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AM1 — 69

Volume 1

ASSESSOR

UDF Job

AM1

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(21) 8710787

Ben "AM" "

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT - TRANSVAAL

PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, NOVEMBER 1983

A INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In implimenting the Programme of Action (P.O.A.) the following aims must be taken into account:

AIMS

(2)

8/10/87

1. To defeat the government's attempts to impose the Koornhof and Constitutional Proposals.
2. To strive for the maximum possible unity of Worker, Community, Student, Womens, Youth and Religious organisations for this purpose.
3. To unite our people in action.
4. To counter the government's propaganda onslaught.
5. To consolidate and strengthen the existing grassroots and other organisations of the people.
6. To link the Koornhof and Constitutional proposals to the day-to-day struggles of our people.
7. To popularise the UDF DECLARATION.

B PROGRAMME OF ACTION

1. Workshops for volunteers in all areas.
2. Area committees to be established in all areas.
3. Door-to-door campaigns in all areas.
4. Local mass-meetings in all areas.
5. Provincial Rally for the people of the Transvaal.
(The Rally would take place at the end of October)

Note : Local mass-meetings should be completed by mid-October wherever possible.

C AREA COMMITTEES

An area committee will be set up in each area. In small townships one area committee will suffice. In bigger townships (like Soweto) a number of area committees need to be set up.

COMPOSITION OF AREA COMMITTEES:

The composition of area committees would differ from area to area as conditions differ. The following are some suggestions for the composition of area committees:

- (i) a civic or youth organisation plays the role of an area committee
- (ii) a number of organisations forming a joint committee
- (iii) a committee comprising of a group of volunteers.

FUNCTIONS OF THE AREA COMMITTEE:

1. To organise a workshop for volunteers in the area. The workshop should amongst others focus on:
 - (i) The history and nature of the UDF
 - (ii) The Koornhof Bills
 - (iii) The Constitutional proposals
 - (iv) A Programme of Action for the area
2. To educate the people in the area through house visits, house meetings, etc.
3. To organise a mass meeting in the area. The mass meeting should have an appropriate focus depending on the conditions and issues in the area.
4. To speak to other local organisations about the UDF. These would include churches, welfare organisations etc. Where possible these organisations should be drawn into the activities of the UDF.
5. To link the current issues and problems in the community to the Black Local Authorities and the Constitutional proposals.
6. To publicise the Transvaal Rally in the area and also to arrange for people to attend the Rally.
7. To distribute "UDF News" and all other publications of the UDF.

D OTHER ISSUES TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION

1. Removals and Resettlement
2. Housing (housing shortage, sale of houses etc)
3. Education
4. Bantustans
5. Military Conscription

NOTE : This document merely suggests guidelines. The specific needs of particular organisations and communities would require both flexibility and creativity as the campaign unfolds.

Trafaxaal UDP Media Committee
Report on Campaign Against Local Authority elections in 1983
April 1984

Introduction

During the anti-community council campaign we placed heavy reliance on the media to achieve different goals. From looking at the media produced, it is clear that substantial time was spent by activists in producing the media.

Goals of the Campaign Media

An examination of the posters and pamphlets produced shows that the media was campaign media, rather than ongoing civic media (like a newsletter). It can also be seen that there was both civic and UDP media around the campaign. These facts influenced the goals of the media produced.

Media served a range of goals and purposes during the campaign. There are pamphlets, for instance, which were mainly to advertise meetings. There are posters which emphasise a mobilizing message (Don't vote!), while others sometimes ~~emphasise~~ ^{emphasise on} popularising the civic (Support SCA!). Some pamphlets are educational in the sense of giving reasons why people were called on not to vote. Much of the media combines these purposes. But the most common purpose that is emphasised is mobilizing people against the elections through the Don't Vote! call.

Producing the Civic media

At the beginning of the campaign, very little or no media work was done by civic or residents associations. A number of organisations involved in the campaign did not have anyone whose task was media. However, during the campaign, civic people did go through a process of skill acquisition. These skills ranged from planning and producing a pamphlet, to finding cheap printers. Before the campaign, some of these skills seemed insignificant, but they proved very important when people were faced with having to produce media. Having people with the skills, it became easier for civics to plan their work and completely rely on their own people. Gradually, people in the civics began to appreciate the need for media work to go on, and to develop a media strategy for (and after) the campaign.

People also began to consider media strategically - whether it was aimed at mass or activist level. For example, with the question of language, it was realised that to get to the masses of people, it

was necessary to speak to them in the language they understood best. This was true for media as well as public meetings. Pamphlets written in a language understood by people were better received than those written in English.

Distribution of the media

Once the civics had media, the problem arose of ensuring that the publications and posters reached the masses of people. Blitzes at stations, robots, bus stops, etc. were held. Although this reached many people, some activists felt that not enough people seemed to have read the pamphlets.

Distribution also took place when media was used in a door to door campaign. One problem here was that activists could not hope to cover all the houses in the townships. On the positive side, the experience meant that many activists for the first time brought the campaign directly to people's houses. Even where such visits may not have succeeded in getting people to attend the meetings, people might at least have thought about the personal contact with the activists, and might have read the pamphlet left behind.

People's awareness of the call for a boycott was raised both during the blitzes and the door to door campaigns. Even those people who in any event would stay away from the polling stations out of apathy got to at least know that the local civic was actively campaigning for non-participation in the elections. In some very small way, this raises our people's awareness.

Evaluation of the civic media

Some of the posters and pamphlets advertising meetings were planned on the basis that not all people who received such media would attend the advertised meeting. And, therefore, far more had to be raised in the media than just calling people to a meeting. One point repeatedly made in almost all the media was a call for a boycott of elections.

On the other side of the coin, not all we wanted to say in our media was in fact said. This was largely as a result of the necessarily campaign-oriented media we produced. So, for example, by and large we gave a strong emphasis to what would happen if people voted in the elections, and not much on what would happen if they did not. There was also a heavy emphasis on boycotting the elections, rather than on inviting people to work within the civic. As a result, not too many who responded to our call for a boycott, thought it necessary to themselves become members and work actively in the civic. There are, how-

ever, a number of people now playing a vital role in the civics who did join during the campaign.

The campaign media did make an attempt at using jargon that would be easily understood by people at a mass level, and this succeeded to a large extent. However, we still used initials which are only truly popular and well-understood by activists. A sticker in Soweto for example referred to the SCA. People at mass level did not know what SCA is.

Because we were involved in a campaign and our resources were overextended, we could not take up certain problems identified by people in meetings and include these in our media. Often also we did not have the resources to produce and distribute follow-up media in an area.

Other than calling on people to boycott and join/support the civic association, not much was done to suggest to people positively what else they could do to support the civics' struggles. We needed to move from abstractions like 'support' to more concretely spelling out what activity this meant. It should be noted, however, that we were in a campaign, and it was felt that if we scored a resounding victory, the image of the civic would be boosted and in the process it would be much easier for our activists to invite people to join and get actively involved in the civics' programmes.

UDF media in the campaign

We have so far focussed on media by the civics. We will all remember the vital role the UDF media played during the campaign. Whereas the civic media was local in nature, focussing on the problems in Soweto, Sebokeng, etc., and local meetings, the UDF media played a different role.

The UDF media took a bird's eye view of all the areas in which the campaign was going on, and even focussed on other sites of struggles elsewhere. This was aimed at knitting together all these struggles into one stream. Insofar as people from smaller isolated townships got to know they are part of a broad movement opposing the same puppet structures, the UDF media played a tremendously good role.

People at a mass level have come to see the UDF, as an important organisation, so much so that we were ^{filled} with requests from people who as individuals wanted to directly join the UDF. The UDF has managed in getting a wide range of people to see it as an organisation big enough to be in a position to wage a meaningful struggle against oppression.

and it added to the voice of our small civics. The fact that our civics were seen to be working with the UDF gave a boost to the campaign. Through the UDF media, we from the civics have been able to organise scores of people, in that it is just impossible to speak to people about the UDF without talking about UDF affiliates. In some areas, activists did, however, express concern about the timing of the media - feeling that local civic media should appear before UDF media. This was so that the local organisation would get priority, and so that UDF did not appear to be an outside organisation with no local aspect to it.

The UDF News was produced in close consultation with people directly involved in the civics. However, no follow-up has been made to get feedback from these people about how the publication was received at mass level.

Although there is a definite difference between civic and UDF media in the campaign, much of the civic media was sponsored by UDF. This is in the sense of UDF's media committee assisting the civics in getting skills training and production of civic media. It is also in the sense that UDF often assisted financially. This financial subsidy was a controversial issue - some civics were upset that they did not receive it. Other civics were content to rest on 'UDF charity' (which UDF could not in any event afford financially). It seemed that financing of media was something that was considered only at the very last minute by many civics. This produced a crisis because it was too late to fundraise whereas the media had to be out by a certain date. Another aspect to this problem besides this lack of planning, is that many civics did not perceive that fundraising can actually be a method of organising and a way of strengthening an organisation. To some extent, media became a substitute for essential organisational work like fundraising.

Since the campaign

Much as media played an important role in the anti-community council campaign, it does not seem that we have followed this tempo properly. We may even be beginning to lose some of the gains that were made during the campaign itself. Perhaps this loss of tempo may be attributed to the fact that all our media was campaign media and there was no ongoing media to accompany this. With the end of the campaign therefore, our media stopped flowing as well. What we have left, however, is an appreciation of the role of media, and a scattering of media skills among civic activists. These can be built on and consolidated.

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Law "AM 3" ①

UDF

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

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

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

I have been coordinating activities on udf TUL & National by virtue of me being an N.E.C member

Overall objective

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

Specific objective

Mobilisation against the new Constitution was achieved

General objective

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

Specific

I have availed myself for udf work any time and any

(2) I have availed whatever skill I have to the growth of the organisation

(21)
28/10/87

(5) I have used cric resources for udf car, petrol & my salaries came from cric whilst I work for udf

Immediate objective

Mobilisation

Midrum objective

Political education and Ideological

Long term

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

Ideology dictates the form

Review

(8)

We set heading to review our work

Evaluate
↓

Planning

Who eg Youth } CRIC
What → Doing } Portfolio
How } 2
When } Resource

CRIC

(1) Assessment & Planning
List of Activities

(2) What happened.

(4) What obstacles were encountered

(5) Why

General approach of CRIC

Evaluation

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

④

Did we consolidate

Did we follow-up through

How could the problem be avoided.

- Strong + weak points

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

(6)

(1) Assessment

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

2. Planning/Priorities

Goals of the Progressive movement.

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

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

Priorities

Felt need of the people

Need of the organisations.

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

UDF (what was implemented)

① Boycott campaign

② Mass Mobilization

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

Why

Time & harassment became the deterrent.

① Did

⑦

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

In every workshop there are more than half new
people.

- No

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

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

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

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

Yes

Accidentally

No

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

① Formation and Purpose of UDP

② Assumptions → Progressive Movement

③ Key political issues Referendum & N. Convention

④ Plans and Objectives

⑤ Relationship → comradeship

⑥ Foreign Policy → Anderson e.g.

⑦ Role of leadership

New year and Plans

Structures and -workshop-

Problems

9

At weekend the plan were decided from the top as a result people did not know how to internalise the program. People did not know whether they are permitted to change the trust in accordance to their local issues. The slogan Ban Apartheid did not reflect the militance that was in the township.

Because of that the campaign fell flat

Consulate affair

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

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

Anderson

Clandestine planned. No paying to our structures or to Anderson on ^{specific} ~~other~~ ^{goals} goals.

No we did not influence him in any direct way. He did not shift significantly after the visit.

Repression

Was not exploited to build an orgs but in a great way.

No public meeting around the issues not much media shifted more to Anderson/Consulate rather than N figure

- the udf sense Terror later Pops

10

Misc

Resources going just into production of pamphlet
Making it udf centred issue rather than orgs

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

Political issues

When people were beginning to have much confidence
around the udf

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

This was a crude move which was interpreted
as liberal referendum - P.

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

(11)

Campaign

Anti Com Campaign > little support from UDF
MSE Lack of planning > Not internalised by orgs
Tricameral parliament > Massive resources & person power

Descent.

CP weekend > Ben Aporohered.

Activists > Organisation

Economy

Tax & surplus value system.

Mechanization > unemployment.

Monopolization

inflation > control of people resentment

exploitation

INFO needed for Restructuring

Imperialism

strategies

Southern Africa

Nkomati

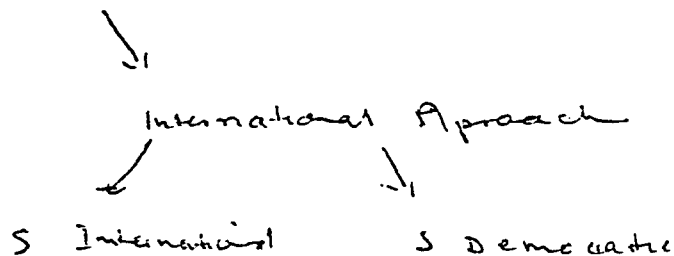
Suez, 1952.

P W Europe 1912

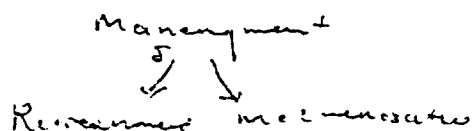
why

Regional Power

Isolation of the Redies



LABOUR



Migrant workers position

Court ruling

Establishment of Rural fundation

Registration of Agreement.

Acceptance of by management

Government

Land
↓

Influx control

↓

Retreat freedom of mob movement

Koonhoff Changing of that econ. + work

ORDERLY movement Bill

Shifted responsibility from police to management

Control of worker movement

Labour Bureau. Police & Management's A
offices

Education

De Lange 1931

Repression, closure of schools

PRE

↓

SRC

Community Organisation

Township forces

What has happened this year.

Condition in the Township

Problems due to inflation

Rent Transport & food

Unemployed not being employed.

Retrenchment

G.S.T

Arm's instead of exploitation

Year event

Bus boycotts

Civic organisations Γ-structure

8 issues

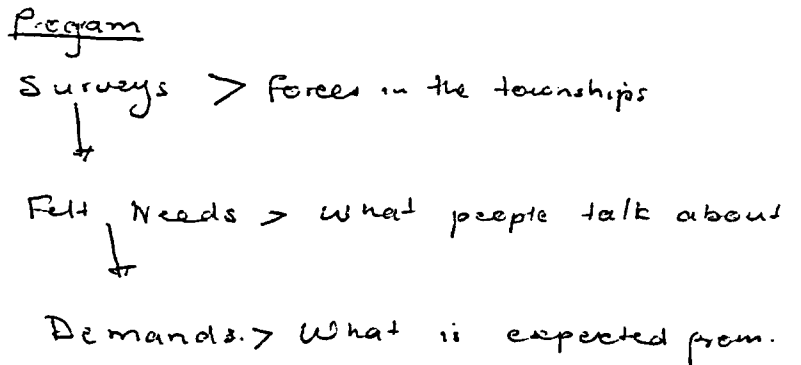
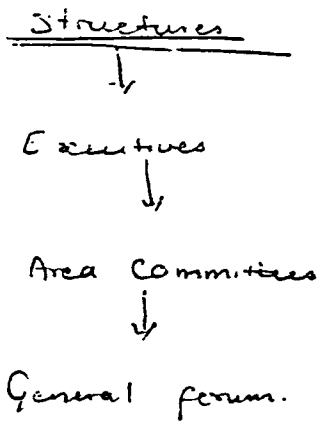
C. Council Negotiate on behalf of Coss

weather

no

soke

Dep in the sand



Politics

What is Com Councils

What do people want.

