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AAXI

UDF E RE:-

Ha re lwantsheng khethollo (Apartheid)

- Maburu a' thetsitse ditjhaba tsa lefatshe are re amohetse khethollo
- UDF e re batho ba South Africa ha ba batle khethollo (Apartheid)
- UDF e bokella mabitso a dikete tse sekete e bopaki ba hore e bua nnete
- Ka ho saene tumellano ya UDF o tiisa lentswe la UDF ha ere:-

MELAO YA BOTHA E BOLOKA APARTHEID!

APARTHEID KE SERA SA RONA!!

APARTHEID E KHAHLANONG LE THUTO YA BO-KRESTE!!

APARTHEID HA RE E BATLE!!!

Issued: UDF - 42 de Villiers St - Johannesburg

U.D.F. SAYS

LET US FIGHT APARTHEID
THE BOERS DECEIVED THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
BY SAYING WE HAVE ACCEPTED APARTHEID

THE U.D.F. SAYS THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA
DO NOT WANT APARTHEID

U.D.F. IS COLLECTING A MILLION NAMES OF PEOPLE AS
EVIDENCE THAT WE SPEAK THE TRUTH

BY SIGNING THE U.D.F. AGREEMENT YOU WILL BE STRENGTHING
WHAT U.D.F. SAYS:

BOTHA'S LAWS PRESERVE APARTHEID
APARTHEID IS OUR ENEMY
APARTHEID IS AGAINST CHRISTIAN TEACHINGS
WE DO NOT WANT APARTHEID

Issued U.D.F. 42 De Villiers Street Johannesburg



AA X 1

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MELAO YA BOTHA E BOLOKA APARTHEID!

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APARTHEID HA RE E BATLE!!!

Issued: UDF - 42 de Villiers St - Johannesburg

The United Democratic Front - a broad alliance of community, worker, students, women, religious, ^{Political} and other organisations of the people of South Africa - has followed closely and with grave concern events of the last four months in the Southern African region. The Mozambique Accord aside, the reported attention in your cabinet minutes, that the South African struggle is a mere civil rights struggle and not ^{one against} a liberation struggle against colonialism caused considerable disquiet in our ranks. It is in this regard that the National Executive Council of the UDF resolved to address this letter to you for government and the people of Mozambique.

As you are no doubt aware, the South African struggle is not a mere civil rights struggle. If the above-mentioned report correctly reflects the ^{demands} of the struggle against colonialism, it is certainly not a mere civil rights matter. Whilst we accept that the ruling white ^{minority} population has become a permanent feature of the country, this does not nullify the fact that political power was arbitrarily placed exclusively in their hands by the British in 1910. This white minority remains in power to this day working hand in hand with Western imperialism to exploit upon the exploitation of our labour and material resources.

It is for this reason that the struggle of the people of S. Africa for freedom must be seen as an integral part of the world-wide struggle against colonialism in general and the gallant effort of the Third World to rid itself of the Western ^{imperialist} yoke in particular.

It is ~~in our~~ our considered opinion that the issue of the nature of the struggle of every country should always be left to the people of the country in question to determine. It was in this spirit that the ^{South African} people did not pronounce on this sensitive aspect of the Mozambican struggle; confining themselves instead with taking the cue from the interpretations of the tried and tested leadership of the people of Mozambique.

Similarly, the people of South Africa must, in the final analysis, be

position in which she could continue to support the struggle for the independence ^{of our country} were than today's circumstances allow.

The South African struggle deserves African the full ^{support} at all. It is wrong to say that it is less important than the support of third world countries because it is a struggle against colonialism. ~~and~~ it is not, as some may be tempted to ~~say~~ say a mere civil rights struggle like that of Blacks in the United States. This country was conquered ^{and partly} by force initially by the Dutch and later ^{in a} much more comprehensive fashion by the British in 1902 at the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer war. Then the Dutch (Africans) ^{in the majority} and a considerable English community had come to settle and make South Africa their permanent ~~to~~ home.

It was to this white community ~~that~~ Boers and Britons that eight years later in 1910 Britain handed over political power, whilst retaining a benighted hold on the economy of ~~the country~~ ^{the country}.

It must be acknowledged that the ^{if} it is acknowledged that the immediate objective of colonialism is ^{the exploitation} tapping of the raw materials

of the colonized country, that in the period of imperialism the drive is also to ^{destroy} ^{vicious} ^{forms} of state in favour of the state that is under ^{the} ^{and} ^{total} direct control of ~~the~~ metropolitan power as

the surest protection for the finance capital that ^{is} ^{invested} in ^{overseas} colonial countries, then it is easy to understand why and how it

came about that imperialist Britain should have ^{passed} ^{political} power to the minority white population of our country. ^{It is the continuation} ^{and} why and

domination of African economy by Britain, ^{the USA} and other ^{countries} ^{imperialist} of the world through established monopoly companies which explains the

adamant refusal of these countries to disinvest rather than become ^{accomplices to Apartheid} accomplices to Apartheid.

It is accessories to the exploitation of our people and accomplices to the crime of Apartheid.

S
12 May
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7100082

Unit for Economic Affairs

felt &

remanded the latitude to exercise the right both to food and to
 look for themselves the natural and ^{extent} ~~level~~ of advancement of ^{the 3. Africa} ~~that~~
 struggle. We must guard this right jealously of our freedom to be
 determined by and benefit the masses of this country's people. But this
 does not preclude cordially and friendly participation ^{and contribution} by progressive
 humanity around the world. What we are ^{most definitely} saying is that the South
 African struggle cannot be relegated to and isolated as a struggle
 for civil rights without consultation with and approval of the people
 involved. We would, therefore, appreciate ^{any} clarification on the said
 report in case ^{our} ~~our~~ ^{response} ~~there to it~~ ^{is not} ~~concordant~~ ^{with} the said report.

of our response to ~~not~~ the reported contents.

Finally, we salute the triumphant leaders and people of Mozambique for
 their sterling performance in their struggle against ^{established} Portuguese
 colonialism and the continuing ^{battle} ~~struggle~~ ^{effort} to eliminate ~~now~~ ^{used} but the
 reactionary RENAMO which seeks to reverse the ^{liberatory} ~~gains~~ ^{gains} made by Mozambique
 so far. Your struggle against the after-effects of colonialism - pest
 disease, lack of housing, illiteracy and ignorance ^{deserves and} ~~enjoys~~ our
 unqualified good wishes and support. The defeat of minority
 domination in this region by the ^{Mozambican} ~~workers~~, peasants, ^{and} ~~revolutionary~~
intelligentsia ~~and~~ allied with other patriotic forces of your country
 has not only captured the imagination of the people of S Africa but
 it will forever inspire our people to ^{maintain} ~~keep~~ a vigorous struggle against
 the all-consuming flames of Apartheid oppression and exploitation.

