

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

LÉER NR. 2/4
FILE NO. 2/4

LÉER NR. 2/4
FILE NO. 2/4

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2/4/2/121

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...Front (UDF)

... 14.5.88

GEHEIM

SAP 148

DIREKTORAAT
VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

22 5/3/86
1986-03-25

22/3

DIREKTORAAT
SECURITY LEGISLATION

DECLASSIFIED

P/sak-P/Bag

Verw./Ref.: [REDACTED]

Navrae/Enq.: [REDACTED]

TEL.: 214511 x 317

ADK
22 6/3/86

ADK
DOK
6/3/86
1986-03-25
16/3/86

VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH

HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE

PRETORIA

0001.....

1986-02-28

Die Direkteur van
Veiligheidswetgewing
Privaatsak X655
PRETORIA
0001

SAMESPREKINGS TUSSEN DIE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT EN AFGEVAARDIGES VAN
DIE STATEBOND

1. Bogenoemde samesprekings het plaasgevind in die Nuweland Hotel op 1986-02-18 om 11h00.
2. Die UDF is verteenwoordig deur onder andere Trevor MANUEL. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
3. Aangeheg is 'n verslag wat deur Trevor MANUEL saamgestel is na aanleiding van die samesprekings.
4. Die inligting wat in die verslag vervat word, word bevestig deur 'n baie delikaat geplaasde bron.

Corrpr by Mr. Scheffer a
Stulle.

n/KOMMISSARIS : SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

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-Brie 9 UDF
1/1/86

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P. 21 8114319

!! EPG DELEGATION
UDF DELEGATION

MALCOLM F R A S E R EXPLAINED THAT THE EPG WAS FORMED AT NASSAU ON THE REQUEST OF BOB H. AND R. M' A L R A M M Y. THE GROUP IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR PRESSURE BUT AN ATTEMPT TO BROADEN INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT AGAINST APARTHEID AND TO FACILITATE A SETTLEMENT. THIS WAS A PRELIMINARY VISIT AND THE GROUP'S MANDATE WAS LIMITED IN TIME AND SCOPE. IN TERMS OF SCOPE THE PARTICIPATION OF THE UDF WAS SEEN TO BE CRUCIAL. THE UDF EXPLAINED THAT THE DELEGATION WAS UNMANDATED AS TIME AND REPRESSION HAVE WORKED AGAINST SECURING A MANDATE. THE UDF DELEGATION WAS THERE TO LEARN ABOUT WHAT THE EPG HAD TO OFFER. THE UDF DELEGATION EMPHASIZED THAT THE PEOPLE ARE NOT IN A MOOD FOR DIALOGUE AND THE INITIATIVE DOES NOT REST WITH THE APARTHEID REGIME. THE GOVERNMENT IS UNABLE TO RESOLVE THE SITUATION AND EVEN CABINET MINISTERS WERE CONTRADICTING EACH OTHER. THE EPG RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT THEY WERE NOT IN SOUTH AFRICA TO PUSH US TOWARD DIALOGUE INSTEAD THEY CAME TO THE COUNTRY TO GET A SENSE OF THE PREVAILING SITUATION SO THAT A REPORT COULD BE COMPILED. THEY INDICATED THAT THEY COULD UNDERSTAND OUR SCEPTICISM BECAUSE SO MANY VISITORS WERE STREAMING INTO OUR COUNTRY TO PRESENT QUICK SOLUTIONS.

THE UDF INDICATED THAT WITHIN THAT LIMITED FRAMEWORK, THEY WOULD TALK TO THE EPG PROVIDING THAT IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THAT MEETING DID NOT IN ANY WAY PREJUDICE A DEMOCRATIC DECISION OF THE UDF IN FUTURE MEETINGS. THE UDF INFORMATION COVERED THE FOLLOWING AREAS : 1. ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH. 2. CAMPAIGN. 3. REPRESSION . 4. DEMANDS. MUCH OF THE INFORMATION PRESENTED WAS SYNOPSIS OF INFORMATION READILY AVAILABLE TOT THE PUBLIC THROUGH PRESS REPORTS, ARTICLES ETC. THE UDF DELEGATION STEERED AWAY FROM POLITICAL DEBATE ON THESE ISSUES BECAUSE SUCH AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WOULD BE MORE APPROPRIATE AT A NATIONAL LEVEL AND TO THE FULL EPG, SHOULD MANDATES FOR THIS BE OBTAINED. SOME QUESTIONS WHICH WERE RESPONDED TO ARE .. THE GROWTH OF UDF IN THE WHITE AREAS ... SOME SPECIFIC DETAILS ON REPRESSION WHICH INCLUDED RESTRICTION ORDER, SENTENCES, ETC. WHAT CONDITIONS CAN CHANGE THE MOOD FOR DIALOGUE. UDF RESPONDED WITH REFERENCE TOT THE 1. RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. 2. UNBANNING OF POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS 3. UNBANNING OF A.N.C. 4. RETURN OF EXILES 5. DISBANDING OF THE SADF AS PRE-CONDITIONS TO OUR PEOPLE DISCUSSING WHETHER OR NOT TO NEGOTIATE. THE UDF ALSO INFORMED THE EPG THAT SOUTH AFRICA MAIN TRADING PARTNER, BRITAIN, WAS A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND A NUMBER OF BRITISH COMPANIES HAVE A BAD RECORD OF WORKER EXPLOITATION. WHAT COULD THE EPG SAY ABOUT ITS ATTEMPT TO ALIENATE THESE FOREIGN INVESTORS. THE ONLY RESPONSE GIVEN WAS THAT THE NASSAU ACCORD WAS UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED AND THAT THE PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT WOULD MAKE IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR EG. THE BRITISH TO GO AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF THE ACCORD. WE WERE INFORMED THAT THE FULL EPG WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY ARRIVE IN MARCH. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE UDF GATHER WHATREVER REPORTS WERE AVAILABLE ON THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY FOR HANDING OVER TO THE EPG.

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DISKONTOANT
VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
20/2/86
GEVANGENISDIENST
1986 PRISON SERVICE
384/2
POYNTONSENTRUM / CENTRE
WEST BLOK / WEST BLOCK
SECURITY LEGISLATION MURCH STREET

~~GEHEIM~~
~~DECLASSIFIED~~

UDF 12

PRETORIA 0001
HADV
DDK - West
KOPIE
12/2/86
Privaatsak Private Bag X136
Telephone 28-5417
Telegrafiese adres "Komvang"
Telegraphic address
VAN 2 KOPIE

Die Direkteur van Veiligheidswet-
gewing
Privaatsak X81
PRETORIA
0001

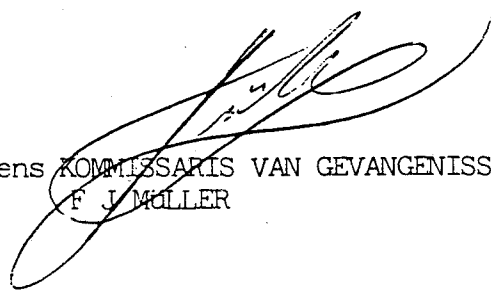
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Navrae A/O Neveling Uitbr. 2070286
Enquiries Ext.....



BOTSING TUSSEN SEKERHEIDSGEVANGENES WAT LEDE VAN VERSKILLENDE ORGANISASIES IS :
ROBBENEILAND

1. Op versoek van meneer [redacted] is ondersoek ingestel na die bewering dat daar gedurende 1977 te Robbeneiland botsings tussen sekerheidsgevangenes van verskillende organisasies was.
2. Op [redacted] was oud-sekerheidsgevangene [redacted] in die Hooggeregshof, Pretoria, weens terrorisme tot ses (6) jaar gevangenisstraf gevonnissen en saam met nege (9) medebeskuldigdes na Robbeneilandgevangenis oorgeplaas om hul vonnisse aldaar uit te dien.
3. Die groep gevangenes was almal lede van die BCP-organisasie waarvan gevangene [redacted] 'n organiseerder was. Oud-gevangene [redacted] en sy medebeskuldigdes het op Saterdag met die leierselement sekerheidsgevangenes kontak gehad. Hierdie toedrag het aanleiding gegee dat gevangene [redacted] so 'n impak op [redacted] gehad het die laasgenoemde hom by die ANC-organisasie aangesluit het. Oud-sekerheidsgevangene [redacted] was geweldig gekant teen [redacted] se aansien en die feit dat hy alle aspekte/besluitnemings in die gevangenis hanteer het. Dit het gelei tot 'n geveg tussen gevangenes [redacted] en [redacted], waarna laasgenoemde verskuif is. Nadat [redacted] verskuif is het [redacted] in geskryfte bekend gemaak dat [redacted] 'n blink toekoms in die ANC-organisasie gaan hê. Dit dien gemeld te word dat die voorval wel gedurende 1977 plaasgevind het.
4. Daar is nog steeds soos in die verlede 'n onderliggende spanning tussen die lede van die ANC en PAC teenwoordig. Monitering in die gevangenis is uiters moeilik en alle insidente kom nie tot ons aandag nie.
[redacted]
[redacted] Sedert 1977 was daar geen sprake van openlike konfrontasie nie.

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5. Vir u inligting, asseblief.


Majoor
namens KOMMISSARIS VAN GEVANGENISSE
F. J. MOLLER

Waar  is gekom. Hy beweer
dat hy "nieke inligting" aangevra het
Wille van parntel behou  be-
tyde van V.P.C na die ANC "gedrae
het. Hy verook dat die oorskrif
as die chandel behou word en
mag by die dokumente gelaas word
word.

4/3/80.

SAHA

DIREKTORAAT:
VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

1985 - 03 - 23

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE
SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

169/85

DIREKTORAAT
REGULASIE

24/9/85

UITERS GEHEIM

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SAP 148

P/sak-P/Bag X36561. add. info. REGULATION

Verw./Ref.: [REDACTED]

Navrae/Enq.: [REDACTED]

TEL.: 214511 x 262

DDV

ADU

24/9/85

VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH

HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE

PRETORIA
0001

1985.09.24

Die Direkteur
Veiligheidswetgewing
Privaatsak X655
0001 PRETORIA

INPERKING INGEVOLGE DIE WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID VAN 1982 (WET 74 VAN 1982)

1. Daar word tans 31 hoof- en streeksbestuurslede van die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) (soos per aanhangsel A) in terme van art 29(1) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet 74 van 1982) deur die SA Polisie aangehou vir ondervraging. Daar word beoog om sommige van hulle vir oortreding van art 54 van bovermelde wet aan te kla.
2. Op hierdie stadium is dit nog nie bekend teen watter van hierdie persone daar genoegsame getuienis is vir aanklagtes soos hierbo genoem nie. Ten einde tyd te bespaar word memorandumms tov hulle bedrywighede aangestuur vir voorlopige oorweging met die oog op inperking in terme van art 19, 20 en 23 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid (Wet 74/1982). Enige veranderde omstandighede sal onmiddellik aan u oorgedra word. Justisievraelyste is nog in proses van voltooiing en sal mettertyd aangestuur word.
3. Die betrokke persone is almal leiersfigure en dien óf op die hoofbestuur óf streeksbesture van die UDF en sy filiale en is in 'n sameswering met die verbode kommunistiesbeheerde AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) met die oogmerk om die bestaande regering en sosio-politieke bestel in die RSA met geweld omver te werp en die handhawing van wet en orde onmoontlik te maak.
4. Ten einde hierdie oogmerke te verwesenlik is verskeie strategieë deur die UDF en sy filiale van stapel gestuur oa:
 - 4.1 nywerhede, ondernemings, fabriekke en myne is lamgelê dmv stakings, wegbly- en boikotaksies;



Boe of UDF lew

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14/110

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- 4.2 Kleurling- en Swartgemeenskappe is gedemoraliseer en geïntimideer;
- 4.3 Swart lede van gemeenskapsrade en ander Swart Staatswerknemers is vermoor om die doeltreffende uitoefening van owerheidsgesag te verhinder;
- 4.4 Swartmassas is aangehits tot burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid, openbare geweldpleging en ander dade van wanorde en terreur;
- 4.5 inisiëring van skoolboikotte deur Swart leerlinge; en
- 4.6 die opstel en verspreiding van vlugskrifte waarin 'n beroep op buitelandse instansies sowel as binnelandse nywerhede en besighede gedoen is om die RSA enersyds polities en diplomaties te isoleer en andersyds druk op die RSA-regering toe te pas ten einde aan die UDF se eise toe te gee met die doel om die Staatsbestel tot 'n val te bring.
5. Deur aktiewe beplanning en mobilisering is die massas aangehits en aangemoedig om bogenoemde handelingte te verrig terwyl die ideologie van die ANC voortdurend op 'n subtiele wyse as 'n alternatiewe vorm van Staatsbestel voorgehou is.
6. Ondergenoemdes het voorts nie gekroom om hul beskikbaar te stel om op die bestuur te dien van die UDF wat soos hierbo uiteengesit dit ten doel het om die owerheidsgesag op elke denkbare gebied te konfronteer en uit te daag en tot 'n val te bring.

[REDACTED]
n/BEVELVOERENDE OFFISIER : VEILIGHEIDSTAK
[REDACTED] HOOFKANTOOR

/61

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AANHANGSEL A

1. Mansoor JAFFER - lid van die INTERIM COMMITTEE.
2. Andrew Jacob HENDRICKS - publisiteitsekretaris van UDF-Grensstreek.
3. Lucille Yvonne MEYER - addisionele lid van UDF Grensstreek.
4. Ntombazana Gertrude Winifred BOTHA - assistent-tesourie van UDF-Grensstreek.
5. Mzuzuana MDYOGOLO - lid van die UDF-Grensstreek.
- x 6. Percival John SMITH - mediabeampte van UDF Oos-Kaapstreek.
- 7. Oliver Jani MOHAPI - lid van die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee.
8. Mildred Mamolungoane RAMAKABA neé LESIEA - addisionele lid van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
9. Graeme BLOCH - addisionele lid van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
10. Christmas Fihla TINTO - vise-president van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
11. Yusuf ADAM @ Joe - tesourier van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
12. Mountain QUMBELA - addisionele lid van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
13. Wilfred RHODES - vise-president van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
- 14. Zolile MALINDI - president van UDF Wes-Kaapstreek.
- x 15. Joseph Johannes MARKS @ Joe - voorheen lid van die uitvoerende komitee.
- 16. Muzuvukile Curnick NDLOVU - voorsitter van UDF Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee.
17. Ittynian Rangasamy NAIR @ BILLY - vise-voorsitter van UDF Natal-streek.
- 18. Yunus Ismael MAHOMED - sekretaris van UDF Natal-streek.
19. Bekizwe Russel MAPANGA - lid van UDF Natal-streek.
20. Patrick Themba NXUMALO - lid van UDF Natal-streek.
- 21. Ndabakyise Erasmus GCWABAZA - lid van UDF Natal-streek.
- 22. Mcebisi Osman XUNDU - voorsitter van UDF Natal-streek.
- x 23. Ronald Mafika Macasha KHOZA - lid van UDF Natal-streek (studenteverteenwoordiger)
24. Liza Mathews KAPA - organiseerder van UDF Boland-streek.
25. James Victor ISSEL - organiseerder UDF Boland-streek.
26. Edwin Ronald MAKUE - sekretaris van UDF Transvaal-streek.
27. Mmankati Amanda KWADI - "Women's Portfolio", UDF Transvaal-streek.

- 28. Titus Magashe MAFOLO - Tesourier van UDF Transvaal-streek en lid van die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee.
- 29. Mathews SATHEKGE - "Student Portfolio" van UDF Uitvoerende Komitee van Transvaal-streek.
- 30. Johnson Mahlomola KGASU - voorsitter van UDF Noord-Kaap-streek.
- 31. Siphon Ian MKIZE - lid van die UDF Natal-streek.

/61



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MAATSKAPLIKE TERREIN

UDF

4. Die gebeure by Uitenhage word, soos verwag kan word, maksimaal deur die United Democratic Front (UDF) uitgebuit om meer momentum aan sy versetveldtog, wat na afloop van die Kleurling- en Indiërverkiegings in 1984 in 'n mate afgeneem het, te gee. Die UDF is met hierdie veldtog besig om opnuut die optrede van die veiligheidsmagte en die owerheid verdag te maak en die klimaat van vyan-digheid, wat reeds aanleiding gegee het tot meer aggressiewe op-trede teen die veiligheidsmagte en owerheidsinstellings, verder aan te blaas. Die verkiesing van Curnick NDLOVU tot die nuut ge-skepte pos van uitvoerende voorsitter van die UDF tydens die UDF se Algemene Jaarvergadering in Krugersdorp van 5 tot 8 April 1985, kan verdere momentum aan die veldtog verleen. Dit is insiggewend dat 'n persoon soos NDLOVU tot dié posisie verkies is. NDLOVU, 'n gelyste kommunist, is gedurende 1964 skuldig bevind op 15 aanklagte van sabotasie en is op 27 September 1983 uit die gevangenis ont-slaan nadat hy 20 jaar gevangenisstraf uitgedien het. Dit kan verwag word dat NDLOVU as uitvoerende voorsitter die leidende rol in die UDF se toekomstige optrede sal speel.

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5. Die UDF het van 23 Maart tot 2 April 1985 in verskillende dele van die RSA protesvergaderings gehou en pamflette op groot skaal versprei ter veroordeling van die Minister van Wet en Orde en die SAP vir die gebeure by Uitenhage. Die SAP is ook dmv die pamflette en deur sprekers tydens die vergaderings van doodslag beskuldig (kyk Aanhangsel A).

6. Die UDF het 28 Maart as 'n nasionale dag van rou uitgeroep in meegevoel met die slagoffers in die Langa-voorval. Die herdenking op 28 Maart 1985 het sonder veel sukses plaasgevind.

7. Op 2 April 1985 het die UDF 'n protespamflet aan die bestuur van Citibank in Johannesburg oorhandig waarin daar te velde getrek word teen die bank se beleggings in die RSA. Die UDF beweer dat van die geld aangewend word om wapens aan te koop om diegene wat teen die RSA-regering protesteer, te vermoor. Die bank is ook kras veroordeel omdat hy nie sy afkeer aan die RSA-regering oordra tov die gebeure by Uitenhage nie. Die media was ook teenwoordig om enige SAP-reaksie, wat nie gerealiseer het nie, te monitor. (Opmerking. Die UDF se optrede by Citibank kan moontlik die begin wees van 'n protesveldtog teen buitelandse beleggers in die RSA en kan verband hou met 'n besluit van die ANC om prioriteit te verleen aan aanvalle op of terreurdade teen Amerikaanse multi-nasionale maatskappye wat beleggings in die RSA het. Geen inligting is egter beskikbaar om die twee aangeleenthede direk te koppel nie.)

8. Die UDF poog om die steun van vakbonde vir sy Meidag-herdenking op 1 Mei 1985 te verkry en wil hierdie herdenking ook aan die Uitenhage-gebeure koppel.

9. Die UDF se nasionale uitvoerende raad het 1 Mei 1985 ook tot 'n "national stay-away day" verklaar in reaksie op en in weerwraak teen die Langa-gebeure en 'n beroep op sy filiale en vakbonde gedoen om in hierdie verband saam te werk. Vakbonde wat nie by die UDF geaffilieer is nie, het egter reeds die UDF se betrokkenheid by Meidag veroordeel en beplan hulle eie aksies vir dié dag.

10. In reaksie op die aanstelling van die Kannemeyer-kommissie van Onderzoek na die gebeure by Uitenhage, het die UDF sy eie "ge-regtelike" kommissie van ondersoek aangestel en ook besluit om nie getuienis voor die Kannemeyer-kommissie af te lê nie.

11. Die rewolusionêre klimaat wat binnelands deur radikale organisasies, waarin die UDF 'n oorkoepelende rol gespeel het, geskep is, het tot dusver in 1985 aanleiding gegee tot meer gewelddadige optrede as waarvoor die ANC in dié periode direk verantwoordelik was.

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OPSOMMING

1. United Democratic Front (UDF). 'n UDF-vergadering, onder voorsitterskap van eerw George IRVINE, wat op 14 April 1984 in Port Elizabeth gehou is, is deur 'n meerderheid Blankes (ongeveer 50) bygewoon. Sprekers tydens die vergadering, onder wie IRVINE self, Molly BLACKBURN, Dominique SOUCHON en Terror LEKOTA, het veral die "apartheidsbeleid" en die sg Koornhof-wette aangeval. Hierdie vergadering moet gesien word as 'n poging om Blankes meer spesifiek by die doelwitte van die UDF te betrek.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) : TOENEMENDE BETROKKENHEID VAN RADIKALE BLANKES

1. 'n UDF-vergadering, onder voorsitterskap van eerw. George IRVINE wat op 14 April 1984 in Port Elizabeth gehou is, is deur 'n meerderheid Blankes (ongeveer 50) bygewoon. Die volgende uitsprake is oatydens die vergadering gemaak:

- a. Nadat 'n videofilm oor die UDF vertoon is, het Molly BLACKBURN, lid van die Black Sash, gemeenskapsleier en die PFP-LPR vir Walmer, gesê dat die doel met die vergadering is om voorligting betreffende die teenkating teen die sg. Koornhof-wette en die "apartheidsbeleid" te betoon. Sy het die RSA-regering vergelyk met dié van HITLER wat sy teenstanders opgesluit het.
- b. Dominique SOUCHON, lid van die Black Sash, het die negatiewe aspekte van die sg. Koornhof-wette beklemtoon.
- c. Terror LEKOTA, publisiteitsekretaris van die UDF, het verklaar dat die UDF nie aspireer om as alternatiewe regering vir die RSA verkies te word nie. Volgens LEKOTA streef die UDF, soos die PFP, daarna om 'n nasionale konvensie daar te stel om gelyke politieke regte vir almal te beding. Hy meld verder dat die UDF alle vorms van geweld verwerp en dus nie die ANC kan akkommodeer nie.

