. I have no doubt that if you stayed away from the elections on the 22 August 1984 and the 28 August 1984 you shall have made an extremely magnanimous and significant contribution towards the struggle for the total dismantling of apartheid. Don't tell me of the powerful South African military machinery, for you should remember that even the Shah of Iran had such a machinery but he failed to withstand the revolutionary forces of democracy, the Holy Book i.e. the Koran guided the revolution of Iran and the corrupt Shah died in exile and in shame. You cannot oppress a man forever. I say these things to give hope to the hopeless among us who think that it is better to eat the political crumbs from the master's desk than to stay hungry. Let us all stay hungry suffer for a better meal for all in South Africa. It is ultimately better to die in hunger than to live in shame, humiliation and oppression. Take this message home with you and share it with your fellow countrymen.

We demand one democratic non-racial parliament for all South Africans. This is our country. The Coloureds have helped build this country, the Indian brothers have helped build this country and all the Black masses have helped making South Africa what she is today. There is therefore no reason whatsoever why we should not demand our inalienable rights in all their forms and fashions.

I urge you to go to work or go on with your daily duties and stay very far from the polling booth of apartheid. There will be apartheid in every polling booth on the 22 August 1984 and the 28 August 1984. So stand far from evil, exploitation and oppression. I urge you, I

I plead with.... '83

I plead with you and I have faith that you shall not betray the remaining portion of the masses in this country. Refuse to vote for apartheid. Refuse to be used by the oppressors in their machinery of oppression and human exploitation. And remember that South Africa belongs to all of us - one democratic Parliament - one South Africa - one nation.

P.O.Box 126

KWA XUMA
1868

2nd August 1984.

Ben Al

THE SECRETARY
SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION
SOWETO

Dear Comrade(s)

INVITATION TO A PROTEST CONFERENCE AND RALLY IN SOWETO.

You are invited to attend a "protest" conference and rally of Civic Associations/Organizations and representatives of rural and resettlement areas to be held at the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH in PHIRI, SOWETO, on the 12th August 1984, starting from 11a.m. to 3p.m.

The Protest Conference will consist of two sessions. The first session will be a business session to adopt a position statement on the 'Coloured-Indian elections and the New Constitution. The Statement will then be read in the second part of the meeting which shall take the form of a Rally.

The aim here is to "raise" the "voice" of those affected by the Bantustan System and the Black Local Authorities which are the basis for the New Constitution. To register a message that participating in these elections (New System) is accepting and endorsing the pain and misery of the oppressed majority in the country. We want to make a decision as to what we should do with the Hendrickse's and the Rajbansi's who claim that they are going to represent 'Africans' in the New System.

The Draft Position Statement is enclosed for your consideration and suggestions. Please Telephone the office of Rev. F. Chikane at 339-2513 (011) for amendments and additions to the Statement before or on Thursday the 9th August 1984.

DO COME TO THIS HISTORICAL DAY THAT WILL TURN THE TIDE AGAINST THIS EVIL SYSTEM AND THE PARTICIPANTS THEREOF.

YOURS SINCERELY



FRANK CHIKANE ^{most of}
(On behalf of ~~the~~ the Civic Associations in the Witwatersrand)

CC. DR. MOTLANA.

AL14

In response to repeated requests for the UDF'S attitude to the referendum to be held on the 2 November 1983 the President's office wishes to make the position on this issue as clear and unambiguous as possible.

Revised

Central to our attitude to the white referendum is our belief that the future destiny of our country cannot be decided by the white minority but by all South Africans participating as equals in a free, open and impartial test of national opinion.

There is complete unanimity amongst all constituents of the UDF that the new Constitution Act must be unequivocally ~~rejected~~ *opposed* by all South Africans at all times and especially ~~by whitespeople~~ on November 2.

The means of expressing this rejection will differ from region to region according to conditions prevailing in the various constituencies of the UDF and determined by the imperatives of the individual organisations. This is in keeping with the broad-front nature of the UDF.

It must be emphasised that while this referendum is a pivotal issue for some groups and organisations it is essentially marginal to the main thrust of the UDF's activities and program. *However the means of expressing this rejection by organisations supporting the UDF may differ and will be determined by the imperative of individuals.* In keeping with this the regional councils are already implementing an alternative programme of action which concentrates on the activities of the masses of our people and will culminate in the people's weekend. The main focus of this people's weekend activities is a number of people's rallies to be held on the 30 October 1983 dedicated to the attainment of a just and democratic order in our country.

