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Rev<sup>1</sup> C106''

Comrades, I greet you on the occasion of the first NGC since the launching of the UDF in August 1983.

I greet you in the name of the leading patriots who continue to inspire us from Robben Island, Polsmoor Prison and in exile.

I greet you in the name of comrades Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and ~~others~~ <sup>others</sup> and many who continue to contribute to the struggle for liberation from outside our borders.

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We are meeting in a critical stage of our history, at a time when there have been important developments in the ranks of the democratic forces and in that of the enemy camp, those struggling to maintain apartheid.

What is the task of the Front at a meeting of this nature? We believe that we need to :-

1. Understand the current stage of our struggle. In other words we need to appreciate the context within which we are now operating.
2. We Need then, to take account of changes in the objective conditions. In other words, the modes of domination and exploitation, the changes in the way that our people are being oppressed and exploited. We also need to understand the changing strenghts and weaknesses within our own ranks and that of the forces of apartheid.
3. We need then to appreciate changes in the composition of the enemy camp, and look at the changes in the way the enemy is working today, and formulate a fresh and dynamic approach to our own allies and potential allies.

This is the time to frankly consider what we have expereined in the last 18 months. We can proudly acclaim our victories. But we must, in a conference like this, honestly admit our errors and weaknesses. On the basis of such a frank appraisal we can map out a path for our immediate campaigns, and also for our long-term struggles.

On the basis of a correct characterisation, a proper understanding of the present phase of our struggle, we must formulate our key objectives and overall approach.

This will enable us to develop creative strategies and tactics. This will give us the capacity to seize the initiative, to make new and decisive interventions.

On this basis, we will be able to plan the campaigns through which we will take our struggle forward.

But before we can go any further, I wish to draw your attention to certain observations.

I do this in the belief that we meet here today as democrats who are serious about the struggle, who have a genuine concern for our unity, and a clear realisation that we meet at a time of serious crises in our own ranks.

We must warn ourselves that unless certain indisciplens in our ranks are eliminated, our own organisations are threatened with disunity and division.

For us to have a successful NGC, all forms of regionalism, individualism, cliquism must be stopped.

We have important decisions to make this weekend - it is the task of every single comrade present at this NGC to ensure that we emerge as one united family in the interest of our peoples' struggle. Remember that we meet not in our individual capacities, but as activists of a peoples front. Let us resolve our differences in a comradely spirit.

The 1976<sup>up</sup> rising created a crises for the partheid state. Wholesale bloodshed temporarily contained mass resistance. It was necessary to provide a more long-term strategy which would widen the power base of the regime. Instead of whites ruling alone, staffing most of the civil service, police force and SADF, The new strategy initiated by the 1983 constitution would try to draw in sections of the oppressed community. It is aimed to split the unity of black resistance, to co-opt sections of the Indian and Coloured community, to help in maintaining apartheid in general, and in particular: the exclusion of the African majority.

Linked to the constitution were the Koornhoff Bills. Their effect was to spell out the implications of african exclusion from the tri-cameral parliament. Not only were they to be declared foreigners in the land of their birth, to realise their political aspirations in the bantustans and other puppet structures. In addition the Koornhoff legislation provided for tighter control over urban Africans, yet also sought to intensify divisions between urban and rural people. It also depended on ever-increasing uprooting and forced removals of African communities.

This confronted the democratic movement with a major threat and an urgent task to frustrate this process. At that point we had to deal with the question of how best to develop the maximum participation of all the oppressed and democratic people in the struggle against this legislation.

> Because a handful of activists are not going to librate S.A. ; we had to ask; in the concrete conditions of 1983, how would we best mobilise the broad masses.

What were the conditions that led to the decision to form the UDF - a popular Front. These were :-

- \* The low level of political organisation existing at the time.
- \* Limited regional co-ordination.
- \* Very limited number of political organisations in existence.

These factors made it impossible to seriously contemplate the formation of a single political organisation. The creation of a united front enabled us to base the new front structure on existing political, community, women, student, church, worker and youth organisations. It also provided impetus for the proliferation of new organisations.

Instead of various sectors of our struggle maintaining their opposition to apartheid in relative isolation, the UDF, while retaining the distinctive qualities of each affiliate, provided the possibility for greater unity in our opposition.

We can justly claim major victories for our struggle through the ~~UDF~~ UDF.

- \* We have successfully reached out and mobilised freedom loving people in all corners of our land.
- \* We have shown S.A. and the world that this government, its new constitution and puppet leaders do not enjoy the support of the masses.
- \* The UDF has effectively mobilised progressive sectors of the <sup>international</sup> community to oppose apartheid and destroy the myth that P.W. reforms are meaningful change.
- \* The people of the Vaal, Crossroads and Uitenhage, demonstrated in their courage <sup>that</sup> the Botha regime is not interested in meeting the demands of our people. <sup>the</sup> Bullets and the massacring of our people have been their response to ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> people's call for peace and justice.

③ remind ourselves of the fundamental principles that guide us in our quest for freedom. ③

What then <sup>is</sup> the Nature of our struggle?

Amidst the confused claims and counter-claims of the Nationalists and their puppets; the monthly celebrations of bantustan independence and the empty speeches of the discredited Coloured Representatives and Indian Delegates we must once more restate the nature of our S.A. struggle. Especially because some people in the neighbouring states and in the United States now describe our struggle as a civil-rights question. The whole chorus of "Reform, reform in South Africa!" is based on the failure to understand the nature of this struggle.

Our struggle is a national democratic struggle. It <sup>is</sup> a struggle of the majority of the people of S.A. against a minority regime that represents the interests of foreigners and, tramples under its feet the aspirations of the people. It is a struggle in which this country and all its resources must be returned to its rightful owners (i.e. Black and White South Africans) and establish a government that will fulfil their wishes and needs.

Who are the people? We have stated in the past that the people consist of all those classes, parts of classes, organisations, groups and individuals who form part of or support the struggle against apartheid. The people, therefore, do not consist of one class or race. Indeed, they consist of persons from all racial groups who have an interest in a struggle to destroy apartheid.

On the other hand, the forces of apartheid are all those classes, sections of classes, organisations, groups and individuals who form part of or support the machinery of apartheid. This category includes Blacks as well as Whites. Blacks who support apartheid do so for group interests such as the business people in the town Councils and the Indian and Coloured Parliaments, or simply because of personal ambition. Whatever their motives it is not for the

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(S) The masses agree with what they are doing, or not. They represent themselves. Furthermore, they participate in the state machinery despite the clear rejection by our people.

The dividing line between the people and the forces of reaction is not static. It always shifts with the changing phases and stages of the struggle. We need at all times to be aware that people do not remain in the camp of the people or enemy permanently. This can change as the struggle intensifies. Our responsibility is to win over the maximum number of people to ~~side~~ our side, even those we once considered our enemy.

The over-riding challenge for our Broad Front is whether it will continue to win more and more individuals, groups and organisations to its fold. If not, it must draw them into limited campaigns ~~in the Western Cape~~, such as the joint UDF - Unions anti-election rally of last August in the Western Cape or the August rally of the UDF, trade unions and other organisations in P.E. or the Transvaal stayaway of last November.

From our experience in S.A. we see that Imperialism continues to support the position of the white minority in its domination of the majority.

Imperialist forces today continue to bolster Apartheid and ~~in~~ protect their own economic interests. They have destabilised independent neighbouring states and have compromised the potential of the Angolan & Mozambican governments could have played to support our struggle.

Imperialist countries especially USA & U.K. have often refused to condemn the Nats. In this regard they are accomplices to atrocities perpetrated against opponents of the Apartheid regime.

(b) We must remember that the question of organising our people is a historical process. It is a long and hard road.

Our glorious heroes of the past have taken us some distance along this road. Our people have built a tradition of courageous battles in the fight for our liberation. The UDF is merely another stage along this journey of our tradition. However the UDF is not ~~at~~ the end of this journey.

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We must still continue until we reach our goal of a highly organised people capable of swinging the overall balance of forces in our favour. At the end of this conference we must plan to move to the next stage on the road to becoming highly organised.

Central to planning our future for the next year is a correct understanding of this government's strategy and its weaknesses.



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General Terms, state strategy is one of Reform, co-optation, division<sup>and</sup>, repression.

### African Sector

- Community councils
- Creation of Forum
- Reinforcing homelands
- Recognition of permanent African urban rights
- Creation of middle class
- Influx control relaxation
- Inclusion in local government schemes

What have we achieved so far?

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- Community councils - virtually non-existent. Due to mass action
  - ideological rejection of homelands, but level of resistance & organisation in homelands is weak.

### Indian & Coloured

- Tricameral system with local government which has not been fully worked out
  - These have been rejected
  - Key strategy - more money for these schemes
  - Offering perks - eg more money for housing, education etc. creates a middle class.
- Government has attempted to co-opt.

Broadly - creation of middle class

- shows by opening of CBD, creation of small business development corporations

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## Labour

- Recognition of African Trade Unions provided limited economic issues.
- Mass action is curtailed
- Development in Eastern Cape shows that this has failed
- ~~There~~ There is a hesitancy of leadership of T.U. to mass action  
However, workers in communities ~~face~~ <sup>face</sup> repression and hardship, thus have engaged in mass action.

## Repression

- Army, police & legal system are used in acts of repression to remove leadership and kill the ~~the~~ movement.

## International

- encourage investment
- Create an impression of change

Overall - state strategy is in a melting point and ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> being determined by:-

1. contradictions within ruling classes  
ie between state & capital  
local & international  
state & right wing
2. resistance of people

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22/9/87 } Now is the time to act decisively and seize the initiative from the state.

Weaknesses:

1. Capacity to build organisational structures which will enable us to take up issues affecting the people in a most effective manner.
2. To cultivate the quality of our leadership, both at leadership and activists level.
3. To ensure that our structures will be strengthened - that they are able to withstand repressive measures of the state.
2. We have, however other weaknesses related to inexperience, limited understanding as well as handling political issues. - due to lack of training at activist level.
3. Lack of political, theoretical understanding, clarity - leads to limited understanding of the basic issues. This is also due to inadequate training of our activists. Lack of common understanding and approach leads to unequal development and differences in the way we see issues. Therefore, different conceptions of issues like the centrality of the African masses in our struggle, working class leadership, etc. The overcoming of this weakness is essential for the development of our unity.
4. We have not maximised participation of peoples organisations in the front. Broaden out - specially Trade Unions. Even participation of affiliates is limited. In our decision making we must find the balance between maximum participation and the need to respond to issues quickly.
5. Regionalism and factionalism.
6. We have not articulated our alternatives and demands clearly. This must become part of our challenge to the state.

Let us recall what we have done so far,

We have recalled our fundamental approach to the liberation struggle; we have characterised the current stage of our struggle; we have looked ~~at~~ briefly at govt. strategy and its weaknesses and have reflected upon our own weaknesses.

We now need to look at the road ahead.

In order to move to ~~the~~ higher level of organisation, we need to understand and implement the slogans of the NEC that was adopted for this conference.:

FROM PROTEST TO CHALLENGE; FROM MOBILISATION TO ORGANISATION.

What do we mean by these words?

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By Protest, we mean a state of affairs where one articulates disapproval of a particular issue or even a system. There is a proud tradition of protest in this country, going back to the end of the 19th century.

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By Challenge, we mean a situation where one takes on the state in certain arenas, where one attempts, as far as possible to frustrate its efforts, prevents its advances, force it to retreat, and if possible, cut off all its lines of retreat. Recent examples are the ANTI-Saic campaign, the anti-Constitution campaign, The Soweto uprisings, the resistance in Langa, Crossroads, The Vaal, the boycott of gutter education.

Where that challenge has sometimes been spontaneous, our job is to transform it into a conscious process, planned as part of coherent strategy.

We need also to expand the base of our challenge. We have not yet developed a sufficiently coherent approach to take up the issues most affecting the African people, especially the working class and people on the land or those being forced off the land.

This conference needs to pay particular attention to these issues.

It is not sufficient for us to harness a massive force. We must know where to direct it. We must be capable of co-ordinating it and it must be capable of achieving its objectives.

There is no point if we are capable of challenging the state, in striking at the point where it is strongest. We need to harness our forces in such a way that we can strike at the weakest link in the apartheid chain.

We need then to develop a capacity that we do not yet command. This entails an ability to assess where the apartheid structure is at its weakest. It also means marshalling our forces and being able to co-ordinate and direct them accurately.

Where such a challenge is adequately co-ordinated, we can start the process towards the achievement of our fundamental goals. Where we can present such a sustained and organised, systematic challenge, we can start the process whereby one moves as closer towards the transformation of S.A. from a racist tyranny towards a democratic state.

If we want to achieve this goal, if we even want to initiate this process, we need to start a much more sustained effort to build unity within our own ranks. We cannot even contemplate taking our struggle to a higher level if we do not overcome our regional divisions and factionalism. We need to build greater unity.

I.

What then are  
OUR MAIN TASKS?

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It is not my <sup>role</sup> task to spell out the detailed tasks of the us

However, certain guidelines will be offered to assist us in defining our tasks during the course of this NGL.

### 1. UNDERSTANDING OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD

Let us be mindful that the correctness of our approach to the struggle will depend on the accuracy with which we interpret the situation around us - that is, on the analysis of our country and struggle.

### 2. DEFINING THE STAGE OF OUR STRUGGLE

The struggle for freedom ~~is~~ goes through various stages - each stage having its own characteristics and tasks. We have defined this stage as one of increasing challenge to the apartheid system and the building of strong organisation.

### 3. EDUCATE OURSELVES

Strong organisation depends on the extent to which the membership of the organisation is educated about and familiar with the analysis, stage of struggle and key tasks - otherwise we work at cross ~~for~~ purposes with each other.

### 4. HIGHER LEVEL OF ORGANISATION AMONG US

Unless certain crucial organisational tasks are undertaken, ~~our~~ our ability to execute our responsibilities will be seriously compromised.

4.1 BROADENING THE FRONT

AND AGREEMENT

4.2 BUILDING GREATER COHESIVENESS ON QUESTIONS OF

- nature of our struggle
- organisational approach
- style of work

4.3 BUILDING PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

through the length and breadth of the country among all sections of our people.

4.4 DEVELOPING AN EXPERIENCED LEADERSHIP

without which no organisation can move ahead effectively

4.5 TRAIN OUR ACTIVISTS AND ORGANISERS

5. DEVELOP CREATIVELY THE STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF CHALLENGE

Struggling with the apartheid regime is a science - not a haphazard process. The decision that it is time to challenge and not merely protest - must be made after a scientific assessment of the situation.

Having done this we must creatively work out how our challenge is to be executed.

## 6. BUILD GENUINE UNITY

We must struggle in a comradely way against all tendencies which sow division and suspicion in our ranks -

This is vital or we face a dim future

Factionalism, Regionalism, individualism must stop.

## 7. FORMULATING A PROGRAM

This is our task today -

to draw up the program which will serve to guide our work in the coming year.

## 8. STRUGGLE WITH PEOPLE : DAY TO DAY

Let us not stand apart from our people -  
let us participate at every ~~to~~ level in the day-to-day struggles of our people.

Our task is to develop the skills and experience which will enable us channel and direct the energies of our people.

## CONCLUSION

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Comrades, let us look at the issues we have raised today.

Our task is a serious and profound historical responsibility -

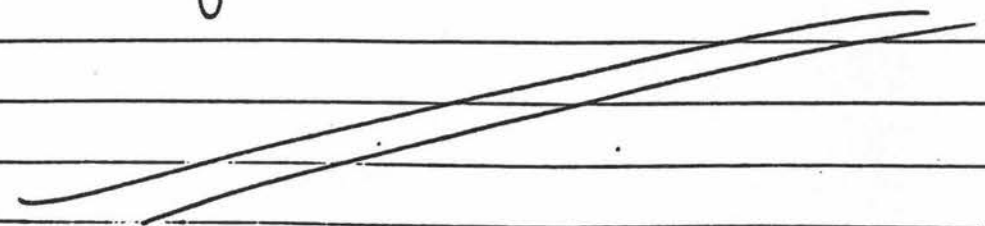
let us not fall short because of our own weaknesses - which are within our abilities to resolve.

But our future is a bright one -

You and other comrades in the UDF and its affiliates have achieved tremendous results.

Let us not stop - let us continue in

the proudest traditions of our democratic movements to a free S.A





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# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



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MESSAGE OF SUPPORT FOR THE JUNE 16th COMMEMORATION MEETING OF THE  
ANTI - APARTHEID MOVEMENT OF LONDON

On this day when we again remember the martyrs of June 16 1976, and rededicate ourselves to the struggle that lies ahead, we of the United Democratic Front salute our tried and tested friends in the Anti - Apartheid Movement in London.

Your solidarity and support for our struggle over the past 25 years continues to play an important role in forwarding the march to freedom, democracy and peace in South Africa.

It continues to inspire our people when they confront apartheid in their daily lives to know that they enjoy the solid backing of your movement.

The courage and determination displayed by thousands of your compatriots, men and women who have never even set foot in our country, is a daily reminder that the collaboration of the Thatcher government with the apartheid regime is and will always be rejected by the democratic people of Britain.

We note the great strides that have been made in the international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. We are especially warmed by the nationwide expansion of the anti - apartheid activities in Britain.

Let the pressures on apartheid mount until they become irresistible!

Long live the alliance between the peace - loving democrats of the world!

Amandla!

Yours in the struggle for freedom and peace

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Cheryl Carolus', is written over a horizontal line.

CHERYL CAROLUS

National Administrative Secretary

Presidents: Albertina Sisulu,  
Archie Gumede

National Treasurer: Azhar Cachalia  
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa Terror Lekota

The British Anti - Apartheid Movement

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*Ms. Bw 61084*  
LESSENAR  
REGIONAL



# FEDERATION OF TRANSVAAL WOMEN

WORKSHOP REPORT - MAY, 1985

FEDTRAW and the UDF held a joint workshop on the role of women in our struggle.

The workshop was attended by 60 women from our FEDTRAW groups.

The UDF is planning a follow-up workshop for the 18th August, 1985.

The workshop will look at how UDF affiliates can take up women's issues.

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## WOMEN FACE SPECIAL HARDSHIP UNDER APARTHEID

Anna Mazibuko, a Driefontein farm worker, says:

"I ran away from the farms and went to town to work for a doctor. I earned R3.00 per month. I left the job because the missus was mean. Then I went to a farm. I was expected to work quickly and as hard as an adult. Later I got married and had 9 children but 5 died. I left my husband and went to Driefontein. I can't get a contract and permission to work. My main problem is still the pass. What I want is permission to work anywhere. I would like to work in Joburg ..."

WE ARE LEFT TO  
SUFFER IN THE



HOMELANDS. END  
TO PASS LAWS!

Anna Mazibuko's children died because of malnutrition. She, like thousands of African women, is unable to find employment because of the pass laws.

It is almost impossible for women from the Bantustans to find work in the urban areas. They are forced to stay in the poverty stricken homelands and scratch out a living. It is the women who have to feed, clothe and educate their children under such conditions while their husbands work as migrants on the farms, in the mines and the factories.

The laws discriminate against women. African women are 'forever minors' even if they are the breadwinners. It is almost impossible for an African woman to buy a house in her name. The law does not recognise traditional African

marriages, nor does it recognise Hindu and Muslim marriages. The children of these unions are illegitimate.

African, 'Coloured' and Indian women, like their men, do have political rights. But women suffer in a very specific way under Apartheid. It is for this reason that we say women are racially oppressed. Can you think of ways in which women suffer under Apartheid?

### **WOMEN WORKERS ARE ECONOMICALLY EXPLOITED**

Working class women have the worst paid jobs. They have the least education and do the most unskilled work. In 1981, 55% worked in service where their wages were as low as R65 per month.

16,6% were farm labourers where they earned as little as R27 per month. Half of the women employed in industry are textile workers. Many get no more than R16 per week. Three quarters of the African women who are able to work are not formally employed. They have no passes and have to work illegally as hawkers, brewing liquor and prostitution.

**WOMEN HAVE TWO**



**JOBS**

**AT HOME AND AT WORK.**

Women work under the worst conditions. There is night shift, there are no maternity benefits and when jobs are scarce, such as at times of recession, women are the first to lose their jobs.

There are no creches in our communities. Women leave their children with child minders, relatives and friends. But they can never be



sure of how their children will be cared for.

After work, women have to start another job - cooking, cleaning, ironing and caring for the family. They have a double shift.

It is all this which weighs heavily on the shoulders of women. We are too tired to come to meetings, as we have to see to our children, we have to be up early to travel to work. The bosses pay women low wages while they make huge profits. They can pay women workers less than they pay men. And so, our women are demanding equal pay for equal work.

## **WE SUFFER BECAUSE WE ARE WOMEN**

There are age old customs and traditions which often hold us back as women. Customs which tell us what we should wear, how we should behave and what our place is in our communities. Because of all this we have come to believe that we cannot make decisions, that we do not have a voice or rights as human beings.

We are faced with sexual harrassment at work and on the streets. In the townships, many women fear rape and battery by their men folk. At a workshop of the Federation of Transvaal Women, many women spoke out about this. They said:

"We demand to be treated with dignity and respect."

### **WOMEN BEAR A TRIPPLE BURDEN**

Women suffer under Apartheid

Women suffer under an economic system where a few benefit from the wealth of their labour, and

Women suffer as women.

For this reason

## **WOMEN MUST UNITE AND ORGANISE**

## A PROUD TRADITION

We have a rich tradition of mass mobilisation and national organisation of women. The march to Pretoria by 20 000 women against passes is known to many. The Federation of South African women was formed in 1954 and adopted the Women's Charter. The Women's Charter called for nurseries and child care facilities; compulsory, free and universal education; proper housing; fair distribution of land; sufficient food; the abolition of child labour; care for the aged; workers' benefits; the right to vote; equal rights with men in property and guardianship of children; peace and freedom for children throughout the world.

The Women's Charter called for a free and democratic South Africa where women will be treated with equality, respect and dignity.

And, when the Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People in 1955, our women also put forward our demands. In the Transvaal women held meetings to collect women's demands. The spirit of the Women's Charter which stressed equality between the sexes was written into the preamble of the Freedom Charter.

The struggles of women in the 1950's show clearly that women can and must play a role in our struggle for national liberation. As women, we cannot fight for our rights as women only, we must fight alongside our men for a free and democratic South Africa. The women's struggle must be part and parcel of our struggle for National liberation. We say this because we believe that our people will never be free while our women are in bondage.

Our watch word today is to unite and organise women. To educate men and women about the

women's struggle and to fight on for a free South Africa.

## **WOMEN ORGANISE TODAY**

Today we follow in the footsteps of that rich tradition. In the 1980s women's organisations have once again taken root. In December last year, the Federation of Transvaal Women was launched. We adopted the Women's Charter as our policy because we believe that this is the right stand on women's struggle.

