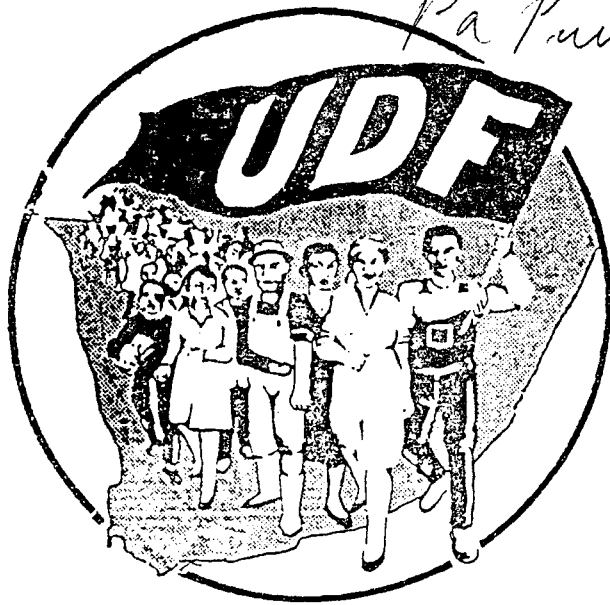


AAZ 6 - AAZ 14



**UDF UNITES!
APARTHEID
DIVIDES!**

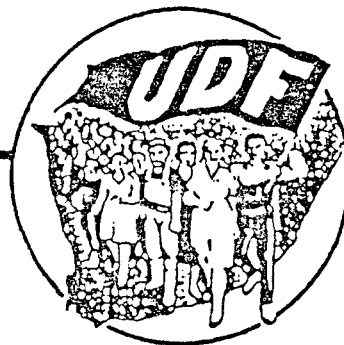
**Organise,
Mobilize,
FIGHT On!**

DOCUMENTS –

UDF E.CAPE A.G.M.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



The Secretary
UDF Eastern Cape
P.O. Box 2403
North End
Port Elizabeth

Report on the ANNUAL GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING held on 3 March 1985 at SACHED OFFICES
Court Chambers.

CONTENT:

1. Presidential Address
 - 1.1 Secretarial Report
 - 1.2 Treasurer's Report
2. Elections
3. Amendments to:
 - 3.1 Working Principles
 - 3.2 Resolutions
4. General :
 - 4.1 Patrons
 - 4.2 Programme of Action for 1985.
5. Updated list of affiliates.

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Cumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

Presidential Address:

(Extracts)

- Analysis of ideological nature of conflict internationally and internally.
- The history of the political struggle goes back for more than 300 years.
- Many political organisations emerged in the process of history.
- In 1912, the ANC was founded as a national initiative to act as the vanguard of the South African National Democratic Struggle.
- In 1919 the ICU, the first black trade union was formed.
- The period of the 50's saw the Defiance Campaign taking place in South Africa.
- All racist laws proclaimed by the Nationalist Government were vigorously defied.
- The banning of the political organisations such as ANC, PAC, SACP etc. banished legal forms of organisation for more than 15 years.
- The 1973 Durban strikes brought back trade union organisation into the arena of political struggle.
- The Black Consciousness movement dominated the early middle seventies.
- By 1980 non-racial political organisation began to flourish again.
- The UDF represents the historic synthesis of the non-racial unity inherited from the past.
- Call on all participants to clarify the key issues which need serious attention this year for UDF in our region.

Secretarial Report-

(Extracts)

- The historical evolution of UDF is of incredible significance when one tries to understand the present trends, undercurrents and obvious contradictions within the Front.
- The history of resistance ever since the birth of oppression has brought forth several political tendencies in South Africa, each with its own political line.
- The testing ground of all concepts is the reality in which social transformation takes place.
- In South Africa we are involved in a class struggle which assumes a national character (form) at this given epoch.
- The UDF represents a unity acquired through several years of reconstruction of the national democratic movement.
- The banning of political organisation in 1960 marked the end of an era in South African politics and the advent of new forms of struggle.
- The period immediately thereafter was dominated by the Black Consciousness movement, largely spearheaded by student élites.
- In 1973-4 when the famous Durban strikes erupted, a re-emergence of non-racial trade unions began to take place in South Africa.
- The 80's saw the rapid growth of non-racial democratic organisation.
- With the UDF's formation, that natural development was given national content and shape.
- It permitted democrats after a long lull to openly engage the masses of people in struggle against the apartheid government.
- Several campaigns were adopted, through which UDF was given a grassroots character.

It allowed us to understand the different conditions in our country much more profoundly.

It gave us the opportunity to reach areas seldom touched before (rural, homelands.) and successfully build organisation.

The Million Signature Campaign was an ambitious project, somehow an overestimation of our real strength, but it rendered democrats an opportunity to reach down to communities where door-to-door work was done.

Now we gained a better picture of the way in which working class people perceive the reality around them; we were able to develop concepts, slogans, tactics and strategy able to stimulate the growth of organisation consciousness and leadership from the level where people are.

- The M.S.C. was too close to the Anti- Election Campaign and subsequently we failed to strike the healthy balance between the two campaigns.
- After August, 1984, UDF entered an expected lull period, where disillusion and incohesiveness came in.
- In the course of UDF's short history, we simply never succeeded in developing a systematic political programme.
- This is also reason for the dismally poor relationship with the large trade unions, i.e. FOSATu, AFCWU, GWU, CUSA etc.
- I want to elucidate a number of key strategic areas which we need to focus on today- areas which demand immediate intervention in order for us to keep pace with the development of the working class struggle in South Africa.
- A number of political questions facing UDF and the democratic movement as a whole needs to be mastered.
- Because of the very constitution and character of a front, we need to set out realistic objectives in keeping with the objective material conditions and the ever- changing dynamic of working class struggle in South Africa.
- In our search for a common conception on the nature of the South African struggle, we need to reach a clearer perspective on the nature of the State.
- We need to understand exactly how the class forces operate within the national democratic struggle and how these underlying forces interplay within the democratic movement itself
- We need to develop methodology of ensuring that the strategy and tactics of UDF will be imbued with elements which will guarantee and stimulate the development of working class leadership in our struggle.
- Of primary importance here, is UDF's role vis-á-vis the organised labour movement in South Africa.
- We need to develop a long-term programme of action, able to link up the local and immediate struggles with central questions of class domination in our country.
- On the level of the quality of our work, we need to focus on the following aspects too: discipline, cohesion, criticism and self-criticism, advanced planning etc.
- This occasion I hope, will enable us to reflect critically on our achievements, acknowledging our victory and defeats, yet focussing on the central task of all democrats: The building of a non-racial democratic and free South Africa.

" Tell no lies, claim no easy victories."

- Amilcar Cabral (1971.)

TREASURER'S REPORT TO UDF (EASTERN CAPE REGION) ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 3/3/85

1. Financial statement

UDF Expenditure and Income for the Eastern Cape Region 8 December 1983 to 22 February 1985 is as follows : (This excludes the National Conference of December 1983 and Grahamstown Income/Expenditure)

INCOME - R 17 957-29
Expenditure - R 16 490-66

This statement has been audited and has been sent off to the National Office as required.

2. FUNDRAISING

Altogether we raised an amount of R 3 228-29 (again excluding Grahamstown) local and received R 13 894 (excluding monies received to finance the National Conference) from the National Office. The Fundraising issue has been discussed at previous R.G.C.'s but some points should possibly be stressed here:

- (a) We must be more self-reliant for our financial needs, This implies that greater amounts should be raised locally relative to our allocation from the National Office (in fact a ratio of 2/3 - locally raised to 1/3 - national grant has been proposed by the national treasury. The region should try to generate its own steady income particularly now that we are about to employ a full-time organiser in the region.
- (b) A regional fund-raising strategy needs to be developed and implemented. The key body here is clearly the finance and fund-raising subcommittee and this task should form a specific part of this subcommittee's mandate.
- (c) A set of clear principles and methods for the allocation of funds needs to be established. This could be done jointly by the 1985 Finance Committee and REC.
- (d) As far as book-keeping goes we feel that the national treasury workshop is a priority and should go ahead as soon as possible.

BUDGET FOR 1985

This is best drawn up by the 1985 treasury (including the finance Sub-committee) in conjunction with the REC and should be done immediately the new executive takes office.

Elections:

- It was mainly done on nominations arrived at by area committees.
- Organisations however , has the right to nominate independently.
- A media officer was also elected at the A.G.M.

The Regional Executive Committee of UDF Eastern Cape.

president : Edgar Ngoyi Phone 665402.
 Vice- President: Henry Fazzie Phone 541388 (office).
 publicity Secretary : Stone Sizane Phone 663247 (home) 611403 (work).
 General Secretary : Derrick Swartz Phone 424814 (home) 846916 (work)
 Recording Secretary : Ndube Mtwabo
 Treasurer : Guelé Nkwinti (proposed)
 Rural Organiser : Mathew Goniwe Phone 2471 (o481)
 Media Officer : Percival Smith Phone 47683 (home)

Biographical sketch of R.E.C. members:Edgar Ngoyi:

- By far one of our most important and committed leaders in the Eastern Cape.
- Edgar Ngoyi was already a member of the now banned A.N.C. in 1952 when he was volunteer worker during the famous Defiance Campaign.
- Given his commitment to the national democratic struggle in South Africa, he was very much a close comrade to men like Nelson Mandela Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and others.
- He served nearly 17 years on Robben Island and is now an executive member of P.E.B.C.O.

Henry Fazzie :

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himself a leading figure in the history of struggle in the Eastern Cape, H. Fazzie was since his youth involved in politics.

A volunteer worker during the Defiance Campaign, this stalwart of the liberation struggle worked closely in the underground movement immediately after the banning of organisations in the 60's.

- In the 1960's he underwent military training in Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation.)
- Incarcerated on Robben Island for more than 21 years makes Henry Fazzie a tested leader in the democratic movement of our time.
- He is also serving on the PEBCO executive.

Stone Sizane :

- Stone was deeply involved in the Soweto uprisings of 1976 and a member of the Black Consciousness movement of the time.
- He was sent to Robben Island in 1976 and served for 5 years.
- He is an active member of PEYCO.

Derrick Swartz:

- Involved in the 1970's during the Black Consciousness period as a student of the University of Western Cape.
- He was involved in several community organisations and a trade union in Cape Town in 1980-81. He is a member of the Westville Youth Movement.

Matthew Goniwe :

Matthew was involved in politics for quite some time dating back to the early 70's .

Because of his relentless commitment to the struggle for democracy, he was imprisoned in bantustan Transkei in the 1970's.

As the principal of Lingelihle High School in Cradock, his name reached the ears of millions of people all over the world when the State attempted to crush resistance from the Cradock community.

Refusing to be coopted, Matthew was forcibly removed as principal and up to this very day, a deadlock between the intransigent state and a community is existing.

He is a member of CRADORA.

REGIONAL WORKING PRINCIPLES
EAST CAPE REGION

PREAMBLE

The East Cape Region of the U.D.F. exists for the purpose of uniting organizations in the Eastern Cape in order to resist Apartheid and further the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

1. The name of the region shall be the U.D.F. Eastern Cape Region.
2. The policies shall be in accordance with those decided on by the NGC and NEC.
3. The region shall undertake such tasks in pursuance of its aims as may be necessary.
4. The supreme regional decision-making body shall be the RGC.
5. The RGC shall consist of 2 delegates per organization, except for Trade Unions, which will have 3 delegates, plus 2 delegates from each Area committee, plus the REC. The RGC shall be convened by the REC at least once a month.
6. Regional patrons shall be appointed and they shall be eligible for election to the REC.
7. The REC shall be elected from RGC. The REC shall consist of the President, 1 vice-president, a 3-member secretariat, 1 treasurer and 1 rural organizer.
8. Organizations wishing to affiliate must accept the declaration of the U.D.F., and application for affiliates shall be approved by the RGC.
9. Standing and ad-hoc sub-committees may be formed to assist with the functions of the U.D.F., and are ultimately accountable to the RGC.
10. The treasurer shall open a banking account with a registered bank in the name of the U.D.F., Eastern Cape Region. All cheques shall be signed by the treasurer and one other REC member.
11. Organizations affiliated to the U.D.F. are bound by the working principles.
12. Quorum will consist of $1/2 + 1$ of quorum-determinative members.
13. Amendments to the working principles require a majority vote of a quorate RGC.
14. All matters not covered in these working principles will be dealt with by resolution.

MOTION ON EDUCATION:

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NOTING:

1. The struggle of students against the inferior system of Bantu Education at most major bush colleges and schools in the Eastern Cape, Transvaal and in areas of the Free State
2. the detentions and harassment of leaders and members of democratic student organisations in our schools, technicons, colleges and universities
3. the presence of police and the SADF in schools and townships
4. the admissions criteria and subsidy formula which serves to severely limit the number of black students admitted to the so-called "white" liberal universities.
5. the launching of the Education Charter Campaign in various regions of the country and the setting up of regional structures to co-ordinate the campaign

BELIEVING :

1. that separate education remains one of the cornerstones of South Africa's Apartheid policy.
2. that the students' struggle arises from genuine educational grievances such as the denial of effective and democratic representation in educational institutions, brutal corporal punishment, sexual harassment, the age limit ;law and other grievances
3. that education should be free, equal, relevant and compulsory in a united South Africa
4. that repressive measures continually waged against the student movement are part of the overall state strategy to ensure control of education at every level
5. that the violent action of the state to resistance can only increase student anger and heighten opposition
6. that the unequal access to education is a way of ensuring that education is streamlined to serve the needs of the capitalist economy
7. that the Education Charter Campaign provides the means for drawing up a guideline for an education system based on the needs of the people of South Africa
8. that the Education Charter Campaign will build unity in the non-racial student movement and will link student struggles with other progressive struggles

HEREBY RESOLVES:

1. to support the struggle of the student movement and to encourage the ongoing building and strengthening of student organisations
2. to condemn the violent measures used by the SAP and the involvement of the SADF in the school boycotts
3. to pledge our full support for the Education Charter Campaign and for student organisations engaged in the campaign

4. to continue the fight for a single, non-racial, democratic system of education in a democratic and united South Africa

Proposed:

Seconded:

Motion on Militarisation

NOTING:

1. The use of the army to crush opposition in townships in the Vaal Region, Grahamstown and many townships in South Africa.
2. That the S.A. Police, in particular their reaction units, have laid seige to our people living in Cradock, P.E., Somerset East, Fort Beaufort, Beaufort West, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Cookhouse and Port Alfred.
Further noting that the police presence in townships in the Eastern Cape is provoking tension and is leading to violence.
3. That S.A. continues to illegally occupy Namibia and constantly launches attacks on neighbouring states.
4. The government's intention to extend conscription to so called Coloureds and Indians and its extension of the penalty for non-religious pacifist from 2 to 6 years in jail.
Further noting the increasing resistance to conscription.
5. The increasing access of the SADF to schools and its use of adventure camps to militarise our children.
6. That in a time of severe economic recession that the government increased their spending on the so called defence to 5 200 million.

BELIEVING:

1. That the SADF has become an army of occupation in the townships attempting a military crushing of peoples legitimate grievances and demands.
2. That millions of South Africans experience no difference between soldiers in hippos and policeman in caspir's. And that the SAP and especially the Reaction Unit have also become internal armies of occupation in the Eastern Cape to restore government control of these sites of resistance.
3. That the SADF is involved in offensive activities designed to destabilize neighbouring countries to make them economically dependant and politically docile.
4. That the conscription South Africans opposed to defending apartheid in the SADF is forcing thousands into exile and the government's Conscientious Objection Board is an attempt to contain and confuse the issue.
5. Believing that the State Security Council's massive military expenditure is taking away bread jobs and houses.
6. Finally, believing that there will not be a just peace in S.A. before the SADF in its present form is disarmed and demobilised.

WE RESOLVE:

1. To demand that the SADF be withdrawn from all townships and stop their military response to peoples demands.
2. Demand the immediate withdrawal of the Police Reaction Units from the townships.; and to demand that the police be demilitarized, demobilised and reorganised so that they serve as the people's protector and not the people's aggressor.

3. To call for the immediate implementation of UN Resolution 435 in Namibia and the immediate withdrawal of the SADF and Koevoet and respect sovereignty and independence of neighbouring states.
4. To support the demand for an end to conscription and continue our support for Conscientious Objections.
5. We condemn the Defence Budgets, which indicates the Government's commitment to a violent maintenance of apartheid at the expense of meeting the the peoples demands for housing, security and comfort.
6. To monitor the SADF, to campaign and inform and help our communities to resist the indoctrination of our children to defend apartheid.

RESOLUTION ON UNEMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC DOWNTURN:

NOTING:

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

BELIEVING:

- 1. That the government camouflages exploitation with terms such as "Economic Downturn".
- 2. That the employers use retrenchments as a weapon to hit with at unionised workers to adjust for more profits and for maintaing their luxurious level at times of less profit achievement.
- 3. That our lives and health deserve preference over extravagances and billions spent on the SADF.
- 4. That the wealth of the country should be shared amongst the workèrs who produced it.

RESOLVES:

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

RESOLUTION ON TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

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IN BELIEVING THAT:

1. The tricameral parliament is fundamentally undemocratic in the nature and design and only serves the interests of the minority.
2. It serves to extend the undemocratic rule in S.A. and co-partner the exploitation and oppression of the masses.
3. By the involvement of the Labour Party, Solidarity Party, N.P.P. and other stooges consciously supporting the war in Namibia and other crimes committed against the people of S.A.
4. The separate houses of representation is an expression of apartheid in S.A.
5. The vast sums of money and resources to maintain this racist parliament while the vast majority of the people are starving and dying.
6. The mismanagement of the economy of the country by the government resulting in economic bankruptcy when this burden is being carried by the majority of the working people in S.A.

WE HEREBY RESOLVE:

1. To continue our relenting opposition and challenge to the racist state and its undemocratic constitution.
2. Reject all forms of undemocratic and dummy representation.
3. Call for the immediate resignation of all members serving in these illegitimate structures.
4. Call for the immediate dissolution of the L.P./N.P.P./ Solidarity Party and other stooge parties and the dissolution of the racist tricameral parliament..
5. Demand the scrapping of all racist and undemocratic laws.
6. To resist with relentless vigour the various forms of oppression and exploitation on the education, economic, social, cultural fronts.
7. And therefore stand firm in our commitment to strive for a free, non-racial, undivided democratic S.A. based on the will of the people.

@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@

Patrons:

- It was decided that the existing patrons be retained.
- The number of patrons is 9 in our region.
- The President must see to the briefing of patrons.
- They are : Father Miller; Rev. Soga; Rev. Daba; S. Makalipi; Rev. Hia; Mrs. Gqina; Dr. Manga; Rev. Alberts; Rev. Dandala.
- Rev. Irvine, because of interdenominational commitments and related problems, has subsequently withdrawn his patronage. He wishes to reiterate his support for UDF's cause.

UDF programme of action:

- All commissions must work out final drafts on possible issues to be taken up by UDF this year.
- The conveners must meet to synthesize the various positions.
- This draft must be presented at the next R.G.C. meeting.

Updated list of affiliates

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Trade Unions: MACWUSA (Motor Assembly & Components Workers Union of S.A.)
GWUSA (General Workers' Union of S.A.)
CUSA (Council of Union of S.A.)

