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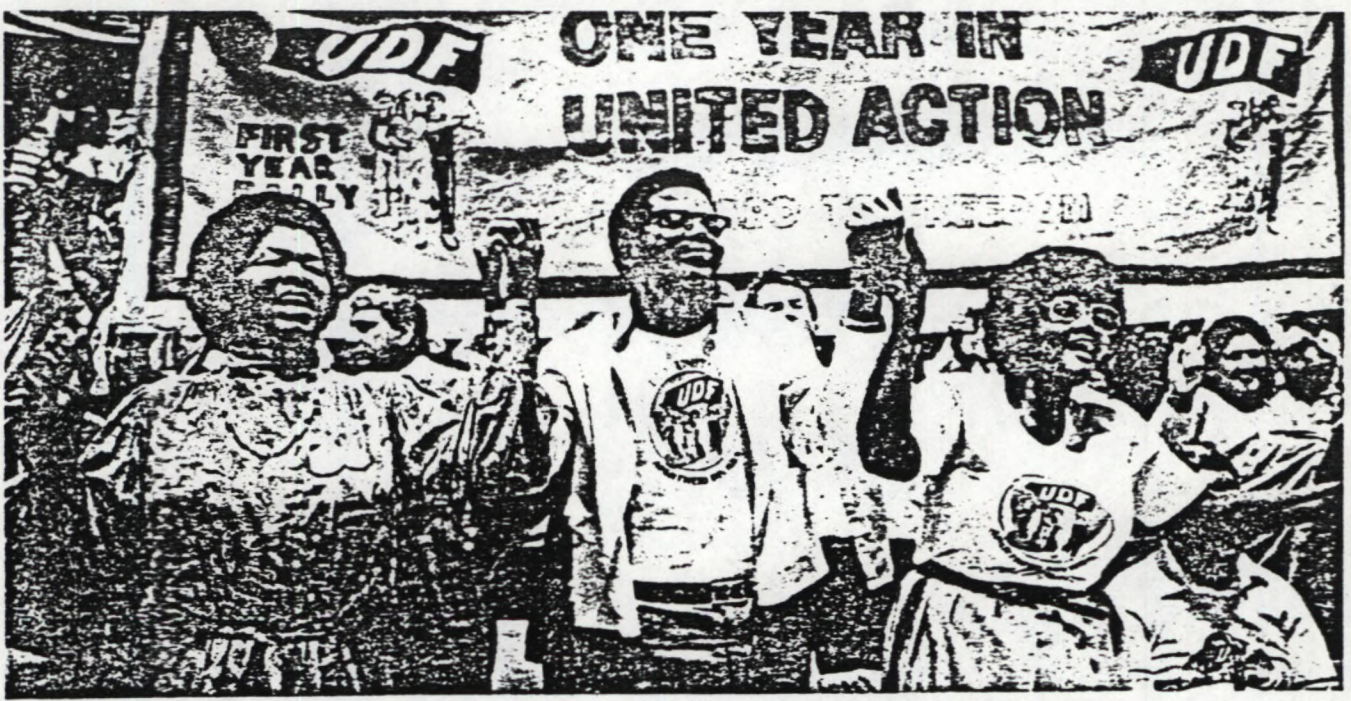
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# JODAC NEWS

JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC ACTION COMMITTEE

AUG/SEPT. 1984



Excitement and jubilation in the JHB City Hall as people join hands at the UDF Anniversary Rally

## JODAC backs the Front

WITH the elections upon us, the campaign of the UDF and its affiliates is in full swing. Highly successful meetings were held recently — one of them a historic Northern Transvaal rally. All of these meetings represent the climax to months of organisation and door-to-door work.

The response of communities to the call to Reject Apartheid Elections shows clearly that the direction chosen by the UDF and its affiliates is the one that has the support of the majority of the people.

For Jodac, the anti-election campaign has posed major challenges. For the first time, we have had the opportunity to experience and participate in the work that goes into the building and mobilisation of the democratic movement.

Through our participation in UDF we have been able to work with the TIC and the anti-PC and so gain a greater understanding of grassroots and door-to-door work in the communities.

In addition, Jodac has been able to learn from both formal and informal discussions with activists in these communities about the

problems and possibilities of this kind of work.

Amongst the most inspiring events for Jodac members were our participation in the preparatory work for the Northern Cape rally, our attendance at the Northern Transvaal rally, and the anniversary rally of the UDF.

In the Northern Cape Jodac members spent the day talking to people in the townships about the dangers of the new constitution and inviting them to attend the following weekend's rally.

Jodac was privileged to participate in the Northern Transvaal rally, possibly the first progressive event in that area, in many years.

The theme of this rally was not only the rejection of the new constitution and the tricameral parliament, but of the bantustan system in its entirety.

It also emphasised that the African majority in our country do not regard the bantustans as the sphere where they should exercise their political rights.

Right throughout the campaign, the call has been for 'Votes for all in a United South Africa.'

Jodac has also been faced with the responsibility as a UDF affiliate and a member of the progressive community to respond to the elections.

We have begun a letter-writing campaign, and have embarked on a campaign in the Johannesburg area to explain our support of UDF and our rejection of apartheid elections. We have confronted the reluctance of many white people to support a boycott of the tricameral parliament.

For while many liberals acknowledge the shortcomings of the constitution, they still view boycotts as a negative form of political activity.

Jodac must therefore meet the challenge of making absolutely clear that the rights offered to Indians and Coloureds by the new constitution are minimal, and that the people in these communities do not regard them as worth accepting.

More fundamentally it is our task to explain that as long as there is a constitution formulated by a minority; and as long as such a Constitution contains no recognition that

Contd. on p2

## EDITORIAL

The dramatic events of the past weeks ought to have alerted members of the Johannesburg community to the dangers of the Government's current reform initiatives. Riots in Parys and Welkom, heated clashes at election meetings and continuing school boycotts are just some of the displays of anger and militancy increasingly characterising the struggle of South Africans against apartheid. And the eve-of-election detentions of prominent activists opposed to the 'New Deal', can only be seen as the last desperate act of a government determined, at all costs, to force its policies through.

But many of these events appear to have passed our community by, particularly the traditional voices of 'liberal opposition'. Bombarded with a barrage of propaganda; attracted by a call to channel their 'criticism' into 'consensus', and convinced that the new constitution is a 'step in the right direction', many of those who previously spoke out are now silent.

It is clear that the new constitution and associated legislation will alter the political map in South Africa. It offers incentives to coloured and Indian people to join in the maintenance of oppression and exploitation. The control of the majority of South African society — the African working class — will be tighter and more sophisticated than anything the apartheid system has relied on to date.

The conflicts of the past weeks serve as solid evidence of the determination of South Africa's people to resist these moves. Rather than to divide and undermine, the effect of the new constitution

has been to galvanise people into action. The United Democratic Front, together with other democratic forces, is operating at full pace to resist these initiatives from the communities which the Government hopes to draw into the ambit of its power. From the majority of South Africans, the call has been a clear one: 'DON'T VOTE IN APARTHEID ELECTIONS: FORWARD TO FREEDOM'.

As the apartheid Government attempts to divide the non-racial unity that has been achieved, the need to fight for it becomes of even greater importance. Rather than simply accepting the co-optation of those who have previously been critical of apartheid, our task is to win their support for the UDF and the struggle for a non-racial and truly democratic South Africa.

The campaign against the elections has been a crucial component in the overall development of Jodac. We must now face up to new dynamics, new problems and new challenges.

The fight against the new constitution and other 'reform initiatives' promises to be a long and complicated one.

**WOMEN** in South Africa experience triple oppression — race, class and sex.

Against this background, we commemorate August 9 as a high point in the struggle for liberation, a tribute to the organisation and dedication of women in the 50's. We commit ourselves to support and participate in the struggle to throw off the yoke of women's oppression.

### Contd. from p1

Africans must have full rights within a united South Africa, we will reject it.

For us in Jodac, this also means rejecting the stand taken by the PFP in deciding to go into the new constitution.

At the time of the white referendum, the PFP rejected the constitution on the grounds that it did not cater for the African people. Now, faced with the overwhelming white support for the National Party, they have turned tail and decided to go in.

This is sheer expediency, and will put the PFP in the same position as those in the Indian and Coloured communities who have gone into the 'New Deal'. Whatever their individual intentions, they are seen by the masses of our people as collaborators with apartheid.

In deciding to affiliate to the UDF, Jodac aligned itself with the progressive movement and with the millions of South Africans who see that fundamental social change can only come from outside parliament and from the democratic will of the South African people.

Having aligned ourselves with the extra-parliamentary opposition, the task for us in the coming months is to show the Johannesburg community, that this is where a just and peaceful future lies — rather than in a short-sighted support for minority rule.

## Jodaction

Jodac has joined forces with the anti-President's Council Committee (Anti-PC) and the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) in their August election boycott drive.

In a recent meeting between a group of Jodac members and anti-PC and TIC representatives, areas were outlined where white activists could help.

A planning committee — aimed at informing members of what is happening and where they are needed, as well as co-ordinating Jodac's contributions — was formed.

Areas of Jodac involvement include:

- \*Media nights, including poster blitzes.
- \*Jodac members assisted with transport locally and to Kimberley. They also participated in these areas in door-to-door anti-election campaigns.
- \*The collection of newspaper clippings and the monitoring of news bulletins to brief Jodac, the TIC and Anti-PC on the activities of election candidates.
- \*Press statements were issued and members wrote letters to the press.

The joint campaign is a practical demonstration of our belief in non-racial, democratic and collective action.

It will also help strengthen the UDF by forging stronger links between affiliates.

## Army issue taken up

'WE MUST campaign to end white conscription and we must fight against the extension of conscription to our coloured and Indian youth', was the call arising from the Jodac militarisation and conscription survey.

The survey was completed by Jodac members as well as a number of white democrats. Results of the survey clearly revealed that it is now Jodac's task to take action on the militarisation and conscription issue.

'Our campaign must be more than an educational one, we must mobilise our constituency around these issues which directly affect us as white South Africans,' said one Jodac member.

More and more South Africans are adding their voices to the call to end conscription. Only four months after its formation, the Transvaal End to Conscription Committee (EEC) conducted a highly successful campaign focussing on conscription and the illegal occupation of the South African Defence Force (SADF) in Namibia.

These issues were brought to the public's attention through wide Press coverage, a rock concert, a picket and a public meeting.

At the public meeting, Swapo member and Namibian advocate Anton Lubowski called on all democrats to join the ECC in its efforts to support the people of Namibia and to expose the role of the oppressive SADF.

The public response was encouraging, with many supportive phone-calls being made to the ECC's constituent organisations.

### SOUTH AFRICA'S BURDEN



### ...OR NAMIBIA'S?

During a recent Jodac workshop, members drew up a programme of action aimed at linking militarisation and conscription to the new constitution.

A key aspect of the programme is to meet with other progressive white organisations and draw up a joint statement opposing conscription.

On the issue of the extension of the call-up to coloured and Indian youth, the United Democratic Front (UDF) is setting up committees countrywide to generate mass resistance to conscription.

We must unite all sectors of the white community who believe in freedom and justice in a bid to end conscription.

## Hamba kahle, Jeanette



On June 28 Jeanette Curtis and her daughter were killed in Angola by a parcel bomb — the latest in a long line of exiled opponents of apartheid to be murdered. Her death ended more than fifteen years of active commitment to democracy and opposition to injustice and exploitation.

Jeanette served the democratic movement in South Africa in various capacities — as Nusas Transvaal regional director, and later as secretary general of Nuswel, the social action branch of Nusas at the time.

Later she helped to establish the Industrial Aid Society, which played a pivotal role in the promotion of democratic trade unions in the Transvaal.

Formal positions apart, Jeanette was also widely known and respected for the depth of her political commitment and her willingness to give this active expression. At the same time, her concern for people as individuals was always apparent.

As happens, her politics attracted some unwanted attention. She was detained for sixty-five days in September 1975 and banned in 1976. While banned she developed a relationship with Marius Schoon, who had just been released from twelve years in prison. As he was also banned, their love was necessarily clandestine. They were married and went into exile.

They lived in Botswana until recently, when they left after being warned that they were likely targets for assassination. They moved to Angola, and the rest is history.

Jodac salutes Jeanette for her commitment to democracy. We know that the battlefield is of apartheid's making, and that such deaths are inevitable. We affirm that for every democrat murdered, at least two will take their place. We express our solidarity and sympathy with Jeanette's family and friends.

# The beat goes on

**YET ANOTHER** death in police custody has occurred. Mr Johannes Ngalo, a resident of Tumahole in Parys was picked up during recent protests over an increase in rentals and GST.

The protests and Johannes Ngalo's death must be seen as one of the first fruits of the Koornhof Bills. The new Tumahole Community Council, seeking to finance itself, raised rents from about R26 to R40 a month in a community where, if one is lucky enough to have a job, the average wage is R100.

The residents, led by their democratically elected civic association and students organisation, marched to the council chambers. The police intervened, and what had been a peaceful demonstration was turned into a violent confrontation.

The schools boycott in Atteridgeville and the community struggle in Cradock, over rentals, also resulted in extreme police repression. In Cradock, the elected community leaders attempted to negotiate with the authorities, to no avail.

After many arrests, four of the leaders were detained under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act for an initial period of one year. They are effectively being held hostage against their community's compliance.

The death of Johannes Ngalo highlights the increase in repression in a time of alleged reform. The Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), who monitor detentions closely, report that not only are there more detentions this year than in previous years, but that in the first quarter of this year 70 percent of detainees were community leaders and activists, as against last year's 30 percent.

This highlights the increase in the numbers of democratic civic associations, but it also signals a deliberate strategy by the State to disrupt, intimidate and crush such organisations.

Not only are detentions increasing in number but an ominous new trend is emerg-

ing. The Security Police have chosen to involve the Protection of Information Act in the case of some detainees, making it unlawful to publish their names. This added dimension of secrecy increases concern for the safety of detainees.

The DPSC recently expressed their deep concern over the disclosure in Parliament that there were 70 people in detention. Their own records listed only 30. This meant that about 40 people had virtually disappeared off the streets, reminiscent of the conditions in Argentina under the junta.

Indeed, the mysterious 'escape' of a detainee, Mr Justice Ngidi, illustrates the point. His family did not even know he was in the country, let alone in detention. His alleged escape is strange. Most security detainees are transported in handcuffs and leg irons. Yet, according to the police, he overpowered his two guards, took their guns, threw them out of the car on a busy highway and escaped. Nothing further has been heard of Mr Ngidi.

Despite this, the police refused to release his name, nor a description of him, and it was only after two weeks that they did so. Even this was grudgingly given, after the DPSC demanded from the Commissioner of Police that the families of all detainees be allowed visits to assure themselves of their health and safety.

Our security legislation allows the police unlimited power. This, combined with the sinister web of secrecy they spin around the detainees, creates justified concern in the minds of the public. There is fear for the safety of the 40 unnamed detainees and for Mr Ngidi. In the recent past, two young Cosas members, one a seriously ill former detainee who was suing the police and their minister for R150 000, disappeared. No trace has been found of Siphwe Mtimkulu and Iopsy Mdaka.



Mourners at the funeral of Johannes Ngalo

# THE WOMENS' CHARTER

## PREAMBLE:

We, the women of South Africa, wives and mothers, working women and housewives, Africans, Indians, Europeans and Coloureds, hereby declare our aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate against us as women.

## A SINGLE SOCIETY:

We women do not form a society separate from the men. There is only one society, and it is made up of both men and women. As women we share the problems and anxieties of our men, and join hands with them to remove social evils and obstacles to progress.

## WOMEN'S LOT:

We women share with our menfolk the cares and anxieties imposed by poverty and its evils. As wives and mothers, it falls upon us to make small wages stretch a long way. It is our lot to keep and care for the homes that are too small, broken and dirty to be kept clean. We know the burden of looking after children and our land when our husbands are away in the mines, on the farms and in towns earning our daily bread.

We know what it is to keep family life going in pondokkies and shanties, or in overcrowded apartments. We know the bitterness of children taken to lawless ways, of daughters becoming unmarried mothers whilst still at school, of boys and girls growing up without education, training or jobs at a living wage.

## POOR AND RICH:

These are evils that do not need to exist. They exist because the society in which we live is divided into poor and rich, into non-European and European. They exist because there are privileges for the few, discrimination and harsh treatment for the many. The women have stood and will stand shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in a common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination, and the evils of the colour-bar.

## NATIONAL LIBERATION:

As members of the National Liberation Movement and trade unions, in and through our various organisations, we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of the working people.

## EQUALITY FOR WOMEN:

We resolve to struggle for the removal of laws and customs that deny African women the right to own, inherit or alienate property.

## WOMEN WHO LABOUR:

Thousands of African women, like Indian, Coloured and European women, are employed today in factories, homes, offices, shops, on farms and in professions such as nursing, teaching and the like. As unmarried women, widows or divorcees, they have to fend for themselves, often without assistance of the male relative. Many if them are responsible not only for their own livelihood, but also that of their children.

Large numbers of women today are in fact the sole breadwinners and heads of their families.

## FOREVER MINORS:

Nevertheless, the laws and practices derived from earlier and different states of society are still applied to them. They are responsible for their own person and their children. Yet the law seeks to enforce upon them the status of a minor.

## NEED FOR EDUCATION:

We also recognise that large numbers of our women folk continue to be bound by traditional practices and conventions, and fail to realize that these have become obsolete and a brake on progress.

It is our intention to carry out a nation-wide programme of education that will bring home to the men and women of all national groups the realisation that freedom cannot be won for any one section or for the people as a whole as long as women are kept in bondage.

## AN APPEAL:

We appeal to progressive organisations, to members of the great National Liberation Movement, to the trade unions, and working class organisations, to the churches, educational and welfare organisations, to progressive men and women who have the interest of our people at heart to join us in this great and noble endeavour.

1984 Year of the Women

# 'You have struck a rock'

THE GOVERNMENT proposed the introduction of passes for women at a time when South African women were beginning to find their political voice.

The women's sections of the Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats, Coloured Peoples' Congress and the African National Congress were expanding rapidly and taking on issues like education, housing, living conditions and women's rights.

In 1954, at a Congress of Mothers, women from all organisations assembled to adopt the Women's Charter which appealed to working women of South Africa and called for '... solidarity in the struggle against apartheid, racism, sexism and capitalist exploitation'. It is clear that these women understood the demands made on them by the national liberation struggle. To work for freedom, they would have to fight against ideas that women should be inferior and passive. They had to show themselves capable of planned political action. Through this they could liberate the whole of society.

It was at this congress that the Federation

of South African Women was formed — a broad-based, non-racial organisation which would, under the dynamic and energetic leadership of people like Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, lead the women through many of the anti-pass campaigns.

In the middle of 1956 the federation began organising a mass protest to be held at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. All over South Africa women held parties and gave concerts to raise the money needed for bus and train fares. At the beginning of August, women from every corner of the country set off for the capital city.

On August 9, 1956, 20000 women in small groups marched up the avenue leading to the Union Buildings, singing the song they had composed for that day: 'Strydom, you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you will be crushed!'

Strydom ignored the women's protest and the pass issuing units continued relentlessly around the countryside. Grassroots demonstrations flared up in many towns.

## CAMPAIGN TO FILL THE JAILS

On the 21st October 1958 250 women in Sophiatown marched in an illegal procession to the post office to demonstrate against passes. They were beaten and arrested. But this did not stop the women. The protests grew daily, as hundreds more women defied the police, refusing to disperse and gladly accepting arrest.

Their members rose to almost 2000 and the Fort prison was full. This was an outstanding show of the strength, courage and endurance of the women, but the force of the authorities was mounting against them. And so the campaign to fill the jails was called off and the women brought home.

These are some of the stories of the women's resistance to passes. It is part of the whole struggle for freedom in South Africa. Their struggle is the struggle of the people. Now we remember their courage, conviction and unhesitating dedication to their cause, our cause, for freedom. We move forward inspired by them, determined to continue the struggle for liberation.

## WOMEN'S DAY SONG

Celebrate our women in campaigns  
Celebrate our women in jails  
Celebrate our women over many fighting years  
Celebrate our women for their triumphs, and for their tears

There is no day  
from which women are exempt  
no day in which women  
do not play their part;  
every day in fact  
is women's day,  
freedom day tomorrow  
is women's day today

There is no struggle  
from which women are exempt,  
no struggle in which women  
do not play their part;  
our struggle is in fact  
for women's day,  
to struggle for tomorrow  
is a woman's fight today

Celebrate our women in campaigns  
Celebrate our women in jails  
Celebrate our women over many fighting years  
Celebrate our women for their triumphs, and their tears

There is no freedom  
while women are not free,  
no freedom when women  
do not have their say;  
freedom day in fact  
is women's day,  
freedom day tomorrow  
is women free today

Remember all our women in campaigns  
Remember all our women in the jails  
Remember all our women over many fighting years  
Remember all our women for their triumphs, and for their tears

Come back Africa  
where women are not slaves  
come back Africa where women  
do not waste their lives;  
South Africa in fact  
is on its way,  
to celebrate its freedom  
and to honour women's day.

BARRY FEINBERG



### ERRATA

Pg 6: delete Barry Feinberg - did not write the song

Pg 7: Caption to photograph should read: "UDF Patron & Jodac Honorary member, Helen Joseph captures another signature."

# MSC — a radical campaign



UDF Patron & Jodac member, Helen Joseph captures another signature.



The UDF Million Signature Campaign is a campaign that has the Nationalists very worried. Activists have been harassed, forms have been confiscated and there have been attempts to connect this perfectly legal activity with the ANC.

The MSC is rightly feared because it is a radical campaign that challenges the legitimacy of the apartheid order. That is why it has captured the imagination of ordinary people.

## TIC's tactics talked about

THE CAMPAIGN against Indian participation in the forthcoming elections would definitely not be a repeat performance of the anti-SAIC campaign, prominent activist and member of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) executive, Azhar Cachalia warned.

'People are asking why the Congress is not entering Parliament to fight for a better deal', he told a meeting called to brief Jodac members just after the start of the TIC's boycott campaign.

'And their position has some degree of strength; the third chamber is not going to be a second SAIC.' However the TIC did have a positive programme, that of participation in democratic peoples organisations and not in structures designed to entrench apartheid. Furthermore they saw no possibility of pushing for real change through parliament as the new constitution was clearly designed to maintain Nationalist domination indefinitely.

In addition, he said that the TIC would hold its own — if only because of the profound mistrust that Indians felt towards the State and its initiatives.

And although the campaign would be hard work, there had already been some positive gains. Many people without any previous involvement had been drawn into political work.

Outlining the campaign plan, Cachalia said that it had been decided to split it into an educational and an agitational phase.

In the first phase, the TIC paid house visits to sound out views, put the Congress position and gather signatures for the MSC.

Coupled with the door-to-door blitz had been a number of mass meetings aimed at establishing a Congress presence.

Questioned on the approach of TIC activists during house visits, Cachalia said this depended to some extent on the class background of those canvassed.

'On the East Rand, where there are more poor people, we found that many had not even heard of the constitution. In such cases, it is important to build a more working class content into the campaign - to look at GST, housing and the like.'

Activists relied heavily on the poor track records of many of the candidates, who had sat on management committees and the SAIC. 'We explain to people: these are men of bad faith; they won't do anything for us.'

The second phase of the campaign consisting of 'more high-profile' activity would take off at the beginning of August, after the announcement of candidates' names.

One possibility here was that of placard demonstrations specifically on the theme of

the constitution.

And with the state ruse of separating the Indian and coloured elections, a third phase might be necessary. He added that after a meeting between TIC and Anti-PC Committee, it had been agreed to embark on a programme of joint action. Both coloured and Indian activists would cover areas like Klerksdorp, where the two communities were adjacent to one another, while joint mass meetings had also been proposed.

Jodac could play an important supportive role by providing resources - for example, information on the candidates which TIC campaigners were too rushed to collect.

TIC secretary, Ismail 'Momo' Momoniat, who was also at the meeting, stressed that Jodac could help in launching an effective propaganda campaign.

'We would be quite willing for Jodac comrades to take a more direct part in the campaign - by sitting in on and contributing to our post-house visit assessments, for example,' he added.

The view was echoed by Cachalia, who emphasised that he did not see Jodac playing a purely supportive role. 'For instance, I would expect your members to turn out in force for any city centre placard demonstrations staged by the TIC.'



# Opinion...Opinion...Opinion...Opinion

THE STRUGGLE against the Constitution is the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

The present South African regime under PW Botha is in many ways more sophisticated than its predecessors. It has a relatively coherent policy which seeks, in various ways, to disorganise the masses in their struggle against apartheid. In dealing with such State strategies we need to evolve equally sophisticated responses. But it is also essential that we do not merely act defensively. It is the task of the democratic movement, in addition, to force the State to respond to our initiatives on terrains of our choosing.

## Racist constitution

At present we are struggling to defeat the attempt to ram a new, racist constitution down our throats. Neither this government nor any previous South African government has had any right to make a constitution for the people of South Africa. The South African regime is rightly isolated and condemned as illegitimate. It has never had any legal right to rule over us. We reject this racist constitution as we rejected the previous ones. It is not for a minority to choose the form of government suited to South Africa. It is for the people to decide how and by whom they wish to be governed.

But we nevertheless say that this constitution is not merely a continuation of previous racist oppression and exploitation of the masses.

## Honorary whites

We say this because this constitution is, in the first place, the most anti-African constitution that there has been in South African history. It is a constitution which entrenches the dispossession of the African people and defines them out of South African politics. They are not part of this new constitution — their political future is supposed to be in the bantustans, under the Sebes and Matanzimas.

It is anti-African, not only because it denies Africans political rights and citizenship in the land of their birth, but because it attempts to win over coloureds and Indians as honorary whites with joint responsibility for apartheid.

## Illegal occupation

Most ominously, in exchange for fake votes in a dummy parliament, our Indian and coloured people are being asked to face actual bullets in real wars. At present the South African State illegally occupies Namibia. It will be the job of coloureds and Indians, together with whites, to defend this colony against Namibian patriots. It will be the joint

This is the first of what will hopefully be a series on the form and nature of the struggle in South Africa. We welcome responses to this article as well as suggestions for and offers of future contributions.

responsibility of coloureds, Indians and whites to carry out illegal raids into neighbouring states and to fight against our brothers and sisters within the country.

This new constitution is also part of a wider policy to win over middle elements amongst the blacks, in order to isolate the working class. The racists know that they cannot win over the broad mass of people. So their message is aimed primarily at aspirant bourgeois elements, traders, etc. They hope that these people can be bought off by the temptation of licenses and access to central business districts, etc.

## Democratic answer

How do we answer the State strategy? In the first place, we in the democratic movement reject any attempt to divide us, to set one section of the oppressed against others. The future of the African people lies side by side with coloureds, Indians and progressive whites. It is our joint responsibility to rid this earth of apartheid and to create a democratic South Africa.

Our present task is to strengthen the unity of these democratic forces within the UDF, to explain patiently to our people what the consequences would be if they were to be seduced by this new apartheid ploy.

How do we respond to the State's attempt to win over middle elements? In any political struggle the bourgeoisie always tries to win over these middle elements as a buffer against the working class. Our job is not to 'hand them over' to the apartheid State as some 'left wing purists' would have us do, in their quest for a 'pure working class' struggle. Our job is to win over all people who suffer

under apartheid. We must win them to our side so that we can assail apartheid with the maximum force at our disposal. So that instead of the working class being isolated, it is the racists who stand alone.

## Boycott call

While we combat this new deal by united action, we struggle on a terrain that the State has chosen. We try, by calling for a boycott, to mobilise the masses for action against and beyond the constitution, to work for a democratic and undivided South Africa.

But we do more. We cannot allow the State to choose every battleground. We cannot avoid, sometimes or even usually, fighting on terrains of their choosing. We have to use mass action to combat and defend ourselves against apartheid crimes, whether the constitution, resettlement or other forms of oppression.

## Challenge the State

But we need also to force the State to fight on terrains of our choosing. The significance of the Million Signature Campaign lies precisely in the fact that it is a battleground of our choosing. It is a radical campaign which challenges the legitimacy of the regime. The State rightly fears this campaign and consequently tries fanatically to harrass our activists and to link UDF and especially this campaign to the ANC.

Our slogans must also challenge the basis of the apartheid order. When we call for votes for all in an undivided South Africa, WE ARE CALLING FOR THE VERY NEGATION OF THE EXISTING ORDER. It is not possible to 'concede' this demand. It could only be realised in a radically different social order. The vote may not now be a revolutionary demand in many states (though it was a crucial victory for the working class to achieve it in Britain in the nineteenth century) today, but it is in South Africa. To call for the vote in South Africa is not merely to call for a civil right. It can only be achieved as part of the national liberation of the South African people led by the African masses in an undivided, democratic South Africa.

## Brutal methods

The struggle against the constitution poses the democratic forces with many new and difficult problems. The State is using ever more brutal methods to suppress our message and to intimidate UDF supporters.

To all attempts to silence our voice our answer must be: No matter how many of our people are detained or harrassed, no matter what new terror the apartheid monster may unleash, we will not rest until the earth is liberated from the scourge of apartheid.



**Collection Number: AK2117**

**DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

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