2. Vier verskillende UDF-publikasies is onder die aanwesiges versprei. Op die sakelys van die vergadering is 'n uiteensetting van die UDF-struktuur gegee en 'n lys verskaf van organisasies (hoofsaaklik gemeenskapsorganisasies) wat by die UDF (Oos-Kaapland) geaffilieer is.

3. Toeligting en Vertolking

- a. Volgens beskikbare inligting is hierdie die eerste vergadering wat oorwegend deur Blankes bygewoon is. Hoewel beide die Black Sash en die PFP besluit het om nie by die UDF te affilieer nie, is die Blankes wat die vergadering bygewoon het, hoofsaaklik lede van die Black Sash en/of die PFP wat in hulle private hoedanigheid optree. Hierdie vergadering moet dus gesien word as 'n doelbewuste poging om Blankes meer spesifiek by die doelwitte van die UDF te betrek.
- b. Hierbenewens kan NUSAS, volgens uitsprake van leiersfigure in die organisasie, reeds as 'n "studentevleuel" van die UDF beskou word en word propaganda- en administratiewe ondersteuning deur organisasies soos die Community Resource and Information Centre (CRIC), die Media Advisory and Resource Service (MARS) en die Education Resource and Information Centre (ERIC) deurlopend aan die UDF en sy geaffilieerde organisasies verleen.

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MAATSKAPLIKE TERREIN

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

2. 'n Ontleding van die UDF en sy filiale se aktiwiteite asook uitsprake deur sy leiersfigure die afgelope weke toon aan dat die beweging 'n meer militante fase in sy strategie teen die huidige bestel betree het. Hierdie tendens het oa tydens die onlangse protesoptogte na die parlamentsgebou in Kaapstad en die sentrale gevangenis in Durban asook die konfrontasie met Citibank se bestuur in Johannesburg geblyk en is bevestig deur uitsprake van leiersfigure tydens die UDF se algemene jaarvergadering in April 1985. Volgens UDF-leiersfigure is die aanvanklike fase van protes teen die nuwe Grondwet verby en gaan regeringsbeleid en -inisiatiewe voortaan deur veral burgerlike ongehoorsaamheidsaksies teenstaan word. Volgens sy leiers het hierdie aksies ten doel om die huidige bestel te beëindig en die UDF se eise deur die Regering aanvaar te kry.

3. Die meer militante houding van die UDF soos weerspieël deur die jaarvergadering se tema, "From Protest to Challenge: From Mobilisation to Organisation"; het verder tydens dié vergadering geblyk toe sprekers medewerkers van die "apartheidregime" met 'n sg volkshof gedreig het, die Regering daarvan beskuldig het dat hy 'n burgeroorlog ontketen, die publiek aangemoedig het om die Staat se gesag uit te daag en verklaar het dat lede van die UDF bereid is om hulle lewens in die "stryd" neer te lê. Verder kom dit voor of die meer militante houding van die UDF daarop gemik is om op 'n verkorte tydskaal te poog om die Regering se politieke ontwikkelingsinisiatiewe te stuit, sy werktuie van gesag te ondermyn en hom van Kleurling- en Indiër-"vennote" te vervreem ten einde 'n nasionale konvensie te probeer afdwing.

4. Hoewel UDF-leiersfigure voortgaan om die beweging se "nie-gewelddadige aard" te beklemtoon, is van sy filiale waaronder die

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No 11 August - October 1983

The organised workers must build and lead the United Democratic Front

The 20 August launching of the United Democratic Front is the most important advance in the working-class movement since the Durban strikes.

Those strikes, ten years ago, signalled to the whole of South Africa that the black working class had re-awakened to struggle after the paralysing setbacks and defeats of the late 1950s and 1960s.

That first re-awakening was on the industrial plane, as workers tested their strength against their immediate enemy, the factory boss. It has led to the building of the strongest independent, democratic trade unions our country has ever seen. It laid the foundation-stone for the vital efforts towards trade union unity today.

The revolt of the black youth since 1976, the struggles over rents and housing, the bus boycotts, the resistance to removals—all have been spurred on by the advance of the workers' movement, and in turn have given ever wider sections of workers the confidence to organise and fight.

Today, the mass enthusiasm for the UDF—and the revolutionary spirit among the conference delegates, the observers and the 12 000-strong crowd at the rally—signal a new stage in the rise of the working-class movement.

Millions of black working people all over South Africa are looking eagerly for a national political leadership and a united organisation to lead them country-wide against the ruling class and the racist regime.

The UDF means much more than the '400 organisations' affiliated to

it. Millions sense that the UDF is a fore-runner of the ANC's emergence once again as a mass organisation inside South Africa. This is what gives the UDF its enormous potential following.

The UDF is overwhelmingly working-class in the composition of its support. But it is overwhelmingly middle-class in leadership.

At the conference, delegate after delegate recounted the sufferings of black working people under the capitalist system: low wages and rising prices; unemployment; bad and crowded housing and transport; rising rents and fares; migrant labour, passes and removals; beatings, arrests and shootings by the racist state.

A tumultuous reception, the warmest of the conference, was given to a trade unionist who said: "Every one of you must realise that the struggle lies with the working class... All workers must unite under the UDF banner and work for a system where exploitation of man by man is ended and where the means of production will be in the hands of the working class."

The working class, by leading the national liberation struggle, can take state power into its own hands, sweep away racial oppression, expropriate the rich, and organise production on socialist lines to end poverty and take the whole society forward.

This program—the only realistic approach to the revolution—would win a tremendous response from millions of oppressed people

throughout South Africa. But it is not the program reflected in the declarations and statements drawn up by the UDF leaders.

Theirs is the abstract idea of 'democracy' without workers' power; the vague hope of a new society, without recognising the need to end capitalism.

But the UDF can measure up to the tasks only if it rouses and unites the full force of the working class in a struggle against the entire system—racial domination and capitalist rule.

Many of the most militant and experienced worker activists in the unions have stood aside from the UDF. That is a mistake. Millions of workers are looking to the UDF. They must not be left without workers' leadership in the political field at this decisive time.

They must not be left in the hands of middle-class political leaders whose aims are not the same as workers' aims—who do not want a thorough-going revolution to make working people the masters of society.

This problem should be discussed in all the unions. Surely the task of organised workers is to build the UDF on solid foundations, as an organisation predominantly of workers, with a conscious program for workers' democracy, national liberation and socialism.

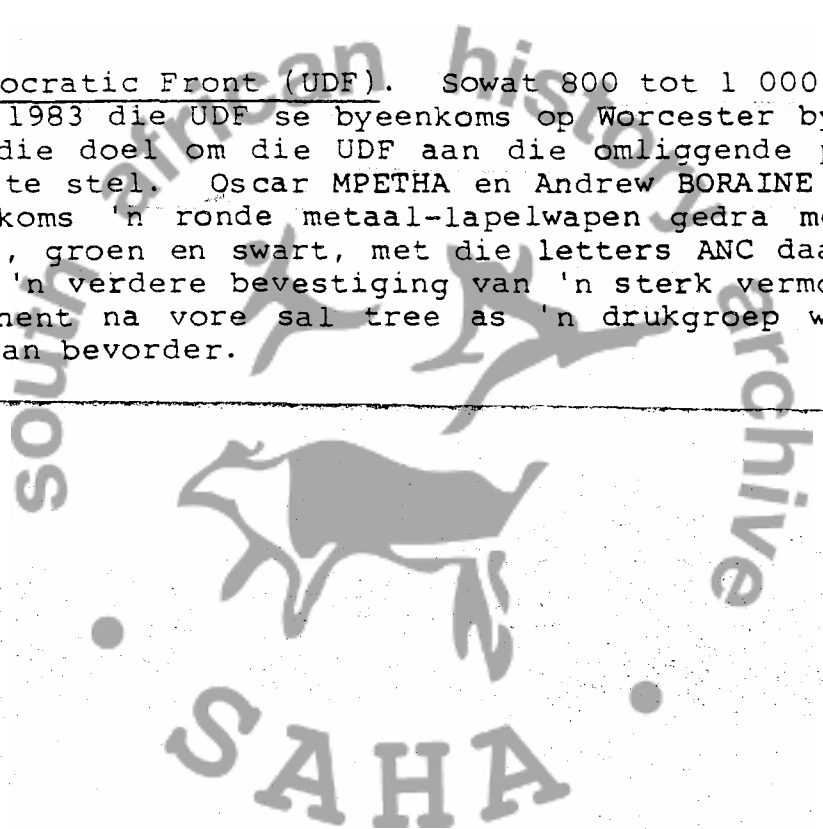
Every effort in that direction would prepare the way for a mass, socialist ANC in future, able to lead the revolutionary struggle for power.

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Lithanoppat
25/11/83

11/11/83

OPSOMMING

1. United Democratic Front (UDF). Sowat 800 tot 1 000 persone het op 11 Desember 1983 die UDF se byeenkoms op Worcester bygewoon, wat gehou was met die doel om die UDF aan die omliggende plattelandse gebiede bekend te stel. Oscar MPETHA en Andrew BORAINÉ het elk tydens die byeenkoms 'n ronde metaal-lapelwapen gedra met die ANC-kleure, nl geel, groen en swart, met die letters ANC daarop. Hierdie optrede is 'n verdere bevestiging van 'n sterk vermoede dat die UDF meer prominent na vore sal tree as 'n drukgroep wat die ANC-doelstellings kan bevorder.



ANC - UDF.

1. ANC. In die redaksionele kommentaar van die Oktober 1983-uitgawe van Sechaba, amptelike mondstuk van die ANC, word die United Democratic Front (UDF) voorgelou as 'n organisasie wat die "massa mobiliseer" en "gemeenskapsweerstand koördineer". Hoewel die ANC in sy uitsprake oor die UDF indirek sy goedkeuring verleen aan die doelstellings en aktiwiteite van die UDF, dra hy met dié artikel die boodskap duidelik aan die leser oor dat die UDF, ten spyte van sy "gemeenskapsdiens" en bevordering van doelstellings soortgelyk aan dié van die ANC, nie voorgee om as plaasvervanger vir die ANC te dien nie en gevolglik steeds ondergeskik aan die ANC as die oorkoepelende "bevrydingsbeweging" sal moet bly.

SAHA

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3/4/88

OPSOMMING

1. United Democratic Front (UDF). Op 14 Oktober 1983 is 'n voertuig, bestuur deur [redacted], deursoek en 'n afdruk van 'n getikte dokument van 15 bladsye, "Interview with CDE Thabo MBEKI, National Executive Committee member of the African National Congress and Publicity Secretary, September 1983", gevind. Volgens die dokument verwelkom die ANC die stigting van die UDF en sien dit as 'n belangrike ontwikkeling in die "stryd" van die massas om hulle land in 'n "demokratiese" RSA om te skep. Volgens die ANC is daar nou meer as 400 organisasies saamgesnoer wat, net soos die UDF, met 'n verenigde stem 'n "demokratiese" RSA eis.

SAHA

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3. Die ANC-georiënteerde United Democratic Front (UDF)

- a. In Januarie 1983 is daar tydens die Transvaal Anti-SAIC (TASC)-kongres besluit om 'n UDF in die lewe te roep ten einde alle linksradikale groepe wat teen die Regering se nuwe grondwetbedeling gekant is, in 'n eenheidsfront te probeer saamsnoer. 'n Loodsingskomitee, verteenwoordigend van die verskillende gekleurde bevolkingsgroepe van Transvaal, Natal en die Kaapprovinsie, is ook tydens hierdie kongres gekies om die lewensvatbaarheid van so 'n front te ondersoek en die nodige organisatoriese strukture en onderbou daar te stel. As vereiste vir lidmaatskap is gestel dat organisasies wat by die UDF wil affilieer, bereid moet wees om 'n Deklarasie van Voorneme te onderteken dat hulle die beginsels van die Freedom Charter en van "non-racialism" onderskryf. Tydens hierdie kongres is verder besluit om die dormant Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) te heraktiveer, wat dan ook op 1 Mei 1983 plaasgevind het.
- b. Sedert by TASC-kongres het verskeie vakbonde, kerklike, studente- en gemeenskapsorganisasies, asook ander versetgroepe reeds hulle steun aan die te stigte UDF toegesê, terwyl streekstrukture reeds in Natal, Transvaal, Oos- en Wes-Kaapland gestig is. Volgens beplanning sal die UDF op 21 Mei 1983 in Johannesburg formeel gestig word.
- c. Uit die vergaderings wat tot dusver gehou is, is dit duidelik dat die UDF nie alleen wil verhoed dat die Regering se grondwetbeplanning suksesvol deurgevoer word nie, maar dat hulle ook 'n nasionale eenheidsfront wil vorm wat op die lees van die ou Congress Alliance (Kyk Aanhangsel B) geskoei is en waarin Blankes en Swartes ook verteenwoordig sal wees. Ten einde die Swartmense te betrek, word beoog om veral die ontevredenheid met die "Koornhof-wette" maksimaal uit te buit, terwyl die geleentheid ook vir linksradikale Blankes gebied word om 'n bydrae tot die "bevrydingstryd" te maak, op voorwaarde dat hulle nie die gekleurdes se strukture oorheers nie. Vir dié doel word die Congress Alliance van die vyftigerjare as model geïdealiseer, terwyl die Freedom Charter wat die politieke manifest van die Congress-beweging was, by elke geleentheid gepropageer word. Die Voorsitter van die TIC, dr Essop JASSAT, het dan ook reeds te kenne gegee dat die heraktivering van die TIC slegs 'n voorloper tot die heraktivering van die ou SA Indian Congress is.
- d. JASSAT het in reaksie op die Eerste Minister se aankondiging van 'n moontlike referendum vir Indiërs, in 'n afwyking van die anti-SA Indiërraad(SAIR)-elemente se vorige boikotbeleid, aangekondig dat sy ondersteuners wel aan die

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beoogde referendum sal deelneem, maar dan teen die voor-
stelle sal stem ten einde die regeringsinisiatiewe te on-
dermyn.

- e. In weerwil van bepaalde aanduidings kan dit in hierdie stadium nie bo alle twyfel gestel word dat die UDF en sy geaffilieerde strukture as direkte fronte van die ANC/SAKP beskou kan word nie. In sy propaganda maak die ANC egter wel daarop aanspraak en volgens aanduidings is verskeie toegewyde ANC/SAKP-ondersteuners in hierdie strukture werkzaam. Aan die ander kant is die meerderheid van die linksradikales (insluitende bepaalde Blanke elemente en organisasies soos die Black Sash en NUSAS) wat tans die Congress-beweging en die Freedom Charter idealiseer, aanhangers van die filosofie van geweldloosheid en lydelike verset - beginsels waarvoor die Congress-beweging in die vyftigerjare gestaan het, voordat sekere elemente in die ANC en die SAKP as geheel besluit het om tot geweld oor te gaan. Nietemin skep die UDF die ideale klimaat vir die ANC om 'n groter vastrapplek binnelands te verkry, asook vir die herstrukturering van die Congress Alliance in 'n nuwe gewaad.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

IN THIS EDITION OF 'VOICES OF FREEDOM' WE HAVE HERE WITH US A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, COMRADE THABO MBEKE, TO ANSWER SOME OF THE BURNING QUESTIONS OF OUR STRUGGLE, BASED ON THE HISTORIC FORMATION OF THE 'UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT', LAST MONTH.

COMRADE THABO, TO YOU I WILL SAY, WE ARE GLAD TO BE WITH YOU AND YOU WILL BE ABLE, WITH US THIS-EVENING, TO DISCUSS SOME OF THE BURNING QUESTIONS OF OUR STRUGGLE.

(ANSWER):

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. GLAD ALSO TO BE HERE.

(QUESTION):

FIRSTLY, COMRADE THABO, A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. ONE OF THEM UNDOUBTEDLY, WAS THE FORMATION OF THE 'UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT', ON THE 20TH AUGUST, 1987. OUR QUESTION TO YOU, COMRADE THABO - IS THAT WE - ...WHAT IS THE ROLE IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, LED BY THE A.N.C.?

(ANSWER):

X WELL, I THINK THE FIRST THING THAT WE SHOULD SAY, IS THAT INDEED YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE A.N.C. AGREES WITH. WE THINK IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT. A VERY IMPORTANT INITIATIVE, ON THE PART OF OUR PEOPLE, ON THE PART OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS, IN WHICH OUR PEOPLE ARE INVOLVED.

* THE SECOND THING THAT I'D LIKE TO SAY, IS THAT IT'S BECOMING CLEARER EVERY DAY TO EVERYBODY, THAT THE PRINCIPAL TASK THAT FACES THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE AT HOME IS A POLITICAL ONE. I'M SAYING, THE 'PRINCIPAL TASK'; AND THAT PRINCIPAL TASK IS THE TRANSFORMATION OF OUR COUNTRY INTO A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, AND I THINK THAT IS WHAT LIES AT THE HEART OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

KB TO POSE TO OUR PEOPLE - AS I SAY - THE URGENT TASK OF TRANSFORMING SOUTH AFRICA INTO A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT OTHER STRUGGLES AGAINST THE RENT INCREASES, AGAINST BUS INCREASES, AGAINST MASS REMOVAL, AGAINST DETENTIONS AND SO ON, + THOSE STRUGGLES ARE NOT IMPORTANT. BUT THE STRUGGLES ARE MANIFESTATIONS OF A SYSTEM WHICH NEEDS TO BE DESTROYED, A SYSTEM WHICH NEEDS TO BE REMOVED, AND AS I'M SAYING, A SYSTEM WHICH NEEDS TO BE REPLACED BY ANOTHER.

NOW, THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT BROUGHT ALL THOSE FOUR HUNDRED ORGANISATIONS TOGETHER, AND WE ARE SAYING, WITH ONE UNITED VOICE, THAT WE DEMAND A UNITED DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

I THINK, THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS IS, IT HAS FOCUSED ON THAT CENTRAL POLITICAL TASK. ALL THE ORGANISATIONS THAT OVER THE YEARS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN LOCAL STRUGGLES, CONFRONTING IN PARTICULAR, MANIFESTATIONS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM, CAMPAIGNING AROUND PARTICULAR ISSUES, - IT'S BROUGHT ALL THESE ORGANISATIONS TOGETHER AND SAID, THERE CAN BE NO FUNDAMENTAL SOLUTION TO ANY OF THESE PROBLEMS, WHILE THE APARTHEID SYSTEM EXISTS.

THEREFORE, THAT KIND OF FOCUS - THAT KIND OF FOCUS OF SAYING, 'WE ARE FOR A UNITED DEMOCRATIC NON-RACIAL SOUTH AFRICA, THAT WE HAVE

RAISES OUR STRUGGLE TO HIGHER LEVEL.

(QUESTION):

CAN YOU PERHAPS ACTUALLY IDENTIFY THE TASKS (INDISTINCT)?

(ANSWER):

WELL, HAVING SAID, - HAVING SAID, YOU ARE IN FAVOUR OF A UNITED DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA - NON-RACIAL - NATURALLY YOU ARE THEN CONFRONTED WITH THE QUESTION, HOW ARE YOU GOING TO BRING ABOUT SUCH A SOUTH AFRICA? THE UDF NATURALLY HAS GOT TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION.

IN THE VIEW OF THE A.N.C., THE PRINCIPAL TASK THAT FACES THE UDF AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF OUR COUNTRY - THE TASK THAT FACES UDF IS THE MOBILISATION, - THE MOBILISATION OF THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE INTO ACTION. THE MOBILISATION OF OUR PEOPLE INTO ACTION AROUND ... - ...THE PROBLEM OF ACTION AS I'M SAYING IS AIMED AT THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA INTO A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY. IT IS NECESSARY THEREFORE, THAT THE UDF SHOULD ENSURE, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, THAT THESE MASSES THAT ARE REPRESENTED BY ITS CONSTITUENT MEMBERS, ARE INVOLVED IN THE STRUGGLE, THAT THEY ARE NOT PASSIVE - THAT THEY ARE NOT DORMANT - THEY DON'T JUST STAND BY AND SAY, 'WE ARE POSITIVE THAT WE WANT A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA,' AND THEN DO NOTHING ABOUT IT.

I'M SAYING, THE FIRST TASK OF THE UDF WOULD BE, IN VIEW OF THE ANC, IT WOULD BE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE MEMBERS ORGANISED IN ITS CONSTITUENT BODY ARE ACTIVISTS - ARE ACTIVE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR BRINGING ABOUT THAT DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

A SECOND ELEMENT, IN THE TASK THAT FACES THE UDF NOW, IS.. - ..WOULD BE TO REACH OUT TO THOSE MASSES OF PEOPLE WHO MAY NOT BE ORGANISED IN ANY WAY - WHO MIGHT NOT BELONG TO ANY ORGANISATION THAT BELONGS TO THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT - WHO MIGHT NOT BE ORGANISED INTO ANY FORMATION WHETHER THEY BELONG OR DO NOT BELONG TO THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. TO REACH OUT, I'M SAYING, TO THOSE MASSES WHO AT THE MOMENT FALL OUTSIDE OF THE ORGANISED SCOPES.