CIVIC Organisations: PEBCO (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation)
MRA (Malabar Ratepayers Association)
GRACA (Grahamstown Civic Association)
CRADORA (Cradock Residents Association)
(Grahamstown) (P.E.)

Student Organisations: COSAS (Congress of S.A. Students)
SCPC (Student Cultural Planning Committee)
NUSAS (National Union of S.A. Students)
BSM (Black Students Movement)

YOUTH: PEYCO (Port Elizabeth Youth Congress)
Westville Youth
GYM (Gelvandale Youth Movement)
M jusa (Morawiese Jeug Unie van S.A.)
CRADOYA (Cradock Youth Association)
KYCO (Kirkwood Youth Congress)
AYCO (Alexandria Youth Congress)
COS^{MAS}~~AS~~ YOUTH
UYCO (Uitenhage Youth Congress)

Sport Bodies: ZWIRU (Zwidz Rugby Union)
SANRUB (South African Non-Racial Rugby Board)
Valiants Sports Club

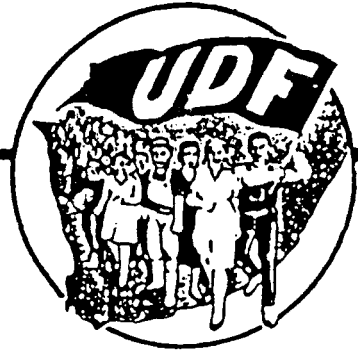
Political: DESCOM (Detainees Support Committee)
ANTI=IMC (Anti-Indian Management Council)
GCD (Grahamstown Committee of Democrats)

OTHER: EPDA (Eastern Province Dancing Association)

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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



The Secretary
U.D.F. E. Cape
P.O. Box 2403
North End
23 March 1985

Re: Invitation to Regional General Council meeting: Wednesday, 3 MARCH 1985,
UDF office, Court Chambers.

The Secretary
.....
.....
.....

Dear Comrades

The R.E.C has decided ,after urgent consultation, to call a R.G.C. meeting of all U.D.F. affiliates on 3 MARCH 1985 at 6.30pm at Court Chambers. For most on the agenda of all democrats in South Africa and communities of the international world, is the recent shooting of defenceless people in Uitenhage on 21 March 1985.

A crisis has beset our country and the legitimate demands of our people are silenced by endless arrests, bannings and detentions. The recent banning of all meetings of students can be seen as indicative of much authoritarian and desperate measures, of a regime stepping up repression against the genuine, peaceful resistance of our people. The current legislation aimed to curtail the growing reign of terror taking toll in South Africa.

U.D.F. as the representative voice of the democratic masses of South Africa. needs to relate profoundly to these conflicts which are constantly shaping the future of our country.

The Commissions have not been meeting quite consistently and a joint programme of action eagerly warrants attention.

residents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota
National Secretary: Popo Molefe

A number of important issues relating to the N.G.C. should be discussed and finalised at the R.G.C. meeting.

AGENDA:

- (1). Correspondence; Apologies.
- (2). N.G.C. report.
- (3). Commissions.
- (4). Area Committees
- (5). Finance.
- (6). Uitenhage Shootings.
- (7). General.

Your active participation is of immense importance

Yours in the Struggle

D.I. Swartz.

(General Secretary).

43 Mabasa Street

Cardok

5880

1985. 04. 01

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The Secretary
Cardok Residents + Youth Association
Cardok.

Dear Sir

RE: RESIGNATION.

I hereby tender my resignation as organising secretary of the above mentioned organisations

It has come to my notice that malicious slander directed against my person is circulating in the township. It is my conviction that this carefully orchestrated campaign is designed to deliberately discredit me. Furthermore, it is particularly distasteful and terribly hurtful since, it concerns a member of my family, with whom I am supposed to be having a sexual relationship. This young lady being, Mrs Tandi Bangol (Baraji Street representative)

The organisations are free to investigate this allegation as they see fit. However I wish to stress that there exists a motive behind this unprecedented attack.

I believe that the Youth Association's President is behind this vicious attempt to discredit me both as an executive member of these organisations and as an individual, for the following reasons. (i) The unconstructive criticism about organisation of meetings without prior

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consultation and the finances affair. (i) The rumors
mongering concerning the "students confusion" (ii) suspicious
sources of the current onslaught i.e. since the
allegations about secret meetings were brought to me
by organisers this last one has been cleverly
constructed to come out through organisers, a clever
ploy and counter indeed.

I do not believe that these allegations will stop
since they will be kept alive by certain individuals
when they are owned and directed by these individuals
and their surrogates for their personal interests.

It must be clearly understood that these allegations
untrue as they are, are succeeding in doing emotional,
psychological and public damage to the overall image
of the organisations.

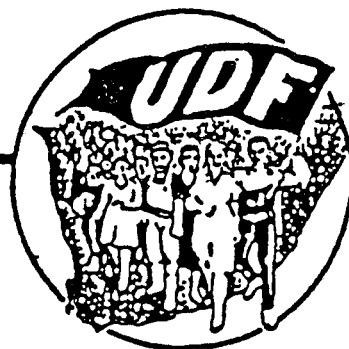
For the above mentioned reasons I feel it wise to
resign lest the organisations and the cause I so dearly
love are further affected.

Yours faithfully
Mbulelo Leroiwe

11/00/00045EL 11

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITESI APARTHEID DIVIDES!



9 (1)

The Secretary
UDF Eastern Cape
P.O. Box 2403
North End
Port Elizabeth
14 March 1985

REGIONAL REPORT

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

- The following report dates from 30-12-84 to 14-03-85.
- The framework suggested by the General Secretary from Head Office provides the content in this report.

1.2 Broadening of the Front:

- During October 1984, UDF Eastern Cape went into a period of intensive introspection to be able to understand our direction and role for the new year, 1985.
- A series of workshops were held to streamline ideas on a number of important issues.
- On the issue of expansion of the UDF in our region we had a number of ideas.
- It was seen as a fulltime and consciously - motivated strategy to broaden UDF.
- UDF must of necessity develop and deepen its base in the industrial centre - P.E.: but also develop rural organisation.
- To concentrate on the task of building the front; it was felt that the General Secretary needs to be freed from the awesome administrative duties curtailing his ability to do soley UDF organisational work.
- A recording secretary, being a member of the executive (REC) should be

2.3 Structures and decision-making:

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1.3.1 Type of Structures:

- REC: A number of changes had been made on this level.
- It was unanimously felt that the REC should acquire a more functional, interventionist and dynamic leadership character.
- All nominal position should be given organisational functions and unnecessary roles eliminated.
- Different portfolios: 1 President - Co-ordinator of relations with patrons. 1 Vice - President - Co-ordinator of subcommittee and commissions. 1 General Secretary - to fulfill the role of doing UDF organisational work. 1 Public Secretary - Represent UDF on the public level. 1 Recording Secretary - to do Administrative duties. 1 Treasurer - To maintain UDF funds. 1 Rural Organiser - To organise for UDF in rural areas.
- RGC:
 - It was felt that the structure of the RGC be maintained.
 - Permanent representation is essential to ensure effective participation.
 - The quorum procedure (50% + 1) needs to be redressed.
 - Redundant or non-functional organisational must abstain themselves from the quorum - total to ensure continuity.
 - A definite set of guidelines is needed to increase the poor participation of affiliates through the RGC.

1.3.2. Decision-making:

- Decisions are generally made on the level of the RGC.
- However, not enough participation and communication shown to organisations is made from RGC representatives.
- The idea of an activists-forum for all areas to evaluate developments and encourage the constant flow of ideas.
- UDF leadership needs to consistently speak to organisations on their individual needs to be able to strengthen and mould the working relationships.

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COMMISSIONS:

- 4 Permanent commissions were set up to co-ordinate and spearhead UDF work in specific arenas of struggle.
- These commissions will consist of representatives of the various areas.
- Organisations and areas participate according to their particular needs.
- The commissions must meet consistently to develop a general UDF programme of action and to be able to evaluate progress.
- Commissions: (1) Conscription and Militarization; (2) Removals and Relocation; (3) Education; (4) Housing.
- A co-ordinator for each was elected at the AGM.
- I.Y.Y. was seen at the AGM as a separate but also related issue; Youths will take leadership in spearheading the I.Y.Y. campaign.
- A 5th commission, namely a Commission on Reorganisation was setup to attend to issues: UDF structures; evaluation; education and training; policy; ideological and political questions.
- Its lifespan was seen to last as long as the RGC wishes it to exist.

Subcommittees:

- The Finance and Fundraising Subcommittees will still exist; to be co-ordinated by Treasurer.
- A local fundraising programme should be developed.
- All areas used need to participate.
- The media subcommittee needs to be jacked-up and a Media-Officer (not the Pub. Secretary) should be elected.
- The latter committee needs to have an ongoing and permanent programme of action.

1.4 Campaigns:

- It was felt that UDF's programmes must contain strategic political campaigns, but this should, ^{not} constitute the 'totality of our work.

- 94
- Regions should adopt campaigns according to their needs and abilities: a criticism of previous campaigns was that we (local) over-extended ourselves.
 - The MSC was seen as an example.
 - The campaigns must reflect issues which contain elements able to:
 - (1) Mobilize masses in action
 - (2) Organise (unorganised) people in every sphere of life.
 - (3) Heighten political consciousness.
 - (4) Develop working class participation and leadership
 - (5) Deepen the class content of struggle
 - (6) Strengthen relations with unions and other non-affiliated organisations.
 - The anti-election campaign was largely fought within the Coloured and Indian communities.
 - The MSC was to some extent an ambitious project, overtaxing activists and resulting in great disillusion.
 - It however gave us a fair number of grassroots contact and a deeper understanding of community needs.
 - The closeness and somewhat vague relationship between the MSC and the Anti-election campaign also became problematic.
 - The anti-election campaign could not successfully involve organised labour to participate more effectively.
 - Selectively, careful and sober analysis of our strengths and weaknesses, short-term and long-term goals: used to guide us in choosing campaigns.

1.5 Rural Areas:

- Being an area of immense importance, UDF locally failed to build a significant rural base.
- Contact, communication and development have caused a great deal of problems.
- Material resources and manpower are also problems.

- For the purposes of expanding and strengthening our rural base, a Rural Organiser needs to be elected - to fulfill this task on a fulltime basis.
- A motivation for financial assistance from Head Office needs to be drafted and a suitable person selected - preferably from the rural areas.
- Ties with affiliates in Cradock, Grahamstown, Kirkwood, Alexandria needs to be strengthened and a Rural Programme of Action adopted.
- Relations with non-affiliates was seen as a major responsibility of UDF.
- With the churches relatively good relations were maintained, however our ties needs to be given an ongoing and permanent character.
- Trade Unions outside UDF, was seen as a cardinal problem which needed serious attention.
- UDF General and Public Secretaries have to develop guidelines as to how we will relate to such organisations.
- Unions such as FOSATU, AFCWU, GWU, DWASA, have been operating with UDF on piecemeal issues in the past - no ongoing relationship.
- UDF's local programme also to reflect working class issues quite clearly, hence the abstinence of such organisations.
- Sports organisations such as SACOS remains to be a great stumbling-block with regards to our reach into the membership of it.
- Several meetings with SACOS locally did not bear any practical fruits subsequently.
- Only on one occasion joint activity really came to the fore with regards to SACOS AND FOSATU.
- It was resolved to set up structures to consciously stimulate and encourage such co-operation (in a much more structured fashion - the Secretaries should initiate such moves.
- Some individual clubs are affiliated to UDF.

9(6)

- A rural organiser is definitely needed.
- A wide spectrum of areas are totally isolated and few organisations exist in rural areas.
- A rural programme of action which will incorporate general/common issues will have to be developed.
- The anti-election campaign failed to reach effectively out into these areas, simply because no organisational machinery was put into effect.
- Removals were largely monitored by small groups outside UDF such as Grahamstown Rural Committee.
- Individual affiliates responded to some removal-scenes - PEBCO in the Matherwell issue.
- There is a great lack of understanding as an appreciation of the importance of the removals-question.
- The Removals and Relocation needs to be set up in rural areas with rural affiliates taking lead therein.

1.6 Tricameral Parliament and BLA

- The most striking feature of the anti-BLA campaign in our region was that it was predominantly waged outside UDF.
- The co-ordination of the campaigns in townships was weak, often not properly monitored.
- PEBCO played a leading role in this regard.
- The anti-tricameral parliament elections campaign was taken up by UDF unlike the anti-BLA campaign.
- The anti-election campaigns created a great deal of activity in the region.
- Mostly the Coloured and Indian communities were mobilized, although the need was seen to concentrate on the African majority also.
- However, no concrete issues could be identified as rallying points.
- The anti-election campaign had the significance in the sense that it shared common grounds for SACOS and FOSATU to co-operate with UDF
- A great problem in the Coloured and Indian communities reflected in this campaign was lack of incredible community and political leadership in the

7(7)

area.

- Mainly church ministers were taken as alternative leadership.
- No real mass-based community organisations are in existence, and this is seen as a priority for 1985.

1.7 Overall gains of UDF:

- UDF certainly introduced a new dimension into politics in the E.Cape.
- It became the political mouthpiece of the 'left' creating alternative where no progressive mass-based structures exist.
- The element of mass mobilization around UDF has not reached climatic stages upto date - because of the non-strategic nature of issues taken up.
- Only the anti-election campaign and the anti-BLA campaign succeeded in creating a climate to militate communities.
- The regional UDF also failed to project a clear alternative leadership during these campaigns.
- UDF did not successfully reach the rural areas during the MSC; Anti-election campaigns.
- The main thrust of UDF in 1985 is seen to be reflected in its programme of action. Crucial in this regard will be:
 - (1) The stimulation and sustainance of working class leadership.
 - (2) The effective and dynamic participation of organised labour.
 - (3) The surfacing of a clear and formidable leadership.
 - (4) To expand UDF to be able to create rural units.
 - (5) To gear our programme of action to the central task of building organisation.

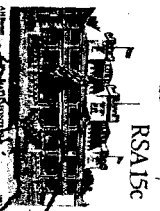
The report merely outlines broadly aspects which were discussed and focussed on in our region.

Yours in struggle

D.I. Swartz

D.I. Swartz (General Secretary)

R WALMER
No: 8520

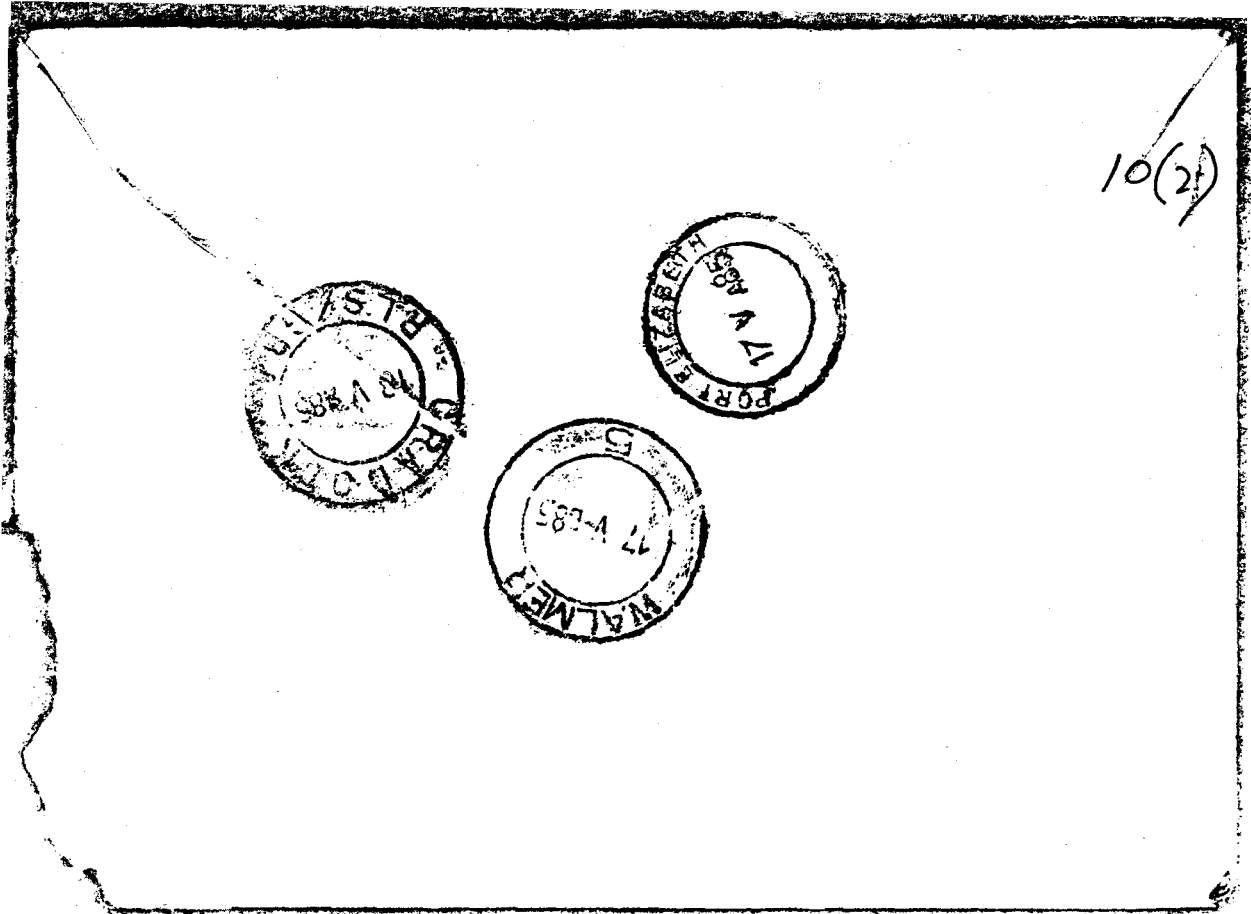


56/10
18/5

Coals do

MR. GLADWELL MAKAULA
44 QHIMA STREET,
LINGELHLA, TOWNSHIP,
CRADOCK,
C.P.

10/5



Box 5379, 10(3)
Walmer. 6065
Post. Elizabeth.
15. 5. 85.

Dear Gladwell,
We hope you will be able to
send a delegate to this Workshop as
numbers are limited, it might be an
idea for CRADORA to send one delegate
and CRADOYA to send one they could
then work together. I enclose 2 copies
of the invitation and perhaps you would
be good enough to pass one on to
the Chairman of Cradoya.

Hoping to see you soon,
Love to house,
Judy.

CRADORA

THE BLACK SASH



DIE SWART SERP

Cape Eastern Region

10(4)

YOUR ORGANISATION IS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN A MEDIA WORKSHOP to be held in Port Elizabeth from June 14-16th.

The Black Sash, the Human Awareness Programme and representatives from the Justice and Reconciliation departments of both SACC and the SA Catholic Bishops Conference have been planning a series of workshops designed to help ourselves and other organisations to make more effective use of the commercial media in our efforts to work for justice and democracy in South Africa.

All of us need to know how to reach a wider public in order to inform and stimulate public opinion about important issues. Whatever our criticism of the press we need to know how to handle it. This applies to both the local and international press. We can also create opportunities to get a point of view across through radio and TV, however difficult it may be. Much of our criticism of the press stems from our own inability to communicate with editors and reporters.

