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**UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

**UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



- **REPORT**
- **FUTURE PROGRAMME**
- **BUDGET PROPOSALS**

## UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

### MOTIVATION FOR FUNDING

November 1984

#### INTRODUCTION

In the 14 months since the launching of the UDF, tremendous gains have been made inside South Africa by way of strengthening the democratic movement whilst simultaneously cutting back on the legitimacy of the minority apartheid regime. This is not merely a hollow boast, the admissions of apartheid's Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange, concur with this view. The campaigns of the UDF had thwarted every attempt by the apartheid government to regain its composure. Significantly too, the struggles between town and country became one. (The UDF campaigns will be dealt with in more detail later.)

The methods used by UDF activists viz. personal contact with our people in their homes, disseminating publications and mass rallies. It should be borne in mind that the SA government is extremely repressive - detention and harassment of UDF leadership, banning of meetings and publications are their methods, whilst mass media like newspapers, radio and television biased completely in favour of the regime are the order. Also most forms of protest like demonstrations, marches etc. are banned. Our gains inside the country have been made against this background.

Internationally too, the UDF had succeeded in placing the struggle against the apartheid regime in sharp focus. We were rewarded for our efforts by the 'Let Live' award and the work of democrats internationally to counteract the attempts by P W Botha to seek international support.

It is therefore easy to understand why the apartheid regime, faced with a major credibility crisis has unleashed its anger on the UDF by way of a threatened ban. It is even easier to understand precisely why the voice of democracy represented by the UDF must be fully supported and extended.

This motivation is divided into 4 sections, namely:

SECTION ONE : REPORT

- 1.1 Chronology
- 1.2 Campaign
- 1.3 Methods
- 1.4 Resistance - General

SECTION TWO : THE PRESENT POSITION

- 2.1 Democracy Vs the State
- 2.2 Growth of the UDF
- 2.3 Relationship to Non-Affiliates

SECTION THREE : UDF AND THE FUTURE

- 3.1 Resistance to Removals
- 3.2 Housing and Local Government
- 3.3 Struggles in the Education Sphere
- 3.4 Food prices, Unemployment and Farmworkers
- 3.5 Anti-Conscription Campaign
- 3.6 Anti-Repression Focus
- 3.7 Relief Work
- 3.8 International Youth Year

SECTION FOUR : BUDGET

- 4.1 Head Office
- 4.2 National Functions
- 4.3 Regions and Development
- 4.4 Notes on the Budget

SECTION ONE : REPORT

1.1 CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

AUGUST 1983

20 National Launch

SEPTEMBER 1983

7 Roundup of Campaign Against Coloured and Indian Management Committees

21 Bus Boycott - Mdantsane

OCTOBER 1983

7 Anti Ciskei Protests

24 Success in Supreme Court Application Against Ban of UDF Meeting

29/30 National People's Weekend

NOVEMBER 1983

Campaign Against Black Local Authorities Elections (National Campaign)

DECEMBER 1983

4 Black Local Authority Elections - National Poll Below 10%

7 Launch UDF Eastern Cape Region

16/17 National General Council

JANUARY 1984

8 Launch UDF Border Region

22 Launch of Million Signature Campaign (National)

FEBRUARY 1984

Million Signature Campaign Launched in all Regions

MARCH 1984

Million Signature Campaign Intensified Nationally  
State of Emergency Declared in Cradock

(Chronology of Events Continued)

APRIL 1984

- 4 Launch of UDF West Coast Region  
Celebration of 30th Anniversary of the  
Women's Federation

MAY 1984

- 1-6 May Day Rallies  
Million Signature Campaign  
Anti Election Campaign

JUNE 1984

- Million Signature Campaign  
Anti-Election Campaign  
Anti-Forced Removals Campaign

JULY 1984

- Intensification of Anti-Election Campaign  
29 Launch of UDF South Cape Region

AUGUST 1984

- 9 National Women's Day Rallies  
12 Anti-Removals Rally in Western Cape  
Joint Transvaal Civic Rally  
Northern Transvaal Rally  
21 Detention of UDF Leadership Nationally  
22 "Coloured Elections" - Poll 18%  
28 "Indian Elections" - Poll 15%  
18/19 UDF First Anniversary Rallies Nationally