Labour Annet
Kate

16

Students costs

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

Azaso

Quality operation

- Bantuistand
- No pol ed
- UDF Campaign more than Azaso

Nusas

extra parliamentary R with Azaso

- No formal contact with AFP

Labour

Strikes in 1973

- right to high wages
- Role of shop steward
-

- Wiehan Commission

Registration

Managers did not support the Government

Industrial Council

iv: reg an shop floor

all reg be referred to Ind Council

In Council refer then to minimum wage agreement

Sifsa took a decision over the wage increase with

Manu

University of Pretoria
1972

17

① Agenda

② Kennedy ~~visit~~ visit

1.1 Secretary National input

1.2 Area Committee Report

1.3 Conclusion

Kennedy visit

Chairperson gave a brief introduction about the visit

Strong point
Overriding resources

Skilled person power

Creating a place for orgs
to meet.

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

Review

of the programs everytime after the workshop and
seminars, Constructive criticism

③ Evaluate

Every role that has been played by portfolio

Weak points

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

Org lacking skills of
people that could be
developed.

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

AM4

Document on the Proposed Orderly
Movement + Settlement of Black
Persons Bill

Contents

1. The Proposed New Pass Bill
 - a. Recent Changes in the Pass Offices
 - b. The New Bill
 - c. The Government Response to protests so far.
2. Action taken by Fesabu in the Transvaal
Summary of suggestions made in the
shop stewards councils, and questions
raised
3. Brief History of the Pass laws
4. history of resistance to the pass laws
5. Suggested Agenda for Local Meetings

THE PROPOSED NEW PASS BILL

RECENT CHANGES IN THE PASS OFFICES

Many workers are angry and worried about the government's plan to introduce a new Pass Law (The Orderly Settlement and Movement of Black Persons Bill). There have been many reports by the Black Sash, the Churches, and groups which oppose the government that this Bill would make the pass laws worse than ever before.

Most blacks have noticed that the Pass Offices have been tightening control over migrant workers for a number of years. The new Bill is in line with the changes that have been happening. It brings these changes into one system, makes them legal, and tries to close the loopholes people use to get around the pass laws.

Some of the changes in recent years are :-

1. People from the homelands and the farms can no longer get registered for new jobs in town. They cannot get 'specials' even if they have found jobs. Migrants are told that the Pass Office must save the jobs for location people
2. If a contract worker loses his job in the middle of the year, he can no longer transfer his contract to another employer, even if he was retrenched.
3. People who have worked for one company for 10 years, no longer get 10 (1) b.
4. Children born in the location are classified as citizens of one homeland or another.

Migrants are not actually expelled from the factories where they work, but all new workers in the factories must be township people. This is quickly leading to a situation where black workers are divided. Township people get the factory jobs and rural people are unemployed, though some can still get jobs in the mines or shit jobs like foundries, railways and municipalities. (Even these jobs, the Pass Offices try to give to the local people only.)

So these are changes people have already noticed in the way the Pass Offices use the existing pass laws.

Rev "AM 4"

THE NEW BILL

The following section is taken from a booklet published by the Black Sash, called 'You and the new Pass Laws'. It explains the new Bill in detail, and is available from Black Sash offices all over the country.

The Bill says that no Black person may be in town at night between 10pm and 5am the following morning unless he is authorised (has a permit) to be there AND also has approved accommodation.

Black people who are found anywhere in town at night - either in the streets or in a house in a black or white suburb will be arrested if they do not have a permit to be there.

The Punishments

The punishments if the new pass law is broken are very serious.

1. Anyone, black or white, who allows a Black person to stay in their house at night without a permit can be fined R500 or be sent to prison for 6 months. They can then also be fined an extra R20 for every day during which the 'illegal' person goes on staying with them.
2. Any black person who is found anywhere in town between 10pm and 5am without a permit can also be fined R500 or be sent to prison for 6 months plus the extra R20 per day fine.
3. A black person found working without a permit or found looking for work without a permit can be fined R500 or sent to prison for 6 months plus the extra R20 per day.
4. Anyone who gives work to an unregistered Black person can be fined R5 000 or be sent to prison for 12 months.

A system this strict has been designed because in the past some workers and some managers have ignored the pass system. These huge fines will mean that anyone who comes to town from the farms without a permit will find it difficult to even find a place to stay. Town people will not want to assist them for fear of the huge fine.

Who can stay in town between 10pm and 5am under the new law?
The new law will mean that even fewer people will be able to qualify to live in the urban areas than under the present section 10 (1)a, and b, and c system. Under the new law section 10 is taken away but a new group of people who can stay in the urban areas is made. These people will be called Permanent Urban Residents (PURs). The different groups of people who can stay in the towns are :-

1. Permanent Urban Residents

These people will have similar rights to the present Section 10 people. For example, they will be able to work where they want. They will be able to buy a house. And they will be able to have their wives and children live with them. The people who will qualify for PUR are

- a) People who have Section 10(1)(a) or (b) now will be PURs under the new law.
- b) A person who owns a house under 99 year leasehold
- c) People who are South African citizens and who have been legally living in a town for ten years. Any person who comes from a so-called independent homeland can never qualify to become a Permanent Urban Resident. At the moment this would mean anyone from Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda will not be able to apply.
- d) Any person whose parents are both proved to be PURs can apply to be a PUR. Not many people will be able to prove this.

2. Dependents of Permanent Urban Residents

Dependents of PURs will be allowed to stay in town between 10pm and 5am. This will not necessarily mean they can become PURs themselves though.

3. Visitors

Visitors can stay in town between 10pm and 5am if they get a permit to stay immediately they arrive. They will only get a permit if they have a place to stay. No one can have a visitor's permit for more than 14 days in a year.

4. People in Hospital or staying in a hotel

People staying in a hospital or in a hotel will be allowed to stay in town between 10pm and 5am. They must leave town as soon as they leave the hospital or hotel.

5. Night shift workers

People who live in a 'homeland' township, but who work in town, can be in town between 10pm and 5am if they are working night shift.

6. People who are registered to look for work or who are registered in work

People who are registered to look for work or who are registered in work will not be arrested between 10pm and 5am only if they also have a permit to stay in town at night. So, if a person loses his place in a hostel, or loses his lodgers permit, or gets evicted from his house because of rent arrears, then he can be told to leave the town.

The government thinks that if the old 10(1)b system was applied too many Blacks would qualify to remain in town. These proposals are in line with the Riekert Commission. Riekert recommended that urban Blacks should get a better deal or there would be riots and unrest in the townships in the main cities. This policy is basically to divide blacks into 'haves' and 'have nots'. Migrants should no longer be allowed to work in the cities because they are desperate and so are prepared to work for a little money. This brings down the wages of all workers, including township people. Riekert proposed that jobs should be saved for urban people who would get better wages and so be quiet and not get involved in politics. Migrants would be sent back to scattered rural areas where they are starving and powerless.

An article in the Rand Daily Mail (20/12/82) says that the security arm of the government had a big say in the drafting of the new Bill. "It is understood the need to ensure the effective combating of urban terrorism received priority attention in the committee and plays a major role in the re-drafting of the Bill. It is also understood that the contentious 10pm - 5am curfew on 'unqualified' blacks in the urban areas and the blanket curfew clause conferring wide powers on the Minister of Co-Operation and Development were introduced in this committee", says the article in the RDM.

THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO PROTEST AGAINST THE NEW BILL SO FAR

Already a number of organisations have said they are opposed to the new Bill. Even some employer organisations have said they are against the new Bill. The government has responded in the usual way by setting up a 'Select Committee' which will make recommendations for some changes.

We have already seen that even without this new Bill the pass laws are being applied more strictly than ever before. We should take this as a warning sign. Because even if the government decides to scrap the whole Bill, they could introduce most of the proposed clauses through the back door - that is without passing any new law. They could just introduce the proposals through 'Regulations' which pass office officials would have to carry out. Many people have predicted that this is exactly what is likely to happen.

This is why it is important not just to look at the Bill as a whole. We should try to look at each provision. It is also why it is important to get the support of managements in opposing the provisions of the Bill.

PEOPLE'S RESPONSES THEN A PLAN 'F HOW TO RUN A SEMINAR
MAYBE IT SHOULD BE EXPANDED

4. Workers then responded by
- Saying what they thought of the Bill.
 - Discussing their ideas as to why the govt was introducing the bill
 - Discussing possible forms of action to be taken

Legal ^{papers} (While whites (particularly migrants) have been aware that the administration of the law has been getting stricter, the majority have not known the provision of the ~~new~~ bill. In all the meetings, whites were horrified by the new bill and emphatically rejected it.

- 6) Reasons for the bill
- Whites suggested that the aim of the legislation is to
- divide black people into the "minders" & "outdoors"
 - identifying the roles
 - white migrants were granted & expected
 - C. engine knows that if a migrant loses his job he won't get registered in another
 - for the government & go-bosses to get rid of the migrants because everyone knew that most people are most without
 - Contracting whites so that ^{presented & replaced by} organised whites can be replaced by others

Condemning the pattern where just the government took over the prisons and closed people to them & now they are choosing them from them & back of the prison which are no longer there

ACTION TAKEN BY FOSATU IN THE TRANSVAAL

Some of the unions in the Transvaal became interested in the new Pass laws in about September 1982, when the Black Sash announced it was willing to send speakers to any groups who were interested in hearing about the Bill. Discussions were held with a few individual factory groups. It became clear that the new Bill was an issue which affected all workers seriously. So, in October 1982 the Regional Congress of Fosatu decided that the Bill should be discussed at shop stewards Councils and at General Meetings. The Fosatu Executive also put out a press statement condemning the Bill.

Discussions have been held in the Benoni, Wadeville, Kempton Park, and Johannesburg shop stewards councils so far. Discussions have also been held with workers of individual factories.

Report on the shop stewards discussions

Organisers have more or less followed this plan :-

- 1) Asked workers what changes they have noticed in the administration of the pass laws (see the section on 'Recent Changes')
- 2) Discussed why these changes have been taking place (see previous section)
- 3) Described the provisions of the new Bill using the Black Sash booklet.
- 4) Workers responded by :
 - a. saying what they thought of the Bill
 - b. Discussing their ideas as to why the government was introducing the Bill
 - c. Discussing possible forms of action to be taken.

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© Discussing possible forms of action to be taken

(Taking the form of a debate from the floor with little intervention by organisers)

Meeting should be called to tell other whites about the Bill

- a) Meeting called in wider sections where SS would report back to general membership
- b) BEE Meeting of different unions
- c) Joint S.S. Council

d.) ~~With~~ Big general meeting should be held in township to publicise the Bill, these meetings should be open to non-union as well as to former or just FOATM members, as the Bill affects all Black people

It was suggested in some towns that such general meetings should be organised in conjunction with community councils and other local political organisations, such as civil associations and AZAPO.

This led to heated debate where some people said that such ~~social~~ political gatherings were not to be held. Meetings should only take place within the framework of FOATM branches and non-FOATM members should not attend

2. The Publicity strategy of meetings was linked to

Some people felt that newspaper publicity was irrelevant as most whites did not pick it up and there is no point at direct publicity at the level of people who read the papers. They said they had pinned notices in the park

3. Joint Campaigns

It was suggested in all meetings that the press was affect all Blacks and ... that FOATM the S.S. Councils should co-operate with other organisations representing Black people. This led to vigorous debate.

Some people said that most of their experience of best organisation was of community council committees which had often made statements about struggle but didn't carry them through. An example given is the attempted bread boycott. Apparently the community council called for a white bread boycott when the price of bread was increased.

However, they ~~organised~~ ^{organised} to buy white bread, while whites had never had the money to buy it in the first place. Other people reacted angrily to the view, they said that they as whites were also members of various civic & political organisations as such about believe their views or beliefs were different from other whites.

Some people said that most political organisations were mostly seen instead by township people

wouldn't help them

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BOYCOTT

Some people suggested that if the new Bill became law all whites Blacks should not apply for P.U.R. status and so cause the whole system to fall down

Other people said that many black people would say they agreed with this and yet secretly apply. These migrants would depend on them for help & relief & they do nothing & ultimately be betrayed

5 IDENTIFICATION STRIKES

In one black it was suggested that demonstrators should be told people pointed out that the unions didn't did not have the time to enough members to cover the majority of Black workers & so the any demonstration strikes would be a failure. The idea that they suggested that a recruitment drive to be carried out to increase the membership of FOSATON

6

RE-PATRIATION OF WHITE IMMIGRANTS

In black it was suggested that whites Greeks etc be sent back to Europe & migrants get their rights in some cases it was suggested that all whites go back to the land

7

HELPING PEOPLE APPLY FOR RIGHTS

In black it was suggested that migrants who qualify for 10 L.A.S.B rights be helped to get but who do not

be helped to apply and * NOIE people who were employed before 1968 & who have not left the urban area for more than a month at a time since then should get to 10 L.A.S.B as a matter of course.

Theoretically people who have worked for one employer for more than 10 years or legally resided lived in one admin board area for more than 15 should get also get 10(L.A.S.B) (Let Ricketts) However the Admin Boards say that a migrant who works only a year at a time or not continuously & therefore refuses to give these people 10(L.A.S.B) However lawyers are of the opinion that this refusal is illegal, & thus that people should apply now even if they know they will be refused. The profit of having applicant applied will qualify them for P.U.R. status under the new Bill. CAUSE THAT

(People who do not have a 10(L.A.S.B) rights reflected in their reference books will not qualify under new law)

If in black it was said that should not be a priority as it assumes that the new law will come in. Instead we should fight against it

8

APPROACHING BOSSES FACTORY BY FACTORY

This point was generally raised by organisers

meetings with general membership and then approach their management. Management should be asked whether it supports apartheid or not. The new laws should be explained or their potential effect on workers should be explained. Management should be asked to make a joint press statement with the Union that they reject the new Bill & also write a joint letter to the Minister. Other possible strategies are that management should agree.

- a) Not to renege contract workers.
- b) Pay any dismissed contract worker his balance of his wages to the end of his contract.
- c) Not selectively employ people with white rights only.
- d) Help worker with 10 yrs or more service to apply for their sick leave rights.

It was ^{politically} ~~bravely~~ dismissed whether we should approach employers by ^{or} ~~not~~ ^{pre-arranged} ~~pre-arranged~~ in a) area (so that they could pre-arrange) or b) by company.

