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THE UDF
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MILLION
SIGNATURE
CAMPAIGN:



AN
ORGANISER'S
HANDBOOK

New "WS3"

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HOW TO USE THE HAND-BOOK

Nothing can take the place of the creativity that emerges when a group of people sit down and plan a campaign.

This handbook is a guide to help such creative planning.

What this book offers is a rigorous method of organising a campaign. It also serves as a useful reminder for things we sometimes forget in our rush to get down to action.

This book suggests a path to ensure that we achieve the aims of the million signature campaign.

A useful way to use this handbook is to get together with other people who will be playing an important role in the campaign, and read through the entire handbook with them. Then discuss how much of the content is in fact relevant and possible in terms of your area or organisation. Do not despair that there is too much to do, or that it is too difficult!

Once this has been done, share the handbook and your discussions with a wider number of people. If this is not possible, use your group's own assessment of the book, plus your own creativity, and go forward.

As the campaign takes off in your area or organisation, you will find it useful to refer to this book again and again. Parts that seem irrelevant when you first read it, can be of great value once the campaign has begun to unfold.



PREFACE

Over the coming months, we face the task of collecting one million signatures from our people. That is, a million signatures that say NO to the Constitution and Koornhof Bills; a million signatures that say YES to a non-racial democratic South Africa and to the United Democratic Front

UDF shows the unity we are building among all South Africans. It is our protection against those who seek to divide and weaken us. Over its short but eventful life, over 600 organisations throughout South Africa have been mobilised into the Front. Millions of people today support the UDF.

But UDF is only as strong as its affiliated organisations. In our struggle for freedom, we are armed with our ability to mobilise and organise our people. The Million Signature Campaign affords us the opportunity to strengthen existing organisations and to build organisation where none exists.

It gives us a common programme involving all our people throughout the country. This is the challenge that faces all UDF affiliates - and all freedom-loving people in South Africa: to build and strengthen our organisations through the Million Signature Campaign.

INTRODUCTION

For over 300 years now our people have struggled for freedom and democracy in this country. We fought with spears against the guns up to 1906 to get our land back. Till the 1940's there were petitions and delegations to the government. This led to the 1950's when people stood up in their thousands to defy apartheid. In the 1960's the people's organisations were crushed.

It was only in the 1970's that once again people came together, forming organisations to fight for better wages, housing, education and so on. Over the past few years we have seen these struggles grow stronger and the demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa grow louder. The formation of UDF in 1983 was only possible because of the success of re-building organisations in the 1970s and 1980s.

UDF was first proposed at the Transvaal Anti - SAIC Committee Conference in January 1983. This was followed by nationwide consultations year and the launching of UDF regions in Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape. After this came UDF's National Launching at Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, attended by over 15 000 people.

Since then UDF has kept on growing. There are now 5 structured UDF regions with two more regions being formed. Today UDF has more than 600 organisations in its fold.

UDF's short track-record speaks proudly of our people's boycott victories over the apartheid elections for Management Committees and Community councils. There has also been UDF's anti - Rajbansi campaign, and mobilisation against Sebe's Ciskei repression. The UDF people's weekend also showed the growing support that the UDF enjoys.

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In just five months since August , the Front has won the support and respect of millions of people throughout South Africa. How ?

UDF has already stated the demands and aspirations of our people. UDF has helped unite educate and lead our people in the struggle against apartheid. Today , UDF has launched the Million Signature Campaign . This is not a petition campaign. It is . a campaign to give voice to our rejection of apartheid ,and to claim our right to a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

THE ORGANISATIONAL APPROACH

The UDF believes that it is not a few leaders, but the masses of our people that will make our history. Only if all our people take part fully in the struggle , can we build a new South Africa. For this we need to bring more people into existing organisations , and to raise the participation of members already in them. Where no organisations exist, we need to start building.

This is UDF's organisational approach to the struggle. We need to keep on reaching out to people by mobilising them through issues and activities, We must keep on building up their understanding and overcoming their fears. We must popularize our organisations and leaders. Most importantly, we must organise our people in the affiliates of the Front. Only in this way, will we weld our unity together.



THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

- The Million Signature Campaign offers us the opportunity to work amongst our people within the organisational approach to the struggle.
- The Million Signature Campaign gives our people the chance to show their rejection of the Constitution and Koornhof Bills, and their support of the UDF.

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- The Campaign helps us enlist the active participation of a wide range of individuals and organisations who support UDF but who are not directly linked to it.
 - It enables UDF affiliates and supporters to educate our people about the Constitution and the Koornhof Bills and the consequences of these laws.
 - It gives us a chance to popularise the UDF and its principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity-in-struggle.
 - It helps UDF organisationally by popularizing and strengthening existing organisations and building organisation where none exists.
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BUILDING ORGANISATION WITH THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN (MSC)

AIMS OF THE MSC

The Million Signature Campaign has short-term aims :-

- to collect a million signatures.
- to show the popularity of UDF and its demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa.
- to show the people's rejection of the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.
- to educate people with direct personal contact about the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

The MSC also has important long term aims:

- to contribute towards the building of genuine people's organisations throughout the country.

WHY ORGANISATION ?

The building of democratic organisations is one of the most important historical tasks of all those who want to bring about a free and just South Africa. A South Africa where oppression and exploitation of man by man will be done away with .

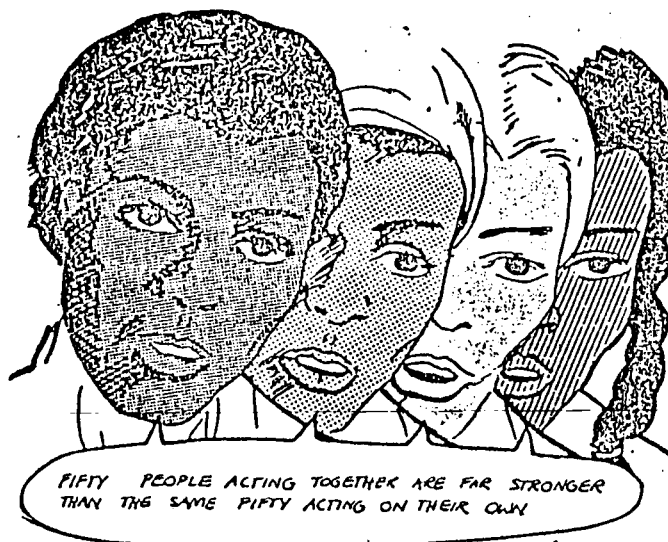
A democratic South Africa cannot be created by a handful of people - no matter how brilliant they may be. Only the masses of oppressed people of South Africa can bring about this change.

How ? Vain hopes or token gestures of support are not enough. It is only through organisation and struggle. When people are organised , they become a powerful force. Fifty people acting together are far stronger than the same fifty on their own. When people are organised , they understand

how a democratic South Africa can be created by their own action.

Democratic organisations are important because

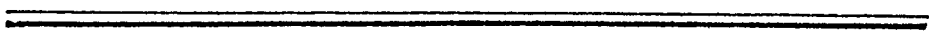
- they help to mobilise people into effective action.
- through organised struggles, people learn about the nature of the system and where they fit into the struggle against it.
- it is in organisations that a genuine democratic leadership develops.



WHAT DOES ORGANISATION INVOLVE ?

The suggestions made in this handbook spell out some ways organisation in the different areas.

Here are some useful points for the organiser to remember :



Building organisations is a historical task. It is not something which can be completed in a few days or even months. There will be times when progress will be fast. But there will also be times when very little will be possible. Organisers have to be prepared to work in both set of conditions.

- People learn from experience. It is only when they take part directly in activity that people get a better understanding of oppression and come to see that they can change it.

- Democracy must be practised every day. Democracy is not merely an ideal. It is a principle guiding our daily work. It strengthens our organisations and keeps them in touch with the people. A democratic style of work must be developed in all our work.