SEPTEMBER 1984

- 3 Stay at Home in the Vaal Triangle  
Beginning of Uprising in the Vaal Triangle

OCTOBER 1984

- 5 Le Grange Threatens to Ban the UDF  
11 State of Emergency Lifted in Cradock  
22 South African Defence Force Deployed in the  
Vaal Triangle

## 1.2 CAMPAIGNS

### 1.2.1 MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN (MSC)

A decision was taken at the December National Conference to campaign for one million signatures. The motivation for this campaign was broadly to educate our people about the dangers of the new constitution and the 'Koornhof Bills' whilst simultaneously campaigning for support for the UDF.

This campaign was launched at the end of January. By the time of the elections, some 350 000 signatures had been collected. The target was not reached for two reasons. Firstly, police harassment was intense - scores of activists were arrested and charged with petty offences. Secondly, the campaign was over-taken by the more direct campaign against the elections.

However, the campaign proved invaluable as a means of consulting the people and giving an orientation to the anti-election campaign. Also, a more solid basis had been laid for the anti-election campaign because large communities had been primed. (At the time of this report, the future of the MSC is being discussed nationally.)

### 1.2.2 CAMPAIGN AGAINST FORCED REMOVALS

To date, some 3 000 000 South Africans have been forcibly removed under a battery of laws in fulfillment of the apartheid policies. Most current removals are taking place in rural areas. This militates against a campaign taking a single and unified form.

The work against forced removals had taken the UDF into the rural areas. Organisation has increased against forced removals, with the name of the UDF foremost in this resistance.

Some of the campaigns, e.g. Huhudi, had successfully resulted in staving off removals and many campaigns, e.g. resistance to Khayelitsha still continues.

The UDF attaches much importance to this area of work because of its ability to link town and country and spread resistance to give our struggle a more national character.

## (Campaign Against Forced Removals Continued)

The National Executive Committee had decided to employ rural organisers to work specifically on removals. Unfortunately, this decision had not been implemented due to insufficient funds for salaries and vehicles.

### 1.2.3 ANTI ELECTION CAMPAIGN

This campaign was launched to show mass rejection of the new constitution. It had absorbed most of the UDF's energy and resources. The results of the election poll percentage show undoubtedly the success of this campaign.

The government, in spite of its heavy propaganda campaign and severe intimidation, only achieved a poll of 15% of the Indian population and 18% of the Coloured group. Closer examination reveals results which are even more disastrous for them: in the Cape Peninsula where approximately 1/3 Coloureds reside, the poll was a mere 4%.

Our victories in this campaign seriously limited the ability of the government to proceed with their 'reform initiatives'.

Successes were achieved by linking day-to-day struggles with political issues thus elements like food prices, housing, education and the threat of conscription were important facets of this campaign.

### 1.3 METHODS

As outlined earlier, the methods used by the UDF to reach the people were: personal discussions, mass rallies and media.

#### 1.3.1 PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS

Often these took place in the privacy of people's homes. Though time consuming, it proved to be a fool-proof method of communication. Often large teams of activists were brought into specific areas to work intensively. This aspect of the work involved a high-level of co-ordination and resources fuel, catering etc.



(Campaign Against Forced Removals Continued)

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### 1.3.2 MASS RALLIES

Following a tradition of large rallies which started with the launching in August 1983, a series of rallies were arranged regionally or locally at various times during the past 14 months. By and large these rallies were very well attended with crowds of between 1 000 (local) and 12 000 (regional).

The spirit of unity and resistance which dominated these gatherings had and in fact, continue to have, spin-offs in the community by way of support for the UDF.

### 1.3.3 MASS MEDIA

Given the extent to which state controlled media is weighted against the democratic movement, the UDF also had to place a major emphasis on mass media. So successful was this aspect of our work that some 35 bogus pamphlets allegedly state produced, were disseminated against the UDF.

UDF media included: newsletters (UDF News), pamphlets and flyers, T-shirts, posters and bumper stickers.

Needless to say, advancing the UDF ideologically and countering state propaganda was extremely costly but nevertheless necessary and advantageous.

