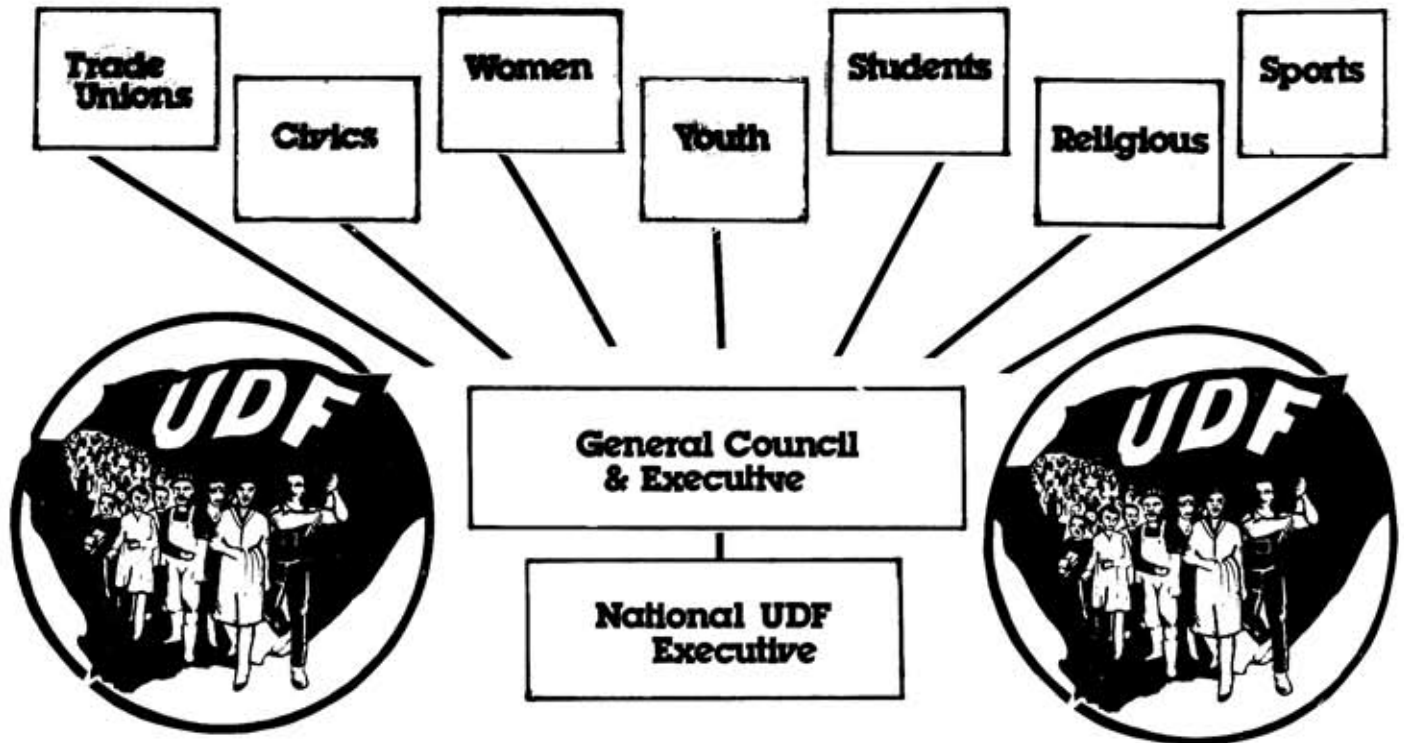


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HOW THE UDF WORKS



contribution to its functions.

- 9.3. The N.E.C. shall carry out the policy and programme of the UDF as determined by the N.E.C. from time to time.
- 9.4. The decisions of the N.E.C. shall be carried out by the secretariat which will comprise two secretaries from each region.

10. FINANCE

- 10.1. The UDF shall be empowered to open a banking account at a bank or building society.
- 10.2. All cheques shall be signed by either of the treasurers and one of two other members of the executive committee and two other members of or N.E.C. appointed by N.E.C.

11. OFFICERS

- 11.1. The UDF shall employ
- 11.1.1. A general-secretary
 - 11.1.2. A publicity secretary
- 11.2. The general-secretary and publicity secretary shall be members of the National Executive Committee.

Messages of Support

UNITED NATIONS

Dear Friends,

In reaction to your letter dated 22 July, 1983, requesting for messages of solidarity on the occasion of the national launching of the United Democratic Front on the 20 August in Cape Town, we gladly present you herewith with our appreciation and solidarity for this important step towards greater unity in the struggle of the South African people against apartheid. In this year of united action against apartheid, in South Africa and abroad, we regard this meeting to launch the United Democratic Front on a national level as a crucial development to strengthen the struggle for freedom, justice and democracy in South Africa. The ever increasing mass-struggles against apartheid constitute definitely, again inside South African and internationally, a continuous source of inspiration for the efforts to rid the world of this system condemned as a crime against humanity.

I am happy to send my warmest greetings and congratulations on the occasion of launching of the United Democratic Front. Your demonstration of unity in opposition to so-called constitutional proposals of authorities in Pretoria and in support of non-racial, democratic South Africa is welcomed by United Nations Special Committee against apartheid and indeed by most humanity.

United Nations and the International community have repeatedly made it clear that a just and

lasting solution requires the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, amnesty to those restricted and exiled, end to all repression and discussions by genuine representatives of all people on the establishment of a truly democratic state. They have offered all the appropriate assistance in pursuit of such a solution.

I hope that even at this late stage the Pretoria authorities will abandon their disastrous course of escalating repression and aggression and seek a just solution. They cannot prevail against opposition of the majority of the people in South Africa and the rest of the world whatever their apparent might today.

Awards to Nelson Mandela in recent years of more honours than anyone else has received from all over the world is a reflection of world opinion.

The struggle of the people in South Africa for democracy is not only a great moral struggle but has tremendous international significance today as elimination of racism from the globe has become imperative. You can count on sympathy and support of all humanity in your efforts to build even greater unity for justice and democracy.

Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule
Chairman

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID.

SWAPO of Namibia

WE, THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA EXPRESS OUR ACTIVE SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION. WE FACE A COMMON RACIST ENEMY - THE PRETORIA REGIME. REST ASSURED THAT YOUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS ALSO OUR STRUGGLE, YOUR VICTORY IS OUR VICTORY. OUR VICTORY IS YOUR VICTORY.

A LUTA CONTINUA
SWAPO OF NAMIBIA

KOMITEE ZUIDELIJK AFRIKA

(ANGOLA COMITÉ)

O.Z. ACHTERBURGWAL 173
1012 DJ AMSTERDAM
TEL. 020-270801 TELEX 172125
POSTGIRO 600657

HOLLAND COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

3 August 1983

Dear friends in the United Democratic Front

Our committee would like to extend you our warmest regards and best wishes for your forthcoming national congress, which will be a milestone in resistance to apartheid. You have the support and the hopes of the progressive community of the Netherlands.

The UDF represents for us not only a challenge to the infamous constitutional reforms, but the resurgence of mass-based non-racial resistance to racial oppression and economic exploitation in South Africa.

We wish you every success in your endeavours and you have the assurance of our continued efforts to curb the involvement of our country in bolstering the apartheid regime, politically and economically.

Courage, strength and solidarity.

Forward to a peoples Republic!

Gerald Kraak
Gerald Kraak

on behalf of the Holland Committee on Southern Africa.

Africa Groups of Sweden

Anti Apartheid Movement, London

American Committee on Africa

A united people of South Africa is of vital importance for the struggle for democracy. We stand behind you in this task, and our solidarity will continue until that day, when South Africa has joined the free, democratic and non-racial nations of the world.

AFRICA GROUPS OF SWEDEN.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement sends greetings to the National Conference of the UDF and expresses its solidarity with the UDF in the struggle against the so-called Constitutional and Reform Proposals and for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Your struggle is a source of inspiration to the world-wide anti-apartheid movement and is a direct challenge not only to the apartheid regime but also to its allies like Reagan and Thatcher.

We salute your courageous stand and pledge to redouble our efforts until apartheid is totally eliminated and the goals of the Freedom Charter become a reality.

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT, LONDON

The American Committee on Africa, which has worked to support African freedom since the Defiance Campaign 30 years ago, salutes the first national conference of the United Democratic Front. The future of South Africa rests with you and all those who resist apartheid's inhuman yoke. Be assured that we will be with you in the struggle until the victory is won.

Amandla

William Booth
PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COMMITTEE
ON AFRICA.



GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

(FORMERLY WESTERN PROVINCE GENERAL WORKERS UNION)
1st FLOOR, BENBOW BUILDING, BEVERLEY STREET, ATHLONE.

Tel. 6382592 (Head Office)

DATE 19.8.83

670870 (Cape Town Branch)

POSTAL ADDRESS: PO BOX 301 ATHLONE 7760

The President
UDF
Cape Town.

Dear Comrades

The General Workers' Union has, since its inception, fought for a free and democratic South Africa. To this end we are fighting the Koornhof and Constitutional Bills and we will stand side by side with any organisation committed to the struggle for democracy.

We look forward to comradely co-operation with the United Democratic Front and to a successful campaign against the Koornhof and Constitutional Bills.

Yours in the struggle

David Lewis

General Secretary

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston

Food and Canning Worker's Union

Anti Apartheid Movement, France

I am delighted to send a message to you today. Your historic gathering and your struggle against the Constitutional Proposals reflect the spirit of the congress of the People where we adopted the Freedom Charter.

I am confident that united and determined action can succeed not only in securing the rejection of the Constitutional Proposals but also the end of the apartheid system itself. My thoughts and prayers are with you.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston
PRESIDENT, ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT.

Dear Comrades,

We would like to express our support for your conference, and our shared commitment to one united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Although we have not joined the UDF, we have pledged to fight alongside all organisations which reject the new Constitution, the orderly movement and settlement of Black Persons Bills and Black Local Authorities Laws. As we see it these laws are aimed first and foremost at the working class, and we will do all within our power to see that they do not succeed.

Yours in the struggle

J Theron; General Secretary
FOOD & CANNING WORKER'S UNION

Heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of your conference. Rest assured of our full support. We wish you every success in your initiatives and long life to the U.D.F.

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT OF
FRANCE

IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

20 Beechpark Road, Foxrock, Dublin 18

Tel. 01-895035

8th August, 1983.

The Secretary,
United Democratic Front,
PO Box 48060,
Qualbert,
Durban 4078.

Dear Friend,

I write on behalf of Father Flannery, the President of this Movement, and on behalf of our Executive Committee, to greet the launching of the United Democratic Front.

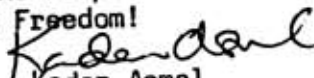
The establishment of the Front is another milestone in the struggle for self-determination and freedom in South Africa. The 20th-21st August 1983 will join the great dates in the history of the peoples of South Africa when the unity of the people have provided a further impetus for the overthrow of apartheid.

The Front's Declaration firmly rejects the new constitutional arrangements which will entrench the apartheid regime's position. The international community too, through the United Nations, has recognised the threadbare hypocrisy of the arrangements, which are a pathetic attempt to buy the loyalty of certain sections of the blacks while totally ignoring the vast majority of them.

It is however the reaction of the people of South Africa to the proposals that is the most important. The unity of those forces opposing the proposals is a sure guarantee of the success of the campaign. Our Movement therefore extends its warmest congratulations to the launching of the Front and its campaign of opposition to the ethnic parliaments.

In the twenty years of existence of this Movement, we have again and again been heartened by the range and warmth of our support from the organised trade union movement, from all the major political parties, from the women's movement and from the youth, as well as from the plain people of Ireland. Our support has also made one thing clear: it is unreservedly at the disposal of the people of South Africa, for the removal of apartheid from every aspect of South African life, for self-determination and national independence.

Power to the People!
Forward to Freedom!


Kader Asmal
Chairman

for freedom in Southern Africa



Irish Congress of Trade Unions

Dear Friends,

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions representing 640,000 organised workers throughout Ireland, sends fraternal greetings and best wishes for the successful launching of the United Democratic Front in Cape Town.