Wages were been in the idea ~~as small~~ of approaching management as something which should be done soon. It was decided that S.S. Union should co-ordinate it when

The above took me long session. People at work were asked to plan up session & discuss in more detail the proposals put forward by workers.

At the follow up session we put the following questions and briefly explained them. Let's put this in the next meeting. We organized gave a brief history of the ~~campaign~~ campaign against passes for women as an example of a previous attempt to fight the introduction of a new pass law.

MEETINGS

Meetings are necessary to explain to people that the government is planning to introduce a new pass law and how dangerous this law is.

At any meeting the question of VITAF ACTION DO WE TAKE? will come up. If there are non-Fosatu members at big general meetings what advice can we give them?

What kind of strategies can we develop at these meetings when the people who attend are not organized? ~~the~~ ~~we~~ ~~have~~ ~~no~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ ~~what~~ ~~to~~ ~~do~~ ~~at~~ ~~these~~ ~~meetings~~ ~~when~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~ ~~who~~ ~~attend~~ ~~are~~ ~~not~~ ~~organized~~ ~~with~~ ~~them~~ ~~&~~ ~~they~~ ~~are~~ ~~not~~ ~~under~~ ~~the~~ ~~discipline~~ ~~of~~ ~~Fosatu~~. Is it our role as organized workers to lead these people to action? Or is that

especially since 1976. We read that more organisations are co-operating with the Cape Union to take action against the bill. (Lack of information here)

Are ~~the~~ RUREM Africans and Townships already divided? Do urban people think they will have a better deal in the long run if they keep migrants out?
Are migrants

ck/ ~~example~~ ~~NOTE~~ RDM 27/9/82
NOTE that it is understood that the government decided to delay the bill until Black councils had been established in terms of the proposed Black Local Authorities Act - during 1983. It is probably understood that the reason for the postponement of the influx control bill is that the Govt wants to see the receipt of Black opinion, expressed through recognised Black labour authorities to counter ideological resistance in its own ranks. (RDM 27/9/82)

But ~~presently~~ ~~there~~ have been articles that however for the Black Community Development Bill we can see that the government is not so sure that Local Authorities - Black Local Authorities will be prepared to approve & administer influx control.

(4) BOYCOTTS AND DEMONSTRATION STRIKES

IS THERE any organisational pro the would a nationwide boycott or demonstration strike be organized?

Is there an organisation in S.A. with enough support and enough membership to organise such an activity?

Is it FOSATU's role to organise such mass action?

(5) Approaching the Bosses

Whose side are the bosses on, within a the government?

Do bosses prefer hiring migrants or urban people?

Are bosses more interested in having low unemployment in the locations or more interested in cheap labour.

Would bosses be prepared to defy the Govt and hire migrants who can't be registered, even if this is illegal and they are fined?

Even if bosses amount to what can

is impossible in practice should we call them to the meetings in the first place?

2. PUBLICITY

Will publicity directed at the government have any effect?

Mixed groups like the Black Sash, the Anglican Church, Synod and all other English speak churches, the Urban Foundation, the P.P.P. ASSOCIATION, Community groups in the Cape & most Trade Unions with Black Membership have made statements against the Bill - called on the government to withdraw it. The government referred the bill to a select committee & then a commission to investigate it. Now people are worried that the government will withdraw the Bill but ~~make~~ introduce the same change to the present law by ~~making~~ making changes at the same office in 1981.

With the Pension Bill last year there was not much publicity but so much action by unions that the government saw that they would never manage to convince unions to accept the Bill. Unions lost so much money through strike action by Black unions that they also asked the government to scrap the Bill. There is here a way of ~~transferring~~ taking

that ~~unions~~ see that the government sees that it is not a matter of a few organisations making statements but something which makes feel very strongly & are prepared to act on.

If we tell the government to send all immigrants back to Europe will they pay any attention to us? What kind of publicity will the government pay attention to?

③ WHO SHOULD TAKE UP THIS ISSUE OF PIES LADS

Are worker organisations and political organisations divided? Can they co-operate? What kind of co-operation is possible - joint campaigns? Or should individual organisations have their own separate plans & co-operate merely in meetings to make a joint stand?

Are workers a leadership force we must consider if what experience we have had of political organisations, have they been helpful, have they sold people out. Are they active, or do they merely speak.

NOTE In Cape Town various community organisations have been very active in boycotts such as FATTU, & MAFS and

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PASS LAWS

The first pass laws in South Africa were introduced in 1760, and applied to slaves in the Cape. By 1827, all Africans who came from outside the Cape had to have a pass to go there. Pass laws also existed in the OFS, Natal and the Transvaal, but it was only when diamonds were discovered in Kimberley in the OFS, that the pass laws were fully enforced. This was because farm labourers were beginning to leave the white farms to go to Kimberley. The farm labourers were leaving because wages were paid in cash on the diamond mines. Workers needed cash to pay the taxes which the government had imposed on them. White farmers were worried they would be left without labourers, so they called for passes to stop this flow of men away from the farms. In 1890 a law was passed which made it compulsory for all workers to pay a shilling if they wanted to leave the Transvaal.

In 1896 huge deposits of gold were discovered on the Witwatersrand. Mine owners were faced with a problem, however :- The gold was very deep under the ground, and required a lot of effort to mine. It required many many labourers, and these had to be found at the cheapest 'price' to make the mining profitable for the mine owners. So the mine owners now began to call the tune, and new pass laws were introduced. They wanted to control the numbers of workers looking for jobs, and the places they found jobs. One of the reasons for this was that workers continually broke their contracts. Conditions on the mines were terrible, so workers stayed for the shortest possible time. Although it was a crime to break the contract, ~~bosses complained that it was not easy to~~ prove a person guilty of breaking his contract and deserting the job. So according to the new pass laws, any male 'Native' on the Rand had to be employed if he wanted to stay in the area, and he had to show a metal badge to show this. The gold mining areas were divided into labour districts, requiring district passes to move from one district to another. A worker was only allowed three days in a district to find a job.

Already mine owners could see that the system of migrant labour suited them well, as it was cheaper to feed and house one worker instead of his whole family. Most mine workers travelled some

distance to get to the mines, and they were employed on a contract basis. At first it was only young unmarried men who went to the mines and usually for very short periods (about two months at a time).

Bosses continued to find themselves short of workers. So, after the British won the Anglo Boer War, and the mine bosses became represented in the Transvaal government, pass laws were tightened up once again. A document was introduced for the first time to replace the metal badge. The Governor of the Transvaal also increased the size of the police force to control labour movement.

The pass laws and police control were still not enough to satisfy the mine owners' need for cheap labour, however. So in 1901 the Chamber of Mines decided to set up a recruiting organisation - the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA). WNLA sent agents all over Southern Africa, who used chiefs to assist them in their recruitment. WNLA offered to pay people's taxes - which in turn would be repaid to the mines through labour.

So, by using the pass laws and a system of organised recruitment, the mine owners were able to ensure for themselves a regular flow of cheap male labour, whose bargaining position was extremely weak. Workers were not free to move where they wanted, and were directed through the pass law system to where employers needed cheap labour most. The pass laws also meant that the contract system was enforced, and that the unemployed were 'weeded out' of the Reef area.

The pass laws continued to be changed over the years. In 1912, 1919, and 1922 it was proposed in the South African parliament that passes should be extended to women. However, just as the mines needed a controlled source of labour, so the newly emerging industries actually benefitted from an uncontrolled flow of women to the towns. Also, women protested loudly against the extension of passes to them. (For example in 1913 and 1914 there were huge protests in the OFS and an organisation called the 'Bantu Womens League' was formed to oppose passes for women.) So the proposals were withdrawn. It was only in 1930, when farmers again complained that too many of the women and children they depended on to work their farms were leaving for the towns, that

the government amended the Urban Areas Act, and gave municipalities the option of issuing passes to women for the first time. In 1937 the Native Urban Areas Act was amended again. Black women entering an urban area for the first time should have a certificate from their home district authorities giving them permission to leave that district. In 1952 urban residential qualifications became necessary for women, and passes giving their qualifications were to be issued. However, at this time very few women were registered in employment, and so the question of urban qualifications did not really apply to many women. Later in 1952, the 'Native Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents Act' was passed. New reference books were to be issued to men and women. However, because of massive protests (we will talk about these in the next section), the government was very slow in introducing the new reference books. The first passes were issued to women in 1956. Then in 1959 it became impossible for a black woman to enter employment legally until she had reported to a local employment officer. At this time it was not yet compulsory to always carry a reference book. In February 1963 this became compulsory, however.

Since the 1960's the government has continued to make changes to the pass laws. Most of these changes have tightened the control over the movement of black labour. And the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill is yet another attempt to tighten up these controls further. Even if the government decides not to pass the Bill as it stands, it is likely that many of the suggestions will be implemented through the 'back door'.

Black workers in South Africa have not sat back and accepted the pass laws, however. They have protested loudly ever since the first pass laws were introduced. By looking at the past, we can learn lessons for today. So the next section will look at how workers responded in the past.....

RESISTANCE TO THE PASS LAWS

We have already mentioned that as early as 1913, black women were protesting directly against the pass laws. Male workers' resistance was in the beginning mostly directed against working conditions on the mines. For example, in 1902, the first major strike of African mine workers broke out at Langlaagte Deep Mine. 1100 workers marched on the mine officials to complain about their treatment in the compound. More strikes broke out the same year. Most of them were broken up by the police. Wages did not increase, but conditions improved very slightly. Mine owners, who continued to complain about shortages of labour, and desertion, started to import Chinese labour. By 1908 they had brought nearly 100 000 Chinese workers to work on the mines. This weakened the position of black workers, and there were no further strikes until 1913. (The last Chinese workers were sent back to China by 1910.) In 1918 there was a boycott of compound stores in protest against food prices. Workers soon saw that wages were a more important issue, and so in the same year a wage campaign began. This wage campaign gradually turned to the labour system in general, as people started to say the low wages were part of the system of cheap labour and control. Workers called for a 'free labour system' and in 1919, 1 000 men marched on the Johannesburg pass office and handed in their passes. Organisation spread throughout the Rand. Bags of passes were collected and handed in at pass offices. Hundreds of men were arrested, and gatherings were broken up by the police.

At the same time, protest about conditions on the mines continued. This led up to a massive strike in 1920, when over a period of twelve days, 71 000 black miners struck. All the mine-owners power was used to crush the strike with force, and none of the workers' demands were met. As a result of this strike, the pass laws were tightened up to control black workers in the towns further.

In 1930, a national anti-pass campaign was organised by the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). Demonstrations were held in every city, but the only really large one was in Durban. Here 3 000 people attempted to march on the Durban City Hall. Their leader, Johannes Nkosi, was stabbed to death by the police, and the march was broken up.

It was during the 50's, when the government seriously made attempts to extend the pass system to black women, that opposition to the pass laws increased.

In 1954, the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) lead a demonstration of over 2000 women in Pretoria against the pass laws and other laws. Protest continued, and in the first seven months of 1956, about 50 000 women demonstrated against the pass laws on 38 different occasions. On August 9th 1956, about 20 000 women marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Thousands of petitions were handed in to the authorities, but the Prime Minister refused to meet a delegation. In October 1958 2 000 women were arrested in Johannesburg during a two week period of demonstration. Black women at this time had no industrial base. Those who were employed were mostly in domestic service and farm labour. There were only a few thousand women employed in factories. So it was not easy to put pressure on employers, and most of the protest of the women against passes was of the 'demonstration' type. By late 1958, 1300 000 reference books had been issued to black women.

At the same time, organised workers through the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), began to take a stand against the pass laws. In 1956 Sactu contacted the Chamber of Industry and Commerce requesting it to put pressure on the government to stop the extension of passes. Sactu argued that the pass laws were not in the interests of harmonious labour relations. The Chamber refused to intervene. They said the issue was 'political' and that they had no say over such issues. The Associated Chambers of Commerce also refused a similar request. Unions in Sactu then decided to make approaches to individual employers. In October 1958 a circular was sent to 400 employers of African women. Employers were warned that the extension of passes to women would increase dissatisfaction and unrest. No other trade union federations joined Sactu in opposition to the passes. Some unions even refused to join in a delegation to the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Federated Chambers of Industries.

Also during the 1950's the African National Congress (ANC) was involved in leading what they called the 'Defiance Campaign'. This was a campaign which encouraged people to break what were considered unjust and racial laws. For example, people got themselves deliberately arrested by going into public places like post offices through the 'Whites Only' entrances. Thousands and thousands of people became involved in this protest activity. The ANC planned to include opposition to pass laws in this campaign. A campaign against the pass laws was planned to start at the end of March 1960. However, this plan was pre-empted by the Pan African Congress (PAC), which called for demonstrations on that date. People responded to the PAC call in two areas of South Africa - in Sharpeville in the Southern Transvaal, and in the Western Cape. People gathered in front of police stations to carry out non-violent pass-destroying protests. However, in Sharpeville, the police opened fire on a crowd of 10,000 people. In a short time 69 blacks had been killed and another 180 wounded. Many were shot in the back. Two people were also killed in the Western Cape.

This violence was followed by the banning of both the ANC and the PAC, and the detention of hundreds of people from a variety of organisations. (Including the trade union movement). The police were effective in squashing the organisation for at least ten years after this. It was a great struggle to re-create organisations and new leadership. When we look at this history then, we need to ask how wise it was to try and take direct action against the police and the courts, when the government had such force in their hands.

SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR GENERAL LOCAL MEETINGS

1. Introduction to the Meeting and welcome
2. a What is a union (briefly)
 - b Why we have a Local, and the need for workers to act together
What the jobs of the shopstewards in the Local are (eg reporting back to membership activities of the shop stewards council)
3. The New Pass Laws
 - a Why the pass laws exist (very brief)
 - b Brief explanation of the Ordeley Movement Bill
 - c What the new law could do to divide workers
 - d Discussion on petition to be signed by workers and managements
 - e Other activities, and how to educate the full membership
 - f Publicity - press statement
4. Presidents Council - announcement of Fosatu statement
5. General (In Bree, assistance for dismissed strikers will be raised)

Each item should be lead by a different local member or official

The PC and the Koornhof Bills

AN INTRODUCTION TO A DISCUSSION ON THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL PROPOSALS AND THE THREE KOORNHOF BLACK BILLS - A NEW STRATEGY ON THE SAME OLD TACTIC OF DIVIDE AND RULE?

Divide and rule: It would be a mistake to think, just because the new initiatives of the government fell within the old apartheid divide and rule strategy that there is no change - that there are no new issues to understand. This approach leaves one blind to the shifts in state strategy which are important to analyse if they are to be opposed.

Ever since the formation of the Union (1910) divide and rule policy has worked to the extent that the oppressed people, especially the workers, and the poor in the towns and in the rural areas - have been forced to use up all their energies to make a living. They occupy the reserves, locations and group areas which are organised on a racial and tribal basis. The result is that whenever there is any expression of public opinion, any uprising or demonstration, it often appears to take on a racial or tribal form. It is the material circumstances in which people are forced to live that makes this happen. And the state reinforces this through its control over the educational system, propaganda and communications media. This is the one side of the coin.

