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**Democratic opposition:
The progressive movement
in South Africa**

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Edited text of a speech delivered by Auret van Heerden, to both the NUSAS Congress in Durban and to a joint sitting of the AZASO General Students Council and COSAS National Council in Durban, Nov—Dec. 1982.

The progressive movement in South Africa is a young one. Although part of a tradition of struggle which began early this century, this current phase of organisation and struggle only really began in late 1977. If our movement for democracy is to reach its full potential we are going to have to look very carefully at what we have achieved over the last couple of years — at our gains and at our losses. And we must use that assessment to plan where we go from here.


7 So in my talk, I want to rely on Amilcar Cabral's dictum that we should tell no lies and claim no easy victories. I want to start off by asking why we organise. Why do we even bother to spend so much time, so much energy, so much money, and make the sacrifices that we do to organise people? Now this may seem like a very simple question but I think that its answer has contained within it a number of subtle aspects that we don't often examine and debate.

Obviously we are trying to involve people in organisation so that they can change their lives. People are suffering; they have problems and grievances; and the only way that they can change that, is if they organise and struggle and change their lives.

So the very first aspect of why we organise is that we want to involve people in organisations. We want to provide them with the means for changing their lives. And yet if we look at our organisations, be they the trade unions, the students and women's groups, the community organisations, we so often see that the people are not involved in those organisations.

The form of organisation and the ways in which we have attempted to mobilize have often not made it possible for people to participate. So we end up with organisations consisting only of leaders who make press statements and address meetings and issue pamphlets but with few ordinary working people involved.

The first point I want to make then is that if we are to change our society, if we are to liberate ourselves, we are going to have to directly involve people in organisation and struggle. However, here we enter into a second problem, another one of the subtle aspects that I mentioned earlier. When we try to involve people in organisation and struggle we do so from a position of awareness. We have analysed the situation, understood that particular form of oppression and decided to mobilize against it.



But the people as a whole very often don't share the same level of awareness that we enjoy. They most probably haven't analysed the situation, but even if they have, we must not forget that our socialisation, education and information through the family, the school, the church, the newspapers and T.V. are all designed to mask the real nature of oppression and exploitation in our society.

But for most people, the struggle for survival is more important than any other struggle and they are forced to spend 18 hours of their day just trying to keep themselves alive. It's very difficult for them, under those circumstances, to be analysing their society and deciding on organisation and change.

So we are going to have to appeal to people on the basis of issues which they see as important and which they can identify with. But, by the same token, we are going to have to use those issues to educate people, to raise their awareness.

Let's say we decided to oppose a rent increase. People may identify with the issue and support the community organisation, organising the campaign against the increase. But, even if the campaign is a success and the rent increase is scrapped, we won't necessarily have changed our society at all. Workers will still be paid poverty wages, people will still be forced to live in squalid townships, political rights will still be denied to the majority of South Africans.

Precisely because most people are unaware and unpoliticized, the issues which they see as important are likely to be local, specific grievances, which are seldom overtly political, and their demands are unlikely to be political or even progressive.

So, we have to take up issues which the people themselves see as important but at the same time we cannot leave those issues there. We have to try to develop them from what may be entirely reformist demands which could easily be met within the current framework of South African society, into progressive political demands which would ultimately require fundamental change.

The two elements of our answer to the question "Why do we organise" that we have identified so far then, are the democratic participation of people in struggles to change their lives and the education of people through these struggles.



Now if we look back at organisation in the '70's, we see that most of them failed to involve people and their demands were largely addressed to an already politicized audience. They were never really able to reach the working class, what some people call the grassroots. But by 1977 people had started reflecting very critically on the first five or six years of the '70's and realizing their mistakes, developed an entirely different approach to organisation, an approach which in fact made progressive organisation possible for maybe the first time in twenty years.

What they started to look at was not the issues which we as a politicised, relatively organised community saw as important, but issues which the people saw as important. So we saw organisation springing up in constituencies where no organisation existed before. We saw the growth of community organisations, women's organisations. We saw the consolidation of student organisation in AZASO and COSAS. A number of new trade unions emerged. Activists began concentrating on grassroots, democratic participative organisation. Organisations began taking up issues which many people had previously regarded as reformist, collaborationist or non-political. Before 1977 many organisations would have scoffed at the notion of negotiating with education or township authorities.

A more strategic approach to organisation and struggle emerged. The grassroots organisations taking these issues up realised for the first time in many years that these issues were not ends in themselves. In the first place, the victories that can be won at that level of organisation which can lessen the burdens which people have to bear every day is fighting an important struggle and winning an important victory.

But people realised that there is a lot more potential to these issues. They serve as a starting point which can be developed and broadened out to touch on fundamental political questions. This is a vital qualification, because although the local, specific issues which people see as important have a potential to organise, mobilize and educate people, they must never be seen as ends-in-themselves.

Organisations taking up issues like high rentals, poor school conditions, low wages and high bus fares will draw support from people because they are directly affected. And these issues definitely have a potential to educate people. But that potential is a limited one. What we've found though, is that as soon as that organisation attempts to



extend the issue beyond the question of rentals, it begins to lose support because people regard it as falling outside the realm of their immediate interests.

I recall an incident during the 1980 school boycotts which were characterised by a militant and radical rhetoric. Yet when Wits students approached boycotting coloured pupils on the West Rand of Johannesburg and asked them to sign a petition calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, they refused on the grounds that it was a political demand whereas their boycott was not.

What I'm saying is that while these organisations have a capacity to organise, mobilize and educate people around issues particular to their constituents, their ability to extend them into other issues and into political issues is limited. So we run a real risk of being trapped at this first level of organising people around specific community, factory, student or women's issues which will not allow the organisation, being defined in a particular way, to extend beyond them and instil a political awareness in their supporters.

There are two implications in what I am saying. Firstly, the local, specific problems which our community, factory, students and women's organisations take up have a potential to organise, mobilize and educate which must be maximised, but that ultimately these organisations and the issues they take up fall within the framework of our current society. We need organisations making demands which cannot be met within the framework of an oppressive and exploitative society. Organisation which is not confined to one particular group of people and their specific problems but which straddles racial, regional and sexual boundaries; which does not organise us as residents of a particular community or workers in a particular industry, but as oppressed and exploited people demanding a democratic way of life.

The second implication then is that we need a second level of explicitly political organisation, mobilisation and education which goes beyond the individual battles waged by Resident's Associations, Trade Unions, and so on. Such a political organisation could not exist without those first level organisations, however, because it is through involvement in them that people are made aware of their capacity to organise and change their lives and at the same time such first level organisation would ultimately be meaningless if it were not supplemented by a second level of political organisation and struggle. There's



a reciprocal, or shall I say dialectical relationship between the two levels of organisation.

Let us look at some examples of what we mean by first and second level organisation. The importance of developing first level issues to a point where certain overall political demands can be made was well demonstrated in the struggle to save the Crossroads squatter camp. The wives and children of contract workers were being arrested and sent back to the bantustans. They'd get back to the bantustans and find it impossible to survive because of the almost total lack of employment or means of subsistence. And so at great risk to themselves they would come back to Crossroads, would again be arrested and endorsed out to the bantustans.

A number of Church and Welfare organisations, working with Crossroads residents, opposed the removals on the grounds that families had a God-given right to live together. It was a demand which drew a lot of support from the community and from local and international organisations. But having defined it as an issue of family life, they never took it any further.

This left the door wide open for Piet Koornhof to come in and say that he too, as a Christian, was concerned about the separation of these families and to grant the wives and children affected temporary permits to remain in the Western Cape. It also allowed Koornhof to make a lot of capital about the dismantling of apartheid whereas nothing had changed. Those squatters still had no permanent right to remain in the Western Cape, so-called "illegals" all over the country were still being hunted down and sent to bantustans, black people still had no meaningful political rights. And yet Koornhof had apparently met the demand for those families to live together.

The issue, however, could have been approached in an entirely different way. Family life could still have been the initial rallying point, but the issue could then have been moved on to a second phase by asking why the families were being separated. The answer would have been – migrant. The focus of resistance could then have become the migrant labour system. The issue could then have been extended beyond that by asking why we have a migrant labour system and the answer to that is that it makes labour cheaper and easier to control. The control and exploitation of labour would then have been spotlighted, making clear that apartheid controls

large attendances at mass meetings, marches, demonstrations. Our pamphlets, militant speeches and demands were eagerly accepted. We felt we were making great strides in mobilising people politically, but in an euphoria, we made four basic mistakes.

We mistook mass mobilisation for political organisation. Because of the overtly political nature of campaigns like Release Mandela, anti-Republic Day and anti-SAIC, we felt that we were catering for the essential second level of political organisation. First level organisations were able to use these campaigns as reference points to inject some political content into their otherwise reformist activities. But mobilisation is not organisation and we've seen countless times over the last few years how terribly quickly mobilisation can dissipate and die unless it is translated into some organisation, into some on-going activity.

That was our second mistake. We failed to concretise our political gains and advances by using them to build organisation at either the first or the second level.

The third and fourth mistakes have to do with the way we mobilised. I think that the excitement of the campaigns and the enthusiastic support that they received seduced us and drew us away from the tasks of building our first level organisations. Many of our activists and leaders had to neglect their work in the factories and communities and amongst women and students in order to organise and lead campaigns and so instead of complimenting grassroots organisation, these campaigns inevitably detracted from it which is not to say that the activists and leaders involved had any other choice but to take the lead in those campaigns. Precisely because we have not built sufficient political organisation, community, labour and student and women activists had to take responsibility for the campaigns.

The fourth mistake we made was to not take our constituency with us. We were just beginning to consolidate our first level organisations and should have used the mass mobilisation to strengthen our organisation and to raise the awareness of our supporters but too often we raced ahead of them. We telescoped the political process and leapt from specific demands about local issues and grievances to militant demands for the total political capitulation of the current status quo. But we hadn't devised strategies or organisational forms which were capable of taking our grassroots support base with us.



The high levels of mass mobilisation continued until late 1981 and then things began to wind down. Grassroots organisation seemed to reach a ceiling. After a couple of hectic years of activity too, was time to reflect and take stock of the situation, and this internal dynamic combined with a dramatic upsurge in the number of detentions, bannings and other acts of repression, all of which took place against the backdrop of a gathering recession. The progressive movement entered a period of lull, on some fronts, even of retreat, and if we are to emerge from this stronger than before, we are going to have to critically assess the effectiveness with which we have organised, mobilised and educated our people over the last few years.

Starting with organisation, one of the key problems that progressive organisations are running into, is that of sustaining organisation. A lot of our organisations grew rapidly during '80 - '81; interest in them was high and people were eager to participate. Now we are finding that interest and involvement are tailing off and support is far harder to mobilise. So we are going to have to learn to develop new ways to sustaining our organisation, of maintaining the involved. It's no use mobilizing people and then after three or four months starting to think of ways of consolidating their involvement.

Right at the beginning when we're deciding on an issue to organise and mobilise around, we must work out how we are going to get people involved and how we are going to keep them involved. It's no use mobilizing people and then after three or four months starting to think of ways of consolidating their involvement.

The 1980 Soweto rent boycott provides a number of lessons about involving people in organisation and about planning in advance how to consolidate mobilisation into on-going activity. Rent increases in three phases were announced and a mass meeting was held to discuss the issue. About 2 000 people attended the mass meeting and voted to boycott the rent increases. The call to boycott was advertised through the press and endorsed by a number of organisations. The organisation of the boycott mainly took the form of an application to the Supreme Court to prevent the Community Council from collecting the rents on the grounds that the correct procedure had not been followed by the West Rand Administration Board and the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

Now there are a number of points which need to be drawn out here.

The first is that the decision to boycott was taken by 2 000 people at a mass meeting — about 1 percent of the total population of Soweto. Right from the start therefore, Soweto residents had not been properly caucused as to whether they supported a decision to boycott. Secondly, a boycott relies on a high degree of organisation which simply didn't exist in Soweto at that stage, and the manner in which people went about the boycott wasn't one that could build up organisation within. By deciding to wage a legal battle, they took the struggle out of Soweto and into the Supreme Court, out of the hands of the people and into the hands of legal experts. It started out as a grassroots issue which people could identify with, and became a bunch of legal technicalities that no-one could understand.

The only connection between the struggle and the people of Soweto, were the newspaper reports of the court action. And even if people did read those newspaper reports, it is likely that they made as little sense to them as they did to me, because it was a highly technical and legalistic argument. But even if they had been able to decipher the reports, they would have discovered that even if the action succeeded it would only have delayed the increases.

Alas, the issue disappeared as far as resistance was concerned, but remained as far as the increases were concerned. The potential for organising, mobilizing and educating the community — a community with a tradition of militant political activity, simply dissipated.

In this regard we have to look critically at the issue orientation of many of our organisations. Hinging activity around issues raises three problems. The first is that an issue only lasts for a certain space of time. It tends to flare up and then die down again and so if we rely on issues as the basis of our activity we are going to find it, and the involvement of our constituents, fluctuating.

Obviously there will always be issues which we have to take up and these can, and must, be used as springboards for organisation, but we must ensure that we use them to establish on-going programmes of activity which keep people involved and keep the organisation alive.

The second problem with this issue orientation is that many issues are defined in a win/lose way. They're issues which we either win or we lose. The demand advanced by some of the boycotting schools in 1980 for the complete scrapping of Bantu Education provides



an example of this because if the Government didn't scrap Bantu Education, the students would never have been able to return to school without being seen to have "lost". We have to bear in mind that our organised response to these issues is a tactical and not a principled one and as such our demands do not have to be total. One battle is not going to win the war and it is enough that each battle allows us to advance a little in terms of the strength of our organisation and the awareness of our members. In this sense we don't only speak of victory when our demands have been met. Nonetheless, it is important for us to formulate realistic demands, demands which could feasibly be met, and to formulate them in such a way that there is enough middle ground for compromise and even, if necessary, retreat.

The Committee of 81 which co-ordinated the 1980 School Boycotts in the Western Cape, appreciated this and so made short, medium and long term demands and made them in such a way that they could tactically return to school even though their demands had not been fully met.

Another aspect of this win/lose problem is demonstrated by something like squatter removals. We've often seen progressive activists moving into a squatter community which is threatened with eviction and trying to organise and mobilise those people against the evictions. But it's an issue which is almost impossible to win. Those people are going to be moved and their shacks demolished and so we are going to lose. And in losing our organisation may be smashed and even the awareness that we are able to generate amongst those people may be gone within a very short space of time because those people may be dying of starvation in the bantustans.

But of course there will always be issues that we cannot ignore, that we have to take up. And if it is necessary to take up an issue which we cannot win, we must recognise this from the beginning and plan our structures and organising strategy accordingly, so that, even in defeat, we make organisational and ideological gains.

Although it's a helluva hard decision to take, I think that we must become far more strategic about where we organise and which issues we take up. This is a lesson which some of the trade unions have learnt. They started out recruiting any worker that wanted to be organised, but have realised that at a certain point this starts to

overextend their organisational resources, that they cannot effectively represent those workers. So they had to become more strategic about who they organised and where they organised, even if it meant turning workers away and refusing to sign them up.

The third problem flowing out of the issue orientation of some of our organisations is that it pursues them into a reactive style of activity because the issues are often defined by our oppressors. The issue are being forced upon us and we are forced to react, to resist, but the initiative is not ours. We are not defining what issues we take up, when we take them up and how we take them up.

We need to plan our own programme of activities for the year, preferably around a common theme, but to do so in a way that still leaves us the flexibility to take up issues as they arise. And if our theme is an appropriate one, those issues which do arise, will more than likely fit into the broad thrust of our activity anyway. The important point to remember though, is that such a programme will mean that we are not dependent on issues for our activity, and that in reacting to those issues we don't neglect our on-going grassroots activity.

In this regard, I think that it's important that we define our organisation around contradictions. In a repressive society like ours, we can identify different sites of struggle – the factories, the communities, the educational system, the oppression of women – and within each site of struggle, there are different issues which we can take up. But rather than defining our organisation according to those issues, we must understand the contradictions at work in that particular site of struggle.

Take the trade union as an example. The reason for the existence of a trade union is the fact that the wealth produced by a lot of people is appropriated by a few and this sets up an antagonistic relationship between workers and bosses. And that antagonism doesn't come and go, it doesn't disappear. It might vary in intensity and form but it's a permanent contradiction, and so the interests of the workers always need to be defended. This means that the trade union always has work to do on behalf of its members. Hence its structure of worker-members electing factory based committees and appointing full time organisers.

Turning to the element of mobilization, I think that we must distinguish between spontaneous or unorganised mobilisation and mobilisation on the basis of organisation. Spontaneous mobilisation is the kind that springs up when people have simply had enough, when the level of oppression and exploitation which people have to bear, reaches an intolerable level and things just break loose. We've seen this happen in the bus boycotts in Natal in late '79, in the boycotts of schools and in wildcat strikes.

Although this spontaneous mobilisation is generally unorganised, organisations are usually drawn in once things are underway and this presents enormous problems because such action is really difficult to channel and consolidate. And since it is usually unplanned there's generally no real strategy behind it and so you're often dealing with ill-advised action which has little hope of succeeding. What's more, spontaneous action tends to be militant and confrontationalist as well, and often strays outside the bounds of legality.

The result is often that such spontaneous action is ruthlessly suppressed and any established organisation which has responded to the needs of those people and involved itself in their struggle may well be weakened or even smashed in the process.

The same goes for issues like anti-Republic Day which I discussed earlier. In such cases our oppressors force us to take the issue up, even though it may not fit in with our organisational thrust and may contradict the strategies we are pursuing, and despite the fact that we may not have any organisation designed to wage such struggles. In all such cases the art that we are going to have to learn is how to respond to spontaneous mobilisation and spontaneous issues in such a way that we do not abandon our on-going programmatic activities and do not weaken or destroy our organisation in the process and manage to translate some of that mobilisation into organisation.

We know that we are going to be faced with issues which we have no option but to take up, and as the conditions under which the majority of our people's lives get worse, we can expect more and more spontaneous outbursts and so we must develop organisational forms and strategies that will allow us to take up such issues, to channel them constructively and to consolidate whatever gains are made.

I have argued earlier that organisation around particular issues in the spheres of labour, community, women and students is important in itself but must never be seen as an end-in-itself. This is something, however, which has to be realised practically and strategically. It has to be a real commitment. We cannot simply say that we are organising for ultimate political liberation because we might find that we put years and years of organisation and effort into an organisation and then find in fact that we have not advanced the cause of liberation.

We may consolidate an organisation and possibly lighten the burden that people have to bear in their daily lives, but we won't necessarily set in motion the processes of political liberation.

I think that the essential element, the catalyst in that process of liberation is education, and this is ultimately the text that our organisations have to pass. Too often in the last couple of years we've relied on advertising rather than education. We've referred to progressive symbols in the course of our struggles, we've referred to the Freedom Charter, we've linked our specific demands to broader long-term political demands, but we haven't in fact educated people. We've drawn those links at mass meetings, in statements, in pamphlets and publications, but we haven't made them effectively in terms of the day to day existence of our members.

At the same time as we ensure that during a boycott or campaign we stress the broader political aspects of our demands, we must ensure that our organisers, in their everyday contact with our supporters draw out the political dimension of people's lives, people's lived experience. Every aspect of their organisation, everything they do, contains within it a lesson about the nature of South African society, a lesson about where we should be going politically, about what a future society would look like.

Organisers must be trained to be able to draw out those lessons in their daily work and contact with members. Involvement and experience in organisation is the key to raising people's awareness but it needs to be drawn out and reflected back to those people so that they can fully grasp and understand it.

Let me turn now to an impressionistic survey of the different fronts of progressive activity. The current phase of labour organisation began in the early '70's when student activity around the issue of poverty



wages combined with the spontaneous upsurge of worker militancy in the Durban strikes in 1973 to produce a number of new unions. Nineteen odd unions emerged in the wake of those strikes and the labour movement continued to grow and consolidate during the seventies.

These unions can be divided into General Unions and Industrial Unions. General Unions are open to workers from all sectors of industry be they motor or metal or food or textile workers whereas industrial unions are open only to workers in one specific sector of industry eg. motor workers.

The impetus for the growth of general unions came partly from the fact that workers from many different sectors of industry wanted to join and it seemed to be important to develop a broad worker base which would unite the working class across industrial boundaries.

General unions, however, seem to be moving in the direction of an industrial union style of organisation because they've found it difficult to consolidate their support and strength in any one industry. It doesn't help when you are negotiating with a metal employer to be well-organised in the textile industry. This problem recurs on a national scale as well since a consolidated presence in one industry on a national scale greatly increases your bargaining power with individual employers. And a national presence is becoming necessary in some industries as the spread of monopoly control of industry meant that you are in fact dealing with one employer on a national basis.

In addition, some general unions are finding that their diverse support base does not allow them to organise strategically enough and that there are certain factories and certain sectors of industry in which it is more strategic to organise than others. For example, if one particular employer occupies a very influential position within the private sector then to organise in that employer's factories and to win concessions could have a ripple effect on other employers (and workers) in that industry.

There's been another interesting shift in the nature of trade union organisation over the last couple of years. In the '70's managements generally refused to acknowledge the existence of trade unions. They were reluctant to concede the right of workers to be represented by

a trade union and so a lot of the struggle between management and labour was over the recognition by management of unions. And after the Wiehahn Commission proposals resulted in a provision for government registration of unions, the Government appealed to management not to deal with or recognise unions who had not registered under the government's provisions.

But they could not stem the tide of history. Independent black trade unions continued to grow and as they came to represent a majority of the workforce managements were forced to break with the government and deal with them registered or unregistered. I think that the growth of labour organisation on the east coast during 1980 in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, spearheaded by unions who rejected the government's registration provisions, was crucial in splitting management off from the government's strategy and decisively tipping the scales in favour of management recognition of black trade unions.

This is not to suggest of course that managements are falling over themselves to recognise black trade unions, but I do feel that the frontline has shifted from struggles over recognition to struggles over co-option and control. Management's advanced guard – the monopoly corporations, industrial relations specialists, some academics and journalists – have accepted that black trade unions are here to stay but are determined to define the rules of the game in such a way as to neutralize as far as possible any challenge to their domination in the workplace.

Now the growing acceptance by management of the inevitability (and possibly even the necessity) of black trade unions and their attempts to co-opt unions coincides with an interesting dynamic within and most of the black unions, namely an incredible growth in membership over the last few years which has stretched their organisational resources to the point where unions can not hope to consolidate the large numbers of new members into solid factory structures. The Metal and Allied Workers Union, for example, virtually doubled in size in 1981, going from 15 000 or 18 000 members to around 35 000.

And so we have a situation developing where union organisers who have been swamped by the growth in membership and cannot effectively consolidate their factory organisation are being offered recogni-

tion by management. Having signed up a significant proportion of the workforce, they find themselves invited by management, to negotiations and presented with long and complex recognition agreements drafted by industrial relations specialists.

This shifts the site of struggle from the factory floor to the board room and offers the Union an established working relationship with management, but according to management's ground rules as enshrined in their legalistic recognition agreement with all its clauses and sub-clauses and qualifications and so on. And so I predict that more and more unions are going to find themselves in a Catch 22 situation where the offer of recognition on management's terms is going to be irresistible because they in fact do not have the organisational resources to effectively mobilise their membership, to raise their consciousness to confront management and wage a battle against them.

However, management's desire to co-opt unions does not mean that they are taking a softer line in dealing with organised labour. On the contrary. The success of their strategy depends on them being able to force unions to accept an institutionalised form of collective bargaining. One of the issues over which this battle is being currently fought is that of participation by independent black unions in Industrial Councils.

Industrial Councils are statutory bodies where management and labour meet to set minimum conditions for an industry. Now many unions believe that negotiations should take place within the factory between workers and their individual management.

They feel that the Councils are dominated by management and tame white unions and that their bargaining power in such a forum would be diluted. And anyway they want to preserve the direct involvement of workers in negotiations at a factory level.

So participation in Industrial Councils is being seen by many unions as the threshold of co-option which they don't want to cross. That crossing it would involve them in a bureaucratised, institutionalised system of industrial relations which has less potential for organising, mobilising and educating the workers.

Managements have predictably taken a really hard line over the question of participation in Industrial Councils and have refused

to negotiate with unions outside of the councils and so this has become one of the most contentious points in labour relations over the last two years.

For example, there were 44 reported strikes in the metal industry on the East Rand in the first six months of 1982. 30 of these concerned wage demands. Most employers refused to hold discussions with workers outside of the industrial council, while the Metal and Allied Workers Union which was involved in 33 of the 44 strikes rejected the Industrial Council and insisted on plant level bargaining. The Industrial Council system was thus the underlying issue since many of these strikes would not have occurred had management not refused to bargain with workers outside of the Industrial Council.

Wages have continued to be the major cause of strikes. Of the 111 strikes in the final six months of 1982, 63 were over wages. A new issue has exploded on the labour scene, however, and that is retrenchments. FOSATU Unions, for example, didn't have one strike over retrenchments in 1981, and yet this year they've had 16. Managements have been taking a particularly hard line against demands for living wages and retrenchment and as the economy moves into a recession, I think that disputes over both issues will escalate. Management are likely to try and maintain high profit margins by keeping wages as low as possible while at the same time retrenching workers in this way for further cutting their wage bill and forcing the reduced workforce to work even harder and so boosting productivity.

A major new development in the pattern of strike activity was that of the rolling strike. This is a strike which breaks out in one factory but then quickly spreads through the area. The East Rand saw two rolling strikes in the metal industry. The first wave struck in February/March and totalled 20 strikes before it washed over, and the second wave, in late April/early May came seven strikes. Northern Natal was also hit by rolling strikes and at one stage an entire township stayed away from work in support of worker demands. These rolling strikes seem to represent a high degree of class consciousness amongst workers which is leading them to adopt a more assertive, more militant approach.

Unemployment is likely to increase dramatically this coming year and is going to be one of the critical issues facing all progressive organisations. Unions will find themselves fighting against retrench-

ments while community-based organisations, including student, youth and women's groups are going to have to cope with the rising numbers of unemployed. On a slightly more positive note, I also think that unemployment could be an issue around which community, trade union, youth, student and women's organisations could co-operate in developing a co-ordinated strategy. Hopefully, united action of this sort would help to improve and consolidate the working relationship between the different spheres of progressive activity.

The relationship between trade unions and community groups has been uneven to say the least. We can trace the history of the relationship back to 1979 when Fattis and Monis workers, having gone on strike, saw that they could increase their bargaining power if people in communities stopped buying Fattis and Monis products. If Fattis and Monis sales dropped and the company began to feel the pinch they might become a lot more amenable to negotiating with the workers. But the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU) which represented the striking workers played no direct role in organising the boycott and this led to the absurd situation where the AFCWU reached an agreement with the Fattis and Monis management and wanted to call off the boycott but one of the organisations which had been organising the boycott refused because they disagreed with the agreement.