PAGE 1
RADIO ZAMBIA: (U.T.C. 16H30-21H00): 9505 KHZ: 1983-09-23. :

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

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(QUESTION):

FIRSTLY, COMRADE THABO, A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA. ONE OF THEM UNDOUBTEDLY, WAS THE FORMATION OF THE 'UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT', ON THE 27TH AUGUST,

At its recent national conference in Zambia, South Africa's ANC took a new radical stance. It opened its membership to South Africans of all races. It shuffled its top personnel. It endorsed attacks on civilian targets. Howard Barroil draws the different strands together.

A NUMBER of important shifts in tactics were decided at the recent national consultative conference of the African National Congress (ANC) which are likely to have a substantial effect on the scale and nature of the serious unrest that has swept South Africa unrelentingly for the past 12 months.

The conference, held in Zambia in mid-June, brought together about 250 delegates from the ANC's external mission and internal underground and has decided on several new directions.

Observers consider the conference also confirmed a long apparent shift to the left in the ANC - in line with similar shifts within black political organisations operating legally inside South Africa. The ANC was outlawed, together with the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), in 1960.

Among the important decisions at the conference was one to open all structures of the ANC to non-Africans - South Africa's Coloured (mixed race), Indian and white minorities (IWA) the conference, individuals from these minority groups had been allowed full membership of only the ANC's External Mission, whereas membership of the ANC's national executive committee, its top body, and the internal underground had been formally restricted to Africans.

ANC sources say the decision to open all

structures to these groups was passed by a massive majority. And, following on from that, five non-Africans were elected onto the national executive committee, which was enlarged to 30 from 22 members.

A further six African men and women were also elected as new members of the executive. They, together with the five new non-African members of the executive, represent an important injection of relative youth into the ANC's top body.

Oliver Tambo was re-elected president unanimously, as were Alfred Nzo (Secretary General) and Thomas Nkomo (Treasurer General).

Two members of the pre-conference executive - former national political commissar Andrew Mazonde and John Mabwe - lost their posts. A third, former international department head Joe Jele, did not make himself available for re-election.

The new members of the enlarged executive are: Cassius Make, a senior commander in the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe; Dr Sizakela Sigqasha, a former ANC Director of Information; Anthony Mngalo, ANC chief representative to the German Democratic Republic; Dr Pello Jofane, head of the ANC's research department; Dr Francis Meki, head of the ANC's external information department; Mrs Ruth Mngathi, a one-time ANC chief

representative to London; Ray September, a former leader of the Coloured People's Congress (CPC); James Smart, also a coloured, who works in the ANC's office of the President, Mac Maharaj; an Indian, who spent 12 years on Robben Island in the isolation-section with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and others; Amir Pahad, another Indian, based in exile in London; and a white member of the outlawed South African Communist Party (SACP) and a young figure in the ANC's military structure.

But the real importance of the conference lay in the aggressive decisions taken. Oliver Tambo told journalists the conference had concluded that the South African struggle was escalating to the point where the distinction between hard and soft targets would fall away. In a speech by ANC guerrillas, hitherto ANC guerrillas have largely held back from incurring civilian casualties in military strikes.

Other ANC sources explained that the increasing militarisation of South Africa, particularly among whites who have been drawn into paramilitary units and security networks in large numbers, had blurred the distinction between hard and soft targets. ANC guerrillas, they added, would no longer be required to exercise the same kind of care about avoiding civilian casualties. But these sources still completely ruled out the possibility that ANC guerrillas would aim at military strikes, especially at categories such as white children.

Clearer than the new ANC hard line on armed attacks could not have been, certainly, the decision to endorse attacks on whites which has largely survived the hitherto small-scale ANC guerrilla struggle. This was a major tactical breakthrough. Thus hard line was, however, part of a broader shift in ANC tactics - towards what observers are characterising as a combination of the doctrine of 'people's war' and insurrectionary form and tactics.

Since January 1984 the ANC has been pushing inside the country, both through its underground machinery and its pamphlets, for the country to be made ungovernable and for apartheid to be made unworkable. In particular, it has been calling for black policemen and black councillors serving the Government to be driven out of the black townships.

This push has characterised the serious unrest since August last year inside the country which has resulted in more than 700 black councillors being removed, many either killed or driven to resignation. Several black townships east of Johannesburg, in the Western Cape and the Transvaal Provinces, have been declared as

ANC said it is prepared to attack civilian targets NUMBER OF DELEGATES AT CONFERENCE

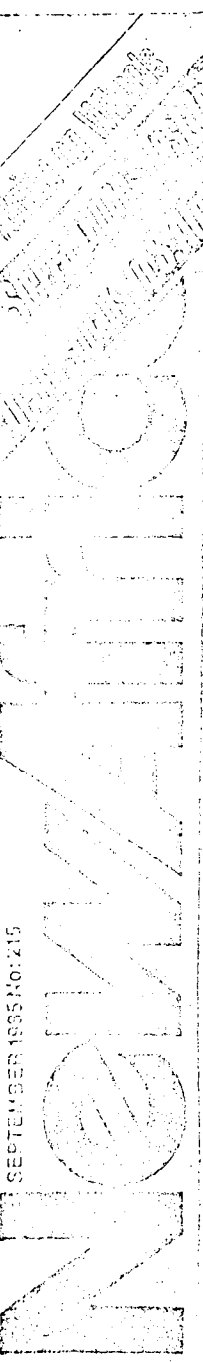
"We are creating pockets of people's power in the development of what another ANC source called 'mass revolutionary-based' under popular front underground leadership. It is from bases such as these that the ANC can hope, perhaps realistically, to mount a sustainable guerrilla war eventually capable of challenging for state power." ANC sources have made clear their movement's view that it must now promote their struggle on the likelihood that the ANC will never enjoy the kind of reliable support enjoyed by other African liberation movements like Zanu and Zapa of Zimbabwe, Frelimo of Mozambique or the MPLA of Angola.

If we are ever granted reliable bases in a neighbouring country, then will be a bonus. Our strength is that we have a strong and militant working class and youth who are trained and tested in the struggles of a

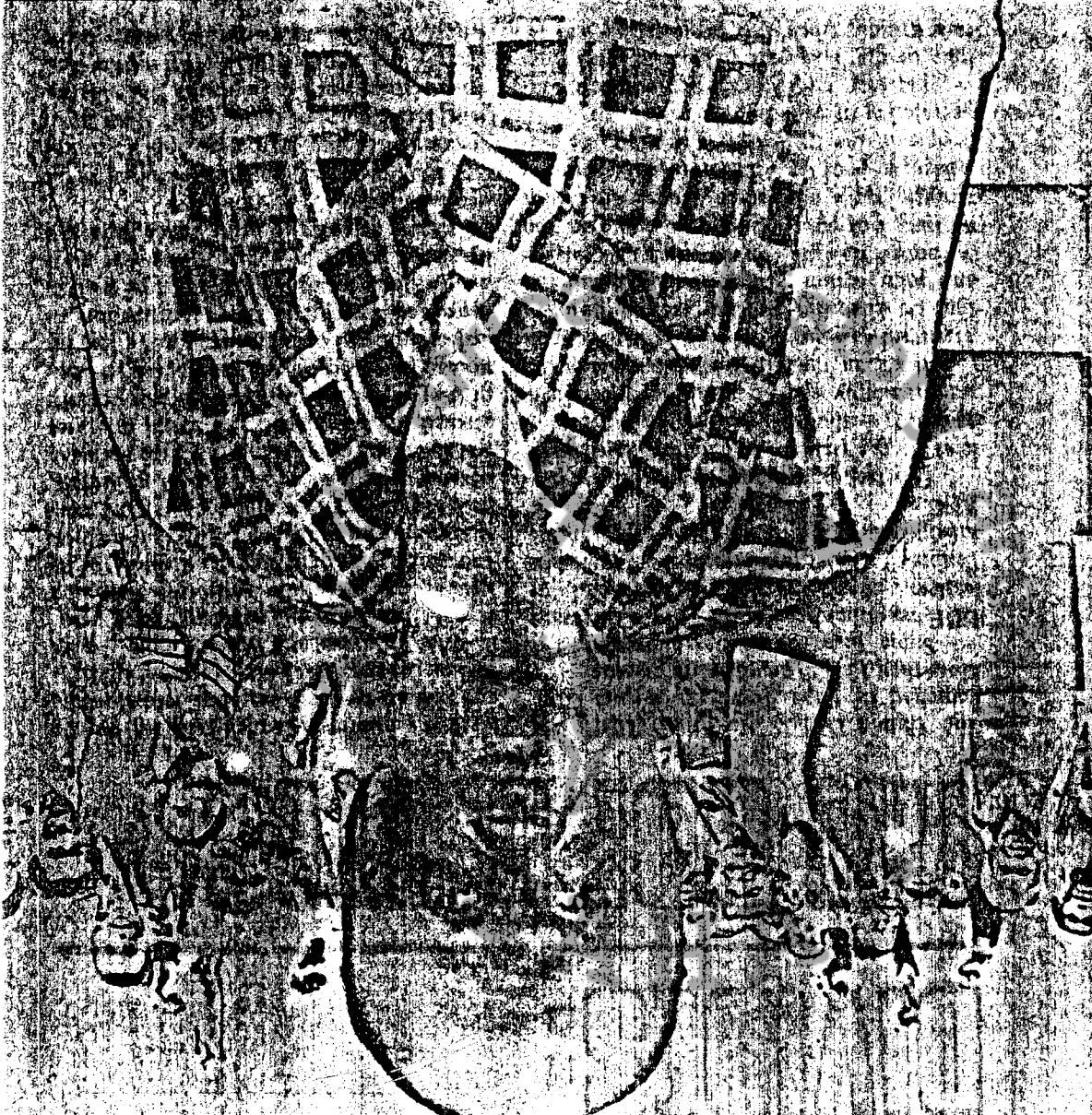
number of years. We have surplus in and on this strength," said a young African ANC member, an active guerrilla fighter. This last statement in many ways appears to mark on the classic model of insurgent warfare. The substitute being pushed by the ANC is a protracted combination of armed struggle by its formally trained guerrillas with strike activity by South African militant black working class and generalised unrest mounted by mainly the youth, as well as other armed attacks by informally organised groups having basic equipment such as petrol bombs and so on.

This represents a gathering of forces which, the ANC hopes, could seriously challenge state power at a time of critical political and military difficulties within the Government at some stage in the future. All the indications are that the ANC conference endorsed this outlook, which had been outlined for some months before the delegates met. They are busy writing an important chapter in the international revolutionary manual, called 'UANC'.

SEPTEMBER 1985 No. 215



DORA TAMANA - 1901-198



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

SEVEN



OCTOBER 1983

APARTHEID

DIVIDES:

THE UDF UNITES

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in Cape Town on August 20th. More than 12 000 people were present.

Since then, much has happened. The UDF has either been portrayed as a directionless, blind rejection of apartheid, or "another ANC front organisation" which is manipulated by the invisible hand of the ANC.

Our task here is not to explain the policies of the UDF or to counter the slanders against it — that will need a whole article — we just simply want to put the record straight.

It was in January at the Congress of the Transvaal anti-South African Indian Council that Dr Allan Boesak made the call for unity and joint action against the constitutional 'reforms.' He called on churches, civic organisations and sports bodies to unite in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, to pool their resources and inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name.

On May 1st 1983 the democratic traditions of the Transvaal Indian Congress were re-activated, when this organisation was re-

vived at a meeting attended by 1 500 people and chaired by Dr E Jassat at Ramakrishna Hall in Lenasia. Since May, regional UDFs — in Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape — were set up. The unbanning of several black political leaders at a time when the Coloured Labour Party — or rather the majority of its leadership who influence policy and opinion in the Labour Party — had accepted the racist government's new constitutional proposals, which, among other things, exclude Africans, aroused the conscience and moral impulses of the people. The racists are forcing constitutional proposals on the people, the tri-cameral or tri-racial constitution for Whites, Indians and Coloureds. The constitution of South Africa, says the UDF, must be written by all the people of South Africa — it must be totally democratic in its conception and implementation.

The other question which resulted in the emergence of the UDF was the Koornhof Bills. Piet Koornhof is the racist Minister of Co-operation and Development. His bills, especially the African Local Authorities Act, which, it is said, offers black townships the

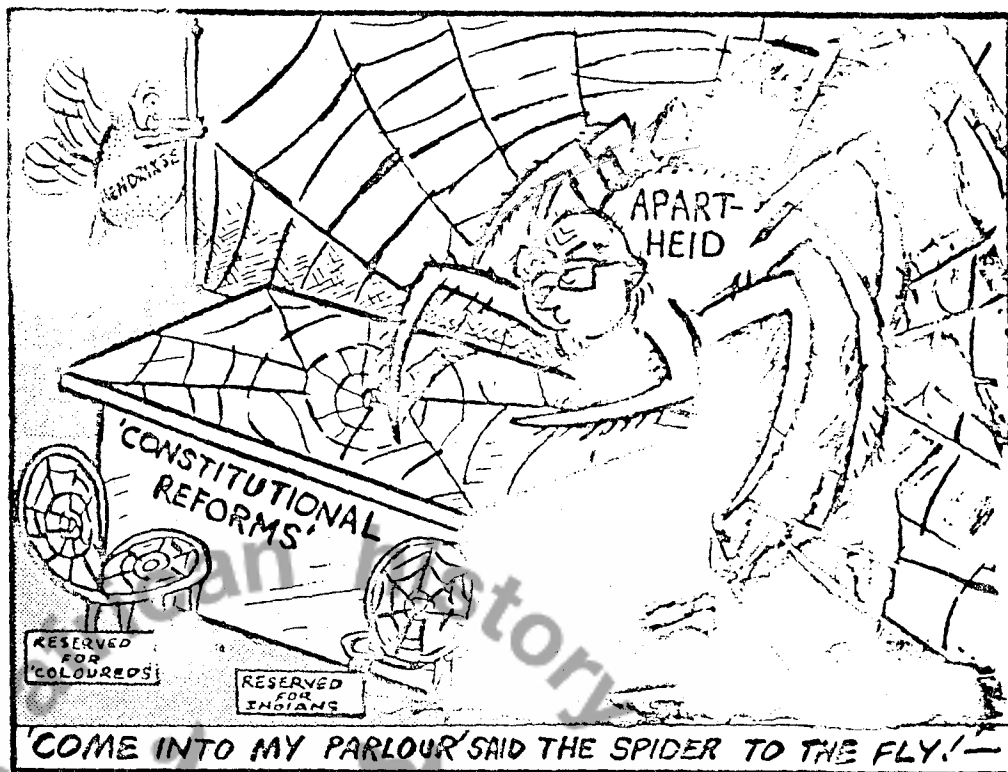
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OMRADE	
cision to	12
TURMOIL	15
IAL	19
SOUNDS	23
TES OF DEATH*	24
	26
	30

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same powers as those enjoyed by white municipalities, are designed to weaken the people's resistance whilst entrenching apartheid.

In other words the emergence of the UDF was a reaction to the disastrous policies of the regime. The whole talk about 'power-sharing' in South Africa is nothing but a journalistic catchphrase. These 'changes' are not genuine 'reforms.' On the contrary, the only action one sees is the 'resettlement' of people, the tightened influx control, Group Areas Act, killing of people, destruction of people's homes as people are thrown out into the bitterly cold night, and ANC militants are sent to the gallows.

In the Western press there is much confusion about Botha's 'reforms.' These have been portrayed as 'benevolence' or the opposite of apartheid. The ruthlessness and violence with which apartheid is being enforced hardly justify the use of the term 'reforms.' 'Reforms' and violence (and naked brutality) are, in practice in South Africa, not mutually exclusive, because 'reforms' are used to just-

ify the use of violence in the endeavour to enforce apartheid — there should be harmony in the country, so they think. This more often than not escapes the Western journalists.

In other words the emergence of the UDF is a reaction to the worsening situation. The UDF mobilises all people into one mass movement and co-ordinates community resistance, but it does not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited people's movements. It articulates the viewpoint of the broad cross-section of the people; the fundamental principle is that the discrimination falls on the poor. Accordingly, the main thrust of the organisation is directed towards the participation of the working people in the work-place, in the communities or wherever they may be.

The UDF is a united front in which all organisations will keep their identity and independence, but co-operate in opposing the President's Council, the new parliament and Koomhof's plans.

They seem to have grasped the essence of the national question in South Africa.

128

DAWN

VOLUME 7

No. 8

1983

Journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe



UDF
UNITES

DEMOCRATIC FRONT





Editorial Comment

OUT - AN INVALUABLE WEAPON

Gerrit Viljoen, the racist Minister of Education and Sport expressed the determination of the apartheid regime to go ahead with the implementation of the 'new dispensation' for Coloureds and Indians in spite of our resolute opposition and rejection of this sham deal. In April he said that the proposed new constitution is a point of departure into a future in which there could be no absolute guarantees and it should be approached in the pioneering spirit of the voortrekkers. As of this writing the constitution bill has been pushed through parliament with satanic haste. Out of 102 clauses, (of the bill) only 34 were debated. With the bill now approved by parliament the only step left before the bill becomes law is the all-white referendum scheduled for November 2.

It is beyond question that the constitutional proposals are not going to introduce even an iota of change to the status quo but are designed to entrench racist discrimination. It (racial discrimination) is still enshrined in the constitution; mass removals and resettlement (today the number of people facing the threat of mass removals and relocation is the highest compared to any period since the National Party assumed power in 1948), bantustans, group areas, influx control, job reservation, etc., the cornerstones of apartheid will remain untouched.

The enormous power that the new constitution concentrates in the hands of the executive president turns him into a dictator. According to the *Rand Daily Mail* (2/8/83): "There are some astonishing provisions in the constitutional proposals. When all three houses of parliament have no confidence in the president or his cabinet, they can pass resolutions accordingly. But what happens? Parliament is dissolved and the president and his cabinet remain in office". Given that the members of the cabinet will not be elected or necessarily be members of parliament but will be appointed by the president himself, and in majority cases they will undoubtedly be from the army,

DOWN

the implications thereof are clear. South Africa has been and continues tactically moving towards military rule. Seen in this light, the constitutional proposals are designed to place it firmly on this road, a process initiated by Botha's ascendancy to power and the consequent rise of the generals to prominence in the South African state's apparatus and government.

MILESTONE

The birth of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on August 20-21 at Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town, marked a milestone in the struggle of our people against apartheid tyranny. The moment could not have been more opportune in the face of such a determined offensive by the enemy as revealed by the 'new dispensation' and the Kooenhof bills. These are attempts by the enemy to make further inroads on Black unity by falsely broadening its laager to co-opt Coloureds and Indians as junior partners of apartheid and to enhance the apartheid division of Africans into permanent urban residents and migrants.

These are attacks not only on one or the other community, class or racial group but on all the oppressed of our country. This is why our opposition can and will only be meaningful if we are united. We have seen the power of *United Action* in the recent battles of Lamontville people, where for the first time in the history of the National Party's rule, racist Piet Kooenhof was forced to meet with the real leaders of the people. It is therefore the duty of all genuine patriots and revolutionaries to throw all their weight behind the UDF, an invaluable weapon to frustrate the enemy's offensive.

The same applies to the trade union movement. The President's Council proposals and the Kooenhof bills are an affront not to workers in one industry or union, but to the entire working class. Likewise the trade union movement can only offer serious opposition to these apartheid schemes if united under a single federation. Hence the urgency of the call for "*one country, one federation*".

Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is conscious of this powerful campaign that is building up against the President's Council and Kooenhof genocidal bills and the duty that its fighting ranks are charged with. We are called upon to sharpen our spears and intensify the war against the racist regime. Only by so doing shall we create a favourable climate for the flourishing of the UDF and the overall advance to the seizure of power. Herein lies to a large extent the success of the fight against the constitutional proposals and the Kooenhof bills.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

TELL MORE LIES!

Today, four newspapers including the *Sowetan* are facing prosecution for reporting the evidence of racist brutality in Namibia as witnessed by archbishop Dennis Hurley. We are not saying that papers like the *Citizen* and the *Rand Daily Mail* which are also facing prosecution are reliable. We know that they report lies, having the interest of white South Africans and the criminal system of apartheid at heart. But what we are saying is that even these papers are not telling enough lies as it is, for Botha and Malan they have to tell more.

Radio Freedom - Luanda

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

- ZAKES KHULU

A united democratic front is not a new phenomenon! The history of the African National Congress confirms this, that it advocated a policy of united action with all forces opposed to apartheid. In 1926 we had the Non-European Conference; in 1935 the All-African Convention; the Non-European United Front (NEUF) in 1938 and the historic Congress Alliance of 1953. The organisational structures and tasks of these fronts corresponded with the objective demands of their time. Noteworthy is that all of them were born in action. This also reminds us that 1983 marks the 30th anniversary of this historic Congress Alliance.