Even though divide and rule has worked, to a limited extent, an opposite force has been at work at the same time, namely that of liberating people. It is the totality of those forces, which is represented by all democratic organisations in South Africa, the organisations constituting the liberation movement and the struggle against the system. Whereas the system has tried to divide people in every conceivable way, the common experience of the oppressed - whether they are coloured, Indian or African - namely, the experience of hunger, of suffering, of repression over the years and more important the experience of the lack of all rights and the exclusion from all institutions where power is exercised - these experiences have helped to move people in a similar direction of united struggle. Particularly

in the last decade, the liberatory process has been one of the dominant features of the South African political scene.

Struggle of Opposites : The System vs. Liberation

The state has continued to pursue its divide and rule strategy over the last two decades. But unquestionably, the elements representing the unification and liberation of the oppressed and in particular, those representing working class unity and leadership, have received such an impetus from internal and external events that the liberatory movement has won and is continuing to win significant victories on the ideological, political and psychological planes, in fact on all levels save that of the police and military. What has happened is that the so-called ordinary people, the workers, the poor both in towns and country areas, are beginning to take their destiny into their own hands, for the liberation movement this represents a change in quality in the ranks of the oppressed, in particular the working class. This increase in the level of mass participation and of conflict poses new questions for and challenges the liberatory forces. It raises questions about the exercise of power in the political institutions and economic undertakings and on any other levels. (By liberation movement is meant all those people and organisations struggling to achieve a democratic, non-racial South Africa.)

New Strategy?

There is one constant factor in the South African situation - exploitation and super profit. To achieve and maintain this the ruling classes have to take into account the strength of the progressive forces. Hence divide and rule as a general strategy throughout the decades.

It is in this situation, in which there has been a gigantic development in the liberation movement and progress that the ruling class has had to take steps to reverse the tide of the liberatory process in South Africa.

Our purpose is not to go into a whole discussion of ruling class strategy since 1910 - our main purpose at this stage is to make the point that, whilst exploitation of the people and super profit remain operative and whilst cheap labour is still the basic, crucial requirement of the South African system, the ruling classes assess that the liberation movement is posing a serious threat to the continued existence of the cheap labour system and capitalist exploitation. Hence the need for a change in strategy.

From "AMS"

elements of previous strategies continue to be central e.g. Bantustan, Group Areas, Security Police terror, harassment of individuals and people's organisations, including trade unions - but the new elements and the intensification of the old elements are significant. These amongst others are the increasing role of dictatorial method, the all-pervading presence of the army, the greater repression - and very important - the cooption onto the side of the rulers of various layers from the ranks of the oppressed.

Basic Aims

By this strategy the ruling classes hope to maintain and strengthen the basic capitalist exploitative system, strengthen elements which maintain division amongst the oppressed and smash progressive organisations. That is why we say that the new strategies of the ruling class are designed amongst other things, to reverse the tide of the liberatory process in South Africa.

This is not an academic matter or a matter for armchair theorists. At stake is the whole future of the oppressed and the working class in particular. An incorrect assessment of the ruling class strategy can play havoc in the ranks of the oppressed, create division in their ranks and undermine their strength. A correct assessment of the ruling class strategy is essential to enable the oppressed to work out their response to the new situation and avoid divisions amongst themselves.

The President's Council Constitutional Proposals and the Koornhof Bills

Some people in the ranks of the oppressed have mistakenly made the P.C. proposals the major focus of the struggle and seen these proposals in isolation. This could lead to an essentially "coloured" and "Indian" response, even if this was not the intention. The government of course presented the proposals bit by bit - as part of the divide and rule strategy - even of fully aware of the overall plan. We must be careful not to respond in piecemeal fashion.

The government constitutional plans, the Bantustan policy form a central part of the government's "total strategy". It is in this light that the Koornhof Bills and the P.C. proposals must be examined. We propose at this stage to examine some of their main features.

1. Bantustan strategy

A key element of the government policy is the creation of bantustans - "black national states" in South Africa, each supposedly representing a particular ethnic group. In this way the material and geographical basis for the unity of the African section of the oppressed is being destroyed, Africans are retribalized. On the national level, the other side of the bantustan strategy is the existence of the Population Registration Act and the division of South Africa's population into ethnic groups of all kinds, which is part of the governments "plural society" concept.

The concept of a "plural" society consisting of different groups with different interests which cannot be met within a common society, is only one of the many theories which the government has formulated to rationalize its policy of divide and rule. So too with its idea of a "consociational" government which would maintain "peace and stability". The philosophy is not independent from the design. The design is to maintain the status quo and to create division. So the hoped-for results feed the philosophy and the philosophy feeds the results.

The basic feature of the PC proposals is an acceptance of the idea of pluralism and consociation. It is also no accident that the P.C. proposals. It is also no accident that the P.C. proposals accept what it calls "multiple partition", that is the creation of bantustans. It is also no accident that the position of so-called "urban blacks" is not dealt with. It was of course known to those who made the plan that the Koornhof Bills would deal with them.

Here we may stress that the hoped for division would be on two levels: (a) between Africans in the reserves on the one hand, and Africans who have residential rights; and (b) between Africans on the one hand and coloured and Indian on the other.

2. For Coloured and Indian?

The P.C. proposals purport to give rights to coloureds and Indians on two levels: (a) at local, and (b) at national levels. The P.C. proposals speak with approval of management committees, local affairs committees and community councils. They provide for what it calls increased powers for these bodies so as to give them credibility. The proposals also make provision for a system of voting for local councils - but it is to be noted that not only are all

voting rights restricted but they are heavily loaded and qualified in such a way that only an elitist group would inevitably represent local communities.

On a national level the proposals provide for a separate parliament for coloureds and another for Indians. Each group would discuss legislative and other measures affecting its "own" group, and make recommendations in connection therewith. Measures affecting everybody are to be dealt with by the President and his executive. It is quite clear that these proposals are hollow and will not in any way extend rights to the majority of the people.

3. Government: Dictatorship

The control of the government and the actual exercise of power would be in the hands of a strong executive president who will appoint a committee to assist him. Such executive would not be responsible to any government. He will appoint its members and dismiss them at his own discretion. Here too is a change in the strategy of the ruling class. Whereas before the strategy has been to exercise power amongst others through a white parliament, now it would be through the President and his executive.

In terms of the proposal, the P.C. would also be retained and would act in an advisory capacity, in such matters as may be referred to it by the President. Thus all power would be vested in the President and he would be assisted by a hand-picked executive. If these are not dictatorship proposals, then we would like to know what are?

4. The Role of the Elite - Creation of "Grand Alliance"

Another feature of the P.C. proposals that represents a change in strategy is the attempt to create elitist groups to form buffers and to collaborate with the ruling class. The P.C. proposals state quite crudely that these elite groups must be formed in all ethnic groups and form a "grand alliance" with the ruling class. The strategies envisaged by the P.C. proposals in this regard are two-fold.

- a) to coopt coloured and Indians onto the side of the whites and thus smash unity between Africans, coloureds and Indians.
- b) Combined with the Bantustan strategy the PC proposals aim to create an elite group in every single so-called ethnic group, whether such ethnic group is "coloured", "Indian" or African ("Zulu", "Venda" etc.) In the Bantu-

government employ, filling the bureaucracy and conducting business and possibly allied with a professional layer of teachers, lawyers, doctors etc. In urban locations there would be another layer of elite drawn from the permanent urban residents. (We do not suggest that everybody falling into this category would be prepared to fulfill this dirty role, what we are saying is that this is the design.)

There is also the attempt to create elitist groups on the coloured and Indian levels, as we have already seen. They would conduct business, they would be freed from Group Areas limitations and would be given all sorts of rights which "ordinary people" would not have. Effectively they would become "honorary whites".

5. Other main features of the President's Council Proposals

- a) The P.C. accepts the existence of group areas and says that they should be maintained.
- b) They accept the Population Registration Act and the division of people according to this law.
- c) The proposals emphasise the need for strong government to enable it to deal with forces which threaten the existence of the system. This obviously refers to the liberation movement in general, democratic organisation like trade unions in particular.

6. The three Koornhof Bills

These three Bills have received a great deal of publicity. They are :
 The Black Communities Development Bill,
 The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, and
 The Black Local Authorities Act.

We have to study these bills in greater detail all the time but we will restrict ourselves at this stage to giving what we consider to be the main features.

- a) The bills pretend that they extend rights to all Africans. In fact these would not be rights at all, but privileges or rewards. The bills try to create elite groups in urban areas using mainly the following means:
 - i) The denial of South African citizenship to the majority of the people, using the creation of bantustans. In this way the government has created the outrageous situation in which the majority of people who live in South Africa are not S.A. citizens. Some are citizens of Venda or Transkei.

ii) The Bills aim to divide Permanent Urban Residents (PUR) from other Africans in the urban areas. The category PUR would constitute a very small proportion of the total African population in the urban areas and it is to these so-called permanent urban residents that the government extends certain privileges.

We wish to say about the Black Community Development Bill and the Black Local Authorities Act that whatever so-called privileges are extended to Africans in Urban areas in terms of these Bills are totally restricted to the small category called permanent urban residents. In passing, we would say that the significant feature of the Black Community Development Bill is that it enables the government to extend leasehold rights to land (for 99 years) in urban locations. The Black Local Authorities Act makes provision for so-called local self-government through local community councils. This means that the vast majority of Africans living in urban areas will enjoy no rights. It can be seen therefore, that one of the main strategic aims of the Botha regime is to create an elite on which it hopes to be able to call to support its policy and help to suppress the rest of the African population both in the reserves and urban areas.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill

Let us turn to the main thrust of the attack on the masses of workers in all urban and rural areas of South Africa. This Bill is possibly one of the most vicious pieces of legislation to come from the South African parliament. It has deliberately been framed in a misleading way.

The Bill is divided into 6 chapters dealing with urban areas, rural areas, provisions relating to powers of officials and inspectors, to court procedure and various general provisions. A tactic used in the Bill is to create the impression in the body of the Bill that rights are being extended to many people and through the use of exclusions in the definition clause in fact very few people are included. Once again we will deal only with the main features of the Bill.

I. Let us first look at the existing situation. Insofar as Africans living in South Africa are concerned, their rights of entry and residence in urban areas are governed by the Urban Areas Act No. 25 of 1945. In terms of Section 10 of this Act, an African person - male or female - may not remain in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours unless he or she

- a) has resided there continuously since birth;
 - b) has lawfully resided in such area continuously for a period not less than 10 years;
 - c) is/was the wife of a person who qualifies and is ordinarily resident with such qualified person.
- All other people are liable to be arrested, jailed, endorsed out if they remain in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours without permission. In most cases, of course, permission is very hard come by. However the significant thing from our point of view at this stage is
- a) that some people were able to obtain Section 10 rights;
 - b) that in the last couple of years the Supreme Court has upheld the rights of women "ordinarily resident" with their husbands who had Section 10 rights also to get Section 10 rights and also ruled in favour of contract workers. The Supreme Court held that contract workers could also qualify to for Section 10 rights if they could prove that they had worked continuously for one employed for 10 years.

- c) It also meant that an African was entitled to enter an urban area such as Cape Town and remain there for up to 72 hours without having to report. Of course he would have to report within the 72 hours or leave the urban area in that time.

We are not suggesting that these were wonderful rights. We are stressing these points because an important feature of these new Koornhof Bills is that they put an end even to these rights.

Section 3 of the Koornhof Bill takes the place of the old Section 10. If the old Section 10 was vicious in that Africans were harassed and had to report their presence in an urban area within 72 hours, Section 3 is totally outrageous.

II According to this Bill, no African shall be entitled to remain in an urban area unless he is authorised and unless he has approved accommodation. This means that even if you are authorized and do not have approved accommodation you do not have the right to remain in an urban area. Again, approved accommodation does not mean in any accommodation which is acceptable to you. It means accommodation approved by the authorities. (BAAB officials)

Who is authorised?

It is clear that most Africans, indeed the vast majority would fall into the category of unauthorized persons. the few who are authorised will constitute the following:

- a) a category called permanent urban residents;
- b) dependents living with them; and
- c) others who have been granted temporary authority which could be withdrawn at any time, or which would terminate on a specific date. In the last category would fall contract workers, patients in hospitals, guests in hotels and persons authorised to carry on business in an urban area.

Curfew

So far we have said that only authorised persons may remain in urban areas. The purpose was to emphasise the difference between authorized and unauthorized persons and in the category of authorized person, the difference between permanent urban residents and others. The Bill goes much further. It not only imposes a curfew but it makes it virtually a crime for an "unauthorized" person to be anywhere in the R.S.A. between the hours 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.

Section 3 makes an exception in the case of a "commuter" who is allowed to remain in an urban area if he is lawfully working in an area or if passing through the area in recognised transport in order to take him to his "homeland" to sleep.

In terms of this section the ridiculous situation has been created that if your mother arrives from another area on any day, unless she leaves the area before 10 p.m. she would be committing an offense. If you allow your mother to stay with you then both you and your mother would be committing an offence and each would liable to a fine of R500. Needless to say, you will also be breaking one of the conditions of tenancy.

Furthermore, in terms of this Bill your mother may not visit you for more than 14 days in any year (that is if she can obtain permission in the first place.) It would be seen therefore that the Bill creates divisions between Africans on a number of levels.

- a) between authorised and unauthorized persons;
- b) creates a category of commuters, who are unauthorized persons;
- c) creates a category of permanent urban residents; and
- d) divides South African citizens from citizens of ".....".

These restrictions on the free movement of people within urban areas will have the effect of increasing people's fear of being arrested. They will make it more and more difficult for the organisations of the oppressed to operate. Meetings which are normally held at night will have to over long before 10 p.m. so that people can get home before the curfew.

Perhaps it is important to ask the question who can become a permanent urban resident? Looking at the Bill it is not easy to give a categorical reply to that question. But what is quite clear is that this group would be a very small group indeed and would be limited to the following persons- (1) persons who presently enjoy Section 10 rights would be permitted to become permanent urban residents;

(2) their dependents;

(3) in terms of Section 6 a black who is a South African citizen and who has been legally resident in an urban area for a period not less than 10 years may apply to be recognized a PUR.

This means that no more people would as of right qualify as they did under Section 10. If a person has been resident for a period of at least 10 years in an urban area and he is a South African citizen he "may apply". This does not mean that his application will be granted because in terms of Section 6 an officer who is called a "designated officer" will have the right either to grant or refuse the application. Other provisions of the Bill are:

- a) In terms of Section 8 only authorised persons may seek work. Any other person seeking work would be committing an offence and liable to a fine of up to R500. Any person giving work to an unauthorized person would be liable to a fine of up to R5000.
- b) Any person giving accommodation to an unauthorized person would be committing an offence and liable to a fine of up to R500.
- c) Similar provisions are created with regard to rural areas but in this regard the relevant section is Section 15.