## 1.4 RESISTANCE - GENERAL

It is extremely difficult to detail the many instances of localised resistance which the UDF and/or its affiliates have been engaged in over the past 14 months. Resistance to increases in rents, food prices or busfares, demands for adequate education, campaigns against detentions, etc., whilst often such campaigns are waged by UDF affiliates, the association with UDF in itself provides these struggles with a form, content and linkage.

In essence, this is the major advantage of a front of established people's organisations. The ability to campaign in so many situations around problems so directly experienced by our people, is undoubtedly a strength of the UDF.

## SECTION TWO : THE PRESENT POSITION

### 2.1 DEMOCRACY VS THE STATE

The UDF was conceived as a body which would co-ordinate active struggle against the Apartheid government. Many organisations had been waging struggles at local levels around higher rentals, the housing crisis, rising electricity rates, "dummy" bodies, etc, but these were being conducted in isolation from one another. Today these organisations are united to a mammoth force under the banner of the UDF.

The challenge which faces the UDF today is to build a truly national voice, to strengthen the unity that action over the past 14 months has already forged and to advance the struggle for National Liberation.

The important victories scored by the people have not gone unnoticed. The South African government has been at pains to adequately respond to the situation. Their responses have included: use of military force against our people, continued harassment of activists, detention of UDF leaders, a campaign of disinformation, the recent threat to ban the UDF and many other forms of continual repression.

The tide of resistance cannot be turned back. Our resistance must continue to grow in order to even further weaken the apartheid government.

### 2.2 THE GROWTH OF THE UDF

The UDF was launched with three structured regions: Natal, Transvaal and the Western Cape. We now fully fledged UDF structures in the following areas as well: Eastern Cape, Border (East London and environs), Northern and South Cape and West Coast. A fairly solid basis has been laid for new formations in the Orange Free State, Northern Transvaal and the Karoo. Embryonic structures exist in the Boland and Namaqualand. (See Appendix A)

The areas (geographically) where UDF presence is weakest is in the Bantustans ('independent homelands'). Here, the allies of apartheid have crushed every attempt at organisation to the point of UDF being banned in the Transkei. Also, the severity of repression precludes possible organisation.

The list of affiliates has grown from 400 to 650. The precise membership of our affiliates remains extremely difficult to quantify.

(The Growth of UDF Continued)

Much of our work is handled by the regional structures and a fair degree of regional autonomy exists. National co-ordination is extremely costly and insufficient funds has limited the extent of our national work.

2.3 RELATIONSHIP TO NON-AFFILIATES

Some analysts have argued that the strength of the UDF was constrained by its inability to secure affiliation from sizable organisations like the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU).

At this point in time, these organisations are still not affiliated. This has not however precluded us from campaigning together and, in the course of events, developing a healthy working relationship.

Such working relationships obtain with all progressive trade union groupings as well as with all other democratic organisations working for change in South Africa, for example the South African Council of Sport (SACOS), the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and Black Sash.

SECTION THREE : UDF AND THE FUTURE

At this point in time it is somewhat difficult to project with precision what the campaigns of the UDF over the next period will entail.

What is clearly identifiable however, are the issues which will be taken up as manifestations of the constitution and Koornhof Bills. These issues are outlined below:

3.1 RESISTANCE TO REMOVALS

Intensifying work of the previous period and working to the point of a campaign of a more national character. Building UDF structures in the rural areas.

3.2 HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Major changes of a detrimental nature await our people

(Housing and Local Government Continued)

as the government, with an ailing economy, implements its constitution in reality.

This campaign is likely to be fairly protracted and will largely be determined by regional conditions such as the strength of civic organisations.

STRUGGLES IN THE EDUCATION SPHERE

It is likely that the past campaigns for an adequate, equal and relevant education will be intensified. Our affiliates from the educational sphere have already launched an 'Education Charter' campaign to consult our people on the nature of the educational system demanded.

Also, as a spin-off of the new constitution, the government has decreed that 'the community shall bear the cost of education'. We understand this move as a further attempt to weight the educational system against our impoverished communities. This campaign will afford us the ability to unite parents and students more around common problems which confront them.

It is likely too, that this might become a specialised area within the UDF.

3.4 FOOD PRICES, UNEMPLOYMENT AND FARMWORKERS

These areas of work are at this stage fairly tentative. What is abundantly clear however is that economic trends spell disaster for the SA government. As is customary in such societies (capitalist), the burden is passed onto the workers. Thus increasing food prices and unemployment are two of the new arenas opened as the SA government struggles to recoup its losses.