Today the United Democratic Front is of crucial importance to all democratic forces in South Africa. This importance lies in the urgency of revolutionary change and the absolute necessity of involving the greatest number of our people in the liberation struggle. In response to the increased offensive of the forces of change, the racist regime has embarked on divisive tactics to paralyse the democratic forces. Increased violence, deceptive constitutional changes, repressive labour laws, mass removals and bantustanisation reflect the enemy schemes to prolong the existence of white supremacy. However, contrary to the enemy's desires, his frenzy has led to an unprecedented growth of mass organisations in our country.

IMPETUS

The Labour Party's decision to participate in the bogus Presidential Council sparked off an intense battle in our country which gave an immediate impetus to the formation of a united democratic front. It crystalized the fact that only through united action shall we stop the designs of racist Pretoria. A call made by Rev. Allan Boesak in the Transvaal anti-SAIC meeting to form a united democratic front to oppose the racist fraudulent constitutional proposals was welcomed with overwhelming enthusiasm.

This became evident in the United Democratic Front launching rally at the Rocklands, Mitchell's Plain, in Cape Town. The words of the Reverend Allen Boesak set the mood of the 12,000 people, representing more than 400 organisations. He said: "We want all our all our rights. We want them here and we want them now. We have pleaded, cried, petitioned for too long now. We have been jailed, exiled, killed for too long now. Now is the time!"

The conference elected Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu and Archie Gumede Presidents of the UDF. Popo Molefe of the Soweto Civic Association and Mosiuoa Lekota, a former SASO National Organiser, were elected National and Publicity Secretaries respectively.

Among these leaders, Nelson Mandela was elected a Patron of the UDF, with Martha Mahlangu, Hassan Howa and all Rivonia Trialists imprisoned for life.

The UDF is a coalition of forces irrespective of size. It bases itself on the principle of unshakable conviction in the creation of a non-racial unitary state in South Africa. This principle binds the UDF to consult and reflect accurately the democratic aspira-

tions of the people. The success of the UDF lies on this and its ability to mobilise the people at grassroot level. Again the success of the UDF lies on its ability to maintain unity irrespective of ideological differences, while at the same time being able to implement a viable programme of action that will involve the masses in active struggle.



Part of the delegates outside the hall at the launching of the UDF.

The UDF emerged in struggle as a response of the people to the deepening apartheid crisis which the enemy tries to put on their shoulders. It is an off-shoot of grassroot revolutionary mass mobilisation. The UDF therefore is a product of mass action, bearing the stamp of the unflinching courage of our people. In the words of Archie Gumede, a Congress Alliance veteran: "Slogans are not enough Sweat and labour, careful thought and careful actions are needed..."

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE UDF

The African National Congress and its allies believe that a determined and relentless struggle by our people opens up possibilities to advance our struggle further. At all times the ANC has stressed the strategic value of unity of all the oppressed and democratic forces in our country. In 1978 the ANC advocated a political programme which elaborated on the forms of struggle to raise our offensive. On the basis of this programme the masses formed their own mass political organisations. This initiative culminated in the historic anti-republic campaign of 1981.

On January 8th our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, called on the people to form a united democratic front for national liberation to engage the enemy at all times in united action. Our role as an advanced contingent of this offensive should be to streng-

Further to the meeting of the UDF

then all the forces for change. The UDF is a powerful weapon in the national liberation struggle. In reality in the UDF one can see the political and social edifice which also determines our forward drive to victory. Hence the ANC is obliged to ~~its~~ its (UDF's) actions politically and organisationally.

The ANC must strive to encourage the people to support and participate in the activities of the UDF. Our ideological work must be able to determine the behaviour and activities of the people at all times. Our ideological work must uphold the people's fighting tradition, mass heroism and an unbending revolutionary spirit.

For more than seven decades the ANC has been in the fore-front of this battle. Long, fearless and persistent work by our underground units under trying conditions is paying dividends to our struggle. The ANC has won its rightful place in our struggle, among the masses, as the only reliable and revolutionary vanguard of our people.

Tra'o'ng Chinh, writing on the relation of the party and the front says:

"The Party cannot demand the front to recognise its leadership. It must instead show it to be the most loyal, active and dedicated member of the front. It is only through daily struggle and work and only after the workers have recognised the correctness of the policies and leading capacity of the Party - that the Party can win the leading position".

Also we are not the vanguard because of what we say of ourselves, but because of what we actually do in the day to day life-and-death struggle and which the people see. The national liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground structures within the UDF. These structures must be skilful, give the correct guide to the UDF and above all raise the tasks of the front.



Marthe Mehlangu, Hassan Howa and Rev. Aliaa Boesak at the launching of the UDF.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE UDF

Unity initiatives among workers continue as witnessed by the 5th trade union summit in Athlone. On their own workers can only elaborate trade union consciousness on the basis of their daily experiences at the point of production. By their nature trade unions are heterogeneous. Their daily experience is the only thing which unites them against the exploiter. A democratic union must be judged by its attitude towards the grievances of workers, the position it assumes in the event of action by the workers and by its policies as enshrined in its constitution.

Ideological differences among unions retard workers' unity and cannot be emphasised at the expense of the points that unite workers. The same with the tactics of registration and non-registration which affect unions equally through the Labour Registration Act. The UDF cannot supersede workers' unity. Instead the unity of the workers lays a wide basis for the success of the UDF.

The workers are a leading force in our struggle, not only because of their numerical strength, but because of the objective position they occupy in the South African society. They are the producers of material wealth, while being denied the leading position in the production of this wealth, moreover they are denied political rights.

Because of this and their organisation and political consciousness, they are a decisive force in the struggle for the destruction of the racist colonial structures and to ensure that: "ALL SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH."

The workers therefore must contribute this revolutionary courage to the UDF by supporting and joining it. The numerical strength of the UDF depends on the extent to which the workers are unionised and politicised. The participation of the rural masses depends on the understanding that the rural people and farm labourers are the workers' time-tested allies in the struggle for change. Only when the co-ordinating centre of



**OUR ARMY NEEDS A DYNAMIC
POLITICAL PROGRAMME**

- ISAAC MAKANA

The article written by comrade Amos Aluko entitled "Mastering the Art of Winning Victory" raises topical problems of our revolution. In the article the comrade discusses, among other things, the important question of political education in the ranks of our revolutionary army. He argues, and correctly so, that in order to master the dynamic situation developing in our country, we must work out a political programme which will be geared towards producing political organisers, propagandists and agitators who will give solutions to the day to day political problems agitating our people

the workers has been achieved shall all unions and the UDF be able to reach the far flung areas of our country.

THE TOUCH-STONE OF PATRIOTISM

The strategic aim of the national struggle is enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Meanwhile that the implementation of the Charter has not yet been achieved, the national character of the present phase shall dominate and the Charter shall continue to be our basis for unity. All patriots must advance only those tasks which are warranted by the people's experience and must keep in step with the people. Only when we act, keeping with the tasks of this stage shall we be able to raise the consciousness and organisation of the people to utilise the revolutionary energies and potentials of all classes and social groups for people's victory.

To defend the Charter is to defend the broad class and national interests of the main social forces in the South African revolution during the democratic stage. The Freedom Charter is the touch-stone of patriotism. Today in South Africa there can be no patriotism outside the Freedom Charter.

The ANC and the entire people know from experience that the mass army of the revolution can only be created in the course of struggle. The people must be convinced through their own experiences that unity in action is correct. Persuading the people on the correctness of the policy of the ANC and those of the UDF on the basis of their experience is the most important tactical principle.

Change becomes visible only when the people become conscious of the need to effect revolutionary change. To avoid a determined fight with the enemy is to alienate oneself from the people and to condemn the struggle to failure. The masses derive their political and organisational lessons in struggle. Unless this struggle is conducted it is impossible to muster the people, and prepare the masses for the advent of democracy. Unity is built in struggle.

VIEWPOINT

and chart the way forward to the revolutionary seizure of power from the oppressors and exploiters. (The article herein referred to appeared in DAWN Vol. 7 No. 6).

The basis of that programme would naturally be lectures on our pre-colonial history, wars of resistance, history of our liberation movement, theory of the South African revolution and the basics of Marxism-Leninism. This is done in our ranks to a considerable degree of success. However, we must guard against the danger of becoming prisoners of complacency. There is obviously still more room to improve the quality of the material we impart to our cadres. In our lectures we must guard against concentrating on the superficial elements of any issue, but must delve into the depth of its aspects, penetrate its essence in order to single out the roots, connections, problems, strong and weak points, achievements and set-backs for the purpose of isolating and

eliminating shortcomings and mistakes, consolidating achievements and strong points for the advance of our revolution.

Still we have yet to ask ourselves a question: *can a political programme of the character and scope described above be adequate to produce the political organisers capable of galvanising and welding our embattled people into a solid block that would crush the apartheid monster and build a South Africa of the Freedom Charter?* Such a programme would certainly fall short of its objective, so long as it does not address itself to the current political problems confronting our people and movement - problems connected with the political mobilisation of the millions of the masses of our people.

We usually say the people are the real makers of history. Yet we must never be hostages of the illusion that they make that history automatically, spontaneously. No, the people need a vanguard, they must be led. They must be organised, united and their consciousness must be elevated. It is precisely here that the role of Umkhonto cadres comes in as political organisers and propagandists. Concretely speaking, there are two related questions of crucial importance to which our political programme has to address itself. These are the politics of revolutionary trade unionism and the theory and practice of United Fronts.

One of the basic tenets of the theory of the South African revolution is that for it to be victorious, the working class must play the leading role. Our theory also moves from the premise that the maximum mobilisation of our people is the essential prerequisite for our victory. In our situation, the mobilisation of the oppressed and exploited people is in a real and significant way the mobilisation of the working class because the majority of our people belongs to that class. This statement must never be construed to suggest that only the working class must be organised. Such a position would be a sectarian approach to our revolution and it is alien to both theory and practice of our liberation movement. It further negates the very essence of the concept of United Fronts.

The political line of our movement is clear, all classes and strata of our people must be organised and drawn into the mainstream of our revolution. Here we are singling out one factor - that in our country unlike elsewhere in Africa - the working class is not only the most revolutionary class of all classes opposed to racist and capitalist tyranny, but also the most numerous of all those classes. But the working class cannot fulfil its role unless it is organised, unless its political and class consciousness is raised. Who is going to do that? It is surely not only the comrades in SACTU. The cadres of the African National Congress must do it. We must devote some hours in our programme to the arming of our cadres with the necessary political weapons, and when doing so we must guard against the danger of divorcing the abstract from the concrete, of isolating theory from practice. These lectures on trade unionism will have real meaning only if they shed light on the problems at home, if they assist in solving those problems. Otherwise they would degenerate into old clichés. Where the situation allows it, experts on these problems could be called to give well-researched papers.

Many of us must confess that we are not so well versed with the chemistry of the trade union movement at home. That ignorance comes out clearly when we have to analyse the question of the different trends, problems of unity, manoeuvres of reform-

ist and reactionary international trade union bodies like ICFTU, AFL-CIO, AALC and strategy and tactics of the bosses and the state. The problem with some of our cadres is that instead of examining the situation soberly as it is, they are quick to hurl reactionary accusations at an organisation or individual. One for instance, often hears that FOSATU is reactionary. When one asks for reasons for such a conclusion, it is said because its (FOSATU) unions are registered. Such an assessment is fraught with grave mistakes and is undoubtedly incorrect. FOSATU is definitely not reactionary, at least not at the moment. Of course we may not agree fully with some of its statements and actions. Our liberation movement has now and again raised such points of divergence. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss them. Anyway even if FOSATU was reactionary we would be doing violence to history if we were just to dismiss it and leave the whole thing there. A vanguard really worth that title has to take people as they are, with their prejudices, moods, fears and political backwardness. It will never find ready-made people. It must organise, educate and show them the way forward. Our attitude then to FOSATU would be to extend to that federation our influence of revolutionary trade unionism.

Now the question of *United Fronts*. Nowadays we are witness to a powerful upsurge that is unfolding throughout the length and breadth of our country. In the theatre of this political ferment, there are more than a dozen organisations and trade unions with different ideological orientations. On the whole, all of them are anti-racist and democratic and strive for the elimination of the apartheid system. Of course the organisations differ in so far as their militancy, consistency and readiness to confront the common enemy is concerned. Some of them have already given their unqualified support to the Freedom Charter, others have not. The formation of the United Democratic Front recently is a practical realisation of the thesis that the maximum mobilisation and unity of our people is the fundamental requirement of our victory over the forces of racism and reaction.

TASKS

What are the tasks then in the context of the UDF? The ANC as the vanguard must consolidate, strengthen and broaden this front. It must deepen the consciousness of the thousands upon thousands of the people who swell its ranks. The political organisers must be in the front-line of these mass struggles in order to give the day to day direction and leadership. But to be able to do so effectively, these political operatives must be equipped with the necessary tools, with the proper theoretical knowledge. Practice is blind without theory. We must therefore educate our cadres on the role and significance of United Fronts. Our comrades must discard the dangerous practice of placing organisations under abstract categories of progressive and reactionary. Sometimes it is easy to say for instance AZASO is progressive, AZAPO is reactionary, SAAWU is progressive, CUSA is reactionary. But is it useful? Subjecting organisations to abstract revolutionary formulae is not a reliable criterion to judge whether an organisation is revolutionary or not, but rather what that particular organisation does in actual life. We must learn to adopt a concrete historical approach to problems, "a concrete analysis of a concrete situation".

Organisations might have different ideological inclinations, but that should not be a

barrier to united action. The experience of freedom loving forces the world over has confirmed more than a hundred times that ideological differences cannot be an obstacle to unity. The most important thing is to agree on a minimum programme of action against the main enemy and that programme must spell out categorically clear who that enemy is. Moreover, it is absolutely vital that in practical action, in the day to day battles, the main blows are directed at the common enemy. The organisations must have the inalienable right to safeguard their organisational and ideological independence. Nobody, for example, is saying to AZAPO that before it can join the UDF it must renounce its ideology of black consciousness. Although most of the organisations comprising the UDF subscribe to the Freedom Charter, they do not and cannot put it as a precondition for joining the UDF. On the other hand, they would naturally and rightly so resist any attempts aimed at watering down their ideological stand as organisations. In future there might be a further proliferation of organisations in our country. Some will appear only to fade away, there will be vacillations and betrayals. Yet others will endure. We must be ready and able to identify even the smallest pockets of resistance and draw them into the mainstream of assault on the common enemy.

In conclusion, it must be strongly suggested to have as part of the political programme lectures on research material based on the experiences of other revolutions. Problems connected with mass mobilisation, alliances, forms of struggle, propaganda and agitation would feature in that programme. Works by Lenin such as "Left-wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder" and writings by Vietnamese revolutionaries are a rich store-house of experience.

DEFENCE OF APARTHEID

Under the 'new constitutional proposals' the executive President, who is also the chairman of the cabinet is given dictatorial powers. He decides on the common issues which are to be discussed by the cabinet.

Falling under these common issues is what they term defence - the defence of apartheid; the defence of white racist privileges. Defence is common only in as far as it means increased repression against the people, detention without trial, bannings, deaths in detention, massacre of South African refugees and the destabilisation of Southern African states.

This is exactly the terms of the homelands, so that who says that the constitutional proposals are wrong and unacceptable because they exclude blacks is wrong. He may as well say that bantustans were wrong because they excluded Coloureds and Indians, because what the new constitutional proposals of 1983 stand for is what the old bantustans dispensation of 1929 stood for.

If the bantustan dispensation was able to boldly declare a conglomerate of scattered barren farms and dilapidated townships a country called Bophuthatswana, what can stop a racist mentality from declaring Allen Hendrickse a president of a certain Bophuthacoloureds and Rajbansi a president of Bophutha-Indians?

Radio Freedom - Luanda

UNREST PROTEST MEETING

FRANCIS WILSON

ANDREW BORAINÉ

FRI. 23 1 PM

ST. GEORGE'S
CATHEDRAL

ORGANISED BY THE END CONSCRIPTION COMMITTEE

THIS IS CIVIL WAR

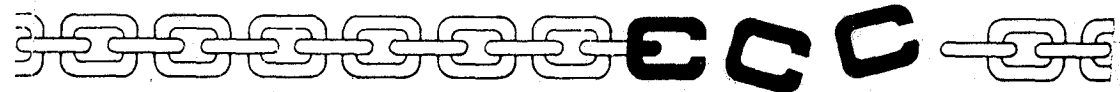
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AFGEKEUR
REJECTED



Across the townships of South Africa a large-scale escalation of civil conflict has occurred. The involvement of the SADF, especially conscripts from this year's January intake, has serious implications. In whose interests are the youth of our country being conscripted for deployment in the townships?



End Conscription Campaign

WHO IS BEHIND THE VIOLENCE?

The demands of the Vaal and Eastern Cape township residents are clear. They can not afford the 15 per cent rent increases, nor do they acknowledge the legitimacy of the community councils. Their protest is directed against the structures of urban black control - influx control, 'dummy' councils, and the inequalities of separate development.

The government's response to these demands has been neither negotiation nor concessions. It is blatant forceful repression, and employs the full might of the supposedly apolitical SADF. Eye witness accounts clearly show that the violence is a direct consequence of the police and army presence.

NEWS BLACKOUT.

Protest against the SADF involvement in the townships has escalated. But now the government has responded by clamping down on all news coverage. Police spokesmen have confirmed that no news about SAP/SADF operations may be released.

Are we not allowed to know the truth?

What is the army doing in the townships that we must not know?

We have a right to be informed. We have a right to judge the situation for ourselves.

In the Transvaal and Eastern Cape 100 people have been reported killed across the country progress organisations accuse the government of causing civil war, and of using the army to crush the peoples' demands. These are the facts of the recent SADF involvement:

October 6 - The army patrols townships in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown. Law and Order Minister, Louis le Grange, flying over the strife-torn Vaal, announces close cooperation between army and police in 'controlling the unrest'.

October 8 - The army moves into Soweto to assist in police operations.

October 23 - 'Operation Palmiet' - 7 000 troops invade the township of Sebokeng at 3 in the morning. All exits are sealed. 354 people are arrested, most of them for pass offences. There are accusations of brutality: 60 people are treated for injuries.

October 24 - The 7 000 strong force moves into Sharpeville and Boipatong townships.

November 5, 6 - In the Vaal and East Rand half a million workers stay away from work. In Ratanda the residents force the community council to resign. The SADF moves into Tembisa and Tsakane townships; people barricade the roads with stones, old cars and burning tyres. 24 people are killed.

November 10, 11 - The SADF moves into Grahamstown's townships with armoured troop carriers. 2 deaths are reported. Armoured troop carrier ploughs into taxi kills 4 people.



CONSCRIPTED FOR WHAT?

Never before have National Servicemen been so extensively involved in South Africa's townships. These young men have no choice. They are forced to give four years of their lives to fight - even to die - for apartheid.

Where will next year's call-up take the youth of our country? To Sebokeng, Sharpeville or Soweto, where the residents fight for their lives? To resettlement areas like Magopa, where the people fight to live where they have always lived? To the borders of the Ciskei, where soldiers man roadblocks preventing the hungry from leaving, or women going to live with their husbands?

We firmly believe that South Africans have a legitimate and incontestable right to refuse to serve in the SADF, and to refuse to get involved in morally indefensible conflict.

WE CALL FOR AN END TO CONSCRIPTION WE CALL FOR A JUST PEACE IN OUR LAND

DECLASSIFIED **GEHEIM**

SAP 148 (c)

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

P/sak-P/Bag 302 Tel. adr.-add. "KOMPOL"

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Tel.:	214511 x 262

VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH

HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE

PRETORIA

1985-05-14

Die Direkteur
Veiligheidswetgewing
Privaatsak X655
PRETORIA
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Handwritten note:
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UDF
8/19/85

UDF : PAMFLETTE.

1. Hierdie kantoor se enersgenommerde [REDACTED].
2. Die pamflet "This is Civil war" word vir u inligting aangeheg.


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n/KOMMISSARIS, : SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

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DIRECTORAT VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING		GEHEIM 
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DIRECTORATE: SECURITY LEGISLATION		SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE
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VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH
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1985-04-29



Die Direkteur van
Veiligheidswetgewing
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PRETORIA
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*R. Grey
of 12
of 19*

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT : NASIONALE ALGEMENE
VERGADERING.

n Afdruk van die notule van die UDF se
nasionale algemene vergadering is aangeheg
vir u inligting.