- Setting up an organisation does not guarantee that it will survive in the future. Organisations have to be protected against internal and external threats. They have to grow from strength to strength. Victory must not be lost because of errors like division, poor organising, dictatorial practises and so on.

SINCE THE MAJORITY FEEL SO AND THEIR REASONS SEEM SO GOOD WE WILL



OPEN DISCUSSION AND DEMOCRATIC DECISIONS LEAD TO STRONG ORGANISATION ...

- As organisers, we need to understand the problems and conditions under which our people live and work.

- that these conditions can only be changed by a united people taking part in planned activity directed towards changing their lives.
- that leaders and organisations can only play a meaningful role in this work by being close to the people, and learning from their skills and insights.
- that every opportunity must be taken to bring our people together around issues that affect them and where we can build their strength and understanding.
- Organisation enables us to effectively challenge the forces that oppress and exploit us.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORGANISATIONS AND THE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

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UDF works differently in different parts of the country. In some places there are UDF area committees. Here affiliated organisations have delegates in UDF committees in their neighbourhood or area. Many volunteers who are not directly in organisations have joined these area committees.

In other places, UDF affiliates are not strong enough to keep area committees going. Here the task of UDF is to help to build up each organisation. In this case, uniting organisations in area committees is a more long-term aim.

Because of these differences round the country, there are different ways in which signatures can be collected. In some places, collection may be done by existing UDF area committees. In this case the area committee could act as a signature committee, or form its own signature sub-committee. In other places, area committees may be formed from scratch in order to carry out the signature campaign.

But in many parts of the country where there are no area committees - and even where area committees do exist or are being set up - organisations may want to collect signatures themselves. In this case, a signature committee can be set up inside an organisation. This committee would collect signatures under the organisation's own name, own demand, and from its own members or constituency.

AREA SIGNATURE COMMITTEES:

Where an area committee is going to collect signatures, there should be, as far as possible, representatives from local organisations on the committee. However, people in organisations are often very busy doing the work of their organisation. Therefore it is important that organisations try to send people who have time to give to the campaign. It is also important that committees recruit volunteers who are not committed to existing organisations. These people can put even more time into the campaign. Training such volunteers may be necessary. As the campaign grows, more and more people may want to join the committee. This should be encouraged. Where organisations are taking part in the campaign through delegated on an area committee, they should try to integrate the campaign into their own programme. They should not neglect or stop their normal work, but where possible bring the signature campaign into this.

Area signature committees have to decide what demand they will put on their form:

- It might be a joint demand by all organisations and volunteers on the committee.
- This demand might change over time or for different events and constituencies.
- There might be different forms with different demands.

SIGNATURE COMMITTEES WITHIN ORGANISATIONS:

Some organisations might want to collect signatures in their own right. In this case, they may want to make the signature campaign a part of their own programme.

There is a lot of scope here:

Organisations can use the signature campaign:

- to mobilise and involve their members and supporters.
- to raise the issues of UDF, the Constitution and the Koornhof bills within the organisation and constituency.
- to educate the same people about these issues.
- to widen the horizon of their organisation's concerns and link these with the concerns of other organisations and the struggle in general.

If an organisation takes up the signature campaign in this way, it might want to form a sub-committee to work on this. This committee should not divert the organisation from its ongoing work. It should try to see where the signature campaign can complement and enrich this work.

THE TWO SIDES OF THE CAMPAIGN

There are two sides to the campaign:
A focus on organisation, and a focus on numbers
of signatures.

1: FOCUS ON ORGANISATION

An ideal way of building organisation is to be able
to meet people in their homes so that both UDF and
constitution/Koornhof Bills can be thoroughly discussed.
Time can be spent answering individual questions as
well as recruiting interested people into the work.

Door to door work is one of the best methods of conducting the
campaign because it allows for :

- The largest scope for educating.
- The opportunity to persuade people individually to actively
knowledgeable support the UDF.
- The largest scope for drawing more people into the work.
- Volunteers to understand the people, know their level
of consciousness and be in tune with them through practical
experience.
- Another way of building and strengthening organisations
to collect signatures within your organisation and its
constituency (e.g. in your trade union and from fellow
workers.) This also has large scope for education,
individual persuasion, recruiting, and learning to
understand the people.

2: FOCUS ON SIGNATURES - going for numbers.

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This "going for numbers" side of the campaign means collecting the most signatures in the shortest time possible. This can be done by collecting signatures at shopping centres, busses, churches, sportfields, etc.

This side of the campaign is important because :

- It involves a lot of publicity which serves to popularize the campaign widely.
- Because we don't have enough volunteers or time to do door-to-door work in all areas, we will also need to "go for numbers" to make sure that we get our million signatures.

Both sides of the campaign are important. We must aim to combine them.

PREPARING FOR THE CAMPAIGN

INTRODUCTION

Preparing for the Million Signature Campaign helps us lay the proper foundation on which to launch a massive campaign. Once the Million Signature Campaign is under way, it is also important that we ask ourselves before taking new steps whether what we are about to do contributes towards the aims of the Million Signature Campaign.

In this section the most important stages in the preparation for the Million Signature Campaign are discussed. It is important that all the stages below are implemented in all regions and areas.

PLANNING

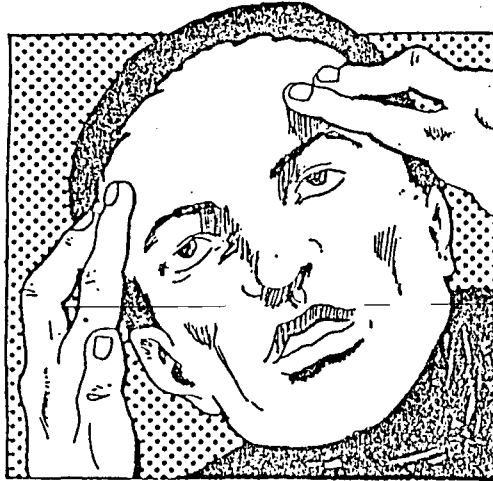
For any programme or activity to be successful, proper planning is vital.

- * Planning needs to be done with the largest group possible. In this way skills and responsibilities are shared around more widely.
- * The essential purpose of planning is to be able to anticipate events. This helps us to be prepared for what work is needed at a later stage.

PLANNING FOLLOWS CERTAIN STEPS.

1. WHAT : We must first ask ourselves what we want to achieve. We must set our short and long term aims. For every aim we must ask how, who, and when, and look back later to learn from our mistakes.

2. HOW : Having set our aims, we must look at ways that we are going to fulfill these objectives. For this, we have to identify our strength and weaknesses and the resources needed to meet our aims.
3. WHO : When we have worked out how we are going to do our work, we must identify who is going to do the work.
4. WHEN : It is very important to discuss and finalise when the tasks are to be done.
5. LOOK BACK : After the work is done it is necessary to look back and learn from our successes and failures.



WHEN THE WORK IS DONE
IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK
BACK AND LEARN FROM
OUR SUCCESSES AND
FAILURES.

It needs to be remembered that we have long-term aims and short-term aims.
Both of these need to be identified.

SETTING UP A COMMITTEE:

Our first task is to set up a Million Signature Committee, or, if one already exists, to strengthen it. A Million Signature Committee can be formed in an area or in an organisation.

Recruitment:

Our responsibility is to involve the broadest range of people and organisations in the UDF. Our only criterion must be their willingness to accept the UDF declaration and our approach to the work.

To set up an area committee; make a list of all the organisations in the area: Youth, Church, Women Civic, Cultural and Sporting etc. Speak to leading members or ask to address their meeting. From these organisations we can either get people to join our committee, or enlist their co-operation in collecting signatures in their own right.

To set up a committee within an organisation, consult with other members about how best the signature campaign can be organised in that structure. Discuss how the campaign can strengthen the organisation. Also how it can raise the participation, political understanding and practical skills of the members. How will it complement existing activities and programmes? Can the organisation spare a person or some people to co-ordinate a signature committee?