The meat strike in mid-1980 saw the pendulum swing back to the opposite extreme. The General Workers' Union which represented the striking workers insisted on being directly in control of the boycott. Members of GWU chaired the boycott committee and meetings were held at the GWU offices. This was also not a satisfactory arrangement, however, and so we still do not have a precedent which encapsulates the correct balance between the two constituencies – total control of the one by the other or total autonomy of the one from the other.

On the level of support activity then, we have the problem of establishing the equality of the different progressive organisations so that they can lend support to each other without dominating or being dominated. This problem, however, manifests itself at the level of united or joint action. United fronts between trade union, community, student and women's groups are obviously essential on issues such as anti-Republic Day, anti-SAIC and Release Mandela. The people involved in the community and trade union organisations representing the

working class need to come together in a broad front to plan together and organise together.

GWU have recently put forward three points which they feel should guide any such relationship. Firstly, they stress that they are primarily a workers organisation concerned with factory organisation and factory issues. Secondly, their democratic structure makes it necessary for them to first seek a mandate from their members before participating in broader struggles. Thirdly, they affirm their commitment to a national democratic struggle. And I feel that this is the crucial point to bear in mind about any alliance of trade union, community, student and women's organisations. Certainly any such alliance must take into account the independence of each organisation, the fact that they have different support bases, that they are democratic and have to take the interests of their members into account when allying with each other, but the crucial overriding factor is that all these progressive organisations are part of a national democratic struggle. Not one of them is the national democratic struggle.

Unfortunately, we do have problems with organisations seeing themselves as the struggle, or as its leading component, rather than as just a part of the national democratic struggle. The national democratic struggle is a different level altogether. It is not a trade union. It is not a student or community or women's group. It is the explicitly political organisation, mobilisation and education of people.

None of the first level progressive organisations is a political organisation. They take up issues as they affect a particular group of people in a particular place at a particular point in time. And although these first-level issues are ultimately political, and although these first level organisations can and must draw out that political content, they are not waging a political struggle for the political rights of all people. And where first level organisations do try to take on explicitly political roles, they fall between two stools. They become ineffective first level organisations because they devote less of their energies and resources to building and consolidating first level organisation and they are inadequate second level organisations because they have neither the structure nor the mandate and support base to act as political organisations.

Now this is a delicate balance that the first level organisations have to strike — concentrating on immediate constituency issues while

at the same time drawing out its political content so as to contribute to an overall national democratic struggle. Too many groups lose that balance. We've seen, for example, trade unions maintain that they want nothing to do with political mobilisation. We've seen some student groups concentrate almost exclusively on political mobilisation and not give enough attention to local student issues.

As I stressed earlier in my talk, our first level of organisation has to be on a constituency basis. People are brought together in the schools and universities, in the communities and in the factories. In each of these spheres people have the same problems, making it possible to organise them and mobilise them around those issues. But we cannot leave people locked into one compartment of organisation. We cannot statistically define them as students, women or as members of one community or one factory. We cannot limit their involvement to one organisation and one set of issues.

Their experience and their awareness has to be one which goes beyond the confines of any one sphere of organisation for the simple reason that no one sphere is capable of liberating our people. First level organisation must move people beyond the limited problems and solutions of student, women, factory and community organisations and instil in their members an awareness of, and a commitment to, national political liberation.

So we have to start breaking down those compartments between our organisations as we organise, as we mobilise, and as we educate. If we've got to transcend those first level organisations without destroying or neglecting them, the obvious way to do that is to build a degree of co-ordination between the different first level organisations. This will immediately allow us to straddle those organisational boundaries so that instead of community organisations fighting on one front and trade unions on another, we could start to bring those fronts together and advance as a progressive movement.

But this would still be a progressive movement at the first level. The organisations, linking up on an issue like, for example, unemployment, are still going to be doing so at the first level. They are not political organisations and they haven't built a political movement yet. Their structures, their issues, their mandates, their membership are all still growing out of those first level issues, and it is essential that these organisations continue to organise, mobilise and educate people at that level.

These first level organisations form one half of the process of liberation; but liberation is more than just the sum total of all their activities and a national democratic struggle is more than just the co-ordinated struggles of first level organisations.

So our first problem is how we are going to start to co-ordinate and unite our progressive organisations? But secondly, having done that, how are we then going to build a progressive national democratic movement? What structures will it have? What issues will it take up? How will it mobilise? These are all questions which we need to confront because otherwise we are going to build a foundation which can't support the structures that we want to erect.

Let me turn to the realm of student and youth organisations. The student movement has a proud history. Despite its limitations it has played a key role at crucial phases in South African history. In 1956 NUSAS led the campaign against the segregation of the universities and militant campus activity was in many senses given its definition by these campaigns in the '50's. In the early '70's student involvement in labour played a major part in launching the current wave of trade union organisation. The nationwide uprisings of '76 and '77 were student-led, and in the late '70's the student movement played a major role in the remoulding of a national, non-racial democratic movement. Student organisations have been central in articulating a non-racial, democratic position and in fact, the current popularity and wide acceptance of the Freedom Charter is not entirely undue to the emphasis that the student movement has laid on the democratic principles enshrined in the Charter.

However, I can't help feeling that the student movement has not lived up to its full potential in recent years. One of the tasks facing NUSAS, COSAS and AZASO at these congresses and council meetings is to devise strategies and programmes for the coming year which will encapsulate their potential role at this point in our struggle. Let me expand on this point a bit.

The contribution of the student movement to the struggle has to be on the basis of its student activity. The same goes for the unions, community and women's groups. All of these must be working amongst their constituents in such a way that they cater for their immediate interests and contribute to the national democratic strug-

gle at the same time. If there is not a direct link between these two components of progressive activity, organisations may participate in broader national democratic struggles without the support of their members, and at the same time will not be feeding the political content of those national democratic struggles back into their first level organisations.

If there is a dichotomy between our programmes and activities inside the schools and universities and the broader political issues and struggles which we are taking up outside the schools and universities, then we are going to lose the pulse of history. Both sets of activities are likely to become less relevant, less appropriate to the situation that students and the progressive movement as a whole, find themselves in. And both sets of activity are important.

Organisations within the schools and universities allows the student movement to consolidate its support base, to raise the awareness of students, to force the educational system to play a more meaningful role in South African society. It allows them to expose and exploit the contradictions of South African society, to disorganise the ruling classes.

But developing an internal support base is only half of the task facing the student movement. That student support base has to be mobilised to play a constructive role on a much broader scale — to contribute to the development of the struggle as a whole. But there has to be a link between the two. You can't organise students around one set of issues and then take up a different set of issues which concern a struggle outside the education system because if you do you'll find yourself addressing two different audiences, a student audience on the one hand and a trade union/community audience on the other. You have to somehow marry the two, weld them together. They have to feed into each other.

The issues and demands and campaigns which are being mobilised around in the schools and universities have to lead logically, axiomatically into the consideration of broader social issues. So that if you are taking up a factory or community struggle the reason for you taking it up has to somehow flow out of the type of demands and issues that you have been raising within your schools and universities. And at the same time the political content of those broader issues must be fed back into your local structures in such a way that it raises

the awareness of your members and helps to strengthen your local organisation. There has to be a reciprocal, a dialectical relationship between the two.

To take the NUSAS theme of Campus Action for Democracy as an example — it had the potential of mobilising students around issues which they thought were important, but which were not limited to students, which raised broader issues about the nature of our society. But somehow the link was not adequately made. That theme has not provided a framework within which on and off campus issues can be dealt with, a framework which would make it logical and necessary for students to be concerned and involved with both on and off campus issues.

Let me give you an example. I attended a meeting at Wits a few years ago on the Wilson-Rowntree boycott. Two unionists spoke. They gave good speeches and it was a very rousing and important meeting. But when I looked at the audience of about 400 I saw that very few of them were students, and those who were represented your more involved actionists and organisers. I felt that the issue, the Wilson-Rowntree boycott, had not arisen out of the mainstream of student activity on campus and the mobilisation being created by that meeting was not being converted into ongoing organisation on the campus.

Let's look at some of the other reasons why I regard the student movement as so important. Firstly it acts as a recruiting and training ground for activists. If we look at struggles in South Africa and world-wide we see that many leading activists received their initial politicization and organisational training in the student movement.

The second reason is that people involved in student organisations are all involved in the education process; in thinking, analysing, questioning. This means often that they are developing a higher level of knowledge and awareness than the rest of society. Students see things that the rest of society doesn't see. They develop a progressive analysis to a greater extent than other organisations. I think that a lot of the progressive analysis that the trade unions and community organisations have assimilated actually originated in the student movement and I cannot overstate the importance of the student movement as the melting pot for that progressive analysis, as the generator of that progressive analysis.

At the moment there is a drastic shortage of progressive analysis of our struggle, analysis that would help organisations develop more relevant and effective strategies and which would in turn enable the people in those organisations to understand the oppressive conditions under which they live and work.

Another facet of this process, and again one which the student movement is particularly well placed to cater for, is information. The saying that "information is power" has become a cliché and we need to give it a concrete political role. Information in our society is monopolised and controlled and only fed to us in selected doses to limit what we know and consequently what we think. The student movement has the intellectual and material resources to be able to make information and knowledge available to other progressive organisations.

We can also plug in a lot of other organisational resources. Relatively speaking the student movement is highly organised. It has a lot of facilities and resources at its disposal, anything from printing equipment right through to the ability to organise a seminar or a conference.

Thirdly, I think that the student movement can play an important role in campaigns. Anti-Republic Day, the Wilson-Rowntree and red mean boycotts, anti-SAIC and Release Mandela are all campaigns in which students played an important part. And I think that the contribution of students to such campaigns is particularly important because the student movement is, to a greater extent than other progressive organisations, organised on a national scale. I don't think that any other constituency of progressive activity can mobilise and initiate activity on a national scale as effectively as the student movement can.

The nationwide stoppage by some 70 000 workers in protest at the death in detention of trade unionist Dr Neil Aggett is an example of the potential power of the labour movement and a highly significant example in its own right but I think that it represents at this stage at least, something of a special case and doesn't affect my argument about the role of students in "political" campaigns.

In addition, student organisations have a more highly politicised

support base. Obviously, I don't want to exaggerate the political awareness of students, but let's face it, the way students take up issues, the discussions and debates that go with issues, are more explicitly political than in other branches of the progressive movement. This is partly due to the greater freedom that sometimes prevails in the schools and universities, but it's also got something to do with youth, the fact that youth question, youth have energy, youth are rebellious. This often means that students can develop an issue into an explicitly political one far more quickly and sometimes more thoroughly than other groups can.

On a more sober note though, I think that we still have a long way to go in consolidating student organisation. The student movement has at times also fallen into the trap of mistaking a high degree of mobilisation for organisation and radical rhetoric for political education. This has sometimes resulted in a neglect of basic student issues and organisation. It is essential that local structures be built which can initiate programmes to take up those basic student issues on an on-going basis so that students always have organised activities in which they can involve themselves and which are doing something for them, helping them deal with day-to-day problems.

I think that youth organisation in the communities is going to grow and become an increasingly important focus of activity. Youth have often provided much of the people power for community based organisation but have only recently started to concentrate on building their own organisational structures and activities. An interesting example in this regard is the rapid growth of the Lenz Youth League. Lenz is an Indian community near Johannesburg which after the 1980 school boycott had four SRC's established itself and is in the process of organising a week-long youth festival. Obviously the raised awareness and organisational energy resulting from the boycotts has been channelled into youth rather than school organisation.

I mentioned earlier that a new approach to organisation, mobilisation and education emerged after 1977 – an approach which emphasised grassroots, democratic organisations around issues which directly affected people. This "new wave" has been most noticeable in the sphere of community organisation. Taking up issues like housing, high rents, bus fares, township conditions, health and child care to name only some of the more common areas of activity these organisa-

tions have established themselves in their communities and have developed local leadership and organisational structures which will play an increasingly important role in the progressive movement over the next couple of years.

Community groups have developed an exceptionally democratic method of organising by using a system of house meetings and street representatives. A house meeting is essentially a discussion between an organiser and members of one or more households over particular issues that concern them. As such, it ensures the direct participation of residents in defining issues and deciding on courses of action. This door-to-door mobilisation usually leads up to the election of an action committee and eventually the formation of a civic or Residents Association.

In taking up issues community organisations have been concerned to link up their immediate local demands to broader demands of the oppressed majority. The point that has come out every time is that problems experienced at a local level in the community can be traced back to the lack of political rights and representation experienced by the members of that community. Because people do not have the role or because no effective or meaningful local government structures exist, people have no say in decision-making processes. And because they don't elect those who do make decisions, they don't act in the people's interests.

The same problem is mirrored at a national political level — the people don't have the right to elect the government and it consequently does not represent their interests. The ultimate long-term solution to local community problems then lies in the achievement of majority rule in a unitary state.

Certain overall demands, certain rights, have also been stressed, such as "housing for all" and "rents which people can afford". This is very important in terms of what I was saying earlier about the importance of drawing out the political content and potential of local grassroots issues, and in terms of defining issues in such a way that they provide a basis for on-going programmes of action. So that rather than just taking up a local community issue which is fought and won or lost and then disappears, we take it up in a way that ensures that the issue endures in terms of both organisation and awareness.

The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, PEBCO, for example, made clear that while it was a civic organisation concerned with local community problems, all the issues it was taking up were at the same time political in that they were part and parcel of the exploitative and oppressive system people are living under. PEBCO also stressed that it was not a political organisation, and that although the long-term solution to civic problems was a political one, that a national political movement, and not a local civic one, was needed to wage those political struggles.

Community organisations have provided a means through which people can get involved, where they can develop confidence in their own organisation and power, where they can learn the skills of organisation and democracy and, through the experience of struggle, come to understand their situation in an oppressive society. They have developed a progressive, community based leadership and have started to reach out to other local organisations to form regional umbrella structures.

This is a particularly interesting and important development in that it may be the first step in overcoming the limitations of isolated, individual struggles. The umbrella structures can establish a degree of unity and co-ordination which greatly extends the potential of issues taken up by the individual affiliates. The next step will be to try and overcome the uneven growth of community organisation. All over the country we find cities with a high degree of organisation in some communities and almost none in neighbouring communities. Overcoming this unevenness I would see as a priority for community organisations over the next 18 months.


At the same time, community organisations, and in particular their umbrella bodies, need to develop their working relationships with other spheres of progressive activity. By this I mean linking up with similar groups locally and nationally, and with other spheres of organisation like trade unions, student and women's groups.

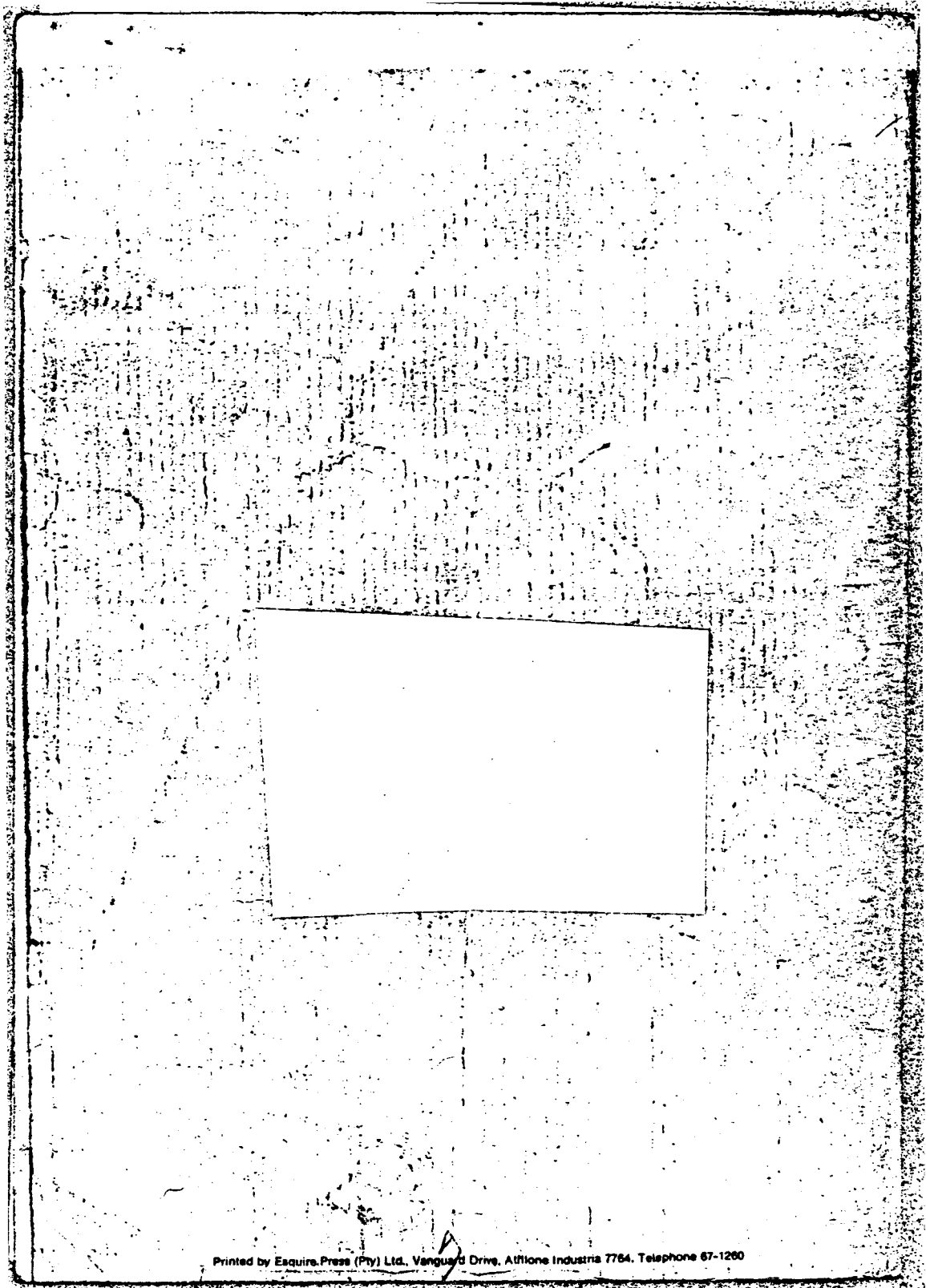
One final point on the question of the structure of community organisation. I discussed the problem of sustaining organisation, and particularly by the involvement of the members or supporters, and I gave the example of the trade union which has a membership that it has to constantly defend against the bosses. This obviously makes it easier

for the union to maintain the involvement of its members. Now this problem is far greater in the communities. People are concentrated in a factory and can be more easily assembled for a meeting to discuss issues and problems, to hear report-backs and to take decisions. Meetings take place during working hours, the bosses time. In the communities, people are relatively dispersed and meetings take place in their homes during their precious leisure time.

Community organisations have been relatively successful in overcoming these problems but I can't help feeling that if they are to become more effective, if they are to develop from here, that they are going to have to explore new and different organisational forms and structures. Membership, elections, full-time organisers, local offices are just some of the options which spring to mind, and I'm sure that the appropriate ones will emerge in time from the concrete organisational experience of these groups.

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17/04/80

Hello Sir,

I first have to apologise on behalf of "all of us" for the loud silence that has prevailed. Last time we meant to write but decided to postpone until further & better developments on our side.

First we have to commend the work you have been alone consistently and tirelessly doing. We know it is your duty like every revolutionary to do this but are moved by the ground you have covered. The leadership and all of "us" are fully behind you and are proud to have a 'comde' like you in our ranks.

We received your report last time and were very pleased. We feel that you probably have to have some "cover" like a project for your activities. We are prepared to support financially and otherwise whatever scheme you are prepared to come up with. Meanwhile we hope to advance you some amount for your work but this can only be at the end of this month. Can you then send somebody (preferably not the bearer) round about the 1st or 2nd of May?

SAMUEL, NTOMBEMBI)

(The bearer will make the arrangements for you)

Mabopane

We also suggest you send a girl from Springs - MATHABO PHARASI (OB is her code) whom we can always use as a courier. It is best not to discuss anything with her but write when absolutely necessary and attempt to hide in the same way as we have done - i.e. use a tissue box false bottom or packet of pads or any suitable, safe hiding method and place. She is known to us. If amongst the cosas boys there is any who can travel and whom you trust best we would be pleased to have discussions with him as soon as possible. He will then also act as a liason and link between you and us. The current form of contact and link is unsatisfactory. The other chaps (bearers included) should not know anything about him. Let OB fly down and we will reimburse you.

The question of taking the "Indep. States" passports by these boys or any other of our people is no problem. We feel that these can be of good use for the furthering of our cause. We understand and appreciate the principle but feel that quietly and for relevant purposes they can be used. Ofcourse not by people like you as you are very conspicuous and apparently controversial". So do suggest to some of them to use these - even using assumed names at that. We have contact with Bloemfontein Boys who are on their own starting a branch of Cosas there. They urgently need a JHB Cosas fellow to visit immediately to prepare for the official launching. MNGOMEZULU & co got there and confused issues with their AZAPO'S YOUTH WING. We need to have this cleared up. We would be pleased if these boys can travel there on the first week-end of May. We will send you details of how they make contact. Infact if you call Maseru 22642 from a telephone booth on Monday - 6.00 pm I will give you the details. Your code name is "Samuel" and mine is NTOMBEMEI. I will wait and please send your best boys. Oh also be ready on Monday to provide me with how, when will they get there.

We are in full contact of AZAPO Bloemfontein. MOSALA et co will find themselves having no passengers in a train slowly driven to destruction. We feel that in the next conference - even if you are elected to any position - politely refuse to stand for elections - on grounds of health, business/commitment or anything else. We need you outside any legal movement especially a political one. Do probably keep good relations with them. We support your present stand pertaining to them.

We hope ZUELAKHU and ENOCH briefed you on the 1980-Year of the Charter-Decade for Freedom. We are not quite pleased with its progress and strongly feel that your assistance is needed. If they have not briefed you could you please contact them on this. Then we will be pleased if you can contact JOE NZAMANE - Code BERNARD in Springs and discuss this with him. If possible then work closely with him. We suggest the Free Man Campaign should be embraced in the Decade for Freedom Programme.

3/.....

Have committees on Free M who tehn push for the Decade for Freedom Campaign too - as well as Release of all political prisoners and detainees, return of exiles, unbanning of banned people and organisations etc. We leave this in your able hands.

Could you continue and intensify your work in the Trade Unions and Workers. SACTU has declared this the Year of the Worker. Can you investigate for us progressive elements in the Trade Unions. Send us their names and how to contact them Please also have discussions with and try to influence MOTHA of the Miner's Trade Union (he formally was in BAWU) TSIKI AND ALL THOSE YOU ASSESS AS BEING IN LINE. If possible send us MOTHA and any other for 2 days discussions and training on Trade Unionism.

DR. NTHATO we learn is to be invited by the free Mand. Committee in Natal to address a rally. Could you please if possible advise him not to touch on Gatsha and Inkatha as this is too thorny especially in that area. The Fr. Man Comm - consisting of mainly Indians feels that their life span as committee may be seriously shortened if the Doctor rocks the boat. Please then persuade him to rather concentrate on our struggle, progressive forces etc and ignore reactionary elements like the Chief. Don't let on that this is from us. The Natal Group also wants contact with BERNARD & YOU.

We have a lot of literature for internal distribution - do you have suggestions?

Lastly Cosas has some money which they don't know about - with WVS here. R2 000.00 or R1 500. They must be in touch with me to give them contact BEFORE Mid May.

Do send my personal revolutionary greetings to ALL of them especially THAMI GQWETA, TITI, MAHEHOT BABY. Ask them to drop me a line officially - the safe address is Box 1625 write to Mrs MOROA MALEPANE

4/.....

COMDE once more we send our greetings and undiluted support.
Please close Ranks and Be Careful of provocateurs.

A M A N D L A !!

(T) NTOMBEMBI

C129

C Nkonso

Sockets

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No 6 . 9.3.87

THE RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN (RMC)

The Release Mandela Campaign Committee in the Transvaal was formed in 1980. It came into being after realising that the campaign itself fizzled out at the end of 1980 due to the fact that the committee that organized and ran the campaign then was not co-ordinated. It also did not have a programme of action and a structure to sustain the campaign.

The Release Mandela Campaign Committee in the Transvaal is based in Soweto. One of its prominent members is MRS ALBERTINA SISULU - wife of WALTER SISULU who, together with NELSON MANDELA is serving a life sentence at Folsmoor Prison. ALBERTINA SISULU is the President of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Transvaal, and she is also one of the national presidents of UDF.

After its formation, the committee produced a working document. Copies of the document were made for distribution to interim committees that were formed in several parts of the country. The purpose of forming interim committees was:

- to intensify and sustain the campaign itself,
- to work towards the launching of the Release Mandela Campaign at a national level.

So far the following regions have attained official status, namely:

- Natal
- Transvaal
- East London

The Transvaal executive committee spearheaded single-handed the establishment of interim committees in many parts of the country. To accomplish this feat, the lack of funds became a bugbear or a logey. Determined to make a success of the campaign, the executive committee had no alternative but to borrow R6 000 to buy and to produce the Free Mandela T-shirts journals, and to form interim committees. Unfortunately the

No 6
9-3-87

T-shirts were banned before most of them were sold. Our Release Mandela Campaign meetings were also banned. But this did not daunt our determination to form interim committees. We then took advantage of:

No 6

- the UDF'S 1 million signature campaign, and
- the launching of the Youth Congresses and the Women's organizations, to create interim committees.

As a consequence of these efforts, the following committees were formed:

- TRANSVAAL -

- (1) Mankweng,
- (2) University of the North,
- (3) Seshego, in Pietersburg.

- THE VAAL COMPLEX -

- (1) Evaton,
- (2) Sebokeng,
- (3) Bophelong.

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- POTCHEFSTROOM -

- PRETORIA -

- (1) Medunsa University
- (2) Atteridgville,
- (3) Mamelodi

- JOHANNESBURG -

- (1) Soweto
- (2) East Rand
- (3) Lenasia
- (4) Rosmont
- (5) Newclare
- (6) Western Coloured Township
- (7) Eldorado Park

- ORANGE FREE STATE -

- (1) Weloone
- (2) Bloemfontein

- NORTHERN CAPE -

- (1) Kimberley
- (2) Vryburg
- (3) Kuruman
- (4) Taung

After the executive committee had discussed several issues with the Chief of Taung, it identified - as a measure of priority, the construction of the MANDELA bridge that will facilitate easy communication of the people in the area. Details of this project will follow later.

- EASTERN CAPE -

- (1) Port Elizabeth
- (2) Queenstown
- (3) Uitenhage
- (4) Cradock

Owing to the acute shortage of funds, the executive committee was unable to establish interim committees in some parts of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and the Western Cape.

But as soon as funds are made available, the executive committee will be able to establish branches throughout the country.

A consultative meeting was organised - on a national level, and it was to have been held at the Indian township of Lenasia near Soweto. This would have been cheaper and more convenient. The meeting was scheduled for the 6th, 7th and 8th of April 1984. Unfortunately, on the 5th of April, the executive committee was told that the venue at Lenasia could not be used. The university of the Witwatersrand offered a venue free of charge. 150 delegates attended the meeting. To provide accommodation and food, the committee had to book a hotel. There was no alternative two cars and a van were used to transport the delegates from the airport, railway station, and the hotel. All three presidents of the JDF, namely:

- ...
- ...
- ...