Squatters

- a) The Bill creates a section (Section 31) which gives the authorities vast powers to deal with squatters and "eliminate" them from areas of squatting.
- b) Sections 33 to 42 extend vast powers to "designated officers" and inspectors. Every person who is authorized to be in an urban area would be issued with a "certificate". Officials would have the right to demand sight of these

certificates at any time.

c) The Bill also provides for the creation of "aid centres". At present "aid centres" do exist in urban areas but it is a procedure adopted by the authorities to prevent charging people in open court. The "aid centres" are used virtually as venues for "secret trials". During the time of the raids on squatters at Nyanga and Crossroads just over a year ago, many people were "tried" at "aid centres" without the knowledge of legal representatives or relatives. They were then herded into buses and taken to the Transkei and other areas. It seems that in terms of this Bill this kind of procedure will be encouraged. It will therefore be no accident to find that persons charged under this Bill would face secret trial.

In terms of the Bill, the power of courts is removed in certain instances. If an order is made for the removal of a person from an urban area and he is so removed, no court of law can grant an interdict or rule on the validity of such a removal order. This means that even if a person in his opinion is being unlawfully removed, he cannot go to the Supreme court for assistance as he is able to do at certain levels at present.

Of course, a similar law, the Black Prohibition of Interdicts Act already prevents Africans from applying to court for an interdict to prevent their removal in certain other instances. It seems that this provision is now being extended in the present Bill to other situations as well.

These are but some of the provisions of the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. It is quite clear that in totality it amounts to nothing less than the total regimentation and harassment of the lives of every single African person in South Africa.

It is to be noted that the Black Communities Development Bill, the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill are not yet law. They were referred to a Select Committee and the government has apparently now converted the select committee into a "commission" which will go into these Bills and eventually come up with the final proposals, not only of the government but with the active approval and cooperation of the Opposition.

The Response of the Oppressed

We have not gone into great detail with regard to either the P.C. proposals, the government's constitutional proposals, its plans for economic decentralization. Nor have we gone into details of the three Koornhof Bills. On another occasion one will have to do so. It is imperative that every single person interested in the democratic struggle in this country must acquaint himself with the contents of these laws and the basic ruling class strategy contained therein. We are not suggesting that we have said the last word insofar as the strategies are concerned. We are certain that we have raised matters which are controversial and many people may disagree with us. Certainly what is important is that we will have to discuss them and work out the response of the oppressed people - not in theoretical terms but in practical day-to-day terms as part of day-to-day struggle.

Inasmuch as the basic ruling class strategy of divide and rule has received a new dimension and inasmuch as we can say that there is now a qualitative change in ruling class strategy, there is need for an overall response on the part of the oppressed people and all progressive organisations so as to ensure that the liberatory process is not placed into reverse gear but indeed is able to flourish in spite of the new ruling class strategies.

INTRO: The aim of this pamphlet is just to tell you about the BLA and its background and NOT to deal with possible ways of organising against the new Town Council system.

Before the 1976 June revolts the townships were controlled by the administration boards and their puppets, the URBAN BANTU Councils.

After and during the 1976 revolts these Urban Bantu Councils came under heavy attack from the people. As a result administration offices were burnt down and the councillors on the councils were forced to resign.

The government realised that they were losing their control over the townships and so they introduced the "Community Council" system.

These community councils operated only in African urban areas

These community councils had very little power. EVEN THOUGH they could distribute houses and administer sport and libraries, everything they did was still subject to the wish of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

2/ ... The community

The Community council system was not a successful one. The voting percentage in the 1977 Community Council elections show that their popular support was very little. Soweto had a poll of 6%, Port Elizabeth had a poll of 11% and Daveyton and Kwa Thema had 19% each.

The community council system was obviously a failure. This forced the government to look for another method to control the townships.

They came up with the Black Local Authorities Act. The Act provided for elections to be held for councillors to form a Town or Village Council.

These town councils will replace the existing community councils.

The government says that these new "councils" will give people in the townships more control over their own affairs. However when one looks at the powers which the new town councils have it is easy to see that they too will be puppets dancing to Pretoria's tune.

The Act gives Town councils the powers to :-

- 1) provide and maintain services like water, electricity and sewerage
- 2) the clearing of squatter settlements
- 3) the distribution of housing and lastly the power to form their own kind of police force.

3/ ... They do NOT

They do NOT have the powers to decide on transport or education. In any event the Minister of Co-operation and Development has the power to :-

- 1) establish or dissolve a council
- 2) change the status, size or even the jurisdiction of the council
- 3) give them any extra powers
- 4) appoint councillors to vacancies on the council
- 5) appoint local committees where no councils exist
- 6) announce elections and lay down election procedures
- 7) authorise all budgets and money matters of the council
- 8) intervene in the matters of the council whenever he wants to.

He can even remove councillors from office or dissolve the council.

It is important to note that these Town Councils are meant to be able to support themselves.

So it is clear that there is no control being given to township residents.

It is also clear that there is no democracy in the way that the councils are meant to operate.

HOW DO THE POWERS GIVEN TO BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES
DIFFER FROM THE POWERS GIVEN TO WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS:

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY

1. Can let houses and collect rentals.
2. Has no power and control over transport.
3. Budget must be approved by Minister. Minister can also reject their budget.
4. Can charge residents for water and lights only.
5. Has no control over education.

WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. Can buy land, build houses and rent or sell houses.
2. Has its own transport system and full control over buses.
3. Prepares and approves its own budget.
4. Can build facilities for all services and can also charge residents for all services.

5/... WHAT WILL

WHAT WILL THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT
MEAN TO RESIDENTS :

1. As these Town Councils have to support themselves, the councils will have to get the money from the residents. So they will probably :-
 - (i) make rents higher
 - (ii) make site and service charges higher.
2. It means that residents will still have no control over the conditions in which they live.
- 3) It means that if there is dissatisfaction with living conditions in the townships the residents will be more likely to see the Town Councils as a target than the government.

CONCLUSION:

Township residents are now being asked to finance and administer the terrible conditions in which they live.

The town councillors of the town councils will be the new "administrators" and will certainly prove to be no better than the last bunch of community councillors.

AM7

Below "AM 7" who wrote this? Talk about de-urbanisation
A critical analysis of the Black local authorities Act
by [unclear]

Introduction

In hot pursuit of its grand plan of co-opting the Indian and the 'Coloureds' into the system the government has seen it fit to confuse the situation further through giving out concessions to the urban Black, who of exercising or sharing power through the introduction of the Black local authorities Act. An illusion is created for the benefit of the urban Black so the lie may concentrate on the forthcoming ^{community council} elections whilst missing the central target to which is the co-optation of some Indians and some Coloureds into the system exploitative system. The policy is well-orchestrated. The so-called houses are sold to us after years of occupation at so-called reasonable price. The urban Black is expected to be blinded enough both by this sale and ~~the~~ the local authorities Act where it is claimed will give the hated community council full municipal status.

The commercial press ~~has~~ as part and parcel of the system has hailed the moves especially the sale of these worn out houses, when ~~the~~ concerned individuals ~~are~~ ~~are~~ ~~are~~ analyse the motives of the government. "The Star" in typical commercial press reaction responded that "... home ownership for urban Blacks was preferable to tenancy." The editor haughtily claims that "most reasonable people, we believe (The Star probably and its staff) would endorse this view whatever the government's motives might be."

The mere fact that articles are already pouring in on the subject suggests that the government's divisive tactics may be succeeding ~~to a great extent~~. It has become important, therefore ~~that~~ to expose these tactics through discussions so that these divisive tactics may be nipped in the bud. The Member's Action Committee as an affiliate of the U.D.F. offers this critical analysis for discussion and consolidation by other affiliates so that a united and informed community can counter this Act.

~~MAIN~~ SUMMARY OF THE ACT

The Act is called Act no. 102 of 1982 (BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT 1982)

~~The Act stipulates~~ As in any normal bill the Act had the usually definitions and qualifications

(a) on qualification

The Act stipulates that "no person shall be competent to be elected as a ~~member~~ member of the local authority or to be such a member if :-

- (1) He has been convicted in the Republic or in the ~~territory~~ territory of S.W.A. or in an independent state of treason or an offence under any law which has as its ~~subject~~ object the combating of communism or terrorism, in respect of which he has been sentenced to a period of imprisonment without the option of

2. fine". In other words Walter Sisulu if he were
ree" would not qualify to represent his people
if he wanted to and if the people want him. The
sole reason he would not be allowed to stand for
elections is that he loves his people and wants to
end the exploitative system which is ~~propagated~~
applied so ruthlessly on his people. (Walter Sisulu
was been ~~the~~ convicted of high treason).

Dear Mpele at 73, concerned as he is about
the wellbeing of his people and like Sisulu having
refused to serve in such bodies as the community
councils would find too that he no longer
has the right to refuse to serve on such bodies ~~where~~
somebody other than the people who have confidence
in him, ~~he~~ has decided that ~~that~~ ~~that~~
M Mpele does not qualify

on municipal powers

The Act stipulates that a local ~~authority~~ authority
may ~~and~~ with the approval of the Director
AND SUBJECT TO SUCH ~~other~~ CONDITIONS AS MAY
BE DETERMINED BY THE DIRECTOR ~~at the time of the meeting~~

~~at the time of the meeting~~ DO THE FOLLOWING (a) PAY

Needless to say the director will be appointed by
Koorhep

The Act further stipulates that the ^{notice of meeting} agenda shall be
signed by the chief executive officer (Section 25 (d))
The ~~agenda~~ notice shall contain "the time, date
place of AND THE MATTERS ~~to be dealt with~~ WITH ..."

The meeting if there is no quorum present shall be adjourned by the chief executive officer. Not to be outdone after ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the decision to adjourn the meeting the councillors present may determine the "date and hour of such meeting." Yet just in case they don't ~~agree~~ ^{want to} the chief executive officer may determine the date alone

The council will ~~not~~ be ~~allowed~~ allowed (with the approval of the director to take decisions ~~that~~ ~~may~~ ~~be~~ ~~made~~ excluding the power to make by-laws, ~~to~~ to impose levies or other taxes or to fix rentals, ~~tariffs~~ TARIFFS OR OTHER CHARGES

Whilst ~~it~~ it is specifically stated that rent will be outside ~~the~~ the ambit of the powers of the council ~~there~~ the director is still ~~going~~ ~~to~~ be requested if any other issue can be discussed. Note the normal sentences in the act
55 21 (1) the local authority may (with the DIRECTOR'S APPROVAL 23 (1) ... may, with the approval of the minister, impose levies ...

~~if~~ if you ^{still} think that the council will still have some say note the following

If the minister is of the opinion (1) that any object of this Act is frustrated by a local authority's failure to ~~be~~ exercise or perform a power function or duty assigned to it under this Act (including a failure to make adequate charges in respect of services rendered by such local authority.

If the local authority fails to take the necessary steps in accordance with the minister's direction within a period determined by him, the minister may by notice in the Gazette and with effect from a date determined in the notice

(a) remove from office the persons who are members of the local authority or

(b) dissolve the local authority.

The ~~the~~ people who "elect" this council will also be consulted. If the council is carrying out the wish of those who elected it, then they had better ensure first that the people's wishes are the same as the minister's e.g. ~~the~~ refusing to sanction the minister's right to increase rent.

Local accounting will be done by the chief executive officer and of course Koorhofs shall determine the date of the next elections, the procedure to be followed at the meetings, conditions as to language (other than the two official languages etc

Conclusions ~~The~~ Even at first reading it is clear that there is no transfer of power from the minister to anyone. Where the minister is unable to personally supervise the councillors his director or chief executive officer will ~~therefore~~ therefore the purpose of the Act is not to grant municipal status to the community council. But let us not fall into the trap examining a folly let us rather look at ~~the~~ what is being accomplished

by the Act.

AGAIN

(1) ATTENTION IS DEVIATED FROM THE GOVERNMENT
~~THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS~~ CO-OPTION
OF COLOURS AND INDIANS INTO THE ~~EXPLOITATIVE~~
EXPLOITATIVE SYSTEM!

WHEREAS MILLIONS OF URBAN ACTIVISTS WILL BE
BUSY ADVISING THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES ABOUT
THE PITFALLS OF THE NEW ACT AND CALLING FOR
NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS THEY
WILL BE A GROUP OF IRRATIONALISTS WHO WILL
REFUSE TO SEE REASON AND WILL THEREBY
DIVERGE THE ATTENTION OF OUR COMMUNITIES FROM
THE CONSTITUTIONAL BILL. We know that these
people form only a low percentage of our community
(eg. ~~only~~ only 6% of the total eligible voters
participated during the last elections)

(2) ~~THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS~~ AN ILLUSION IS
CREATED THAT THE URBAN BLACK IS BEING GIVEN A
SHARE IN THE RUNNING OF HIS OWN AFFAIRS THUS
ALIENATING HIM FROM THE RURAL BLACK
~~AND~~ WHO IS CRUELY EXPLOITED
ON WHITE OWNED FARMS IN THE ~~HEALTH~~ SO-CALLED
WHITE SOUTH AFRICA. (THE NAAMEDI ACTION COMMITTEE
IS AWARE THAT AN ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO
ALIENATE THE URBAN BLACK FROM THE RURAL
BLACK IN THE SO-CALLED HOMELANDS. THE
EMERGENCE OF UKHATHELA IS ENOUGH PROOF OF

ACTION

ALL AFFILIATES OF THE U D-S (1) FROM THE PRESIDENT TO EVERY MEMBER OF AN AFFILIATE ORGANISATION TO BE ASKED TO SET ASIDE 5 HOURS EVERY WEEKEND FOR DOOR TO DOOR EXPLANATIONS TO THE REST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

(2) THAT ALL

PUBLICATIONS EXISTING WITHIN OUR COMMUNITY BE UTILISED TO INFORM THE PEOPLE AND THROUGH DOOR TO DOOR ~~SEE~~ SELLING DURING THE FIVE-SET HOURS EXPLANATIONS ON THE NEED TO SUPPORT AND JOIN SUCH PUBLICATIONS BE EMPHASISED FOR CONTINUITY OF SHARING IDEAS

(3)

Refer to PROGRAMME OF ACTION

AM8

UDF.....1
New "AM8"

Our response to this issue must begin by outlining how we see the present political situation. This is because our decision to join the UDF was made as part of our response to certain political events. These events directly affected us both as a trade union, and as people who identify ourselves with the struggle for a free and just South Africa.

There are four main political issues that affect workers today. These four are (a) The increasing push towards Bantustan Independence for all the homelands - and therefore the forcing of Bantustan citizenship on all Black people. (b) The attempt to push through new Pass Laws that will tighten up the control of all workers. The lives of all workers - but more especially contract workers, will become very difficult if this new law is passed. (c) The community council elections that will be held later on this month. This issue is linked to the problem of high rents, high electricity bills and high transport costs. (d) The "New Deal" being pushed by the government in the forthcoming constitution. This issue must be seen as a part of the issues spoken of above. All four of these issues are linked. They are all part of the attempt to ensure that the Apartheid capitalist system can continue to exploit workers by continuing to oppress all black people. We will explain what we mean by this in more detail below. First we will look at why these four issues are so important to black workers.