For either type of committee - area or organisational one - make a list of possible members. They should be people who have shown an active interest in the struggle, who have made some contribution in the past, or who have attended regular activities in the past. Speak to them about the UDF and draw them into your Committee, no matter how little they have to offer. Recruits go through different stages of involvement - it is a process.

An important point to remember is that the process of recruiting never ends. During the campaign we must continue to speak to people, and people themselves may show an interest. Always find a space and role for anyone showing a keenness to join.

Circulate a briefing or pamphlet:

Write a newsletter or pamphlet explaining UDF, the million signature campaign and invite people that want to help, to a meeting. You don't need many copies; this is not a "mass" publication. Try to popularise a contact person, address and phone number.

Call a meeting:

Once we feel that we have enough people to start work with, the next step is to hold a meeting. The meeting should:

- Introduce all the people involved (get to know each other)
- explain the UDF, million signature campaign
- elect a formal committee or structure

To ensure the smooth running of the Campaign, and ensure that all people are part of the decision making, it is important that we build a democratic committee in which all the people feel part of the group.. A democratic committee also allows for the proper allocation of tasks and responsibilities.

Elect a set of officials responsible, who can and will do their work.

Suggestion: chairperson, secretary, minutes secretary, treasurer, fundraiser, media person, contact person, education officer.

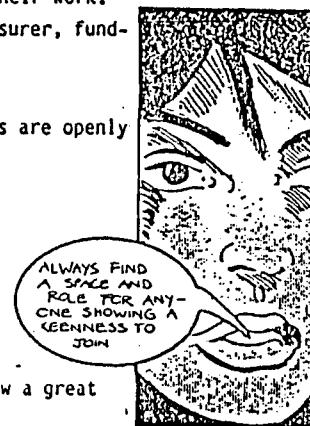
Regular meetings at a central venue at which all the matters are openly discussed and decided on helps to build a strong group.

TASKS OF THE COMMITTEE:

Getting to know our areas and organisations

Before the Committee plunges into collecting, we need to know a great deal about our areas or organisations.

We need information on three things: the resources available, the nature of the area, or organisation and the people in it.



(i) Resources:

For a campaign to be successful, resources are essential. Find out if the following are available:

- venues for small meetings and mass meetings.
- printing facilities.
- homes or offices that can be used during the campaign - to meet at, store materials etc.
- loud hollers, microphones, P.A. systems etc.
- good places where posters can be put up.
- material needed for publicity - glue for putting up posters, cardboard, coki pens, masking tape, pens and forms.
- MONEY will be needed at all stages.



There will be other facilities and resources you may need. Locate them now so that when they are needed it is easy!

(ii) Your area or organisation:

An area committee needs to know how large the area is, how many homes there are, and of what type (economic, sub-economic). What are the rents and transport costs? How many people are there? What groups do they fall into? How many schools, churches, clinics doctors surgeries and sports fields are there? What kind of people and what numbers of people attend these? Who are the people in charge there - will they be sympathetic to UDF? What about shopping centres and busstops? When do people congregate at these points? What other such information will help in planning our campaign? UDF or affiliated organisations can often help in finding this information.

An organisations committee needs to know the size of the organisation's and how it works. Who are the key people - what do they think of UDF? What ongoing programme and action is there? When do members come into contact with each other? How much participation is there?

(iii) The People:

Knowing the people in our area or organisation helps us to use the right words and examples to persuade them.

We need to know about: *some of their past experiences - their history.

*their work - what the conditions are like

*the way they live - when are they home, when are they watching T.V. etc. (this helps us to choose the best times to visit them.)

*their opinions and views on politics and the people we call our leaders

*their prejudices - particularly race and religion.

All this helps us to speak to people without putting them off. It lets us know what our challenge is before we meet the people.

* Any reactionary or problematic people or groups in the area or organisation and what problems they pose?



This is some of the information we need before we embark on the campaign. More information - about the people and their views about UDF etc. must be collected during our contact with people. We must try at all times to learn more about our area, the people and their lives.

TRAINING WORKSHOPS

WHY:

Because our organisations are still young, we usually have only a limited number of people involved. Those with organising skills are overstretched. Training people ensures that we equip more of us with a range of skills to work correctly with the greatest efficiency. Improving the skills of our people can contribute more to the struggle.

Important considerations

- Know the people we are training. What are their strengths, weaknesses and limitations? Start with what they know and build from there.
- Make them feel part of the learning. Ensure that the people contribute and take an active part in training. This helps a person gain confidence. Learning takes place in both directions - we can learn a great deal by listening to people.
- Training does not take place in workshops only. Training takes place while we are working with people on a day-to-day basis. Teaching and learning goes on all the time.



Types of Training

- Understanding the struggle. This means knowing what is important in the struggle, what our aims are at each stage, who needs to be organised and how.
- Technical skills. These skills range from taking minutes or chairing meetings to being able to write and roneo pamphlets, etc.
- Organising skills. This type of skill covers holding workshops, doing home visits, working efficiently, planning meetings, recruiting volunteers and so on.

Some training must take place before collecting signatures, even for those who are experienced. The Million Signature Campaign is a new challenge. One or a number of workshops can achieve this training.

The Workshop

The workshop/s must be used to train the members of the committee. There are four main aims in this:

- Understanding briefly the history and nature of the struggle.
- Giving the signature collector adequate knowledge of the UDF, its history and policies. The meaning of the UDF Declaration should be gone into. The same goes for the Constitution and Koornhof Bills: Workshops should discuss what they are and what they mean for the lives of our people.
- Preparing for the actual collecting. Workshops should decide on an approach to the Campaign and how they will put this into practice. This means discussing a plan for the campaign and ways for putting the message across.
- Carrying out a practical exercise. A small experiment can help test out the theory in practise.

Planning the Workshop

Planning a workshop should involve as many people as is possible. This lets everyone learn how to organise a workshop, and learn what to expect to achieve from the workshop. Planning should cover:

- A venue - choose one that is suitable for the number of people invited.

- An invitee list - use this to check that all people are told of the workshop. Use the occasion as an issue to mobilise people on - invite as many as possible.
- A date and a time - choose a suitable time that allows for the highest attendance and at least three hours for the workshop.
- A programme - allow for adequate time for discussion in your programme. Don't forget breaks.
- Look at creative ways for workshops to educate people about UDF, the Constitution and Koornhof's Bills.
- "Brainstorm" ideas for popularising the campaign and collecting signatures.
- Evaluation and follow-up: discuss whether the information and ideas that came out of the workshop were adequate. Plan a follow-up workshop or meeting.

Some suggestions

- Invite a member of the regional executive of UDF. She or he can either be a speaker, or help to answer questions.
- Use videos, publications, information booklets that have been published. Posters and banners add atmosphere.
- Have discussion. Ask a few questions that will set people talking.
- Let everyone share his or her knowledge through discussions.
- Get someone to give a talk on the type of people in the area or organisation, and what approach and language would work best.
- Try role plays where some people act out a collecting scene. Others watch and criticise until the correct method is worked out.

PRACTICAL EXPERIMENT

- To give collectors a taste of the actual work.
- To test the approaches developed at the workshop - are we able to get people to sign?
- To get an idea of the types of responses we can expect from people. What difficult questions were raised?
- To observe the level of people's awareness about UDF, Constitution, Koornhof, etc. This helps in planning our publicity campaign.
- To assess the experiment and work out better ways of working.

How to organise the experiment

For an area committee:

- Depending on the number of people who can collect choose a number of houses to visit. Be sure that the sample you choose is fairly representative of the area.
- Meet at a central venue and form the people into groups of two. This is done so that we can learn from each other and point out each other's mistakes.
- If possible, give each collector a briefing paper about the collecting, and discuss it with them.
- Allocate a reasonable number of houses to each pair of collectors.
- Set a time limit.
- Give a final briefing and wish everyone well.
- Meet after the home visits have been completed to share information.