We held many workshops to prepare ourselves for the launch. At these workshops we discussed why we needed a women's organisation. This is what the women said:

- \* "Women have an enemy of the mind. We are told that we are weak and we believe this. We must have confidence in ourselves. We have to break down all the barriers between men and women."
- \* "We think man is our master and we are inferior - it is time to have confidence in ourselves, it is time to break down all discrimination."
- \* "We have special problems as women and in groups we can talk about these things. We can talk about our role in the struggle for freedom. In our women's groups we can share our skills and learn from each other. We can build leadership. We can educate ourselves and our children."
- \* "Most of all, we need a women's organisation so that we can teach our men that we women are not 'babies', that they should respect us and understand that we also have a role to play in the struggle. That this struggle will never be won until women too are involved."

- \* "Women's groups will help us to raise women's issues in other organisations, e.g. civics, unions and in the UDF.

## WOMEN IN THE UDF

FEDTRAW is one of many women's organisations in the country which is affiliated to the UDF. This year the Transvaal region has a women's portfolio on the UDF regional executive and we nominated Amanda Kwadi to this position.

This workshop was held to assist us in working out what Amanda's role should be. We could not do this without understanding the role of women in our struggle.

Many women feel that UDF affiliates could organise many women around day-to-day issues; that women's issues should be taken up by UDF affiliates. Further, that we should help affiliates look at what the obstacles are which prevent women from becoming involved.

Very few women play an active part in leadership leadership in the UDF. The question we must ask is how can this be changed.

### GROUP DISCUSSIONS FOCUSED ON THE FOLLOWING

- QUESTIONS:
- \* How can women's issues be taken up in our organisations? e.g. in civics, youth organisations and trade unions.
  - \* What problems can we expect to experience and how can we overcome these.

The following is a summary of the report back of the group discussions:

- \* In order to allow women's issues to come to the fore in our organisations, we need to use simple language; we need translations if

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English is used. We need to train women in skills of running organisations.

- \* Women must be drawn into all our organisations. We also need to educate men about the issues of women's oppression so that men and women can have equal rights in these organisations.
- \* We need to overcome women's personal problems - fear and lack of confidence in themselves.
- \* In the UDF we need to develop a code of conduct which will guide men and women in all the UDF affiliates.

#### HOW WOMEN'S GROUPS CAN USE THIS BOOKLET TO EDUCATE MEMBERS ABOUT THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN OUR STRUGGLE.

- \* You can read the booklet together. If there are members who do not understand English, you can translate it.
- \* After you have read it, you could have a group discussion.
- \* There are many questions that you can discuss.

How do women suffer under Apartheid?

Why do we say that working class women are the most oppressed and exploited?

What special disabilities do we suffer from as women?

Are there members in your group who were involved in the old days? Maybe they can tell you about our proud tradition of struggle.

How can women be drawn into women's groups and other organisations?

Do you agree with what is said in this booklet? If not, let us know, maybe we could discuss it. Contact the Education Committees.

Issued by FEDTRAW, 42 de Villiers St, Johannesburg

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### A The Arrests and Treason Charges

Following its examination of the arrests and charges of treason brought against sixteen of the UDF leaders, the National Executive Committee of the Front reached the following conclusions:-

1. That the treason trial is a means of reducing the efficiency of the UDF and its affiliates by depriving it of the daily performance of its competent leaders;
2. That the state is only prepared to accommodate the UDF as a weak organisation whose existence can be exploited by state propaganda agents as a sign that it is democratic and allows for public opposition to its policies;
3. That the state is avoiding overtly repressive measures such as banning and restriction orders, but instead criminalises anti-apartheid activists in order to give the international community a false impression that only law-breakers are punished;
4. That the detention of UDF leaders is intended to create an opportunity to build credibility for the unpopular Bantustan leaders, Black town councillors, members of the Coloured and Indian parliaments;
5. That this trial will be used to further smear the UDF as a subversive and violent organisation as an attempt to isolate it from the people of South Africa;
6. That the arbitrary arrests together with mysterious violent attacks on the homes of UDF members are intended to intimidate the people away from associating with the UDF. And finally,
7. That because the UDF has already pronounced against participation in the State president's informal forum, there is a concerted effort to smash the Front in advance so that it cannot actively campaign against this sham forum.

From the above it can be clearly seen that the Nationalists are not earnest when they profess commitment to a peaceful and negotiated resolution to South Africa's problems. It is difficult to understand how a government that is offering Nelson Mandela and the ANC negotiations, if they abandon armed struggle, can simultaneously arrest and charge Archie Gumede and Mrs A. Sisulu (both presidents of the non-violent UDF) precisely for their non-violent demand for a peaceful change to democracy.

**B Peaceful Change Now or Never**

Since its inception the UDF has constantly called for a peaceful solution to the South African problem. What we reject most emphatically is for the Nationalist Party to unilaterally dictate the conditions and terms of such negotiations. In our 1983 letter to Mr P W Botha, we stated:

- i that a meaningful process of change must be based on the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned leaders of the people;
- ii that the banned and restricted should be unbanned;
- iii that Oliver Tambo and all the exiled should be allowed to return home unconditionally, and
- iv that such Apartheid structures as bantustans must be dismantled to allow for a non-racial and democratic constitution to be worked out.

We must make the point that any solution that excludes the participation of the ANC and its followers has no future. This is because such a settlement would not be terminating the present armed confrontation between the state and a growing portion of the country's population.

**C We demand: "Release Our Leaders!"**

Progressive people around the world have called for the "charging or release" of opponents to Apartheid. Most of those who have used and/or joined this call have done so in good faith, armed with an unquestionable commitment to the struggle against Apartheid. But we insist that the call should be for an unconditional "Release Our Leaders and All Opponents of Apartheid!"

In doing so the N.E.C. of the UDF draws attention to the fact that the present regime with its sweeping security laws has no legitimacy to rule over the people of South Africa because of its undemocratic origins. To call for the indictment of opponents of this codified racial order lends legitimacy to a social system that has long since been declared a crime against humanity by progressive nations of the world.

And insofar as the people of South Africa are the ones who shoulder the burden of the struggle against Apartheid, it is important for those who support this struggle to take the cue from the victims. This will make for better co-ordination and do away with conflicting demands,

**D There is No Justice in Apartheid**

The announcement that our leaders are being charged with treason brought sighs of relief in many international quarters as it was felt that the accused would be able to defend themselves. And at least one employee of the South African state went so far as



to claim that the accused would receive a fair and just trial before an impartial court. But we of the UDF find no solace in this notion for a number of reasons:-

1. The minority racist regime used its monopoly of political power to arm itself with sweeping racial and security laws and now arrests those who challenge these racial laws;
2. The judiciary in this country is appointed by the same men who pass the laws at issue and, it enforces these apartheid laws strictly;
3. In passing judgement on our leaders the courts will be applying laws which decree that opposition, even peaceful opposition such as the UDF is involved in, may be construed as treasonable behaviour and, therefore, a punishable crime;
4. The judiciary, without exception, consists of whites who perforce will uphold these laws. They have never in the past, nor do we expect in the future, held that any law is unjust. And by unjust we mean those laws which civilized nations throughout the world consider barbaric.

In the light of these and other considerations we cannot be reconciled to the thought and expectation of a fair and just trial for our leaders and, secondly, we insist that the present South African government, with its undemocratic origins and orientation has no legitimate right to put on trial and pass judgement on our leaders.

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INTRODUCTION

The last five months have seen heightened resistance to the Black Local Authorities in townships throughout the Transvaal. This resistance has varied from spontaneous protests to the five month-long boycott of rent increases by over 300 000 households in the Vaal Triangle. It has forced over 37 councillors to resign and left the Black Local Authorities without a shred of legitimacy in the communities they are supposed to govern.

Despite this the campaign against the Black Local Authorities is not over. While councils may not operate effectively, townships are not democratically controlled by residents. Many townships have a constant police and army presence and reports of the establishment of council police forces in many townships suggest councillors are arming themselves for a fresh assault on popular organisations.

The recent detentions of UDF leaders, make it clear that the government aims to seriously weaken progressive organisation, before considering further co-optive strategies. The existence of UDF and the campaigns waged against the Black Local Authorities and tricameral parliament have shown that further co-optive strategies would have little chance of success in the absence of a serious assault on extra-parliamentary opposition.

This makes an evaluation of the campaign against the Black Local Authorities and the strengths and weaknesses of affiliates on the civic front an urgent priority.

This report is divided into the following sections:

- \*Structures of local government in African areas
- \*The aims of the Black Local Authorities
- \*The Anti-Black Local Authorities Campaign
- \*The rent increases
- \*The state of Black Local Authorities in the Transvaal
- \*the state of community organisation in the Transvaal
- \*The way forward
- \*Appendix

## STRUCTURES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN AFRICAN AREAS

Since 1971, African areas have been under the direct control of Administration Boards. These boards had close links with the then Department of Bantu Affairs and their task was to administer African areas in such a way that the temporary nature of "urban" Africans was entrenched.

As a result the Boards ploughed vast sums of money into the development of huge dormitory towns inside the Bantustan borders and neglected the development of housing and services in African townships outside bantustan borders. Democratic local government structures were non-existent and instead Africans were given an advisory role through the Urban Bantu Councils.

In the wake of 1976, the government attempted to direct popular anger away from the administration boards and in 1977 established community councils which in the words of the ex-director of Wrab:

"The community councils must consider matters and take the rap if things go wrong" (Sunday Tribune 4/5/80).

After 1977, over two hundred community councils were established nationwide. In the elections that followed the low polls demonstrated clearly that representation on dummy bodies was no substitute for political rights in a united South Africa.

At present there are three local government structures in African areas: town and village councils established under the Black Local Authorities Act with the power to administer townships under their control; community councils with certain administrative powers given to them by the development boards; and local committees established under the Black Local Authorities Act with only an advisory role.

While the powers that each of these bodies has may vary, they have the following characteristics in common:

- \* All of them have been imposed on the community without its consent.
- \* They all impose the government's policy of self financing which means people living in these communities are forced to pay for housing, services and community facilities from rent

and service charges with no assistance from the central government.

- \* These bodies will be forced to carry out or at least agree to the government's policies of forced removals and shack demolitions as the minister has wide ranging powers to ignore their recommendations or to overrule any decisions they make not in line with apartheid policies.
- \* All these bodies have a long history of corruption, broken promises and maladministration of the areas under their jurisdiction.

In 1982, the Black Local Authorities Act was passed, setting up town and village councils in thirty two African communities. These bodies were given the power to administer these areas and to take responsibility for raising finances, providing services and controlling the allocation of houses.

The Black Community Development Act aimed to change the administration boards into development boards whose role in future would be to plan development for the communities under their control. In practice the development boards continue to administer many African communities even where town and village councils have been established. This stems from the wide powers given to the minister in the Black Local Authorities Act and the fact that the minister often designates the boards to act on his behalf in particular townships.

#### THE AIMS OF THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The following strategies of control and co-option were embodied in the Black Local Authorities (BLA):

##### \* Ideological co-option

Ideologically, Koornhof's strategy was designed to convince people that they were gaining control of their own affairs.

In the post-76 period a major aspect of government strategy has been to offer Africans living in urban areas the promise of better living conditions. The introduction of 99-year leasehold is part of this offer.

However the government was aware that economic and material advancement alone is insufficient to co-opt, or redirect people. Some form of political and ideological incorporation is also necessary. The BLA aimed to redirect people into "civic affairs" and away from political struggle, with the illusion that avenues were opening for them to run their own communities.

\* "Bantustanisation" of oppression

The struggles of the 1970's led the government to realise the administration boards were doing less to control and disorganise resistance than to focus it. The neo-colonial policy of setting up black administrations in the bantustans had succeeded in containing struggles in rural areas so the government set up similar structures in urban areas.

The first step in the "bantustanisation" of township oppression was to introduce community councils to take the flack for unpopular measures such as rent increases and evictions.

The boards continued to be in the front line at important points of conflict such as shack demolitions and pass raids. The new BLA's were an attempt to put the council in the frontline at all points of conflict - demolitions; raids, rent increases and evictions. They would appear to run the townships, both to plan "improvements" and control people's access to houses, lodgers permits and licences.

\* Limiting numbers of urban Africans

The fact that the new councils were told to raise their own finances, was not simply because the central government is in debt.

It has been the government's policy for decades to starve African townships of money. The aim has been to make it as difficult as possible and as unattractive as possible for Africans who are not allowed jobs in the cities to live in the townships.

Since the Riekert Commission the government has tried to reduce the numbers of urban unemployed and make Africans' stay in the urban areas.

\* Creation of divisions

As with the other "reform" proposals, control and the creation of divisions is the name of the game. The government knows that certain divisions lie just under the surface and hopes to harness and expand these into fully-fledged political and ideological divisions. Middle class elements are to be set apart in elite suburbs with 99-year lease and home ownership schemes. Workers are to live in rented houses. Shacks housing illegals will be demolished and houses raided for illegal occupants. People in rented accommodation will continue to be evicted for non-payment, while those in owned housing will have slightly greater security.

THE ANTI - BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES CAMPAIGN

Student, women's and civic organisations and trade unions launched the Anti-community councils campaign to boycott the BLA elections because:

- \* The BLA was imposed on the African majority without their consent.
- \* The BLA aimed to strengthen the policies of separate development and divide rural and urban people.
- \* The new act did not have the power to effect change in the townships.
- \* The new act aimed to win credibility for the government overseas.
- \* The councillors were to implement government policies.

The anti-community council campaign supported by all UDF affiliates aimed to:

- \* Show that the Nationalist government's laws were not acceptable to the majority of people.
- \* Strengthen organisations.
- \* Popularise the demands of the people.
- \* Unite people from different communities to build civic structures in African communities.
- \* Teach activists to do mass work.

Various methods were used to popularise the campaign:

- \* Activists distributed pamphlets explaining why the election boycott.
- \* Public meetings were called.
- \* In some areas, activists went door to door.

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The gains of the election boycott

- \* The boycott demonstrated the overwhelming rejection of these councils by the African majority. Eight percent of the adult population or 150 000 out of 1 850 000 adults eligible, took part in the elections.
- \* More than half the councils were unopposed egMhluzi, Alexandra, Kwa Nobuhle and Evaton.
- \* The low percentage poll discredited the government locally and internationally.
- \* The boycott greatly discredited the community councils even before they took power.

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- \* The campaign resulted in the creation of new Civic organisations, for example Vaal Civic Association, Alexandra Civic Association and the strengthening of existing Civics for example the Soweto Civic Association

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- \* The UDF was widely popularised in African communities.

The response of the government

Anti election groups were harrassed in a number of ways:

- \* Public meetings organised by those opposed to the elections were banned while those organising the election campaign were given every assistance including training in electioneering
- \* Members of youth, civic, and student organisations were called to report to the Security police where they were asked about their organisational involvement
- \* There was a high police presence outside anti-election meetings and people attending were photographed
- \* Popular leadership was indefinitely detained. Mohalkeng Civic Association and Kagiso Residents Organisation were particularly badly affected by the detention of leading activists.

THE RENT INCREASES

After the inauguration of the BLA, the councillors were faced



with the task of running bankrupt councils. The councils inherited large debts from the community councils and from the administration boards. For example:

- \* The Soweto Council has a debt of R33 million
- \* The Alexandra Council a debt of R875 840
- \* The Mamelodi Council a debt of R2,4 million
- \* The Atteridgeville and Saulsville Councils debts of R2,9 million

In addition to the outstanding debts the councils soon accumulated new ones:

- \* In an effort to win credibility many councils embarked on schemes to upgrade township conditions, in particular electrification and road tarring schemes.
- \* Councillors voted themselves large salaries, fancy cars, new council chambers and mayoral houses. One time Soweto mayor, 'ET' Tshabalala was the highest paid councillor in the country, earning R5 000 a month. On the East Rand the ERDB announced that all white officials seconded to the councils were to have their salaries doubled.

With the sale of liquor outlets, and the failure of councils to win the incorporation of industrial parks into their borders, the councils' only source of finance was to increase rents and service charges.

Between March and September last year, 14 councils on the Witwatersrand announced rent increases. Residents dissatisfied with the quality of housing and services as well as the corruption and mismanagement of the BLA, opposed the increases .

In Katlehong and Davyton, opposition to rent increases was led by opposition councillors who called residents meetings to discuss the increases. In Soweto, Ratanda , Davyton and Tembisa, councillors realised that they were heading for confrontation with residents and suspended the increases.

In the Vaal, the Civic Association warned the Town council to suspend the increase. Since the tragic events of September last year, over 300 000 households have refused to pay rent in the Vaal.

The demand by students for democratic Student Representative Councils country-wide co-incided with problems faced by the residents as a result of the BLA. As in 1976, this co-incidence of students demands and residents' problems generated resistance not only to the rent increases but to all forms of apartheid rule in the townships. To the call for lower rents and SRC's was added the call for the BLA to resign.

Since September last year, over 37 councillors have resigned, including the entire Ratanda and Mankweng Councils. A recent article noted that only 4 out of 22 councils on the Witwatersrand were still functioning. Vuyisile Siyothula of the Tembisa Town Council stated his reasons for resigning as:

- Ineffectiveness of the town council
- complete loss of credibility by the councillors
- Lack of adequate protection for councillors
- Residents had no confidence in the town councils and called them 'Dummy Bodies'
- The failure of the government to provide a financial base for the councils
- Staffing of the Councils was not properly planned by the government. The councils depended on staff from the Development Board who were paid exorbitant salaries. These salaries decreased the finances of the town councils.
- The refusal of black academics to serve on the town councils and their criticisms of them.
- People who served on the councils were semi-literate and did not have suitable qualifications (Star 5/12/84)

#### THE STATE OF BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE TRANSVAAL

The resignations of councillors and the suspension of the rent increases has been an important victory for the Front and its affiliates in local areas. Popular resistance has further discredited the councils, but they remain in nominal control of the townships and where they have resigned, administration has been handed back to the Boards. Residents are as yet in no position to democratically run their own areas.

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The question remains as to the extent to which the councils have failed to co-opt and divide residents and what strategies of control they are likely to use in the future.

Failure of ideological co-option

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The corrupt nature of the councillors themselves and the campaigns against the rent increases mean that the councillors have lost what little credibility they may have once had.

At this stage government plans to salvage the councils by creating its 'informal, non-statutory forum' to debate constitutional issues affecting Africans has little chance of undermining the call for national political representation of African people. The challenge it presents to the UDF and its affiliates lies not in its acceptability but in its ability to co-ordinate, strengthen and support individual councils isolated by mass resistance. The recent attempts by the Urban Council's Association of SA (UCASA) to prevent the resignation of Katteridgeville mayor ZZ Mashao because of the way this would be exploited by opposition groupings is an indication that leading councillors realise the need to strengthen their organisations.

This does not make sense (19)

Failure of material co-option

The government's inability to provide the material base for the councils has limited their ability to fulfill election promises. With the shelving of the rent increases, even less money is available for upgrading. Esau Mahlatsi, mayor of the Lekoa Council indicated this after the shelving of the Vaal rent increases in October last year.

At present many councillors are campaigning actively for the government to expand their financial base. They have demanded the inclusion of industries within their borders and access to municipal traffic licences and fines as well as government subsidisation of services. Recent recommendations by the Croeser Working Group suggest that white businesses should be taxed to benefit local government particularly in African areas. With the present recession and government cutbacks this seems a likely option for financing the BLA.

Control and Division

However none of these solutions will work unless the BLA find a more effective way of smashing popular resistance and dividing the united opposition they face.

The town councils have been unable to win allies among the better off sections of the working class or middle class. Their policy of allocating houses, trading licences and other benefits to friends and relatives has aroused the wrath of thousands of aspirant traders and businessmen. Opposition councillors have been ruthlessly dealt with, narrowing the support base of the councils still further: Katlehong councillor Sukazi was suspended from the council and expelled for demanding that the council discuss the unrest in the area. Another Katlehong councillor Khoali was detained by the security police after resigning his council seat.

The recent decision to form private police forces points to an increase in the repressive function of the BLA. The proposed private police forces find parallels in Lennox Sebe's 'Green Berets' who conducted a campaign of terror against residents during the Mdantsane bus boycotts in 1973 and 1983. The extent of their activities has made it impossible for any above ground organisation to operate in the area.

The formation of private police units suggests that the councils have not explored the very loosely defined functions of the BLAA to the full.

A significant recent trend has been the involvement of the Soweto Council in shack demolitions in Protea. This suggests that with rising unemployment and the government's commitment to tie influx control to legal housing and jobs, the council will play a more active role in shack demolitions and expulsion of so-called 'illegals'. This development could be particularly serious on the East Rand where large numbers of people live in shacks.

#### THE PRESENT STATE OF COMMUNITY ORGANISATION IN THE TRANSVAAL

The gains made during the anti-election campaign by various organisations strengthened and popularised the UDF at a mass level. This popularity in turn led to the birth of new organisations in various places such as the Ratanda Civic Association in Heidelberg, Ekangala Civic Association in Bronkhorstspuit, Leandra Action Committee in Leslie and the Seshego Civic Association in Pietersburg.

At a mass level, the anti-tricameral and anti-BLA election campaigns together with the education and rent protests have mobilised large numbers of people. While these people may identify with the UDF, Cosas and civic organisations, these organisations have not succeeded in consolidating.

When the UDF was formed older organisations put all their efforts into popularising it. Activists were drawn from older organisations to do the front's work. This meant activists gave less attention to building organisation leading the weakening of these organisations.

Ensuring that one's organisation has consolidated mass support in its area of operation is of utmost importance to building the front and furthering the struggle against apartheid.

The following weaknesses can be identified in organisations operating on the civic front:

- \* Many of the organisations have no long term working programmed to direct their activities
- \* Many of these organisations respond to issues spontaneously and at times with little understanding.
- \* The leadership has a limited understanding of the broader struggle. Repression has contributed to this weakness as organisations have never had time to develop leadership at all levels.
- \* Some of these organisations are content to identify with the front and allow it to direct their progress rather than embarking on local campaigns and activities this does not build local structures
- \* The lack of an inter-civic forum has contributed to the lack of co-ordination of civic activities and the failure to share experiences and skills

## THE WAY FORWARD

The following issues need to be considered by the Front in taking forward its campaign against the BLA:

- \* How can the Front generalise the campaign against the BLA throughout the country
- \* How can we popularise the people's demands for an alternative to the BLA
- \* How can the Front assist civic organisations and other organisations to overcome the problems of lack of resources, and leadership
- \* How can the Front channel new organisations into its fold
- \* How can civic organisations overcome lack of co-ordination
- \* How can civics establish closer links with trade unions to fight recent attempts to have outstanding rents deducted from wages

Town And Village Councils in South Africa

- Mohlakeng
- Wesselton
- Alexandra
- Bela -Bela
- Atteridgeville
- Bohlokong
- Daveyton
- Diepmeadow
- Dobsonville
- Evaton
  
- Galeshewe
- Ikageng
- Jouberton
- Kagiso
- Katlehong
- Kayamandi
- Kwaguqa
- Kwanobuhla
- Kwa Thema
- Lekoa
- Lingelihle
- Mamelodi
- Mangaung
- Mhluzi
- Rini
- seeisoville
- Soweto
- Tembisa
- Thabong
- Tokoza
- Vosloorus
- Watville

Community Councils still in existence

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Aberdeen  
Ashton  
Colenso  
Parys  
Ceres  
Nduli  
Leandra  
Jamestown  
King Williams town  
Langa  
Nyanga  
Gugulethu  
Drift  
Sands  
Nyanga 111  
Middelberg(Cape)  
Lydenburg  
Robertson  
Nkqubela  
Stellenbosch  
Mfuleni



Local Committees in existence

Local committees are advisory boards which are established in terms of Section 5 of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982. All existing advisory Boards are now called Local committees or 'Committees'. The function of the committees is to advise the Development boards administering the area.