Bantustan Independence

All black workers are faced with the fact that they and their children are being forced to become citizens of one or other homeland. As these homelands become independent - the situation of the workers from that homeland deteriorates. They are no longer seen as citizens of South Africa but as foreigners coming into South Africa to get a job. The government has made it clear that it hopes to eventually have no more black citizens of South Africa. All black people will be foreigners who can come

into South Africa to work if there are jobs for them. If there are no jobs then they will be sent to the homelands to starve.

The Bantustans are governed by people who are junior partners in the oppression of the black people of South Africa. These "governments" are there to make sure that the large numbers of unemployed and hungry people in the homelands are kept under control. These governments survive only because they are given money and guns by the Botha government. They exist only to oppress the people, and to keep them from rising up against their oppression.

All black workers are faced with the threat of being sent off to rot in a homeland. All black workers must unite to say NO to these Bantustans.

The New Pass Laws

The pass laws have always been the way in which the government of South Africa has made it easy for the bosses to exploit black workers. The pass laws control the movements of black workers. These are the laws which make it possible for the government to get rid of any workers who are not needed in the urban areas. These are the laws that have made it possible for the government and the bosses to force black workers into jobs they would never choose to do - on the mines or the farms. But the problem is that the very high numbers of unemployed people and the starvation in the homelands has resulted in people defying the control of the pass laws and coming to town illegally to look for jobs. So the government has decided to tighten up the pass laws in order to make sure that people do not come to the urban areas unless they are needed by the bosses.

The government has also decided that the best way of doing this is to try and divide the workers. The people who have jobs and houses in the urban areas will be given a little more freedom - and all others will be booted out into the

homelands. No rural people will be registered for jobs if there is an urban person who does not have work. Anyone who tries to defy these laws by coming to town illegally will face a large fine and/or a long period in jail. Anyone who gives accommodation to an illegal worker will also face a large fine and/or a long period in jail. Any employer who hires an illegal worker (because he can pay the worker less money) will be fined R5000.00. (This is because the government feels that the problem of control over all black workers is more important than the extra profit that a few bosses can make by employing "illegals").

Even though the urban workers with housing will be given a bit more freedom, their situation is also uncertain. This is because they could lose their position as permanent urban workers and end up in a homeland. The only way forward is to resist the government's attempts to divide workers and unite against these new pass laws.

All black workers are oppressed and controlled by the pass laws. All black workers will be affected by these new pass laws. This is why we must all unite to say NO to the "Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill".

The Community Council Elections

The community councils are another attempt to confuse people about who the enemy is. This is done by putting stooges into power in the community councils and then oppressing the people through these stooges. When the Bantu Administration Boards were the people in charge, it was clear who the oppressor was. The U.B.C.'s had so little power that it was clear to everyone that they were dummy bodies. The government then decided to give them a bit more power, change their name, and try to fool the people in this way. But the real power still lies in the hands of the government through the B.A.A.B.'s (Bantu Affairs Administration Boards).

This means that a whole lot of extra money is spent without any benefits for the

people. These community councillors have to be paid high salaries, they need buildings to meet in, cars to ride around in - all in order to carry out the government's dirty work. The workers who live in the townships have to pay for all this. The government not only puts up stooges to do its dirty work for it - but it also tells the people that now that they control their own affairs - they will also have to pay for it all by themselves - no more money from the government. This means that higher rents, higher electricity bills, dog tax and all sorts of other expenses will be forced upon the workers.

If the people complain, then the reply is that they are now in control of their own townships. They must complain to the people they elected. The government is also moving towards giving these councillors the power to oppress the urban people if they resist too much. Community guards - a type of police under the control of the community council - are being spoken about.

All black workers must unite to prevent the situation in the townships becoming like a mini-homeland. We must all unite to say NO to the community council elections.

The New Constitution - No More Apartheid?

Botha's "New Deal" is being spoken about as a move away from Apartheid. The idea is that now Indian and Coloured people are being "included", and that this is a step in the right direction. But if we look at this from the position of the black workers, we can see that this "new deal" is just the same old apartheid - the same old oppression. The government is speaking of a new - non-racial - democracy coming about with this "new deal". This can only make sense if we first do away with all black people in South Africa. If there are no black South Africans (- only Transkeians, Vendas, etc) then suddenly the whites are in the majority. Suddenly it becomes possible to include Coloureds and Indians in the government. So this

'so-called' move away from Apartheid is only possible thanks to the ultimate result of Apartheid - the banishing of all black South Africans to the Bantustans.

In this way we can see how this "New Deal" is very closely linked to the other issues spoken of above: the "Independence" of the Bantustans - the tightening up of the pass laws - and the new self-government of the townships. The government is hoping to win over the Coloured and Indian people in order to tighten up the oppression of the black people - and most especially - the black workers.

This "New Deal" is trying to divide the oppressed people. This "New Deal" is trying to make sure that the black workers remain under the control of the government. - This "New Deal" will make sure that the black workers are still at the mercy of the bosses.

All black workers and other oppressed people must unite to say NO to this new constitution. We must unite to say NO to the whole package - the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

Who else is affected?

We have spoken of the way in which black workers are affected by this 'package deal'. We can see that the Apartheid capitalist system in our country is fighting to survive. The people are resisting and all sorts of problems are surfacing. This "New Deal" - and the Koornhof Bills - are attempts by the government to face the challenges made by the people's resistance. We have seen how this tightening up of Apartheid laws will make it easier for the bosses to continue the exploitation of black workers. The government is passing these laws in order to make sure that the black working class is tightly controlled in the urban areas - and kicked out to the homelands when workers are no longer needed.

But these laws are also part of the Apartheid system that oppresses many people from other classes and other communities. All black people - and Indian and Coloured people - are oppressed by these laws. The black workers are the largest and most oppressed group. This is why black workers will be the most dedicated and hardworking people in the struggle. But black workers are not the only oppressed people. We must stand together with all people willing to fight for a free and just South Africa. We must unite to oppose this "New Deal" and the Koornhof Bill. Only in this way can we mobilise the widest possible grouping of people to re continued oppression.

We must recognise that within this broad unity of people - there will be different views of approach - different levels of understanding - different ideas about the kind of society we are fighting for. This does not matter. We are united in our opposition to Apartheid and its effects on all black people. The black workers will put all their might behind a thrust to do away with Apartheid and the injustices and inequalities that it has resulted in.

We believe that this cannot be done without a total change in the type of society that has been created by the Apartheid capitalist system in South Africa.

Trade Unions and the Struggle .

Our stand on these issues is clear - But how can we oppose them effectively? Trade Unions are not political parties. Trade Unions are organisations of workers - to fight for the rights of workers and to defend these rights on the shopfloor. Our Trade Unions are also committed to fighting for a society in which all workers are free. But we cannot pretend that all our members are politically conscious who would wholeheartedly get involved in the struggle. Our strength lies in our ability to unite in the workplaces with the possibility of stopping production.

happens mainly around some of the immediate problems facing workers in that workplace. The structures of our unions exist to enable workers to deal with problems in the workplace as they arise. Because union structures bring workers together to discuss problems - it becomes possible for political issues to be discussed. However, it is very difficult for a trade union to launch and control political campaigns - as well as function effectively as the first line of defense of the workers. This is why it is very difficult for us - as trade unions - to respond effectively to political issues. While admitting all this, we must say at the same time that it is our duty as trade unionists in South Africa to be part of the struggle for freedom and justice. Our problem is therefore to find the most effective way of doing this - despite the limitations of our organisations. This brings us to the need for alliances with other organisations.

Alliances

In South Africa, the main political organisations are banned. We are thus faced with finding ways of responding - together with other groupings of oppressed people - to the main political struggles occurring inside our country. Many other organisations - like student groupings or community organisations - have a similar problem. They are formed to fight some of the basic problems that occur amongst the people they are organising. They are not political parties. If they spent all their time functioning as political groupings - they would lose touch with their base. Ordinary people have to be drawn into the process of struggle - they do not come rushing in by themselves. Ordinary people need to learn - through the process of struggling to change some of the immediate problems around them - how and why these immediate problems (like high rents, bad teaching, etc.) are part of broader political problems. In this sense - the difficulties these groups have in responding effectively to political issues are similar to those faced by the unions. This is why we have all responded so eagerly to the formation of the U.D.F.

The U.D.F. and the Crisis

Everybody today seems to be talking about the crisis. Well, the reality is that the present system of domination and exploitation isn't working too well. So the government has a crisis on its hands. The "New Deal" and the Koornhof Bills are the government's attempt to resolve this crisis by bringing in a shiny new model.

This new model is supposed to make sure that the crisis becomes a thing of the past and that domination and exploitation live on ... happily ever after. It's up to us to make sure that this doesn't happen.

This means that the present political situation demands a far greater and more united response than we have managed for a very long time. By ourselves - whether we are unions/community organisations/students or whatever - we will achieve very little. The present situation calls for the kind of united response that can bring together the strengths and talents of as many different groupings of people as possible. Churches, unions, community organisations, students, youth groups, women's groups and groups of activists - committees of all kinds - all of these should unite to resist this new 'package deal'

The problem then becomes how to bring all these different types of organisations together. Herein lies the strength of an organisation like the U.D.F. In the real sense of the word -the UDF is not an organisation at all.It's a rallying point. It's the focus of a range of different types of energies. It represents the pooling of resources; the co-operation of a range of very different, autonomous organisations. It is a form of unity in action -but not in structure/form or detailed policy. It is an attempt to create the broadest possible unity in opposition to this specific political situation. It serves as a means of bringing people together. It serves as a forum to sort through the differences that may arise between these groupings - but only those differences that may serve as a

stumbling block to this united opposition. All other differences are irrelevant to the project of the U.D.F.

The U.D.F. also serves as a symbol of our determination to oppose oppression to the end. The election of presidents and patrons should be understood for their symbolic value - rather than as a set of very complicated structures. The individuals involved were chosen because they are symbols of our struggle - symbols of determination of courage and of the history of our struggle. It is in all these ways that the U.D.F. is a United Front of a broad range of organisations and not a unitary (or even a federal) structure.

As far as the operation of the U.D.F. is concerned, this means that the programmes of the U.D.F. must be carried out primarily through the organisations that identify themselves with the U.D.F. The shared planning process, the pooling of resources and the employment of a number of full-time personnel by the U.D.F.; all these things ensure that member organisations of the U.D.F. receive a lot of support in the process of carrying out these programmes.

The most interesting result of the excitement and activity generated by the U.D.F. so far, has been the emergence of a whole range of new organisations that then join the U.D.F.. A number of youth organisations and civic organisations have emerged throughout the country to take up the U.D.F. banner. These organisations exist as autonomous entities - although they have emerged as a result of the existence of the U.D.F. They will now be able to grow, consolidate their base, foster new leadership and continue to function long after the UDF ceases to exist. But what about unions? What kind of role should they play in the U.D.F.?

Unions and the U.D.F.

Unions are working class organisations. They exist both as a means to fight for

the rights of workers - and as a training ground which enables workers to develop skills in organisation and leadership. The development of these skills - as well as the growing confidence that this generates amongst workers - are essential elements in the development of the working class struggle.

The main limitation of all unions is that their structure and way of operating tends to push them towards focussing only on economic issues - to the exclusion of political issues. This can only be overcome by associating ourselves - as a trade union - with the political struggles going on around us. In this way we can achieve two goals at the same time: (a) we can oppose the tendency towards economism by clearly stating our commitment - as trade unionists - to the broader struggle for freedom. This challenges all the workers that we organise to also examine their role in these terms; and (b) by actively participating in these struggles, we can influence their direction and goals. Worker leaders, emerging from the training ground of the unions, can take their places amongst the leadership of the political struggle. Workers - organised through the unions - can participate actively in the process of struggle. If this active participation occurs - the large number of workers involved will be a tremendous boost to the political struggle and will help to ensure that the aims of the struggle are controlled by the workers.

What alternatives do we have if we reject participation in bodies like the UDF?

Some would argue that unions are working class bodies and in the interests of working class autonomy we must 'go it alone'. The unions should be part of an independent initiative against the "new deal". This independent opposition group should consist only of unions. Even if we felt this to be a good idea (which we don't) we would oppose it on the grounds that we spoke of above: a union is not a political organisation and for as long as it continues to function as a union - it cannot effectively fulfill the role of a political organisation. The other alternative would be for the unions

to support/encourage the setting up of a "Workers' Party" that will lead the workers in the struggle against the "new deal". This type of political grouping - it is argued - would ensure that the political goals of the working class are promoted. We disagree with this position for the following reasons.

(a) No 'working class party' is ever composed only of workers. Anyone who is prepared to fight for the kind of fundamental changes that would enable workers to be free would be welcome in any working class party. This also points to the mistake of assuming that all workers are somehow automatically committed to the struggle for fundamental change. It is true that a progressive political direction can most naturally take root amongst the working class - it is not true that a political leadership composed of workers is automatically progressive. Nor is it true that a political leadership composed of workers will guarantee that the interests of the workers are promoted by that leadership.

We believe that a truly fundamental change in this society can only occur if the workers are actively involved in the process of struggle. This is because the workers are one of the most down-trodden and oppressed classes in our society - as well as having a very important role in the functioning of our Apartheid capitalist society. This gives workers the kind of power that other oppressed classes - like the rural poor people (peasants) - don't have. The question then arises - In what way should workers be involved in the struggle? This leads us to the second objection that we have to the idea of a workers' party 'going it alone' .

(b) We mentioned - in the first part of our discussion - the fact that it is the black workers of South Africa who have suffered most under the various parts of the Apartheid capitalist system. This is because this system functions in such a way as to enable the bosses to make the highest possible profits - at the expense of the workers. Many other people have also suffered terribly at the hands of this system - the rural poor people for example. It is because we believe that the oppression of black workers is at the root of the broader oppression of all black people in South

Africa - that we advocate the widest possible unity of all oppressed people to fight this system.

Some who will unite with us will not be prepared to go as far as we will on the road to freedom - but because it is the same road - we can unite and work together. Some believe that we will be betrayed by those who would get rid of racial discrimination but are not too keen to shake things up any further. Our reply to this is quite simple.

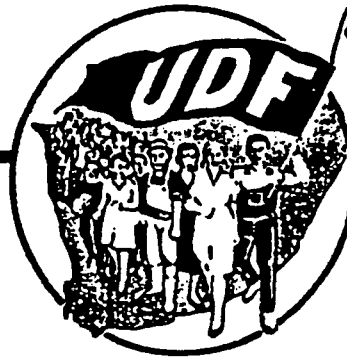
We believe that it is impossible to separate off Apartheid from the capitalist system it has fed. A truly committed opposition to Apartheid (and its consequences) will lay the foundations for a fundamental change in the entire system in South Africa. Our present struggle does not have to be based on some abstract 'ideal society' of the future. A struggle which aims to get rid of Apartheid - to get rid of the homelands - to get rid of the inequality bred by Apartheid, inequalities of wealth, land, education, etc. This kind of struggle - if taken to its logical conclusion - will undermine the foundations of Apartheid capitalism. The rest is up to us.