Long live the people of Mozambique and their freedom!
 Long live fraternal relations between the people of Mozambique ^{and} ~~and~~ Africa
 in the struggle for freedom and peace,

The United Democratic Front — consisting of community, workers, students, women, religious, political and other organisations of the people of South Africa — has followed closely

United Fronts and Political Unity

With the impending formation of a number of national political alliances, a look at past organisational forms has value. The European United Front experience of the 1920s is discussed in this light.

People trying to understand South Africa have often used theories of capitalism formulated in Europe. However, the possible use of Europe's political experience has been somewhat neglected.

Borrowing from European political experience is just as difficult as borrowing from European theory. In both cases, abstraction has to be made from European specifics. After this, the resulting general concepts/principles/tactics have to be made concrete again and evaluated in terms of their relevance to South Africa. This article, however, does not presume to go much further than setting out some European experience from which the reader can abstract and re-apply what is useful.

The European experience to be discussed is the 'United Front' strategy and tactics practised by communists in the 1920s. However, because communism is illegal in South Africa, it is necessary to make certain points before the discussion proper begins.

UNITED FRONTS AND POLITICS

The question of united fronts, blocs and alliances is, as the conservative US sociologist Selznick notes, basic to all politics. In this respect, abstractions made from this article may be useful to understanding such South African politics as the trade union unity talks, the United Democratic Front (UDF), Buthelezi's South African Black Alliance (SABA), Conservative Party - Herstigte

Nasionale Party relations, the National Forum Committee, etc, and not simply the role of communists in South Africa. In fact, it is even questionable whether the European United Front experience as described in this article is relevant to the activity of the South African Communist Party (SACP). As EH Carr writes of the European experience: 'One of the corollaries of the united front was the increased importance attached to legal as opposed to underground activities: parties were to appear openly and woo the alliance of other parties for limited objectives, while at the same time proclaiming their own wider purposes. But such a policy could have no application in countries where communist parties were under a legal ban, and existed only as conspiratorial organisations'.

The European United Front thus refers to an experience where 'front' means 'an alignment against an enemy formation' (Selznick), and not 'front' in the sense of a 'facade'. For South African relevance then, abstraction needs to be made from the European fact that specifically (open, legal) communist parties were involved. In essence, one is looking at a type of general strategy and tactics. Although this was worked into an explicit policy by European communists in the 1920s, it is an element of politics in general. Needless to say, therefore, a group that makes use of united front strategy and tactics (and probably every political group in South Africa does to some extent), is not thereby furthering the aims of communism. The politicking between the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties over a conservative united front against the National Party illustrates this point well.

What if that facade is specifically aimed at rendering government unworkable

THE UNITED FRONT IN EUROPE

The United Front policy in Europe was explicitly laid out by the Third International (Comintern) in December 1921. The Comintern had been formed in 1919, and helped organise and bring together communist parties from around the world. With some changes in emphasis, the United Front carried on until 1928. That year saw the so-called 'third period' when the Third International dropped the United Front policy in the belief that it would weaken the revolutionary upsurge expected out of the coming capitalist depression. In 1934 the United Front was revived in a new form - the Popular Front - and this continued until after World War II. The focus in this article is on the period before 1928, although some comments will be made on the Popular Front.

In practical terms, the United Front boiled down to ongoing joint action between communist and socialist parties over limited, not especially revolutionary issues in which most workers had a conscious interest. Examples of these issues were bread, clothing, housing, tax, political rights and freedoms, peace and war. Together with two socialist Internationals, the Comintern drew up the following United Front demands: an eight-hour working day; a struggle against unemployment; aid to the Bolsheviks for famine relief in Russia; and so on. The Bolshevik party paper, Pravda, called for world wide demonstrations by a 'union of workers, communists, anarchists, social-democrats (ie socialists), non-party workers, independents, and Christian democrats against capital'. In some cases, joint action was through direct liaison between organisations on specific campaigns. In other cases, intermediate bodies were set up, and organisations in the United Front sent representatives or became affiliated to these. Examples of such bodies were the National Unemployed Workers' Movement and the National Minority Movement in Britain.

There was a lot more to the United Front, however. The reasons for the policy are important. The immediate boost was successful united action against a right wing coup by the German socialist and communist

parties in 1920. But there were also more general reasons behind the communist movement's use and development of the United Front as a longer-term strategy. Reflecting on the Comintern's adoption of the policy, the organisation's president Zinoviev said it was taken up because:

- * communists did not have majority support in the Western working class;
- * the socialist parties were still very strong;
- * communists were under attack and on the defensive;
- * decisive battles were not on the immediate agenda.

This gave rise to the United Front slogan, 'To the masses!'

Clearly, this differs from the context of united mass action in South Africa - not all of which is defensive, for instance. The United Front as discussed in this article therefore must be weighed up in terms of the ebbing of the post-war revolutionary tide in Europe in the 1920s; in terms of a capitalist economic and political offensive against the working class; and in terms of workers still under the sway of reformist parties and unions.

From this outline of the context of the United Front, it is clear that the problem for the communist parties at the time - winning majority support in the working class - depended on destroying the hold of the socialists over the workers. For the communists, this was one key part of the United Front: the policy was partly an offensive against reformism in the working class. The other key part of the United Front was its role as a defensive policy against capital and the capitalist state. But there was a tension between these two parts. The offensive part meant conflict within the working class; the defensive called for working class unity.

The problem of offense vs defence was closely linked to the question of what united action with socialists actually meant in class terms. The United Front provided for joint action between organisations with a worker or peasant base, and even with radical petty bourgeois strata (eg the Radical Party in Bulgaria). But it excluded action with bourgeois groupings. (The Popular Front included bourgeois groupings in the struggle against fascism - the latter being defined

Fascism
WIP

by Dimitrov, a theorist of the Popular Front, as the naked terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie). The United Front meant the joint struggle of the working masses and their organisations to combat the bourgeoisie as a whole, and not collaboration with it or any of its parties. Such collaboration was seen by communists as subordinating the interests of the masses to the bourgeoisie in return for small rewards to some parties, groups and individuals. While the United Front pooled efforts against capital, collaboration with the bourgeoisie was seen as disorganising workers and their organisations.

The issue in the 1920s was whether the socialist organisations were the left wing of the bourgeoisie, or the right wing of the proletariat. Clearly the socialists were neither purely one nor the other. However, the question of whose interests the socialists objectively served had great importance for the communist parties in deciding whether they should be opposed or won over. If the socialists were the left wing of the bourgeoisie, then a united front with them against the bourgeoisie was a contradiction in terms.

As things turned out, many socialists did form united fronts in the 1920s - but with the bourgeois parties against the communists. Given this role, most communists tended to diagnose the socialists as the left wing of the bourgeoisie. Correspondingly, the United Front became less a joint defence against capital and more a means of attacking the socialists.