AL15

CONSTITUTION

This mass rally noting:

TVL.
Revised 15

- i. That the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act 1983 is not the outcome of negotiations with the genuine, popular leaders of the disenfranchised majority, but rather is being imposed by the National Party with the active connivance of its hand - picked nominees and is aimed at fragmenting the solidarity of the oppressed.
- ii. that the new constitution will confirm the permanent denial of citizenship rights to African people, fragment our country and integrate Indians and Coloureds only as junior partners within a political framework dominated by the N.P
- iii. that therefore, the basic pillars of apartheid- migrant labour, influx control, Group Areas and Bantustans will remain firmly entrenched.
- iv. that the adaptation of both central and local government constitutional structures is calculated to secure, under the guise of power sharing, a reduction in the scope of the governments responsibility for the provision of housing, education, social security, etc, and represents therefore a direct assault on the living standards of the majority of our own people.
- v. that the Black Local Authorities Act, the Koornhof Bills, together with the recommendations of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions is aimed at imposing artificial divisions between rural "outsiders" and urban "insiders" in the hope that this will isolate the working class politically and derail the struggle for national self-determination.
 - that the new constitution will entrench white minority rule in all decision-making structures- the tri-cameral, tri-racial parliament, the electoral college, the cabinet and Presidents Council.
 - that the new constitution will centralise political and economic

power in the non elected institutions of the State, in it's repressive arm and a Presidential diotator, in the interests of conglomerate Big Business.

and believing:

that South Africa belongs to all those who li^ve in it, black and white, and no government can justifiably calim authority unless it is based on the will of the people,

now therefore resolves:

1. to call up on all sections of aur people to reject and resist the governments fraudulent so-called "reform" initiative.
2. to pledge ourselves to strive together with all sections of our people under the leadership of the working class sparing neither strengh nor courage for the attainment of a truly democratic non-racdl South Africa.

Ass. prof I Mohammed

AL16

(20)

23/9/87

150w AL 16 "



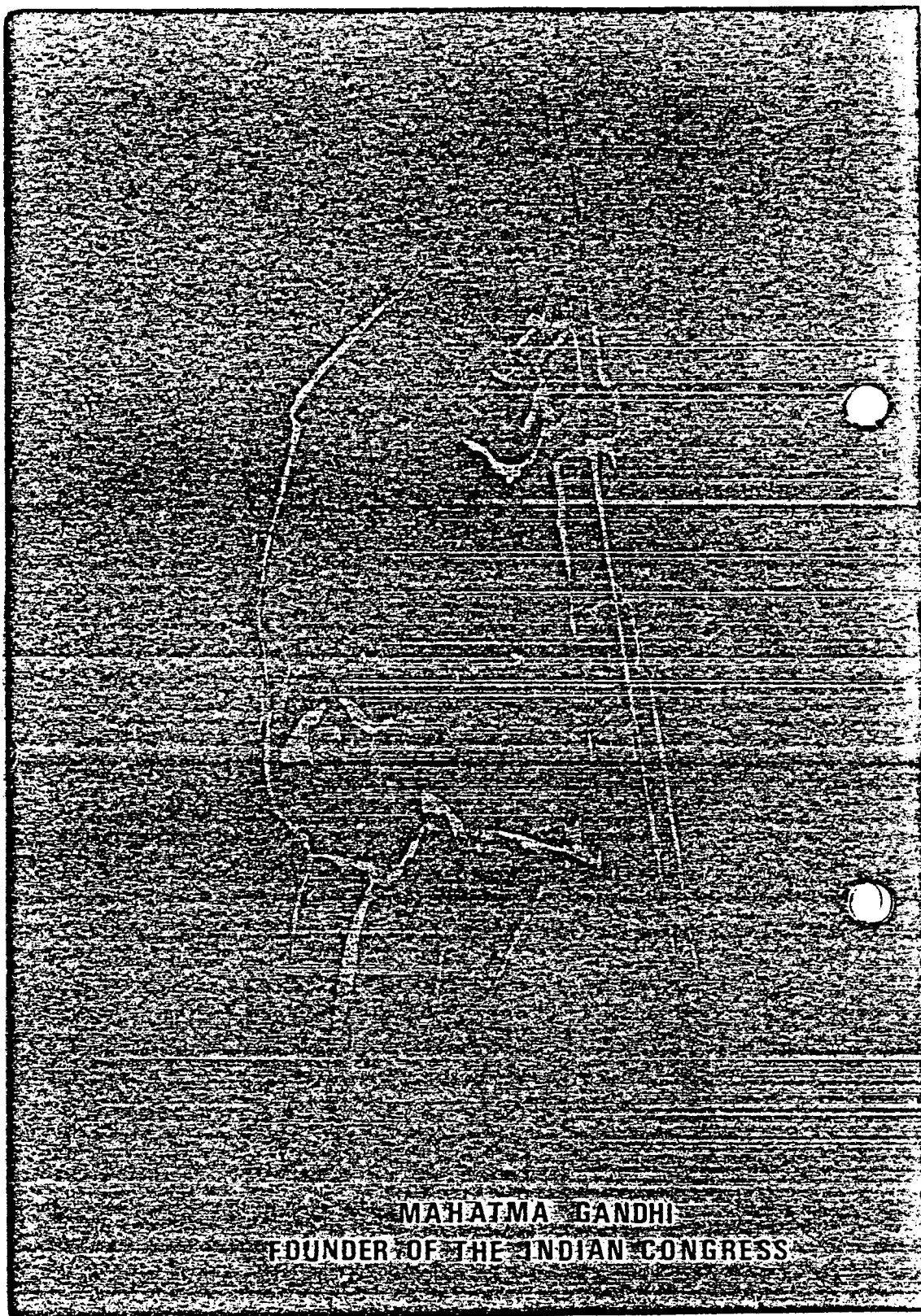
launching conference - may 1964
east rand branch