The importance of this kind of struggle is its ability to unite the widest possible range of oppressed people. The path of the struggle is the same for all of us-- how far down the path we go will depend on our efforts. It's up to the unions and all other progressives to ensure that the organised workers are fully involved in the process of struggle - that worker leaders emerge and take up positions amongst the political leadership - that progressives unite to ensure a struggle for truly fundamental change in South Africa.

These are our reasons for joining the UDF. We encourage all other progressives to do the same.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



Rev AM 911

NATIONAL OFFICE

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

21 January 1985

CIRCULAR TO ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

Dear Comrades

RE: HOUSING CONFERENCE & LOCAL AUTHORITIES

As you should know the Housing Conference has been on our Agenda for now a year. But because of the urgency of the campaign against the new constitution this issue has been shelved from time to time. However, the matter must still be pursued with all the seriousness it deserves.

The National Secretariat at its meeting on 12 and 13 January, 1985 decided to postpone the conference in this regard to June. (The date will be made known to you in due course).

This will allow for proper discussions and preparations for the conference by our appropriate affiliates. I urge you to ensure that thorough discussions go into this matter. Once this has been done please forward to the H/O a synthesis of these discussions.

I enclose herewith a copy of proposals worked out by our office in the Western Cape in conjunction with CAHAC - as the basis for discussion.

Although the conference is scheduled for June, I wish to urge you to address it as a matter of urgency.

Please circulate it amongst our appropriate affiliates e.g Civic organisations, Housing Action Committees, etc.

Thank you.

Yours in struggle,

B. Molefe

P.P. **POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY**

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**Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete**

**National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe**



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE REGION
P.O. BOX 274
SALT RIVER
7925

16 April 1984

The Secretary

.....

Dear

RE: PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

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

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

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

We await your positive responses.

Yours in struggle

Trevor Manuel
Regional Secretary

12

CIRCULAR: NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

TO: ALL UDF REGIONAL SECRETARIES FOR REFERRAL TO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

FROM: UDF WESTERN CAPE /CAHAC

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

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

1. AIMS

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

2. CONTENT

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

3. DATE

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

4. PREPARATION

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

13

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

5. THE CONFERENCE

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

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

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

6. FINANCES

Budget to follow.

CONTENT OR PROGRAMME OF CONFERENCE ON HOUSING

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

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

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

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

1. HOUSING CRISIS

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

2. CHANGES IN THE HOUSING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

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

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

3. OUR RESPONSE TO THE NEW HOUSING POLICY

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

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

4. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

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

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

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

5. ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY "CIVICS"

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

6. FORCED REMOVALS

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

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

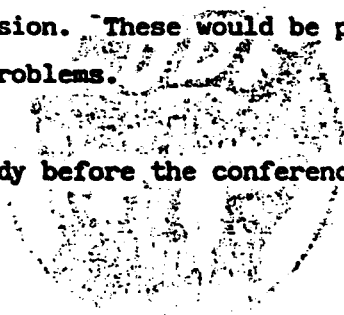
NOTE

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

14

2. Resolutions could be passed after each session. These would be published as our joint views on a number of issues or problems.

3. Copies of talks or papers, if they are ready before the conference, would be sent to the different centres.



REGIONAL OFFICE

15

AM10

MEETING OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT BORDER REGION SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE

Re: AM 14

VENUE: Khotso House

DATE: 5th October, 1983

PRESENT: Popo Molefe (UDF)
Babara Creecy (Descom)
Menzeleleli (African Food and Canning Workers Union)
Pete Harris (Jodac)
Lucky Mhlayivana (SASDU)

1. The meeting was opened with much discussion about the fact that certain unions who had promised support and attendance were not attending meetings or giving support.

It was decided that these unions would be contacted by Popo, Barbara and Lucky.

2. Pete Harris reported that he was expecting information in the near future listing the names and connections of all companies actually operating in the Ciskei. This list would be handed in at the next meeting.

3. PUBLIC MEETING AND PUBLICITY

It was decided that 3 public meetings would be held:

- * Pretoria
- * Soweto
- * Vaal

The meeting in Pretoria and Johannesburg were scheduled for the 15th of October 1983.

Popo stated that he wanted to see to the organisation of the Soweto meeting. Menzeleleli said he would see to the organisation of the Pretoria meeting. Barbara and Pete undertook to ensure the provision of the pamphlets posters and banners.

The pamphlets should include a reference to Tawu and the AFCWU.

The pamphlets should be in Sotho and Zulu for Soweto.

For Pretoria the pamphlets should be in Tswana, Zulu and Shangaan.

The pamphlets should be brief and simple and must be vetted by Popo before production.

Quantity: 10 000 pamphlets

4. FUNDRAISING

Babara stated that large numbers of people were giving clothes in solidarity. This was proving to be a logistical problem and therefore it was suggested that some sort of jumble sale should be organised so that the proceeds of the sale could be deposited into a bank account up here.

The next meeting of this committee would be on the Wednesday 12/10/83 at 15h0

AM11

Rev AM 11"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
BORDER REGION
Annual Secretarial Report

Preamble.

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

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

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

This then entails:

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

Circumstances .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Democratic Drive.

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

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

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

Analysis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Future.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WE MUST BE FOUND TO BE STRONG AND UNITED!!

AM12

secretarial report.

This report covers the period 18-11-84 to 15-2-85. ^{Because} ~~there~~ ^{has} been little or no feed-back from affiliates, ^{the} ~~the~~ report tends to be dry and administrative in focus. We hope this will not be the case in the future. New AM 12

ACTIVITIES:

National:

1. A number of our leaders are still in detention and have been charged with Treason. The case is taking place in Durban.

2. There has been a NATIONAL SECRETARIAT meeting in Durban on the 12/13 Jan. 1985. The following issues were discussed:
 - (a) Regional report
 - (b) M.S.C.
 - (c) N.G.C.
 - (d) Black Authorities.
 - (e) Housing Conference.
 - (f) Forced Removals.
 - (g) Kennedy & Jackson visits.
 - (h) I.Y.Y.
 - (i) Finances.

On the M.S.C. - a feeling of disappointment was expressed on the under - par level of participation. Suggestions and latest data are expected on this matter.

It is projected that the N.G.C. will take place during the Easter Week-end. More on this under correspondence.

The Black Authorities will be under focus and workshops have been arranged in the Tvl to organise united strategies on resisting them.

The Housing Conference will be hosted by Natal and preparations are afoot. More details will be forwarded by Natal in due course.

A comprehensive data on Forced Removals should be compiled by regions and forwarded to H.O. Intensified resistance should be organised and events monitored closely.

Kennedy: U.D.F. Did not invite Kennedy. The Front would also not participate officially in the programmes but will not stop its affiliate organisations from participation. We do not see Kennedy as a liberator. But any voice that is heard against apartheid helps the struggle. The Front recognises that there are contradictions within the imperialist camp. These should be exploited for our cause on our own terms.

Jackson: It was felt that his is a private visit on the patrons' invitation. But it seems an inopportune moment for such a visit. The patrons will be persuaded to prevail on Jackson not to come.

A National Conference for the Youth took place at the same time as the Secretariat - some 50kms away. We had hoped to get a brief on proceedings but this never came. The Border region sent youth reps to this conference.

The Finances of the Front were discussed at a special session of National & regional treasurers. The treasurer will briefly report on this.

3. The next F.E.C. will be hosted by this region on the 23/24 Feb. All those who can assist with accommodation and catering are welcome to do so.

REGIONAL.

1. We had hoped to have a rally in December to popularise the Black X-mas. This was made impossible by the enemy. We had to be content with pamphleteering for this call.

2. The R.E.C. has been trying to get in touch with some of our affiliates to sort out things and engender a sense of co-operation.

We hope this will also improve organisation. Unfortunately we have not visited all areas yet. We still must go to Mquali.

3. Our affiliate organisations need to show more life, and keep in touch with ^{the} secretariat.

4. Our units seem to be more active this year. We hope that the organisations will participate fully at unit level.

5. The education crisis has assumed critical proportions in Fort Beaufort. It has been compounded by an arrogant brutality from the community councils there. There will be a formal report on this.

6. Both Cape Teachers College and Fort Hare are again victims of political purges by the enemy. But the comrades at CTC are fighting back.

7. Our activists continue to be harassed and one of our presidents is still confined to Ciskei.

Correspondence.

1. National
2. Regional

Lastly, the level of our organisation still has to be intensified. The dawn of our liberation has never been clearer. For this purpose repression will also intensify. But this should not daunt us. It should strengthen our resolve to be liberated and our leaders set free - in our life time!

u. 51? Geo

AM13

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6/10787

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT BORDER : REPORT SUBMITTED TO UDF
SPECIAL CONFERENCE, PORT ELIZABETH, DECEMBER 17-18, 1983

A. PREAMBLE:

Bew "AM 13

This report covers the period August 9 hitherto because we believe we owe UDF such detailed report. Having said so, we would like to apologise to honourable comrades that we did not prior to now have such a report.

We have had a number of problems in our development, which we hope this report will be able to reveal.

Our region came into existence at the height of problems in the East London region, which made operating freely quite a hassle.

A number of documents which relate to our activities, were confiscated by Ciskeian police when Sabelo Ndzuto, our secretary, was detained on November 7.

B. LAUNCH:

Despite the number of problems we had to contend with as presented by police harassment, our region was formally launched at Grahamstown, on October 15.

Prior to the launch, we had a meeting on August 9, at East London, where UDF was formally introduced. Present at the meeting were the following organisations:-

Cosas; Azaso; Saawu; Vecos (Victoria East Council of Sport); East London Youth Organisation; East London Descom; Mwasa; Naawu; AFCWU; GWU; DWU; NWA;

It was felt at the meeting that there should be another meeting, where UDF Border could probably be launched, because organisations which attended the meeting of the 9th had no mandate to discuss affiliation to UDF. The majority feeling at the meeting, however, was that there was a need for the existence of UDF Border.

The next meeting was held on August 16, still at East London. The majority of the organisations which had attended the previous meeting, attended the second meeting as well, bar AFCWU; Naawu; GWU and Mwasu.

Before the meeting started on August 16, the organisers had a brief meeting with representatives of the East London Youth Organisation and the East London Youth Congress.

The meeting had been necessitated by the fact that both groups claimed to represent youth in the East London area, and it was the organisers' wish to get the question of representation in this regard cleared before the meeting.

The upshot of the meeting with the youth representatives was that the organisers advised them to go back and try to sort out their differences before they could eventually affiliate to UDF Border on the claim that they represented East London youth.

All the organisations which then attended the meeting of August 16, affirmed their commitment to UDF, and processes we set into motion to launch UDF Border.

The meeting, attended by accredited delegates, adopted a resolution that a contingent from the Border area should attend the national UDF launch at Cape Town. A delegation of 15 was elected to represent the area at the Cape Town launch.

The meeting adopted the following resolution:-

R1/83: That UDF shall not assume the role of accredited people's liberation movements.

3/... The delegates were ...

(20)

6/10/8

The delegates were, in terms of another resolution, given a mandate to participate fully at the launch, on behalf of the organisations, which were present at the August 16 meeting. The resolution went as follows:-

R2/83: That the organisations here present surrender their right to participate at the launch, to the 15 delegates, who shall report back on the proceedings at a meeting to be held on August 23, at East London.

At the meeting of August 23, a resolution (R3/83) was adopted to establish an interim committee, which would arrange for a formal launch of UDF Border. The interim committee was further mandated to approach those organisations which had up until then not affiliated to UDF.

Organisations present at the report back meeting on August 23 were all those which had attended the meeting of August 16.

Members of the interim committee were:-

Chairperson: Steve Tshwete; Secretary: Ntombazana Botha; Treasurer: Nkenke Stofile; Additional Members: Sabelo Ndzuta; Makhaya Ngalo; Mandisa Ntlabati; Phila Ngqumba; Mirriam Mgabela; Alfred Metele and Mzwandile Msoki.

The interim committee was given until September 3 to report back at a general meeting to be at East London.

The meeting of September 3 decided that the launch of UDF Border should take place on September 24, at East London.

The scheduled launch was banned when all meetings of UDF; Saawu and Cosas were prohibited in the East London area by the area's Chief Magistrate.

4/... Police harassment ...

Police harassment also made it impossible subsequently for general meetings to be held in East London, where the majority of UDF supporting organisations existed.

The police threatened the withdrawal of the Masazane Open School lease if the Institute of Race Relations, controllers of Masazane, kept on making the Masazane hall available to UDF and other progressive movements in the East London area.

A similar threat to the authorities at the Braelyn Heights Methodist Church, effectively stopped meetings there.

This affected our efforts, particularly because of the state of emergency declared by Sebe's government at Mdantsane, where most of our members resided. This meant that meetings outside the East London area could not be convened as an alternative as people, returning from those meetings, would have had to contend with Sebe's curfew regulations.

Most meetings, therefore, were interim committee meetings, some of which had to be held very secretly.

Consequently, the next suitable date for the launch was taken at interim committee level.

After a series of interim committee meetings and consultations with organisational representatives, the interim committee decided on September 29 that the launch would be on October 15, at King William's Town.

Because of special police attention and harassment, it was decided that the launch on October 15 would be a closed session for accredited delegates only, who would be only 3 from each participant organisation.

In view of the previous ban, it was suspected that the meeting of October 15 could also be prohibited and, therefore, arrangements were made for an alternative venue.

5/... A venue at Grahamstown ...

A venue at Grahamstown was secured but not published. The decision was that, should the King William's Town meeting be banned, organisers would go round informing all interested organisations about the switch to Grahamstown.

A ban, inevitably, was slapped on the meeting and was served on the priest-in-charge at the Catholic Church, where the meeting would be held.

As processes had already been put into motion, the meeting took place on October 15, as scheduled at Grahamstown.

Because organisations could not be informed of the alternative in good time and because the ban was brought to our attention in the afternoon of October 14, we could not contact all the organisations we had intended to and the Grahamstown meeting, consequently, was not as representative as it would have been under better conditions.

The effect of this was that, members of organisations which had already indicated their support of UDF, although present at Grahamstown, could not affiliate formally as the accredited delegates of the organisations could not be contacted to be informed of the switch.

The following organisations, therefore, assumed observer status, as the accredited delegates were not present:-

Domestic Workers Union (DWU); Mdantsane Burial Society; Mwasu; Lutheran Youth Organisation; Grahamstown Civic Association.

Those that affiliated formally were Saawu; Azaso; Cosas; Anglican Society; Catholic Students Association; East London Descom, and Black Students Movement (Rhodes).

6/... The Black Students ...

The Black Students Movement was at the time still in the process of deciding on matters of policy and were, therefore, regarded by the meeting as an unconstituted group and were then accorded one vote in terms of a resolution (R4/83) adopted by the meeting.

At the launch an explanation of UDF was given and a progress report was made. After the reading of the UDF Declaration, organisations endorsed it and an election of office bearers was conducted.