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attended the meeting. The meeting was officially opened by OSCAR MPEHLA, the initiator of the Release Mandela Campaign.

Of the R3000 that we received from you, more than R10 000 was spent on the consultative meeting. Because the delegates failed to raise the money for transport, we had to send money to all of them so that they could attend the meeting. This was an extremely heavy strain on our finances. All the papers that were read had to be photostated for distribution to each delegate.

The executive's decision is to provide T-shirts for sale. These will cost more than R5000. In addition, a national Planning Seminar will cost more than R5000 to organise and run.

The Release Mandela Campaign has become a popular, and attractive feature in this country, funds are, therefore, needed to make it a success.

We therefore appeal desperately to you for assistance.

We wish to thank you very much for the assistance you have given without which, the Consultative meeting would not have succeeded.

The Release Mandela Campaign focuses on the Release of NELSON MANDELA. But stress is also made on the release of all political prisoners, as well as the return of all political exiles so as to take part in the National Convention. The Release Mandela Campaign is a Civil Rights Campaign for the abolition of Apartheid. Apartheid is not only immoral, but it is also regarded as a heresy.

Yours sincerely

CHAUHAN - CLINTIS NKONDO

PUBLICITY SECRETARY -

EMMA

THE RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN ① (RMC)

The Release Mandela Campaign Committee in the Transvaal was formed in 1983. It came into being after realising that the Campaign itself fizzled out at the end of 1980 due to the fact that the Committee that organized and ran the Campaign then was not coordinated. It also did not have a programme of action and a structure to sustain the Campaign.

The Release Mandela Campaign Committee in the Transvaal is based in Soweto. One of its prominent members is Mrs Albertina Sisulu—wife of Walter Sisulu; who, together with Nelson Mandela is serving a life sentence at Pollsmoor Prison. Albertina Sisulu is the President of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in the Transvaal, and she is also one of the national Presidents of UDF.

(2)
As its ⁽²⁴⁾ formation, the Committee produced a working document. Copies of the document were made for distribution to interim Committees that were formed in several parts of the country.

The purpose of forming interim Committees was:

- to intensify and sustain the Campaign itself,
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- the UDF's 1 million Signature Campaign, and
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As a consequence of these efforts, the following Committees were formed:

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- ③ Bophelong.

- Potchestroom

- PRETORIA -

- ① Medunsa University,
- ② Atteridgeville,
- ③ Mamelodi,

- JOHANNESBURG -

- ① Soweto
- ② East Rand
- ③ Lenasia
- ④ Bosmont
- ⑤ Newclare
- ⑥ Western Coloured Township
- ⑦ Eldorado Park

(34) Orange Free State- (5)

- ① Welcome
- ② Bloemfontein

- NORTHERN CAPE-

- ① Kimberley
- ② Vryburg
- ③ Kuruman
- ④ Taung.

After the executive Committee had discussed several issues with the Chief of Taung, it identified - as a measure of priority, the construction of the Mandela bridge that will facilitate easy communication of the people in the area. Details of this Project will follow later.

- EASTERN CAPE-

- ① Port Elizabeth,
- ② Queenstown,
- ③ Uitenhage,
- ④ Cradock.

ving to the acute shortage of funds, the ^(b) executive Committee was unable to establish interim Committees in some parts of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the Western Cape. But as soon as funds are made available, the executive Committee will be able to establish branches throughout the Country.

A Consultative meeting was organised on a national level, and it was to have been held at the Indian Township of Lenasia near Soweto. This would have been cheaper and more convenient. The meeting was scheduled for the 6th, 7th, and 8th of April 1984. Unfortunately, on the 5th of April, the executive Committee was told that the Venue at Lenasia could not be used. The University of the Witwatersrand offered a venue free of charge. 150 delegates attended the meeting. To provide accommodation and food, the Committee had to book a hotel. There was no alternative.

(34) (7)
Two cars and a van were used to transport the delegates from the airport, railway station, and the hotel.

All three Presidents of the UDF, namely:

- Albertina Sisulu,
- Archie Gumede, and
- Oscar Mpetsha.

attended the meeting. The meeting was officially opened by Oscar

Mpetsha, the initiator of the release of the R8000 Campaign.

You, more than R10000 was spent on the consultative meeting. Because the delegates failed to raise the money for transport, we had to send money to all of them so that they could attend the meeting. This was an extremely heavy strain on our finances.

All the papers that were read had to be photostated for distribution to each delegate.

The executive's decision is to provide T-shirts for sale. These will cost more than R5000. In addition, a national planning committee will get ...

an.

The Release Mandela Campaign has become a popular, and attractive feature in this country, funds are, therefore, needed to make it a success.

We therefore appeal desperately to you for assistance.

We wish to thank you very much for the assistance you have given without which, the Consultative meeting would not have succeeded.

The Release Mandela Campaign focuses on ^{the} release of Nelson Mandela. But stress is also made on the release of ~~all~~ all political prisoners, as well as the return of all political exiles so as to take part in the National Convention.

The Release Mandela Campaign is a Civil Rights Campaign for the abolition of Apartheid. Apartheid is not only immoral, but ~~it~~ it is also regarded as a heresy.

Yours Sincerely

Chairman - Curtis NKindo.
Publicity-Secretary -
Treasurer -

NB 11

C130

C Nkomo
Secret

(16) 3/9/87

(20) 24/9/87

Bew "C130"

"THE STRUGGLE IS (OUR) LIFE"

Dearest Sister and Comrade

I wish to thank you very much for having made it possible for us to meet. The consultations were very fruitful, and your presence made an impact, and a resounding success in everything we did.

Our Natal comrades came, but because the system constantly followed them wherever they went, they decided to return. As a consequence the consultations could not materialize. But do not worry I shall find a method that will ultimately make the consultations a success. I am constantly hounded and harassed by the police, but this will never deter me from the struggle. In the words of my comrade and leader: "The struggle is my life", and if need be I "am prepared to die" to see that a just and non-racial democratic society is established. The Gestapo-fascist régime must be destroyed.

20

24/9/87

Yesterday (8 August 1981) I met the 13 American Congress men who were refused permission to visit our leader on the Island. It was not difficult for me to present the ANC'S determination to make a success of the struggle for liberation. I indicated that we require no external intervention in our struggle. We shall liberate ourselves, and that no one will stop us, or distract us from that road.

I presented to them what I imagined our leader would have told them, if they had had a chance to meet him. All educational systems in this country are unacceptable. Both these systems are a deviation from the aspirations of "The Freedom Charter", I told them. And that anybody who deviates from the demands of the 'Charter' is a traitor, and a fraud, or a downright quisling.

From 1975, I have always stressed the fact that Black Education (for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians) domesticates i.e. it only teaches people to labour, and to take instructions. Black people are tuned into accepting a subservient position, and that manual labour is all that they are fit for. The

motive behind Black education is that 'Whiteman is Boss', and that this position must be entrenched.

Now, what is White Education - known also as "National Christian Education?" This as you will realize is neither "National" nor "Christian". White education is unacceptable because it indoctrinates. It seeks to entrench White supremacy. Pupils and students are trained to develop a capacity to calculate, decide, and manage.

I totally reject P.W. BOGOTA'S "total strategy" because it means a 'total' and perpetual subjugation, and enslavement of the Black majority. I reject any dialogue with the oppressor because it is a false premise. I reject any consultation with the oppressor because it is a fruitless exercise, and an attempt to defuse, and delay the struggle for liberation.

Both education systems are strictly a capitalist facade to inculcate in pupils and students all the false values that the colonialists/imperialists/capitalists have used for more than 300 years. A rejection of all these false values will quickly bring us nearer liberation than all the clap trap about "black is beautiful", and all those mouthings about how black we are. What the people should know is that we are fighting for genuine liberation. We are fighting for complete political rights in which "the people shall govern", in which "the land shall belong to those who live in it". Adhering to "The Freedom Charter" is the only way in which we can mobilise the masses. Any deviation from this, is in my humble opinion, a complete betrayal of the struggle for liberation.

16
3/9/77
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S'.....

I have revived the Teachers' Action Committee, although as the chairman, the banning order makes it impossible to function, I have eliminated such aimsings as SEKE MPANILELE, MOLOPE, and T.M. KAMBULE anyana and I will see to it that TAC plays a significant role in the struggle for liberation. My alternate to the present educational impasse is the democratic system, call it socialist or polytechnic if you prefer. It is related to the Russian, Cuban, Chinese, Tanzanian, or Mozambican system of education. I have also studied "Education for Liberation" in Zimbabwe. And because all these systems have one thing in common, there will be no problems in implimentation. Fortunately our SOLOMON MAMLANGU school employs the democratic system of Education. I have already prepared a document that espouses the democratic system of education, and a questionnaire on school administration. By the way, this year, I am the Honorary Vice-President of NUSAS - the position that HELEN held last year, but the banning order makes it impossible to function.

At the moment I am trying to restructure "The Womens's Federation". It is at the moment ineffective. The success of the struggle depends on the role that our women should play. I shall not fail to make this a success. The AZASO Conference, that was held recently was a roaring success. But the COSAS one failed to achieve the required result. As the consequence, another conference will be held in September. I am confident that there will be excellent results. The struggle will continue no matter what happens. The COSAS conference was not well organized. There are no funds to organize on a country-wide scale. I managed to raise R400, but his could not possibly bring all the representatives to Welgespruit. One encouraging feature was that Soweto was well respresented.

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AZAPO is becoming a spent force. Immediately after the June 16th Commemorations, the executive committee approached me for assistance. I told them that the problems they had with COSAS, AZASO, and the Women's Federation was of their making. Each group should continue on its course without any interference.

Please let us keep in touch. Phone me at work: (011) 783-5225)

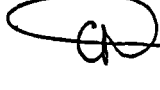
Your loving brother and Comrade

CURTIS

and!

"Struggle is (our) Life".

(1)

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(011)-783-5225
Your loving brother and comrade.
Curtis.

C131

C. Nkomo
Lacwelo

No. (19)

11/8/87
31/5/87

THE ROAD TO MASS ACTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

NOTE: The road to hell is paved with good intentions, but the road to heaven requires extreme sacrifices, selflessness, courage, determination, torture, harassment, persecution, and death. This is the road that all those who are involved in the National Democratic Struggle must travel. Those who have internalised the oppressor will find it almost impossible to travel on such a road.

In order to understand the struggle for participatory Democracy, it is important to note that, unlike animals, man is both in the world and with the world, and that together we can transform the world.

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is in a state of crisis - the crisis is deep, structural, far-reaching and unavoidable, and is rooted in the heart of the Capitalist economy.

In South Africa, the crisis, while having its roots in the economy, manifests itself in all spheres of our lives - in the political, the educational, the ideological, in the factories, and in our communities.

The Revolutionary ferment in South Africa has plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of crisis. Recent manoeuvres on the constitutional front by the Nationalist Party are an implicit recognition of the insolubility of the crisis.

The racist regime is involved in crisis management, a desperate attempt to see that things do not get entirely out of hand. In other words, the fascists recognise that they can no longer rule in the old way.

The regime has begun to tinker with Apartheid in order to entrench business and white domination. Among the reforms have been the new Constitution - also known as the Constitutional

dispensation or reform initiatives, which gives to Coloureds and Indian people a sham form of representation in a tricameral parliament, and the Black Local Authorities Act, which claims to give "Urban Blacks" a greater measure of self-government over the urban ghettos or slums. These reform measures are simply a reaction to the growing revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed and exploited majority in our country and poses the question: What intermediate objectives should we set ourselves, building on what we have achieved, and in preparation for the next stage in our forward march to victory? My answer to this question is: We undoubtedly have the forces and structures that constitute the offensive against Apartheid.

Our National Democratic struggle rests on three pillars. These are:

- the WORKERS, who are the VANGUARD of the struggle for liberation,
- the UNITED MASS ACTION of the oppressed and exploited people, and,
- the International drive to isolate the Apartheid regime.

This paper attempts to examine some implications of the second "Pillar" - the United Mass Action of the oppressed and exploited people, in the light of the experience of the world working-class movement, and especially the theoretical contribution of GEORGI DIMITROV on the questions of the United and popular fronts.

Mass popular resistance to Apartheid and white minority rule has reached unprecedented heights in South Africa. As never before, broad layers of the working people, youth, women, students, and the intelligentsia are being drawn into political activity. This development, by its own momentum, has opened up possibilities for developing new forms of struggle and drawing in even wider sections of our people. But the organization of mass popular resistance poses special problems both at the level of practical activity and of theoretical understanding.

For Progressive forces this new situation brings special responsibilities.

I strongly believe that to bring political knowledge, the progressive forces i.e. the democrats must go among all classes of the population, must despatch units of our activists in all directions - house to house visits, and house meetings, in such a manner as to obtain the support of all opposition strata for the National Democratic Struggle and for the United Democratic Front (UDF)

Our emphasis must be on the broadness of the task facing the Workers' struggle, which must address itself to all classes and all opposition strata.

In the art of going to the broad masses, much can be learnt from the experience in the 1930's of the popular front against fascism and war and from its theoretical leader, GEORGI DIMITROV. But in applying these lessons to our own struggle, we must constantly be aware of DIMITROV'S warning.

"It is necessary in each country to investigate, study and ascertain the national peculiarities, the specific national features and map out accordingly effective methods and forms of struggle. LENIN persistently warned us against ... stereotyped methods ... mechanical levelling and identification of tactical rules, of rules of struggle".

It is especially when approaching the problem of work among the broadest masses and the non-proletarian classes and strata that we should heed LENIN'S advice to display "the utmost flexibility in ... tactics". But such tactical flexibility must never be confused with opportunism or abdication of the ideological struggle.

- Forms of Struggle

Owing to GEORGI DIMITROV'S contribution, 1935 will always be

remembered as the culmination of many years of struggle by the working class against the growing menace of fascism.

The struggle included armed confrontation and street battles. But it also included the struggle of the working-class movement "with itself", especially in reaching a clearer understanding of the nature of fascism.

Although it fell to DIMITROV to present the final formulation, this process of understanding was a collective one, in which the experience of many progressive forces (for example, the French, Italian and Bulgarian Progressive forces) played an important part.

an:/

UNITED FRONT TO END APARTHEID

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Kap. Vorster 25.6.86/1872

PAC 5. Per motor vehicle
C 2P 649 T

No 19 : 10/8/87
24/8/87

(21) . 7/10/87

Ben "C132"

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
PROGRAMME OF ACTION

1. ORGANISATION
 - a) Strengthen existing organisations
 - b) Transformation of working groups into organisations
 - c) Creation of new structures where they do not exist

2. POLITICIZATION
 - a) Campaigns, petitions and mass meetings
 - b) Transformation of working groups
 - c) Workshops
 - d) Discussion groups, videos, ~~cassetts~~ and publications.

3. MOBILIZATION
 - a) Involvement in community orientated projects
 - b) Redirection of resources from organisations like NTCC and other charity organisations
 - c) Organizing mass meetings and rallies in the community
 - d) To respond to the needs of the community with the aim of uniting them
 - e) To work with community groups like burial societies, cultural clubs and church bodies

AREA REPORT & PROGRAMME OF ACTION

1. SESHEGO

Existing organisations should be strengthened . SAAWU in conjunction with SEYCO should organise a workshop and organize the unemployed. Colleges working committees should work together with SEYCO and other progressive organisations.

2. SEKHUKHUNI

By the end of May a workshop should be organised followed by a rally. Sebatakgomo organization should be revived. Where there are youth organisations the youth should try to form other structures like Civic organisations and Women's organizations.

3. MATLALA

To strengthen ties by visiting them.

4. PHALABORWA

To revive SAAWU. Comrades should visit the area and arrange a date for launching a youth organisation

ACORNHOEK
MAVIYCO to be contacted for strengthening the following organisations:

- a) MAVIYCO
- b) ANTHOL WOMEN'S ORGANISATION
- c) THULAMASHI WOMEN'S LEAGUE
- d) ACORNHOEK WOMEN'S GROUP
- e) COTTON-DALE WOMEN'S GROUP

6. GIYANI

Contact and target area

7. SOEKMEKAAR

The Soekmeaar students organisation to be revived and launched.

8. BURGERSFORT

- a) Steelpoort Youth Congress
- b) Women's Working Group
- c) AZASO (C.N. Phatudi)

9. ZEBEDIELA

- a) ZEYCO
- b) Moletlane - Ntamatisi Women's Working Group
- c) Cosas (Matladi)

10. LEBOWAKGOMO

- a) Cosas
- b) Possible formation of youth group
- c) Contacts for formation of a Civic

11. POTGIETERSRUS

- a) AKASIA and MAHWELERENG Youth organisations will be launched on the 19th April 1985 and 28th April 1985 respectively. They should look into the possibility of organising a workshop.
- b) Mahwelereng Development Project
- c) AZASO (Mokopane)

12. DUIWELSKLOOF

Working towards forming a youth organisation by end of May

13. TZANEEN

Comrade Jerome should be responsible for the area. A youth Workshop should be organised before the end of April to work towards the organisation of a unity rally -

because of tribal factions. This is to be organised under the UDF banner. A newsletter and a leaflet should be organised.

14. VENDA
To strengthen contacts - Comrades should give us the conditions under which they are working.
15. MESSINA
Strengthen contacts and look into the possibility of forming a structure.
16. BOCHUM
A follow-up contacts must be made
17. PIETERSBURG
A civic association will be launched on the 21st March - Mankweng. Posters and pamphlets should be organised and be ready by the 14th April. Certain individuals must be contacted for neutralising or with the aim of recruiting. The venue for the launching to be organised.
18. (a) MANKWENG
 - (i) MAYCO
 - (ii) COSAS
 - (iii) AZASO
 - (iv) MANKWENG ACTION COMMITTEE
 - (v) CIVIC ASSOCIATION
 - (vi) Y.C.S.
 - (vii) CASA
 - (viii) MANKWENG MINISTERS FRATERNAL
 - (b) SAAWU
 - (c) Northern Tv1 TIC support committee
 - (d) Nobody Cultural Group
 - (e) Makanya Cultural Group
 - (f) Mothapo Women's Group
 - (g) Sehlahe Working Group
 - (h) Boshekga Working Group
 - (i) Subiaco Contact Group
 - (j) Mmasealamme Women's Group
 - (k) Solomondale Contacts
 - (l) Botlokina : Contacts to be revived
 - (m) Segopye : COSAS (Bjatladi High School) Possible formation of a youth group
 - (n) Kranstein Youth Congress

The following are target areas for structure formation

1. Naboomspruit
2. Nylstroom
3. Warmbad

NOTE: When reading this programme of action and area report please consult the memorandum attached hereto for information

NOTE: Reports of conferences held in N. Tv1 on 5/2/84 and 3/3/84 were submitted to both the N.E.C. and the R.E.C. (Tv1)

Pietersburg

AANHANGSEL C'

MEMORANDUM ON THE CHANGING POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION

The formation of the United Democratic Front and the various campaigns it undertook made a significant advance in planting seeds of organisation in the Northern Transvaal region. The N. Transvaal Committee of the UDF is having a visible muscle. MAYCO, COSAS, AZASO, SEYCO, SAAWU, POYCO and MAVIYCO form the backbone of the committee. More than any other period organisations are mushrooming at a rate unparalleled by any epoch in the history of the struggle. M

Workers organisations are gaining momentum. SAAWU (Pietersburg) and UMMAWSA (Steelpoort) are drawing more and more workers in their ranks. Youth organisations have sprouted and taken shape across the length and breadth of the vast territory of the N. Transvaal. MAYCO, SEYCO, Muhlaba Youth Organisation, KRAYCO, STEYCO, MAVIYCO, Arethusane Youth League, Lenyenye Youth Working Group, ZEYCO, Potgietersus Youth Working Group, POYCO - and indeed an innumerable number of working groups are emerging at a rate that cannot be managed by bureaucratic centralism. Y.C.S., SUCA and CASA have strenght and potential.

Students in almost all the teachers training colleges of the N. Transvaal are locked in protracted battle with the regime. Youth movements, Womens' organisations, churches and trade union struggles are starting to emerge in bold relief and indeed serve as a pointer to fighting forces in various degrees of formation. The Town Council elections in Seshego, Nirvana (an Indian area), Westernburg (Coloured area) and Lebowakgomo were marked by a low poll. Mankweng Town Council was put out of action.

From these developments the crucial question is how to unite these trends, lay basis and develop ANTI BANTUSTAN offensive. To secure the existance of organised mass democratic structures in this region is to secure a vital terrain of rural organisation and struggle.

It is in this regard that we feel the N. Transvaal region has to become a region in its own right, capable of harnessing the potential of its fighting forces. More than any other period, we need a local structure which shall serve as a focal point for effective planning and approach to mass rural organisation. The impact of UDF as a mass popular structure has not been felt in the N. Transvaal. People need to identify with structures that are brought more closer to their eyes in order to have meaningful participation in those structures. Comparatively speaking, the people in this region are by far materially disadvantaged than people in urban centres. As a result it is not possible to talk about mass democratic structures in the absence of a central structure to co-ordinate mass activities. It is in this light that we have to have a resource centre in order to launch and educate on a permanent basis, our people against Banstustan propoganda. To assume a special responsibility in executing this task we can no longer depend on the Southern region for publications, resources and manpower.]

The worst features of apartheid and fascism show themselves clearly in the Bantustan. The worst features of exploitation stand concentrated in bold relief in the Bantustan. The tribal structures, the puppets and the homeland leaders are the worst hated symbols of the Bantustans. The tribal police, deseases, poverty and hunger and starvation continue to dominate the lives of people in the Bantustans. More than any other period in the past, priority tasks are starting to emerge boldly: to secure a scientific approach towards rural mass organisation the approach dictated by objective material conditions must guide our approach. For this reason it would be politcally incorrect to assume that we can employ the same strategies as would obtain in an urban settlement. Resources that are sometimes squandered in mass rallies could be more profitably channeled in conscious and deliberate methods of mobilising and organising.

For this reason it would still be politically incorrect to burn out the energies of rural activists in trips and journeys to and from urban areas. Many hours and vast resources employed in this manner even for trivial aspects like resources could be spent more profitably at home in confronting on an hourly basis the arduous task of slow, painful and exerting mobilisation of the masses in this region. Often this has not been the case because of centralised resources. It is only this approach which will ensure access of rural people to their structures. Moreover, it would make the UDF a closer reality to the problems and solutions of rural life. Whatever resources were there in the past, they were fruitlessly spent in transport costs to urban centres of the Southern Transvaal.

Contrary to the political complexion in the urban areas, we do not have readily available issues to pick up upon in our rural areas (eg: rents, transport, community councils). The structures that dominate peoples lives are not readily discernable. It is not possible for people to demonstrate on streets, if we really have streets. No picketing, no stay-aways are possible because we do not have jobs or industrial centres. It is for this reason that we have to rethink our strategies and immerse ourselves in the lives of the rural people. This cannot be done by anybody beyond the borders of the Bantustans. It is the activists themselves in these areas who are in a position to maintain continual presence within rural structures who will ultimately play a guiding role in peoples struggles. To be able to execute this task, activists need to be trained. Their training must of necessity differ from the one offered in the urban mobilisation. Resources are also needed to train our activists.

To be able to co-ordinate mass democratic structures, it would be necessary to show the necessary confidence in the people to organise themselves and that nobody from outside can do the job for them. To master this approach is to understand that N. Transvaal must be a region in its own right, with full representation on the UDF. To argue in this fashion is not to encourage regionalism but to foster a spirit of self-confidence in the people and their ability to change their own lives, to combat prejudices and to promote a united conception of one mass democratic movement under the popular banner of the UDF. This in essence will mean democratic centralism as opposed to bureaucratic centralism. This task we can achieve only if we charge activists with this mission for they only are able to maintain permanent contact with the rural mass democratic structures.

The vastness of the N. Transvaal region, its geographical location, its towns and villages laughs at the term "Area Committee". By area committee one refers to a locality like Johannesburg and Pretoria. The N. Transvaal itself is spread across a vast area of land, across mountains and plains for distances of over 500 kms from one focal point to another. It is thus logically wrong to look at the Northern Transvaal as an area committee. To illustrate this point, one can imagine the distance from Pietersburg - Potgietersrus to Tzaneen - Phalaborwa - Louis Trichardt to Bochum and Messina. These few places are areas in themselves. Sekhukhuniland is a vast area in itself. For the said reasons it would be politically naive to speak of the N. Transvaal as an area committee. The cumulative effect of all the above demands that we adopt a scientific and realistic approach towards rural organisation, lest we be paralysed by our own analysis - with serious political consequences for the region. The magnitude of all these problems - lack of transport, facilities, people power and resources has lead to activists undermining the scope and nature of rural misery. It is on the strength of these that the N. Transvaal region must be a priority area, with an independent treasury focussing on vital aspect of financial administration according to priority tasks, This will only be possible when we are a fully fledged region - capable of leading mass struggles on local terrain and effectively linking those struggles to broader national issues.

the past the N. Transvaal has been isolated in as far as democratic decision-making and representation on the UDF is concerned. This has had serious consequences on the political awareness of the people. The Northern Transvaal has either been consulted nor contacted before decisions were made. More often than not the invitation came only after decisions were made, thus subjecting the people to bureaucracy with the result that their advancement and confidence in being their own liberators was significantly dwarfed. The constituency has never played any meaningful role, instead they were made to welcome the idea that their liberators would one day emerge from Johannesburg. We were treated as a bantustan in its own right, with no right of participation, thus maintaining the status quo in one form or another : that the N. Transvaal people have their capital city of struggle in the Reef. These developments have tended to affect the growth of our organisations in a dramatic way. Like labour reserves, the advanced sections of our activists are usually drawn in the urban centres while the fate of the masses is left to providence. We make a special demand that this be remedied, and this demand is in the form of a mandate from Northern Transvaal organisations that they launch their own regional structure of the UDF immediately.

This is not only a request but a demand and thus a mandate. The organisations here feel that their integrity has been seriously violated. Organisations here have taken judicial notice and strong exception of the bureaucratic and managerial attitudes of the (Southern) Transvaal regional executive. A special request is that this situation be remedied before it causes political problems of division.

Activities and problems in the N. Transvaal are not given press coverage. As a result nobody has cared whether there is an issue or not. There are workers strikes, bus boycotts, school boycotts plaguing the N. Transvaal region. Infant mass graves, diseases, hunger, starvation, unemployment and death are the order of the day. No single aspect of these callous consequences of apartheid has ever found its way to the press.

Activists must be interested in developments, not only in Uitenhage and Sebokeng, but from the Cape to the Mediterranean. The establishment of a region in the N. Transvaal would make it possible to co-ordinate our activities and efforts with those of the Southern region thus enabling the struggle to set a new pace and revolutionary fervour, allowing permanent communication and contact thus over-stretching the enemy's resources beyond his limits. And nobody, not even the imperialists would save apartheid from its death pangs.

