

AL1 — 160
Volume 3

ASSESSOR

AL41

WEEK: 1	WEEK: 2	WEEK: 3	WEEK: 4	WEEK: 5	WEEK: 6	WEEK: 7	WEEK: 8
January 22 - 28	Jan 29 - February 4	Feb 5 - 11	Feb 12 - 18	Feb 19 - 25	Feb 26 - March 3	Mar 4 - 10	Mar 11 - 17
SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS	SMTWTFSS

LAUNCHING DEVELOPMENT

24TH CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE
 4TH - UDF PUBIC FESTIVAL

ACTIVISTS HELP REGULARISE CAMPAIGN AT TVL REGIONAL LEVEL		UDF OFFICIALS MEET COMMUNITIES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE	
TASKS	WHO	TASKS	WHO
SAT 21 - PRESS CONF		MARCH 1 TRAVEL	
SUN 22 - LAUNCH OF CAMPAIGN		MARCH 4 POLITICIANS SIGN	
CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE		MARCH 11 NATIONAL FIGURES RELEASED?	

ACTIVISTS GO FOR SELF-EDUCATION		EDUCATION TEAM UDF OFFICIALS TRAVEL LINKING SIG. CAMP. TO CONSCRIPTION, ELECTION CAMPS	
TASKS	WHO	TASKS	WHO
Workshop for TVL Signature Committee		TRAVEL	
Workshops for Area Comms		TRAVEL	
ACTIVISTS MET PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED		REVISE KIT IF NECESSARY	

ACTIVISTS PLAN THEIR PHASES - BEGIN COLLECTING SIGNATURES		INTENSIVE HOUSE TO HOUSE WORK - LIAISON WITH H.Q.	
TASKS	WHO	TASKS	WHO
AREA COMMS FORMED		SET TARGET AREAS	
RELATION BETWEEN AREA COMMS AND ORGS WORKED OUT		FEB 28 - PROCESS RESULTS SEND TO H.Q.	
PLAN OF ACTION		RE-ASSESS AREA STRATEGY	
		UDF OFFICERS TO VISIT AREA COMMS	
		UDF OFFICERS TO VISIT AREA COMMS	
		UDF OFFICERS TO VISIT AREA COMMS	

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AL42

(16) 7/9/87

Ngwenze 6/6/88

THE UDP SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN IN TRANSVAAL -
Report from the Tvl UDP Signature Committee 10/3/83

A. FORMATION OF TVL SIGNATURE COMMITTEE

In early January, a co-ordinating committee for the campaign was set up with the responsibility of establishing signature committees in local areas and organisations and of drawing churches, unions and other groups into the campaign.

Copy of N. Sibane

So far, meetings of activists have been held in many Mitwaters-rand areas and organisations (Thembisa, Alexandra, Soweto, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Yordaburg, Lenasia, Descom, Jodac, YCS, Azaso, Nussos), and signature committees have been set up in about half of these. Regarding groups outside UDP, two non-affiliated unions have been approached. They have indicated support for the campaign, and in one case allowed UDP to collect signatures at their functions, but as yet they are reluctant to join the campaign themselves. Negotiations are proceeding with the churches and groups like Black Sash and NPSL.

The committee meets once a week. Issues discussed so far are + quotas for areas and organisations; these would depend on organisational strength and population density. Nothing has come of this as yet.

- + age limit for signatories.
- + the need to be clear on different levels of the campaign: local, regional and national, and who is responsible for which.
- + secure storage place for forms.
- + phases of campaign: need to plan for mobilisation and publicity plus education and organisation during the campaign, taking advantage of public events, etc. For example, the week building up to May Day was seen as a chance to emphasise union-signature campaign events.
- + responsibility for different parts of the campaign: UDP media committee in Tvl responsible for signature campaign media and publicity; education committee for education; signature committee itself for organisation. (Reps of media and education committees sit on signature committee).
- + need to employ fulltime co-ordinator: a job definition was worked out (see attached), and fundraising was a problem.

B. CHRONOLOGY OF CAMPAIGN IN TRANSVAAL

1. National launch in Soshanguve: several hundred signatures collected here. (22 Jan)
2. Workshop in Soweto - decision to make local slogan 'Sign against apartheid'.
3. Media Night - 80 supporters join together in making banners, signature forms, t-shirts for campaign. (see attached report) (28/1)
4. Collection after SACDC mass for Fr Mkatshwa - about 700 signatures collected.
5. Collection at Wits History Workshop (4 Feb) - many Posetu workers signed enthusiastically.
6. Education workshop - 80 supporters discuss the aims and devise strategies for the campaign (see attached report). (11 Feb)
7. Collecting at Free People's Music Concert at Wits - about 3000 signatures collected. Bands signed on stage.
8. TIC rally in Lenasia collects several hundred signatures.
9. NEUSA workshop 25 Feb.
10. UDP People's Festival - about 6000 collected. Stalls sold media to raise funds to employ fulltime co-ordinator for campaign. Caps, badges, t-shirts and declarations were sold. Campaign stickers given out free. (4 March)
11. Jodac press conference with prominent people (eg. Beyers Naude) signing. (8 March)
12. Medunsa prepares media for launch meeting. Turfloop likewise.
13. BP Cup Final - collecting organised (10 March)
14. National Detainees Day - collecting organised at vigil.

C. FORTHCOMING PLANS

1. Book launch by Albertina Sisulu of two UDP signature campaign books (one national, the other Tvl). The Tvl book was produced by the Tvl education, media and signature committees. It is aimed at individuals, whereas the national booklet is aimed at committees.
2. Taking educational workshops and 'Media Nights' to local areas in the rTransvaal.
3. Rally by Anti-FC to launch campaign locally.
4. May Day week.
5. Tvl UDP News - depending on finance.
6. Possible UDP University - People's Teach-in on UDP, Koornhof and Constitution.

2 Rev "AL 42"

TVL NDP MEDIA COMMITTEE REPORT ON MEDIA NIGHT

The Transvaal media committee decided to try to involve as many people as possible in producing media for the signature campaign in the Tvl. Consequently, it was decided to hold a media night with the following aims:

To produce media ^{for the purpose of} popularizing the campaign in the Tvl
To popularize the campaign among activists in the Tvl through an event
To teach people media skills

To bring together at grassroots level activists from many affiliates to be first in a line of regional events around the signature campaign, and to be followed by a education and planning night two weeks later.

The evening involved:

- a. Silkscreening skills stamping Signature logos ^{and slogans} onto t-shirts which participants were asked to bring.
- b. Banner skills - using an overhead projector with a transparency to project onto cloth, thereafter taking it down and nainting it.
- c. Roneo skills - using a scanning machine and a roneo machine, we xxxx letterstted people's demands into the space on the signature form, scanned the whole thing onto a roneo stencil, and then roneoed copies.
- d. Education - educational discussions about the signature campaign, and the education it would need, were held.
- e. Singing and poetry interval - this was cancelled due to illness of singer, absence of poets.

Organisation

It was planned to rotate groups from one activity to the next every hour or so. This worked once, after which people found their own niche and worked more or less solidly on one thing for the rest of the evening, besides for walking around and looking at everything. Three large banners were painted, four different groups roneoed signature forms with their own demands on, and probably 150 t-shirts were printed. The education discussions came up with recommendations

Evaluation About 80 people attended - thanks to good advertising and ~~X~~ The evening was very successful in raising enthusiasm for the campaign and in getting everyone to participate. Activists also enjoyed meeting and working with people from other spheres of life, regions and organisations. Problems were theft of t-shirts and organising transport home for people. Suggestion for improvement are leaving out the scanning machine and merely typin, onto a stencil

the demand people want, and roneoing this onto pre-printed signature forms. It was also suggested that similar media nights be held in other centres in the transvaal.

Finance

Money was raised during the night by charging people 1/2 cent for each signature form, by buying t-shirts and selling them at a profit during the night. Money for food was obtained by a collection. Costs therefore were low, relating to paper for roneoing, ink and artwork for silkscreening, and brushes, paint and cloth for banners.

Programme for UDF Million Signature Campaign Workshop

- 2.00 Registration (Themba)
- 2.16 Welcome and explanation of the programme and purpose of the workshop (PAT)
- 2.30 Group Discussions (Tom)
Participants will divide according to areas
Each group will elect a co-ordinator to take minutes
Questions for discussion
1. What are the strengths and weaknesses of organisation in your area?
 2. How will the campaign strengthen or weaken organisation in your area.
- At the end of this discussion Barbara and one UDF person will collate all the report backs and report back to the plenary session.
- 3.15 Plenary session
Input by UDF on what are the aims and objects of the campaign so far, what conditions are facing UDF, what is the relationship between the signature campaign and the overall campaign of the UDF.
- 3.35 Report back from the earlier group discussions (Barbara and UDF)
- 3.55 Commissions introduction (Popo)
1. Organisation (Popo)
In the course of this discussion the following issues should be raised: the organisers manual; methods of collecting signatures; local and regional structures necessary to run the campaign; relationship between area committees, organisations and the co-ordinating committee.
 2. Mobilisation (Barbara)
The purpose of this committee is to decide how to involve as many people not already involved in organisation in the campaign through eg rallies, house meetings, door to door visits.etc.
 3. Education (Hoss)
How can we use the campaign to educate our organisations and the community in general about the constitution, the bills and UDF. This group should involve some discussion about the draft information booklet.
What kind of education do activists need, what education will the different structures need, what education will be relevant to the different phases, what educational materials are needed.

-2-

4. Popularisation (Guy)
What major events are necessary to get the campaign going, what slogans, what media is needed.
5. Finance (Valli)
Where will money come from, how will we fund raise, how much money do we need, how will we raise money for regional and local needs.

- 4.45 Report back from the co-ordinators of each group to a plenary
- 5.15 Tasks and planning (Hoss)
The groups will break back into their area groups
Each group needs to elect a co-ordinator
The groups need to answer the following questions
1. How will we collect signatures
 2. How will we mobilise people in our area
 3. What educational needs do we have
 4. What big events are we going to organise how will we popularise and publicise the campaign in our area
 5. How are we going to raise the money to do this
 6. Who will take responsibility for each task
- 6.00 Closure date set for next meeting to evaluate the campaign to date and plan the next phase : 31 March.

The co-ordinating committee will take responsibility for writing minutes and circulating them to all organisations.

questions discussed by the group:

- Role of propaganda in the campaign
- What media do we need?
- What planning is needed?
- Local and regional propaganda - to be looked at in relation to the different phases

ROLE OF PROPAGANDA

The role of propaganda is to popularise the UDP and the campaign. It was felt that a lot of people were uninformed about the UDP and that propaganda around the campaign should also be used to enlighten people about the UDP.

Propaganda should enthuse people generally and at every level of organisation about the campaign. It should also encourage active participation in the campaign.

At an ideological level the propaganda should provide an alternative to what is presented by the Government, especially about the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

In popularising the campaign the relationship between affiliates and the UDP should come through. Local organisations should be promoted along with the UDP.

The UDP and affiliates will be involved in putting out propaganda, it is important that there is coordination between the UDP and its affiliates.

Propaganda to be suitable and effective on a local level affiliates should participate in working out the propaganda eg. slogans that are understood and appeal to people in an area or constituency.

MEDIA NEEDS:

All media resources available for the campaign should be used. This includes the progressive press - Speak, the Eye and Saspu National as well as newsletters of organisations, also pamphlets, posters, banners, stickers, displays, T-shirts, etc. The commercial press should also be used eg. City Press is to have a barometer showing how many signatures have been collected. Capital radio could also be used.

It is important to work out what audience each of these is going to reach and from there work out the type of propaganda needed.

Some of these, eg. pamphlets and posters are important to advertise local events. It is essential to remember things like what language to use and eg. literacy level. Pamphlets need a back-up, for example house visits.

Local media workshops like the one held by UDP in Khotso House could be held in different areas. Here local organisations could produce media needed for the campaign in their area. At the same time it could be an effective way of drawing people into activity and building up enthusiasm about the campaign. People could also learn media skills, educate each other, discuss and plan the campaign together, work out slogans and their demands to be printed on the signature forms.

One suggestion for T-shirts was to have the signature campaign logo on the front and the organisations' demand on the back of the T-shirt.

PLANNING

There should be planning about how to move into areas where the UDP has not yet been popularised and what media and propaganda was needed for this.

In planning, groups also need to bear in mind things like finances and distribution and plan for these in advance.

It is also important to plan in advance to work out at what events there could be major drives to collect signatures and what propaganda media is needed for these events.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL PROPAGANDA

Can organise mass meetings in the area around the campaign if this is appropriate or where there are already mass meetings planned around other issues, make sure there are people collecting signatures at the meeting. This should be accompanied by a UDP speaker from the platform explaining what the campaign is about.

Local press conference or launchings could be held. All affiliate organisations in the area should participate in these.

It is important to link local campaigns, issues, problems and organisations with the signature campaign and the UDP.

During the second boost phase of the campaign:

Can give a report at the UDP music festival on the progress of the campaign and have band members signing. Have lots of banners there. Can organise slides in cinemas, locally, publicising the campaign and collect signatures during interval and afterwards. Also at football matches and other sports meetings, churches etc. At sports meetings there should also be posters and banners and pamphlets handed out, and for eg. for Kaiser Chiefs to sign and that they encourage people to sign publicly.

Get other prominent local people and leaders to sign publicly if possible and give these events publicity, also church leaders locally.

Try as much as possible to get feedback and assess media and propaganda. Here local activists participation will be essential.

Propaganda should develop with educational input. There should be pamphlets at tables where people are signing. Also link in with days such as Sharpeville etc. Incorporate anti-government propaganda and link the national crisis into the campaign.

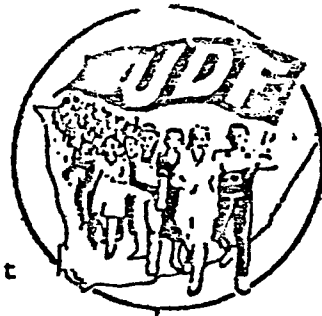
Nationalise propaganda - show what is happening all over the country how the campaign is progressing in other regions.