- Stanger
- Umzinto
- Cedarville
- Chrissiesmeer
- Howick
- Kwathandeka
- Relebohile
- Thapelang
- Tshepong

Resignation of Councillors

<u>Date resigned</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Position</u>
9/11/84	Kebane Moloi	chair Duduza
9/11/84	Elliot Phahlane	Deputy "
Oct 84	Entire Ratanda Council	
29/10/84	Mankweng :entire council	
Oct 84	Jan Modise	Evaton
14/1/85	Paul Mahlatsi	Lekoa
"	Meshack Mahlatsi	"
"	Patrick Mpulenyane	"
	Jan Mokwen	"
November 84	Z Z Mashao	Mayor Atteridgeville
December 84	Pitje	Mamelodi
	SC Masila	Tsakane (mayor)
	Buthlezi	" (deputy)
	Vuyisile Siyothula	Tembisa
	Justice Piso	"
	Solomon Letsoalo	"
	S M Songo	"
January 85	Khoali	Khatlehong
	Jacob Bekete	Thokoza (mayor)
	C Mfazi	Seeisoville
20 February 85	A P Lefafa	"
	2 others	"

VAAL NAME	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE
LEKOA Sharpeville Sebonkeng Bophelong Evaton Boipatong	Vaal Civic Association Sharpeville Anti -Rent Committee Vaal Women's Organisation Cosas Azapo Orange Vaal General Workers Union Engineering and Allied Workers Union <del>The entire</del> The entire leadership of all these organisati <sup>s</sup> has been detained and the VCA has been taken over by a reactionary grouping	Two councillors were killed 6 councillors resigned and the rest went into hiding Rent increases were suspended until after June 1985  <i>Also</i> <i>See (AAD) (1) ✓ p1</i> <i>NGC</i> <i>5/6/4/85</i> <i>U.D.F. eis</i> <i>(credit of a</i> <i>variety of</i> <i>BR A</i> <i>3/3/87 - No (9)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 September Council raised rents in all townships under its control by R5.90</li> </ul> Electricity tariffs by 10c a unit. the electricity levy was increased by from R12.50 to R15 per month  At the same time the councillors announced that their salaries would be increased by between R200 and R300 a month.  All progressive organisations in the area joined together and called meetings during August 1984 to oppose the increases the wrote letters to the council and circulated a petition. The council refused to lift the increases.  On the weekend before the increases were due to be imposed, residents met and decided to boycott the increases and to stay away from work in protest against the increases.  300 000 residents have boycotted the increases until the increase is 300000 residents have refused to pay rents until the increases are scrapped.

WEST RAND	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE <span style="float: right;">18</span>
ALEXANDRA		<p>Alexandra Town Council</p> <p>Mayor Rev. Sam Buti</p> <p>April 1984 the town council had a deficit of R875 840</p> <p>In September the council decided to suspend R1 500 000 project to convert an old brewery building into council chambers</p> <p>March 1984, Buti asked Botha to unban the ANC and PAC</p> <p>Buti returned as mayor and the deputy mayor Makhubire Molepo Thomas was found guilty of extortion and fined R500 or 5 months.</p> <p>In December 1984 Buti challenged the Sandton Town council to incorporate industries within the borders of Alexandra so that it would become financially viable. This would enable the council to receive R1 900 000</p> <p>ATC is to spend R123 000 on the formation of a police force. The decision was to increase the existing police force to 65 and to add nine sergeants. Included in the budget were tear smoke riot shields, helmets, sjamboks, and bomb blankets. The council said this police force was necessary because of recent unrest and its duties would be to prevent crime and to enforce council by-laws.</p>	<p>Rent increases : people in the new houses have been paying R10 rent. The council wants to put up rents to R124.55 and R139.55 for four and six roomed houses. People living in temporary buses and huts have been promised first option on new flats, but they are afraid they will not be able to afford the rents at R183 for a family flat and R113 for a bachelor flat. Presently paying R 10-R25</p> <p>In December 1984 the ATC reduced the rents to R100 for a bachelor and R160 for a family flat.</p> <p>Phase One Neighbourhood Committee established to oppose the increases in the new houses. residents said they would not pay more than R40-R50 for 4 and 6 roomed houses</p> <p>Buses and Zinc Representative Committee</p> <p>Formed in October to resist the high rents in the flats and to protest against the fact that houses had not been built for them. They resolved to boycott the flats until an acceptable rental was fixed.</p>
BEKKERSDAL	Bekkersdal Residents Committee		Rents increased in April 1984. Still uses the bucket system
MOHLAKENG		<p>Was elected as a village council in November 1983. It is now a town council. This means councillors get higher salaries.</p> <p>council elections postponed until January 1985, still dont think they have taken place.</p>	

EST RAND NAME	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE <span style="float: right;">19</span>
MAGISO		<p>Village Council Mayor 'Zokes' Moeketsi</p> <p>Rents increased on 1 July R7 on 1 July; R7 on 1 October 1984</p> <p>In November newspaper reports noted that the councillors were angry with WRDB for dragging its feet over the electrification of the township. 'These people dont live with us in the townships, but they should know by now that we are open to attack from residents if we dont do what they want'</p> <p>Councillor Modiba ' We have become a fully fledged town council for a year now, but it seems wrab officials still think that we are a community council'</p>	
<p><u>SOWETO</u></p> <p>(21) 8/10/87</p>	<p>Soweto civic Association branches: Mofolo Chiawelo Dlamini Phiri Mapetla Thladi/ Holetsane Meadowlands Orlando West Orlando East  Diepkloof Klipspruit/  Pimville Mzimhlophe</p>	<p>City Council Mayor ET Tshabalala deposed and replaced by Edward Kunene.</p> <p>Dr Koornhof wrote of R33 million debt of the new council in March 1984.</p> <p>councillors ensured themselves for R100 000 each and insured the mayoral chain and 2 luxury cars for R50 000 Councillor J Mkalose suspended for 45 days for evicting pensioners ET allocated 7 residential sites to himself to develop</p> <p>Mayoral allowance of R5 000 per month is the highest in the country presently His deputy gets R3000 and the other councillors R 1 500 Sofasonke party accused Councillor Manyosi of corruption and demanded he be expelled from the council</p> <p>STC refused to allow reporters to attend council meetings because they told lies.</p> <p>Council looking into establishing a tollgate at the entrance of Soweto encouraging buisnesses to be established in the area and getting licences from the Johannesburg City Council.</p>	<p><u>Rent increases</u></p> <p>The electricity levies will increase from R12 to R29 by 1986. Water tariffs increased from R10.50 to R12.65 for the flat rate. Clinic fees raised from R2 to R7</p> <p>electricity Levy rents Evictions Water Cuts Bus fare increases Bulk buying Sale of homes Aid cnetres Squatters</p>

NAME	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE <span style="float: right;">420</span>
DIEPMEADOW		<p>Diepmeadow town council Mayor : J C Mahuhushi</p> <p>DTC to spend R200 000 to renovate council offices to convert into a double story mansion for the mayor.</p> <p>Diepmeadow council says it will evict all pensioners illegally resident in rooms, shacks, and hostels</p>	
TUMAHOLE	Tumahole Civic Association		<p>Protest against the rent increases broke out in July 1984. Causes were rent and GST increases, but underlying questions were unemployment dissatisfaction with the community council and difficulty in obtaining trading sites. The taxi business is also owned by councillors. Residents demanded that councillors should only take decisions with the council's consent.</p>
SEEISOVILLE		4 members of the Council resigned their seats	School boycott
MANKWENG		Entire council resigned immediately after the election because the poll was so low	<p><i>Tax 3/13/88</i></p>

EAST RAND NAME	ORGANISATIC'	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE <span style="float: right;">21</span>
KATLEHONG	<p>East Rand People's organisation Katlehong Youth Steering Committee</p>	<p>Mayor : A P Khumalo</p> <p>Conflicts between councillors: centred on Khoali who refused to attend council meetings and was suspended. He later resigned and was detained by the security police Mogorosi also suspended and later assassinated.</p> <p><u>Sale of liquor outlets</u> Khumalo opposed to the sale of the liquor outlets because he said they were too expensive, blacks would be used as a front by white businessmen, and he also said the council needed the income from the liquor outlets.</p> <p>Mr Sukazi absented himself from several council meetings because the council refused to discuss the causes of the riots. Khumalo said that in terms of the BLA his seat could be declared vacant.</p>	<p><u>Issues</u> Water cuts, rent, education, shacks</p> <p><u>Water cuts</u> Betw, March and April 84, water was cut off to 20 000 residents while pipes replaced. Not enough water provided by tanker, and residents had to walk 4km. The new pipes immediately burst because made of asbestos instead of steel and the pressure was too strong for them. Rumours were that residents would have to pay for the wasted water.</p> <p><u>Shacks</u> March to December 1983 68 000 people had their shacks demolished. In Jan.84 50 000 people left homeless after shacks demolished by ERAB. 29 000 sent to the homelands. In Katlehong there are 2x number of shacks than there are houses</p> <p>Rent was increased in the area from 1 July 1984. Council said the reason was to : -upgrade sewerage network</p> <p>Unrest started in Katlehong in September, no clear cause, but appears to be related to the schools situation.</p>
THOKOZA	<p>Thokoza Progressive Party (TPP)</p>	<p>mayor Mr Jacob Sekete, resigne in November 1984. New mayor Mr Matsoso</p>	<p>Rent increase Tokoza council raised rnets by R8 73 which was to cover the upgrading of sewerage and electricity. TPP orgnaised a meeting of residents who decided to defy paying the rent increase and told the mayor and the chairman of the management committee to get out of the meeting. The Town council set up a commission of enquiry to look into: - the rent increase -a housing scheme, and site and service -making additional sources of finance available eg from Alberton town Council ' and car licences being made available</p> <p><u>Shacks</u> Councillor A M Yende charging squatters rent to live on a piece of land he obtained as a buisness site. No sanitation provided. EARAB says it is illegal and shacks will be demolished.</p>

EAST RAND TOWNSHIP	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUES <span style="float: right;">22</span>
TEMBISA	Moya Youth Movement Tembisa Civic Association Cosas	Councillor Vuyisile Siyothula resigned for the following reasons: ineffectiveness of council complete loss of credibility with residents lack of protection for councillors residents called councils dummy bodies government did not provide a financial base for the councils Staffing of the councils was not properly planned by the government salaries decreased the of the councils Councillors were semi-literate Black academics refused to serve on the councils other councillors who resigned were Justice Pitso, Solomon Letsoalo, S M Songo	rent education electricity tariffs  Rent was increased by R4 Opposition to the rent increase led by the Civic Association, Cosas, Moya and Hospital View residents, who later pulled out.  Residents finally won the repeal of the rent increase in September 1984  Rubbish bins in Tembisa were not emptied for a month after the stay away because the ERDB said it was not safe.  Rents in Tembisa will go up by R4 in 1985 to cover salaries of white officials that will double.
TSAKANE		SC Masila mayor, resigned together with his deputy, Buthlezi	rents and shacks
EKANGAL	Ekangala Civic association		transport (Putco and SASTS recently incorporated into KwaNdebele
RATANDA	Ratanda Civic Association Cosas	Entire Community Council resigned  Elections for a Black Local Authority could not be held because no one put forward their names as a candidate.	Community council announced R5,50 rent increase. Residents took a decision to boycott the increase. Residents called on ERDB to explain the rent increase.  In late August the community council resigned and the ERDB suspended the rent increase  In January the ERDB threatened to evict residents who did not pay the increase. residents took a decision not to pay the increase and ERDB agreed not to evict families, but to look into other ways of obtaining the outstanding rent  Other issues: Education



NAME	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE
<u>KWATHEMA</u>		<p>Mayor Reverend Mzamane</p> <p>Council elections postponed until January 1985</p>	<p>Issues: education, flooding, high house prices, water cuts</p> <p><u>Flooding</u></p> <p>Houses in Mthembu Village were built on a swamp and flood during rainy season. Residents sked the ERAB to rebuild the demolish these houses and rebuild new ones on dry land.</p> <p>110 Stands have been allocated to a building company for prestige houses, residents feel that the company is exploiting the housing sh shortage as the rent is R250 , excluding the bond repayment.</p> <p>Residents had water cut off for over a week in June and had to fetch water from Tsakane and Duduza, 8km away. The council had not even tried to supply residents with water tankers.</p>
<u>WATVILLE</u>		<p>mayor Noel Mlokoti</p> <p>Council demanded granting of 99 year leasehold in Watville and threatened to resign if it was not given. The mayor went to visit Koornhof and said that coucil could not solve housing backlbg or raise income without 99 year leasehold.</p> <p>In November the councillors said that they had achieved nothing by way of developing the area since they were voted to power and they blamed the government for retarding progress in the area. 99year leasehold was granted in February 1985</p> <p>Council terminated the services of 3 white officials because of the poor state of the budget. They would save R 60 000 a year by terminating the services of these officials</p>	

NAME	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE
VOSLOOSRUS		<p>Mayor Mr Mahlangu Mayor Gideon Mgoduka</p> <p>Town Council raised site rent from R15,70-R17.70 to cover the costs of temporary accomodation for white council officials. The Council will spend R150 000 on temporary offices and R2,5 million permanent offices Electricity levy increased from R7-R10.</p>	<p>residents criticised the council for building a new women's hostel instead of building flats for families</p> <p>Vosloosrus People's Party called on the council to resign</p> <p>Housing shortage Cuoncil failed to build 250 homes for lower income families. They only build expensive houses that are beyond the means of ordinary residents.</p> <p>VPP called on residents to sign a petition to protest against the rent increases, this petition was to be handed to the Town council and the Dept. of Co-operation and Development. The petition asked that the rent incre increases be suspended until 1985 or scrapped altogether.</p>
<u>DUDUZA</u>		<p>Five out of seven councillors resigned from the council and then rescinded their decision.</p> <p>The mayor and his deputy vowed never to return to the council, because of a call from the residents and lack of protection from the government. They said they would only be prepared to come back if they could have a free hand to run the towship without interference from the Board</p>	
<u>DAVYTON</u>	Erapo	<p>Mayor Tom Boya</p> <p>'councillors have allowed themselves to be used by the Government in order to increase rent. the government is too scared to do this on their own and also they do not have the welfare of councillors at heart. When town councils were introduced under Black Local Authorities, we were all optomistic that we were going to achieve success, but soon thereafter, we discovered that being a councillor or serving in a Government created institution was difficult and dangerous at the same time.'</p> <p>Shadrack Sinaba(councillor) led a group of squatters to Holfontein farm and then charged them R50 each to squat, 31 women had their shacks demolished by Erab.</p>	<p>Erapo organised a public meeting o attended by 2000 people to protest against 50% bus fare increase and 50% rent increase. the meeting decided togo on paying the old rent and to boycott the buses.</p> <p>In September 1984, the Council lowered the rent increase by R5. Boya said the rent increase was necessary to cover slaries, maintenance, loan charges, and welfare services. The council had a deficit of R3 million.</p> <p>Boya said the council needed R100m to wipe out the housing backlog He said he wanted to encourage the establishment of factories within the borders and also receive traffic licences from the Benoni Town Council.</p> <p>Davyton Town Council fired five senoir white officiàls because they were not prepared to co-operate and were working against the decisions taken at council meetings.</p>

NAME	ORGANISATION	LOCAL AUTHORITY	ISSUE
MAMELODI	Mamelodi Action Committee	<p>Mayor: Alex Kekana Council plans to establish its own police force. The council says it will not be used to enforce apartheid, but to protect residents and their property against criminals.</p> <p>Mamelodi Town council inherited the debts of the former town council including more than R2,4 million.</p> <p>Councillor Pitje debated the issue of lodgers fees and said that lodgers should not have to pay fees.</p> <p>Pitje also said that councillors should not involve themselves in evicting poor people from their homes.</p> <p>councillor Simon Mabuso said that all sickly people who could not afford to pay rent should get a medical certificate and could be excused from paying rent until they were fit to work again.</p> <p>December 1984, council announced that it will spend R7,6 m on upgrading roads, providing houses for council employees, extension to public toilets at stations, development of parking areas for taxis and buses and improvements to sewerage network.</p> <p>councillor Pitje criticised the council for spending money extravagantly on cars and a police force. He announced his resignation from the council, said disillusioned</p>	
SAULSVILLE/ TERIDGEVILLE	Asro Atteridgeville and Saulsville Residents Organisation	<p>Mayor ZZ Mashao resigned</p> <p>The council said this increased their deficit to R2,9 million. Cuts in essential services would happen because of this.</p> <p>Mashao said that the increases were justified. He said his council was angry with the government's failure to subsidise the infrastructure and services in the urban areas. If the government is prepared to subsidise the local authorities, my council will have a better chance to convince residents that they must also play their part in paying for services they consumed.</p>	<p>Council raised rents by 20% for site, church and businesses. Asro protested against the increase. So did the Atteridgeville Chamber of Commerce of which Mr Mashao is chair. Mashao disassociated himself from this move.</p> <p>In August the tariff increases were declared illegal as they had not been approved by the minister. 500 residents signed a petition rejecting the increases and calling for the resignation of the whole council</p> <p>In September the council decided to suspend tariff increases following widespread unrest.</p>

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(19) 27/8/87



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# ANC CALL TO THE NATION THE FUTURE IS WITHIN OUR GRASP!

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27/8/87

Events in our country are moving with astonishing speed. In our January 8th message we issued a call for the intensification of our liberation offensive on all fronts, the transformation of more and more localities into mass revolutionary bases, and the need to take further strides towards rendering the country ungovernable.

Only three months have passed since that call was made and already the surge of people's resistance and active defiance have reached new heights. The face of our country is changing before our very eyes.

- ★ In the black ghettos of the urban areas the legitimacy of authority of all types is not just under attack, it has been largely destroyed. Most of those who served white rule in so-called urban councils have suffered the wrath of the people. But many have respected the demands of the people by resigning.
- ★ The tri-cameral parliament has exposed its complete impotence in the present crisis and continues to be shunned. The Bantustans are universally held in contempt.
- ★ Well-organised stay-aways in localised areas have once again drawn attention to the potential of the organised workers to bring the ruling class to its knees.
- ★ The people, by their actions, are teaching black police and soldiers that there is no place in our communities for those who wear the uniforms of apartheid and who carry out orders to kill, maim and torture their brothers and sisters.
- ★ All attempts to tame our fighting students have failed and more and more schools and universities are becoming flashpoints for freedom.
- ★ The continuing street confrontations with the enemy's armed forces show that our people, in massive numbers, not only want a new order in our country but are also prepared to sacrifice life, if need be, to bring it about.
- ★ Fired by the heroic example of Umkhonto we Sizwe, more and more of our youth are searching for ways to organise themselves into effective combat units to defend the people, deal with the collaborators, and to hit back selectively at the enemy's armed personnel.

★ The people, undaunted by massive state repression, are openly demonstrating over and over again that the ANC is their legitimate and overall leader on the road to People's Power. On the side of the people the conditions for a revolutionary leap forward are beginning to mature. On the side of the ruling class the economic and political crisis has reached new heights.

It is clear that the racists cannot continue to rule in the old way. The bankrupt and dying regime is being kept alive by those who carry arms in its defence. All attempts by it to find alternative solutions have landed on the rocks. All Botha's reforms, designed to defuse the developing revolutionary assault, trigger off even more vigorous mass opposition. The promised alteration of the sex laws is the latest pathetic manoeuvre. It is another gesture to help the external allies of apartheid to stem the mounting international tide for the total isolation of South Africa. There will be real love across the colour line only when South Africa is completely free.

The growing ferment from below and the deepening crisis from above demand the urgent attention of our whole liberation front and all sectors of our struggling peoples.

The historic conditions which are necessary to ensure the collapse of the apartheid system and the creation by the people of a new social order are beginning to take shape in greater measure than ever before in our history. Yet much more remains to be done. It is the urgent task of our liberation movement and of all patriots to stimulate the further growth of those conditions which could bring the day of the people's seizure of power within our sight.

It is against this background that we once again call on all sections of our people to make the apartheid system more and more unworkable and the country less and less governable. At the same time we must work endlessly to strengthen all levels of mass and underground organisation and to create the beginnings of popular power.

**More particularly:**

● We call on our nationally oppressed working class to strengthen and unite the trade union movement and to sharpen the weapon of workers' power at the point of production in the struggle for national liberation. A long-lasting national work stoppage, backed by our oppressed communities and supported by armed activity, can break the backbone of the apartheid system and bring the regime to its knees. All patriots active in industrial organisation must examine the lesson of the recent successful stay-aways in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape and must set their sights on combining national

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stay-away action with countrywide mass popular actions.

● We call on our communities in the black ghettos to replace the collapsing government stooge councils with people's committees in every block which could become the embryos of people's power.

● We call on our people and, more especially, our fighting youth in every black community, school and university to find ways of organising themselves into small mobile units which will protect the people against anti-social elements and act in an organised way in both white and black areas against the enemy and its agents. Every black area must become a 'no go area' for any isolated individuals or pockets of the enemy's police or armed personnel. The people must find ways to obtain arms by whatever means from the enemy and from any other source. Appropriate forms of combat tactics must be developed for situations in which the enemy is on the rampage against the people. The proliferation of such units and their functioning in accordance with all the rules of underground secrecy will add inestimable power and strength to the armed wing of our liberation movement — Umkhonto we Sizwe.

● We call on all those among the black oppressed who serve in the machineries of apartheid to resign now. The Bantustans, the so-called parliaments for the Coloured and Indian people, the community councils and other organs of racist power must cease to function. They must find fewer and fewer participants as patriots join in the bitter struggle for power. At a time when so many have fallen and are falling to racist bullets, those who continue to sell their people's birthright will be shunned and made to feel the anger of the masses in both town and countryside.

● We call on the unemployed blacks now serving in uniform to stop shooting their brothers and sisters in defence of white rule. They must refuse to carry out such orders. They must organise secretly to turn their guns against their masters.