Die vergadering het van 6 tot 8 April 1985
te Azaadville, Krugersdorp plaasgevind.

n/KOMMISSARIS : SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE

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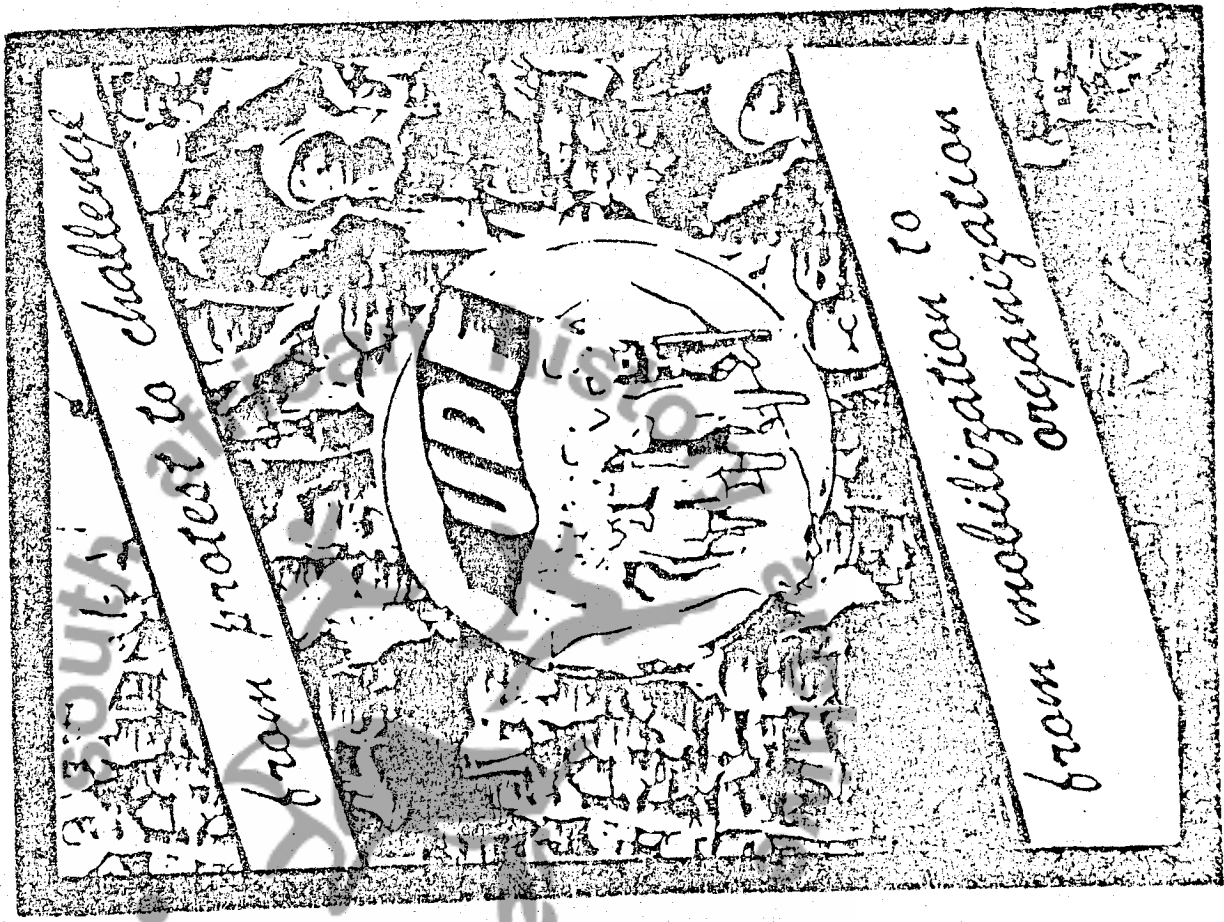
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NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

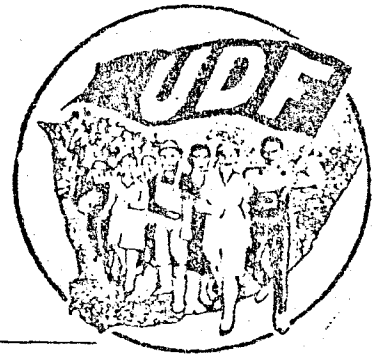
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UDF



1985

CONTENTS



Note: This booklet in its present form is not complete, but has been made available to you at this point in time for purposes of convenience.

1. Declaration of the United Democratic Front
2. UDF National Executive Committee
3. UDF Regional Executive Committees
4. Statement of the UDF National General Council
5. Secretarial Report
6. Working Principles
7. Resolutions:
 - Detentions and Treason Trial
 - Banning of the UDF and Affiliates in the Bantustans
 - UDF International Relations
 - Trade Unions
 - Unemployment
 - Forced Removals
 - Rural Areas
 - Militarisation
 - Women
 - Black Local Authorities
 - Tricameral Parliament and Black Forum
 - Citizenship
 - Imperialism
 - Imperialism USA
 - International Year of the Youth
 - Education
 - Namibia
 - New Zealand Rugby Tour

UDF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairperson : Curnick Ndlovu
General Secretary : Popo Molefe
Publicity Secretary : Mosiuoa Lekota
Treasurer : Azhar Cachalia
Other Members : Steve Tshwete *PRESIDENT GRENDSSTREEK*
Zoli Malindi *PRESIDENT WESKAAP*
Mcebisi Xundu *VOORSITTER NATAL*
Edgar Ngoyi *PRESIDENT OOSTELIKE PROV.*
Makhenkesi Stofile *SEKRETARIS GRENDS*
Yunus Mohamed *SEKRETARIS NATAL STREEK*
Trevor Manuel *SEKRETARIS WESKAAP*
Mohammed Valli *ALGEMENE SEKRETARIS TUL*
Derrick Swartz *SEKRETARIS OOSTELIKE PROV.*
Jomo Khasu *VOORSITTER NOORDKAAP*
Titus Mofolo *TESOURIER TRANSVAAL*
Oliver Mohapi

UDF REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

TRANSVAAL

President	:	Albertina Sisulu
Vice President	:	Samson Ndou
Vice President	:	Ram Saloojee
Vice President	:	Ismail Mohamed
General Secretary	:	Mohammed Valli
General Secretary	:	Paul Mashatile
Minute Secretary	:	Eddie Makue
Publicity Secretary	:	Sydney Mafumadi
Rural Secretary	:	Murphy Morobe
Media Officer	:	Mzwakhe Mbuli
Education Officer	:	Raymond Suttner
Youth Portfolio	:	Dan Montsisi
Student Portfolio	:	Mathews Sathekge
Labour Portfolio	:	Paul Maseko
Women's Portfolio	:	Amanda Kwadi
Civic Portfolio	:	Arthur Mkhwanazi
Treasurer	:	Azhar Cachalia
Treasurer	:	Titus Mofolo

NATAL

President	:	Archie Gumede
Chairman	:	Rev. M. Xundu
Vice Chairman	:	Billy Nair
Secretary	:	Yunus Mohamed
Publicity Secretary	:	Lechesa Tsenoli
Treasurer	:	Victoria Mxenge
NIC	:	Jerry Coovadia
NCC	:	Sandy Africa
RMC	:	Russel Mpanga
Youth	:	Ndaba
Students	:	Ronnie
DHAC	:	Virgil Bonhomme
JORAC	:	Ian Mkhize
NOW	:	Nosizwe
Diakonia	:	Paddy Kearney
Unions	:	Themba Nxumalo

UDF REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES CONTINUED

WESTERN CAPE

President : Zoli Malindi
Vice President : Wilfred Rhodes
Vice President : Christmas Tinto
Secretary : Trevor Manuel
Secretary : Miranda Qwanyashe
Secretary : Ebrahim Rasool
Publicity Secretary : Zoliswa Kota
Treasurer : Joe Adam
Fund Raiser : Goolam Abubaker
Additional Member : Milfred Lesiea
Additional Member : Mountain Qumbula
Additional Member : Graeme Bloch
Additional Member : Rev. Syd Lockett
Education & Training : Jeremy Cronin

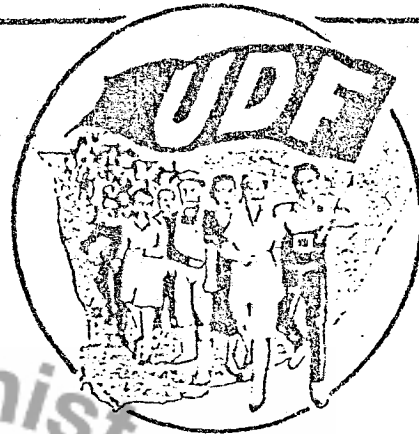
BORDER

President : Steve Tshwete
Vice President : Nqola
Vice President : Sonwabo Nqoyi
Secretary : Rev. M. Stofile
Publicity Secretary : Andrew Hendricks
Treasurer : Hintsu Sowisa
Additional Member : Lucille Meyer
Assistant Treasurer : T Botha
Organiser : Humphrey Moxheqwana
Additional Member : Yure Mdyogolo

EASTERN CAPE

President : E Ngoyi
Vice President : H Fazzie
General Secretary : D Swartz
Publicity Secretary : S Sizani
Recording Secretary : M Ndube
Organiser : M Goniwe
Treasurer : Vacant

Declaration of the United Democratic Front



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 all 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 trade union, community, women's, student's, religious, sporting and other organisations 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;
- 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 people.

• the oppression and exploitation of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women, will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by 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, housing 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 and honestly, and bravely and 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 the United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the Government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills.

STATEMENT OF THE UDF NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

This meeting of more than 300 committed and enthusiastic delegates, representing millions of people throughout the country on this Easter weekend in Azaadville is ample proof and eloquent testimony to the strength and resilience of the UDF as a mass organisation.

Meeting in the context of state repression unparalleled in the past twenty five years and on the basis of overwhelming popular support throughout the country, the UDF continues to represent and articulate the genuine needs and demands of all democratic South Africans.

There is still time for the racist minority regime to consult with the authentic leaders of the people, with the sole objective of making the necessary arrangements for the speedy and effective dismantling of the apartheid state and the transfer of power to the people.

The precondition for the achievement of peace in this country is the removal of the evil apartheid system. That is why we say that our struggle for liberation is a struggle for peace.

Not one more drop of blood need be shed
Not one more family need live in misery and starve
No man or woman need go without work
Not one more family need go without shelter

if these conditions are met.

The state and its agents are engaged in the wholesale letting of blood in the townships, billions of rands are spent maintaining apartheid structures; while subsidies for essential food are reduced or withdrawn, raised GST pays for SADF aggressions. Instead of homes at affordable rent, adequate recreational facilities, equal, democratic education, the people experience ever increased misery and oppression.

We also meet at a time of unequalled world-wide support from ordinary men and women, organisations in all countries committed to the elimination of racism, and of most governments throughout the world. Against this massive show of international solidarity, the right wing Reagan/Thatcher/Kohl axis and their allies continue to bolster the apartheid regime.

Oppressed and democratic South Africans demand that these imperialist powers support the forces of justice and democracy. They must abandon their traditional role in backing the oppressive and undemocratic governments purely for motives of greed and profit. Their international duty is to support the just struggle of the South African people for peace, justice and freedom.

We take the opportunity during this period of grave crises, when the progressive forces are being threatened on all fronts, to caution those individuals and organisations who differ with us to desist from attacking the UDF and fragmenting the ranks of the oppressed and instead to emphasise the points of common concern.

We call on them to be mindful that the state is arming its agents, seeking to strengthen its support and broaden its base by co-opting the Hendrickses, Rajbansis, the Sebes and the Buthelezis, and it therefore becomes the historic duty of all those who oppose apartheid to foster unity.

We have analysed our weaknesses and recognised our shortcomings. We are fully resolved in the coming years to increase the effectiveness and democratic content of our organisations, to raise the quality of our activists and leadership, to translate our living experiences amongst the people during struggle into viable programmes and to transcend the constraints of regional differences.

We recognise the need to encourage the increased and dynamic participation of progressive trade unions within our Front and to build the UDF so that it accurately reflects the centrality and leadership of the African masses in our struggle.

Finally we pledge to organise the masses of our people to effectively challenge the apartheid state by frustrating its efforts, preventing its advance, forcing its retreat and if possible to cut off all its lines of retreat.

We therefore make the following immediate demands as the beginning of a process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state:

1. the immediate scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and all Group Areas Laws, and an end to any form of forced removals
2. the dissolution of the bantustans and the ending of the migratory labour system
3. the scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament and all other puppet bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and other instruments of racist rule
4. a unified and democratic education system
5. the repeal of the pass laws and all other restrictions on freedom of movement
6. the right of workers to freely organise in trade unions, to collectively bargain and the right to strike without being penalised, the right to security of employment, housing, social welfare, pensions and maternity benefits, as laid down in the United Nations Human Rights Covenants and the Charters of the International Labour Organisation
7. the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of banned individuals and organisations, the return of exiles and the lifting of all restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly
8. the disbanding of the SADF, Koevoet, the SAP and all other repressive apparatuses
9. the scrapping of all barbaric 'security' laws which violate the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

SECRETARIAL REPORT

The Secretarial Report to the First Annual National Conference of the UDF held on 5 to 7 April 1985 at Azaadville, Krugersdorp

1. INTRODUCTION

This National General Council takes place after we have just completed the first phase of our campaign against the so-called new dispensation in particular and apartheid as a whole. Although we were successful in mobilising the masses to reject the government's schemes, the Nationalists are going ahead with the tricameral and Black Local Authorities scheme. This means that our broad Front must move to the second phase of challenging this new dispensation because it has no democratic approval of the people. In this regard the theme of our conference, "Protest to Challenge ... Mobilisation to Organisation ..." is indeed relevant.

But this conference also takes place against the backdrop of a vicious and escalating state repression. The detention of our leadership in August last year, the treason charges brought up against sixteen of them, the rising numbers of deaths in the streets and schools of the townships and the bombing of homes of our leading activists shows that the reactionary forces of the system are determined to destroy our broad people's Front by all means in their power. It will be important for this conference to keep this fact of heightened state repression in mind as it makes decisions on our future work.

The detentions and treason trial have disorganised our administrative structures to a certain extent. But apart from this, there are areas of importance which will demand conference attention. For example, the need to respond quickly to situations and to co-ordinate effectively at all levels. It is important that some broad guidelines on these issues be provided to guide the National Executive Committee and officers of the Front.

2. CAMPAIGNS

It is important to understand that the formation of our broad Front in 1983 was itself the first campaign against the new dispensation. This is so because the resistance against the new dispensation is a tributary within the broader struggle against Apartheid as such. Only if we keep this fact in mind shall we avoid the mistake of looking upon the UDF as the spearhead of the liberation struggle. This does not however mean that the Front is of no consequence. The UDF has undertaken campaigns which have not only exposed the weaknesses of the new dispensation but also taken our struggle to new levels. In this way the government is forced to return to their drawing-boards, but let it be clear that the only reliable drawing-board is the people themselves.

2.1 Black Local Authorities Elections

Only three months after the National Launch, the UDF engaged the state in the campaign against the BLA Elections. In that period our Front was still on very uncertain legs, but still our people responded to its call and the results were an overwhelming victory for democratic forces. The overall percentage poll came down to 15% and areas such as the Western Cape saw a poll of only ,04% in some constituencies.

2.2 Coloured Management Committee Elections

Once more the state plot to mislead our people was exposed by our Front. Percentage polls were not only low, but in one seat the winning candidate had only one vote.

2.3 Tricameral Elections

In spite of state maneouvering, our Front exposed every trick they tried, from false registration lists through the propaganda of intimidation, to empty claims of high percentage polls. Those who sit in the two puppet parliaments today are there without the peoples' mandate. With a low percentage poll of 17% nationally, we scored a major victory from which the present dispensation will never recover. As a matter of fact the Nats have already started to revise and amend it.

An important point to make here is that in the earlier campaigns both rival organisations and unaffiliated trade unions did not co-operated with us, however in this campaign there was a fair amount of joint campaigning. Here we refer to the Fun City and P.E. rallies in protest of the August elections. The highest point of co-operation was in the Transvaal Stayaway late last year. This growing unity especially with trade union organisations is of paramount importance to the success of our struggle.

2.4 Million Signature Campaign

This campaign had a number of objectives apart from the main one of collecting one million signatures. We used this campaign to take the message of the Front to the people, to expose our local organisations to the masses and also to give our activists an opportunity to interact with the masses in schools, factories, townships, churches, squatter and resettlement areas. In this regard the MSC was a very successful campaign. There were also many lessons to learn from this campaign. Activists discovered that dealing with the masses demands patience and a thorough understanding of their organisation and policies. These were valuable lessons for all of us. But our activists were also subjected to brutal assaults, arrests and abuse by state agents. Supporters whose names and addresses appeared on confiscated signature forms were subjected to police harassment and so on. Clearly the state was determined to make it difficult for activists to collect signatures and to keep the figures to the lowest minimum.

3. OTHER ACTIVITIES

Limited activity has taken place in some regions around certain issues:

3.1 Removals

Anti-removals committees were set up in the Western Cape the Border Regions to fight removals. We still need to broaden our resistance on this front. Because the issue of removals forms part of the process of denationalisation of Africans, it deserves our serious attention.

3.2 Education

Education is one of the crisis areas in our country today. Through their organisations, parents and students are mounting increasing resistance against inferior education. They demand democratically elected Students Representative Councils and Parents Governing Councils. They successfully challenged the state to a point where Minister Viljoen was forced to meet them. But the government continues to refuse to meet the demands for a democratic education - in the next session of parliament a bill will be tabled making the administration of Indian and Coloured Education an own affair, whilst African Education will be a general affair without any African representation.

The task of the UDF is to situate the education struggle within the overall strategy of challenging the state. Affiliates in all regions must throw their weight behind the Education Charter Campaign which is currently being led by Azaso, Cosas, Nusas and Neusa.

3.3 Anti-Conscription Campaign

Anti-Conscription Committees were set up in a number of regions, however the work of these committees needs to be built upon and consolidated. Our affiliates, particularly youth and student organisations, need to be encouraged to give priority to this issue. Today we witness increased brutal activity on the part of the SADF in our townships and schools which has not received adequate attention. We need to consider the formation of a structure which could monitor and publicise these activities of the SADF.

3.4 May Day

In 1984 we used May Day to strengthen our co-operation with non-affiliated unions. A measure of success was achieved. This year discussions about joint May Day Anniversary Celebrations are underway with various unions, however, we need to put greater effort into joint organising for May Day.

3.5 International Youth Year

International Youth Year provides fresh opportunities for challenging the state on a number of fronts as well as providing an opportunity for strengthening our youth affiliates. In some regions our youth affiliates have already launched the International Youth Year Campaign. Areas that will be focussed on in the campaign are: conscription, unemployment, education, oppression and exploitation, etc. Generally the campaign is progressing fairly well, but here we need to mention that it is not our affiliates alone who are taking up this campaign. The South African Government is pouring thousands of rands into its Youth Campaign, and it is essential that the way in which

we conduct this campaign leaves no doubt as to who represents the people of our country. We must use this campaign to effectively project extra-parliamentary opposition as a viable alternative to the current regime, and at the same time project the current regime's illegitimacy. In order to achieve this objective, every region must fully support this campaign.

4. BUILDING AND BROADENING THE FRONT

We launched the Front with only three constituted regions. Today we have five fully constituted regions and four regions which are growing into fully fledged structures. The demand for the UDF to reach out to areas such as Northern Natal, Orange Free State and Northern Transvaal in the form of solid structures is growing louder by the day. It will be important for this conference to make provision for the executive to meet these requests of the people.

Whilst it is true that the state feels the presence and work of the Front acutely, it is also true that the UDF is still not able to employ its full strength against the government policies. A number of reasons account for this:

4.1 Decision Making

Decision Making constitutes an important element of our work in that every decision taken must advance our struggle. Because of the broad nature of our Front, having a number of structures and affiliates, decision making requires a great deal of time. At times this has meant that the Front has been unable to provide a lead on some issues, for example the current education crisis. Since it is essential that we are able to lead our people in every struggle they fight, we must find a way of taking quick decisions whilst maintaining maximum unity. In this regard it may be necessary to devolve powers to regions thus enabling them take decisions timeously on matters which are specific to them and need immediate implementation. The successful stayaways in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape are cases in point.

4.2 Co-ordinating the work of the Front

One of the important aspects of the Front is co-ordination. With our present structures and the rate at which the Front has expanded and continues to expand, we have not been co-ordinating effectively, especially where the state attacks us as it is doing at present. We need to restructure the Front in such a way that it can respond quickly and effectively to emergencies such as sudden detentions, which are similar to those of last August and early this year. A smaller NEC, but no less competent, will move easier and at lower costs to any point that may need attention. An added advantage in this restructuring of our NEC and other levels of leadership would be to reduce the number of people who are exposed to state victimisation at any single point in time.

4.3 Relations with unaffiliated organisations

At the inception of the Front a number of organisations, especially some unions, were sceptical of the potential of the UDF. In the

face of criticisms and often provocation from some organisations, we refused to be drawn into hostile exchanges with those who questioned the correctness of setting up this Front. Clearly this was the only correct tactic open to us. For a broad Front seeking to build maximum unity of the oppressed, we have an inviolable commitment to bridge whatever differences may exist between us and other groups, even those who may be hostile to us. We must remember at all times that the differences that exist are not antagonistic ones, and we must not allow these differences to blind the way forward.

Relations between the Front and unaffiliated trade unions have improved since the national launch. In the campaign against the new constitution elections, trade unions such as Fosatu, GWU, African Food and Canning Workers' Union and Cape Town Municipal Workers Union joined forces with the Front in regions such as the Western and Eastern Cape. Similarly in the Transvaal Stay-away last year, most unions joined forces with the UDF in making that campaign a success that it ultimately became. Unfortunately this spirit of growing unity has not yet taken root or concrete form in other regions. In the recent stay-away in P.E. a decidedly negative response was received from local union branches in spite of determined consultations by our Eastern Cape affiliates with unions there. We must continue to pursue the path of unity with the unions as a matter of priority. A significant development was our establishment of bilateral relations with the South African Council of Sport in Durban last year. Presently we are seeking consultation and co-operation with SACOS on the coming New Zealand Rugby tour, if it should take place. Joint protest and boycott of the tour will help to register our peoples' opposition to this sell-out tour.

5. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Since its inception our Front has been able to generate huge support on the international plane. Virtually all anti-apartheid forces have rallied to the support of the Front. Most progressive Western governments have generally protested apartheid especially the continued exclusion of the majority of South Africans from the government of this country. Except for the U.S. and Great Britain, all the member countries in the UN General Assembly voted in support of a resolution condemning the new constitution.

Anti-apartheid organisations throughout the world have firmly supported the Front since inception. Indeed, those governments which have stood up against South Africa have done so largely because of the strength of anti-apartheid movements in those countries. In this regard we must single out the Swedish Labour Movement which was the first to acknowledge the contribution of the UDF to the struggle for freedom by awarding the Front the Let Live Prize on 27 July 1984. The prize was received by Comrades Murphey Morobe and Cassim Saloojee. Subsequent to this, a number of organisations in Sweden produced booklets and posters on the UDF and these were widely distributed. Progressives in countries such as the Netherlands, in Great Britain and elsewhere in continental Europe, rose up to the occasion as they pressured their governments to support the anti-apartheid cause. The most dramatic work was that performed by the British AAM and, early this year, the "Free South Africa Movement" who successfully pressured these governments to vote in favour of the call

for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the release of UDF leaders who are charged with treason and the condemnation of murder of our people in Crossroads who were resisting forced removals.

At this stage we wish to draw attention to the fact that in our approach to international relations, our comrades must realise that there is a difference between administrations of those countries and the progressive forces therein. Reagan supports apartheid by way of constructive engagement, but it does not follow that all American people are behind constructive engagement. The activities of the "Free South Africa Movement" and the anti-apartheid congressional lobby headed by Edward Kennedy clearly demonstrate this point. Even in imperialist countries, there are people and groups who are committed to the struggle for the overthrow of apartheid. Our activists and members of the Front must understand that there is a considerable difference between the particular governments and administrations of imperialist countries and those supporting us. In fact, the anti-imperialist camp includes anti-imperialist groups, organisations, classes and strata in those countries.

Our international work has had the net effect of deepening the isolation of South Africa. Today this country is increasingly becoming the pole cat of the world. Almost every country, including the Reagan Administration, find it extremely difficult to support the South African regime openly. The occupation in September last year of the British Consulate in Durban by six of our comrades, brought an unprecedented focus to the system of detention without trial in the Republic of South Africa. The breach of a solemn promise by the Pretoria regime in refusing to return the four Armscor accused in the Coventry Trial alienated the British people and its natural allies, the Thatcher Government.

It is this increasing isolation that has today forced P W Botha to announce his so-called informal forum, rights to urban blacks, and to admit in foreign media that he acknowledges that there is a lot wrong with apartheid and that his government is addressing a number of these questions. The Consulate affair brought tremendous international publicity and won the UDF a lot of sympathy abroad.

6. REPRESSION

From its inception the UDF has witnessed a conscious decision by the state to undermine the work of the Front and to isolate it from the people. To this end various methods were adopted ranging from disinformation to naked vicious repression.

6.1 Disinformation

Several bogus pamphlets were distributed country-wide during most of 1984. Disinformation about the Front and its activities has also been spread through various forms of media.

6.2 Ban on Meetings

Several meetings of the UDF and its affiliates have been banned. Currently, meetings of the Front and 28 of its affiliates are banned in 18 magisterial districts. 16 of these districts are in the Eastern Cape and 2 are in the Transvaal. In addition, all meetings, anywhere in the country, called to discuss a stay at home, are banned.

6.3 Denial of Venues to the UDF

Premises controlled by Development Boards are denied to the UDF for the purpose of meetings. Priests who have made their churches available for UDF meetings are threatened with withdrawal of lease rights.

6.4 Rural Areas and Bantustans

In the Ciskei, hundreds of our people were tortured by Sebe during the bus boycott in 1983. Several UDF leaders and activists continue to be victims of Sebe's barbaric legal system. 38 UDF officials and members of its affiliates are currently detained in Ciskei, as well as SAAWU being banned there.

In Bophuthatswana several of our supporters and activists have been dismissed from their jobs or transferred to areas where organising would be difficult for them.

In Kwa Zulu the UDF affiliates, Cosas and Azaso, are banned. In September 1983, 5 student supporters of the UDF were killed by the Inkatha impis in a desperate attempt to coerce support for Buthelezi. Leading officials of the Front, including Comrade Archie Gumede suffered assaults at the hands of Inkatha. The list of incidents of repression in this Bantustan is too long to quote.

In the Transkei the UDF is banned.

6.5 Detentions and the Treason Trial

By August last year the state methods of attempting to suppress the UDF and the support it had gained, yielded no results. On the eve of the elections for the House of Delegates, the state detained key officials of the UDF and its affiliates. This swoop culminated in trumped up treason charges. On February 19, more than one hundred houses of UDF activists and all the UDF offices country wide were raided and all documents confiscated. An additional eight key officials of the UDF and its affiliates were charged with treason.

In October last year in a speech to the Transvaal Congress of the NP, Le Grange threatened to take drastic action against the UDF for what he labelled "ANC Front work". Clearly the state was preparing white public opinion for the treason trial move. The indignation of the Nats arose from the resounding success of the UDF anti-election campaign. The continuing advance of the Front in spite of the arrests of the leaders finally forced a sudden change of tactics on the part of the state.

What are the State's objectives in bringing up charges of treason against the UDF leadership?

- i) To undermine the Front, its leadership and its affiliates
- ii) to put peaceful mass struggle on trial
- iii) to alienate the UDF leadership from its constituency by criminalising legal mass resistance
- iv) to justify the section 28 detentions
- v) to kill the spirit of the people and to disorganise the UDF
- vi) to force those on trial to reject the ANC

- vii) to provide space for the puppets to gain credibility
- viii) to demonstrate legitimacy for the South African Government.

6.6 Instances of General Repression

Two homes of leading UDF activists were burnt down in Welkom; the shop of a key UDF activist was vandalised and burnt; 5 homes of our activists in Soweto were petrol bombed; a comrade's brother was killed when their home was petrol bombed by a Uitenhage councillor; comrade Kratshi was shot dead by police in his home; a leading UDF activist in Graaf-Reinet was assaulted and later knocked down by a police car, and yet police refused to accept charges of assault which he brought up against them. In East London shots were fired at the house of a UDF activist. In P.E. the house of the general secretary of PEBCO and that of the president of PEWO were petrol bombed and burnt to the ground, and another comrade's uncle was shot dead at point blank range when he opened the door to persons, suspected by local people, to be police.

On the morning of the 21st of March, the Citizen carried a front page story in which General Coetzee of the SA Police stated that he would take action to protect police because police were now being killed by people. At 10.00 am that same morning, police and army personnel opened fire with R1 rifles and shotguns. The full extent of the Langa massacre is yet to be established but our information clearly shows that by now more than 100 people have already been killed in and around Uitenhage.

What is the meaning of all this? It is that the state, or at least some arm of the state, has taken a deliberate decision to employ terrorist methods against our activists, organisations and Front because the UDF won the political battle against the government. It is important that this conference understands this point thoroughly and carries it back to our organisations and members. In this regard we have already been ushered into the period of Koevoet atrocities as witnessed in the Namibian struggle.

But the terrorism of the state has not only been aimed at us. Individual priests and churches who have firmly supported the Front by offering their premises for meetings are being threatened with closure of their premises or their buildings are now being burnt down. In the Western Cape, Churches in African areas have been threatened with denial of premises in Khayelitsha if they should continue to provide venues for public meetings.

In the face of these ominous signs a special task before this conference is to examine a style of work that will enable the Front to survive the hard times ahead. //

7. EVALUATION OF CAMPAIGNS IN BRIEF

Generally all our campaigns have been successful. We achieved unprecedented levels of mobilisation for each one of our campaigns. But there are certain subjective weaknesses which must be pointed out.

7.1 Black Local Authorities

After a successful campaign against the BLA, our affiliates failed to assert their legitimacy at a local level. Subsequent to raising the level of awareness and generating excitement, our affiliates did not mobilise the masses effectively. In many areas in the townships, organisations trail behind the masses thus making it difficult for a disciplined mass action to take place. More often there is a spontaniety of actions in the townships.

7.2 Tri-Cameral Parliament

After the successful Anti-Elections Campaign last August, there has been very little attempt at challenging the junior partners, and projecting the alternative clearly. This conference will have to find answers to this and other questions of effective action.

7.3 Million Signature Campaign

Most of the objectives of the MSC were achieved, however we need to make certain criticisms. Lack of thorough planning in the campaign was glaring. The campaign was launched when some affiliates were not ready to take it on. The campaign was launched at a crucial time in terms of the anti-election campaign, however when the decision to embark on the MSC was taken, it was hoped that the MSC would merge with the Anti-election campaign. Instead there was a definite shift of concentration from the MSC to the preparations for the anti-election work. This made it difficult for the smooth running of the MSC campaign.

The crucial objectives of the MSC were often forgotten: "to ground the UDF amongst the people, to give us a solid basis to resist Apartheid and move forwards to build a united, democratic South Africa free from oppression and economic exploitation". Our aim was not only to get one million signatures, but to get one million people to know and accept the Declaration of the UDF. The campaign was seen as a way to educate UDF activists and to recruit new members as a way to build each of the affiliates of the UDF.

7.4 Release Political Prisoners

This campaign has continued under the Release Mandela Committee, but has not been very central to the work of the Front so far. Perhaps now that a considerable proportion of our officials are imprisoned, we may have a better ground to put our full strength into this campaign. It is important that this campaign is taken on two levels. Firstly, to drive for the outright unconditional release of all political prisoners, which is obviously a long term issue, and secondly, this campaign must include the struggle for the improvement of conditions under which our people suffer in prison. This would involve pushing the government towards accepting the Geneva convention and other very practical considerations.

7.5 Training of Activists

Quite often activists had to go into the field without sufficient understanding of what was expected of them, or even the ability to answer questions raised by the masses. Very often such inabilities are demoralising.

The weaknesses pinpointed above are not insurmountable. Proper training of activists, planning in advance and the necessary assessment of practical matters relating to implementation of campaigns will go a long way in alleviating these problems, and increasing the confidence and the capacity of our organisations to carry any campaign.

8. CHALLENGES FACING THE FRONT

In the last 19 months of our existence major gains were made at the level of building the Front and increasing our capacity to mobilise our people. We can call a mass meeting any time and fill Fun City or the Jabulani Amphitheatre, but now the question that we must ask ourselves is, "What are the challenges facing the UDF today?" The key questions facing us are:

- 8.1 The Transformation of mass support to active participation in the day to day activities of our organisations: we must deepen our organisation. Out of the mobilised mass support our current organisations must develop cohesive structures capable of analysing their own situation and dealing with any challenge at any time of the day. Our affiliates must develop the capacity to identify and to address the needs of the masses of our people. We must increase mass participation in our organisations. Skills must not be limited to a few people, but rather spread and shared. The level of cadreship and leadership must be enhanced.

Our organisations and regional structures develop differently under various situations. Our perceptions and approaches to certain questions may also differ, however our task is to develop a common understanding of issues and to create the basis for cementing our unity. In the key note address to this conference, it was distinctly clear that two camps exist in our society, the one camp being the people, and the other camp being the enemy. From the side of the people, there will be those who differ with us from time to time, but it is nevertheless our duty to continue persuading them to participate in our programmes. We cannot afford to alienate anybody or any organisation. We must win more and more organisations into our Front. Outside the UDF there are hundreds of organisations which form part of the peoples' camp, and it is essential that we provide a space for them to contribute effectively to the peoples' struggle for power. We must develop an active programme to meet these priorities.

- 8.2 Repression: it is a known fact that the state is mounting a repressive campaign against us. Our task is to develop methods of struggle and organisation which will ensure our survival against state blows. In the event of brutalisation by the state and its allies, our people and their organisations must develop a measure of self defence - those thugs who attack our people in their homes, for opposing apartheid, must be contained.

The treason trial has already brought about increased isolation of the South African Government. There are threats of sanctions, demonstrations at SA embassies, and threats of possible cutting off of diplomatic ties with South Africa. The UDF must assist this process. We must increase our campaign against the treason trial to a level that will match what is happening internationally. We, not the international community must lead this campaign - they must support our efforts. Similarly we must begin to intensify the

- campaign for the release of political prisoners. This obligation we cannot escape because most of those who have been languishing in jail for over twenty years now, are patrons of the Front. It is our duty to fight for their unconditional release. Every repressive measure of the state must be challenged.
- 8.3 In the Tri-cameral parliament, the differences between the junior partners and their seniors continue to sharpen. When the Uitenhage massacre was debated, almost all the junior partners called for the resignation of fascist, Le Grange. If they did not do so, it would have been glaringly clear that they were pawns on the chess board of the Nationalist Party. It must be further clear that this call arises out of the fear for the deepening of their isolation from even those who voted for them. We must continue to discredit and isolate these reactionaries.
- 8.4 In the townships, the Black Local Authorities are inoperative. They are no longer able to dictate to the masses, and already over 50 of the councillors have resigned country wide. Some townships like Cradock and Uitenhage have no local government structures. Now our task is to extend our struggle beyond these apartheid structures and set up our alternative structures which will force the authorities to heed the popular demands of the people. We must set up projects to meet some of the practical needs of our people without compromising our principles. For example, advice offices, mobile clinics, etc., could be set up.
- 8.5 It must be our priority to strengthen our links with the unions. Our work must address issues of a working class nature such as unemployment, high food prices, GST, etc. We are a Front which organises a constituency whose greater portion is poor, unemployed or dumped in rural areas and Bantustans to starve. With its recent increase in GST, the state has declared war on their standards of living. They have thrown the gauntlet - we must pick it up and engage them effectively. The present GST means that poor people give 12% of their salaries to the state - our people cannot continue to be starved to death in the country of their birth. This conference must give a directive to regions and affiliates to challenge the state on the economic front. Once we begin to address some of these basic issues, we will increase our relevance to the vast majority of the oppressed.
- 8.6 We pointed out that major gains were made against the Tri-cameral parliament and local organs of government. At the end of this conference we must come out with a strategy to implement the second phase of our campaign in respect of the above. We have the support, and it is therefore up to us to direct the masses in disciplined action against Apartheid.
- 8.7 The rural areas remain our priority areas, especially the Bantustans. Our thrust must be towards penetrating these far flung communities and setting up organisations. This is not going to be an easy task, we know that repression is heavy in the Bantustans. It often makes it extremely difficult to organise openly on a UDF ticket.

We must find the correct tactics and strategies which accord with the conditions we find in the Bantustans. The migrant workers living in hostels and elsewhere must also be organised. These people provide a vital link with the rural communities. The skills that they learn and the political consciousness they develop can be transferred to the next

of kins, friends and acquaintances in these areas. The extent to which we mobilise and organise the migrants will determine the pace of organisation of rural communities. The work done directly in rural areas and the organisation of migrants complement each other.

8.8 The Need for Consolidation:

It is generally accepted that we have achieved unprecedented levels of mobilisation and organisation since the time of the Congress Alliance, yet we must acknowledge the fact that in some regions such as the OFS and the Northern Cape, very little progress was made. We started organising for the UDF in these regions as early as November 1983 but to date there exist no General Councils. Effectively this means that organisations may not take common decisions, neither is there anything that binds these organisations together. Only interim committees can take decisions, and their decisions cannot be tested by way of a democratic process. We need to speed-up the process of setting up General Councils in these regions as soon as we have a significant number of organisations which accept the Declaration of the UDF. However, in accelerating this process, we must not be unmindful of problems experienced by our organisations in terms of producing the leadership capable of leading the Front. There is a need to find methods of assisting these regions to develop leadership and organisational skills. This means increased effort on our part to provide education and training to our members.

Our fully constituted regions must be consolidated and broadened. There are several organisations which remain outside the Front. It is the task of our regions to win them over. Our regions must develop programmes capable of drawing in these organisations to take common action with the Front. The fact that we can pull 10 000 people to our meetings must not be a cause for complacency. We need to deepen organisation and the level of understanding of our members. If we do not do that, we run the risk of leading paper organisations. Our affiliates must not join us out of curiosity but out of a deep commitment and understanding of the need to build a mass movement capable of influencing change in this country.

9. CONCLUSION

The campaigns of the UDF over the last 19 months showed very clearly that the conditions in our country today demand that we deal with issues far beyond the limited objectives set out at the time of the formation of the Front. Our conference theme, "Protest to Challenge ... Mobilisation to Organisation ..." and the keynote address accentuate this imperative.

At this point in time it is essential that the deliberations and decisions of this conference are geared towards transforming the UDF into a broad Anti-Apartheid Front capable of addressing the challenges currently facing us.

When we next meet in conference, the two principal aspects of our theme; 1) Protest to Challenge, 2) Mobilisation to Organisation, must have been accomplished to a significant extent. This conference must provide broad guidelines for all the regions to evolve programmes to effect the above priorities. Our affiliates in all regions must understand fully the implications of this conference's decisions. All of us have a duty to build our peoples' Front. This calls for hard work in all our structures. Forward to Freedom - Our Victory is Certain.

WORKING PRINCIPLES

Adopted by the UDF National General Council on 7 April 1985

1. NAME

The Name of the Front shall be the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (hereinafter referred to as the UDF).

2. COMPOSITION

The UDF shall consist in the first instance of regional formations, 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. OBJECTS

The UDF shall strive towards the realisation of a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented South Africa and to this end shall:

- 3.1 articulate opposition to the legislative programme of the government in so far as such a programme conflicts with democratic principles
- 3.2 act as a co-ordinating body for progressive community, social, educational, political and other such organisations which subscribe to democratic principles
- 3.3 articulate the social and political aspirations of the affiliates of the UDF and their members
- 3.4 encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the UDF
- 3.5 not purport to substitute for the accredited liberation movement
- 3.6 engage in appropriate actions and undertake appropriate programmes in pursuit of the above.

4. POWERS

In addition to all the powers necessary and desirable to achieve its aims and objectives, the UDF shall have the following ancillary powers:

- 4.1 borrow, receive or raise funds
- 4.2 issue publications

Working Principles Continued

- 4.3 establish such regions as may be necessary from time to time
- 4.4 engage and discharge employees and to set their terms and conditions of employment
- 4.5 delegate from time to time any or all of its powers to any subsidiary organ of the UDF or any committee or officials of the UDF appointed by the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

5. LEGAL STATUS

The UDF shall have the capacity to sue or be sued in its own name.

6. STRUCTURE

The UDF shall consist of the following subsidiary organs or structures:

- 6.1 Patrons
- ^ 6.2 Two National Presidents
- ^ 6.3 National Executive Committee
- ^ 6.4 National Secretariat
- ^ 6.5 National Working Committee
- ^ 6.6 National General Council
- ^ 6.7 Regional General Councils
- ^ 6.8 Regional Executive Committees
- 6.9 Affiliates.

7. COMPOSITION, POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

7.1 Patrons

- ^ 7.1.1 The National General Council shall elect and/or review the patrons of the UDF. The NEC may nominate and/or review a patron(s) subject to unanimous approval by the RGC's.

- ^ 7.1.2 The Patrons shall perform such functions as may be delegated to them from time to time by the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE and/or NATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

^ 7.2 National Executive Committee

7.2.1 The National Executive Committee (NEC) shall consist of:

- 7.2.1.1 National Chairperson
- 7.2.1.2 National Publicity Secretary
- 7.2.1.3 National General Secretary
- 7.2.1.4 National Treasurer
- 7.2.1.5 One Secretary from each REC
- 7.2.1.6 One other member from each REC

Working Principles Continued

^ 7.2.2 The National Executive Committee shall:

- ^ 7.2.2.1 have the power to co-opt persons in its discretion from regions which are not duly constituted
- ^ 7.2.2.2 carry out the policy and programme of the UDF as determined from time to time by the NGC
- ^ 7.2.2.3 nominate and/or review patrons of the UDF, subject to the provisions of 7.1 above
- ^ 7.2.2.4 determine in what way proceedings at the NGC shall be conducted;
- ^ 7.2.2.5 appoint the Chairperson of the NGC on an ad-hoc basis.

^ 7.3 National Secretariat

7.3.1 The National Secretariat shall consist of:

- 7.3.1.1 The National Chairperson
- 7.3.1.2 The National General Secretary
- 7.3.1.3 The National Publicity Secretary
- 7.3.1.4 The National Treasurer
- 7.3.1.5 One Secretary from each Regional Executive Committee.

7.3.2 The National Secretariat shall act as the administrative and co-ordinating arm of the NEC.

^ 7.4 National Working Committee

- ^ 7.4.1 A national working committee (NWC) shall be established comprising of the NEC plus two other members from each structured region.
- ^ 7.4.2 The NWC shall be convened at least twice a year by the NEC to decide on policy matters on the basis of mandates from the RGC's and to facilitate national co-ordination.

^ 7.5 National General Council

- ^ 7.5.1 The National General Council (NGC) shall be the supreme decision making body of the UDF
- ^ 7.5.2 The NGC shall comprise of delegations from the Regional Councils. The number of delegates shall be determined by the NEC
- ^ 7.5.3 The NEC shall convene a General Meeting at least once every two years at a time determined by the NEC. The NEC shall determine in what way proceedings at the NGC shall be conducted.

7.6 Regional General Council

- ^ 7.6.1 A Regional General Council (RGC) shall consist of all affiliates of that particular region
- ^ 7.6.2 The RGC shall adopt subsidiary working principles which govern the functioning of the UDF within its jurisdiction
- ^ 7.6.3 The RGC shall convene an Annual General Meeting for the purpose of electing a Regional Executive Committee
- 7.6.4 The RGC shall meet at least once every three months.

7.7 Regional Executive Committees

A Regional Executive Committee (REC) shall consist of those persons who are duly elected to represent a REGIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL.

7.8 Affiliates

- 7.8.1 Any organisation may apply, through any one or more of the UDF Regional General Councils, for membership as an affiliate of the UDF if it:
 - 7.8.1.1 abides by the "Declaration of the United Democratic Front", as adopted at Mitchell's Plein on 20th August 1983
 - 7.8.1.2 agrees to abide by the UDF National and Regional Working Principles
 - 7.8.1.3 operates and is based within the geographical area of the RGC within which it seeks membership.
- 7.8.2 Admission, suspension and expulsion of members shall be at the discretion of the Regional General Councils with jurisdiction, subject to the over-riding powers of the National General Council to change any decision of a Regional General Council in this regard.

8. RIGHTS OF MEMBERSHIP

- 8.1 All regional formations and affiliates shall have complete independence within the umbrella of the UDF, provided that actions and policies of members are not inconsistent with the policy of the UDF.
- 8.2 In this regard the NEC, in consultation with the respective RGC's shall decide whether or not any inconsistency exists.

9. DECISION MAKING

- 9.1 Consensus shall be sought in all instances, failing which the decision shall be by majority vote.
- 9.2 The NEC shall co-ordinate decisions of RGC's between NGC's.

Working Principles Continued

10. ELECTIONS

- 10.1 The National Presidents and the NEC shall be elected at the NGC.
- 10.2 Each Regional Executive Committee shall be elected at an annual general meeting convened by the respective RGC.

11. FINANCE

- 11.1 The UDF shall be empowered to open and operate a banking account with a Banking Institution or Building Society.
- 11.2 The National Treasurer and any one of the two other members appointed by the NEC shall act as signatories to the said banking account.
- 11.3 The National Treasurer shall at all times be accountable to the NEC.
- 11.4 The NEC, NWC, NGC, or any other national structure of the UDF shall not be held liable for any debts incurred by any of its regional formations and affiliates.
- 11.5 Officials of the UDF, delegates to the NGC and any of the UDF employees shall be indemnified and held absolved from liability in respect of any loss sustained by the UDF as a result of any bona fide act performed or authorised by them in the course of their activities on behalf of the UDF.

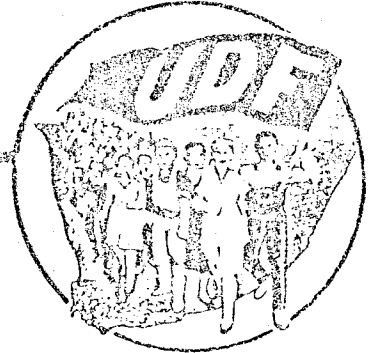
12. AMENDMENTS

- 12.1 These working principles may be amended or altered by a two-thirds majority of those present and entitled to vote at the NGC.
- 12.2 The resolutions of the NEC shall, subject to approval of a two-thirds majority of all RGC's, supersede these working principles.

13. DISSOLUTION

- 13.1 The UDF shall be dissolved by a two-thirds majority of those present and entitled to vote at a special meeting called for that purpose or at a meeting of the NGC.
 - 13.2 Such resolution shall only be carried if the UDF is prevented from functioning and there are no reasonable prospects of it being able to do so in the near future.
 - 13.3 In the event of dissolution, the NEC shall appoint a Liquidator to wind up the affairs of the UDF. The Liquidator shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his duty.
 - 13.4 In the event of dissolution, the liquidated assets of the UDF shall be distributed to any organisation or organisations as determined by the NEC which pursue similar objects to those of the UDF.
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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT



RESOLUTIONS

Adopted by the UDF National General Council on 7 April 1985



Detentions and Treason Trial

NOTING

1. The brutal police and SADF violence against the peaceful protests of our people
2. The harassment of our people, organisations and their leaders through detentions, trials, raids, bannings and various other forms of repression
3. The treason charges contrived against our leaders and that the refusal in this and other cases to grant bail, effectively detains them
4. The detention of 38 UDF leaders in the Border Region
5. The frequent assassination of activists struggling against puppet structures, deaths in detention and disappearances
6. No matter how many commissions are appointed, our people's anger will not subside, nor will it divert our struggle

NOTING FURTHER

1. That the rejection of puppet structures by the people has thrown the state into a panic
2. That this state can offer nothing that can win the support of the people
3. That this panic has led them to embark on a reign of terror in our townships aimed at wiping out peaceful resistance and preventing the consolidation of our organisations
4. That the trial of 16 UDF leaders is in fact a trial of our long-established traditions and methods of struggle
5. That those detained or on trial for their resistance to apartheid are patriots and worthy leaders of the people
6. The increasing use of petty charges to criminalise political activists

THEREFORE DEMANDS

1. The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners
2. That the state cease its violence and other attacks on the people's organisations
3. The immediate withdrawal of the charges of treason against 16 of our leaders, and for their immediate release from detention

WE WARN

That such continued aggressive actions are driving people to resort to more drastic action. We pledge ourselves to continue the struggle to eradicate apartheid and thus achieve peace in South Africa.

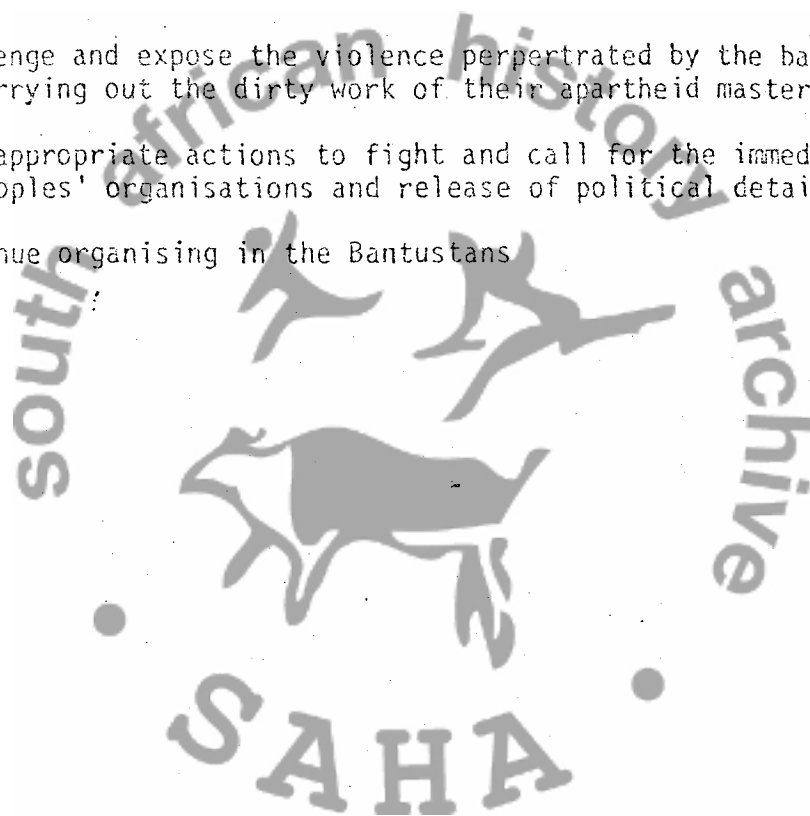
Banning of UDF and Affiliates in the Bantustans

NOTING THAT

1. the continued banning of SAAWU in Ciskei is a totally arbitrary act to silence genuine worker organisation
2. the banning of COSAS and AZASO in Kwazulu and Bophuthatswana and the banning of all unions in Bophuthatswana and the UDF in the Transkei is a deliberate measure to prevent people from struggling for legitimate demands

WE RESOLVE TO

1. Challenge and expose the violence perpetrated by the bantustan puppets in carrying out the dirty work of their apartheid masters
2. Take appropriate actions to fight and call for the immediate unbanning of peoples' organisations and release of political detainees
3. Continue organising in the Bantustans



UDF International Relations

Recognising the necessity for the United Democratic Front to form international contacts in order to further the struggle to end apartheid;

NOTING:

that the Front is not a national liberation movement, and that its international contacts should be in accordance with this principle;

BELIEVING:

that all international contacts should be conducted on terms favourable to our struggle and without ever compromising the independence of the Front and the character of our struggle;

CONSIDERING:

1. that the Front can make considerable gains by publicising overseas our people's struggles, the atrocities of the regime and the achievements of the Front;
2. that, just as we seek to isolate the apartheid regime inside the country, our international contacts can contribute to the isolation of the regime internationally.
3. that, just as the frontline states support our struggle and are under attack by the apartheid regime, so we too should give them our support.

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

UDF consolidate and develops the UDF's international contacts, in accordance with the objectives and principles of the UDF.

SAHA

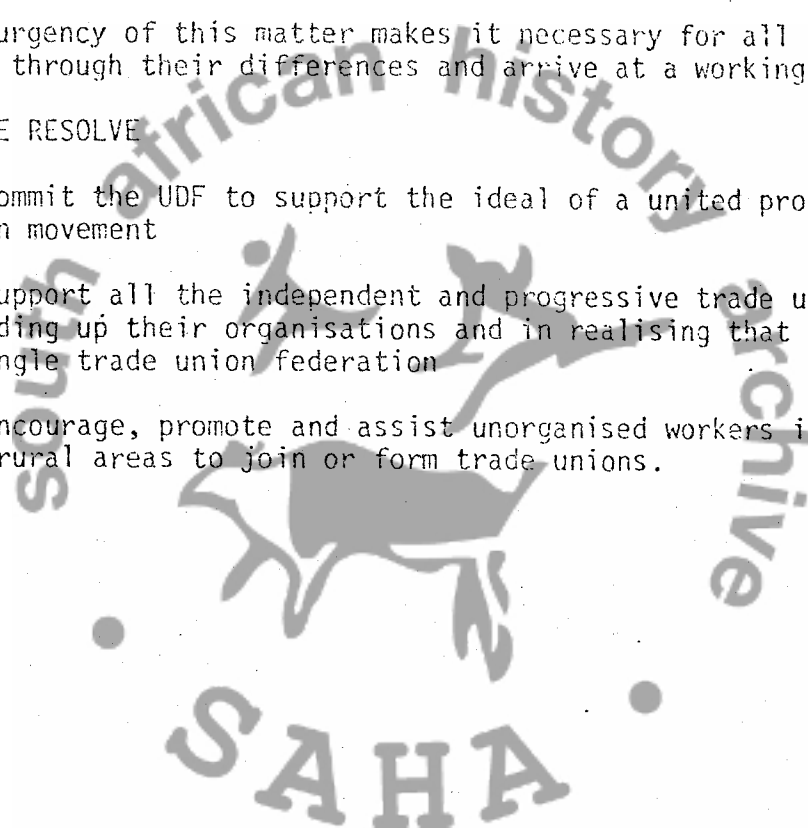
Trade Unions

NOTING

1. The unity of the working people is a goal which all progressive people of our country desire
2. the necessity for this unity has never been as desperately required as in the present state of economic disarray
3. the need for unity is a fundamental pre-requisite for the emancipation of the working class from the bondage of exploitation and oppression
4. the urgency of this matter makes it necessary for all concerned to work through their differences and arrive at a working unity

THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. to commit the UDF to support the ideal of a united progressive trade union movement
2. to support all the independent and progressive trade unions in building up their organisations and in realising that the goals of a single trade union federation
3. to encourage, promote and assist unorganised workers in both urban and rural areas to join or form trade unions.



Unemployment

NOTING

1. that the working people in urban and rural areas bear the brunt of the present economic crisis
2. that at present over 3 million workers are unemployed
3. that through its influx control measures the government is dumping millions of the unemployed in the bantustans

AND BELIEVING

1. that high unemployment and poverty wages are the protection and licence apartheid policies give to the bosses to facilitate the inhuman exploitation of the workers
2. that there can be no solution to poverty wages and unemployment until workers have control over every aspect of their lives, and the economy is directed by need, not by greed.

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to struggle for an end to unemployment and demanding work for all
2. to support trade unions in their fight for a living wage for all workers
3. to work for pensions, disability grants, paid maternity leave, job security and unemployment benefits that keep up with the rising prices and that are administered fairly, justly and without racial discrimination
4. to fight increases in rent, transport fares and the price of foodstuffs, fuel and other essentials

AND FURTHER RESOLVES

1. to support trade unions in their struggle against retrenchment
2. to investigate the possibility of joint action by workers in trade unions and community organisations to initiate an effective national campaign for JOBS FOR ALL AT A LIVING WAGE
3. to raise awareness amongst all the workers of our people as to the causes and solutions to the present economic crises
4. to commit ourselves to support the organisations of the unemployed and struggle for work and security for all.

Forced Removals

NOTING:

1. the violence which characterises forced removals in S.A., despite claims and promises to the contrary
2. the heroic resistance of the people of Crossroads and other communities to such aggression
3. the threat of forced removals that hangs over the heads of many of our communities all over S.A.
4. the destabilisation campaign through forced removals conducted by this government on the peace-loving communities throughout the country
5. the support that these initiatives enjoy from the bantustan puppets under the guise of consolidation of the "Homeland" system
6. the determination of our people to fight for their rights in the land of their birth

NOW THEREFORE DEMAND:

1. an immediate stop to the harassment and forced removals of our people
2. the right of all South Africans to live and work where they choose

AND DECLARE

our commitment to support all people resisting removals and build organisation to facilitate such resistance.

SAHA

Rural Areas

NOTING :

1. the growth of organisations as a result of UDF activities in certain rural areas in parts of our country
2. that the attempts to establish rural organisations are generally impeded by lack of resources, state repression and inadequate publicity of their struggles
3. that it is essential that the UDF address itself more effectively to such questions in order to adequately meet the aspirations of the people in the country-side

We therefore commit ourselves to raise the level of our rural organisations and to facilitate the tasks of those working in these areas.



Militarisation

NOTING

1. the increased militarisation and massive defence budget of a time when our people are deprived of the basic necessities of life
2. the continued acts of aggression perpetrated by the SADF against our neighbouring states
3. the increasing use of the SADF and the SA Police particularly the reaction units to crush the legitimate resistance of our people in the townships
4. the growing instances of young people resisting conscription in the SA army
5. the SADF is involved in a campaign to weaken the resolve and poison the minds of young children in communities through the organisation of youth camps
6. the illegal occupation of neighbouring states
7. the increasing number of African people being conscripted through Bantustan armies, trained by the SADF

AND BELIEVING

1. that the SADF and SA Police are being used by the SA regime to uphold the Nationalist government, its collaborators and economic exploitation
2. that the reaction units have become internal armies of occupation to restore government control in these areas of resistance
3. that the government still intends to conscript Indians and coloureds
4. that there can be no peace in Southern Africa until the SADF is disarmed and apartheid is abolished

HEREBY RESOLVES

1. to resist all forms of militarisation
2. strive to end compulsory conscription
3. to secure the withdrawal of all SADF troops from our townships, neighbouring states and Namibia
4. to demand that the SADF ceases its campaign to destabilise our neighbouring states, and stops the support of terrorist groups like UNITA, MNR and others
5. to support in whatever way possible, those who do not join the SADF
6. to call for the disbanding of the SADF and all the so-called security forces
7. that no member of SADF can serve on any of the structures of UDF

WE THEREFORE wish to caution those who encourage or perpetrate this violence against our people and the neighbouring states, that their actions are driving the country into a bloodbath. The responsibility for this will lie actively at the door of the racist regime.

Women

NOTING

1. that the extent to which the women are organised is a barometer of the level of the struggle as a whole
2. that many of our finest and bravest women have been forced into exile by the apartheid system, and experience hardship through banishment and imprisonment
3. that this system thrives on division, one of which is the division between men and women, created by unequal wages and conditions of employment, inequality before the law, vicious applications of removals and pass laws against women, and the burden of responsibility for the home
4. that there is an international conference of women to mark the end of the UN decade of women this year
5. that despite the increased organisation of women, the oppression and hardship in the lives of South African women has intensified over the past ten years

WE BELIEVE

1. that the goal of full recognition of all women, of freedom and happiness 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
3. that while the resources of a country, the product of the exploitation of the majority are used for the benefit of the majority, the women of South Africa like other workers will continue to be oppressed and exploited,

WE THEREFORE

1. call on all women to bring their organisations into the United Democratic Front, so that we can realise our commitment to fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination
2. and with the Latin American and Caribbean women, call on the UN to strengthen the organisation of women in the liberation struggle and to pressurise governments to use their resources to make equality, peace and development a reality in all aspects of women's lives
3. and call on the government to lift the banishment of all women, including Winnie Mandela and for the release of all women political prisoners.

Black Local Authorities

NOTING

1. the state introduced the Black Local Authorities Act to control African people in the townships
2. the government attempted to co-opt sectors of our people through this strategy.
3. the local authorities act have been totally rejected because of their illegitimacy and ineffectiveness in solving the problems of our people.

AND NOTING FURTHER :

the collapse of the local authorities system in parts of our country.

AND BELIEVING THAT :

it is the democratic right of all people to

1. create any organisations to represent their interests
2. have direct control over all matters affecting their lives including such matters as housing, health, transport
3. that community councillors are responsible for the violence in the townships

DO HEREBY RESOLVE:

1. to expose the inadequacy of the local authorities system by taking up problems affecting our people
2. to strive for the collapse of the local authority system throughout the country
3. to isolate those who collaborate in puppet structures and warn them that they will have to answer for their violence against the people
4. to direct all regions to consolidate, establish and encourage the formation of community organisations which must become the alternatives to the local authority system
5. and declare that such organisations established by the people are the representatives of the people.

Tricameral Parliament and Black Forum

NOTING

1. the tri-cameral parliament, Bantustans and community councils are totally discredited and rejected by the South African people
2. that the puppets in the tri-cameral parliament, Bantustans and other Apartheid structures are enemies of the people
3. that the mass resistance that followed the anti-election campaign by the people all over the country has greatly contributed to the bankruptcy and disintegration of the illegitimate minority regime
4. that the attempt to create a "Black Forum" cannot fool the people
5. That the Black Forum does not begin to address the central question of the liberation of the African people

BELIEVING

1. That only a government based on the will of all the people has a right to govern
2. that only a government based on the will of all the people and the total eradication of Apartheid and all forms of exploitation can resolve the injustices, hardships and suffering inflicted on our people

THEREFORE RESOLVE

1. To intensify the struggle for a non-racial democratic state based on the will of all our people
2. To reject the Black Forum and to use all our resources to challenge the Forum in every conceivable way so that it is rendered inoperative
3. To creatively challenge all the structures under the tri-cameral parliament through people's organisations that will address the grievances of the people.

Citizenship

NOTING:

1. that the purported independence of certain tracts of South African land now known as Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana & Venda has brought in its trail fresh misery and repression of the African people
2. that the bantustan policy is aimed at depriving the African people of citizenship in the land of their birth
3. that this has led to the intensified application of pass laws
4. the discussion in government circles about the granting of "dual citizenship" to Africans, as part of their "reform" strategy
5. the constant false claims suggesting the imminent abolition of influx control and "planned urbanisation"
6. the constant repetition of false claims that the forced removals have been suspended

BELIEVING

1. that the various attempts at "reform" are all attempts by the racist regime to deflect our resistance and to facilitate the continued oppression of our people
2. that the only solution to S.A. problem lies in the creation in a non-racial unitary and democratic S.A.
3. that the African people have an inalienable right to full citizenship

WE EXPRESS OUR DETERMINATION

1. to struggle for the abolition of pass laws
2. to strengthen links between urban and rural areas to frustrate state strategy
3. to declare that we shall not rest until the policy of denationalisation is eradicated
4. to oppose all attempts to confuse our people with false propaganda
5. to devise an effective programme of action against the pass laws and the denationalisation policy of the racist regime as a matter of urgency

Imperialism

We note with anger the support of the imperialist countries, led by the Thatcher and Reagan governments, for the racist South African government.

We know that the US government is, through its policy of constructive engagement furthering its own economic interests.

Foreign companies invest their capital in South Africa because of the huge profits they make through the exploitation of our people and the natural wealth of our land.

This unshamed greed and support for the Nationalist government by the governments of the United States and Britain is pursued at the expense and the welfare and even the lives of the people of South Africa and cannot stop us in our march towards freedom.

We furthermore note the collaboration of the governments of Israel, Chile, Taiwan and other anti-democratic regimes with the South African government and its bantustans.

We further note the role of these imperialist countries in the destabilisation and economic exploitation of developing countries.