Special attention should be paid to trade unions and getting members to sign. UDP people could go to shop steward meetings to speak to them and motivate the campaign. Here it was felt personal contact is important.

Because of the financial difficulties of the UDP it was felt that organisations should pay 1⁰ per signature form and 5⁰ per poster. Printing the organisations demand on the form (in red) would cost 50⁰ per 200 forms. The UDP media committee would help with any media.

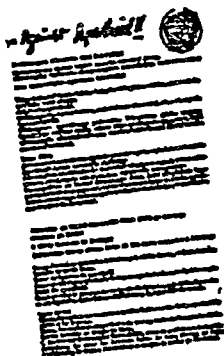
TO ALL TRANSVAAL UDF AFFILIATES:

Please pass around within your organisation. The UDF Media Committee is gearing up for the Million Signature Campaign. We can help you:



Faint banners to show your organisation's support for the signature campaign. You can use these for local activity and also to popularize your organisation at the UDF Music Festival.

UDF wants every Transvaal affiliate to march onto stage and sign the Signature form in front of 30 000 people at the Music Festival. We will be painting banners at Van Wyks Rus on Saturday 3rd February. Let us know by the 2nd if you want to come and paint one with us. Costs: R10 per banner.



Design and produce posters or pamphlets. The media committee can help you produce these if you want to advertise a local meeting or issue linked to the Signature Campaign. Costs vary, but you can do A3 size black and white posters for 15c each, -and A2 size silkscreen one-colour for 30c each. Roneoed pamphlets cost (with a scanned stencil) about R12 for 500 A4 size or 1000 A5 size. (If you can bring your own paper, it's much much cheaper)

Print your demand on the Signature form in the space provided. You can do this in red ink through the media committee. Cost: 30c for a roneo stencil, 1 cent for five forms.

Print the signature campaign logo, and your organisations own logo onto T-shirts. Bring old shirts, or buy new ones to sell and raise money for the campaign in your organisation/area. Cost of printing: R30 for 100 shirts.

1 million!! SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

UDF, the broad-based front organisation, desires for the whole world to hear their voice against apartheid. We require the strength and unity of one people against the evil of apartheid. We stand for the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa. We support the non-racialisation of all South African institutions and the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. We support the non-racialisation of all South African institutions and the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. We support the non-racialisation of all South African institutions and the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination.

MAKE YOUR MARK AGAINST APARTHEID!

NAME	ADDRESS	SIGNATURE
1.		
2.		
3.		



Hold a media happening! Two weeks ago the media committee held a Media Happening at Khotso House where all the above activities - t-shirts, banners, printing, etc. took place at the same time. This kind of thing is popular because it allows everyone to join in and participate. Why not consider a Media Happening in your organisation or area? The UDF video could also be shown at such an occasion.

THE UDF MEDIA COMMITTEE NEEDS MORE MEMBERS!

Can your organisation send people to sit in the media committee for two months, or permanently? We can help train your members in media skills in this way. The more people there are in the media committee, the more useful UDF media will be to affiliates. PLEASE DISCUSS THIS REQUEST IN YOUR ORGANISATION AND LET US KNOW

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT:

UDF, Fourth Floor, Khotso House, De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

UDF SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN ORGANISER: SUGGESTED JOB DESCRIPTION

To co-ordinate the planning and activities of the signature campaign.

By:

A. Working with all affiliates

- * to give ideas about how they can use the campaign to further organisation
- * to give ideas about how they can collect maximum signatures in their areas
- * to inform UDF subcommittees as to the needs of the affiliates
- * to co-ordinate affiliates in covering whole areas

B. Working with the UDF subcommittees

- * providing input as to the problems experienced and ways of solving them in relation to
 - *media
 - *education
- * to inform the JHB signature committee of the general progress and specifically
 - * to prepare agendas for the meetings and ensure that decisions are carried out
 - * to point out major issues that need discussion
 - * to ask for assistance when needed

C. Responsibility for Transvaal.

To take a map of the Transvaal and work out

- * where we have affiliates
- * where we know sympathetic people
- * where we need to make some contacts

In each area, work out what other groupings can be approached

- *church
- * cultural
- * farming co-ops etc.

D. General.

- * Work out a timing programme and push affiliates/areas to hand in set numbers.
- * Keep a count for each affiliate and the total. Provide this to Golden City Press (or ensure that our count is given to whoever adds them up)
- * Co-ordinate (or delegate) any UDF activity around the campaign eg. collecting signatures at the music festival.

AL43

M.S.C. CO - ORDINATORS REPORT

1984 06 30

Rev AL 43"

Compared to a month ago or even two, the campaign has picked up some momentum, although it has not as yet reached appreciable levels.

Subsequent to calls made at two previous General Councils activists and affiliates have notable tried to improve on previous performances.

COUNTRY WIDE

The national count as reflected in the mn minutes of the last National Executive Council meeting is as follows.

1. Natal -	35 000
2. W. Cape -	87 000
3. TVL -	42 000
4. N. Cape -	1 600
5. E. Cape -	17 000
6. Border -	30 000
Total	<hr/> 212 600

TRANSVAAL

As you will notice Transvaal is reported to have collected about 42 000 signatures the figure was based on the number of signatures already handed in at the office and those which affiliates reported to have already collected after the office had contacted various affiliates to find out.

At the same time the office has sent out circulars to affiliates requesting them to send in all completed forms. But up to know response to this request has been very slow.

Therefore on behalf of the million signature campaign committee, I once more make an appeal to all affiliates and activists alike to please make sure that forms are always sent to the office so that our figures can be properly and accurately updated.

From our quota of 300 000 signatures our deficit is about 258 000 signatures and that is definitely a realisable goal.

HARRASMENT

There is evidently a growing state attempt to make it impossible for us to collect signatures. In the Transvaal and throughout the country reports have been received of the extent to which the state is bent on disrupting the campaign.

- A number of our activists are being detained whilst collecting signatures (i I do not have lists of names in my possession)

hundreds of signature forms have been confiscated by security police.

The campaign of disinformation around MSC is being stepped up.

Clearly therefore the state has finally realised the threat posed by the MSC to the new constitutional dispensation.

The MSC- committee appeal to all affiliates and activists to furnish it with all relevant information at all times regarding security police harassment, detention and confiscation of forms.

On page 37 - 38 of the Organiser's handbooks is a chapter on the "signature campaign and the law". The details contained therein are important for everyone.

MSC COMMITTEE

This committee meets on Mondays. As with probably other committees its main problem has been that not all affiliates have sent representatives to serve on it. This imposes serious limitations in its ability to fulfill its functions properly and adequately.

This is especially true when it is faced with the need to take various decisions around the MSC. This state of affairs also means that it can not be made fully aware of developments in various areas where signatures are collected.

The committee urges affiliates to seriously look into this matter and thereby also ensure that they also would be fully briefed on developments on this front from time to time.

ANTI CONSTITUTION CAMPAIGN

Following the latest N.E.C. decisions on the need to step up this campaign, the immediate task would be to work out ways in which the MSC could also be intensified at the same time as the proposed or (still to be proposed) campaign plan.

AL44

REPORT ON THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN(MSC) IN KIMBERLEY ON THE
18TH MARCH 1984.

Rev AL 44"

1. The existing area committee in Kimberley agreed to serve as the co-ordinating committee for the area. This was decided in a meeting held jointly with the two secretaries of the NC interim structure on the 16th March. The committee explained that letters had been written to organisations and individuals inviting them to the launch of the campaign. Posters advertised at the meeting had already been put up. Due to lack of proper and inefficient publicity methods less impact would be made on the public (i.e. according to the committee observations).

2. THE LAUNCH 18TH MARCH

2.1. VENUE: ST. BONIFACE MISSION IN GALESHEWE

2.2. TIME: 15h00

2.3. ATTENDANCE: 300

2.4. CHAIRPERSON: JOMO KHASU

3. The first MSC launch in the Northern Cape was held in Galeshewe, Kimberley. The meeting was addressed by the following speakers:

- i. Galeshewe Youth interim committee.
- ii. Huhudi Youth Organisation (Hugo)
- iii. Fedsaw (Mrs. Ncapayi)
- iv. Cde Aubrey Mokoena (R.M.C. & UDF)
- v. Cde Rev. Frank Chikane (UDF)

3.1. The keynote speaker Rev. F. Chikane touched on the history of resistance, the birth and ~~relevance~~ relevance of the UDF its campaigns and more specifically the MSC and its purpose.

3.2. The only newspaper present was the Diamond Fields Advertiser (DFA) with no photographers on the scene.

3.3. Ten minutes before the meeting a signature from Rev. Ft. A.M. MAROPONG was secured. Ft. Maropong is a prominent and outspoken person in Galeshewe. He is president of the Northern Cape Council of Churches and member of Kimberley D.P.S.C.. He volunteered to take five (5) forms with him to continue the campaign.

3.4. When the meeting dispersed at 17h30 already 150 signatures had been collected and people were still signing.

4. OBSERVATIONS

4.1. Although there was a positive response from people in Kimberley to the meeting it was clear that we failed to take advantage of the potential support through our publicity.

4.2. A very large number of the youth had responded and quite a few adults.

4.3. Adults are not hostile but a proper approach is needed to rally them.

4.4. Press coverage is very weak and not really projecting the UDF properly. An announcement/advertisement instead of an article which appeared in the DFA on Friday 16th had failed to make impact on the Kimberlites.

4.5. We need an independent community newspaper to project the UDF, our organisations and activity in general in our area.

COMPILED BY: JOMO KHASU
CONFIRMED BY: NC INTERIM COMMITTEE (UDF)

END

AL45

Rev "AL 45"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



TRANSVAAL
REGIONAL OFFICE

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

The Hon Mrs Indira Gandhi
Prime Minister of India

Dear Madam

The United Democratic Front is an organization consisting of 600 affiliated bodies, representing two million South Africans. The Front was formed a year ago to oopose the further extension of racist oppression under the new constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

The people of South Africa have always valued the support that they have enjoyed from the Government of India in their just struggle for a democratic, non-racial state. We write to thank you for the recent statements of members of your Government urging the Indian people of South Africa to boycott elections to the new racist parliament.

We fear that the racist regime may, nevertheless, carry through its plan of ramming this undemocratic constitution down our throats. In these circumstances, we want your government to know, that neither this constitution nor any other established without the people's consent, will deter us in our struggle, which will continue until freedom is won.

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

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

Draft: To Hon. Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India

374481 Delta

Dear Madam

The United Democratic Front is an organization consisting of 600 affiliated bodies, representing two million South Africans. The Front was formed a year ago to oppose the further extension of racist oppression under the new constitution and the Koornhoff Bills.

The people of South Africa have always valued the support that they have enjoyed from the Government of India in their just struggle for a democratic, non-racial state. We write to thank you ~~very much~~ for the recent statements of members of your Government urging the Indian people of South Africa to boycott elections to the new racist parliament.

We fear that the racist regime may, nevertheless, carry through its plan of ramming this undemocratic constitution down our throats. In these circumstances, we want your government to know, that neither this constitution nor any other established without the people's consent, will deter us in our struggle, which will continue until freedom is won.

AL46

United Democratic Front

(Natal Region)

Letter to PM

1985
"AL 46"
P.O. Box 48060
Qualbert 4078
Telephones 32-7860
63280

Sir,

The United Democratic Front (UDF) wishes to draw your attention to a series of arbitrary bannings of a wide range of its public meetings to discuss your Governments new proposals on the constitution and the "Koornhof " Bills.

The Front is an alliance of community, church, political, worker, professional, student, women and youth organisations of democratic and non-racial outlook. A little more than four hundred organisations launched this Front on August 20 1983 at Mitchell's Plain - Cape Town. Today there are over five hundred and thirty organisations affiliated to it and the number of its affiliates continues to grow by the week. Its importance may be gauged from the fact that on August 20, independent observers estimated the number of people represented by the UDF at 1,5 million. We can safely assert that there are close to two million people now represented in it. This is a significant section of our country's population!

The UDF was launched for the purpose of mobilising and expressing opposition to the implementation of the recently enacted Constitution Act as well as the Black Local Authorities Act, the Orderly Movements and Settlement of Black Persons Bill and the Black Community Development Bill. The so-called "new deal" is being imposed without any consultation with the people most intimately involved in its implementation and is opposed also because it entrenches apartheid. Under it the unity of the people will be undermined, the workers of our country will continue to be divided along racial line students will continue to suffer under unequal educational opportunities, the religious and cultural life of our people will remain crippled, the oppression and exploitation of women will continue and

family/...

family life will further deteriorate. In addition recreation and non-racial sport will suffer.

And, at a time when important debates on the future of our country are being conducted both at home and around the world, we believe that it is a great error on the part of your Government to refuse to heed the voice of all these people who comprise the United Democratic Front. Since the national launch of the UDF in August your Government has banned practically every meeting of the Front as well as those of its affiliates or of other organisations of the people who are opposed to your Apartheid policies.

Your Government has gone to the extent of banning a meeting of the Secretariat of the UDF comprising only 10 people scheduled for the 8 - 9 October in Johannesburg. It is pertinent to indicate that this meeting was concerned with purely administrative matters of the UDF. To suggest, as your prohibition order claimed, that "public peace would be seriously endangered" if it went ahead, is as devoid of truth as it is far-fetched.

It is clear therefore, that the banning of these meetings is inspired by motives other than the professed maintenance of law and order. And, in the context of growing opposition to your Government's proposals, it is impossible to escape the obvious conclusion that these bannings are calculated to create a false impression both internally and externally - an illusion of acquiescence in and support for apartheid as enshrined in the Constitution Act and related legislation.

We condemn this undemocratic style of government and must remind you that the escalating racial and violent conflict in our country and on its borders with our neighbours is a result of the deeds and

misdeeds/...

misdeeds of successive white governments since the Union Act in 1910. Indeed, this new set of proposals, if implemented, will only exacerbate rather than ameliorate human and race relations in this country.

We appeal to you and your Government to desist from what is clearly a dangerous path of confrontation and conflict upon which you are presently intent. The authoritarian methods of deciding the future of our country such as the whites-only referendum, the banning of public meetings held for discussing it and the suppression of any meaningful opposition to your apartheid grand designs can only land our country and its people in disaster.