10. THE STRUGGLE !

PEOPLES' WAR IS INVINCIBLE !

VICTORY OR DEATH !

No 19

C133

AAAS 5 : LA Munguwa
Kaph Vorster 25/6/86

The onslaught against the people's organisations
September 1984-June 1985

(6)
Bew "C133"

Presented by Descom 8/9 June 1985

Comrades and friends, I have been asked to outline the present onslaught which the state is waging against our organisations and to suggest some ways in which we in the progressive movement can try to deal with this onslaught.

In the past many activists took the activities of the police as an occupational hazard, as something unpleasant, but not as something that we were in a position to do anything about. The struggles waged by the Detainees support committees and other progressive organisations against detentions, and torture, did not succeed in doing away with the security laws in our country, but they did win some improvements in the conditions under which detainees were held and more important they did increase the price which the South African government had to pay both locally and internationally for its repressive policies.

As a result of these struggles, we saw a period when the state went to great lengths to hide detentions from the public and to charge activists with minor offences in order to justify detentions.

Since September last year all this has changed. In the face of rising opposition to Apartheid, the regime has embarked on a campaign to smash the people's organisations.

If our organisations are to withstand this onslaught, it is important not only to strengthen our structures, but also to look at direct ways to combat this onslaught.

First let us look at the different forms that this onslaught is taking:

*Continued police and army occupation of our townships

Townships in the Transvaal, Free State, Northern and Eastern Cape have been continually occupied by the police and the SADF ever since the SADF invaded Sebokeng with 7 000 troops at the end of October last year. Hippos, caspirs and army vehicles have become such a common sight that they no longer raise an eyebrow. In the smaller towns in the Eastern Cape, the SADF have set up semi-permanent

bases. In the East Rand townships of Duduza, Kwathema and Ratanda, SADF conducted house to house searches and in Duduza, arrested all males between the ages of ten and twenty.

Campaign of terror against the township population

At least 400 people have been killed since September last year. The majority of these people have been shot by the police. 10 000 people have been arrested and charged with Public Violence. Many of these

[Handwritten signatures and scribbles]

INITIAL SUGGESTION

people were the victims of indiscriminate shootings and were arrested when they went to the hospital for treatment.

Hundreds more have been injured and are forced to resort to dangerous backyard operations because they fear going for medical treatment.

Detention of leadership

The leaders of the people's organisations have been detained or arrested and kept for long periods of time as awaiting trial prisoners

In the Vaal triangle over sixty detainees have been held for nearly nine months under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. This is clearly an attempt to smash organisations by depriving them of their leadership.

16 leaders of the UDF are currently facing charges of Treason. They were kept for several months as awaiting trial prisoners and were only released on strict bail conditions which prevent them from engaging in the activities of the Front and its affiliates

Deaths in detention and mysterious disappearances

Since the tricameral parliament first sat, eleven people have died in detention. At least five people have disappeared without trace. Three of these people are executive members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation who went to the airport one Wednesday night four weeks ago and never returned. Another missing person is Soweto Cosas member *Edrie Maluleki* who together with a friend was returning to Soweto by train from a journey to town. The two were separated in the crowded train. When their friend arrived at their destination he found that *Maluleki* was missing. He reports seeing plain clothes policemen searching passengers on the train..

Creation of inter-organisational rivalry

The system has embarked on a campaign to promote conflict between different organisations opposed to apartheid.

The SABC and the commercial press have played a mischievous role in promoting this conflict: they have reported the distribution of fake pamphlets without mentioning that the organisations concerned denied issuing these pamphlets; they have distorted reports of so-called UDF, Azapo clashes and they have focused a lot of attention on 'black on black' violence. This has had the effect of hiding the role that the SAP and SADF have been playing in the townships. It has also been part of an attempt to paint the SAP and SADF as the protectors of the people against conflicting groups of vigilantes. It has allowed the press to ignore the real causes of unrest in the townships.

This smear campaign has also allowed the system to petrol bomb the houses of leading activists and to attack their families.

Creation of divisions between residents

A frightening part of the government's strategy has been to promote divisions between different sections of the community. The most horrific example of this is the role the system played in promoting tensions between hostel dwellers and township residents in Tsakane township on the East Rand. Here bloody clashes led to the death of 16 people, an incident much exploited by the press and television to discredit community struggles.

Creation of community guards

Not content with the continual presence of the SADF and SAP, several Councillors have announced the formation of community guards to 'enforce law and order'

UCASA president, Steve Kgama, has made it quite clear that these law enforcement officers, as he calls them, will be involved in 'unrest'

Residents have good reason to fear the brutality of these guards. In Thabong in the Free State, gangs of vigilantes which include councillors and priests have been terrorising residents in an effort to smash community struggles. Several people including elderly people and children have been badly beaten and some have been shot.

What can we do in response to this onslaught ?

In the past Descoms have supported the victims of repression and their families, by giving moral and material support. This is still an important function of DEscoms and DPSC's. It is important that members of our organisations feel they are still supported even when they are detained or jailed. It is also important that we support the parents and families of these people so that they cannot be used by the system to pressurise the detainee in any way.

Education of all activists of security laws and their rights is also an important aspect of Descom work. This helps activists to withstand intimidation

In Soweto where the system has tried to intimidate members of Soyco especially new members, Detainees Aid Movement has tried to overcome this by education and also by encouraging all members of all organisation to report all forms of harassment and intimidations to their leaders.

This is one way to prevent the system creating divisions in an organisation

But the scale of repression means we cannot stop Descom work at moral and material support for the victims of repression. One of the ways in which the system is trying to hide its activities is by

preventing this information from getting into the press. A new regulation makes it an offence for a journalist to write about police or army activities unless he or she has actually seen them. The only way such information can be published is if it is confirmed by Pretoria.

This makes it very important for activists to collect information about all forms of repression and to document it carefully. It also means it is very important to develop good relations with progressive journalists especially in outlying areas where there are only very reactionary newspapers.

In times of crisis, Descoms need to investigate setting up crisis support committees. In the Vaal a crisis support committee was set up to provide legal and medical assistance and also to help families trace detainees and document the stories of the victims of repression. This support work played a valuable role in supporting organisations in the area.

Conclusion

Comrades, in conclusion we welcome the formation of a Detainees Support Committee in your area and look forward to working with you in our common struggle for the

unconditional release of all detainees and political prisoners, the repeal of all security laws and the creation of a just and democratic South Africa.

DESCOM — Pietstburg

1. Peter Motawa

2. Jemi Mnguni

3. Mose Ngeasing.

4. Peter Makhodu.

5. Peter Moko

6. ~~Femi~~

6. De Jela Mchube (not present)

7. Mofat Magane

~~DESCOM~~

C134

AAS 5 Mankweny
/Capt Vorster 25/6/86 / 1864.
Edward Mahlalela 23/5/88

Beu "C 134"

WE ALL PEACE LOVING PEOPLE OF MANKWENG AND DISTRICT

- . Following the brutal, cullous and cold blooded murder on June 16 1985, of our resident, youth and Comrade, Shadrack Mafokoane of Mankweng Youth Congress by the hostile and murderous Botha / Phatudi police
- . Following and noting with disgust and concern the continuing and intensifying police harrassment of an increasing number of our residents and youth

We the freedom loving people of Mankweng and district desiring to stop further police harrassment of our people and seeking peace, stability, security and comfort make the following demands :

- a) That all businessmen and shebeens refuse to sell their products to policemen
- b) That all policemen be excommunicated from churches because they are criminals
- c) That all policemen be withdrawn from school committees because they kill people they claim to represent
- d) That all taxis and residents should not transport policemen
- e) PERMANENT WITHDRAWAL OF ALL POLICE FORCE AND THEIR AGENTS OUT OF OUR TOWNSHIP

GO BA RATI BA KHUTŠO BA MANKWENG LE TIKOLOGO

- . Morago ga polao e šoro ye e garolago matswalo ka June 16 1985, ya modudi, moswa le Comrade Shadrack Mafokoane wa Mankweng Youth Congress (MAYCO) ke maphodisa a babolai le dipelo tše mpe a Botha le Phatudi
- . Morago ga temogo le go kgotlega maikutlo ka moo maphodisa a tšwelang pele ka go feretlha badudi le baswa ba bo rena

Rena ba rati ba khutšo ba Mankweng le tikologo, re e kemišeditše go fediša dipolao le go feritlhiwa ga batho ba bo rena, re nyaka khutšo setswalle le boiketlo, re nyaka

- a) Gore borakgwebo ka moka le ba di shebeen ba seke ba rekišetša maphodisa ka gobane ke dinwanadi
- b) Gore maphodisa kamoka ba kgaolwe di kerekeing ka go bane ke ba bolai
- c) Gore maphodisa kamoka ba kgaolwe makgotleng a di kolo (School committees) ka go bane ba bdlaya batho bao ba rego ba ba emela
- d) Gore ba di Taxi le badudi ba motse kamoka ba seke ba nanetša maphodisa
- e) MADIRA A MAPHODISA LE BADIRISANE BA BONA BA RE TŠWELE MOTSE SA RURI

ISSUED BY MANKWENG CIVIC ASSOCIATION
SUPPORTED BY : MAYCO , SAAWU, N TVL PETRAW, MINISTERS PRATERAL,
COSAS, AZASO

NAME	HOUSE NO. / Address
1 MORGAN Simon	Bobirwa Hairdressing Saloon
2 Rosina Mathiba	173 Box 213 Savenya 0727
3	181 Box 45 Savenya 0727
4 Kaitumba Letsame	176 Box 277 Savenya 0727
5 Jones Medibon	Manietitane Savenya 0727
6 Pini Mathiba	PO 491
7 Jackson Mponya	310
8 Samuel Mathiba	P.O. BOX 213 Savenya 0727 (185)
9 Solomon Letsame	
10 HSEPA Letsame	96
11 Bule he Kgothoane	Mankweng 625
12 Julia Siphela	638 Mankweng
13 Oliver Magke	Mankweng
14 Ferdinand Madiame	
15 Moses Molepo	17 Mankweng
16 BERRI MASTJGA	232
17 Samuel Masenumele	157 MANKWENG
20 Albinus Mathiba	115 Mankweng
21 Johannes Letape	112 P.O. box 140
23 AMOS MALEMA	265 P.O. box 85 Mankweng
24 Harold Bandope	235 —
25 JERRY JOI	202 Box 407 Mankweng
26 Selma Mampfi	203 BOX 765 Mankweng
27 Doreline Morigela	304 Box 315 Mankweng
28 Pina Mathiba	433 Box 127 Mankweng
29 Nkele Raphasha	304 Box 315 Mankweng
30 Manietitane Letsame	Box 78 Savenya, 0727
31 Prince Matsotola	65 BOX 5
32 Violet Letsofane	65 BOX 5
33 Letsofane Letsofane	65 BOX 5
34 Samuel Masenumele	Box 65
35 Phisoal Letape	Box 205 Box 110
36 Abraham Mankweng	Stair 321 Box 336
37 Julia Shikwambane	

C135

ATS 5 : Mankwen
(Capt Vorster 2576186

Bev "C 135"

WE ALL PEACE LOVING PEOPLE OF MANKWENG AND DISTRICT

Following the brutal, cullous and cold blooded murder on June 16 1985, of our resident, youth and Comrade, Shadrack Mafokoane of the Mankweng Youth Congress (MAYCO) by the hostile and murderous Botha / Phatudi police

- Following and noting with disgust and concern the continuing and intensifying police harrasment of an increasing number of our residents and youth

We the freedom loving people of Mankweng and district desiring to stop further police killings and harrasment of our people and seeking peace stability, security and comfort make the following demands :

PERMANENT WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE POLICE FORCE AND THEIR AGENTS
OUT OF OUR TOWNSHIP

GO BA RATI BA KHUTSO BA MANKWENG LE TIKOLOGO

- Morago ga polao e soro ye e garolago matswalo ka June 16 1985, ya modudi moswa le Comrade, Shadrack Mafokoane wa Mankweng Youth Congress (MAYCO) ke maphodisa a babolai le dipelo tse mpe a Botha le Phatudi
- Morago ga temogo le go kgotlega maikutlo ga ka moo maphodisa a tswelang pele ka go feretlha badudi le baswa ba bo rena

Rena ba-rati ba khutso ba Mankweng le tikologo, re e kemiseditse go fedisa dipolao le go feretlhiwa ga batho ba bo rena, re nyaka khutso setswalle le boiketlo, re nyaka :

MADIRA A MAPHODISA LE BADIRISANE BA BONA BA RE TSWELE MOTSE
SA RURI

ISSUED BY MANKWENG CIVIC ASSOCIATION
SUPPORTED BY : MAYCO, N TVL FEDTRAW, SAAWU, MINISTERS FRATERNAL, COSAS,
AZASO

NAME	HOUSE NO. / Address
NOAH LETSOALO, MAFOTIA Freddie	P.O. Box 373 SOVENGA, 0727 GA, KAMA
Gedcon Tediga	
P. F. I. LETSOALO pheshens Modiba	Ga-kama Ga-kama.
Darius Masekame	Ngaleng / Box 383 Sovenga
Jack Mafota James Mafota Frederic Katwale Frank Mweni	Ga-kama Uthamo Mafota Segopie Mafota Mafota.
CHRISTOPH Letsoalo Zacharias Mofoshe	Gakama Marialintene
APRIL Mafota ANDRIES MAFOTIA	Mafota Mafota. Memotintane
Andries Ramollo Lucas Lemetana	Ga sentshere Box, 449 SOVENGA, 0727
SAMUEL Letsoalo Nelson Mathabatha	Box 595 SOVENGA Ga-Kama
David Mamobole James Meraro	Ga-kama Ga-kama
JUN Letsoalo	Ga . kama
Ben Mokoena JERRY MATIMELA	Turf Turf
Pheladi Boape LUCAS MOKOENA	" " 487

Pretorius

WE ALL PEACE LOVING PEOPLE OF MANKWENG AND DISTRICT

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- Morago ga temogo le go kgotlega maikutlo ga-ka moo maphodisa a tswelang pele ka go feretlha badudi le baswa ba bo rena

Rena ba rati ba khutso ba Mankweng le tikologo, re e kemiseditse go fedisa dipolao le go feretlhiwa ga batho ba bo rena, re nyaka khutso setswalle le boiketlo, re nyaka :

MADIRA A MAPHODISA LE BADIRISANE BA BONA BA RE TSWELE MOTSE
SA RURI

ISSUED BY MANKWENG CIVIC ASSOCIATION
SUPPORTED BY : MAYCO, N TVL FEDTRAW, SAAWU, MINISTERS FRATERNAL, COSAS,
AZASO

NAME	HOUSE NO. / Address
(1) Maria Letsoalo	Mamotintane
2. Jacob Mathe	Nobody
3. Samuel Rathobotha	Nobody
4. Elias Schlapelo	Makanye
5. ANDREW Mojika	MENZ
Michael Chew	Mankweng T/zip NO 562
Anna Seabi	Mankweng township NO 38C
William Magagane	Ga-Makanye
Nathaniel Mojapele	Mankweng 612
Enos Maake	Makanye
Abram rabothata	momotintane
PETER LETSOALO	Mamotintane
Joseph Letsoalo	Mankweng 188
Phinias Mogashao	Mankweng
Peter Ramale	Mankweng
Moses Majo	Ga-Makanya.
FERRY THORNTON	Mankweng
Doctor Mapheto	Ga Molepo
Isaac Modiba	GA Kola
Matthews Letsoalo	Mamotintane.
Ragophala Anna	Mamotintane
Robert Makolega	Mamotintane
Alpheus Selahla	Mamotintane.

C136

AAS 5 Mantaway

Capt Vooster 257686

Rev "C 136"

PLEDGE SOLIDARITY BY MANKWENG(HWITI) STUDENTS

Injuries

We must all sympathise with our injured comrades. No classes should continue without our comrades. Schooling ^{should} only continue provided they are reported fit and cured by the doctor.

Arrests/Harrasment

Police harrasment and arrests must stop. The police must get out of our township. There shall be no continuation of lessons until the Phatudi/Botha police have stoped the crime and gone out of the Township.

Solidarity

There must be solidarity among all our people. Parents and students should unite. Ignorance and indifference must stop. Going to school when the situation is abnormal like this is only puppetism and selloutism.

The people's call to the Principal

The principal must demand the return of everybody detained. Should he fail all come to a standstill.
Your teachers should/must stop insulting students.
No one must rejoice over our distress.

What feeling?

What is the feeling of the Township as a whole as far as OUR detained leadership is concerned?????

??

BY: COSAS MAYCO MAC!

C137

Cape Town

UDF DECLARATION

(52) New C 137"


WE THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SAY WITH ONE VOICE TO THE WHOLE WORLD THAT WE

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

we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country;

we stand for a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of bantustans and Group Areas;

we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE NOBLE IDEALS AND ON THIS 20TH DAY OF AUGUST 1983, AT ROCKLANDS CIVIC CENTRE, MITCHELL'S PLAIN, WE JOIN HANDS AS COMMUNITY, WOMEN'S, STUDENT'S, RELIGIOUS, SPORTING AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS, TO SAY NO TO APARTHEID.

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

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

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

WE KNOW THAT

this government is determined to break the unity of our people, that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. That rents and other basic charges will increase. And, that our living standards fall;

that working people will be divided: urban from rural; employed from unemployed; men from women. Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue;

students will continue to suffer under unequal education, created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour. Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms;

the religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people;

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

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

WE KNOW THAT APARTHEID WILL CONTINUE

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

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

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

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

AND IN OUR MARCH TO A FREE AND JUST SOUTH AFRICA, WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO UNITING ALL OUR PEOPLE WHEREVER THEY MAY BE IN THE CITIES AND COUNTRYSIDES, THE FACTORIES AND MINES, SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, HOUSING AND SPORTS FIELDS, CHURCHES, MOSQUES AND TEMPLES, TO FIGHT FOR OUR FREEDOM.

we therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to

WORK TOGETHER TO

organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front;

consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely and strive to represent their views and aspirations;

build and strengthen all organisations of the people;

educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity;

unite in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

AND NOW THEREFORE WE

PLEDGE TO COME TOGETHER IN THIS UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

AND FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S

CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND THE KOORNHOF BILLS.



NELSON MANDELA



HELEN JOSEPH



NAZEM MOHAMMED



HASSAN HWONA



ALLAN BOESAK

PATRONS



ARCHIE GUMEDE



OSCAR MPETHA



ALBERTINA SISULU



'TERROR' LEKHOTA



POPO MOLEFE

NATIONAL EXEC.

UDF UNITES

Apartheid divides

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29/9/87



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

5/4
Box C1380

First AGM 16/17 March 1985 Reports & Resolutions

From protest to challenge...
Mobilisation to organisation!



DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR UDF WESTERN CAPE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

SATURDAY 16 MARCH

- 9.00 to 9.30 Registration of delegates
9.30 to 9.45 Agreement of Standing Rules
9.45 to 10.15 Presidential Address -
10.15 to 10.30 Tea
10.30 to 11.00 Secretarial Report (First Part)
11.00 to 1.00 Discussion Arising
1.00 to 2.00 Lunch
2.00 to 2.30 Secretarial Report (Second Part)
2.30 to 4.30 Discussion Arising
4.30 to 4.45 Tea
4.45 to 5.15 Joint Rural Areas Report
5.15 to 5.45 Discussion Arising
5.45 to 6.15 Treasurer's Report
6.15 to 7.00 Discussion
7.00 to 8.00 Motivation for Draft Resolutions (Pestunji)
8.00 Adjournment for Supper/Social

SUNDAY 17 MARCH

- 9.00 to 10.00 Working Principles Amended
10.00 to 12.00 Resolutions & Programme Adopted
12.00 to 12.30 Lunch
12.30 to 2.00 Elections
2.00 to 2.15 Acceptance Speech
2.15 Closure

(Unfortunately, the programme does not allow sufficient time for full discussion of sub-committee reports, thus these will be included in the Secretarial reports)

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Fellow comrades, Members of the Executive and Delegates

I greet you all in the name of liberation. It is a great pleasure to praise our affiliates for the contribution they gave to the struggle in the past eighteen months.

I wish to thank our secretaries and my executive members for the tremendous work they have done for the U.D.F. I wonder how many of us in this conference realise the amount of work these comrades have done for the smooth running of the U.D.F.?

Comrades can only hope that the oncoming officials will as well run our office smoothly, and that all our affiliates will do their best to push forward our struggle.

I will be failing in my duty if I don't mention the gallant work that the Western Province people have done. I feel that I can safely say that as far as the Elections of the Community Councils are concerned, our people have given a unanimous NO to this Government dummy body.

Again in the Anti-Election campaign, what marvellous work our people have done. This Government thought they would divide us and make us peace meals, but our people refused to be divided by this notorious Government, as far as the 1 million signature campaign is concerned, our people have shown a hard force during that campaign as a result.

The Western Cape, as far as numbers are concerned, was leading all the other provinces.

This brings us to the conclusion that united we will win, divided we will fall.

I therefore call upon the W.C. to preserve this unity which has made a success of the signature campaign and other events. I know that there are petty personal differences which over the past year, nearly split us and made us the victims of the apartheid system.

Before I conclude, let me not forget the heroism of our youth, those who fell under the barrel of the gun, under this vicious Government, who professed not to be violent and asked Nelson Mandela to denounce violence.

May I ask, was it Nelson Mandela who massacred people in Sharpville and Langa?

At this point in time I ask you, comrades to stand in remembrance of the people of Crossroads and Sebokeng and other places.

Stand again

We must remember that not only has this Government shot our people but has deprived us of our leaders and detained and charged them with treason, harboring on the hope that the people will be intimidated and forced to accept apartheid.

In conclusion,

I call upon you comrades to sink all petty differences or squabbles and march forward

and march forward together to Victory.
Long live U.D.F.!
Long live the Freedom Charter!
There shall be houses for all.
There shall be work for all.
There shall be equal education for all.
The people shall govern.

Amandla!

SECRETARIAL REPORT - PART ONE: OVERVIEW OF WORK DONE

Comrade Chair and delegates

This AGM takes place at an important point in our history. Firstly, we are now just a few days from the 25th anniversary of Sharpville, which brings to mind both the violence of the apartheid government and the many lives lost in our struggle to be free. Yet 25 years later, we are stronger than ever. Throughout our country people are on the move. In Crossroads, the Eastern Cape, the Transvaal and the Free State — daily our people are challenging the government.

The government itself is in the weakest position since it came to power in 1948. Every move it has made to keep apartheid alive - the Black Local Authorities, Tri-cameral Parliaments and the Coloured Labour Preferential policy - has collapsed as a result of mass action. More than that, its policies have very directly brought this country to the brink of economic ruin. We are now witnessing the most callous attempt by both the government and the bosses to shift the burden of this economic crisis onto the backs of our people. Every day, the toll of retrenchments and high prices rises.

It is in this context, comrades, that we meet to assess the past 19 months and the road that lies ahead of us. In this report, we shall look at the role that we, in the UDF, have played in shaping the present political situation. We shall also see some of the mistakes we have made, and we shall look forward to advancing our struggle even further.

19 MONTHS OF UNITED ACTION

Comrades, the last 19 months have been challenging and exciting ones. But they have also been hard months. When we look back we are painfully aware of our limitations - the weakening of our organisations that we had so painstakingly built, our problems in building democracy, working class leadership and non - racialism, our difficulties mobilisation into organisation. These are serious issues that need to be tackled. At the same time, however, we must see them in the context of what we have built and the real gains that we in the UDF have made.

Two years ago, when the apartheid government presented its 'new deal', it was an attempt to go on the offensive, to sweep the political ground from under our feet. In short, to build unity and power among the rulers and to throw the forces of opposition into disarray. We were poorly equipped to deal with this new situation. Our organisations were battling to sustain themselves and to move from the purely bread-

and-butter issues to the broader political questions. We should also remember that there was very poor co-ordination between organisations and no links with the rest of the country.

Yet we took up the challenge and launched the UDF. Today, as we have already mentioned, the government's 'new deal' has failed miserably in achieving what it set out to. Internally the government faces opposition from all quarters: from our people who have been successfully mobilised to reject every one of apartheid's tricks and manoeuvres; from the big bosses who are even being forced to call for the unconditional release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC; now too from the Nationalists own support base, the farmers and white workers. Internationally, the apartheid regime has never been so isolated as the voice for disinvestment grows louder, and even the United States, apartheid's most important ally, is forced into condemning the arrests of the UDF leadership. X

Comrades, much of this is due to the UDF. Although not without cost, the profile we have built for the UDF has undoubtedly made it the most important political force inside our country.

The UDF pushed back the frontiers of what was politically possible. We have seen how peoples awareness has been heightened by the buzz of activities associated with the UDF. It is now far easier to link bread - and - butter issues to politics. We experienced the resounding anti-election campaign victory. We read in the last issue of Grassroots how our people responded to Mandela's statement; we saw last week how ordinary people responded to the 'City Press' poll to find South Africa's most popular leadership. Very little of this was thought to be possible before August 20, 1983.

This awareness has stretched throughout the breadth of our land. It has reached into areas where no organisation existed before - and the presence of delegations from the rural areas here today bears testimony to this. In many areas, UDF structures have given birth to strong and militant grassroot organisation. The UDF has awakened our people's determination to fight back, it has become the symbol of our people's will throughout the country. } 20
29/9/87

So today we can talk of a national political response and movement against apartheid. Slowly, we can begin to talk of a nationally co-ordinated struggle. This comrades, is important. Firstly we tend to become caught up in our work and our problems to the point where we forget that we extend beyond Du Toits Kloof mountains, and secondly, because this national movement has only been made possible by the UDF. Our organisations as they existed could never have achieved what they have now, united in the UDF.

All this, however, has not been without problems and losses. In the process of

carving out a space of legitimacy for the UDF, of operating in a new and unfamiliar terrain, there have, of course been problems and mistakes.

We are still battling with the question of how a front should operate and at times the differences between a front and an organisation have been blurred.

We are all aware that at the time of launching, there was great unevenness from one organisation and region to the next. The growth of UDF structures and organisation in previously unorganised areas has gone some way in addressing this problem. In general, however, the manner of our work has not assisted in correcting these imbalances, so in some instances the unevenness is more marked. We have not given our affiliates sufficient encouragement to strengthen themselves, even though there were golden opportunities for this. Yet at the same time, it would not be correct to lay the blame on the UDF. We must remember the difficulties and the deadlock that our organisations had reached prior to the UDF. We must also realise that the space does exist for our organisations to intervene and build themselves - as the UWO has shown in New Crossroads recently. The presence of UDF, in fact, deepens and strengthens these interventions.. We are equally guilty of not devoting sufficient attention to such problems.

(20) 24/9/87 It is often said that we have tried to march too far ahead of our organisations and that we have not done sufficient ground work. Yet we must remember that our people will not wait until we believe we have adequately prepared the ground. The anger that is exploding all around the country bears testimony to our people's readiness for mass action, and we must be committed to taking this forward. No/ky 18/9/87

Lastly comrades, we have not found the formula for taking democratic decisions in the shortest space of time, but this will be dealt with fully in the other part of the report.