For a committee within an organisation:

- Assess how to reach a sample of the members or supporters with the number of people in your committee.
- Brief committee members - with a document if possible.
- Set a date for report-back and evaluation.
- Be sure to clear the experiment with the leadership of your organisation.

EVALUATING THE PREPARATION

After setting up a committee, calling a meeting, looking at your resources, area and people, holding a workshop and carrying out an experiment, you have reached the final stage of preparation. A evaluation and assessment is now needed.

- The evaluation should look at our collecting ability and our approach to the campaign. All errors and weaknesses should be attended to. This is best done collectively - with all the people that did the collecting, and others. Everyone should be encouraged to participate, criticise each other and themselves in a way that will improve our work.

We must look also at the methods that make collecting and our overall approach successful. This can be done by discussing practical progress so far, step by step. We should note what questions people were asked, and work out responses. How long did it take to collect a certain amount of signatures? What problems arose?

- Make a detailed assessment of the people we are collecting from.
 - * how much do they know about UDF, Constitution, etc.?
 - * what do they know about politics in our country?
 - * what information do they lack?
 - * what publicity would work best in the situation?
 - * what is the reaction by the people when approached by us?

Once we have this information we are ready to plan and launch into the actual campaign.

PUBLICITY

Publicity means "making public" - popularizing the Million Signature Campaign with the public, informing them of the facts about the Constitution, Koornhof's Bills and the UDF.

Publicity must be understood by the people and must appeal to them. To be effective, the publicity campaign must be based on the assessment of the area or organisation which was done earlier.

Local character to publicity is important in running a national campaign locally. People must not view the UDF coming in from the outside, but rather from within the area or organisation.

Aims of a Publicity Campaign

- To make people aware that the campaign is taking place in their area or organisation.
- To get people talking about the campaign - to create a buzz!
- To inform people about the issues in the campaign.
- To educate people about the UDF and what it is opposing.
- To enable signature committees to popularize themselves so as to attract more members.

Publicity means:

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-----------------|
| • Posters | • Stickers | • Pamphlets |
| • Drama and music | • Local press | • Mass meetings |
| • Placard demonstrations (with permission) | • Street theatre | |
| • Speaking at church | • Staging a 'mini-event' | • Banners |



Posters

Posters should be brief and clear in their message and appearance. Use the national poster for the Signature Campaign, as well as local posters (even hand-drawn ones).

Pamphlets

Pamphlets should cover all the aims of the campaign (see page 5). In large communities or organisations, pamphlets should be handed a section at a time to ensure greatest impact. You might distribute in one section and tell people you will be back in a few days to collect their signature. Do this a section at a time.

Local Press

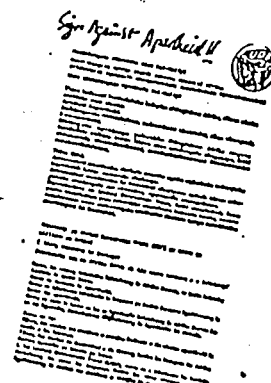
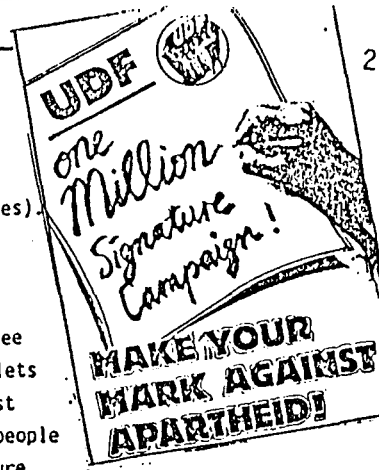
Use the local press - commercial newspapers, community and organisational newspapers and newsletters, church and sports magazines, etc., to advertise the campaign. Use UDF NEWS to boost your local public presence.

Application

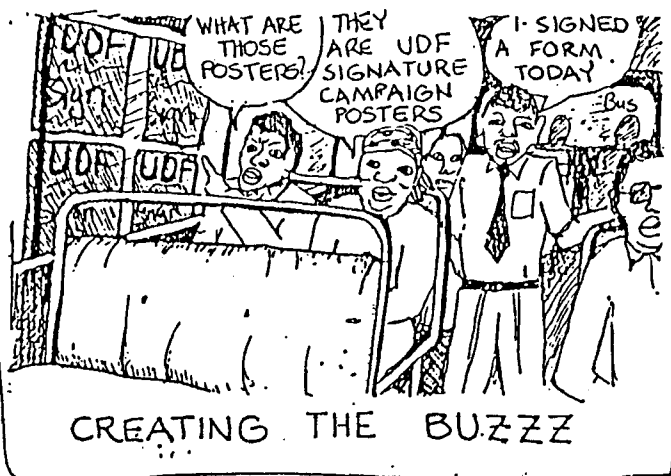
Different ways and media for publicity should be joined together into a systematic publicity campaign. Not all media need be used. Choose in terms of your needs and resources. Remember that a publicity campaign is not the same as the signature campaign, but only a part of it. Media cannot and should not replace organisational work like workshops, fundraising, collecting signatures, recruiting people and so on.

Example of a publicity campaign

1. Discuss in your committee how, when and where you are going to tackle your area, organisation or constituency.



2. Discuss the findings from the practical experiment and your experience in collecting so far. How many people have heard of the campaign and what it involves?
3. Decide if you need posters to create a buzz. If the area or organisation is large, and we are going to do a section at a time, we must put posters in the part we are going to cover first.



4. Steps to be taken: allocate tasks like getting the posters, organising string, backing cardboard for poles, glue, brushes etc. Allocate a meeting time for volunteers to come and put up posters (assess what time of day would be best for this). Locate places where posters will be seen by the most people.
5. It is likely that a 'buzz' may be created, but people still have no knowledge of UDF, Constitution-Koornhof Bills, local leadership, etc. They still do not know that the campaign is taking place nationwide, that someone is going to ask them to sign, and so on. Therefore there is a need for education to come after the initial 'buzz'. Pamphlets can be useful here.

6. Steps to be taken: Do we have the skills, technical resources and finance? If we don't, how can we get assistance and training? If we do - pull together people with the skills and start working. Pull together the whole group for distribution.
7. Collecting starts, but after a while, we need a boost for people to know that the campaign is still going on. This is a chance to popularise UDF and its slogans to people who have by now heard a bit about the campaign. You could try a 'mini-event' at this stage where you get an important union leader, local figure, sports team, etc., to sign at a public event. For area committees, this could be at a popular shopping centre on a Saturday morning. Collectors can use this opportunity to collect signatures on the street and inside the shopping centre. Committees based within organisations can try for an AGM or similar function. UDF stickers and pamphlets can be given out at a 'mini-event' and the local press asked to publicise it.



8. At a certain stage, a targeted area may be nearly covered. Maybe this is the time to have a mass meeting inviting UDF leaders to address our people on organisation or "politics".
9. Publicity for such a meeting is needed - pamphlets and posters will be useful. A banner for the meeting looks good. Allocate tasks among the committee.

10. Keep an eye open for burning issues in your area or organisation, and see if you can bring them into your media about the campaign.
11. Keep in touch with what UDF will be doing regionally and nationally around publicity for the campaign (eg. coming out with UDF NEWS, releasing international messages of support, etc.).

HOUSE MEETINGS

WORKING OUT THE LOGISTICS:

Logistics is an important part of planning our work. It ensures that time and energy-saving methods are used, and that we work efficiently. Logistics means organising the supplies (e.g. pens, signature forms, banners, cars, etc.) and the people so as to get them together at a certain point at a certain time.

Here is an example of working out the logistics for house visits. The principles applied can be used for any aspect of the campaign.

We must find out how many streets there are in particular areas, and how many houses per street there are. Supposing we find 56 houses in First street, 32 in Second street, and 19 in Third street.