The question of the political class character of the socialists is very specific to Europe at the time. In South Africa, not only classes but also internal colonial structures and groupings have a material reality. Thus a national democratic front is probably more relevant here than are the European United and Popular Front experiences. Nonetheless, there may be some general lessons in the European case for understanding South Africa.

The experience of the Popular Front, for example, may be useful in understanding the political class character of the black petty bourgeoisie. The Popular Front - as a defensive unity - was based on the lowest common denominator of anti-

fascism. This explicitly included sections of the petty bourgeoisie and small capitalists. Ruined by the 1929 depression and the resulting monopolisation in industry, these two groups had given crucial support to fascism in a vain search for relief measures. When fascism in fact acted in the interests of monopoly capitalism, these two groups 'came up for grabs' by other interests. The Popular Front hoped to win their support in smashing fascism in the short-term, and also had the long-term goal of winning members over to the proletariat's side - getting them to commit 'class suicide'. This example shows the dire need for united front and popular front tactics to be applied - not formalistically and ahistorically - but with regard to the class and political line-up in each situation. Evaluating the politics of the black petty bourgeoisie in South Africa requires a study of concrete historical realities, and not merely abstract declarations.

Given the reactionary role of the socialists in the 1920s, the United Front came to be seen largely as a way to destroy the influence of the socialists as a first necessary step to winning the majority of the working class over to the communist parties. This did not mean that the role of the United Front as a defence against capital now fell away. Communists still offered unity to the socialists. They argued that if the latter refused the offer, they would be exposed as sell-outs with no real interest in the working class issues to be fought for. The onus for divisions in the working class would be on them, and this could give a propaganda coup to the communists. (This tactic was recently evident in HNP - CP unity overtures in the Soutpansberg/Waterberg by-elections).

On the other hand, the communists argued, if the socialists did agree to united action, this was all the better. Defensive action could be carried out, and if the socialists refused to take this to its logical and eventual conclusion, they would be shown up for what they were. More than this, through the United Front communists would have had access to the socialists' rank-and-file supporters and the chance to win them over. Unity here would at least have served as a bridge

between the communists and the working class majority. Furthermore, out of the united action, the socialist rank-and-file could be won over not just to general communist principles, but also to communist organisational leadership.

In the view of Gramsci, a leader in the Italian Communist Party, the intermediate slogans and demands of the United Front formed a bridge to the Communist Party's own slogans, and helped the party assemble broad forces behind it. Other communists said that the minimum demands and first-level organisations of the United Front would link the masses to the communist parties as a second-level organisation with a maximum programme. Gramsci also pointed out that although the minimum demands of the United Front were the same as those of the socialists, they would serve as a form of struggle against these very people. Faced with the test of deeds, the socialists would unmask themselves. Action on minimum demands could also give communists the chance to expose the class relations and power underlying the daily lot of workers.

As the 1920s wore on, and the socialists became more reactionary, the prospects of the United Front became even less an effective defence against capital and increasingly an offensive against the socialists. This is one of the two main differences between the United Front and the Popular Front. The latter was planned and practised mainly as a defensive struggle against fascism. (The other main difference between these two forms of struggle was, as discussed above, that as a defence against fascism the Popular Front included bourgeois democrats. It was therefore wider than the worker (and in some cases peasant and radical petty bourgeoisie) based United Front. The question that could be asked in a South African context is how cases of united action balance the internal-offensive and external-defensive elements.

An important part of the United Front activity was that it needed no compromise from any partner. The communist parties did not abandon any major programme goal, nor their independence as parties in the United Fronts. The United Front for the communist parties was therefore neither a retreat nor an effacement, but a general, concrete, anti-capitalist platform.

One problem in this was that the socialists were wary of a unity that could destroy their influence. Comintern secretary Radek said of the socialists that 'we propose that they should fight with us in order that we may unmask them'. The socialist response - as voiced by the Belgian leader in the reformist Second International, Vandervelde - was predictable: 'An appeal is made for union for the realisation of the united front, but no secret is made of the intention to stifle us and poison us after embracing us'. This is partly why the socialists in general responded in lukewarm terms to the United Front overtures.

On the other hand, the United Front was a two-edged sword: where it was realised, it not only gave the communists access to socialist rank-and-file, but vice versa. The communists began to feel the negative effects of this at a conference with the reformist socialist Internationals in 1922. A problem in united front action, therefore, involves an assessment of which goals the action is advancing most.

In response to this problem, the communist parties by 1923 began to strongly re-emphasize several principles. These were the right and duty of communist parties to keep a separate identity, organisation and doctrine within United Fronts; to keep on propagating their long-term aims; and to criticise their temporary allies in the United Fronts. Unity, it was re-iterated, was to be only in practical action over definite common goals. The problem in all of this for the communist parties was to distinguish unity that compromised their independence from the day-to-day need to work together on issues that all workers had a conscious interest in. The communist parties wanted to take part in the United Fronts - but without becoming dissolved into them.

The problem of the independence of the communist parties needs to be seen in historical context. Most of these parties were only a few years old in 1921, and most had arisen out of bitter splits with the long-standing (reformist) socialist parties. Lenin, in encouraging the formation of the Italian communist party out of the left wing of the Italian socialist party, had advised this wing to first

break with the socialist party, and then to form an alliance with it. This was the same line that Lenin had put forward 20 years earlier on Bolshevik - Menshevik relations: 'Before uniting, and in order to unite, we first decisively and definitely draw a line of separation'. But this was easier said than done. On the one hand, leftists in the new communist parties wanted to keep their distance from their former (socialist) parties. They felt that the communist parties were still immature and would be set back by joint action with the socialist parties. The danger of sectarianism lurked in this leftist argument. On the other hand, rightists in the communist parties leaned towards unity with the socialists at any cost - even to the extent of 'liquidationism', ie the re-absorption of the communist party into the socialist party. In this rightist position was the possibility of getting bogged down in short-term aims, and of opportunism. Between the extremes of giving an icy shoulder to the socialists, and an embrace leading to fusion with them, the United Front had to develop. The United Front was to involve a unity of aims and organisations, not an identity between them.

In Italy, distinctions were made between types of joint struggle in the context of this problem. Gramsci used the concept of fusion to refer to the merging of various political groups with the Italian communist party. This differed from a bloc (or alliance) between the communist party and separate independent political groups. The bloc in turn differed from the united front for Gramsci in that it involved closer collaboration between participants than did the latter. Gramsci at the time was arguing for the formation of a bloc between the Italian communist party and the left wing 'Maximalist' faction of the Italian socialist party. This bloc would, in his view, be part of a wider united front with other political organisations in the working class (as well as from the peasantry). (In South Africa, the UDF may be closer to Gramsci's bloc concept. A united front, in Gramsci's sense, would be the UDF in joint action on specific issues with groups outside it such as certain trade unions, the Black Sash, etc).