The media workshop is designed to help us learn how to do this.

The facilitators will be a person from HAP who will run the workshop, with a press expert from the United Kingdom.

A member of Rhodes University's Journalism Dept., a former journalist qualified in law, will do practical teaching on journalists' legal limitations.

An experienced local journalist will also be present throughout the workshop to give information on local conditions.

Input will include how to make an issue newsworthy, how and when to issue a press release or statement, how to present material to the press, to radio and TV, the legal restraints, the practical restraints on journalists etc. etc. It is to be purely practical teaching and strategy planning. Ideological differences should not prevent people from participation and we hope they will not do so.

The language used will be English throughout.

Participants will be asked to report on and discuss two case studies from the local area. One should be a successful case study such as the letter to the Queen and Mrs. Thatcher from the Ngema people at the time of P.W. Botha's visit to Europe. One should be a failure such as the failure to communicate the appalling situation in E. Cape communities before the Uitenhage massacre on 21st March.

Organisations invited to attend are limited to 2 delegates each, we aim at a total number not exceeding 70. We hope delegates will be those responsible for press liaison and public relations in their own organisations and that they will pass on to their own members and affiliate organisations what they learn at the workshop.

VENUE: North End Methodist Church, Bagshaw St., Port Elizabeth.

TIMES: Friday, 14th June: 5.30 Get-together to register and have supper.
Saturday, 15th June: 9a.m. Work begins, continuing all day.
Sunday, 16th June: 9a.m. Work begins and continues until lunch time. Participants depart after lunch.

Delegates and their organisations are responsible for their own transport costs. There will be no registration fee.

R.S.V.P. to Judy Chalmers, P.O. Box 5379, Walmer, P.E. tel. 361019.
or Isobel Douglas-Jones. tel. 305403.

If accommodation is required please notify above as soon as possible.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

TOGETHER WE UNITE! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

11 (1)

01 March 1985

The Secretary
H.A.R.T
P O Box 9204
WELLINGTON
New Zealand

Our dear Friends

We wish to reiterate our sentiments and opposition - expressed in an earlier letter - to the coming All Blacks rugby tour of S A. Last week S African security police swooped on the offices of the UDF and removed all our files and documents. We are, therefore, unable to refer to previous correspondence but can only affirm what we have already said on this matter.

Over the last few years, and largely due to growing international opposition to Apartheid, the S African government has allowed for some cosmetic integration of sport in order to undercut the effectiveness of foreign protest against this system. Thus Errol Tobias and Williams were included in the Springbok squad - to window dress Apartheid. But rugby clubs remain thoroughly segregated and the best rugby fields are reserved for Whites where Blacks have very few and unequipped grounds.

Rugby grounds such as Loftus Versfeld, Boet, Erasmus and New Lands are located in White areas and are thus accessible only to Whites. Blacks who are prevented by influx and pass laws to move and stay in the cities need special permits - which are hardly obtainable - to play on these grounds. And such permits are extremely difficult to obtain. If they should play there whenever it suits them and without such special permits they would be arrested for trespass and charged under one of the many city by-laws.

Similarly professional soccer teams have been allowed to mix Black and White players and compete against each other. The professional league involves only sixteen football clubs. However, the entire amateur ranks remain segregated. Again the White amateur players have the best football grounds and professional coaches. Not only are Black amateurs without coaches, they play on grounds which do not even have turf. But because amateur soccer is out of sight of the international community that sector may be left with the impression that there is no Apartheid in S A soccer.

2/.....

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngwenya

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin
National Publicity Secretary: Moshina Tazeeq Leloka

11(2)

These disparities can be detailed in every sport - swimming, tennis, boxing, etc. They are a source of deep dissatisfaction and disadvantage on the part of the Black majority. It cannot be expected that we can welcome the All Blacks to this country because they will be the guests of the privileged section of S A's population. They will play on pitches which are forbidden ground to our people and we should like these sentiments communicated to them.

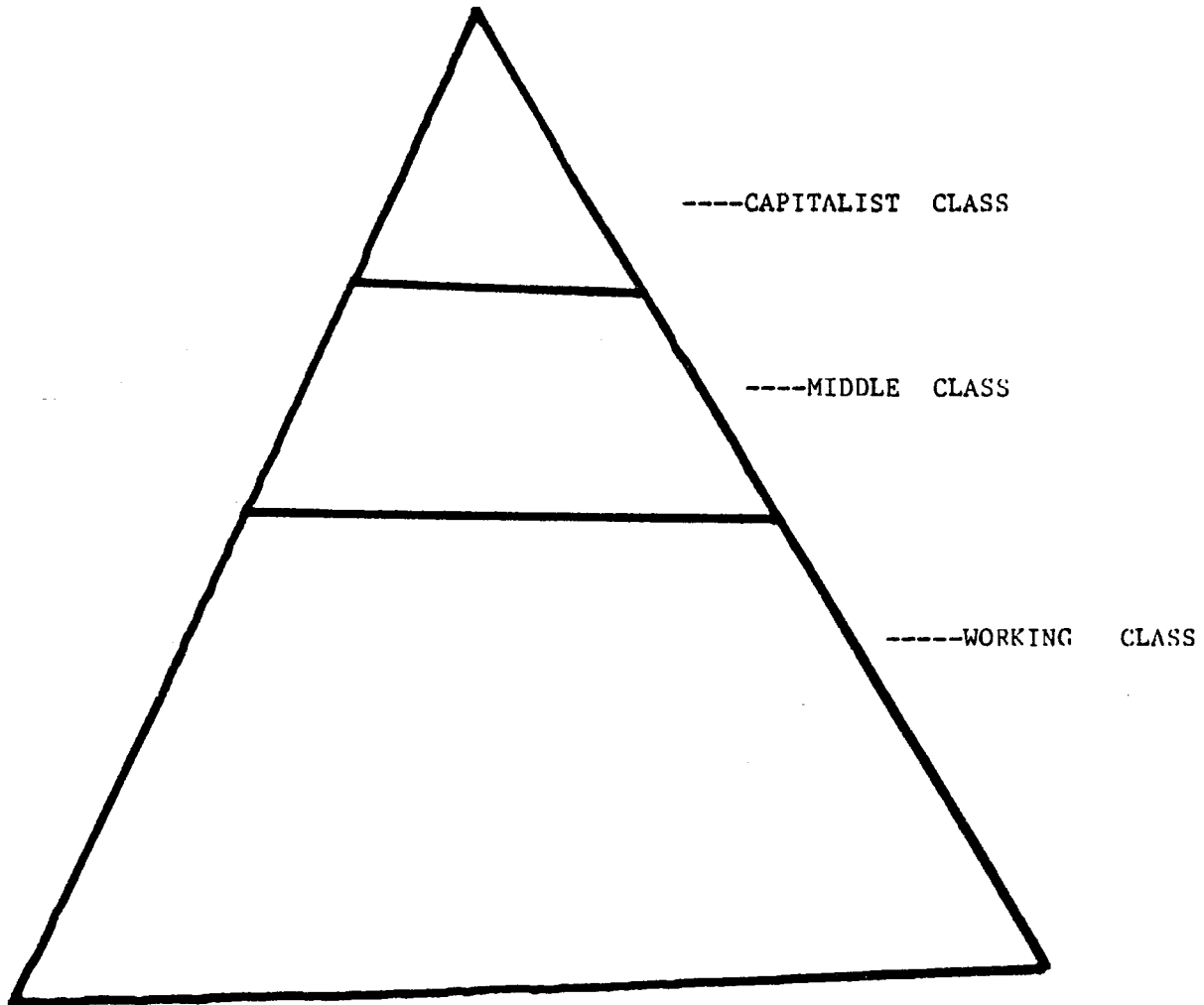
If in the past our opposition to similar tours has not been effectively demonstrated it is only because of the dire consequences for us who live under the Apartheid regime. But even this fear of reprisal by the White rulers is being overcome and the dawn of open public protest against foreign sportpersons who benefit from Apartheid is with us. We are already examining avenues of peaceful protest against the All Blacks tour and, if need be we shall go to gaol.

Once more, we urge HART and other progressive New Zealanders to intensify its efforts to dissuade the All Blacks from coming to this country. We commend you to health and wishes of success for our joint campaign. Amandla!!

Yours in the struggle for a non-racial world,

M P LEKOTA
PUBLICITY SECRETARY

COMMUNITY STRUGGLE
=====



NAMIBIA IS A CAPITALIST SOCIETY. THE AIM OF ITS ECONOMY IS THE ACCUMULATION OF PROFITS.

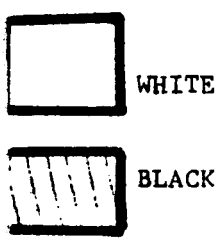
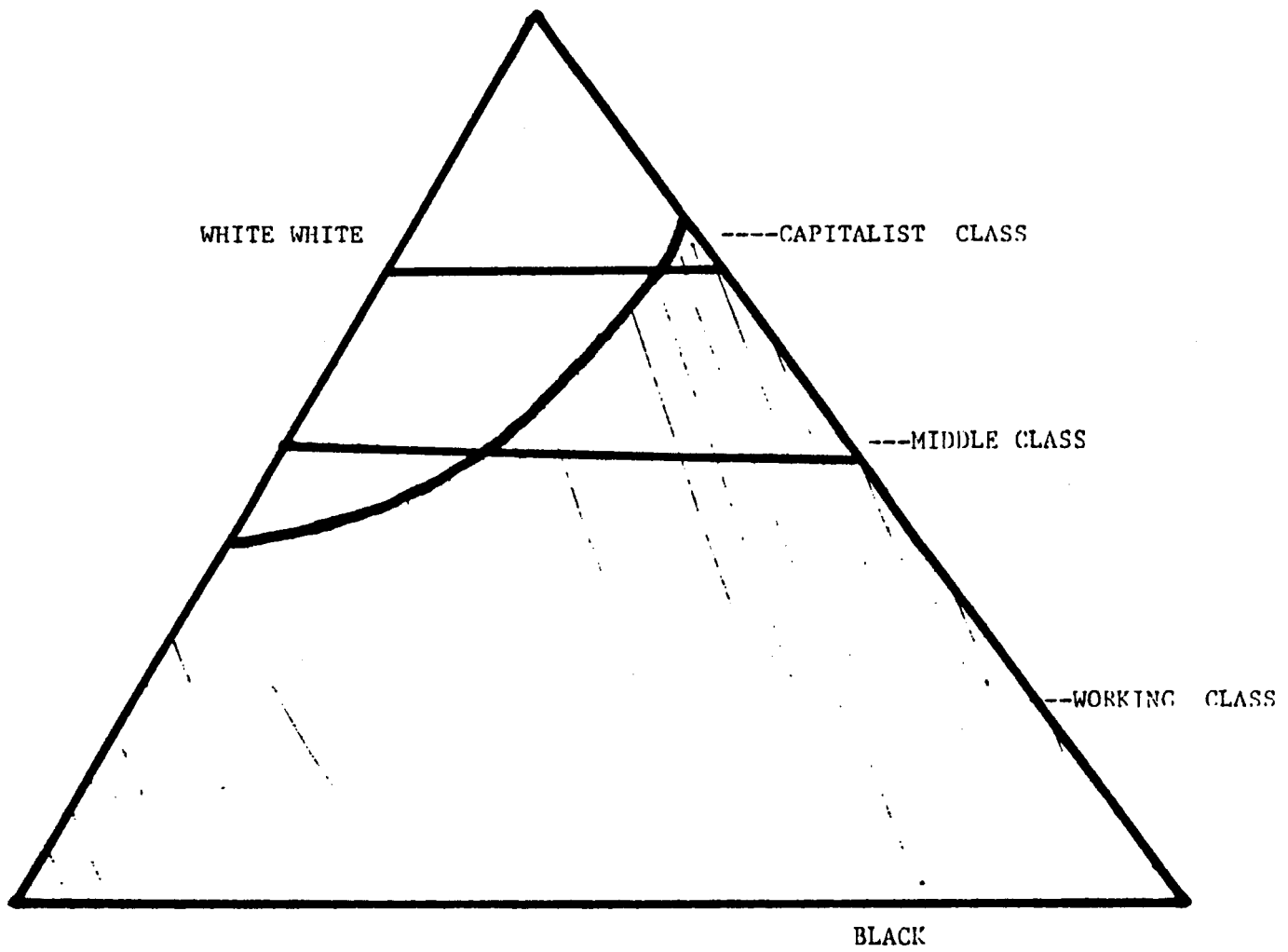
A CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS DIVIDED INTO SOCIAL CLASSES.

SOME ECONOMIC CRITERIA WHICH DETERMINE SOCIAL CLASSES ARE:

- = RELATIONSHIP TO MEANS OF PRODUCTION (CONTROL & OWNERSHIP).
- = DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH
- = WHO EXPLOITS AND WHO IS EXPLOITED.

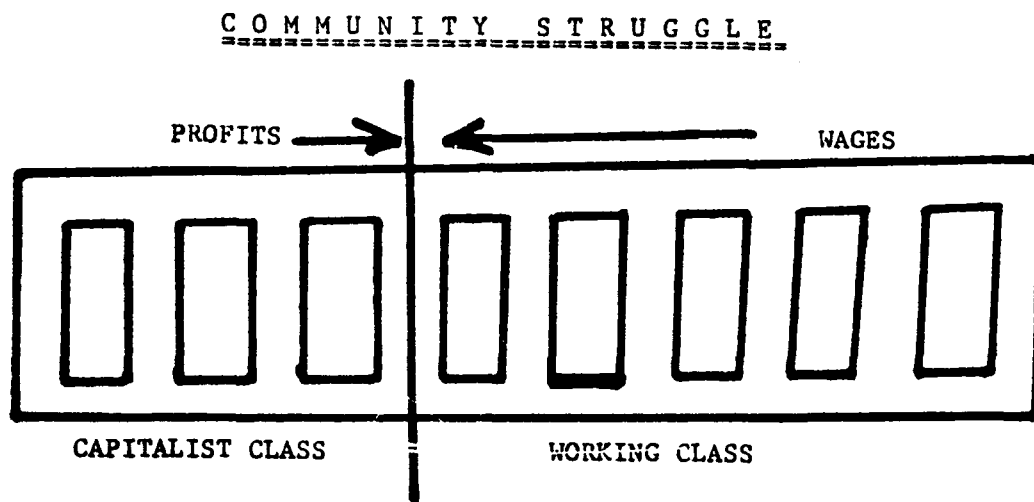
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COMMUNITY STRUGGLE



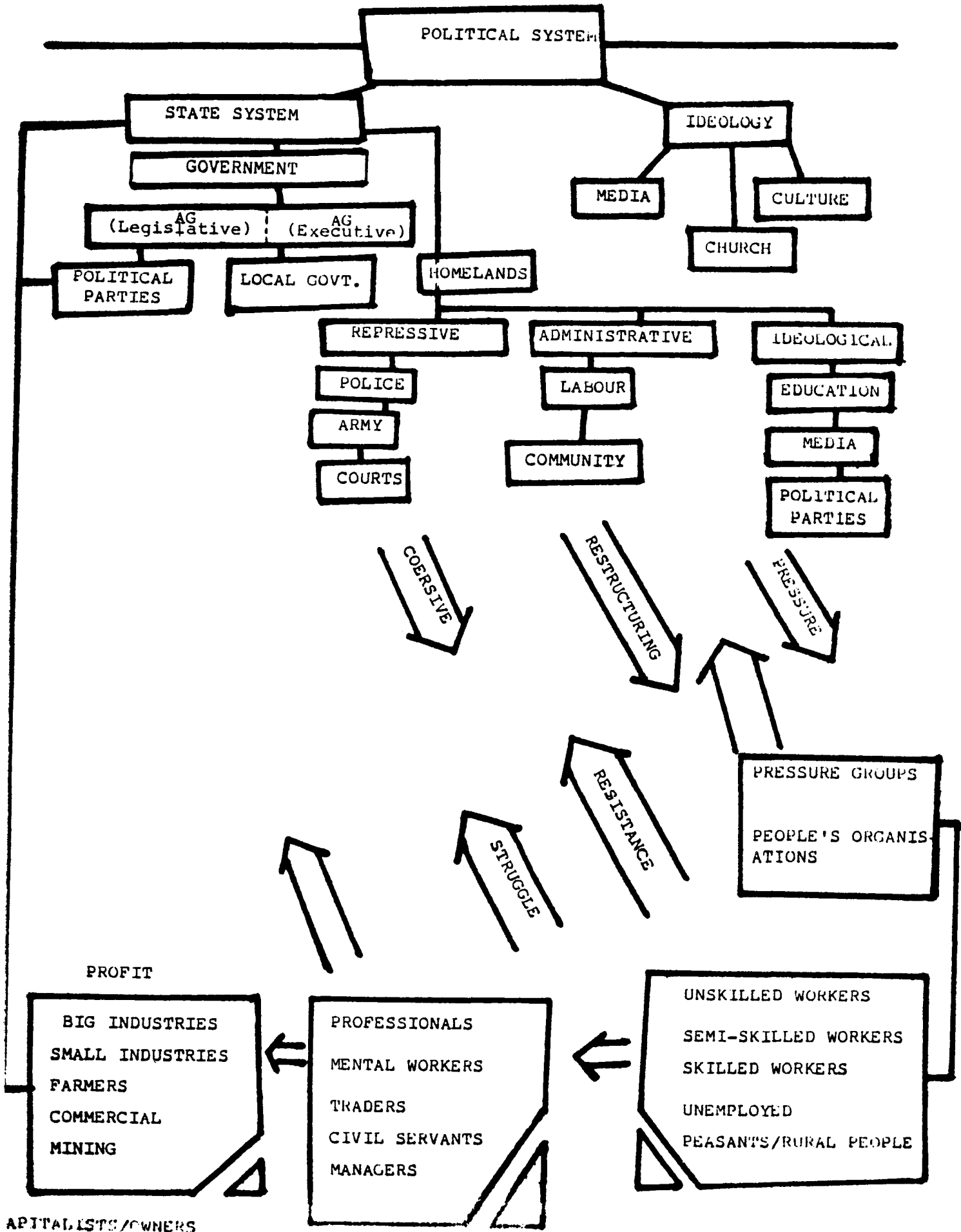
NAMIBIA'S RACIAL CAPITALISM = APARTHEID

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--- UNPAID LABOUR DETERMINES EXPLOITATION

--- CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO CLASSES IS INHERENT.



