

**U1 — 11**

**Volume 1**

**ASSESSOR**



*Baw "U1"*

# The Role and Training



# of Development Activists

# the workshop nov 26 to 30th, 1979.

The Centre for Development Research and Action (CDRA), Madras, and the FAO - Freedom from Hunger Campaign/Action for Development, New Delhi organised a five-day workshop on "The Content and Methodology of Training for Activists" at Whitefield, Bangalore from November 26 to 30, 1979.

## The Purpose of Organising the Workshop

There were in all 13 persons, 8 men and 5 women. Five out of the thirteen were activists, engaged directly in helping various oppressed groups to create their own organisations for political, economic and social self-protection and the furtherance of their interest. The rest were involved with organising training programmes for such activists or for potential activists. Five persons were from North India, the rest from South India. There was a doctor, a law graduate, an agricultural scientist, while the others had a background in the social sciences. One of the participants had been a factory worker for six years with experience in trade union work.

Some of the participants knew each other while some were new to each other. So the group spent some time on informal introductions. This helped to break the ice and interaction and dialogue became easier.

## Participants in the Workshop

The two people who had thought of and who actually organised the workshop explained that one general purpose behind it was that many people had been carrying out training programmes of different kinds, at different levels. Some of these programmes had been regular, others ad-hoc, some very systematic and formal, others very informal and quite unorganised. Some had written about their programmes, others had not, with the result that learning by exchanging experiences had not occurred. The impact and follow-up of most training programmes, it seemed, had not been evaluated sufficiently.

The organisers felt the need to meet people involved with training programmes to:

- (a) learn about their work, insights and experiences and
- (b) to discuss with them the content and methodology of effective programmes for the training of activists.

One specific purpose was to help CDRA formulate concrete ideas on how and what kind of training programmes to organise for people who could function as activists in the rural and urban areas. The CDRA representative explained that they had been organising training programmes off and on on an ad-hoc basis but were not satisfied with them. They found it difficult to communicate effectively with the people they were trying to train.

In its work CDRA had decided to focus attention on training activists. This was mainly for two reasons. First, it had been approached by some groups of rural youth for training. Secondly, looking at the present scene in rural Tamil Nadu it was felt there was a real need for training rural youth as activists. It was CDRA's understanding that tensions, specially caste tensions, were increasing day by day. Encouragingly small groups of harijan youth were also emerging to deal with such problems. However owing to a lack of theoretical clarity and support, the potential activists were unable to carry the struggle forward. CDRA felt it should play a supportive role in such situations by organising training programmes and providing relevant reading materials.

The group tried to grapple with these specific and other general problems for which the workshop had been convened.

## Long List of Issues and Longer Working Hours

The workshop got off the ground with a brain storming session to list all those issues which were thought to be important and relevant to the theme of the workshop. The list which emerged was quite formidable.

It became clear to the participants that if they stuck to the usual working hours they would not be able to achieve all that they wanted to in the time available. It was decided to work fairly long hours beginning at 8.30 a.m. in the morning the morning until 10 or 11 at night with a few breaks in between. Even then it was not easy, infact not possible, to discuss all the issues in the detail that was thought necessary.

The workshop came to be considered as the beginning of a dialogue. After some time, and after putting some of things discussed into action more such sessions could be held for further reflection and achieving clarity about how best to carry out training programmes for activists.

## Sharing the Outcome of the Workshop With a Wider Group of People

It was decided that the deliberations of the workshop should be recorded and presented in the form of a simply written report which could be made available to other groups involved with similar training programmes.

## who is an activist ?

After considering a number of other words which are generally used for people working with the rural and urban poor it was decided to continue to use the word activist.

## The Group Chose to Make its Own Definition:

An activist is a person, who identifies with the interests of the people, who is committed to working with the poor and oppressed to help them organise themselves to bring about a radical change in the present unjust social, economic and political structures and create a free and equal social order. An

Activist may be from within the poor and oppressed community or from a different social, economic and educational background. But she will be a person committed to work full time with the people and participate in their struggles. An activist is committed to the people and not to a project, party or organisation. This means that an activist does not use the people to fulfill the aims of an organisation.

In so far as an activist's loyalty is to the oppressed people, there is a difference here from workers of political parties and trade unions. The latter, the group felt, are more often than not, committed more to the interests of their parties and unions than to the interests of the people. Various examples were given to show that even left oriented political parties and trade unions often use people for their own ends and are very dogmatic in their approach. Party and trade union workers normally carry with them a closed framework of analysis, a ready-made programme - a finished product that is to be delivered to the people. Their message is usually not open-ended. There is no scope to change it.

Although activists are and can be both men and women henceforth the activist will be referred to as a woman. Words like she, her, herself will be used for the activist in order to avoid writing repeatedly she/he, herself/himself etc.

An activist, on the other hand, is a part of the people's struggle - like a wave in the sea which rises up when the waters (the people) and the objective conditions make it necessary and which merges into the water when there is no need. Activists allow other waves also to emerge. They are not the only waves which rise.

#### Are Development Workers Activists?

The group dealt with the question whether development workers who implement development projects can be called activists. The answer was that those development workers whose sole concern is to implement development projects without questioning the present structures which are responsible for the poverty of the masses cannot be called activists. Most development workers do not help to organise the people. At best they improve the economic status of the poor marginally and at worst their projects make the poor poorer.

An activist is different from a development worker in so far as the main objective of the activist is organisation of the oppressed people to bring about a radical change in the present system and not work for marginal improvements in the economic condition of people without questioning the overall structures of society.

#### The Role, Attitude and Perspective of Activists

The main role of activists is to help people form their own organisations to fight for their rights. They should always work with a group of people rather than with individuals so that collective action is taken. An activist should also help people take leadership and responsibility into their own hands so that an outside activist is able to withdraw soon and the community brings forth activists from within as the need arises.

It was felt that an activist, whether she is from within or outside the community, should not regard herself as the main force of a struggle or organisation. It was also stressed that the poor should not be organised on issues preconceived by the activist. The seeds of discontent are within the conditions of the people, in their daily lives. Problems like economic exploitation, caste discrimination, sexual harassment of their women, etc. They feel the need to do something. A activists can help in the formulation of the unarticulated desires of the people and assist them organise themselves. The issues around which the people decide to organise should be decided through an intensive dialogue between the activist and the people.

Two examples were given to show that the emergence of an organisation of the poor depends on the objective conditions of the poor and not merely on the ability of an activist to organise.

In Maharashtra the Employment Guarantee Scheme of the government had raised the expectations of the rural un- and under employed poor. Their hopes were, however, being increasingly belied because of the haphazard and faulty implementation of the scheme. The poor were becoming more and more frustrated. Similarly in rural Tamil Nadu, the situation was becoming tense due to the increasing oppression against Harijans. In response to these atrocities some groups of Harijans were emerging to protect themselves against attacks by high caste sections.

These seedbeds of frustration are being and can be used by activists to help in the emergence and growth of people's organisations.

#### Increasing Peoples Self Confidence

The poor distrust others and themselves, they have fear, they devalue themselves. They have no confidence about their power of thinking and action. They believe it is beyond them to change their own destiny. It's an attitude of fatalism with centuries of history behind it.

It is an important role of an activist to help them shed fear, regain confidence, believe in themselves, and trust fellow human beings. This can and should be achieved through struggle, struggle against outsiders who exploit them as well as struggle against their own fear, lack of confidence, individualism, illiteracy, etc. Confidence increases through affirmation, through group action. An activist should help in keeping the group action going so that people learn how to work together. An activist has to constantly ask "am I increasing their confidence, their faith in themselves, and their self-reliance or am I making them instruments of my own plans of action, imposing my own ideas on them?" There is a tendency to do the latter among activists who come from university backgrounds, who are well versed in speech and who use standardised terms. This makes people who do not understand such language feel small and inadequate. Instead of increasing their confidence there might be an altogether opposite effect.

#### Help in Analysis

Activists should help people analyse their situation and clarify issues in order to evolve action plans. The activists can and should make, what may be called, their most valuable contribution, that of raising questions and providing a wider perspective.

On the basis of the studies undertaken by activists and the experience and knowledge they might have of their struggles, they can help the people to broaden their understanding as well as to see their struggle in the context of the larger reality - the nation.

#### Two-way Relationship Between the People And the Activist

It is not always correct to believe that the poor and the oppressed do not know their problems or are not aware of their exploitation. If they do not talk about such things openly to outsiders it may be because they have good reasons not to trust them. The outsiders, especially if they are well to do, more often than not go out to exploit or make use of the oppressed people. Another reason why the people might not talk about their oppressed condition and the injustice they suffer may be because such a condition has existed for so long and it is so deeply entrenched in the system that they see no way out of it. They perhaps do not know that things can be different. The brainwashing they are continually subjected to about the rich being cleverer, hard working, and they being poorer because of their past bad deeds perhaps also plays a role in keeping the people quiet about their plight.

However, silence on the part of the people about their problems and exploitation may not always be because of their ignorance. Sometimes it might be a strategy on their part to prevent make their situation from becoming worse than it is.

Some participants gave examples to show that the poor and the oppressed often have a very good idea of how they are being exploited. They have their own thinking and perspective about their condition. They can in fact describe their own reality much better than outside academics. Often one finds that they present reality in a much more pointed way and in its various dimensions. The poor might also have a perspective of the way the total system works, and they also have or may have an idea of their own powerlessness to deal with it.

Also, they do not think in abstract terms; they usually think in concrete terms about their immediate prospects in the social system.

Activists, specially the ones from outside, do not have the same knowledge, experience and consciousness which the people have. The activists' knowledge of the micro situation is usually more limited, but they are likely to have more information and knowledge about the macro situation or how the whole system operates.

Therefore, it will be wrong for activists to think that they know everything better than the people and that all they have to do is to pass on the "truth" as they know it to the people. The interaction between the people and the activists is by no means a one way process in which the activists provide all the "wisdom" with the people having nothing to contribute from their side.

Activists have to learn from the people and the people from the activists. It has to be a two way communication, a relationship of give and take. Together the people and the activists must strive to extend the limits of their knowledge, perception and understanding of the social processes at work around them.

page 3

Mutual enrichment comes when both activists and the people together make proper connection between local reality in the concrete and the wider regional/national reality in a generalised abstract form; encompassing the part into a whole.

#### Equality, Not Easy to Achieve

It will not be easy for the activists to be regarded by the people as their equals. The people will invariably look up towards them for leadership. Traditionally, that is how leaders are looked upon. It is not easy for the people to break away from the influence of hierarchies and undemocratic methods of functioning in their own traditional institutions as well as modern institutions like schools, government offices, etc. Activists on their part are also usually victims of similar attitudes in reverse and tend to enjoy their superior role as guides or teachers.

Given the constraints, it will be a constant struggle to achieve equality in the group, to start ever widening ripples of new values, new methods of functioning, a new way of relating to each other. Such values will be new for the people as well as for the activists and they will have to join in a common pursuit to achieve them.

#### Should Activists have an Ideology?

At this stage another question was asked - should activists go to work with the people without an ideology? Can they merely inform people about the different ideologies or ideas of development and change, without putting particular values on any. Should activists be neutral? If they have an ideology should they not tell the people what it is?

The group felt that it was not reasonable to expect activists not to have any views on society. Their views might not always be in the form of a well defined ideology. But undefined though they may be, views will be there. The fact that activists want to work with the poor means they have some views as well as aspirations to do something. It is their idea of their own role which will determine their methods of work and attitudes towards people. If activists work with the poor as against the rich it shows that they have already made some choices vis-a-vis power relations in the social system.

It was felt necessary for activists to have a more or less clear understanding of why they want to work with the poor and what they want to do. However, the group thought that it was against rationality and scientific attitude to blindly accept any one prevalent ideology as perfect and fully satisfactory for all times and situations. Any particular historical and rational and scientific analysis (like that presented by Marx, for example) is in the last analysis and according to the very method, a human effort bound by time and place. Activists have a responsibility to examine the ideology they find satisfactory against the concrete experience of the historical situation in the present day society. This they owe to the people if they are not to make guinea pigs of them. Activists need to be as clearheaded, rational and scientific as possible.

### With What Kind of Perspective Should the Activist Go to the People ?

The group rejected the proposition that an activist as defined above should go to the people with only an orthodox Marxist ideology. Even Marxist ideology has come to be interpreted in more than several ways in recent years. Having rejected this proposition it was felt that just anybody and everybody who worked at the grass-root level could also not be termed activist. Even while allowing for differences of ideology it was possible to specify some essential common elements of the ideology of activists.

To begin with, activists would uphold the values of freedom, equality and justice and clearly judge the present social system as unjust, oppressive and unequal. It will be their conviction that injustice, inequality and poverty can be removed only by a basic restructuring of the whole society.

Furthermore, an activist will understand that oppression, injustice, poverty are not a result of mere individual desires or quirks. How individuals behave and act is a result of a structured social, economic and political system. An activist will also recognise that the material conditions of living result in people relating to each other in a certain way and it is important to analyse and understand how in a particular society different sub-systems or structures are interconnected. For an activist restructuring of society can only come through the oppressed classes struggling against the existing system in a coordinated manner as a united force.

Hence, an activist will consider it her primary task to help people to become strong and united with revolutionary consciousness.

### Activists should not be Rigid

Although activists should have a good understanding of the reality around them and a clear perspective on what needs to be done, they should not think that they have all the answers to all questions and have nothing further to learn. Activists should realise that the reality is always changing and hence one's understanding is never complete, that there is always a possibility of improving on one's understanding. They should be willing to modify/change their understanding and perspective according to the changing reality. Their ideas must always be open to verification and redefinition, if necessary. Changes should even be admitted in the tools of analysis for none of them can be held to be infallible or suitable for all times to come.

### Openness vis-a-vis- the People

Just as activists would like the people to be open and willing to learn, they should also be open and willing to learn from the people and from the interaction which takes place between them and the people. If they start believing that theirs is the correct ideology, that they know the solutions to all problems and all that the people have to do is to learn from them, then there can be no scope for any genuine dialogue between the people and activists.

page 4

Activists should not believe that they have already achieved the right level of consciousness and their task is only to bring people to their own level of consciousness. Such a belief and attitude again leads to an unequal relationship - a situation of domination-emerges. In such a situation genuine dialogue and learning cannot take place. Such efforts of activists to make the people believe what they believe in would amount to indoctrination.

The task of an activist is to help people reach their own conclusions and not necessarily always the conclusions of the activist. By working and struggling together the consciousness of the activists and the people should change and reach higher levels. An activist helps in setting in motion a process of thinking, reflection and action.

Similarly, while organising people it is neither desirable nor necessary for an activist to predetermine what direction the organisation should take. The direction should emerge out of the dialogue between the people and activist after a thorough analysis of the situation. The experiences and thinking of the people have to be taken into consideration. The organisation would become effective and militant only if the people believed in it, ran it themselves and decided its direction. An activist has to be an active and alert worker but not the leader all the time. Leadership should ideally be with the people.

Activists have to learn to be humble and patient in their work with the people. They have to wait for the people to become active, to take responsibility and act. The main objective of an activist is not to get "tasks done quickly" but to strengthen people's organisations so that they can get their own tasks done.

When activists go to work with the people they should not try to predetermine the results of their dialogue with them. It is the people who should decide what they want to learn. For activists it should be enough to facilitate free and open discussion and provide a scientific method of analysis.

### Open Ended Dialogue

Because it has been said that activists should not impose their thinking and/or ideology on the people it does not mean that they should not tell the people what they believe in. Infact they should clearly and frankly tell the people what their own thinking is and why it is that, and then encourage the people to examine it critically in the light of their experience. Through an open and frank dialogue the people and the activists should arrive at a common understanding as a basis of common action.

An activist's theoretical framework can offer a tentative perspective to the people to understand the way social relations are organised, to analyse the structure of poverty, exploitation and dominance and to see the links of local struggles with struggles at the national level. The activists' role is different from that of a party worker in the sense that she should not try to implement the ready made and rigid policies and programmes of a particular party. An activist can be a conscious element with a perspective but not a worked out plan and programme of ideas and action.

But the problem is that a well defined perspective usually includes a particular approach to solutions of various problems. An activist is then likely to provide not only an interpretation of the reality, but also the solution. This is a tendency which activists have to be careful to keep in check.

The peoples' struggles have to be based on the peoples' own understanding with activists giving a helping hand only, not leading them. Through struggle both the people and activists raise their level of consciousness.

#### Activist Believes in Democratic Methods

An activist should also believe in and practice democratic methods of functioning. While helping the people to organise themselves an activist should help to develop participatory, democratic and open-ended structures within people's organisations and promote people's power through raising their consciousness and ability to exercise power.

#### Activists Work to Build the Peoples' Power Not Their own Power

The ideology and perspective of activists should be to build people's power and not their own power. Their task is to make people aware of a way of functioning, of an approach - which is democratic, which leads to open thinking and frank discussion. The process is important because only through such a process can the end result be achieved. A activists and the people should work in such a way that they become aware of the main elements of effective and democratic functioning and master them.

#### Scientific Method of Analysis

Activists should possess a scientific method of analysis and study. They should study and observe how society functions in reality, or more concretely, how a village is structured, what are the inter-relationships between different groups, what is the leadership pattern etc. It is only after studying the essence of the society or the community they are working with can they reach any conclusion about what needs to be done. Observation and study can help in the identification of forces which stop change and forces which lead to the kind of change which the activists and the people find desirable.

Activists must have faith in the people. They must believe in their ability to learn, to analyse, to act and to bring about radical changes. They must be able to convey this faith in the people to the people through their behaviour, speech and action. If activists have faith in people they will not try to decide for them and lead them all the time. The people will then be able to take initiative and responsibility to run their own organisations.

page 5

#### Should Activists Get Involved in Projects For Economic Improvement ?

Most struggles of the poor are on concrete issues, which are more often than not economic - issues like higher wages, better conditions of work, implementation of government programmes like fair price shops, land reforms, and other such measures. People can be organised on these issues. But if people are part owners of land then should activist help them ?

This issue provoked a lot of discussion. In the beginning there were differences of opinion but gradually, through analysis of concrete cases a more or less common view-point emerged.

There was no difference of opinion in the group about activists helping workers to fight for higher wages, better conditions of work etc. This meant that there was no difference of opinion about activists working with landless labour, factory workers, quarry workers etc. It was felt that while fighting for higher wages the contradiction between owners of means of production and workers is retained and hence the class consciousness of the people can be retained and sharpened. It was the opinion of some that by fighting for higher wages people do not get necessarily integrated into the capitalist system. This was disputed by others who maintained that even while fighting for wages workers are or can become drawn into and entrenched in the capitalist system. Most of the time their demands are only for higher wages, better conditions of work and not about changing the ownership of the means of production. This theoretical discussion was however not carried on further.

The main discussion was focussed on the question whether activists should help

marginal and small farmers to improve production;

- marginal and small farmers and landless labour to start projects like dairy development, poultry units, credit unions to improve their economic condition;
- quarry workers to get contracts for quarries and manage these quarries themselves;
- kilnworkers to own kilns jointly and run them themselves.

In other words the question was whether activists should also act as development workers, whether they should help organise and run economic development projects.



In the beginning some participants were of the opinion that activists should not get involved in these "development" projects. To back up their opinion they gave examples of a number of "development" projects which had not led to any substantial change in the condition of the poor. They opposed the involvement of activists in such projects because they felt.

1. they divert the attention of the poor from the real issue - which is struggle against the exploitative system. They give false hopes to the people. They make them believe it is possible to have a better life within the system.
2. these projects cannot muster enough resources to help all the poor in a community they end up dividing the poor further by helping a few.
3. once activists start helping the poor to get loans and other inputs the people start looking at them only as providers of economic benefits. It becomes very difficult to change this image and to establish a different kind of relationship with the people.
4. such projects also further increase individual enterprise. The poor spend all their time and energy to make their two ends meet through economic activities like poultry, dairy, cultivation on small pieces of land etc. When they become owners of these small units it becomes difficult to organise them, to develop their class consciousness and militancy. By encouraging such economic activities activists end up working within the system and by integrating the poor even more into it.

While agreeing that most development projects in the past have been of the type described above, some participants urged that there is a need to reconsider the matter. In the past many (even most) organisations of the poor and the working class, like trade unions, peasant organisations have also been undemocratic and reactionary. When this fact does not act as a deterrent to reconsider the question of organising the poor, why should the negative experiences of development work in the past stop anybody from taking a fresh look at it?

This same question was put differently and more concretely this time.

If some activists are helping landless tribals to get their land back from the people who have taken it from them through money lending etc, what do the activists do when they succeed in wresting back their ownership? (concrete cases like this were cited from different parts of the country). Do the activists help the people now to cultivate the land they have won after waging long struggles or do they leave them and go elsewhere because they have now become owners (some) land and so cannot therefore be militant any more.

page 6

Similarly if some activists working with quarry workers decide with the workers that the best way to end their exploitation by contractors is to get contracts for the quarries for themselves, then what should activists do when the workers actually manage to get the contracts. As the workers would have become owners and no more only wage earners should the activists abandon them as no longer being capable of militancy?

Many participants felt that because the poor live in abject poverty their economic condition has to be improved in every possible way. They cannot be kept poor with the argument that it is poverty which makes people want to fight the system and become militant. In fact it can be argued that it is not the most poor who are the most militant.

If the argument is that wage earners retain their class consciousness and do not get integrated into the capitalist system only because they do not own the means of production, then what about the millions of self-employed people like middle peasants, cobblers, carpenters, hawkers, rickshaw pullers. Can they not be organised along with the landless labourers and factory workers? Are they to be considered as class enemies of the landless and the workers? The group agreed that this question needs to be further analysed for greater theoretical clarity.

After a lot of discussion it was agreed that activists might have to get involved in programmes for economic development like land improvement and cultivation, quarry and kiln management etc. Otherwise the people might not be able to manage their lands, quarries and kilns properly. And this could result in the people losing control of what they had won through protracted struggles.

It would be wrong, the group felt, if after the struggle for land ownership is won, the activists withdraw from the scene. If they have strong reservations about working with small and marginal farmers then they should see that they do not involve themselves with struggles for the ownership of land.

Once they are part of a group and a struggle they should do what the group decides (unless of course they have very serious differences of opinion). If after waging a struggle the group decides that it would like to till the land it has got, the activists can put forward their reservations, their fears about such activities. They can warn the people that such economic activities can lead to a diffusion of the class struggle and class consciousness, it can lead to a kind of "economism". The people can reflect on these views and decide what they want to do. This would make them cautious and self critical and help them to avoid certain pitfalls.

## Development Projects Should be a Mean to Structural Change

The approach and method of work in these economic activities will, however, have to be radically different from the normal run of development projects. The work will have to be organised in a way which not only retains but strengthens the class consciousness of the people involved in it.

When involved in economic projects activists should aim to help the people to develop alternative ways of organising these activities. The structure of these programmes and organisations will have to reflect all the principles the activists and the people believe in and aspire for. Every feature the activists want to see in the new society they want to create, should be experimented with even in the smallest structures and programmes they organise.

Whatever economic activity the activists get involved in (whether it is cultivation of land or management of a poultry or dairy unit, a quarry or a kiln) they should consider it as an experiment in new methods, a new way of organising, a new approach to work. It is through these concrete experiments that the people and the activists will gain knowledge and experience of revolutionary methods of work. Such experiences are thus very essential as experiences in cooperative, democratic methods of functioning.

The participants felt that if land is to be cultivated, some collective form of operation should be adopted. It is collective action which can strengthen the collective consciousness of the people.

In order to make such experiments successful a lot of thinking and discussion will be necessary about how to organise the work, how to fix the wages of those who work on the land, how to divide profits, what kind of inputs to use, where to take loans from etc. While cultivating the land various issues can be taken up for analysis - like the functioning of the government bureaucracy, banks, the operations of the institution of market etc. As the peasants will surely have to confront all these issues, through collective action and reflection, they can further sharpen their class consciousness.

If this experience of getting the ownership of land, and managing it is successful it can provide a good example as well as courage to others. Secondly as this group of people will presumably be better off economically they will be less dependent on outside sources of funds to build their organisation. They can then be in a position even to help other groups engaged in similar struggles.

It was stated that nationalisation in the sense of state ownership can possibly be established overnight all over the country but socialisation in the sense of community control and utilisation of the means of production is something which cannot be established by a legal decree and enforced through state power. The ground for its spread in all spheres, all over the country, will have to be prepared through experimentation and practice. Even small experiments of collective ownership could provide tremendous inspiration; thereby demonstrating the alternatives to the existing patterns of ownership. This could, in turn, lead to or keep the struggle for the socialisation of the means of production going.

page 7

It will however have to be ensured that these small efforts at collectivisation not only do not hamper but also carry the struggle forward. Therefore it is essential that activists also get involved with programmes for economic development. If such projects are left entirely to technical experts then there would never be able to support or encourage the emergence of people's organisations and/or struggles.

When activists participate in radical economic projects they are not like donors or intermediaries between the donors and the people. They are part of the group and their actions have to be not only responsible to the group, but carried out in partnership with the people.

The second half of the workshop was devoted to the subject of what should be the content and methodology of training programmes for activists. The discussion was both about the general principles of training and the specific training programmes being planned by CDRA. The discussion was not on abstract lines but based on the experiences of the participants with various training programmes.

The tentative programme of trainings to be carried out by CDRA was taken up in detail and suggestions were made that CDRA should make certain changes in its approach to training. The CDRA participants found the exercise useful to reflect on their past programmes and reformulate their future training plans.

## training of activists.

### The Old Concept and Practice of Training Unsuitable For Activists

Soon it became clear enough that the usual training programmes cannot be suitable to "train" the kind of activists the workshop had in mind.

Traditionally, training is considered to be the transfer of selected technical skills and knowledge by one set of people to another. The content, methodology and the setting of the training is all determined by the trainers. In such training programmes the trainees are merely passive recipients of whatever the trainers decide to give them. They are objects of training and not its subjects. They do not participate in organising their own learning. The onus of responsibility is on the trainers at whose instance alone the training proceeds. Such trainings are basically undemocratic, hierarchical and non participatory. The trainers provide the directives, determine the contents and the methods and watch for the response, the results of the experiment they have conducted.

After going through such a training the trainees could be expected to adopt the same attitudes in their own work. They would assume the role of trainers vis-a-vis the people and work in an authoritarian, undemocratic and anti-people way.

In fact the group seriously questioned whether the word training with its undemocratic connotations should be used at all. It was however settled that instead of discarding the term it should be redefined to express a qualitatively different view of the process.

The word training was used not in a narrow technical, but in a broad sense. Training, it was felt, was a continuous on-going process. Yet, there could be periods of intensive learning, acquisition of skills and knowledge and reflection, which could be regarded as training.

#### Essential Features of Training of Activists

Activists should be trained through a process of group interaction. Such a process can facilitate the acquiring of attitudes, knowledge and the skills for activists to fulfill their role.

Training should create an atmosphere where the participants discover knowledge for themselves in a dialogical group situation where every one (both trainers and trainees) participate with a questioning and open mind.

In such a training programme, the distinction between trainers and trainees is minimised. The trainers are facilitators who create an atmosphere where all the participants (including the facilitator) can express themselves freely, ask questions and learn. The facilitator is also a participant in the common search for knowledge. Here every one discovers and analyses reality. The 'truth' is not handed over by one set of people (the trainers) to another (the trainees); instead a genuine dialogue between people is made possible.

Training should not only help in the search and acquisition of new skills and knowledge but also help the participants to acquire and strengthen values like justice, equality, honesty, truthfulness and solidarity amongst oppressed groups. It should also create or release energies in the participants to act with conviction and courage in their various struggles at different levels.

The way the training is organised should reflect the value which the training talks about in theory. For example, the training itself should be participatory, democratic and non-hierarchical—if these are the values it would like the participants to imbibe. The participants should be involved in decision-making about most, if not all, aspects of the training programme.

Training should help participants develop an analytical, and questioning mind and a scientific approach to understand the realities around them.

The discussions and analysis should be based on the reality as experienced by the participants in their life and work. They should begin with the known and then go on to the unknown rather than the other way around. In fact the issues to be discussed should be determined in consultation with the participants according to their needs and expectations. A good way of achieving this is to ask the participants to present case studies of their work experience. From these presentations it may be gauged what are their priorities for training.

It was thought very important to be able to establish a relationship of equality during training programmes. If the training is conducted in a camp situation everyone should eat and live together. Trainers or officials should not enjoy special privileges like better food, better accommodation etc. The opportunity of being together should be used to reduce disparities rather than to reinforce them.

The training camps for landless labour organised by the National Labour Institute (NLI) were cited as examples. In these camps government officials and NLI personnel sit with the people on the floor. No chairs are provided. They have to eat with the people and wash their own dishes like everyone else. The poor villagers are also encouraged to smoke (if they must) in the presence of upper caste and class people. Such seemingly simple and matter of fact rules make a lot of difference. The poor tend to lose their inhibitions and fear of the rich and government officials. They gain self-confidence. At least during the camp equality is shared and a dent made in inegalitarian behaviour and etiquette.

Discussions should not go on for so long that participants start getting bored. However, it was felt that boredom and disinterest would not be problems if the programme could respond to the participants' needs. But if people still get bored, then they should be encouraged to say so to enable the group to do something else.

Each training programme should be an exploration. Even if the objective of a programme is to provide technical skills, it can be done in a participatory way. Even in such programmes it should not be necessary to predetermine which skills are to be imparted and how. The group can first discuss the tasks the participants have to perform, and then decide which skills they require for fulfilling these tasks - and how they want to learn them. When done in this way the whole training programme can become an interesting and participatory exercise.

An on-going evaluation of the content, method of work and inter-relationships within the group should be in-built into the programme. Each participant can be asked to write down his/her thoughts on the programme and then present them to the group for discussion.

The number of participants in a training programme like this should not be more than 25. In a bigger group it becomes difficult to achieve intensive inter-action.

As to the selection of participants for a training programme (say or CDRA) it was felt that the best way is through personal contact. If there is an active group or organisation then it can be asked to nominate someone suitable. Otherwise one should meet potential candidates and get to know them personally. The people selected should have had some education, should have already started questioning the unjust social system, be willing to work for change and be ready to participate in struggles.

The location of the programme should be as close as possible to the realities in which the participants will be working. It is better to have residential programmes in which every one lives together and therefore can work for long hours as well as get to know each other well.

### Participatory Exploration

One point in the workshop one of the participants Vasant Palshikar, who had been conducting informal training programmes, was asked to share his method of work. He explained that when he conducts a training programme although a theme for deliberation is chosen before hand, depending upon the group that is meeting, the detailed content and direction is not predetermined. It is left totally open ended. His narration was found very useful because it showed how many of the principles of training stipulated by the group earlier in the workshop were actually practiced by him. After listening to him the group was convinced that it is possible to create exciting learning situations without the trainers trying to impose their own views and concepts.

Vasant who is not formally attached to any organisation helps a number of grass-root groups to organise training camps. These camps can be attended both by educated, middle class activists and by peasants or factory workers. His methods are the same for both these groups.

He finds a group of 15 to 20 to be ideal for a camp and does not like to work with a large number of people where the participants have to break into smaller groups for a meaningful discussion.

### Full Trust in the Participants.

When Vasant organises a training camp he does not know how it will proceed because he does not predetermine the content or the time table. He does not consider himself to be in-charge of all these matters. It is the group which is in command. He puts total trust in the people because he believes that if they have come for a training session it is because they are serious about it. According to Vasant this approach of his has so far not failed. He believes that if you put trust in people they start becoming responsible for their thought and action. When the people feel that they have the freedom to think, act and relate to each other, they take on a lot of responsibility.

In these camps the discussion begins with the real experiences of the participants.

The theme chosen relates in some way to the work they are doing or the life they are leading and the programme begins by each participant in turn telling the group about an aspect of the theme in terms of his experience and feelings. Some participants talk freely while others find it very difficult to speak more than a couple of sentences. But nobody is quickly passed over. With patience each one is encouraged to speak, and the group waits in anticipation. Only if the silent waiting of the group is seen to oppress a very shy participant is he or she passed over. In the course of this first round the participants begin to sense the difference, begin to learn to be attentive and respect other participants. In the course of these preliminary narrations common elements begin to stand out. The discussion usually begins by identifying these common elements and the group picking out one as the starting point.

In a training camp for peasants or factory workers when a starting point is decided upon, depending upon the nature of the point, again, the participants are invited to speak out their views or narrate their experiences. Sometimes it takes time for someone of them to lose shyness or fear and speak out. But, invariably, patience on the part of the facilitator pays rich dividends.

page 9

This establishes the bonafides of the facilitator that he/she really means what he/she said about participation. The narrations are not usually thorough, precisely to the point, or well expressed. But they are genuine expressions. When some one has broken the ice, others follow. Not all the participants, but one has enough to start with. In this way almost any issue can be tackled.

### Acquiring a Questioning Attitude

The facilitator's role is to ask questions to carry the discussion and analysis forward, to draw people to talk and to think and to provide information which may not come out of the group. The facilitation has to be very patient because some participants might narrate things which the facilitator thinks are not relevant. The facilitator has to remember that these details might be relevant to the person who is narrating them and should not dismiss them out of hand. The people have to be encouraged to see the causes, inter-relationships, and the method of analysis. Through such case studies one can discuss almost any economic, political, philosophic issue. The best way of involving people in learning is to proceed from such concrete cases about which they know something and therefore can contribute to the discussion.

Time is an important element in such a process of learning. With enough time both the detail, the content and the process of analysis become clear and whatever is learnt is retained by the participants. New words and concepts are introduced only if that helps the analysis. The group does not start off by using words like mode of production, ownership of means of production, class conflict etc. According to Vasant, if at the end of a training session there is a hunger for knowledge, a realisation that we do not observe enough and do not observe scientifically and if there is a realisation that there is an inter-relationship between phenomena - then the training can be regarded as having made an impact. The participants must learn to ask more questions. It is only through questioning and reflection that they will be able to go further, observe more, question more and understand the realities better.

Participants have a right to learn what they want to know. It is not the facilitators who should always decide what the participants should know. As it is not desirable to impose anything on the learner/participants, it is important not to predetermine the content of a training programme.