The Transitional
Indian Congress
calls on you and
your organization
to build the East
Rand Branch
To make it your
voice To carry
the torch of
freedom
To join hands
with all South
Africans to say
no to apartheid
constitution
Yes

to a people's government

20 23/7/87



MAHATMA GANDHI
FOUNDER OF THE INDIAN CONGRESS

YOU ARE INVITED

DEAR ANTL P.C. COMMITTEE

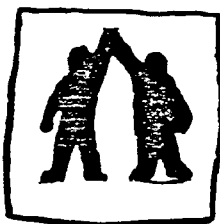
The Transvaal Indian Congress is launching its East Rand Branch at a conference on the 6th May, 1984. (Sunday).

We are inviting you/organisation to attend this conference which will be held at the Reform Church, Delair Street, Actonville at 2 pm. sharp.

We look forward to your participation and support.

Yours in solidarity,

Transvaal Indian Congress



unite against
the constitution

OUR ORGANISATIONS STAND BEHIND US

Greetings from the United Democratic Front on this historic launching of the East Rand Branch of the TIC.

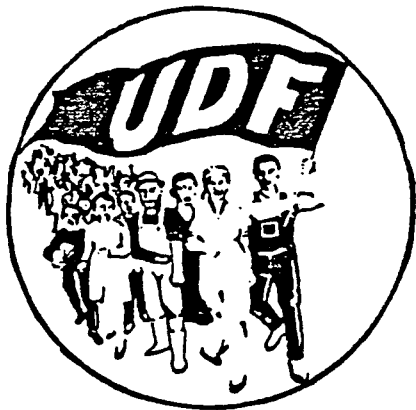
You are meeting at a time when the government is very seriously trying to divide the Indian and Coloured people from their African brothers and sisters.

The UDF calls on the people of the East Rand to throw their weight behind the TIC. The TIC is affiliated to the UDF. By supporting the TIC, you will be helping to build the UDF.

Forward to a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Message of Support: United Democratic Front

UDF UNITES
APARTHEID DIVIDES



It is with great happiness that I note the attempt to form a branch of the Transvaal Indian Congress on the East Rand.

We, in the TIC believe that we derive our strength from the people whom we represent.

The people of Actonville, Bakerton, Germiston, Nigel, Rynsoord and Balfour can through the branch influence and direct the TIC.

And, at the same time, they can derive their strength from the fact that they belong to a wider organisation.

/ Message from Essop Jassat. (TIC)

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

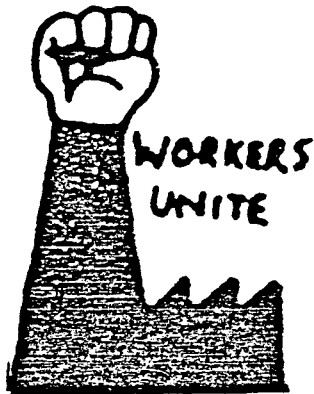
- . Prayer
- . Welcome Address by Dr E. Jassat
- . Message of Support by Billy Nair
(Natal Indian Congress)
- . Message of Support by Popo Molefe
(United Democratic Front)
- . Skit on the Constitution by
Shakti Creative Arts

----- tea -----

- . TIC on Constitution and
Road Ahead by Mr N.G. Patel
- . Questions and Comments
- . Resolutions
- . Nominations for Executive
- . Vote of Thanks

equal human rights for all

they fought for **freedom**

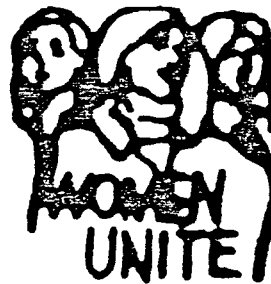


Aunty Mary Moodley. An active member of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions; a signatory to the Freedom Charter and a member of the Federation of South African Women.

She was motivated by her love and compassion for her fellow beings.

Yusuf Dadoo. former president of the TIC died 18th Sept., 1983

His death brought an end to 45 years of commitment to the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.