COMMUNITY STRUGGLE

----- THE NEED FOR ANALYSIS

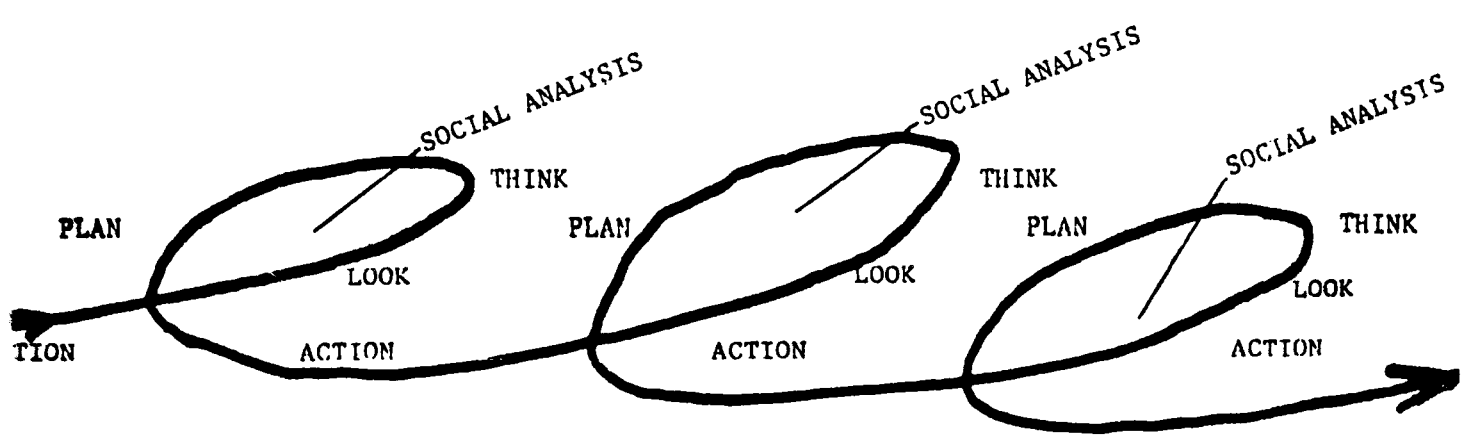
ANALYSIS IS FOR THOSE WHO HAVE THE WILL TO WORK FOR CHANGE.

ANALYSIS DEVELOPS OUR FAITH/COMMITMENT.

WHY DO WE ANALYSE?

- TO PENETRATE THE APPEARANCE TO GET TO THE ESSENCE.
- TO MAKE OUR ACTIONS EFFECTIVE
- TO HELP US DEVELOP TACTICS AND STRATEGIES.

ANALYSIS AND ACTIONS



Pa Paurane

13 (1)

MANDI
850208

sp2

MR NELSON MANDELA'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT P W
BOTHAS OFFER MADE IN PARLIAMENT

ADDRESS GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE AT JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE BY
ZINDZI MANDELA ON SUNDAY THE 10th FEBRUARY 1985

ON FRIDAY MY MOTHER AND OUR ATTORNEY SAW MY FATHER AT POLLSMOOR PRISON TO OBTAIN HIS ANSWER TO BOTHAS OFFER OF CONDITIONAL RELEASE.

THE PRISON AUTHORITIES ATTEMPTED TO STOP THIS STATEMENT BEING MADE BUT HE WOULD HAVE NONE OF THIS AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD MAKE THE STATEMENT TO YOU, THE PEOPLE.

STRANGERS LIKE BETHELL FROM ENGLAND AND PROFESSOR DASH FROM THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN RECENT WEEKS BEEN AUTHORISED BY PRETORIA TO SEE MY FATHER WITHOUT RESTRICTION YET PRETORIA CANNOT ALLOW YOU, THE PEOPLE, TO HEAR WHAT HE HAS TO SAY DIRECTLY. HE SHOULD BE HERE HIMSELF TO TELL YOU WHAT HE THINKS OF THIS STATEMENT BY BOTHAS. HE IS NOT ALLOWED TO DO SO. MY MOTHER WHO ALSO HEARD HIS WORDS IS ALSO NOT ALLOWED TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON SEND THEIR GREETINGS TO YOU THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THIS OUR TRAGIC LAND IN THE FULL CONFIDENCE THAT YOU WILL CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

HE, WITH HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON SEND THEIR VERY WARMEST GREETINGS TO BISHOP TUTU. BISHOP TUTU HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE BELONGS TO YOU WHO ARE THE PEOPLE. WE SALUTE HIM.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON ARE GRATEFUL TO THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WHO WITHOUT HESITATION MADE THIS VENUE AVAILABLE TO THEM SO THAT THEY COULD SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES WISH TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT TO YOU, THE PEOPLE, FIRST. THEY ARE CLEAR THAT THEY ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO YOU AND TO YOU ALONE. AND THAT YOU SHOULD HEAR THEIR VIEWS

13(2)

DIRECTLY AND NOT THROUGH OTHERS.

MY FATHER SPEAKS NOT ONLY FOR HIMSELF AND FOR HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON BUT HE HOPES HE ALSO SPEAKS FOR ALL THOSE IN JAIL FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE BANISHED, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE IN EXILE, FOR ALL THOSE WHO SUFFER UNDER APARTHEID, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID AND FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED.

THROUGHOUT OUR STRUGGLE THERE HAVE BEEN PUPPETS WHO HAVE CLAIMED TO SPEAK FOR YOU. THEY HAVE MADE THIS CLAIM, BOTH HERE AND ABROAD. THEY ARE OF NO CONSEQUENCE. MY FATHER AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL NOT BE LIKE THEM.

MY FATHER SAYS I AM A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND I WILL REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS UNTIL THE DAY I DIE. OLIVER TAMBO IS MUCH MORE THAN A BROTHER TO ME. HE IS MY GREATEST FRIEND AND COMRADE FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS. IF THERE IS ANY ONE AMONGST YOU WHO CHERISHES MY FREEDOM OLIVER TAMBO CHERISHES IT MORE AND I KNOW THAT HE WOULD GIVE HIS LIFE TO SEE ME FREE. THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS VIEWS AND MINE.

MY FATHER SAYS I AM SURPRISED AT THE CONDITIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO IMPOSE ON ME. I AM NOT A VIOLENT MAN. MY COLLEAGUES AND I WROTE IN 1952 TO MALAN ASKING FOR A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COUNTRY BUT THAT WAS IGNORED.

WHEN STRIJDOM WAS IN POWER, WE MADE THE SAME OFFER. AGAIN IT WAS IGNORED.

WHEN VERWOERD WAS IN POWER WE ASKED FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE. THIS TOO, WAS IN VAIN.

IT WAS ONLY THEN WHEN ALL OTHER FORMS OF RESISTANCE WERE NO LONGER OPEN TO US THAT WE TURNED TO ARMED STRUGGLE.

LET BOTHA SHOW THAT HE IS DIFFERENT TO MALAN, STRIJDOM AND VERWOERD.

LET HIM RENOUNCE VIOLENCE.

LET HIM SAY THAT HE WILL DISMANTLE APARTHEID.

13 (3)

LET HIM UNBAN THE PEOPLES ORGANISATION, THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

LET HIM FREE ALL WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED
BANISHED OR EXILED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO
APARTHEID.

LET HIM GUARANTEE FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY SO
THAT THE PEOPLE MAY DECIDE WHO WILL GOVERN THEM.

I CHERISH MY OWN FREEDOM DEARLY BUT I CARE EVEN
MORE FOR YOUR FREEDOM. TOO MANY HAVE DIED SINCE
I WENT TO PRISON. TOO MANY HAVE SUFFERED FOR THE
LOVE OF FREEDOM. I OWE IT TO THEIR WIDOWS, TO
THEIR ORPHANS, TO THEIR MOTHERS AND TO THEIR
FATHERS WHO HAVE GRIEVED AND WEPT FOR THEM. NOT
ONLY I HAVE SUFFERED DURING THESE LONG LONELY
WASTED YEARS. I AM NOT LESS LIFE LOVING THAN YOU
ARE. BUT I CANNOT SELL MY BIRTHRIGHT NOR AM I
PREPARED TO SELL THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO
BE FREE. I AM IN PRISON AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF
THE PEOPLE AND OF YOUR ORGANISATION THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS WHICH WAS BANNED. WHAT FREEDOM
AM I BEING OFFERED WHILST THE ORGANISATION OF
THE PEOPLE REMAINS BANNED. WHAT FREEDOM AM I
BEING OFFERED WHEN I MAY BE ARRESTED ON A PASS
OFFENCE. WHAT FREEDOM AM I BEING OFFERED TO LIVE
MY LIFE AS A FAMILY WITH MY DEAR WIFE WHO
REMAINS IN BANISHMENT IN BRANDFORT. WHAT FREEDOM
AM I BEING OFFERED WHEN I MUST ASK FOR
PERMISSION TO LIVE IN AN URBAN AREA. WHAT
FREEDOM AM I BEING OFFERED WHEN I NEED A STAMP
IN MY PASS TO SEEK WORK. WHAT FREEDOM AM I BEING
OFFERED WHEN MY VERY SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP
IS NOT RESPECTED.

ONLY FREE MEN CAN NEGOTIATE. PRISONERS CANNOT
ENTER INTO CONTRACTS. HERMAN TOIVO JA TOIVO,
WHEN FREED, NEVER GAVE ANY UNDERTAKING, NOR WAS
HE CALLED UPON TO DO SO. MY FATHER SAYS I CANNOT
AND WILL NOT GIVE ANY UNDERTAKING AT A TIME WHEN
I AND YOU THE PEOPLE ARE NOT FREE. YOUR FREEDOM
AND MINE CANNOT BE SEPERATED. I WILL RETURN.

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Published by

International Labour Research and Information Group
Box 213
Salt River 7925
South Africa

Department of Sociology
University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7700

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ISBN 0 7992 0916 3

Design by **Spark**

Printed by Printing Department, University of Cape Town

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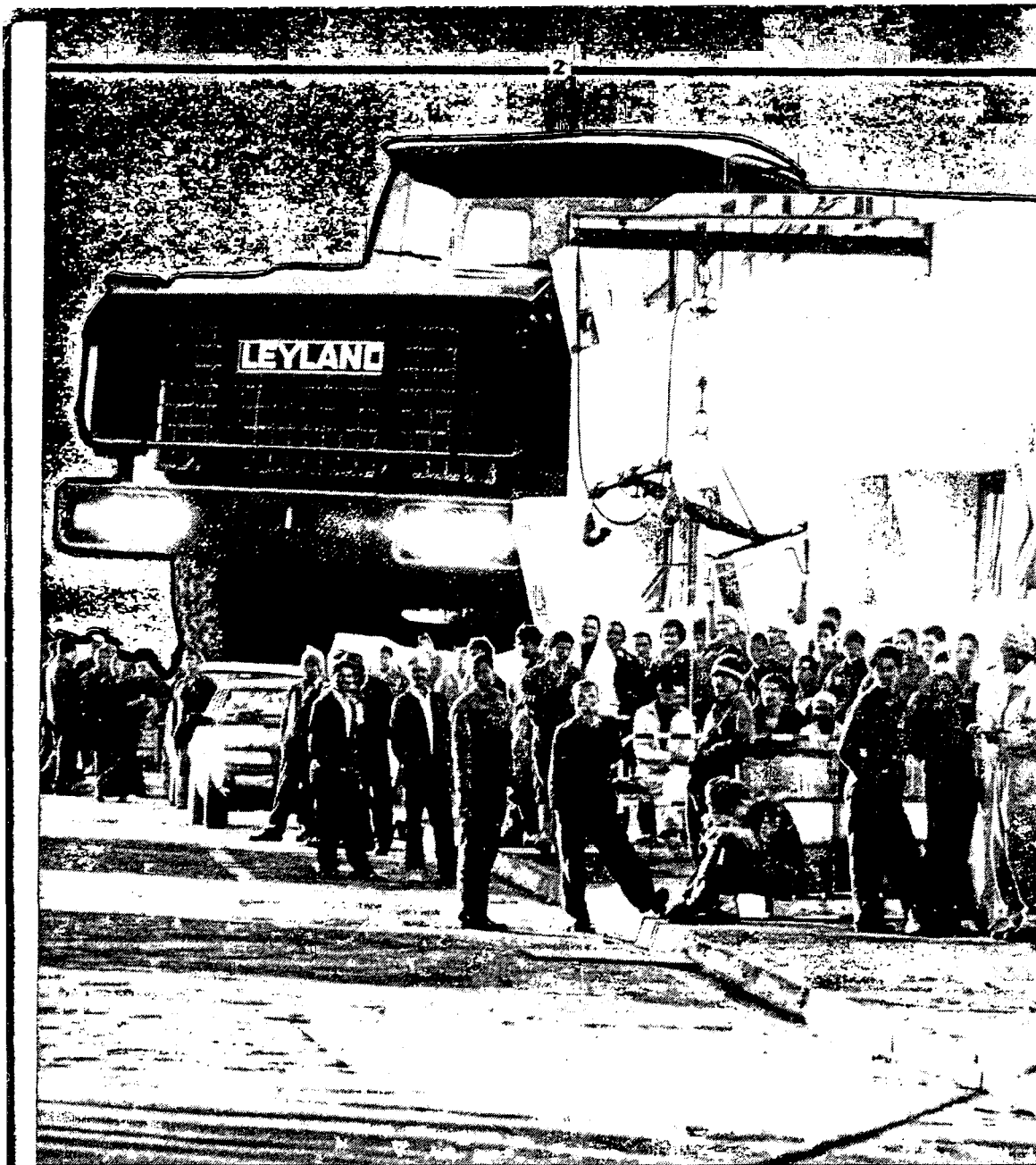
**WORKERS OF THE WORLD SERIES
NUMBER 4**

SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR

**THE STORY OF INTERNATIONAL
WORKER ORGANISATIONS**



**INTERNATIONAL LABOUR
RESEARCH AND INFORMATION GROUP**



This picture shows workers standing outside the gates of the Leyland car factory near Cape Town in 1981. Two thousand Leyland workers were on strike for higher wages.

The Leyland management dismissed all the strikers, and gave their jobs to new workers. But the workers and their union fought back. Other unions and community organisations gave them support.

Workers in other countries also gave support to the Leyland workers. Leyland owns factories in Britain as well as South Africa. So when Leyland workers in Britain heard of the strike, they tried to help their comrades in South Africa.

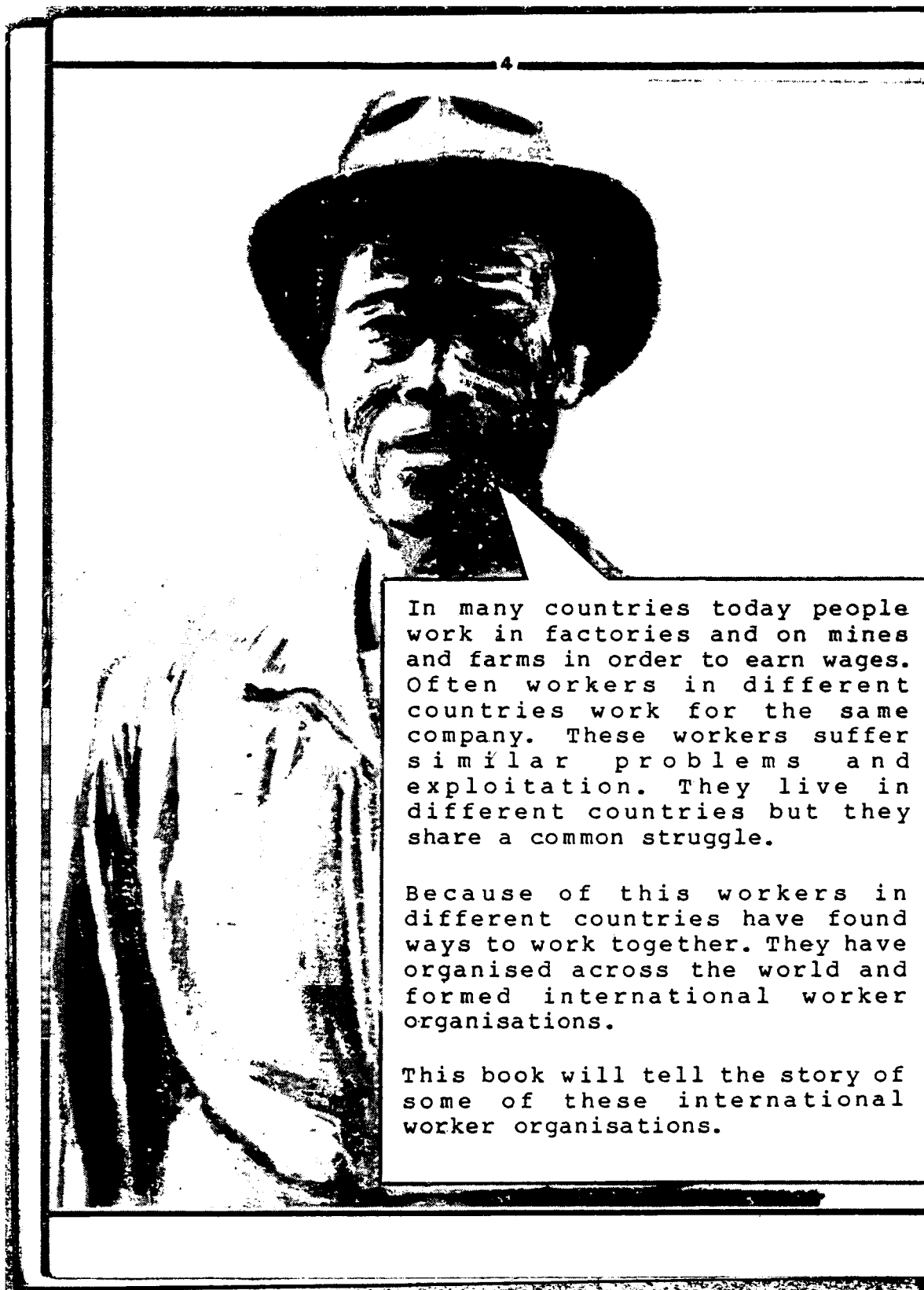
The trade unions of Leyland workers in Britain protested to Leyland in South Africa. One British union threatened to stop sending car parts to Leyland factories in South Africa if the bosses did not talk to the workers.

The strikers also got messages of support from international trade union organisations like the ICFTU and the International Metal Workers' Federation, and from the International Labour Organisation.

In the end the Leyland management agreed to talk with the union and give back the jobs to the strikers.

This story of the Leyland strike brings up some questions. What are international trade union organisations? What are the ICFTU and the International Metalworkers' Federation? Why do workers far away in Britain offer support to workers in South Africa? How much unity is there between workers in different countries?

This book will look at some of these questions.