The struggle of the peoples of South Africa for freedom and democracy strikes a chord in the hearts of Irish Trade Unionists. Our movement has long campaigned against apartheid and has supported the South African congress of trade unions and trade unions in your country in their efforts to win basic human and democratic rights.

We are certain that the formation of the United Democratic Front will mark a new and fruitful stage in your freedom fight. We greet you brothers and sisters and pledge the support of Irish workers for your heroic endeavour against the oppressive apartheid system.

Victory will assuredly be yours.

Donal Nevin, General Secretary
IRISH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS.

Swiss Anti- Apartheid Movement

We pledge support for your fight for justice and liberation.

SWISS ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT.

Danish Youth Council

The Danish Youth Council, representing the vast majority of the National Danish Youth Organisations, including scouts, political, religious and gymnastics, with a total membership of more than 1,8 million sends its greetings to your very important meeting and expresses its support to the efforts of the United Democratic Front. We share your aspirations, wish you complete success and pledge our full support to you in your struggle to achieve the objectives set out in your declaration of January 23rd of this year.

ARCHDIOCESE OF DURBAN

ISIFUNDABHISHOBHI ESIKHULU
SASETHEKWINI

Archbishop's House
408 Innes Road
Durban 4001
Telephone 333942

P O Box 217 South Africa	DURBAN 4000	Postbus 217 Suid Afrika
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My dear friends,

A warm and affectionate greeting to all of you in this important assembly. As I understand it you have come here to hold the inaugural meeting at national level of the United Democratic Front, the purpose of which is to bring together all organisations opposed to certain legislative measures that bode ill for the future of our country: the new constitution and legislation designed to render influx control still more tyrannical. Your purpose, I gather, is not purely negative for included in it is the intention to educate and conscientise all South Africans in the matter of human rights and political justice by every peaceful method available to you.

Though I cannot be with you in this assembly I am happy to send you this message expressing my wholehearted solidarity with the purposes that bring you together and the hope that animates you.

In regard to constitutional reform the time has surely come to set South Africa firmly on the road towards the full participation of all its inhabitants in the political life of the country. Because the proposed new constitution does not do this it is unacceptable and must be opposed by every peaceful means.

Concerning the projected influx control legislation, merely to hear such measures suggested sends a shiver down one's spine. Already influx control has reached tyrannical proportions. To aim at making the curbs still more oppressive is pushing inhumanity to horrifying lengths. May there be such united and vigorous opposition to the idea that not only will the legislation be stopped by the whole trend reversed.

Be assured of my close association with you in the pursuit of these great purposes. Be assured of my heartfelt good wishes and prayers for the success of the gathering. The rights that you plan to promote are God-given and sacred. May the guidance and strength of the Almighty support and sustain you in your campaign.

Sincerely yours,

+ Desmond Hurley
SHU

ARCHBISHOP OF DURBAN

Introduction

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched at a mass rally of over 12 000 people in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on August 20, 1983.

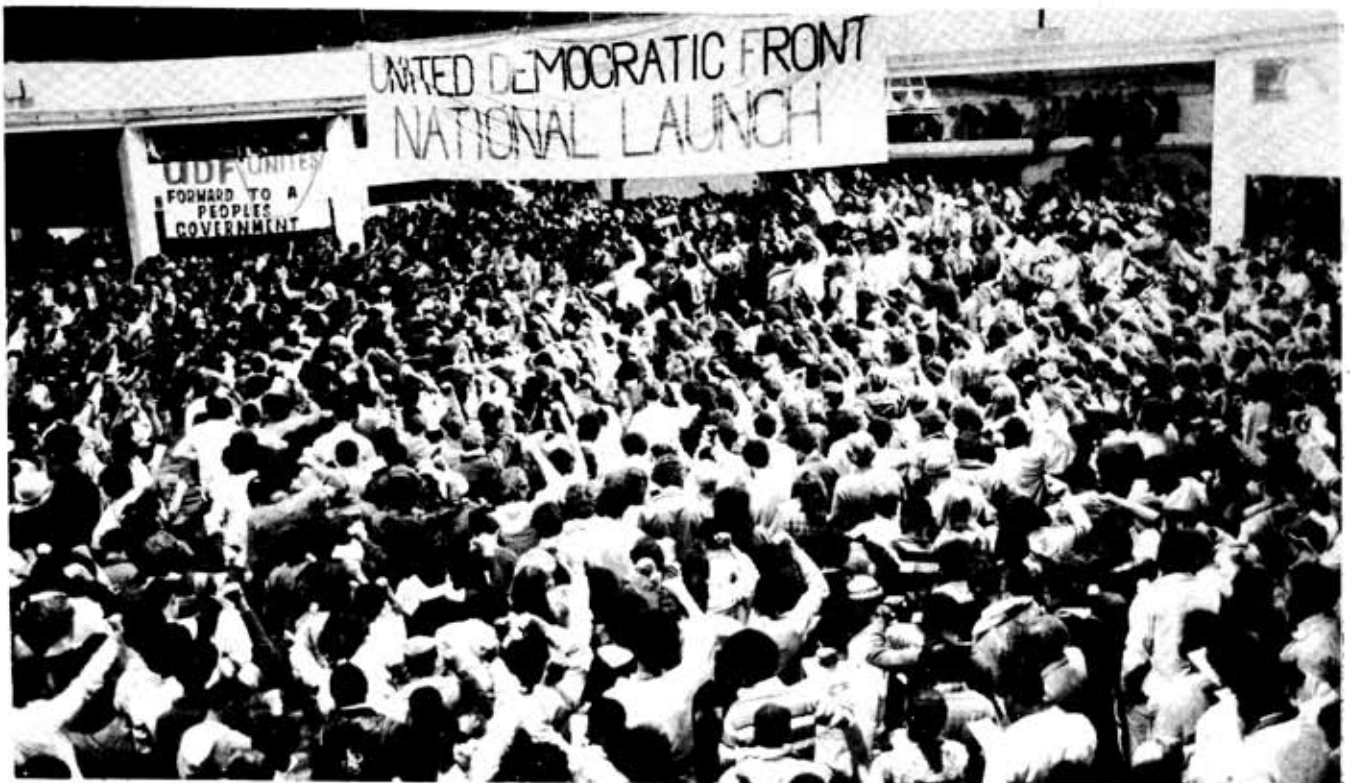
Prior to the rally, a conference of 2000 delegates and observers from more than 500 organisations around South Africa, adopted the national declaration, which forms the basis for co-operation between organisations in the UDF.

The call for unity and joint action against the government's new divide and rule plans was first made by Dr Allan Boesak on January 23, 1983, at a conference of the anti-South African Indian Council (Anti-Saic).

The UDF launch was the culmination of seven months in-depth discussions within and between organisations as to the purposes and aims of the UDF campaign.

It was resolved at the founding conference to fight both the Nationalist governments new Constitutional Bill, as well as the "Koornhof" Bills. It was felt that, taken together, these two areas of legislation carried within them the main thrust of the new style apartheid - the attempted co-option of certain middle-class "coloureds" and "Indians", and the enforcement of harsh controls over the African working-class.

The UDF campaign will focus attention on the undemocratic and authoritarian way in which the Nationalist government's "new deal" is being imposed on the people of South Africa. As a minimum demand, the UDF has called for all political prisoners to be released, for individuals and political organisations to be unbanned, and for the return of all exiles, before a democratic constitution can be drawn up by all South Africans.





Amsterdam, August 5, 1983

Dear friends,

In reaction on your letter d.d. 22 July 1983, requesting for messages of solidarity on the occasion of the national launching of the United Democratic Front on the 20-21 August in Cape Town, we gladly present you herewith with our appreciation and solidarity for this important step towards greater unity in the struggle of the South African people against Apartheid. In this year of united action against apartheid, in South Africa and abroad, we regard this meeting to launch the United Democratic Front on a national level as a crucial development to strengthen the struggle for freedom, justice and democracy in South Africa. The ever increasing mass-struggles against apartheid constitute definitely, again inside South Africa and internationally, a continuous source of inspiration for the efforts to rid the world of this system condemned as a crime against humanity.

On behalf of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement,

Yours in solidarity,

Gonny Braam,
Chairlady Dutch AAM



Member
of the European Parliament

Dear Comrades,

The democratic socialist movement in Ireland welcomes and supports the launching of the United Democratic Front in defence of democracy and racial harmony in South Africa.

We in Ireland recognise that the constitutional reform proposals of the South African Government are solely designed to entrench and strengthen the infamous apartheid regime which is so abhorred by all democrats throughout the world. We therefore extend to the United Democratic Front our most heartfelt expression of solidarity in your fight against racialism and despotism.

The Irish Labour Party will continue to participate fully, both in Ireland and within the international socialist movement, in the fight against apartheid. We embrace the United Democratic Front as brothers and sisters in the struggle for equality and justice and pledge to you our continuing support and solidarity.

Yours fraternally,

Brendan Halligan

Chairman, International Affairs Committee
Irish Labour Party

Member of the European Parliament

The International Association Democratic Lawyers congratulate the national launching of the United Democratic Front and reaffirms solidarity with the struggle of South African people against apartheid and for the achievement of democracy.

Omar Bentoumi
Secretary General.

Through the Irish Anti-apartheid Movement I have learned of your plans for launching a United Democratic Front in South Africa and have read your Declaration.

Please allow me to offer you my most sincere congratulations and support for the initiative which you have taken.

Sean MacBride, S.C.

SAN-ROC

South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee

15 August 1983

CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

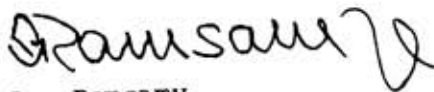
As everyone is aware SAN-ROC has and continues to campaign for the total isolation of South African sport until apartheid and race discrimination has been totally destroyed in South Africa.

In this context we welcome the conference of the United Democratic Front as we support any campaign which enjoys mass participation of the people of South Africa to remove the shackles of apartheid.

We wish your conference all the success and we hope that this will help mobilise our oppressed people in bringing about the total destruction of apartheid and in establishing South Africa as a truly democratic society with all its citizens having equal rights and privileges.

SAN-ROC awaits this day as we know that only then can there be genuine non-racial sport in a truly non-racial society.

Best wishes.



Sam Ramsamy
CHAIRMAN:

Resolutions



Housing policy

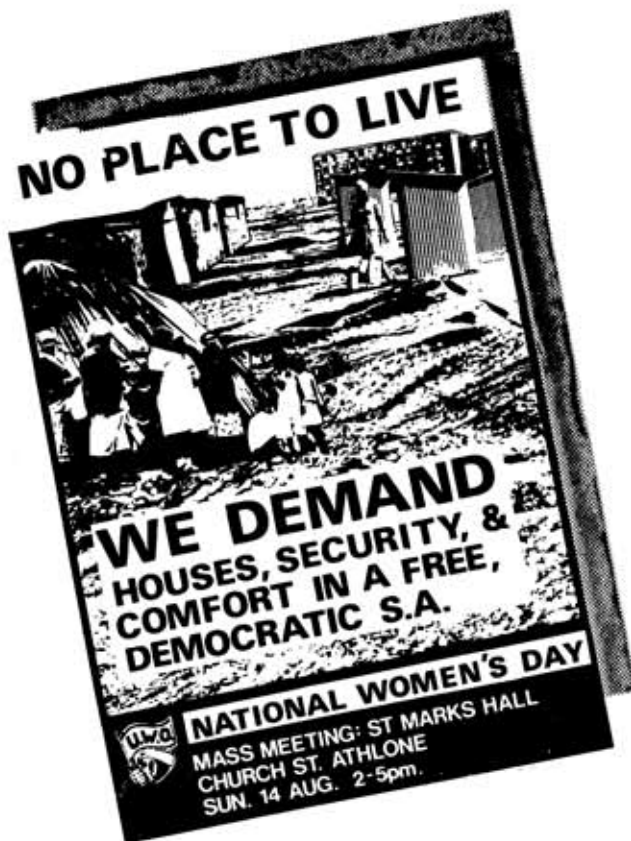
NOTING THAT:

1. Housing is a basic human need. Decent shelter, healthy living conditions, and houses at costs that people can afford, designed to produce security and comfort, are rights which all citizens must enjoy.
2. Our needs is to be housed close to our places of work. Our need is for rents we can afford.
3. We have some guarantee that our houses will not be bulldozed, that we will not be forced to move either to other areas or homelands, and that we will be allowed to live in the areas of our choice. We must know that our children will grow up in safety and health.
4. We want more government-subsidized housing.
5. There is a housing crisis prevelant in our country today as a result of the cruel policy of removals, the Group Areas Act, the system of low wages.
6. That the new housing policy introduced by the Govt. is part of the new constitutional plan to create a Black middle class resistant to democratic change.
7. The Government does not hear us!
We need security - but the government bulldozes our homes and forces us elsewhere.
We need Government subsidies - but the government has almost stopped them.
We need to live close to our places of work - but the government builds townships far away.
We demand housing, but the government spends the money on the army, police and bulldozers.

NOW THEREFORE, this First National Conferene of the UDF held at Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town on 20th August 1983,

RESOLVES:

1. that the government scraps its new housing policy.
2. that the government must not force people to buy their homes.
3. that rents must be subsidised and fixed at prices people can afford.
4. that the government must not introduce site and service schemes as a substitute for decent houses.
5. that more government subsidised houses must be provided.
6. that the government should provide good quality housing and should maintain houses at no extra costs to people.
7. that communities throughout South Africa organise themselves to oppose this new housing policy.



Women

This conference notes:

1. that the extent to which women are organised is a barometer of the level of struggle as a whole;
2. that many of our finest and bravest of women have been forced into exile by the apartheid system;
3. that this system thrives on divisions, one of which the division between men and women created by unequal wages and conditions of employment; inequality before the law and vicious applications of removals and pass laws against women.

WE BELIEVE:

1. that the goal of full recognition of all women; of freedom, happiness and security for our children cannot be achieved in the present political and economic situation;
2. that oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed without removing the oppression of women.

WE THEREFORE CALL on all women to bring their organisations into the United Democratic Front, so that we can make real our commitments to fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination.

Militarisation

NOTING:

1. the increased militarisation and massive defence budget of our country while our people are deprived of the basic necessities for living;
2. the continued acts of aggression perpetrated by the SADF against our neighbouring states;
3. the growing instances of young people resisting conscription into the South African army;
4. the SADF is involved in a campaign to win the hearts and minds of young children in communities through the organisation of youth camps and believing:
 - i. that the SADF is being used by the S.A. regime to uphold white domination;
 - ii. that the government intends through its constitutional Bill to compel Indians and Coloureds to join the army to defend apartheid.

Hereby resolves:

1. to resist all forms of militarisation;
2. to demand an end to compulsory conscription;
3. to demand that the SADF ceases its campaign to destabilise our neighbouring states;
4. to support, in whatever way possible, those who do not join SADF.

Workers

NOTING:

1. That workers are the producers of the wealth of this country, yet they do not enjoy the benefits of the wealth they produce;
2. That workers do not enjoy security in their jobs as evidenced by rising unemployment and the increasing threat of retrenchment;
3. Workers continue to be harassed, intimidated and jailed in their attempts to organise against these exploitative and oppressive conditions through the building of genuine democratic trade unions;
4. That state manoeuvres such as the President's Council Proposals, Wiehahn/Rieckert and the Koornhof Bills are designed to destroy the unity that workers are striving to build and are aimed at denying workers genuine political rights;
5. The migrant labour system drives down the wages of workers and forces them to live in single-sex hostels;
6. The critical situation of worker organisations in the Ciskei.

AND BELIEVING

1. That workers must fully share in the benefits of the wealth they produce;
2. That workers are entitled to security in their jobs and freedom from unemployment;
3. That workers have a right to organise themselves into trade unions of their choice without state repression;
4. That workers must enjoy full democratic rights;
5. That migrant labour and influx controls are a fundamental denial of the rights of workers to work where they choose;
6. In the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom.

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

1. To work for a South Africa in which the oppression and exploitation of workers will cease to exist;
2. To encourage the building of genuine democratic trade unions;
3. To oppose the migrant labour system and to fight for the right of workers to have permanent urban residences;
4. To strengthen the unity between genuine democratic trade unions and all patriotic and freedom loving people in the struggle for political rights for all.



Education

NOTING:

1. That the separate and inferior system of education for the majority of the people of South Africa entrenches inferior and undemocratic ideas;
2. that this education system entrenches apartheid;
3. the courageous struggles being waged by our students across the length and breadth of our country;
4. the continued harassment of democratic student organisations in our schools, technikons, colleges and universities

AND BELIEVING THAT

1. our students' struggle rises out of genuine grievances;
2. education should be free, equal, relevant and compulsory in a united South Africa;
3. the education system in South Africa should be based on the needs of the people;
4. unequal access to the wealth and resources of our country means that very few of the oppressed people have access to primary, secondary and higher education;
5. overcrowded classrooms and unqualified teachers have the same root causes as high rents or housing shortages;
6. an Education Charter should be drawn up after democratic consultation.

Hereby resolve, under the banner of the UDF,

1. to fully support the struggles being waged by our students;
2. to continue the fight and demand for a single, non-racial and democratic system of education for all in a democratic South Africa;
3. that students, teachers and community organisations should unite to fight for democratic education.

Ciskei

NOTING:

- i. that the Ciskei is a shock-absorber body intended to police and persecute the oppressed people in that part of the country in the interest of the racist Botha/Malan/Koornhof clique;
- ii. that the ruthless harassment and denial of the fundamental democratic rights to our people in that part of the country is not an accident but a general expression of the tyranny which grinds our people throughout the divisive system of separate development.

WE RESOLVE:

that the struggle of our people in that part called Ciskei is indeed the struggle of the assembled democrats here and democrats throughout the length and breadth of our country.

Bantustans

NOTING:

1. that the Bantustan Policy and the Group Areas Act are the hall mark of apartheid;
2. that, although this racist regime can supply the technology to make Bantustans economically viable;
3. that 13% of this land is occupied by 75% of the people;
4. that the people who live in the Bantustans reject the Bantustan policy;
5. that the "rulers" of the Bantustan Policy are doing their masters' calling.

WE BELIEVE:

1. that South Africa belongs to all South Africans
2. that South Africa is one indivisible whole.

HEREBY RESOLVES:

To reject the Bantustan Policy and Bantustans unqualifiedly.





The UDF campaign will be conducted on a number of levels. On a national level, the UDF will challenge the new constitution through meetings, rallies and media, drawing together as many different organisations as possible in a campaign to demonstrate the overwhelming rejection of all forms of apartheid, both old and new.

The main focus of the UDF campaign however will be at the local and regional levels. Organisations affiliated to the UDF will run campaigns around certain aspects of the new constitution that affect their membership in a direct way.

This is to ensure that the UDF does not simply become a political protest group, but is able to build and strengthen non-racial, democratic organisations as an alternative to apartheid itself.

Thus, for example, campaigns have already been planned against Community Councils and Black Local Authorities in all African townships. These institutions are a particular example of the way in which the Nationalist governments's "new deal" will adversely affect the majority of South Africans.

Other local campaigns involve organisation against removals in the Northern Cape, the incorporation of Lamontville and other Durban townships into Kwa Zulu, the removal of the people of Crossroads to Khayelitsha, low wages, high rents, inadequate public transport, gutter education, lack of child care facilities - in fact around any aspect of apartheid that affects people's daily lives.

Part of these local campaigns have already included solidarity meetings with the people of Mdantsane and East London, as well as with the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) in their fight against Ciskei "government" terror. Speakers at these meetings pointed out that the "homelands" were regarded as the constitutional "solution" for most South Africans by the Nationalist government, and that the UDF's rejection of these "homelands" goes hand in hand with the campaign against the new constitution.

The UDF, as part of its programme of action, will also focus attention on the housing crisis and the education crisis as well as on removals. By doing so, the UDF hopes to show the destructive and oppressive reality of apartheid, not just as a system of racist legislation but as a system that has the effect of controlling and exploiting the majority of South Africans for the benefit of a wealthy minority.

Cost of living

NOTING:

1. Now, more than ever before we face a serious attack on our living standards. Millions in our country are jobless and homeless.
2. Government subsidies are shrinking. The prices of bread, milk and other commodities are rising. We face crippling price increases.
3. Many are starving in our country of gold. The load is pressing on our shoulders.
4. A few enjoy privileges while most of us live a life of poverty and misery.
5. Our people have a basic right to cheap and nutritious food. We also believe that only in a country which we have control over the riches, will we enjoy these rights.
6. The unequal and totally inadequate social security benefits in the form of pensions, unemployment insurance and other state grants.
7. The problems above are caused by the government preferentially allocating funds to defence, police and propaganda.

NOW THEREFORE, this First National Conference of the UDF held at Rocklands, Mitchells Plain, Cape Town on 20th August, 1983,

RESOLVES:

1. to continue to struggle for our basic right to cheap nutritious food and other essentials.
2. to create and join democratic organisations through which we will fight for these rights.

Detentions, political prisoners and exiles

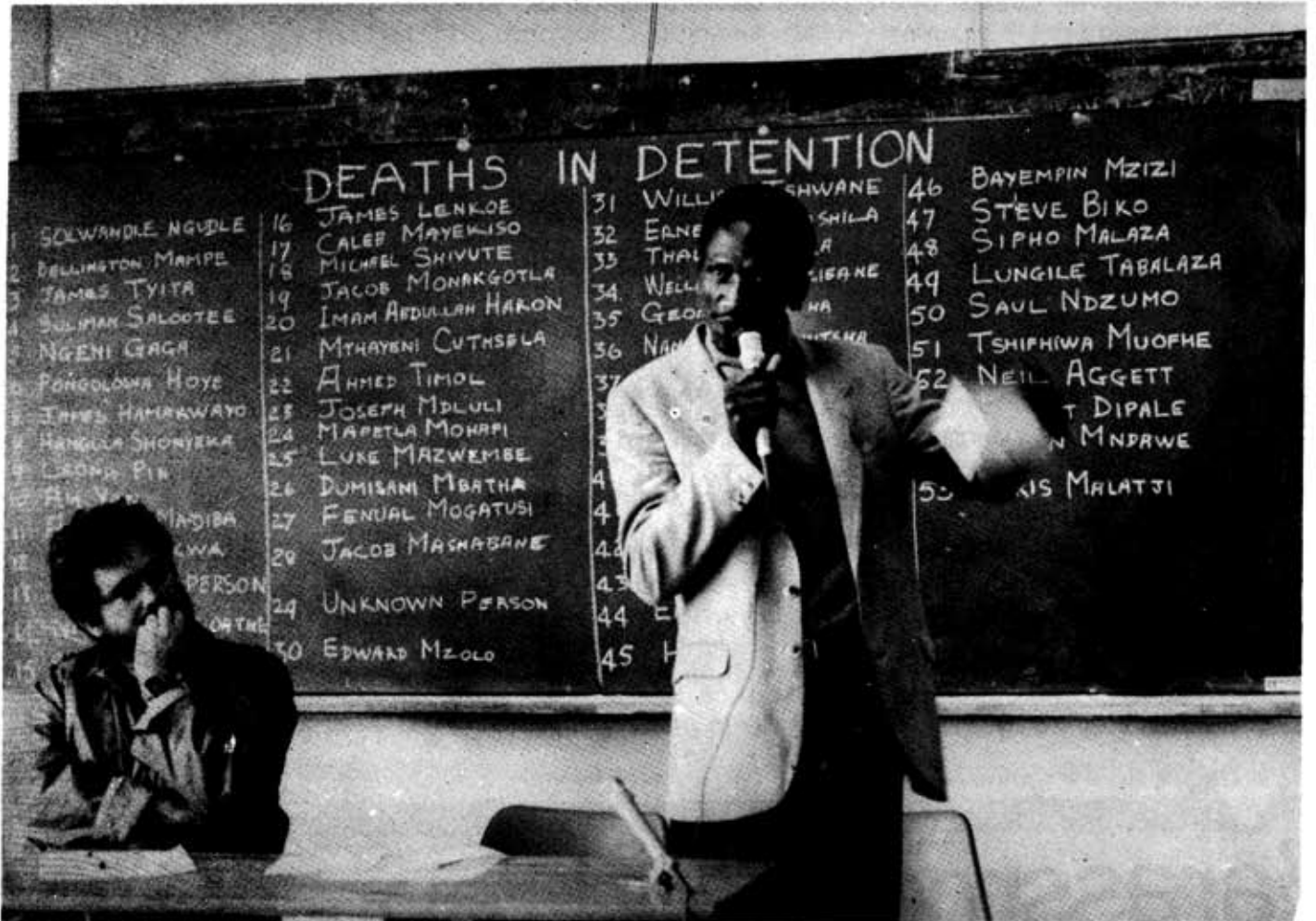
The first National Conference of the UDF held at Rocklands Centre, Mitchell's Plain, on the 20th August, 1983,

CONDEMNS

The Government for its policy of detaining opponents of apartheid under its draconian and undemocratic laws.