LET CULTURE



SPEAK OF
FREEDOM

Molvi Ismail Salojee, former president of the TIC, dedicated his life to uniting the oppressed people of South Africa. Even on his death bed he inspired the revival of the TIC.

they died our **leaders**

FREEDOM CHARTER

3 000 delegates from every corner of our country joined hands on 26th June, 1955 at Kliptown, Johannesburg.

Together, they set out their demands for our people.

The TIC was our voice.

Today, the TIC still stands by our demands, sparing no their strength nor courage, until we have won our liberty.

- Houses, security and comfort
- The doors of learning and culture shall be opened
- Peace and friendship
- Equal human rights

SYMBOL OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Issued by Transvaal Indian Congress, P.O. Box 25013, Johannesburg. Printed by Shamsi Printers, Benoni.

AL17

Bew "ALIF"

We the people of N Tvl gathered here at the Naledi Hall, Seshego on Sunday 5 August 1984 and noting:

1. That the Nat government is attempting to divide our people and thereby break our long-standing unity.
2. That the constitution Act of 1983 does not represent our people's aspirations.
3. That with the implementation of the new constitution, the children of the oppressed will be forced to defend an unjust and inhuman system.

Hereby resolve to:

1. Reject the new constitution in totality
2. Continue our fight for a non-racial democratic S A based on the will of the people.
3. Unite and organise under the banner of the United Democratic Front

Motion - Resolution

We the people of N.T.U. gathered here at the Naledi Hall, Seshego, on Sunday 5. Aug. 1984 and noting:

- ① That the Nat. govt. is attempting to divide our people and thereby break our long-standing unity.
- ② That the Constitution Act of 1983 does not represent our peoples' aspirations.
- ③ That with the implementation of the new Constitution, the children of the oppressed will be forced to defend an unjust and inhuman system.

hereby resolve to:

- ① Reject the new Constitution in totality.
- ② Continue our fight for a non-racial democratic S.A. based on the will of the people.
- ③ Unite and organise under the banner of the United Democratic Front.

AL18

What can YOU do?

- * Sign the Million Signature Campaign.
- * Tell others about the Campaign and ask them to sign.
- * Tell others about the UDF and the growing number of people involved in the fight against Apartheid and the building of a new South Africa, accepted by all who live in it.
- * Join the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) and involve yourself in the challenge that lies ahead.

Those interested in joining JODAC or wanting further information about JODAC, UDF, and the Million Signature Campaign should write to the address below. Please enclose an address or phone number so that we can contact you.

JODAC
P O Box 93118
YEOVILLE
2143



Rev "AL18"

JODAC ~ UDF

and the Million Signature Campaign

What is Jodac?

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) was formed in October 1983 in opposition to the government's so-called "reform" plans, specifically the new constitution and related legislation, including the infamous Koornhof Bills (two of which are now Acts).

JODAC, through its members, is committed to the principle of a non-racial democratic South Africa, free of exploitation and oppression. It further believes that this will only be achieved through active, extra parliamentary opposition to the undemocratic and non-consultative initiatives of the Government. This is in line with the thinking of other progressive organisations, especially those representing South Africans who have no access to meaningful and effective political expression through existing structures.

JODAC is open to anyone living in the Johannesburg area who subscribes to the aims and principles of the organisation.

... and UDF?

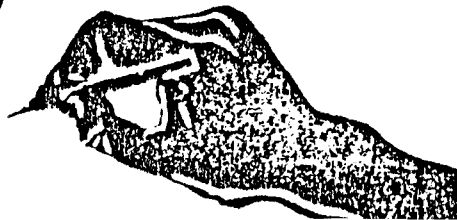


The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in August 1983 after six months of organising and campaigning. It draws together the members of some 600 community, labour, student and women's organisations who are jointly striving for a non-racial democratic South Africa, free of exploitation and oppression.

The main aim of the UDF is to actively oppose the current "reform" strategy of the Nationalist Government. For this reason, in November 1983, JODAC decided to affiliate to the UDF and thereby join this major initiative which is sweeping the country at the moment.

Whether the new constitution is successfully implemented or not, the cosmetic changes being made to the Apartheid structure will not fool the majority of South Africa's people. It is therefore the time for all those who are committed to true justice and democracy to come together to work for a free and equal society in this country.

1 Million!!



How?

Each affiliate organisation in the UDF has its own programme of action suited to the conditions and needs of its particular constituency. In its efforts to expose and oppose the Government's initiatives, JODAC plans to focus on issues such as forced removals, the Group Areas Act, detentions and the increased militarisation of our society. The aim is to educate members about the reality of the South African situation and to provide ways in which they can actively involve themselves in working for social change.

UDF, too has a programme of action in which affiliates can participate. And its first national activity for 1984 is the Million Signature Campaign. The aim of the campaign is to collect the signatures of at least one million South Africans who are committed to a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The Million Signature Campaign is not a petition to be presented to the Government. It is rather a concrete and public statement that the people of South Africa continue to reject Apartheid, even in its revised form. The campaign also provides an excellent opportunity to discuss with people the true nature of the society that we live in and thereby to build and strengthen the democratic movement.

AL19



UDF Million Signature Campaign

News AL 196

White Working Group Newsletter, May 1984

One of the aims of the United Democratic Front's Million Signature Campaign has been to bring together people opposed to the new Constitution, the Koornhof Bills and Apartheid in general. Although the UDF is made up of organisations that are already taking up issues related to their specific constituencies or groups - women, students, workers, township residents - its existence has contributed to the acceleration of popular organising around specific issues. The Million Signature Campaign has contributed to this process, drawing individuals together who may have had no previous organisational experience.

In the Grahamstown context, it was felt by a small group of whites that a meeting should be called to discuss participation in the campaign. At the initial meeting, a group of volunteers constituted themselves as a "white working group", known as Whinsog. This group, which has met regularly since the end of April, is made up of a range of white Grahamstonians - drawn from the campus as well as the town. This white working group is properly constituted as a working part of the Million Signature Campaign in Grahamstown. It has representation on the Ad Hoc Signature Campaign Committee which has drawn reps from all existing organisations in Grahamstown - including GRACA, NUSAS, BSM, ASF etc. Furthermore, its members have been co-opted onto the sub-committees which are, in a sense, the very heart of the Ad Hoc Committee with respect to the day-to-day activities of the campaign.

What sort of things are the white working group doing? ie, what is our role in the sub-committees?

- 1) **Signature Planning:** Members of the group contribute to the planning, co-ordination and collection of signatures. This involves the co-operation between organisations for the collection of signatures in their own areas. However, the major function of the White working group is the collection of signatures in its own constituency.
- 2) **Finance:** One of the most important concerns of the group is fund-raising. This is an appropriate task in so far as white Grahamstown is relatively affluent. Fund-raising so far has included a pledge system, a drinks party addressed by Helen Joseph and sales of literature and posters. The group is currently in the process of planning other fund-raising activities.
- 3) **Education and Mass Meetings:** Members of the group have been actively involved in the launch of the campaign in Grahamstown. Two mass meetings have been held, one in the so-called coloured township and one in Joza. These meetings were addressed by national UDF figures as well as local speakers. The lead

udf udf udf udf udf udf udf udf

up to the launch on the 20th May comprised a series of workshops for members of all organisations and dealt with general information about UDF, the significance of the campaign and any possible problems.

Other activities include the collation and distribution of a manual for fieldworkers and the planning of future workshops.

- 4) **Media and Publicity:** So far the major work done in this area has been related to the launch - drawing up of pamphlets and flyers, printing, and distribution through 'blitzes' in town and in the townships. Furthermore, a banner was painted by members of the working group. Press releases constitute the other important aspect of the sub-committee; keeping the public informed about the UDF and the campaign.

Present Activities: As can be seen from the above, much of the work done so far has been of a co-operative nature, with other organisations. However, since the launch, the working group has been seriously involved in collecting signatures in its own constituency. Signature forms have been distributed and people are being approached to sign. In addition the work of collecting funds (see appeal letter) continues, a jumble sale being the next activity on the agenda.

Finally, and more important, the working group is developing a better understanding of

- 1) democratic co-operation within our own ranks and with other organisations;

- 2) the role of UDF, its aims, strengths and problems;

- 3) what a commitment to a united, non-racial South Africa involves.

If you are interested in participating in the working group, please contact any of the following members:

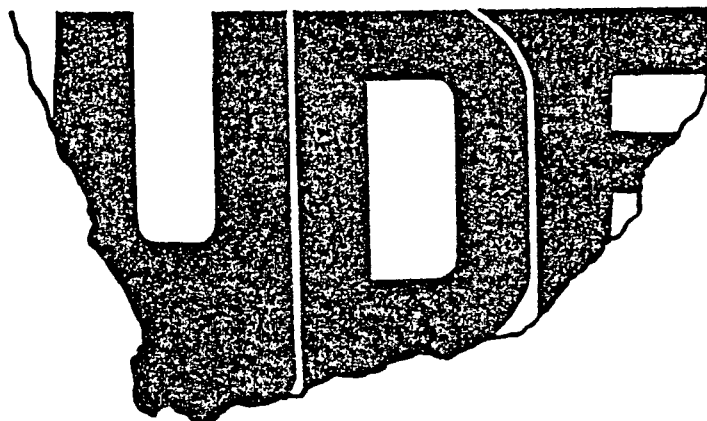
Ian Macun (Ad Hoc Comm rep, Signature Planning) 4406(h) 2023 ext 8 (w)

Rosemary Smith 3076 (h) 3044 (w)

Anne Burroughs (Finance) 2243 (w)

Simon Burton (Media) 7782 (h) 2023 ext 8 (w)

William Munro (Ed and Mass Meetings) 2618 (h) 2023 ext 41 (w)



jf udf udf udf

ISSUED BY UDF AD HOC COMM

Rev "AL20"

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT MILLION SIGNATURES CAMPAIGN
DISCUSSION PAPER 2/2/84

INTRODUCTION

- A. Aim of the Million Signature Campaign
- B. Objectives of the Campaign
- C. Approaches to Collecting Signatures
 - 1. Training
 - 2. Planning
 - 3. Publicity
- D. Coordination of Campaign

INTRODUCTION:

The Signature Campaign is a make or break campaign for the UDF. It can ground the UDF amongst the people; or it can dissipate our energy. It can give us a solid basis to resist Apartheid, and move forwards to build a united, democratic South Africa free from oppression and economic exploitation. Or it can allow the Nationalist Party the space to succeed with their New Deal. If we fail to resist this New Deal, we must know that Apartheid is here to stay.

This year is a crucial year for the democratic movement. The campaigns we organise this year are watershed campaigns. The Signature Campaign is as important for UDF, as the Defiance Campaign and the Anti-Pass Campaigns were for the Congress organisations in the 50s. We have the political task of uniting the people of South Africa, outside of the tri-cameral, Bantustan and dummy structures; of keeping people out of the clutches of Hendrikse, Poovalingham, Botha, Sebe and their allies.

The state is using every ounce of its energy to divide us and coopt some of us onto their side. UDF needs to use every ounce of our energy to build national unity. Since the 1950's the people of South Africa have not had a national voice. The repression of the Sharpeville era left our democratic mass movement shattered. Where people organised it was without a coherent direction. UDF must develop its potential to speak for all the people of South Africa and to lead and guide our people nationally.

This, comrades, is our historical task. And it is an enormously important task. The future of South Africa depends on our ability to organise the mass of people of South Africa to reject the New Deal in all its aspects. If we fail, we must know that we have abandoned the people of South Africa to a far more sophisticated and more intoxicating brand of Apartheid; and a more difficult form of Apartheid to fight against.

The Signature Campaign, alongside our organisational work around peoples problems in our areas, is the best method for us to build and strengthen the democratic movement. We are fortunate here, we are not the first people to organise a Campaign for one million signatures in South Africa. We can learn from the previous experience, avoid the problems that people faced then and gain from an assessment of it.

After the Congress of the People in 1955, the Congress movement embarked on a campaign to get one million people to endorse the Freedom Charter, and accept it as their own policy. The Consultative Committee (CC) stated clearly: Our aim is not to get one million signatures but to get one million people to know and accept the Freedom Charter. The campaign was seen as a way to educate Congress activists, and to recruit new members as a way to build each of the organisations in the Congress movement.

The Million Signature Campaign we're organising now is different from the Campaign in 1955. The situation we're facing is different. In 1955, the Congress Alliance had put the question of democracy and the will of the people on the map by organising the Congress of the People. These same questions have been raised now, but by the State. We are going to the people of South Africa to ask them to reject an offer of pseudo-democracy from the State. This makes it easier for us in some ways. The State acts as a pressure on us. It keeps us on our toes and constantly reminds us of what will happen if we fail. But we need to set our own goals as well. Our signature campaign is against a specific state strategy - the new Constitution and the new Koornhof Bills. The 1955 campaign was primarily for the Freedom Charter, and implicit in this was the rejection of the Apartheid system.

There was no elaborate blueprint at the outset. The NCC and the regional CC's monitored developments, planned strategies, provided resources. Initially the NCC produced the forms and advised branches to set up tables in the streets, go door-to-door and appeal for signatures at mass meetings. But the NCC constantly reassessed the campaign. Their second report drew the conclusion that the SC should be wound up. Subsequently they issued a new plan for organisation of the signature campaign, which answered the problems they had experienced. The NCC consisted of people elected by the organisations. But once the committee was set up, it could plan, assess and strategise on its own, and it reported back to the organisations on a regular basis.

At these meetings the organisations could determine the general direction in which they saw the campaign should be moving.

So Congress activists hit the streets with forms and pens and brought back reports of how people responded to the Freedom Charter. An anecdote about Kensington is useful here, and will make us feel not so bad about the problems we are going to encounter!! 28 volunteers went door-to-door in Kensington, with copies of the Freedom Charter, and pamphlets about the shortage of postboxes or phone booths. This was an area in which there were many squatters, where people were being evicted and moved from the area; in which housing was a burning issue. But they forgot this issue and focused on telephone booths!!! The aim was to hold a mass meeting in the area, and to collect signatures there; but, the pamphlet had neither date nor venue for the meeting. So the activists went back to Kensington the following weekend to advertise the meeting and to collect signatures door-to-door.