THE CHALLENGES AHEAD

Comrades, with the experiences which we have gained, we address ourselves to the future. I would like to suggest briefly, some of the challenges which confront us - either by way of campaigns , or by way of improved practice.

* THE NEW DEAL

We have seen throughout the country the anger of our people against structures such as the Black Local Authorities and community councils, an anger that in many places

No (20) 24/9/87

Not
detected
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make it impossible for these structures to continue their oppressive practices. We salute our people and we will continue to ensure that the influence of such structures over our people's lives is challenged. Wherever possible we will mobilise mass action against these community councils, management committees and the tricameral parliament itself.

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24/9/87

* Balance between political and bread - and - butter organisations

Comrades, I think that our starting point must be that this is a false distinction and that both forms of organisations are inextricably linked. It should be clear that the UDF cannot remain silent on the important political events of our time such as the Treason Trial. In the same way, cost of living increases, rentals and wage demands are equally the life blood of our organisations. The challenge, comrades, is to find the balance.

* BUILDING WORKING CLASS PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

Comrades, most of us would accept that we need to build the participation and leadership of the majority of our people, the workers. We need to acknowledge that over the past 19 months, we have not gone very far in either involving working people in the work of the Front or in building their leadership. This is a problem that needs serious attention, it is a challenge to both our organisations and our regions.

* BUILDING A DISCIPLINED MOVEMENT: UNITY, SELF - CRITICISM AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Without going into specifics, comrades, there have been times of unity and distrust, among our own ranks. While we recognize that we are not a party, there exists amongst us differences of approaches which we must not allow to divide us. We need to understand that no movement can be built without a disciplined approach. Such a discipline includes a respect for our people, our organisations and our leaders; a comradely love for those who struggle with us; and, at all times, a commitment to democracy and unity. We must work as a team of responsables, and with a willingness to recognise our own shortcomings. This we build in ourselves; it must dominate our attitude and our relationships within our organisations and it is this we bring into the Front.

* TAKING ALL OUR AFFILIATES ALONG WITH US IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL PROGRAMMES (OR LACK THEREOF)

Again, we must emphasize that we are a Front and that we exist to advance the broadest range of opposition against apartheid. As such, it is not our function to dictate the political programme of our affiliates. At the same time, through discussion and working together we must strive to build a united approach, a strengthening of all our affiliates so that we can advance together.

* BROADENING THE FRONT AND RELATIONS WITH THOSE OUTSIDE THE FRONT

Comrades, in the 19 months of its existence, the UDF has won a great deal of support

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and goodwill. It is our task to reach out and consolidate that support; as far as possible to broaden our Front so that we may present a united opposition of our people. At the same time, we must always remember those organisations that, for one reason or another, do not feel that they are in a position to affiliate directly to the UDF and we must strive to build our contact with them and their membership. In this regard, we must think particularly of the trade unions. Comrades, these issues need to be addressed at a local, regional, provincial and national level.

* SETTING CLEAR GOALS

When we look back, we will all agree that the most difficult period in the life of the Front has been the 7 months between September and March. The reasons for this are quite clear - we had not determined a direction or programme beyond our election campaign. And let us be quite clear that while we will not allow the state's initiative to go unchallenged, neither can we allow them to determine the pace or the programme of the UDF. Comrades we need to be much clearer in this regard. In addition, we need to have sufficient in-built checks to ensure that we are progressing towards these goals which we ourselves have defined.

* POSITIVE ALTERNATIVES

While in the past we protested against an increase here or boycotted an election there, we had not set for ourselves the task of presenting our people with a positive alternative, a vision of the new South Africa we are building. This is a challenge that we face.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Comrades, to summarize:

1. Deepening the gains which result from the increased politicisation and renewed circumstances which flow out of the popularity of the UDF. No
19
2. Ensuring a role for each affiliate as well as a continued co-ordinating role for the UDF. 17/1/87
3. Campaigns around the major issues - forced removals, cost of living, unemployment, the International Year of the Youth and the Freedom Charter. 18/8/87

Comrades, all of these matters require very serious discussion.

LONG LIVE UNITY AND DISCIPLINE!

LONG LIVE THE UDF!

FORWARD EVER! BACKWARDS NEVER!

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SECRETARIAL REPORT PART 2

Comrades, the second part of the secretarial report will deal with the more internal aspects of our work:

democracy and the Front and how appropriate our structures are in building a democratic approach;
our approaches to and methods of struggle

This report has been based on the observations and recommendations that have been raised during consultations with our affiliates. Obviously it has not been possible to raise all the criticisms, motivations and suggestions that have been raised. Nor, for practical reasons, have we included the rural areas and our relationship with the UDF at national level. We hope that from the points raised, we will be able to take decisive action to resolve the many practical problems encountered in our daily work.

DECISION MAKING IN THE FRONT:

Over the past 19 months we have experienced grave problems in the process of taking decisions. This has led, at times, to confusion and disunity amongst our ranks, as well as an inability to execute the decisions which we have made.

Our structures do not exist for their own sake; they must be geared to achieving our aims and advancing our struggle. We must recognize that the Front is a new experience for us. Moreover, that the pace and demands are not static and we must continually be adapting and improving the structures that exist. We need constant assessment and criticism so that we can identify the problem-areas, develop co-ordination, build unity and participation in order to ensure democracy as a means as well as a practical, achievable aim in our country.

Our experience shows that not all GC decisions were accepted by all concerned and, consequently, were not always acted upon. The reason given for this situation relates to whether decisions were based on mandates; where, these decisions were taken and to what extent affiliates were adequately prepared to take decisions. We know from experience that it is not possible for GC to take decisions purely on the basis of mandates. We cannot always avoid important issues from arising just before, or at GC itself.

Possible solutions to these problems:

- while as far as possible taking decisions by mandate we need to allow for GC to take decisions on urgent matters.
- Organizations themselves raise matters in good time.
- Accept that everyone is bound by a GC decision, whether by mandate or by a resolution.
- Accept that a decision on a matter also involves the practical tasks that go with it.
- Accept that a decision often has implications and that these must be considered.

GENERAL COUNCIL

1. We need to pay serious attention to the practical arrangement for GC's so that it becomes a workable structure and not just a talkshop.
 - Timing: Fixed day of month, starting time, stopping time, adjournment, quorum.
 - Discipline, absence, lateness, apologies, respect to speakers, organizations .
 - Preparation : Agenda, minutes, reports.
 - Status of organizations- credentials.
2. Attention should be given to the way in which discussions are conducted.
 - Procedures for discussions.
 - Procedures for motions.
 - Language use, translations.
 - Discipline in discussion.
 - Time for organizations to caucus when necessary.
3. A major feature of the past was the extent to which the REC raised and initiated matters for discussion. It is vital that the situation must be reversed.
4. Another disadvantage is that GC has to consider too many things at one time. In depth discussions on a systematic basis was not always possible. Perhaps in-depth discussion on key issues can be handled in the activist forums to initiate discussions on the subjects.
5. The problem of special GC's are undersood by all. But this does not help us to find a method to deal with emergency situations. Special GC's do not seem to be the solution since organizations have not had time to consider matters; perhaps meetings of all the members of the organizations should be called when emergency situations arise.

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

- 1 the REC faced an enormous task, had been responsible for a number of dispersed activities and was hopelessly overloaded. There is a need for work to be shared amongst REC members.
2. The REC represents the leadership of the front and the balance of all the older and younger comrades should be kept in all the activities of the Front.
3. It is important that the REC is seen as a structure that is functioning regularly. The REC and its members cannot see their role as operating at REC meetings only. Matters affecting the Front are raised and attended to all the time. This entails regular consultation of all the REC members.
4. The question of REC members and the position of trust needs to be considered . It is expected of REC members to act responsibly and in line with policy. This question of trust should also give the REC members the responsibility of acting in the best interests of the Front. This is important since there are many situations to which the REC, or specific members, have to respond, making it difficult to make hard and fast rules.

ACTIVIST FORUMS

In spite of the problems associated with past forums the one held on the Freedom Charter showed that they are necessary.

If their purpose is made clear and they are properly planned and organized by the REC they can become the platform for disciplined discussion within the Front. The opportunity for comrades to express their views is important for educational reasons, and to build unity.

Forums can be used to:

- provide political education for activists
- look at ways to implement decisions that have been taken at GC.
- can be used to introduce debate on subjects before matters are finally decided upon in organizations.

SUB REGIONS (REGIONS)

1. During the campaigns regions performed a vital task as the executing arm of the Front. Regions allowed greater scope for involvement of smaller organizations and individuals in discussion and work. Regions are responsible for the practical co-ordination between affiliates at a local level. Because of these important tasks regions have been given voting status at GC.
2. The actual situation in most regions is very different. They aren't functioning as they should. Their representativeness and accountability must be questioned. Some of the difficulties present are:
 - often regional structures are a grouping of individuals
 - some have problems in that there are no organizations
 - others have organizations but do not really involve organizations
 - others are faced with tensions
 - some have never really operated as proper structures
3. We recommend that a commission be appointed to do something about these problems so that they start operating efficiently again. Regions are direct UDF structures and must be assessed from time to time.

In summary then, GC, REC, and sub regions are the working structures of our front. There's nothing magical about them. They are the means to give direction to our activities, to translate political programmes into practical action. They need to give the widest room for democratic participation. We are expected to give leadership and show the way. We are also expected to do this with maximum discipline and responsibility so that leadership can lead in such a way that it is tied to the base. Our structures can only be built through work and patient and comradely discussion. We need correct and acceptable procedures and we also need to be sure that they are suited to the task at hand, both short and long term.

AFFILIATES:

We have seen that affiliates in the Front have followed an

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uneven path to the contribution to the Front and its activities. This is regardless of the size of the organization or whether it has 3 votes or 1.

This differing response of affiliates is showing in the attendance and participation in the GC and its practical work.

Organizations in the Front have a right and obligation to be party to all decisions and work. For this reason it is vital for affiliates to ensure that delegates represent their views fully and report back. We must see that all affiliates are part of developments. One organization should not lag behind another. In this way the problem of the Front moving separately from organizations will be overcome.

SUBCOMMITTEES

We can distinguish between permanent and ad hoc committees - Permanent (media, fundraising) . Members are persons who have been released from organizations to serve on committees. Expected to perform certain regular tasks.

- Ad hoc (MSC, AFRC) formed when the need arises such as during a campaign when tasks need to be performed. Such committees should be of assistance to organizations.

2. The reason this distinction has been made is because some difficulties were experienced with the operations of the anti-conscription committee and with the Forced Removals committee. The problems are that organizations are expected to send regular reps to meetings; sometimes decisions are taken at this level which should not, strictly speaking, be taken there; committees should not act independently and must avoid becoming a duplication of GC's work.

3. Sub committees should have observer status at GC.

4. Area committees should be responsible to REC for consultation, contact.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING (ET)

1. ET should be an ongoing process undertaken by all organizations and not necessarily the responsibility of the ET officer of the Front. ET programmes should be held regularly and not only when something crops up.

2. We should guard against a few people being regarded as the experts in ET. collective effort and new people should be encouraged in participation and preparation.

3. Possible subjects that could be considered for the Front --ways to improve our ability to organize people

- acquiring skills and methods connected with specific campaigns
- dealing with various political questions
- political situation in SA
- role of an activist- discipline, conduct.

TRADE UNIONS

Only SAAwu and MWASA are members of the Front . Although the majority of the unions of the Western Cape are not part of the Front there exists an understanding with the unions that and we get together from time to time. There is mutual support and acknowledgement for the work done by each other.

2. On the question of affiliating to the Front the Unions positions are that their priority is the formation of a federation and it is difficult to consider the question of affiliation now.

3. Since we have been able to co-operate in the past we have to continue to find ways to strengthen the relationship. This has been accepted as one of the tasks of the new REC.

4. The common ground between the unions and the Front must be found with the cost of living, unemployment and other issues.

5. We need also to recognise that the majority of workers in the Western Cape are still either unorganized or in TUCSA-type unions. We need to ensure that consistent ways of reaching these workers are found.

BROADENING THE FRONT

1. In broadening the Front we have to consider
 - working towards getting new affiliates
 - working so that the Front enjoys wider support in the communities
2. Good relations exist with many church organizations and leaders. We have to look at ways in which closer relationships can be established at area and regional levels.
3. After discussions between the UDF and SACOS at a national level it became clear that SACOS would not decide for its affiliates on the question of political affiliation. The scope therefore exists for local sport organizations to be drawn closer to our area and regional structures, and even to affiliate to us.
4. Areas and regions and organizations should seriously consider activities to bring the Front to the masses in a constructive way. When work is done we should fight the issues |campaigns , build local organization and popularize the Front at the same time. Bring supporters into our organizations.

METHODS OF STRUGGLE

We have responded to many issues on various public platforms - mass meetings, newspapers, various media. We have often taken up issues that were of national significance. All this has given the UDF a certain image - with the masses, the ruling class and overseas. On the other hand, we went door to door, and local activities to involve the masses in campaigns and struggles.

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19/8/87

Concern has been expressed that we have been involved in too many high profile activities. Can we in fact draw a distinction between high profile and other work. To campaign around detentions and repression could be high profile. But what does this mean when our leaders are now facing treason charges? In our work therefore we have to ;

- Retain the role of the UDF as an important opposition to the apartheid state
- Ensure mass support and participation

The task of the Front is to work so that the struggle is taken into the hands of the people. the people that have been mobilised must be drawn into our organisations.

The issues around the programme of action show that the UDF will have to continue with the two methods of work. But, more important present the scope for organisations to play a key role in initiating action. If this happens then it will not be necessary for initiative to come from UDF centrally.

Finally, together with the issues we have identified, tasks must be set in a way that will initiate mass cation.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME !

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS !

"And money is like muck, not good except
to be spread"

Francis Bacon 1561 - 1626

Comrades,

The subject of finances within any organisation is often viewed with a certain amount of weariness. I have, therefore, attempted to keep the report as concise as possible. However, there are a number of key areas in terms of finance that we, as the UDF, have to address, if we are at all serious about our political and organisational responsibilities.

This report outlines the tasks, the treasurer has performed to date. In detailing these tasks, the problems encountered are raised. Some points are also mentioned with reference to the financial statement (separate handout). A number of recommendations conclude the report.

a) Tasks and Problems

1. The first task of the UDF treasurer relates to the management of UDF funds i.e. running the banking account, signing cheques and paying debts. While this has been done, and a complete record of income and expenditure has been kept, the lack of formal accounting skills has meant that a professional system of accounting i.e. cash book, journal, wage records etc has never been established. It is generally felt by the executive that for a large front of organisations such as the UDF, this is unacceptable, as it means that regular income/expenditure reports, payment of debts and formal budgeting cannot be done properly. This position has not been helped by minimal direct contact (until very recently) with the national treasury and its system of accounting/auditing.
2. There are a number of other tasks that the UDF treasurer has had to perform. Firstly, it must be pointed out that there were originally two treasurers, as decided by the launching conference in July 1983. However, only one treasurer has been acting in this capacity since the beginning of 1984. Secondly, it has been very easy for all members of the UDF executive to become caught up in campaigns, sub-committees and political work so much so that official portfolios can, and very often are relegated to second place. This treasury is no exception and this is a danger that must be corrected in the future.

Having made these general points, the additional tasks of the treasury have been as follows.

- a) Transport Officer - assisting with the arrangement of executive transport to NEC, National Secretariat and rural meetings, as well as with local transport during various campaigns.
- b) T-shirts, badges, calenders and other promotional work - the main problem here has always been getting back money from organisations, regions and individuals!!!!!!
- c) Assisting the secretariat with work relating to office rental, telephone accounts, hiring of halls etc.
- d) Fundraising - this is obviously a key and time-consuming task. A number of specific problems can be raised here:
 - * To rely on organisations within the front to fundraise for the UDF has tended to place an enormous burden on these organisa-

organisations, most of which find difficulty in raising enough funds to keep themselves alive.

- * On the other hand, most regions, which at one stage were meant to embark on a systematic programme of fundraising, have in most cases, with the exception of Cape Town region, been unable to do this.
- * General UDF fundraising programmes often managed to raise quite an amount of money. However, these projects tend to undercut UDF organisations' ability to fundraise for themselves or for the front. In addition, there are many other progressive organisations outside of the UDF that periodically have to raise funds (eg for workers during time of strikes). Moreover, comrades assisting in the UDF fundraising programmes are also called on to help fundraise for other organisations/campaigns. This in effect, has meant that a small number of people have been trying to raise large amounts of money on behalf of many different organisations, usually from the same sources.
- * this in turn has led to a situation where the UDF W.Cape has had to rely far too heavily on funds from Head Office.
- * finally, vast sums of money have had to be periodically paid to the state coffers in the form of bail and fines for 'illegal gatherings' or 'intimidation' charges. the UDF has't yet decided on a final policy in this regard i.e. whether all activists arrested during UDF campaigns should automatically be financed by the UDF central account.
- * Relief Work - raising money and/or collecting food in times of crisis (eg Crossroads resistance) creates the problem of who one gives money to in communities, and how we make sure that it gets to the people who need it most.

b) Income and Expenditure

There are just a few points to note here:

- * Much of the money raised is spent on media in general and pamphlets/newsletters in particular. This raised the question of whether we have developed an over-reliance on this form of political work.
- * Another huge slice of the UDF budget has gone for travel to national or rural gatherings. The cost today of petrol, car hire, servicing of borrowed cars and plane tickets is prohibitive. the UDF must decide whether the value that we obtain from national contact is equal to the value of our financial resources spent.

c) Existing Debts

We have been able to considerably reduce our debts over the last few months from over R20 000 to under R9 000. The bulk of the remaining debt should be able to be paid off within two weeks. This will mean, however, that the UDF will have to embark on a fundraising campaign before future political work can be done.

d) Recommendations

1. Separation of Treasurer and Fundraiser
2. Opening a full set of books as per the National Treasury and regular contact with the National Treasury.
3. Securing volunteer bookkeepers to assist with regular bookkeeping.
4. Preparation of quarterly income/expenditure statements to GC.
5. Re-establish a fundraising committee.
6. Priorities for financial resources defined i.e. whether salaries rent and phone bills come before expenditure on media & travel.
7. Proper budgeting for each quarter or campaign. Decisions taken on whether once budgeted for, enormous debts can be run up.
8. the establishment of a separate bail fund.

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WORKING PRINCIPLES OF THE UDF WESTERN CAPE REGION

AS AMENDED

The UDF Western Cape shall function as a component of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. The Working Principles set out below should be read in conjunction with the Working Principles of UDF National.

1. The area of operation shall be the Western Cape , as determined by the National General Council.
2. All meetings and activities in the name of the UDF will be conducted on the basis as outline in the Declaration.
3. Affiliated organisations will have the autonomy to call their own meetings, publish their own publications and undertake their activities within their own constituencies. In these cases, the discipline of the UDF will not necessarily apply. Organisations may act on directive of their members and posit their own programme as an alternative to the government's proposals.
4. Initial membership of the UDF Western Cape will be those organisations present at the inaugural meeting at St Georges Cathedral Hall on 24 July 1983. These organisations will form the Regional General Council (RGC). Further affiliation will be determined by the RGC.
5. The RGC will be the decision-making body for the region. The RGC will meet at least once in three months. Representation at the RGC shall be determined by the RGC, the number of delegates will be either one, two or three, dependant upon the size of the organisation. Affiliates will be allowed an equal number of observers at the RGC. *binding on all UDF Aff. Some must notify when they can not.*
6. Sub-regional Committees will be established to co-ordinate the activities of the UDF in parts of the region. Sub-regions will be composed of representatives of area committees, which in turn will be composed of the membership of all affiliates in an area. Sub-regions will be represented at the RGC by two delegates and shall participate fully in deliberations.
7. A Regional Executive Committee (REC) shall be elected annually. The REC shall consist of a) A President b) Two vice-Presidents c) A three-person secretariat d) A publicity Secretary f) Treasurer g) Seven additional members. Additional REC members shall convene sub-committees, both standing and ad hoc, as determined by the RGC from time to time. The REC shall have powers of co-option subject to approval or ratification of the RGC.
8. The treasurer shall open a banking account in the name of the UDF Western Cape into which all monies shall be deposited. (Withdrawals from the account shall be signed by the treasurer, a secretary and at least one other member of the REC.)
9. All matters not covered by these Working Principles shall be determined by resolution of the RGC.

ooOoo

ADDITIONAL AMENDMENTS TO WORKING PRINCIPLES

A Regional Executive Committee (REC) shall be elected annually. The REC shall protect the unity of the front at all times, and build comradely co-operation amongst the affiliates. The REC shall have the power to deal with affiliates where they are seen to be in conflict with the policy and working principles of the UDF. The REC shall administer the day to day work of the UDF and do the work as determined by the GC.

The REC shall consist of:

- a) chairperson
- b) two vice-chairpersons
- c) three secretaries
- d) publicity secretary
- e) media officer
- f) treasurer
- g) fundraiser
- h) education & training officer
- i) 6 additional members

The tasks of REC members shall be as follows :

- a) chairperson shall preside at all RGC's and REC's. He/she shall symbolise the unity of the UDF at all times, and maintain a neutral position in relation to affiliates.
- b) Vice-chairpersons shall deputise for the chairperson in his/her absence.
- c) The secretaries shall take the minutes and keep the records of the UDF. The following tasks shall be allocated amongst the secretaries:
 - i) Minutes, correspondence and administration
 - ii) contact with UDF affiliates
 - iii) co-ordination of organising work of UDF.
- d) the publicity secretary shall be responsible for relations with the press and the media, and have the power to issue statements in the name of the UDF.
- e) the Media Officer shall convene the media sub-committee and attend to the media needs of the UDF as determined by GC.
- f) the Treasurer shall keep the financial records of the UDF, open a bank account in the name of UDF into which all monies must be deposited. The treasurer shall be responsible for the administration of all funds.
- g) The Fundraising Officer shall convene the fundraising sub-committee and attend to UDF fundraising.
- h) The Education & training officer shall assist affiliates and regions with educational programmes.
- i) One of the additional members shall be responsible for ongoing & regular contact with the democratic trade union movement.

The REC shall have powers of co-option subject to ratification by GC.

ALTERNATIVES:

- 1) That there be an organizer and five additional members.
- 2) That the secretariat functions be allocated as follows:
 - a) minutes, administration and correspondence
 - b) ongoing and regular contact with the democratic trade unions
 - c) regular contact with the executives of affiliates.

RESOLUTION: FORCED REMOVALS

Noting:

1. the heroic resistance and subsequent deaths and injuries suffered by the people of Crossroads and other squatter communities in their refusal to be moved to Khayelitsha;
2. the determination of our people to fight for their rights in the land of their birth;
3. that the government has met the united resistance of the people with police, brutality and divisive tactics such as:-
 - a) extending the 99 year leasehold to "qualifying" persons only;
 - b) proposals to upgrade only 3 000 sites at Crossroads.

Further, noting:

1. that none of these concessions deals with the legitimate demands of the people;
2. that the government has still not guaranteed that people shall not be forcibly moved;
3. that the government has not sent the removal squad of 600 back to the Transvaal;
4. that Khayelitsha is a form of influx control rather than a solution to the huge shortage of houses;
5. that the pass laws divide people into "legals" and "illegals" and deny them the right to citizenship in an undivided South Africa;
6. that the government continues to force its unrepresentative structures onto the people and hinder them in their attempts to organise against them;
7. that no amount of promises or concessions can improve a policy which denies people basic human rights, in particular the right to live and work where they choose;

Now therefore demand:

1. a stop to the harrassment of squatters and forced removals to Khayelitsha;
2. an end to pass laws, Group Areas Act and influx control regulations;
3. houses for all at rents they can afford;
4. common citizenship for all South Africans

And therefore resolve:

to educate and organise all our people against the evils of Apartheid, and in particular forced removals, pass laws, influx controls and the Group Areas Act.

FREEDOM CHARTER:

This conference notes:

1. the Freedom Charter is the most democratic statement of the people's demands ever drawn up in South Africa;
2. that the demands of the Freedom Charter are still the demands of the people;
3. that the Freedom Charter is also a guide to our unity and our methods of organising; calls on all affiliates of the United Democratic Front:
 1. to present the Freedom Charter to their membership for debate and adoption;
 2. to popularise the Freedom Charter in their work at all times;
 3. to honour the clause The People Shall Govern by reflecting the principle of people's democracy in their organisational work.

Proposed: UWO

Seconded:

FARMWORKERS:

This conference notes:

1. the low wages, bad working conditions and lack of legal protection of farmworkers
 2. that farmworkers houses are tied to their jobs;
 3. that farmers treat the farmworkers as slaves against whom they can use violence;
 4. that the farmers benefit from the labour of entire families by exploiting women and children in the peak seasons;
 5. that as a result of the drought, many farmers are leaving their farms, causing massive unemployment among farm workers;
 6. that many farm workers are made more vulnerable by being migrant workers with a contract only for the farms;
 7. that the Nationalist Party gets its political support from the farmers and gives concessions to the farmers;
- rejects the Urban Foundations attempt to provide social welfare services to farm workers and demands that farm workers are recognised as workers and are included in all labour legislation that protects the rights of workers to UIF and maternity benefits, workmen's compensation, minimum wages and the right to organise into democratic organisations of their own choice.