We sincerely believe that a speedy and harmonious solution to the country's problems can be found. To this end we call upon your Government not to implement the Constitution Act and not to enact the Koornhof Bills. We urge you to release all political prisoners unconditionally, to lift the bans on those who are silenced and restricted and to recall those who have been forced into exile by the inhuman and racist policies of successive White majority Governments. The chosen leaders of all our country's people can then sit together in an atmosphere free of fear and suspicion to work out a constitution based on the will of the people - a constitution acceptable to all.

As a first step in this democratic direction we suggest that you refrain from banning public meetings convened by the UDF, its affiliates and other organisations opposed to apartheid. As mature and responsible citizens we have an obligation to participate in the process of shaping the future of our country. It would be irresponsible of us to sit back complacently and entrust such a

grave/...

grave responsibility to one racial group - whether that group be Black or White.

Your Government must heed this voice of reason, respond to the urgency of this moment in our country's history, and abandon its present disastrous course.

Yours sincerely,

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Revised ALU

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

P. O. Box 25063
FERREIRASTOWN

2048
NATIONAL
TEL. 29 - 1316/7
22 February 1984

Dear Friends

The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, is embarking on a million signature campaign as part of its opposition to the so called reform (new constitution and the Koornhof bills).

During this signature campaign the UDF will be calling upon a million South Africans to demonstrate their rejection of the new constitution and the Koornhof bills and identify concretely with the Front.

The campaign promises to be very difficult, yet exciting. It provides us with the opportunity to talk to as many people as possible, about our organisations, the UDF and about the new constitution and the Koornhof bills. Many people will hear more about the people's organisations and the evils of apartheid. The world will know the truth about the fraud of P.W. Botha's reforms.

Our call to all peace and freedom loving South Africans is to participate at all levels during the campaign. We must participate as individuals, as organisations, as church people etc.

We must carry the campaign to the people. All of us must say NO! to apartheid and say YES! to the UDF.

However, without the involvement of your organisation as well as that of other organisations of the people, sweet words used to motivate for this campaign will remain empty phrase and slogans.

-2.

/we therefore

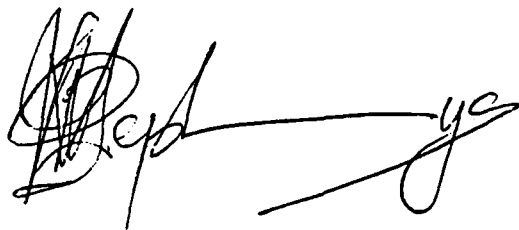
We therefore invite your organisation to be part of this campaign. We ask you to unite in action with hundreds of thousands of our people, who have already joined the campaign.

Our unity at this stage is very crucial. It is to us a priority. It is high on the agenda of the struggle against apartheid and exploitation. Let us therefore seize the moment to unite against Botha's new brand of apartheid. Let us continue to enrich our proud tradition of resistance.

Should you need any further explanation, please inform me by phone. We will then set up a meeting with your organisation to explain the campaign.

Looking forward to your co - operation.

Yours faithfully



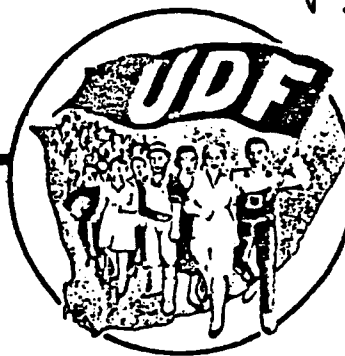
For Popo Molefe
(UDF GENERAL SECRETARY)

AL48

Kew'ALY
①

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

19 October 1984

Dear Friends

We in the UDF wish to thank you for your close co-operation and participation in the campaign against the elections. Through our joint efforts we witnessed major gains by the people to effect the strongest possible resistance to the schemes of the Nats.

The government's response to the victory of the anti-election campaign has been an attack on the democratic forces. The success of our joint efforts has pushed the state to desperation in an attempt to contain our struggle forward. Initially this desperation manifested itself in false propaganda, detention of activists and leaders, banning of meetings, etc. Since these attempts have failed they have opted for more sophisticated action, the most obvious being Le Grange's threat to ban the UDF. But also we note the publicised paper entitled "Trade Unionism and Revolution" wherein General P. J. Coetzee emphasises the danger of trade unionism, where he urges industrialists to assist in the establishment of an alternative view to this "evil of trade unionism ...".

No doubt this is an attempt to lay the basis for even greater control and repression of trade unions. Such repression is not unrelated to the threat to ban the UDF, and we therefore believe that now, more than ever before, we must join forces in our challenge to the legitimacy of state structures.

Joint action lays the basis for future working unity and it is at times like this that it is essential that links already established are cemented. For this reason our regional secretary will be inviting your union to a meeting in the near future.

Greetings and solidarity

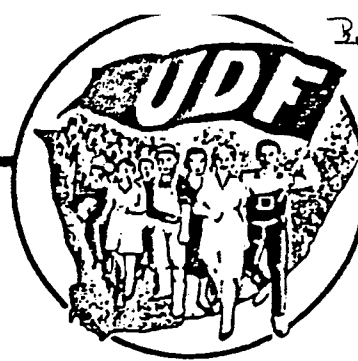
TREVOR MANUEL
Acting General Secretary

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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

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



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AL49

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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT HELD ON 17 AND 18 DECEMBER 1983 IN THE FEATHER MARKET HALL IN PORT ELIZABETH

I. REGIONS REPRESENTED

THE FOLLOWING REGIONS WERE REPRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE:

- (i) TRANSVAAL
- (ii) NATAL
- (iii) WESTERN CAPE
- (iv) BORDER
- (v) EASTERN CAPE
- (vi) NORTHERN CAPE (INTERIM)
- (vii) ORANGE FREE STATE DELEGATES (UNSTRUCTURED)

2. THE CONFERENCE STARTED AT 10 - 20 AM.

2.1 CHAIRPERSONS : (i) MR. TREVOR MANUEL

(ii) MR. R.A.M. SALOOJEE

(iii) REV. MCIBISI XUNDU

2.2 WELCOME BY COMRADE EDGAR NGOYI PRESIDENT OF THE EASTERN CAPE REGION. HE SAID THE "DISCUSSIONS MUST ADVANCE THE INTEREST OF UNITY".

2.3 OPENING ADDRESS BY COMRADE PRESIDENT ARCHIE GUMEDE

IN HIS ADDRESS THE PRESIDENT TRACED THE HISTORY OF THE EXCLUSION OF THE AFRICANS AND THEIR ALLIED NATIONAL GROUPS - THE COLOURED AND INDIANS. THE EFFECTS OF EXCLUSION OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE RESULTED IN A DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THOSE EXCLUDED, THE PRESIDENT SAID.

HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO UNDERSTAND DEMOCRACY AND TO PRACTICE IT IN THE DAY TO DAY INTERACTION OF ORGANIZATIONS AND WITH THE MASSES.

2.4 SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT :

(i) PRESIDENT OSCAR WAS PRESENT

(ii) COMRADE MKHALIPI (PE) WAS PRESENT

(iii) BISHOP DESMOND TUTU HAD ACCEPTED THE PATRONAGE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

2.5 MESSAGES

THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES WERE READ :

(i) PETITION SIGNED BY 34 ORGANISATIONS FROM OVERSEAS PLEDGING SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND REJECTING THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTION.

(ii) INSPIRING

(ii) INSPIRING MESSAGE FROM DR. ALLEN BOESAK.

2.6 SECRETARIAT REPORT

A SECRETARIAT REPORT WAS PRESENTED BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY POPO MOLEFE THE REPORT COVERED THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS

- (i) THE STATE CRISIS AND ITS RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS.
- (ii) THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
- (iii) EVALUATION OF THE WORK OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.
- (iv) FUTURE STRATEGIES AND THE TASKS AHEAD.

2.6.1. PLENARY SESSION

THE SECRETARIAL REPORT WAS DISCUSSED IN PLENARY. THE FOLLOWING POINTS EMERGED -

THAT THE REPORT AND THE UDF PERSE DID NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTIO OF REMOVALS ANT RELOCATIONS ADEQUATELY. A CALL WAS MADE BY THE NOTHERN CAPE REGION TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE NOT TO POSTPONE A PROGRAMME ON REMOVALS AND RESETTLEMENTS.

THAT REPORT DID NOT ADDRESS THE STATE'S NEW HOUSING POLICY, THE WHOLE HOUSING CRISIS, THE 99 YEARS LEASE ETC.

THAT THE DAY TO DAY ACTIVITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE INTERGRATED INTO THE PROGRAMME OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

THAT TACTICS AND STRATEGIES HAD TO BE EVALUATED FROM TIME TO TIME IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT CORRECT POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE MADE.

THAT TACTICS AND STRATEGIES MUST NOT UNDERMINE THE UNITY OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

THAT THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH MUST BE CLEARLY DEFINED. PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE MUSHROOMING OF MANY YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS.

THAT ADEQUATE CONSULTATIONS MUST TAKE PLACE WITH YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS.

2.6.2 COMMISSIONS

FIVE COMMISSIONS WERE FORMED (ON CROSS FERTILISATION BASIS)

THE COMBINE REPORT BACKS OF THE COMMISSION MADE THESE POINTS ;

THAT CHURCHES, ORGANIZATIONS, UNICNS, TEACHERS ETC. HAD TO BE DRAWN INTO THE FRONT.

THAT UDF DECLARATIONS MUST BE ADOPTED INTO A PRAYER IN ORDER FOR IT TO HAVE AN APPEAL ON THE CHURCH.

THAT MORE AREA COMMITTEES MUST BE FORMED BY REGIONS.

THAT THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT MUST CONSIDER EMPLOYING FULL TIME ORGANIZERS.

3. INPUT PAPER ON REFERANDUM (STATE STRATEGY OF CO - OPTION) BY COMRADE ERIC MOLOBI

3.1 PAPER

THE PAPER DID NOT TAKE A POSITION ON THE REFERANDUM. IT COVERED BROADLY :

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TACTICS, STRATEGIES AND POLICIES.

OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

3.2 REGIONAL MANDATES/RESPONSE

(i) NATAL MOTIVATED FOR PARTICIPATION FOR A NO VOTE. REGION WAS UNANIMOUS ON PARTICIPATION

(ii) NORTHERN CAPE WAS ALSO UNANIMOUS ON PARTICIPATION FOR A NO VOTE.

(iii) BORDER REGION UNANIMOUS ON A BOYCOTT POSITION BUT WERE PREPARED TO ACCEPT-MAJORITY DECISION.

(iv) WESTERN CAPE DIVIDED BETWEEN PARTICIPATION AND BOYCOTT.

(v) ORANGE FREE STATE CALLED FOR A BOYCOTT.

(vi) EASTERN CAPE DIVIDED BETWEEN PARTICIPATION AND BOYCOTT.

(vii) TRANSVAAL DIVIDED BETWEEN PARTICIPATION AND BOYCOTT.

3.3 COMMISSIONS ON REFERANDUM

THE CONFERENCE BROKE INTO FIVE COMMISSIONS TO DISCUSS THE BEST TACTICS THAT COULD BEST DISORGANIZE THE STATE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

3.3.1 THE FOLLOWING POINTS WERE NOTABLE FROM REPORTS OF VARIOUS COMMISSIONS.

THERE WAS A VERY DISCERNABLE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TACTICS AND STRATEGIES ON ONE HAND AND PRINCIPLES ON THE OTHER HAND.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PARTICIPATION IN THE REFERANDUM AND COLLABORATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT.

IT WAS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE THE BOYCOTT TACTIC USED AGAINST BLAA AND THE NEED TO CHANGE A TACTIC IN THE CASE OF THE REFERANDUM

FEAR THAT CALLING FOR AN ETHNIC REFERANDUM ON THE PART OF THE UDF WOULD BE A NEGATION OF THE NON - RACIAL PRINCIPLE.

3.3.2 STRAW VOTE

A STRAW VOTE TAKEN AFTER COMMISSIONS REPORT BACKS INDICATED THE FOLLOWING:

THAT 55% OF THE DELEGATES WAS FOR A NO VOTE WHILST 45% WAS FOR A BOYCOTT OF THE REFERANDUM. NO CONSUSUS WAS REACHED ON REFERANDUM.

3.4 3I PERSON COMMISSION

A COMMISSION COMPRISING OF A TOTAL OF 3I DELEGATES FROM ALL REGIONS WAS FORMED TO FIND A COPROMISE POSITION ON THE REFERANDUM (VIZ ON THE NO VOTE AND BOYCOTT POSITIONS)

3.4.I COMPOSITION OF COMMISSION

WESTERN CAPE, NATAL AND TRANSVAAL SEVEN DELEGATES EACH
 EASTERN CAPE 4
 BORDER 3
 NORTHERN CAPE 2
 ORANGE FREE STATE 1

3.4.2 RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION

THE COMMISSION RECOMMENDED THAT :

THE UDF ALLOW ITS AFFILIATES FLEXIBILITY OF TACTICS TO SHOW REJECTION OF THE REFERANDUM.

THAT THE REGIONS DISCUSS THE RECOMMENDATIONS AND GIVE FEED BACKS TO THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: THESE RECOMMENDATIONS WERE ADOPTED.

4. INPUT ON CONSCRIPTION

SHORT INPUT ON CONSCRIPTION WAS GIVEN BY COMRADE JONATHAN DE VRIES. THE FOLLOWING POINTS AMONGST OTHERS WERE MADE BY THE PAPER ON CONSCRIPTION.

THAT CONSCRIPTION WAS ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL ISSUE. THEREFORE A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN HAD TO BE ORGANIZED AROUND THE ISSUE.

DEFINITE STRUCTURES MUST BE CREATED TO SPEARHEAD THE CAMPAIGN

CAMPAIGN MUST GO THROUGH PHASES EDUCATION AND ACTIVITY: PERIODS FOCUS WEEKS, WORKSHOPS ETC.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COLOURED, INDIAN AND AFRICAN YOUTH VIS - A VIS CONSCRIPTION BE CLEARLY DEFINED.