In their assessment, the NCC said that the Campaign must be organised as part of each organisation's activities, not dealt with as a separate item on the agenda. In their work, the organisations presented the Freedom Charter as their policy, and the Congress Alliance was presented as the only organisation capable of uniting all these organisations and uniting the people against Apartheid.

So the organisations continued to fight for issues affecting the people, and in these campaigns, they built the organisations, explained the Freedom Charter and asked people to sign to show their support. For example, the women were fighting against the pass laws, so they had a special form which had the Freedom Charter demands and a slogan against passes. As the NCC report said: Our aim is not "to go out and sell our aims and objects like a hawker sells backache powders". (No offence meant to Mr Marks' profession!) Our aim is to resist the changes the government hopes to force on us, and the signature campaign is a tool to do this. It is not an end in itself. The campaign gives us the car to reach our goals - to educate ourselves and the people of South Africa about the oppression and exploitation.

- to show the country and the World that the people reject Botha's schemes, and support a non-racial democratic South Africa
- to build our mass based organisations so they are truly the voices of the people, and to build unity between them
- to lay the basis for asking the people to resist in the future, be it conscription, removals to Khayelitsha ...
- to build non-racial national unity, which is an enormous and lengthy process which we are only beginning now.

THE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

AIM:

The aim of the campaign is to collect at least one million signatures countrywide. The Western Cape region has been set the sub-total of 300 000 signatures. The length of the campaign will be between four to six months.

The content of the signature form can be summarised as follows:

- 1) Rejection of the Constitution Act
- 2) Rejection of the Koornhof Bills
- 3) Support for the United Democratic Front
- 4) Commitment to the creation of a unified, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

It is important that this is not a petition but rather a signature campaign. The signature forms will not be presented to the government OR any other Apartheid authority.

What then is the purpose of conducting a signature campaign?

B. OBJECTIVES

There are a number of possible objectives regarding the Signature Campaign. It is important to realise that the Signature Campaign is a means towards achieving these objectives, and does not become an end in itself.

1. Education and Awareness

The campaign to make people more aware of the new constitution and Koornhof Bills began with the UDF launch in 1983. The Signature Campaign would ensure that this education process is deepened through the direct contact between UDF activists and those signing.

2. Ideological

The collection of a million signatures would prove that there is widespread opposition to the 'new deal' in particular, and apartheid in general. More important, it would prove that support for the UDF is both numerous and active.

Ideological gains could also be made at the local level. For example, UDF affiliates in the township region could collect more signatures than the number of votes in the Community Council elections, and thereby call on the Community Councillors to resign.

3. Organisational

The need to consolidate the organisational base of the UDF is vital. The campaign can help to achieve this by:

- a) making UDF activists/organisations know and understand local areas and local demands,
- b) including these local demands on the signature forms in order to build grassroots organisation,
- c) making contact with a wide range of non-UDF organisations and individuals,
- d) popularising existing UDF organisations amongst the community.

4. Links to other Campaigns

The work of the signature campaign will also assist the UDF to mobilise and organise in terms of future campaigns. In the Western Cape, these could include opposing the threatened move to Khayelitsha and organising a massive stayaway for the forthcoming coloured and Indian elections.

5. National Unity

The signature campaign has the potential to mobilise all sectors of the people and all regions in terms of a common set of demands. Through the practical experience gained during the campaign, we can move a step closer to national unity of the democratic movement.

C. APPROACHES TO COLLECTING SIGNATURES

The approach used by different organisations and areas during the campaign will obviously differ according to different conditions. A number of broad guidelines are offered here to assist organisations and areas to formulate a particular strategy for themselves.

1. Training of activists

Training can take place on a number of different levels, depending on whether those being trained are current UDF activists, new activists or volunteers who assist from time to time. The training could cover, in varying degrees, the following aspects:

- a) Analysis of the Constitution Act
- b) Analysis of the Koornhof Bills
- c) The nature, aims and history of the UDF and its organisations
- d) The objectives of the million Signature Campaign
- e) Personal conduct when collecting signatures
- f) Conditions in the areas to be visited

2. Planning

Planning the correct approach for collecting signatures in different areas (eg. organised, middle class, working class) as well as from different sections (eg. workers, students, women, religious groupings) is one of the most important parts of the Campaign. Thorough planning may take extra time, but the long-term organisational

advantages make planning essential.

planning the campaign in each area can involve a number of approaches. Foremost amongst these are:

- a) the use of pilot studies
- b) area workshops
- c) area research.