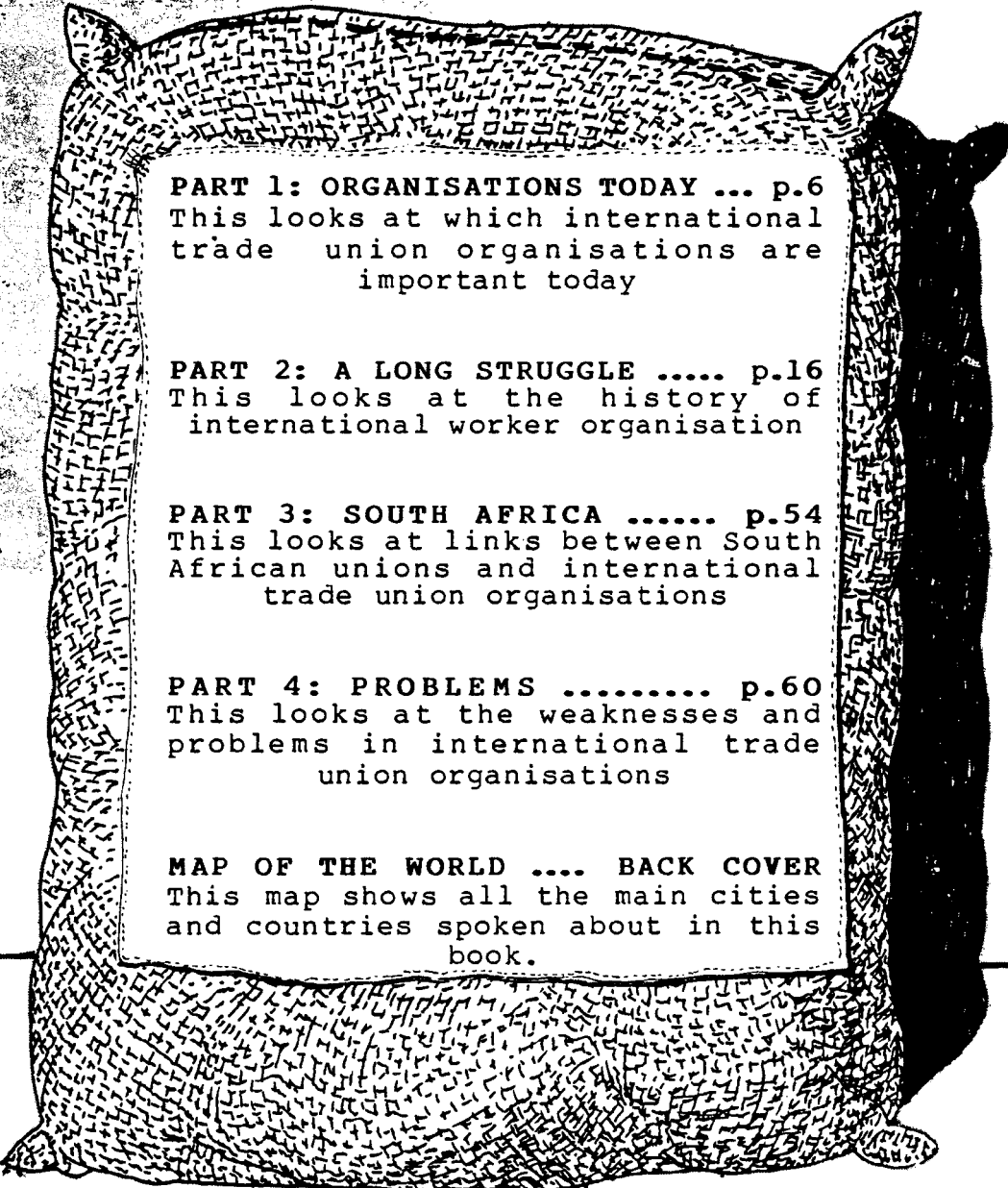


4

In many countries today people work in factories and on mines and farms in order to earn wages. Often workers in different countries work for the same company. These workers suffer similar problems and exploitation. They live in different countries but they share a common struggle.

Because of this workers in different countries have found ways to work together. They have organised across the world and formed international worker organisations.

This book will tell the story of some of these international worker organisations.



PART 1: ORGANISATIONS TODAY ... p.6
This looks at which international
trade union organisations are
important today

PART 2: A LONG STRUGGLE p.16
This looks at the history of
international worker organisation

PART 3: SOUTH AFRICA p.54
This looks at links between South
African unions and international
trade union organisations

PART 4: PROBLEMS p.60
This looks at the weaknesses and
problems in international trade
union organisations

MAP OF THE WORLD BACK COVER
This map shows all the main cities
and countries spoken about in this
book.

PART ONE

ORGANISATIONS TODAY

There are many international trade union organisations which bring together workers from different countries. Here, we will focus on three of the most important of these organisations:

1. International confederations which bring together trade union federations from different countries
2. International trade secretariats which bring together unions in the same industry from different countries
3. International work of national trade union federations

The names of many of these organisations are very long. This book will often use the short form of the name. It will give just the main letters of the name, for example ICFTU. At the end of this section, on page 15, the names of many of these organisations are written out in full.

TRADE UNION CONFEDERATIONS

In many countries different unions come together in one organisation called a national trade union centre or federation.

For example, in Britain all the unions come together in the Trades Union Congress - the TUC. In the United States unions are joined in a federation called the AFL-CIO, and in Germany most big unions belong to the DGB. In some countries there is more than one federation. In France there are three. In South Africa, in the 1970s, non-racial unions formed two different federations - FOSATU and CUSA.

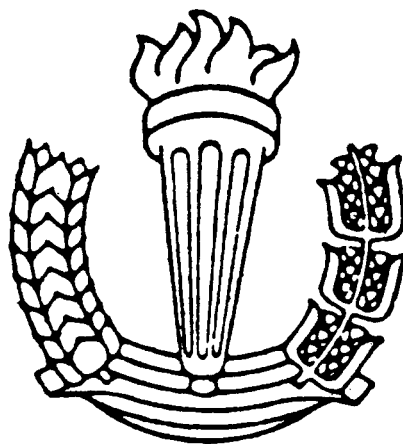
When federations from different countries come together to form one international organisation, it is called an international trade union confederation.



Today there are two main confederations which bring together trade unions from different countries:

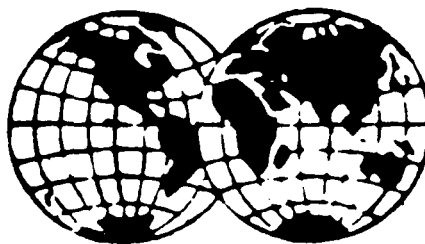
ICFTU - INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS:

has 85 million union members, from federations in 93 different countries. Its influence is strongest in Western Europe, North America and Japan. The British TUC, the American AFL-CIO, and German DGB and the South African federation, CUSA, are some of the centres affiliated to the ICFTU.



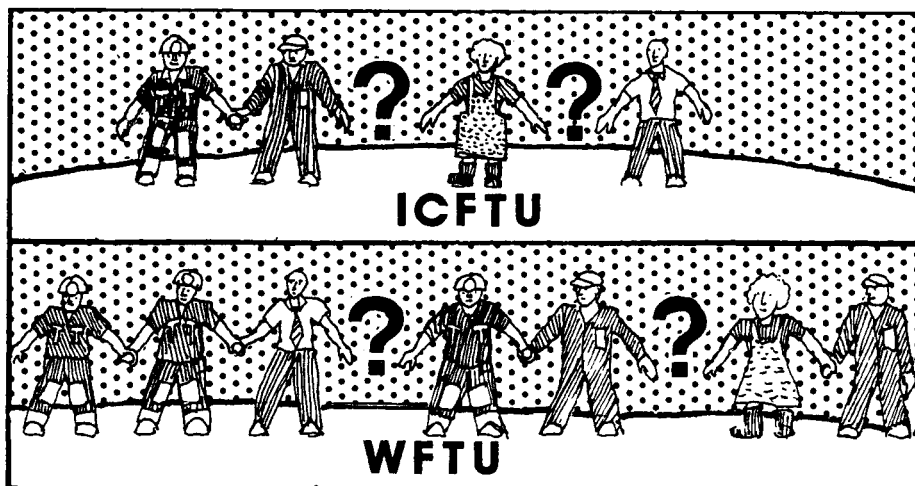
WFTU - WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

has over 200 million members from 88 different countries. Its influence is strongest in socialist countries like the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.



There is also a third international confederation called the **WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR (WCL)**. This is smaller than the other two, and is strong mainly in Latin America.

If we want to know how strong a confederation really is, it is not enough to ask how many members it has. In many West European countries, workers must belong to certain unions because of closed-shop agreements. In many Eastern European countries, unions are controlled by the state and all workers must belong to a union. This pushes up the number of members in the ICFTU and the WFTU.



Usually only one trade union federation from each country can join an international confederation. If there is more than one federation in a country, each centre will join a different confederation. For example in France there are three trade union centres. One belongs to the ICFTU, another belongs to the WFTU, and a third belonged to the WCL (but it is now independent).

What is the work of international confederations?

They aim to build up trade union organisation in countries where it is weak. They give lots of money to new unions, and give education and training to trade union organisers. They protest when governments repress workers' organisations. Later this book will look at some of the problems of their work.

The image shows the cover of a newsletter titled "AFRICAN LABOUR NEWS". At the top left is a circular logo with a crown and the letters "ICFTU". The title "AFRICAN LABOUR NEWS" is in large, bold, black letters. Below the title, it says "64 months Journal of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) African Information Service FEBRUARY-MARCH 1964". The main heading for the special issue is "Special Issue ICFTU SYMPOSIUM ON SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENT BLACK TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA". The cover contains several columns of text, including an "OPENING CEREMONY" section. At the bottom right of the cover is a black and white photograph of a group of people, with the word "SIGMA" visible in the background.

The ICFTU produces this newsletter for unions in Africa

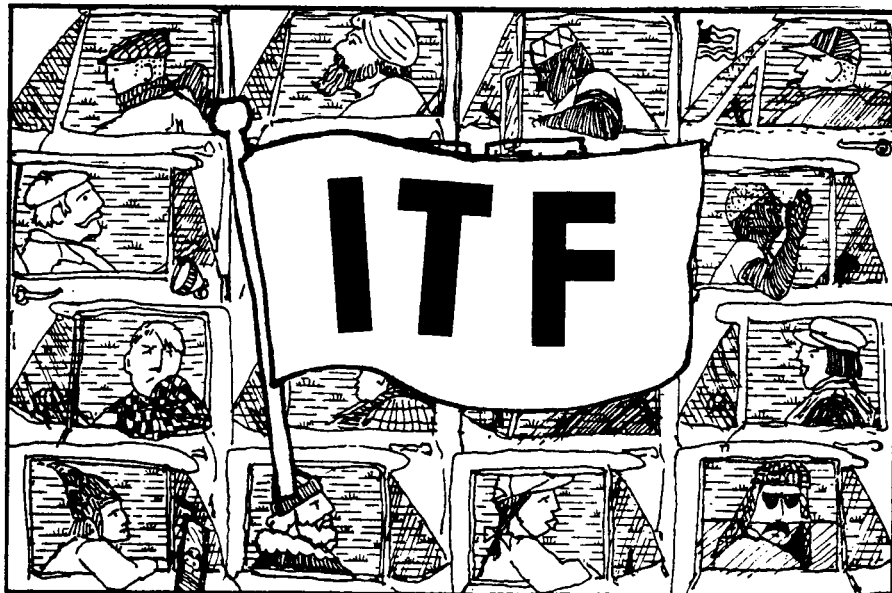
INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS

What are trade secretariats?

In many countries, workers in the same industry or same type of factory are organised into one union. For example, in South Africa many transport workers are organised by the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The **INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS (ITS)** bring together unions in the same industry from different countries.

For example unions which organise transport workers in many different countries, have joined together to form the International Transport Federation (ITF).



Today there are 16 ITSS with almost 60 million worker members across the world. These trade secretariats are linked to a particular confederation, the ICFTU. There are also other trade secretariats linked to the WFTU as well as to the WCL.

Only one union federation from each country can join a confederation. But more than one union from each country can join a trade secretariat. For example in South Africa, the General Workers' Union as well as the Transport and General Workers' Union both organise transport workers. Both these unions are members of the International Transport Federation.

What is the work of the ITSS?

Like the international trade union confederations, the ITSS also aim to build trade union organisation in different countries. But the ITSS deal more with the industrial problems of ordinary workers at their places of work.

For example, they help unions in different countries to exchange information and to cooperate, particularly when they are dealing with the same company. Sometimes they help workers in different countries to support each other by organising strikes or boycotts. Later in this book we will look at some examples of of this. We will also look at some of the problems of these organisations.

NATIONAL FEDERATIONS

Some national federations, like the British TUC, the American AFL-CIO, and a number of European federations, also run their own trade union programmes in other countries.

For example, the TUC has close ties with trade union movements in many countries in Africa and Asia that were once colonies of Britain. Another example is Germany, where each union federation runs its own programmes in other countries.

The American AFL-CIO has a special International Department which runs big trade union programmes in many different countries. It has one section organising programmes in Latin America (AIFLD), another in Africa (the AALC), and another in Asia (AAFLI).



Workers are also brought together internationally by:

REGIONAL TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS

These bring together unions in one part of the world. For example the ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY (OATUU) brings together national federations from many countries in Africa.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO)

This is part of the United Nations. It is made up of representatives of employers, representatives of workers and representatives of governments. These representatives talk together about how to raise the conditions of all workers in different countries to the same level.

WORKER TO WORKER LINKS

Often unions prefer not to work through these big international organisations. They may make their own direct contact with workers in other countries, by organising visits or meetings between shopstewards or ordinary workers in different countries. They may also have links with workers in other countries through church organisations, like Young Christian Workers (YCW). This sort of contact has become important for workers in the last few years. Later this book will look at some examples of these contacts.



NAMES OF ORGANISATIONS

Confederations

- ICFTU - International Confederation of Free
Trade Unions
WFTU - World Federation of Trade Unions
WCL - World Confederation of Labour

Trade Secretariats

- IMF - International Metal Workers' Federation
ITF - International Transport Workers'
Federation
ITS - International Trade Secretariat

Other International Organisations

- AALC - African-American Labour Centre
ILO - International Labour Organisation
OATUU - Organisation of African Trade Union
Unity

National Federations

- AFL-CIO - American Federation of Labour -
Congress of Industrial Organisations
CGT - Confédération Generale du Travail
(France)
DGB - Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (Germany)
TUC - Trades Union Congress (Britain)

South African Federations

- CUSA - Council of Unions of South Africa
FOSATU - Federation of South African Trade
Unions
TUUSA - Trade Union Council of South Africa

PART TWO

A LONG STRUGGLE

Workers from different countries started to co-operate a long time ago. This part of the book shows how international worker organisations were built up over a long time. It looks at this history in four sections:

1

we look at the early history
to 1939

2

we look at bitter Cold War
struggles after the Second
World War ended in 1945

3

we look at competition for
influence in Africa, Asia
and Latin America after 1945

4

we look at workers and big
companies around the world
today

1. EARLY YEARS

FIRST LINKS

Workers from different countries in Europe started to co-operate more than 100 years ago. In the 1800s, many mines and factories were built in Europe.



Often children were used as cheap labour

Especially after 1850, workers formed trade unions. Unions came together to form trade union federations in each country.

Early on they found that in order to win demands, it was not enough for workers of one country to unite. Workers from different countries also had to unite and support each other.

For example in 1859, English building workers went on strike. The building employers went to France to look for new workers. So the English trade unionists sent a letter: "To the Workmen of France from the Working Men of England", asking them not to scab.

But at that time there was no organisation which joined workers from the different countries.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

In 1864 a meeting took place in London to work for unity between workers in Europe. It was attended by workers' representatives from England, France, Italy, and Germany.

Karl Marx spoke to the meeting. He believed that workers have no country. He said that in many ways, their struggle is the same everywhere. At this meeting workers formed the International Working Mens' Association, which was also called the **First International**. This organisation promised to struggle for a better world where workers would be free from exploitation.

In many countries in Europe there were workers' political parties. These were called socialist parties. The First International was made up of trade unions as well as socialist political parties from different countries.

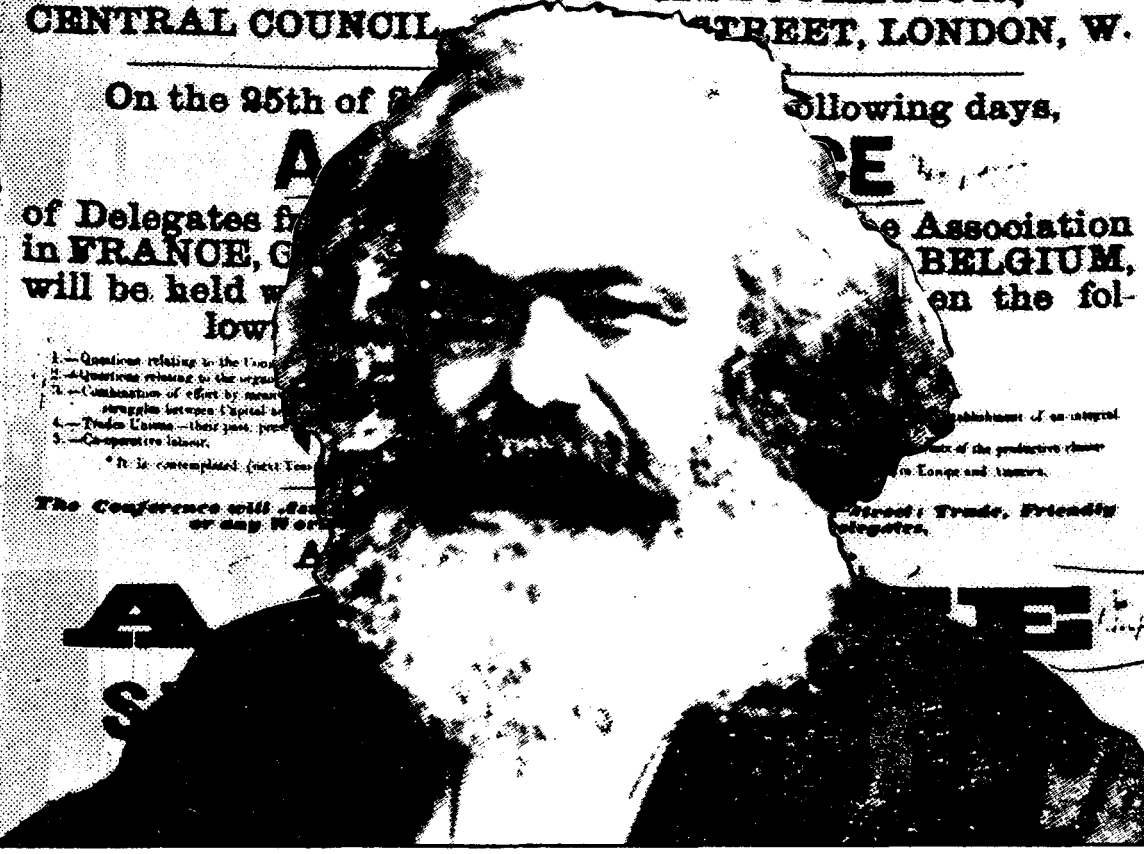
INTERNATIONAL

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION,
CENTRAL COUNCIL, 10, MARK LANE, LONDON, W.

On the 25th of August and the following days,

A CONFERENCE of Delegates from the Association in FRANCE, GERMANY, ITALY, NETHERLANDS, SWITZERLAND, and BELGIUM, will be held with the following agenda:

- 1. — Questions relating to the Union
 - 2. — Questions relating to the organization of the workers
 - 3. — Combination of effort by means of the struggle between Capital and Labour
 - 4. — Trade Unions — their past, present, and future
 - 5. — Co-operative labour.
- * It is contemplated (next Year) to hold a similar Conference in London and America.
- The Conference will discuss the interests of the workers in all countries.
- Direct: Trade, Friendly Societies, etc.



This is Karl Marx. He helped organise the conference of the International Working Mens' Association, advertised here

The First International fell apart mainly because of differences between the political organisations. After this workers' political parties and workers' trade unions came together in separate international organisations.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The European socialist parties came together again in 1889 to form the **Second International**.