WE DEMAND:

1. The immediate release of all detained under Security Legislation.
2. The immediate release of all political prisoners.
3. The unconditional safe return of all political exiles.
4. The repeal of all security legislation relating to the detention, banning and banishment of people engaged in the freedom struggle.



Namibia

For many years, the people of Namibia, like us in South Africa have been subjected to the tyranny of racist rule.

Increasingly allegations are being made of SADF's brutality in that country. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally despite fierce resistance from the Namibian people and condemnation from the International community.

We believe that the struggle of Namibia's people against South African rule is a just one; that the Namibian struggle is our struggle.

Removals and group areas

The forced and cruel uprooting and removals of our people from our land and homes as evidenced at Crossroads and Khayalitsha have been the backbone of this government's apartheid scheme.

Bulldozers and trucks remove our people daily and dump them in areas far from their working places. Children are hurt, our leaders are killed, families have been torn apart and communities destroyed.

We have over the years been robbed of our land, shelter, and livelihood. Our protests are met with teargas, batons and bullets.

We are divided, urban from rural, community from community.

WE DEMAND the return of our land and homes.

WE DEMAND the right to live where we please in the land of our birth.

NOW THEREFORE, this First National Conference of the UDF held at ROCKLANDS, MITCHELL'S PLAIN, CAPE TOWN on 20 AUGUST 1983.

SALUTES

All communities who struggle against the group areas and removals, Demand that the government must repeal this group areas act and stop inhuman removals now, and return the land to the people.

URGES

Communities faced with removals to organise their people to resist removals.

FURTHER URGES

All communities to join with the affected community to fight removals.

Harassment and repression

1. That the government, despite its false claims of reform continues to use brutal force in its attempt to crush the forces of resistance;
2. That notwithstanding this onslaught, the government is finding it increasingly difficult to prevent the collapse of Apartheid;
3. That our leaders continue to be jailed, banished and harassed;
4. That this repression and harassment is directed at people's organisations.

HEREBY RESOLVE:

That we will not be deterred by these actions of the State to stop our march to freedom.

WE THEREFORE:

1. Demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and the unconditional release of all Namibians in South African jails.
2. Reject with contempt the attempt by the USA in particular, to link the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia with that of the Cubans from Angola.
3. Pledge our full and unqualified support to the heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the gallant leadership of SWAPO.
4. Demand that the SADF cease their illegal actions in Angola.

Imperialism

WE NOTE with concern the support of the Thatcher, Reagan and Begin administrations for the South African Government's Constitutional Proposals.

WE KNOW that the U.S. government is, through its policy of constructive engagement, really only furthering its own economic interests in our country at the expense of the well-being of our people.

This unashamed greed and callous support for this unpopular and undemocratic government by the government of USA, Britain and Israel cannot stop us in our march towards freedom and cannot crush our resistance.

WE BELIEVE:

1. that all foreign governments must recognise the right of other people to live in a non-racial democratic country;
2. that those who claim to believe in the noble ideals of democracy have the obligation to support the just struggles of the S.A. people,

NOW THEREFORE, this first National Conference of the UDF held at Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town on 20 August 1983,

RESOLVES:

1. to demand the immediate end to the U.S.-British-Israel Government support for the South African Government;
2. to reject the policy of constructive engagements and demand the immediate end to any support for the S.A. Government.



Speeches



The Following are condensed versions of the speeches delivered at the national launch of the UDF.

Frank Chikane

(Opening address to national conference)

Comrades, friends, this day, today, is a culmination of seven months' work to see the launching of the United Democratic Front. We are sure going to go into the record of history as an important event, bolstering the tide of the struggle picking up that day when the people shall say, we are free, justice is here, when the people shall live together as brothers and sisters without the exploitation and oppression of the other. However, although this is a unique day, it falls within the spectrum of the history of struggle in South Africa.

The first gathering of this nature took place in 1936 when the All African Convention was called to resist the removal of Africans from the voters roll and the enforcement of the 1936 Bill, which restricts the majority of oppressed South Africans from the land of their birth. The second event of the same nature happened in 1955, the People's Congress was held. The Coloured People's Organisation was there, the Congress of Democrats was there, the South African Indian Congress was there, the African National Congress was there, South African Congress of Trade Unions were there. They adopted the Freedom Charter on that occasion as the minimum demands of the struggle of the people. The unity then was necessitated by the onslaught by the nationalist Government which came on strongly to entrench apartheid, by putting up the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act: which meant that all opposition to the system would be declared communism, the Population Registration Act, and the Bantu Education Act. All those Acts necessitated the coming together of the people to fight together as the oppressed.

The struggle of our people has put so much pressure on the system that it could not take it anymore. Apartheid could not contain the resistance of the people, and as a result the oppressive state had to think of a new way of continuing to oppress the masses of our people of South Africa. The best way was to make an alliance with the military as well as with what I want to call the "super capitalists." Together they could work out a system that would actually contain the pressure that comes from the people.

These Constitutional Proposals, the Reform Proposals, Koornhof Bills came up as an attempt therefore to reach a climax of apartheid instead of leaving it to collapse. Although these were already discussed amongst people, the Labour Party created a division last year by accepting the proposals. That division was exploited by the system to try to give the impression that all the 'Coloured' people in this country accept those proposals and the liberal press also creates this impression. They expected also that the Indian Council suit. People who are concerned with justice started talking amongst themselves. At the Anti-SAIC conference people put up a commission to discuss the question of unity to fight against these proposals. I was there when Dr Alan Boesak called for a broad front to oppose these proposals.

This broad front therefore agreed on a declaration of principles on which they had to work. We are going to look into the final draft of those principles today, but those are

minimum demands around which we can rally in opposing these reform proposals. The idea of the Front therefore was a new concept in the struggle of the people for the last twenty years about, and it was understood to be standing for unity in action, accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences. There are also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject the reform proposals that are proposed by the Botha regime, and as a result they need a broad front to do this. That necessitates therefore, the formation of this group, not necessarily as a national political organisation, but as a united front for the sole purpose of opposing the Reform Proposals and the Koornhof Bills. Although the liberal press since then tried to project it as a Charter Organisation, we will still maintain our position. This is a broad front where all organisations and people in South Africa can come together, irrespective of race, religion and culture, with the explicit exclusion of those who work within the system. The front presents also its unique dynamic which we should contend with. We should learn also to listen and understand each other, to learn to work for this unity to put pressure on the system.

People went back to their regions consulting with people in the organisations to make this a reality. This resulted in meetings held in various regions to discuss the formation of the United Democratic Front. Natal launched their regional UDF in May, 1983, the Transvaal in May and the Western Cape in July. The Eastern Cape is also following these efforts. And, the hard work of these local regional organisations in reaching grassroots have put us

where we are today, so that we can reject the Constitutional Proposals and the Koornhof Bills in a national and representative voice of the masses because these will only serve to entrench the apartheid system. The South African Constitutional Bills will only create yet another undemocratic constitution. The Koornhof Bills will only concretise the deprivation of African people and their birthrights. Those bills put together will only serve to ensure white domination to the unequal distribution of wealth and the exploitation of the people. Workers shall continue to be divided. Low wages, poor working conditions, suppression of trade unionism and the migratory labour system shall continue. Apartheid will continue in the classrooms where students will still continue with unequal facilities and not get progressive education. The Group Areas Act will remain intact. The Bantustan policy will be vigorously implemented to justify the exclusion of Africans from the decision-making machinery of the country. Rents will continue increasing whilst unemployment increases and standards of living will be dropping every day. Women will still be oppressed, non-racial sport will continue to suffer, and I want to emphasise lastly, that therefore, to keep this system, you need a repressive apparatus that is going to destroy people, that's going to kill opposition, that's going to suppress and silence those who oppose this type of a system and therefore you need a very strong repressive machinery and a military fixed state to be able to deal with this type of situation. And, I want to call upon you all peace loving people in South Africa to put hands together, to walk side by side to fight against the implementation of these reform proposals so that we can then destroy the system, so we can put up a government by the people where people shall govern according to their will.

Francis Baard

It is a great honour for me to open up this wonderful rally and I welcome all delegates and everybody who is here. It reminds me of a song we used to sing at school - it was 'land of hope and glory, mother of the peace'. That means South Africa is our mother land and South Africa is going to be free even if the government does not want it.

I want to call upon our leaders. As we gather here in Cape Town they are locked up next door to us. So, I want to go out of my way to say: "Mandela come out, roll out, with all the rest of the political prisoners" We say we demand your release today because we want to take you home.

I say Mr Chairman, with all the blessings to all you people here, and I am asking the blessings to lead us to the different towns, villages and homes and with the same blessings I say to the people of Cape Town who have kept us here and giving them blessings to remain with them.

We say, South Africa, we want a parliament among the people here. We want a government of the people and our government would have to be elected among you people.

Now with these few remarks Mr Chairman, I declare this rally open.

Archie Gumede



Mr Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa - we meet on a very rare occasion and shortly after an honour has been bestowed on me which I do not feel I deserve but which will need the support of all people who were party to my election to the position - that is to being one of the three presidents of the United Democratic Front. We are all aware that this is an historical occasion. It is not often that the people who are gathered here have ever come together. There are people from the Transvaal, people from the Free State, people from the Border region, from Natal - demonstrating for all to see that South Africa is one country. We believe that South Africa is one nation and we are willing to demonstrate our belief in its nationhood. Today's happening is a true demonstration of the unity of the oppressed people of

South Africa. Being such an occasion, it is important that we show our determination not to accept oppression but to fight that oppression until we overcome, and given the determination that I have seen today, I have no doubts that we shall overcome.

This being an inaugural meeting, there is no report to be read to you. All we can say is what our goal is and how we are going to reach that goal. That goal we can reach only if we are to remain united and we are willing to work, join and link others who do not happen to be among us today. You all understand what this United Democratic Front is all about. You can see the banner there behind you - U.D.F. It is a front - it is not an organisation - it is a front and it is composed of different organisations which do not necessarily agree, ideologically in all respects with each other's points of view but who have all agreed that apartheid must be banished from the face of South Africa. It is a front - at this stage which is established for the purpose of struggling against the Constitutional Bills and the Koornhof Bills which are intended to entrench apartheid in our society. The individual organisations of this front have their own identity, but they are determined to co-operate with one another in this specific issue. You know the expression that is used in one of the bills is 'Orderly Movement', that is movement under the control of pass laws. Now many people here are feeling that they ought to co-operate in moving under the jurisdiction of the pass laws? I think today's meeting is a demonstration of the fact that it is only force that will obtain movement in terms of that Orderly Movement Bill and that when people are uprooted

from the place in which they already settled, that is called resettlement. How many of those people are to be resettled and how many are being resettled merely in order to satisfy an ideology for which they have absolutely no sympathy? We shall face this challenge by organising the people wherever they are. We have one advantage - we are able to move among our people with ease and we are able to communicate with them at will and organise and show them the road to freedom. Moses led the children out of Egypt - there is simply no reason why the people of South Africa cannot move out of the apartheid state into a state in which all shall be free and the people shall govern. However, I wish to make this quite clear that slogans are helpful but they are not the end of the road. To these slogans must be added sweat, to these slogans must be added labour and careful thought and careful action. You must be aware that the system has many ways of provoking people into rash action and that is one of the things that all of you must guard against. Whatever action you take must be action that has been fully debated and must be applied with determination. When you go back home, please go to your neighbours and tell them about what you found at Cape Town today. Tell them the experiences that you have had, the joy of living not in isolation but in association with all the people of South Africa. Please be aware of acting in isolation. It is a simple fact that we are interdependent, there is no-one who is independent and in these circumstances it is important that we should learn to co-operate with one another. We must avoid adventurism and we must act conscientiously and act with determination until we overcome.