UNEMPLOYMENT, DENIAL OF SECTION IO RIGHTS ETC. WOULD RESULT WITH AFRICANS BEING AFFECTED BY MILITARY RECRUITMENT.

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS MUST BE EXAMINED CAREFULLY.

THE QUESTION OF CONSCRIPTION WAS NOT DISCUSSED ADEQUATELY. HOWEVER THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDED THAT THE MATTER BE DISCUSSED FURTHER AT REGIONAL LEVEL.

5. SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

5.1 INPUT PAPER ON THE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN PRESENTED BY COMRADE YUNIS MAHOMED WAS ADOPTED.

TIME LIMIT FOR SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN WAS SET AS JANUARY 1984 TO MAY 1984

5.2 BREAK - DOWN OF SIGNATURE

IT WAS AGREED THAT REGIONS WOULD BE ALLOCATED SIGNATURES AS FOLLOWS :

REGION	SIGNATURE TO BE COLLECTED
1. TRANSVAAL	300 000
2. WESTERN CAPE	300 000
3. NATAL	300 000
4. EASTERN CAPE	100 000
5. BORDER	50 000
6. NORTHERN CAPE	25 000
7. O. F.S.	25 000
TOTAL	1100 000

6. RESOLUTIONS

A NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS WAS ADOPTED ON VARIOUS QUESTIONS AFFECTIN THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

7 COMMENTS BY CHAIRPERSON (DR. R. A. M. SALOOJEE)

AT THE END OF THE TWO DAYS CONFERENCE COMRADE DR. SALOOJEE COMMENTED

" WE HAVE REACHED THE END OF TWO DAYS OF INTENSE DELIBERATIONS ENRICHED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS OF OUR AFFILIATES AND THE TASKS AHEAD"

8 CLOSURE

PRESIDENT OSCAR MPETHA GAVE A CLOSING ADDRESS

HERE ARE SOME OF THE POINTS HE MENTIONED IN HIS ADDRESS:

WE MUST ALL AGGEE AGREE THAT THE SPIRITS OF DEBATE AND DELIBERATIONS WAS WONDERFUL.

IN THE LONG AND HARD ROAD OF STRUGGLE UNITY MUST BE PERSUED TO THE JOYFUL OR BITTER END.

THE ATTAINMENT.....

THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR GOAL OF FREEDOM WILL BE DETERMINED BY OUR UNITY.

WE NEED TO IMPROVE ON THE PACE OF OUR MOVEMENT.

WE MUST NOT REPEAT OUR PREVIOUS MISTAKES OF EXCLUDING THE MIGRANT WORKERS FROM OUR STRUGGLE.

8.2 NATIONAL ANTHEM

AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE THE NATIONAL ANTHEM WAS SUNG.

9. DOCUMENTS OF CONFERENCE

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE AVAILABLE AT THE HEAD OFFICE, ON REQUEST -

- 1. SECRETARIAL REPORT
- 2. PAPER ON REFERANDUM.
- 3. RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.
- 4. RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION ON REFERANDUM.
- 5. SIGNATURE DRAFT FORM.
- 6. PAPER ON SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN.

COMPILE BY - POPO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

UDF AND THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION

A. PREAMBLE:

At the UDF Conference in Port Elizabeth last month, South Africa's constitutional arrangement came under the spotlight. UDF's response to the situation was discussed exhaustively and it came out clearly that conflicted existed among delegates and no consensus could be reached.

At issue was whether UDF should participate in or boycott a referendum of "Coloureds" and "Indians" to test acceptance of the new constitution.

Since no consensus was reached, UDF member regions were asked to go back home and address the matter once more before it is again submitted for discussion. A Commission was appointed in Port Elizabeth to deal with the matter. We are required to look at the Commission's recommendations and formulate our response to the referendum.

Hereunder follows an exposition of the line we took at the P.E. Conference.

B. TOTAL REJECTION:

Which referendum is being addressed? Botha's or one called by the UDF?

(1) Botha's Referendum:

The Koornhof bills from which emanate the referendum issue are not to be seen in isolation from the total apartheid strategy. They are the logical and necessary culmination of a long process of domination; division and exploitation. Even for the racists, principles are fixed, strategies are medium term and tactics are flexible and short term.

- (a) Apartheid and the "cleansing of South Africa of all non-whites" is the basic principle upon which the government in South Africa operates.
- (b) The Constitutional proposals are one of the strategies of Botha and his cohorts (cf. Bantustans; Community Councils; C.M.C's, etc).
- (c) The Referendum is a tactic which the government and its sculleries may opt for in the present crisis.

Our response to these is our total rejection of both the principle as well as strategies and tactics of the government. The biggest question is how to do this effectively and in a principled manner.

The answer to this question should not be arrived at by dint of discussion but by empirical scientific approach. Our context and experience should be taken seriously as we attempt to answer this question.

We are dealing here with a "tough state" which is not in an immediate crisis of collapse -- although the state is in a serious crisis. We are also dealing here with a crook of a player in this game -- South Africa is a stranger to fair play when it comes to things that threaten its very principles and strategies. Moreover, the delegates from both the Western Cape and Transvaal have indicated that their communities ("Coloureds" and "Indians") may still vote "Yes" as a result of lack of guidance or through being cheated at the polls.

The referendum arises from a racist situation and will be on racist lines ("Coloureds" and "Indians"). For this reason, participation therein will lead to the flouting of our principles -- non-racialism. Whatever strategies we adopt should not go against our principles.

The "No" vote campaign seems to be a weak and dangerous tactic. We may be losers in the manipulated polls and find ourselves in an embarrassing situation of having to campaign for a boycott of the elections emanating from a referendum we have participated in. For this reason we agitate for a call to boycott both the referendum, if it is called, as well as the elections. This means more organisation work on the part of our activist.

The boycott should not be seen as a permanent strategy. It is a viable tactic in our context and experience. We have no reason to think it needs to be changed. It is not a passive tactic. Active campaigning and mobilisation is essential for it to succeed.

(2) UDF's Referendum:

If the referendum is called by the UDF, there are still dangers there. It will be a bad tactic for the UDF to use -- a racist referendum to solve the situation. Irrespective of who calls for it, an ethnic referendum is racist and is bad tactics.

As for using it to "demonstrate mobilisation skills to the Africans (NEC) is a bad argument and is also tinged with racism. The struggle is not a forum where races or even tribes are engaged in demonstration of skills. The end goal of the struggle is liberation not conviction. This goes for strategies and tactics to be employed by the people.

Above all, if the UDF calls for a referendum of whatever kind, this would imply the acceptance of the illusion that our problems can still be solved by constitutional means involving "responsible internal leaders." To accept this, we believe, would be a grave mistake. If other people think constitutional solutions are still possible, we need to be told openly and in a hurry.

3/... C. CONCLUSION: ...

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To sum up, we stand for a total non-participation in any referendum. This is based on our experience and context. We also believe that it is the best non-confusing tactic that readily would gain the support of many people. If other regions have tactics that work for them, let them not be misled to think that they can work on a national basis.

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AL51

Ann "AC 510"

THE DEMANDS OF THE UDF AND THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

At the National Executive of the United Democratic Front, held in Bloemfontein on 21.07.84, discussion took place as to what sort of demands the UDF should put forward during the course of the anti-election campaign. This discussion had arisen out of a need felt by all regions of the UDF to put forward a clear alternative to the new constitution and to provide direction and leadership to the broad masses of our people whom we are asking not to vote on August 22 and 29.

The NEC stated firmly that because any demands put forward by the UDF relate directly to the overall policy of the UDF, decisions could only be taken after thorough discussion in all regions and at all levels. The NEC has however submitted a suggested outline for discussion in all regions:

a) Our view of the future. It was generally agreed that the broad demands of the UDF, as written in our Declaration, should be emphasised. This would include our vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa in a unified country, based on the right of all adults to vote. In addition, our vision includes the participation in, and the democratic control of all institutions by the people, as well as the democratic control of resources.

b) Our method of struggle. It was also felt that while projecting our long-term demands, it is also necessary to emphasise the method of struggle that we have adopted, in order to emphasise the differences between us and those elements who have adopted the path of collaboration. In this regard, the UDF has chosen to base itself on the organisations of the people, that our organisations are in themselves non racial and democratic with the leadership directly responsible to the membership. In addition, our

organisations work outside of the constitutional system as defined by the apartheid regime.

c) Our immediate demands. There was common agreement that the projection of demands such as democracy, freedom and non-racialism were in themselves too abstract, and that during the anti election campaign, more specific demands need to be made. A number of suggestions were put forward:

- 1) Release of all political prisoners
- 2) Unbanning of organisations and individuals
- 3) Return of exiles
- 4) Repeal of pass laws/ stop pass arrests
- 5) Repeal of security legislation
- 6) Stop forced removals
- 7) Repeal of Coloured Labour Preference Area policy
- 8) The demand for all South Africans to take part in the drawing up of a new constitution. This demand would include the demand for a National Convention/ Constituent Assembly or People's Assembly, with the necessary pre-conditions emphasised.

THE DEMANDS OF THE UDF AND THE ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

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AL52

Rev "AL 52"

A. AUGUST ELECTIONS:

On August 22 the South African government will hold the first elections under the New Constitution Act to determine the membership of the House of Coloured Representatives and that of the Indian Delegates.

But the United Democratic Front will call on the two affected communities to refuse participation by boycotting these undemocratic elections.

We remind the people of South Africa that since this country became a Union in 1910 successive white governments have either summarily or progressively deprived other sections of the population of political power whilst tightening white hold on and monopoly of that power. The declaration of the republic in 1961, now the implementation of the New Constitution Act and continuation with the Homeland policies in total disregard of the views and feelings of other racial groups are monumental reminders of that monopoly of power by White South Africans.

The August elections must be opposed because they are a further legitimisation of white domination since the White House will continue single-handedly to determine what laws may or may not be enacted. These elections will only place responsibility for Apartheid laws on Coloured and Indian groups without providing them with power to carry out such responsibility.

In pursuance of the boycott campaign the UDF activists are already combining the million signature campaign and blitzes with explaining to the masses the stance of the Front towards those elections.

We are aware that field workers and some officials of pro-government parties like the Labour Party, People's Congress Party and National People's Party have been poaching for forced votes by threatening

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people with arrest or withdrawal of pension or other benefits if they do not vote in August We shall treat it as our special obligation from now on to teach our people that IT IS LAWFUL NOT TO VOTE.

Officialdom today claims that more than hundred percent voters registered for the August elections. This is based on false population figures which have been inflated in order to mislead the masses.

The UDF will also seek close cooperation with other extra-parliamentary groups opposed to the elections so as to effect the strongest possible resistance to the schemes of the Nats.

B. ONSLAUGHT ON THE FRONT:

The success of the Front has pushed the state to desperation in an attempt to contain its growth popularity and campaigns. But the UDF will continue to surmount all hurdles the state and its appendages may place before it and its affiliates. Our structure, style of work, the calibre of our activists and the support we enjoy make us unstopable in the long run by even the most sophisticated Apartheid machinery they can put together. The major weakness of the onslaught against the UDF is that it is false propaganda all the time and while the masses may be fooled for a while the fact that such propaganda does not correspond with objective reality soon exposes the fallacy of this propaganda.

(i) State Agencies:

State attacks on the Front goes to its inception. As early as the National launch pamphlets of various types were distributed urging people not to attend the nations launch and police actually arrested people in Bloemfontein and prevented one bus from attending.

There followed a spade of bannings of UDF meetings until the NEC addressed a letter of protest to the Prime Minister. Since

then known government sympathisers and agents such as Aida Parker's Newsletter alleged that UDF is a facade of the ANC.

All this has today build up to a crescendo in which officials of the Front are refused passports to travel abroad (three presidents, Frank Chikane and publicity secretary.)

- Direct intervention takes the form of refusal of venues for meetings to UDF and its affiliates everywhere. Churches in W Cape have been told that they will not be provided with new premises in Khayelitsha if they allow UDF to use church buildings for public meetings, the OranjeVaal Admin Board has written letters to parishes in Vereeniging (i.e. Sharpeville and Sebokeng) and Vanderbylpark (Pobhelong and Boipatong) threatening to close church buildings immediately if they allow the UDF to use them for public meetings.
- Direct state intervention also involve interference with the MSC in Johannesburg where police snatched signed forms and tore them up, punched activists, took photos while driving in cars that had no registration plates and detained activists whilst collecting signatures.
In Cape Town police have detained activists for the duration of a blitz releasing them afterwards without charges being brought against them.
- State attack has also assumed formal attacks on UDF affiliates e.g. Azaso and Cosas in schools. The expulsion of Cosas members and the closure of schools in Pretoria, Cradock and other parts have been directed at weakening these affiliates of the front. And the Department of Education has alleged that the UDF is behing the unrest in these schools. This maneouvre was

/4...

intended to render the Front unpopular with the community in the Pretoria townships.

On the White university campuses has now emerged right wing organisations which must enjoy government support because of the heavy leanings to Apartheid. These cliques of students have produced many pamphlets alleging ANC-UDF links and such far-fetched allegations as to say the UDF recruits for the ANC. Info in the pamphlets of the NSF and affiliates shows that insight into ANC that only the NIS could provide.

C. INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE FRONT:

Support for the UDF at international level has increased markedly since the national launch. The award to the UDF by the Swedish Labour Movement of the "Let Live Price" for its resistance to Apartheid in spite of state repression is the highest acknowledgement Front has so far received internationally. This price, which brought the UDF an additional R10 000 and valuable publicity, has inspired our activists to even higher levels of hard work. Those who received it on our behalf also had an opportunity to meet senior Swedish government officials.

The UDF has also been able to send a member of its secretariate, Mr Valli Mohamed, abroad on a publicity mission and his trip was very successful. He was able to visit a number of overseas countries including the W Germany, UK, Canada and the USA.

In the USA he met most of the people at the United Nations including Maj-Gen Garba who is the current chairperson of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid and the OAU representative to the UN - Mr Yassoufou. He also met Congressman William Gary who is the Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucuss. He held successful talks with members of the House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Africa.

/5.....