In 1914 the First World War began in Europe. Some socialists believed that this war was a competition between the capitalists of different European countries. They said that workers of different countries should not fight against each other.

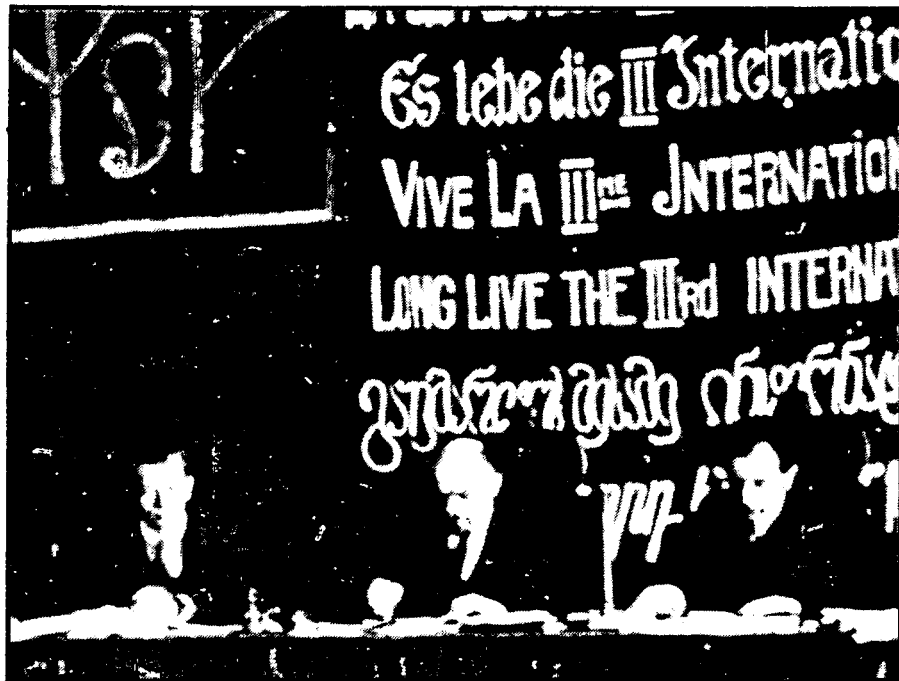
But most socialist parties decided to support the war. Workers in each country joined the war and fought each other. This destroyed the unity between workers in Europe. The Second International collapsed.



British workers join the army

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

In 1917 there was a workers' revolution in Russia. At this time some groups of workers in Europe felt bitter towards the socialist parties which supported the war. These workers held a meeting in the Soviet Union and formed the **Third International**, or Comintern. This had a trade union section called the Red International.



1919: Lenin (in the middle) speaks at a Comintern meeting

The Third International helped groups of workers in many countries in Europe to break from the socialist parties. They formed new worker parties which had close links with the Soviet Union. These were called communist parties. They joined the Third International.

TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS

All these political movements worked closely with different labour movements. They had a strong influence on the international trade union organisations which began to grow.

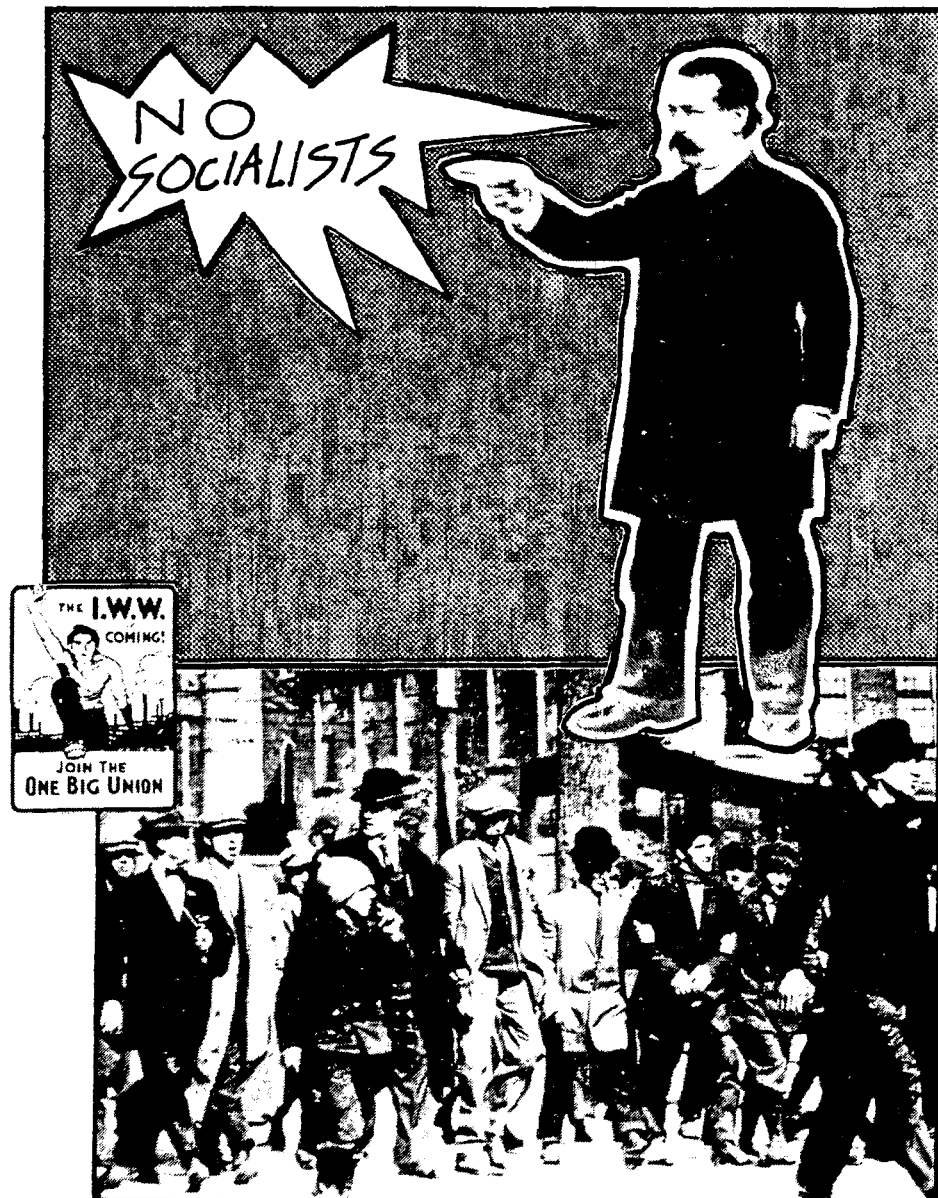
In the 1880s and 1890s the first organisations were formed to join trade unions in different countries. These were the **International Trade Secretariats**, which joined unions in the same industry from different countries. The first ITSS were for workers in the shoe industry, in the wood industry and for mineworkers. By 1914 there were 33 trade secretariats.

In 1902 workers formed the first **confederation**, the ITUS (International Trade Union Secretariat). This brought together trade union federations from different countries. It worked closely with the Second International.

At first the American Federation of Labour (AFL) refused to join the new confederation. It was opposed to the way the European trade unions worked closely with socialist political parties in their countries. Why was this?

The AFL was very conservative. The AFL organised mainly skilled workers. It clashed with American socialists who were trying to organise unskilled industrial workers.

In 1911 the AFL joined the ITUS and its name changed to the IFTU (International Federation of Trade Unions). But it left it again ten years later because it disagreed with the European trade unionists.

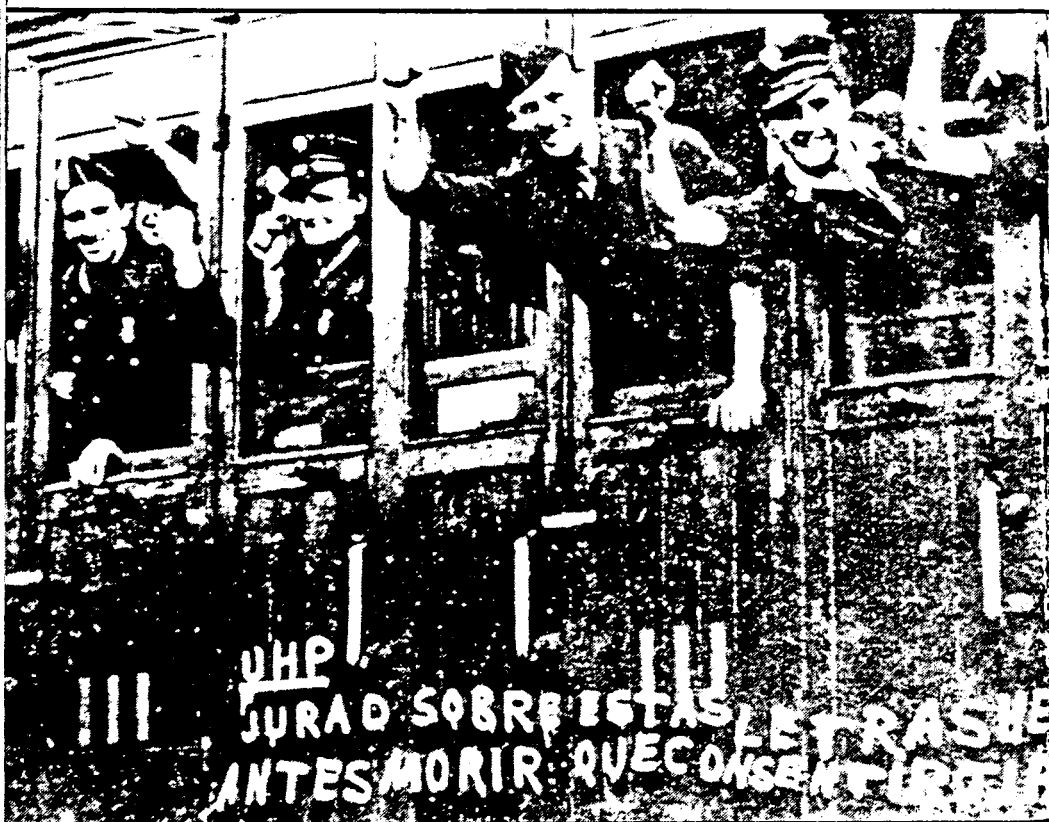


Socialist groups, like the IWW, organised unskilled industrial workers. Gompers, the leader of the AFL, fiercely opposed the Socialists

WORKERS AGAINST FASCISM

In the 1930s right-wing fascist parties grew strong in Europe. They tried to smash workers' organisations, but workers fought back.

For example in Spain, workers' organisations fought a war against the Spanish fascists. Workers from many other countries formed groups called International Brigades, which came to Spain to support the Spanish workers. But the Spanish workers were defeated.



Workers go to join the International Brigades

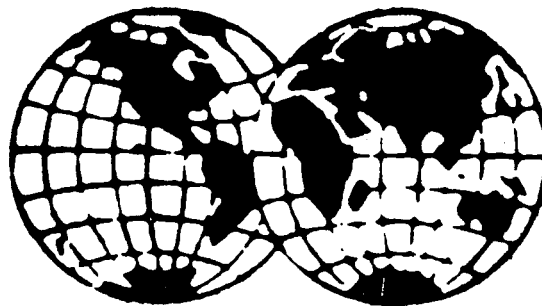
During the Second World War (1939 to 1945) trade unionists in the United States and some Western European countries worked closely with their governments to defeat the fascists in Germany and Italy. These links between trade unionists and people in government carried on after the war.

THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The war also brought workers' organisations in different countries closer together. When the Second World War ended in 1945, a trade union unity conference was held in London. Here a new international confederation, the **WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (WFTU)**, was established.

This WFTU was the largest confederation of trade unions ever known. Trade union federations from over 40 countries joined. This included many federations which refused to work together before, like the British, German, Soviet and American federations.

Some trade unionists thought that this would achieve an old dream of workers: the unity of worker organisations all over the world. But this was not to be.



2. THE COLD WAR

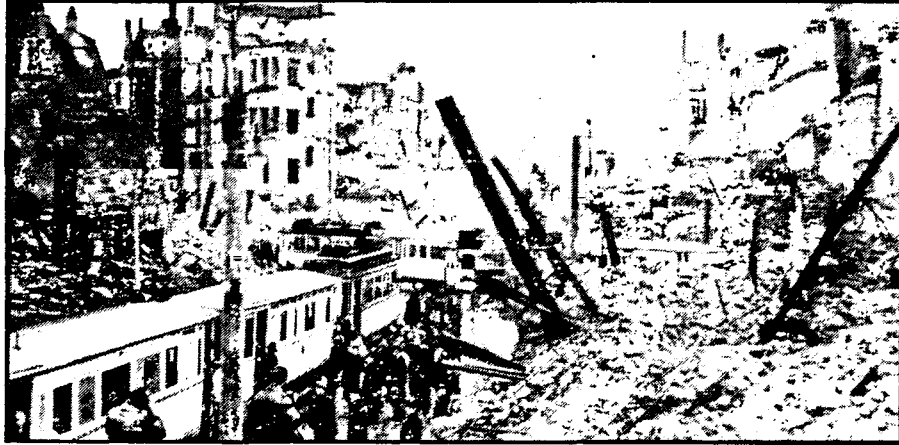
WHAT WAS THE COLD WAR?

During the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union worked together. But when the war ended, a new war began between these two powers. This time it was mainly a war of words and not a war of bombs. It was a struggle between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union for influence around the world. It was called the Cold War.



United during the war: (from left to right)

Stalin of the Soviet Union, Roosevelt of the United States, Churchill of Britain. After the war this unity did not last.



Dresden, a German city, suffered some of the worst bombing during the war

In many European countries the economy was destroyed during the war. Factories were bombed, and people had no jobs or money. But the Second World War was not fought in the United States. American factories and towns were not bombed. At the end of the war the American economy was the strongest in the world.



American factories produced many goods for the war

What did the American leaders want?

American capitalists wanted to take this chance to invest their money and sell their goods in Europe. The American leaders wanted to make sure that socialists did not increase their power in Europe. The United States wanted to use its economic power to increase its influence all over the world.

The Americans made a plan called the **Marshall Plan** to rebuild the European economy. They started to send millions of dollars, food and machines to Europe.



A demonstration in Austria against the Marshall Plan

On the opposite page:

This poster supported the plan; it says: "Open the way for the Marshall Plan"



What did the Soviet leaders want?

The leaders of the Soviet Union were afraid of the new power of the American capitalists in Europe. They thought the Americans would use this power to try and interfere with the big changes that had happened in the Soviet Union since the revolution. So they wanted to stop the United States from gaining influence in Europe.

A bitter struggle for power began between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union used its influence to bring communist parties to power in a number of countries on its borders. Both sides sometimes also used their armies and tanks to gain control over different parts of Europe.



In 1945, Russian soldiers raise their flag over the captured German city, Berlin

In the end this Cold War divided Europe. Capitalist countries in Western Europe supported the United States, and socialist countries in the east supported the Soviet Union.

WORKERS DIVIDED

Each side in the Cold War used trade unions in Europe to fight their battles.

Workers who were communists were strong in many trade unions in Europe. These unions helped to bring communist parties to power in a number of countries on the borders of the Soviet Union.

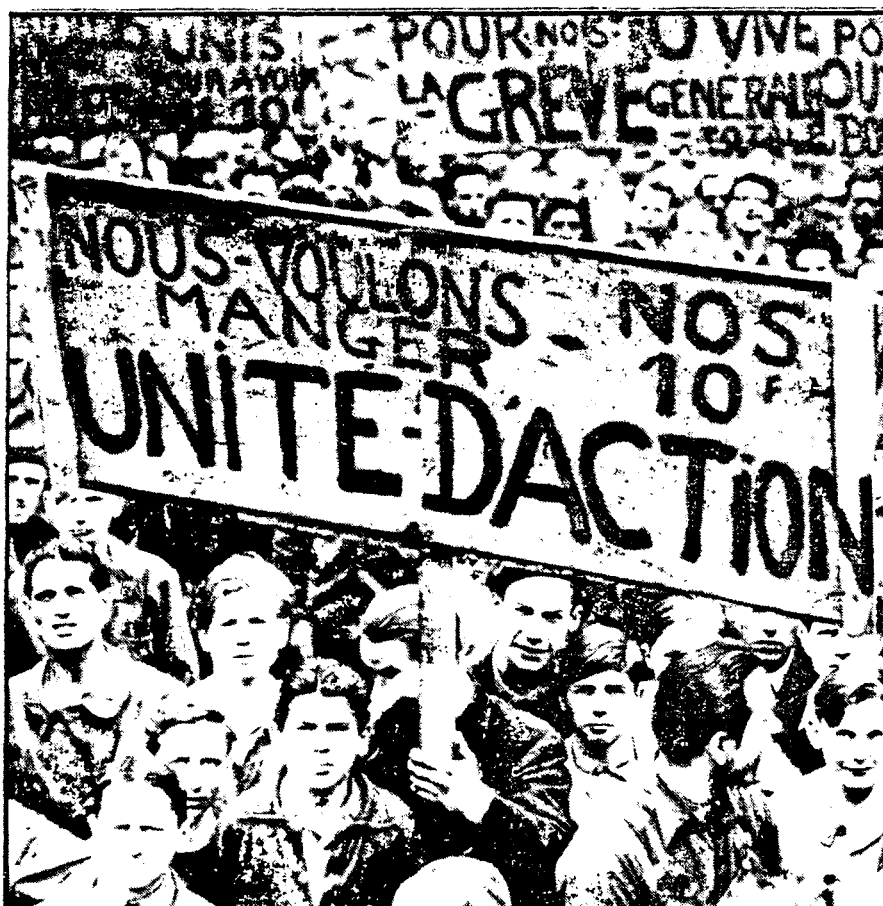
The United States worked through trade unionists in the American federation, the AFL. It tried to weaken the communist unions in Europe, and to build unions which would support its plans in Europe.

The AFL gave money to unions in western Europe and it built new unions to oppose the communist unions. The Americans divided and weakened the union movements in a number of countries, for example in France, Germany, Italy and Greece. On the next page we look at one example of what happened in France.

BATTLE FOR THE MARSEILLES DOCKS

At the end of the war members of the French communist party were strong in the French trade union federation, the CGT. They were opposed to the American Marshall Plan.

In 1947 the CGT organised a general strike. Thousands of French workers protested against the Marshall Plan. The whole country came to a standstill.



French motor workers on strike in 1947

The Soviet Union gave money to the CGT to support the strike. The American trade unionists tried to break the strike. They helped to build unions to oppose the communist unions. These unions left the CGT and formed a new, pro-American federation.

The biggest struggles took place in the French ports. Marseilles is a big port in the south of France. Here, the dockworkers were very militant. They refused to offload the American ships which brought American goods to Europe.



The French government ordered soldiers to offload the ships in Marseilles

The American trade union representative paid some gangsters to attack the dockworkers and to break the strike. They took control of the port and opened it to American ships. After this the general strike was also broken.

From then on the French unions were divided into two federations: one supported the French communist party, and the other was pro-American.