Declaration



WE, THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SAY WITH ONE VOICE TO THE WHOLE WORLD THAT WE

cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa based on the will of the people,

will strive for the unity of our people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation.

AND, IN OUR MARCH TO A FREE AND JUST SOUTH AFRICA, WE ARE GUIDED BY THESE NOBLE IDEALS

we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country;

we stand for a single, non-racial, unfragmented South Africa, a South Africa free of bantustans and Group Areas;

we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE NOBLE IDEALS, AND, ON THE 20TH DAY OF AUGUST 1983, AT ROCKLANDS CIVIC CENTRE, MITCHELL'S PLAIN, WE JOIN HANDS AS COMMUNITY, WOMEN'S, STUDENTS', RELIGIOUS, SPORTING AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS TO SAY NO TO APARTHEID,

we say NO to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill - a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth

we say NO to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright;

we say YES to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day;

WE KNOW THAT

this government is determined to break the unity of our people;

that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. That rents and other basic charges will increase. And, that our living standards will fall;

that working people will be divided. Race from race; urban from rural; employed from unemployed; men from women. Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue;

George Sewpersadh

From this gathering and the spirit of this gathering we can see that the most of the people are determined to build a united democratic South Africa where there will be freedom for all. The wealth of this country has been produced by the workers in this country, and the message of the UDF is that those people who are responsible for the development of this country must have a share in the destiny of this country. The rulers of this land have tried to break the people by creating institutions like the Presidents Council and the South African Indian Council. They tried to get people to accept these institu-

tions. But, the people have made it clear that they are not things, that they are human beings and that they are not for sale - and no matter how much they are bribed they will not accept these institutions. This gathering here shows that the people of South Africa are not merely asking for change but they, by their activities and their struggle, they will actually change South Africa and bring about a South Africa in which power will be in the hands of the people. We will never rest, we will continue with the struggle until leaders like Nelson Mandela are free to govern this country.

Samson Ndou

I greet you in the name of the struggle for national liberation and social justice.

I am speaking as a trade unionist and worker. I am speaking in the place of Thozimile Gwetaha - the trade union leader. He is unable to be here today as the South African and Ciskei Security Police are making it difficult for him. Fellow unionists were detained on Wednesday.

Shooting, banning and imprisonment carry on while the government tries to make us believe that the government is really changing. We as workers know that nothing is changing and we cannot remain aloof from an attempt that shows that the people should defend themselves. Workers are part of society, part of the community, therefore, changing the society is a responsibility of workers because we have that power. As workers we have faced problems in the factory, low wages, unhealthy and dangerous working conditions, lack of

representation. This is the reality of our working day and we know trade unions are fighting to change this. But, when the factory gates close we go back to our communities, our townships where we also experience problems. With our poor wages we have to face high rents, unrealistic electricity bills, expensive transport, we live in overcrowded houses because there are not enough houses for us.

In our schools, our children do not have proper facilities and are given a racist education, are taught in a way that hides the real proud history of our people. Students in schools are fighting to change these. Organisations have very difficult tasks facing them and different problems to fight but they are fighting a whole system which is responsible for each and every problem that we face. Although trade unionists and workers struggle is the major struggle as it is a fight between workers and bosses, we cannot hope to change the syst-

em as a whole unless we unite all the organisations working in different areas.

Exploitation and low wages in the factories cannot exist without influx control, pass laws, group areas, and the education system. Our people are oppressed wherever they are. We must fight to change that exploitation and oppression.

The word change is a word used by the ministers of parliament and liberal bosses. We know that these changes are not based on the will of the people because we do not have rights and because wherever changes are spoken about by those who divide us, those changes are not in the interest of the workers but in the interest of the bosses.

These Koornhof and Constitutional Proposals are not the first acts of the repressive regime, they are simply the ongoing process of domination and exploitation of one class over another. This is the history of our country. This is why we fight for freedom. The current state of parliament cannot be seen in isolation from this ongoing process of domination and exploitation of the majority of our people. The government and the bosses have tried all the means at their disposal to obstruct the organisation of workers. In 1974 a frightened Nationalist regime responding to the waves of strikes which spread through Natal and the Witwatersrand amended the Industrial Conciliation Act in an attempt to offer workers work committees in place of trade unions. Workers however, refused to have anything to do with these toothless bodies and continued to organise themselves. Within months, twenty new independent black trade unions had been formed. In 1976 our children took the lead and shook the country with 18 months of continuous acting against apartheid domination saying that they would rather die fig-

hting for freedom than live passively as slaves.

They stood unflickingly in the face of police, guns, batons, dogs and teargas - this has been a point of no return and left a memory in the minds of freedom loving people which could never be erased. With the suffering of their children in mind, workers threw themselves into the tasks of organising to smash this brutal system. A terrified Nationalist government, working hand in hand with the bosses, appointed the Wiehahn Commission to look into new ways of controlling the organisations of the working class. When it replied the committee made a lot of noise about the registration of trade unions. Some liberal and fascists circles hailed this as a breakthrough. After some sixty years of refusing to officially recognise the existence of black trade unions, the government agreed to recognise them. Those of us who had been hardened in years of struggle saw these proposals for what they were - an attempt to impose new and stricter control on the working class. Workers stood firm, they were not fooled. Since when were the government and the bosses seen to agree with our organisations? How could they expect us to trust them when every day they force us to work for long hours for little pay under dangerous conditions when we have to travel long distances by trains and by busses from the ghettos and come to their tiny cities to cater to their needs.

Through our united refusals to accept these so-called new dispensations we will be able to counter a parliamentary side-show which has convinced no-one. Fanie Botha has already sent bosses to deal with "undisciplined" trade unions. Despite this challenge we were able to maintain our independence and our democracy and to grow as organisations of the working class. We face severe challenges from the bosses taking advantage

of the economic recession. Hundreds and thousands of workers have been fired or retrenched, in an attempt to break trade union organisations. The threat of retrenchment is used to intimidate those lucky enough to have jobs into not joining trade unions. Anyone determined enough to demand higher wages or better working conditions is immediately threatened with dismissal. The government meanwhile has taken a back seat and is leaving it up to the bosses to break the unions.

In unity however, there is strength. To counter this threat, the unions have been trying to form a federation to make a combined attack on the bosses. Such a setup will be the most powerful alliances of trade un-

ions to emerge since the South African Congress of Trade Unions was forced underground by way of state oppression in the early 60s. I would like to use this platform today to call on all democratic trade unions to unite and work together in defence of the interests of the working class. But, the struggle of the working class will have to go beyond the factory gates. Women, students and workers must come together to build this political movement and in doing so, must work together as progressives and as democrats and agree to bury organisational and ideological differences in the interest of a broader movement. Forward to the United Democratic Front, forward to the workers' struggle, forward to the people's democracy.

**AN INJURY TO ONE
IS AN INJURY TO ALL
A DISMISSAL TO ONE
IS A DISMISSAL TO ALL**

Aubrey Mokoena

Thank you Mr Chairman, comrades. I greet you all in the mighty name of liberation - I say to you Amandla - Africa. We gather here on this very great occasion. We all belong to different religions but I think we will all agree that we are all children of God who have been created in his image and his likeness. We congregate here like a big avalanche, like a big glacier which is going down a big mountain of apartheid to erode inexorably. We must remember our leaders on Robben Island and we must pray, but when we pray we must not do like the missionaries who said we must close our eyes and in the meantime they pull the land from beneath our feet. I would like to call upon you to pray like revolutionaries with your eyes wide open because I believe we can never win the struggle unless God is amongst us. And, the God I am talking about is not a God who is an accomplice to oppression. It is not a God who just ignores things that happen to us. I would like us to pray for Nelson Mandela, I would like us to pray for all his comrades. I would like us to pray for all the people who have been detained, I would like us to pray for all the people who are standing trial because of the unjust laws of the country and who are being tried for their convictions. I would like us to pray for those people who are in exile and I beseech you to pray with your eyes wide open as revolutionaries - I would like us to pray for people who are in prison, I would like us to pray for the people who died in the struggle for liberation - for the blood they have shed from the start of the conflict 331 years ago lives coming through the ages culmin-

ating in 1976 when the youth said 'enough is enough!' and that blood which was shed is surely going to irrigate the tree of freedom. Why are we gathered here this afternoon? We are gathered here because of the conflict and dehumanisation of our people. We are gathered because of their dispossession and because our people have been disenfranchised.

The regime is talking about total strategy and total onslaught and we are here under the banner of UDF to galvanize our forces to move forward like an enormous pillar, like an enormous force to say NO to the Koorhof Bills, to say NO to the Constitutional Laws and to say NO to the feudal dispensation.

The continent of Africa is stretching its muscles, is rising in hope and is going ahead to the goal of liberation. But, we cannot have a struggle within a struggle; everybody is invited to come under the big umbrella of UDF. There are people who want to establish small principalities. Time and again they raise their little umbrellas and say come under my umbrella, next week somebody also is going to say come under my umbrella, we know, we do not want to be fragmented.

Leila Issel

My daddy cannot be here because he is banned. He supports the UDF and he wants us to be free. He believes that freedom will come in our lifetime.
AMANDLA!

Abdul-Hamid Gabier



In the name of Allah most gracious and most merciful. I testify there is no God worthy of word but Allah, and I testify that Mohamed is the messenger of Allah.

Mr Chairman, my brothers and sisters, I wish to convey to you the salutation and best wishes of the Muslim Judicial Council - namely Sheikh Mohamed. His travels to the north had been arranged a long time ago and could not be postponed.

For me, this is indeed a unique occasion in the history of South Africa. More so for the oppressed people of South Africa. The formation of the UDF and it's launching is like a dream come true. People from all walks of life have come together for the first time to voice their rejection of the South African situation, particularly the Koornhof Bills and the so-called new dispensation for so-called coloureds and Indians by introducing the President's Council. This gathering, despite all the hardships and difficulties which we the oppressed face, shows the power of humanity, the noble creation of God.

We are committed religiously from an Islamic point of view to

associate ourselves with the oppressed to help us in bringing about a just society. Let it be said here today loud and clear as South Africans, we demand changes. not cosmetic changes. We demand justice, we demand equality for all our people. We demand the restoration of the rights with which we were born and the abolition of the homelands, we demand freedom of movement and the abolition of the pass laws. We oppose, with all that it means, apartheid, segregation, separate development and any other name for Africans. We oppose Apartheid in toto because it is anti-religious. We demand the establishment of a democratic government representing all the people for all the people.

Anything short of this will be non-democratic and anti-democratic and as such will be unacceptable. We have been divided for too long, brothers and sisters. Our survival depends on our unity. We owe this to our children and grandchildren and the generations to come will be proud of what we have done not only today but when we are called on the future to sacrifice for the freedom of South Africa.

George Blouws

I have heard many slogans being shouted here today but slogans alone will not bring us freedom. I want to tell you comrades that we must go back to our organisations to strengthen them.

Right through the country, the flame of freedom has been lit - this gathering here today proves that no-one could flicker out the flame of freedom. It's alive and well.

We know that today we have before us in the parliament of the white regime, a constitution which is being proposed for the people.

Mr Chairman and the house, I want to avail myself this opportunity to welcome each and everyone to the people's parliament. This is the people's parliament.

Oscar Mpetha

(Taped message to the UDF rally from Oscar Mpetha, who was unable to attend through illness.)

I welcome all the brave women and men who have come to attend the UDF launching in our province. I think that it is a great honour for us to host the first national UDF gathering here in the mother city.

I believe the way in which people from all over the country have responded to the UDF shows us the way ahead. The people themselves are now directing the opposition against the Nationalists. The people themselves have shown that the National Party has no majority at all. The time has come for the Nationalists to learn that they can no longer harrass people and push them around.

I feel it is a great pity that I am unable to attend this historic occasion and address you all personally. I am with you though on this great day.



Allan Boesak



President, distinguished platform guests, ladies and gentlemen! We have arrived at a historic moment. We have brought together under the aegis of the United Democratic Front the broadest and most significant coalition of groups and organisations struggling against apartheid, racism and injustice since the early nineteen fifties. We have been able to create a unity amongst freedom loving people this country has not seen for many a year. I am particularly happy to note that this meeting is not merely a gathering of loose individuals. No, we represent organisations deeply rooted in the struggle for justice, deeply rooted in the heart of our people. Indeed, I believe we are standing at the birth of what could become the greatest and most significant people's movement in more than a quarter of a century.

We are here to say that the Government's constitutional proposals are inadequate, and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South Africa's people. But more than that, we are here to say that

what we are working for is one, undivided South Africa which shall belong to all of its people, an open democracy from which no single South African shall be excluded, a society in which the human dignity of all its people shall be respected. We are here to say that there are rights that are neither conferred by nor derived from the State; you have to go back beyond the dim mist of eternity to understand their origin: they are God-given. And so we are here not to beg for those rights, we are here to claim them.

In a sense, the formation of the United Democratic Front both highlights and symbolizes the crisis apartheid and its supporters have created for themselves. After a history of some 331 years of slavery, racial discrimination, dehumanization and economic exploitation, what they expected were acceptance of the status quo, docility and subservience. Instead they are finding a people, refusing to accept racial injustice and ready to face the challenges of the moment.

After more than three decades of

apartheid, they expected humble submission to the harsh rule of totalitarianism and racial supremacy. Instead, they find a people ready at every level of society to fight this evil system.

After more than twenty years of apartheid education they expected to see totally brainwashed, perfect little "hotnotjies" and "kaffertjies" who knew their place in the world. Instead, they find the most politically conscious generation of young people determined to struggle for a better future.

After the draconian measures of the 1960s and the ever harsher oppression of the so-called security laws, they expected a people immobilized by the tranquilizing drugs of apathy and fear. Instead, they find a rising tide of political and human consciousness that swept away complacency and shook South Africa to its very foundations.

After the tragic happenings of the seventies - the banning of our organisations and so many of those who struggle for justice; the torture and death of so many in detention; the merciless killing of our children on the streets of the nation; they expected surrender. Instead, here we are at this historic occasion telling South Africa and the world: we are struggling for our human dignity and for the future of our children - we shall never give up!

In all of this, those in power in this country have made the fundamental mistake of all totalitarian regimes who do not depend on the loyalty of the people but on the power of the gun: they have not reckoned with the determination of a people to be free. Because they depend on propaganda, deceit and coercion, they have forgotten that no lie can live forever and that the fear of the gun is always overcome by the longing for freedom. They have forgotten that it is true: you can kill the body but you can-

not kill the spirit and the determination of a people.

The most immediate reason for us coming together here today is the continuation of the Government's apartheid policies as seen in the constitutional proposals. In recent weeks some people have asked me with greater urgency than before (and I am sure this question has been put to you also) "Why do you not see the positive side of apartheid?"

Now when you are white, your children's education is guaranteed and paid for by the state; when your job is secure and blacks are prevented from being too much competition; when your home has never been taken away and the citizenship of the country of your birth is not in danger; when your children don't have to die of hunger and malnutrition and when your over-privileged position is guaranteed by security laws and the best-equipped army on the continent - then I can understand why some people believe that apartheid has its positive side.

But for those of us who are black and who suffer under this system there is no positive side. How can we see something positive in a system which is built on oppression, injustice and exploitation? What is positive about a system which destroys, systematically and by design, the human dignity of people; which makes as irrelevant and unimportant a thing as skin colour the basis of society and the key to the understanding of human relationships, political participation and economic justice? How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it spawns policies which cause little children to die of hunger and malnutrition, which break up black family life and which spell out a continuous hopeless death for millions of black people?

How can apartheid be positive when it keeps part of South Af-

rica's children manacled in the chains of unfreedom and the other part in the chains of fear? And even so, the time has come for white people to realise that their destiny is inextricably bound with our destiny and that they shall never be free until we are free, and I am so happy that so many of our white brothers and sisters are saying that by their presence here today.

Because it is true: people who think that their security, and peace lie in the perpetuation of intimidation, dehumanization and violence, are not free. They will never be free as long as they have to kill our children in order to safe-guard their over-privileged positions. They will never be free as long as they have to lie awake at night worrying whether a black government will one day do the same to them as they are doing to us, when white power will have come to its inevitable end.

But we must also ask the question: what is positive about the Government's constitutional proposals? In order that there should be no misunderstanding, let me as clearly and briefly

as possible, repeat the reasons why we reject these proposals.

- Racism, so embedded in South African society, is once again written into the constitution. All over the world, people are beginning to recognize that racism is politically untenable, Sociologically unsound and morally unacceptable. But in this country, the doctrine of racial supremacy, although condemned by most churches in South Africa as heresy and idolatry, is once again enshrined in the constitution as the basis upon which to build the further development of our society and the nurturing of human relationships.

- All the basic laws, those laws which are the very pillars of apartheid, indeed, those laws without which the system cannot survive - mixed marriages, group areas, racial classification, separate and unequal education, to name but a few - remain untouched and unchanged.

- The homelands policy, which is surely the most immoral and objectionable aspect of the apartheid policies of the government, forms the basis of the



willful exclusion of 80% of our nation from the new political deal. Indeed, in the words of the proposals by the President's Council, the homelands policy is to be regarded as "irreversible". So our African brothers and sisters will be driven even further into the wilderness of homeland politics, millions will have to find their political rights in the sham independence of those bush republics; millions more will be forcibly removed from their homes into resettlement camps.

- Clearly the oppression will continue, the brutal break-up of black family life will not end. The apartheid line is not at all abolished, it is simply shifted so as to include those so-called coloureds and Indians who are willing to co-operate with the Government.

- Not only is the present system of apartheid given more elasticity making fundamental change even harder than before, but in the new proposals the dream of democracy to which we strive is still further eroded.

- So while the proposals may mean something for those middle-class blacks who think that the improvement of their own economic position is the highest good, it will not bring any significant changes to the life of those who have no rights at all, who must languish in the poverty and utter destitution of the homelands, and who are forbidden by law to live together as families in what is called "white South Africa".

It cannot be repeated often enough that all South Africans who love this country and who care for its future, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Christian and Muslim, have no option but to reject these proposals.

Apartheid is a cancer in the body politic of the world, a scourge on our society and an everlasting shame to the church of

Jesus Christ in the world and in this country. It exists only because of economic greed, cultural chauvinism, political oppression, maintained by both systematic and violence and a false sense of racial superiority. And therefore we must resist it. We must resist it because it is in fundamental opposition to the noble principles of our Judeo-Christian heritage, and of the Muslim faith. We must resist it because it is a fundamental denial of all that is worthwhile and human in our society. It is in opposition to the will of God for this country. We must resist it because in its claim to be Christian apartheid is a blasphemy, idolatry and a heresy.

To be sure, the new proposals will make apartheid less blatant in some ways. It will be modernized and streamlined, and in its new multi-coloured cloak it will be less conspicuous and less offensive to some. Nonetheless, it will still be there. And we must remember, apartheid is a thoroughly evil system and as such it cannot be modified, modernized or streamlined. It has to be irrevocably eradicated. And we must continue to struggle until that glorious day shall dawn when apartheid shall exist no more.

And so, to those who ask why we are not satisfied and when we shall be satisfied we must say in clear, patient terms: we shall not be satisfied as long as injustice reigns supreme on the throne of our land. We shall not be satisfied as long as those who rule us are not inspired by justice but dictated by fear, greed and racialism. We shall not be satisfied until South Africa is once again one, undivided country, a democracy where there shall be meaningful participation in a democratic process of government for all our people.

We shall not be satisfied until the wealth and riches of this country are shared by all. We

students will continue to suffer under unequal education, created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour. Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms; the religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our families;

non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sports facilities. And, forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow

WE KNOW THAT APARTHEID WILL CONTINUE

that white domination and exploitation will continue; that forced removals, the Group Areas Act and the Bantustans will remain.

WE KNOW that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources of the country. That the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

WE KNOW that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us. Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and death.

Mindful of the fact that the new Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination,

WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO UNITING ALL OUR PEOPLE WHEREVER THEY MAY BE, IN THE CITIES AND COUNTRYSIDE, THE FACTORIES AND MINES, SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, HOUSES AND SPORTS FIELDS, CHURCHES, MOSQUES AND TEMPLES, TO FIGHT FOR OUR FREEDOM

we therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to

WORK TOGETHER TO

organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front;

consult our people regularly, honestly, and bravely strive to represent their views and aspirations;

educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity;

build and strengthen all organisations of the people;

unite in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

AND NOW THEREFORE

WE PLEDGE TO COME TOGETHER IN THIS UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND THE KOORNHOF BILLS.

shall not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

We must turn to one other important question, namely the question of whites and blacks working together. This has been mentioned as a reason why the United Democratic Front has been so severely attacked by some and why they have refused to give their co-operation.

They are saying to us that white people cannot play a meaningful role in the struggle for justice in this country because they are always, by definition, the oppressor. Because the oppression of our people wears a white face, because the laws are made by a white government, because we are suffering so much under a system created and maintained by white people, they say there can be no co-operation between white and black until all of this is changed.

I would like to say to those who think this way that I understand the way they feel. We have seen with our own eyes brutalization of our people at the hands of whites. We have seen police brutality. We have experienced the viciousness and the violence of apartheid. We have been trampled on for so long, we have been dehumanized for so long. But it is not true that apartheid has the support of all white people. There are those who have struggled with us, who have gone to jail, who have been tortured and banned, there are those who have died in the struggle for justice. And we must not allow our anger for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred of all white people. Let us not build our struggle upon hatred and hopes for simple revenge. Let us even now seek to lay the foundations for reconciliation between white and black in this country by working together, praying together, struggling together for justice.

No, the nature and the quality of our struggle for liberation

cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin, but rather by the quality of one's commitment to justice, peace and human liberation. And in the final analysis, judgment will be given, not in terms of whiteness or blackness, whatever the ideological content of those words may be today, but in terms of the persistent faithfulness we are called to in this struggle.

Besides, the very fact that we are talking about the constitutional proposals already reveals the paradox in this argument. The government have been pushing ahead with these proposals precisely because they have been supported and accepted by some people from the black community who think that the short term economic gains and the semblance of political power are more important than the total liberation of all South Africa's people. So our struggle is not only against the white Government and their plans, but also against those in the black community who through their collaboration seek to give credibility to these plans.

But there is something else that we must say. South Africa belongs to all its people. That is a basic truth we must cling to tenaciously for now and for the future. This country is our country, and its future is not safe in the hands of people who despise democracy and trample on the rights of the people whether they be white or black.

Its future is not safe in the hands of people - black or white - who depend upon economic exploitation and human degradation to build their empires; Its future is not safe in the hands of people - black or white - who need the flimsy and deceitful cloak of ethnic superiority to cover the nakedness of their racialism; Its future is not safe in the hands of people - white or black - who seek to secure their unjustly required privileged positions by



violent repression of the weak, the exploited and the needy.

Its future is not safe in the hands of people - white or black who put their faith simply in the madness of growing militarism. So for the sake of our country and our children, whether you be white or black, resist those people, whether they be white or black.

So let us not be fearful of those who sit in the seats of power, their lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification. Let us not be intimidated by those who so arrogantly, so frighteningly, echo their master's voice.

We are doing what we are doing not because we are white or black, we are doing what we are doing because it is right. And we shall continue to do so until justice and peace embrace and South Africa becomes the nation it is meant to be.

In the meantime let me remind you of three little words, words that express so eloquently our seriousness in this struggle. You don't have to have a vast vocabulary to understand them. You don't need a philosophical bent to grasp them -

they are just three little words. The first word is ALL. We want all of our rights. Not just some rights, not just a few token handouts the government sees fit to give - we want all our rights. And we want all of South Africa's people to have their rights. Not just a selected few, not just "coloureds" or "Indians" after they had been made honorary whites. We want the rights of all South Africans, including those whose citizenship has already been stripped away by this government.

The second word is the word HERE.

We want all of our rights here, in a united, undivided South Africa. We do not want them in impoverished homelands, we don't want them in our separate little group areas. We want them here in this land which one day we shall once again call our own.

The third word is the word NOW.

We want all of our rights, we want them here and we want them now. We have been waiting so long, we have been struggling so long. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long. Now is the time!

And as we struggle let us remember that change does not roll in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and hard work of those who are willing to take the risk of fighting for freedom, democracy and human dignity.

As we struggle on, let us continue to sing that wonderful hymn of freedom: Nkosi Sikilel i Afrika! I know today we are singing that hymn with tears in our eyes. We are singing it while we are bowed down by the weight of oppression and battered by the winds of injustice. We are singing it while our old people languish in resettlement camps and our children are dying of hunger in the homelands.

We are singing it now while we suffer under the brutality of apartheid and while the blood of our children is calling to God from the streets of our nation.

But we must work for the day when we shall sing it when we are free. We shall sing it on that day when our children shall no longer be judged by the colour of their skin but by the humanness of their character.

- We shall sing it on that day when even here in this country, in Johannesburg, Cape Town, in Port Elizabeth and Durban the sanctity of marriage and family life shall be respected, and no law shall require of man to put asunder what God has joined together.

- We shall sing it on that day when in this rich land no child shall die of hunger and no infant shall die untimely; and our elderly shall close their eyes in peace, and the wrinkled stomachs of our children shall be filled with food just as their

lives shall be filled with meaning.

- We shall sing it when here in South Africa white and black will have learned to love one another and work together in building a truly good and beautiful land.

With this faith, we shall yet be able to give justice and peace their rightful place on the throne of our land

With this faith, we shall yet be able to see beyond the darkness of our present into the bright and glittering dayling of our future;

With this faith we shall be able to speed up the day when all of South Africa's children will embrace each other and sing with new meaning:

NKOSI SIKILEL I'AFRIKA!

GOD BLESS AFRIKA - GUIDE HER RULERS - BLESS HER CHILDREN GIVE HER PEACE!



Biographies



Archie Gumede, Oscar Mpetha and Albertina Sisulu were elected National Presidents of the United Democratic Front at the founding conference on August 20 1983.

Archie Gumede



Archie Gumede, an advocate from Natal, has been involved in political organisation almost the whole of his life. His father, Josiah Gumede, was one of the founding members of the African National Congress in 1912, and President of the ANC from 1927 to 1930. Archie was a member of the Durban delegation to the historic Congress of the People in 1955 and a treason trialist the following year.

Since 1979, Archie has been president of the Natal Release Mandela Committee. During 1980, the Release Mandela Campaign, conducted throughout South Africa, called for the release of all political prisoners as one of the essential conditions to be met before a new constitution based on the will of the people could be drawn up.

Oscar Mpetha



Seventy Three-year-old Oscar Mpetha, respected community leader, was a founder member of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union. Through his involvement in the AFCWU, Oscar served as an organiser for the South African Congress of Trade Unions in the Western Cape, during the 1950s. He was also elected President of the Western Cape Region of the African National Congress. Along with Chief Albert Luthuli, he was detained and then banned for many years.

With the re-emergence of the democratic trade union movement during the 1970s, Oscar once again became active in the AFCWU. He was also instrumental in

establishing the Nyanga Residents Association. In 1980 he was detained, along with 50 others. After five months in detention, Oscar and 18 others were charged with "murder" and "terrorism". After a marathon three-year trial Oscar was found guilty of terrorism, but was released on R1 bail pending appeal.

Shortly after his release, Oscar was elected President of the W. Cape region of the UDF, and is one of the three national UDF presidents. Poor health, including the amputation of one leg, did not allow him to attend the National UDF launch. He did however deliver a taped message to the rally.

Albertina Sisulu



Albertina Sisulu, recently unbanned after 17 years, was not able to be present at the UDF launch. She is currently awaiting trial, facing charges under the infamous Internal Security Act.

Albertina is a person who has demonstrated over the years the type of commitment and dedication needed in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

In the 1950's, she belonged to both the then-legal African National Congress Women's League and the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). She played a leading role in mobilising and organising women around issues such as rent increases, education and pass laws. As one of the leaders of the FSAW, she was part of the 20 000-strong demonstration of women that gathered on August 9 1956 outside the Union buildings in Pretoria to protest the extension of passes to African women.

Albertina is the wife of ANC leader Walter Sisulu, who is now serving a life sentence on Robben Island.

Rev Frank Chikane



Frank Chikane was a student at Turfloop from 1972 to 1976, and then became a pastor in the Apostolic Faith Mission Church. He was first detained in January 1977, and again for six months in 1977/78. Frank was suspended from the church in 1981 for "involvement in politics" and again detained at the end of 1981 for seven months. He is at present the Director of the Institute for Contextual Theology, and a vice-President of the UDF (Transvaal Region).

Helen Joseph



Helen Joseph was born in England in 1905 and came to South Africa in 1931. After the Second World War, she became a director of a community centre in Fordsburg, and in 1949, she was appointed supervisor of community centres in Cape Town for the "coloured" community.

In 1951, Helen moved back to Johannesburg to become secretary of the Medical Aid Society of the non-racial Garment Workers' Union led by Solly Sachs. During this time, she helped to form the Congress of Democrats, and became the Transvaal secretary of the Federation of South African Women.

In 1956, thousands of women from all over South Africa converged on the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest the extension of passes to African women. Together with Lillian Ngoyi, Sophie Williams and Rahima Moosa, Helen sought to present to the then Prime Minister, Dr Strijdom, with a nationwide petition, demanding the repeal of the hated pass laws. Strijdom was "not available".

Later that year, Helen was both arrested for Treason and became a listed person, which meant she could not (and still cannot) be quoted. In 1957 she was banned from attending social gatherings. Detained for five months. After Sharpsville, she became the first person in South Africa to be placed under house arrest. This ban was renewed again in 1967 for a further five years. Following a major operation for cancer in 1971, her banning order was not immediately renewed. However, Helen was jailed in 1977, for four months, for refusing to answer questions about an alleged visit to Winnie Mandela. In 1980, she was banned again for a further two years.

The UDF salutes Helen as a veteran in the struggle for a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Samson Ndou



Samson Ndou first became involved with trade unions during the 1960s when he joined the Coal Workers' Union, an affiliate of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. He was detained for four months in 1969, then charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. When charges were dropped, Samson was redetained for five months, and was then charged under the Terrorism Act. He was found not guilty, and immediately banned in October 1970, with Rita Ndzanga, for five years.

Released after five months in detention during 1976, Samson joined the Black Allied Workers Union, but left after the formation of the South African Allied Workers Union. He helped to form the General and Allied Workers Union, and became President of GAWU in May, 1982, after a further seven months in detention. He was elected President of the South African Mine Workers Union in January, 1983, and is also a Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Aubrey Mokoena

Aubrey Mokoena enrolled at Turfloop University in 1970 and was elected SRC President in 1972. He was expelled that year for leading protests against the expulsion of fellow student

Abram Tiro. He joined the Black Community Programme in 1974 and was detained for seven months following the pro-Frelimo rallies. He was elected secretary of the Black Parents Association in 1976 and was again detained, this time for eight months.

Following the banning of 18 organisations on 19 October 1977, Aubrey was held at the Modder-Bee prison for 13 months. On his release, he was banned for five years. His order lapsed in July this year. He is currently a member of the UDF National Executive and publicity secretary of the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal.

George Sewpersadh

George's involvement in the Natal Indian Congress began with his election as Manor Gardens delegate to the General Conference in the late 50's.

After the intensified repression in the early 60's, with the leadership of the NIC banned, in jail or in exile, the NIC activities were curtailed. George was one of the leading organisers in the revival of the NIC in the early 70's. He eventually became its president and through his sterling leadership the NIC has maintained a dominant role within the Indian community.

George has seen the inside of police cells and prisons on a number of occasions. He spent almost three months during the time of the schools boycotts in 1980 in prison. He has served two terms of banning and house arrests. He is today still the President of the NIC and a vice-president of the UDF.

Allan Boesak

It was Dr Allan Boesak's call for united opposition to the new constitution at the Anti-South African Indian Council conference in January 1983 that led to the formation of the United Democratic Front. He delivered one of the keynote addresses to the UDF rally, which was received with great acclaim.

Allan Boesak studied for the ministry at the University of the Western Cape and obtained his Doctorate from the Free University of Amsterdam. He was involved with the Christian Institute before its banning in 1977 and points to Dr Beyers Naude as one of the chief influences on his life.

At present, Allan Boesak is president of the World Alliance of Reform Churches which declared Apartheid a heresy. He is Assessor of the NG Sendingkerk, as well as a member of the General Synod and the Commission for Ecumenical Relations. He is also chaplain to the students of the University of the Western Cape, the Belleville Training College and the Peninsula Technikon. He is minister of the Belleville congregation.

George Blouws

George Blouws was a member of the Franchise Action Committee and the Coloured Peoples Congress during the 1950's. In 1969, he joined the Labour Party, which at that stage, after a decade of repression, was one of the few organisational options open to political activists. He resigned in 1973 after the Labour Party changed its position on the Management Committees and decided to support them.

George Blouws is a leading member of the Ravensmead Resident Action Committee, an affiliate of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee.

Francis Beard



Born in 1901, Francis Beard worked first as a domestic servant and a teacher, before becoming the secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union in Port Elizabeth. Active during the 1940s, 50s and 60s in the trade union movement, she was elected to the National Executive of the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Francis was also a member of the African National Congress as well as the ANC Women's League. An organiser in the 1952 Defiance Campaign and the 1954 boycott of Bantu Education, she was one of the accused in the 1956 Treason Trial. Detained in December 1962, and then banned in 1963, she was then arrested and kept for one year in solitary confinement. Francis was sentenced to five years in prison in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. On her release in 1969, she was banished to the Northern Transvaal, and her family was evicted from her house in Port Elizabeth.

Francis Beard truly represents many generations of activists who have fought for both the non-racial trade union movement as well as for political liberation.

Registration



National Patrons

Francis Baard
Dr Allan Boesak
Dennis Goldberg
Hassan Howa
Helen Joseph
Johnny Issel
Ahmed Kathrada
Martha Mahlangu
Nelson Mandela
Govan Mbeki
Raymond Mhlaba
Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa
Florence Mkhize
Andrew Mlangeni
Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed
Elias Motsoaledi
Mrs Monty Naiker
Rev Beyers Naude
Dorothy Nyembe
Walter Sisulu

National Executive

Presidents

Archie Gumede
Oscar Mpetha
Albertina Sisulu

Vice-Presidents

Virgil Bonhomme
Rev Frank Chikane
George du Plessis
Joseph Marks
George Sewpersadh
Christmas Tinto

National Secretary

Popo Molefe

National Publicity Secretary

Mosiwe 'Terror' Lekota

National Treasurers

Mewa Ramgobin
Cassiem Saloojee

Regional Secretaries

Moss Chikane
Cheryl Carolus
Joe Phaahla
Trevor Manuel
Yunus Mohamed
Mohamed Vali

Additional Executive Members

Andrew Boraine
Jerry Coovadia
Mildred Leseia
Aubrey Mokoena
Dr R A M Saloojee
Rev Mcibisi Xundu

List of Organisations with branches and affiliates, that registered as participants at the National Conference of the United Democratic Front, August 20, 1983.