The organisation of farmworkers is an entirely new terrain which still has to be vigorously researched.

3.5 ANTI-CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN

As outlined earlier, the anti-conscription campaign was an important buttress to the campaign against the elections. The government will however have to implement the conscription of Coloureds and Indians in its attempt to strengthen itself militarily.

(Anti-Conscription Campaign Continued)

Extensive preparation is necessary to prepare the community for a more intensive campaign. Whilst the campaign in essence might not be immediate, the preparation is.

ANTI-REPRESSION FOCUS

The UDF has succeeded in bringing detention without trial into sharp focus. This was facilitated by our Detention Action Committees and also the Durban Consulate saga.

We will continue to focus on repression since we are convinced that we can rally the support of our people against arbitrary repressive state action.

This area of work will thus assume an increasing importance in the period ahead.

3.7 RELIEF WORK

The UDF was forced to provide relief to affected communities of the Vaal. The nature of the relief work included legal and medical assistance as well as providing food.

The financial outlay for this was high. We believe however, that it was necessary in order for the UDF to demonstrate to the masses of our people that we are interested in all of their lives, not just in their support at mass rallies.

It is clear that as the struggle intensifies in our townships, the need for relief work will intensify.

3.8 INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

It is widely acknowledged that the UDF has a strong youth membership. We will undoubtedly be requested to assist in funding the activities around International Youth Year.

Our youth groups are being encouraged to arrange for their own funds. This will not preclude appeals in the course of the year. We feel it necessary therefore to hold some money in reserve to guarantee the smooth and successful functioning of the programme for International Youth Year.

(UDF and the Future Continued)

In essence then, we project our work in the next period to focus on issues pertinent to our people. We are committed to linking up these struggles into national campaigns. Simultaneously, we believe that this form of struggle lends itself to the development of organisations. Central to our approach will be correcting the existing unevenness amongst organisations by firstly providing more resources to the development of organisation in the rural areas and secondly addressing the lack of resources in the African townships which so restricts the growth of organisations.

SECTION FOUR : BUDGET

Below is an outline of the UDF National Budget. Each item is detailed in sub-section 4.4 "Notes on the Budget" contained in this motivation. This budget is for 6 months only.

4.1 HEAD OFFICE

Salaries (5½ x R600,00 x 6 months)	R19 800
National Office Rental (R500,00 x 6 months)	3 000
Postage and Telephones (R850,00 x 6 months)	5 100
Printing and Stationery nominal	2 000
Records (Photographic & Audiovisual) nominal	900
Equipment (Purchases and Maintenance)	18 000
Resources and Information Procurement & Publication	2 000
Officers Travel Vehicles, Fuel & Maintenance	21 000
Sundries	3 200
TOTAL FOR HEAD OFFICE	<u>R75 000</u>

4.2 NATIONAL FUNCTIONS

See next page.



4.2 NATIONAL FUNCTIONS

National General Council	R30 500
National Executive Committee	14 000
National Secretariat	6 630
National Air Travel	10 000
Nationally Sponsored Rallies	16 000
International Relations	12 000
National Media	50 000
Education and Training	7 000
International Youth Year	20 000
Special Campaigns	43 000
Relief Work	15 000
Incidentals	5 870
TOTAL FOR NATIONAL FUNCTIONS	<u>R230 000</u>

4.3 REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

Transvaal	30 000
Western Cape	30 000
Natal	20 000
Eastern Cape	15 000
Border	15 000
Northern Cape	10 000
South Cape	7 000
Development Fund	23 000
TOTAL FOR REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT	<u>R150 000</u>

BUDGET TOTAL . . . . . R455 000

#### 4.4 NOTES ON THE BUDGET

##### 4.4.1 HEAD OFFICE

The UDF Head Office serves as the linkage between the different regions. In addition, its role can be broadly defined as initiating campaigns, information and contact with the International Community. Head Office employs two officers, viz. the National General Secretary and the National Publicity Secretary as well as an administrator.

##### i) Salaries

This item covers the salaries of the above three persons @ R600,00 per month. Currently, the two officers are in detention and alternate persons have had to be employed. The National Executive Committee has also decided to employ an Information Officer on a part-time basis.