● We call on those in the white community who have been conscripted into the army to refuse, in their own interests and those of their children, to be used as instruments of massacres and military domination over their black fellow citizens and over the people of Namibia, Angola and other parts of Southern Africa.

● We call on all social institutions, religious, cultural, civic and sporting, which retain a belief in the true brotherhood of man, to side even more vigorously with the cause of people's liberation and stand firm against racist intimidation.

● We call on the people everywhere to defy, in an organised way, the imposition of laws founded on race discrimination, to resist all

attacks on their living conditions and to promote united resistance and action against the apartheid system and its agencies.

● We call on the white community in whose name racist barbarities are being perpetrated daily against the black majority, to move away from its support of apartheid and to increase the ranks of the growing number of democratic whites who are participating in our liberation struggle.

● We call, in this Year of the Cadre, on all political and military activists to work unceasingly to strengthen the ANC's underground presence and to reinforce our leadership core in every part of the country. The ANC-led liberation movement is the indispensable guide to the whole revolutionary process.

● We call on Umkhonto we Sizwe to intensify the armed struggle with all the means at its disposal and, more particularly, to concentrate more and more on actions against the enemy armed forces and police. We also call on our underground to help make such an intensification of armed activity possible by working day and night to create and strengthen our internal political revolutionary bases.

The period ahead presents all of us — whether in or out of the ANC — with an awe-inspiring challenge. Under the leadership of our liberation movement we can and must answer this call of history. Let the blood of our martyrs who are falling before the enemy bullets nourish our battle for freedom. Let our watchwords be:

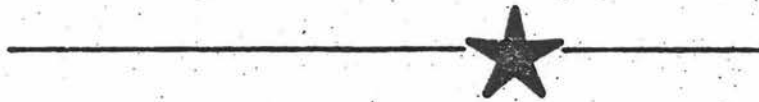
**Unity in Mass Action! Confront the Enemy on all Fronts!**

**MAKE APARTHEID UNWORKABLE!  
MAKE THE COUNTRY  
UNGOVERNABLE!**

**Forward to People's Power!  
Long Live the ANC  
the Vanguard of  
Our Revolution!**

**ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC  
PO BOX 31791 LUSAKA ZAMBIA 25th April, 1985**

**THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
SAYS:-----**



## CONVERSATIONS WITH A COMMUNIST

"I am black. I work hard. I earn very little money. My rent is too high and I am worried that if I lose my job I will lose my house and then my right to stay here".

### Communist:

I can see that with my own eyes you are black like me. But it needs saying because we black people are in a majority in our own country, yet we have no say in how we must be governed. We have no rights.

You say 'you work hard but earn very little money'. Most people work hard; but it is we workers who, by our hard work, are producing the wealth for others to use. So, when we collect our wages, there is very little. But our boss takes home a nice fat pay packet. Where does he get all that money from? From us. We make the wealth but he takes it. We call it exploitation, where men and women working in factories, in the mines etc., produce goods for other people to profit by. We are the **working class**, and the men who make profit by our labour are the **ruling class**.

The ruling class not only likes to squeeze us dry. They own the houses that we live in and take back the money that we have earned by making us pay a high rent. They tell us not to complain, because if we do we will lose our jobs. They know that without that job our families will starve. So we keep working like slaves. But it worries us.

"Not everybody lives like me. I know most whites do not have these problems. They tell me that my life is improving, but practically I find my life becoming more difficult".

Communist:

Most whites do not have these problems because in our country, South Africa, if you are white you have privileges. The ordinary white man and woman has a say in how the country will be governed. They have good schools for their children, enough food to eat, a nice house to live in. But in other countries in the world there are white men who live like us. They are workers who produce the wealth for others to grow fat on. In countries like USA, Britain and France, the working class is white and the ruling class is also white. In many countries in Africa, the working class is black and the ruling class is black. In our country most of the workers are black and all the rulers are white. But this does not mean that all whites are part of the ruling class. Though all whites have benefits that blacks are denied, the real power in our country is in the hands of a small group who own the biggest companies, factories and farms. Their riches are gained out of the sweat of the black workers. They pass on some of it to other whites, but not equally, because there are different classes among the whites too. There are white workers who also sell their labour to the bosses, and they are exploited, although because they

have the vote, they can get a better price for their labour; they get a higher wage than we do. But they too can lose their jobs when times are bad. They too have to bargain with the bosses for better wages and working conditions. Though most whites support the government, this system of oppression of the black people is not good for them. A free South Africa in which oppression and exploitation is banned would be better for all South Africans, except the bosses who would lose the source of their riches.

"You say you are fighting for freedom and national liberation. But what do you Communists really mean by these words?"

Communist:

That is a good question. Many people use these words and it is right to ask exactly what is meant by them. First I will tell you what we do not mean, then what we do mean. We Communists do not only mean by national liberation that we will have a lot of black faces in the government instead of white faces. We do not only mean that we shall have our own green gold and black flag. We do not only mean that we shall sing Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika instead of Die Stem. Of course, we will make these changes. But we want to change much more than this. There are many African countries today where these sort of things have changed; and now the people are suffering under a new set of black bosses. Often these new black bosses are not even the real owners of the factories and mines, but are acting for some

foreign company which lets a few crumbs fall from the table to their black servants. We have even seen African countries fighting against their own brothers on behalf of some imperialist power, such as France, Britain or the United States.

Is this the freedom we are fighting for? Not at all. We Communists want not only to cut down the weeds of oppression and exploitation but to dig them out by the roots.

So what do we mean by national liberation? We mean that three hundred years of wrongs done to black people must be put right. The land must belong to the people. The big companies, the mines and the factories must also become the property of the people. But we Communists want to go even further than that. We want to build a **socialist South Africa** in which the mines, the factories and the farms work for the benefit of the people as a whole. We want workers to know they are toiling for their children and themselves, not for the profit of a boss whatever his colour. This is where we are different. We believe that only if our freedom struggle grows and develops into a full socialist revolution, will the freedom of our people be safe. Today our struggle is for freedom and national liberation; but even now we must begin to think further. We must begin to think of moving towards socialism, which is the only guarantee that the freedom we fight for will be real freedom.

"My child is fighting Bantu education. He got shot down in the street. When I asked why, I was told my son was a Communist?"

Communist:

You know why your child is fighting Bantu education. You know in your heart and from what your child tells you that he is being educated to become a good slave. When you ask "Why did you shoot? He was young, he was my son?" the judge, the policeman, those who work for the governemnt call him a Communist. They know that Communists are always in the fight for justice; Communists are always on the side of the people who suffer. They only have one word in their hearts FREEDOM! Freedom from suffering, hunger and misery. Whenever there is a fight between people and an unjust system, you will find Communists. The enemy knows this. Your child may never have heard of communism, but they gave him the honour of that name because he was doing what communists do ..... fighting the enemy.

"My first born disappeared without telling me. He came back having received military training in Umkhonto we Sizwe, and explained to me that this was the armed wing of the African National Congress which is fighting to destroy the sytem. He got arrested and is imprisoned on Robben Island. When I asked why, I was told my son is a Communist"



Communist:

Your first born! There is a brave freedom fighter! He fought on the streets with his brothers and sisters. He saw them being shot down. He realised very quickly that sticks and stones cannot match guns; that to fight this system you also need guns. So he left you, his family who he loved deeply, to offer his life for our country and our people. He learnt that the African National Congress is the organisation fighting for our freedom from oppression, fighting for our democratic rights. He uses a Soviet made gun. He is fed while he trains on food from the German Democratic Republic. He is clothed in trousers from Czechoslovakia, shoes from Hungary, shirts from Cuba. He lived in Angola. These are the countries that help the ANC. It is because these countries are Communist that they help oppressed peoples all over the world. The ANC accepts gifts from whoever will help us in our struggle against oppression. But the people who help us most are the Communists. The government of South Africa knows this and that is why they hate the Communists so much, and tell us that Communists are evil. But next time you visit that windswept island ask your son, "are they evil, these people who fed and clothed you?" He will ask you why you believe what the government tells you. He will tell you that in all those different Communist countries, people once suffered as we do, but because they listened to the Communist Party they learned how to overthrow their oppressors. They are free, but they remember very well what it was like to suffer. And that is why they help us now.

Your son taught others inside our country, so they no longer have to leave South Africa to learn how to fight. That is the way our peoples army grows day by day. He learnt his lessons well, and taught them well. That is why those others haven't been arrested.

"I have heard that the ANC and the Communist Party work together. Why then is it necessary to have two organisations?"

Communist:

Our country is rich in people. this richness comes from the culture of our different peoples; we come from different backgrounds, workers in factories, miners, clerks, teachers, doctors, nurses and peasants. What we have in common is "blackness" and "oppression". The white ruling class seeks to divide us into 'ethnic groups' and separate jobs. The ANC unites ALL the oppressed as a South African people whatever their race or work. The ANC, with its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, fights and organises for unity, so that we can overthrow the evil political system which oppresses us. It fights and organises for us to create a free and democratic South Africa.

The Communist Party, like all other Communist Parties in the world, is the special party of the working class. It represents the interests of the working class. In our country we workers have two burdens to carry. WE are black and oppressed as blacks. We are workers and exploited as workers. We want socialism but we know

that the main fight right now is for national liberation. Our Communist Party works closely with the ANC; there is an **alliance** between us. The ANC works with the Communist Party because it knows that in our country, the working class is the leading force in the struggle for freedom. The ruling class knows that too. It therefore tries by all means to destroy the organisation of the working class that can lead South Africa to socialism. It tells people, especially the workers, how bad the Communist Party is; that the **SACP** is run by whites; that it takes its orders from Moscow; that it dominates the ANC and uses the ANC as a front. But how can all that be true when the Communist Party is the organisation of the South African workers who are mainly black?

**"Why do they hate the Soviet Union so much?"**

**Communist:**

The Soviet Union was the country in which the first Socialist Revolution took place. Under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the Russian workers threw off their chains and were able to build a new country. In 1917 when the Russian Revolution took place, Russia was a backward country. Most of its people could not read or write and lived in poverty. It was known as "the prison house of nations" because inside its borders were many different people oppressed and colonised by the Russian state. During the revolution the walls of the "prison" were thrown down and the peoples won full national freedom; they could choose to become independent countries, or they could join the Russian

workers and peasants in building a new united socialist state. Some, such as Poland and Finland, chose to become nations in their own right. Others chose to join in building socialism. Whatever they chose, it was their free right. Today the Soviet Union includes peoples of many different races and nationalities; it is one of the most powerful states in the world. There are no capitalists. And the means of production are owned by the people. There is no hunger in the Soviet Union. There are no people without jobs. The laws of the land guarantee the right of everyone to have a job, to have a home and to have education for themselves and their children. The people of the Soviet Union participate in its government through the Communist Party, through their trade unions and other organisations and through discussions held in schools, factories, other work places and community organisations. All these are reasons for the racists to hate the Soviet Union. But there are yet more reasons. They know that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world able to stand up to the imperialists and especially to the United States. The President of the United States is the best friend of Pretoria, helping the racists to keep their power, and every day fighting against those who want to be free. It is only the Soviet Union that can keep the United States in check. It is only the Soviet Union that can stop the militarists in the United States from starting a nuclear war that would destroy the world. The capitalists in the United States and other imperialist countries like Britain and France, have reason to want to rule over other peoples because

they make profits out of the countries which they dominate. They exploit the peoples of Africa and Asia in almost the same way as your boss exploits you. But the Soviet Union has no reason to want to rule over other peoples. The Soviet Union is based on an entirely different form of **economy, a socialist economy**. Under socialism, the factories only produce for what people need. They do not produce to make profits for the bosses because there are no bosses. There is no exploitation in the Soviet Union and for the same reason there is no reason for the Soviet Union to exploit other countries. The Soviet Union has always helped freedom fighters and from the earliest time the Soviet Union has declared itself the ally of the oppressed peoples fighting for freedom.

"My cousin works in a factory in Natal. She lost her job because she asked for more wages and she has now been forcibly removed to Kwa Zulu. When I asked her boss why my cousin lost her job, I was told she was a Communist."

Communist:

Your cousin learnt from the Communist Party that workers must stand together in a trade union to fight for better wages, that alone a man can do nothing. That only a united people can be free. She is hungry, her stomach is empty out there in Kwa Zulu. But her heart is full because she left a trade union behind her at that factory

)

in Natal. There are always others to take her place. Your cousin first learnt how to organise workers to fight for better conditions. But to make a revolution you need a **revolutionary organisation**. A revolutionary organisation tells you **HOW** to change the society in which we live. Your cousin knows this very well. Your cousin lost her job, and her house, but she knows that all that she really has to lose by fighting the enemy is the chains that enslave her.

"How did you become a Communist?"

Communist:

I worked next to someone who once gave me a magazine called the AFRICAN COMMUNIST. I listened to what he said. He said that Communism is when the workers take away the wealth from the capitalist class and give it to the people who produce the wealth. That the factories, mines and farms are then owned by the people who work them. That the country is then ruled by the people for the people.

Communism is a new order, a different way of organising that society in which we live. A society that is planned to benefit the working people with good schools, hospitals and health care for all, jobs for all with decent wages, houses for all. Under Communism, the workers throw off their chains that have enslaved them for centuries and are free to develop and take their rightful place in society, not as 2nd class citizens always wondering where the next meal is coming from, but with that security

that a man has a right to work, to have his children educated, to eat good and healthy food, to develop and educate himself. Under communism it is the workers, the people who work on the land and all the oppressed people, who benefit. They live a life free of exploitation of man by man.

That is why the racists are frightened of the Communists!

That is why I listen to the  
South African Communist Party.

It says:

**Workers ... Arise ... Unite ...**

**YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS!**



**Read Umsebenzi, paper of the SACP!**

**C112**

*AAS 5*  
*Found in Siboteng*



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6.22 If yes, in what ways

---

6.23 Can comments be made about improving participation in RGC meetings

---

6.24 does your organisation consider itself to be adequately consulted on all policy matters dealt with by the RGC

YES	NO

---

6.25 comment on improving consultation

---

7. FUND RAISING

---

7.1 whose responsibility is it to raise funds for the UDF?

---

7.2 what has your organisation done to raise funds for UDF?

---

7.3 In what ways can affiliates contribute to fund raising

---

8. METHODS OF STRUGGLE

---

8.1 who|what is the oppressor in South Africa?

---

8.2 what methods does the oppressor use to advance/maintain its position?

---

8.3 would your organisation agree that the boycott weapon has been the main method of our resistance	
8.4 evaluate the boycott method in terms of its correctness/adequacy	
8.5 what other methods are open to us/ need to be created to set back the oppressor and advance our cause (strengthen us & weaken them)	
<b>9. <u>STRATEGIC QUESTIONS</u></b>	
9.1 how has the UDF been mobilising against the koorn/hof bills and the constitution	
9.2 how successful has this been	
9.3 will the UDF's efforts together with the efforts of the people stop the implementation of the constitution and the k/bill	
9.4 why?	
9.5 what should the role of the UDF be?	

**C117**

WDF H/O Jws

(20)

18/9/87

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

OF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

## RURAL ORGANISERS

*Ref "C117"*

## JOB DESCRIPTION

### Introduction

With the growth of the UDF comes the need to advance the level of organisation in all parts of the country. Largely, the urban areas allow for the development of organisations whilst conditions in the rural areas are often more difficult. The task of the rural organiser is to assist with the growth of organisation in outlying areas. It is the stated belief of the UDF that the presence of the Front itself ripens the conditions for the formation of organisations. As an employee of the UDF, the rural organiser has to ensure a UDF presence in the defined region e.g the responsibility is to ensure a UDF presence first, the day-to-day running of affiliates is not necessarily an integral part of this process.

### ACCOUNTABILITY

Rural organisers are employed by the National Office and work under the immediate direction of the Regional Steering or Executive Committee. At the point at which an RGC is formed, the rural organiser will become directly accountable to it. The organiser is thus required to communicate regularly with the National Office and to submit monthly reports and plans thereto whilst maintaining a balance between this accountability and the immediate responsibility to the R.E.C/R.S.C.

### OVERALL ROLE

As earlier outlined, the rural organiser's primary task is to establish an organised UDF presence in the region. The rural organiser is a catalyst for action and his/her duties will include the following:-

1. Organisation of mass meetings
2. Production of media appropriate to the needs of the region
3. The Education and Training (in consultation with or with the assistance of the National Office) of emerging activists in the region,

2/.....

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

4. Making available appropriate resource material in the region
5. The identification of issues to advance a UDF presence and/or give rise to the formation of organisations.
6. Arranging regional gatherings of the UDF in the region
7. Co-ordinating work of affiliates within campaigns of the Front
8. Building good relations with non-affiliated organisations

20

**C118**

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(National Treasury  
UDF)

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITESI APARTHEID DIVIDESI



TRANSVAAL  
REGIONAL OFFICE

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

25 SEP 1984

## EMERGENCY UDF WORKING DOCUMENT

In the light of the detentions and suppressive measures of the Apartheid regime because of our victoories in the past few weeks, and because of a need to strengthen our organisation fostered up by our campaign against the Apartheid constitution and all the pain and sufferings that go with it the following has been suggested.

### 1. AREA COMMITTEES

That the following area committees be established and be set into action immediately to address the priority issues as indicated.

#### 1.1 PRETORIA AREA COMMITTEE

##### AREA TO BE COVERED

Atteridgeville, Laudium, Pelindaba, Ga Rankua, Mabopane, Soshanguve, Hamanskraal, Eesterus and Mamelodi.

##### ADDITIONAL ASSIGNMENT

To take responsibility of the developing region of the Northern Eastern Transvaal.

##### PRIORITTY ASSIGNMENT

To take up the campaign against the Kangwane elections with the the people of that area.

##### PROPOSITION

That two teams besides local effort to constituted to deal with the two assignment.

##### OTHER ASSIGNMENTS

Community, workers and students, etc struggle.

#### 1.2 EAST RAND AREA COMMITTEE

##### AREAS INVOLVED

Katlehong, Thoko a, Volsrus, Wattville, Actonville, Daveton Kwa Thema, Tsakane; Duduza, Reiger Park, Eedepark, Rotanda, Alropark, Mackenzieville, Geluksdal, etc.

##### Assignments

Community, worker and students, etc strugglles.

##### ROTANDA ELECTIONS

Deacon asked too take responsibility of organization of that area.

To : take up a campaign against the election of the town Council with the co-operation of the councillors who have resigned.

### 1.3 VAAL AREA COMMITTEE

#### AREA TO BE COVERED

Evaton, Roshney, Residensia, Sebokeng, Boipatoong, Bophelong, Sharpeville and Restwood.

#### ASSIGNMENTS

Community, worker, students etc struggles.

### 1.4 JOHANNESBURG AREA COMMITTEE

Johannesburg with neighbouring suburbs including Fordsburg Western Coronationville, Bosmont, Riverlea Alexander and possibly Tembisa.

#### Priority Assignment

Bosmont elections, community, workers and students.

### 1.5 SOWETO with Noordgesig Eldorado Park Lenasia and ernadale

Assignment. Community, worker, students etc struggles

### 1.6 WEST RAND AREA COMMITTEE

Dobsonville, Kagiso, Azadville, Toekomsrus, Mothlakeng, Westonarea, Carltonville etc.

### WESTERN TRANSVAAL

That the appointed "acting" secretaries take responsibility of this area and find the relevant workforce to organise the area.

#### NORTHERN CAPE AND FREE STATE

Responsibility of the national office.

#### SECRETARIAT AND ORGANISERS

- 4.1 That Murphy assumes the role of acting secretary. assisted by possibly Williams Smith (as per recommendation of Anti P.c. committee) part time.
- 4.2 That the voluntary services of Barbara, Khehla and Fazel to provide a back up system to the administrative work of Esther and Pat be continued.
- 4.3 That more volunteers be sort from the other resources of oo organisations and projects to put some of their time to UDF work
- 4.4 That Dan handle the Vaal situations with the help of the acting secretaries in the office and members of Soweto Civic Association



4.4 That Deacon handle the Rotanda situation with the help of the acting secretaries in the office.

5. COPY OF UDF NEWS

Copy of UDF news to be published by mid week 26/09/84 to address itself solely to the election victory, rest victories, the resignation of councillors, students struggles, gains made and the cost paid for the said to be distributed during the latter part of next week to the Eastern Transvaal but with specific attention to affected areas like the Vaal and Soweto and the East Rand. etc.

6. TIME LIMIT

All of these activities must be undertaken by the end of this month with a written report expected by the 1st. of October at the UDF office.

SUGGESTIONS:

This working document is not final at all. All suggestions and modifications are welcome.

1.2 LAST NAME

AREAS INV  
Katlehong  
Kwa Them  
Alropark

Assignme

Communit

ROTANDA E

Deacon as  
that area

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Arc  
Eastern Cape President:

**C119**

UDF Jwb

19

1/9/87

Ref "C 119"

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

15 February 1985

TO ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

Dear Comrades

Please find enclosed motivation for amendments to the Working Principles of the UDF National.

Yours in struggle

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT



NATIONAL OFFICE

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29-1917.

## MOTIVATION FOR AMENDMENT TO THE WORKING PRINCIPLES OF THE UDF NATIONAL.

Since the launching of the UDF National on August 20, 1985 a number of problems manifested themselves in various ways. These problems necessitated an assessment of the UDF, its structure, working principles, representation, powers and decision-making, etc. Subsequent to assessment of the above we suggest amendments as per amended copy of the Working Principles for the following reasons:

1. N.E.C. The size of the N.E.C is too big and its size makes it unmanageable. Because of this meetings are long drawn and unfruitful. Also a lot of money is spent by Regions in transporting N.E.C members.
2. Powers - due to problems experienced by the National Office and relating to Legal matters it has become necessary to define the powers of the Front much clearer. For example everytime we had to institute legal proceedings, we had circulated a resolution amongst N.E.C members and this is often a long drawn process - taking days to accomplish.

Also there has not been clarity as to the rights and powers of Regions to institute legal actions in defence of the Front.

3. Decision-making. The UDF has on a number of occasions failed to take decisions on very crucial matters. For this reasons it was unable to respond to very important questions e.g some comrades have aptly described this as a state of paralysis. They saw the UDF developing into an uncontrollable monster. Our Working Principles/Constitution must address this question. The N.E.C or committee set up by the N.E.C and comprising members accessible to each other should be empowered to take decisions. Although consensus must be sought as much as possible provision must be made for the N.E.C decision to prevail over that of a Region in the event of a dispute.

Please study the amendments as these will be discussed at the N.E.C and presented to N.G.C if approved by N.E.C.

**POPO MOLEFE**  
GENERAL SECRETARY

C120

END F. J. J.

Pro. Lubric. T. Lubric. T. Lubric. T.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT - TRANSVAAL

Raw C120

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

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.