### An Example of Participatory Exploration

To explain how discussion unfolds itself, Vasant gave an example of a training camp. This camp was held in a small village, not very remote from a city and yet a village which was not visibly urbanised. Under the National Adult Education Programme three classes were being run in the village. Similar classes were being run in nearby villages also. The animators were young boys, some of whom were themselves labourers or small farmers. All of them had only a few years of schooling. Each day for 3 days about six animators plus a few village youth would gather at night after meals for an hour or two. The theme chosen was "The Village".

Discussion started with the question "What is a village?" It immediately became clear that they had lived all their lives in a village, but had never given a thought to this question, had never asked this question. So it was quite an effort to answer the question. (There was a blackboard and answers to the question were to be written by the participants on it). The answers started to come in slowly first, then a little faster.

"Houses"	I	
"Shops"	I	Comments were made on this and
"Temple"	I	that, Yes, a village has all these
"Land"	I	things. But, is that all? Let us
"People"	I	go further. Let us ask a few more
"Cattle"	I	questions.

A question or two was put. Do people live singly?

Are they like a crowd on the streets? Why do they live here?"

"No, not single, unrelated people, but families".

"They live here because it is their village; they have their homes here".

Another question was put in: "Is it enough for people to have houses to live in to make a village? Why did they set up homes here in such a difficult, remote place?" (The village was difficult to reach as it did not have even an approach road till about 3 years

back and for 3 months during rains it used to be practically cut off. There is no electricity even today, though there is a bus service now. Drinking water was difficult to come by earlier).

"Why, because of the land, of course. To be near the lands".

"What is a land? What do you need land for?"

"The people work on land and live on its produce".

"So, can we once again try to answer our first question. What is a village?"

"Village is a place where families stay and make their living off the land".

At this stage of the discussion a diagram was drawn on the black-board, showing that people just don't set up a village anywhere but where they have a nearby source to make a living. It was asked if there is this only one source-land-by which people make a living? The answer first came "they can be getting jobs". This answer had a background. Many boys from the village went daily to a nearby city to serve in different places-factories, offices etc. The facilitators (there was one more person in addition to Vasant in the group who acted as one) wanted to focus attention on the relation of man with natural resources. So it was suggested that the group think of the time when there were no jobs in the city. Someone thought of cattle, sheep; some other thought of forest. Then all these were put on the board in a group.

Land	I		
Cattle	I		
Forest	I	NATURE	People
Sheep	I		
Water	I		

There attention was drawn to the word Nature under which all these things can be put. Now the group was asked again to look at the diagram drawn earlier. The diagram was somewhat like this:

"People depend on land for their living".

"Land gives them food".

"Is it that men and women sit in their houses and the land comes and puts food in their houses?"

"Of course not! people cultivate the lands".

"How do men/women cultivate?"

"By labouring".

"So, how can we now describe the relationship?" To aid their thinking the diagram was redrawn; like this:

People

LAND

and it was suggested that someone from the group name the link from what they had talked about earlier. It was not difficult for one of them to draw a line and write "labour" in between, so that it became,

People → labour → land

Generalising at this stage the facilitators put below this

Man → Work → Nature

The discussion so far was summarized for the group. All of us have to live. In order to live human beings have to labour on nature and produce different things. It is in the effort to produce a living for themselves that people come to live in a village.

To emphasize the link it was asked, "can anyone earn a living without working?" It was also asked further if nobody worked on nature would it be possible for human kind to exist? The answer was NO.

"But is the village - houses and lands - all ready-made so that people just have to come and occupy them?" was the starting question for the next stage of the discussion. The answer was self-evident, so it led to another question".

"How did their village come in to existence?"

It was a question the group could not answer in terms of documented history. So it was suggested that the group approach the question speculatively and try to imagine what might have happened.

It was not easy for the group to do this but with effort they were able to visualise a time when there were no houses, and land was under forest or grass.

"Do you think it was just one person or one family who came and established the village?"

They said, how could they tell, they did not know they were told, yes, nobody knew for sure. They were to imagine what could have happened?" You see, people must have come, broken new land, distributed the lands for cultivation, started growing crops, etc. Suppose there were a few families.

"They must have been kin to each other, or known to each other. Most likely they came here from a nearby established village in search of lands, because their earlier village could have been overcrowded, or they had some trouble, or there was an adventurous spirit. Somebody must have taken a lead, shown some skill, courage and imagination. Then following the first few families others must have followed later. Some could have come through a marriage connection. Some as servants. Servants, labourers or artisans were probably brought by the ones who took the lead in setting up the village.

"One must not forget that it was only through hard labour that lands were made cultivable, that the village came to be a safe place to live.

"Now, think how could the lands have been distributed. What are the different possible ways?"

"Each family may have taken as much land as it brought under cultivation"

"Wouldn't they have naturally help each other while breaking new lands? Don't you even today help each other out in various tasks?"

"Yes, may be according to the need i.e. the number of persons in the family; or could be according to how much the family could bring under cultivation; or equal shares to all"

At this point the facilitator gave some information regarding the element of communal ownership in land rights as the British found in different parts in India, how rights were vested in the village community to certain extent and lands were periodically taken away and reassigned if the village elders thought it necessary. The information given was neither very detailed, precise or full. It was given to make the point that society was not always organised on the basis of alienable private property rights of individuals. In fact, life was far more communally organised, that even in the matter of land rights and distribution a village like theirs had a long history of and different stages of growth.

As it happened the group met in the Panchayat office, adjacent to which was the house of the inamdar, who used to hold the villages around as inam lands. Till, may be, fifteen - twenty years ago the inamdar had been a very big landlord and most families took lands from him for cultivation as tenants or share-croppers, or worked on his lands as labourers. The boys in the village remembered the days of feudal relationship with the inamdar family. It was obvious from the way they joked about the young boy from the family who had asked for tea at some recent mela in the village and was pooh-poohed that the inamdar family had become just a relic of the past with no power in the village affairs.

They had been witnesses to a historical change of great significance but without understanding its importance.

The facilitator put a question to them did they think that the inamdar had at any stage laboured to bring the lands under cultivation. None could believe. They said they had heard it said that the inamdar family had got the villages around in inam from a nearby king in the old days

"Which means he was brought from outside and given these villages as a lord? What is an inam? Do you think the cultivators were at all consulted when this happened?"

The group only knew that as an inamdar the family had a right to a share of the produce from all the lands from around these villages. Besides they owned large tracts of land. The group was asked to visualise villages spotted all over a large area, and think of their relation with kingdoms of old. The brute fact of military conquest and domination, the mechanism of tribute paid to the raja, assignments of part or whole of the tribute by a raja to inamdars, and such inamdars gaining superior rights over land during the early British period - all this process was discussed and unfolded. Lastly, the transition they had witnessed as small children/young boys after independence was discussed.

Here the group members were encouraged to describe the changes in their own way. They recalled how tenants had stopped paying rents to the inamdar, how they had stopped giving a share of the produce. How then the inamdar family was come gradually to sell the lands. It became clear that there had been an element of bigger tenants grabbing forcibly and illegally and being able to get away with it because political power had come into the hands of these peasant castes at the local and state level. The inamdar family was reduced to helplessness. It was some of these old tenants who were the big landlords and rich men of the village now.

In this way a background was created for the discussion of the village at present and the analysis of its structure. It would not be right to say that all the participants in the group fully understood all the points covered during the discussion. There remained many ambiguities and many points would have to be gone into again with more information with the help of selected reading materials. The time available was too short to look at the village from more than one angle, that of rights in land. As he explained, this particular programme was an experiment and an exploration for Vasant too.

It is an urgent need that village youth begin to understand their village as a whole system made up of interrelated sub-systems and having a history. They need to be able to locate the forces of and directions of change, the dynamic situation.

This 3 day programme (all told about 5 hours) was undertaken to learn about the problems involved in handling this whole theme at the level of village youth without any academic training. It was a rich learning experience for Vasant also, as he stressed. What could be said to be the achievement?

The participants began to look at their own village historically and analytically. They began to reflect upon the village as a system and a structure. In response to the probing questions they began to think, to make connections, to understand some concepts. Through such a dialogue fundamental questions like relationship of man to nature, the origin and history of society, distribution of means of production, etc., were raised in a manner whereby they became live and highly relevant questions.

There were some limitations. Most of the questions were asked by the two facilitators and it was in answer to these that the group did its reflection. Ideally the questions also should have come increasingly from the participants. And they do start coming when the participants come for their second or third programme.

Learning came to the participants slowly, painfully and bit by bit. It came as they thought and made shy tentative answers and found that they could give answers which were meaningful, because they fitted in. As the discussion moved closer to their own times they had more to tell, both incidents and information, and they could check out suggestions from facilitators with their own knowledge. They became more confident.

It was clearly a situation wherein the facilitators knew more in some areas, and the participants were under the pressure of the "authority" of the facilitator, particularly Vasant. At the same time it was they who were doing the answering, who were discovering, taking the first steps in historical and structural analysis.

Then the discussion moved to the situation as at present. The theme was the division of the population into different economic classes and it was approached through the present distribution of land. From this point onwards the boys from the villages were in command. They were more informed and they were doing the analysis to a far more extent.

Following the usual divisions, and with the intention to focus attention on the landless element in the structure as against the big landlords, the facilitator suggested the group show on the board how many were big landlords, how many landless, etc., which would give them a rough picture of the economic classes in the village. There was a certain reason why the facilitator chose the theme of division into economic classes. The group of activists working on the NAEP programme in the village were "class analysis oriented" and it was understood that one of the objectives of the training programmes was to intensify the class consciousness of the animators. In a sense the question that the facilitators posed was a loaded one.

The participants said there were no big landlords in their village. Neither were there any landless families. The facilitator's first response was of disbelief. How could this be? So he took the answer to mean that the participants really did not follow his question and asked them not to be so offhand but search out the big landlords and the landless, who were bound to be there. Still, the participants firmly answered that there were no big landlords and neither were there any landless.

This was hard to accept, but there was nothing the facilitator could do about it! The facts in this village were not very convenient for intensifying class consciousness, but one had to proceed with facts as given by the participants who knew best amongst the people present there.

The facilitator was up against a problem. An analysis of economic division as reflected in land rights was the theme, and it had to be fruitfully completed with the group's participation. It would not be right to dismiss their village and go into national statistics. But then it posed a problem only if one wished to impose a certain line of analysis and conclusion on the group. The facilitator felt a sense of relief. Now whatever analysis was done it would really come out of the situation and the group's thinking.

The problem was of making meaningful divisions amongst the landholders and the criteria used had to be such as could be understood and found meaningful by the participants. Here the facilitator's previous experience came to his aid. If a landholder is sufficiently 'big' in terms of the village, usually he does not labour in his field, has labourers on annual payment contract to work both as labourers and overseers of other labourers, and is someone who acts as a money lender to the poor landless or marginal landholders.

The extent of holding in acres is not always important. Most likely the participants had only the acreage yardstick in mind when they had answered there were no big landlords in the village. Only the inamdar had been the big landlord in their view and he of course was now just one like them. It was suggested to the group that they may consider applying a yardstick. Such as the following:

"Are there farmers who do not labour on their land, who get their land cultivated by the labour of others?"

"No. All farmers work on the land". Again, this was hard to accept. A further question was put.

"You mean to say there isn't a farmer in your village who does not do coolie labour on his land? Do all work with their hands like labourers?"

"Even if they don't work with their hands, they actively supervise". "No, they work also if it is urgent or if it comes to that". From the discussion it could be gathered that at one time in the recent past the big ones of today were not so big and also laboured on the land. The transition from being tenant, farmers to big rich farmers was a very recent one.

But the participants had begun to make distinctions. Now they went forward more speedily. There were 5-6 farmers who employed labourers on the basis of annual contract.

"Let us put their names on the board".

Their names were put. From this point more information about these easily came forward. They were also moneylenders. In fact they were addressed as "sahukars" (moneylenders) rather than "shetkari" (farmers). They managed the affairs of the village. Other common features of this group were discussed.

We had now identified the top section of the landholders and it was easier to formulate the criteria for the subsequent strata one by one, and roughly decide how many should be put in each of these categories.

In this way the group analysed the situation and came to divide the landholders into five strata.

Farmers who owned 10-15 acres of land, employed labourers on annual contract, had much surplus to sell in the market, lent money to others, grew cash crops etc.

Farmers who did not employ annual contract labourers, but had some surplus, grew cash crops.

Farmers who worked hard on their land and had enough to meet their needs. They had enough to eat and drink. (In marathi they could be described as Khaun piun sukhi)

Farmers who had land, but didn't grow enough to last through the year, and had to supplement by working on other's lands.

Farmers who were landholders for name-sake only and were practically labourers.

Now, which of these could be grouped together as having similar interests? In fact the participants did not perceive the situation along class lines but they did distinguish the top category on the one hand and the last two on the other. The top 5-6 farmers were markedly different not so much through their exploitation as through their power and authority in the village which the boys knew. But it also came out during discussions

that their authority was being successfully challenged by farmers from the second and third strata. The last two categories were the struggling poor.

The facilitators had known from the talk of the boys that many went out to jobs in the city nearby daily. So they suggested that the group could not know how much economic conditions were unequal unless one also took the earnings of those employed outside taken into consideration. Like land, jobs were a source of income. It was suggested that the NAEP animators should independently write down the details of the types of jobs, the number in each type of job and their division according to landholder strata. Then they should sit together and collate their notes and present the information on the last night.

There were about 100 persons who did other jobs, mostly in the city (leaving out 3/4 in the village itself). All the different jobs were classified and put on the board together with numbers of persons engaged. Then for each type of job the numbers were divided into landholder strata. The picture was revealing. The top 2 categories had disproportionately large numbers earning through jobs outside. The jobs in the city were at the clerical, teaching, technician, grade IV employees and casual labourers levels mostly, but added a good amount to the family income. At the other end, out of the 30 marginal landholder (strata V) families, who needed supplementary sources of income most, only five had outside jobs.

The job pattern in this village further strengthened the unequal landholding (and income from land) pattern.

This was a moment of revelation for all.

The urban working class having kin relations with the better off landholders was also of sociological and political importance. The facilitator here gave some information and analysis about the working class reactionary social (caste) attitudes from an article he had recently read. The article also showed up the kin relations of the working class with landed peasant castes in Maharashtra. There was then some discussion on the implication of this fact for radical revolution. Such a working class was unlikely to support the landless or marginal farmers in their demands for land/more wages.

The best part of the analysis came at this point from the participants. The question was put to them:

"Why is it you think that those most in need of outside jobs have the least jobs?" By this time they were thinking and participating actively. The answers came from them:

"Fear: The poor are not familiar with the city world and are afraid".

"Ignorance & fear: The poor do not know where to go for jobs and are afraid to approach city people".

"Cannot afford: The poor are so poor they cannot take out time to go looking for a job. They have no money to spend on travelling to the city and trying to find a job".

"No connections: Usually you get a job through somebody you know or are related to or are friends with.

"Lack of education:

To go and look for a job requires some education nowadays. The children of the poor start working so early that they are too illiterate and are tied down to work in the village itself.

"Fear":

They stick to the labouring they know than taking the risk to venture into the unknown even when they see other boys going out and earning more".

Poverty forcing to keep people poor-this vicious circle came home very forcefully as it came to be drawn on the board.

This whole exercise in dialogical exploration could be said to be only the beginning of a process which has to be taken further in many ways. The claim is not made that the whole economic and social structure of the village came to be understood. It also could not be claimed that a self-sustained process was firmly got going. But a modest claim could be made that the village youth learnt through participatory experience a method of analysis, a way of questioning, the value of looking for empirical data and its interpretation. They also had an introduction to seeing things in a historical perspective. They had done some very hard thinking for themselves.

When it all started the facilitator had a theme with him which he wanted the participants to consider. He also had in mind that they should come to see the relations amongst the people in the village as a system and a structure. But apart from deciding the theme (which also can be left to the participants) he left it to the participants what to make of it from their own contribution. The role of the facilitator was a very active one, as can be seen from the narration, and yet it was within the frame and flow of the answers given by the participants at each step. If he had thought of giving a lecture on the subject of "the village and its structure/system" it surely would have been quite differently organised. It would have been more comprehensive, more academic and it would have impressed the participants as very learned. But they would have as quickly passed over it or have come to repeat some of the formulations parrot like, but not been able to explain if challenged.

In this dialogue they brought out the building blocks to build up an analytical structure in the context of their own village out of their own observation. They would not be able to repeat almost any of this if they were set an examination. This was the advantage. In future they would be able to handle analysis on their own. Moreover they would not allow people to lecture them or be devalued by people posing as their superiors. They would be more confident of their powers of thinking and would speak out boldly.

#### The Facilitator also Learns

The facilitator also learned many things during the dialogue. He came to know about the perceptions of the village youth, the specificity of the socio-economic political situation, the variation within a general situation of poverty, inequality and oppression.



A usual premises such as that in each village there are a few big landlords and many landless families, or that the harijans are the most oppressed and the poorest, and which are mechanically taken for granted, may be very convenient for so-called radical propaganda but if the local situations are much different, then what? It was a challenge and in meeting it, the facilitator also learnt how to approach village realities more objectively and meaningfully, starting from redefining one's analytical categories. The fact that this small village was sending out around 100 persons for jobs outside forcefully brought home to him the dynamic changes villages are undergoing and which have to be incorporated in one's village analysis. If the facilitator had chosen to give a lecture he would have not learnt all these things. His analysis would have remained very impressive but divorced from the complex, dynamic reality.

Vasant's approach is based on the conviction that no human being, however learned and brilliant, can come to possess the whole and definitive truth for all times. Any one person's learning and understanding is partial and limited and it always remain open that in interaction with others he comes across something new which enriches, makes less partial his hold over truth. Out of this understanding comes naturally a respect for others, a willingness to explore together, an interaction. Then one does not resort to dialogical method as a subtle technique to bring others to accept one's pre-determined conclusions. One readily accepts the experiences of others, and builds on the basis of those experiences an understanding of truth, together with the others.

It is not claimed that participatory exploration automatically leads to action. Such exploration can be undertaken with only academic interest also. But when activists learn to use this method there is a significant advantage. In absence of following such participatory exploratory method the actions decided upon are usually based on orthodoxy and dogma, not taking into consideration the specificity of the local situation, the perceptions of local people, their immediate needs and problems, etc. When such a method is followed the actions are decided upon by the participants themselves out of their understanding of their situation so that unity of theory and action is achieved in a real sense leading to further reflection-action - reflection process.

Through this method a quest for knowledge is aroused. Knowledge comes to be seen as directly relevant to the understanding of their situation, problems, needs and solutions. The learners can then be helped to read what has already been written on the different issues. Reading will make more sense if they have already done some thinking on their own. According to Vasant, the written word should not be allowed to dominate. He feels, in the past we have paid so much attention to the written word that it actually came to dominate and to stifle new thinking.

In this method, there is no special burden on the facilitator who feels free and light because she is not taking on all the responsibility. Every one has to be alert all the time with all one knows because any topic might come up at any moment. So, a participatory process makes strong demands on the participants' creativity.

The participants experience this as a new way of learning. In the past they have not been participants in the learning process. As they come to see that each detail is important they begin to see the importance of observing carefully. They enjoy learning because they can also contribute to it. They start relating their experiences and interacting with other in the group. By analysing their own reality and by putting on a board the facts about their village, their vision gets broadened. This whole thing comes as a revelation to them.

Once a process of being involved in learning gets underway, it becomes relatively easier to relate to larger corresponding concepts.

The use of the local language, even of the local dialect of the people is very important. If you use another language and also force them to speak that language their confidence will be less. They will be handicapped because they will be speaking a language which they do not really understand.

The learners should not only understand and analyse their reality but also understand how to understand, how to analyse, what kind of questions to ask.

This method of understanding is important, through which they can understand other realities and inter-relationships.

The workshop participants found Vasant's presentation of his experience and views to be very useful. Some of the other participants had also been using a similar methodology in their own training programmes, but there were others who said they were not using participatory methods of learning. One of them said that he now realised that most training programmes he had attended were more manipulative than participatory. He admitted that most of his own talks were lectures with no discussion or interaction with the audience. Vasant's narration made him reflect on and question his own approach in the past.

Another participant shared his experiences as a worker of an organised trade union. He said he went to the people with a well formulated stand and a closed framework. Even from "participatory" discussions he wanted only one thing to come out and this was determined by the party line or trade union line. He was there to promote the people's struggle but this struggle was to go on the lines decided by the trade union leaders. There was no genuine freedom for the workers to take their own decisions. The hierarchies, he found, were very rigid in the organised trade unions.

Vasant's narration made it quite clear to the workshop participants that any issue can be tackled with the participation of the learner. Learning can and should be related to the realities and experiences of the participants. Only then is it real and meaningful learning. The local realities can then be gradually seen in the context of the nation, the universe. The interrelationships between the local power structure and the national and international power structure can be made clearer.

Similarly, other topics like the need for people's organisation, type of leadership necessary for it, necessary linkages between local organisations, regional and national organisations, the issues on which people can be organised etc. can all be discussed.

Vasant calls this method participatory exploration. One can also call it dialogical method. Vasant has been using this method for a long time. The group asked him whether he had been influenced by Paulo Freire. He said he had not read Freire till only a few months ago. He found a great deal of similarity between Freire's ideas and his own. Reading Freire made many things clearer for him.

## CDRA Training

The outline of a training programme for rural youth drawn up by CDRA was presented for discussion. It was a nine-day training programme for potential activists. All the details of the nine-day programme had been worked out - the time-table, the contents and the sequence of contents had all been decided. Each hour in the programme had been planned. All the activities from "introduction" till "good bye" had been programmed in advance.

The group felt that planning a training programme before hand would not leave much scope for the participants to decide things for themselves. They would again become mere recipients of instructions. Once a programme is planned to such an extent it becomes difficult to make it open and flexible. It cannot take the felt needs and expectations of the participants into consideration.

In the CDRA programme were included topics like tools of analysis, and a number of simulation games. Time was also allotted for reading documents. The group discussed many of these issues.

## Tools of Analysis

Some of the workshop participants said that any training of activists should provide tools of analysis to the learners. There was a lot of discussion about these tools of analysis.

One of the participants pointed out rather strongly that although every one talks about imparting 'tools of analysis', she has never understood what these tools actually are. She requested that these tools of analysis be made available so that she too may touch them, feel them and include them in her own training kit. Amid laughter and amusement the participants ventured forth into a discussion about what in fact these tools were. Very good use had been made of humour as a means of focussing attention on a very serious issue, one that has always been taken for granted. The effort once again became to go beyond the word to the essence of the concept. Although many of the participants had mentioned that mode of production was the most important tool of analysis, it was not clear as to how this tool was to be used in a concrete situation. Mode of production after all is an extreme abstraction unless its meaning is made clear.

The group felt that the term 'tools of analysis' itself was misleading. It mystifies rather than explains. It gives the impression that there are certain tools of analysis which are valid for all times and societies and are therefore infallible. Once you have acquired them you can correctly analyse every society and situation and determine the course of action. This, the group felt, may lead to activists becoming rigid. They might become victims of their own tools and jargon. Production relations, mode of production, dialectical materialism, surplus value etc. are some of the Marxian concepts which are used to analyse society. Some trainees try to hand over these concepts or tools of analysis to the village people. All this jargon is passed on to the village youth who learn the jargon without actually knowing what it means. The way these tools are given does not lead to questioning. The learners are not made to discover these tools for themselves; instead they are simply handed over these tools (usually by an outsider).

At this point, one of the workshop participants explained how he had learnt and how he teaches these tools of analysis to rural youth. A lecture is given to the learners about society and how it is structured. They are told about the different classes in society, the different structures in society (like economic, political, social) and their inter-relationships. Information is given about modes of production, production relations etc.

The group was impressed by the participant's (himself a villager) knowledge about these concepts but felt that his presentation was not suitable for training activists. It was not suitable because it started from the abstract. The topic was called "tools of analysis" This itself would be entirely new for the learners to understand as it introduced too many concepts and words with which the learners would not be familiar. Such a presentation may create awe among listeners but it might not lead to their active participation. In fact instead of making the learners self-confident, such an approach could make them feel very small. Although the lectures might sound radical they would not be participatory. The learners would feel the burden of all the new concepts and would, most probably, not be able to apply these tools very confidently. In fact, even in the workshop there were people using many of these terms without being able to explain what they really meant. One could see that they had not understood these concepts well, although they kept insisting these were the only scientific tools to analyse society.

The group felt that there is nothing wrong about the different methods and concepts or tools used to analyse society. What is, however, often wrong is the unimaginative way in which these methods and concepts are used and taught to others. Instead of analysing society through the experiences of the village people themselves by using their own language, many activists/trainers draw their language and examples from the books they have read. Such examples and language are very remote from the perceptions of the village people and, therefore, they cannot lead to much learning and analysis.

It was agreed by the workshop participants that it is absolutely essential to simplify the language trainers and activists' use. It is essential to go beyond the jargon to the essence of what is being talked about.

The activists must learn how to observe the society they live in, to collect relevant information and to analyse it. To understand a community it is indeed important to understand the pattern of the ownership of the different means of production, as well as control over other sources of income available, the way production is organised and ways in which command over the labours of others enables owners to snatch a large share of the produce; the mechanism through which surplus is also purchased cheaply through loan operations, the division between classes based on the pattern of economic exploitation and political power and social domination. But this understanding must be reached through facts they observe and identify themselves through questioning and relating, not on the basis of readymade theories and formulations dished out by someone. In short they must construct their own theory in an effort to make sense of the concrete reality around them, in order to understand the way to change it in the desired direction.

## Use of Simulation and Other Games in Training

In the outline of the proposed nine-day CDRA training programme, there were as many as 5 games. Some other workshop participants had also been making extensive use of games in their training programmes. Those who had been using games felt that simulation games were useful in making the atmosphere lively and in breaking the monotony of a training programme. Moreover, through such games many ideas could be conveyed and concepts explained. Also, situations could be described: it may be the structure of a village or the functioning of the economic system or the selfish nature of groups. Certain games like 'Star Power', 'X-Y game' were described.

Some workshop participants, however, expressed serious reservations about the use of such games. There was a lot of discussion which made the proponents of the use of these games think more critically about their usefulness. They said they had never examined the games critically. They had learnt them in some training programmes or seminars and had started using them in their own programmes.

It was pointed out that the origin of most of these games was the West and most had come to India from the US. Simulation games had been developed initially for business management training programmes. Most of these games were based on a certain presumption about the nature of man, the urges that moved men, the goals they have, which are consistent with the moral philosophy of free enterprise.

It was suggested that this surely was not a matter of accident. The use of these games presupposes that one accepts the premise of capitalist moral philosophy as to the unchangeable selfish nature of man. All games are devised to prove this and then work again from that basis to find out solutions. It was asked, are we challenging this very claim of the capitalist philosophy, or are we satisfied in working out "management solutions" within the framework of a "selfish" man?

Some of the participants said that in the games they found a definite element of manipulation, of wanting to control people's responses and direct them from outside. In many simulation games all the facts are not told to the players. Something is kept hidden by the trainers. That in itself gives the trainers certain power over the others making his/her position superior vis-à-vis the rest of the group. After the game is over the trainers analysis - sometimes even given his/her own judgement.

Some participants narrated how they had felt insecure, unsure and manipulated while playing such games. They were not sure what and how much was serious and what was the game part. One of them had found the judgement given by the trainer, after they had played a game, very unfair.

It was pointed out by a number of participants that normally the more educated and sophisticated trainees hesitate or refuse to play such games precisely because they feel manipulated and self-conscious.

The critics of games were of the opinion that such games have no place in participatory trainings. They give the illusion of being participatory because of the physical participation of the group members in them. But the group members are, in fact, only participating as much (or as little) as the pieces of a chess board participate in a chess game. The rules of the game are decided by the trainer who holds the deciding trump card.

Another criticism of these games was that they simplify reality. They present a simplistic picture of the phenomenon they are trying to explain. It is much better to study real experiences and discuss them rather than to create complicated games.

It was pointed out that games which are not manipulative, where all the cards are put on the table may be used. Observation games or memory games may be quite interesting and useful.

Since there were two opinions about the use of games it was suggested that CDRA should experiment in two groups - in one use games and in the other not use games. This would enable CDRA to see whether games are really helpful in creating an atmosphere which is conducive to learning and whether they help in gaining a better understanding of society.

## Use of Reading Materials in Training Programmes

Reading materials can be of two kinds - 1. those which are written in such a manner that the reader is given an impression that what is written is the truth and there is nothing else to be read or explored or known. 2. those which introduce certain issues, present one or various points of view and which encourage the reader to explore further, read more and reflect for himself/herself and then make up his/her mind.

It is the second kind of reading material which is useful, and which should be provided to activists.

There is however a dearth of simply written, analytical reading material specially in local languages. Often instead of simply written good analysis what one gets is simplistic analysis which is not very helpful.

A concerted effort has to be made to prepare such reading material and to translate into local languages the material available in foreign languages. The material should be self-contained i.e. it should explain the different terms used and the background. Yet it should not be bulky.

Some of the themes on which reading material is required are:

- the village and its structure
- the larger economic system
- history of the last 200 years
- ideologies and theories of social change
- how to analyse society

The workshop participants were of the opinion that this is a big task and it cannot be done by individuals but through a widespread group effort.

## Use of Film, Slides, Skits, Cartoons, Songs

These different media of communication are indeed more effective than the written word and can be used effectively for educational purposes. But often these media are used to communicate a prefabricated message - to create a predetermined reaction and response. The message can be about family planning or about radical people's organisation but the approach is the same. The effort is very seldom to stimulate thought and to make the audience question, analyse and reach its own conclusions. There is often a certain element of propaganda and manipulation in the use of these media. The producers have their own perspective which determines the presentation and the message. In this way they are manipulative and hence not educative in the real sense of the word. The songs and dramas used by radical groups also have the same element of propaganda in them.

The workshop participants felt that well produced film strips, slides, dramas, songs can and should be used to provide facts and information, to raise questions, to initiate dialogue. All these media can be used like any case study material which is not accepted as such, but is discussed and analysed. The advantage of these media is that it can present facts in a selective and effective manner and can keep the interest of the audience alive.

## Conclusion

The workshop provided a good opportunity for people involved in the training of activists to share their experiences and views as well as to reflect on their own work. Useful discussions took place. The workshop provided suggestions and ideas for the future training programmes of CDRA and other organisations represented in the workshop. It was hoped that through this report more reflection and discussion on the role and training of activists would be initiated and the actual performance of activists and the quality of their training programmes would also improve.

It was also hoped that at least some of the workshop participants would collaborate with each other in their work and would put into practice the principles of training agreed upon during the workshop.

Reported by Kamla Bhasin Vasant Palshikar Lakshmi Rao  
Designed and Illustrated by Sheba Chracchi

Pon Acc (22)

Grahamstown

**U2-a**

(21) - 27/10/87

*Draft*  
*T. Ratsone* (47)  
Saw U2-c

OUR PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN IN 1984 - by UDF National Publicity Secretary,  
'Terror' Lekota

MAY I welcome you all to this media workshop - our first in 1984. This workshop is designed both to review our publicity work to date and plan for the future. We must review our national, regional and local publicity machinery and the products of its work so far. At the same time, we must devise means of correcting our shortcomings and improving our performance. But I must emphasise that only thoroughgoing and frank criticism and self-criticism will expose to us our mistakes.

YOU will notice then that the initial part of the agenda consists of reviews and general theoretical discussions designed to arm us with ideas. The second part of the agenda will involve devising strategies and practical arrangements for work in the future.

As publicity and media workers we have the task of bringing to the attention of the public certain valuable factual information in as accurate a fashion as possible. This is an important task because the ruling classes in whose interest it is to maintain their class rule employ large quantities of resources either to suppress information that threatens their rule or present it in such a way that its damming edge is blunted.

In SA today this is particularly true because the state continuously places restrictions on what may and may not be known.

Inherent in our process of reporting is the recording of our heritage of struggle for future generations. Let us treat this with the seriousness and care worthy of the task.

Hand in hand with factual reporting is the task of interpretation of events. We are not unconcerned recorders of events like cameras. We are at the same time interpreters who assist the masses of our people to read meaning into events. Out of the apparent disorder of daily happenings is a definite process

of social movement from one point to another. There is the decay and degeneration of the oppressive structures of apartheid (revealing itself in the collapse of discipline within Nationalist ranks and their quislings, eg. the Info scandal, Diedrichs estate, smuggling of exam papers, activities of Koevoet, etc.).

In contradistinction to this process of rotting and dying away of the old order, is the emergence of a free, democratic and nonracial society manifesting itself in the stronger resistance of our day, eg. the UDF, objection to conscription, rejection of each carrot the state offers, and so on.

Our task then entails also the revelation of this process of birth of a new order. New slogans, new values, new ambitions, a new South Africa. To make this known and to help define roles for classes and strata of our society if they are to play their role properly in history, is our obligation.

As a primary condition we must be knowledgeable about the tasks of publicity and media. That is to say we should master the art of how to do these things both by our preparedness to learn from each other and from our past mistakes.

Let us therefore make this seminar, truly, an occasion that will enable us to learn from each other how media and organisation relate to each other, how media can help mobilise, inform, and educate our masses in our struggle. UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

stressed the need for building first-level organisation in the region, including media structures in existing organisations.

5 - 15 Proposals and recommendations on UDP media structures

1. Media committees should each have someone responsible for sending copies of posters, etc. to:

- Other media committees
- The Transvaal media committee for international distribution
- A local library in each area
- A UDP national archive (to be established).

2. Media committees should try to get feedback on UDP media from UDP affiliates and mass readers, and tell other regions about the results.

3. Media committees should inform each other about conditions of distribution in their area, and suggestions for distribution, before March 31.