We have found out from our practical experiment that it takes two volunteers working together 1½ hours to visit 15 homes. We know that in one evening we need to send 4 pairs of volunteers to the First Street, 2 pairs to Second street, and 1 pair to Third street.

Our next step is to put an adequate no. of the Signature forms into a paper folder or envelope, marked "Section D, Road 1. 8 people needed". This we do for each street.

On the day of the visits, we count the no. of collectors. If there are 8, we know exactly that we can only cover First street that session. Second and Third streets will have to be done the next session. After allotting people to houses, write names of the two volunteers on the cover of the file/envelope and send them out.



This method ensures that:

- we complete the area systematically
- we know how far we have gone
- we know which volunteers did which street

At the end of the session of visiting, volunteers can write on the cover any comments, helpful people, etc. that they found during their visits.

For example, volunteers or a single volunteer can be allocated a certain area to complete within a period of time. However, working collectively gives a greater sense of confidence and security. It also contributes towards building a group identity, and eventually, to organisation.

INSIDE THE HOUSE MEETING:

What is a house meeting and what is its value?

A house meeting is a meeting where neighbours and/or friends come together in someone's house to discuss issues of common concern. Meetings in people's houses have many valuable points:

- the environment is familiar; sometimes a hall or strange environment puts people off.
- the meeting can be informal to allow a relaxed atmosphere within which a sense of community can be built.
- solidarity amongst ordinary people can be built up, where links are formed and comradeship developed

- it is possible to have full participation from everyone in a small group. (This can be the basis of democracy in any community or organisation. Not only does this build strong organisation, but it educates every member as well.)
- an informal network of communication can be set up which will help easy mobilization of the community
- once house meetings are established on a permanent basis they can be an important base of community organisation
- house meetings help to overcome the problems of transport and time
- volunteers can become well known and trusted in the area.

How to run a house meeting:

a) Select a host:

House meetings can be set up in two ways:

- While collecting signatures on a door to door basis you might come across someone who is keen to help and who is prepared to involve his/her friends. To this person suggest they organise a house meeting and offer your services in helping them carry out the idea.
- Whilst planning in your MSC committee, select popular people in an area who would be prepared to hold a house meeting. If this person is respected and liked, an MSC house meeting will give further door to door collecting or house meetings, greater credibility



Once the host of a house meeting has been approached and consulted, plan a time. Now the meeting needs to be advertised.

b) How to advertise a house meeting:

There can be two kinds of house meetings:

- one mainly for the friends and relatives of the host. These friends may or may not live in the same neighbourhood.
- one where the participants are from the same street/neighbourhood and may or may not know each other.

In the case of the first kind of house meeting, the host will want to contact and invite his guests. The role of the MSC volunteer then, will be mainly to plan the house meeting with the host. This kind of house meeting can be the basis for further meetings.

In the second kind of house meeting, the MSC volunteer and the host should produce an invitation. This could be hand written or typed out. Make sure it is attractive and exciting. These invitations should be distributed by the host and activist to the other houses in the street or area. As much as possible, distribution should be face to face. This personal contact makes it easier for the guest to arrive at a stranger's house.

c) How to plan a meeting:

The MSC volunteer should plan the meeting with the person who will chair/host the house meeting. A chairperson is useful because discussion needs to be encouraged and kept going when people are quiet. But the meeting should be informal to help people get over the tension of meeting in a strange place.

Plan refreshments to make the atmosphere more homely. If someone is going to be invited to give a brief talk (e.g. a VDF person) be sure to confirm this person in advance.

d) Possible agenda:

- Introduction
The chairperson should first introduce him/her self to his /her family. Then get everyone to introduce each other and to say something about why they came to the meeting.
- Input on UDF and the MSC
Invite someone to present information on "what is UDF?" Explain why it has taken up the MSC and the aims and objects of the campaign. The input should not be long or arrogant.
- Questions and discussion:
Ask for questions and discussion on UDF and MSC
- Local problems:
Get people to discuss the problems they face as members of the community. Do this by maybe introducing the "session" with a question: "How do you feel about living in" "What problems do you have?" Discuss local problems, like the local authorities, rent, housing etc. In the process of discussion we should link this to: local community/youth/womens organisations and discuss why they have affiliated to UDF.
- The MSC and local issues. Discuss why UDF and local organisations have taken up the MSC.
- Once again this should be short and brief
- Signing of forms:
At this point forms can be signed by those attending the meeting. Plans can also be made for people to take forms to get them signed at school, work, sports organisations they may belong to etc. Write down who takes forms and how many. You may need to follow them up.
- Planning for the future:
 - announce meetings of : MSC committees
 - : local organisations

- ask if anyone else would like to host a house meeting
- ask if the house meeting would like to meet again.

Follow up:

After the meeting, we should evaluate the meeting with the chairperson/host. Discuss how it was run, who showed interest, how to follow up individuals, another meeting etc. During the meeting, we should take notes and report back to the signature committee and / or local organisation. After a week or so return and collect the forms if they are not returned.

THE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN AND THE LAW

(26)

25/9/87

We are all aware that the democratic movement in South Africa has been and will be continually harrassed, intimidated and attempts will be made to disrupt whatever campaign it is involved in. We need to be acutely aware of this during the MSC. We need to protect ourselves.

- Our most important defence weapon is discipline. We must conduct ourselves in a proper manner. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked either by police or people that have different views. Our discipline will ensure our survival, and prevent any potential disruptions.
 - We must locate a lawyer within our area that is willing to come to our aid in times of crisis. He must be available to assist when an activist is harrassed or detained. His phone no. or address must be made available. If the lawyer is not available, contact local organisations or the UDF office.
 - Report any incidents of harrassment etc. to local leadership and regional executive.
 - We need to keep our publicity material (posters etc.) and signed declarations in a safe place that cannot be easily found out. This is to protect our hard work so that it is not taken away or destroyed. If any item is removed by the police, demand a receipt.
 - You have the right to defend yourself against an assault by any person. You may only use such force as is necessary, to ward off the danger against you.
-

- If you are assaulted, you can lay a charge at the nearest police station. Try and obtain full details of the person who assaulted you.
- If you have to see a doctor, obtain a certificate from him.
- If a policeman assaults you, take the number down, if you do not know his name.

EVALUATING THE ENTIRE CAMPAIGN

To get the most gain from the Million Signature Campaign, we need to evaluate and assess our actions all the time. Each person should do this and signature committees should have regular evaluations. Evaluation must be honest and constructive - "tell no lies, claim no easy victories" (Cabral).

In evaluating our progress, we need to look at both the successes and the problems. These should be measured against the short term aims of the particular action or time-period, as well as the more long-term aims of the campaign as a whole.

At the end of the Signature Campaign, we need to have a workshop to make an in-depth evaluation of the entire programme. This is essential if we are not to lose the gains we have made. And it is also essential if we want to move forward. Your workshop could start this evaluation with concrete questions about the campaign. Here are some suggestions:

- 1) How organised were we? How well did our Signature Committee work? Did we do all the things we planned on our schedule?
 - 2) What problems did we experience in collecting?
 - 3) What did we learn as we collected signatures?
 - 4) What did we learn as we collected signatures?
 - 5) What were the most common responses from the people?
 - 6) What did they see as a priority?
 - 7) Did they know about UDF?
 - 8) Did they know about the Constitution and Hornhof Bills?
-

- 9) Did they know about local organisations that they could join?
- 10) What did they think about UDF, the government's plans, and their local organisations?
- 11) What we think of their views?
- 12) What can we do to follow up our contacts with the people?
- 13) What skills have we learnt in the campaign?

After answering these concrete questions, your evaluation might move on to more general discussion.

Do we remember the aims and objectives of the campaign at this stage? Can people at the workshop recall them? Here they are:

- to collect one million signatures,
- to show the popularity of the UDF and its demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa,
- to show the people's rejection of the Constitution and the Koornhof Bills,
- to contribute towards building democratic people's organisations.