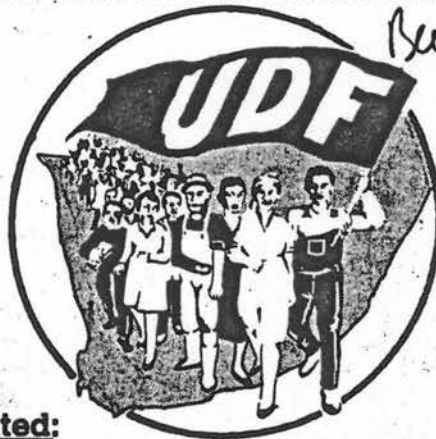


**C121**

*C121 Jus*

# What is the UDF?

UDF is the United Democratic Front.



**United:**

UDF unites everyone who believes in South Africa as one country, free of apartheid and poverty.

**Democratic:**

UDF believes all South Africans should have a say in the government, the communities, the schools and the factories.

**Front:**

UDF is a front of over 700 civic, labour, youth, student, church, political and other groups — all fighting against apartheid.

# UDF UNITES!

## How can you support UDF?

- Come to UDF's mass meetings and protests.
- Tell people about UDF's stand against the sham parliament, the pass laws, police action, high prices and other evils.
- Join an organization affiliated to UDF.

## These are the organizations you can join:

- In your community: women's, youth, cultural, civic, or political organizations.
- At your workplace: trade unions.
- At school: A student organization like COSAS.
- Ask at the UDF stall how to contact the organization in your area.

# APARTHEID DIVIDES!

Issued by UDF, Khotso House, 42 De Villiers St, Jhb.

phone 29 19 6/7 29 4010

**C113**

Found <sup>Ass 5</sup>  
Evalu

Box "C" 113"

A COMPARE WITH THE ADDRESS  
 NO SCHOOLS ON THE 29 APRIL  
 Those who goes to school  
 will be born in the school  
 with the principal of the  
 school  
 BT COSAS  
 CONGRESS of SOUTH AFRICAN  
 students

**C114**

*UDF plus*

RESOLUTION PASSED BY REGIONAL COUNCIL OF THE U.D.F. EASTERN CAPE  
REGION AT CONFERENCE HELD ON 4 DECEMBER 1983

Bew "C 114"

Motions forwarded by:

NUSAS. (Rhodes) (On militarisation & Conscription)

This conference Noting:

- (1) The increasing militarisation and rapidly expanding role of the SADF in S.A. Society and in Southern Africa as a whole;
- (2) The state's intention to extend conscription to "coloureds" and "Indians" with the introduction of the 1983 Constitution Bill;
- (3) The courageous stand taken by those refusing to participate in the SADF;
- (4) The increasing access of the SADF to school & school-children.

Believing:

- (1) That the role of the SADF is fundamental in upholding apartheid, both through the use of force and to win the hearts and minds of the people.
- (2) That the SADF is engaged in a civil war.
- (3) That the SADF is illegally occupying Namibia against the wishes of <sup>the</sup> majority of Namibians.
- (4) That the SADF is involved in offensive activities designed to destabilise Southern African countries as they attempt to build stable and democratic societies.
- (5) That the conscription of "coloureds" "Indians" will be one of the prices tied to Botha's 'new deal'.

Resolves:

- (1) To condemn the SADF's ongoing destabilising and repressive actions.
- (2) To extend our support for the stand taken by Conscientious Objectors.
- (3) To support the call for an end <sup>to</sup> military conscription in all its forms.
- (4) To raise awareness on the military issue throughout our Society, but in particular amongst school & university students, and to resist the intrusion of the military into our schools and universities.

Proposed: Nusas

Seconded: Macwusa & Gwusa

DESCOM (On Detentions, Bannings and Harrassments)

Noting:

1. The governments frantic all-out attempts to co-opt South Africans into its reform plans.
2. That detentions, bannings, harrassments of those opposing apartheid continue unabated particularly the detention of one of our national patrons (Father Smangaliso Mkatshwa) by Ciskei.
3. The banning of SAAWU and the harassment of other trade unions.
4. The brutal repressive actions of the Sebe regime against the communities in the Border region opposing its existence.

Believing:

1. That harassment, detentions and repression in general will escalate as more courageous South Africans will oppose the Governments entrenchment of Apartheid.
2. That the responsibility for the Sebe regime's excessive violence against the peaceful bus boycott lies with racist Pretoria as it creates illegitimate Bantustans with puppet leaders.
3. That the banning of SAAWU and harassment of other trade unions is an escalation of repression against workers.

Resolves:

1. To call upon the Government to turn from its path of conflict with the majority of our people by implementing the New Constitution and Koornof-Bills.
2. To work for a just and democratic S.A. in spite of harassments, detentions and violence inflicted by the government.
3. To reject detention without trial-therefore demand the release of all detainees unconditionally.
4. To demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners.
5. To demand the free operation of trade unions in order to alleviate oppression of the workers.
6. To demand the eradication of the Bantustan system of puppet leaders, acting as a buffer for the government against the legitimate demands of the people of S.A.



FEWO (Women)

Fewo endorses the stand taken on women by National U.D.F'

Noting: that Women are half the population of South Africa and that Women in South Africa suffer three types of oppression.

1. Political oppression which is common to all blacks in S.A i.e. the denial of right to vote for or choose the type of Government.
2. Economic oppression as Women workers are even more exploited than men workers. They are paid lower wages for the same job are treated as temporary staff and can be fired at anytime especially if they fall pregnant
3. Social oppression which stems from the idea that women are born inferior to men and therefore have to play an inferior role in Society.

No nation can be free unless the Women too are free, and that we Women must stand shoulder to shoulder with our men folk in the common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination.

We (Fewo) resolves to join the United Democratic Front to oppose the constitution and Koornhof Bills and to fight side by side for a United Democratic and Non Racial South Africa

Mover: Fewo

Resolution on Dummy Bodies:

This conference noting:

1. That the Pretoria regime enjoys no legitimacy amongst the vast majority of South Africans.
2. That to effect the policies of racialism in the community, the government has created puppet structures like Management Committees, Community Councils and Black Local Authorities.
3. That these puppet bodies enjoy minimal support in the community, evidenced by the shockingly low percentage polls in so-called elections.

Believing:

1. That these dummy bodies can never serve the interests of our people.

Resolves:

1. To reject with contempt these dummy bodies.
2. To build with renewed vigor our democratic mass-based community organisations, as the democratic voice of our people.
3. To renew our commitment to struggle for a non-racial democratic S.A. based on the will of the people.

MACWUSA (On Unemployment and Economic Downturn)

This conference notings:

1. The present government causes perpetual exploitation, high unemployment (which results in malnutrition, starvation, etc.) by their economic system.
2. That the present government ignores and mocks the workers after collecting the wealth produced by them.

Believing:

1. That the government should stop camouflaging exploitation with terms such as "Economic Downturn"
2. That our lives and health deserve precedence over extravagances and billions spent on the S.A.D.F.
3. That the wealth of the country should be shared amongst the workers who produce it.

Resolves:

1. To demand that workers (producers of wealth) of this country should decide on the utilisation of such wealth.
2. To demand jobs for the unemployed.
3. To demand that those who are unemployed be supported by a monthly grant equivalent to a decent living wage.

On Education: Nusas (Rhodes)

Noting

- (1) the struggle of students at most major tribal colleges
- (2) the solidarity boycotts in Ciskeian schools
- (3) the brutal Inkatha attack and the violent police & repressive action against the students by university & school administrations
- (4) the Government's recent White paper on the de Lange report in which separate education remains the cornerstone of S.A's future Apartheid Education policy
- (5) the admissions criteria & subsidy formula which will serve to severely limit the number of black student admittend to "white" universities
- (6) the expulsion of school teachers i.t.o. the provisions of the coloured & Indian persons education Act which prohibit teachers from being involved in political work.

Believing

- (1) that the students struggle for affective & democratic participation in the decision-making process of the institutions of education are part of the ongoing struggle against inferior education in this country
- (2) that the repressive measures continually wages against the student movement are part of the overall state strategy to ensure control of education at every level
- (3) that the current "reform" initiatives are nothing more than a tightening of that control and a way of ensuring that education is streamlined to serve the needs of the capitalist economy

heraby resolves:

- (1) To fully support the struggle of the students movement
- (2) To encourage the building & strengtnening of ongoing and United Student Organisation
- (3) To call on the N L O to address a letter of protest to the Dept. of Education and Training and the Dept. of Internal Affairs regarding the treatment that is meted out to teachers involved in community organisations
- (4) To continue the fight and demand for a single, non-racial & democratic system of education based on the needs of the people in a free and United South Africa

Mover: Que Lund - Nusas

FLYCC (On Constituion & Koornhof Bills)

This conference Noting:

- (1) The attempts by the Botha-regime towards reform, by way of the new Constitution and Koornhof Bills.
- (2) The co-option of certain sections of our community into an unacceptable governments.
- (3) The reform initiatives as the most cohesive attempt to undermine the democratic Organisations of the people.
- (4) The growing strength of the democratic movement inside S.A.

Believes:

- (1) That the hardships experienced in our daily lives at present will continue unabated under the so-called new "dispensation".
- (2) That the needs of our people can only be addressed by the establishment of a non-racial democracy in this country.

Therefore Resolves:

- (1) To reject and resist attempts to co-opt our people by actively campaigning against the constitution and Koornhof Bills.
- (2) To work towards the drawing-up of a democratic constitution which will allow the participation of all South Africans, and which is therefore based on the will ~~of~~ the people.
- (3) To call for a national convention for the purpose of drawing up such a constitution, preceded by the release of all political prisoners, unbanning of banned persons and the unconditional return of all political exiles to allow participation of our leader in the drawing up of the constitution.

Ver:

Proposed: Feyco

Seconded: Descom

**C115**

*£ Godangwane - Spruij*

Pen C115

**BUILD THE UNITED FRONT !**

We call on our leaders

The Transvaal stayaway has shown us that we can build a united front. The Transvaal stayaway has shown us the power of the united front. And the Stayaway Committee has shown us how to begin the task. Leaders and delegates from all of our organisations must get together. They must discuss the united front and how to build it. The policy of each of our organisations is for unity. We call on all of our leaders to carry out this policy. Act now for unity. You will have the support of millions of workers and youth behind you. POSATU, CUSA, SAAWU, COSAS, civics ... the strength of all organisations can be brought together in a joint meeting of our leaders. We say to Chris Dlamini (POSATU) and the other leaders who were in the Stayaway Committee - "You must give a lead."

**FOR A JOINT LEADERSHIP MEETING OF THE UNIONS AND THE UDP**

If we can achieve a joint-meeting in one area - then we use this to fight for a national joint meeting. If we can build a united front on one issue in one area - then we use this to fight for a united front on all issues and in all areas.

Organising the united front

How will the united front be organised? The united front has the task of linking together millions on every big issue. We need a framework to bring together millions of workers and youth. It is like the scaffolding which is used to build a building. We can learn from the experience of the Transvaal stayaway. The framework of the united front is a national committee together with regional committees. Each organisation sends delegates with a mandate to the committee. The united front committees will meet regularly. They will take joint decisions on national or regional issues facing our class. Then millions can be mobilised together.

**BUILD NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE UNITED FRONT**

Think that can happen. The national committee decides on a campaign for a national minimum wage. Each organisation goes back to prepare its forces. In every industry area and every community, united front committees are set up to mobilise united millions of workers and youth come together in struggle for a living wage!

The united front will strengthen each organisation

Some of our brothers and sisters are worried - "Won't the united front undermine the independence of our organisation?" We answer - "It is botha and the bosses who are trying to undermine the independence of your organisation and every organisation. They can be successful if our organisations try to stand alone. The task of the united front is to defend your organisation and all our organisations, so that they can live and grow as independent organisations." The united front is not a new organisation that swallows up the different organisations in our movement. The united front is a free and equal agreement between independent organisations. It is an agreement to co-operate against the common enemy. Each organisation keeps its own structure, its own internal democratic control, its own policies. Each organisation can fight inside the united front for its policy on every issue. Each organisation agrees to follow the majority agreement in action. This is the united front - independent organisations which stand together in action. Through united mass action, each organisation will recruit new members and grow stronger against the enemy.

**STRENGTHEN EVERY ORGANISATION - BUILD THE UNITED FRONT !  
KEEP THE UNITY OF THE STAYAWAY - FORWARD FROM THE STAYAWAY !  
UNIONS AND UDP TOGETHER AGAINST BOTHA AND THE BOSSES !  
FOR A JOINT LEADERSHIP MEETING OF THE UNIONS AND THE UDP !  
BUILD NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES OF THE UNITED FRONT !**

**BUILD THE UNITED FRONT !**

(February 1985)

Brothers and sisters ! Remember when more than one million workers and youth united in action ? Remember when all of our organisations built a united committee to lead united action ? There cannot be one among us who has forgotten the mighty November stayaway in the Transvaal - when our trade unions, our UDP and our youth organisations united in the Transvaal Stayaway Committee.

Forward from the Stayaway !

But look brothers and sisters, there is a problem! It is nearly 4 months since the stayaway. What has happened in this time ? A lot of struggle. A lot of attacks from botha and the bosses. But not one united meeting of all our organisations ! We had a united front of all our organisations in the Transvaal Stayaway Committee. Today we still need a united front. Today we still want a united front. We must not lose the unity that we achieved in the stayaway.

**KEEP THE UNITY OF THE STAYAWAY - FORWARD FROM THE STAYAWAY !**

Look at what is happening. Tens of thousands of miners and factory workers are striking across the country. Everywhere the youth are mobilising. Everywhere workers and youth are uniting against rents, busfares and removals. Nearly every day there is a big struggle somewhere. We see the fighting strength of our class. But we also see a weakness. Again and again, we are fighting our struggles separately. But we have mass national organisations that link us together. We have common needs and demands. We face the same attacks. Then we must stand together on every issue, against every attack, in every struggle !

**BUILD THE UNITED FRONT OF ALL OUR ORGANISATIONS !**

We need a united front more than ever

Remember what we can do. The united front will be a hope for every worker and youth in our class. The united front will be our place for discussing every issue and facing it together. The united front will be our weapon for united mobilisation, more powerful than we have ever seen. One thing is clear to us all - today we need mass unity more than ever before. Remember the army raid on Sebokeng. The liberal words of botha and the bosses have not stopped their blows against us. Look at Crossroads. Look at the treason trial of UDP and SAAWU leaders. Look at the sacking and arrest of striking mine workers. And while they point their guns at our heads - they are stealing even more from our pockets. Price rises are eating our wages. Retrenchments are destroying our jobs.

Botha and the bosses are trying to crush our organised strength so that they can squeeze more profits out of our class. They have not slept well since the Transvaal stayaway. They will do everything possible to stop a united front. That is why they hammer our unions wherever they see unity between the unions and the UDP. They are saying - "First we break the UDP - and then we break the unions."

But we have another plan. We know that unity is strength. We know that the fist is more powerful than five fingers. We know that the wall is stronger than the bricks. We know that the struggle in the workplace and the struggle in the community are one struggle - the struggle of our class against the bosses and their government. And we are determined to use all of our organisations to fight this struggle.

**UNITY IS STRENGTH - BUILD THE UNITED FRONT !  
UNIONS AND UDP TOGETHER AGAINST BOTHA AND THE BOSSES !**

**C116**

*E. Kung'u Kenia: Durban*

~~NO 19~~ 27/8/87



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT  
NATAL REGION  
EVALUATION COMMITTEE  
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR AFFILIATES

Q.No. : \_\_\_\_\_  
*File C116"*

GUIDELINES :

(a) The Regional General Council (RGC) of the United Democratic Front (UDF) has decided to conduct an evaluation. The RGC wants to get the opinions and advice of affiliates on all aspects of UDF work. Your organisations co-operation in this matter will be appreciated.

(b) This questionnaire is required to be answered with the maximum participation of your membership.

(c) Openness and honesty is vital.

(d) Be brief.

(e) Please hand completed questionnaires to the UDF offices at St. Josephs by the 10th April 1984.

1. GENERAL

1.1 Name of your organisation	COMMITTEE OF CONCERN - VERULAM
1.2 when was your organisation formed	MAY 1983
1.3 when did your organisation join UDF	AUGUST 1983
1.4 what are the main aims/objectives of your organisation	

2. PERCEPTION OF UDF

2.1 why did your organisation join UDF	
--	--

2.2	what roles does your organisation see for UDF at a national level	
2.3	what are the 3 most important roles	
2.4	what roles does your organisation see for UDF at a regional/local level	
2.5	what are the 3 most important roles	
2.6	what does your organisation understand to be the objectives of the UDF	

3. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

3.1	what does your organisation understand the UDF's political philosophy to be?	
3.2	what is this body - a front or a political organisation	
3.3	what are the main differences between a front and a political organisation	
3.4	Does the UDF operate as a front or a political organisation - give reasons	

4. YOUR ORGANISATION

4.1	what are your organisation's expectations of the UDF in the struggle against the Constitution and the Koornhof Bills	
4.2	what are your organisation's expectations of the UDF in terms of your own programmes and activities	
4.3	what impact did the UDF make on your organisation	
4.4	how is information transmitted from your organisation to UDF	
4.5	how is information transmitted from UDF to your organisation	
4.6	how has your organisation promoted the UDF within your own membership/area	

5. UDF work

how has your organisation participated in/ worked on the following:

5.1	UDF News	
5.2	Launching of UDF	
5.3	Area Committees	
5.4	Regional Committee meetings	

(As adopted by the Organisations identified on Schedule A, on the  
15TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1984)

A. PREAMBLE:

WHEREAS:

1. We believe that the South African Government's Constitution Act does not merit support as it is not a move away from but rather an entrenchment of apartheid;
2. That the Constitution retains the unholy concept of racial separation;
3. That the Constitution further retains all the vexatious laws which have always been an affront to human dignity in the country;
4. That one of these laws seeks to justify the arbitrary resettlement of people, despite their rejection of the exercise, to places they do not want;

THEREFORE:

1. We, gathered here today, reject both the South African Government's Constitution Act and the so-called Koornhof Bills, which include the so-called Orderly Movement of Persons Bill;
2. We commit ourselves to fight these laws side by side with all other democratically inclined people who are engaged in similar efforts until the will of the majority of all the citizens of South Africa, without regard to race, becomes the only basis for the establishment of any constitutional design for the country;

2/... AND, THEREFORE ...

AND, THEREFORE:

3. To achieve this purpose, we establish in terms of the following working principles a regional branch of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT:

**B. NAME:**

The name of the region shall be the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT BORDER, hereinafter called UDF Border.

**C. AIMS & OBJECTS:**

1. To fight the Constitution Act and Koornhof Bills, in terms of the principles of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, hereinafter referred to as the FRONT.
2. To conduct general information campaigns to educate people about and mobilise mass resistance against the above-mentioned laws among people from all walks of life in the UDF Border area.
3. To organise support even among those who may not necessarily agree with the Front's general principles.
4. To encourage full participation in UDF Border from the individual to the organisational level.
5. To help interested people to establish people's organisations in the UDF Border area and encourage these organisations to join UDF Border.
6. To devise schemes and strategies for the development of a very strong UDF Border base, founded on energetic mass mobilisation at local level throughout the UDF Border area.

3/... D. JURISDICTION: ...

**D. JURISDICTION:**

1. UDF Border's jurisdiction shall extend over the area comprising the following centres and their country districts:-  
  
Adelaide; Alice; Bedford; Cathcart; Dobe/Middeldrift; Dimbaza; East London; Fort Beaufort; Keiskammahook; King William's Town; Poddie; Queenstown; Stutterheim/Ngwali.
2. UDF Border shall, if and when it becomes necessary, appoint delimitation committees to deal with the question of boundaries.

**E. MEMBERSHIP:**

1. Membership shall be open to any organisation, hereinafter called member organisations, in the area demarcated in C.1. above.
2. Organisations referred to in the foregoing paragraph shall subscribe to the ideals of UDF Border and the Front.
3. All organisations which adopt these Working Principles shall be regarded as having affiliated to UDF Border.
4. Organisations other than those referred to in the foregoing paragraph shall apply for affiliation to UDF Border.
5. UDF Border shall appoint Patrons, who shall then be accorded full membership status.

4/... F. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE..

ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE:

1. Local Unit:

- (a) Each of the centres and their country districts referred to in D.1. here-above, shall form a Local Unit, hereinafter called Unit.
- (b) Member organisations at the Unit shall:
  - (i) set up an administrative structure to co-ordinate the functioning of the Unit;
  - (ii) devise a programme of action to fulfil UDF Border's Aims and Objects;
  - (iii) appoint two representatives each to serve on the Regional General Council.
- (c) Unit meetings shall be open to all members of the member organisations, to encourage mass participation.
- (d) Notwithstanding the foregoing paragraph, member organisations shall appoint two representatives to attend special meetings, which shall be referred to as Unit Council Meetings.

2. Regional Body:

- (a) All the members of the Unit member organisations shall also be members of the regional body, hereinafter referred to as the Region, and shall participate fully in UDF Border's affairs.
- (b) There shall be a Regional General Council, which shall comprise two members each from the Unit member organisations.

5/... (c) The Region shall ...

(c) The Region shall:

- (i) affiliate to the Front;
- (ii) set up an administrative structure to co-ordinate the functioning of the Region;
- (iii) devise a programme of action to fulfil UDF Border's Aims and Objects.

3. Executive:

(a) Unit:

The Executive Committee of the Unit shall comprise:  
a: Chairperson; Deputy Chairperson; General Secretary; Publicity Secretary; Treasurer; Auditor; Organiser.

(b) Region:

The Regional Executive Committee shall comprise:  
a: President; Two Deputy Presidents; General Secretary; Publicity Secretary; Treasurer; Auditor; Organiser.

4. Sub-Committees:

Shall be elected at both Unit and Regional level for special assignments.

G. SUBSCRIPTIONS:

- 1. Member organisations shall pay a nominal annual subscription fee, to be decided upon by the Regional General Council.
- 2. UDF Border shall use part of the subscription fees so collected to pay its subscription fees to the Front.

6/... H. FINANCE: ...

II. FINANCE:

- (i) The Region shall operate, through the Treasurer, a cheque bank account, whose co-signatories shall be the Treasurer and General Secretary or an additional executive member, to be appointed by General Council.
- (ii) A proper record of all financial transactions shall be kept by the Treasurer, who shall submit financial reports and statements at the request of General Council.
- (iii) All fund-raising shall be done at Regional level.

I. MISCELLANEOUS:

- (i) UDF Border shall not tamper with the structures; aims and objects of member organisations.
- (ii) UDF Border shall merely be a front for these organisations.
- (iii) UDF Border, recognising and accepting the principle of free association, shall not force any organisation to retain its links with the Front.
- (iv) UDF Border shall appoint, from time to time when necessary, disciplinary committees to deal with matters of discipline and, UDF Border, acting at the instance of the majority of member organisations at General Council, shall withdraw any member organisation's membership on the basis of discipline.
- (v) UDF Border shall assist member organisations in their campaigns and other activities related to UDF Border's programme of action, provided such participation is sanctioned by the majority of UDF Border's general membership.
- (vi) Amendments and additions to those Working Principles shall be adopted by a simple majority of member organisations at a Regional General Council meeting.

UDF BORDER

SCHEDULE "A"

ORGANISATION	REPRESENTATIVE
1. E.L. DESCOM	1. <del>...</del> (S. MINTSILAMA) 2. <del>...</del> (F. TONGO)
2. NATIONAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION	1. <del>...</del> (M. MGABELA) 2. <del>...</del>
3. DOMESTIC WORKERS UNION	1. <del>...</del> (Z. MABUTO) 2. <del>...</del> (N. THOMAS)
4. SAANY (E.L.)	1. <del>...</del> (S. NDEVO) 2. <del>...</del>
5. SHALU (QUEENSTOWN)	1. <del>...</del> (L. MABUNA) 2. <del>...</del> (N. LUPPELE)
6. AFCWU (E.L.)	1. N. MALLIB P.L. (N. MARIKWI) 2. <del>...</del>
7. AFCWU (QUEENSTOWN)	1. <del>...</del> (G.S. THOMAS) 2. <del>...</del> (T.M. MASHEBA)
8. AFRICAN CULTURE & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOC	1. <del>...</del> (R. MARIKWA) 2. T. NDIKAWA (T. NDIKAWA)
9. E.L. YOUTH COUNCIL	1. <del>...</del> (E. DUNA) 2. <del>...</del> (N. KASA)
10. MABUSANE BUILDING ASSOC.	1. <del>...</del> (J. MGABELA) 2. <del>...</del> (M. MSOKI)
11. COMS (E.L.)	1. <del>...</del> (M. MABU) 2. <del>...</del> (M. SINGUMU)
12. COMS (SABA)	1. <del>...</del> (D. SILU) 2. <del>...</del> (C. MQUANA)
13. COMS (QUEENSTOWN)	1. <del>...</del> (L. MULLIWA) 2. <del>...</del> (T. SAMUEL)
14. E.L. YOUTH ORGANISATION	1. <del>...</del> (Y. MATI) 2. <del>...</del> (S. VANI)
15. AZADO	1. <del>...</del> (P. Z. THOMAS) 2. <del>...</del> (Y. LUDUNANA)
16. KING WILLIAM'S TOWN ALLIANCE COMMITTEE	1. <del>...</del> (M.D. NINGI) 2. <del>...</del> (T. NIKELI)
17. QUEENSTOWN YOUTH COUNCIL	1. <del>...</del> (L. NOMEVA) 2. <del>...</del> (M. YANDA)

**C122**

CDF Jhr  
+ T Mohamed Jhr



1. Bamthatha bamthatha, bambeka eDiepkloof / John Vorster *Beis "C" 122*  
 Wasuke wakhala, wathi 'amandla'  
 Kawuthetha Descom thetha (They took her, they are  
 Thetha Descom thetha (3x) holding her at Diepkloof, don't cry  
 speak out)
2. Hlanganani basebenzi, hlanganani (2x)  
 Ikhona inhlango i UDF / yabasebenzi (4x) (Unite workers, unite!)
3. Kubi kubi bo  
 Siyaya, siyaya, siyaya noba kubi  
 Yatsho UDF Siyaya etc.  
 Watsho Archie / Mpetha Siyaya etc-  
 e Parlemele Siyaya etc.  
 nase majele Siyaya etc. (We will go forward despite hardship)
4. We shall not, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like a tree that's standing by the water  
 We shall not be moved.  
 UDF's behind us, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like .....  
 We reject the new proposals, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like.....  
 Let Koornhof pay his own bills, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like.....  
 Our unity's our power, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like.....
5. Thina silulusha - lalapha eAfrica(x2) (We are the youth, we shall  
 Asoze sibulawa guBotha sisebasha (x2) not be killed by Botha)
6. uMacheli wayithath' iMozambique  
 Umbhayimbhayi bekhona (2x)  
 Bekhona .....  
 Umbhayimbhayi babo bekhona  
 Zikhona (2x)  
 nezimpimpi zabo zikhona  
 NayuNeto wayithatha iAngola  
 Umbhayimbhayi etc..  
 NayuFronti wayithatha iZimbabwe .....  
 uNojomo zoyithath' iNamibia .....

Next meetings of Area Committees:

- West : to be decided today  
 East : Sunday 9 October 5.30 p.m. I23 Moller Street  
 Central : Sunday 9 October 3.30 p.m. I9 St. George's Street

Next meetings of interest groups:

- Public meeting: 5.30 Monday 3 October SRC  
 Media : 7.00 Sunday 2 October MARS  
 Culture : 6.00 Monday 3 October SRC  
 Education : to be decided  
 Anti-Ciskei : 5.30 Friday 7 Oct. SRC

7. Nkosi sikelela Afrika  
 Maluphakanyiswi mphondo lwayo  
 Yizwa imithandazo yethu  
 Nkosi sikelela  
 Thina lusapho lwayo  
 Woza moya (2x)  
 Oyingcwele

Morena boloka sechaba sa heso  
 O fedise dintwa le ma tshwenyoho  
 Morena boloka sechaba sa heso  
 O fedise dintwa le matshwenyeho  
 O seboloke (2x)  
 O seboloke morena (first part)  
 O seboloke  
 Sechaba sa heso (2x)

Makube njalo (2x) Kuze kube  
 ngunaphakade  
 Kuze kube ngunaphakade

8.

(To the tune of "John Brown's Body")

1. When the <sup>G</sup>Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run  
 There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.  
 Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?  
 But the <sup>Am G D7 G</sup>Union makes us strong.

Chorus:

<sup>G</sup>Solidarity forever! <sup>C</sup>Solidarity forever!  
<sup>G Em</sup>Solidarity forever! <sup>Am G D7 G</sup>For the Union makes us strong.

2. Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite  
 Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?  
 Is there anything left to us but to organise and fight?  
 For the Union makes us strong.
3. It is we who ploughed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;  
 Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.  
 Now we stand, outcast and starving, 'midst the wonders we have made;  
 But the Union makes us strong.
4. All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours, and ours alone.  
 We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.  
 It is ours - not to slave in, but to master and to own,  
 While the Union makes us strong.
5. They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,  
 But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.  
 We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn  
 That the Union makes us strong.
6. In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;  
 Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand-fold.  
 We can bring to birth a new world, from the ashes of the old.  
 For the Union makes us strong.

9. PIECE OF GROUND

When the white people came here from over the sea  
 They looked and they said this is god's own country  
 And they offered up thanks for this land that they'd found  
 And they said we will make this our own piece of ground.

But many is the battle they still had to fight  
 And many is the family that died in the night  
 And many were the black people that lived all around  
 All of them working their own piece of ground.

And then came the day in the 1880's  
 When gold was discovered in great quantity.  
 Now the country was richer than was dreamed or was planned  
 But each digger wanted his own piece of land.

The white diggers were few and the gold it was deep  
 So the black man was called and his labour bought cheap  
 For 6 pennies a day they were sent down  
 To dig out the gold from the white master's ground.

So the country became rich but it seems strange to me  
 that the people who's labour has helped this to be  
 Get so little share of the wealth that abounds  
 But they've been uprooted and kicked from their own piece of ground.

Ah yes people say but don't you worry  
 we'll give you a homeland and then you'll be free  
 Ah but where is the freedom when 10 million are found  
 on a miserable 13% of this ground.

Ah yes people say but don't you worry  
 You can always find work in the white man's city  
 But don't stay too long don't put your roots down too deep  
 For you might just disturb the white master's sleep.

Master don't sleep too long and don't sleep too deep  
 And don't be too sure that this silence will keep  
 For I've heard a rumour that running around.  
 That the people are coming to claim back their ground.

-----

1. One Friday night it happened, some years after we were wed  
 When my old man came in from work, as usual I said:  
 "Your tea is on the table, clean clothes are on the rack  
 Your bath'll soon be ready, I'll come up & scrub your back."  
 He kissed me very tenderly, and said: "I tell you flat,  
 The service I give my machine ain't half as good as that."  
 Chorus:  
 I said: "I'm not your little woman, your sweetheart or your dear.  
 I'm a wage slave without wages, I'm a Maintenance Engineer!"
2. Well then we got to talking, I told him how I felt  
 How I keep him running just as smooth as some conveyor belt.  
 For after all, it's I'm the one provides the power supply  
 (He goes just like the clappers on my steak & kidney pie).  
 His fittings are all shiny cos I keep'em nice and clean  
 And he tells me his machine tool is the best I've ever seen...
3. The terms of my employment would make your hair turn grey  
 I have to be on call, you see, for 24 hours a day.  
 I quite enjoy the perks though, when I'm working through the night  
 For we get satisfaction - at least, he will and then I might.  
 If I keep up full production, I shall have a kid or two  
 So some future boss can have a brand new labour force to screw.
4. The truth began to dawn then, how I keep him fit and trim  
 So the boss can make a nice fat profit out of me and him.  
 And as a solid Union man he got in quite a rage,  
 To think that we're both working hard and getting one man's wage.  
 I said: "And what about the part time packing job I do!  
 That's three men that I work for love, my boss, your boss and you!"
5. He looked a little sheepish and he said: "As from today  
 The lads and me will see what we can do on equal pay.  
 Would you like a housewives' Union, do you think you should be paid,  
 As a cook and as a cleaner, as a nurse and as a maid?"  
 I said: "Don't jump the gun, love. If you did your share at home,  
 Perhaps I'd have the time to fight some battles of my own."
6. "I've often heard you tell me how you'll pull the bosses down.  
 You'll never do it, brother, while you're bossing ME around.  
 Till women join the struggle, married, single, white or black,  
 You're fighting with a blindfold and one arm behind your back."  
 The message has got over...he has realised at last  
 That Power to the Sisters means Power to the Class.....

#### JOIN UDF.

Look around you carefully with open eyes and you will see  
 That theres oppresion here its not a myth but a reality  
 In this 'democratic' land, democracy is in white hands.  
 The black mass has no say this democracy is not O K .

CHORUS: COME ON? STAND UP  
 STAND TOGETHER JOIN UDF 2x

All over S A people are uniting now  
 Injustice and exploitation is what they are fighting now  
 The blacks ,some whites, they know that things aren't right  
 Together they decide what must be done is to be done.

CHORUS : COME ON STAND UP  
 STAND TOGETHER JOIN UDF

We must get organized you will hear the people say  
 Boycotts, pamphlets, workers strikes and stayaways.  
 Representation, away with discrimination  
 With lives we have paid the struggle goes on  
 It won't fade away, fade away .....

CHORUS: COME ON STAND UP "  
 STAND TOGETHER JOIN UDF 3x .....

1. Bamthatha bamthatha, bambeka eDiepkloof / John Vorster  
Wasuke wakhala, wathi 'amandla'  
Kawuthetha Descom thetha  
Thetha Descom thetha (3x) (They took her, they are holding her at Diepkloof, don't cry speak out)
2. Hlanganani basebenzi; hlanganani (2x)  
Ikhona inhlango 1 UDF / yabasebenzi (4x) (Unite workers, unite!)
3. Kubi kubi bo  
Siyaya, siyaya, siyaya noba kubi  
Yatsho UDF Siyaya etc.  
Watsho Archie / Mpetha Siyaya etc-  
e Parleme nte Siyaya etc.  
nase majele Siyaya etc. (We will go forward despite hardship)
4. We shall not, we shall not be moved (2x)  
Just like a tree that's standing by the water  
We shall not be moved.  
  
UDF's behind us, we shall not be moved (2x)  
Just like .....  
We reject the new proposals, we shall not be moved (2x)  
Just like.....  
Let Koornhof pay his own bills, we shall not be moved (2x)  
Just like.....  
Our unity's our power, we shall not be moved (2x)  
Just like.....
5. Thina silulusha - lalapha eAfrica(x2) (We are the youth, we shall not be killed by Botha)  
Asoze sibulawa guBotha sisebasha (x2)
6. uMacheli wayithath' iMozambique  
Umbhayimbhayi bekhona (2x)  
Bekhona  
Umbhayimbhayi babo bekhona  
Zikhona (2x)  
nezimpimpi zabo zikhona  
  
NayuNeto wayithatha iAngola  
Umbhayimbhayi etc..  
  
NayuFronti wayithatha iZimbabwe .....  
  
uNojomo zoyithath' iNamibia .....

Next meetings of Area Committees:

West : to be decided today  
East : Sunday 9 October 5.30 p.m. I23 Moller Street  
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Next meetings of interest groups:

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Media : 7.00 Sunday 2 October MARS  
Culture : 6.00 Monday 3 October SRC  
Education : to be decided  
Anti-Ciskei : 5.30 Friday 7 Oct. SRC

(As adopted by the Organisations identified on Schedule A, on the  
15<sup>TH</sup> DAY OF JANUARY, 1984)

A. PREAMBLE:

WHEREAS:

1. We believe that the South African Government's Constitution Act does not merit support as it is not a move away from but rather an entrenchment of apartheid;
2. That the Constitution retains the unholy concept of racial separation;
3. That the Constitution further retains all the vexatious laws which have always been an affront to human dignity in the country;
4. That one of these laws seeks to justify the arbitrary resettlement of people, despite their rejection of the exercise, to places they do not want;

THEREFORE:

1. We, gathered here today, reject both the South African Government's Constitution Act and the so-called Koornhof Bills, which include the so-called Orderly Movement of Persons Bill;
2. We commit ourselves to fight these laws side by side with all other democratically inclined people who are engaged in similar efforts until the will of the majority of all the citizens of South Africa, without regard to race, becomes the only basis for the establishment of any constitutional design for the country;

2/... AND, THEREFORE ...

AND, THEREFORE:

3. To achieve this purpose, we establish in terms of the following working principles a regional branch of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT:

B. NAME:

The name of the region shall be the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT BORDER, hereinafter called UDF Border.

C. AIMS & OBJECTS:

1. To fight the Constitution Act and Koornhof Bills, in terms of the principles of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, hereinafter referred to as the FRONT.
2. To conduct general information campaigns to educate people about and mobilise mass resistance against the above-mentioned laws among people from all walks of life in the UDF Border area.
3. To organise support even among those who may not necessarily agree with the Front's general principles.
4. To encourage full participation in UDF Border from the individual to the organisational level.
5. To help interested people to establish people's organisations in the UDF Border area and encourage those organisations to join UDF Border.
6. To devise schemes and strategies for the development of a very strong UDF Border base, founded on energetic mass mobilisation at local level throughout the UDF Border area.

3/... D. JURISDICTION: ...

D. JURISDICTION:

1. UDF Border's jurisdiction shall extend over the area comprising the following centres and their country districts:-

Adelaide; Alice; Bedford; Cathcart; Dobo/Middeldrift; Dimbaza; East London; Fort Beaufort; Kwaikamaahook; King William's Town; Poddie; Queenstown; Stutterheim/Mgwali.

2. UDF Border shall, if and when it becomes necessary, appoint delimitation committees to deal with the question of boundaries.

E. MEMBERSHIP:

1. Membership shall be open to any organisation, hereinafter called member organisations, in the area demarcated in C.1. above.
2. Organisations referred to in the foregoing paragraph shall subscribe to the ideals of UDF Border and the Front.
3. All organisations which adopt these Working Principles shall be regarded as having affiliated to UDF Border.
4. Organisations other than those referred to in the foregoing paragraph shall apply for affiliation to UDF Border.
5. UDF Border shall appoint Patrons, who shall then be accorded full membership status.

4/... F. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE..

**F. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE:**

**1. Local Unit:**

- (a) Each of the centros and their country districts referred to in D.1. here-above, shall form a Local Unit, hereinafter called Unit.
- (b) Member organisations at the Unit shall:
  - (i) set up an administrative structure to co-ordinate the functioning of the Unit;
  - (ii) devise a programme of action to fulfil UDF Border's Aims and Objects;
  - (iii) appoint two representatives each to serve on the Regional General Council.
- (c) Unit meetings shall be open to all members of the member organisations, to encourage mass participation.
- (d) Notwithstanding the foregoing paragraph, member organisations shall appoint two representatives to attend special meetings, which shall be referred to as Unit Council Meetings.

**2. Regional Body:**

- (a) All the members of the Unit member organisations shall also be members of the regional body, hereinafter referred to as the Region, and shall participate fully in UDF Border's affairs.
- (b) There shall be a Regional General Council, which shall comprise two members each from the Unit member organisations.

5/... (c) The Region shall ...

(c) The Region shall:

- (i) affiliate to the Front;
- (ii) set up an administrative structure to co-ordinate the functioning of the Region;
- (iii) devise a programme of action to fulfil UDF Border's Aims and Objects.

**3. Executive:**

(a) Unit:

The Executive Committee of the Unit shall comprise:  
a: Chairperson; Deputy Chairperson; General Secretary; Publicity Secretary; Treasurer; Auditor; Organiser.

(b) Region:

The Regional Executive Committee shall comprise:  
a: President; Two Deputy Presidents; General Secretary; Publicity Secretary; Treasurer; Auditor; Organiser.

**4. Sub-Committees:**

Shall be elected at both Unit and Regional level for special assignments.

**G. SUBSCRIPTIONS:**

- 1. Member organisations shall pay a nominal annual subscription fee, to be decided upon by the Regional General Council.
- 2. UDF Border shall use part of the subscription fees so collected to pay its subscription fees to the Front.

6/... H. FINANCES: ...



II. FINANCE:

- (i) The Region shall operate, through the Treasurer, a cheque bank account, whose co-signatories shall be the Treasurer and General Secretary or an additional executive member, to be appointed by General Council.
- (ii) A proper record of all financial transactions shall be kept by the Treasurer, who shall submit financial reports and statements at the request of General Council.
- (iii) All fund-raising shall be done at Regional level.

I. MISCELLANEOUS:

- (i) UDF Border shall not tamper with the structures; aims and objects of member organisations.
- (ii) UDF Border shall merely be a front for these organisations.
- (iii) UDF Border, recognising and accepting the principle of free association, shall not force any organisation to retain its links with the Front.
- (iv) UDF Border shall appoint, from time to time when necessary, disciplinary committees to deal with matters of discipline and, UDF Border, acting at the instance of the majority of member organisations at General Council, shall withdraw any member organisation's membership on the basis of discipline.
- (v) UDF Border shall assist member organisations in their campaigns and other activities related to UDF Border's programme of action, provided such participation is sanctioned by the majority of UDF Border's general membership.
- (vi) Amendments and additions to those Working Principles shall be adopted by a simple majority of member organisations at a Regional General Council meeting.

UDF BORDER

SCHEDULE "A"

ORGANISATION	REPRESENTATIVE
1. E.L. DESIGNS	1) <del>...</del> (S. MINTSILANA) 2) <del>...</del> (F. TONGO)
2. NATIONAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION	1) <del>...</del> (M. MGABELA) 2) <del>...</del>
3. DOMESTIC WORKERS UNION	1) <del>...</del> (Z. MABUTO) 2) <del>...</del> (N. THOMAS)
4. SAAWU (E.L.)	1) <del>...</del> (S. NDEVO) 2) <del>...</del>
5. SAAWU (QUEENSTOWN)	1) <del>...</del> (L. MABUNA) 2) <del>...</del> (N. LUPALE)
6. AFEWU (E.L.)	1) N. MALLIB P.L. (N. MAMBELENI) 2) <del>...</del>
7. AFEWU (QUEENSTOWN)	1) <del>...</del> (G.S. THOMAS) 2) <del>...</del> (T.M. MASHEBA)
8. AFRICAN CULTURE & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSN	1) <del>...</del> (R. MIPISA) 2) T. NDIKANA (T. NDIKANA)
9. E.L. YOUTH CONGRESS	1) <del>...</del> (E. DUNA) 2) <del>...</del> (N. KASA)
10. MABUTSANE BUSINESS ASSN.	1) <del>...</del> (J. MGABELA) 2) <del>...</del> (M. MSAKI)
11. COMAS (E.L.)	1) M. Madyo (M. MABZO) 2) M. Singuma (M. SINGUMA)
12. COMAS (SABA)	1) S. SILEVO (S. SILEVO) 2) C. Mqana (C. Mqana)
13. COMAS (QUEENSTOWN)	1) L. Mlhamu (L. MLIHAMANA) 2) T. Samuel (T. SAMUEL)
14. E.L. YOUTH ORGANISATION	1) <del>...</del> (Y. MATI) 2) <del>...</del> (S. VANI)
15. AZAPO	1) <del>...</del> (P. Z. TUMMASE) 2) <del>...</del> (Y. LUDJUNANA)
16. KING BILINA'S TOWN ACTION COMMITTEE	1) <del>...</del> (M.D. HINGE) 2) <del>...</del> (T. NUBELE)
17. QUEENSTOWN YOUTH CONGRESS	1) <del>...</del> (L. NOMEVA) 2) <del>...</del> (M. YANDA)

**C122**

CADF plus  
+ T Mohammed plus

1. Bamthatha bamthatha, bambeka eDiepkloof / John Vorster *Beis "C" 122*  
 Wasuke wakhala, wathi 'amandla'  
 Kawuthetha Descom thetha  
 Thetha Descom thetha (3x) (They took her, they are holding her at Diepkloof, don't cry speak out)
2. Hlanganani basebenzi, hlanganani (2x)  
 Ikhona inhlango 1 UDF / yabasebenzi (4x) (Unite workers, unite!)
3. Kubi kubi bo  
 Siyaya, siyaya, siyaya noba kubi  
 Yatsho UDF Siyaya etc.  
 Watsho Archie / Mpetha Siyaya etc-  
 e Parlemeute Siyaya etc.  
 nase majele Siyaya etc. (We will go forward despite hardship)
4. We shall not, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like a tree that's standing by the water  
 We shall not be moved.  
 UDF's behind us, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like .....  
 We reject the new proposals, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like.....  
 Let Koornhof pay his own bills, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like.....  
 Our unity's our power, we shall not be moved (2x)  
 Just like.....
5. Thina silulusha - lalapha eAfrica(x2) (We are the youth, we shall not be killed by Botha)  
 Asoze sibulawa guBotha sisebasha (x2)
6. uMacheli wayithath' iMozambique  
 Umbhayimbhayi bekhona (2x)  
 Bekhona .....  
 Umbhayimbhayi babo bekhona  
 Zikhona (2x)  
 nezimpimpi zabo zikhona  
 NayuNeto wayithatha iAngola  
 Umbhayimbhayi etc..  
 NayuFronti wayithatha iZimbabwe .....  
 uNojomo zoyithath' iNamibia .....

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 Media : 7.00 Sunday 2 October MARS  
 Culture : 6.00 Monday 3 October SRC  
 Education : to be decided  
 Anti-Ciskei : 5.30 Friday 7 Oct. SRC

7. Nkosi sikelela Afrika  
 Maluphakanyiswi mphondo lwayo  
 Yizwa imithandazo yethu  
 Nkosi sikelela  
 Thina lusapho lwayo  
 Woza moya (2x)  
 Oyingcwele

Morena boloka sechaba sa heso  
 O fedise dintwa le ma tshwenyoho  
 Morena boloka sechaba sa heso  
 O fedise dintwa le matshwenyeho  
 O seboloke (2x)  
 O seboloke morena (first part)  
 O seboloke  
 Sechaba sa heso (2x)

Makube njalo (2x) Kuze kube  
 ngunaphakade  
 Kuze kube ngunaphakade

8.

(To the tune of "John Brown's Body")

1. When the <sup>G</sup>Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run  
 There can be no power greater anywhere <sup>G</sup>beneath the sun.  
 Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one? <sup>G</sup> <sup>B7</sup> <sup>Em</sup>  
 But the <sup>Am</sup> <sup>G</sup>Union makes us <sup>D7</sup> <sup>G</sup>strong.

Chorus:

<sup>G</sup>Solidarity forever! <sup>C</sup>Solidarity forever!  
<sup>G</sup> <sup>Em</sup> <sup>Am</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D7</sup> <sup>G</sup>  
 Solidarity forever! For the Union makes us strong.

2. Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite  
 Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?  
 Is there anything left to us but to organise and fight?  
 For the Union makes us strong.
3. It is we who ploughed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;  
 Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.  
 Now we stand, outcast and starving, 'midst the wonders we have made;  
 But the Union makes us strong.
4. All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours, and ours alone.  
 We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.  
 It is ours - not to slave in, but to master and to own,  
 While the Union makes us strong.
5. They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,  
 But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.  
 We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn  
 That the Union makes us strong.
6. In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;  
 Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand-fold.  
 We can bring to birth a new world, from the ashes of the old.  
 For the Union makes us strong.

9. PIECE OF GROUND

When the white people came here from over the sea  
 They looked and they said this is god's own country  
 And they offered up thanks for this land that they'd found  
 And they said we will make this our own piece of ground.

But many is the battle they still had to fight  
 And many is the family that died in the night  
 And many were the black people that lived all around  
 All of them working their own piece of ground.

And then came the day in the 1880's  
 When gold was discovered in great quantity.  
 Now the country was richer than was dreamed or was planned  
 But each digger wanted his own piece of land.

The white diggers were few and the gold it was deep  
 So the black man was called and his labour bought cheap  
 For 6 pennies a day they were sent down  
 To dig out the gold from the white master's ground.

So the country became rich but it seems strange to me  
 that the people who's labour has helped this to be  
 Get so little share of the wealth that abounds  
 But they've been uprooted and kicked from their own piece of ground,

Ah yes people say but don't you worry  
 we'll give you a homeland and then you'll be free  
 Ah but where is the freedom when 10 million are found  
 on a miserable 13% of this ground.

Ah yes people say but don't you worry  
 You can always find work in the white man's city  
 But don't stay too long don't put your roots down too deep  
 For you might just disturb the white master's sleep.

Master don't sleep too long and don't sleep too deep  
 And don't be too sure that this silence will keep  
 For I've heard a rumour that running around.  
 That the people are coming to claim back their ground.

-----

1. Bamthatha bamthatha, bambeka eDiepkloof / John Vorster  
Wasuke wakhala, wathi 'amandla'  
Kawuthetha Descom thetha  
Thetha Descom thetha (3x) (They took her, they are holding her at Diepkloof, don't cry speak out)
  
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(To the tune of "John Brown's Body")

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 There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.  
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 But the Union makes us strong.

Chorus:

Solidarity forever! Solidarity forever!  
 Solidarity forever! For the Union makes us strong.

2. Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite  
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 It is ours - not to slave in, but to master and to own,  
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5. They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,  
 But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.  
 We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn  
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 When gold was discovered in great quantity.  
 Now the country was richer than was dreamed or was planned  
 But each digger wanted his own piece of land.

The white diggers were few and the gold it was deep  
 So the black man was called and his labour bought cheap  
 For 6 pennies a day they were sent down  
 To dig out the gold from the white master's ground.

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 Get so little share of the wealth that abounds  
 But they've been uprooted and kicked from their own piece of ground,

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 we'll give you a homeland and then you'll be free  
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 on a miserable 13% of this ground.

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 But don't stay too long don't put your roots down too deep  
 For you might just disturb the white master's sleep.

Master don't sleep too long and don't sleep too deep  
 And don't be too sure that this silence will keep  
 For I've heard a rumour that running around.  
 That the people are coming to claim back their ground.

-----



**C123** *AAJS*

*E. Kungobus*  
*Don*

NKOSI SIKELIL 'iFRICA

Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica  
Maluphakanisw' udumo lwayo  
yizwa imithandazo yethu  
Nkosi sikelela  
Thina lusapho lwayo

Woza moya  
Sikelela Nkosi sikelela  
Woza moya oyingcwele  
Usisikelela thina lusapho lwayo

Morena boloke sechaba saheso  
O fedise dintwa le matshweyeho

O se boloke  
O se boloke morena  
Sechaba saheso x2

Makube njalo x2  
Kude kube nguaphakade x2

ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA FREEDOM IS IN YOUR HANDS

Rolihlahala Mandela freedom is in your hands  
Show us now the way to freedom  
In this land of Africa.

Mandela Mandela Mandela  
Freedom is in your hands  
Away with slavery  
In this land of Africa

Mandela Mandela  
Mandela let's fight for freedom  
Freedom is in your hands x2  
When we say away with slavery x2  
In this land of Africa X2

uSAMORA WAYITHATH' iMOZAMBIQUE

uSamora wayithath' iMozambique  
Izimpimpi zabo zikhona x2

Chorus

Zazikhona! Izimpimpi zabo zikhona  
Nezibhamu zabo zikhona

uMugabe wayithath' iZimbabwe  
Izimpimpi zabo zikhona x2

Chorus

uNujoma uzoyithatha iNamibia  
Izimpimpi zabo zikhona x2

Chorus

WORKERS' SONG

Rev "C" 1234

When the union's inspiration through the  
blood shall run  
There can be no power greater anywhere  
beneath the sun  
For what force on earth is weaker than the  
feeble strength of one  
For the union makes us strong.

Chorus:

Solidarity forever x3  
For the union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they  
never toiled to earn  
But without our brain and muscle not a  
single wheel would turn  
But we can break their mighty power, earn  
freedom when we learn  
That the union makes us strong.

Chorus:

THE ROOT (tune- Die Stem)

From the mouths of starving children  
To the malnutrition bound  
From the banned on Robben Island  
To the chained in Africa  
We will always stand united  
To the call of our freedom  
We will stand up for our dignity  
We will never be subservient  
To the things that hold us down  
We will fight for all our people  
In our land Africa.

SENZENINA

Senzenina senzenina X4  
Sono sethu ubunnyama X4  
Amabhulu ayizinga X4  
Mayibuye iAfrica x4

OPEN BOTHA

Open Botha

We are knocking (clap clap) x2  
Release Mandela, our leader x2

FREEDOM ISN'T FREE

freedom isn't free x2  
You got to pay the price  
You got to sacrifice  
'Cos freedom isn't free

Freedom isn't free x2  
You got to organize  
You got to mobilize  
'Cos freedom isn't free

## UNZIMA

Unzima lomtwalo ufuna madoda  
Unzima lomtwalo  
Ufuna madoda

Asikhathali nomasyaboshwa  
Sizimseli nkululekho x2

Chorus:  
nkululekho, nkululekho  
nkululekho asinayo

Teena banthwana bas iAfrica  
Sizimseli nkululekho  
Chorus:

## DONDER DONDER

On the campus sit the students  
chanting songs with a militant eye  
All around them there are riot cops  
Give your names or they'll baton-charge

Chorus:  
How the world is crying  
It cries with all its might  
All verligtes to the left  
Verkrampstes to the right  
Donder X4  
Donder donder donder don  
Donder X4  
Cops we're gonna donder you.

Kids are easily bound and slaughtered  
Never knowing the reason why  
But whoever treasures freedom  
Like those kids must stand up now

Chorus.

Stop complaining, said the rector  
Who asked you a black to be  
Why can't you be wealthy, rich like me  
And together we'll rob the poor.

Chorus:

## IKHAMBALKHA

iKhambalekha Nelson Mandela  
(Oliver Tambo)  
(Freedom Charter)

Malibongwe x2

Chorus:  
Malibongwe x4

## THEY CALLED THE COPS

They called the cops (clap clap)  
All dressed in blue " "  
He's after me " "  
He's after you " "  
He's got a gun " "  
He's got a knife " "  
You'd better fight " "  
For your rights " "

Repeat.

## REPUBLIC SONG

For they are jolly good oppressors x3  
And so say all of us x3

For they are jolly good oppressors x3  
And so say all of us.

For this is a fascist republic x3  
(nazi).  
And so say all of us x3

## AG MAN

Ag man Burger man  
Don't be a sucker man  
\*Give us students a chance to grow  
Textbooks, ballpens, t-shirts and dungarees  
Batons and teargas  
We'll all stand united!

Ag man Ollie man  
Don't be a Broeder man  
(Repeat from \* to \*).

## KHUMBAYA

Khumbaya my lord, khumbaya x3  
Oh Lord, khumbaya.

We are suffering, Lord khumbaya x3  
Oh Lord, khumbaya.

We shall fight my Lord....

We shall win, my Lord.....

**C124**

*Y Dadoo*  
*(Cape Town)*

Bew "C" 124

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Nkosi sikelele IAFirka  
Malu Phakamisu uphondolwayo  
Yizwe imitandazo yetu  
Nkosi sikelele, Nkosi sikelele  
REPEAT

God save Africa  
Let its horn be lifted  
Hear our prayers  
God bless, God bless.

LEAD VOICES: Woza moya  
CHORUS: Woza woza  
LEAD VOICES: Woza moya  
CHORUS : Woza woza  
ALL : Woza moya, oyingcwele  
Nkosi sikelele  
Thina losaphulwayo

Come spirit  
Come come  
Come spirit  
" "  
Come holy spirit  
God save us  
Its inhabitants

Morena boloka sechaba sahesu  
Ufedise dintwale matsoenyeho  
REPEAT

God save our nation  
End all war and suffering.

LEAD VOICES: O se boloke  
CHORUS : O se boloke  
LEAD VOICES: O se boloke morena  
CHORUS : O se boloke  
ALL : Sechaba sahesu, sechaba  
sahesu  
REPEAT

Save it....  
"  
"  
"  
our nation  
our nation

PARNA JANDA

Bazi e jane ispe lagana  
Parna janda ye niche jockana

Ye mehnat ka soonka sahara  
Jisne chamka diya he sitara,  
Ispe aaye musebut oothana  
Parna janda Ye niche jockana

Ye mezdoore ki he nichani  
Is ki darde bari he kahani  
Ye rahe to rahe zindagani  
Na jooke to mitado jawani,  
Ooski iscoorkhi ke khoonse barhana  
Parna janda ye niche jockana

Jab aazadi ki bookh logi thi  
To goli jalyan me chali  
Yaad ho golion ka wokhana  
Parna janda ye niche jockana

Oon shahidon ke kabraw pejana  
Phoole aansoo ke oonpar charana  
Oon ki barsal jalse manana,  
Jispe khoonki kahani soonana,  
Soonker kanpe ka zaalim zamana ,  
Parna janda ye niche jockana.

**C125**

I Mohammed  
Jab

1. One line  
uphi Thoz' bo  
u Thoz' usesihedlele bafan'
2. Angena 'majoni amajoni aseAfrika (2x)  
Masiye masiye kusebenaza  
Umsebenzi waseAfrika (2x)  
Umkhulu umkhulu lomsebenzi  
Umsebenzi wenkhululeko (2x)  
uMandela ufuna amajoni  
Amajoni wenkhululeko. (2x)
3. Kubi kubi ba siyaya siyaya noba kubi  
Watsho Sisulu.... (Watsho Samson...)
4. Mandela wethu (somlandela 2x) / we shal follow him  
Noba siyaboshwa (somlandela 2x) / despite detention  
Nase majele (somlandela) / even in jail
5. Aggett wethu  
sofel' etilongweni Aggett (2x) / we're going to die in jail  
(Siyaya siyabuya) siyaya siyabuya / we go in, we come out...  
sofel' etilongweni Aggett wethu (2x)
6. (Akanatyala akanatyala...)  
Release those detainees whose only crime  
Is to work for the freedom of all people in our time  
Mandela... is our comrade, his only crime  
Is to work for the freedom of all people in our time.  
Amandla ngawethu mayibuye amandla ngawethu iAfrika.  
uOscar Mphetha uyathathwa uOscar Mphetha akanatyala.
7. Bamthatha (2x) bambe ka eBrandfort / Island / Central / polsmoor / Joh'burg  
Wasuka wakhala wathi "AMANDLA" (2x)  
Khawuthethe Winnie / Nelson / Dennis / Mphetha / Lizzie... Cedric... Barbara  
thetha thetha Winnie thetha  
thetha Winnie thetha khulul' isizwe. (2x)
8. Unzima lomthwalo ufuna manina  
Unzima lomthwalo ufuna madoda  
Asikhathali noba siyaboshwa  
Sizimisele inkhululeko.
9. Simanyen' isizwe  
Ayangena ayaphuma ayadidizela  
Ayasaba amagwala (amaBhulu)  
Wenangw' ebaleka  
Ayasaba amagwala (amaBhulu)
10. Phalele bonke etilongweni (2x)  
(Hi)ne (hi)ne (hi)ne helele (2x)  
Nanku nanku nanku Mandela / Sisulu / Rob Adam / Mandla / Prema / Sarish  
Nanku nanku etilongweni  
Hine helel' Afrika  
Ai, zonkeni zonkeni  
Phahlele bonke etilongweni (2x)
11. Siti kwaza...  
Kwaza kwaz' umkhonto ka Shaka ma (2x)  
Yele yele (repeat)
12. Mandela, Mandela  
Leader: Mandela, Mandela  
Others: Mandela says fight for freedom  
L: Freedom is in our hands  
O: " " " " "  
L: Show us the way to freedom  
O: " " " " " "  
L: In our land of Afrika  
O: " " " " "
- Bew' C.

We shall not be moved

We shall not, we shall not be moved  
We shall not, we shall not be moved  
Just like a tree that's standing by the water  
We shall not be moved.

The movement is behind us.....  
We are workers all together.....  
We are fighting for our freedom.....  
We are not afraid of tear gas.....  
Detentions don't deter us.....  
We'll stand and fight together.....

Solidarity Forever

When the movement's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run  
There could be no greater power anywhere beneath the sun  
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one  
But the movement makes us strong

Solidarity forever (3x).... For the movement makes us strong

It is we who ploughed the fields, built the cities where they trade,  
Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid,  
How we stand outcast and starving 'neath the wonders we have made,  
But the movement makes us strong

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,  
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn,  
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn,  
That the movement makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,  
Greater than the might of atoms magnified a thousand fold,  
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old,  
For the movement makes us strong.



**C126**

*R Halim  
Cenani'*

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- Their forefathers came here from over the sea.  
 They looked and they said "This is Gods own country! "  
 And they offered up thanks for this land that they found  
 And they said we will make this our own piece of ground
2. But many is the battle they still have to fight  
 And many is the family that died in the night  
 And many were the black people who lived all around  
 All of them working their own piece of ground
3. And then came the day in the 1880's  
 When gold was discovered in great quantity  
 Now the country was richer than was dreamed or was planned  
 But each digger wanted his own piece of land
4. The white diggers were few and the gold it was deep  
 So the black men were called and their labour bought cheap  
 For 6 pennies a day they were sent down  
 To dig out the fold from the white master's ground
5. And so the country became rich but it seems strange to me  
 That the people whose labour has helped this to be  
 Get so little share of the wealth that abounds  
 But they've been uprooted and kicked from their own piece of ground
6. Ah yes people say "But don't you worry  
 We'll give you a homeland and there you'll be free  
 Ah but where is the freedom when 10 million are found  
 On a miserable 13% of the ground
7. Ah yes people say "But don't you worry  
 You can always find work in the white man's city  
 But don't stay too long - don't put your roots down too deep  
 For you just might disturb the white master's sleep
8. Master don't sleep long and don't sleep too deep  
 And don't be too sure that the silence will keep  
 For I've heard a rumour that's running around  
 That the people are coming to claim back their own piece of ground.

---

5) Kubi kubi ba siyaya siyaya siyaya noba kubi. Despite the difficulties  
 Matsho Lillian Ngoyi siyaya.... we are going forward.  
 Matsho Mandela siyaya...  
 Matsho amakosikazi

---

6) Simanyen isizwe)  
 Ayangena ayaphuma ayadidizela  
 Ayasaba amagwala (amaBhulu)  
 !cnang'ebaleka)  
 Ayasaba amagwala (amaBhulu)

---

7) Khululani uMandela ngob'isozwe sophelela khona  
 asiwafuni helele (amapasi) yho yho yho yho !  
 iusani ubwathatha amapasi.....

11)

10

# My Country, 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying

By BUFFY SAINTE-MARIE

© 1966 Gypsy Boy Music, Inc

(Intro. Ad Lib)

Now that your big eyes are final-ly o-pened, Now that you're wond'ring "How must they feel?" Meaning them that you've chased 'cross A-meri-ca's movie screens. Now that you're wond'ring "How can it be real?" That the ones you've called col-er-ful, no-ble and proud in your school prop - a - gan-ia, they starve in their splendor! You've asked for my com-ment, I simp-ly will rend-er:

My coun-try, 'tis of thy peo-ple you're dy - ing.

(In Tempo - Moderately)

Verse 1: Now that our long houses breed su-per-stition, You force us to send our todd-lers away To your ...schools where they're taught to despise their traditions; forbid them their languages then further say That American history really began when Columbus set sail out of Europe! And stroos That the nation of leeches that's conquered this land are the biggest and bravest and boldest and best! And yet where in the history books is the tale of the genocide basic to this country's birth? Of the preachers who lied? How the Bill of Rights failed? How a nation of patriots returned to their earth? And where will it tell of the Liberty Bell as it rang with a thud over Kinzua?

And of brave Uncle Sars in A-las-ka this year? My country, 'tis of thy peo-ple you're dy-ing.

(\* Repeat as needed for each verso)

2. Hear how the bargain was made for the west With her shivering children, in mere degrees "Blankets for your land" so the treaties attest; Now blankets for land is a bargain indeed — But the blankets were those Uncle Sars had collected From smallpox-diseased dying soldiers that day, And the tribes were wiped out and the history books censored! 100 years of your statesmen have felt it's better this way: Yet a few of the conquered have somehow survived Their blood runs the redder though genes have been pale; From the Grand Canyon's caverns to Craven's sad hills The wounded, the Jesars, the robbed sing their tale From Los Angeles County to up-state New York The white nation fattens while others grow lean. Oh, the tricked and evicted, they know what I mean My country, 'tis of thy people you're dying!

3. The past is just crumbled, the future just threatens Our life-blood's shut up in your chemical tanks And now here you come, bill of sale in your hand, And surprise in your eyes that we're lacking in thanks For the blessings of civilization you've brought us The lessons you've taught us, the ruin you've wrought us! Oh, see what our trust in America's brought us! My country, 'tis of thy people you're dying!

4. Now that our own chosen way is a novelty Hands on our hearts, we salute you your victory, Choke on your blue-white-and scarlet hypocrisy, Pitying your blindness, that you've never seen That the eagles of war whose wings lost you glory Were never no more than carrion crows; Pushed the wrens from their nest, stole their eggs, changed their story. The mockingbird sings it - it's all that she knows: "Oh what can I do?" say a powerless few, With a lump in your throat and a tear in your eye; Can't you see that their poverty's profiting you? My country, 'tis of thy people you're dying?

BROADSIDE #70

REDEMPTION SONG.

(E) Employers they rob I  
 (A) Sold I to the mines and farms (G#m)  
 (E) Minutes after they took I (B)  
 From my people's eyes and arms  
 (A) But my hands were made strong  
 (A) By the spirit of the people  
 (A) We forward in our struggle  
 (A) Triumphantly (B)

(E) Won't you help to sing  
 (A) These songs of freedom  
 Cause all I ever had  
 (B) Redemption songs.

Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery  
 None but ourselves can free our minds  
 Have no fear for atomic energy  
 Cause none of them can stop the tide.  
 How long shall they kill our comrades  
 While we stand aside and look  
 Some say its just a part of it  
 We've got to fulfill de book.

[break G#m A B]

13) wena surijom  
 wathint abafazi  
 wathint imbokhoto  
 Uzakufa mmm!

Wee sithi weyi  
 Wena Scheepers  
 waqhatha abafundi  
 waqhatha abazali  
 uzakufa mmm !

14) South Afrika  
 Izwe lokhoko  
 Izwe lobawo  
 Hayi amabhulu

Amabhulu ayalibanga  
 Athi lelawo  
 Kanti lelethu

15) Singenile edabini  
 lokulweli Afrika  
 We Qamata  
 Yiba nguyumkhululi

Atsho amaZania  
 Ekhaleli zwelawo  
 We Qamata  
 Yiba nguyumkhululi

16) Siphamandla Qamata singadinwa / (sibotshiwe )  
 Siphamandla Qamata xa besibulala.

17) Nazizi bam nazizi bam eAngola  
 Khawuzenazizi bam  
 Nazizi bam eAngola  
 uBhotu netyala kaloku  
 Unetyala kalokwe Afrika  
 Khawuzenazo izibam  
 Nazizibam eAfrika.

18) Botha Botha ivuthiwe into yakho  
 Sithi nkosi uzuncedu  
 uzugcinu Mandela  
 ukuze abuyise iAfrika.

19) I Shall Be Released

1. They say every man can be replaced/ they say every distance is not near  
 yet I remember every face/ of every man who put me here  
 CHORUS: I see my light come shinin' / from the west down to the east  
 any day now, any day now / I shall be released

2. They say every man must have protection/ they say every man must fall  
 yet I swear I see my reflection/ somewhere so high above this wall

3. Down here next to me in this lonely crowd/ there's a man who swears he's not to blame  
 All day long I hear him cry so loud/ crying out that he's been framed

GUTTER EDUCATION

The kids are on the streets again from the 'so-called' Coloured schools.  
They want a decent education, they say, theirs' is for fools schools.  
The state says it's agitators but we all know the truth,  
You don't need instigators when the grievances are real.

CHORUS: GUTTER EDUCATION DOESN'T EDUCATE  
GUTTER EDUCATION FRUSTRATES. 2x

It all started in 54 with the Bantu Education Act  
Separate schools for separate groups,  
Gutter education for the blacks.

Unregistered education, forbidden since those days  
So they turned to culture-clubs, learning history in a different way.

CHORUS: GUTTER EDUCATION DOESN'T EDUCATE  
GUTTER EDUCATION FRUSTRATES.

They blamed the agitators too in 76 and now they're saying it again.  
Even though their Silly commission, said it was bungling and injustice.

Whitey education is not their aim, because the opposite of a slave is a master  
The kids are calling for social change ALLE MAG AAN DIE HENSE !

CHORUS:

21) ROCK THE STATE.

Look around you carefully with open eyes and you will see  
That theres oppression here its not a myth but a reality  
In this 'democratic' land, democracy is in white hands.  
The black mass has no say this democracy is not O K .

CHORUS: COME ON? STAND UP  
STAND TOGETHER LETS ROCK THE STATE 2x

All over S-A- people are uniting now  
Injustice and exploitation is what they are fighting now  
The blacks ,some whites, they know that things aren't right  
Together they decide what must be done is to be done.

CHORUS : COME ON STAND UP  
STAND TOGETHER LETS ROCK THE STATE.

We must get organized you will hear the people say  
Boycotts, pamphlets, workers strikes and stayaways.  
Representation, away with discrimination  
With lives we have paid the struggle goes on  
It won't fade away, fade away .....

CHORUS: COME ON STAND UP !  
STAND TOGETHER LETS ROCK THE STATE. 3x .....

We shall not, we shall not be moved, 2x  
Just like a tree that standing by the water  
We shall not be, we shall not be moved.

22) Summertime

1. Summertime, and the living is easy/ fish are jumping, and the cotton is high  
your daddic's rich, and your mother's good looking/ so hush little baby, don't  
you cry.

2. One of these mornings/ you're gonna rise up singin'  
You're gonna spread your wings/ and take to the sky  
But till that morning there ain't nothing can harm you  
With your papa and your papa standin' by.

23) HELP ME MY COMRADE.

We're women we're enslaved by laws  
We're breeders of labour on demand  
2nd class wages is what we earn  
And there's still so much that we can learn  
So help me my comrade  
To look after the child  
We need to learn to fight  
Side by side by side....

We're women.....  
Please now my comrade  
You must try and see  
How they've tried to cause conflict  
Between you and me. (2x)

We're women.....

E When I remember A E B<sup>7</sup>  
When I remember, the pupils of Crestway/Grassy Park, I D Mkhiza/ Mannenberg/  
Steenberg, Fezeka, Langa High, Bonteheuwel.....  
E I just OOOH! want to say POWER  
Power Power to the pupils of "E" "A" "E" B<sup>7</sup> "E" .....  
When I remember, the people of Modderdam/ Unibel/ Crossroads.....etc  
When I remember the people of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania...

C What DID YOU LEARN IN SCHOOL TODAY?  
C What did you learn in school today dear little child of mine  
C What did you learn in school today dear little child of mine?  
F We learnt that west is always best and white is usually right  
F That rich and poor will always be and that's what makes us free.  
What did you learn in school today dear little child of mine 2x  
That education brings opportunities in this advancing age  
But we'll end up working in the factories, for a measly weekly wage.  
And what did you learn in the streets today dear little child of mine  
What did you learn in the streets today dear little child of mine?  
We learnt that teargas burns the eyes, we learnt how police dogs bite.  
We learnt that batons break our bones and WE'RE LEARNING HOW TO FIGHT.  
What did you hear in the news today, dear little child of mine? 2x  
That agitators stir us up - and lead us all astray,  
But we can think and we can see and we want change today.

24.)  
Vula Botha siyaqonqoza Open Botha we are knocking  
Khululu Mandela asikokcle Release Mandela our leader  
Vula Botha siyaqonqoza  
Khululu zibotshwa amaqabani Release detainees our comrades.

25.)  
Kutheni na kunjenjenjen 2x (siyabuza)  
wena Jhonny Vorster / Jimmy Kruger/ Matzima/ Buthelezi

26.)  
Thina sizwe esisundu/esimnyama Ons die swart nasie  
Sikhalela izwe lethu Ons huil vir onse land  
elathathwa ngamaBhulu Wat gevat is deur die boere  
nabawuyeke umhlaba wethu Laat hulle onse grond los.

Abantwana beAfrika  
Bakhalela izwe lethu  
Elathathwa ngamaBhulu.....

# THE RED FLAG

- 27) 1. The <sup>C</sup> people's <sup>F</sup> flag is <sup>C</sup> deepest <sup>F</sup> red  
 It <sup>Gm</sup> shrouded <sup>C</sup> oft <sup>C7</sup> our <sup>F</sup> martyred <sup>F</sup> dead,  
 And <sup>C</sup> 'ere <sup>F</sup> their <sup>C</sup> limbs <sup>C</sup> grew <sup>F</sup> stiff & <sup>F</sup> cold  
 Their <sup>Gm</sup> hearts' <sup>C</sup> blood <sup>C7</sup> died <sup>F</sup> its <sup>F</sup> every <sup>F</sup> fold.
- Chorus:**  
 So <sup>F</sup> raise <sup>Bb</sup> the <sup>F</sup> scarlet <sup>C7</sup> standard <sup>F</sup> high  
 Within <sup>C7</sup> its <sup>F</sup> shade <sup>F</sup> we'll <sup>F</sup> live <sup>F</sup> or <sup>F</sup> die  
 Tho' <sup>C</sup> cowards <sup>F</sup> flinch <sup>C</sup> and <sup>F</sup> traitors <sup>D7</sup> sneer  
 We'll <sup>Gm</sup> keep <sup>D7</sup> the <sup>Gm</sup> Red <sup>C7</sup> Flag <sup>F</sup> flying <sup>F</sup> here.
2. Look round! The Frenchman loves its blaze  
 The sturdy German chants its praise  
 In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung  
 Chicago swells the surging throng.
3. It waved above our infant might  
 When all ahead seemed darkest night.  
 It witnessed many a deed and vow;  
 We must not change its colour now.
4. It well recalls our triumphs past,  
 It gives the hope of peace at last.  
 The banner bright, the symbol plain  
 Of human right and human gain.
5. It suits today the weak and base  
 Whose minds are fixed on self and place  
 To cringe before the rich man's frown  
 And haul the sacred emblem down.
6. With heads uncovered swear we all  
 To bear it onward till we fall.  
 Come dungeon dark, or gallows grim,  
 This song shall be our parting hymn.

# THE INTERNATIONALE

- 28) 1. Arise <sup>C</sup> you <sup>G7</sup> prisoners <sup>F</sup> of <sup>Dm</sup> starvation,  
 Arise <sup>C</sup> you <sup>C</sup> wretched <sup>C</sup> of <sup>C</sup> the <sup>C</sup> earth,  
 For <sup>F</sup> justice <sup>Dm</sup> thunders <sup>F</sup> condemnation  
 A <sup>G7</sup> better <sup>C</sup> world's <sup>C</sup> in <sup>C</sup> birth.  
 No <sup>G</sup> more <sup>D</sup> tradition's <sup>G7</sup> chains <sup>G7</sup> shall <sup>G7</sup> bind <sup>G7</sup> us  
 Arise <sup>D</sup> you <sup>D</sup> slaves <sup>G</sup> no <sup>G</sup> more <sup>G</sup> in <sup>G</sup> thrall  
 The <sup>G7</sup> earth <sup>G7</sup> shall <sup>C</sup> rise <sup>Am7</sup> on <sup>Am7</sup> new <sup>Am7</sup> foundations  
 We <sup>D</sup> have <sup>D</sup> been <sup>D</sup> naught <sup>G7</sup> - we <sup>G7</sup> shall <sup>G7</sup> be <sup>G7</sup> all.
- CHORUS:**  
 So <sup>C</sup> comrades, <sup>F</sup> come <sup>Dm</sup> rally  
 And <sup>G7</sup> the <sup>G7</sup> last <sup>C</sup> fight <sup>C</sup> let <sup>C</sup> us <sup>C</sup> face.  
 The <sup>G</sup> Internationale <sup>Am7</sup> unites <sup>D7</sup> the <sup>G7</sup> human <sup>G7</sup> race  
 So <sup>C</sup> comrades <sup>F</sup> come <sup>Dm</sup> rally  
 And <sup>G7</sup> the <sup>G7</sup> last <sup>C</sup> fight <sup>C</sup> let <sup>C</sup> us <sup>C</sup> face.  
 The <sup>A7</sup> Internationale <sup>Dm</sup> unites <sup>C</sup> the <sup>G</sup> human <sup>C</sup> race.
2. We want no condescending saviours  
 To rule us from their judgement hall.  
 We workers ask not for their favours,  
 Let us consult for all.  
 To make the thief disgorge his booty  
 To free the spirit from its cell,  
 We must ourselves decide our duty,  
 Decide and do it well.
3. Toilers from shops and fields united  
 The Union of all who work,  
 The earth belongs to us as workers  
 No room for those who shirk.  
 How many on our flesh have fattened  
 But if the bloody birds of prey  
 Shall vanish from the sky one morning,  
 The golden sun will stay.

# JOE HILL

- 29) 1. I <sup>C</sup> dreamed <sup>F</sup> I <sup>C</sup> saw <sup>F</sup> Joe <sup>C</sup> Hill <sup>C</sup> last <sup>F</sup> night  
 Alive <sup>C</sup> as <sup>C</sup> you <sup>C</sup> and <sup>C</sup> me.  
 Says <sup>F</sup> I, <sup>F</sup> but <sup>C</sup> Joe <sup>C</sup> you're <sup>F</sup> 10 <sup>C</sup> years <sup>C</sup> dead.  
 I <sup>D7</sup> never <sup>G7</sup> died, <sup>G7</sup> said <sup>G7</sup> he.  
 I <sup>C</sup> never <sup>G7</sup> died <sup>D</sup> said <sup>D</sup> he.
2. In Salt Lake City, Joe, says I  
 Him standing by my bed,  
 They framed you on a murder charge.  
 Says Joe, but I ain't dead.  
 Says Joe, but I ain't dead.
3. The copper bosses killed you Joe  
 They shot you Joe, says I.  
 Takes more than guns to kill a man,  
 Says Joe, I didn't die.  
 Says Joe, I didn't die.
4. Joe Hill ain't dead, he says to me  
 Joe Hill ain't never dead.  
 Where working men come out on strike  
 Joe Hill is at their side.  
 Joe Hill is at their side.
5. And standing there as large as life  
 And smiling with his eyes,  
 Says Joe, what they forgot to kill  
 Went on to organise.  
 Went on to organise.
6. In Santiago, up to Maine,  
 In every mine and mill,  
 Where workers strike and organise,  
 It's there you'll find Joe Hill  
 It's there you'll find Joe Hill.



30)

THIS LAND IS YOUR LAND.

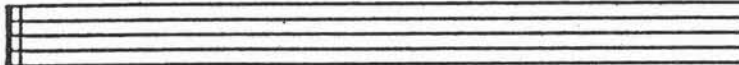

This land is your land, this land is my land  
 From Kalahari to Robben Island  
 From the great Limpopo, to Cape Agulhas  
 This land was made for you and me

This land is your land, it once was our land  
 Now you call it your Vader Land  
 You pushed our people to the reservations  
 This land was stole by you from me

This land is their land, it isn't our land  
 From the meat board, to the union buildings  
 From the Golden Acre, to City Tramways  
 This land is not for you and me

this land is your land, it isn't our land  
 From Wilson Rowntree to the Presidents Council  
 From migrant labour to Hulett's Sugar  
 this land is not for you and me

If this is our land, you'd never know it  
 We see your bullshit, and will expose it  
 Let's get together, and overthrow it  
 Then this land will be for you and me.


**THE UNION MAID**


31)

- There <sup>A</sup> once was a Union Maid, Who <sup>D</sup> never was afraid <sup>A</sup>  
 Of goons and ginks and the <sup>A</sup> Company finks  
 And the <sup>E</sup> Deputy Sheriff who made the raid.  
 She'd <sup>A</sup> go to the Union hall, When a <sup>D</sup> meeting it was <sup>A</sup> called,  
 And when the <sup>D</sup> Company guards came round, she <sup>E</sup> always <sup>A</sup> stood her ground.

Chorus:

- Oh you can't scare me, I'm sticking to the <sup>A</sup> Union  
 I'm sticking to the <sup>E</sup> Union, I'm sticking to the <sup>A</sup> Union,  
 Oh you can't scare me I'm sticking to the <sup>A</sup> Union,  
 I'm sticking to the <sup>E</sup> Union, till the day I die.
- This Union maid was wise To the tricks of the Company spies  
 She'd never be fooled by the Company stools,  
 She'd always organise the guys.  
 She'd always get her way, When she struck for higher pay.  
 She'd show her card to the National Guard, and this is what she'd say -
  - A woman's struggle is hard, Even with a Union card  
 She's got to stand on her own two feet  
 And not be a servant of a male elite.  
 It's time to take a stand, Keep working hand in hand.  
 There is a job that's got to be done, & a fight that's got to be won.



In 1649 to St Georges Hill  
 A ragged band they called the diggers  
 Came to show the peoples will  
 They defied the landlords they defied the law  
 They were the dispossessed reclaiming what was theirs.

We come in peace they said to dig and sow  
 We come to work the land in common and to make the  
 wasteground grow  
 This earth divided we will make whole  
 So it will be a common property for all.

The sin of property we do disdain  
 No man has any right to buy and sell the earth  
 - for private gain  
 By theft and murder, they took the land  
 Now everywhere the walls spring up at their command.

WE WORK AND EAT TOGETHER WE NEED NO SWORDS  
 WE WILL NOT BOW TO MASTERS NOR PAY RENT TO THE LORDS  
 WE ARE FREE MEN? THOUGH WE ARE POOR  
 YOU DIGGERS ALL STAND FOR GLORY - STAND UP NOW.

They make the laws to chain us well  
 The clergy dazzle us with heaven  
 Or they damn us into hell  
 We will not worship the god they serve  
 We-ceme The god of greed who feeds the rich  
 while the poor men starve.

WE WORK AND EAT TOGETHER.....

You poor take courage, oh you rich take care.  
 This earth was made a common property  
 -for everyone to share  
 All things in common all people one  
 We came in peace, the orders came to cut them down.....

2) Wena iiatanzima usisigebenga  
 Wena uthengise ngabantwana baseAfrika You have sold the children of Afrika  
 Wena uthengise ngamakosikazi aseAfrika You have sold the women of Africa.

3) Botha Botha ivuthiwe into yakho  
 Sithi nkosi uzuncedu  
 uzugcina Mandela  
 ukuze abuyise iAfrika

4) Umkhulu umkhulu lo msebanzi  
 Umsebenzi wenkululeko  
 UMandela ufuna amajoni  
 Amajoni enkululeko  
 Usisulu ufuna amajoni  
 Amajoni enkoleko

TINOTENDA ZANU.....

Tinotenda Zan(u) yakati sunungura mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Zar. Zaria yakati sunungura mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tine rufaro nerusununguko mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Gm<sup>6</sup> F C G

Tinotenda vaNyerere nerubatsiro kumhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tinotenda vaKachel nerubatsiro kumhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Fre Frelimo nerubatsiro kumhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tine rufaro nerusununguko mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tinotenda vaMugab(o) yakati sunungura mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Zan. Zaria yakati sunungura mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tine rufaro nerusununguko mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tinotenda Zapu yakatisunungura mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Zip. Zipra yakati sunungura mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

Tine rufaro nerusununguko mhuri yeZimbabwe (2x)

TSAOTCHOLOZA MUGABE

Tsaotcholoza Mugabe thatha induku zakho

Sisakusa kangawe mase kulungile

Wakhalu Ian Smithi ethi kuyafiwa / Musorowa.

Ngonxa kaMugabe wathatha oZimbabwe

Tsaotcholoza Mandela thatha iinduku zakho

Si akusa kangawe mase kulungile

Wakhalu John Vorster wakhala ePitoli

ngonxa eSoweto hayi eCuguletu

THEM BELLY FULL.

Them belly full but I'm hungry

A hungry mob is an angry mob

The rain a fall but the ground a tough

A pot o cook but the food no nough

You got to dance to the music dance

Forget your sorrows and dance

Forget your troubles and dance

Forget your sickness and dance

Forget your weakness and dance

Cost of living gets so high

Rich and poor they start to cry

Now the weak must get strong

They're singing - oh what a tribulation.

35) WAGE TRAP

They say every man is equal before the law

They say opportunity is at your door.

You start at the bottom and you work your way up

You buy just a little then increase your stock.

You watch for your chances you use your head

The little man can make it he can get ahead.

But that's not true to say of everyone

The worker's experience is a different one.

You start at the bottom and you stay that way

Even for a little you can never pay

A worker can't rave oh can't you see

He's relying on a wage, its just poverty.

Transport's expensive the prices are high

A family to feed there's so much to buy.

Our wages are set just to cover these costs

Cause without any workers there won't be a boss.

You start at the bottom and you stay at the bottom

And you're always at the bottom

And you never get up

You start at the bottom

And you stay at the bottom

And you're always at the bottom

and you're stuck.

Umanyano nguzanila

Xa sililwa godwa

Acikuphumelela.

Unity is strength

If we fight alone

We will not win.

Silwa abaqashi

bothu abasincatshayo

We are fighting our bosses

who exploit us.

Silwa amaBhulu

wona asicinizeleyo

We are fighting the bosses

who oppress us.

1. When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run  
 There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.  
 Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?  
 But the Union makes us strong.

Chorus:

Solidarity forever! Solidarity forever!  
 Solidarity forever! For the Union makes us strong.

2. Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite  
 Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?  
 Is there anything left to us but to organise and fight?  
 For the Union makes us strong.
3. It is we who ploughed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;  
 Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.  
 Now we stand, outcast and starving, 'midst the wonders we have made;  
 But the Union makes us strong.
4. All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours, and ours alone.  
 We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.  
 It is ours - not to slave in, but to master and to own,  
 While the Union makes us strong.
5. They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,  
 But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.  
 We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn  
 That the Union makes us strong.
6. In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;  
 Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand-fold.  
 We can bring to birth a new world, from the ashes of the old.  
 For the Union makes us strong.

39) WOMEN'S HUNGRY MARCHING SONG  
 (To the tune of "John Brown's Body")

Our eyes have seen the fury and the fire of women's rage  
 Kept smouldering for centuries, now burning in this age  
 We no longer will be prisoners in that same gilded cage  
 That's why we're marching on.

You've told us to speak softly, to be gentle and to smile,  
 Expected to change ourselves with every passing style,  
 Said the only work for women was to clean and type and file  
 That's why we're marching on.

It's we who've done your cooking, done your cleaning, kept your rules  
 We gave birth to your children and we taught them in your schools  
 We've kept this system running, but we're laying down our tools  
 That's why we're marching on.

You think that you can buy us off with golden wedding rings  
 You never pay us half the profits that our labour brings  
 Our anger eats into us, we'll no longer bend to kings  
 That's why we're marching on.

We have broken through our shackles, now we sing a battle song  
 We'll march for liberation, and we're many thousand strong.  
 We'll build a new society, we've waited much too long.  
 That's why we're marching on.

2. Oh the Starvation Army they play  
 And they sing and they clap and they pray  
 Till they get all your coin on the drum  
 Then they tell you when you're on the bum:-

3. Holy Rollers and Jumpers come out  
 And they holler, they jump and they shout:  
 "Give your money to Jesus", they say,  
 "He will cure all diseases today."

4. If you fight hard for children and wife  
 Try to get something good in this life,  
 You're a sinner and a bad man, they tell.  
 When you die you will sure go to Hell.

5. Working men of all countries, Unite!  
 Side by side we for freedom will fight.  
 When the world and its wealth we have gained,  
 To the grafter we will sing this refrain:-

Final chorus:

You will eat, bye and bye  
 When you've learned how to cook and to fry.  
 Chop some wood - it'll do you good!  
 And you'll see to it that the grafter  
 Will be the first to die.

40) PIE IN THE SKY

1. Long-haired preachers come out every night  
 And they tell you what's wrong and what's right.  
 But when you ask them for something to eat,  
 They will answer with voices so sweet:

Chorus:

"You will eat, bye and bye,  
 In that glorious land above the sky  
 Work and pray, live on hay,  
 You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL 41)

I cried when they murdered Steve Biko  
Tears ran down my spine

I cried when they banned Clive Koozan

As tho' I'd lost a brother of mine

But Mahlanjwa got what was coming

He got what he asked for this time

SO LOVE ME LOVE ME LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL.

I go to the SED concerts and I'm into the workers as well.

I'm doing African Economic History, I'm on the Shawco committee as well

So don't talk to me about revolution, that's going a little bit too far.

SO LOVE ME LOVE ME LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL.

I read the Muslim news and Grassroots, I subscribe to Sunday Post.

I've read some of the African writers, but I like Adam Small and André Brink the most.

I have to buy them at Paperbacks, 'cause Open Books doesn't stock my taste.

SO LOVE ME LOVE ME LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL.

When I'm through with all of this studying I think I'll work a while for Black Sash

Or maybe I'll work a while for UFRU, for SALDRU, Camimploy or CUPS

And I'll give all the money you ask for 'cause maybe I'm earning too much

SO LOVE ME LOVE ME LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL.

I vote for the PFP party, they'll keep the economy strong

And I support the Urban Foundation (the Peoples' Space didn't last long)

It all boils down to Race Relations, I'm trying my best you know.

SO LOVE ME LOVE ME LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL.

Sure once I was young and impulsive, I wore every conceivable pin

I even went to some radical meetings, I learnt some freedom songs and hymns

Ah but I've grown older and wiser and that's why I'm turning you in.

SO LOVE ME LOVE ME LOVE ME I'M A LIBERAL.

XII

42)

The POTATOE BOYCOTT SONG.

Have you ever been - in the Eastern Transvaal

Have you ever seen the farms - in the Eastern Transvaal

Fields are green rivers are blue

The lushest place in South African View

Have you ever been - to the Eastern Transvaal.

Now some people I've seen - in the Eastern Transvaal

Living like prisoners - on the landlord's farm.

Offenders of the pass they're members of the working class

And they're digging for potatoes - because they've got no pass.

Now the state devised a scheme called the volunteer scheme

Forcing pass offenders onto farms

Because they didn't know they had a choice by the law

A maximum fine of £2 - no more.

Farm workers would be locked up on weekends and at night

The Bethal district doctor never heard their plight

Inadequate housing sanitation and food

They were assaulted by the bossboys and the foreman - real good.

Organising farmworkers isn't easy I know

You risk being beaten or shot

They tried it in the 20's

They tried and they failed.

So how can they improve their lot.

Consumers can boycott refusing to buy

Don't eat potatoes boiled or fried.

They took up the boycott in 59

Two months without potatoes is a very long time.

The boycott was started the people were strong

We've got to boycott no matter how long.