4. Media committees should ensure a close link between media and distribution.

5. Media committees should try to see that photos are taken of UDP events in regions.

6. Media committees should have a person to contact about exchanging photos if possible.

7. UDP media committees can help affiliates use the commercial press where needed.

8. Regional publicity secretaries are responsible for press conferences, with the help of the media committees.

9. Media committees should ensure that their own members develop media skills.

10. Each media committee to discuss handling of video showings, T-shirts, buttons, stickers and banners in their region.

Proposals on National UDP media

1. National media should get some national funding.

2. UDP NEWS at national level aiming at a mass audience and based on existing UDP media structures was difficult to produce. In the short-term, UDP NEWS would be produced regionally and sometimes

U2(b)  
is first page  
of the document

inter-regionally where possible (eg. Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Border edition). Depending on the issue, UDF NEWS might be distributed with an emphasis on a specific community.

3. National statements on issues (when they arise) should be made available to the regions for use by media committees. In particular, a national call on the signature campaign was requested.

4. An educational kit or handbook for activists in the signature campaign might be considered at regional or inter-regional level.

5. A national newsbriefing with an informative role aimed at affiliates was proposed. Suggested title was UDF Update, with subtitle being National Newsbriefing of the United Democratic Front, and a suggested slogan being Tell no lies, claim no easy victories. National content would include a who's who on the national executive, important national UDF statements and responses to issues, messages of international support and activity, and UDF national activity (eg. conferences). Regional content would be forwarded to a central point by the 15th of every month, to enable the newsbriefing to be a monthly. Transvaal media committee would try to act as this central point at first, with regions rotating responsibility as they became able. Information to be forwarded should not be more than 3 pages long, and should cover where possible the following as they are now and with regard to future changes:

1. Structure of the regional UDF
2. Who's who in the regional exec (and subcommittees if region wants)
3. Updated list of affiliates
4. UDF regional activity: meetings  
seminars  
publications  
campaigns  
burning issues in the area  
repression  
contact with non-affiliates  
criticisms and attacks on UDF, and responses to these  
evaluations of UDF activity (if any have been made)  
suggestions (eg. from fundraising committees if they have any)
5. Affiliate's activity that is related to UDF.

No (21)  
27/10/87

Regional media committees should send a quota for the number of copies they require - with an average of two per affiliate/area committee. This should be before 15 March, and should come to the Tvl media committee.



Handwritten mark or signature.



47

6. A national booklet was proposed that would have the role of informing, educating and organising. Its audience would be activists and potential affiliates, and it would be a one-off publication - not a regular one. Its contents were proposed as
  - a. Introduction (to cover the issues: what is a front - with regard to the background and emergence of UDP, non-racialism, different sites of struggle, the issue of a broad front, of a loose front as opposed to a tight party, of UDP not being separate from its affiliates but depending on their active participation).
  - b. Structures and regions in the UDP (with diagrams)
  - c. Explanation of colours, logo, slogan.
  - d. List of affiliates, officials and patrons.
  - e. Explanation of affiliate procedure.
  - f. Declaration.
  - g. Working principles.
  - h. UDP launch resolutions.
  - i. Illustrations of UDP media.
  - j. addresses of UDP offices.
  - k. UDP policy statements.
  - l. Photographs.
  - m. Messages of support for UDP.
  - n. Cartoon graphic relating UDP to different sites of struggle.

Proposed titles are: UNITE! Documents of the United Democratic Front; UNITE!! An introduction to the United Democratic Front; UNITE!! The Emergence of the Front; UDP in Motion; UDP for Beginners; The United Democratic Front; What is the UDP?; UDP: 'the Front'; UDP - A History is Made; United Democratic Front - A Beacon of Hope; United Democratic Front - 'Freedom in our Lifetime'; UDP - On the March to Freedom; The United Democratic Front. An Introduction; Unity in Action (United Action); The United Democratic Front at a Glance; UDP: Another page in the history of resistance; UDP: how long is our objective? UDP: Will white supremacy survive?; UDP: A People's United Front; A Landmark in our History - the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT; A Long-needed (or desired) People's Front - the United Democratic Front; Phambili Enkululw'ekweni: Glimpses of the United Democratic Front; Lalalane: the Documents of the UDP.

e  
 e  
 d  
 a  
 e  
 s  
 i  
 n  
 g  
 e  
 n  
 e  
 of  
 an  
 fu  
 sh  
 MA

000



Proposals on Regional media

1. Regions could produce their own UDP News, posters, pamphlets, etc. as is regionally necessary.

Affiliate media - proposals.

1. Affiliate media should have a subtitle noting affiliation to UDP.
2. Affiliate media should be encouraged.
3. Media committees should try to get affiliate media that covers UDP activities into the local and national UDP archive.

Progressive press - proposals

1. Media committees should work closely with the progressive press.

General proposals

1. Media should be cost-effective and not wasted.
2. UDP media should reflect the content of the launch resolution on the working class.
3. UDP media committees should resolve to involve more women in their structures.
4. National publicity secretary asked to devote more time to visit media committees in different regions.
5. A second national media committee seminar should be held within the next six months.

Practical

The seminar ended with practical work on a design for a poster for the UDP signature campaign, and a format for the newsbriefing and booklet.

No 2 *Grubbe*

**U2-b**

hirts, buttons, stickers and banners in their regions.

Proposals on National UDP media

National media should get some national funding.

UDP NEWS at national level aiming at a mass audience and based on existing UDP media structures was difficult to produce. In the short-term, UDP NEWS would be produced regionally and sometimes

5. Affiliate's activity that is -

Regional media committees should send a quota for the copies they require - with an average of two per affiliate committee. This should be before 15 March, and should be sent to the TVI media committee.

Report on First National Seminar  
of Media Committees of the United Democratic Front  
21 - 22 January 1984

Present:

Transvaal media committee members  
West Cape media committee members  
Eastern Cape media committee members  
Border: two observers  
Concern was expressed at the absence of representation from Natal, OFS and North Cape.

Agenda:

1. Welcoming address from National UDP publicity secretary
2. Discussion on the theory of media
3. Outline by each region of their structures and procedures for UDP media production and distribution
4. Review of past national UDP media, and drawing lessons therefrom
5. Assessment of current situation in each region with implications for UDP media
6. Proposals (both general and specific) for UDP media today at national, regional and affiliate media levels
7. Proposals for swapping UDP media between different regions
8. Proposals for international distribution of UDP media
9. Proposals for UDP media archive
10. Proposals for sharing photographs
11. Proposals on national communication, canvassing and feedback
12. Proposals on distribution in general
13. Proposals on financing UDP media
14. Proposals on production of UDP national media
15. Proposals on use of commercial press.

1. Welcoming address

See copy attached.

2. Theory of media

It was discussed how media could play the following general roles:

- a. Mobilising (propagandising / popularising)
- b. Educational
- c. Informational
- d. Organisational
- e. Unifying

See U2-b



Accept

51

T. Rabeane

2

- f. Dis-unifying
- g. Entertaining

Most media involved several of these roles, although one role was usually uppermost. For media to succeed in playing one role, it often needed to also play - albeit to a smaller extent - some of the other roles. Different media were suited to emphasising different roles - handbills for mobilising, booklets for educating, newsletters for informing, etc.

### 3. Outline of each region

The Border UDP did not have a UDP media committee nor UDP media because of the severe repression in the area. Access to reproduction technology was limited.

Eastern Cape was working towards setting up a media committee. Media (stickers and a UDP News rounded pamphlet) had gone out at the launch.

Western Cape had a media committee structure recently formed. Previous media for UDP had been done on an ad hoc basis.

Transvaal had a media committee which produced tvl UDP media and which assisted the National Publicity Secretary in producing national media. A division of labour existed within the committee, though it was not rigid.

### 4. Review of past national UDP media

Past national UDP media was criticised for lacking content with regard to issues such as non-racialism, UDP as a front, slogans, abstractions (like 'We want our rights'). It was also criticised for trying to give a nationwide news picture at a superficial level. Problems of producing a national publication for a mass audience that differed regionally and with regard to community at this historical stage, were also discussed.

### 5. Assessment of current situation

Conditions varied vastly in different regions. Border had come through a state of war. Eastern Cape faced the problem of a strong Labour Party presence and the need to popularise UDP in Coloured areas. Western Cape said UDP was popular in the region, and a strong community press kept up the UDP profile. Transvaal

**U3-a**

New U3-a

PROPOSALS FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN EMERGING FROM THE WORKSHOP HELD ON 20 JANUARY 1984 IN JOHANNESBURG.

A. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN

1. To popularize the Freedom Charter and its ideology.
2. To educate activists about the Freedom Charter and related issues.  
In addition; to build a common understanding and greater cohesiveness at a regional and national level
3. To present the Freedom Charter as a political alternative by linking it to ongoing mass struggles.
4. To consolidate the gains of 1984.
5. To realize the claim that the Charter is a "living document".

B. PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. **EDUCATION:** A very important aspect of this Campaign is the question of self-education. As activists; we cannot expect to educate the masses unless we ourselves have an in depth knowledge of the Charter. Education can take the form of workshop and seminars. Also; papers on the Charter can be read and discussed in small groups.

Together with self-education; there is also a need for research in order to enrich and broaden our understanding. Apart from self-education; an important task is that of educating the masses. The masses of the people must understand the significance and meaning of the Charter. Here; door-to-door work would be invaluable.

2. **GRASSROOTS:** In order to "take the Charter to the grassroots"; local struggles; campaigns and demands must be linked to clauses in the Freedom Charter. In this way each local struggle against oppression and each short-term demand would be linked to the demand for national liberation. The above can be achieved in many different ways: Civic Associations can adopt the clause on Housing; Youth Organisations can link the Freedom Charter Campaign to the IYY and so on with women; the Churches and trade unions.
3. **RURAL AREAS:** During the C.O.P. campaign in 1955 much attention was paid to rural areas so that the Charter would be representative of both the urban and rural areas. In this spirit the 1985 campaign must not be limited to the cities and towns. Every attempt must be made to reach out to the remote areas of the countryside.
4. **CULTURE:** Culture is part of struggle and struggle is part of culture. Cultural activities should constitute part of the campaign (e.g. songs of the COP should be revived).
5. **MEDIA:** The alternate press has an important role to play in this Campaign. Also; posters; buttons etc. should be produced.
6. **IMPORTANT DATES:** May Day; Anti-Republic Day; June 16; the 30 th Anniversary SACTU; etc; should be incorporated into the campaign.

7. PHASES OF THE CAMPAIGN:

The first phase (before June 26) would involve education; publicity and door-to-door work. This would build up to the second-phase which would involve large-scale activities during the period around June 26 (possibly rallies etc.)

The third-phase covers the period after June 26 during which the Freedom Charter would become a permanent feature of struggles and campaigns.

**CO-ORDINATING STRUCTURE:** The campaign would be co-ordinated by a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of people from the following organisations or constituencies: RMC TIC; Anti-PC; JODAC; YOUTH; STUDENT; WOMEN; CHURCH; and TRADE UNIONS.

#### **D. THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN AND THE UDF:**

The UDF, being a front cannot co-ordinate or spearhead this campaign. However, two points must be made: 1. There is no conflict between the Freedom Charter and the Declaration of the UDF.

2. The Charter is a great document that has emerged from the mass struggles of our people and the COP stands out as the most representative gathering of our people.

It is for this reason that UDF should play a supportive role and also "bless" the campaign. There is a need for further discussion within UDF on its role as regards this campaign.

**FORWARD TO THE 30th YEAR OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER :**

**THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !**



**U3-b**

Bew "U3 b"

THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN

WORKSHOP HELD IN JOHANNESBURG ON THE 20th JANUARY 1984

CONTENTS:

- |    |   |         |
|----|---|---------|
| 1) | THE ORIGINS AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE<br>FREEDOM CHARTER (LALOO CHIBA) | Page 1  |
| 2) | A POLITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER<br>(RAYMOND SUTTNER)                | Page 10 |
| 3) | SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE WORKSHOP  | Page 33 |

**U3-c**

Ben 43 - c

Comrades,

I have been asked to speak about the origins of the Freedom Charter, and it's historical significance.

As we all know, the Charter was adopted at the historic Congress of the People, held at Kliptown on the 26th June 1955. But the origins of the Charter must be viewed within the context of the people's struggle for freedom in this country over many generations. However this is not the time, nor is it my function, to deal with all the developments over the so many years. Suffice it to say, however, that with the establishment of the people's organisations like the African National Congress in 1912, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1894 and 1902 respectively, and of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1921, the struggle for liberation was to gather momentum and achieve a greater measure of organisation and co-ordination than before. This, in turn, paved the way for the dynamic political developments during the decade or so prior to the adoption of the Charter.

It is therefore necessary to briefly deal with these developments before making an assessment of the Charter's historical significance.

Up to 1945 the leadership of the South African Indian Congress had been a moderate one. It had failed to realise that the Indian people of this country were an integral part of the struggle for freedom in this country. Consequently, it accepted a status of permanent inferiority for Indians in South Africa, and were extremely reluctant to take the cudgels on behalf of the Indian people in a manner that would offend the Whites and antagonize the Government of the day.

But this moderate policy was thrown overboard in 1945 when the Indian Congress came under the dynamic leadership of men like Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker, Roy Naidoo, Nana Sita and others. When the Smuts government tabled legislation in Parliament, in terms which Indians were to be granted dummy representation, the new leadership treated this new dispensation for Indians with the contempt that it truly deserved.

Instead, it mobilised the Indian people throughout the country under the banner of the Indian Congress, and launched the now-famous Passive Resistance Campaign, during the course of which more than 2 000 Indians were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

On the one hand, the Passive Resistance Campaign achieved a large measure of success in uniting the Indian people. On the other hand it re-inforced Congress's earlier conviction that the salvation and political future of the Indian people in the country lay in political co-operation and in joint political struggles with the other oppressed people - in particular with the African people under the leadership of the African National Congress. This conviction resulted in the new leadership exploring ways and means of achieving the desired co-operation with the ANC - upon which the disciplined and dedicated manner in which the Passive Resistance Campaign had been conducted, made a profound impression.

These two factors - the convictions on the part of the one, and the impressions upon the other - paved the way for the signing in March 1947 of the Joint Declaration of Co-operation between the ANC and the SAIC. This Declaration is more popularly known as the Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact, for the signatories to the Pact were the presidents of the TIC, ANC and the NIC. Not only did the Pact pave the way for efficiency planning the practical basis of co-operation between these organisations of the oppressed people, but it firmly laid the Foundation for the dynamic political developments of the Fifties and the early Sixties.

Coupled with this historic event was another - the ANC's adoption of the Programme of Action in 1949. The salient feature of the Programme of Action was the shift in the strategy of the ANC. Whereas hitherto the ANC had to a large extent relied on the tactics of deputations and petitions as means of advancing the struggle the Programme of Action laid emphasis on strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and civil disobedience as important political weapons to advance the struggle even further. It must be mentioned that it was also in 1949 that Dr. James Moroka assumed the presidency of the ANC. and that the Open Scholarship Programme in support of public access to information, University of Pretoria, 2017.

But between the signing of the Pact and the adoption of the Programme lay 1948 - the year which witnessed the coming of the Nationalist Party into power. And with the advent of the Nats, a plethora of laws, which adversely affected the lives of the oppressed people even further, found their way on to the Statute Book.

Amongst it's early actions was the attempt by the Nats to muzzle the outspoken opponents of Apartheid. Banning orders, which were served on men like Moses Kotone, J.B. Mqrks and Dr. Dadoo, were viewed by the libortory movement as a grave intrusion into the freedom of speech. Consequently, under the sponsorship of the ANC in the Transvaal, the JHB District Committee of the CPSA, the Transvaal Indian Congress and African People's Organisation, the Defend-Free-Speech Convention was held in March 1950. The Convention resolved to stage a political strike in the Transvaal on the 1<sup>st</sup> May 1950 - as a demand for an improvement in the conditions and wages of the workers.

The May Day Strike was a huges success. But it was marred by the tragic intervention of the police against the strikers - which led to 19 strikers being killed and 30 injured. With characteristic insensitivity to these tragic events, the Nats tabled two more oppression Bills in Parliament - the Group Areas Bill, dubbed the "Ghetto Bill" by the people, and the Unlawful Organisation Bill, dubbed the "Gestapo Bill".

In view of the May Day Massacres and the new Bills, the ANC summoned an emergency conference. After consultations with the SAIC, the ANC declared the 26th June 1950 as a National Day of Protest and Mourning - protest against the two bills and mourning for all who had laid down their lives in the cause of Freedom. Workers throughout the country were asked to stay away from work; shopkeepers were asked to close their shops; and students and schoolchildren were asked to boycott classes on that day. Once again, it was a tremendously successful strike, but it's real significance was that it was the FIRST political strike held in South Africa on a national scale.

Despite such developments, the two bills became law, and in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, the CPSA was declared an unlawful organisation.

The legislation of unjust laws continued unabated during the remainder of that year and during the first half of 1951. Consequently, the national executive committees of the ANC and the SAIC met at a conference in July 1951 to discuss the disturbing situation that was developing - This conference resolved that the ANC and the SAIC would jointly declare war on unjust laws, and launch a massive campaign for the repeal of such laws - In order to prepare a plan for such a campaign, and to co-ordinate the activities of the campaign, the conference also established a Joint Planning Council, made up of Dr. Moroka, Moses Kotone, Walter Sisulu, Dr. Dadoo and Yusuf Cachalia.

The plan for the campaign was ready by November 1951, and was adopted by the ANC and the SAIC at their respective national conferences. In terms of the plan, an ultimatum was to be sent to the Government to repeal six unjust laws by the 29 February 1952. These were the Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, and the regulations regarding the culling of cattle. Should the Government refuse to repeal the laws, the ANC and the SAIC would jointly launch the campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws - shortly known as the Defiance Campaign. As a prelude to the Campaign, mass demonstrations would be held throughout the country on the 6 April 1952, which was to be declared a Day of Pledge and Prayer. It was also the 300th anniversary of the White man's arrival in this country. The ultimatum was duly sent to the Government but it's response made it clear that should the Campaign be launched, the government would retaliate with all the means at it's disposal.

At a subsequent joint meeting of the ANC and the SAIC, it was decided to establish a National Volunteer Board calling for thousands of volunteers for the Campaign. Two additional decisions were taken; firstly, to launch the Defiance Campaign on the 26 June 1952, which marked the second anniversary of June 26th, and secondly, that Moses Kotone, Dr. Dadoo, J.B. Marks and David Bopape, who were all banned, should be the first Volunteers to defy the unjust laws.

While the oppressors were celebrating the 300th anniversary of their arrival, the oppressed demonstrated in their thousands on the 6th April 1952 throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. And at all these meetings and demonstrations, our people took the vow to do everything in their power, to the utmost limits of their endurance and sacrifice, to carry out the Congress Call to fight against the unjust laws, which subjected them to political sevility, economic milery and social degradation; and from that day onwards vowed to act as disciplined men and women, and dedicated themselves to the struggle for freedom and fundamental rights.

The campaign was launched as scheduled, with 112 volunteers defying in Johannesburg, and 30 in Port Elizabeth. And by the time the Campaign ended in December 1952, more than 8 500 in 37 centres in South Africa had defied and had gone to prison.

The Defiance Campaign:-

- focussed attention on the grievance of our people;
  - raised their political consciousness to unprecedented heights;
  - instilled in our people with the spirit of defiance;
  - inspired them to challenge the perpetuation of racial discrimination;
  - established the ANC and the SAIC as the authentic representatives of the broad masses of the oppressed people;
- and paved the way for the future advance of the democratic struggle in this country.

It must be noted that the Defiance Campaign was not only the first major attempt at joint political struggles, but a most successful one as well, established June 26th as South African Freedom Day. While the events of 1952 caused the government to enact further repressive laws, our people were inspired into striving for the greater unity of the oppressed.

On the 26 June 1953, the 3rd anniversary of June 26th, Chief Luthuli who had become President of the ANC in 1952, made a national call on our people to light bonfires at nine in the evening and around which the history of the Black man's struggle for Freedom would related and discussed. Or alternatively, to light candles as a symbol of the spark of freedom, which would never be extinguished in the hearts and the minds of our people.

The latter half of 1953 witnessed the formation of additional democratic organisations. The CPSA, which had been banned in 1950 and had disbanded as a result, reorganised itself underground, and reconstituted itself as the SACP. The South African Peace Council was established in August 1953. And as a result of the more determined opposition to the Separate Representation of Voter's Act, in terms of which the Coloured people were removed from the Common Voter's Roll, the South African Coloured People's Organisation was formed in September 1953, under the able leadership of men like Reginal September, Johnny Gomaz. Finally, the South African Congress of Democrats was formed in October 1953 - the result of a political merger between the Johannesburg COD, the Springbok Legion and the Democratic League.

The SACOD and SACPO, together with the ANC and the SAIC, collectively became know as the Congress Alliance.

While on the subject of unity and the formation of people's organisations, mention must be made of the Federation of South African Women, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions - both of which became adjuncts of the Congress Alliance.

Fedsaw was a non-racial organisation which was formed in April 1954, and was composed mainly of affiliated women's groups. Among it's founders were Helen Joseph, whom we have the honour



And with the government's move to racialize the trade unions, in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Legislation, trade unions which had been affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council, and racially mixed unions which opposed the new policy, broke away from the TLC. These breakaway unions then joined the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trades Unions to form SACTU in March 1955.

Two important aspects about SACTU need to be mentioned. Firstly, SACTU wholeheartedly endorsed the political involvement of trade unions, the majority of which had traditionally avoided politics at the time; and secondly, at its inaugural conference, SACTU welcomed the campaign for the Congress of the People, and endorsed the idea of submitting the demands of the workers to the COP for their incorporation into the Freedom Charter.

The idea of the COP was initially suggested by Prof. Z.K. Matthews at the conference of the Cape Provincial Congress of the ANC, held at Alice in August 1953. He wondered, he told the conference, whether the time had not come for the ANC to consider convening a Congress of the People, representing all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour, to draw up a Freedom Charter for the democratic South Africa of the future. The conference adopted his proposal, and at its annual conference in December 1953, the ANC adopted it as well.

It was in March 1954 that the ANC invited 200 organisations to send representatives to a planning conference to be held at Tongaat. The conference established a National Action Council made up of 8 representatives from each of the sponsoring organisations - which were the ANC, SAIC, SACOD and SACPO. Chief Luthuli was chairman of the NAC. The secretariat was made up of Walter Sisuly (who was later replaced by Oliver Tambo when Walter was banned); Yusuf Cachalia of the Indian Congress; Lionel Bernstein of the Congress and Democrats (replaced by Joe Slovo when Bernstein was banned); and Stanley Lollan from SACPO.

The NAC's first major task was to popularize the COP, and to this end there was a mass distribution of the "Call for the Congress of the People". A hundred thousand copies of the "Call" were widely distributed throughout the country in all major languages, and it was addressed to all South Africans, Black and White. It urged the people to send their representatives to the COP, which was described as a meeting of the elected representatives of the people from every town, farm or factory. The COP was to be a congress where the people would speak freely as equals, and where they would discuss the changes which must be made to usher in the democratic South Africa of the future - changes and demands that would be incorporated into the Freedom Charter.

Apart from the mass distribution of the "Call", hundreds of meetings and group discussions were held throughout the country, as well as intensive door-to-door canvassing. The main idea behind all this was to get the ordinary people to speak out for themselves. In so doing, the people's grievances and their demands would be easily collected, and these in turn would serve as a basis for drafting the Freedom Charter.

Such a massive task necessarily required the establishment of regional, provincial and local committees in all the major centres. And in order to man these structures, and be able to effectively carry out the tasks of a massive campaign. Chief Luthuli called for Freedom Volunteers in June 1954. By the end of 1954, 10 000 Freedom Volunteers made themselves available to carry out the Campaign in every corner of the country.

All the demands made by the people at the meetings and through house - to - house canvassing were to be recorded and collated. These would be considered for their incorporation into the F.C. One press report stated that for months the demands had been flooding into the headquarters of the COP - on sheets from school exercise books, on little dog-eared scraps of paper, and at the back of COP leaflets. In this way, the changes and demands incorporated into the Freedom Charter would reflect the people's visions of a future South Africa - filtered upwards from the ranks of ordinary men and women, and not imposed upon them by the leadership at the top.

The COP was held at Kliptown on June 26th 1955, which marked the 5th anniversary of June 26th. It was an impressive gathering of 2884 delegates of the people. Equally impressive were the arrangements made for the homing and feeding of the delegates. Apart from the size, the COP was a colourful gathering, for many of the delegates wore garments reflecting Congress colours. Many of the delegates travelled long distances using all modes of transport. But about 200 delegates were unable to reach the venue as they were prevented by the police from doing so.

Before the delegates discussed the Charter, awards were presented to Father Trevor Huddleston, to Chief Luthuli and to Dr. Dadoo. When discussions began, each section of the Charter was first read subsequently discussed by various speakers and finally adopted by the delegates. Although at one stage the proceedings were interrupted by the Security Police, who confiscated large quantities of literature, the Charter was finally adopted.

The COP was the most representative political gathering ever to take place in South Africa. It gave rise to a new spirit of enthusiasm, consolidated the organisational forces of the National Liberation Movement, and firmly laid the basis for uniting all democratic forces around a common political programme.

In the resolutions that were passed, the COP declared that all true sons and daughters of South Africa would henceforth work to win the changes set out in the Charter; and that those were in the forefront of the struggle would forever hold an honoured place in history, but that those who worked against it, would be isolated and scorned.

The COP also mandated the ANC, SAIC, SACOD and SACRO and SACTU to work together as a united force in order to realize the demands enshrined in the Charter, as well as to get the Charter endorsed and accepted by all the democratic organisations of the people.

Although the Charter had been adopted by the COP, this did not mean that the organisations automatically adopted it as well. In July 1955, the executive committees of the four sponsoring organisations met, and unanimously agreed to recommend the adoption of the Charter to their respective national conferences. This was done during the latter half of 1955, and during the early part of 1956, and the FC thus became their official political programme.

This then is a brief account of the origins of the Charter, and I must now turn to an even briefer account of it's historical significance.

In so far as it concerns the historical significance of the Charter, let me emphasize at the outset that SA as it is constituted at present, is based only on the will of the White minority. But the preamble of the Charter declares in terms both loud and clear, that SA belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people. The incorporation of the hopes, the demands, and the innermost aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country into the Freedom Charter has this significance: their full participation in shaping their own destiny. As such, the democratic Government of the future SA which will be established on the basis of the principles enshrined in the FC, can justly claim authority, for then it will be truly based on the will of the people. Herein lies the first aspect of the Charter's historical significance.

At the same time the Charter's historical significance resides in the fact that it is the political programme of the National Democratic Revolution in this Country. Our struggle is said to be national, because it addresses itself to all the oppressed people and to all democrats - irrespective of their colour and their class affiliations - to establish the society as envisaged are not merely quantitative, but qualitative. For it seeks to establish a society which is not merely different to, but the opposite of what is the actual reality today. It seeks to change an unjust society to it's opposite - a just society; to transform an un democratic society to a democratic one; and to dismantle a racial society and in it's place erect it's opposite - a non-racial society. The nature and content of the FC are therefore in complete conformity with the nature and content of the National Dem. Rev. It is in this sense that the Charter is regarded as a revolutionary document, and our struggle is a revolutionary struggle.

But revolutionary as the Charter is in nature and content, the Charter is by no means a final document. The Charter undoubtedly envisages a society of the FUTURE. But let it be firmly borne in mind that the socialistically - orientated economic classes of the Charter have all the scope for facilitating the establishment of a society of the DISTANT FUTURE. As such, the FC must be viewed as a transitional document, envisaging a society that is in a state of transition.

This aspect of the Charter's historical significance must therefore serve as a source of tremendous inspiration and encouragement to the working people of this country - under whose guidance and above all under whose leadership, the National Demo. Rev. must be conducted.

Another aspect of the Charter's historical significance is that it has become the COMMON political programme of all the democratic forces in the country. It was this unifying capacity of the FC that firmly laid the foundations, after it's adoption, on which the democratic forces forged ahead with their historic mission of liberating the broad masses of the oppressed in the country. And it is this same unifying capacity of the Charter that will ultimately go a long way in shaping the society envisaged in it.

Furthermore, never in the history of the liberatory movement in this country has any political statement ever caught the attention and imagination of the people as the Charter has done. For 30 years now the Charter continues to remain a beacon of hope, and a source of inspiration to the downtrodden and oppressed. And it will continued to remain so until each and every clause of the Charter has been fully implemented.

Although the Charter had been formulated during an intensive campaign and adopted at the COP itself, the process of it's formulation had actually begun at the time when the oppressor first set foot in this country, and had begun the process of dispossessing the indigenous inhabitants of their land and their livelihood, and above all their liberty. The progressive crystallisation of the Charter must therefore be seen to have taken place during the numerous Wars of Resistance - during the course of which untold numbers of our heroes and heroines made the supreme sacrifice.

The eventual formulation and consequent adoption of the Charter in 1955, therefore stands as a worthy tribut to all these courageous and gallant freedom fighters, as well as to all those who have mercifully been dealt with and ruthlessly persecuted for daring to oppose the oppressor.

But worthy as such a tribute is, the finest and most lashing tribute which all democrats can pay to those who made such heroic sacrifices. is to ceaselessly work for, and ultimately establish, the society as envisaged in the FC.

And finally, but not the least aspect of Charter's significance is that it is a firm and clear statement of re-dedication, and of a life-long commitment to the struggle to realise the democratic society of the future. This is evident in the Preamble which states:

"And we pledge to strive together, sparing neither our strenght nor courage, until the demands here set out have been won".

And it is a lifelong commitment for all who accept the Charter, for at the end, the Charter stated clearly that:

"These freedoms we will fight for, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty"

AMANDLA!!!!

**U3-d**

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

I am pleased to have this opportunity to present an interpretation of the Freedom Charter. To organise this type of workshop is a very constructive start to the 30th anniversary year. I say this because I think that we may have been a little lax in our political education. The strength of mass democratic organisations may perhaps have been evaluated too readily in terms of numbers and attendance at rallies, rather than the level of politicisation that we have actually achieved.

With the public re-emergence of mass democratic organisations in recent years, we have seen the reassertion of the Charter as the leading document of all oppressed and democratic South Africans.

While this revival of the FC has been a fundamentally positive development it has, regrettably, not always led to serious attempts to study and understand the document. All too often people have been expected to support it without discussion. Doubts are simply dismissed as irrelevant or treated as heresy.

I think that such attitudes are unhealthy and that we should be willing to engage in serious debate within our own ranks and with those who are critical or have genuine problems with the Charter. We must be prepared to confront and honestly examine any problems with the Charter. This way we equip our activists to advocate the Charter through conviction and not merely out of a rigid conception of duty.

In this talk I will attempt to characterise the FC, to say what sort of document I consider it to be. I will then deal with specific problems around it - e.g. the FC and whites- the BC and Africanist attack on the preamble that SA belongs to all who live in it., the FC

working class, the FC and the petit-bourgeoisie, the FC and women, the FC and liberals.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER - AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF THE PEOPLE

In one sense the adoption of the Charter represented a continuation of earlier resistance. But in another sense, it marked the start of a new phase in the South African struggle. For the first time in the history of South African resistance, the people were called on to formulate and articulate their vision of an alternative society.

From then onwards the people would no longer seek to modify the existing order or to be assimilated into a society whose bases they fundamentally rejected. While the process by which the masses had come to this decision had been developing over decades, the Congress of the People represented the crucial historical moment where a completely new order, based on the will of the people, was put on the agenda.

This decision has considerable relevance today. From the moment of the adoption of the Charter, all political solutions 'from above' were ruled out. That is why, even if a 'fourth chamber' were today offered to Africans under the present Constitution, it would still be rejected. From the time of the adoption of the Charter, the people have been unwilling to accept any solutions that fall short of its demands and are not of their own creation.

Flowing from this process is the fact that the FC is an authoritative document. It is a document which has priority in SA. It is more important than any other document. This authority derives, fundamentally, from its nature as a people's charter.

shown to have come from the people. It didn't emerge from the thinking of any individual leader or group of leaders, any one organisation or groups of organisations. It came from the demands and dreams of ordinary South Africans who wrote out or spoke of their ideas for a free South Africa of the future.

Virtually every constitution claims to emerge from the people. Virtually every government claims to have a mandate from the people. Because the FC can be proved to have come from the people of SA, it is more authoritative than any other document.

It is a people's document in a second sense. This is because, as I will argue, it caters for the interests of all oppressed people, irrespective of class, and all democrats who struggle for a free nonracial and democratic South Africa. This is why it remains authoritative thirty years after its creation.

Having said that it is a people's charter, I realise that this is one of the reasons why some people view it with reservation. For some people the inadequacy of the FC is precisely that it is a people's document. The concept of the people, to some critics, is vacuous, for it is said to lack class content and without classes, they ask, where is class contradiction and struggle? (By the struggle between classes, whose interests are incompatible or contradictory is meant, under capitalism, a struggle between those who own the means of production such as land, mines and factories, and those who are forced to sell their labour-power as a commodity in order to exist).

What is wrong with this view is that in its quest for purity -



the significance of contradictions that are not purely between classes. One does not need to look at SA to realise that the very phenomenon of imperialism, which has been called 'the highest stage of capitalism', represents a contradiction where a whole people, irrespective of class, suffers under the yoke of a foreign power. The fact that it is not a contradiction purely between classes does not mean that it is any less a contradiction.

Equally, in SA, we do not only have contradictions between classes. The black people of South Africa have been denied their right of self-determination. All blacks, but especially Africans, endure national oppression. All blacks, irrespective of class, are victims of this oppression. It is not only black workers, but all blacks who are disenfranchised and endure disabilities in almost every aspect of their lives.

One of the peculiarities of the South African state is that written into its structure is this systematic national oppression of all blacks. It is one of the factors that facilitates capitalist exploitation in SA. National oppression and capitalist exploitation are inextricably interlinked in South Africa.

The demand for the nationalization of key monopolies and the transfer of land to those who work it were found necessary, not so much because of socialist motivations on the part of those who made and supported the Charter, though many may have been socialists.

These demands derive from the historical bases of the South African state, where nearly all the country's land and other assets have been seized from the blacks and are still held by a small minority of the white population. It was felt that there could be no overall improvement in conditions without such changes.

The struggle for the Charter is therefore an anti-capitalist programme. Because any programme to end racial oppression in SA has to be anti-capitalist. This is because racism in SA cannot be eradicated without attacking the key power - centres of capitalism, with which it is so closely interlocked.