In West Germany he held talks with leaders of the SDP and the Greens. All these groups and leaders and many others expressed support for the UDF

D. BOTHA'S EUROPEAN TOUR

The UDF totally conemns the Prime Minister's European tour because it is an attempt to paddle the New Constitution as a departure from Apartheid internally and the Angolan, Nkomati and Swazi Accords as symbols of "peaceful" South Africa regionally.

The Accords are in fact results of long and sustained economic military and political coercion exercised on these neighbouring states by the present militarist South African government.

The provisions of the New Constitution Act and the continued disenfranchised status of African people together with the retention of racial discrimination even with regard to those groups which will participate jointly in the proposed tricameral parliament gives the lie to Mr Botha's claims of doing away with Apartheid.

It is unfortunate that so many European heads of states received PW Botha because the Nats may look upon this as tacit approval of their policies. But we are also encouraged to see that many governments insisted on the immediate implementation of Resolution 435 and independence of Namibia. Whichever way one looks at it the independence of Namibia must bring closer the freedom of South Africa from White rule.

Mr Botha is abroad in consultations with foreign governments and their people but he must come back to engage in that process with the people of South Africa, sign a pact of peace with them because they are the key to the solution of the S African problem. Let the imprisoned and banned be freed and the exiled return

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unconditionally. Let the people of South Africa including Afrikaners, draw up their own constitution and lay the foundation for lasting peace in this country and the whole region.

AL53

INTRODUCTION

Rev "AL" ONE

A MOMENTOUS POINT IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS PASSED A POINT AT WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE ~~SEIZED RARE OPPORTUNITY TO~~ DECISIVELY EXPRESSED THEIR WILL.

TO A GOVERNMENT INTENT ON KEEPING THE NATION DIVIDED AND IN SUBJUGATION, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA DECLARED THEIR UNITY, AND ~~THEIR~~ COMMITMENT TO A JUST AND DEMOCRATIC FUTURE FOR ALL.

FOR THE VAST MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS, THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTION ACT 1983 ~~SHARPLY~~ ENTRENCHES APARTHEID, A SYSTEM WHICH HAS WREAKED ~~UNTOLD~~ ^{UNTOLD} ~~AMOUNT~~ SUFFERING ^{ON} ~~TO~~ THE LIVES OF MILLIONS.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ~~THE~~ ^{THIS} NEW CONSTITUTION WAS GREETED WITH MASSIVE REJECTION ^(BY THE PEOPLE), AND EVERY STEP TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS ITS IMPLEMENTATION WAS TENACIOUSLY OPPOSED

LED BY THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WAGED AN INTENSE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION ~~THE RESULT OF WHICH CAN~~ ~~LEAVE NONE IN DOUBT.~~

KALLIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SIGNATURES TO A PLEDGE REJECTING THE CONSTITUTION, ~~AND~~ A MASSIVE STAYAWAY FROM POLLS IN ELECTIONS FOR ^(AND MORE) GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS, ALL UNEQUIVOCALLY ^{CLEARLY}

DEMONSTRATED THE PEOPLE'S WISHES.

YET THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT PERSISTED IN
 IMPLEMENDING ITS CONSTITUTION BANNINGS, DETENTIONS,
 TEARSMOKE AND BULLETS PROVIDED THE MANDATE.
 BUT FOR HOW LONG? ~~AND ANY GOVERNMENT COULD BY SUCH
 MANDATE~~

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE NEW CONSTITUTION
 WAS OF CONSEQUENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THROUGH
 THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE PROCLAIMED THAT NO
 POWER OR AUTHORITY CAN SET BOUNDS TO THEIR
 ASPIRATIONS. ~~OF AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE.~~

THEIR DETERMINATION TO BUILD A ^{DEMOCRATIC} ~~FREE~~ SOUTH AFRICA,
 WHERE ALL SHALL LIVE AS EQUALS IN PEACE
 AND FRIENDSHIP, IS UNSHAKABLE. THE VISION OF A
 NEW SOUTH AFRICA TOO KEEN, AND THE SPIRIT ^(OF FREEDOM)
 PER-ENDING.

~~THIS~~, (THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT HOPES) ~~TO~~
~~COMMUNICATE THIS~~ IN THIS PUBLICATION, ~~TO~~ COMMUNICATE
 THE ~~FOR~~ IMPORT OF ITS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE
 CONSTITUTION AND THE WILL OF THE SOUTH
 AFRICAN PEOPLE

ENDS

FM
 I DON'T LIKE IT

The new constitution

Diagram here which makes the following points :
the dictatorial powers vested in the President
the role and composition of the Presidents Council
the three separate houses of parliaments and the
ratio.

Rather than promoting democratic government, the new constitution under which South Africa is to be ruled, makes more remote the possibility of a government representative of the aspirations of all South Africans.

Whites, coloureds and Indians are given unequal parliamentary representation and the majority of the country's population the African people, are totally excluded.
For every four white representatives in parliament, there are two coloureds and one Indian.

The groups offered representation sit in separate chambers where matters categorised under 'own affairs' are dealt with. This includes health, welfare, education culture and recreation. Representatives will be unable to make any far-reaching decisions as regards these matters as they do not control finances, which is categorised as a 'general affair'

'Matters under 'general affairs' such as finance, foreign policy, and defence are discussed by all three chambers. Clearly the 4:2:1 ratio entrenches white domination at every level of decision making, depriving the Indian and coloured chambers of any meaningful say in the affairs of the country.

In addition the President has the power to veto any legislation, to arbitrate in disputes within and between the different houses and to nominate the cabinet.

The new constitution mentions Africans only once : clause 93 reads: 'the control and administration of black Affairs shall vest in the President'.

the African majority have representation in the Parliament
They are mentioned only once in the entire cons

African people are meant to exercise political rights in one of the thirteen homelands, four of which have formal independence from South Africa. This policy deprives African people of their South African citizenship and denies them any political rights in the country where they spend their living and working lives.

This process is ensured by three Acts that are commonly referred to as Koornhof's Laws: The Black Local Authorities Act, the Black Community Development Act and the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

IN place of political representation in central government, structures, the Black Local Authorities Act offers Africans representation on local Town Councils whose task is to administer African townships. these Town Councils have no viable financial base and cannot alter such fundamental pieces of legislation as the Group Areas Act, which ensures racial residential segregation, the Urban Areas Act which covers the pass laws and forced removals.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill remains on the agenda of the future parliament . This bill aims at tightening up the pass laws and further dividing urban Africans from migrants.

Why the new constitution

Since 1976, extra-parliamentary opposition to Apartheid has increased in African , coloured and Indian communities Throughout the country, trade unions, student, women's, civic and political organisations have demanded a democratic form of government.

At the same time there has been increasing international pressure on Prime Minister Botha's government to reform its Apartheid policies.

The withdrawal of the Labour Party from the Coloured People'S Representative Council in 1973 and the low percentage polee

poll in the South African INdian council elections in 1981, demonstrated that these bodies enjoyed no popular support in coloured and Indian communities.

These factors made it increasingly difficult for the white minority government to maintain control over the majority of South Africans. This has necessitated the South African government's attempt to set up coloured and Indian leaders as junior partners to control the majority of the people. By drawing in coloured and INdian people into the new constitution, the Nationalist Party hoped to destroy the historical unity of Africans, coloureds and Idians against Apartheid policies.

The basis of the UDF's opposition to the constitution

- * It is the initiative of the minority of the population which aims to entrench white minority rule, racism and ethnicity
- * It is an attempt to divide the people of South Africa
- *It attempts to draw Indian and coloured people into defending an indefensible system and become partners in the oppression of African people
- *It will not alleviate basic problmes relating to the Group Areas Act to housing , rents, poor facilities etc.

The new constitution is premised on the continuation of the Bantustans where African people are expected to exercise their political rights. To maintain this system, forced removals continue, the new pass laws will mean greater hardship for women separated from their migrant husbands and forced into the Bantustans. The financial control vested in the hands of the whtie parliament will no channeld money to redress inequalities in African, coloured and Indian housing, education sporting or health facilities

Finally, the new constitution in no way addresses itself to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources in the country.

The vision of south Africa subscribed to by the UDF is found in the declaration adopted at the national launching at Rocklands Civic Centre. The central characteristics of such a society would be:

- * the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the governing of the country
- * the creation of a single , non-racial, unfragmented south Africa, free os bantustans and the Group Areas Act
- * An end to all froms of oppression and exploitation.

The UDF beleives that such a society can only come about once all political prisoners have been freed and exiles have been allowed to return safely.

1

From the very onset, the government's constitutional plans for South Africa received no support. As early as 1982 when the government's proposals for a Presidents Council became public, mass meetings called by the Natal Indian Congress, Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee and ? condemned the new deal.

A mood of dissatisfaction and ? prevailed especially in Indian and coloured communities where the government was focussing its initiatives.

And so when the Labour Party - who traditionally had adopted an anti-apartheid stance - decided to ~~participate~~ "give the ~~tri-cameral parliaments~~ / new constitution a try" ~~and "go in"~~ - it sparked off a major political upheaval in the coloured community.

Outrage and anger from Coloured people was widespread. Meetings addressed by the once popular Labour Party (LP) Leader, Rev. Allan Henrickse, were disrupted all round the country.

The LP's popularity had (indelibly) been reversed and people were seeking ~~for / calling for~~ an alternative, genuinely anti-apartheid body to express their aspirations.

The first congress/ conference of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee/ Anti-South African Indian Council Committee - a committee which had been set up a year previously to oppose elections to the South African Indian Council, a forerunner ~~into~~ the House of Deputies - was well timed.

Held on 22nd January, 1983, in the wake of the Labour Party's decision it was the first major gathering of Apartheid opponents to reject the new constitution and Koornhof Laws.

Dr. Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, sensing the mood of the country, told the conference: "There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite in the struggle for a non-racial democratic and unitary South Africa, pool their resources and inform people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name".

Koornhof bills

to form a united front to oppose the constitution and
 The suggestion was greeted enthusiastically by the conference, attended
 by ~~delegates/representatives/~~ people from all parts of South Africa
 and a feasibility committee was given the task of considering the
~~suggestion/~~ proposal.

The idea of a united democratic front caught the imagination of people
 everywhere and in the months that followed the idea was widely debated
 and discussed.

As ideas crystallised, structures were decided upon. There would
 initially be three regions - Natal, Transvaal and the Western Cape.
 All student, youth, women, political, civic, ^{religious} sporting
 organisations who were committed to opposing the new constitution and Koornhof
 would be encouraged to affiliate.

Democratic structures for decision making were developed in each
 region.

Interim committees were set up in the Eastern Cape and the Orange Free
 State.

Presently there are eight regions - Natal, Transvaal, Northern Cape,
 Western Cape, Southern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border Region and Karoo.
 and 600 organisations are affiliated to the UDF representing over
 2 million people.

Seven months after the idea was first mooted - on the 20th August, 1983,
 more than 12 000 people converged on Cape Town to launch the UDF.

Not for two decades had there been such a representative gathering of
 people opposed to apartheid - 1 000 delegates representing 575 organisat
 organisations and nearly 2 million people were there, making the
 UDF one of the strongest groupings South Africa has ever seen.
 making the UDF one of the most powerful political forces in South Africa.

The launch consisting of a conference proceeded by a rally, elected a
 national executive with Albertina Sisulu, Oscar Mpetha,
 and Archie Gumede as the three
 national presidents. All have long histories of opposition to apartheid politics.

Prominent anti-apartheid campaigners were elected as patrons
 including Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Dr. Allan Boesak, Helen
 Joseph, Nelson Mandela, Hassan Howa, Father Mkhathshwa. who they
 are

The launch was barely over when the UDF embarked on its first campaign : to call for a boycott of Coloured Management C mmittee elections in Cape Town/ the Western Cape. These committees have/ are ???

Their call was headed - the poll in the elections was a dismal ? %.

On the ever of the white feferendum - where whites were being given the opportunity to supporte or oppose the new constitution - UDF called for a "People's Wweekend". Throughout thecountry, UDF affiliates held rallies, concerts, fetes, placard demonstrations^{and} motor car cavalacades to protest against the new coonstitution and to celebrate the formation of the UDF./ celebrate the UDF.

The message of the People's Weekend was clear - thj was not ~~only~~ for whites to decide on the future of the majority of the people , all pwople must decide on their own futures.

Throughtout October and N vember 1983, the Front's affiliates in African communities spearheaded/ led a cammpaign against the Black Local Authorities elections. The Black Local Authorities were the government's alternative to homelands for urban Africans, and were regarded ^{as} ~~as~~ as toothless and ineffective ~~and~~s homeland structures.

UDF leadess were asked to address hundreds of meetings in church halls, sheds, garages and houses where they spread them message of the UDF and urged people not to vote.

"We will only be happy when we decide our lives right at the top level - in the government of South Africa", said/ stated the Transvaal edition of UDF's moouthpiece, "UDF News".

Despite government claims that the Black Local Authorities would receive a far higher poll than their predecessors, the community councils in 1977 , this was not the case.

Almost one third of the wards were uncontested - so low was the interest in the elections. Of those contested, less than half the adult populatic were registered as voters. The lowest poll recorded was in Kagiso ???? on the West Rand/ Witwatersradd where as few as 3% of the people voted. In Soweto only 5,2% of the eligible adult population voted while the government/ official poll was ? ercent. In the Western ^{en} Cape the poll was ??? percent.

The low percentage poll in the Black Local Authorities elections was the first major victory won by the UDF and it set the tone for the ?????

It was a victory in tow senses - not only did the majority of urban African express their rejection of ? useless bodies/ ????. But the campaign gave UDF the opportunity to reaching out to many hundreds of thousands a f people for the first time.

In townships where previously no organisation existed, the UDF played a valuable role drawing ppeople together and pspreading ideas, expeirænce and advice. ^{As a result of the work} Through the work of the UDF, new affiliates emerged after the camappaign and existing affiliates grew stronger.

The tricameral elections

Ever since the government announced its new constitution, elections for the Indian and coloured houses were on the cards. There was also talk of referendums - to gauge Indian and coloured support yet the idea was abandoned by the government on the advice of so-called Indian and coloured leaders - leaders of the political parties such as the Labour Party and the Solidarity Party .

need something about these parties ???

In February 1984, after months of speculation and delaying, the election dates were finally announced - August 22 and 29, 1984.