Another problem relating to socialists

getting more mileage out of the United Front than the communists, was the actual organisational form of united front activity. After socialists 'sold out' the German revolution of 1923, communists became very critical of 'United Fronts from above'. This type of joint action involved only the leaders of the constituent organisations (as for example in parliamentary coalitions - or the South African Black Alliance). Certain left communists counterposed a United Front 'from below' in either/or terms to a United Front 'from above'. However, the Comintern pointed out that a United Front from above could not always be replaced by one from below - as desirable as that might be. The fact of the matter was that the socialist leaders often could not simply be by-passed or skipped over. Gramsci argued that a frontal attack on socialist leaders from the outside was ineffective, and that real working class unity and mobilisation of socialist rank-and-file was needed to successfully expose the socialist leaders. Gradually the line emerged that United Fronts 'from above' were acceptable only if combined with vigorous propaganda to separate the masses from their socialist 'mis-leaders'. Talks with these leaders were to be public so that the blame for breakdown, or for the betrayal of agreements, could be clearly placed.

Where possible, however, the United Front was to be applied mainly from below. The fourth Comintern congress noted that 'the true realisation of the tactics of the united front can only come "from below", by taking the lead in factory committees, committees of action, and such other bodies in which members of other parties and non-party elements would associate themselves with communists'.

For his part, Gramsci advised:
 '1. We must not continue to make en bloc counterpositions, but must distinguish between leaders and mass base.
 2. We must find all elements of disagreement between the leaders and the mass base and deepen these, enlarge them, generalise them politically'.

The question of the organisational form - 'from above' or 'from below' - may be relevant to understanding cases of united political action in South Africa.

A further problem about organisational forms in the United Front related to socialist political parties on the one hand, and socialist trade unions on the other. Although not clearly debated or used, it does seem that the United Front was applied differently to each case. With socialist (and other non-communist working class) parties, the United Front aim was generally to split them in the hope of bringing the mass of their supporters over to the communist party. However, in the case of non-communist trade unions, splitting was discouraged. Instead, United Front action with these bodies was aimed at winning support from union members to change the unions from within.

This difference seems to have arisen from the specific political conditions at the time (as in Italy), and was also linked to developments in Profintern, the Red International of Trade Unions. However, it is also possible that the distinction made between parties and unions reflects a more general view that while trade unions are mass worker organisations that can encompass a wide variety of political beliefs, political parties are generally mutually exclusive and competitive. It is worth, nonetheless, noting Gramsci's warning at the time not to fetishise any particular form of organisation, but to adapt to the terrain offered by reality. Again, this may be relevant to South Africa, especially in analysing local experience in the light of foreign experience.

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7th October 1983

The Secretary
Feasibility Committee
JOHANNESBURG
2000

Dear Comrades

We of the United Democratic Front declare our solidarity with you in your search for greater unity of the workers of our country as represented by your meeting.

The working class discovered the importance of unity even before unions were permitted. As a result the struggle for the right to organise themselves was one of their just demands. At every turn since then workers have intensified their efforts to increase unity within their rANKS. Your present attempt is, therefore, correctly conceived and deserves all possible support.

But workers must also be organised beyond factory premises. In the buses where they are the majority of commuters, in the townships where they are the majority tenants, in hostels where they are forced to lead a life that is unworthy of human beings and in squatter-camps where they have no houses. Some of our own efforts in the UDF are inspired by these observations. We are, however, acutely aware that our operations form one whole with yours at factory level. Our interest in the success of your initiative stems in part from this outlook.

We must also add that in the struggle for democratic rights the disenfranchised sections of the working class needs an alliance with other progressive classes and strata of our country's population. It is our earnest conviction that the UDF is the proper forum for workers to interact with other progressive classes and strata whilst retaining their independence to pursue peculiar to themselves.

2/.... Hence

Hence our call to unions to join the UDF and give it its truly national character.

Once more we salute your Feasibility Committee meeting. May your deliberations be truly fruitful and bring us nearer greater unity than ever before.

AMANDLA! MATLA!

Yours in struggle against exploitation

Mosiua Lekota

PUBLICITY SECRETARY.



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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21st November 1983

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Dear Sir

(interview)
 The United Democratic Front - an alliance of over five hundred non-racial and democratic organisations opposed to the new constitution and the Black Local Authorities Act plus the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons and the Black Development Boards Bills - declares its full support for the expressed US attitude towards the Ciskei and the extreme repression in that part of South Africa.

Your government struck a particularly right chord in placing the responsibility for those excesses where it rightly belongs - at the door of the Nationalist government which has delegated and supports Sebe and his government in his actions.

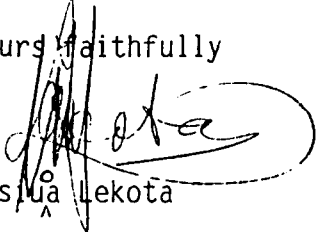
But the US government has also left our people dismayed and indignant when it expressed full support for Pretoria's so-called new deal during debates on this issue in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In deciding to support this government's constitutional initiative the United State's government did not only ignore our people's expressed and active opposition to this set of legislation but, it also ignored the fact that because it entrenches Apartheid this legislation will have the final effect of extending the Ciskei carnage to envelope the rest of South Africa.

It would seem/...

It would seem, therefore, that support for the so-called new deal contradicts your well - conceived judgement on the Ciskei question. Your government is urged to review and reconsider its support for this government in the interests of justice and peace.

Yours faithfully


Mosiuoa Lekota

PUBLICITY SECRETARY - UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (TVL)

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN

2048

Dear Friends

Re : Meeting of UDF General Council

You are hereby notified that a meeting of the UDF(TVL) GENERAL COUNCIL will be held on: 17 September 1983

at: Central Methodist Church
Cnr. Smal and Prichard Streets
Johannesburg
(opposite the Supreme Court)

time: 2 p.m.

Proposed Agenda:

- 1) Correspondence
- 2) Reports
- 3) Assesment of National Launching
- 4) Programme of Action
- 5) *ELECTION of Regional Secretary.*
- 6) *GENERAL.*

Kindly ensure that two delegates from your organisation are present.