Your meeting could take each of these aims and discuss it in detail.

Further questions are:

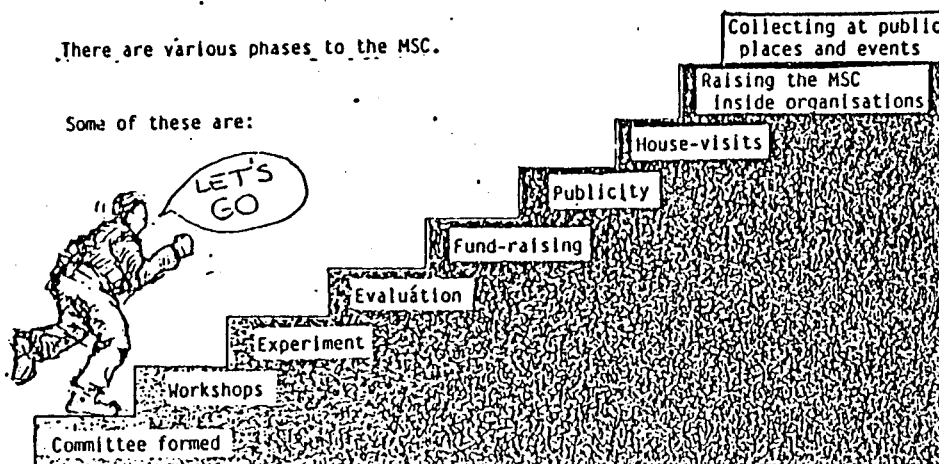
- Was anything else achieved that is not listed in the aims and objectives?
- What should UDF do with the signatures now?
- What are the needs of the struggle at present?
- How can UDF respond?
- If we have "made history" with the campaign, then where do we - the Signature Committee - go now?

PLANNING A SCHEDULE FOR THE CAMPAIGN

41

There are various phases to the MSC.

Some of these are:



All of this has to be drawn into a systematic campaign which unfolds step by step. We need to identify each step and draw up a schedule for the campaign. The schedule will help us to understand and plan the whole campaign.

A schedule must take into account the organisational side and the "going for numbers" side of the campaign. It must also pay attention to publicity, educational and practical-organisational parts of the campaign.

- Publicity: the schedule should try to predict when different kinds of publicity will be needed.
- Education: we must not forget to back up our campaign with educating our collectors as well as those approached to sign.
- Practical-organisation: money is needed for much of the campaign, and this must be organised. The same goes for venues and transport. Holding the Signature Committee together with regular meetings, etc also part of all this.

Your schedule is best drawn up in terms of general steps. After this you can apply it to a year-planner calendar, giving it precise dates. It is important to plan the schedule remembering the resources at hand - people, venues, money, time, transport etc.

	WEEK 1	WEEK 2	WEEK 3	WEEK 4	WEEK 5	WEEK 6 →
Committee formed						
Workshops						
Experiment						
Evaluation						
Fund-raising						
Publicity						
House-visits						
Raising the MSC inside organisations						
Collecting at public places and events						

You can fill in what tasks should be done at what stage, and who will be responsible for doing them. For example, you might want workshops in the first and fourth weeks - fill them in on the planner, as well as where they will be held, who will organise them and so on.

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MAKE YOUR M

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In recent weeks thousands of students on campuses around the country have endorsed these sentiments with their signatures. The launching of the UDF Million Signature Campaign on campuses by NUSAS has given students an opportunity to express their rejection of Apartheid and support for the UDF's aims of a united, non-racial S.A. where democracy, justice and peace prevail.

But our commitment must be ongoing. Signing against apartheid should be the start of a process in which we, as students, involve ourselves in changing South Africa.

We do this by involving ourselves in the work of the UDF, by working in the NUSAS organisations on campus. It is through ongoing involvement in our organisations that we as students can meet the challenge of change.

In light of the NUSAS theme STUDENTS MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE, the UDF Signature campaign represents a particularly important event. In this pamphlet we aim to examine the importance of the UDF for students and their involvement in changing South Africa.



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1. No to Constitutional Proposals

In recent weeks thousands of students on our campuses have put their names to the UDF Signature Campaign forms. They have joined more than 100 000 South Africans who have already "made their mark against apartheid." Many thousands more, both on and off campus, will sign over the coming weeks as UDF strives to reach its target of 1 million signatures.

By signing we record a loud NO to apartheid in the form of the new constitution and Koornhof Bills. We record a loud YES to the UDF in its quest for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The NUSAS theme, "Students Meeting the Challenge of Change", urges all students to involve ourselves in the process of changing our troubled country. The enthusiastic response to the UDF signatures campaign on campus has shown that as white students we are prepared to

- Separate voters rolls, separate parliaments, separate schools, separate communities and separate "homelands" are all entrenched in the new constitution.

- Coloureds and Indians are given a vote for a parliament whose legislative powers are ultimately meaningless against the combined weight of the white chamber (the ratio, remember, is 4 whites to 2 coloureds, to 1 Indian), the NP dominated President's Council and the extensive powers of the Executive State President. In return for this "vote" P.W. Botha has informed them that they can expect to be conscripted into the SADF.

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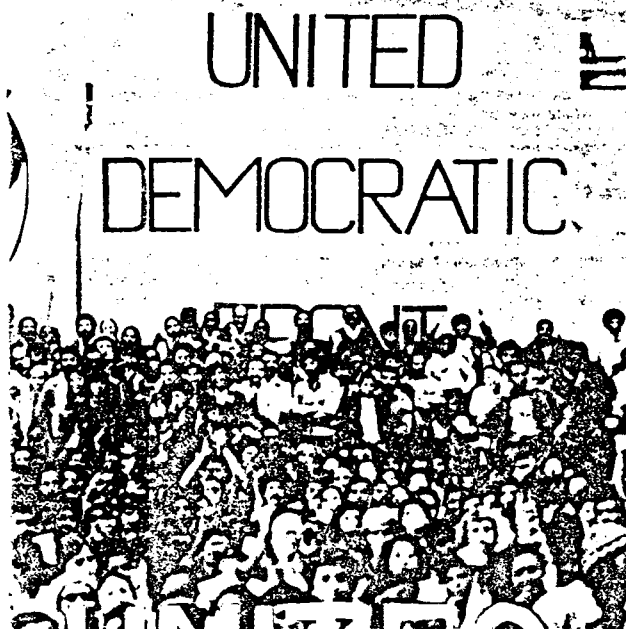
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The final reason proposals and the bill



Oscar Mpetha, one of the UDF Presidents

THEIR DIVIDES



3. Particip

To many of us it might seem strange to think of politics outside of parliament.

It may seem even stranger to think of ordinary people involving themselves in politics.

The media often focus exclusively on parliament when discussing "politics", concentrating on statements and policies of formal constituted political parties how small they may be. Coverage of coming Coloured and Indian elections bears testimony to this. Politics is presented as being very much the politicians'. Our role is simply to be convinced one way or the other and to cast a vote every 4 years. UDF clearly represents a very different approach: thousands of ordinary people are involved in politics on an ongoing basis.

It is important to understand why the UDF operates outside this "conventional" notion of politics.

Firstly, there is the reality that the majority of South Africans have been systematically denied access to these formal channels through

4. Explaining the slogan

APARTHEID DIVIDES: UDF UNITES.

Apartheid divides South Africans in many ways. Not only is the "new deal" inadequate in meeting the aspirations of most South Africans, it is actually designed to increase division amongst us.

The UDF combats this by bringing South Africans from all walks of life together giving the lie to apartheid's divisions. Particularly significant for us is the inclusion of a large number of democratic whites in the UDF.

"The nature and quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin, but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation South Africa belongs to all its people. That is a basic truth that we must cling to now and for the future. This country is our country and it is not safe in the hands of people who despise democracy and trample on the rights of people, whether they be black or white.