Hard work lay ahead for the UDF and especially for its affiliates in the Indian and coloured communities. It would only be through a highly well organised campaign that they would be able to reach out to the entire Indian and coloured communities and make an impact on all South Africans.

But they were prepared. Over the last year/ previous year organisations had been formed or ~~re~~ revived [to carry out this task.]

Within a few days after the "betrayal" by the Labour Party, an ad hoc Transvaal Anti-PC Committee was formed at a meeting of individuals from community organisations in the coloured areas.

It was officially launched in May 1983 and became one of the first affiliates of the UDF.

At the same congress/ conference of the Transvaal Anti-SIAC Committee where the idea of the UDF was mooted, a decision was made to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress which had been inactive since its leadership had been banned, imprisoned and exiled during the clampdown in the early 1960's.

The TIC was launched on 1st of May 1983 and committed itself to
???

Other areas ????

AL54

Rev "AL 54"

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION

The racist South African REGIME faces unprecedented resistance and upheaval on almost every front. At the time of writing ^{this paper,} it has failed to convince the people to accept any element of its new constitutional framework. The people's ~~gutter education~~ anger has also welled against ~~rent rises General sales tax and the many other~~ ^{every} facets of ~~the~~ daily apartheid ~~reality.~~ ^{life.}

The United Democratic Front, with ~~p~~popular backing, has demonstrated that the majority of South Africans are not prepared to pay the bill for apartheid. They reject racist rule and any suggestion that they should contribute to their own oppression -whether through taxation or as collaborators in the racist machinery.

The response of the regime has been in line with its historic character. To the people's attempts to win their democratic right to rule their own country, ^{and to live in peace} to end their daily oppression, they have replied with ever-increasing brutality and violence. ^{Victory}

Why the new Constitution?

Since 1976, extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid has increased in African, coloured and Indian communities. Throughout the country, trade unions, student, women's, civic and political organisations have demanded a democratic form of government.

Simultaneously, international pressure has demanded 'movement away from apartheid'. *The outlawing of the apartheid regime set at the very heart of the case of mass civil state* If the regime were to make any impression, something more was required than renovation of old discredited institutions such as the Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Council - both of which were totally ineffectual and had never enjoyed popular support.

Despite African resistance, *for the apartheid state* the creation of bantustans and denationalization of the majority of South Africans, remained non-negotiable. In order to *with* facilitate the oppression of Africans, including the recruitment of additional military personnel, *from coloured and Indian communities it now* the state sought a new initiative to divide the united black resistance *against* apartheid. In order to win over coloured and Indian leaders, a new constitution was created through which they would be given a more substantial access to *the perks of office* power, than had been the case under previous puppet bodies. In return they would be required to take joint responsibility for apartheid and in particular, for the oppression of the African majority.

The new Constitution

Far from being a 'movement away from apartheid' towards popular government, the new constitution in fact seeks to further entrench white minority rule. This might seem paradoxical when much is made of the first 'multi-racial parliament'. Yet it is true, *since* for whites, coloureds and Indians are unequally represented and the African people, the majority of the population, are totally excluded. The constitution loads representation in favour of the whites, in the ratio of four whites for every two coloured and one Indian parliamentarian. Whites are therefore permanently in the majority.

This 4:2:1 ratio entrenches white domination at every level of decision-making, ensuring that the Indian and coloured chambers of this 'tricameral parliament' have no meaningful say in the affairs of the country .

Should anything unforeseen occur, which is unlikely, the executive president whose election is through a process that guarantees that he will be a white Nationalist, has the power to veto any legislation.

The majority of the South African people, the Africans, are mentioned only once. Clause 93 states that the 'control and 'administration' of 'black affairs shall vest in the President. The African people are still supposed to realize their political aspirations in one of the thirteen bantustans, four of which purport to have attained independence. A consequence of independence has been the automatic loss of South African citizenship and ^{the} ~~purports to deny~~ the people who have been ascribed 'citizenship' of these bantustans, ^{the denial} ~~of~~ any claim ^{have} to political rights within the rest of South Africa -the land of their birth, where they in fact live and work.

This process of expulsion of Africans from the political life of their own country is achieved not only by the Constitution, but through closely allied acts - the Black Local Authorities Act and the ⁰ ~~Orderly~~ Movement and Settlement of Black Person's Bill.

The Black Local Authorities Act offers African ^S representation on local Councils whose ~~task~~ ^{are without} is to administer African townships. Such councils ^{are without} have no viable financial base and cannot alter fundamental apartheid legislation, such as the Group Areas Act which provides for residential segregation and the Urban Areas Act, ^{and the Pass laws} which govern entry and expulsion of Africans from urban areas.

THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

From *their first announcement*, it was clear that the government's constitutional plans enjoyed little support outside of Nationalist *Party* circles. As early as 1982 ~~when these proposals were first published~~, popular organisations rejected the new deal. A mood of dissatisfaction and suspicion was especially prevalent in the Indian and coloured communities, where the government initiatives were primarily focussed.

Thus, when the Labour Party, which had traditionally adopted an anti-apartheid stance, decided to 'give the new constitution a try' -it sparked off a major political upheaval in the coloured community. Outrage and anger was widespread. Meetings addressed by the once popular Labour Party leader, Rev Allan Hendrickse, were disrupted all over the country.

The Labour Party's popularity would never again be recovered and the people were seeking an alternative, genuinely anti-apartheid body, which would ~~voice~~ *voice* their real aspirations.

On 22nd January 1983 the Transvaal anti-South African Indian Council met for its first conference in Johannesburg. A year previously this body had successfully struggled against elections to the puppet-South African Indian Council, a forerunner to the House of Deputies ^{present}. An average poll of less than 10% of registered voters had been secured.

This meeting came shortly after the Labour Party's decision to take part in the apartheid ~~constitution~~ ^{constitution} and was the first major gathering of anti-apartheid leaders to reject the new constitution and Koornhoffs anti-African laws. ~~It~~ *It* was at this meeting that Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches made his historic call that gave impetus to the formation of the UDF:

'There is no reason why churches, civic associations, trade unions, student organisations and sports bodies should not unite in the struggle for a non-racial democratic and unitary South Africa, pool their resources and inform people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name.'

The suggestion to form a united front against the constitution and the Koornhoff bills met ^{with} an enthusiastic response. The idea was widely discussed in the months that followed. Seven months after the idea was first mooted, on 20th August 1983, more than 12000 people converged on Cape Town to launch the UDF. ~~There had not been a more~~ ^{It was the most} representative gathering of people opposed to apartheid for more than twenty years. There were 1000 delegates representing 575 organisations and nearly two million people. This made the UDF one of the most powerful political forces in South African history.

Since its launch, the UDF has continued to grow. It now consists of eight regions and 600 ^{affiliated} ~~affiliated~~ organisations representing a variety of interests, ^{from all the communities that comprise} ~~are now affiliated~~ ^{South Africa}

The UDF has embarked on a variety of ^{successful} campaigns -against

elections for a variety of apartheid bodies, to resist ^{against the brutalist Ciskei's President Ciskei} resettlement, and ^{the people of Madanta} other aggressions against the oppressed majority. Its most recent campaign has been the successful boycott of elections under the new constitution

Why the UDF opposes the constitution

The UDF rejects this constitution for a variety of related reasons. In

the first place, the constitution emanates from a minority government. ^A
constitution that is not created by the people themselves will ^{never} be
acceptable. Connected
to its racist origins, the constitution aims to ensure white minority rule,
~~rather than~~ to emphasise division -between black and white and to divide
Africans from other sections of the black population. It seeks to
harness Indians and coloureds into the machinery of African oppression.
Far from alleviating South Africa's problems, the UDF believes that the new
constitution will increase the misery and oppression endured by the
people under such apartheid legislation as the Group Areas Act, Bantustan
legislation, pass laws. Together with housing shortages, rent rises, poor
facilities, these conditions ensure that far from providing a basis for
peace and justice, the new Constitution will increase tension and heighten
conflict

While the constitution appears to be the concern of whites, coloureds^d
and Indians, it is fundamentally anti-African in conception. It is premised
on the bantustan system, where the African people are expected to realise their
political aspirations. In order to maintain this system, forced removals, pass laws
and other modes of repression will continue to be the daily lot of the
majority of South Africans.

What does the UDF suggest, instead of permanent tension and conflict? Our
vision of the future South Africa is found in the declaration adopted at the
national launching. This declaration envisages a democratic state in which all
South Africans will participate in the government of our country'. In place
of apartheid, the Front stands for 'a single, non-racial,
unfragmented South Africa, ...free of bantustans and Group Areas.' In short,
the UDF declares that ^{all} ~~new~~ forms of oppression and exploitation must end.'

1 of them
average
potential voters

The Elections to the 'Tricameral Parliament' and repression of democrats

It is now well-known that those elected as members of the coloured and Indian parliaments boast no mandate. In some cases candidates were elected with 118 votes or with polls of 3%. ^{of registered voters} The campaign against the ^{has them 20% of} elections was conducted by the UDF and its affiliates, in particular, the ^{adults in} Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the Anti-Presidents Council. ^{these} ^{communi} ^{bottomed a} ^{cast their} ^{votes} Activists endured continued harassment from the state and ^{illegality} and violence on the part of ^{The followers of -} ^{reactionary parties taking} part in the elections.

At the height of the campaign leading activists were detained and still remain in prison. These include Patrick 'Terrorx' Lekota, UDF Publicity Secretary, Dr Essop Jassat, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Dr R. AM Saloojee, Vice-President, ~~the~~ Aubrey Kobaena, ^{a member of the UDF national executive} ^{base} ^{recently} ^{Popo Motlafa}, UDF national secretary, ^{Mewa Lengobeni}, UDF national treasurer and ^{George Supersadu}, ^{Member of the Natal Indian Congress} have been detained.

These leaders have been ~~detained~~^{held} under section 28 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for preventive detention. Such detention is unrelated to any violation of the law, even laws as all-embracing as those used by the apartheid state to smash democratic opposition. Yet apart from the penalty of imprisonment without trial, these activists are now automatically subject to additional penalties. The Act provides that all people detained under section 28 are automatically 'listed'. This means that they may no longer be quoted and the Minister may prevent them from belonging to organisations and from practising law.

This is clearly an attempt to neutralise the leadership ~~of~~^{or ~~is~~} the UDF and its affiliates. Simultaneously Police Minister Le Grange has made energetic attempts, in a recent speech, to link the UDF to the ANC, which is an illegal organisation in South Africa.

Such repression and threats of further ~~repression~~^{action} reflect the panic of the regime as it confronts an unprecedented crisis. It has failed to win over significant sections of the black community to any facet of its apartheid order, whether in the bantustans or in the coloured and Indian parliaments.

It has failed in its attempt to divide the oppressed masses, who have rallied behind the UDF in its struggle against the Constitution.

~~The state's~~ ^{The state's} panic has ~~been~~^{borne} in the situation in the country. ~~But~~ The present crisis is much wider and deeper than ever before. Students are boycotting Universities and schools in areas spread right round the country. People are angered by rent rises and increased general sales tax.

The state response to legitimate protest has been to unleash unprecedented force. ~~A hundred~~^{one and a half thousand} have been killed and ~~hundreds~~^{of} people, ~~young and old~~^{young and old} have been injured by rubber bullets or police truncheons. The South African

Defence Force has also been called in to supplement police attempts to control popular anger in the townships. *Hundreds have been arrested, and without bail they have spent two or three weeks in police custody with inadequate food + medical attention*

The UDF, in its opposition to apartheid, in both 'classical' and 'renova~~ted~~' forms, enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. This struggle is not merely a negative one-to rid~~e~~ the country of a pernicious social system that forces its people to endure permanent misery and oppression.

It is also a struggle for a new South Africa, a democratic nonracial state, where all people will enjoy equal rights. Instead of the South African state bull^ying its own people and neighbouring states as happens at present, peaceful and democratic relations within South Africa would create conditions for peaceful and cooperative relations with all the states in the region. The struggle to free South Africa of apartheid is the struggle to free the entire Southern African region of a thre~~at~~AT TO THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, PERMANENT breaches of the peace and continued international lawlessness.

The UDF is therefore a component of the worldwide struggle to end racism, to secure democratic rights and to achieve international peace. It is a component of the just struggle of the South African people to control their own country.

This is a struggle to realize democratic values cherished throughout the world and enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. *We believe that it is the duty of all states to support the United democratic Front in ^{this} struggle, to side with the people of South Africa against apartheid. ~~The alternative is to assist in the perpetuation of an illegitimate regime pursuing policies that have been rightly characterised as an international crime and a threat to peace.~~*

We call on democrats throughout the world to carry out this duty and assist us to create peace and justice in a democratic South Africa

AL55

WHY WE CANNOT PARTICIPATE IN AN ELECTION/REFERENDUM
ROTEA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

Bew" AL 55"

(the viewpoint of the Transvaal Anti-P.C.)

There is at present a debate raging over whether the UDF

- 1) participate in the event of a referendum called "Coloured" and "Indian" opinion on the constitutional proposals.
- 2) participate in an election by putting up boycott candidates
- 3) call for a referendum for "Coloureds" and "Indians" if the state decides on having elections.

It is argued by the advocates of participation that if we agree our aim (strategy) is to STOP the coming into being of the "Coloured" and "Indian" parliaments, then a boycott method (tactic) is inadequate and wrong. This is because despite a massive stay-away, the state will still go ahead and implement its reforms on the basis of whatever percentage of "yes" votes they get. Hence, the argument continues, if we mobilise a massive "no" vote campaign, then the state cannot proceed to establish its ethnic "parliaments" since the number of "no" votes will far exceed the number of "yes" votes.

Although the arguments of those who advocate participation may sound logical, there are too many of them which we consider to be false. Before we get lost in this debate on strategies and tactics, we consider it important to have agreement on the principles which guide us. This has become vital since there is a broad assumption that the membership of UDF all understand and practise the principles which guide us. Through the debate we have learnt (not to our surprise) that we differ about the nature and the content of the struggle, which is why we differ on the issue of strategies and tactics.

WHAT SORT OF STRUGGLE ARE WE FIGHTING IN S.A.?