This accounts for the 5½ salaries.

##### ii) Office Rental

This sum is somewhat higher than our present rental. Unfortunately the present office of the UDF is so small that efficiency is often affected. We are hoping to obtain larger space.

##### iii) Postage and Telephones

Self-explanatory

##### iv) Printing and Stationery

Self-explanatory

##### v) Records

The glorious history of the UDF lies largely dissipated over the length and breadth of our country. The Head Office needs to take responsibility for collating photographic and video material.

##### vi) Equipment

Currently, the UDF functions on reasonably archaic equipment. The motivation here covers the purchase and maintenance of a word processor, telex facility, photocopier and printing unit for administration and elementary publications. Also an overhead projector, Caramat projector and videorecorder for purposes of Education and Training.

(Notes on Budget - Head Office Continued)

vii) Resources and Information

Our Information Officer would have the responsibility of procuring, translating and disseminating information crucial to campaigns. This sum would cover such responsibilities.

viii) Officers Travel

The UDF currently owns two cars. A third vehicle would have to be purchased. These vehicles are needed to travel to different parts of the country for organisational and educational tasks. The sum covers the purchase of an additional car, fuel, maintenance and insurance.

ix) Sundries

Self-explanatory

4.4.2 NATIONAL FUNCTIONS

There exists within the UDF a divide between National and Regional functions. The regions advance campaigns and the UDF within the province. A fair amount of money for this work is raised locally. UDF National tends to the overall development and advancement of the Front. (This division will be clarified later.)

i) National General Council

The National General Council is the highest decision-making body in the UDF. The NGC last met in December 1983, thus we are due to schedule another NGC meeting. The NGC brings together delegates from all UDF affiliates to determine policy and elect the National Executive Committee.

Transporting, accommodating and feeding 1 000 delegates explains the high cost of this exercise.

ii) National Executive Committee

The NEC is comprised of approximately 30 people. Its functions are to tend to decision making between NGC's. The NEC has met 7 times in the past 14 months. The frequency of meetings is determined by the constantly changing conditions and the need for the UDF to respond adequately. Here too, transport costs are a major contributor to the sum budgeted for.

(Notes on Budget - National Functions Continued)

iii) National Secretariat

The National Secretariat is the administrative co-ordinating structure and is best situated to determine how the officers' time is utilised. The National Secretariat also arranges the agendas for the NEC meetings.

iv) National Air Travel

Officers and speakers often have to travel across the country. It is possible to drive distances up to 500 km, beyond this, time and other factors necessitate air travel.

v) Nationally Sponsored Rallies

The NEC decides from time to time to take responsibility for special rallies. A major focus or a breakthrough into a new area would be examples of this. In such cases, 'National' bears all costs incurred.

vi) International Relations

Whilst the item is self-explanatory, the budget caters for production of material for International consumption, and occasional air travel.

vii) National Media

The bulk of our media is produced regionally. What should be noted however is that we are presently constructing a national movement. This item covers production of UDF NEWS, special pamphlets, stickers, posters and T-shirts.

viii) Educational and Training

Self-explanatory

ix) International Youth Year

The report explains the relationship between the UDF and the I.Y.Y Committees. This should clarify the item.

x) Special Campaigns

The report does clearly indicate the campaigns around which the UDF work will proceed in the period ahead. Often, regions will not be in a position to entirely take responsibility for these campaigns, thus National would have to initiate. Also, the differential allowances for

(Notes on Budget - National Functions Continued)

(Special Campaigns Continued)

these campaigns will allow for more countrywide resistance with a sharp focus on the 'African' sector where financial and other resources are extremely limited.

xi) Relief Work

Again, the report explains the nature of this work adequately.

xii) Incidentals

Self-explanatory

4.4.3 REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

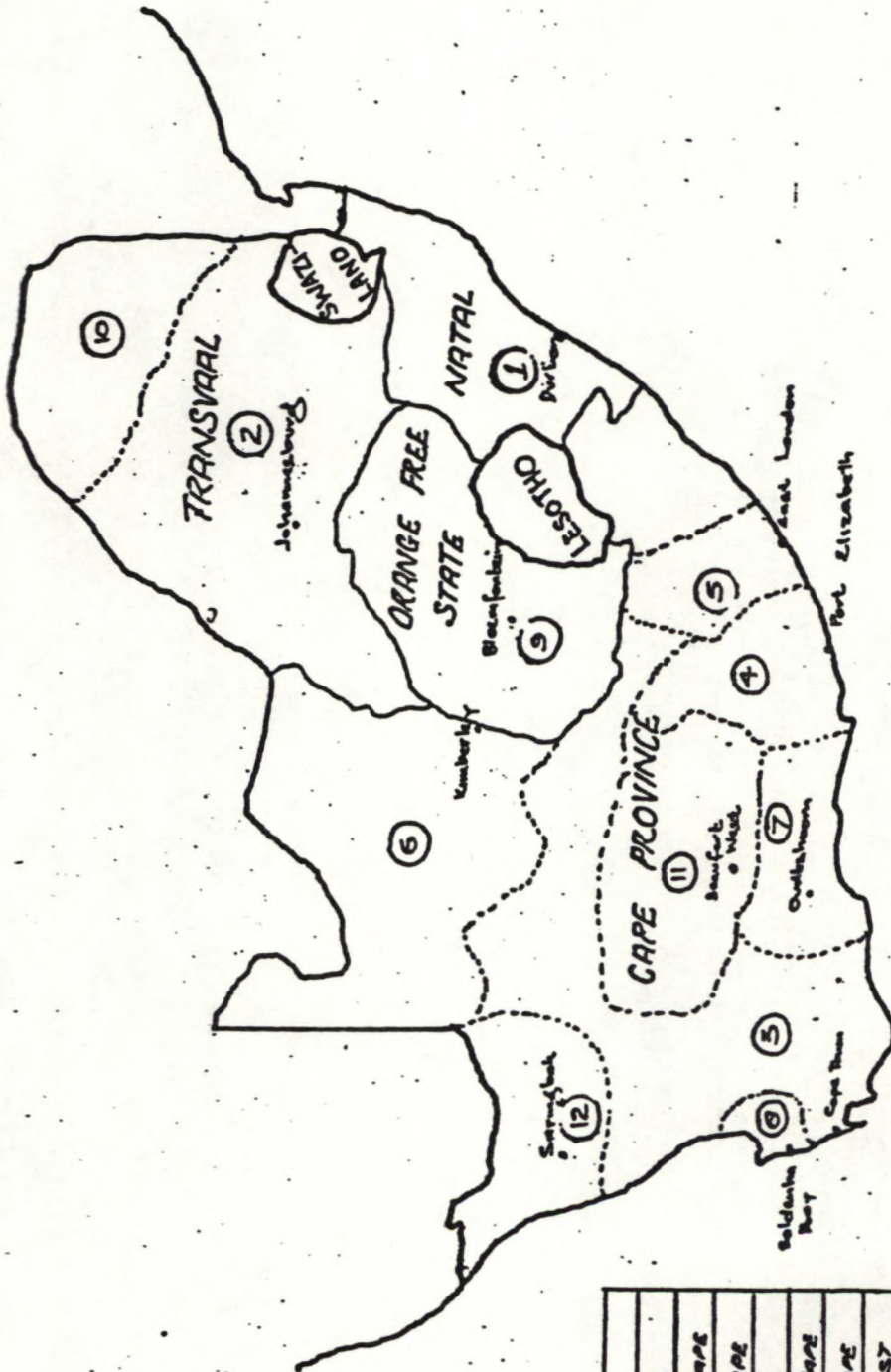
Allocations are made to regions using the following criteria: Population Density, Distances Travelled, Financial Resource Base, Present Organisational Strength and Development Potential.

These grants serve for the items like the salaries of rural organisers, transport costs and development.

A sum of money is retained for new areas of development.

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APPENDIX A : APPROXIMATE POSITION OF UDF REGIONS



1	NATAL
2	TRANSVAAL
3	WESTERN CAPE
4	EASTERN CAPE
5	BORDER
6	NORTHERN CAPE
7	SOUTH CAPE
8	WEST COAST
9	ORANGE FREE STATE
10	NORTHERN TRANSVAAL
11	KAROO
12	NAMAGUALANO

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