SPLITTING THE UNIONS

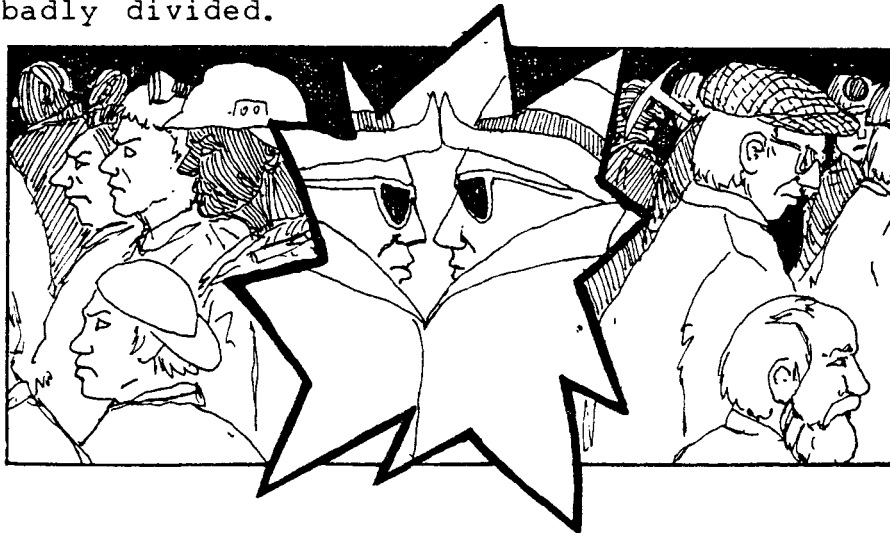
In the end, the Cold War split the international trade union movement. In 1949 some of the trade union federations in Western Europe left the world confederation, the WFTU. They joined with the Americans to form a new world confederation, the **INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU)** (talked about in Part 1).

The WFTU was left mainly with the Eastern European and Soviet members that it has today.

In France and Italy the trade union movements split. The communist unions joined the WFTU, and the non-communist unions joined the ICFTU.

14 ITSS that worked with the WFTU also left it and started to work closely with the ICFTU instead. They refused to accept communist unions as members. The WFTU set up its own trade secretariats for communist unions.

So the Cold War left the unions in Europe, and the international trade union organisations badly divided.



3. COMPETITION FOR INFLUENCE

THE ICFTU AND THE WFTU

The Cold War carried on in the 1950s. This led to competition for influence in many parts of the world.

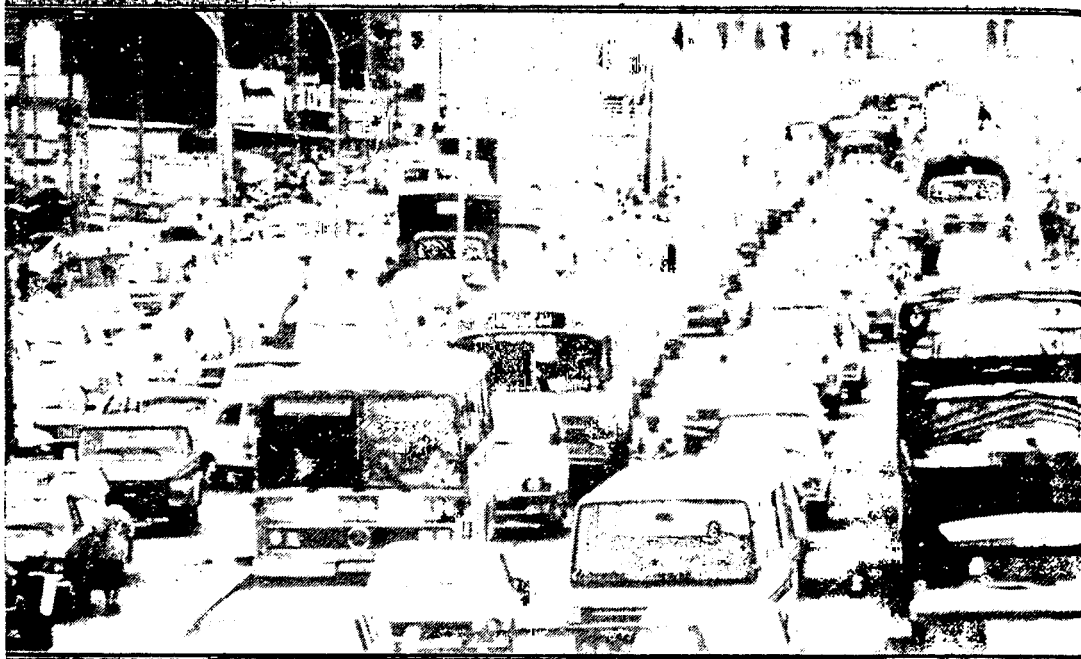
After the war, European countries like Britain and France still had colonies in Asia and Africa. These colonies began to struggle for independence. African and Asian trade unions played a very important part in these liberation struggles. Many countries got their independence.

The United States wanted to win influence in the newly independent countries. These countries could supply American factories with important raw materials. They could also be used as a base for American armies which began to attack communist forces in countries like Korea.

The Soviet Union tried to stop the United States from winning influence in these countries.

Both the ICFTU and the WFTU became part of this struggle for influence around the world. Both organisations gave large sums of money to the new unions in Africa and Asia. Each side tried to control the labour movements there.

On the next page we will look at one example of this struggle for influence in Africa.

CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

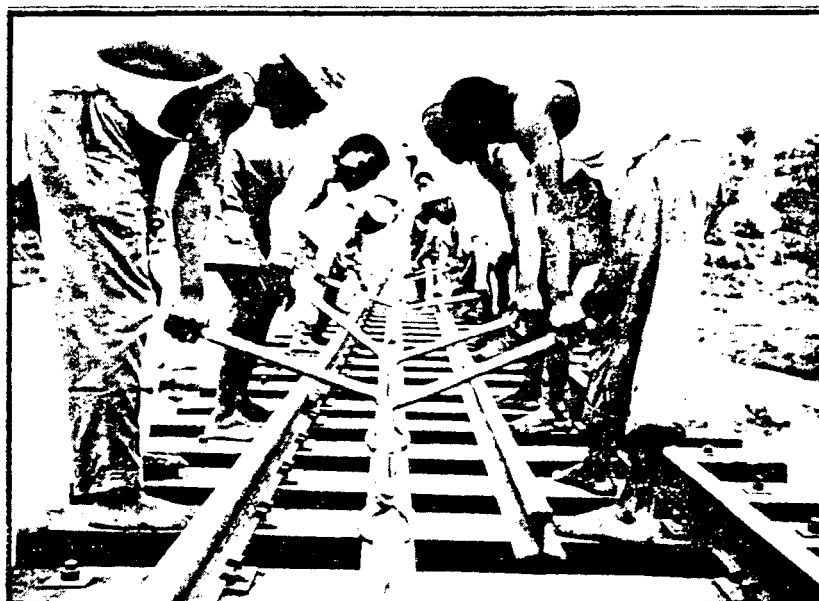
The busy streets of Lagos, a big Nigerian city

Nigeria is one of the biggest and most powerful states in Africa.

Both the ICFTU and the WFTU tried to win influence over the Nigerian trade unions. In the 1950s these organisations paid a lot of money to trade unionists who agreed to support them. This money from outside badly weakened and divided the union movement in Nigeria.

After independence in 1960, the Nigerian trade union movement split into two federations: one was supported and funded by the ICFTU, and the other was supported and funded by the WFTU.

These federations became dependent on funds from the ICFTU and the WFTU. They did not bother to raise much money from their members. Unpopular leaders who had no worker support, were kept in power by foreign money. Many became corrupt.



*Nigerian railway workers:
Many workers suffered because their unions were corrupt*

In the end the trade unions were so weak that the government took control. In 1974 the army took over the government in Nigeria. It banned all outside funding to unions, and banned most international links. It organised unions into one federation, the Nigerian Labour Congress. This joined the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (the African regional organisation talked about in Chapter 1).

DIVISIONS IN THE ICFTU

After the ICFTU was established in 1949, there were many divisions in the organisation, particularly between the American and European trade unionists. Because of these divisions, the Americans left the ICFTU in 1969, and they only rejoined in 1982.

What were these divisions about?

First, the American and European trade unionists could not agree on whether the ICFTU should be strongly involved in the Cold War. Many European unions were still closely linked to socialist parties in their countries. These unions wanted to co-operate more with unionists in Eastern Europe. They did not want the ICFTU to be very involved in the Cold War.

The American union leaders did not agree with this. They supported their government's strategy of attacking socialists and communists everywhere.

GEORGE MEANY

He was the president of the AFL-CIO. He thought that the ICFTU did not do enough to support the Western capitalist countries in the Cold War. He accused the ICFTU of being "soft on communism".



Second, the European and American trade unionists in the ICFTU could not agree on how to run their own programmes in other countries.

Part 1 described how many national federations, like the British TUC, the American AFL-CIO and the German DGB, run their own programmes in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The AFL-CIO's international programmes were much bigger than those of other union federations. From the 1960s on, the AFL-CIO developed trade union programmes in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The AFL-CIO received millions of dollars for its international programmes from big American companies and the United States government.

Many trade unionists in the ICFTU were unhappy about the AFL-CIO's international programmes. They said that the AFL-CIO belonged to the ICFTU and should give more support to the ICFTU's programmes. They accused the AFL-CIO of having a bigger influence on unions in poorer countries than the ICFTU's own programmes.

THE AFL-CIO IN LATIN AMERICA

The AFL-CIO ran a big trade union programme in Latin America. Some unionists have accused the AFL-CIO in Latin America of being "the soldier of American capitalism abroad". Here is an example of the AFL-CIO's activities in Chile, a country in Latin America.

THE AFL-CIO AND CHILE

In 1970 Salvador Allende was voted in as the new president of Chile. He had the support of the majority of the workers. He aimed to build socialism in Chile.



1970: a picture in the streets of the capital city

The American government was worried that the Allende government would help to spread socialism in Latin America. Big American companies owned factories and mines in Chile.

They made huge profits from these mines and factories. They were worried about their profits under this new workers' government.

The American government as well as these big companies wanted to get rid of the Allende government. So they gave lots of money to the AFL-CIO's programme in Chile.

The AFL-CIO helped to weaken Allende's government. It trained some Chilean trade unionists who organised strikes against the Allende government. In 1973 these American-backed trade-unionists supported a revolt by the army. This destroyed the Allende government and put the army in power.

After this the military government took violent action against the workers and peasants. Thousands of people were killed, imprisoned or tortured. The new government banned democratic unions and all political parties. It allowed the American-trained unionists to operate.



1973: a worker is arrested by the military police

THE AFL-CIO IN AFRICA

The ICFTU had a special programme for Africa. The AFL-CIO set up its own programme in Africa - the **African-American Labour Centre (AALC)**. This organisation competed with the ICFTU for influence in Africa.

From the 1960s on, the AALC gave millions of dollars to unions in Africa. It supported education programmes and set up information centres in countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Botswana, Ethiopia and Zaire. It trained African trade unionists and it gave money, equipment and literature to trade unions.



AALC REPORTER

VOLUME 19, NUMBER 1

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1984

TMLC continues to promote tu. education in Kenya

Students at the Technical Training Centre in Nairobi, Kenya, are seen in a classroom setting. The TMLC continues to support technical education in Kenya through various programs and funding.



Co-op development increases union effectiveness

Members of the Miners' Labour Congress (MLC) in the Democratic Republic of Congo are seen in a meeting. The MLC is working to improve union effectiveness through co-operative development and other initiatives.

The AALC produces this newsletter for trade unions in Africa

PROBLEMS OF THE AALC

This is Jean Bruck. He was secretary of the international confederation, the World Confederation of Labour. He spoke about some of the problems of the AALC's work in Africa. He said.....



From what I know in Africa the Americans tried to buy trade union leaders who were generally poor and had no financial resources.

I have known by experience a lot of real trade union leaders, African leaders, devoted to their brothers, sincerely ready to make sacrifices at the service of the workers. The enormous aid and the way it was given completely corrupted the leaders of these trade unions.

At conferences and joint meetings of the trade union movement in Africa, representatives of the AALC were present. They sat openly in the corridors distributing gifts of money to African trade union leaders whom they knew they could influence.

In some countries the AALC helped to destroy the real chance of trade unionism created by the workers, led by the workers, for the interests of the workers.

4. WORKERS AGAINST MULTINATIONALS

So far this history has shown that there have been many problems in international worker organisations. Often they have not served the workers' interests. But sometimes international links have also helped to build up worker solidarity and strength.

In the last 20 years, there have been big changes in the way capitalism works around the world:

- multinational companies have spread around the world
- factories have grown in the less industrial countries.

These changes have caused new problems for international worker organisation. Here we look at some of these problems, and at how workers have tried to deal with these problems.



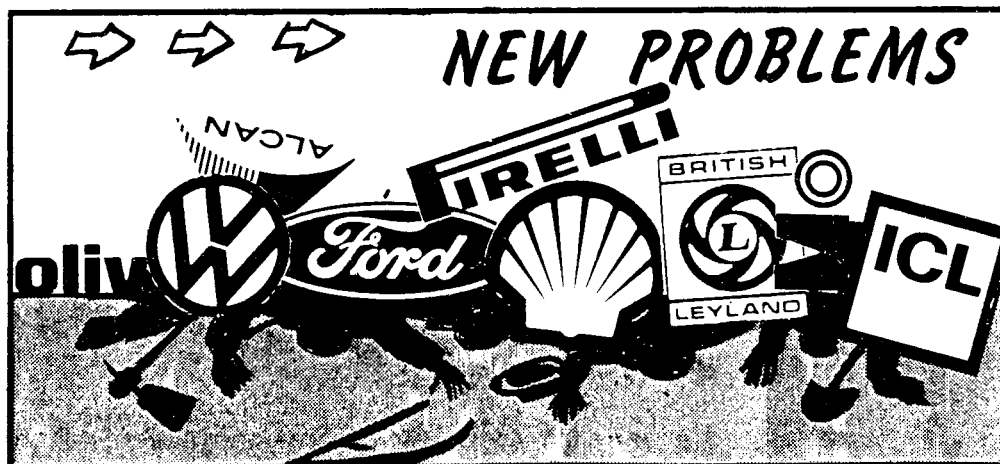
MULTINATIONALS

What are multinational companies? What is the difference between industrialised and less industrialised countries? How do big companies work in today's world?

Since the 1950s the biggest companies in Europe, Japan and North America have been spreading to other countries in a big way. These companies are called multinationals or transnationals because they own factories and mines in many different countries.

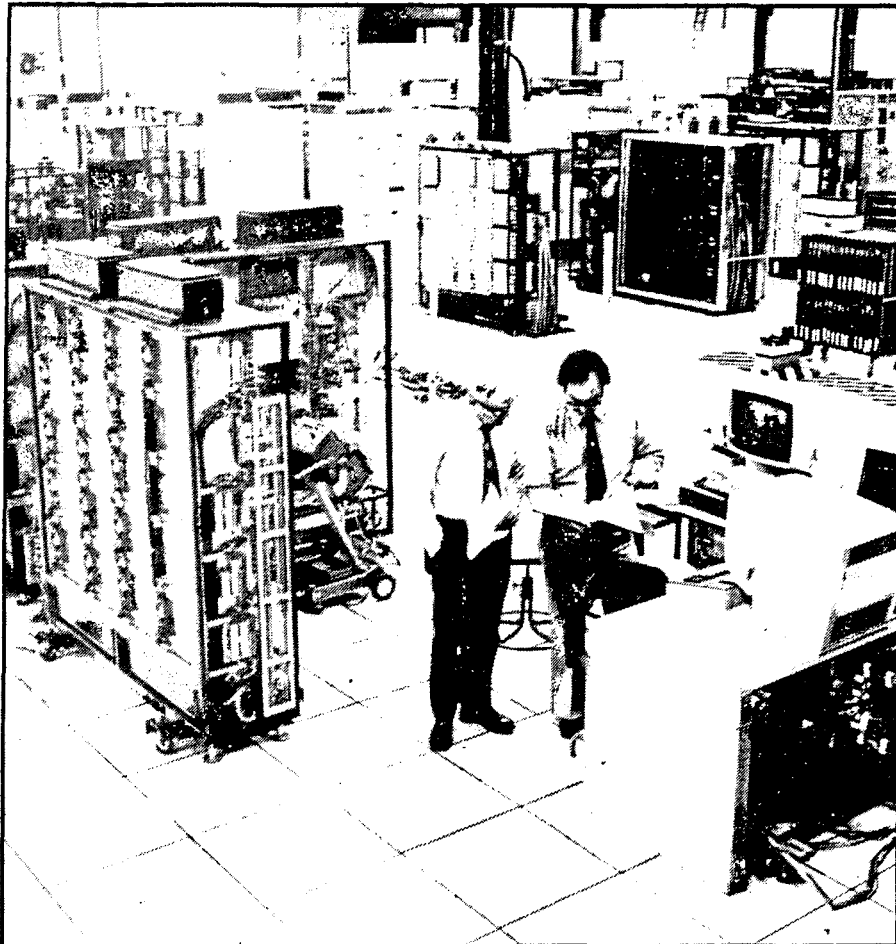
Examples of multinational companies are Shell, Ford and Anglo American.

Multinationals are giant companies. Some of them are richer than the governments of the countries in which they do business. They employ thousands of workers in their factories around the world.



INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES

Not all countries in the world today are the same. Some countries have many factories, which employ many workers and use lots of machines. These are the industrialised countries like Japan and countries in North America and Europe. Here, many people enjoy a good standard of living.



Computers in Europe

LESS INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES

These countries have fewer factories and fewer workers. Many people still work on the land, and most people are very poor. These are the less industrialised countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. They are often called developing countries, or Third World countries.



A plough in Asia

Some countries are between these two types, for example South Africa and Brazil.

INDUSTRY IN POORER COUNTRIES

Before the 1950s, multinationals were mainly interested in getting raw materials (like cotton or sugar) from poorer countries. But since the 1950s, many multinational companies have built factories in the poorer countries.

In South Africa businessmen build factories next to the Bantustans where they can pay very low wages. In the same way, multinationals try to increase their profits by going to the poorer countries. Here labour is cheap, and often foreign businessmen do not have to pay any taxes on their profits.

Sometimes a company will shut down a factory in Europe and move it to another country where labour is cheaper and easier to control. These are known as 'runaway companies'.



Multinationals in less industrialised countries often employ women at very low wages

The way multinationals have grown and spread to the poorer countries has created new problems for workers everywhere. It has brought workers in different countries into competition with each other for jobs. Workers have organised in two important ways to deal with these problems:

- through international trade secretariats
- through shop floor internationalism

Here we will look at examples of each of these.

TRADE SECRETARIATS AND MULTINATIONALS

Part 1 talked about the trade secretariats, or ITSS, which bring together unions in the same industry from all over the world.

The ITSS work hard on the problems caused by multinational companies. Since the 1960s many ITSS have set up WORLD CORPORATION COUNCILS. Each corporation council represents workers in one multinational company.

For example there is a world corporation council which represents all organised workers in the Ford company in different parts of the world. It tries to negotiate with Ford on problems affecting all Ford workers in different countries.

Workers have also worked through their trade secretariats to get workers in other countries to support their struggles. Here is an example of how a trade secretariat helped workers in different countries to support food workers in Guatemala.