Transvaal

A) Student

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
-Turfloop
-Wits Black Students Society
-Medunsa
-Soweto Teachers Training College
-Soweto College of Education
-Transvaal Regional Committee
-Student Tuition Society
National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
-Wits SRC
Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
-Soweto
-Pretoria
-Alexandria

B) YOUTH

Kagiso Youth League
Benoni Youth League
Benoni Student Movement
Alexandria Youth Congress
Lenasia Youth League
Bosmont Youth Organisation
Saulsville/Attridgeville Youth Organisation
Lutheran Church Youth League
Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO)
Young Christian Students (YCS)
-Pretoria branch
-Central branch
Time to Learn
Reiger Park Youth Movement
SACC Youth Desk

C) Worker

South African Mineworkers Union
Municipal and General Workers Union
General and Allied Workers Union
South African Allied Workers Union (Tvl)

Orange Vaal and General Workers Union
Johannesburg Scooter Drivers Association
Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union
Council of Unions of South Africa

D) Civic Associations

Winterveld Action Committee
Mamelodi Action Committee
Federation of Resident's Association - Lenasia
Sendane Civic Association
Reiger Park Tenants and Ratepayers Association
Co-ordinating Rents Action Committee (CRAC)
Soweto Committee of Ten
Motlakeng Civic Association
Westbury Residents Action Committee
Naledi Civic Association
Emedeni South Civic Association
Mapetta Village Civic Association
East Rand People's Organisation
Tembisa Civic Association
Noordgesig Ratepayers Association
Actonville Rents Action Association
Orlando Civic Association
Extension 9 Residents Association - Lenasia
Extension 10 Residents Association - Lenasia
Soweto Civic Association
Huhudi Civic Association
Soweto Residents Association
Krugersdorp Residents Association
Jabulani Civic Organisation
Ten Morgan Residents Action Committee

Diepkloof Extension Residents Committee
Kincoss Civic Association
Ennedate Civic Association
West Rand Action Committee

D) Women

Federation of South African Women
Women's Group, Transvaal Indian Congress
University Women's Group, Turfloop
Womens Group, Glynn Thomas
Pfunanoni Women's Club
Black Sash, Transvaal
Lenasia Women's Group

F) Religions

Ecumenical Visitors Programme
The Grail - Johannesburg

G) Political

Transvaal Indian Congress
Transvaal Anti-PC Committee
Alexandria People's Action Party
Release Mandela Committee (Transvaal)
Anti-Community Council Committee

H) Other

Media Action Group
Detainees Parents Support Committee
Detainees Aid Movement
Africa Perspective
Community Newspaper Project
SASPU National Newspaper
South African Students Press Union
Community Resource and Information Centre
Africa News Association
Khovangano Cultural Group
Labour Resource Centre
SPEAK Newspaper
National Education Union of South Africa
Health Workers Association
Workers Support Committee
Media and Resource Centre
National Medical & Dental Association

W-Cape

A) Student

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
- University of Cape Town
- University of Western Cape
- Regional Committee
National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
- UCT SRC
Muslim Students Association
Congress of South African Students (COSAS)

- 18 Branches in Western Cape

B) Youth

Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO)
- Ocean View Youth
- Lavendar Hill Youth
- Steenberg Youth
- Lotus River/Grassy Park Youth
- Wynberg Youth
- Lansdowne Youth
- Crawford Youth
- Hanover Park Youth
- Rocklands Youth
- Portlands Youth
- Westridge Youth
- Eastridge Youth
- Lentegeur Youth
- Tafelberg Youth
- Silvertown Youth
- Heideveld Youth
- Bonteheuvel Youth
- Kensington-Facreton Youth
- Belhar Youth
- Bellville Youth
- Elsiès River Youth
- KTC Youth
- Guguletu Section One Youth
- Guguletu Section Two Youth
- Guguletu Section Three Youth
- Guguletu Section Four Youth
- New Crossroads Youth
- Mau Mau Nyanga Youth
- Zwelitsha Youth
- Zwelintevanba Youth
- Nyanga Youth
- New City Youth
- Mbekweni Youth
- Worcester Youth

- Zimele Sege (Paarl) Youth Inter-Church Youth (ICY)
- 235 Youth Groups throughout Western Cape

C. Worker

MWASA W.C. (Media Workers Assn.)
RAWU (Retail & Allied Workers Union)

D. Civic

Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC)

- Lavender Hill Residence Assn.
- Steenberg/Retreat Housing Area Committee
- Hout Bay Action Committee
- Kensington & Facreton Ratepayers & Tenants Association
- Avondale Tenants Association
- Ravensmead Residents Action Comm.
- Lotus River/Grassy Park Residents Association
- Bellville South Housing Action Committee
- Bonteheuvel Residents Association
- Hanover Park Residents Assn.
- Kewtown Residents Association
- Silvertown Residents Assn.
- Schoteshe Kloof Civic Assn.
- Crawford Residents Assn.
- Woodlands Housing Action Comm.
- Westridge Housing Action Comm.
- Worcester Housing Action Comm.
- Valhala Park Civic
- Belhar Civic
- Manenberg Civic
- Rylands Civic

Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA)

- Six township zones

E) Women

United Women's Organisation

- Claremont
- Wynberg
- Observatory
- Woodstock
- Gardens
- Athlone
- Paarl
- Stellenbosch
- Ocean View
- Worcester
- Guguletu

- Langa
 - Kensington
 - Mbekweni
 - Kayamandi
 - Cloeteville
 - Zwelentlemba
 - New Crossroads
 - Nyanga
- Women's Front

F) Religious

Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM)

Young Christian Students (Western Cape)

Association of Christian Students Student Union for Christian Action (SUCA)

G) Political

UDF Regional Committees

- Cape Town
- Northern Suburbs
- Southern Suburbs
- Athlone
- Mitchells Plain
- Townships
- Stellenbosch
- Paarl
- Worcester

H) Other

Detainees Parents Support Committee (W. Cape)

Grassroots Newspaper

Western Cape Traders Association

Natal

A) Student

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)

- University of Durban Westville
- University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg)
- University of Natal (Durban)
- Durban Medical School
- Ngoye

- Natal Technikon SRC
- Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
- National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
- Durban SRC
- Pietermaritzburg Local Committee

B) Youth

- Reservoir Hills Youth Club
- Lamontville Youth
- Matinane Youth
- Tongat Youth Club
- Amoltana Youth Club
- Kiva-mashu Youth League
- Chesterville Youth Organisation
- Umlazi Youth League
- Isipingo Youth Organisation
- Hel
- Progress Youth
- Verulam Youth
- Masakane Youth
- Ashport Youth
- Sons of Young Africa

C) Worker

- African Workers Association
- South African Tin Workers Union
- National Federation of Workers
- South African Allied Workers Union (Natal)

D) CIVIC

- Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC)
- Asherville Ratepayers Association
- Reservoir Hills Ratepayers Association
- Reservoir Hills Action Committee
- Amoytana
- Meerbank Ratepayers
- Chatsworth Housing Action Committee
- Tonga Civic Association
- Joint Rents Action Committee
- Nabanati
- Greenwood Park Ratepayers Association
- Joint Commuters Committee
- Pietermaritzburg Ratepayers Committee of Concern - (Sydenham)
- Bombay Heights Ratepayers Association

- Umlaer Ratepayers Association
- Commuters Association
- Committee of Concern (Pietermaritzburg)
- Committee of Concern (Wentworth)
- Committee of Concern (Verulam)
- Phoenix Working Committee
- Newlands East Ratepayers Association
- Cato Manor Ratepayers Association
- St Wendolins Ratepayers Association

E) Women

- Kwamashu Women's Group
- Durban Women's Group
- Natal University Women's Organisation

F) Religious

- Young Christian Students - (Pietermaritzburg)
- Nazareth Baptist Church
- Isilido United Congregational Church
- Church of the Nazareth
- Diakonia

G) Political

- Release Mandela Committee (Natal)
- Natal Indian Congress
- Democratic Lawyers Association
- Anti-South African Indian Council
- Detainees Support Committee - Pietermaritzburg - Durban
- UDF Regions
 - Western Areas
 - North Coast
 - Meerbank
 - Pondoland

(H) Other

- Social Workers Forum
- Pietermaritzburg Child Welfare Society
- Claremont Advice Office
- Zomani Ladysmith Club
- National Medical & Dental Association (Durban)

Natal Health Workers Association
UKUSA Newspaper

Other Regions

A) Students

COSAS Eastern Cape
COSAS Bloemfontein
NUSAS local - Rhodes University
Black Students Society - Rhodes

B) Youth

Port Elizabeth Youth Congress
(PEYCO)
Galvendale Youth
West Coast Youth
Independent Youth Association
(Bloemfontein)
South Cape Youth
COSMOS
All Saints Youth (Oudtshoorn)
Uitenhage Youth
Westville Youth
Congregational Youth (Oudtshoorn)
St Blaiz Roman Catholic Youth
(Mosselbay)
Saldanha Youth
Pelikan Ontspannings en Kultuur
Organisasie
Bloemfontein Youth Congress

C) Worker

Motor Assembly and Components
Workers Union
General Workers Union of South
Africa
South African Allied Workers
Union (East London)
Saldanna Food & Canning Workers
Union

D) CIVIC

Port Elizabeth Black Civic Or-
ganisation
Malabar Ratepayers & Tenants
Association

E) Women

Port Elizabeth Women's Organi-
sation
West Coast Women's Organisation

F) Religious

West Coast Muslim Association
West Coast Church Organisation
Moravian Church - Genadendal
Catholic Students Association
- Transkei University
ABRECSA
Broederkring

G) Other

West Coast Traders Association
Border Region Delegation
UDF Interim Committee - E Cape
South West District Primary
Schools Sports Association
Orange Free State Delegation



Working Principles



1. NAME

The name of this front is the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

2. COMPOSITION

The UDF shall consist in the first instance of regional formation, the boundaries of which are to be determined by the National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils or by the National General Council from time to time.

3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- 3.1. To oppose the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills as decided at the first national conference held in Cape Town on 20 August 1983 and any future conference,
- 3.2. To develop the maximum possible participation in the front,
- 3.3. To encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the UDF,
- 3.4. The UDF shall not purport to replace the accredited liberation movements of the people.

4. POWERS

- 4.1. The UDF shall have all the powers necessary and desirable to achieve its aims and objectives. These will include the power to :
 - a) collect subscriptions from members
 - b) receive money from any person and to undertake to perform any work or do anything in return for such payment provided
 - c) issue publications
 - d) establish such branches as may be necessary from time to time
 - e) approach such organisations as it deems desirable for support or affiliation.

5. MEMBERSHIP

- 5.1. All organisations present at the first national conference otherwise than as observers, shall be members of the UDF subject to:
 - 5.1.1. their right of withdrawal
 - 5.1.2. review by the National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils or by the National General Council from time to time.
- 5.2. All organisations which are prepared to commit themselves to the declaration policy and to the programme of action will be eligible to make an application for affiliation through the regional councils.

- 5.3. In terms of membership of national organisations which are not members of regional committees shall be decided from time to time by National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils.

6. RIGHTS OF MEMBERS

- 6.1. All regional formations and member organisations shall have complete independence within the umbrella of the United Democratic Front, provided that actions and policies of members are not inconsistent with the policy of the UDF.
- 6.2. The National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils will decide whether or not any inconsistencies exist.

7. STRUCTURE

The Front shall comprise:

- 7.1. Patrons. The number to be determined by National General Council.
- 7.2. Regional formations consisting of
- 7.2.1. an executive committee, and
 - 7.2.2. a general council
- 7.3. National General Council (N.G.C.)
- 7.4. National Executive Committee (N.E.C.)

8. NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL (N.G.C.)

- 8.1. The N.G.C. will comprise all affiliated organisations and regions.
- 8.2. The N.G.C. shall meet as and when necessary but at least once a year.
- 8.3. Voting rights and representation at any conference or meeting of the N.G.C. shall be determined by the National Executive Committee in consultation with the regional councils before the meeting or conference.
- 8.4. The N.G.C. will be the supreme body of the UDF.

9. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 9.1. The N.E.C. shall comprise:
- 9.1.1. The Presidency consisting of three Presidents
 - 9.1.2. An executive chairperson appointed by the N.E.C. from time to time.
 - 9.1.3. Two vice-presidents appointed by each duly constituted region
 - 9.1.4. The two secretaries of each constituted region
 - 9.1.5. Two executive members elected by each constitutes region
 - 9.1.6. Two national treasurers.
- 9.2. The N.E.C. will have the power to co-opt persons in its discretion from regions which are not yet duly constituted, or any other person likely to make a significant