So when people describe the Charter as a bourgeois document, they are abstracting specific demands from the South African context. What may be a bourgeois demand elsewhere, goes beyond that in the context of a national democratic struggle.

To demand that 'The People Shall Govern' is, in this context, a revolutionary call. It is revolutionary because it cannot be accommodated in the existing South African state. The right to vote may have been a civil rights question for blacks in the USA, in the sixties, for they then sought absorption into a common society. In SA, in contrast, the demand to vote in an individed South Africa, is part of a national liberation struggle. It is part of a struggle for sovereignty, for the people have never governed SA.

The Charter is also anti-imperialist. In the first place its attack on the monopolies is in part an attack on the control of the South African economy by international capital. Equally, in the present context, the clause demanding the right to work is an attack on foreign controlled industries, for international investment is primarily concentrated in capital intensive industries, which, especially in the current recession, have thrown many people out of work.

But the Charter is also anti-imperialist in a more fundamental sense.

For it is only when The People do Govern that they can create the

conditions to control their own country, make it fully independent and sovereign, and ensure that they break the stranglehold of international imperialism.

If I am correct in describing the Charter as a people's document, as a programme of a people struggling for self-determination, then we are considering a document that seeks to win the support of all those who oppose apartheid, all classes and strata who have an interest in its destruction.

But this leads to certain controversial questions. Who are the people? Some writers suggest that the Charter implies that there is not one people but <sup>four</sup> nations or four nations in the process of creation. Alternatively, some critics question whether it is correct to regard the people as including black and white, as the Charter suggests. I discuss these questions and also the allied issue of whether those who consider themselves liberals, can and should be encouraged to support the Charter.

Some people feel that a document that appeals simultaneously to marxist, liberal, Christian and all others opposing apartheid, cannot meet the specific needs of any particular group or class. Although the Charter is not the document of any one class or stratum, I will nevertheless examine the manner in which it deals with the interests of the working-class, petit-bourgeoisie and women. I then discuss the Charter's contribution to the achievement of peace and conclude by examining its place in present-day SA.

#### THE CHARTER AND THE 'FOUR NATION THEORY'

One of the key clauses of the Charter is headed 'All National

Groups Shall Have Equal Rights'. It is crucial, yet it is also controversial. Some people have argued that this clause envisages the creation of four nations - whites, Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians, or that it works on the basis that there are already four nations in SA.

Now it is unfortunate that the Charter uses the word 'national' in two different ways. In this clause it appears to be referring to distinct population groups, Africans, 'Coloureds', Indians and whites. But in the sentence 'The National wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people', the word 'national' refers to all South Africans.

I believe that Lionel Forman once advocated a multinational theory. But neither this nor the so-called four nation theory has ever been adopted as a policy within the Congress movement or in our own time by the contemporary democratic movement. This theory survives not in the Charter itself or amongst its supporters but mainly in polemical writings against it and the democratic movement as a whole.

But what this clause of the Charter deals with (read together with the clause headed 'The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened'), is of considerable significance. It calls for equality in the courts, bodies of state and schools and equal language rights and the right of all people to 'develop their own folk culture and customs'.

While most people accept equality in bodies of state, courts and schools, the demand for language rights and the right to develop culture and customs is embarrassing to some. They feel that we are here adopting some of the worst elements of Verwoerdian cultural policy. the artificial

tribal cultures.

Such a view is quite wrong and also chauvinistic. At present there are two 'official' languages in SA, that is, the mother tongues of some fifteen per cent of the population are the official languages for all.

This state of affairs is characteristic of colonial-type conditions. In such situations an imperial power arrives and declares its law to be the law of the land and its language(s) official. One of the conditions for national liberation is equality in this sphere as in all others.

This is not to suggest that all elements of African culture or that of any other section of our population are necessarily progressive and worthy of preservation and encouragement. Just as some aspects of working class culture are reactionary, a democratic policy would not encourage racist, sexist and chauvinistic aspects of any culture. It would encourage those developments that are compatible with the overall democratic, unifying and egalitarian content of the Charter.

In order to protect these rights, according to the Charter, all apartheid laws and practices are to be abolished. The expression of apartheid ideas, anticipating developments in international law, are made a punishable crime.

The clause calling for all national groups to have equal rights must be understood in the first place, by considering what exists in contemporary SA. Insofar as apartheid denies people equal rights, it seeks to maintain this situation not only through coercion, but

also through ideological domination, through trying to persuade the oppressed people to see themselves in a particular way, in a manner that facilitates their oppression. Through declaring black cultures to be worthless or through reviving them in an artificial, static manner, it is sought to breed self-contempt in blacks, to immobilise them in the face of the apparently superior white culture. To achieve national liberation requires the development of a democratic African culture. This would not be an exclusivist, racist culture, but would rather be the precondition for the development of all other cultures.

TO WHOM DOES SOUTH AFRICA BELONG?

Against the attempts of apartheid to rob people of their citizenship in the land of their birth, to separate black from white and to divide blacks amongst themselves, the Charter declares 'that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white...'

What this means is that those who support the Charter seek no revenge against whites, that they seek a democratic SA where all can realise their aspirations.

Yet it is this very clause that evokes continued opposition from the supporters of black consciousness, who echo the opposition of the Africanists of the 50s. 'To whom does Afrika belong?...' it has been asked. 'Do stolen goods belong to a thief and not to their owner?' 'It is an historical fallacy to say SA belongs to everybody both oppressor and oppressed, robber and robbed. Azania is not a prostitute that belongs to everybody all the time.....'

do not dispute that the indigenous Khoisan and African people were violently dispossessed of their land over the two and a half centuries

prior to Union, and that the Union of South Africa was founded amongst other things on this robbery.

Yet what is wrong is to imply that the stolen land was appropriated by all whites. This is part of a wider tendency in some black consciousness thinking to suggest that all whites are exploiters and all blacks members of the working class. One does not therefore cooperate politically with any white for that would be an alliance with one's slave master.

In regard to land, the truth is that the overall majority of landholdings in SA are controlled by a small group of monopolists.

The small white farmers are themselves being squeezed off the land and there is an ever-increasing consolidation amongst the few big landholders.

It is therefore, historically incorrect to suggest that the land grabbed from blacks, was robbed by and is held by all whites.

Equally, while it is true that it is primarily the labour-power of blacks that has built SA, whites have also made a contribution.

Present day SA has been created by the common labour of all its people. The cities, factories, mines and agriculture have resulted from the energies of all South Africans. Though the wealth that is at present in the hands of a small minority of the whites, would be shared by the people, the Charter holds that all those who love South Africa, who consider it their home, who have contributed to building it and are prepared to continue to develop the country as a democratic, nonracial state, are part of South Africa.

#### THE CHARTER AND LIBERALS.

There is a tendency amongst some sections of the democratic movement to treat liberals as inevitably hostile to national liberation and the Freedom Charter, and to associate liberalism in SA with the rise of laissez-faire capitalism. There are in fact a number of strands that went to make up and still make up South African liberalism. (These could persaps be loosely characterised as a) laissez-faire free enterprise liberals, b) liberals who take a strong stand on human rights, while being passionately anti-communist- who would oppose the anti-monopoly clauses of the Charter, and c) social democratic 'liberals' )

But I think that a major political tendency among the liberals of the fifties and sixties was a commitment to a non-racial movement against apartheid, for a democratic SA, with universal suffrage.

It is true that many members of the Liberal Party were hostile to the Congress movement and especially the Congress of Democrats. But I think that many of these historic animosities have receded. Some liberals have started to work with their erstwhile antagonists within the contemporary democratic movement. Others feel that the decision of the Liberal Party not to join in the Congress of the People was 'regretted by many liberals'. The Freedom Charter, says one former Liberal Party member, 'was a fine document, expressing basic democratic principles.'

My view is that there is no reason why other democrats should not welcome liberals into the ranks of those who support the FC. In fact they should encourage it, for there is no reason why those liberals, who are committed to universal suffrage and democracy should not support the Charter. It is crucial that those who detest apartheid should harness as wide a range of forces as possible behind a common anti-apartheid programme.



Anyone who supports national liberation, the self-determination of the people of SA, should find no difficulty in supporting the Charter. Anyone who is a South African patriot, who loves his or her country and feels that it belongs to all, should support this document. With regard to the struggle for socialism, there is no reason why liberals in SA should necessarily oppose socialism. There is no reason why the Christian and egalitarian values that have motivated South African liberals should not encompass a development towards socialism, should the implementation of the Charter take that form. (I am dealing here with the dynamic nature of the Charter and its capacity to transform the perceptions of individual liberals. This leaves aside the relationship between the democratic movement and organised liberalism.)

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE WORKING CLASS.

Although the Charter is not a programme of the working-class alone, it nevertheless primarily reflects its interests. Some clauses of the Charter are socialist in orientation and are addressed much more profoundly to working-class interests than would be the case with any bourgeois document.

This worker-orientation is attributable to the development of the labour struggle, especially in the 1940s and 1950s, and the part played by SACTU in collecting workers' demands. Two SACTU members Ben Turok and Billy Nair introduced and spoke to the clause of the Charter which reads 'The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth', a clause which clearly corresponds to workers' interests.

Many other aspects of the Charter are profoundly working-class in orientation. The clause 'There Shall Be Work and Security' deals

with such matters as the 'right and duty of all to work'. It also asserts the right to form trade unions, the abolition of child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour.

The clause entitled 'There Shall Be Houses, Security and Comfort' declares the right to decent housing and that slums should be demolished and unused housing space made available to the people. Rent and prices will be lowered. Instead of the present situation, where 'surplus' food is destroyed, the Charter declares that no one would be allowed to go hungry.

Some people, however, argue (I believe correctly) that the workers' interests lie primarily in the achievement of workers' control and socialism, but these critics say that neither is expressly mentioned. While this is true, the way that the clause on the country's wealth was introduced at the Congress of the People seemed to envisage that industries as a whole would be under the control of the people, that is the people's government. Under this general control, individual production units would be under the control of workers' committees.

Nevertheless, how this clause will be interpreted and whether or not the charter itself will ultimately receive a socialist interpretation, will depend on whether working-class leadership is achieved and the extent to which the petit-bourgeoisie, intellectuals, workers on the land, unemployed and other strata start to see their interests best fulfilled in an advance to socialism. This is not something that is achieved by words alone. It will depend on political struggle.

There is an analogy in the development and changing interpretation of the principle of self-determination in the UN. At the time of its

creation in 1945 the United Nations Charter declared that respect for the principle of self-determination was of fundamental importance. Yet it simultaneously recognised colonialism. Indeed some of the leading UN members, France and United Kingdom were, of course, in possession of large empires.

The treatment of self-determination in the UN Charter had been a product of compromise between states, at a time when the West was dominant in the UN, when there were few Socialist states in the United Nations and few independent African and Asian states.

Following successful national liberation struggles, the number of African and Asian states in the UN has continuously increased, thus strengthening the diplomatic power of these states, who often work in alliance with the Socialist states. In consequence, by 1960, a qualitatively different international relationship of forces had developed. Even colonial powers came to recognise that colonialism was doomed (at least formally) and were compelled to recognise the principle of self-determination. Their conception of their own interests changed and consequently a new international consensus, considerably more radical than that of 1945, emerged.

This was manifested, dramatically, in the 1960 Declaration, passed without dissent, holding that colonialism was illegal. Equally, in regard to apartheid, the international consensus has been dramatically modified. At the time of its inception, South Africa was a respected member of the UN. But apartheid is now treated as illegal and/or criminal, according to international law.

By analogy, if the democratic organisations struggling for realisation of the Charter, develop a working -class leadership and they convince themselves and other classes that there is a place for all under

socialism, then it is likely that the democratic gains will deepen into socialism. It will be a deepening of both the national and the democratic character of the struggle. Socialism is a democracy for the majority of the people, the working people, and instead of democratic rights being mainly formal, the material basis for realising rights are guaranteed. Under socialism, the national character of the state is also deepened in that the wealth, culture, all the assets of a particular state are more truly national assets, in that they are enjoyed by all. In a socialist state, 'the arts' are not the preserve of a wealthy elite. Equally, the culture of the people, in our case, that primarily of the African masses, would be regarded as belonging to all of us. Whites would see themselves as Africans and not Europeans.

What I am saying, then, is that it is false to counterpose national liberation and socialism, for they are part of a single process. Realising the Freedom Charter is part of the struggle to achieve socialism.

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE PETIT-BOURGEOISIE.

I want to say something about traders, small farmers and petty manufacturers. Their rights are guaranteed in the Charter. This is not some tactical concession or an attempt to pull wool over their eyes. The rights of these middle elements, as with other groups, derive in the first place from the fact that our struggle is national. While the Charter is, a document that primarily reflects working-class interests, it is nevertheless also a popular document, a programme for the liberation of all oppressed.

These middle elements are themselves in the thrall of the big

monopolies who are squeezing them. They, too, are engaged in struggle against monopoly capital. The Charter tries to cater for the aspirations of these people. The clause relating to the nationalisation of monopoly industry, banks and other financial institutions speaks not only to the interests of the workers, but is also aimed at the small farmer, trader and all who are dominated by the monopolies.

It is important that people should realise that with national liberation these classes and strata need not fear for their future. They would be allowed to pursue their occupations, subject to popular control.

Furthermore, I believe that it would not necessarily be incompatible with, it might in fact be in the interests of socialism, to allow such strata and middle classes to continue to operate, subject to working-class control. If a future socialist state were to take over the small enterprises in the townships, on the street corners, the barbershops, the small traders, the handicraft stalls and similar activities, it would undertake a huge burden. In order to manage these small enterprises it would have to establish a massive bureaucracy. Such activity might best be left in private hands, subject to state control. There are some types of work, such as barbers, that are performed most efficiently on an independent basis. To nationalise them, as some states with a socialist orientation have discovered, may produce more problems than benefits.

The commitment to protect the rights of the petit-bourgeoisie is therefore not a tactic or a ruse. It is a commitment that flows from the nature of the South African struggle and the continued protection of such rights, subject to controls, may be in the interests of

both national liberation and socialism.

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND WOMEN.

The Charter in its treatment of women, as with many other aspects of South African reality, does not set out to be exhaustive. The Federation of South African Women had developed a more elaborate Women's Charter a year before the Congress of the People, and they formulated specific demands, many of which were incorporated in the Freedom Charter. There is not a total treatment of the problems of women in the FC, for women, like workers, students and other classes and strata are dealt with as part of the wider question of national liberation.

Despite the FC being a document which seeks to embrace all the facets of South African reality and to integrate the demands of all classes and strata into one whole, some demands which relate specifically to women are raised.

The Charter stresses the general aim of male/female equality in the preamble, in regard to democratic rights and in regard to payment for work. In addition, more specific demands are made in order to realise these wider goals, for example, 'maternity leave with full pay for all working mothers, the provision of creches' and 'free medical care... with special care for mothers and young children.'

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I have argued that the Charter is a popular document, that it seeks to answer the needs of a wide range of people who suffer under and/or oppose apartheid. The satisfaction of these aspirations is, in addition, a condition for the achievement of peace in South Africa.

That is why the Charter, in its preamble, mentions that 'no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people' and 'that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality.' (My emphasis)

The preamble goes on to say

'that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people can secure to all their birthright (that is, among other things to peace) without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.'

To struggle for the achievement of the FC is therefore a struggle for peace.

Apartheid was established by the violent dispossession and conquest of the indigenous Khoi, San and African peoples. In the case of the San, they were totally exterminated. The Union of South Africa could only be established after the Boers and British had defeated the long-standing military resistance of the various African peoples,

Through the Act of Union, the British handed over power to South African whites. Blacks were excluded from power and have ever since had to endure ever-intensified racist oppression and class exploitation

Apartheid means institutionalised, permanent violence against South African blacks. It is manifested in a variety of forms, only some of which can be referred to. Pass laws and resettlement mean tearing down plastic shelters and exposing people to the Cape winters and/or sending them to lives of misery, disease and death in the bantustans - acts which might qualify as genocide under the UN Genocide convention.

The daily violence of apartheid breaks up homes, throws thousands of ordinary people into gaol and exposes them to countless other indignities, injuries and humiliations.

Police intervention and violence is now an integral part of the Bantu education and other black schooling systems. The South African black education system depends on virtually permanent presence of police and/or military.

But apartheid does not only mean violence against the people of South Africa. It also means violence and instability in the whole region. From the early days of the UN it was argued that gross violations of human rights, such as the policy of apartheid, could threaten international peace. That has become a reality. SA has attacked, raided, coerced, threatened or destabilised all the states in the southern African region in numerous ways, and members of the SADF have been involved in violence against a regime as far afield as the Seychelles.

The threat to the peace is said to arise from the alleged presence of ANC bases in neighbouring states and that is why the SA Government coerces or seeks to coerce its neighbours into so-called non-aggression pacts. It has been rightly said that peace cannot be achieved through such 'deals'.

Peace must be made, in the first place, with the people of SA. That is only possible when the real source of aggression, the apartheid system, has been eradicated. Only then will there be 'peace and friendship'. In such circumstances, as the Charter says:

'South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations'



That is why it is correct that we resist racist repression with democratic nonracial unity. It is also necessary, I would argue, to stress the African character and leadership of this struggle. This is so because the majority of South Africans are African. It is an anomaly that contemporary SA is in fact a 'European' country in Africa. Part of the process of liberating South Africa, is to assert its African majority character.

Some people falsely counterpose the question of African leadership to non-racialism. The struggle for nonracialism is in fact crucially linked to the development of African leadership, the recognition of the majority character of our society. That does not mean that other people cannot help to build this society or even participate in creating the emerging, unifying national culture that will be basically African in character. On the contrary, I would argue that we all, black and white, have a contribution to make in developing and identifying ourselves increasingly with African leadership and with the future African character of our state.

This is also linked to the question of working-class leadership, because more Africans are workers than any other class and most working-class people in SA are African. While encouraging African leadership does not in itself encourage working-class leadership, the two are linked. The African people are the most oppressed section of our population, irrespective of class position. Obviously, peasants, semi-peasants, workers and unemployed are more oppressed than petit-bourgeois elements. But all are forced to carry passes and subjected to more serious disabilities than any other groups in SA, and are also culturally oppressed.

So in the leadership of our struggle, just as working-class people

Then

'South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war.'

That is, in a situation where:

'Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all ...'

THE CHARTER IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY.

I want to conclude by considering what place the Charter should have in contemporary democratic struggles. We have seen in recent times its revival initially, as a symbol, indicating continuity of a nonracial democratic tradition of resistance to apartheid.

I have suggested nevertheless, that however valuable the Charter is, or precisely because it is so important, it needs to be discussed. If we want to convince others to support it we cannot demand that they do so as an act of faith. I have tried to show that despite requiring elaboration in some respects, the Charter still remains relevant, that it still speaks to the genuine aspirations of all democratic South Africans.

This 30th anniversary provides us with a new opportunity to popularise the Charter. The most effective way of doing this, I suggest is by integrating the FC into our daily struggles, whether in education, labour, communities or whatever aspect of South African reality concerns us most.

When we make our songs and poetry, we are starting to realise the

cultural demands of the Charter. When teachers and students challenge racist mythology and explain the proud history of the people of South Africa, we are ourselves 'opening the doors of learning'.

When the Indian and 'Coloured' people resoundingly reject the new Constitution, when Africans refuse to vote in Black Local Authorities elections and when they continue to deny that their political future lies in the bantustans, they make what the Charter calls 'bodies of minority rule, advisory boards' virtually unworkable and we consequently move closer to the day when 'The People Shall Govern'.

When workers struggle for democratic unions and for decent wages and when they resist dismissals, they are speaking to the Charter demand that 'There Shall Be Work and Security'.

When people struggle against high rent, GST, eviction of so-called squatters, they are demanding that there 'Be Houses, Security and Comfort'.

It is not only through demands against the state or capital that we start to advance the struggle for the Charter. In our own organisations and institutions, we can take more serious steps to build the democratic values and relationships necessary for a free South Africa.

The way that we address the problems and injustices of the present, the way that we organise ourselves, all such factors contribute to the shape of the future SA.

do not automatically rise to leadership positions, similarly African people do not automatically rise because cultural oppression has meant differentials in skills and resources of all kinds. It is our duty, in this context, to encourage and develop African and working-class leadership.

On another level, there is also the still neglected question of male-female relations, where much more needs to be done to ensure equality in democratic organisations, to encourage and increase the participation of women in debates and in our leadership.

These are some of the crucial challenges that political organisations, community bodies, trade unions and educational institutions now have to confront.

Although I have spoken of 'starting to realise the demands of the Charter' until the People do Govern, we cannot finally realise any of these demands. Even then we will have to struggle to defend and deepen these gains.

It may take very long to achieve this goal, though I think that some very substantial steps along this road have been taken in the last eight years. It may still take long, many more people may have to suffer or die before SA is free. One thing is certain. No matter how many democrats are gaoled or killed, ultimately the patriotic struggle, the struggle to make SA belong to its people will be won. No matter how long it takes, I am confident that we will rid the world of apartheid and that there will be Peace and Friendship in a democratic South Africa.

**U3-e**



ben. "13 - e"

PROPOSALS FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN EMERGING FROM THE WORKSHOP HELD ON 20 JANUARY 1984 IN JOHANNESBURG.

**A. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN**

1. To popularize the Freedom Charter and its ideology.
2. To educate activists about the Freedom Charter and related issues. In addition; to build a common understanding and greater cohesiveness at a regional and national level
3. To present the Freedom Charter as a political alternative by linking it to ongoing mass struggles.
4. To consolidate the gains of 1984.
5. To realise the claim that the Charter is a "living document".

**B. PROGRAM OF ACTION**

1. **EDUCATION:** A very important aspect of this Campaign is the question of self-education. As activists; we cannot expect to educate the masses unless we ourselves have an in depth knowledge of the Charter. Education can take the form of workshop and seminars. Also; papers on the Charter can be read and discussed in small groups.

Together with self-education; there is also a need for research in order to enrich and broaden our understanding. Apart from self-education; an important task is that of educating the masses. The masses of the people must understand the significance and meaning of the Charter. Here; door-to-door work would be invaluable.

2. **GRASSROOTS:** In order to "take the Charter to the grassroots"; local struggles; campaigns and demands must be linked to clauses in the Freedom Charter. In this way each local struggle against oppression and each short-term demand would be linked to the demand for national liberation. The above can be achieved in many different ways: Civic Associations can adopt the clause on Housing; Youth Organisations can link the Freedom Charter Campaign to the IYY and so on with women; the Churches and trade unions.
3. **RURAL AREAS:** During the C.O.P. campaign in 1955 much attention was paid to rural areas so that the Charter would be representative of both the urban and rural areas. In this spirit the 1985 campaign must not be limited to the cities and towns. Every attempt must be made to reach out to the remote areas of the countryside.
4. **CULTURE:** Culture is part of struggle and struggle is part of culture. Cultural activities should constitute part of the campaign (e.g. songs of the COP should be revived).
5. **MEDIA:** The alternate press has an important role to play in this Campaign. Also posters; buttons etc. should be produced.
6. **IMPORTANT DATES:** May Day; Anti-Republic Day; June 16; the 30 th Anniversary SACTU; etc; should be incorporated into the campaign.
7. **PHASES OF THE CAMPAIGN:**  
 The first phase (before June 26) would involve education; publicity and door-to-door work. This would build up to the second-phase which would involve large-scale activities during the period around June 26 (possibly rallies etc.)  
 The third-phase covers the period after June 26 during which the Freedom Charter would become a permanent feature of struggles and campaigns.

**CO-ORDINATING STRUCTURE:** The campaign would be co-ordinated by a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of people from the following organisations or constituencies: RMC TIC; Anti-PC; JODAC; YOUTH; STUDENT; WOMEN; CHURCH; and TRADE UNIONS.

**D.. THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN AND THE UDF:**

The UDF, being a front cannot co-ordinate or spearhead this campaign. However; two points must be made: 1. There is no conflict between the Freedom Charter and the Declaration of the UDF.

2. The Charter is a great document that has emerged from the mass -struggles of our people and the COP stands out as the most representative gathering of our people.

It is for this reason that UDF should play a supportive role and also "bless" the campaign. There is a need for futher discussion within UDF on its role as regards this campaign.

**FORWARD TO THE 30th YEAR OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER !**

**THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !**

**U4-a**

No 10 : 3/2/87

(12) 3/2/87

No 21      7/10/87  
8/10/87



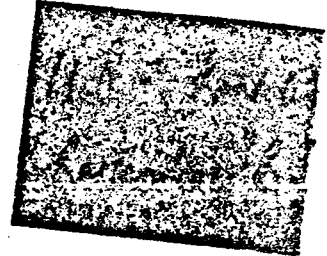
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

*Ben U4-a*

P.O.BOX 25063

FERREIRASTOWN

2048



Dear Friends,

Re ; Education Workshop.

The education committee of the UDF would like to extend an invitation to your organisation to attend an education workshop on the week end of the ~~27/28/29~~ April 1984 at St. John Bosco conference centre in Daleside.

The aim of the workshop is to evaluate the Anti-Community Council campaign and to look at the road ahead for civic organisation in the continuing struggle against the local authorities.

Your organisation will be permitted three representatives from your executive committee and four community activists. The cost for attending the workshop will be R2.00 payable at the time of registration.

Please ensure that your organisation participates in the workshop, in order to make it a meaningful event.

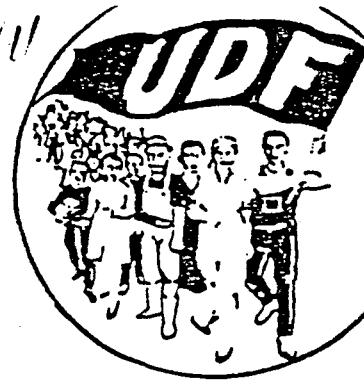
Yours in struggle,

MOSS CHIKANE.

P.S. A COPY OF THE PROGRAMME IS ENCLOSED.

*21 8/10/87*  
*No 10 : 3/2/87*  
*No 7 : 8/1/87*  
*21 7/10*

See "U4-a"



U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.  
EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.

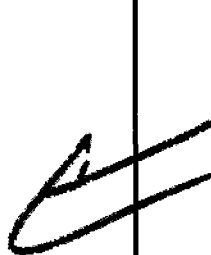
- FRIDAY 8.00pm :Arrival and supper.
- 9.00pm :Introduction to weekend and get to know each other session.
- SATURDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Introducing our Civic Organisations.  
- With whole group ; presentations on newsprint.
- 10.00am :Tea.
- 10.30am :Evaluation of Anti-Community Council campaign  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Led discussion on methods of organising / mobilising.
- 12.30am :Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.00pm :Lunch.
- 2.00pm :How does our struggle fit in with other struggles?  
-4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ; ECO.  
-Questions from the floor after each speaker.  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Brief talk.
- 4.00pm :Tea.
- 4.30pm :What is the UDF and how do civic organisations fit in?  
-Talk and led discussion.
- 7.00pm :Supper.
- 8.00pm :Film.
- SUNDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Where do we go from here?  
-Brainstorming session in groups.  
-Report back.

No 20  
7/10

i/p. Amwanda Cwadi  
member SCA

**U4-b**

Identical to  
U4 (e) (2)



No 10 - 3/2/87  
No 9 : 3/3/87  
No 7 : 8/4/87  
(16) 7/9/

(20)

30/9/87

(21)

7/10/87

8/10/87

26/10/87

29/10/87

*ajbato Akwadi*

*Ben. "U4-6"*

U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE - EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS. - 27<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup> APRIL

VENUE: DALESIDE (ST. JOHN BOSCO COLLEGE)

REPORT:

This is a report of each session of the education weekend.

Under each session we have reported under these headings:

AIM: what we hoped to achieve in the session

METHOD: how we ran the session

QUESTIONS: the questions which were discussed in the session

REPORT: the reports of the groups in answer to the questions

ASSESSMENT: looks at whether the session worked, we also used the evaluation forms from the civic association members who attended the weekend. *No 10 3/2/87*

Participants; There were 35 participants at the workshops. Another 10 people came and went. *No 7 8/4/87 9/4/87*  
(18 - SOWETO ; 2 - EAST RAND ; 2 - ALEX ; 3 - PRETORIA ; 5 - VAAL ; 5 - EDUCATION COMMITTEE)

SESSION 1: INTRODUCING OUR CIVICS.

AIM: to get participants to introduce their civics, so that they could know a bit about each civic.

METHOD: Each civic met and answered the questions. They wrote their answers on newsprint and reported back to the whole group. The group asked questions of information.

QUESTIONS: the questions answered by the civics were:

1. what is the name of your civic?
2. how old is your civic?
3. how was your civic started?
- 4 how does your civic work? :
  - (a) what structures do you have?
  - (b) when do you meet
  - (c) what activities has your civic done?

*No 7: 9.4.87*

REPORTS: the civics that attended were

Alex Civic Association ( one year old)

Soweto Civic Association (5 years old)

Soweto Branches-Mzimhlope, Mapetla, Phiri, Pimville MEADOWLANDS,  
NALEDI, ORLANDO WEST,  
East Rand People's Organisation (Daveyton Branch ) (3 years old)

Mamelodi Action Committee (18 months old)

Vaal Civic Association (7 months old)

Q3 -The civics were started in different ways, in some areas activists from other areas helped local activists to start the civic, In other areas a mass meeting was called.

Q4 - Structures: most civics have an executive or steering committee, and some areas have branches and inter-branch meetings. Other structures are general groups dealing with topics like "Commuters" or "hostels"

Q4(b) The civics have regular meetings for the committees and groups, these meetings either once a week, or once every two weeks, or once a month depending on the group.

Q4(c) - the issues that civics have taken up include: transport boycott, rent, electricity and water prices, anti-community council campaign, school problems eg the high failure rate, housing, the Million Signature Campaign, Women's Day. - the methods used include mass meetings; pamphlets; fund-raising; petitions; house meetings; door to door; using media like newspapers, UDF news and the Eye; - other activities have been, helping to start a COSAS branch, setting up a woman's organisation, benefit society, classes for students.

(21) 8/10/87  
No 7: 4/4/87

No 1  
1/2/87

ASSESSMENTS: This was a good introductory session, it helped people to learn about other civics, and it allowed people to share ideas and methods used. Some comrades would have liked more time for this session.

---

## SESSIONS 2: EVALUATION OF ANTI- COMMUNITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN

AIM: To evaluate the campaigns run by the different civics and to assess the gains and losses

METHOD: the civics answered the questions and wrote the answers on newsprint. They reported back to the whole group. There was a general discussion in the whole group after each presentation by each civic.

QUESTIONS: 1) What structures did your civic use to run the campaign  
2) list all the different things your civic organised during the campaign  
3) what was the % vote in your area? Why was this so big/ small?

The answers to the next four questions were not recorded on newsprint

- (i) how effective were the activities you organised ?
- (ii) what could have been done to reduce the % vote in your area?
- (iii) what gains did your organisation make as a result of the campaign?
- (iv) Now the BLA is enforced what do you plan to do?

REPORTS: 1) Structures: the civics used existing civic structures, in addition in some areas ad-hoc committees were formed involving other organisations in the campaign the civics also used UDF news in the campaign.

2) Things organised during the campaign- these included public meetings; pamphlets, posters, workshops on the BLA, house- to -house, placard demonstrations, disrupting election meetings, press-statements

3) the percentage vote in each area and the reasons for their size were; Mamelodi -28% - this was high because there was not enough publicity and there were problems with venues.

Daveyton - 18,6% - this was low because of our work

Soweto - 10 % - this was high because people were opposed to Tebehali and

people believe Tshabalala's promises.

Vaal - 14% - This was low, it was a decrease since the previous election

Alex - there was no election because we persuaded the opposition parties to dissolve so we won before the elections.

To make the campaign more effective we should have had more house to house meetings, also we should have won the churches onto our side - this could have helped us with venues, Better planning and evaluation throughout the campaign would have made things better.

In the campaign we gained experience. We politicized people and allowed them a chance to voice their grievances, this boosted the civics and in some areas helped to build stronger civics. Also we formed links between different organisations. The problem is that many of these gains were not consolidated because there was no follow-up.

The next tasks are to destroy the Black Local Authorities and to strengthen our civics.

ASSESSMENT: Many comrades found this session very useful, because they could learn from their own and each other's experiences. Also this session pointed out the need for consistent work and planning, not just work during a campaign.

20  
30/9/87

21 8/10/87  
26/10/87

SESSION 3 : HOW DOES OUR STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH OTHER STRUGGLES?

AIM: To bring out the links between the struggle over issues like Rent/ Electricity etc in our civics and (i) the struggle of civics in "Indian" and "Coloured" areas  
(ii) The struggle of our people in the rural areas  
(iii) the political struggle against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

METHOD: We had a panel of speakers which were supposed to consist of; one person from a civic in an "Indian" area, one person from a civic in a "coloured" area, one or two people from a political organisation (TIC/Anti-PC) and one person from a rural area.

Unfortunately a few comrades could not come ( although invited ) and so the only speakers who turned up were a person from a civic in Lenasia (FRA ) and one person from the TIC.

After they spoke we were divided into small groups (randomly chosen) in order to discuss these questions:(1) In what way is our struggle in African areas linked to the struggles of civics in other communities?  
(2) In what way is our struggle in the urban areas linked to the struggles of our people in the rural areas  
(3) We have heard all the loud noises being made about the new constitution. We have also heard the TIC people talk about their struggles against it. Do you think there is any link between our problems in our local areas and the new constitution ?

We then had report backs on one question at a time - and discussion of the report backs. We finished off with a short summary of the links between our various struggles (in Civics/ student bodies / women's organisations/ unions etc )

REPORT: (1) the FRA and TIC people presented a summary of the structures of the FRA and its links to the political organisation. Both of these organisations exist in Lenasia and many activists work in both organisations.

The structure of the FRA was described as a number of residents associations from different parts of Lenasia that are linked together in a federation - the FRA. The six different residents associations often take up issues that would concern only the people in their area, but any issue that concerns the whole of Lenasia is taken up by the FRA as a whole.

The FRA has an executive; and a working committee of activists. It also has a number of womens/ youth / and cultural associations affiliated to it.

The FRA is in turn a participating member of CRAC - the Coordinating Residents' Action COmmittee. This body exists to bring together civic organisations from all over the Witwatersrand - but at the moment only civics from the "coloured" and "Indian" areas are participating

The comrades explained that they see a separation between the type of struggle fought by a civic and those fought by a political organisation like the TIC. They feel that a civic has the potential to mobilise a broad base of people in the community around some of their immediate problems ie rent/transport/ poorliving conditions etc.

The role of the political organisation is to bring out the political content of these basic struggles and to make sure that these struggles are coordinated into an assault on the State at all levels - local as well as national.

Those activists who have this level of political understanding would involve themselves in civic affairs with a view to ultimately politicizing these local struggles via the TIC.

It was stressed that although the civic was seen as a very important site of struggle, it was not to be confused with a political organisation. Political struggles were often based on the mobilisation that had been achieved on a civic level, but a civic is not a political organisation and should not be confused with one.

(2) There was some discussion around the issues raised by the TIC/FRA comrades. One of the issues raised was whether the same kind of arrangement should/could exist in African areas. Was there a need for an organisation like the TIC that could deal with more directly political issues? Was the UDF the type of organisation that could deal with these issues in African areas?

This led to some discussion about the nature of the UDF as a "front". Some people felt that we should not try to compare the Lens situation too closely with the situation in many African areas, There were different conditions that may require different types of organisations to deal with them.

This discussion continued after the group discussion and led us into discussing the UDF. By this stage it was quite late and so we decided to finish off with a short talk / summary by Mike and then go straight into the discussion on the UDF and its relation to Civics.

Mike's talk tried to summarise a lot of what had already been discussed. He pointed out that we need to try and understand the links between the struggles in different areas in terms of the government's strategy in those areas.

When we try to draw the links between the struggles of youth / women / trade unions / civics / political struggles etc - we must stress the way these problems are caused by a united strategy on the part of the enemy.

The problems we face in youth organisations, in civics, in rural areas, in trade unions in political struggles are all linked because they are all caused by the government in its attempts to reorganise oppression in our country.

No 10  
3/2/87

He went on to explain this: The government is now forcing all our people to register as homeland citizens. It is pushing all the homelands to accept independence as soon as possible.. In this way it is trying to 'get rid ' of all the Africans in SA. Our people are now going to be treated as foreigners ( Transkeians, Vendas etc) in South Africa. This will help the government to claim that it is a democratic government that represents all the people of SA. As there will no longer be any African people in SA (they will all be in or from Bophuthatswana / venda / Transkei etc) - there won't be any problems with the fact that they are excluded from running the country.

At the same time the government is now going to allow "Indian" and " Coloured " people to come into parliament as its junior partners. It will be able to say that all South Africans are now represented in parliament and all South Africans can now run the country together. At the same time it has made sure that it will remain in control of things and that the white government will still dominate as before.

At the same time the government is trying to solve the problems of the millions of people that will remain in the urban areas. These people cannot be sent off to the homelands because they are needed in the industries in "white" SA. At one stage the government thought that it could send all the African people to the homelands and only allow them to come back as migrant workers when they are needed.



When it became clear that this would cause too many problems for big business in the urban areas, the government changed its plan. It is now trying to separate off a small group of urban people - from the large majority of rural people and migrant workers.

All our problems at local level ( poor housing, lack of recreational facilities etc ) come from the fact that the government never intended that we <sup>should</sup> stay in the urban areas. We were all supposed to be temporary workers, so it was "not necessary" to spend a lot of money on the urban townships.

Now that the government has changed its plan, it has decided that those of us who are to be allowed to stay in the urban areas will now have to carry the cost of improving our townships. After many, many years of milking us of all the work we can do - without even building decent houses for us - the government has now decided to do us a favour. It will now allow us to stay and become "privileged urban blacks" as long as we pay for these privileges ourselves.

There are many other things happening at the same time in schools etc. The point is that all these different problems that we face in different areas are all as a result of the government's new TOTAL STRATEGY. They believe that in this way they can solve all the problems that they are having at the moment and that oppression will be able to continue for the next 1 000 years.

The only way to oppose them effectively is if we make sure that our struggles are united. The struggles on the youth front, the women's front, the union front, the rural front and the civic front must all be linked together and united in common attack on oppression and exploitation.

ASSESSMENT: This session would have been a lot better if the comrades from the rural areas and the "coloured" are civic had been with us. This would have given us a far wider range of experiences to discuss and compare.

(ii) The session raised a lot of questions that needed much more discussion and were certainly not answered properly. But they were useful because we began to discuss them and they can be taken up again - in our civics and in other education sessions.

(iii) although a lot of participants responded positively to the session - it also was quite confusing for a lot of people. It seems to be one area that needs a lot of attention in the future.

---

#### SESSION 4: WHAT IS THE UDF AND HOW DO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS FIT IN?

AIM: To examine the UDF in order to understand what a UNITED FRONT is and how civics fit in.

METHOD: This changed from what we had planned as the UDF media committee and the MSC organiser were included in the session. We were also running very late so the planned talk and discussion were changed into a brief introduction to the

the media presentation and the Million Signature Campaign.

REPORT: Comrade Kehla from the media committee presented an assessment of the media used by the civics during the Anti- CC campaign( We have attached it to this report) He also made it clear that although a lot of good media was produced during the campaign very little media has been produced by civics since the Campaign. He stated that although the UDF committee could not undertake to produce media for civics , - nor could it finance media for the civics, it could help in the training of people within the civics so that media could become an ongoing part of our organisations.

Comrade Murphy told us about the Million Signature Campaign and how few signatures had been collected. He pointed out that one of the aims of the campaign was to build up the affiliates - not to distance them from their work. But in order for this to be done - affiliates had to think seriously about the best way of approaching the campaign within their own organisations.

In the discussion that resulted, it became clear that very few civics had really managed to clear up what their relations to the UDF was. In some areas people feared that the UDF was trying to take over things in the organisation. People ended up by saying that this problem was a serious one that had to be dealt with as soon as possible - but that it should also be dealt with carefully so as not to cause more problems.

ASSESSMENT: We did not really achieve our aim of examining the UDF and how our civics fitted in. We did not even touch on the question raised during the previous session; ie. Was the UDF a "political organisation" that could play the same kind of role in the African Areas that the TIC plays in "Indian" areas. Although many people felt that this was not so - the issue was not really discussed. This was partly due to a lack of time, and too many other issues being raised.

This issue must be tackled again in future education events or within our organisations.

---

#### SESSION 5: THE FILM

AIM: Entertainment and also <sup>to see</sup> something related to the struggle if possible.

REPORT: We showed the film "the Fifth Offensive" which was about the struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia (under Marshall Tito) against the Nazis in the second world war.

We had some problem with the projector , but we eventually fixed something up and showed the film. We did not have any organised discussion after the film

ASSESSMENT: The film was good in that it gave people a feeling for struggles that have occurred in other countries. We did not discuss it, which was a pity. In future

we should try and get the kind of film or slide-tape show that can be both entertaining and are worth discussing. Films can be very effective in giving information and creating a more realistic way of understanding a situation.

SESSION 6: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

AIM: A general brainstorming session to ~~get~~ ideas ~~on what~~ civics could ~~do~~ now that ~~the~~ campaign is over. To try and focus the ideas brought up in previous sessions ; especially the session evaluating the campaign and the session linking civic struggles to other struggles.

METHOD: At the start of the session it was made clear that NO DECISIONS COULD BE MADE for civics at this meeting.

People were divided into groups and discussed the question.

The groups reported back to the plenary .

QUESTION: We have been discussing the anti- CC campaign and its links to other struggles and our role in the UDF. Keeping this in mind

What do we need to do in our civics?(Please list all the ideas )

REPORTS :(1) We need to strengthen our civics:

- get more members
- leadership training and skills training
- work out program of action based on issues facing us.
- know our limitations and don't promise the impossible
- follow up the anti-CC campaign
- have regular house meetings

(2) Comrades must be disciplined

- we must be democratic and consistent
- we must be frank , fair and responsible
- we must practise what we preach.

(3) The work of civics need to be coordinated

- perhaps through the UDF
- perhaps through an office for civics

(4) Civi must coordinate with other organisations and groupings

- churches, taxi associations, hostels, sporting organisations
- cultural organisations, artists etc
- these groups should be involved in our work

(5) Open an office

- for advice work
- so people can know where to reach us
- for a regular venue for meetings

(6) Advice work

- Legal aid, health advice, rehabilitation for criminal

No 21  
26/10/87  
29/10/87

- be able to refer people to other advice centres.

(7) Propaganda

-newsletter

(8) Start mutual benefit societies (eg Stokvels)

(9) Educational work

-investigate needs

-run educational events

-prepare material

(10) Cultural and recreational societies linked to the civics should be set up

(11) Projects relevant to the communities

-creches

-literacy programmes

(12) Propagate UDF values

(13) politicize people

-symbolize the links in our struggle eg by using different speakers like students, workers etc on platforms

(13) Expose powerlessness of local government using day to day issues.

ASSESSMENT: This session was useful to raise possibilities, and again emphasised the need for ongoing work between campaigns It was also helped as a lead in to the next session.

---

SESSION 7: SKILLS SESSION

AIM: To look at how to set useful goals and to plan, and to show why this is important

METHOD: Input, then a discussion in the big group  
Practise of planning in the small groups.

INPUT: Looking at the ideas from the last session we can say that they are all goals that we can work for. Some of these goals are very general and won't really help us to plan our work. Eg the goal "To politicize our people" is not very useful as a goal because it does not really tell us what to do, or how to do it. With this kind of goal we can do very little work and still say that we are "politicizing our people"

There are certain things we can do to make our goals more useful:

(1) we must set goals that we know we can achieve. So a goal like "destroy the BLA" is not really easy for a new and small civic to achieve. But a goal like "Get 10 new members" is possible

(2) The goal must be set in such a way that we can assess it. After we have worked for a goal we must be able to say whether we have succeeded or failed. So if our goal is to "educate our members" we can't really know if we have succeeded or not. But if our goal is "to run a workshop on the BLA" we can assess it. We can assess whether the

the workshop happened, how many people attended it, if they learned a lot and if they joined the civic.

(3) When we set goals we must set a time limit, otherwise the work can go on for a very long time with nothing being achieved. The time limit will help us to be disciplined in our work. Examples of time limits are "have house meetings every week" or "run a seminar in the next month".

(4) When we set goals, we must be democratic and make sure that everyone agrees with the goal. We must make sure that the group is committed to our goal. If we don't have the group's commitment we will not get the work done.

(5) The goals we set must be specific. They must describe what we want to do. A goal like "Hold house meetings with residents every month" is more specific than a goal like "make contact with residents".

#### GROUP DISCUSSION:

How can we improve a goal like "Strengthen our civics"

We can make it more specific: "increase the number of members in our civic", "run workshops to educate our members"

We can also build in time limits "Recruit ten new members every week"  
"run workshops once a month"

This goal is achievable, if we work hard; We can assess if we succeed or fail, by asking if we have recruited new member, or held monthly seminars; There is time limit; and the group is committed to it, everyone thinks it is a good and important goal. And finally we can say that it is specific. All these things make it a useful goal.

#### INPUT: How to plan

Once we have set our goals we must plan HOW we will carry them out

(1) We must be clear exactly what we want to achieve - this is in terms of both our long term goals and the specific goals we are working for

(2) We then get suggestions of all the possible ways we could work for this goal.

After listing all the ideas, we choose the best ones.

(3) Check out : can we do this?

Do we have time ? money ? people ? resources ?  
if we don't, can we find them somewhere?

(4) Work out all the tasks we need to do

plan WHO will do each task

WHEN will the tasks be done

WHERE will we do all this

Then talk about: WHAT will we do if this plan DOESN'T WORK ?

(5) Plan time to evaluate, during the work and after the plan has been carried out.

SMALL GROUPS: Small groups planned an educational event for a civic

REPORT: one of the small groups reported on their plan

the other people criticised the plan and tried to improve on it,

ASSESSMENT: Many people found this session very useful. Especially as it showed how careful planning can help our work, We needed far more time for this session

---

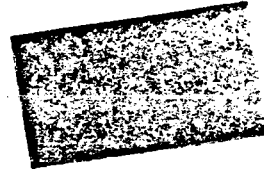
SESSION 8: THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BLA ) ACT.

AIM: To give information on what the BLA will actually mean,

METHOD: A HANDOUT on the BLA was distributed

Comrade Amos summarised the BLA and answered questions

ASSESSMENT: People found the information valuable. The information was clear, and it showed the links between the BLA and the constitution



20  
7/10/87

---

SESSION 9: EVALUATION.

AIM To get feedback from people so we could see

- (1) What sessions were useful
- (2) what our mistakes were

METHOD: Questions were asked, The answers were written and handed in  
the answers were anonymous

QUESTIONS:

- (1) What session did you find most useful and why?
- (2) What session did you not like and why?
- (3) Did you have any problems with any of the educators ? which ones? What were the problems?
- (4) Did you find it a problem that all the sessions were in English?
- (5) What improvement would you have preferred?
- (5) Would it be useful to organise further educational events?

REPORT: Most of the answers are written under the assesment of each session

OTHER COMMENTS:

- (1) Three people would have preferred Zulu or Sotho
- (2) A few people felt that one of the educators spoke too fast and too softly
- (3) people asked for regular seminars
- (4) one person asked for a seminar like this , but with other political bodies
- (5) we should have used methods like Role-plays
- (6) workshops should be announced in UDF news
- (7) we needed more time and more flexible time-management

# U4-c

No 10 : 3/2/87  
No 9 : 3/3/87  
No 7 : 8/4/87  
16 : 7/7/87

21 : 7/10/87

NAME?	CIVIC ORGANISATION?	ADDRESS
JBED BADELITZ	ALEX CIVIC ASS	62 - 19th Ave, Alexandra
Sam Pholofo	SOWETO CIVIC ASS	1179 MAPETLA VILLAGE SOWETO
Sana Jansani	Soweto civic ass	409B Zone 7 M/lands.
M. Lephunya	Soweto Civic Assoc	42 De Villiers street
S. MOLEKANE	Soweto Civic Assoc.	Khotso-house.
S. RANTAO	Soweto Civic Assoc.	895. G.W.S.
HECTOR JADA	S.C.A. PIMVILLE	1551 Gladi township. Soweto.
M. Phasani	ERAPO - Daveyton	8419 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
E. LETCHAIKE	VAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION	9 Lutengo Str. Kwa-Thema.
M. MARUPING	SOWETO CIVIC ASS.	9253 ZONE 7A SEBOKENG
S. MOLEFE	Soweto Civic Ass.	2328 ZONE 9 MEADOWLANDS
P. Marango	Mamelodi A.C. Comm.	2040 zone 2. Meadowlands
J OLIPHANT	Mamelodi A.C. Comm	2214 9 Mamelodi
E. Ralitsela	Vaal Civic	2682 8 Mamelodi
S. Lekhula	Soweto CIVIC	10223 Zone 7, Sebokeng
N. RAMOKGOLA	Soweto Civic	7815 ORLANDO WEST
S. Monyelle	Soweto Civic	2147 NALEDI EXT.
S. MAZIBUKO	SOWETO CIVIC	2525 Naledi EXT.
Padi Matlala	Mamelodi Action Committee	8123B ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
N. Bokera	U.D.F. EXECUTIVE	N. 4542, Mamelodi, PRETORIA
T. Masina	Mgungahle Civic	1572A NALEDI
J. Masike	Mapetla Civic	11010 Orlando West II
K. Rudebe	ALEX CIVIC	2080 Mapetla Ext
Zaza Mthembu	ERAPO	1304 M'ELUE ALEX
ABBEY SIBIA	SCA (PIMVILLE)	5134 Bheengu Street Daveyton
LEBALLO GOITHE	-	8116 <sup>A</sup> ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
Kattakalo Moeng	N.C. Org.	1725 MOLESIANE
MERIAM NTOBU	Vaal Civic	9225 zone 7 <sup>A</sup> Sebokeng
Shuphuthi	Vaal -	295 <sup>A</sup> Mofolo village.
Sonjrathe	-	11956 Sebokeng
		11960 Janet Sebokeng



(21)

7/10787

8/10787

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

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

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

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

These community councils operated only in African urban areas

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

2/ ... The community

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

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

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

These town councils will replace the existing community councils.

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

The Act gives Town councils the powers to :-

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

3/ ... They do NOT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY

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

WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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

---

5/... WHAT WILL

WHAT WILL THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT  
MEAN TO RESIDENTS :

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

CONCLUSION:

Township residents are now being asked to finance and administer the terrible conditions in which they live. The town councillors of the town councils will be the new "administrators" and will certainly prove to be no better than the last bunch of community councillors.

\*\*\*\*\*

U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.  
EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.



- FRIDAY 8.00pm :Arrival and supper.
- 9.00pm :Introduction to weekend and  
get to know each other session.
- SATURDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Introducing our Civic Organisations.  
- With whole group ; presentations on  
newsprint.
- 10.00am :Tea.
- 10.30am :Evaluation of Anti-Community Council  
campaign  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Led discussion on methods of  
organising / mobilising.
- 12.30am :Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.00pm :Lunch.
- 2.00pm :How does our struggle fit in with  
other struggles?  
-4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ;  
ECO.  
-Questions from the floor after each  
speaker.  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Brief talk.
- 4.00pm :Tea.
- 4.30pm :What is the UDF and how do civic  
organisations fit in?  
-Talk and led discussion.
- 7.00pm :Supper.
- 8.00pm :Film.
- SUNDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Where do we go from here?  
-Brainstorming session in groups.  
-Report back.

10.30am :Tea.  
11.00am :Skills session.  
-How to set goals and plan.  
12.30am :Evaluation.  
1.00am :Lunch and departure.



voor Auteurs?

**U4-e**

(20)

3079/87

  
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P.O.BOX 25063

FERREIRASTOWN

2048

*Bew" U 4-20*

Dear Friends,

Re ; Education Workshop.

The education committee of the UDF would like to extend an invitation to your organisation to attend an education workshop on the week end of the ~~27/28/29~~ April 1984 at St. John Bosco conference centre in Daleside.

The aim of the workshop is to evaluate the Anti-Community Council campaign and to look at the road ahead for civic organisation in the continuing struggle against the local authorities.

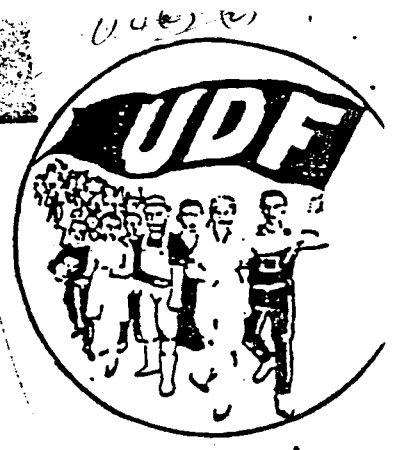
Your organisation will be permitted three representatives from your executive committee and four community activists. The cost for attending the workshop will be R2.00 payable at the time of registration.

Please ensure that your organisation participates in the workshop, in order to make it a meaningful event.

Yours in struggle,

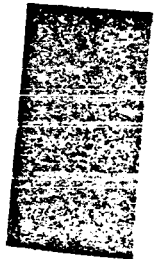
MOSS CHIKANE.

P.S. A COPY OF THE PROGRAMME IS ENCLOSED.



U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.  
EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.

- FRIDAY** 8.00pm :Arrival and supper.
- 9.00pm :Introduction to weekend and get to know each other session.
- SATURDAY** 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Introducing our Civic Organisations.  
 - With whole group ; presentations on newsprint.
- 10.00am :Tea.
- 10.30am :Evaluation of Anti-Community Council campaign  
 -Group discussion.  
 -Report back.  
 -Led discussion on methods of organising / mobilising.
- 12.30am :Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.00pm :Lunch.
- 2.00pm :How does our struggle fit in with other struggles?  
 -4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ; ECO.  
 -Questions from the floor after each speaker.  
 -Group discussion.  
 -Report back.  
 -Brief talk.
- 4.00pm :Tea.
- 4.30pm :What is the UDF and how do civic organisations fit in?  
 -Talk and led discussion.
- 7.00pm :Supper.
- 8.00pm :Film.
- SUNDAY** 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Where do we go from here?  
 -Brainstorming session in groups.  
 -Report back.





U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE - EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS. - 27<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup> APRILVENUE: DALESIDE (ST. JOHN BOSCO COLLEGE)REPORT:

This is a report of each session of the education weekend.  
Under each session we have reported under these headings:

AIM: what we hoped to achieve in the session

METHOD: how we ran the session

QUESTIONS: the questions which were discussed in the session

REPORT: the reports of the groups in answer to the questions

ASSESSMENT: looks at whether the session worked, we also used the evaluation forms from the civic association members who attended the weekend.

Participants; There were 35 participants at the workshops. Another 10 people came and went.  
(1 - SOWETO ; 2 - EAST RAND ; 2 - ALEX ; 3 - PRETORIA ; 5 - VAAL ; 5 - EDUCATION COMMITTEE )

SESSION 1: INTRODUCING OUR CIVICS.

AIM: to get participants to introduce their civics, so that they could know a bit about each civic.

METHOD: Each civic met and answered the questions. They wrote their answers on newsprint and reported back to the whole group. The group asked questions of information.

QUESTIONS: the questions answered by the civics were:

1. what is the name of your civic?
2. how old is your civic?
3. how was your civic started?
- 4 how does your civic work?
  - (a) what structures do you have?
  - (b) when do you meet
  - (c) what activities has your civic done?

REPORTS: the civics that attended were

Alex Civic Association ( one year old)

Soweto Civic Association (5 years old)

Soweto Branches-Mzimhlope, Mapetla, Phiri, Pimville MEADOWLANDS,  
NALEDI, ORLANDO WEST,  
East Rand People's Organisation (Daveyton Branch ) (3 years old)

Mamelodi Action Committee (18 months old)

Vaal Civic Association (7 months old)

Q3 -The civics were started in different ways, in some areas activists from other areas helped local activists to start the civic, In other areas a mass meeting was called.

Q4 - Structures: most civics have an executive or steering committee, and some areas have branches and inter-branch meetings. Other structures are general groups dealing with topics like "Commuters" or "hostels"

Q4(b) The civics have regular meetings for the committees and groups, these meetings either once a week, or once every two weeks, or once a month depending on the group.

Q4(c) - the issues that civics have taken up include: transport boycott, rent, electricity and water prices, anti-community council campaign, school problems eg the high failure rate, housing, the Million Signature Campaign, Women's Day.  
- the methods used include mass meetings; pamphlets; fund-raising; petitions; house meetings; door to door; using media like newspapers, UDF news and the Eye;  
- other activities have been, helping to start a COSAS branch, setting up a woman's organisation, benefit society, classes for students.

ASSESSMENTS: This was a good introductory session, it helped people to learn about other civics, and it allowed people to share ideas and methods used. Some comrades would have liked more time for this session.

---

#### SESSIONS 2: EVALUATION OF ANTI- COMMUNITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN

AIM: To evaluate the campaigns run by the different civics and to assess the gains and losses

METHOD: the civics answered the questions and wrote the answers on newsprint. They reported back to the whole group. There was a general discussion in the whole group after each presentation by each civic.

QUESTIONS: 1) What structures did your civic use to run the campaign  
2) list all the different things your civic organised during the campaign  
3) what was the % vote in your area? Why was this so big/ small?

The answers to the next four questions were not recorded on newsprint

- (i) how effective were the activities you organised ?
- (ii) what could have been done to reduce the % vote in your area?
- (iii) what gains did your organisation make as a result of the campaign?
- (iv) Now the BLA is enforced what do you plan to do?

REPORTS: 1) Structures: the civics used existing civic structures, in addition in some areas ad-hoc committees were formed involving other organisations in the campaign  
the civics also used UDF news in the campaign.

2) Things organised during the campaign- these included public meetings; pamphlets, posters, workshops on the BLA, <sup>BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT</sup> house-to-house, placard demonstrations, disrupting election meetings, press-statements

3) the percentage vote in each area and the reasons for their size were;  
Mamelodi -28% - this was high because there was not enough publicity and there were problems with venues.

Daveyton - 18,6% - this was low because of our work

Soweto - 10 % - this was high because people were opposed to Tebehali and

people believe Tshabalala's promises.

Vaal - 14% - This was low, it was a decrease since the previous election

Alex - there was no election because we persuaded the opposition parties to dissolve so we won before the elections.

To make the campaign more effective we should have had more house to house meetings, also we should have won the churches onto our side - this could have helped us with venues, Better planning and evaluation throughout the campaign would have made things better.

In the campaign we gained experience. We politicized people and allowed them a chance to voice their grievances, this boosted the civics and in some areas helped to build stronger civics. Also we formed links between different organisations. The problem is that many of these gains were not consolidated because there was no follow-up.

The next tasks are to destroy the Black Local Authorities and to strengthen our civics.

ASSESSMENT: Many comrades found this session very useful, because they could learn from their own and each other's experiences. Also this session pointed out the need for consistent work and planning, not just work during a campaign.

---

### SESSION 3 : HOW DOES OUR STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH OTHER STRUGGLES?

AIM: To bring out the links between the struggle over issues like Rent/ Electricity etc in our civics and (i) the struggle of civics in "Indian" and "Coloured" areas  
(ii) The struggle of our people in the rural areas  
(iii) the political struggle against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

METHOD: We had a panel of speakers which were supposed to consist of; one person from a civic in an "Indian" area, one person from a civic in a "coloured" area, one or two people from a political organisation (TIC/Anti-PC) and one person from a rural area.

Unfortunately a few comrades could not come ( although invited ) and so the only speakers who turned up were a person from a civic in Lenasia (FRA ) and one person from the TIC.

After they spoke we were divided into small groups (randomly chosen) in order to discuss these questions:

- (1) In what way is our struggle in African areas linked to the struggles of civics in other communities?
- (2) In what way is our struggle in the urban areas linked to the struggles of our people in the rural areas
- (3) We have heard all the loud noises being made about the new constitution. We have also heard the TIC people talk about their struggles against it. Do you think there is any link between our problems in our local areas and the new constitution ?

We then had report backs on one question at a time - and discussion of the report backs. We finished off with a short summary of the links between our various struggles (in Civics/ student bodies / women's organisations/ unions etc )

REPORT: (1) the FRA and TIC people presented a summary of the structures of the FRA and its links to the political organisation. Both of these organisations exist in Lenasia and many activists work in both organisations.

The structure of the FRA was described as a number of residents associations from different parts of Lenasia that are linked together in a federation - the FRA. The six different residents associations often take up issues that would concern only the people in their area, but any issue that concerns the whole of Lenasia is taken up by the FRA as a whole.

The FRA has an executive; and a working committee of activists. It also has a number of womens/ youth / and cultural associations affiliated to it.

The FRA is in turn a participating member of CRAC - the Coordinating Residents' Action COmmittee. This body exists to bring together civic organisations from all over the Witwatersrand - but at the moment only civics from the "coloured" and "Indian" areas are participating

The comrades explained that they see a separation between the type of struggle fought by a civic and those fought by a political organisation like the TIC. They feel that a civic has the potential to mobilise a broad base of people in the community around some of their immediate problems ie rent/transport/ poorliving conditions etc.

The role of the political organisation is to bring out the political content of these basic struggles and to make sure that these struggles are coordinated into an assault on the State at all levels - local as well as national.

Those activists who have this level of political understanding would involve themselves in civic affairs with a view to ultimately politicizing these local struggles via the TIC.

It was stressed that although the civic was seen as a very important site of struggle, it was not to be confused with a political organisation. Political struggles were often based on the mobilisation that had been achieved on a civic level, but a civic is not a political organisation and should not be confused with one.

(2) There was some discussion around the issues raised by the TIC/FRA comrades. One of the issues raised was whether the same kind of arrangement should/could exist in African areas. Was there a need for an organisation like the TIC that could deal with more directly political issues? Was the UDF the type of organisation that could deal with these issues in African areas?



This led to some discussion about the nature of the UDF as a "front". Some people felt that we should not try to compare the Lens situation too closely with the situation in many African areas, There were different conditions that may require different types of organisations to deal with them.

This discussion continued after the group discussion and led us into discussing the UDF. By this stage it was quite late and so we decided to finish off with a short talk / summary by Mike and then go straight into the discussion on the UDF and its relation to Civics.

Mike's talk tried to summarise a lot of what had already been discussed. He pointed out that we need to try and understand the links between the struggles in different areas in terms of the government's strategy in those areas.

When we try to draw the links between the struggles of youth / women / trade unions / civics / political struggles etc - we must stress the way these problems are caused by a united strategy on the part of the enemy.

The problems we face in youth organisations, in civics, in rural areas, in trade unions in political struggles are all linked because they are all caused by the government in its attempts to reorganise oppression in our country.

He went on to explain this: The government is now forcing all our people to register as homeland citizens. It is pushing all the homelands to accept independence as soon as possible. In this way it is trying to 'get rid ' of all the Africans in SA. "Our people are now going to be treated as foreigners ( Transkeians, Vendas etc) in South Africa. This will help the government to claim that it is a democratic government that represents all the people of SA. As there will no longer be any African people in SA (they will all be in or from Bophuthatswana / venda / Transkei etc) - there won't be any problems with the fact that they are excluded from running the country.

At the same time the government is now going to allow "Indian" and " Coloured " people to come into parliament as its junior partners. It will be able to say that all South Africans are now represented in parliament and all South Africans can now run the country together. At the same time it has made sure that it will remain in control of things and that the white government will still dominate as before.

At the same time the government is trying to solve the problems of the millions of people that will remain in the urban areas. These people cannot be sent off to the homelands because they are needed in the industries in "white" SA. At one stage the government thought that it could send all the African people to the homelands and only allow them to come back as migrant workers when they are needed.

When it became clear that this would cause too many problems for big business in the urban areas, the government changed its plan. It is now trying to separate off a small group of urban people - from the large majority of rural people and migrant workers.

All our problems at local level ( poor housing, lack of recreational facilities etc ) come from the fact that the government never intended that we <sup>should</sup> stay in the urban areas. We were all supposed to be temporary workers, so it was "not necessary" to spend a lot of money on the urban townships.

Now that the government has changed its plan, it has decided that those of us who are to be allowed to stay in the urban areas will now have to carry the cost of improving our townships. After many, many years of milking us of all the work we can do - without even building decent houses for us - the government has now decided to do us a favour. It will now allow us to stay and become "privileged urban blacks" as long as we pay for these privileges ourselves.

There are many other things happening at the same time in schools etc. The point is that all these different problems, that we face in different areas are all as a result of the government's new TOTAL STRATEGY. They believe that in this way they can solve all the problems that they are having at the moment and that oppression will be able to continue for the next 1 000 years.

The only way to oppose them effectively is if we make sure that our struggles are united. The struggles on the youth front, the womens front, the union front, the rural front and the civic front must all be linked together and united in common attack on oppression and exploitation.

ASSESSMENT: This session would have been a lot better if the comrades from the rural areas and the "coloured" are civic had been with us. This would have given us a far wider range of experiences to discuss and compare.

(ii) The session raised a lot of questions that needed much more discussion and were certainly not answered properly. But they were useful because we began to discuss them and they can be taken up again - in our civics and in other education sessions.

(iii) although a lot of participants responded positively to the session - it also was quite confusing for a lot of people. It seems to be one area that needs a lot of attention in the future.

---

#### SESSION 4: WHAT IS THE UDF AND HOW DO CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS FIT IN?

AIM: To examine the UDF in order to understand what a UNITED FRONT is and how civics fit in.

METHOD: This changed from what we had planned as the UDF media committee and the MSC organiser were included in the session. We were also running very late so the planned talk and discussion were changed into a brief introduction to the

the media presentation and the Million Signature Campaign.

REPORT: Comrade Kehla from the media committee presented an assessment of the media used by the civics during the Anti- CC campaign( We have attached it to this report) He also made it clear that although a lot of good media was produced during the campaign very little media has been produced by civics since the Campaign. He stated that although the UDF committee could not undertake to produce media for civics , - nor could it finance media for the civics, it could help in the training of people within the civics so that media could become an ongoing part of our organisations.

Comrade Murphy told us about the Million Signature Campaign and how few signatures had been collected. He pointed out that one of the aims of the campaign was to build up the affiliates - not to distance them from their work. But in order for this to be done - affiliates had to think seriously about the ! best way of approaching the campaign within their own organisations.

In the discussion that resulted, it became clear that very few civics had really managed to clear up what their relations to the UDF was. In some areas people feared that the UDF was trying to take over things in the organisation. People ended up by saying that this problem was a serious one that had to be dealt with as soon as possible - but that it should also be dealt with carefully so as not to cause more problems.

ASSESSMENT: We did not really achieve our aim of examining the UDF and how our civics fitted in. We did not even touch on the question raised during the previous session; ie Was the UDF a "political organisation" that could play the same kind of role in the African Areas that the TIC plays in "Indian" areas. Although many people felt that this was not so - the issue was not really discussed. This was partly due to a lack of time, and too many other issues being raised.

This issue must be tackled again in future education events or within our organisations.

---

#### SESSION 5: THE FILM

AIM: Entertainment and also <sup>to SEE</sup> something related to the struggle if possible.

REPORT: We showed the film "the Fifth Offensive" which was about the struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia (under Marshall Tito) against the Nazis in the second world war.

We had some problem with the projector , but we eventually fixed something up and showed the film. We did not have any organised discussion after the film

ASSESSMENT: The film was good in that it gave people a feeling for struggles that have occurred in other countries. We did not discuss it; which was a pity. In future

we should try and get the kind of film or slide-tape show that can be both entertaining and are worth discussing. Films can be very effective in giving information and creating a more realistic way of understanding a situation.

SESSION 6: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

N021  
26/10/87

AIM: A general brainstorming session to get ideas on what civics could do now that the campaign is over. To try and focus the ideas brought up in previous sessions ; especially the session evaluating the campaign and the session linking civic struggles to other struggles.

METHOD: At the start of the session it was made clear that NO DECISIONS COULD BE MADE for civics at this meeting.

People were divided into groups and discussed the question.

The groups reported back to the plenary .

QUESTION: We have been discussing the anti- CC campaign and its links to other struggles and our role in the UDF. Keeping this in mind

What do we need to do in our civics?(Please list all the ideas )

REPORTS :(1) We need to strengthen our civics:

- get more members
- leadership training and skills training
- work out program of action based on issues facing us.
- know our limitations and don't promise the impossible
- follow up the anti-CC campaign
- have regular house meetings

(2) Comrades must be disciplined

- we must be democratic and consistent
- we must be frank , fair and responsible
- we must practise what we preach.

(3) The work of civics need to be coordinated

- perhaps through the UDF
- perhaps through an office for civics

(4) Civi must coordinate with other organisations and groupings

- churches, taxi associations, hostels, sporting organisations
- cultural organisations, artists etc
- these groups should be involved in our work

(5) Open an office

- for advice work
- so people can know where to reach us
- for a regular venue for meetings

(6) Advice work

- Legal aid, health advice, rehabilitation for criminal

- be able to refer people to other advice centres.
- (7) Propaganda
  - newsletter
- (8) Start mutual benefit societies (eg Stokvels)
- (9) Educational work
  - investigate needs
  - run educational events
  - prepare material
- (10) Cultural and recreational societies linked to the civics should be set up
- (11) Projects relevant to the communities
  - creches
  - literacy programmes
- (12) Propagate UDF values
- (13) politicize people
  - symbolize the links in our struggle eg by using different speakers like students, workers etc on platforms
- (13) Expose powerlessness of local government using day to day issues.

ASSESSMENT: This session was useful to raise possibilities, and again emphasised the need for ongoing work between campaigns It was also helped as a lead in to the next session.

---

#### SESSION 7: SKILLS SESSION

AIM: To look at how to set useful goals and to plan, and to show why this is important

METHOD: Input, then a discussion in the big group  
Practise of planning in the small groups.

INPUT: Looking at the ideas from the last session we can say that they are all goals that we can work for. Some of these goals are very general and won't really help us to plan our work. Eg the goal "To politicize our people" is not very useful as a goal because it does not really tell us what to do, or how to do it. With this kind of goal we can do very little work and still say that we are "politicizing our people"

There are certain things we can do to make our goals more useful:

(1) we must set goals that we know we can achieve. So a goal like "destroy the BLA" is not really easy for a new and small civic to achieve . But a goal like "Get 10 new members" is possible

(2) The goal must be set in such a way that we can assess it. After we have worked for a goal we must be able to say whether we have succeeded or failed. So if our goal is to "educate our members" we cant really know if we have succeeded or not. But if our goal is "to run a workshop on the BLA" we can assess it. We can assess whether the

the workshop happened, how many people attended it, if they learned a lot and if they joined the civic.

(3) When we set goals we must set a time limit, otherwise the work can go on for a very long time with nothing being achieved. The time limit will help us to be disciplined in our work. Examples of time limits are "have house meetings every week" or "run a seminar in the next month".

(4) When we set goals, we must be democratic and make sure that everyone agrees with the goal. We must make sure that the group is committed to our goal. If we don't have the group's commitment we will not get the work done.

(5) The goals we set must be specific. They must describe what we want to do. A goal like "Hold house meetings with residents every month" is more specific than a goal like "make contact with residents"

#### GROUP DISCUSSION:

How can we improve a goal like "Strengthen our civics"

We can make it more specific: "increase the number of members in our civic", "run workshops to educate our members"

We can also build in time limits "Recruit ten new members every week"  
"run workshops once a month"

This goal is achievable, if we work hard; We can assess if we succeed or fail, by asking if we have recruited new member, or held monthly seminars; There is time limit; and the group is committed to it, everyone thinks it is a good and important goal. And finally we can say that it is specific. All these things make it a useful goal.

#### INPUT: How to plan

Once we have set our goals we must plan HOW we will carry them out

- (1) We must be clear exactly what we want to achieve - this is in terms of both our long term goals and the specific goals we are working for
- (2) We then get suggestions of all the possible ways we could work for this goal. After listing all the ideas, we choose the best ones.

(3) Check out : can we do this ?

Do we have time ? money ? people ? resources ?  
if we don't, can we find them somewhere?

(4) Work out all the tasks we need to do  
plan WHO will do each task

WHEN will the tasks be done

WHERE will we do all this

Then talk about: WHAT will we do if this plan DOESN'T WORK ?

(5) Plan time to evaluate, during the work and after the plan has been carried out.

SMALL GROUPS: Small groups planned an educational event for a civic

REPORT: one of the small groups reported on their plan

the other people criticised the plan and tried to improve on it,

ASSESSMENT: Many people found this session very useful. Especially as it showed how careful planning can help our work, We needed far more time for this session

---

SESSION8: THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BLA ) ACT.

AIM:To give information on what the BLA will actually mean,

METHOD: A HANDOUT on the BLA was distributed

Comrade Amos summarised the BLA and answered questions

ASSESSMENT: People found the information valuable. The information was clear, and it showed the links between the BLA and the constitution

---

SESSION 9:EVALUATION.

AIM To get feedback from people so we could see

(1) What sessions were useful

(2) what our mistakes were

METHOD: Questions were asked, The answers were written and handed in  
the answers were anonymous

QUESTIONS:

(1)What session did you find most useful and why?

(2) What session did you not like and why?

(3) Did you have any problems with any of the educators ? which ones? What were the problems?

(4) Did you find it a problem that all the sessions were in English?

(5) What improvement would you have preferred?

(5) Would it be useful to organise further educational events?

REPORT: Most of the answers are written under the assesment of each session

OTHER COMMENTS:

(1) Three people would have preferred Zulu or Sotho

(2) A few people felt that one of the educators spoke too fast and too softly

(3) people asked for regular seminars

(4) one person asked for a seminar like this , but with other political bodies

(5) we should have used methods like Role-plays

(6) workshops should be announced in UDF news

(7)we needed more time and more flexible time-management

NAME?	CIVIC ORGANISATION?	ADDRESS
JBC BAPELI	ALEX CIVIC ASS	62 - 19 <sup>th</sup> Ave, Alexandra
Sam Pholofo	SOWETO CIVIC ASS	1179 MAPETLA VILLAGE SOWETO
Sana Jambani	Soweto civic ass	409B Zone 7 Mlands.
M. Lephunya	Soweto Civic Assoc	+2 De Villiers street
S. MOLEKANE	Soweto Civic Assoc.	Khotso-House.
S. RANTAO	Soweto Civic Assoc.	895. G.W.S.
HECTOR JADA	S.C.A. PIMVILLE	1551 Gladi township. Soweto.
M. Phatani	ERAPO - Daveyton	8419 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE.
E. LETCHAKE	Vaal CIVIC ASSOCIATION	9 Lutengo St. Kwa-Thema.
M. MARUPING	Soweto CIVIC Ass.	9253 ZONE 7A SEBOKENG
S. MOLEFE.	Soweto CIVIC ASS.	2328 ZONE 9 MEADOWLANDS
P. Marango	Mamelodi A.C. Comm.	2040 zone 2. Meadowlands.
J OLIPHANT	Mamelodi A.C. Comm	2214 9 Mamelodi.
E. Ralitsela	Vaal Civic	2682 8 Mamelodi
S. Lekhula	Soweto CIVIC	10223 Zone 7, Sebokeng
N. LAMOKGOLA	Soweto CIVIC	7815 ORLANDO WEST
S. Mnyotke	Soweto CIVIC	2747 Naledi EXT.
S. MAZIBUKO	Soweto CIVIC	2525 Naledi EXT.
Padi Matlola	Mamelodi Action Committee	81238 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
M. BELCALA	U L F EXECUTIVE	N. 4542, Mamelodi, PRETORIA.
T. Masina	Mzimhlope CIVIC	1572A Naledi
J. Masike	Mapetla CIVIC	11010 Orlando West II
R. Rudebe	ALEX CIVIC	2080 Mapetla Ext
Zaza Mthembu	ERAPO	1304 M'EU E ALEX
ANGEEY SIGIA	SCA (Pimville)	5134 Bheengu Street Daveyton
LEBALO GOATHE	-	8116 <sup>A</sup> ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
Karaka Moeng	U L F Org.	1725 MOLESIANE
Miriam Ndlovu	Vaal Civic	9225 zone 7 <sup>A</sup> Sebokeng
Phuphuthi	-	298 <sup>A</sup> Mofolo village.
Sony Molele	-	11956 Sebokeng
		11060 Zone 7 Sebokeng



BLACK, LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT (B.L.A.)

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

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

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

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

These community councils operated only in African urban areas . . .

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

2/ ... The community

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

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

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

These town councils will replace the existing community councils.

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

The Act gives Town councils the powers to :-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY

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

WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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

5/... WHAT WILL



U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE - EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS. - 27<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup> APRIL

venue: DALESIDE (ST. JOHN BOSCO COLLEGE)

REPORT:

This is a report of each session of the education weekend.

Under each session we have reported under these headings:

- AIM: what we hoped to achieve in the session
- METHOD: how we ran the session
- QUESTIONS: the questions which were discussed in the session
- REPORT: the reports of the groups in answer to the questions
- ASSESSMENT: looks at whether the session worked, we also used the evaluation forms from the civic association members who attended the weekend.

Participants; There were 35 participants at the workshops. Another 10 people came and went. (8-SOWETO; 2-EAST RAND; 2-ALEX; 3-PRETORIA; 5-VAAL; 5-EDUCATION COMMITTEE)

SESSION 1: INTRODUCING OUR CIVICS.

AIM: to get participants to introduce their civics, so that they could know a bit about each civic.

METHOD: Each civic met and answered the questions. They wrote their answers on newsprint and reported back to the whole group. The group asked questions of information.

QUESTIONS: the questions answered by the civics were:

1. what is the name of your civic?
2. how old is your civic?
3. how was your civic started?
- 4 how does your civic work?
  - (a) what structures do you have?
  - (b) when do you meet
  - (c) what activities has your civic done?

REPORTS: the civics that attended were

- Alex Civic Association ( one year old)
- Soweto Civic Association (5 years old)
  - Soweto Branches-Mzimhlope, Mapetla, Phiri, Pimville MEADOWLANDS, NALEDI, ORLANDO WEST.
- East Rand People's Organisation (Daveyton Branch ) (3 years old)
- Mamelodi Action Committee (18 months old)
- Vaal Civic Association (7 months old)

Q3 -The civics were started in different ways, in some areas activists from other areas helped local activists to start the civic, In other areas a mass meeting was called.

Q4 - Structures: most civics have an executive or steering committee, and some areas have branches and inter-branch meetings. Other structures are general groups dealing with topics like "Commuters" or "hostels"

Q4(b) The civics have regular meetings for the committees and groups, these meetings either once a week, or once every two weeks, or once a month depending on the group.

Q4(c) - the issues that civics have taken up include: transport boycott, rent, electricity and water prices, anti-community council campaign, school problems eg the high failure rate, housing, the Million Signature Campaign, Women's Day.  
- the methods used include mass meetings; pamphlets; fund-raising; petitions; house meetings; door to door; using media like newspapers, UDF news and the Eye;  
- other activities have been, helping to start a COSAS branch, setting up a woman's organisation, benefit society, classes for students.

ASSESSMENTS: This was a good introductory session, it helped people to learn about other civics, and it allowed people to share ideas and methods used. Some comrades would have liked more time for this session.

## SESSIONS 2: EVALUATION OF ANTI- COMMUNITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN

AIM: To evaluate the campaigns run by the different civics and to assess the gains and losses

METHOD: the civics answered the questions and wrote the answers on newsprint. They reported back to the whole group. There was a general discussion in the whole group after each presentation by each civic.

QUESTIONS: 1) What structures did your civic use to run the campaign  
2) list all the different things your civic organised during the campaign  
3) what was the % vote in your area? Why was this so big/ small?

The answers to the next four questions were not recorded on newsprint

- (i) how effective were the activities you organised ?
- (ii) what could have been done to reduce the % vote in your area?
- (iii) what gains did your organisation make as a result of the campaign?
- (iv) Now the BLA is enforced what do you plan to do?

REPORTS: 1) Structures: the civics used existing civic structures, in addition in some areas ad-hoc committees were formed involving other organisations in the campaign the civics also used UDF news in the campaign.

2) Things organised during the campaign- these included public meetings; pamphlets, posters, workshops on the BLA, house- to -house, placard demonstrations, disrupting election meetings, press-statements

3) the percentage vote in each area and the reasons for their size were;  
Mamelodi -28% - this was high because there was not enough publicity and there were problems with venues.

Daveyton - 18,6% - this was low because of our work

Soweto - 10 % - this was high because people were opposed to Tebehali and

people believe Tshabalala's promises.

Vaal - 14% - This was low, it was a decrease since the previous election

Alex - there was no election because we persuaded the opposition parties to dissolve so we won before the elections.

To make the campaign more effective we should have had more house to house meetings, also we should have won the churches onto our side - this could have helped us with venues, Better planning and evaluation throughout the campaign would have made things better.

In the campaign we gained experience. We politicized people and allowed them a chance to voice their grievances, this boosted the civics and in some areas helped to build stronger civics. Also we formed links between different organisations. The problem is that many of these gains were not consolidated because there was no follow-up.

The next tasks are to destroy the Black Local Authorities and to strengthen our civics.

ASSESSMENT: Many comrades found this session very useful, because they could learn from their own and each other's experiences. Also this session pointed out the need for consistent work and planning, not just work during a campaign.

---

### SESSION 3: HOW DOES OUR STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH OTHER STRUGGLES?

AIM: To bring out the links between the struggle over issues like Rent/ Electricity etc in our civics and (i) the struggle of civics in "Indian"-and "Coloured" areas  
(ii) The struggle of our people in the rural areas  
(iii) the political struggle against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

METHOD: We had a panel of speakers which were supposed to consist of; one person from a civic in an "Indian" area, one person from a civic in a "coloured" area, one or two people from a political organisation (TIC/Anti-PC) and one person from a rural area.

Unfortunately a few comrades could not come (although invited) and so the only speakers who turned up were a person from a civic in Lenasia (FRA) and one person from the TIC.

After they spoke we were divided into small groups (randomly chosen) in order to discuss these questions: (1) In what way is our struggle in African areas linked to the struggles of civics in other communities?

(2) In what way is our struggle in the urban areas linked to the struggles of our people in the rural areas

(3) We have heard all the loud noises being made about the new constitution. We have also heard the TIC people talk about their struggles against it. Do you think there is any link between our problems in our local areas and the new constitution?

We then had report backs on one question at a time - and discussion of the report backs. We finished off with a short summary of the links between our various struggles (in civics/ student bodies / women's organisations/ unions etc )

REPORT: (1) the FRA and TIC people presented a summary of the structures of the FRA and its links to the political organisation. Both of these organisations exist in Lenasia and many activists work in both organisations.

Voorleper vir  
Naal

The structure of the FRA was described as a number of residents associations from different parts of Lenasia that are linked together in a federation - the FRA. The six different residents associations often take up issues that would concern only the people in their area, but any issue that concerns the whole of Lenasia is taken up by the FRA as a whole.

The FRA has an executive; and a working committee of activists. It also has a number of womens/ youth / and cultural associations affiliated to it.

The FRA is in turn a participating member of CRAC - the Coordinating Residents' Action Committee. This body exists to bring together civic organisations from all over the Witwatersrand - but at the moment only civics from the "coloured" and "Indian" areas are participating

The comrades explained that they see a separation between the type of struggle fought by a civic and those fought by a political organisation like the TIC. They feel that a civic has the potential to mobilise a broad base of people in the community around some of their immediate problems ie rent/transport/ poor living conditions etc.

The role of the political organisation is to bring out the political content of these basic struggles and to make sure that these struggles are coordinated into an assault on the State at all levels - local as well as national.

Those activists who have this level of political understanding would involve themselves in civic affairs with a view to ultimately politicizing these local struggles via the TIC.

It was stressed that although the civic was seen as a very important site of struggle, it was not to be confused with a political organisation. Political struggles were often based on the mobilisation that had been achieved on a civic level, but a civic is not a political organisation and should not be confused with one.

(2) There was some discussion around the issues raised by the TIC/FRA comrades. One of the issues raised was whether the same kind of arrangement should/could exist in African areas. Was there a need for an organisation like the TIC that could deal with more directly political issues? Was the UDF the type of organisation that could deal with these issues in African areas?



This led to some discussion about the nature of the UDF as a "front". Some people felt that we should not try to compare the Lens situation too closely with the situation in many African areas, There were different conditions that may require different types of organisations to deal with them.

This discussion continued after the group discussion and led us into discussing the UDF. By this stage it was quite late and so we decided to finish off with a short talk / summary by Mike and then go straight into the discussion on the UDF and its relation to Civics.

Mike's talk tried to summarise a lot of what had already been discussed. He pointed out that we need to try and understand the links between the struggles in different areas in terms of the government's strategy in those areas.

When we try to draw the links between the struggles of youth / women / trade unions / civics / political struggles etc - we must stress the way these problems are caused by a united strategy on the part of the enemy.

16 | The problems we face in youth organisations, in civics, in rural areas, in trade unions in political struggles are all linked because they are all caused by the government in its attempts to reorganise oppression in our country.

He went on to explain this: The government is now forcing all our people to register as homeland citizens. It is pushing all the homelands to accept independence as soon as possible.. In this way it is trying to 'get rid ' of all the Africans in SA. "Our people are now going to be treated as foreigners ( Transkeians, Vendas etc) in South Africa. This will help the government to claim that it is a democratic government that represents all the people of SA. As there will no longer be any African people in SA (they will all be in or from Bophuthatswana / venda / Transkei etc) - there won't be any problems with the fact that they are excluded from running the country.

| At the same time the government is now going to allow "Indian" and " Coloured " people to come into parliament as its junior partners. It will be able to say that all South Africans are now represented in parliament and all South Africans can now run the country together. At the same time it has made sure that it will remain in control of things and that the white government will still dominate as before.

| At the same time the government is trying to solve the problems of the millions of people that will remain in the urban areas. These people cannot be sent off to the homelands because they are needed in the industries in "white" SA. At one stage the government thought that it could send all the African people to the homelands and only allow them to come back as migrant workers when they are needed.

When it became clear that this would cause too many problems for big business in the urban areas, the government changed its plan. It is now trying to separate off a small group of urban people - from the large majority of rural people and migrant workers.

118 All our problems at local level ( poor housing, lack of recreational facilities etc ) come from the fact that the government never intended that we <sup>should</sup> stay in the urban areas. We were all supposed to be temporary workers, so it was "not necessary" to spend a lot of money on the urban townships.

Now that the government has changed its plan, it has decided that those of us who are to be allowed to stay in the urban areas will now have to carry the cost of improving our townships. After many, many years of milking us of all the work we can do - without even building decent houses for us - the government has now decided to do us a favour. It will now allow us to stay and become "privileged urban blacks" as long as we pay for these privileges ourselves.

There are many other things happening at the same time in schools etc. The point is that all these different problems that we face in different areas are all as a result of the governments new TOTAL STRATEGY. They believe that in this way they can solve all the problems that they are having at the moment and that oppression will be able to continue for the next 1 000 years.

116 The only way to oppose them effectively is if we make sure that our struggles are united. The struggles on the youth front, the womens front, the union front, the rural front and the civic front must all be linked together and united in common attack on oppression and exploitation.

ASSESSMENT: This session would have been a lot better if the comrades from the rural areas and the "coloured" are civic had been with us. This would have given us a far wider range of experiences to discuss and compare.

(ii) The session raised a lot of questions that needed much more discussion and were certainly not answered properly. But they were useful because we began to discuss them and they can be taken up again - in our civics and in other education sessions.

116 (iii) although a lot of participants responded positively to the session - it also was quite confusing for a lot of people. It seems to be one area that needs a lot of attention in the future.

---

#### SESSION 4: WHAT IS THE UDF AND HOW DO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS FIT IN?

AIM: To examine the UDF in order to understand what a UNITED FRONT is and how civics fit in.

METHOD: This changed from what we had planned as the UDF media committee and the MSC organiser were included in the session. We were also running very late so the planned talk and discussion were changed into a brief introduction to the

the media presentation and the Million Signature Campaign.

REPORT: Comrade Kehla from the media committee presented an assessment of the media used by the civics during the Anti- CC campaign( We have attached it to this report) He also made it clear that although a lot of good media was produced during the campaign very little media has been produced by civics since the Campaign. He stated that although the UDF committee could not undertake to produce media for civics , - nor could it finance media for the civics, it could help in the training of people within the civics so that media could become an ongoing part of our organisations.

Comrade Murphy told us about the Million Signature Campaign and how few signatures had been collected. He pointed out that one of the aims of the campaign was to build up the affiliates - not to distance them from their work. But in order for this to be done - affiliates had to think seriously about the best way of approaching the campaign within their own organisations.

In the discussion that resulted, it became clear that very few civics had really managed to clear up what their relations to the UDF was. In some areas people feared that the UDF was trying to take over things in the organisation. People ended up by saying that this problem was a serious one that had to be dealt with as soon as possible - but that it should also be dealt with carefully so as not to cause more problems.

ASSESSMENT: We did not really achieve our aim of examining the UDF and how our civics fitted in. We did not even touch on the question raised during the previous session; ie. Was the UDF a "political organisation" that could play the same kind of role in the African Areas that the TIC plays in "Indian" areas. Although many people felt that this was not so - the issue was not really discussed. This was partly due to a lack of time, and too many other issues being raised.

This issue must be tackled again in future education events or within our organisations.

---

#### SESSION 5: THE FILM

AIM: Entertainment and also <sup>to see</sup> something related to the struggle if possible..

REPORT: We showed the film "the Fifth Offensive" which was about the struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia (under Marshall Tito) against the Nazis in the second world war.

We had some problem with the projector , but we eventually fixed something up and showed the film. We did not have any organised discussion after the film

ASSESSMENT: The film was good in that it gave people a feeling for struggles that have occurred in other countries. We did not discuss it; which was a pity. In future

we should try and get the kind of film or slide-tape show that can be both entertaining and are worth discussing. Films can be very effective in giving information and creating a more realistic way of understanding a situation.

---

SESSION 6: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

AIM: A general brainstorming session to get ideas on what civics could do now that the campaign is over. To try and focus the ideas brought up in previous sessions ; especially the session evaluating the campaign and the session linking civic struggles to other struggles.

METHOD: At the start of the session it was made clear that NO DECISIONS COULD BE MADE for civics at this meeting.

People were divided into groups and discussed the question.

The groups reported back to the plenary .

QUESTION: We have been discussing the anti- CC campaign and its links to other struggles and our role in the UDF. Keeping this in mind

What do we need to do in our civics? (Please list all the ideas )

*NB* REPORTS : (1) We need to strengthen our civics:

- get more members
- leadership training and skills training
- work out program of action based on issues facing us.
- know our limitations and don't promise the impossible
- follow up the anti-CC campaign
- have regular house meetings

(2) Comrades must be disciplined

- we must be democratic and consistent
- we must be frank , fair and responsible
- we must practise what we preach.

(3) The work of civics need to be coordinated

- perhaps through the UDF
- perhaps through an office for civics

(4) Civi must coordinate with other organisations and groupings

- churches, taxi associations; hostels, sporting organisations
- cultural organisations, artists etc
- these groups should be involved in (our) work

(5) Open an office

- for advice work
- so people can know where to reach us
- for a regular venue for meetings

(6) Advice work

- Legal aid, health advice, rehabilitation for criminal

- be able to refer people to other advice centres.

(7) Propaganda

-newsletter

(8) Start mutual benefit societies (eg Stokvels)

(9) Educational work

-investigate needs

-run educational events

-prepare material

(10) Cultural and recreational societies linked to the civics should be set up

(11) Projects relevant to the communities

-creches

-literacy programmes

(12) Propagate UDF values

(13) politicize people

-symbolize the links in our struggle eg by using different speakers like students, workers etc on platforms

(13) Expose powerlessness of local government using day to day issues.

ASSESSMENT: This session was useful to raise possibilities, and again emphasised the need for ongoing work between campaigns It was also helped as a lead in to the next session.

---

### SESSION 7: SKILLS SESSION

AIM: To look at how to set useful goals and to plan, and to show why this is important

METHOD: Input, then a discussion in the big group  
Practise of planning in the small groups.

INPUT: Looking at the ideas from the last session we can say that they are all goals that we can work for. Some of these goals are very general and won't really help us to plan our work. Eg the goal "To politicize our people" is not very useful as a goal because it does not really tell us what to do, or how to do it. With this kind of goal we can do very little work and still say that we are "politicizing our people"

There are certain things we can do to make our goals more useful:

(1) we must set goals that we know we can achieve. So a goal like "destroy the BLA" is not really easy for a new and small civic to achieve. But a goal like "Get 10 new members" is possible

(2) The goal must be set in such a way that we can assess it. After we have worked for a goal we must be able to say whether we have succeeded or failed. So if our goal is to "educate our members" we cant really know if we have succeeded or not. But if our goal is "to run a workshop on the BLA" we can assess it. We can assess whether the

the workshop happened, how many people attended it, if they learned a lot and if they joined the civic.

(3) When we set goals we must set a time limit , otherwise the work can go on for a very long time with nothing being achieved. The time limit will help us to be disciplined in our work. Examples of time limits are " have house meetings every week" or "run a seminar in the next month".

(4) When we set goals, we must be democratic and make sure that everyone agrees with the goal. We must make sure that the group is committed to our goal . If we don't have the group's commitment we will not get the work done.

(5) The goals we set must be specific. They must describe what we want to do. A goal like " Hold house meetings with residents every month" is more specific than a goal like "make contact with residents"

#### GROUP DISCUSSION:

How can we improve a goal like "Strengthen our civics"

We can make it more specific: "increase the number of members in our civic" , "run workshops to educate our members"

We can also build in time limits " Recruit ten new members everyweek"  
"run workshops once a month"

This goal is achievable, if we work hard; We can assess if we succeed or fail, by asking if we have recruited new member, or held monthly seminars; There is time limit; and the group is committed to it, everyone thinks it is a good and important goal. And finally we can say that it is specific. All these things make it a useful goal.

#### INPUT: How to plan

Once we have set our goals we must plan HOW we will carry them out

(1) We must be clear exactly what we want to achieve - this is in terms of both our long term goals and the specific goals we are working for

(2) We then get suggestions of all the possible ways we could work for this goal. After listing all the ideas, we choose the best ones.

(3) Check out : can we do this?

Do we have time ? money ? people ? resources ?  
if we don't, can we find them somewhere?

(4) Work out all the tasks we need to do

plan WHO will do each task  
WHEN will the tasks be done  
WHERE will we do all this

Then talk about:WHAT will we do if this plan DOESN'T WORK ?

(5) Plan time to evaluate, during the work and after the plan has been carried out.

SMALL GROUPS: Small groups planned an educational event for a civic

REPORT: one of the small groups reported on their plan

the other people criticised the plan and tried to improve on it,

ASSESSMENT: Many people found this session very useful. Especially as it showed how careful planning can help our work, We needed far more time for this session

---

SESSION 8: THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BLA ) ACT.

AIM: To give information on what the BLA will actually mean,

METHOD: A HANDOUT on the BLA was distributed

Comrade Amos summarised the BLA and answered questions

ASSESSMENT: People found the information valuable. The information was clear, and it showed the links between the BLA and the constitution

---

SESSION 9: EVALUATION.

AIM To get feedback from people so we could see

- (1) What sessions were useful
- (2) what our mistakes were

METHOD: Questions were asked, The answers were written and handed in  
the answers were anonymous

QUESTIONS:

- (1) What session did you find most useful and why?
- (2) What session did you not like and why?
- (3) Did you have any problems with any of the educators ? which ones? What were the problems?
- (4) Did you find it a problem that all the sessions were in English?
- (5) What improvement would you have preferred?
- (5) Would it be useful to organise further educational events?

REPORT: Most of the answers are written under the assesment of each session

OTHER COMMENTS:

- (1) Three people would have preferred Zulu or Sotho
- (2) A few people felt that one of the educators spoke too fast and too softly
- (3) people asked for regular seminars
- (4) one person asked for a seminar like this , but with other political bodies
- (5) we should have used methods like Role-plays
- (6) workshops should be announced in UDF news
- (7) we needed more time and more flexible time-management

NAME?	CIVIL ORGANISATION?	ADDRESS
JED BADELIA	ALEX CIVIC ASS	62 - 19th Ave, Alexandra
Sam Pholoitho	SOWETO CIVIC ASS	1179 MAPETLA VILLAGE SOWETO
Sina Janseni	Soweto Civic Ass	4098 Zone 7 M/lands
M. Lephunya	Soweto Civic Assoc	+2 De Villiers street Khotso-House
S. MOCKANE	Soweto Civic Assoc.	895. G.W.S.
G. RANTAO	Soweto Civic Assoc.	1551 Glad. township. Soweto.
Hector JADA	S.C.A. Pimville	8419 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
M. Phorasi	ERAPO - Dawyton	9 Lutengo St. Kwa-Thema.
E. LETHAKE	VAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION	9253 ZONE 7A SEBOKENG
M. MARUPING	Soweto CIVIC Ass.	2328 ZONE 9 MEADOWLANDS
S. I. COLEBE	Soweto CIVIC ASS.	2040 zone. 2. Meadowlands.
P. Marango	Mamelodi A.C. Comm.	2214 9 Mamelodi
J OLIPHANT	Mamelodi A.C. Comm	2682 8 Mamelodi
E. Ralitsela	Vaal Civic	10223 Zone 7, Sebokeng
S. Lekhula	Soweto CIVIC	7815 ORLANDO WEST
N. LAMOKGELA	Soweto CIVIC	2747 NALEDI EXT.
S. Majothe	Soweto CIVIC	2525 Naledi EXT.
J. MAZIBUKO	SOWETO CIVIC	8123B ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
Dadi Mathata	Mamelodi Action Committee	N. 4542, Mamelodi, PRETORIA.
M. BELCALA	U L F EXECUTIVE	1572A NALEDI
T. Masina	Mgunguwa Civic	11010 Orlando West II
J. Masike	Mapotla Civic	2080 Majothe Ext
R. Rudebe	ALEX CIVIC	1304 MEUE ALEX
Zaza Mthembu	ERAPO	5134 Bheengu Street Dawyton
MUGENY SIBIA	S.C.A (Pimville)	8116 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
LEBALLO GONGWE	-	1725 MOGOTIANE
Mattakalo Moeng	V.L Org	9225 zone 7A Sebokeng
Mielam Mthovu	Vaal Civic	298 Mapoto village.
Phuphuthi	Vaal =	11956 Sebokeng
Sompotlo		11960 zone 7 Sebokeng



VENUE: DALESIDE (ST. JOHN BOSCO COLLEGE)

REPORT:

This is a report of each session of the education weekend.

Under each session we have reported under these headings:

AIM: what we hoped to achieve in the session

METHOD: how we ran the session

QUESTIONS: the questions which were discussed in the session

REPORT: the reports of the groups in answer to the questions

ASSESSMENT: looks at whether the session worked, we also used the evaluation forms from the civic association members who attended the weekend.

Participants; There were 35 participants at the workshops. Another 10 people came and went. (18-SOWETO; 2-EAST RAND; 2-ALEX; 3-PRETORIA; 5-VAAL; 5-EDUCATION COMMITTEE)

### SESSION 1: INTRODUCING OUR CIVICS.

AIM: to get participants to introduce their civics, so that they could know a bit about each civic.

METHOD: Each civic met and answered the questions. They wrote their answers on newsprint and reported back to the whole group. The group asked questions of information.

QUESTIONS: the questions answered by the civics were:

1. what is the name of your civic?
2. how old is your civic?
3. how was your civic started?
- 4 how does your civic work?
  - (a) what structures do you have?
  - (b) when do you meet
  - (c) what activities has your civic done?

REPORTS: the civics that attended were

Alex Civic Association ( one year old)

Soweto Civic Association (5 years old)

Soweto Branches-Mzimhlope, Mapetla, Phiri, Pimville MEADOWLANDS,  
NALEDI, ORLANDO WEST,  
East Rand People's Organisation (Daveyton Branch ) (3 years old)

Mamelodi Action Committee (18 months old)

Vaal Civic Association (7 months old)

Q3 -The civics were started in different ways, in some areas activists from other areas helped local activists to start the civic, In other areas a mass meeting was called.

Q4 - Structures: most civics have an executive or steering committee, and some areas have branches and inter-branch meetings. Other structures are general groups dealing with topics like "Commuters" or "hostels"

Q4(b) The civics have regular meetings for the committees and groups, these meetings either once a week, or once every two weeks, or once a month depending on the group.

Q4(c) - the issues that civics have taken up include: transport boycott, rent, electricity and water prices, anti-community council campaign, school problems eg the high failure rate, housing, the Million Signature Campaign, Women's Day.  
- the methods used include mass meetings; pamphlets; fund-raising; petitions; house meetings; door to door; using media like newspapers, UDF news and the Eye;  
- other activities have been, helping to start a COSAS branch, setting up a woman's organisation, benefit society, classes for students.

ASSESSMENTS: This was a good introductory session, it helped people to learn about other civics, and it allowed people to share ideas and methods used. Some comrades would have liked more time for this session.

---

## SESSIONS 2: EVALUATION OF ANTI-COMMUNITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN

AIM: To evaluate the campaigns run by the different civics and to assess the gains and losses

METHOD: the civics answered the questions and wrote the answers on newsprint. They reported back to the whole group. There was a general discussion in the whole group after each presentation by each civic.

QUESTIONS: 1) What structures did your civic use to run the campaign  
2) list all the different things your civic organised during the campaign  
3) what was the % vote in your area? Why was this so big/ small?

The answers to the next four questions were not recorded on newsprint

- (i) how effective were the activities you organised ?
- (ii) what could have been done to reduce the % vote in your area?
- (iii) what gains did your organisation make as a result of the campaign?
- (iv) Now the BLA is enforced what do you plan to do?

REPORTS: 1) Structures: the civics used existing civic structures, in addition in some areas ad-hoc committees were formed involving other organisations in the campaign  
the civics also used UDF news in the campaign.

2) Things organised during the campaign - these included public meetings; pamphlets, posters, workshops on the BLA, house-to-house, placard demonstrations, disrupting election meetings, press-statements

3) the percentage vote in each area and the reasons for their size were;  
Mamelodi - 28% - this was high because there was not enough publicity and there were problems with venues.

Daveyton - 18,6% - this was low because of our work

Soweto - 10 % - this was high because people were opposed to Tebehali and

people believe Tshabalala's promises.

Vaal - 14% - This was low, it was a decrease since the previous election

Alex - there was no election because we persuaded the opposition parties to dissolve so we won before the elections.

To make the campaign more effective we should have had more house to house meetings, also we should have won the churches onto our side - this could have helped us with venues, better planning and evaluation throughout the campaign would have made things better.

In the campaign we gained experience. We politicized people and allowed them a chance to voice their grievances, this boosted the civics and in some areas helped to build stronger civics. Also we formed links between different organisations. The problem is that many of these gains were not consolidated because there was no follow-up.

The next tasks are to destroy the Black Local Authorities and to strengthen our civics.

ASSESSMENT: Many comrades found this session very useful, because they could learn from their own and each other's experiences. Also this session pointed out the need for consistent work and planning, not just work during a campaign.

---

### SESSION 3 : HOW DOES OUR STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH OTHER STRUGGLES?

AIM: To bring out the links between the struggle over issues like Rent/ Electricity etc in our civics and (i) the struggle of civics in "Indian" and "Coloured" areas  
(ii) The struggle of our people in the rural areas  
(iii) the political struggle against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

METHOD: We had a panel of speakers which were supposed to consist of; one person from a civic in an "Indian" area, one person from a civic in a "coloured" area, one or two people from a political organisation (TIC/Anti-PC) and one person from a rural area.

Unfortunately a few comrades could not come ( although invited ) and so the only speakers who turned up were a person from a civic in Lenasia (FRA ) and one person from the TIC.

After they spoke we were divided into small groups (randomly chosen) in order to discuss these questions:(1) In what way is our struggle in African areas linked to the struggles of civics in other communities?

(2) In what way is our struggle in the urban areas linked to the struggles of our people in the rural areas

(3) We have heard all the loud noises being made about the new constitution. We have also heard the TIC people talk about their struggles against it. Do you think there is any link between our problems in our local areas and the new constitution ?

We then had report backs on one question at a time - and discussion of the report backs. We finished off with a short summary of the links between our various struggles (in Civics/ student bodies / women's organisations/ unions etc )

REPORT: (1) the FRA and TIC people presented a summary of the structures of the FRA and its links to the political organisation. Both of these organisations exist in Lenasia and many activists work in both organisations.

The structure of the FRA was described as a number of residents associations from different parts of Lenasia that are linked together in a federation - the FRA. The six different residents associations often take up issues that would concern only the people in their area, but any issue that concerns the whole of Lenasia is taken up by the FRA as a whole.

The FRA has an executive; and a working committee of activists. It also has a number of womens/ youth / and cultural associations affiliated to it.

The FRA is in turn a participating member of CRAC - the Coordinating Residents' Action COmmittee. This body exists to bring together civic organisations from a over the Witwatersrand - but at the moment only civics from the "coloured" and "Indian" areas are participating

The comrades explained that they see a separation between the type of struggle fought by a civic and those fought by a political organisation like the TIC. They feel that a civic has the potential to mobilise a broad base of people in the community around some of their immediate problems ie rent/transport/ poorliving conditions etc.

The role of the political organisation is to bring out the political content of these basic struggles and to make sure that these struggles are coordinated into an assault on the State at all levels - local as well as national.

Those activists who have this level of political understanding would involve themselves in civic affairs with a view to ultimately politicizing these local struggles via the TIC.

It was stressed that although the civic was seen as a very important site of struggle, it was not to be confused with a political organisation. Political struggles were often based on the mobilisation that had been achieved on a civic level, but a civic is not a political organisation and should not be confused with one.

(2) There was some discussion around the issues raised by the TIC/FRA comrades. One of the issues raised was whether the same kind of arrangement should/could exist in African areas. Was there a need for an organisation like the TIC that could deal with more directly political issues? Was the UDF the type of organisation that could deal with these issues in African areas?

This led to some discussion about the nature of the UDF as a "front". Some people felt that we should not try to compare the Lens situation too closely with the situation in many African areas. There were different conditions that may require different types of organisations to deal with them.

This discussion continued after the group discussion and led us into discussing the UDF. By this stage it was quite late and so we decided to finish off with a short talk / summary by Mike and then go straight into the discussion on the UDF and its relation to civics.

Mike's talk tried to summarise a lot of what had already been discussed. He pointed out that we need to try and understand the links between the struggles in different areas in terms of the government's strategy in those areas.

When we try to draw the links between the struggles of youth / women / trade unions / civics / political struggles etc - we must stress the way these problems are caused by a united strategy on the part of the enemy.

The problems we face in youth organisations, in civics, in rural areas, in trade unions and in political struggles are all linked because they are all caused by the government in its attempts to reorganise oppression in our country. / MK

We went on to explain this: The government is now forcing all our people to register as homeland citizens. It is pushing all the homelands to accept independence as soon as possible. In this way it is trying to 'get rid' of all the Africans in SA. Our people are now going to be treated as foreigners (Transkeians, Vendas etc) in South Africa. This will help the government to claim that it is a democratic government that represents all the people of SA. As there will no longer be any African people in SA (they will all be in or from Bophuthatswaha / Venda / Transkei etc) - there won't be any problems with the fact that they are excluded from running the country.

At the same time the government is now going to allow "Indian" and "Coloured" people to come into parliament as its junior partners. It will be able to say that all South Africans are now represented in parliament and all South Africans can now run the country together. At the same time it has made sure that it will remain in control of things and that the white government will still dominate as before.

At the same time the government is trying to solve the problems of the millions of people that will remain in the urban areas. These people cannot be sent off to the homelands because they are needed in the industries in "white" SA. At one stage the government thought that it could send all the African people to the homelands and only allow them to come back as migrant workers when they are needed.

When it became clear that this would cause too many problems for big business in the urban areas, the government changed its plan. It is now trying to separate off a small group of urban people - from the large majority of rural people and migrant workers.

All our problems at local level (poor housing, lack of recreational facilities etc) come from the fact that the government never intended that we <sup>should</sup> stay in the urban areas. We were all supposed to be temporary workers, so it was "not necessary" to spend a lot of money on the urban townships.

Now that the government has changed its plan, it has decided that those of us who are to be allowed to stay in the urban areas will now have to carry the cost of improving our townships. After many, many years of milking us of all the work we can do - without even building decent houses for us - the government has now decided to do us a favour. It will now allow us to stay and become "privileged urban blacks" as long as we pay for these privileges ourselves.

There are many other things happening at the same time in schools etc. The point is that all these different problems that we face in different areas are all as a result of the government's new TOTAL STRATEGY. They believe that in this way they can solve all the problems that they are having at the moment and that oppression will be able to continue for the next 1 000 years.

The only way to oppose them effectively is if we make sure that our struggles are united. The struggles on the youth front, the women's front, the union front, the rural front and the civic front must all be linked together and united in common attack on oppression and exploitation.

ASSESSMENT: This session would have been a lot better if the comrades from the rural areas and the "coloured" area civics had been with us. This would have given us a far wider range of experiences to discuss and compare.

(ii) The session raised a lot of questions that needed much more discussion and were certainly not answered properly. But they were useful because we began to discuss them and they can be taken up again - in our civics and in other education sessions.

(iii) although a lot of participants responded positively to the session - it also was quite confusing for a lot of people. It seems to be one area that needs a lot of attention in the future.

---

#### SESSION 4: WHAT IS THE UDF AND HOW DO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS FIT IN?

AIM: To examine the UDF in order to understand what a UNITED FRONT is and how civics fit in.

METHOD: This changed from what we had planned as the UDF media committee and the MSC organiser were included in the session. We were also running very late so the planned talk and discussion were changed into a brief introduction to the

the media presentation and the Million Signature Campaign.

REPORT: Comrade Kehla from the media committee presented an assessment of the media used by the civics during the Anti- CC campaign( We have attached it to this report) He also made it clear that although a lot of good media was produced during the campaign very little media has been produced by civics since the Campaign. He stated that although the UDF committee could not undertake to produce media for civics , - nor could it finance media for the civics, it could help in the training of people within the civics so that media could become an ongoing part of our organisations.

Comrade Murphy told us about the Million Signature Campaign and how few signatures had been collected. He pointed out that one of the aims of the campaign was to build up the affiliates - not to distance them from their work. But in order for this to be done - affiliates had to think seriously about the best way of approaching the campaign within their own organisations.

In the discussion that resulted, it became clear that very few civics had really managed to clear up what their relations to the UDF was. In some areas people feared that the UDF was trying to take over things in the organisation. People ended up by saying that this problem was a serious one that had to be dealt with as soon as possible - but that it should also be dealt with carefully so as not to cause more problems.

ASSESSMENT: We did not really achieve our aim of examining the UDF and how our civics fitted in. We did not even touch on the question raised during the previous session; i.e. Was the UDF a "political organisation" that could play the same kind of role in the African Areas that the TIC plays in "Indian" areas. Although many people felt that this was not so - the issue was not really discussed. This was partly due to a lack of time, and too many other issues being raised.

This issue must be tackled again in future education events or within our organisations.

---

#### SESSION 5: THE FILM

M: Entertainment and also <sup>to see</sup> something related to the struggle if possible.

REPORT: We showed the film "the Fifth Offensive" which was about the struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia (under Marshall Tito) against the Nazis in the second world war.

We had some problem with the projector , but we eventually fixed something up and showed the film. We did not have any organised discussion after the film

ASSESSMENT: The film was good in that it gave people a feeling for struggles that have occurred in other countries. We did not discuss it; which was a pity. In future

we should try and get the kind of film or slide-tape show that can be both entertaining and are worth discussing. Films can be very effective in giving information and creating a more realistic way of understanding a situation.

---

#### SESSION 6: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

AIM: A general brainstorming session to get ideas on what civics could do now that the campaign is over. To try and focus the ideas brought up in previous sessions ; especially the session evaluating the campaign and the session linking civic struggles to other struggles.

METHOD: At the start of the session it was made clear that NO DECISIONS COULD BE MADE for civics at this meeting.

People were divided into groups and discussed the question.

The groups reported back to the plenary .

QUESTION: We have been discussing the anti- CC campaign and its links to other struggles and our role in the UDF. Keeping this in mind

What do we need to do in our civics? (Please list all the ideas )

REPORTS :(1) We need to strengthen our civics:

- get more members
- leadership training and skills training
- work out program of action based on issues facing us.
- know our limitations and don't promise the impossible
- follow up the anti-CC campaign
- have regular house meetings

(2) Comrades must be disciplined

- we must be democratic and consistent
- we must be frank , fair and responsible
- we must practise what we preach.

(3) The work of civics need to be coordinated

- perhaps through the UDF
- perhaps through an office for civics

(4) Civi must coordinate with other organisations and groupings

- churches, taxi associations, hostels, sporting organisations
- cultural organisations, artists etc
- these groups should be involved in our work

(5) Open an office

- for advice work
- so people can know where to reach us
- for a regular venue for meetings

(6) Advice work

- Legal aid, health advice, rehabilitation for criminal



- be able to refer people to other advice centres.

(7) Propaganda

-newsletter

(8) Start mutual benefit societies (eg Stokvels)

(9) Educational work

-investigate needs

-run educational events

-prepare material

(10) Cultural and recreational societies linked to the civics should be set up

(11) Projects relevant to the communities

-creches

-literacy programmes

(12) Propagate UDF values

(13) politicize people

-symbolize the links in our struggle eg by using different speakers like students, workers etc on platforms

(13) Expose powerlessness of local government using day to day issues.

ASSESSMENT: This session was useful to raise possibilities, and again emphasised the need for ongoing work between campaigns It was also helped as a lead in to the next session.

---

#### SESSION 7: SKILLS SESSION

AIM: To look at how to set useful goals and to plan, and to show why this is important

METHOD: Input, then a discussion in the big group

Practise of planning in the small groups.

INPUT: Looking at the ideas from the last session we can say that they are all goals that we can work for. Some of these goals are very general and won't really help us to plan our work. Eg the goal "To politicize our people" is not very useful as a goal because it does not really tell us what to do, or how to do it. With this kind of goal we can do very little work and still say that we are "politicizing our people"

There are certain things we can do to make our goals more useful:

(1) we must set goals that we know we can achieve. So a goal like "destroy the BLA" is not really easy for a new and small civic to achieve . But a goal like "Get 10 new members" is possible

(2) The goal must be set in such a way that we can assess it. After we have worked for a goal we must be able to say whether we have succeeded or failed. So if our goal to "educate our members" we cant really know if we have succeeded or not. But if our goal is "to run a workshop on the BLA" we can assess it. We can assess whether the

the workshop happened, how many people attended it, if they learned a lot and if they joined the civic.

(3) When we set goals we must set a time limit , otherwise the work can go on for a very long time with nothing being achieved. The time limit will help us to be disciplined in our work. Examples of time limits are " have house meetings every week" or "run a seminar in the next month".

(4) When we set goals, we must be democratic and make sure that everyone agrees with the goal. We must make sure that the group is committed to our goal . If we don't have the group's commitment we will not get the work done.

(5) The goals we set must be specific. They must describe what we want to do. A goal like " Hold house meetings with residents every month" is more specific than a goal like "make contact with residents"

#### GROUP DISCUSSION:

How can we improve a goal like "Strengthen our civics"

We can make it more specific: "increase the number of members in our civic" , "run workshops to educate our members"

We can also build in time limits " Recruit ten new members every week"  
"run workshops once a month"

This goal is achievable, if we work hard; We can assess if we succeed or fail, by asking if we have recruited new member, or held monthly seminars; There is time limit; and the group is committed to it, everyone thinks it is a good and important goal. And finally we can say that it is specific. All these things make it a useful goal.

#### INPUT: How to plan

Once we have set our goals we must plan HOW we will carry them out

(1) We must be clear exactly what we want to achieve - this is in terms of both our long term goals and the specific goals we are working for

(2) We then get suggestions of all the possible ways we could work for this goal. After listing all the ideas, we choose the best ones.

(3) Check out : can we do this ?

Do we have time ? money ? people ? resources ?  
if we don't, can we find them somewhere?

(4) Work out all the tasks we need to do

plan WHO will do each task

WHEN will the tasks be done

WHERE will we do all this

Then talk about: WHAT will we do if this plan DOESN'T WORK ?

(5) Plan time to evaluate, during the work and after the plan has been carried out.

SMALL GROUPS: Small groups planned an educational event for a civic

REPORT: one of the small groups reported on their plan

the other people criticised the plan and tried to improve on it,

ASSESSMENT: Many people found this session very useful. Especially as it showed how careful planning can help our work, We needed far more time for this session

---

SESSION 8: THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BLA ) ACT.

AIM: To give information on what the BLA will actually mean,

METHOD: A HANDOUT on the BLA was distributed

Comrade Amos summarised the BLA and answered questions

ASSESSMENT: People found the information valuable. The information was clear, and it showed the links between the BLA and the constitution

---

SESSION 9: EVALUATION.

AIM To get feedback from people so we could see

(1) What sessions were useful

(2) what our mistakes were

METHOD: Questions were asked, The answers were written and handed in  
the answers were anonymous

QUESTIONS:

(1) What session did you find most useful and why?

(2) What session did you not like and why?

(3) Did you have any problems with any of the educators ? which ones? What were the problems?

(4) Did you find it a problem that all the sessions were in English?

(5) What improvement would you have preferred?

(6) Would it be useful to organise further educational events?

REPORT: Most of the answers are written under the assesment of each session

OTHER COMMENTS:

(1) Three people would have preferred Zulu or Sotho

(2) A few people felt that one of the educators spoke too fast and too softly

(3) people asked for regular seminars

(4) one person asked for a seminar like this , but with other political bodies

(5) we should have used methods like Role-plays

(6) workshops should be announced in UDF news

(7) we needed more time and more flexible time-management

NAME	CIVIC ORGANISATION?	ADDRESS
BAPELIT	ALEX CIVIC ASS	62 - 19th Ave, Alexandra
PHOLOHO	SOWETO CIVIC ASS	1179 MAFELA VILLAGE SOWETO.
Janseni	Soweto civic ass	4093 Zone 7 M/lands.
Lephunya	Soweto Civic Assoc	+2 De Villiers street
MOLEKANE	Soweto Civic Assoc.	Khotso-House.
'ANTAO	Soweto Civic Assoc.	895. G.W.S.
TOR JADA	S.C.A. PIMVILLE	1551 Glad. township. Soweto.
Phorasi	ERAPO - Daveyton.	8419 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE.
LETCHAIKE	VAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION	9 Lutengo str. Kwa-Thema.
VARUPING	Soweto CIVIC Ass.	9253 ZONE 7A SEBOKENG
OLEFE.	Soweto CIVIC ASS.	2328 ZONE 9 MEADOWLANDS
Marango	Mamelodi A.C. Comm.	2040 zone 2. Meadowlands.
KLIPANT	Mamelodi A.C. Comm	2214 9 Mamelodi.
Ralitsela	Vaal CIVIC	2672 8 Mamelodi
Lekhula	Soweto CIVIC	10223 Zone 7, Sebokeng
LAMOKGELA	Soweto CIVIC	7815 ORLANDO WEST
Munyothle	Soweto CIVIC	2747 NALEDI EXT.
UZIBUKO	SOWETO CIVIC	2525 Naledi EXT.
Matlalo	Mamelodi Action Committee	81238 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
BEKAZA	M 27 EXECUTIVE	N. 4542, Mamelodi, PRETORIA.
Maxima	Mzimhlope CIVIC	15728 NALEDI
esike DEBE	Mapetla CIVIC ALEX CIVIC	11010 Orlando West II
aza Mthembu	ERAPO	2080 Mapetla Ext
EEY SIBIA	S.C.A (PIMVILLE)	1304 11th EUE ALEX
BAILO GONKWE	—	5134 Bhengu Street Daveyton
okdo Moeng	SVL Org.	8116 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
R.M. Ndlovu	Vaal CIVIC	1725 MOLEKANE
Shiphuthi	Vaal =	9225 zone 7A Sebokeng
komphutle		298 Mafela village.
		11956 Sebokeng
		11960 zone 7 Sebokeng

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT (BLA).

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

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

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

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

These community councils operated only in African urban areas.

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

2/ ... The community

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

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

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

These town councils will replace the existing community councils.

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

The Act gives Town councils the powers to :-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY

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

WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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

5/... WHAT WILL



WHAT WILL THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT  
MEAN TO RESIDENTS :

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

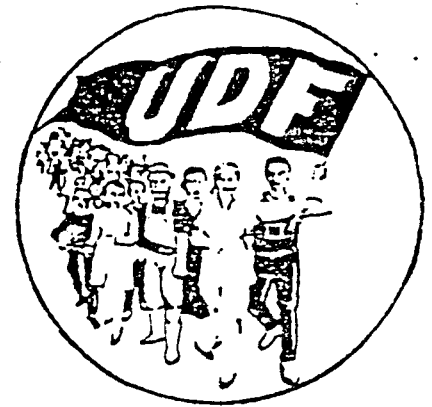
CONCLUSION:

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

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

\*\*\*\*\*

U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.  
EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.



- FRIDAY 8.00pm :Arrival and supper.
- 9.00pm :Introduction to weekend and  
get to know each other session.
- SATURDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Introducing our Civic Organisations.  
- With whole group ; presentations on  
newsprint.
- 10.00am :Tea.
- 10.30am :Evaluation of Anti-Community Council  
campaign  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Led discussion on methods of  
organising / mobilising.
- 12.30am :Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.00pm :Lunch.
- 2.00pm :How does our struggle fit in with  
other struggles?  
-4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ;  
ECO.  
-Questions from the floor after each  
speaker.  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Brief talk.
- 4.00pm :Tea.
- 4.30pm :What is the UDF and how do civic  
organisations fit in?  
-Talk and led discussion.
- 7.00pm :Supper.
- 8.00pm :Film.
- SUNDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Where do we go from here?  
-Brainstorming session in groups.  
-Report back.

10.30am	:Tea.
11.00am	:Skills session. -How to set goals and plan.
12.30am	:Evaluation.
1.00am	:Lunch and departure.

BFW "UH-2" ⑤



U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.  
EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.

- FRIDAY 8.00pm :Arrival and supper.
- 9.00pm :Introduction to weekend and get to know each other session.
- SATURDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Introducing our Civic Organisations.  
- With whole group ; presentations on newsprint.
- 10.00am :Tea.
- 10.30am :Evaluation of Anti-Community Council campaign  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Led discussion on methods of organising / mobilising.
- 12.30am :Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.00pm :Lunch.
- 2.00pm :How does our struggle fit in with other struggles?  
-4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ; ECO.  
-Questions from the floor after each speaker.  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Brief talk.
- 4.00pm :Tea.
- 4.30pm :What is the UDF and how do civic organisations fit in?  
-Talk and led discussion.
- 7.00pm :Supper.
- 8.00pm :Film.
- SUNDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Where do we go from here?  
-Brainstorming session in groups.  
-Report back.

10.30am :Tea.  
11.00am :Skills session.  
-How to set goals and plan.  
12.30am :Evaluation.  
1.00am :Lunch and departure.

VOLUME: DALESIDE (ST. JOHN BOSCO COLLEGE)

REPORT:

This is a report of each session of the education weekend.

Under each session we have reported under these headings:

AIM: what we hoped to achieve in the session

METHOD: how we ran the session

QUESTIONS: the questions which were discussed in the session

REPORT: the reports of the groups in answer to the questions

ASSESSMENT: looks at whether the session worked, we also used the evaluation forms from the civic association members who attended the weekend.

Participants; There were 35 participants at the workshops. Another 10 people came and went. (18 - SOWETO; 2 - EAST RAND; 2 - ALEX; 3 - PRETORIA; 5 - VAAL; 5 - EDUCATION COMMITTEE)

SESSION 1: INTRODUCING OUR CIVICS.

AIM: to get participants to introduce their civics, so that they could know a bit about each civic.

METHOD: Each civic met and answered the questions. They wrote their answers on newsprint and reported back to the whole group. The group asked questions of information.

QUESTIONS: the questions answered by the civics were:

1. what is the name of your civic?
2. how old is your civic?
3. how was your civic started?
4. how does your civic work?
  - (a) what structures do you have?
  - (b) when do you meet
  - (c) what activities has your civic done?

REPORTS: the civics that attended were

Alex Civic Association ( one year old)

Soweto Civic Association (5 years old)

Soweto Branches-Mzimhlope, Mapetla, Phiri, Pimville MEADOWLANDS,  
NALEDI, ORLANDO WEST,  
East Rand People's Organisation (Daveyton Branch ) (3 years old)

Mamelodi Action Committee (18 months old)

Vaal Civic Association (7 months old)

Q3 -The civics were started in different ways, in some areas activists from other areas helped local activists to start the civic, In other areas a mass meeting was called.

Q4 - Structures: most civics have an executive or steering committee, and some areas have branches and inter-branch meetings. Other structures are general groups dealing with topics like "Commuters" or "hostels"

Q4(b) The civics have regular meetings for the committees and groups, these meetings either once a week, or once every two weeks, or once a month depending on the group.

Q4(c)- the issues that civics have taken up include: transport boycott, rent, electricity and water prices, anti- community council campaign, school problems eg the high failure rate, housing, the Million Signature Campaign, Women's Day.  
- the methods used include mass meetings; pamphlets; fund-raising; petitions; house meetings; door to door; using media like newspapers, UDF news and the Eye;  
- other activities have been, helping to start a COSAS branch, setting up a woman's organisation, benefit society, classes for students.

ASSESSMENTS: This was a good introductory session, it helped people to learn about other civics, and it allowed people to share ideas and methods used. Some comrades would have liked more time for this session.

---

## SESSIONS 2: EVALUATION OF ANTI- COMMUNITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN

AIM: To evaluate the campaigns run by the different civics and to assess the gains and losses

METHOD: the civics answered the questions and wrote the answers on newsprint. They reported back to the whole group. There was a general discussion in the whole group after each presentation by each civic.

QUESTIONS: 1) What structures did your civic use to run the campaign  
2) list all the different things your civic organised during the campaign  
3) what was the % vote in your area? Why was this so big/ small?

The answers to the next four questions were not recorded on newsprint

- (i) how effective were the activities you organised ?
- (ii) what could have been done to reduce the % vote in your area?
- (iii) what gains did your organisation make as a result of the campaign?
- (iv) Now the BLA is enforced what do you plan to do?

REPORTS: 1) Structures: the civics used existing civic structures, in addition in some areas ad-hoc committees were formed involving other organisations in the campaign  
the civics also used UDF news in the campaign.

2) Things organised during the campaign- these included public meetings; pamphlets, posters, workshops on the BLA, house- to -house, placard demonstrations, disrupting election meetings, press-statements

3) the percentage vote in each area and the reasons for their size were;  
Mamelodi -28% - this was high because there was not enough publicity and there were problems with venues.

Daveyton - 18,6% - this was low because of our work

Soweto - 10 % - this was high because people were opposed to Tebehali and

people believe Tshabalala's promises.

Vaal - 14% - This was low, it was a decrease since the previous election

Alex - there was no election because we persuaded the opposition parties to dissolve so we won before the elections.

To make the campaign more effective we should have had more house to house meetings, also we should have won the churches onto our side - this could have helped us with venues, Better planning and evaluation throughout the campaign would have made things better.

In the campaign we gained experience. We politicized people and allowed them a chance to voice their grievances, this boosted the civics and in some areas helped to build stronger civics. Also we formed links between different organisations. The problem is that many of these gains were not consolidated because there was no follow-up.

The next tasks are to destroy the Black Local Authorities and to strengthen our civics.

ASSESSMENT: Many comrades found this session very useful, because they could learn from their own and each other's experiences. Also this session pointed out the need for consistent work and planning, not just work during a campaign.

---

### SESSION 3: HOW DOES OUR STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH OTHER STRUGGLES?

AIM: To bring out the links between the struggle over issues like Rent/ Electricity etc in our civics and (i) the struggle of civics in "Indian" and "Coloured" areas  
(ii) The struggle of our people in the rural areas  
(iii) the political struggle against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

METHOD: We had a panel of speakers which were supposed to consist of; one person from a civic in an "Indian" area, one person from a civic in a "coloured" area, one or two people from a political organisation (TIC/Anti-PC) and one person from a rural area.

Unfortunately a few comrades could not come (although invited) and so the only speakers who turned up were a person from a civic in Lenasia (FRA) and one person from the TIC.

After they spoke we were divided into small groups (randomly chosen) in order to discuss these questions: (1) In what way is our struggle in African areas linked to the struggles of civics in other communities?

(2) In what way is our struggle in the urban areas linked to the struggles of our people in the rural areas

(3) We have heard all the loud noises being made about the new constitution. We have also heard the TIC people talk about their struggles against it. Do you think there is any link between our problems in our local areas and the new constitution?



We then had report backs on one question at a time - and discussion of the report backs. We finished off with a short summary of the links between our various struggles (in Civics/ student bodies / women's organisations/ unions etc )

REPORT: (1) the FRA and TIC people presented a summary of the structures of the FRA and its links to the political organisation. Both of these organisations exist in Lenasia and many activists work in both organisations.

The structure of the FRA was described as a number of residents associations from different parts of Lenasia that are linked together in a federation - the FRA. The six different residents associations often take up issues that would concern only the people in their area, but any issue that concerns the whole of Lenasia is taken up by the FRA as a whole.

The FRA has an executive and a working committee of activists. It also has a number of womens/ youth / and cultural associations affiliated to it.

The FRA is in turn a participating member of CRAC - the Coordinating Residents' Action Committee. This body exists to bring together civic organisations from all over the Witwatersrand - but at the moment only civics from the "coloured" and "Indian" areas are participating

The comrades explained that they see a separation between the type of struggle fought by a civic and those fought by a political organisation like the TIC. They feel that a civic has the potential to mobilise a broad base of people in the community around some of their immediate problems ie rent/transport/ poor living conditions etc.

The role of the political organisation is to bring out the political content of these basic struggles and to make sure that these struggles are coordinated into an assault on the State at all levels - local as well as national.

Those activists who have this level of political understanding would involve themselves in civic affairs with a view to ultimately politicizing these local struggles via the TIC.

It was stressed that although the civic was seen as a very important site of struggle, it was not to be confused with a political organisation. Political struggles were often based on the mobilisation that had been achieved on a civic level, but a civic is not a political organisation and should not be confused with one.

(2) There was some discussion around the issues raised by the TIC/FRA comrades. One of the issues raised was whether the same kind of arrangement should/could exist in African areas. Was there a need for an organisation like the TIC that could deal with more directly political issues? Was the UDF the type of organisation that could deal with these issues in African areas?

This led to some discussion about the nature of the UDF as a "front". Some people felt that we should not try to compare the Lens situation too closely with the situation in many African areas, There were different conditions that may require different types of organisations to deal with them.

This discussion continued after the group discussion and led us into discussing the UDF. By this stage it was quite late and so we decided to finish off with a short talk / summary by Mike and then go straight into the discussion on the UDF and its relation to Civics.

Mike's talk tried to summarise a lot of what had already been discussed. He pointed out that we need to try and understand the links between the struggles in different areas in terms of the government's strategy in those areas.

When we try to draw the links between the struggles of youth / women / trade unions / civics / political struggles etc - we must stress the way these problems are caused by a united strategy on the part of the enemy.

The problems we face in youth organisations, in civics, in rural areas, in trade unions in political struggles are all linked because they are all caused by the government in its attempts to reorganise oppression in our country.

He went on to explain this: The government is now forcing all our people to register as homeland citizens. It is pushing all the homelands to accept independence as soon as possible.. In this way it is trying to 'get rid ' of all the Africans in SA. "Our people are now going to be treated as foreigners ( Transkeians, Vendas etc) in South Africa. This will help the government to claim that it is a democratic government that represents all the people of SA. As there will no longer be any African people in SA (they will all be in or from Bophuthatswana / venda / Transkei etc) - there won't be any problems with the fact that they are excluded from running the country.

At the same time the government is now going to allow "Indian" and " Coloured " people to come into parliament as its junior partners. It will be able to say that all South Africans are now represented in parliament and all South Africans can now run the country together. At the same time it has made sure that it will remain in control of things and that the white government will still dominate as before.

At the same time the government is trying to solve the problems of the millions of people that will remain in the urban areas. These people cannot be sent off to the homelands because they are needed in the industries in "white" SA. At one stage the government thought that it could send all the African people to the homelands and only allow them to come back as migrant workers when they are needed.

When it became clear that this would cause too many problems for big business in the urban areas, the government changed its plan. It is now trying to separate off a small group of urban people - from the large majority of rural people and migrant workers.

All our problems at local level ( poor housing, lack of recreational facilities etc ) come from the fact that the government never intended that we <sup>should</sup> stay in the urban areas. We were all supposed to be temporary workers, so it was "not necessary" to spend a lot of money on the urban townships.

Now that the government has changed its plan, it has decided that those of us who are to be allowed to stay in the urban areas will now have to carry the cost of improving our townships. After many, many years of milking us of all the work we can do - without even building decent houses for us - the government has now decided to do us a favour. It will now allow us to stay and become "privileged urban blacks" as long as we pay for these privileges ourselves.

There are many other things happening at the same time in schools etc. The point is that all these different problems that we face in different areas are all as a result of the government's new TOTAL STRATEGY. They believe that in this way they can solve all the problems that they are having at the moment and that oppression will be able to continue for the next 1 000 years.

The only way to oppose them effectively is if we make sure that our struggles are united. The struggles on the youth front, the women's front, the union front, the rural front and the civic front must all be linked together and united in <sup>a</sup> common attack on oppression and exploitation.

ASSESSMENT: This session would have been a lot better if the comrades from the rural areas and the "coloured" are civic had been with us. This would have given us a far wider range of experiences to discuss and compare.

(ii) The session raised a lot of questions that needed much more discussion and were certainly not answered properly. But they were useful because we began to discuss them and they can be taken up again - in our civics and in other education sessions.

(iii) although a lot of participants responded positively to the session - it also was quite confusing for a lot of people. It seems to be one area that needs a lot of attention in the future.

---

#### SESSION 4: WHAT IS THE UDF AND HOW DO CIVIC ORGANIATIONS FIT IN?

AIM: To examine the UDF in order to understand what a UNITED FRONT is and how civics fit in.

METHOD: This changed from what we had planned as the UDF media committee and the MSC organiser were included in the session. We were also running very late so the planned talk and discussion were changed into a brief introduction to the

the media presentation and the Million Signature Campaign.

REPORT: Comrade Kehla from the media committee presented an assessment of the media used by the civics during the Anti- CC campaign( We have attached it to this report) He also made it clear that although a lot of good media was produced during the campaign very little media has been produced by civics since the Campaign. He stated that although the UDF committee could not undertake to produce media for civics , - nor could it finance media for the civics, it could help in the training of people within the civics so that media could become an ongoing part of our organisations.

Comrade Murphy told us about the Million Signature Campaign and how few signatures had been collected. He pointed out that one of the aims of the campaign was to build up the affiliates - not to distance them from their work. But in order for this to be done - affiliates had to think seriously about the best way of approaching the campaign within their own organisations.

In the discussion that resulted, it became clear that very few civics had really managed to clear up what their relations to the UDF was. In some areas people feared that the UDF was trying to take over things in the organisation. People ended up by saying that this problem was a serious one that had to be dealt with as soon as possible - but that it should also be dealt with carefully so as not to cause more problems.

ASSESSMENT: We did not really achieve our aim of examining the UDF and how our civics fitted in. We did not even touch on the question raised during the previous session; ie. Was the UDF a "political organisation" that could play the same kind of role in the African Areas that the TIC plays in "Indian" areas. Although many people felt that this was not so - the issue was not really discussed. This was partly due to a lack of time, and too many other issues being raised.

This issue must be tackled again in future education events or within our organisations.