RESOLUTION: TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT AND BLACK FORUM

Noting:

1. that the mass anti-election campaigns of the U.D.F. have completely discredited the tricameral parliament and the Community Council system in the eyes of our people;
2. that the sellouts sitting in the coloured House of Representatives, the Indian House of Delegates and the Bantustans are seen by our people as junior partners in the Apartheid schemes of the Botha government;
3. that the mass resistance that followed the anti-election campaigns by the people all over the country has thrown the government into chaos;
4. that the attempt to create a Black Forum as a fourth chamber will not stem the tide of resistance;

We believe:

1. that only a government based on the will of all the people can claim legitimacy;
2. that only a government based on the will of all the people and the dismantling of Apartheid institutions can resolve the injustices, hardships and suffering inflicted on our people;

Therefore resolve:

1. to intensify the struggle for a non-racial democratic government based on the will of all our people;
 2. to call for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, return of exiles and the unbanning of all National Liberation Movements.
-

WOMEN

This conference notes:

1. that the extent to which women are organised is a barometer of the level of the struggle as a whole;
2. that many of our finest and bravest women have been forced into exile by the apartheid system;
3. that this system thrives on division, one of which is the division between men and women, created by unequal wages and conditions of employment, inequality before the law, vicious applications of removals and pass laws against women, and the burden of responsibility for the home;
4. that there is an international conference of women to mark the end of the UN decade of women this year;
5. that despite the increases organisation of women, the oppression and hardship in the lives of South African women has intensified over the past ten years;

We believe:

1. that the goal of full recognition of all women; of freedom and happiness for our children cannot be achieved in the present political and economic situation;
2. that oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed without removing the oppression of women;
3. that while the resources of a country, the product of the exploitation of the majority are used for the benefit of the minority, the women of South Africa will continue to be oppressed and exploited;

We therefore call:

on all women to bring their organisations into the United Democratic Front, so that we can make real our commitment to fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination.

and further, with the Latin American and Caribbean women, calls on the UN Conference to extend the Decade of Women to the year 2000 in order to strengthen the organisation of women in the liberation struggle and to pressurise governments to use their resources to make equality, peace and development a reality in all aspects of women's lives

RESOLUTION: WORKERS

This conference notes:

1. that workers are the producers of the wealth of the country but they do not enjoy the benefits of the wealth they produce;
2. that workers face insecurity in their jobs through retrenchments and rising unemployment in the present economic crisis;
3. that workers continue to be harassed, intimidated and jailed in their attempts to organise against exploitative and oppressive conditions through the building of democratic trade unions and participation in the national liberation struggle;
4. that the state has tried to destroy the workers unity and to deny the workers basic political rights through its strategy of co-optation;
5. that the migrant labour system is the crux of apartheid and the basis of the super-exploitation of the workers of South Africa;
6. that the rising prices and present economic crisis hit the workers of South Africa hardest;

and believes that:

1. Workers must share fully in that benefits of the wealth they produce;
2. Workers are entitled to security in their jobs and freedom from unemployment;
3. Workers have a right to organise themselves into trade unions, and political organisations of their choice without state repression;
4. Workers must enjoy full democratic rights;
5. Migrant labour and influx control deny the fundamental rights of workers to work and live where they choose;
6. The leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom is essential if our goal of the end to exploitation and oppression is to be reached;

Therefore resolves:

1. To oppose the migrant labour system and influx control in whatever ways possible;
2. To demand that the basic needs of the working people are protected in this period of economic recession and hardship;

3. To encourage the building of democratic trade unions in all workplaces;
4. To strengthen the unity between democratic trade unions and other organisations fighting for the end to apartheid and exploitation in South Africa, and in particular with the United Democratic Front;
5. To work for a South Africa in which the oppression and exploitation of workers will cease to exist and the economic resources of the country will be used for the benefit of all people;

RESOLUTION: GENERAL (ACTIVISTS) FORUM

The REC shall convene general or activist forum when deemed necessary. Such forums shall be open to all members of affiliates and regions. The purpose of such forums shall be:

- (a) Educational
- (b) To discuss details of a decision already approved by REC
- (c) To debate matters

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RESOLUTION: INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF THE YOUTH

That the Western Cape UDF AGM:

Noting:

1. That 1985 has been declared International Youth Year by the United Nations General Assembly
2. That the broad aim of the IYY campaign as outlined by the U.N. is to harness the energy, enthusiasm and creative potential of the youth to the tasks of nation building and the struggle for national independence and self-determination
3. The role that our youth have played in the past in taking our struggle forward
4. That for the IYY campaign the UDF, and not the apartheid state is recognised by the U.N. as representing S.A. youth
5. The formation of regional and national IYY committees by democratic youth organisations
6. That our youth face many problems and burdens including unemployment, bad education and conscription
7. That many sectors of our youth especially young women remain unorganised

And Further Noting:

- The attempts by the apartheid state to involve itself in activities under the banner of the IYY

And Believing:

1. That the youth are the most dynamic and vibrant sector of the people and it is vital that we include them in our organisation
2. That the aims of the IYY campaign are our aims and should be supported
3. That throughout the IYY campaign our youth can play an important role in building opposition to apartheid, both in our country and abroad
4. That the aim of the state's IYY campaign is to build support for apartheid and to misguide our youth

Therefore resolves to:

1. Further strengthen our youth organisation through the IYY campaign

2. Build as strong as links as possible with the National and regional IYY committees and to assist them in the task of taking forward the IYY campaign
3. To actively oppose and expose the state's IYY campaign for its support for apartheid and to demand that the government withdraws immediately from all IYY activities

Rural Areas

A Note

1. Growth in U.S.A. in R. Areas
2. The growing resistance
3. The broader response from S.A. living.

Attention friends

RESOLUTION: UNEMPLOYMENT

This A.G.M. noting:

1. that our people are experiencing many economic problems because of the bad management of the economy and country; that the present government is ruining our country;
2. that at present over 2 million workers are unemployed, with this number increasing every day;
3. that the prices of the basic necessities of life are increasing rapidly;
4. that this bad state of affairs (high unemployment and rapidly increasing cost of living) is adding untold misery and hardships on our people, especially the workers;
5. that the average minimum wage for workers is far below that necessary to eat and live decently;

And believing:

1. that high unemployment and poverty wages are as a result of the policies of the Apartheid government and the protection and licence it gives to the bosses to inhumanly exploit workers;
2. that there can be no solution to poverty wages and unemployment until workers have control over every aspect of their lives;

Therefore resolves:

1. to call for an end to unemployment by demanding useful work for all;
2. to support the trade unions in their fight for a living wage for all workers;
3. to call for pensions, disability grants and unemployment benefits that keep up with the rapidly rising prices and that are administered fairly, justly and without racial discrimination;
4. to fight increases in rent, transport fares and the price of foodstuffs, fuel and other essentials;

And further resolves:

to initiate discussion with workers in trade unions and community organisations to discuss these demands and the possibilities of a national campaign for JOBS FOR ALL AT A LIVING WAGE.

RESOLUTION: ON REGIONS AND AREA COMMITTEES

1. Often it has been said that the UDF operates both as a front of affiliate organisations and a political party with branches. The UDF however presents itself to the public as a front. This dual character creates tensions within the front.
 2. This conference therefore proposes the forming of a commission to investigate the status and composition of regions and area committees;
 3. The commission consisting of members of affiliates and regions shall also examine:-
 - a) the existence of volunteer groups to accommodate individuals not in UDF affiliates;
 - b) whether regions should be given observer status with speaking rights or full delegate status.
-

RESOLUTION: THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

Recognising:

1. The situation of endemic strife which has its roots in the unjust and exploitative political and economic structures of the South African society;
2. The important role that the Church plays in the lives of the oppressed and exploited masses of South Africa;

Resolves:

1. To call upon all Christians to commit themselves to the democratic struggle for justice and peace in South Africa;
 2. To work with political and community organisations in this struggle;
 3. To give practical support to this struggle by opening its halls and facilities to these organisations.
-

Proposed by: TEAM

RESOLUTION: IMPERIALISM

We note with anger the support of the Thatcher and Reagan governments for the South African government.

We know that the U.S. government is, through its policy of constructive engagement, really furthering its own economic interests in that the profits that Foreign companies invest their capital in South Africa because of the huge profits they make through the exploitation of our people and the natural wealth of our land

This unashamed greed and support for the Nationalists government by the governments of the United States and Britain cannot stop us in our march towards freedom

We further note the collaboration of the governments of Israel, Chile, Taiwan and other anti-democratic regimes with the South African government and its fraudulent bantustans

We believe that:

1. All foreign governments must recognize the right of other people to live in a non-racial and democratic country
2. That foreign investments do not benefit the oppressed and exploited people of S.A. but bolster the apartheid government
3. That the present disinvestment campaign in the U.S.A. shows that the American people are neither fooled by the sham reforms of the Botha government nor the policy of Constructive Engagement
4. That those who claim to believe in the noble ideals of democracy have an obligation to support the just struggle of the S.A. people

Now therefore resolves:

1. To demand the immediate end to the U.S. and British governments support for the apartheid government
2. To reject the policy of constructive engagement
3. To demand an end to the exploitation of the people and and the national wealth of our country by foreign investors
4. To reject the argument that foreign investments benefit the oppressed and exploited people of S.A.
5. To condemn the support of the governments of Israel, Chile and Taiwan for the apartheid government and its bantustand; and to support those struggling for democracy in those countries

RESOLUTION: MILITARISATION

Noting:

1. the increased militarization and massive defence budget of our country while our people are deprived of the basic necessities for living;
2. the continued acts of aggression perpetrated by the SADF against our neighbouring states;
3. the increasing use of the SADF to crush the legitimate resistance of our people in the townships;
4. the growing instances of young people resisting conscription in the S.A. army;
5. the SADF is involved in a campaign to win the hearts and minds of young children in communities through the organization of youth camps;

And believing:

1. that the SADF is being used by the S.A. regime to uphold white domination;
2. that the government still intends to conscript Indians and coloureds;
3. that there can be no peace in Southern Africa until the SADF is disarmed and apartheid is abolished;

Hereby resolves:

1. to resist all forms of militarization;
 2. to demand an end to compulsory conscription;
 3. to call for the withdrawal of all SADF troops;
 4. to demand that the SADF ceases its campaign to destabilise our neighbouring states;
 5. to support in whatever way possible, those who do not join the SADF;
 6. to call for the disarming of the SADF.
-

C139

Cape Town

MEMORIAL RALLY

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Rev 139"



ATHLONE CIVIC CENTRE
WEDNESDAY 11 JULY 1985

FORT CALATA

Grandson of Canon Calata, first general secretary
of the African National Congress
Fort Calata, you remind us that our struggle has long
traditions and deep roots.
True grandson of your grandfather.
Murdered, fallen, but not forgotten.
Fort Calata

The light you have lit will blaze on.

SICELO MAHLAWULI

Born in Cradock, the cradle of the Freedom Charter. It was
there, 31 years ago, that the idea was launched for the
document that says: The People Shall Govern!

Sicelo Mahlawuli, school teacher at Oudtshoorn.

Fallen but not forgotten.

The light you have lit, comrade - will blaze on.

SPARROW MKHONTO

A railway worker, fired after nine years for your political work,
a Cradock official

Sparrow Mkhonto, drawn from the ranks of our great working class

Murdered but never forgotten

The light you have lit, brother, will blaze on.

MATTHEW GONIWE

A people and a struggle that can produce, in a tiny dorp like
Cradock, a leader of your quality, is a struggle that will be
won, a people that will be free.

You have fallen, comrade, but in all the small towns
of our land one thousand Goniwes are emerging.

Murdered but not forgotten.

Matthew Goniwe.

The light you have lit will blaze on.

Tonight we resolve, solemnly, never to forget you, our four comrades.

The spear, the one spear you have left -we will take up, and carry forward.

① THINA SIZWE ESIMNYAMA

Lead: Thina sizwe
Chorus: Thina sizwe esimnyama
Lead: Sikhalela
Chorus: Sikhalela izwelethu
Lead: Elathathwa
Chorus: Elathathwa ngama bhulu
Lead: Mabayeke
Chorus: Mabayek' umhlaba wethu
Lead: Mabayeke
Chorus: Mabayek' umhlaba wethu

We nation
We black nation
We are crying
We are crying for our country
It was taken
It was taken by the Boere
The (the boere) must leave
They must leave our country
They (the Boere) must leave
They must leave our country.

② SENZENINA

WHAT HAVE WE DONE

Senzenina	X8	What have we done
Amabhulu uzizinja	X8	The boers are dogs
Sonosethu bubunyama	X8	Our only sin is the colour of our skin
Mayibuye iAfrika	X8	Let Africa return.
What have we done	X8	
Wat het ons gedoen	X8	

② UNZIMA LOMTHWALO

Unzima lomthwalo }
Ufuna madoda/simanyane } x2

Asikatali noba siyabotswa }
Sizimisile khululeko } x2

Khululeko }
Asinayo } x3

Thina bantwana }
Base Afrika } x2
Sizimisile khululeko }
Khululeko x3 } x2
Asinayo }

THE LOAD IS HEAVY

The load is heavy
We need men/unity

We don't care if we are locked up
We stand for freedom

Freedom
We have not got

We the children
of Africa
We stand for freedom
Freedom
We have not got

④ MANYANANI BASEBENZI

Basebenzi manyanani
Manyanani x4

iKhona lentlangano yabasebenzi x3

Unite workers
Unite

There is an organization for workers

⑤ UMHOBE WESIWE

Nkosi sikel' iAfrika
Maluphakamis' uphondo lwayo
Yiva namithandazo yethu
Nkosi sikelela
Thina lusapho lwayo } X2

Yiza moya...Sikelela nkosi sikelela
Yiza moya...Sikelela nkosi sikelela
Yiza moya oyingcwele
Usisikelela, thina lusapho

Morena boluka sechaba sa heso
O fedise dintwa matahwenyeho
Usiboloke, usiboloke
Usiboloke, usiboloke
Sechaba sa heso
Sechaba sa Afrika
Usiboloka Morena
Usiboloke
Usiboloke Sechaba
Usiboloke
Sechaba sa heso
Sechaba sa Afrika

Makube njalo, makube njalo } X2
Kude kube ngunaphakade

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

Lord bless Africa
May her horn rise like a ship's mast
So also hear our prayers
Lord bless us
We, the families of Africa

Come Spirit, bless us Lord, bless us
Come Spirit, bless us Lord, bless us
Come holy Spirit
And bless its families

Lord take care of our nation
Stop the struggles and frustrations
Save it, save it
Save it, save it
Our nation
Our Africa
Save it God
Save it
Save our nation
Save it
Our nation
Our Africa

Let it be so, let it be so
Untill eternity.

C140

Cape Town

7 JANUARY 1985

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PREPARATION FOR THE UDF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The following is a summary of an Executive assessment. We hope that it will serve as a basis for preparing ourselves for the AGM.

1. The UDF (Western Cape) during 1984

The UDF has made a tremendous impact on the history of struggle. Important gains were made for the progressive movement especially in areas where there had not been a tradition of struggle like the rural areas and some "coloured" communities.

Our people identify the UDF with resistance to the government. We should now change this passive support into active support where people see that they need to be actively involved in changing their lives.

This broad acceptability needs to be deepened; our organisations must be strengthened.

There has not been even participation of all our affiliates in the work of the UDF.

At times there has been disunity in the ranks of activists which also led to poor participation in our work. Differences which had existed prior to the formation of the UDF continued to exist and caused tensions within the Front. The UDF has, however laid the basis for resolving these. We are now bound by a common discipline within UDF structures and have common responsibilities to a national movement.

2. The Regional Executive Committee

At the moment only 10 of the 15 executive members are active, and attend executive meetings regularly. Others like Imam Hassen Solomon and Rev. Chris Nissen are playing valuable roles elsewhere.

Not all REC members have been successfully drawn into UDF activities. Only some REC members were fully in touch with UDF campaigns, sub-committees and structures. As a result it was often the younger members who were central to most of the campaigns and day to day running of the Front.

In planning for a new Executive we need to consider the following:

- * political clarity
- * time to do UDF work
- * balance between symbolic figures on the executive and those who can give guidance and take responsibility for work
- * balance between UDF work and work within organisation

3. Assessment .../

Assessment of Portfolios

President : Should be a symbol of unity and have a history of struggle. Must be broadly acceptable. Should be more than just a figure head. Should be active in decisionmaking and guidance in the Front.

Vice-presidents : Should be more than just substitutes for the President. Should, together with the President and Secretaries be responsible for planning meetings, co-ordinating work and communicating with organisations.

Secretaries : Tasks must be more clearly defined. Overall responsibility for the Front to be shared by others. Possible solutions to the overburdening of the Secretaries are to divide up the tasks and to involve non portfolio members in tasks like minutes, finding venues, agendas etc.

Publicity Secretaries : We should consider separating publicity and media because they are very different jobs which require different skills. We should also consider having an older person who could project a mature image of the Front. The public spokesperson for the UDF must be somebody who can respond to a wide range of issues within the policy framework of the UDF.

Treasurers : We only have one active treasurer now. We need to have a treasury which functions properly. The treasurer must be able to make UDF fundraising a priority. Organisations must also take more responsibility for UDF funds. We should also look carefully at how we spend our money in UDF.

Additional Executive members : Must assist with the tasks of other executive members. Should share responsibilities for Sub-committees and play a more active role in the UDF.

4. Relationship of REC to affiliates

Contact between the executive and affiliates should take place outside of GC as well. Perhaps certain REC members should be given the responsibility to liaise with organisations regularly. Meetings with executives of our affiliates is another possibility. This will be important especially before we take crucial decisions and during intense campaigns.

The REC needs to play a far greater role in ensuring that regions function properly and are participating in UDF work.

Other important matters which had been discussed in our GC assessment and which we must look at carefully:Structures and decisionmaking

How do we take decisions in the UDF? We have often called emergency GC's at very short notice because we had to respond to an urgent issue. This meant that all our members in all our organisations were not always involved in taking decisions. How can we find ways of taking democratic decisions which will allow us to respond quickly?

How can we ensure that EVERYBODY in the UDF accepts majority decisions and participates in the implementation thereof?

What role do the following structures play in decisionmaking?
GC, the executive, regions, sub-committees and activist forums?

Education .../

Education and training

How do we see education and training taking place?

- * Should it take place on a regular basis?
- * How should it be done - by a permanent sub-committee?, by REC members who co-ordinate and draw in, with the consent of our structures, others from time to time?
- * What kind of education should take place?

Rural Areas

There is now a properly functioning Rural Council. How do we include these areas in our decisions? Due to the problem of distance, what links can be established between our GC and the rural Council? Worcester and Paarl are part of our GC as well as the Rural Council. How do we see this?

We also include an NEC input paper which was delivered at an NEC workshop and the Working Principles of UDF (W.C.)

Other important aspects to be looked at in preparation for the AGM:

- Broadening the Front : Starting afresh to include more organisations into the UDF at central level as well as at a local level.
- Fundraising to pay off our debts. Also for 1985 at a local/central level.
- Our regions and area committees.
- Our working principles and resolutions must be reviewed.
The proposed date for the AGM is March.
What kind of AGM do we want? Should we have an open AGM, should only some sessions be open?
Should we have a rally as part of the AGM?
- Should we have a theme? If so, what?
- The executive wishes to meet with all organisations before the GC if possible, but certainly before the AGM.

Conclusion

Comrades, the last half of the year has seen the destruction of the lies told by Botha, Hendricks, Sebe, Rajbansi and others like them. We also came out stronger after the referendum debate.

We are, however, also painfully aware that there are still many shortcomings in the Front. Let us prepare ourselves properly to enter the AGM and the year which faces us with a positive spirit. Let us rise to the challenge and march ahead stronger than we were on the 20 August 1985.

A. Goalsetting

It is necessary for us to set our sights high, but we should also be realistic. An incorrect assessment of what is possible can lead to public embarrassment for the Front and can be used to undermine the confidence of the people in the Front. Our activists also become demoralised if they had worked very hard and failed to attain goals we've set for ourselves.

In future proper assessment and planning should take place in all structures which will be expected to contribute to the attainment of a particular goal. Logistics should be worked out as far possible before we commit ourselves firmly.

We should also define far more clearly what objectives we have i.e. whether the emphasis is on depth or high profile activity. During the elections we also learnt that it is not possible to sustain two intensive campaigns with different profiles at the same time (i.e. elections and MSC).

Criteria for affiliation

1. Organisations The UDF must continue to encourage as many kinds of organisations with their interests, irrespective of their size or constituency. We should be realistic about the fact that we will rely more on some affiliates to do the mass work while that of others are valuable in other respects.

Where we need to make a distinction, is in terms of decision-making. A formula should be found where numerical representation at decision-making. Forums like GC should be commensurate with the capacity of an affiliate to take practical responsibility to implement decisions of the Front.

2. Regions We should critically assess what the point is at which regional status is accorded. It appears as if our earlier motivation that inclusion into national structures will stimulate the development of regions, has had some adverse effects. Very often this has drained those areas, because of the demands placed on them. They are often compelled to respond to activities which were decided on by national structures where the pace is determined by the stronger region. In the long run this can undermine development.

We should accept that the core of the UDF will always exist around urban areas like Johannesburg, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. However, fairly substantial structures are developing in some of the rural areas which form part of our existing regions. We need to find ways of incorporating those areas more directly into decision-making of the UDF, because distances from the towns responsible for them often makes this impossible.

Possible .../

Possible guidelines for the future:

- Conditions must have been allowed to develop to the extent where there is a general council which can meet regularly and consists of affiliate organisations.
- Organisations in the geographic area, must launch the region and apply for national status once they feel they are in a position to take responsibility for (i) surrounding area
(ii) national campaigns.
- Re-assess existing regions w.r.t above criteria
- Assess whether regional boundaries should be re-defined to create smaller more manageable regions.

C. Decision-making:

1. Processes:

We need to strike a balance between the need for UDF to respond speedily to crisis and the need for all our affiliates to be party to and committed to decisions we take.

Practical proposals in this regard are that agendas of national gatherings be sent out timeously and that allowance be made for discussion thereof by affiliates and that affiliates be encouraged to make suggestion w.r.t. NEC agendas. We should accept that we will have to respond to urgent issues and take decisions without following this procedure. The nature of such discussion and decisions should however be disseminated as soon as possible to all affiliates.

2. Autonomy of affiliates in relation to decisions:

It is unhealthy for any of our affiliates to actively go against majority decisions taken. We should however understand when some affiliates are not in a position to participate actively in some of our campaigns. Such affiliates should however be encouraged to look at means of playing a supportive role.

In terms of our past practice, we need to assess flexibility/autonomy and its implications for unity in the Front.

D. Accountability:

The formation of the UDF marked a new era of closer co-operation between progressive forces in S.A. Most of our affiliates do not have the experience of having worked in an alliance like the UDF. While we encourage affiliates to take up campaigns, we must bear in mind that the work of our affiliates will invariably have a bearing on the work of the rest of the Front. As affiliates, we should feel dutibound to consult with or at least inform the rest of the Front about all campaigns we propose to tackle, particularly when campaigns will be mass based. This can only serve to strengthen such campaigns and contribute to unity in action.

E. Discipline .../

E. Discipline:

Because we are a Front and not a political organisation, the only basis in terms of which we can take disciplinary measures against any affiliate or individual, is the principle enshrined in our declaration, resolutions and working principles. We should endeavour to foster sound relationships among our affiliates but we should be aware of the UDF's limitations to try and resolve differences among organisations especially where those differences arose because of dynamics outside of the Front.

If such transgression does occur, REC's and NEC should not be structures which decide on the form of discipline. Such matters are best dealt with collectively through forums like Regional GC's.

UDF has no real discipline over individuals in the Front - organisations must take responsibility for their membership. We should however bear in mind that the best guarantee for discipline is to inculcate a sense of trust and a strong loyalty towards the front and its objectives. Drastic disciplinary measures should only be considered after comradely attempts to explain to those at fault, had failed or if the fundamental principles of the UDF had been consciously flouted.

F. Structures:

We need to assess whether our existing structures are appropriate for the work it is intended to do. The following are some practical proposals:

- NGC - should gather only once a year and serve the purpose of an AGM
 - should only take place after regional AGM's
 - representation per region should be determined w.r.t. numbers only. Regions should decide how best they and their affiliates can be represented.
 - we should determine how national formations will be represented if the above proposal is accepted
- NEC - to be held less often
 - its work should revolve largely around policy and broad guidelines for work
 - emergency NEC's to be called only if regional feedback is not the best method at arriving at a national position. Practical decisions to be taken by appropriate structures e.g Treasury, Secretariat, Publicity department
 - all reports to be circularised prior to NEC and only matters arising to be discussed
 - given the logistics and finances involved in having an NEC, we should assess its size.

G. Education and Training:

We are very conscious of the need for far more systematic education and training of our activists as well as new people who are being drawn in. We need to assess whether this is best done through permanent, high structures or more informally.

There are two .../

There are two categories which are not necessarily related.

- 1) Equipping our activists with organising skills. This is best done when based on practical experience e.g briefing before going into areas and assessments afterwards.
- 2) Broadening the political understanding of those within the Front. Regular open discussions or forums should be encouraged as long as these do not become substitutes for structures like GC to discuss policy matters.

We should look at how experience in this regard can be shared.

H. Relationship to non-affiliates:

Our emphasis should always be to seek those areas where co-operation is possible. It is important that we should continue to try and win over all progressive organisations.

As far as other political tendencies are concerned, our most serious consideration should be those which have a mass base. By now we should be able to be realistic about the areas and nature of co-operation which is possible. It is our task to ensure that we and those not affiliates never lose sight of the fact that the apartheid state is the enemy and that if any ideological differences do exist, we should respect those and not allow it to undermine the potential areas of unity.

C141

Cape Town

United Women's Organisation



35

P.O. Box 120
Athlone
7760



Baw "C/41"

Dear Comrades,

UWO is spearheading the commemoration of National Womens Day in the Western Cape. Nationally women are organising a focus week from 5-12 August, around the theme 'Women against forced removals and the elections'. We will picket on the streets throughout the Western Cape. We will pamphleteer factories and squatter camps. The week will end in a rally at Athlone Civic.

We come from a tradition of well organised women. In 1956, 20 000 women marched to Pretoria to declare their opposition to passes. Thousands more marched to their local 'Native Affairs' Offices. For 15 years, National Women's Day was hardly celebrated. Now, wherever women are organising, National Women's Day is a big event.

This year, we say 'Women reject the forced removals and the elections' But it is not enough to reject the hardships women suffer. We must organise to fight these actively. We must look at which women need to be organised and how we should organise them.

Black women are the most unemployed people. The bantustan system and influx control divides our families. The women in the bantustans are employed as slave labour - women are the source of the bosses super profits. In the urban areas, young women are fired when they become pregnant. When there is a recession, it is the women who are the first to be retrenched. The bosses say these women are housewives - they are not employed.

It is the duty of all democratic trade unions and womens organisations to defend a woman's right to work and to live where we can get a job. But we must demand more than this. What will happen to our children and families while we are at work?

We must organise to demand the right to bear our children with adequate health care for child and mother. We must demand that there are crech and child care centres for all working mothers. We claim paid materni leave as our right, and we demand a guarantee that we can return to our same job.

In many of the clinics in our communities and at the factories, they us dangerous contraceptives. We demand our right to choose when we wa to use birth control. It is our right to make this decision with full knowledge about what we are doing to our health. No boss can demand t we must use contraceptive before we can get a job. Motherhood is our right.

The time is past when women were at home all day. Now we too have to work to support our family. But the law and our attitudes hold us bac The law says that black women are minors, with their husbands or sons as guardians. The divorce laws does not apply to black women. Our husbands, brothers and sons expect the women of the house to do the housework. All this must change. The people shall share the work in the home.

We say it is the right of all people to organise into democratic organisations at their places of work, in the community. We say that women should take their place alongside their men in the struggle.

Women are brought up not to speak about political issues. We are told that is the men's business. We are told not to speak but to listen. It is the task of all democratic organisations to train women to participate fully in the work of the organisation and to arrange the organisation so that women can participate. There is work to be done if we want the right for women to organise not to be a hollow slogan.

The Labour Party thinks that they can fool our women into voting. But we know that our struggle as women is part of the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Our demands for maternity leave, creches, equal pay for equal work, for prices we can afford are only milestones along the way to a South Africa where the people shall govern.

Comrades, the United Women's Organisation works hand in hand with other organisations. Within the UDF we hope to move the women's struggle and the struggle as a whole forward. Our task is to reach out to unorganised women and draw them into the democratic movement. The task of organising women is a task that confronts us all - the trade union movement, the student movement, the civic associations and the youth movement.