We believe that the struggle in S.A. has two aspects (NOT phases or stages). We believe that it is not enough just to have "one person - one vote". For the majority of South Africans (namely the working people) "Liberation" will be meaningless and empty unless the economy is restructured because that is the only way to guarantee significant and lasting improvements in the quality of life of our working people.

First the CLASS STRUGGLE is a vital component of our fight for change. Here the working class and its allies confront the owning class and its allies. Because of the increasing development and industrialisation of the S.A. economy and the increasing organisation of the working class into independent trade unions, we perceive AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN S.A.

Secondly, there is the NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC or POPULAR-NATIONAL STRUGGLE. This aspect of our struggle includes the fight of both workers and non-workers against racism and the anti-democratic, militaristic nature of the Apartheid state.

We believe THAT AT ALL TIMES WE MUST STRUGGLE TO DEVELOP THE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF WORKING PEOPLE. This means that whatever strategies and tactics we employ must in no way hinder this development, but should on the contrary be designed to promote such development. A vital aspect in this regard is the breaking down of ethnic/racist prejudices among working people.

WHAT ABOUT STRATEGIES AND TACTICS?

We believe that we must be flexible as regards method of organisation (tactics) and that we must strive to "go down to the level of the masses". At the same time, however, our methods must not hinder the attainment of our goals. So, for instance, if by participating in "Coloured/Indian" referendum by voting "no" will bring the state to its knees and liberate ourselves, then we should participate because it helps our struggle. The problem with the present debate, however, is whether participation at this stage will not in fact promote "Coloured" and "Indian" conscious-

Further, there is agreement that our people do have racist attitudes and prejudices directed against each other. The disagreement comes about HOW to break down such prejudices. Some advocates of participation believe that it is correct to appeal to people on the basis of the "Coloured", "Indian" or "African" identity they hold. We believe that it is vital to appeal to people on the basis of non-racialism. We do not believe that we have to bow down to the backward elements in our community, rather that we should drag them along with us. It is our task to guide and direct our people, not to use their backwardness as justifications for our methods. Hence, just because "the masses" may think the reform proposals are good and Botha is a wonderful man because he cares for them and that we must therefore participate in his ethnic parliaments IT DOES NOT MEAN WE HAVE TO AGREE WITH THEM! Hence, even if the "masses" want to call for an ethnic referendum, it does not mean we have to agree with them.

A LOOK AT THE ARGUMENTS FOR PARTICIPATION

- 1) THE STATE IS IN A CRISIS. IT HAS CHANGED FROM ELITANT REPRESSION TO REFORM, WHICH DEPENDS ON THE MASSES ACCEPTING THE LEGITIMACY OF THE STATE. WE MUST CHALLENGE THE STATE'S LEGITIMACY BY CALLING FOR A REFERENDUM FOR "COLOUREDS" AND "INDIANS".

What sort of referendum, we ask? Will calling for an ethnic referendum not destroy what we have built up? Asking some but not other workers in the same trade union to go and vote "no"?

Further, what power do you have to force Botha to accede to your demands? You have no military or economic power, do you. And economic power? You who minimise the role of the working class and emphasise your "national democracy" Sure, you will call on Botha to have a referendum and he will laugh at you. And if he does agree, it will be because he knows he will win, or do you think he will commit political suicide? So you will still sit without a referendum, yet you will have split the UDF down the middle and done irreparable harm to our struggle.

At the same time, are you saying that the only way to challenge the state's legitimacy is by participating in its ethnic instruments?

IF HENDRICKSE AND RAJBANSI GET INTO POWER, THEY WILL DRAW ALL "COLOUREDS" AND "INDIANS" WITH THEM. BY PROVISION OF HOUSING etc. THEY WILL HELP BOTHA STABILISE HIS CRISIS.

How can the crisis stabilise with all the contradictions in our society and in the reform strategy continuing? Surely the crisis will deepen? The Group Areas, Race Classification will remain. Conscription of Black youths will become a reality. The structural shortcomings in the economy, ever-rising unemployment and the general political helplessness of Hendrickse and co. can surely not lead to a stabilisation of the crisis? Once Botha's and Hendrickse's rhetoric produce nothing concrete, will the crisis have been stabilised?

- 3) "AFRICANS" WOULD PERCHIVE THEMSELVES TO BE BETRAYED BY "COLOUREDS" AND "INDIANS" Woe, woe, woe! "Africans" won't feel betrayed when you go and vote without them?

And what about the organisations within the UDF which have access to what you call "Africans". Will they sit back and do nothing to explain to people that Hendrickse and his Labour Party are not the same as the "coloured" people as you call them?

Surely the revolution does not depend on what this or that leader says but upon the collective consciousness of ALL the oppressed and the political programme of the vanguard.

This rally argument exposes ethnic thinking and the pitfalls of the ideology of RACE

UN WE ARE INVOLVED IN THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE AND WE MUST UNDERSTAND PARTICIPATION IN THIS CONTEXT. IT IS NOT INCONSISTENT TO CALL FOR A BOYCOTT OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS AND PARTICIPATION IN A REFERENDUM .

This "National-democracy" that you talk about - what is it really? Does it give you authority to advocate ethnically-based tactics every time there is an issue? Are you saying that the working class has no role to play in this "phase" of yours? Because remember the working class does not just consist of one "population group."

How do you call for an ethnic referendum and reconcile that with working class leadership and participation within the UDF?

We have no choice but to consider the possibility that this persistent cry of "national-democracy" is an ambush behind which lurks the sinister forces of reaction and middle-class prejudice and interest.

5) THE REGIME IS USING REFORM FOR THE "COLOURED" AND "INDIANS" AND REPRESSION FOR THE "AFRICANS". THE REFORM PROPOSALS FOR THE FIRST TWO GROUPS CANNOT BE SEEN AS SIMILAR TO THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

The "reform proposals" and the Koornhof Bills are surely both part of a Total Strategy to co-opt the elite in the Black community? The P.C. proposals have as much repression involved as the Koornhof Bills, surely? Isn't the difference merely in the degree of sophistication? On a local level the P.C. proposals have the capacity to to crush community-orientated structures.

Is your argument not a surrender to the divide-and-rule tactics of the regime. (Eotha het julle lekker governing)

6) EXPERIENCE IN ORGANISING FOR A "NO" VOTE WILL GIVE US A POLITICAL TASK WHICH WILL MAKE SURE THAT WE ARE NOT PASSIVE (LIKE A BOYCOTT MAY LEAD US TO BELIEVE)

Seriously, now. Please. WHAT IS OUR TASK? To organise our people for power or to take part in electioneering politics (Labour Party style) . So you will have a statistic which says so many "Coloureds" and "Indians" have voted "no" - but how much stronger will it have made us?

COMRADES, a no vote campaign will be a big publicity stunt, yes. But what will it mean for organisation? We put it to you that besides the sterility of the tactic you are advocating, you will also split community from community, activist from activist and lead to the disintegration of the UDF.

We therefore call upon you to reconsider your call for participation and to bury it along with other bad memories.

AL56

OUR RESPONSE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

(A first draft for discussion by the Transvaal Anti-PC)

How should we respond to the Governemnt's constitutional proposals and other so-called reform proposals? Co-option of a section of the oppressed to entrench the apartheid system and our response will be dictated only by our interests in advancing our struggle. But to do so we need to understand clearly what that stuggle is and how best it can be advanced. This answer necessitates we look at the objective social conditions and the strategy that flows from those conditions.

1. The objective social conditions

We sumamrise the main features of the social system under which we suffer.

- (i) We are nationally oppressed, unable to share in running our country or to determine its destiny. We are also economically exploited, unable to share the land and wealth of our country and enjoy the fruits of our labour. That national and class oppression is at the hands of a comibiation of white capitalists class and white land owners, with white workers as junior partners in alliance with international capitalism.
- (ii) We have a divided factory shop floor, divided on racial, ethnic and colour cast lines, coinciding by and large with divisions of skill and trade. The balance of power on the factory shop floor thus rests in the hands of skilled white workers and the ruling class. Thus the confidence which should come to workers at the point of production as the creators of wealth and the class destined to resolve the fundamental class conflict of the ownership of the means of production and of the mode of production is undermined, retarding our struggle.
- (iii) The oppressed community at large is also divided on racial, ethnic and colour cast lines and in addition has a small middle class who, although oppressed, has interests outside that of the vast majority of oppressed, and who have aspirations

2.

of fulfilling those interests within the status quo. Here too the power which should be vested in the hands of the oppressed is undermined by this division. Thus the balance of power at this level also rests in the hands of the rulers.

- (iv) The unity which should exist between rural landless workers and urban proletariat is undermined by playing off rural poor against urban poor by the selective provision of employment, residential rights, health and educational facilities. Here too the balance of power rests in the hands of the ruling class while urban and rural unity is fragile.
- (v) The ruling class maintains its rule by the constant fostering of these divisions. In addition to this it flaunts its economic, military and repressive powers to forcibly school the oppressed that power rests in its hands and that there is no solution to the social conflict outside the fabric of the existing social system.
- (vi) There is a growing understanding of the dual nature of our oppression and that the two facets are inextricably bound up in resolving the social conflict. There is also a growing unity on the factory shop floor and across industrial boundaries as well as unity with the urban oppressed communities. In addition to this there is a growing unity and united action of urban proletariat and landless rural workers.

2. The new road ahead

The objective factors and the historical experience of the oppressed in struggling for change brought about an about face from the old methods of struggle to new methods. We cite the main features of that experience.

- (i) Prior to the 1960's the mass mobilization and united action of the oppressed emphasised to the ruling class the need for resolving the social conflict by admitting the oppressed

3.

into the body politic and redressing the major economic conflict. More and more it signalled to the rulers the urgency of resolving the problems if dire social consequences were not to follow.

- (ii) The bitter lessons prior to the 1960's and the early 1960's rammed home the message that the rulers mean to hold on to power and privilege even at the point of the gun. The lessons were being learned that the social conflict cannot be resolved within the fabric of the existing social system.
- (iii) These events and lessons led to the movement firmly turning its back on these methods. Consciously the oppressed set out to create the urban base on the factory shop floor, across industrial boundaries and in the community that could move from industrial strike to general strike onto political strike coupled with community action and to develop co-ordinated action with the rural base built on the struggles of the rural oppressed, landless workers and vanguard. What was being developed was the co-ordinated action of the twin prongs of urban and rural struggles.
- (iv) The new road could only be embarked on because the masses could accept its political truth as born out of their long experiences prior to the 1960's and the events of the early 1960's. It became the task of the conscious cadre to be the carriers from generation to generation of these events, lessons and decisions.

3. The obstructions to the new road

While the conscious cadre became the carriers of our knowledge and experience the regime had to undermine those lessons. We note three important points here.

- (i) Our very day to day existence within society requires some conformation to its rules and morality. Whether we like

it or not this helps to legitimise the regime. This kindles the hope that the social conflict can be resolved within the parametres of the oppressive system and thus undermines the new road.

- (ii) The flaunting of its economic, military and repressive might the rulers attempt to drive home the lesson that power rests in its hands and there is no possibility of resolving the social conflict outside the fabric, or parametres of the existing social system
- (iii) The rulers and international capitalism have realised that the growing unity of the oppressed and the development of the urban as well as rural struggles as well as the shift in the balance of power to the oppressed puts fundamental social changes both internally and further afield on the agenda for change. This realisation has given rise to their "total strategy" to bring home its message of no change outside the parametres of the oppressive society.

We can cite many examples showing how these features have undermined the level of political consciousness and hence the new road. These lead to attempts to resolve the social conflict according to the dictates of the rulers. We note, however, just a few examples without spelling out the social implications:

- The co-option of sections of the petty middle classes.
- The mobility of black labour both across the geographic boundaries as well as the boundaries of skill.
- The resettlement of urban and rural workers and the granting of certain restrictive rights to others.
- The extension of home and group area ownership.
- The destabilisation of the frontline states.
- The problems of an armed struggle, finding general refuge within the oppressed community, 22 years after launch.

4. Around the obstruction

The acceptance that the social conflict can only be resolved outside the fabric of the existing society is no easy road and must be constantly fought for. The lessons we have so dearly learned must not be learned by each succeeding generation by going through the bitter experiences of the early 1960's and prior to that. They must be passed on as part of the accumulated knowledge of our struggle. With these lessons in mind we must consciously -

- (i) Demonstrate the illegitimacy of the regime and its ability to resolve the problems of society, South Africa as well as Namibia, and in fact only deepen those conflicts.
- (ii) Demonstrate the need for an alternative government that can address itself to the real problems of our country.
- (iii) Demonstrate that nothing short of a people's government based on the Freedom Charter can resolve the question of national oppression and economic exploitation.
- (iv) Create the political consciousness that understands and advances the twin prongs of urban and rural struggle creating the unity across industrial boundaries and in the community at large and engages in co-ordination with the rural struggle.

5. Our response to the constitutional proposals

Our comments here must be read in conjunction with our document summarising our case against the call for a referendum. Those arguments will therefore not be repeated here. Our answer to the constitutional proposals and the other so-called reforms must be clearly dictated by the criteria under 4. We must always remember that any political direction we advocate must be seen by the mass of our population in terms of their own political experience as a correct political path. Moreover, it must strive for united action

on the factory shop floor, in the community at large as well as in the rural areas. It must build the unity of the oppressed and breakdown the stumbling blocks of unity. In the alliance of classes and groups the interest of the revolutionary vanguard must predominate. Our population have been schooled by their various experiences of the illegitimacy of the regime and the fraudulent nature of its institutions and actions pretending to resolve the social conflict. The only action (with regard to the options under discussion) meeting all these criteria is the total rejection of the reform proposals and boycott of attempts at its implementation.

AL57

BROAD GUIDELINES PROPOSED AT THE PUBLIC MEETING HELD
ON SUNDAY, THE 8TH OF MAY 1983, AT THE DORCAS CRECHE,
WESTERN

The Task of the Anti-PC would be:-

- 1) The mobilisation of oppressed people against the Government's reform proposals.

- 2) To co-operate and liaise with other democratic organisations working towards the same end through participation in the envisaged United Democratic Front.