COCA-COLA BOYCOTT

Guatemala is a country in Central America. The multinational company, Coca-Cola, owned a big bottling factory there. The manager of the factory said he would never talk to any trade union.

But workers formed a union. In 1975 workers demanded that the company recognise their union. The manager sacked many workers and tried to intimidate others.



Workers at the Coca Cola factory in Guatemala

Many union members received death threats. Some of the union officials were even murdered. One was attacked, beaten with an iron bar and his throat was slit. Another union leader was found dead - his tongue was cut out, and his toes and fingernails broken. When workers protested they were attacked by police with machine guns and teargas.

The workers fought back. They organised a boycott of Coca-Cola in Guatemala. Workers also asked for support from their international trade secretariat.

Coca-Cola is a multinational company with factories around the world. The ITS for food workers, the International Union of Foodworkers (IUF), organised international support from workers in other countries.

- unions in the food and drink industry all over the world sent protests to Coca-Cola. They held solidarity meetings and sent messages of support to the Guatemalan workers
- workers at Coca-Cola bottling factories in different countries stopped production and organised a boycott of Coca-Cola drinks



These posters call for a boycott of Coca Cola

In the end this forced Coca-Cola to talk to the workers in Guatemala. They promised to recognise the union, give back jobs to the fired workers, and give money to the families of trade unionists who were murdered.

This story shows that workers in different countries can act together to force a big and powerful multinational company to listen to them.

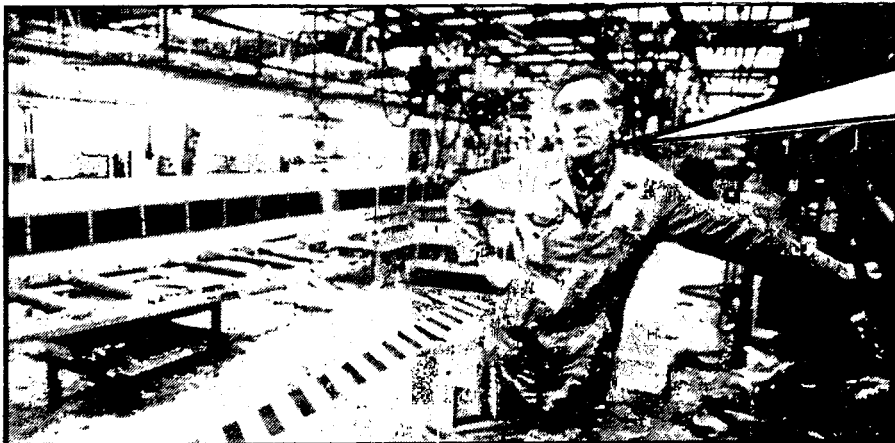
SHOP FLOOR INTERNATIONALISM

Workers have sometimes found that international trade union organisations have not helped them with all the problems caused by multinationals:

- their unions are linked to different organisations which will not work together
- often it takes a long time to work through the big international organisations.

In some factories belonging to multinational companies in Europe, workers have organised their own links. They have met with shop stewards and ordinary workers from factories in other countries. This is called **shop floor internationalism**.

Here we look at one example of shop floor internationalism in the Ford Motor company. Jan Cartier, a shop steward in the Ford factory in Amsterdam, Holland, tells the story:



The Ford factory in Amsterdam

THE FORD WORKERS' GROUP

In 1980 the Ford management decided to close our factory in Amsterdam. The workers decided to fight against the closing of our factory.

To do this we needed information about the company and we needed support from Ford workers in other countries.

At first we tried to work through the international trade union organisations. But some Ford unions are linked to the ICFTU, others are linked to the WCL, and some are linked to the WFTU. These organisations would not co-operate to bring all Ford workers together.

So we in Ford Amsterdam tried another way to organise international links. We started the Ford Workers' Group. This was made up of shop stewards, union officials and ordinary workers from Ford factories in different countries in Europe. Through this group we exchanged visits. We helped workers on strike elsewhere, and exchanged information.

In the end we did not manage to stop Ford from closing our factory. But we could confront them with the lies they were telling us. We learnt about workers elsewhere. It was very important for us workers to know that in other countries, there are workers fighting for the same things as we do.

PART THREE

SOUTH AFRICA

EARLY CONTACT

International contact between unions in South Africa and elsewhere has a long history. Many skilled workers came from Europe to work in South Africa. They formed the first unions. For a long time their unions had close links with the British trade union federation, the TUC.

In 1927, one of the first big unions of black workers, the ICU, joined the world confederation at that time, the IFTU.



This picture, in the ICU newspaper, supported contact between workers of different countries

In the 1920s and 1930s there were also socialists who organised black workers. They worked closely with the communist international labour organisation, the Red International, which was mentioned earlier.

MORE INFORMATION ON INTERNATIONAL WORKER ORGANISATION

If you have questions about things in this book, or if you would like more information on international trade union organisations, please write to ILRIG. We will try to answer any questions, or send more information to you.

Here are two other books that deal with questions of international worker organisation:

D. Thompson and R. Larson :
Where Were You Brother?

Latin America Bureau: Unity is Strength

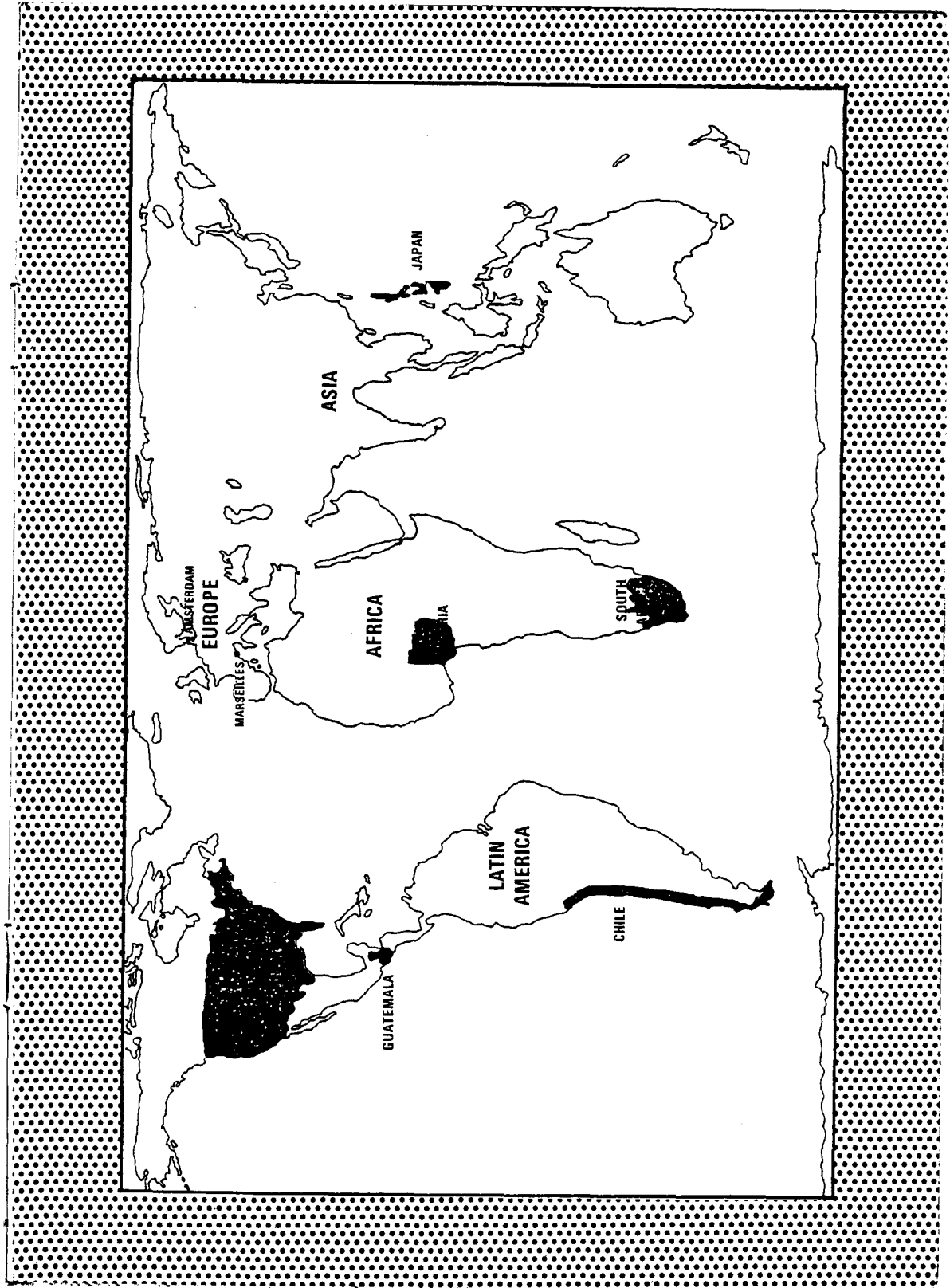
You can also read articles about international trade union organisation in these issues of the South African Labour Bulletin:

Volume 5, Number 8

Volume 8, Number 3

Volume 9, Number 6

Ask your union for copies of the South African Labour Bulletin.



The ILRIC series of publications is a valuable source of information on the economic and social development of the countries of the region. It provides a comprehensive and up-to-date account of the economic and social conditions of the countries of the region. The series is published in English, French, and Spanish. It is available in hardcover and paperback editions. The series is published by ILRIC, a joint venture of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Inter-American Free Trade Area (IAFTA). The series is published by ILRIC, a joint venture of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Inter-American Free Trade Area (IAFTA).



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SACTU AND THE ICFTU

In the 1950s, after the Cold War began, international trade union organisations wanted to win influence over unions in South Africa, like they did elsewhere. Here is one example of how they tried to do this.

In 1955 the trade union federation, SACTU, was formed. It opposed the racist laws of the National Party government. It worked closely with the ANC in its campaigns for political rights for blacks.



SACTU organisers speaking to workers

SACTU was a member of the WFTU. It also worked with the ICFTU. SACTU needed all the support it could get because it suffered harsh repression from the government.

In 1958 two representatives of the ICFTU visited South Africa. They were worried that SACTU was too radical. They said that the ICFTU would support SACTU if it did two things: it must stop supporting the ANC, and it must break from the WFTU. SACTU refused to do these things.

The ICFTU tried to set up another federation of black trade unions - FOFATUSA - to oppose SACTU. FOFATUSA worked closely with other conservative unions in South Africa. But this federation did not last long, because it did not have the support of the majority of black workers.

INTERNATIONAL LINKS TODAY

CONFEDERATIONS

Since the 1970s the ICFTU has learnt to respect the independent unions in South Africa. It now supports the new, non-racial unions and speaks with a much louder voice against apartheid. At the end of 1976 the South African government banned many trade unionists. The ICFTU called for unions around the world to support a week of protest action against this banning.

In 1984, only one federation, CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa) belonged to the ICFTU. But since the 1970s, many unions have received money and other support from the ICFTU. This has helped to build up many unions. But it has also raised some questions for workers:

WORKERS ARE ASKING THESE QUESTIONS IN THEIR UNIONS



TRADE SECRETARIATS

Since the 1970s the ITSs have become more important to unions in South Africa. Many new unions have joined trade secretariats.

Many unions have asked the ITSs for help and support in their struggles with multinational companies. The ITSs have supported unions in their struggles for union recognition from management.

For example in 1980, Cape Town dockworkers were struggling for recognition of their union, the General Workers' Union. The International Transport Workers' Federation gave them support. In 1983 the International Metalworkers' Federation helped NAAWU (National Automobile and Allied Workers Union) to win recognition at the Alfa Romeo factory in Johannesburg.

THE AFL-CIO

Since the 1970s the AFL-CIO began to get involved in unions in South Africa. Its office in Africa, the African-American Labour Centre (AALC), has sent a number of South African trade unionists on visits to America. It has started a newsletter for South African trade unions.

In 1982 an AALC delegation visited South Africa and promised a "Programme of Action to Assist Black Unions in South Africa". The delegation offered lots of money to the new non-racial unions. But most unions did not accept money from the AALC.



*The AFL-CIO delegation in 1982: (from left to right)
Patrick O'Farrel, Chick Chaikin, Irving Brown*

WORKER TO WORKER LINKS

In the last few years, many trade unionists from other countries have exchanged visits with South African trade unionists.

In 1980 a British Leyland shop steward, Bob Ashworth, visited factories in South Africa. After this visit he said:

As a worker I could understand their day-to-day problems even though they were South African workers. We could discuss things together. It showed me that workers' problems are the same everywhere, and that the workers' struggle is one and the same around the world.

PART FOUR

PROBLEMS

This book has shown how workers have often given support to fellow workers in other countries. But the history of international trade union organisations shows that there were often problems with the way they worked around the world.

- **First**, some trade union federations worked very closely with their governments in their international programmes. The international trade union movement was divided by the political struggles of the Cold War. The ICFTU and the WFTU competed against each other for power and influence over unions in different countries. This divided and weakened some union movements, for example, in France and Nigeria.

- **Second**, some trade union organisations, like the AFL-CIO, worked closely with big multinational companies and received large amounts of money from them. It helped companies to operate in the poorer countries. In some cases, for example Chile, it even helped a government which repressed workers' organisations.

Why has this happened? These organisations are supposed to help workers everywhere. Why have they not managed to do this?

We do not have all the answers to these questions. But here are some things which might help to answer some of these questions.

UNIONS AND DEMOCRACY

The way in which some trade unions work is bureaucratic. In these unions the leaders and paid officials have a lot of power. Ordinary workers do not have a lot of control. There is not a lot of democracy in these unions.

Often there are the same problems in the international trade union organisations. Here too, there is a big distance between the paid officials and the ordinary worker members in each country. Workers often do not know what their leaders are doing in other countries. So they cannot control what their leaders are doing.



Democratic unions: workers have a strong voice

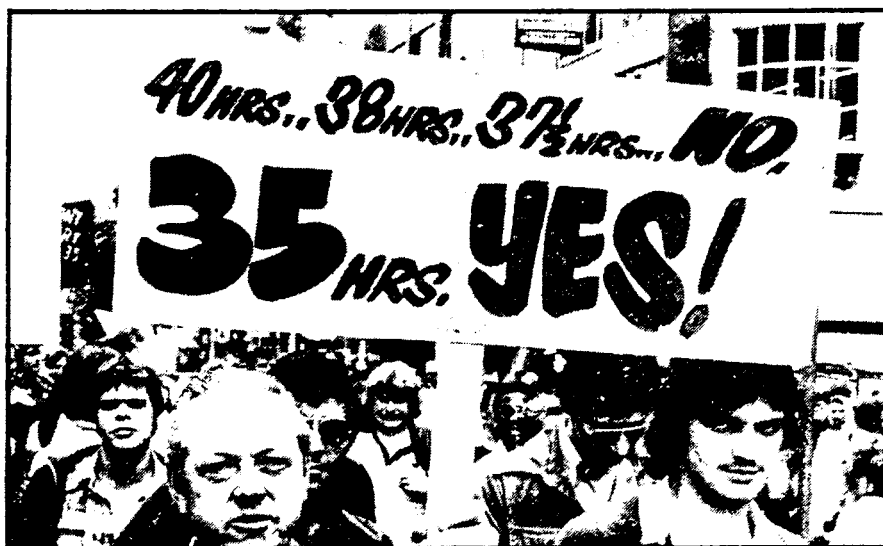
Many unionists who work for the international trade union organisations really want to help workers in different countries. But sometimes they find it difficult to criticise the organisation they work for, or to change what it is doing.

STRONGER AND WEAKER UNIONS

Trade union federations in Europe and North America have a long history of organisation. They often pay the most money into the international trade union organisations. They are stronger than trade unions in the less industrialised countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In the poorer countries there are fewer workers and the number of workers in unions is small. Many poor people are peasants who still farm the land. They are difficult to organise.

Because of these things, many unions in the poorer countries are weak. This means that they have little power in the international organisations. So the labour movements in the industrialised countries can more easily influence and control them.



Strong unions: workers in Europe demand a shorter working week

WORKERS AND NATIONALISM

It is difficult to get workers from different countries to work together. Sometimes workers are not interested in building international solidarity.

Workers often know very little about the problems of their fellow workers in other parts of the world.

Also each union is organised in a particular country. Unions become part of the national feeling of the people of that country. So, many workers are interested in improving the conditions of workers in their own country. This nationalism sometimes makes it difficult to build unity between workers from different countries.



Nationalism: Workers in Tanzania celebrate independence

WORKERS' SELF-INTEREST

There is a last reason why international solidarity between workers is difficult to build. Many workers in the industrialised countries of Western Europe and North America enjoy a good standard of living. Through organisation they have managed to win good wages and conditions.

Some of these workers don't want change in the less industrialised countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Workers' struggles in the poorer countries may threaten the profits of the multinational companies there. If this happens, they fear that these companies will start to cut the wages of workers in the more industrialised countries. So they are afraid to support struggles of their fellow workers in poorer countries.



Defending what they have won: since 1945, many workers in Europe have enjoyed good hospitals and other services

LOOKING FORWARD

We have seen that there are many problems in international trade union organisations. The question now is:

How can the international trade union organisations be of more help to workers in the future?

Here is a last story which gives one answer to this question. These cuttings from newspapers begin the story, which follows on the next page. This is about South African metal unions, and the international trade secretariat for metal unions, the International Metal Federation (IMF).



Newspaper reports on the IMF and South African unions

THE IMF AND SOUTH AFRICAN UNIONS

The International Metal Federation has had links with South African unions in the metal industry for a long time. At first it worked with the conservative TUCSA metal unions. These unions did not believe in organising all workers, black and white, together.

In 1974 the IMF formed a co-ordinating council which brought together all the metal unions in South Africa. The IMF hoped that this organisation would help to build black worker organisation in the metal industry.

At first the conservative white unions controlled the affairs of the co-ordinating council. The IMF listened to them. But slowly, non-racial metal unions started to grow strong - like MAWU, and the other unions that later formed NAAWU. These new unions clashed with the conservative TUCSA unions, because they were not helping non-racial unions to build up their organisation. Sometimes the TUCSA unions even tried to weaken the new unions.

Slowly worker support for the non-racial unions grew stronger. This increased their strength on the co-ordinating council. Now the IMF started to listen to them.

In 1982 the IMF held a big meeting in Rome. All the member unions sent representatives to this meeting. The non-racial unions accused some South African metal unions of being racist. They said they were trying to weaken black worker organisation. The IMF meeting agreed with this. It expelled two white unions from the IMF, and two other unions were given a year to get rid of apartheid in their organisations.

So the IMF changed its mind about unions in South Africa. At first it worked closely with the conservative white unions. But in the end it supported the new non-racial unions and even acted against white racist unions.

The IMF did not change on its own. It changed as the new unions grew stronger. The strength of these unions showed the IMF that THEY represented the majority of South African workers. It showed the IMF that it must oppose racism in the unions if it really wanted to help workers in South Africa.

Trade unions can no longer choose whether they want to be part of the international trade union movement or not. The development of multinationals has brought workers all over the world together. Together they can work to oppose the system that exploits all workers.

The international trade union organisations are one important weapon that can help workers in this task. They can help unions to grow strong. But workers remember what one trade unionist said:

