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..some of the youth groups have formed women's groups too etc. These sub-structures do not supplant separate women's organisations, but helped to consolidate the work of the aforementioned groups, by raising women's issues within their respective parent bodies.

'Competing' with progressive women's organisations affiliated to the UDF, are a small number of BC/PAC oriented women's groups - namely Black Women's Unite (BWU), African Women's Organisation (AWO) affiliated/oriented towards the National Forum.

BC political and trade union organisations also have their own women's sections eg the SUBMAWU (?) women's unit. Since the suppression of the Black Women's Federation in the 70's, BC women's groups, like their political counterparts have failed to make any significant impact apart from the divisive role they've played within the mass democratic movement.

Further along the political spectrum exist a number of predominantly white/black middle class liberal women's organisations (eg Women for Peace, Black Sash, National Council of Women of SAfrica) involved primarily in anti-apartheid propaganda, protests, advice bureaux, charity work etc.) The most active of these groups ~~is~~ the Black Sash, has also exhibited a 'progressive' trend represented by Sheena Duncan that may enable it to transcend its liberal position.

The right has also set up its own women organisation, some of which have confined themselves to non-political activities ie jumble sales, helping the sick/aged within their own communities eg FRV, while others have been active in the political arena especially during the last few years with the rise of the mass democratic movement. The Inkatha Women's Brigade has grown - not necessarily in membership (or if so through coercion) - but in terms of ^{the} ferocity with which it has confronted the UDF and even liberal organisations like the Black Sash. Other reactionary groups like eg the Women's Bureau - while purporting to remain apolitical - have been actively involved in promoting the image of apartheid.

On the periphery of political women's groupings, are organisations, committees etc that have restricted themselves to purely women's issues from a feminist (POWA, rape crisis centres etc), religious (Manyano etc) or moral perspective. Their inclusion in this paper is due to their potential for political development. POWA and the rape centres at a conference in 1985 made a commitment to tackle women's issues from a broader political perspective. The Inter-denominational Prayer Women's League - a body comprising of a number of manyano - has also begun to realise the need to go beyond their present activities.

INTRODUCTION

The 1960's witnessed the decline of progressive women's organisations ie FSAW as the state effectively suppressed all opposition by banning the ANC, arresting and imprisoning political leaders etc

The Black Women's Federation - a Black Consciousness women's organisation emerged in the 70's to fill the gap created by this wave of repression, but it was not until the 80's (and, in particular, the last two years) that we have seen the development of progressive women's organisations - concerned with women's issues within the context of liberation - on a wide scale.

Progressive women's organisation have been established in all the provinces (save the OFS): Port Elisabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO), United Women's Congress (UWCO - formerly two separate organisations: UWO and the Women's Front); Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) and the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) are all affiliated to the UDF and view each other as sister organisations.

The emphasis of the above mentioned organisations - each of them made up of a number of branches/committees spread throughout their respective regions - is placed on grassroots projects which specifically address women's needs eg establishment of creches, food prices etc and overtly political campaigns and events centred on, for example, the new constitution, National Women's Day etc

Progressive women's groups - unaffiliated to the four main women's organisations, but officially linked/oriented towards the UDF have also emerged at a local level in the different provinces. Many of these groups will hopefully link up with groups like UWCO etc at a later date with the view to creating regional women's organisations eg a Cape Women's Federation.

The 1980's has also seen the re-emergence of FEDSAW which continues in the tradition of FSAW in the 50's with the Women's Charter as its guiding document. Fedsaw, however, is mainly based in the Transvaal and has yet to be relaunched as a national body. The four main women's organisations have attempted to relaunch FEDSAW for some time, but have had to delay their plans owing to the repressive conditions created by the two States of Emergency.

In addition to organisations that function exclusively as women's groups there are sub-structures - dealing with women's issues - within the mass democratic movement. Certain political groupings have their own women's section eg the JODAC women's group, the Trade Union Federation COSATU aims to set up women's sub-committees;

Women's organisations - in particular progressive women's groups have flourished during the past two years. However, setbacks have been faced by progressive groups with the declaration of the State of Emergencies, the detention and arrest of the leadership etc - forcing them to assume a lower public profile; to provide 2nd and 3rd tier leadership; to mobilise around new and challenging issues etc. Women's organisations have already emerged stronger from the lessons they've learnt during the first State of Emergency. However with the second wave of repression in '86, women's groups are undergoing a harder test that hopefully will consolidate and prepare women's organisations for the future phases of struggle.

More than 50 women's organisations have been researched in this project. I have subdivided them according to national and regional (W.Cape, E.Cape, TVL, OFS and Natal) sections.

Where possible each organisation is structured according to the following areas: Background, aims and objectives, structure, political orientation and programme.

As I was entirely dependent upon printed sources - the majority of which were newspaper cuttings - information is scanty in the case of certain organisations.