On National Women's Day 1984, we say for the whole world to hear that Botha's New Deal is no answer to our problems as women. The wages remain low and the prices and GST go up. There are no houses, security and comfort for South Africans. We can not live in peace and friendship when our sons are dragged into the army. We do not live in a democracy when the majority of our people are shunted off to the Bantustans.

UWO calls on comrades, men and women, to join us in the activities of the Focus Week:

MONDAY 6 AUGUST: blitz to squatter camps.

Please bring as much transport as possible.

TUESDAY 7 AUGUST: blitz to factories.

Please bring as much transport as possible.

THURSEDAY 9 AUGUST: Pickets.

Please bring as much transport as possible.

SUNDAY 12 AUGUST: Mass Rally Athlone Civic 2.00 - 5.00 pm

WOMEN AGAINST THE FORCED REMOVALS AND THE NEW DEAL.

Our office phone number is 691055 - please let us know if people are coming from your organisation or your region. Please phone if you need information or have suggestions. The office address is: 3 Hares Street, Mowbray, right next to the Mowbray bus terminus.

We hope to see you all in the National Womens Day Focus.

Yours in struggle,



T TSOLO
SECRETARY.

C142

Cape Town

Bew' C142"

SCANC

Newsletter
No 3
SEPT '83

Student Committee Against New Constitution

NO THANKS !

Over the next month, NUSAS will be urging students to say "NO!" to the government's Constitution Bill. In a massive nationally co-ordinated campaign, NUSAS aims to unite students on all the English campuses in a clear rejection of the "New Deal". During the build-up to the referendum on November 2, students will be asked to sign a petition rejecting the new constitution on the grounds that:

- it excludes the majority of South Africans;
- it entrenches apartheid;
- all South Africans must participate in deciding our common future.

In this way, NUSAS hopes to show that the vast majority of English-speaking students stand in clear opposition to the Constitution Bill - and all that it implies - for the correct reasons. Saying "no" to the Constitution is, in this context, not a negative action. It is not aligning ourselves with the HNP and the CP, who want to keep things as they are. It is not saying that we want the government to "go back to the drawing-board" - the drawing-board of white politics. Rather, it is a positive step : a clear and unequivocal

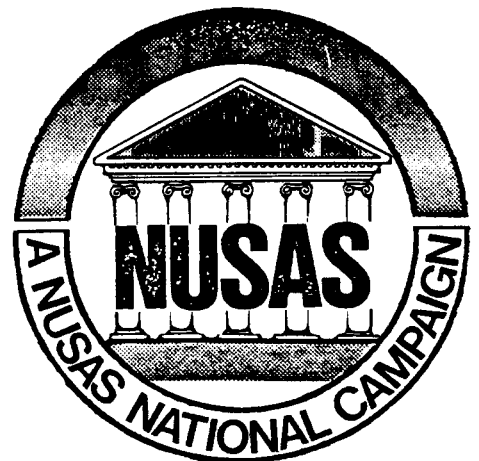
statement of our rejection of apartheid; and a statement of our commitment, as democratic students, to working towards a free South Africa in which the people shall govern.

It is a statement which says: How can the constitution be "A step in the right direction" when it is premised on the Bantustan policy? Is it going to prevent shootings and detention in the Ciskei? Is it going to stop shacks in Crossroads from being demolished? Is it going to end mass removals and starvation in resettlement camps? Is it going to mean an end to the war in Namibia where we are expected to fight?

So, in the forthcoming referendum, it is not enough to vote "no". After all, what right does a "whites only" referendum have to decide on the future of our country? While seeing that it is important to demonstrate that the government does not have the support of even its own power-base - the white electorate - we must see further than this. If we are committed to real democracy, and not a racially-exclusive parliamentary politics, we must actively lend our support to

the United Democratic Front.

NUSAS, as a member of the UDF, is offering an alternative that goes beyond "going back to the drawing-board". It is realistically acknowledging that if the bill is implemented, the already-limited role of parliamentary opposition will be completely destroyed. It is calling on students to get actively involved in organisations which represent the views and needs of the majority of South Africans. Through joining in the activities and campaigns of the UDF, we can take our place as participants in the building of a united, non-racial and truly democratic South Africa.



Campus feels SCANC

Everyone reading this newsletter, looking at SCANC information posters up on the noticeboards or attending the SCANC referendum discussions in the resses this week, must be aware that SCANC is expanding fast. Whereas originally SCANC consisted of reps from each of the constituent organisa-

tions, sub-committees have now been formed to involve students who actively reject the constitution.

Four sub-committees exist at the moment. The newsletter group are responsible for the publication you are reading. The seminars group

has also held workshops on the structure of the new constitution both within SCANC and in reses. The media group has been producing information posters with new ones appearing every week.

Slide Tape Show

A slide-tape show on the constitution is in the pipeline as well as media around the referendum. The notice-board group collects press clippings and other media on the constitution and related issues and keeps the many SCANC notice-boards on campus up-to-date.

Petition

A fifth sub-committee is soon to be set up to co-ordinate the petition campaign (discussed in this publication).

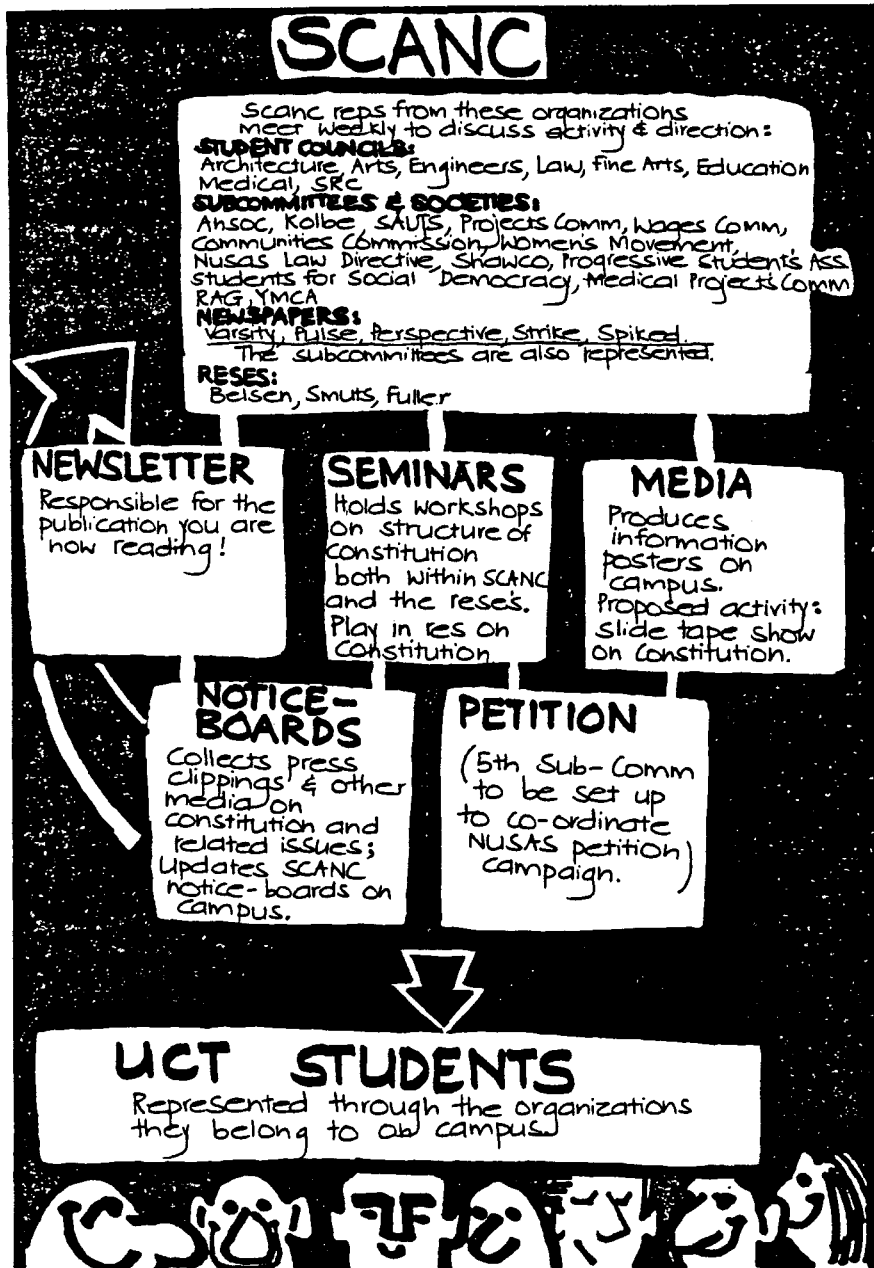
The sub-committees each have reps on SCANC and thereby contribute to the direction of the committee.

get involved

It's not enough to only reject the constitution. Actively oppose the constitution by getting involved in the sub-committees.

If you should wish to do so please phone Ilana Korber (47-9272) without delay.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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UDF Plans Nationwide Campaign

A PROGRAMME OF ACTION

"Every person in South Africa opposed to the new constitution and Koornhof Bills, should become involved in the United Democratic Front's nationwide campaign," said Mr Andrew Boraine. He was speaking at a Student Committee Against the New Constitution (SCANC) seminar last Wednesday.

Boraine, a past-NUSAS President and UCT SRC vice-president, outlined four major aims of the UDF.

* 586 organisations participated in the UDF's national launch. These must be united on a national level in working for democratic change in South Africa. All groupings need to be strengthened both organisationally and numerically.

* The UDF will provide educational input to its affiliates, linking grassroots problems to broader political issues.

* Historically, democratic leaders have been detained or banned. For this reason, the UDF will systematically train new leadership.

* National political issues such as the new Constitutional Bill, the Black Local Authorities Bill, conscription, etc. will be taken up by the UDF.

The UDF has formulated a broad programme of action for the campaign against the new



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

constitution and "Koornhof Bills". A nationwide "peoples weekend" is planned for the eve of the November 2 referendum. This will consist of regional rallies, prayer services and vigils. The weekend is planned to reflect the vibrant opposition to the government's proposed legislation.

Other areas of possible action include:

- * the establishment of a UDF national newspaper;
- * the staging of a national solidarity day with the people of the Ciskei, to protest the banning of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU);
- * a boycott of "vote yes" newspapers;
- * a house-to-house educative campaign in the hope of

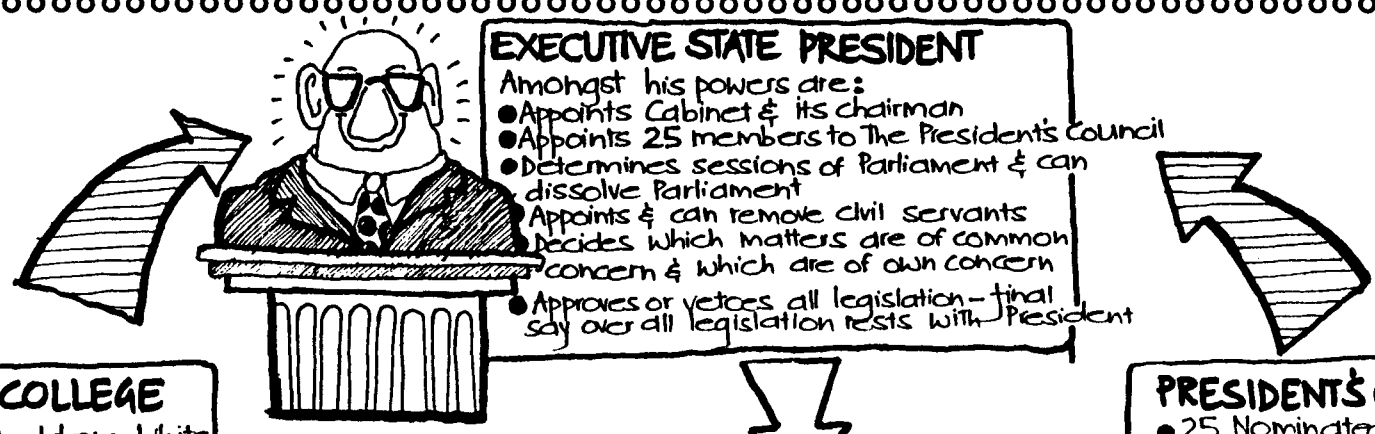
reaching every person in South Africa;

* problems of housing, forced removals and education will receive ongoing attention.

At a press conference, leaders of the UDF called on the people of South Africa "to join and strengthen the UDF and join the implementation of the programme of action".

SCANC Newsletter staff:
mark patrick, charles kent (eds), jose grindrod, melanie willsher, richard goode, linda scott, chris giffard, pete juds, ilana korber.

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EXECUTIVE STATE PRESIDENT
 Amongst his powers are:
 ● Appoints Cabinet & its chairman
 ● Appoints 25 members to The President's Council
 ● Determines sessions of Parliament & can dissolve Parliament
 ● Appoints & can remove civil servants
 ● Decides which matters are of common concern & which are of own concern
 ● Approves or vetoes all legislation - final say over all legislation rests with President

ELECTORAL COLLEGE
 ● 50 MPs elected from White Parliament
 ● 25 MPs elected from Coloured Parliament.
 ● 13 MPs elected from Indian Parliament
 Will elect State President
 Members will be elected from majority parties and hence the State President will come from the ranks of the Nationalist party.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL
 ● 25 Nominated by President
 ● 20 Elected by White Parliament
 ● 10 Elected by Coloured Parliament
 ● 5 elected by Indian Parliament
 Members do not have to be MPs and will be elected by the majority parties.
 ● Advises President on matters of national interest
 ● Arbitrates when there is a deadlock in Parliament.

CABINET
 ● Appointed by State President, do not have to be members of Parliament.
 ● Formulates Government policy & initiates all legislation regarding matters of common concern
 ● Responsible for day to day government
 MINISTERS COUNCILS to deal with matters of own concern'



PARLIAMENT
 JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES
 ● These committees, likely to be loaded with members of majority parties, will attempt to reach consensus on matters of 'common concern' BEFORE the measures are presented to Parliament. They are designed to become the powerhouse of the Parliamentary system.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY - WHITE	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES - COLOURED	HOUSE OF DEPUTIES - INDIAN
4	2	1
Seperate voter's roll	Seperate voter's roll	Seperate voter's roll

BLACKS
 0

PFP-Youth Interviewed

SCANC interviewed Andrew Miller, a student from the PFP Youth on their stand on the Constitutional proposals.

Andrew is chairperson of the Constantia branch of the PFP youth.

SCANC: Is the PFP Youth going to take up the campaign on campus in any way?

ANDREW: Yes, we are showing a video of a talk by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert. This will be taken down to the reses as well, however, we don't want to clash with the SCANC programme.

SCANC: What do you feel about the fact that the Sunday Times, Financial Mail and big business are calling for a "Yes" vote?

ANDREW: We are very bitter that our traditional friends have turned their backs on us, but we feel that they have been misguided. Everybody wants reform, and they are just latching onto anything that is labelled "reform". They are also naive enough to think that blacks will be included at a later stage.

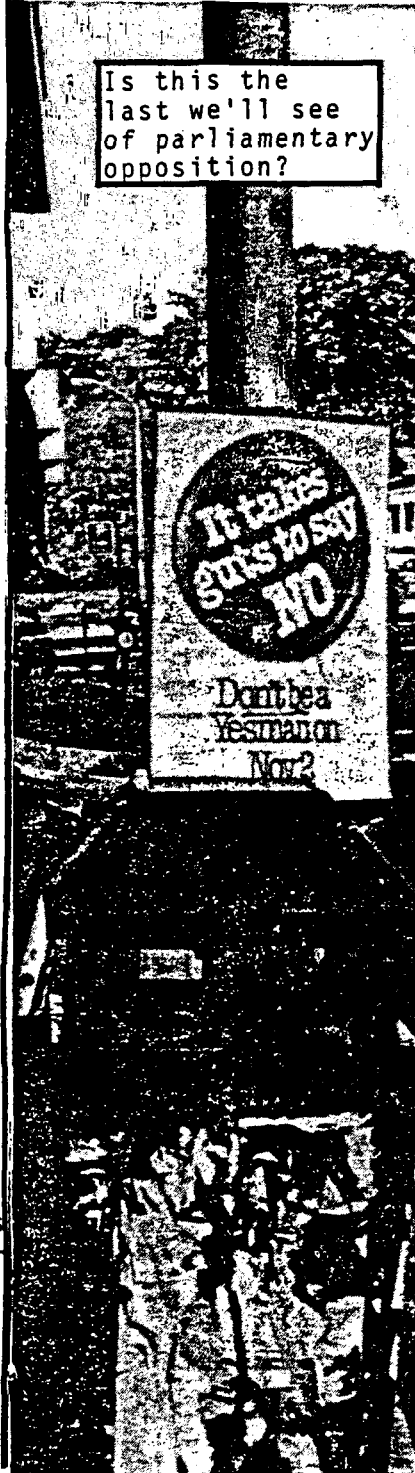
SCANC: What do you feel about the current newspaper campaign and the fact that the Afrikaans press won't publish PFP advertisements?

ANDREW: We're obviously very bitter, as the English press is playing it's traditional liberal role by publishing all sides, whereas the Afrikaans press only publishes "Yes" adverts. This proves to us that the Afrikaans press is controlled by the Nationalist Party, and places severe limitations on our ability to get through to people who need to hear us.



SCANC: Do you feel just calling for a "No" vote is going far enough?

ANDREW: No, but Dr Slabbert has called for a coloured, Indian and Black referendum as well.



SCANC: What do you feel about SCANC?

ANDREW: I think SCANC plays a vital role on campus, but we would obviously like SCANC to take a definite "vote No" stand.

SCANC: And UDF?

ANDREW: We see UDF as playing a very positive role and the coverage it has received should aid our campaign.

SCANC: What do you think the result of the referendum will be?

ANDREW: Well...the Nats are playing on the PFP/CP alliance, but with the dissident NRP/Nat vote, I think we could optimistically get a "No" majority.

SCANC: What do you see as the PFP's and parliamentary opposition's role in the new constitution?

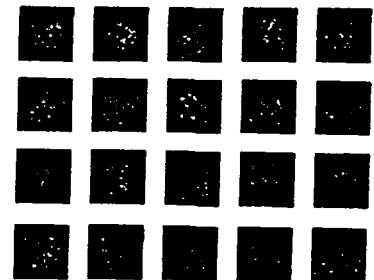
ANDREW: We can't decide that till after the referendum, but it will be discussed at the Federal Congress in November.

SCANC thanks Andrew.

What do you feel about the constitutional proposals?

Do you think that the PFP's stand is going far enough or missing the point?

Why not write us a letter. Hand it in to the SRC Desk or give it to one of the SCANC members in res. We would like to hear from you.



Now that you have the vote

At last week's Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress, a resolution was passed calling on the government to conscript Coloured and Indian men, in the wake of the new constitution's extension of the franchise. Afterwards, in a separate statement, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, announced that legislation to that effect, had been drawn up, and would be posed at the next parliamentary session. This is no departure from the Defence force, and government-stated intention, that once constitutional matters had been suitably adjusted, conscription would logically follow. Last year, the Tvl. NP leader, F.W. de Kerk, stated: 'You can't ask a man to fight for his country, if he can't vote. Among the terms of the new dispensation, is the provision that Coloureds and Indians will get full voting rights. It follows, that their responsibilities will increase accordingly, which means they will hold obligations to defend these rights'.

The new constitution and conscription, go hand in hand in developing the type of response the state has regarded as necessary, to cope with the deep crisis confronting it. Call-ups for Coloured and Indian men are, for practical reasons, likely to be some time in coming, but expose a key link in the chain of forces, behind the 'new look' constitution.

Such direct links to the military, and the needs of this branch of the state, are clearly displayed. Political restructuring in the face of these attacks, leads logically to the extension of conscription for newly elevated Coloureds and Indians. There are other critical reasons why the Defence force is seeking to extend conscription into the ranks of the politically subordinate groupings, and that is in pursuit of maintaining its image of a legitimate Defence force to protect ALL South Africans from an external aggressor. This essential role is crucial for 'reform'.

A policy of increasing black participation in the SADF has been pursued for some time. In Namibia, the military has tried to 'Namibianise' the war, by using black troops, and South African ethnic battalions as a form of 'cannon fodder'.

Conscription will be an explosive issue for politically oppressed people. It has already drawn strong responses from the youth as one

of the prime reasons for rejecting the new constitution, with its sinister price tag of being called up to defend minority privileges. Resistance to conscription, presently emanating from a small but significant section of the white democratic community, would sky-rocket. It is mostly against this prospect, that the government increased the prison sentence for objection from 2 to 6 years, earlier this year. Anticipating conscription, and increased militarisation as part of the new deal package, the United Democratic Front passed a resolution at its founding conference, pledging support for objectors and demanding the end to compulsory conscription.

When legislation does go through, it is likely to fire renewed opposition from the broad range of organisations opposed to compulsory conscription. By so doing they will expose what young South Africans are called on to defend: oppression and injustice in a new guise.



Don't throw our future away

WHOSE FUTURE?

"We're here to stay. Don't throw our future away" is a line familiar to most of us by now. The government's campaign for a "Yes" vote in the November 2 referendum has been advertised extensively in all major newspapers.

The government is spending millions in its advertising effort which is being run by Compton. This company is closely linked to Saachi & Saachi who ran Maggie Thatcher's election in Britain. This was one of the most successful campaigns

in British history.

The strategy being followed uses striking adverts, posing questions and answering them in government terms. "The government is setting itself up as the great liberal institute" said Mike Loewe, co-editor of VARSITY. "The right-wing is shown to be narrow-minded and the left-wing as militant and extremist. The left ideal is propagated to be chaos and anarchy."

Beyond the advertising campaign, certain newspapers are

openly advocating a "Yes" vote in their editorials. Recently the Sunday Times adopted this approach. With its massive readership, the Sunday Times is a major factor in the determination of public opinion. Financial Mail, The Daily Dispatch, Natal Mercury and Bloemfontein Friend are examples of other publications supporting the "Yes" vote.

As the referendum draws nearer, newspapers and other organisations are beginning to show their true colours as they choose which side of the fence to sit on.

Everything you ever wanted to know about the new constitution but were afraid to ask.

- Q: What is a constitution?
A: It defines the framework in which a country is governed and within which political parties operate.
- Q: What does the new constitution entail?
A: It will enable the country's 2.8 million Coloureds and 821 000 Asians to participate with the Whites in the process of democratic government.
- Q: What's going to happen in Parliament?
A: In addition to the existing House of Assembly for Whites, it will get 2 extra Houses, one for the Coloureds and the other for the Asians.
- Q: How many representatives will there be in each house?
A: There will be 178 Whites in the White house, 80 Coloureds in the Coloured house and 40 Asians in the Asian house.
- Q: Does the new constitution propose to give land away?
A: No, the Black nations will retain their historical national lands, while the Whites, Coloureds and Asians will continue to live where they always have.
- Q: Will that lead to full integration, like mixed schools?
A: No, the Whites, Coloureds and Asians will each continue to maintain their own identity and community life.
- Q: Will Coloureds and Asians be on the same voters list as Whites?
A: No, each group will have its own voters list.
- Q: Are Blacks included?
A: No. But they are included in the constitutional process and their development continues to progress along a different route.
- Q: Some people believe that the new constitution will lead to a dictatorship, is that true?
A: No, the State President's powers will be no more than those of the present Prime Minister. In addition to these, he will be given the ceremonial functions of the present State President.
- Q: People on both sides of the political spectrum disagree with the constitution. Why?
A: Some believe it will entrench White domination. Others believe it will set the Whites right down the river. Obviously they cannot both be right. The fact is, it is a positive, practical step forward. Not an eternal trap to the left or right.
- Q: What is an Omt Altes, what is a General Affairs?
A: Omt Altes pertain to those matters which each group considers to be important to the maintenance of its identity and cultural security, for example, schools. General Affairs relate to matters of common interest, such as financial matters.
- Q: How will Omt Altes and General Affairs be treated?
A: There will be independent decision-making by each group on its Omt Altes and joint responsibility for General Affairs which affect all 3 communities.
- Q: How will Whites, Coloureds and Asians take decisions on matters of general interest?
A: They will decide by a process of negotiation and consensus.
- Q: Why not stick to our present form of government?
A: Because it has become impossible for South Africa to progress on its own terms and not be overruled by events.
- Q: How will the constitution achieve this?
A: By including Coloureds and Asians in the process of democratic government, it will avoid the frustration and confrontation that will otherwise inevitably occur.

We're here to stay.
Don't throw our future away.

Vote Yes.



Put South Africa First.

WE'RE HERE TO STAY

"Rhodesia is our only home. We married here . . . and our parents are here . . .

we're buying our own home . . . and we're bringing up a young family.

Why should we have to give all this up?

"We're here to stay — that's why we're going to vote for the only party that can safeguard our future."

**SAFEGUARD
YOUR FUTURE**
Vote Rhodesian Front



Who's fooling who?

C143

Cape Town

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY *Bev "C143"*

(34)

1

Fellow Students

Education in this country is not a right for all but a preserve of a certain class and race. Age limits are being imposed on our brothers and sisters at schools. Our very being in this university is subject to us getting permission to be here from the racist government, our brothers and sisters who are bundled in bush universities are constantly harrassed, shot and even killed by police on campus, they are refused readmission to their universities for "reasons that shall not be disclosed". We in this university should never labour under the illusion that this university is any better because of its "liberal" image. It is equally committed to values which underly the South African status quo. In essence the entire educational system is rotten and fundamentally undemocratic.

Education is but one aspect that shows the undemocratic nature of the South African society. The majority of our people live in poverty, many of whom are forced into barren bantustans and more than three million are unemployed. All is done to so many in the interest of so few.

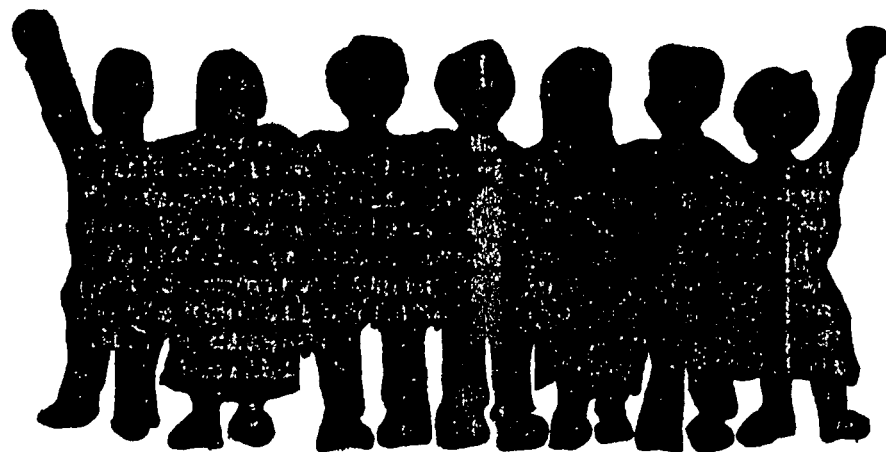
In the face of all this the oppressed people have never rested. They have and still do resist on all fronts - from the classroom to the factory floor. The State has not rested either. It continues to suppress popular people's movements and unions; kills, detains and imprisons popular people's leaders. On the other hand the State tries to co-opt certain sectors of the Black community. This we see in the form of the President's Council and the development of the black middle class. We are by virtue of our position more vulnerable to this co-option and should therefore make a concerted effort to resist this co-option and strengthen the struggle of our people.