AL58

(UDF affiliate)

P.O.Box 7290

JHB

few "AL 58"

Dear Friends,

We are all undoubtedly aware of an upsurge of dissatisfaction among the oppressed people and a growing crisis in our country.

In an attempt to contain our dissatisfaction, maintain and even strengthen the hated "Apartheid System", they introduced the "reform proposals" and Koornhof Orderly Movement Bills. These Bills will hound many thousands of the oppressed out of the cities and towns.

We are convinced that the proposed racial tricameral system only offers "Coloureds" and "Indians" a semblance of rights; that it is heavily loaded in favour of Whites; that it entrenches white minority rule; that it even goes as far as attempting to conscript our youth to defend the borders of Apartheid (The Rand Daily Mail - 22/9/83, quotes P.W. Botha as saying... "that provision had already been made for the conscription of coloureds, but that this had not been done because coloureds up until now had no political rights".)

These reforms are also further means of dividing our communities and are designed to retard our struggle for a just South Africa.

But organisations throughout South Africa have rallied against these proposals. In the light of this, the Transvaal Anti-PC was formed. It is moreover, particularly heartening to witness the progressive stand taken by trade unions, churches, community, sport and youth organisations.

This is a clear demonstration that we can unite in action. There is a growing need for all of us to speak out with one voice against these evils perpetrated against us and work towards a unitary non-racial South Africa.

Chairperson,

I.J. MOHAMED (PROF.)

AL59

Convening of Meeting to initiate an anti
President Councils Reform Proposals Committee

Feb 15 59'

Over the years the state has created elaborate bureaucratic structures within the Black community for the administration of the oppressed and to ensure that the social conflict stemming from the particular oppressive social system be kept within the fabric of that system. Thus we have territorial regional and community authorities for the African people, the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CPRC) and its predecessor for the Coloured people and the South African Indian Council (SAIC) for the Indian people.

The yearning in the hearts and minds of the oppressed for freedom and a growing commitment to the democratic struggle within our country and the realization that that social conflict can not be solved within the fabric of the oppressive society also led to a growing determination of the oppressors to retain a significant chunk of the apparatus within the bureaucratic structure by showing that the social conflict can be resolved within the parameters of their system. The people have demonstrated their rejection by the dismissible minimal support the various groups have achieved in "elections". The choice therefore before the Indian and Coloured people was to be co-opted into the

the bureaucratic structures and thus entrench
 the system of exploitation and oppression in
 our country. That choice was put before
 the Labour Party. It probably understood clearly
 that it would not be sufficient to reject
 the President's Council proposals to regain
 credibility in the eyes of the community
 but would have to fully throw in its
 weight in the democratic struggle. This
 latter choice can not be taken by those
 who pretend they can resolve the social
 conflict within the bureaucratic structure
 of the oppressive regime and hence had
 to jump boots and all into working
 within the framework of the oppressive regime
 even as junior and subservient partners
 in that system. Stripped of all posturing
 the Labour Party is attempting to lead
 a section of the oppressed into the
 braal of the laager and committing our
 youth into conscription in defence of
 that laager. The resignations from
 the Labour Party have come because of a
 realization of the treachery of that act.
 But the choice is still before us because
 the voice that spoke at toshone is not the
 voice of the oppressed people. We must
 speak in resounding terms that we
 are totally committed to the democratic
 struggle for an undivided non-racial and
 free democratic South Africa.

A few of us have called you here to deliberate on that choice and to plan and develop a national strategy to ensure that no Labour Party or other alliances will betray our struggle for freedom
So our agenda should read

1. The Road Ahead - no collaboration with the bureaucratic machine and total commitment to the democratic struggle
2. Practical Steps to the Road ahead
 - (i) Creation of Local Collectives
 - (ii) Identification in other areas of democratic opposition
 - (iii) The convening of a conference for Public Meeting
 - (iv) The creation of a vehicle to spearhead the democratic struggle in unorganised regions
3. Alliance and common programme with democratic organization

I. J. M. Meyer
Outline of introductory
talk at Convening Meeting
for an Ad hoc Anti-P.C
Committee. JISWA Centre
7-1-1983

AL60

message

From: The Chairman I. J. M. Mkhem

Mr Chairman honoured guests ^{Bes "AL 60"} speakers and friends you are meeting here today because our continent stands before a crisis. That crisis is confronting all our people throughout the length and breadth of our country. It is for that reason that I unfortunately can not be with you today. The Bureau of the United Democratic Front in East London asked that I address their mass rally today. The Transvaal Anti-PC agreed that I should accept that call because their struggle is our struggle; that we can only be strong if they are strong, that their failures are our failures and that their victories are our victories. While I am sorry, terribly sorry, that I can not be at this meeting today, I am also happy that I can help a little in other parts of our country to light the flames of freedom in all our hearts.

To all our young people who have worked so hard in the face of intimidation, harassment and violence, to explain on a door-to-door basis, throughout the Witwatersrand and even in Vryburg and Kimberly the serious implications of the racist tricameral parliaments I extend a special greeting and best wishes for a successful meeting. Whether this meeting is attended by large numbers or small must not dampen our spirits because throughout the length and breadth of our country our people are meeting in large and small groups to fight against racist apartheid, oppression and exploitation.

AL61

TOWARDS A PROGRAMME OF ACTION

Ben "AL61"

The Anti- PC is moving towards setting up a programme of action. Local working groups must assist in setting up broad objectives and specific targets and activities to achieve these objectives. Thinking at present is along the following lines.

We need to be clear where we are going and how we mean to get there.

1. We are striving to reach a situation where we have mobilized and organised a broad spectrum of the population against the reform proposals of the regime on the basis of the Declaration of the Anti-PC adopted at its inaugural meeting.
2. Achieve the situation where we act in unity with the organization in the UDF to strive in systematic and coordinated struggle for a non- racial unitary and democratic South Africa.
3. To achieve the situation sketched in 1 and 2 we would have to engage in various activities. These should follow in proper order if we are to achieve our objectives. Each working group must define its role.

(a) Own Activities

(i) The council in collaboration with existing Anti-PC activists groups must set up activists groups in as many unorganised regions as possible and particularly in Eldorado Park, Reiger Park, Geluksdal, Edenpark, Western, Riverlea, Horseshoe, Toekomsrust, Ennerdale, Eersterus.

(ii) Local activists groups must, in collaboration with the appropriate Council Committee, take responsibility for one of the various projects and make it an on going activity

...../2

involving all activists in the group. Where no Council Committee exists the local groups must play a role to initiate such a group.

For example

- (a) Publicity (b) Education (eg. Seminars)
- (c) Newsletter (d) Fundraising (e) Research

(iii) Local activists groups must reach out to the community by distribution of the Newsletter, Speak etc and attempt to engage the homes visited in discussion with the issues raised. Where appropriate follow up visits must be made.

(iv) Work towards having house meetings and setting up of street or area groups

(v) Work towards regional meetings

(vi) Mass Public Meetings which in turn must facilitate the activity (i) to (vi) in new areas and so on.

(b) Joint activities with TIC, UDF, Anti-Community Council and others.

(i) Major joint mass meeting of Anti-PC/TIC/Anti-Community Council planned for City Hall early August. Work must proceed to make this a massive demonstration of rejection of reform proposals.

(ii) UDF conference in Cape Town mid August to work with other groups to ensure a massive conference in organised.

(iii) Joint Educational Programme seminars, lectures, instructional literature.

(iv) Joint Research Programmes and make resources available to community.

I. J. Mohamed, Anti-P
16-7-83

AL62

134 (SS) ~~AL 62~~ "AL 62" 3/11/87

The white voters by their overwhelming support of the Government's constitutional proposal have demonstrated

their support and commitment to white minority rule entrenching the oppressive apartheid system and thereby have set our country firmly on the road to mounting conflict and violence.

Our people have made clear through their many organisations, in spite of all the repression, that they reject a constitution written by a minority.

It is clear that meaningful change can not come through those that oppress us and that there will be no peace in this country until we have attained a non-racial democratic society in an unfragmented and united South Africa.

I. J. Mohamed
Chairman Anti-PC

AL63

Minutes of the ANTI-PC Executive meeting held on
2 February 1984

Present:

Prof I Mohamed, Mr G du Plessis, Mrs E Lambert, Mrs V Meyer,
 Mr C van Wyk, Mr K Goodall.

Apologies:

Mr B Jardine, Mrs D Cornelius, Miss D Soudin, Mrs J Duarte

1. U D F Activities

1.1 Chris felt that local groups were not informed in time of all UDF activities. There seemed to be a poor communication system between the UDF and its affiliates. It was decided that all correspondence from UDF should be kept in a separate file and all council members would have access to this file. Where possible, important documents would be duplicated and passed on to local groups. The minutes of the last three UDF meetings were read to give the meeting an opportunity of picking up important issues.

1.2 UDF Million signature campaign

The Transvaal UDF must collect at least 300,000 signatures. The UDF has a Million Signature campaign meeting every Wednesday evening at 5.30. UDF had recommended that areas form local local working committees.

It was suggested that three committees be formed, viz:

- a) Bosmont, Newclare, Coronationville, Western, Riverlea and Horseshoe; ~~New Jersey~~
- b) Eldorado Park, ~~Noordgesig~~, Ennerdale, Klipspruit. The possibility of working together with activists in Lenasia, which is in this area needs to be looked into.
- c) Reiger Park, Geluksdal, etc.

1.3 UDF Music Festival

To take place on 4 March 1984 at Fun City. George said that the UDF had mentioned that it might be possible for organisations to run food stalls at the Festival where they expected between 20 000 - 30 000 people. It was agreed that a letter be written and that we take this up. Possibilities for stalls were a Hamburger stall, cool drink stall, popcorn stall, etc.

1.4 The Udf needs money badly and requests that associate members be recruited with a view to them letting us have some money. Names to be suggested.

1.5 The chairman informed the meeting that each organisation is to give a written report to the UDF before each council meeting. The secretaries to take responsibility for this.

2. LOCAL COMMITTEES

It was stressed that there was a need for consolidation. The question of whether we should initiate more groups in other areas was discussed. In view of the amount of work to be done this would prove difficult. However, it was agreed that we work on this on a smaller scale. eg Geluksdal - Mr Jegels to be contacted again. Possibly Klipspruit. Mr Goodall said that he had given Eddie a contact in Pretoria.

3. FINANCES

- 3.1 None of the treasurers were present, but it was estimated that we had approximately R400 - R500 at present.
- 3.2 Chris said that R30,00 was still owed for the layout of the Riverlea pamphlet.
- 3.3 Bosmont, Newclare, Coronationville group to arrange a fundraising braai on 11 February 1984.
- 3.4 Bake sale to be arranged for end of month.

4. PUBLICATIONS

The Anti-PC News should have been ready in January, but this was not possible as we were waiting for the UDF decision. The publications committee had decided that the newsletter should have

a) Article on conscription; b) Article on Boycott decision;
c) Paper on Democracy; d) Article on Labour Party.

Ms Lambert suggested that glaring inconsistencies of the Labour Party should be highlighted.

5. GENERAL

- 5.1 T I C Mass Meeting: This was scheduled for 8 February 1984 in Lensasia. The executive discussed the issue and realised the serious implications involved. It was decided that in view of our stand to advocate a boycott of a racial referendum, our advice to the Council is that we cannot be officially represented at the meeting since we would be placed in an invidious position. Activists may choose whether they wish to attend as individuals.
- It was AGREED that unity was essential and, for the sake of the UDF, we must search for issues which will unite us and not issues which divide. This is possible through work on issues such as the Million Signature Campaign.
- 5.2 Pamphlet: It was AGREED that there was a need for a pamphlet to come out after the Anti-PC Newsletter and ideas for this pamphlet should be forthcoming.
- 5.3 Poster: There was also a need for a poster to popularise the Anti-PC.
- 5.4 Fact Sheet/Diary: Chris suggested that the secretaries draw up a fact sheet/diary and to update on a regular basis to keep all activists informed.
- 5.5 Date for next meeting to be set by secretary. Preferably 2nd or 3rd Wednesday of each month.

Chairman:

Secretary:

Date

AL64

15/7/84

The Anti-PC ~~Pro-At 3/4~~ will meet with religious ^{spiritual} women, youth and other grassroots organizations ^{as well as individuals} to launch a massive campaign against the apartheid constitutional proposals and to call on the community to boycott the elections. We have no doubt that the community will demonstrate their total rejection by a massive boycott of any elections or referendums for the apartheid parliament. We are sure all the oppressed people are united in this objective.

The Anti PC is already in the process of organising a house to house campaign in a number of areas to boycott any elections. That campaign will now gain momentum and spread to further areas.

We shall make it our duty to inform the community fully ^{regarding} the dangers the constitution holds for us.

- Our country will be set firmly on the road to violent conflict by deepening the ethnic, racial and other divisions and become the bloody battleground of armed conflict. The potential for embroiling all of South Africa and escalating into an international battleground is frightening.
- The apartheid system will be strengthened and those who impose their rule on us today will continue to have all power in their hands.

- Our children will be called up to die on the borders fighting a totally unjust war and to keep apartheid alive
- There will be a growing housing crisis where we would have to continue living in overcrowded and unhealthy conditions in the areas where the new constitution will force us to live
- Our children will be frustrated and suffer under inferior education and will continue to fail and become cheap labour in the factories because the new constitution will force segregated schools on us and spend next to nothing on the education of our children while white education will be most lavishly provided for
- We will continue to die in understaffed and ill equipped hospitals while vast sums of money will be spent on grand hospital schemes for white South Africa
- We will become junior partners in imposing apartheid on the oppressed people, helping to dump African people in the barren homelands to die of starvation, poverty and disease
- We shall be used to trick foreign countries into believing that we have a say in running our country.

We shall call on all our community organisations to mobilise all their resources to inform the community of these and other dangers. We shall also work side by side with the UDF and its affiliates to ensure the total exposure and rejection of the tricameral parliament. Of course, we shall be harassed, ~~by~~ as we are being harassed now by the Security Police. But we shall spare no effort to expose Hendricks, Rajbansi, Poovalingam, Curry, Reddy and all those who are going into the dummy apartheid parliament by a massive boycott campaign.

I. J. Mohamed