Forward to Democracy

M Valli

M Valli

(Secretary)

Recommendations for UDF publicity

a. Recommendations on national press secretariat: STRUCTURE

- 1, Appointment of a full-time paid National Publicity Secretary who sits on the national UDF secretariat and has an office in Johannesburg.
- 2. Johannesburg is recommended because of its central geographical position and the current concentration there of progressive media, skills, media resources, commercial and international press, and contacts with professional journalists.
- 3. Voluntary National Publicity Secretariat based in Johannesburg with necessary media and production skills working under the National Publicity Secretary who is responsible for setting up this support group.
- 4. Regional UDF publicity secretaries working/^{partially}~~under~~ national publicity secretary. appointed by regions.

b. FUNCTIONS of national publicity secretary

- 1. Ensure UDF News comes out plus other national UDF media, and to co-ordinate distribution thereof.
- 2. Issue press statements to local and international press on current, longterm and other issuesx pertinent to UDF concerns.
- 3. Maintain close contact with progressive media and promote UDF content in such media.
- 4. Co-ordinate regional publicity media.
- 5. Be in close contact with regional publicity secretaries and be well-informed on local developments.
- 6. Help upgrade regional and UDF affiliate organisations media skills. This would be through directing these to service groups and through workshops and training co+ordination.
- 7. Keep UDF national leadership in touch with commercial media through promotigg press conferences, interviews, etc.

9. Ensuring that national UDF media is caucussed/^{before publication}efficiently and ~~and~~ ~~xx~~ speedily with the regions through the regional publicity secretaries, and setting up a practical system for this.
10. Carrying out the functions of national publicity secretary requires that the person in this position enjoys the trust of the ~~the~~ regional and national UDFs, and has a degree of autonomy and discretion to make urgent publicity decisions and to have a relatively final say after publications have been ~~xx~~~~xxxx~~~~xxx~~ caucussed ~~x~~ through the regional structures.

c. FUNCTIONS of national publicity secretary's support-group

1. To assist in the execution of the duxties of the National Publicity Secretary.

d. FUNCTIONS of Regional Publicity Secretaries

1. To keep National Publicity Secretary informed of regional dynamics
2. To ensure that regional UDF publicity and media work is done.
3. To ensure regional content in national UDF News.
4. To set up and co-ordinate regional distribution networks to affiliates and others
5. To issue press statements on behalf of regional UDF executives, and ensure press coverage of local UDF activities.
6. To ensure efficient approval and recommendations by regional UDF leadership of national UDF media before publication, and communication thereof ~~x~~ to national publicity secretary.
7. To liase with national publicity secretary over upgrading regional media skills and public relations work.

TRADE UNIONS AND THE UDF

The formation of the United Democratic Front on the 20th of August at a national rally on Mitchells Plain in the Western Cape has opened a new stage in the development of opposition to Apartheid and the state's reform proposals in South Africa. The rally drew an estimated 10000 to 15000 people from throughout South Africa with delegates and observers from 400 organisations. A declaration adopted at the rally states that the UDF stands for the "creation of true democracy" and "a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa", and pledges to "fight against the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof Bills".

The UDF has been formed as a broad alliance of "community, worker, student, women, religious and other" organisations. It has established national and regional structures with the aim of organising and mobilising these organisations. The most important organisations, in terms of numerical and organisational strength, to join the UDF were the trade unions. Virtually all the emerging trade unions sent delegates or observers to the rally and thirteen union groupings joined the alliance immediately. However four groupings, including the most powerful independent federation and two large unaffiliated unions, decided not to join, though they all gave their support to the UDF.

Unions that decided to affiliate were the Council of Unions of South Africa, South African Allied Workers Union, General and Allied Workers Union, Orange Vaal General Workers Union, Municipal and General Workers Union of South Africa, Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union of South Africa, General Workers Union of South Africa, South African Tin Workers Union, Media Workers Association of South Africa (Western Cape), Johannesburg Scooter Drivers

17/1/88

South African Workers Union

17/1/88 1983

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briefings

Association, Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa, National Federation of Workers and the African Workers Association. Those that gave their support but decided at this stage to remain unaffiliated were The Federation of South African Trade Unions, Food and Canning/African Food and Canning Workers Union, General Workers Union and the Cape Town Municipal Workers Association.

Mr Terror Lekota, until recently an organiser in the General Workers Union and presently the national publicity secretary of the UDF, explained why the organisation felt it was important for unions to join. "The struggle of the working class does not end at the factory floor. When workers who face management leave the factory they come up against the problems of high transport costs, rents and inadequate community facilities, all of which eat into their wages. To strengthen the community organisations is to improve the conditions of the working class; to fight high rents and bus fares is to fight the struggle of the working class. Unions must take up community struggles if they are to represent the interests of workers".

Asked whether such struggles could not be taken up by the unions themselves, without joining the UDF, he said, "The role of the UDF must not be to substitute organisations at the local level. Its strength lies in the strength of its member organisations. The UDF's role is to co-ordinate and give direction to their struggles".

The four trade union groupings which stayed out of the UDF re-iterated their support for all "progressive" organisations opposed to the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills. They have issued press statements explaining why they have taken the decision at this stage not to join the UDF, the National Forum or any other groups campaigning against the constitutional proposals and other apartheid laws.

Mr. Joe Foster, general secretary of Fosatu, said unions affiliated to the federation had members who supported a number of political organisations - including the UDF, the National Forum and Inkatha - and to side with just one organisation would divide their membership. "While we are encouraging our membership to take part in progressive community organisations we are not as an organisation prepared to affiliate to the UDF at this stage though they can speak with us if they want". To join up with any particular organisation would be a decision which would have to be made by the membership and the affiliated unions - and such a decision would take a "long time". Mr Foster said the big tasks ahead for Fosatu were trade union unity and the development of working class leadership.

The GWU said they were busy with the formation of the new trade union federation - their top priority at the moment. The federation would give the workers greater unity and strength and enable them to play a greater part in political issues. "This is not to say we reject the UDF", the statement said. "We wholeheartedly support any organisation which is progressive and democratic and we are prepared to co-operate with them".

The AFCWU/FCWU said they supported the UDF's stand and encouraged their members to take part in campaigns against the new constitution and other apartheid laws. "However, our conference decided we should not join the UDF as a union. Our first responsibility as a union is to the workers, and their foremost need is for a federation which can unite workers' organisations and organise unorganised workers. Unless this is done it won't be possible for the working class to take the lead in the struggle for one united democratic South Africa".

Mr John Erentsen, the general secretary of the

briefings

CIMWA, said that in order to retain unity in the union, and with regard to the impending federation, the workers of the CIMWA had decided they would not formally join the UDF or any other body opposing the constitution. "However, our members will be encouraged to play an active role".

(Cape Town correspondent, September 1983)

interviews-statements-debates

THE UDF: A "WORKERIST" RESPONSE

The following comments are offered not in the spirit of divisiveness nor as an invective against popular movement but should rather be viewed as a contribution to a debate which the authors of this article believe should neither be confined to organisational leadership nor intellectuals but should be carried as far and as broadly as possible. The comments in this article have been formed by the authors' experience of the UDF in Cape Town; it could conceivably be different in other centres.

The nature of the UDF

The UDF is generally viewed as a popular front. As we understand the term, a popular front is a loose working alliance of organisations representing more than one class. All organisations enter into the front with their own ideological positions yet all are united behind the minimum program of the front. Any organisation willing to subscribe to the minimum programme can become a member of the front. The front is not an organisation in itself - ie. it does not have its own constitution and has a minimum of office bearers.

The UDF has some aspects of a front, some of an organisation. It was formed with a constitution and a plethora of office bearers and executives. Organisation proceeds locally in the name of the UDF yet the impetus from local committees to the executive is channeled via representatives of the signatory organisations. For example, a committee on the Cape Flats might have a dozen members of a women's organisation; the local committee of the UDF might eventually reach the size of 100, including individuals who are not members of organisations affiliated to the UDF. In such cases it would remain the province of the local committee of the UDF to

interviews-statements-debates

organisation, via their organisation's membership of the UDF as a whole, to be chosen as representatives on the central committee. What this means is that the UDF operates locally as an organisation, regionally or provincially as a front. Objectively this diminishes the democratic character of the UDF.

Decision making in the UDF

As we have pointed out, the channels for participation of the local committees in the executive decision making are poorly constructed. Those that exist seem to run mostly in the other direction - to implement policy rather than form it.

A word must be said about the current fashion for debating issues by means of workshops. Proponents of "small groups" claim that people are shy to talk in big meetings; and are scared for security reasons of saying what they think. To which we must reply: what security reasons? The UDF is not a clandestine organisation - all debate and opinion should be freely and openly expressed. And what kind of leadership training is being offered members if they are not encouraged and taught to speak in big meetings? While we might concede that workshops enable the issues at hand to be discussed fully we regard small groups as being entirely unsuitable for decision making. By selection of group leaders and with undue attention being paid in the report backs to minority opinions within the group, workshops function either to paralyse decision making or else to reinforce our opinion that very often these meetings are used to rubber stamp decisions taken elsewhere.

This also explains partly the attitude towards trade unionists. Because the UDF is not run on decisions taken at the base and carried upwards, when unionists speak of "the workers feeling that..." or "the workers say this...", it is assumed that these are the personal opinions of the speaker merely

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projected as the desires of the workers. The essence of trade union democracy, the big meeting with opinions from the floor expressed for or against resulting in a decision binding on officials, is absent from the UDF. And hence the myth that union officials and office bearers are holding the workers back from joining the UDF.

Constituent organisations of the UDF and the nature of the ideology expressed

A closer look must be paid to the organisations which have joined the UDF. These can be divided into three groups:

1) "Non-mainline" organisations (eg Church groups, Trades Organisations etcetera). These clearly are petit bourgeois in membership and program.

2) Student/Youth organisations. These are mixed in membership and program with the radical petit bourgeoisie probably dominating working class elements overall.

3) Community organisations (eg The Cape Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) and the United Women's Organisation (UWO)). These are a little more difficult to pigeon-hole. Clearly both organisations do have working class members and even working class branches. However, it we look at these organisations several tendencies can be drawn out:

a) The organisations are locally very weak with a small membership mostly confined to people with experience of other opposition organisations.

b) Their programs are generally limited, eg. agitation around the issue of rents without drawing out clearly the link to wages and hence economic exploitation at the site of production.

c) Within the organisations attempts are made to blur class distinctions and consequent differences in aims - the "We are all oppressed women" or "We are all oppressed residents" approach. The fact that

the political aims of a working class woman and a non-working class woman living in the same community would be very different is glossed over.

d) While we cannot identify accurately the class composition of the membership of these organisations, the leadership is on the whole dominated by intellectuals with a reformist ideology.

This ideology tends to play down the class nature of society and instead makes a fetish of the racial aspect. All attention is focused on the political, on Apartheid, leading to the assumption that the dismantling of the Apartheid state will necessarily lead to a "free, democratic, united South Africa". The question of class domination by the bourgeoisie is left unattended. There is little or no attempt to develop a class analysis of the society and to illustrate to the working class who the real enemy is and that inequality, domination, poverty and unemployment are intrinsic to the capitalist system. The radical petit bourgeoisie instead sees the working class as too unsophisticated to understand the nature of their exploitation. From this premise flows the belief that race is to be concentrated upon as the most overt form that domination takes in South Africa. This in turn accentuates the tendency often to organise on colour lines and secondly often to view genuine working class organisations with disdain.

The platform of the UDF is simple: down with the Constitutional Proposals, an end to Apartheid. While no progressive would argue with these admirable aims it is obvious that these are not the priorities of the working class. The workers seek an end to economic exploitation which is not necessarily synonymous with the end to Apartheid.

The UDF might argue that this is the minimum program alluded to earlier. But where is the evidence that any more thoroughgoing socialist program would be

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acceptable to the UDF? Where are the different ideological trends in the UDF in accordance with the multi-class alliance we are led to believe exists?

We have seen recently in Zimbabwe just where such a populism - called "reconciliation" there - has led: to the complete suppression of working class politics and the institution of a classical neo-colonialist solution (ie. unabated exploitation with a change of personnel at the top).

In summary we can categorise the political program of the UDF as radical petit bourgeois.

And the Workers?

While there definitely are individual workers who are members of the UDF there is as yet no working class organisation of any size which has joined. We are not ashamed to express the view that the working class should lead the opposition movement. This is for many reasons - mainly that only the working class has clear objective reasons for pursuing an alternative to the present system of economic exploitation. While other classes and groups, notably the radical middle class and radical intellectuals, might oppose the system with great courage and persistence the alternative they envisage, because of their class position, will generally fall short of that of the working class.

The UDF might answer that they have tried every method to include working class organisations in this "popular front"; that this failure is shortsightedness on the part of the Trade Unions rather than the UDF. The authors of this article cannot agree. While one may justifiably criticise the unions for failing to open up the debate on the UDF, their affiliation would have been foolhardy. The UDF offered its constitution to the unions on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. There was no room for compromise, no suggestion that the existing leadership should

interviews-statements s-debates

step aside for the workers' leaders. Taken in conjunction with the anti-democratic tendencies touched upon above plus the reluctance of the UDF to situate their opposition in class terms, any formal contribution by the unions to the UDF would have been a betrayal to their hard won independence.

Ideological Intolerance

We cannot leave the question of the UDF without looking briefly at the pervasive attempts to smother progressive opposition to its central propositions. The line of the UDF, emanating from somewhere, is not to be opposed, we are told. To criticise the UDF is tantamount to being an impimpi, to running with the nationalist government. Former friends cross the road when they see a "workerist" approaching; a series of pitched battles is being fought in academic circles and even on committees only marginally political in operation.

The Future

We criticise the UDF harshly; but only in terms of what it should be. The UDF with the dynamism and hard work of the its militants has opened a whole new vista of struggle and, we freely admit, has in places organised the previously unorganised workers and non-workers.

We do not believe the UDF is an adequate vehicle to carry forward the struggle for a democratic socialist South Africa - but it could be.

We call upon all progressive workers and intellectuals to enter the UDF. Most of all to reopen the debate on the place of the working class in the opposition movement; to carry on the debate loudly, broadly and publicly so that a new re-alignment in opposition can be realised.

A United Democratic Front under the leadership of

interviews-statements-debates

the working class committed to ending exploitation at home and in the factory - that is a front we will support.

In conclusion we reiterate that we would welcome a response to our brief comments either in these columns or in any other.

(Isabella Silver and Alexia Sfarnas, Cape Town, September, 1983)

NEWSPAPERS

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

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

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

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

REFERENDUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

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

UDF rallies on eve of vote

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) is to hold a nationwide "People's Weekend" of mass rallies, prayer services and vigils on the eve of the November 2 referendum.

Local and national leaders of the UDF announced at a Press conference yesterday a broad programme of action for their campaign against the proposed constitution and the "Koornhof Bills".

The programme will culminate in "huge regional mass rallies calculated to reflect vibrant opposition to the new Constitution Act and the Black Local Authorities Act", they said in a statement.

They have already launched a house-to-house campaign to educate people about the

new constitution and mobilise them against it.

The campaign was well under way in Natal and the Western Cape and was getting under way in the Transvaal.

It would be interspersed with local rallies and church services. Towards the end of October, a special weekend of meetings and vigils would be organised.

National publicity secretary, Mr "Terror" Lekota, said the UDF would oppose "all processes which will be set in motion by this so-called new deal".

The present minority Government was seeking to force upon the people of South Africa a constitution not based on the will of the people, he said.

"We assert that an acceptable and truly democratic constitution can only be worked out in an atmosphere which is free of fear,

mistrust and harassment of one section of the population by another.

"That includes the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned and restricted and the return of all those who have been forced into exile," he said.

The UDF called on the people of South Africa to show "once and for all that they are determined to control their own destiny by doing all in their power to halt the current process of apartheid legislation".

The rest of the programme of action would be made known at a later stage.

"Obviously there are going to be shifts and changes by the Nationalists which will necessitate adjustment of our tactics," they said.

Transvaal vice-president, the Rev Frank Chikane, said they hoped to reach every person in South Africa and would succeed in their goals.

National treasurer, Mr Cassim Saloojee,

declined to say whether they were calling on white supporters to boycott the referendum.

"We say we reject the constitutional proposals and all the processes that flow from it. "In relation to the referendum, we are asking the people of South Africa to join UDF and strengthen the UDF and join the implementation of the programme of action.

"The referendum should not be elevated above all other issues. We see it as a red herring to distract people from the real issues," he said.

Asked if the UDF wanted referenda to test Indian and coloured opinion, Mr Saloojee said the constitution could only be tested by all the people of South Africa. The UDF rejected the notion of racial referenda.

● The first meeting in the programme of action is to be held at the New Catholic Church, Zone 14, Sebokeng at 1.00pm this Sunday.

Report by Anton Harber, 171 Main St, Jhb.

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SWA farmers 'unperturbed' by insurgents

Last time a major ...
... penetrat- ...
... the

No bail in murder case

Pretoria Bureau

TWO men who appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's court on an allegation of murdering a Pretoria woman, were refused bail yesterday.

Mr E F Ferreira, 34, (no address given), and Mr W P F Booyens, 35, of Sunnyside in Pretoria, appeared before Mr A C Klopper.

They were refused after in- ...
... officers said the ...
... agent ad-

'Fear of ANC' kept him from surrendering

Pretoria Bureau

A SOWETO man who left the country during the 1976 So-
Mozambique in September
1982 for South Africa. He was
given R500 in cash and was
training for six years — told

come a soldier and was not
allowed to write home.

Mr Banda said he left
Mozambique in September
1982 for South Africa. He was
given R500 in cash and was
training for six years — told

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1. FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND PUBLICITY SECRETARY

1.1 Secretary General: *GENERAL SECRETARY*

- to co ordinate and convene the National Secretariat
- to convene the N.E.C. and the N.G.C. in consultation with the N.E.C.
- to be responsible for maintaining and safe keeping of all but financial records of the UDF.
- to promote the growth and development of the UDF nationally and internationally in conjunction and in consultation with the National Secretariat and N.E.C.
- to be responsible for all National ^{and District} UDF correspondence

1.2 PUBLICITY SECRETARY:

- to promote all the national media, publications and publicity of the UDF.
- to act as a channel through which all press releases shall be issued.
- to act as a PRO of the UDF
- to promote the image of the UDF
- to monitor and in conjunction with the Regional Press Liaison officers project the image of the UDF.

Barry — *Area* 413211 *Home* 516668,
Barry —

REJECT OPPOSE THE CONSTITUTION

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

And this referendum misses the essence of the South African question. The real issue about South Africa is still whether Apartheid and all that it implies is the right order of things for this country's people or not. Starting with the Union Act in 1910 through the imposition of the Republican status in 1961 up to the present "New Deal" trickery our people have never been consulted on the government of their country. It has always been decisions made by white people.

The present referendum carries on that undemocratic tradition. It is a calculated step to create a false sense of democratic decision-making. This will be used to legitimise the past, present and future policies of this minority white regime.

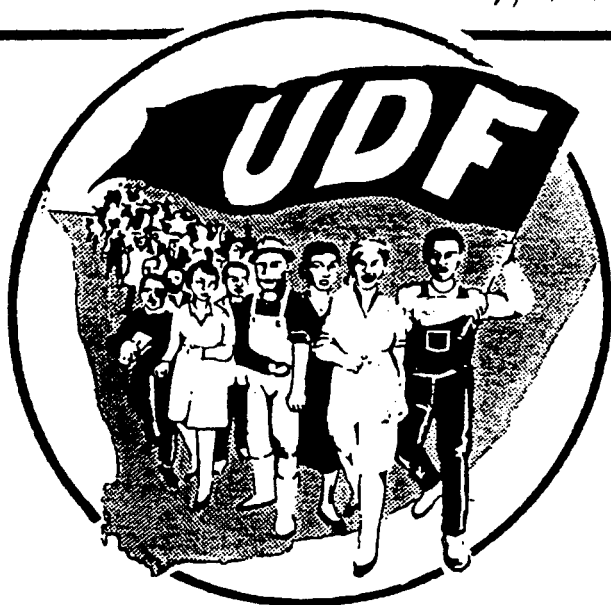
We assert that an acceptable and truly democratic constitution can only be worked out in an atmosphere which is full of fear, mistrust and harassment of some sections of the population by another. That includes the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned and restricted and the return of those

who have been forced into exile.

We call on our people to show once and for all that they are determined to control their own destiny by doing all in their power to halt the Constitutional Act and Koomhof Bills. The implementation of this Constitution Bill can only lead to a situation of ~~a~~ deeper conflict in this country.

All of us must oppose this Constitution through the UDF programme of Action

Declaration of the United Democratic Front



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

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

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

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

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

We say NO to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill — a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth;

We say NO to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright;

We say YES to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day;

We know that

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

- the oppression and exploitation of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women, will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families;

● non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sports facilities. And, forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow. We know that apartheid will continue

- that white domination and exploitation will continue; that forced removals, the Group Areas Act and the Bantustans will remain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

And now therefore

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

UDF ON THE REFERENDUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE UDF, FOSATU, SAAWU, GAWU, OVURU, CCANUSA, AFCHU AND FCWU, JOHANNESBURG SCOOTER DRIVERS ASSOCIATION, SA CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION, SA LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANERS WORKERS UNION, CUSA AND THE DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE.
ISSUED IN JOHANNESBURG AT KHOTSO HOUSE PRESS CONFERENCE, 19 SEPT

WE, THE UDF (ETC.) CONDEMN THE BANNING OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION AND THE REPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE CISKEI BANTUSTAN.
THIS BAN ON SAAWU MUST BE SEEN IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL SCENE IN WHICH THERE IS THE INTENSIFICATION OF REPRESSION AND THE UNFOLDING OF THE GRAND DESIGNS OF APARTHEID.

BY THIS ACT THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT HAS ILLUSTRATED THAT THE BANTUSTAN STRUCTURES WILL INCREASINGLY BE USED TO SUPPRESS ANY RESISTANCE TO THEIR APARTHEID POLICIES.

ALONGSIDE THIS BAN IS REPORTED EXCESSES COMPARABLE WITH THOSE OF NAZI GERMANY. A STADIUM IN MDANTSANE HAS BEEN CONVERTED INTO A CONCENTRATION CAMP. SCORES OF OUR DEFENCELESS PEOPLE ARE BEING HERDED INTO IT AND TORTURED THERE.
THE BAN ON SAAWU MUST ALSO BE SEEN AS THE CLIMAX OF THE PERSECUTION OF THAT UNION AND ITS LEADERSHIP. ALL UNIONS IN THE AREA HAVE SUFFERED UNDER THE CURRENT ASSAULT ON RESISTANCE ORGANISATIONS. THE AIM IS TO STRIP THE LARGE WORKFORCE IN MDANTSANE OF ANY LEADERSHIP IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST EXPLOITATION.

VIEWED IN THIS LIGHT THE BAN ON SAAWU IS THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS OF ERADICATION OF WHATEVER UNIONS AND RESISTANCE ORGANISATIONS THERE ARE IN CISKEI. NOT ONLY HAS SAAWU BEEN BANNED BUT THE LOCAL OFFICERS OF THE OTHER UNIONS HAVE VIRTUALLY CLOSED DOWN DUE TO DETENTIONS. HENCEFORTH ANY UNION WHICH COMES OUT IN FULL SUPPORT OF WORKER RESISTANCE TO EEE AGAINST BUS FARE INCREASES, RENT HIKES AND SO ON WILL FOLLOW SAAWU INTO BANNING. AND YET UNIONS CANNOT GET SUPPORT STRUGGLES BEYOND THE FACTORY BOUNDARIES IF THEY ARE TO BE OF ANY LASTING CONSEQUENCE TO THE WORKERS.

THE BAN ON SAAWU IS A VEILED THREAT TO OTHER UNIONS TO STAY AWAY FROM COMMUNITY STRUGGLES LIKE THE MDANTSANE BUS BOYCOTT. BUS FARE HIKES EAT INTO THE WORKERS PAY PACKETS AND UNIONS ARE OBLIGED TO SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. TO PERMIT THE CISKEI PUPPET GOVERNMENT TO SUPPRESS UNION INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY STRUGGLES IS TO GIVE AWAY A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT OF UNIONISM. WITHOUT THE RIGHT TO USE THEIR ORGANISATIONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES OUR WORKERS ARE UTTERLY DEFENCELESS. AND THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE ON THIS RIGHT TO TAKE UP ISSUES BEYOND THE FACTORY FLOOR.

THE UDF TAKES A VERY SERIOUS VIEW OF THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO THEIR UNIONS AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF THESE UNIONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST EXPLOITATION. IT JOINS ALL UNIONS HERE IN CONDEMNING THIS BAN.

IN KEEPING WITH THAT CONDEMNATION IT APPEALS TO ALL PROGRESSIVE UNIONS TO STAND TOGETHER IN THIS CRITICAL PERIOD AND JOINTLY OPPOSE THE BAN.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT:

FOLLOWING THE BAN THE UDF INVITED UNIONS AT REGIONAL LEVEL FOR CONSULTATION ON POSSIBLE ACTION. THESE WERE SOME OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONSULTATIONS:

1. IT WAS RESOLVED TO ELECT A COMMITTEE OF FIVE TO COORDINATE ANTICIPATED MONEY AND CLOTHES CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INTERESTED ORGANISATIONS AND UNIONS AND PASS THESE ON TO DESCON WHICH WOULD SEE TO IT THAT THESE ARE CONVEYED TO DETAINEES. THIS DECISION WAS TAKEN IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENT EEE THE FACT THAT SCANTILY DRESSED DETAINEES ARE KEPT IN A STADIUM DAY AND NIGHT IN CISKEI. THE MOST URGENT CONCERN IS TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE MATERIAL RELIEF.
2. WE FURTHER RESOLVED TO HOLD A SOLIDARITY MEETING WITH SAAWU AND THE PEOPLE OF THE CISKEI ON THURSDAY AT A VENUE STILL TO BE ANNOUNCED (IN JHB) IN ORDER TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE STRUGGLER THAT IS BEING WAGED THERE.
3. IT WAS ALSO RESOLVED TO LAUNCH A MEDIA CAMPAIGN THROUGH PUBLICATION TO EXPOSE THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT'S ATROCITIES AND TO MOBILISE SUPPORT FOR THE CISKEI PEOPLE.
4. EFFORTS WILL ALSO BE MADE TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL BODIES TO PRESSURE SOUTH AFRICA AND CISKEI TO STOP THE PERSECUTION OF DEFENCELESS CISKEIANS.
5. APART FROM THESE AGREEMENTS THE NEED FOR URGENT EEE FOR MORE FORTHRIGHT MEASURES AGAINST SABA'S GOVERNMENT WAS REIGNED. IT WAS BROADLY AGREED THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF PRESSURING COMPANIES OPERATING IN THE CISKEI BY WAY OF SOME STRONG ACTION BE TAKEN BACK TO UNION MEMBERS FOR THOROUGH CONSIDERATION. SECOND STAGE CAUCUSSING WILL FOCUS ON THIS ASPECT.

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WELL COME? JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE UDF