We in Azaso UCT together with millions of other South Africans do not have extreme demands. Our ideal South Africa is clearly spelled out in the most popular document in South African history - The Freedom Charter. Azaso UCT like in the past shall continue to work closely with community and worker organisations. This stems from our committment to make a meaningful and worthwhile contribution to the broader liberation struggle.

Azaso UCT, therefore, calls on you to make 1983 a year that will witness your active participation in its projects. These include numerous seminars, workshops, participation in national and local campaigns and preparation for the annual congress in July.

Your dedication and complete involvement in Azaso could give substance to the principle of democracy and bring us closer to the day of our liberation.

A LUTA CONTINUA'...



ORGANISATION AND UNITY MEAN VICTORY

Message from JOE PHAAHLA Azaso National President

2

On behalf of the National Executive Committee of Azaso, our affiliates, active and passive supporters, I wish to extend a hand of welcome to all black students who have enrolled for studies at universities and colleges throughout South Africa. We wish you a fruitful year in these institutions which are controlled by our apartheid rulers and hope that by the end of this year your understanding of the situation in which we find ourselves will have increased. We hope that you will all be able to withstand the massive indoctrination we are all going through in these institutions and come out of them being more committed to the eradication of injustice in this country.

To our new students I am sure this is going to be a very challenging year. I am sure for most of you the ascent to the "status" where you find yourselves today, that of being a "university student" has not been an easy one. Most of you have struggled through adverse conditions in primary and secondary school to reach the point where you find yourselves today. Most of you have gone through overcrowded classrooms, poorly-qualified and even un-qualified teachers, lack of financial assistance, irrelevant education matter, corruption in the apartheid education departments as evident in the exam paper leaks and other adverse conditions stemming from the political, economical and social situation in this country.

We know very well that those of us who ultimately reach university are only a selected few out of the oppressed majority in this country. We only need to think back at the number of people who started with us in primary schools to realise how few are those who ultimately reach university. Those of us who only look at the situation narrowly will conclude that these majority who couldn't reach university were not intelligent enough to make it; but if we look at the situation more analytically, we will



realise that most of these people had more against them than we did. Above all, a determining factor in our education is our ability to afford it financially. The more money you have, the better chances you have of going far with your education and choosing a better school in this corrupt system. It is the fact that we are a selected few that makes us a danger to the mass of our oppressed and exploited people.

The Challenges Facing the South African Black Student of Today.

To understand and appreciate the challenges facing the South African black student today we need to take a brief look at the South African political situation and the forces working to maintain it and those striving to change it.

The South African society is one torn apart by conflict. This conflict is mainly between those who own and control the wealth of this country and those who work and produce it but get nothing out of it except the minimum needed to maintain them alive so that they can go to work everyday. This social relations of conflict, inequality, oppression and exploitation were established through conquest of the indigenous majority by a colonial minority. Racial stratification of our society has since been used by those in power to maintain their position of dominance through enforcement of division of the oppressed. The development and entrenchment of capitalism as the dominant economic system in the country has led to the ascendancy of a small group within the colonial forces into positions of economic and thereby political control of the whole country. The history of our country is marked by periods of fierce struggle within the alien colonial group mainly between the economically-powerful English group and the poor Afrikaner group. This conflict within the colonial groups has however, always been of secondary importance and has never overshadowed their common interest, that of exploitation of the conquered majority. The previously poor Afrikaner group has through political power accelerated its ascent in the ladder of economic control to the position where it is today. The system of capitalist exploitation in South Africa has always been linked with the worldwide exploitation of man by man and this position was even more entrenched by the discoveries of gold and diamonds. The small group within the white minority who control the economy have managed to secure the loyalty of the vast majority of whites through granting of economic privileges to complement the political privileges they already enjoyed over the vast majority of the conquered black majority. The relationship between the white owners of capital and the privileged white workers has however, not always been a smooth one as witnessed by the 1922 white mineworkers strike which had to be crushed by force.

Even after crushing the last armed resistance by black people in 1906, the minority rulers of our country have found it necessary to continuously review their methods of control over the vast majority of oppressed and exploited black people. It is in this context that privi-

leges have from time to time been granted to certain categories of blacks in order lure them into aligning themselves with the ruling minority. This has taken the form of economic privileges and granting of dummy political powers eg. the bantustans, SAIC, CRC and community councils and many others.

In summary, therefore, we can say that these are the methods used by those in political and economic power to control the vast majority of our people.

1. Force in the form of the police force and the army. This is the most naked form of control used by those in power and is only employed when the other methods prove to be inefficient.
2. Laws and courts. Various legislations are passed by government to legitimise repression. These laws are then enforced by the police force and those who "break" the law are taken to court to be formerly punished.
3. Ideology:
Ideological control is maintained by means of the mass media eg radio, television, the press, schools, churches and dummy institutions like SAIC, CRC and the bantustans. This method is used in order to minimise the need for use of force.
4. Privileges:

As noted earlier, the vast majority of whites are kept loyal to the state and owners of business through provision of political and economic privileges. To make it easier to control the disenfranchised, economic privileges are used to create divisions between different racial groups and also to create division within each race group.

Those of us without political and economic power have our own methods of challenging the oppressive and exploitative system. Among others, following are the methods we rely on:

1. Organisation

Organisation of the vast majority of the oppressed is the most important weapon we have in our struggle against oppression and exploitation. Organisation takes place in many forms eg. Trade Unions, Civic Organisations, Youth Groups, Professional Organisations Students organisations, general political organisations etc. These organisations are very important for the waging of a disciplined, protracted struggle against all aspects of oppression.

2. Passive Resistance

Resistance against many forms of oppression has always been an important component of our struggle eg. resistance against passes, removals, poisonous education, election of dummy institutions etc.

Strikes and boycotts

Refusal of workers to sell their labour and support by the community by boycotting certain items has always been an integral component of our struggle.

In as much as there are a few among the oppressed majority who get won over to defend and facilitate their own oppression because of privileges granted to them by the ruling minority, there has emerged from time to time a small minority from the white privileged group who align themselves with the oppressed majority both in words and actions.

As black university students, it is important that we understand very clearly our position in this on-going conflict. In the methods which I mentioned as being used by those in power, there are two in particular which I wish we examine and understand very clearly because we are an important target of these methods. These methods are privilege and ideology.

1. Privilege

For the minority ruling group to survive in a position of strength, it needs assistance from a few among the oppressed and exploited majority. This weapon has become of much more interest to the ruling group since the 1976 popular uprising than ever before. It is on the basis of this that Wiehan and Riekert made their recommendations for stricter control of trade unions while granting them a seemingly greater amount of acceptance and co-opting the union leadership into government bureaucracy. Riekert has recommended a harsher treatment of migrant workers and all workers without Section 10 rights.

It is again on the basis of this that De Lange made his recommendations for liberalisation of Education system.

It is out of us those who have managed to reach universities and colleges that the system is getting its agents for effecting an institutionalised class division to complement the similarly institutionalised race divisions.

Have you ever asked yourself why there is an increasing trend towards modernisation of the existing racial universities and colleges, one only has to look at Unitra for example to not this trend. Even the older campuses are being modernised with smart student centres and sporting facilities costing millions of rands. Why is it that so much money is being spent on such a small number of people while millions are crammed in small classrooms, millions have no place for shelter at night and millions are starving in the presence of an obvious abundance of wealth? The answer is simple, it is to make sure that you come out of the university believing that you are different from the rest of your people. It is to make sure that you come out being totally alienated from the rest of your community and being so much accustomed to a privileged life that you will be easily lured into joining the machinery of control of your people

for the sake of a privileged life.

But then still not all the black students are needed in order to strengthen the already existing black middle class and therefore the rate at which black students pass their degrees and diplomas must be controlled and therefore the high failure rates at the black universities. This also helps to make sure that those who ultimately complete their studies feel much more superior to their fellow people.

The challenge is therefore on us to decide whether we are going to be part of the oppressive system or part of the oppressed majority. Some people amongst us wrongly assume that this is a challenge facing whites only, when we have all the signs before us to show that some black people also form an important part of the oppression machinery. This wrong assumption is very dangerous because some of us the black elite find ourselves perpetuating the system of race and class division unaware that we are doing so. Some of us also hang on this assumption very consciously out of the fear that joining hands with the vast majority of our exploited people will mean losing our privileged positions. If we want to be part of the oppressed, then we must turn all privileges granted us into instruments of strengthening the struggle for democracy as some white patriots have done in the past and continue to do today.

2. Ideology

The second weapon of major significance to us black students is that of ideological control. Throughout our education carriers we are fed with the ideology of apartheid and its values.

In our lecture halls, recreation activities, libraries etc we are made to imprint in our minds that people of different races are of different intelligence and that white supremacy is the will of God. Also more dangerous is class divisions of society which we are made to accept as natural and inevitable. We are made to ultimately believe that our people

are morons and idiots and lazy and to be ashamed of our history and ourselves. We are then made to believe that we are better out of this nation of morons and idiots. After completing our studies we then go on with these ideas and unconsciously propagate through words and deeds the philosophy of our own oppression.

It is very clear from the above discussion that:

1. The frustration which most of us experience at the universities and colleges is not accidental but a well-calculated effort by those who control us.
2. That to rid ourselves of this situation, the answer doesn't lie in individual hardwork and the spending of sleepless, agonising nights suffering in silence. The answer lies in our unity so that we can (1) challenge the education system with all its manifestations. Expose the intentions and effects of the system to all our people. (2) Fight the overall oppression and exploitation which our people are experiencing in all aspects of life.

The need for unity cannot be expressed in any stronger terms. We must not lay emphasis and waste our energies on those things which divide us because by doing this we will only be doing good service to the enemy. Our unity must be based on those things which we have in common, those things which stem out of our oppression, our common love for democracy, our common cultural heritage etc. Above all our unity can only grow stronger if it becomes unity in action i.e unity based on our struggle for democracy. It is therefore important that when we select targets for struggle it must be targets we all dislike.

HOW DO WE ACHIEVE UNITY

By establishing democratic bodies through which we can articulate our demands. These bodies must be democratically controlled so as to ensure that they serve in our interests and not those of our rulers. These bodies

must be fully supported so that they cannot be intimidated by those in power and their local agents. These bodies must not be looked upon as messiahs who will deliver the goods but rather as forums through which we articulate our demands and partake in effecting them.

Secondly, by linking with other students in the country so as to achieve national unity in action. At the present moment, we are trying to make Azaso serve this purpose.

Most important is for us students not to see our struggle in isolation but as part and parcel of the ongoing struggle for democracy in our country. We therefore, need to link up with other organisations and individuals involved in the struggle eg. community organisations, trade unions, women's organisations etc. both on a local and national level. Because of the privileges granted us by our oppressors we can play a very important role in strengthening these other organisations. We must however, not try to use our privileged positions eg. our superiority of articulation and understanding complex technical problems to dominate our more deprived majority. We must submit to the will of the majority at all times. This is the only involvement which can guarantee that we don't become "militant students" who get swallowed by the system upon completion of our studies. We must be able to continue our struggle beyond the confines of our campuses.

Unity is strength

Amandla!

WHAT IS AZASO ?

Azaso is an organisation for Black students at the tertiary level of learning. It caters for black students at universities, colleges and technical schools, part-time and correspondence students are also encouraged to join the organisation either through the nearest campus branch or by forming a branch in their area of residence if they are more than ten in that area.

What does AZASO stand for?

AZASO is committed to a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa, free of economic exploitation racial oppression and injustice. In pursuance of this goal it seeks to organise and unite all black students at tertiary institutions and involve them in the struggle for freedom in this country. We on university campuses have a definite role to play. We essentially form the potentially co-optable middle class. Thus, it is vital that we develop a critical awareness of the society we live in, as regards to why it exists the way it does and what it encompasses. In this way instead of becoming the get-rich and die-early lot of doctors lawyers, or whatever; we can ensure that the skills we acquire on campus will eventually be used for the betterment of our communities and the country as a whole.

AZASO also believes that the struggle must be waged on every front and at every site of society: in the factory, in the community, at university, schools, and wherever the oppressed find themselves. These specific struggles as a whole constitutes the national liberation struggle of the oppressed in South Africa. In the light of this it is essential that we forge close links with progressive, democratic trade unions, community, women, youth, and other student organisations, and participate in the struggles of workers and the community.

Structure of AZASO

At present AZASO has affiliates at the following institutions:

- 1)University of Durban-Westville -mass affiliation (5000 students).
- 2)University of Natal Medical School-mass affiliation (800 students).
- 3)University of Turfloop-branch.
- 4)University of Witwatersrand-branch.
- 5)University of Fort Hare-working group.
- 6)University of Cape Town-branch.
- 7)University of Western Cape-branch.
- 8)University of Zululand-working group.
- 9)University of South Africa-branch.
- 10)Mongosuthu Technikon-working group.
- 11)Mapumulo Seminary College-working group.
- 12)University of Natal-branch.
- 13)L.L.Sebe College -working group.

More branches and working groups are to be established at various colleges during the course of the year.

HOW TO KILL AN ORGANISATION

- 1) Dont come to meetings.
- 2) If you do come come late.
- 3) Constantly find fault with office bearers.
- 4) Say nothing in meetings, but afterwards tell everyone how things should be done.
- 5) Dont accept any positions or responsibilities -its easier to criticize than to work.
- 6) Hold onto your fees as long as possible -or dont pay at all.
- 7) Do no more than is absolutely necessary. Let others roll up their sleeves and do the work.

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

Whereas we the Black students of South Africa, realising that we are members of an oppressed community before we are students, and committing ourselves to a non-racial democratic society free of exploitation and national oppression, in which harmony among people will prevail, find it necessary to articulate the aspirations of the oppressed people in a united and organized manner are therefore determined:

- 1. To organise students nationally so that they could take up their demands for a relevant role in society.
- 2. To also organise students so that they could play a more meaningful role in the community in general.

We therefore resolve to found a national students' organisation.

SECTION 1

Name

The name of the organisation shall be the Azanian Students' Organisation, hereinafter referred to as AZASO.

SECTION 2

Membership

Membership shall be open to all students in all institutions of higher learning and training and as decided by the GSC. Associate membership conferred to organisations by GSC.

SECTION 3Aims and Objectives.

1. To unite the students of South Africa.
2. To take up demands of students in South Africa.
3. To be the national and international voice of the student community in South Africa.
4. To forge links with all relevant organisations concerned with the liberation of oppressed and exploited people in South Africa.
5. To identify with the liberation of the black worker and strive towards the eradication of their exploitation in the labour field.
6. To strive for the eradication of exploitation of women and sexual attitudes in our society.
7. To strive for a relevant and non-racial education.

SECTION 4General Students' Council (GSC)

The General Students' Council hereinafter referred to as the GSC, shall consist of members of the National Executive Committee and 3 delegates from each branch.

SECTION 5The National Executive Committee (NEC)

- (1) The National Executive Committee, hereinafter referred to as NEC, shall be the President, the Vice President, the Secretariat consisting of the National Secretary, the Correspondence Secretary and the Minute Secretary, the National Co-ordinator, the Treasurer and the Women and Publications Co-ordinator.

- ii) Any election to NEC shall be proposed by the branch of the nominee.

SECTION 6Duties

1. The Annual Congress (AC) shall be the supreme policy-making organ of AZASO.
2. The NEC shall run affairs of AZASO between Congresses.
3. The NEC shall run the day to day activities of AZASO.
4. The President shall:
 - i) be the Chief Executive Officer of AZASO.
 - ii) issue statements on behalf of the organisation in consultation with at least 1 member of the executive.
 - iii) carry decisions of the organisation.
 - iv) represent the organisation.
 - v) preside at meetings.
5. The Vice President shall:
 - i) deputize for the President.
6. a) The National Secretary shall:
 - i) be the chief administrative officer of AZASO.
 - ii) keep register of all AZASO branches and affiliates.
 - iii) liaise with the co-ordinator when necessary regarding international and/or national relations.

- b) The Correspondence Secretary shall:
- i) be responsible for correspondence.
 - ii) responsible for all matters affecting invitations
- c) The Minutes Secretary shall:
- i) keep minutes of all NEC, AC and Special Meetings and send detailed minutes of all National Meetings to all branches.
7. The Treasurer shall:
- i) issue and collect receipts of all monies received and paid by AZASO.
 - ii) open and operate a banking account.
 - iii) ensure that proper books are kept.
 - iv) sign all cheques which shall be countersigned by another NEC member.
8. The National Co-ordinator shall:
- i) be responsible for AZASO projects.
 - ii) serve as liaison between regions/branches and the National Officer.
 - iii) initiate standing committees and delegate to them specific functions whenever necessary and draw up standing rules for the standing committees.
 - iv) liaise with other bodies on community projects.
 - v) be full time payed organiser elected at AC.

SECTION 7

Meetings

1. The AC shall be held at least once every calender year.
- (2.) The GSC shall meet at least once every calender year.

3. The Regional Councils shall meet at least once every 6 months.
4. The NEC shall meet at least once every 3 months.

Special Meetings

The President of AZASO at the relevant time shall in consultation with the National Secretary convene special meetings in respect of all urgent matters pertaining to the organisation and shall appoint the date, time, venue and agenda.

SECTION 8

Quorum

The quorum at GSC and NEC meetings shall be a simple majority with regions being able to vote. If within thirty (30) minutes of the appointed meeting time a quorum is not formed the meeting will stand adjourned for no longer than a week and no sooner than two (2) hours. At the expiration of the appointed meeting time the quorum will then be constituted by more than one member.

SECTION 9

Branches

1. The branch shall consist of at least ten (10) members or any such number that AZASO GSC may decide upon. There shall be a branch committee at each institution.
2. Each branch shall supervise all aspects and activities of the organisation within the area of its jurisdiction.
- (3.) Each branch may submit to the GSC for consideration, recommendations concerning the principles, aims, objectives and goals of the organisation.
4. Each branch executive shall have a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Minutes Secretary, Correspondance Secretary, Treasurer and additional members as determined by the branch.

- 5. The region shall liaise with the National Organiser and National Treasurer in connection with projects and fund-raising respectively.

SECTION 10

Branch Meetings

- 1. The branch Executive Committee shall meet at least once a month.
- 2. The branch Council shall meet at least once a month.
- 3. The branch shall also have a general members' meeting once every month.

SECTION 11

Powers and the duties of the branch Executive

- 1. The Chairperson Shall:
 - i) be the Chief Executive Officer of the branch.
 - ii) whenever possible and necessary represent the branch.
 - iii) preside at all meetings of the branch.
- 2. The Vice-Chairperson shall:
 - i) Assist the branch Chairperson in the execution of his duties and deputise for the Chairperson.
- 3. The Correspondance Secretary shall:
 - i) be responsible for the safe-keeping of the records of the branch.
 - ii) be responsible for the secretarial work of the branch.
- 4. The Minutes Secretary shall:
 - i) be responsible for the recording and distribution of the minutes of all the branch

meetings.

5. The Treasurer shall:

- i) be responsible for the funds and shall keep a register of all the capital assets of the branch.
- ii) deposit funds of the branch in a bank to be decided on by the branch Executive.
- iii) draw up and present a report to National Treasurer.
- iv) make sure that monies are countersigned by Chairperson.

6. The additional members shall:

- i) be responsible for all assignments allocated to them by the branch Executive.

SECTION 12

Elections

- 1. Voting at all meetings and/or sessions of the organisation shall be by a show of hands unless the President/Presiding Officer decides otherwise.

SECTION 13

Property

The properties of the organisation shall be registered in its own name or in the name of one of the trustees appointed for the purpose by the Executive in the event of any law requiring this, on behalf of the organisation.

SECTION 14

Discipline

- 1. A member may be disciplined for misconduct by the AZASO General Council or any branch Executive.

- 2. No member may be disciplined unless he has been afforded an opportunity to state his case personally at a meeting of the AZASO Council or the Branch Executive.
- 3. There shall be a right of appeal from the decision of the branch Executive to the GSC. Notice of such an appeal shall be given to the date on which the decision of the branch Executive Council was communicated to him.
- 4. The AZASO GSC may suspend any office bearer from office on the recommendation and request of the organisation by the member concerned, have been paid.

SECTION 16

Subscriptions

Subscription fees shall be one rand (R1) per annum per student. This shall be payable by all members. Where an SRC affiliates en bloc the subscription fee will be decided upon by the GSC according to the size of the student body.

SECTION 17

Minutes

The organisation shall keep proper minutes of its meetings.

SECTION 18

Amendments

Any amendment to the constitution shall be on a twenty-one (21) days notice of the GSC meeting at which such amendment is intended and a two-third majority shall be required to effect such amendments.

SECTION 19

Emergency situation

During an emergency situation members of the GSC may appoint an acting National Executive to deal with the day to day activities of the organisation. This shall be applicable even to the various branches.

SECTION 20

Dissolution

The President, acting on instructions from GSC, shall convene an emergency Congress which will deliberate and vote on the issue by a two-thirds majority for dissolution. The organisation's assets shall be distributed to deserving charities as decided by Congress or the GSC or the AC.

SECTION 21

Definitions

President shall mean the National President of AZASO

AC shall denote Annual Congress

GSC shall denote General Students Council

NEC shall denote National Executive Committee

AZASO shall denote Azanian Students' Organisation

Students shall denote any black person who is registered as a student at any institution of higher learning or training college, and those members of AZASO decided on by the GSC.

AZASO POLICY DOCUMENT

Main guide to Azaso policy is a resolution adopted after intense discussion which rounded up preceding deliberations at the 1st Azaso Congress in July 1981. The resolution reads as follows:

We at the Azaso Congress, learning from the struggle of oppressed people in the world against oppression, pertinently in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and realising that they fought against the system and not individual Portuguese colonialists or white Rhodesians and noting Samora Machel's statement on racism and capitalist exploitation - "We always say that we are struggling against the exploitation of man by man of which Portuguese colonialism is today the principal expression in our country.... There are nationalists - some naively, because they do not have a developed class-consciousness and others because they are involved in exploitation - who think that the purpose of our struggle should be to establish black power instead of white power, and to elect or appoint blacks to various political, administrative, economic and other posts which are now held by whites. Their ultimate aim is to "Africanise" exploitation. For them our struggle should be a struggle between black power and white power, whereas for us the struggle is between the power of exploiters and people's power. A black state of rich and powerful men in which a minority decides and imposes its will would be the continuation in a new form, of the situation against which we are struggling".

We wish to dispel the myth that all blacks are workers whilst we confirm that black workers in South Africa are the most exploited and therefore the vanguard in the national struggle for democracy.

nisance of the above and support those who have already taken this position to confirm that we are struggling against the system and not individual whites.

2. We must seek a working policy relating directly to the struggle of the workers as conducted by the progressive Trade Union movement.
3. Since the success of our struggle depends upon effective mobilisation of all people committed to democracy, we call for genuine unity of the oppressed against the oppressive system.

EDUCATION

1. Azaso regards the present form of education as a kind of education that prepares black people to be tools of the system and obedient followers, and a kind of education that aims at dividing black people firstly into racial and ethnic units and secondly into classes which seek to make us ineffective as a force against the present system.
2. Azaso condemns the presence of uniformed guntoting servicemen in black institutions of learning and regards this with the contempt it deserves, as we view this as an attempt to subjugate and intimidate black students into inaction so as to render them impotent in the struggle for democracy.
3. Azaso believes that students have the right to organise themselves and demand a relevant education but always realising that the goal of a just education system can only be achieved in a democratic society and that the education struggle will contribute to the establishment of a democratic society.

SPORT

Azaso rejects multiracial sport as we view this as being meant to exploit the presence of black players in these multiracial sporting organisations in order to gain international recognition. We endorse the call by several organisations which has also been taken up by the United Nations Committee against Apartheid to have racist South Africa isolated from international sporting, cultural and economic activity. We urge all international sportsmen, artists, musicians and other personalities to avoid being used as mercenaries of apartheid. We also call upon all peace-loving South Africans to stop supporting all sporting and cultural activities which involve international artists for this can only perpetuate our oppression by giving credibility to these mercenaries of apartheid.

Dialogue, National

Azaso believes in discussing points of mutual interest, establishing and maintaining working relations with organisations inside the country whose principles and policies are not in conflict with those of Azaso.

International

Azaso fully recognises the need for dialogue with genuinely progressive organisations on the international front as long as such dialogue shall be based on the principle of mutual respect.

Government-created institutions

Azaso views with scepticism all government-created bodies and believes in principle that the oppressor cannot voluntarily relinquish his privileged position and therefore asserts that no government-created institution will ever be instrumental in ushering in total liberation. Azaso regards all government-created institutions as the apartheid system's strategy to delay our struggle for a democratic society.

Foreign investments

Azaso rejects the practice of foreign investment in South Africa and views this as operative in sustaining the apartheid, exploitative system of South Africa and in furthering the super-exploitation of black workers. If progressive organisations are offered facilities by these multinational companies, they should only be accepted if there are no strings attached.

NATIONAL COMMEMORATIVE DAYS

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| March 21 | SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE: 69 killed 186 wounded in protest against passes. (1960) |
| June 16 | SOWETO UPRISING: nation wide uprising led by students who demand the abolition of 'bantus' and gutter education and an end to the system of economic exploitation and racial oppression. (1976/77) |
| June 25/26 | DRAWING UP OF FREEDOM CHARTER (1955) SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY (1950) workers, students, peasants, women and youth draw up the minimum programme of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. |
| August 9 | NATIONAL WOMANS DAY 20 000 woman march on Union buildings Pretoria. (1955) |
| sept. 12 | BIKO DAY death in detention of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko. (1977) |
| Dec. 16 | HERO'S DAY formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the beginning of armed struggle in South Africa. (1961) |

NOTES

POEM FOR THE APOLITICAL

One day
the apolitical
intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated
by the simplest
of our people.

They will be asked
what they did
when their nation died out
slowly,
like a sweet fire,
small and alone.

No one will ask them
about their dress,
their long siestas
after lunch,
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with 'the idea
of the nothing',
no one will care about
their higher financial learning.
They won't be questioned
on Greek mythology,
or regarding their self-disgust
when someone within them
begins to die
the coward's death.
They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd
justifications,
born in the shadow
of the total lie.

On that day
the simple men will come.
Those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals,
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their meat and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and gardens
and worked for them.

And they'll ask
'what did you do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?'
Apolitical intellectuals,
of my sweet country,
you will not be able to answer.

A vulture of silence
will eat your gut.
Your own misery
will pick at your soul.
And you will be mute
in your shame.

O.R. CASTILLO