It's future is not safe in the hands of people - black or white who depend on economic exploitation and human degradation to build their empires ... It's future is not safe in the hands of people - white or black - who seek to secure their unjustly acquired privileged positions by violent repression of the weak, the exploited and the needy. It's future is not safe in the hands of people - white or black - who put their faith simply in the madness of growing militarism.

So for the sake of our children, whether you be white or black, resist them whether they be white or black ... We are doing what we are doing not because we are white or black, we are doing what we are doing because it is right."

-Dr Allan Boesak.

The UDF believes in a non-racial South Africa, and believes that all South Africans, black and white, have a role in building this future. This has expanded the possibilities for white opponents of apartheid to move outside of the parliamentary sphere. The new constitutional arrangement has rendered parliamentary opposition completely impotent, and now more than ever, white opponents of apartheid need effective channels for expressing their commitment. The UDF gives us the ability to join hands with the majority of South Africans in rejecting apartheid and building a new future.

Despite government attempts to portray the UDF as a violent organisation, UDF has made abundantly clear their non-violent nature. UDF has pointed out that it is the government of this country that has taken South Africa on the course of violence. It upholds and perpetuates the apartheid system and is intolerant of political opposition.

"The Apartheid govt. can make as many peace agreements as it likes, it can talk to as many leaders of other countries that it wants to. We know that it must be to us and our leaders that the Apartheid govt. talks. There will not be any peace while our leaders are jailed and banned and exiled. There will not be any peace while Apartheid rules our land. In the end P W Botha must make peace with the people of South Africa." Dr Allan Boesak

The UDF has called for a representative national convention of all South Africa's leaders as a first step towards peace in our country. This convention, which must include those leaders currently imprisoned, those in exile and those banned, would be the beginning of the dismantling of apartheid and the building



The Million Signature Campaign. Here, Dr. Boesak makes his over South Africa look on.

5. Why a Si

Most South Africans get opportunity to make heard.

The new constitution implemented after less than 10 percent of the population been consulted. Indeed 10 percent of "yes" votes in the white referendum last year represented more than 10 percent of the population.

The UDF believes that the constitution is legitimate unless all South Africans have been in drawing it up. The signature campaign presents an opportunity for all South Africans to record their support of the democratic

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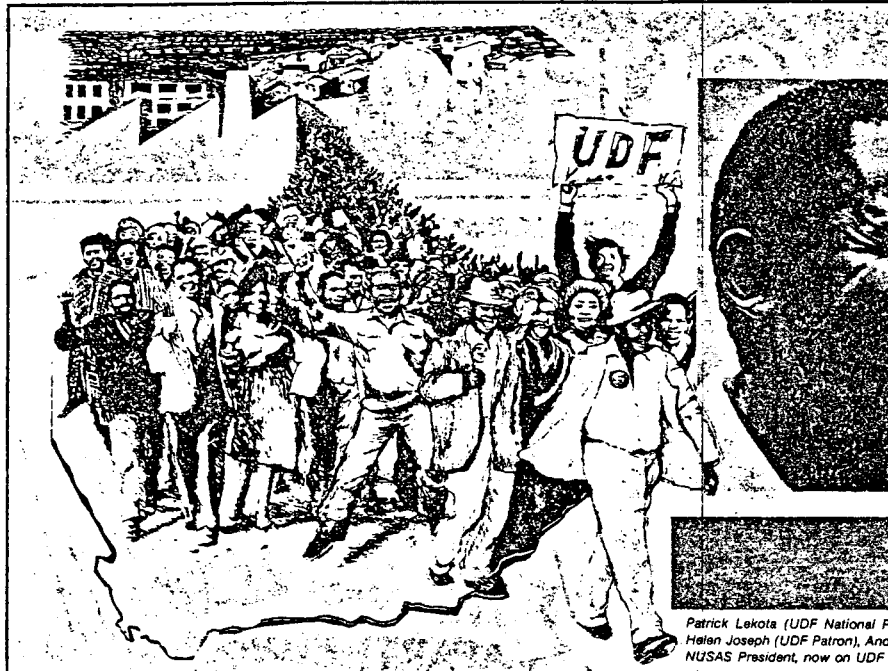
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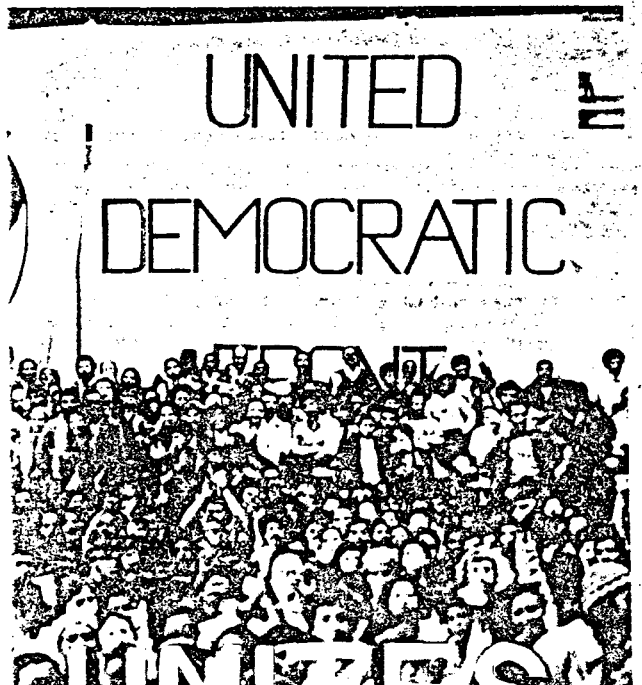
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"The nature and quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin, but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation South Africa belongs to all its people. That is a basic truth that we must cling to now and for the future. This country is our country and it is not safe in the hands of people who despise democracy and trample on the rights of people, whether they be black or white.

It's future is not safe in the hands of people - black or white who depend on economic exploitation and human degradation to build their empires ... It's future is not safe in the hands of people - white or black - who seek to secure their unjustly acquired privileged positions by violent repression of the weak, the exploited and the needy. It's future is not safe in the hands of people - white or black - who put their faith simply in the madness of growing militarism.

So for the sake of our children, whether you be white or black, resist them whether they be white or black ... We are doing what we are doing not because we are white or black, we are doing what we are doing because it is right."
-Dr Allan Boesak.

The UDF believes in a non-racial South Africa, and believes that all South Africans, black and white, have a role in building this future. This has expanded the possibilities for white opponents of apartheid to move outside of the parliamentary sphere. The new constitutional arrangement has rendered parliamentary opposition completely impotent, and now more than ever, white opponents of apartheid need effective channels for expressing their commitment. The UDF gives us the ability to join hands with the majority of South Africans in rejecting apartheid and building a new future.

Despite government attempts to portray the UDF as a violent organisation, UDF has made abundantly clear their non-violent nature. UDF has pointed out that it is the government of this country that has taken South Africa on the course of violence. It upholds and perpetuates the apartheid system and is intolerant of political opposition.

"The Apartheid gov't. can make as many peace agreements as it likes, it can talk to as many leaders of other countries that it wants to. We know that it must be to us and our leaders that the Apartheid gov't. talks. There will not be any peace while our leaders are jailed and banned and exiled. There will not be any peace while Apartheid rules our land. In the end P W Botha must make peace with the people of South Africa." Dr Allan Boesak

The UDF has called for a representative national convention of all South Africa's leaders as a first step towards peace in our country. This convention, which must include those leaders currently imprisoned, those in exile and those banned, would be the beginning of the dismantling of apartheid and the building



The Million Signature Campaign. Here, Dr. Boesak makes his case over South Africa look on.

5. Why a S

Most South Africans get opportunity to make heard.