---

#### SESSION 5: THE FILM

AIM: Entertainment and also <sup>to see</sup> something related to the struggle if possible.

REPORT: We showed the film "the Fifth Offensive" which was about the struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia (under Marshall Tito) against the Nazis in the second world war.

We had some problem with the projector , but we eventually fixed something up and showed the film. We did not have any organised discussion after the film

ASSESSMENT: The film was good in that it gave people a feeling for struggles that have occurred in other countries. We did not discuss it; which was a pity. In future

we should try and get the kind of film or slide-tape show that can be both entertaining and are worth discussing. Films can be very effective in giving information and creating a more realistic way of understanding a situation.

---

SESSION 6: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

AIM: A general brainstorming session to get ideas on what civics could do now that the campaign is over. To try and focus the ideas brought up in previous sessions ; especially the session evaluating the campaign and the session linking civic struggles to other struggles.

METHOD: At the start of the session it was made clear that NO DECISIONS COULD BE MADE for civics at this meeting.

People were divided into groups and discussed the question.

The groups reported back to the plenary .

QUESTION: We have been discussing the anti- CC campaign and its links to other struggles and our role in the UDF. Keeping this in mind

What do we need to do in our civics?(Please list all the ideas )

REPORTS :(1) We need to strengthen our civics:

-get more members

leadership training and skills training

- work out program of action based on issues facing us.

-know our limitations and don't promise the impossible

-follow up the anti-CC campaign

-have regular house meetings

(2) Comrades must be disciplined

-we must be democratic and consistent

-we must be frank , fair and responsible

-we must practise what we preach.

(3) The work of civics need to be coordinated

- perhaps through the UDF

-perhaps through an office for civics

(4) Civi must coordinate with other organisations and groupings

-churches, taxi associations, hostels, sporting organisations  
cultural organisations, artists etc

-these groups should be involved in our work

(5) Open an office

-for advice work

-so people can know where to reach us

-for a regular venue for meetings

(6) Advice work

-Legal aid, health advice, rehabilitation for criminal

- be able to refer people to other advice centres.
- (7) Propaganda
  - newsletter
- (8) Start mutual benefit societies (eg Stokvels)
- (9) Educational work
  - investigate needs
  - run educational events
  - prepare material
- (10) Cultural and recreational societies linked to the civics should be set up
- (11) Projects relevant to the communities
  - creches
  - literacy programmes
- (12) Propagate UDF values
- (13) politicize people
  - symbolize the links in our struggle eg by using different speakers like students, workers etc on platforms
- (13) Expose powerlessness of local government using day to day issues.

ASSESSMENT: This session was useful to raise possibilities, and again emphasised the need for ongoing work between campaigns It was also helped as a lead in to the next session.

---

#### SESSION 7: SKILLS SESSION

AIM: To look at how to set useful goals and to plan, and to show why this is important

METHOD: Input, then a discussion in the big group  
Practise of planning in the small groups.

INPUT: Looking at the ideas from the last session we can say that they are all goals that we can work for. Some of these goals are very general and won't really help us to plan our work. Eg the goal "To politicize our people" is not very useful as a goal because it does not really tell us what to do, or how to do it. With this kind of goal we can do very little work and still say that we are "politicizing our people"

There are certain things we can do to make our goals more useful:

(1) we must set goals that we know we can achieve. So a goal like "destroy the BLA" is not really easy for a new and small civic to achieve . But a goal like "Get 10 new members" is possible

(2) The goal must be set in such a way that we can assess it. After we have worked for a goal we must be able to say whether we have succeeded or failed. So if our goal is to "educate our members" we cant really know if we have succeeded or not. But if our goal is "to run a workshop on the BLA" we can assess it. We can assess whether the

the workshop happened, how many people attended it, if they learned a lot and if they joined the civic.

(3) When we set goals we must set a time limit , otherwise the work can go on for a very long time with nothing being achieved. The time limit will help us to be disciplined in our work. Examples of time limits are " have house meetings every week" or "run a seminar in the next month".

(4) When we set goals, we must be democratic and make sure that everyone agrees with the goal. We must make sure that the group is committed to our goal . If we don't have the group's commitment we will not get the work done.

(5) The goals we set must be specific. They must describe what we want to do. A goal like " Hold house meetings with residents every month" is more specific than a goal like "make contact with residents"

GROUP DISCUSSION:

How can we improve a goal like "Strengthen our civics"

We can make it more specific: "increase the number of members in our civic" , "run workshops to educate our members"

We can also build in time limits " Recruit ten new members every week"  
"run workshops once a month"

This goal is achievable, if we work hard; We can assess if we succeed or fail, by asking if we have recruited new member, or held monthly seminars; There is time limit; and the group is committed to it, everyone thinks it is a good and important goal. And finally we can say that it is specific. All these things make it a useful goal.

INPUT: How to plan

Once we have set our goals we must plan HOW we will carry them out

(1) We must be clear exactly what we want to achieve - this is in terms of both our long term goals and the specific goals we are working for

(2) We then get suggestions of all the possible ways we could work for this goal.

After listing all the ideas, we choose the best ones.

(3) Check out : can we do this?

Do we have time ? money ? people ? resources ?  
if we don't, can we find them somewhere?

(4) Work out all the tasks we need to do

plan WHO will do each task

WHEN will the tasks be done

WHERE will we do all this

Then talk about: WHAT will we do if this plan DOESN'T WORK ?

(5) Plan time to evaluate, during the work and after the plan has been carried out.

SMALL GROUPS: Small groups planned an educational event for a civic

REPORT: one of the small groups reported on their plan

the other people criticised the plan and tried to improve on it,

ASSESSMENT: Many people found this session very useful. Especially as it showed how careful planning can help our work, We needed far more time for this session

---

#### SESSION8: THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BLA ) ACT.

AIM: To give information on what the BLA will actually mean,

METHOD: A HANDOUT on the BLA was distributed

Comrade ~~Amos~~ summarised the BLA and answered questions

ASSESSMENT: People found the information valuable. The information was clear, and it showed the links between the BLA and the constitution

---

#### SESSION 9: EVALUATION.

AIM To get feedback from people so we could see

(1) What sessions were useful

(2) what our mistakes were

METHOD: Questions were asked, The answers were written and handed in  
the answers were anonymous

QUESTIONS:

(1) What session did you find most useful and why?

(2) What session did you not like and why?

(3) Did you have any problems with any of the educators ? which ones? What were the problems?

(4) Did you find it a problem that all the sessions were in English?

(5) What improvement would you have preferred?

(6) Would it be useful to organise further educational events?

REPORT: Most of the answers are written under the assesment of each session.

OTHER COMMENTS:

(1) Three people would have preferred Zulu or Sotho

(2) A few people felt that one of the educators spoke too fast and too softly

(3) people asked for regular seminars

(4) one person asked for a seminar like this , but with other political bodies

(5) we should have used methods like Role-plays

(6) workshops should be announced in UDF news

(7) we needed more time and more flexible time-management



NAME?	CIVIC ORGANISATION?	ADDRESS
JBL BAPELI	ALEX CIVIC ASS	62 - 19th Ave, Alexandra
Sam Pholotho	SOWETO CIVIC ASS	1179 MAPETLA VILLAGE SOWETO
Sana Jansani	Soweto civic ass	409B Zone 7 M/lands.
M. Lephunya	Soweto Civic Assoc	42 De Villiers street
S. MOLEKANE	Soweto Civic Assoc.	Khotso-House.
B. RANTAO	Soweto Civic Assoc.	895. C W.S.
HECTOR JADA	S.C.A. PIMVILLE	1551 Gladi Township. Soweto.
M. Phatasi	ERAPO - Daveyton	8419 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE.
E. LEHAIKE	Vaal CIVIL ASSOCIATION	9 Lutengo St. Kwa-Thema.
M. MARUPING	SOWETO CIVIC ASS.	9253 ZONE 7A SEBOKENG
S. MOLEFE.	Soweto Civic ASS.	2328 ZONE 9 MEADOWLANDS
P. Marango	Mamelodi A.C. Comm.	2040 zone 2. Meadowlands.
J OLIPHANT	Mamelodi A.C. Comm	2214 9 Mamelodi.
E. Ralitsela	Vaal Civic	2682 8 Mamelodi
S. Lekhula	Soweto CIVIC	10223 Zone 7, Sebokeng
N. RANOKGOLA	Soweto Civic	7815 ORLANDO WEST
S. Mnyothle	Soweto Civic	2747 Naledi EXT.
S. MAZIBUKO	SOWETO CIVIC	2525 Naledi EXT.
Dadi Matlala	Mamelodi Action Committee	81238 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
N. Bokala	U L F EXECUTIVE	N. 4542, Mamelodi, PRETORIA.
T. Masina	Mzantshepe Civic	15729 Naledi
J. Masike	Mapetla Civic	11010 Orlando West II
R. Rudebe	ALEX CIVIC	2080 Mapetla Ext
Zaza Mthembu	ERAPO	1304 M'EU ALEX
MURRAY SIGIJA	S.C.A (PIMVILLE)	5134 Bhengu Street Daveyton
LEBALO GOBANE	-	8116 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
Katleka Moeng	N.C. Org.	1725 MOLESIAE
Miriam Ndlovu	Vaal Civic	9225 zone 7A Sebokeng
Phophuthi	-	298 Mofolo village.
Sampetle	-	11956 Sebokeng
		11060 Zone 7 Sebokeng

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT (B.L.A.)

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

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

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

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

These community councils operated only in African urban areas . . .

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

2/ ... The community

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

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

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

These town councils will replace the existing community councils.

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

The Act gives Town councils the powers to :-

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

3/ ... They do NOT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY

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

WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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

5/... WHAT WILL

DUPLIKAT.

BEW. "U.H.-2" ⑥

U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE - EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS. - 27<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup>/29<sup>th</sup> APRIL

VENUE: DALESIDE (ST. JOHN BOSCO COLLEGE)

REPORT:

This is a report of each session of the education weekend.  
Under each session we have reported under these headings:

AIM: what we hoped to achieve in the session

METHOD: how we ran the session

QUESTIONS: the questions which were discussed in the session

REPORT: the reports of the groups in answer to the questions

ASSESSMENT: looks at whether the session worked, we also used the evaluation forms from the civic association members who attended the weekend.

Participants; There were 35 participants at the workshops. Another 10 people came and went.  
(18 - SOWETO ; 2 - EAST RAND ; 2 - ALEX ; 3 - PRETORIA ; 5 - VAAL ; 5 - EDUCATION COMMITTEE )

SESSION 1: INTRODUCING OUR CIVICS.

AIM: to get participants to introduce their civics, so that they could know a bit about each civic.

METHOD: Each civic met and answered the questions. They wrote their answers on newsprint and reported back to the whole group. The group asked questions of information.

QUESTIONS: the questions answered by the civics were:

1. what is the name of your civic?
2. how old is your civic?
3. how was your civic started?
4. how does your civic work?
  - (a) what structures do you have?
  - (b) when do you meet
  - (c) what activities has your civic done?

REPORTS: the civics that attended were

Alex Civic Association ( one year old)

Soweto Civic Association (5 years old)

Soweto Branches-Mzimhlope, Mapeta, Phiri, Pimville MEADOWLANDS,  
NALEDI, ORLANDO WEST.

East Rand People's Organisation (Daveyton Branch ) (3 years old)

Mamelodi Action Committee (18 months old)

Vaal Civic Association (7 months old)

Q3 -The civics were started in different ways, in some areas activists from other areas helped local activists to start the civic, In other areas a mass meeting was called.

Q4 - Structures: most civics have an executive or steering committee, and some areas have branches and inter-branch meetings. Other structures are general groups dealing with topics like "Commuters" or "hostels"

Q4(b) The civics have regular meetings for the committees and groups, these meetings either once a week, or once every two weeks, or once a month depending on the group.

Q4(c)- the issues that civics have taken up include: transport boycott, rent, electricity and water prices, anti- community council campaign, school problems eg the high failure rate, housing, the Million Signature Campaign, Women's Day.

- the methods used include mass meetings; pamphlets; fund-raising; petitions; house meetings; door to door; using media like newspapers, UDF news and the Eye;  
- other activities have been, helping to start a COSAS branch, setting up a woman's organisation, benefit society, classes for students.

ASSESSMENTS: This was a good introductory session, it helped people to learn about other civics, and it allowed people to share ideas and methods used. Some comrades would have liked more time for this session.

## NB SESSIONS 2: EVALUATION OF ANTI- COMMUNITY COUNCIL CAMPAIGN

AIM: To evaluate the campaigns run by the different civics and to assess the gains and losses

METHOD: the civics answered the questions and wrote the answers on newsprint. They reported back to the whole group. There was a general discussion in the whole group after each presentation by each civic.

QUESTIONS: 1) What structures did your civic use to run the campaign.  
2) list all the different things your civic organised during the campaign  
3) what was the % vote in your area? Why was this so big/ small?

The answers to the next four questions were not recorded on newsprint

- (i) how effective were the activities you organised ?
- (ii) what could have been done to reduce the % vote in your area?
- (iii) what gains did your organisation make as a result of the campaign?
- (iv) Now the BLA is enforced what do you plan to do?

REPORTS: 1) Structures: the civics used existing civic structures, in addition in some areas ad-hoc committees were formed involving other organisations in the campaign  
the civics also used UDF news in the campaign.

2) Things organised during the campaign- these included public meetings; pamphlets, posters, workshops on the BLA, house- to -house, placard demonstrations, disrupting election meetings, press-statements

3) the percentage vote in each area and the reasons for their size were;  
Mamelodi -28% - this was high because there was not enough publicity.and there were problems with venues.

Daveyton - 18,6% - this was low because of our work

Soweto - 10 % - this was high because people were opposed to Tebehalo and

people believe Tshabalala's promises.

Vaal - 14% - This was low, it was a decrease since the previous election

Alex - there was no election because we persuaded the opposition parties to dissolve so we won before the elections.

To make the campaign more effective we should have had more house to house meetings, also we should have won the churches onto our side - this could have helped us with venues, Better planning and evaluation throughout the campaign would have made things better.

In the campaign we gained experience. We politicized people and allowed them a chance to voice their grievances, this boosted the civics and in some areas helped to build stronger civics. Also we formed links between different organisations. The problem is that many of these gains were not consolidated because there was no follow-up.

The next tasks are to destroy the Black Local Authorities and to strengthen our civics.

ASSESSMENT: Many comrades found this session very useful, because they could learn from their own and each other's experiences. Also this session pointed out the need for consistent work and planning, not just work during a campaign.

SESSION 3 : HOW DOES OUR STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH OTHER STRUGGLES?

AIM: To bring out the links between the struggle over issues like Rent/ Electricity etc

- in our civics and (i) the struggle of civics in "Indian" and "Coloured" areas
- (ii) The struggle of our people in the rural areas
- (iii) the political struggle against the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

METHOD: We had a panel of speakers which were supposed to consist of; one person from a civic in an "Indian" area, one person from a civic in a "coloured" area, one or two people from a political organisation (TIC/Anti-PC) and one person from a rural area.

Unfortunately a few comrades could not come ( although invited ) and so the only speakers who turned up were a person from a civic in Lenasia (FRA ) and one person from the TIC.

After they spoke we were divided into small groups (randomly chosen) in order to discuss these questions:(1) In what way is our struggle in African areas linked to the struggles of civics in other communities?

- (2) In what way is our struggle in the urban areas linked to the struggles of our people in the rural areas
- (3) We have heard all the loud noises being made about the new constitution. We have also heard the TIC people talk about their struggles against it. Do you think there is any link between our problems in our local areas and the new constitution ?



We then had report backs on one question at a time - and discussion of the report backs.  
We finished off with a short summary of the links between our various struggles (in  
civics/ student bodies / women's organisations/ unions etc)

REPORT: (1) the FRA and TIC people presented a summary of the structures of the FRA and its links to the political organisation. Both of these organisations exist in Lenasia and many activists work in both organisations.

The structure of the FRA was described as a number of residents associations from different parts of Lenasia that are linked together in a federation - the FRA. The six different residents associations often take up issues that would concern only the people in their area, but any issue that concerns the whole of Lenasia is taken up by the FRA as a whole.

The FRA has an executive; and a working committee of activists. It also has a number of womens/ youth / and cultural associations affiliated to it.

The FRA is in turn a participating member of CRAC - the Coordinating Residents' Action Committee. This body exists to bring together civic organisations from all over the Witwatersrand - but at the moment only civics from the "coloured" and "Indian" areas are participating

The comrades explained that they see a separation between the type of struggle fought by a civic and those fought by a political organisation like the TIC.

nB ① They feel that a civic has the potential to mobilise a broad base of people in the community around some of their immediate problems ie rent/transport/ poorliving conditions etc.

nB. ② The role of the political organisation is to bring out the political content of these basic struggles and to make sure that these struggles are coordinated into an assault on the State at all levels - local as well as national.

nB. ③ Those activists who have this level of political understanding would involve themselves in civic affairs with a view to ultimately politicizing these local struggles via the TIC.

④ It was stressed that although the civic was seen as a very important site of struggle, it was not to be confused with a political organisation. Political struggles were often based on the mobilisation that had been achieved on a civic level, but a civic is not a political organisation and should not be confused with one.

(2) There was some discussion around the issues raised by the TIC/FRA comrades. One of the issues raised was whether the same kind of arrangement should/could exist in African areas. Was there a need for an organisation like the TIC that could deal with more directly political issues? Was the UDF the type of organisation that could deal with these issues in African areas?

This led to some discussion about the nature of the UDF as a "front". Some people felt that we should not try to compare the Lens situation too closely with the situation in many African areas. There were different conditions that may require different types of organisations to deal with them.

*Voluntary*

This discussion continued after the group discussion and led us into discussing the UDF. By this stage it was quite late and so we decided to finish off with a short talk / summary by Mike and then go straight into the discussion on the UDF and its relation to Civics.

Mike's talk tried to summarise a lot of what had already been discussed. He pointed out that we need to try and understand the links between the struggles in different areas in terms of the government's strategy in those areas.

When we try to draw the links between the struggles of youth / women / trade unions / civics / political struggles etc - we must stress the way these problems are caused by a united strategy on the part of the enemy.

The problems we face in youth organisations, in civics, in rural areas, in trade unions in political struggles are all linked because they are all caused by the government in its attempts to reorganise oppression in our country.

He went on to explain this: The government is now forcing all our people to register as homeland citizens. It is pushing all the homelands to accept independence as soon as possible.. In this way it is trying to 'get rid ' of all the Africans in SA. Our people are now going to be treated as foreigners ( Transkeians, Vendas etc) in South Africa. This will help the government to claim that it is a democratic government that represents all the people of SA. As there will no longer be any African people in SA (they will all be in or from Bophuthatswana / venda / Transkei etc) - there won't be any problems with the fact that they are excluded from running the country.

At the same time the government is now going to allow "Indian" and " Coloured " people to come into parliament as its junior partners. It will be able to say that all South Africans are now represented in parliament and all South Africans can now run the country together. At the same time it has made sure that it will remain in control of things and that the white government will still dominate as before.

At the same time the government is trying to solve the problems of the millions of people that will remain in the urban areas. These people cannot be sent off to the homelands because they are needed in the industries in "white" SA. At one stage the government thought that it could send all the African people to the homelands and only allow them to come back as migrant workers when they are needed.

When it became clear that this would cause too many problems for big business in the urban areas, the government changed its plan. It is now trying to separate off a small group of urban people - from the large majority of rural people and migrant workers.

All our problems at local level ( poor housing, lack of recreational facilities etc ) come from the fact that the government never intended that we <sup>should</sup> stay in the urban areas. We were all supposed to be temporary workers, so it was "not necessary" to spend a lot of money on the urban townships.

Now that the government has changed its plan, it has decided that those of us who are to be allowed to stay in the urban areas will now have to carry the cost of improving our townships. After many, many years of milking us of all the work we can do - without even building decent houses for us - the government has now decided to do us a favour. It will now allow us to stay and become "privileged urban blacks" as long as we pay for these privileges ourselves.

There are many other things happening at the same time in schools etc. The point is that all these different problems that we face in different areas are all as a result of the governments new TOTAL STRATEGY. They believe that in this way they can solve all the problems that they are having at the moment and that oppression will be able to continue for the next 1 000 years.

The only way to oppose them effectively is if we make sure that our struggles are united. The struggles on the youth front, the womens front, the union front, the rural front and the civic front must all be linked together and united in common attack on oppression and exploitation.

ASSESSMENT: This session would have been a lot better if the comrades from the rural areas and the "coloured" are civic had been with us. This would have given us a far wider range of experiences to discuss and compare.

(ii) The session raised a lot of questions that needed much more discussion and were certainly not answered properly. But they were useful because we began to discuss them and they can be taken up again - in our civics and in other education sessions.

(iii) although a lot of participants responded positively to the session - it also was quite confusing for a lot of people. It seems to be one area that needs a lot of attention in the future.

#### SESSION 4: WHAT IS THE UDF AND HOW DO CIVIC ORGANIATIONS FIT IN?

AIM: To examine the UDF in order to understand what a UNITED FRONT is and how civics fit in.

METHOD: This changed from what we had planned as the UDF media committee and the MSC organiser were included in the session. We were also running very late so the planned talk and discussion were changed into a brief introduction to the

the media presentation and the Million Signature Campaign.

REPORT: Comrade Kehla from the media committee presented an assessment of the media used by the civics during the Anti- CC campaign( We have attached it to this report) He also made it clear that although a lot of good media was produced during the campaign very little media has been produced by civics since the Campaign. He stated that although the UDF committee could not undertake to produce media for civics , - nor could it finance media for the civics, it could help in the training of people within the civics so that media could become an ongoing part of our organisations.

*beck ??* → Comrade Murphy told us about the Million Signature Campaign and how few signatures had been collected. He pointed out that one of the aims of the campaign was to build up the affiliates - not to distance them from their work. But in order for this to be done - affiliates had to think seriously about the best way of approaching the campaign within their own organisations.

In the discussion that resulted, it became clear that very few civics had really managed to clear up what their relations to the UDF was. In some areas people feared that the UDF was trying to take over things in the organisation. People ended up by saying that this problem was a serious one that had to be dealt with as soon as possible - but that it should also be dealt with carefully so as not to cause more problems.

ASSESSMENT: We did not really achieve our aim of examining the UDF and how our civics fitted in. We did not even touch on the question raised during the previous session; ie. Was the UDF a "political organisation" that could play the same kind of role in the African Areas that the TIC plays in "Indian" areas. Although many people felt that this was not so - the issue was not really discussed. This was partly due to a lack of time, and too many other issues being raised.

This issue must be tackled again in future education events or within our organisations.

SESSION 5: THE FILM

*to see*

AIM: Entertainment and also something related to the struggle if possible.

REPORT: We showed the film "the Fifth Offensive" which was about the struggles of the partisans in Yugoslavia (under Marshall Tito) against the Nazis in the second world war.

We had some problem with the projector , but we eventually fixed something up and showed the film. We did not have any organised discussion after the film

ASSESSMENT: The film was good in that it gave people a feeling for struggles that have occurred in other countries. We did not discuss it; which was a pity. In future

we should try and get the kind of film or slide-tape show that can be both entertaining and are worth discussing. Films can be very effective in giving information and creating a more realistic way of understanding a situation.

SESSION 6: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

AIM: A general brainstorming session to get ideas on what civics could do now that the campaign is over. To try and focus the ideas brought up in previous sessions ; especially the session evaluating the campaign and the session linking civic struggles to other struggles.

METHOD: At the start of the session it was made clear that NO DECISIONS COULD BE MADE for civics at this meeting.

People were divided into groups and discussed the question.

The groups reported back to the plenary .

QUESTION: We have been discussing the anti- CC campaign and its links to other struggles and our role in the UDF. Keeping this in mind

What do we need to do in our civics?(Please list all the ideas )

REPORTS :(1) We need to strengthen our civics:

- get more members
- leadership training and skills training
- work out program of action based on issues facing us.
- know our limitations and don't promise the impossible
- follow up the anti-CC campaign
- have regular house meetings

(2) Comrades must be disciplined

- we must be democratic and consistent
- we must be frank , fair and responsible
- we must practise what we preach.

(3) The work of civics need to be coordinated

- perhaps through the UDF
- perhaps through an office for civics

(4) Civi must coordinate with other organisations and groupings

- churches, taxi associations, hostels, sporting organisations
- cultural organisations, artists etc
- these groups should be involved in our work

(5) Open an office

- for advice work
- so people can know where to reach us
- for a regular venue for meetings

(6) Advice work

- Legal aid, health advice, rehabilitation for criminal

- be able to refer people to other advice centres.

(7) Propaganda

-newsletter

(8) Start mutual benefit societies (eg Stokvels)

(9) Educational work

-investigate needs

-run educational events

-prepare material

(10) Cultural and recreational societies linked to the civics should be set up.

NB. (11) Projects relevant to the communities

-creches

-literacy programmes

(12) Propagate UDF values

(13) politicize people

-symbolize the links in our struggle eg by using different speakers like students, workers etc on platforms

NB NB (13) Expose powerlessness of local government using day to day issues.

ASSESSMENT: This session was useful to raise possibilities, and again emphasised the need for ongoing work between campaigns It was also helped as a lead in to the next session.

---

NB SESSION 7: SKILLS SESSION

AIM: To look at how to set useful goals and to plan, and to show why this is important

METHOD: Input, then a discussion in the big group

Practise of planning in the small groups.

INPUT: Looking at the ideas from the last session we can say that they are all goals that we can work for. Some of these goals are very general and won't really help us to plan our work. Eg the goal "To politicize our people" is not very useful as a goal because it does not really tell us what to do, or how to do it. With this kind of goal we can do very little work and still say that we are "politicizing our people"

There are certain things we can do to make our goals more useful:

NB. (1) we must set goals that we know we can achieve. So a goal like "destroy the BLA" is not really easy for a new and small civic to achieve . But a goal like "Get 10 new members" is possible

(2) The goal must be set in such a way that we can assess it. After we have worked for a goal we must be able to say whether we have succeeded or failed. So if our goal is to "educate our members" we cant really know if we have succeeded or not. But if our goal is "to run a workshop on the BLA" we can assess it. We can assess whether the

the workshop happened, how many people attended it, if they learned a lot and if they joined the civic.

NB (3) When we set goals we must set a time limit, otherwise the work can go on for a very long time with nothing being achieved. The time limit will help us to be disciplined in our work. Examples of time limits are "have house meetings every week" or "run a seminar in the next month".

NB (4) When we set goals, we must be democratic and make sure that everyone agrees with the goal. We must make sure that the group is committed to our goal. If we don't have the group's commitment we will not get the work done.

(5) The goals we set must be specific. They must describe what we want to do. A goal like "Hold house meetings with residents every month" is more specific than a goal like "make contact with residents"

GROUP DISCUSSION:

How can we improve a goal like "Strengthen our civics"

We can make it more specific: "increase the number of members in our civic", "run workshops to educate our members"

We can also build in time limits "Recruit ten new members every week"  
"run workshops once a month"

This goal is achievable, if we work hard; We can assess if we succeed or fail, by asking if we have recruited new member, or held monthly seminars; There is time limit; and the group is committed to it, everyone thinks it is a good and important goal. And finally we can say that it is specific. All these things make it a useful goal.

INPUT: How to plan

Once we have set our goals we must plan HOW we will carry them out

(1) We must be clear exactly what we want to achieve - this is in terms of both our long term goals and the specific goals we are working for

(2) We then get suggestions of all the possible ways we could work for this goal.

After listing all the ideas, we choose the best ones.

(3) Check out: can we do this?

Do we have time? money? people? resources?  
if we don't, can we find them somewhere?

(4) Work out all the tasks we need to do

plan WHO will do each task  
WHEN will the tasks be done  
WHERE will we do all this

Then talk about: WHAT will we do if this plan DOESN'T WORK?

(5) Plan time to evaluate, during the work and after the plan has been carried out.

SMALL GROUPS: Small groups planned an educational event for a civic

REPORT: one of the small groups reported on their plan

the other people criticised the plan and tried to improve on it,

ASSESSMENT: Many people found this session very useful. Especially as it showed how careful planning can help our work, We needed far more time for this session

---

SESSION 8: THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES (BLA ) ACT.

AIM: To give information on what the BLA will actually mean,

METHOD: A HANDOUT on the BLA was distributed

Comrade Amos summarised the BLA and answered questions

ASSESSMENT: People found the information valuable. The information was clear, and it showed the links between the BLA and the constitution

---

SESSION 9: EVALUATION.

AIM To get feedback from people so we could see

- (1) What sessions were useful
- (2) what our mistakes were

METHOD: Questions were asked, The answers were written and handed in the answers were anonymous

QUESTIONS:

- (1) What session did you find most useful and why?
- (2) What session did you not like and why?
- (3) Did you have any problems with any of the educators ? which ones? What were the problems?
- (4) Did you find it a problem that all the sessions were in English?
- (5) What improvement would you have preferred?
- (5) Would it be useful to organise further educational events?

REPORT: Most of the answers are written under the assesment of each session

OTHER COMMENTS:

- (1) Three people would have preferred Zulu or Sotho
- (2) A few people felt that one of the educators spoke too fast and too softly
- (3) people asked for regular seminars
- (4) one person asked for a seminar like this , but with other political bodies
- (5) we should have used methods like Role-plays
- (6) workshops should be announced in UDF news
- (7) we needed more time and more flexible time-management



NAME	CIVIC ORGANISATION?	ADDRESS
BED BAZELI	ALEX CIVIC ASS	62 - 19th Ave, Alexandra
Am Pholofo	SOWETO CIVIC ASS	1179 MAPETLA VILLAGE SOWETO.
Jan Jandani	Soweto Civic Ass	4093 Zone 7 M/lands.
M. Lephanya	Soweto Civic Assoc	+2 De Villiers street
S. MOEKANE	Soweto Civic Assoc.	Khotso-House.
P. RANTAO	Soweto Civic Assoc.	895. C W.S.
VICTOR TADA	S.C.A. PIMVILLE	1551 Glad. Township. Soweto.
A. Phetani	ERAPO - Daveyton	8419 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
E. LETHAKE	VAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION	9 Lutengo Str. Kwa-Thema.
M. MARUPING	Soweto CIVIC ASS.	9253 ZONE 7A SEBOKENG
S. MOLEFE	Soweto CIVIC ASS.	2328 ZONE 9 MEADOWLANDS
P. Masango	Mamelodi A.C. Comm.	2040 zone 2. Meadowlands.
J. OLIPHANT	Mamelodi A.C. Comm	2214 9 Mamelodi.
E. Ralibela	Vaal Civic	2632 8 Mamelodi
S. Lekhula	Soweto CIVIC	10223 Zone 7, Sebokeng
N. LAMOKGABA	Soweto CIVIC	7815 ORLANDO WEST
S. Mnyathi	Soweto CIVIC	2747 NALEDI EXT.
S. MZIBUKO	SOWETO CIVIC	2525 Naledi EXT.
Dadi Matlala	Mamelodi Action Committee	8123B ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
Y. BOKAZA	U L F EXECUTIVE	N. 4542, Mamelodi, PRETORIA.
M. Masina	Mgungu Civic	1572A NALEDI
F. Masike	Mapetla Civic	11010 Orlando West II
P. Radebe	ALEX CIVIC	2080 Mapetla Ext
Zaza Mthembu	ERAPO	1304 11th EUE ALEX
Roseley Sibisi	S.C.A. (PIMVILLE)	5134 Bhengu Street Daveyton
LEBALLE GONZALEZ	-	8114 ZONE 6 PIMVILLE
Lathulo Moeng	V.C. Org.	1725 MOLETIANE
MIRIAM Mkhovu	Vaal Civic	9225 zone 7 <sup>A</sup> Sebokeng
S. Mphahlele	Vaal =	298 <sup>A</sup> Mafolo Village.
S. Mphahlele		11956 Sebokeng
		11960 zone 7 Sebokeng

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT (B.L.A.)

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

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

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

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

These community councils operated only in African urban areas . . .

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

2/ ... The community

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

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

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

These town councils will replace the existing community councils.

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

The Act gives Town councils the powers to :-

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

3/ ... They do NOT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITY

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

WHITE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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

5/... WHAT WILL

WHAT WILL THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT  
MEAN TO RESIDENTS :

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

CONCLUSION:

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

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

\*\*\*\*\*

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P.O.BOX 25063

FERREIRASTOWN

2048

Dear Friends,

Re ; Education Workshop.

The education committee of the UDF would like to extend an invitation to your organisation to attend an education workshop on the week-end of the ~~27/28/29~~ April 1984 at St. John Bosco conference centre in Daleside.

The aim of the workshop is to evaluate the Anti-Community Council campaign and to look at the road ahead for civic organisation in the continuing struggle against the local authorities.

Your organisation will be permitted three representatives from your executive committee and four community activists. The cost for attending the workshop will be R2.00 payable at the time of registration.

Please ensure that your organisation participates in the workshop, in order to make it a meaningful event.

Yours in struggle,

MOSS CHIKANE.

P.S. A COPY OF THE PROGRAMME IS ENCLOSED.

U.D.F. EDUCATION COMMITTEE.  
EDUCATION PROGRAMME FOR CIVICS.



- FRIDAY 8.00pm :Arrival and supper.
- 9.00pm :Introduction to weekend and  
get to know each other session.
- SATURDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Introducing our Civic Organisations.  
- With whole group ; presentations on  
newsprint.
- 10.00am :Tea.
- 10.30am :Evaluation of Anti-Community Council  
campaign  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Led discussion on methods of  
organising / mobilising.
- 12.30am :Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.00pm :Lunch.
- 2.00pm :How does our struggle fit in with  
other struggles?  
-4 Speakers ; Leandra ; TIC ; FRA ;  
ECO.  
-Questions from the floor after each  
speaker.  
-Group discussion.  
-Report back.  
-Brief talk.
- 4.00pm :Tea.
- 4.30pm :What is the UDF and how do civic  
organisations fit in?  
-Talk and led discussion.
- 7.00pm :Supper.
- 8.00pm :Film.
- SUNDAY 8.00am :Breakfast.
- 9.00am :Where do we go from here?  
-Brainstorming session in groups.  
-Report back.