The term pilot study refers to the method of collecting signatures in a small part of the area and using the information obtained from this to discuss an overall approach to the area. Possible questions that can then be asked at a workshop include:

- a) What UDF organisations exist in the area. How can the campaign strengthen them?
- b) What other organisations (cultural, sporting religious etc) exist in the area? How can the Signature Campaign be used to draw these organisations closer to the UDF?
- c) What are the local demands/issues in the area? How can these be incorporated into the campaign in order to build local organisation?
- d) How can the signature campaign be used to mobilise people in the area in terms of future UDF campaigns, eg. anti-Khayelitsha campaign, coloured election stayaway campaign, anti-conscription campaign.
- e) How can the campaign be used to build the area committee? How can new people/volunteers be drawn onto the committee?
- f) What links can be made with other areas in taking up the campaign jointly? How can this strengthen the regional structures?
- g) What training programmes need to be run in the area for local activists?
- h) What methods will be used to collect signatures? How do we inform the community that UDF activists will be coming door-to-door? What are the other key points in the community where signatures can be collected? (shops, factories, stations, bus queues, bridges, schools, churches, mosques, sporting events, public meeting places, mass meetings)
- i) How do we collect signatures from unorganised/unknown areas? How often should we get activists together from all areas to blitz one particular area?

There will be many more questions that will have to be answered. While conditions, and thus strategies, will differ from area to area it is important to realise at all times that the primary task of the campaign is to strengthen organisation. This will only be done on the basis of a thorough knowledge of local conditions in each area. This is the most immediate task facing us at the moment.

3. Publicity

Another urgent task facing us as we start the million signature campaign is to make sure that there is massive and widespread awareness of the campaign. The job of collecting 300 000 signatures will be made much easier if general excitement and interest can be spread amongst the communities about the campaign. The collecting of signatures must be accompanied by the distribution of newsletters, pamphlets, posters and stickers as well as ongoing coverage in the commercial press.

Use can be made of certain key dates around which certain sectors can be mobilised to support the campaign. Examples of this include:

- March 21 - Sharpeville Day
- Easter - Churches
- May Day - workers
- May 31st - Anti Republic Day
- June 16 - students

In addition to focussing on key dates, we must also bear in mind when regional and national gatherings are going to take place eg. student, youth, women, civics, workers. All these opportunities should be used to promote and popularise the campaign.

While planning ahead is essential, it is important to remember that we cannot simply sit down here and map out the campaign in a mechanical fashion. We must be prepared to respond to many issues as they occur, to shape the campaign around the lived reality of peoples' day to day existence.

5. COORDINATION OF THE CAMPAIGN

INTRODUCTION

Because of the importance of the campaign, we must set up structures to coordinate the campaign to ensure that:

1. Proper planning and regular strategising takes place
2. Work will be done quickly and efficiently
3. Key people in our organisations do not become over-extended.

AREAS

Each area must have at least one co-ordinator.

REGIONS

A. Each region must appoint a co-ordinator whose functions will be:

1. To see to the distribution and collection of signature forms
2. To work closely with area co-ordinators to ensure that all areas are being covered and to encourage strong areas to assist weaker ones

B. In addition, an education and training sub-committee of 3 persons must be established in each region.

OVERALL CO-ORDINATION

Overall co-ordination is going to be a demanding and crucial task. The people serving on this committee will have to eat, sleep and drink signatures for the duration of the entire campaign. This is the committee which will have to inject life into the campaign all the time. Their tasks will be:

1. To ensure that forms are printed and distributed to all regions
2. To ensure that forms are returned, forwarded to the national office
3. To assist regions to develop their local strategies
4. To co-ordinate all regional activities to prevent duplication and to ensure that no area is left untouched
5. To develop structures in the rural areas to ensure that the campaign can be carried there
6. To take full responsibility for the planning involved in blitzes
7. To meet regularly with organisations to ensure that their activities do not clash with one another or the UDF
8. Together with the Publicity Secretary, to develop a media strategy.

In order to fulfil these tasks, this committee will have to meet at least once a day. Members of this committee will therefore not have any time to spend on any other organisational activities.

PROPOSED STRUCTURE

1. The Executive proposes that members of the co-ordinating committee be elected by GC
2. Before any person is accepted on the committee, his/her nomination has to be approved by the organisation to which he/she belongs.
3. This committee should collectively be directly responsible to GC. The broad mandate for this committee will be determined from time to time by the GC.
4. The committee would consist of 10 people, occupying the following portfolios:

- (i) Co-ordinator who should be an executive member
- (ii) Blitzes
- (iii) Regional Consultant
- (iv) Organisational Consultant
- (v) Rural areas
- (vi) Unions
- (vii) Churches
- (viii) Muslim sector

In addition,

- (ix) A representative from the Media Committee
- (x) The Publicity Secretary.

We propose that the criteria for election to the committee should be:

1. Skills and or contact in certain areas
2. A commitment to work solely on the signature campaign.