The following comrades were elected into office:-

Presidents: Steve Tshwete
Bangumzi Sifingo
Secretaries Charles Ngakula
Sabelo Ndzuto
Treasurers: Makhenkesi Stofile
Hintsisa Siwisa

Resolutions adopted were:-

- i. LABOUR: R5/83: That UDF Border condemns the ban on Saawu by the Ciskei Government and all harassment _ of the workers and pledge solidarity with the workers in their struggle.
- ii. HARASSMENT & DETENTIONS:
R6/83: That UDF Border condemns the violence at Mdantsane with the accompanying spate of harassment _ and detentions by both the governments of Ciskei and South Africa and pledges to fight side by side with the residents of Mdantsane for the restoration of justice and their dignity.
- iii. CHURCHES: R7/83: That whereas UDF Border regards the new Constituion Act and the Koornhof Bills as unholy pieces

of legislation designed to entrench apartheid and, therefore, all those involved in holy witness must take a stand against the stipulated laws.

- iv. STUDENTS: R8/83: That, whereas Fort Hare has become an establishment seeking to justify the present political order as prescribed by the present South African oligarchy, therefore UDF Border calls for the immediate stop of the exercise and the immediate restoration of the dignity of the institution and academic freedom.
- v. REMOVALS: R9/83: UDF Border deploras the continued uprooting of families which breaks up life at all levels and creates insecurity and uncertainty and therefore pledges solidarity with the threatened people of Mgwali, Mooiplaats, Newlands and Potsdam.
- vi. WORKING PRINCIPLES & PROGRAMME OF ACTION: R10/83:
- That UDF Border unanimously resolves that all member organisations shall submit names of their two representatives on the Regional General Council and that the RGC shall work out Working Principles and Programme of Action for the region.

8/... C ACTIVITIES: ...

C. ACTIVITIES:

A number of activities were planned by the interim committee, prior to the launch, but most of these were affected by the state of affairs in the area.

On August 30, the interim committee decided on workshops, which would be educative in format, on the Koornhof Bills and P.C. Proposals.

The first workshop was conducted with Saawu as a base on September 4, where the pieces of legislation were looked at from a worker's perspective.

The next workshop, which was going to look at the matter from the point of view of women, was cancelled as it clashed with the Descom national conference.

Thereafter, most of the interim committee's time was taken up in arranging for the launch.

D. MOBILISATION:

The interim committee started on a programme of mobilisation and, in this regard, Mgwali was visited and contact was made with the Mgwali Residents Association, which is fighting the forced removal of people from that area. The MRA welcomed our representatives with open arms and indicated willingness to affiliate to UDF.

The interim committee also kept constant touch with the organisations which had since affiliated and those that had not yet made decisions on affiliation, but which had indicated friendship towards the Front.

A programme of decentralisation was then launched to make possible the existence of units at local level, for mass participation.

9/... In terms of the new ...

In terms of the new programme, representatives of the units were asked to go into the field to organise not only support but also the establishment of new organisations, which would subsequently affiliate to UDF.

D. PROBLEMS:

UDF Border has had to contend with some problems in its mobilisation.

i. Meeting with Fosatu:

The meeting was arranged with Fosatu executive for December 7 but Fosatu did not honour the appointment and the meeting was re-scheduled for December 8. The organising secretary of Naawu, C J Fazzie was met. He explained problems he was experiencing with his comrades. He then promised to try and talk to his comrades and that we should come back next year to Naawu.

ii. United Women's Organisation (EL):

Uwo was met on December 8, but we had a number of problems from the outset, when the deputation also included two men, who seemed to be more influential on the Uwo members present.

In fact, it was the two men who led the Uwo argument, which, to put mildly, bordered on the absurd at times.

Uwo's position was that UDF was usurping the position of exiled organisations, while UDF had no base. Uwo also insisted on a categorical answer to their hypothetical question on what UDF would do in the event of a schools boycott.

10/... iii. Youth Congress: ...

iii. Youth Congress:

We initially thought that the East London Youth Congress would affiliate to us, but up to now this has not happened. We have arranged in the past some meetings where the question of representation of the youth in the area would be thrashed out but no finality has been reached on the matter.

The last time we heard from the Congress was that it insisted on meeting the entire UDF Border executive instead of a deputation that UDF Border could make available for the talks.

Congress also insisted on receiving formal invitation to such talks.

It has been very difficult for our executive to meet on the same day for purposes of the meeting as they were involved in mobilisation in other areas like, Alice and its environs; King William's Town and the surrounding areas and, of course, Mgwali.

An approach to Congress still forms part of our programme of mobilisation.

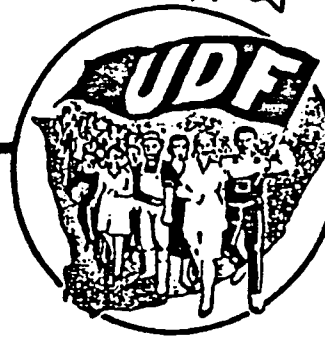
E. CONCLUSION:

We believe very strongly that our area's future is rosy. But, having said that, we wish to solicit the advice and guidance of the more experienced areas which make up UDF and will welcome any suggestions and also visits by those who can help us.

AM14

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



Ben's AM 14/10

NORTHERN CAPE

P.O. BOX 289
VRYBURG
8600

THE NORTHERN CAPE REGIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL QUESTION

1. COMMITTEES *CAPE*

The Northern/Regional Steering Committee was formed in the regional workshop in October 84, attended by nine organisations throughout the region. The following organisations were represented:

1.1. VRYBURG

- 1.1.1. Huhudi Civic Association (Huca)
- 1.1.2. Huhudi Youth Organisation (Huyo)
- 1.1.3. Detainees Parents Support Committee (D.P.S.C/Huhudi)
- 1.1.4. General & Allied Workers Union (Gawu)
- 1.1.5. Vryburg Sports Union
- 1.1.6. Colridge Ratepayers & Tenants Association

1.2. KIMBERLEY

- 1.2.1. Committee of Concern
- 1.2.2. Galeshewe Youth Planning Committee

1.3. SCHWEIZER RENEKE

- 1.3.1. Mamusa Youth Planning Committee

1.4. KURUMAN

Due to late arrangements for transport the representation from;

- 1.4.1. General & Allied Workers Union (Gawu)
- 1.4.2. Kudumane Youth Unity (Kuyuni), *did not turn up for the workshop*

- 1.5. RITCHIE : Ritchie is a small area next to Kimberley and initiatives by the youth there to form a youth organisation have been started. Individuals from this area had also attended (for further details refer on report head office has copy of the report). *→ the above referred workshop.*

2. STATE OF ORGANISATION, PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN EACH AREA.

2.1. VRYBURG

2.1.1. Huhudi Civic Association (Huca).

- 2.1.1.1. Huca commands tremendous support in the African township of Huhudi.
- 2.1.1.2. It is an undoubted staunch supporter of the front and most of the executive members serve in the R.S.C.
- 2.1.1.3. Huca champions UDF's position in the township and its grassroot membership identifies unequivocally with the front.
- 2.1.1.4. No problems in drawing the association into the general council.

2/...

Presidents: Oscar Mpeha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

2.1.2. Huhudi Youth Organisation (Huyo)

- 2.1.2.1. Huyo has the same level of support as Huca.
- 2.1.2.2. Its position as regard the front is clear and undoubted.
- 2.1.2.3. To draw Huyo into the general council will not meet with any resistance.

2.1.3. Detainees Parents Support Committee (D.P.S.C./Huhudi)

- 2.1.3.1. This structure is attached to the other similar structures throughout the country.
- 2.1.3.2. Its position regarding the front is clearly a positive one.
- 2.1.3.3. All members of D.P.S.C. are in turn members of one or the other structure referred to above.
- 2.1.3.4. No problem will be encountered in drawing the structure into the general council.

2.1.4. General & Allied Workers Union

- 2.1.4.1. Given the short period and other material conditions pertaining to Vryburg, Gawu has made tremendous gains and commands commendable support in the area.
- 2.1.4.2. The relationship desired between Gawu and the front amongst the workers has been explained and accepted.
- 2.1.4.3. There is no problem in drawing Gawu into the general council.

2.1.5. VRYBURG SPORTS UNION

- 2.1.5.1. This union has membership in both the Coloured and African townships.
- 2.1.5.2. Although the leadership is clear and accepts the position of the UDF, the general membership has not been effectively reached.
- 2.1.5.3. During the anti election campaign a meeting between the delegation of the UDF committee and the general membership took place.
- 2.1.5.4. Though the majority membership agrees in principle, the few still behind are controversial.
- 2.1.5.5. A follow up meeting has not been set yet.

2.1.6. COLRIDGE RATEPAYERS & TENANTS ASSOCIATION

- 2.1.6.1. The support of the association is not clearly discernible within the grassroot although the leadership is actively supportive to the front.
- 2.1.6.2. During the Million Signature Campaign (MSC), quite a number of signatures were collected from the general meetings.
- 2.1.6.3. But participation from the general membership could not be achieved.
- 2.1.6.4. Follow ups on the part of the front has been informal and not assertive and concerted as it should have been.

2.1.7. Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union (Ccawusa)

- 2.1.7.1. The level of membership of Ccawusa is not clear to the front, but on the surface ~~is~~ is a force to reckon with.
- 2.1.7.2. The branch in Vryburg is accountable to the Klerksdorp (W.Tvl) office and is at the moment not independent to take decisions on its own.
- 2.1.7.3. Leading members, in Vryburg, attend open gatherings of the front and generally have no problem with associating with the front.
- 2.1.7.4. A systematic approach has not been attempted yet to lure the union to the position of the front.

2.2. KIMBERLEY

2.2.1. Committee of Concern

2.2.1.1. This committee came into being on the eve of the Coloured and Indian elections.

2.2.1. . It is composed of Coloured, Indian and African membership.

2.2.1. . The committee is presently undergoing serious problems of coherence and direction now that elections are over.

2.2.1.4. The committee has a clear UDF orientation and no problem of being drawn into the general council if it finally regains its livelihood.

2.2.1.5. A systematic approach to revitalise the committee still has to be drawn and implemented concerted and conscientiously.

2.2.2. Galeshewe Youth Planning Committee

2.2.2.1. From the planning stages this structure is UDF orientated.

2.2.2.2. The crippling problem facing these noble attempts is the question of venues for meetings.

2.2.2.3. Formal application to the N.C. Council of Churches for long term use has been made and response is pending.

2.2.2.4. Besides the venue an approach still has to be drawn jointly with the front and executed immediately.

2.2.3. Black-Pensioners Committee

2.2.3.1. Informally expressed its support for the UDF.

2.2.3.2. Recently invited the UDF to address their meeting and report back has not been furnished yet.

2.2.3.3. Indications are positive that attempts at inviting them into the general council would be successful.

2.2.4. Detainees Parents Support Committee

2.2.4.1. Informal approach and not an exciting response has been received.

2.2.4.2. The area committee and the regional/rural organiser to formulate an approach on the matter.

2.3. SCHWEIZER RENEKE

2.3.1. Mamusa Youth Planning Committee

2.3.1.1. These are direct UDF attempts.

2.3.1.2. Lack of venues and intensive repression in the small township are the main stumbling blocks to progress.

2.3.1.3. Here again a definite approach still has to be worked out.

2.3.2. Attempts at civic representation

2.3.2.1. A group of adults after showing eagerness to come up with an alternative to the community council were met in December and the idea was brainstormed. No clear program came out of the meeting and no follow up has been made as yet.

2.4. KURUMAN

2.4.1. Kudumane Youth Unity

- 2.4.1.1. The support for Kuyuni has been drastically undercut.
- 2.4.1.2. The repression by the Bophutatswana govt is wholly to blame.
- 2.4.1.3. Lack of venues to hold meetings is a serious set-back and a lasting alternatives is not likely within a short period.
- 2.4.1.4. Kuyuni is the initiatives of the front and there is no problem in drawing them into the general council.

2.4.2. General & Allied Workers' Union (Gawu)

- 2.4.2.1. Gawu is making progress in spite of the repression from the Bophutatswana govt.
- 2.4.2.2. Note must be taken of the fact that trade unions are banned in Bophutatswan and Kuruman is a small conservative boerdorp (i.e. African townships- Batlharos and Mothibistadt, and Kuruman is a white area in S.A.).
- 2.4.2.3. Gawu organisers operate from private homes in Batlharos and venue for meeti in town are equally problematic, i.e offices or venues in either of the two is a serious problem.
- 2.4.2.4. Anyhow drawing Gawu into a general council will not meet with serious problems.

2.5. MAFIKENG

2.5.1. Student Unit

- 2.5.1.1. Contact was established during the MSC and nothing beyond that has been achieved in terms of practical work. There is encouraging eagerness amongst the students met to entrench UDFs influence through student organisations especially Azaso.

2.6. RITCHIE

2.6.1. Ritchie Youth Organisation

- 2.6.1.1. Letters expressing support and willingness to be identified with the front were received from this organisation.
- 2.6.1.2. Attempts to meet and thrash out a clear working program have not succeeded.
- 2.6.1.3. One meeting was held with some members and invitation to attend workshop in Kimberley was not honoured by this organisation.
- 2.6.1.4. Attempts at follow-up were not systematic and no development has been reported as yet.
- 2.6.1.5. There is no certainty as to whether ultimately this organisation can be drawn into the general council until report back on developments have been received.

2.7. TAUNG

2.7.1. Youth Attempts

- 2.7.1.1. This area is in Bophutatswana, but attempts at forming a youth organisation initiated and individuals concerned had attended regional workshop held in October in Huhudi.

2.8. WARRE H

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2.8. WARRENTON

2.8.1. Youth Attempts

- 2.8.1.1. One youth person had attended the above referred workshop but no follow-up has been made.

3. GENERAL PROBLEMS BESETTING THE REGION INTERTWINED WITH REGIONAL/RURAL ORGANISER'S INEFFECTIVENESS AT CERTAIN POINTS .

- 3.1. General lack of seasoned political leadership.
- 3.2. Weak communication network.
- 3.3. Low and uneven development of organisation, especially Kimberley which is a major area in the region.
- 3.4. Low level of organisational experience of the region.
- 3.5. Lack of efficient transport network.
- 3.6. Lack of resources available to the region, (Recent attempts by Cde Trevor to acquire printing units for the region are coming to fruition). Pamphlets used to be produced in Jo`burg, ~~+30:14+~~ , +300kms from the central place.

4. EXTENDED DEADLINE FOR SETTING UP REGIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

- 4.1. Due to problems outlined in both in the analysis of organisation in each area : the general problems the deadline for setting up the general council has been extended just before the N.G.C.
- 4.2. Hopefully the attempts to weld together the little that will be existing will be completed before the N.G.C., (refer program region, copy submitted to head office)
- 4.3. The success of the above set goal depends largely on the schedule of the regional rural organiser.
- 4.4. This schedule in turn depends on the co-operation and the unwavering sympathy and advice of both the head office and the regional steering committee.