The new constitution implemented after less than 10 percent of the population had been consulted. Indeed, of "yes" votes in the referendum last year more than 10 percent of the population

The UDF believes that the new constitution is legitimate unless all South Africans have been drawing it up. The signature presents an opportunity for all South Africans to register their objection to the "new deal" and support of the democratic

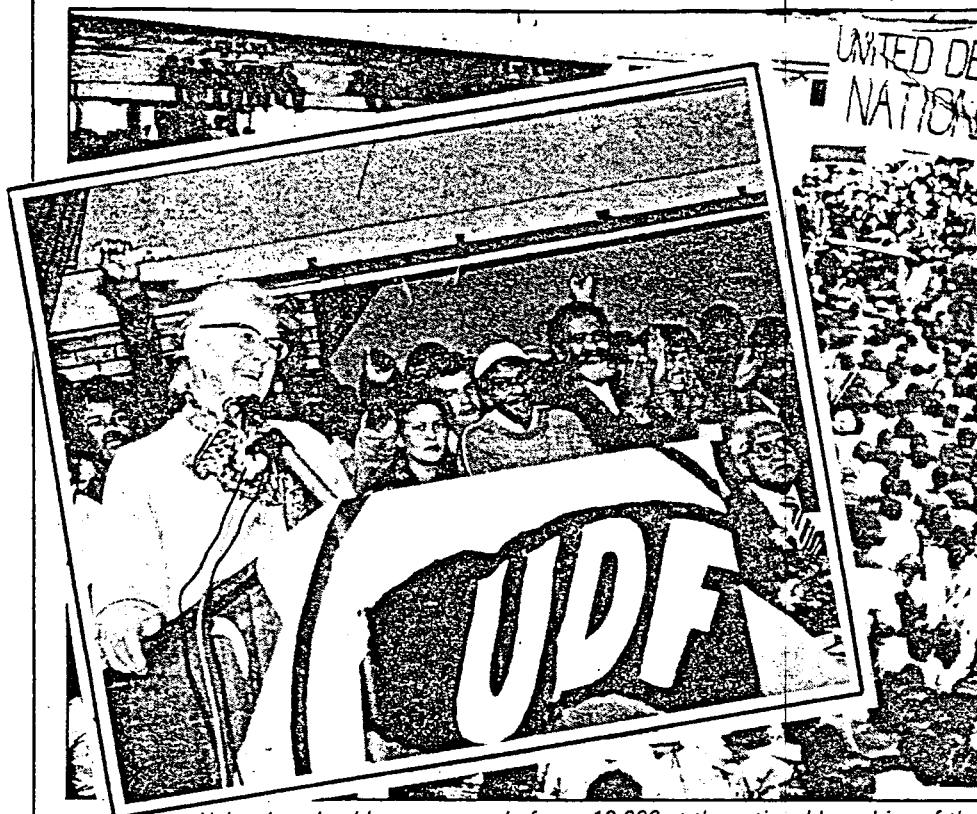
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Bew!

NUSAS says NO to new Con



Helen Joseph addresses a crowd of over 10 000 at the national launching of the

“UDF UNITES, Apartheid (

“We represent organisations deeply rooted in the struggle for justice. I believe that we could be standing at the birth of what could become the greatest and most significant people’s movement in more than a quarter of a century.” Dr Allan Boesak.

The national launch of the UDF closed with 13 000 people standing to repeat

What is the UDF?

It is a broad alliance of over 400 organisations, which have come together to campaign against the new constitution and Koornhof Bills. All these organisations have signed the UDF declaration which embodies the following principles:

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Why should the constitutional proposals be rejected?

Some people have argued that the new constitutional proposals are "a step in the right direction" - a reformist move which, because of the inclusion of Coloureds and Indians, is at least an improvement on the present system of government. However, when we examine the proposals, it becomes clear that the purpose they really serve is to entrench undemocratic and authoritarian white minority rule. Coloureds and Indians are only invited to participate on the following non-negotiable terms:

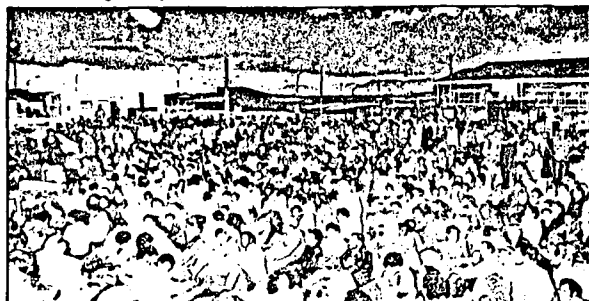
- Not only are Africans entirely excluded, but the new constitution is premised on their permanent exclusion and on the irreversibility of the Bantustan system.

- The cornerstones of apartheid will no longer simply be laws, which can theoretically be changed, but will be entrenched in the constitution; in particular -

- the Group Areas Act
- the Population Registration Act
- influx control and pass laws

- Under the guise of 'power-sharing', the new constitution strengthens white domination by maintaining ethnic division. The key decision making bodies are divided on the basis of 4 whites: 2 Coloureds: 1 Indian, so that white control is ensured.

- The way is opened for one party domination and effective dictatorship by the State President, who will come from the ruling white party.



Even at the level of parliamentary opposition, the new constitution represents a marked regression. Under the old constitution the PFP has played a role in challenging Nationalist Party propaganda, exposing locally and internationally, the harshness of apartheid, and has attempted to have limited concessions incorporated into legislation.

Now, under the new system, even this restricted role will fall away. Almost all legislation will be conceived in the Cabinet Committees which will be appointed by the President.

Debate within the three parliaments will be of even less value, and have less effect on legislation than the present parliamentary process.

The right of challenging Cabinet Ministers, and thereby gaining publicity, will fall away as Cabinet Ministers no longer need to come from Parliament. In short, more than ever before, the government will be able to railroad laws through parliament behind a facade of consensus decision-making.

The PFP has, over the past month, frequently called on the government to take the new constitutional proposals "back to the drawing board". But what is needed is not to go back to the same drawing board, but to formulate an entirely new drawing board, with all South Africa's people participating in the process of deciding on our future.

What about

At face value, the African majority are simply left out of this entire process. But this is far from the case, and in fact one of the rationales for trying to draw Coloureds and Indians in on some levels of government, for trying to give Coloureds and Indians some sense of having a stake in the system, is in order to strengthen the laager against the "threat" of black majority rule, and to wreck the growing unity between all those at present suffering under apartheid laws.

While the new constitution has stolen the limelight, a range of measures have been introduced which make it clear that a parallel thrust of the state's overall strategy is to tighten up the effectiveness of all those mechanisms designed to control the African popula-

Political chaos outside par

Many white South Africans understand politics purely in terms of parliamentary politics, they see parliament as the prime political forum in the country, and therefore change as necessarily coming from there. Whether they support or oppose the government's new initiatives, they accept the process by which the proposals have been formulated. This however means accepting that an unrepresentative minority can legislate for the majority of South Africans.

For the majority of South Africans, who are excluded from the parliamentary process, this view of politics is a very narrow one. While the Nats close the doors of parliament to black South Africans and exclude them from decision making, they cannot prevent black South Africans from uniting as a major political force in South Africa

Time and time again, the majority of South Africans have shown through their united actions, that they can change the course of South Africa's history. Their actions have political effects that the Nats cannot obscure through parliamentary debate or hide through any constitutional sleight of hand.

The driving force for change in South Africa is not coming from parliament but from outside of it and it is in this area of politics that we must look

Rejection of the current parliament's



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What can students do ?

As power becomes increasingly centralised and white minority rule is entrenched, it is vitally important that all students play an active role in rejecting these proposals. They cannot provide a solution to South Africa's problems, and will inevitably only lead to increased conflict and suffering.

UDF has been called "the most sig-

contributes to the strength of the UDF if we actively build opposition to the new constitution on our campuses.

So what can we do?

- * Educate ourselves about the nature and the implications of this for our country and our future.

- * Speak to our parents, relatives and friends explaining the implications

Prof. V. Francis
Rennie.

(20) 23/9/87

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VERTALING

U.D.A. NAWA VOLI NOI

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