WE DEMAND THAT:

1. All foreign governments recognise the right of our people to live in a non-racial and democratic country

WE BELIEVE

1. That foreign investments do not benefit the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa but bolster the apartheid government
2. That the present disinvestment campaign in the USA shows that the American people are neither fooled by the sham reforms of the Botha government nor the policy of Constructive engagement
3. That those who claim to believe in democracy have an obligation to support the just struggle of the South African people for liberation from oppression and exploitation

NOW THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. To demand the immediate end to US and British collaboration with the apartheid regime
2. to demand an end to the exploitation of the people and the national wealth of our country by foreign investors
3. to reject the argument that foreign investments benefit the oppressed and exploited of South Africa
4. to condemn the support of the government of Israel, Chile and the Taiwan puppets for the apartheid government and its bantustans and to support those struggles for democracy in those countries
5. to pledge our solidarity with all oppressed people in their struggle against imperialism.

Finally we declare to all these accomplices in the crimes of apartheid that we will leave no stone unturned in winning support throughout the world to expose and end their ruthless treachery.

Imperialism USA

THIS National General Council reaffirms the total opposition of the UDF to any form of imperialism, including any attempts to undermine the sovereignty and independence of states or any measures taken to undermine any people's struggle for national liberation.

NOTING

1. the reactionary foreign policy of the Reagan administration aimed at subverting progressive states and movements and its support for reactionary states and organisations
2. that the policy of constructive engagement has provided material and political support to the Apartheid regime and has sought to undermine the people's forces struggling for liberation

CONDEMNS

1. the concerted campaign of subversion conducted by the Reagan administration throughout the world
2. the complicity of the Reagan regime in the crimes of apartheid

AND EXPRESSES

outrage at the recent statements of President Reagan which amount to a condonation of the Uitenhage massacre

AND WARNS

the American Government that its continued complicity in the continuation of these acts of violence against the South African people, have serious long-term effects.

THEREFORE CALL

on the American people to intensify the struggle against "constructive engagement" and to compel the American government to abandon this policy and to support the just struggle of the people of South Africa for liberation from apartheid.

International Year of the Youth

NOTING

1. that 1985 has been declared International Year of the Youth of the United Nations General Assembly
2. that the broad aim of the IYY campaigns as outlined by the U.N. is to harness the energy, enthusiasm and creative potential of the youth, for the task of nation building and the struggle for national independence and self determination
3. the role that our youth have played in the past in taking our struggle forward
4. the attempts by the apartheid state to involve itself in activities under the banner of the IYY
5. that the illegitimate racist regime has no right to represent our youth internationally
6. the formation of regional and national IYY committees by democratic youth organisations
7. that our youth face many problems and burdens including unemployment, racist education and conscription
8. that many sectors of our youth especially young women remain unorganised

AND BELIEVING

1. that the youth are a dynamic and vibrant sector of the people and it is vital that we include them in our organisation
2. that the aims of the IYY campaign are our aims and should be supported
3. that throughout the IYY campaign our youth must play an important role in building opposition to apartheid, both in our country and abroad
4. that the aim of the state's IYY campaign is to build support for apartheid and to misguide our youth
5. that the democratic youth organised into the IYY committees form an integral part of the challenge to apartheid which is today being co-ordinated by the UDF

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to further strengthen our youth organisation through the IYY campaign
2. to call upon the regional and national IYY committees to seek affiliation to the UDF and work in close liason with the UDF both at regional and national levels
3. to totally reject, oppose and expose the state's IYY campaign as an instrument of state strategy, and to demand that the state withdraw immediately from all IYY activities.

Education

NOTING :

1. that there are no effective ways to represent students interests in schools
2. that the inferior nature of the education for the majority of South Africans and the poor conditions of schools, lack of textbooks and the high failure rate
3. the exclusion rule and other attempts by the state to restrict education
4. that the SADF is attempting to "win the hearts and minds" of our children by their presence as teachers and PT instructors in our schools, and organising so-called pleasure camps
5. the attempt by the state to separate the interests of parents and students, and the repression of progressive teachers and students
6. the fundamentally undemocratic nature of the South African education system that has been imposed on the people without their consent

AND BELIEVING:

1. Democratically elected SRC's are the only bodies able to peacefully negotiate students' demands at school
2. the inferior education is the result of a deliberate intention by the government to produce a docile population
3. the interests of our students in education cannot be separated from the interests of their parents, such as the rents they pay, the conditions of their houses and townships and townships and the low wages they earn
4. It is the right and duty of students and teachers to improve the conditions in their schools and communities
5. adequate teachers and not uniformed propoganda machines should educate our children
6. the doors of learning and culture shall be open to all

THEREFORE RESOLVES:

1. to continue our struggle for democratic representation in schools
2. that long-term demands must be collected and furthered by popularising the Education Charter Campaign as an alternative to apartheid education in urban and rural areas.

Education Continued

3. to campaign against and demand removal of all restriction of education opportunities
4. to demand the removal of SADF teachers from our schools and demand qualified teachers
5. to resist being taught by soldiers
6. to encourage the formation of parent-student committees to negotiate educational demands and maintain close contact with existing parents committees.
7. to call upon the NEC and affiliates to develop structures that will ensure effective participation in and support for student struggles
8. to expose the systematic victimisation of teachers, the link between security police and the department of Education and Training
9. to encourage the formation of progressive teachers' organisations and strengthen existing organisations to oppose victimisation and to carry the education struggle forward
10. to recommend to education affiliates that they ensure the participation of each and every student, parent and teacher in the process of building a democratic system of education in South Africa

SAHA

Namibia

NOTING:

1. the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist South African regime
2. the heroic resistance of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO to the continued South African aggression

BELIEVING:

1. that any attempt to delay the Namibian independence by linking it to the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist troops is a red herring to prolong the exploitation of Namibia by S.A. and other imperialist powers.
2. that the struggle of the people of Namibia is inextricably linked to the struggle of the people of South Africa against the apartheid regime.

DEMANDS:

the immediate withdrawal of the SADF troops from Namibia and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978)



New Zealand Rugby Tour

NOTING

that the overwhelming majority of South Africans demand this country's isolation from international support

FURTHER NOTING

1. the support for the struggle of the people of South Africa by the people and the present government of New Zealand
2. the disapproval of the New Zealand government of the New Zealand Rugby Board's intention to support apartheid by sending a rugby team to South Africa

AND BELIEVING

that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to warn the New Zealand Rugby Board that any tour of South Africa by a New Zealand Rugby team will be regarded as complicity in the crime of apartheid
2. to urge the New Zealand Rugby Board and the people of New Zealand to ensure that such a tour does not occur
3. to co-operate with and support the South African Council on Sport and all other organisations inside and outside the country in mobilising mass resistance against rebel tours, and in particular the New Zealand rugby tour.

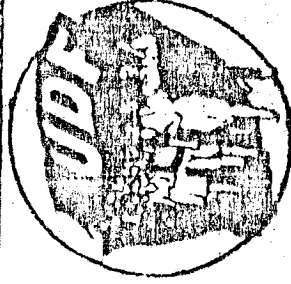
UDF

THE
ONE
MILLION
SIGNATURE
CAMPAIGN:

Sign



AN
ORGANISER'S
HANDBOOK



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CONTENTS

	<u>Page no.</u>
1. How to use the handbook	1
2. Preface	2
3. Introduction	3
The organisational approach	4
The Million Signature Campaign (MSC)	4
4. Building organisation with the MSC	6
Aims of the MSC	6
Why organisation?	6
What does organisation involve?	7
5. The relationship between organisations and the MSC	9
Area signature committees	10
Signature committees within organisations	11
6. The two sides of the campaign	12
Focus on organisation	12
Focus on signatures - going for numbers	13
7. Preparing for the campaign	14
Introduction	14
Planning	14
Setting up a committee	16
Tasks of the committee	17
8. Training workshops	20
9. Practical experiment	23
10. Evaluating the preparation	25
11. Publicity	26
Aims of a publicity campaign	26
Publicity means	26
Example of a publicity campaign	27
12. House-meetings	31
Working out the logistics	31
Inside the house meeting	32
13. The signature campaign and the Law	37
14. Evaluating the whole campaign	40
15. Planning a schedule for the campaign	41

HOW TO USE THE HAND-BOOK

Nothing can take the place of the creativity that emerges when a group of people sit down and plan a campaign.

This handbook is a guide to help such creative planning.

What this book offers is a rigorous method of organising a campaign. It also serves as a useful reminder for things we sometimes forget in our rush to get down to action.

This book suggests a path to ensure that we achieve the aims of the million signature campaign.

A useful way to use this handbook is to get together with other people who will be playing an important role in the campaign, and read through the entire handbook with them. Then discuss how much of the content is in fact relevant and possible in terms of your area or organisation. Do not despair that there is too much to do, or that it is too difficult!

Once this has been done, share the handbook and your discussions with a wider number of people. If this is not possible, use your group's own assessment of the book, plus your own creativity, and go forward.

As the campaign takes off in your area or organisation, you will find it useful to refer to this book again and again. Parts that seem irrelevant when you first read it, can be of great value once the campaign has begun to unfold.



DON'T DESPAIR
THAT THERE
IS TOO MUCH TO
DO, OR THAT
IT IS TOO
DIFFICULT

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PREFACE

Over the coming months, we face the task of collecting one million signatures from our people. That is, a million signatures that say NO to the Constitution and Koornhof Bills; a million signatures that say YES to a non-racial Democratic South Africa and to the United Democratic Front

UDF shows the unity we are building among all South Africans. It is our protection against those who seek to divide and weaken us. Over its short but eventful life, over 800 organisations throughout South Africa have been mobilised into the Front. Millions of people today support the UDF. ?

But UDF is only as strong as its affiliated organisations. In our struggle for freedom, we are armed with our ability to mobilise and organise our people. The Million Signature Campaign affords us the opportunity to strengthen existing organisations and to build organisation where none exist.

It gives us a common programme involving all our people throughout the country. This is the challenge that faces all UDF affiliates - and all freedom-loving people in South Africa: to build and strengthen our organisations through the Million Signature Campaign.

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INTRODUCTION

For over 300 years now our people have struggled for freedom and democracy in this country. We fought with spears against the guns up to 1906 to get our land back. Till the 1940's there were petitions and delegations to the government. This led to the 1950's when people stood up in their thousands to defy apartheid. In the 1960's the people's organisations were crushed.

It was only in the 1970's that once again people came together, forming organisations to fight for better wages, housing, education and so on. Over the past few years we have seen these struggles grow stronger and the demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa grow louder. The formation of UDF in 1983 was only possible because of the success of re-building organisations in the 1970s and 1980s.

UDF was first proposed at the Transvaal Anti - SAIC Committee Conference in January 1983. This was followed by nationwide consultations year and the launching of UDF regions in Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape. After this came UDF's National Launching at Mitchells' Plain, Cape Town, attended by over 15 000 people.

Since then UDF has kept on growing. There are now 5 structured UDF regions with two more regions being formed. Today UDF has more than 600 organisations in its fold.

UDF's short track-record speaks proudly of our people's boycott victories over the apartheid elections for Management Committees and Community councils. There has also been UDF's anti - Rajbansi campaign, and mobilisation against Sebe's Ciskei repression. The UDF people's weekend also showed the growing support that the UDF enjoys.

In just five months since August, the Front has won the support and respect of millions of people throughout South Africa. How?

UDF has already stated the demands and aspirations of our people. UDF has helped unite, educate and lead our people in the struggle against apartheid. Today, UDF has launched the Million Signature Campaign. This is not a petition campaign. It is a campaign to give voice to our rejection of apartheid, and to claim our right to a free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

THE ORGANISATIONAL APPROACH

The UDF believes that it is not a few leaders, but the masses of our people that will make our history. Only if all our people take part fully in the struggle, can we build a new South Africa. For this we need to bring more people into existing organisations, and to raise the participation of members already in them. Where no organisations exist, we need to start building.

This is UDF's organisational approach to the struggle. We need to keep on reaching out to people by mobilising them through issues and activities. We must keep on building up their understanding and overcoming their fears. We must popularize our organisations and leaders. Most importantly, we must organise our people in the affiliates of the Front. Only in this way, will we weld our unity together.

THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

The Million Signature Campaign offers us the opportunity to work amongst our people within the organisational approach to the struggle.

The Million Signature Campaign gives our people the chance to show their rejection of the Constitution and Koornhof Bills, and their support of the UDF.



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South African History Archive

- The Campaign helps us enlist the active participation of a wide range of individuals and organisations who support UDF but who are not directly linked to it.
- It enables UDF affiliates and supporters to educate our people about the Constitution and the Koornhof Bills and the consequences of these laws.
- It gives us a chance to popularise the UDF and its principles of non-racialism, democracy and unity-in-struggle.
- It helps UDF organisationally by popularizing and strengthening existing organisations and building organisation where none exists.



BUILDING ORGANISATION WITH THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN (MSC)

AIMS OF THE MSC

The Million Signature Campaign has short-term aims :-

- to collect a million signatures.
- to show the popularity of UDF and its demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa.
- to show the people's rejection of the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.
- to educate people with direct personal contact about the constitution and the Koornhof Bills.

The MSC also has important long term aims:

- to contribute towards the building of genuine people's organisations throughout the country.

WHY ORGANISATION ?

The building of democratic organisations is one of the most important historical tasks of all those who want to bring about a free and just South Africa. A South Africa where oppression and exploitation of man by man will be done away with .

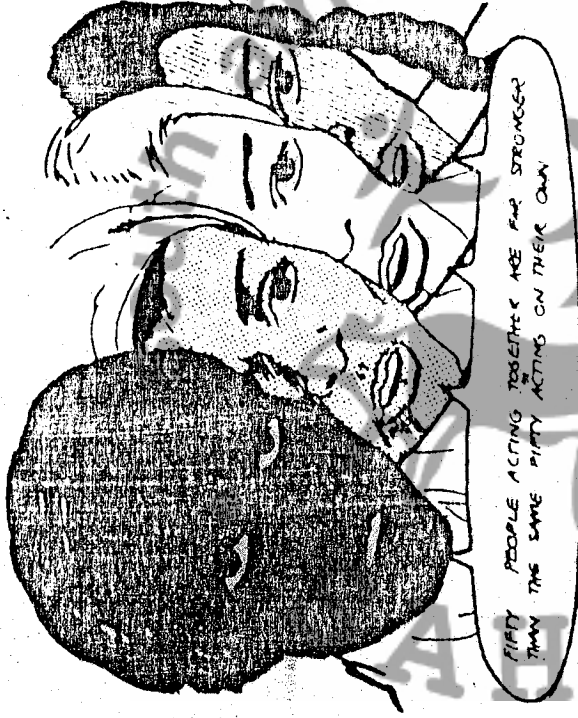
A democratic South Africa cannot be created by a handful of people - no matter how brilliant they may be. Only the masses of oppressed people of South Africa can bring about this change.

How ? Vain hopes or token gestures of support are not enough. It is only through organisation and struggle. When people are organised , they become a powerful force. Fifty people acting together are far stronger than the same fifty on their own. When people are organised , they understand

How a democratic union can be created by their own action.

Democratic organisations are important because

- they help to mobilise people into effective action.
- through organised struggles, people learn about the nature of the system and where they fit into the struggle against it.
- it is in organisations that a genuine democratic leadership develops.



WHAT DOES ORGANISATION INVOLVE ?

The suggestions made in this handbook spell out some ways organisation in the different areas.

Here are some useful points for the organiser to remember :

Building organisations is a historical task. It is not something which can be completed in a few days or even months. There will be times when progress will be fast. But there will also be times when very little will be possible. Organisers have to be prepared to work in both set of conditions.

- People learn from experience. It is only when they take part directly in activity that people get a better understanding of oppression and come to see that they can change it.

- Democracy must be practised every day. Democracy is not merely an ideal. It is a principle guiding our daily work. It strengthens our organisations and keeps them in touch with the people. A democratic style of work must be developed in all our work.

- Setting up an organisation does not guarantee that it will survive in the future. Organisations have to be protected against internal and external threats. They have to grow from strength to strength. Victory must not be lost because of errors like division, poor organising, dictatorial practises and so on.

- As organisers, we need to understand the problems and conditions under which our people live and work.

- that these conditions can only be changed by a united people taking part in planned activity, directed towards changing their lives.

- that leaders and organisations can only play a meaningful role in this work by being close to the people, and learning from their skills and insights.

- that every opportunity must be taken to bring our people together around issues that affect them and where we can build their strength and understanding.

- Organisation enables us to effectively challenge the forces that oppress and exploit us.

SINCE THE MAJORITY
FEEL SO AND
THEIR REASONS
SEEM SO GOOD
WE WILL



OPEN DISCUSSION
AND DEMOCRATIC
DECISIONS LEAD
TO STRONG
ORGANISATION

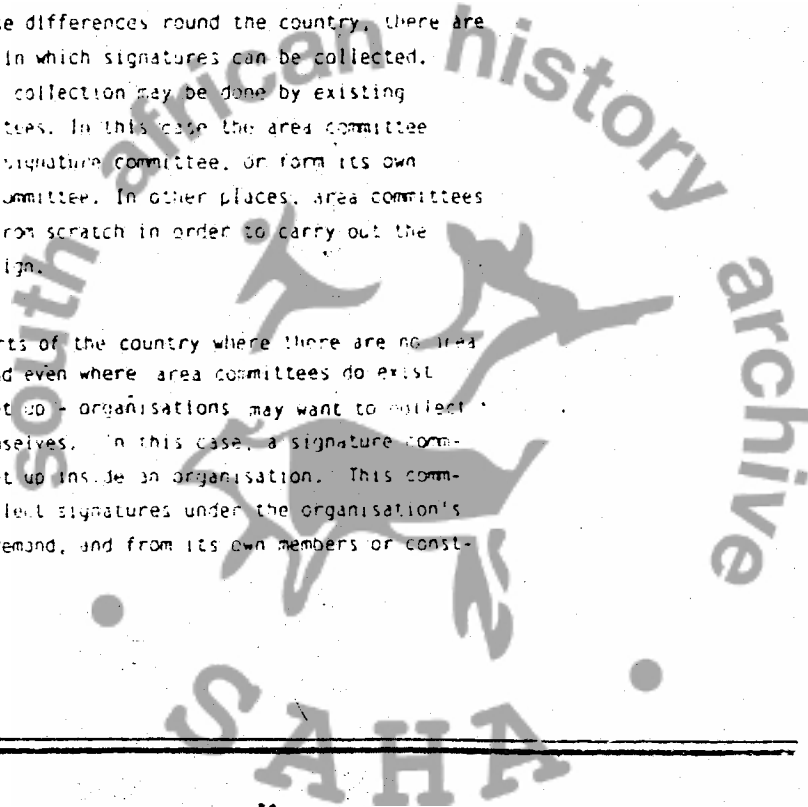
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORGANISATIONS AND THE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

UDF works differently in different parts of the country. In some places there are UDF area committees. Here affiliated organisations have delegates in UDF committees in their neighbourhood or area. Many volunteers who are not directly in organisations have joined these area committees.

In other places, UDF affiliates are not strong enough to keep area committees going. Here the task of UDF is to help to build up each organisation. In this case, putting organisations in area committees is a more long-term aim.

Because of these differences round the country, there are different ways in which signatures can be collected. In some places, collection may be done by existing UDF area committees. In this case the area committee could act as a signature committee, or form its own signature sub-committee. In other places, area committees may be formed from scratch in order to carry out the signature campaign.

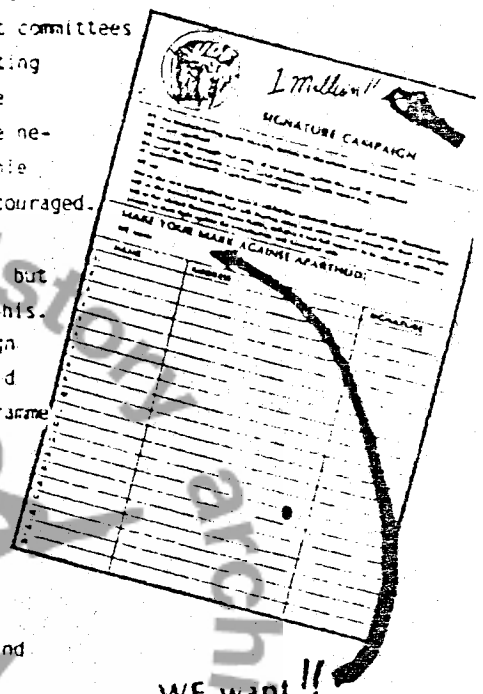
But in many parts of the country where there are no area committees - and even where area committees do exist or are being set up - organisations may want to collect signatures themselves. In this case, a signature committee can be set up inside an organisation. This committee would collect signatures under the organisation's own name, own demand, and from its own members or constituency.



AREA SIGNATURE COMMITTEE:

Where an area committee is going to collect signatures, there should be, as far as possible, representatives from local organisations on the committee. However, people in organisations are often very busy doing the work of their organisation. Therefore it is important that organisations try to send people who have time to give to the campaign. It is also important that committees recruit volunteers who are not committed to existing organisations. These people can put even more time into the campaign. Training such volunteers may be necessary. As the campaign grows, more and more people may want to join the committee. This should be encouraged.

They should not neglect or stop their normal work, but where possible bring the signature campaign into this. Where organisations are taking part in the campaign through delegated on an area committee, they should try to integrate the campaign into their own programme.



WE want !!

Area signature committees have to decide what demand they will put on their form:

- It might be a joint demand by all organisations and volunteers on the committee.
- This demand might change over time or for different events and constituencies.
- There might be different forms with different demands.



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SIGNATURE COMMITTEES WITHIN ORGANISATIONS:

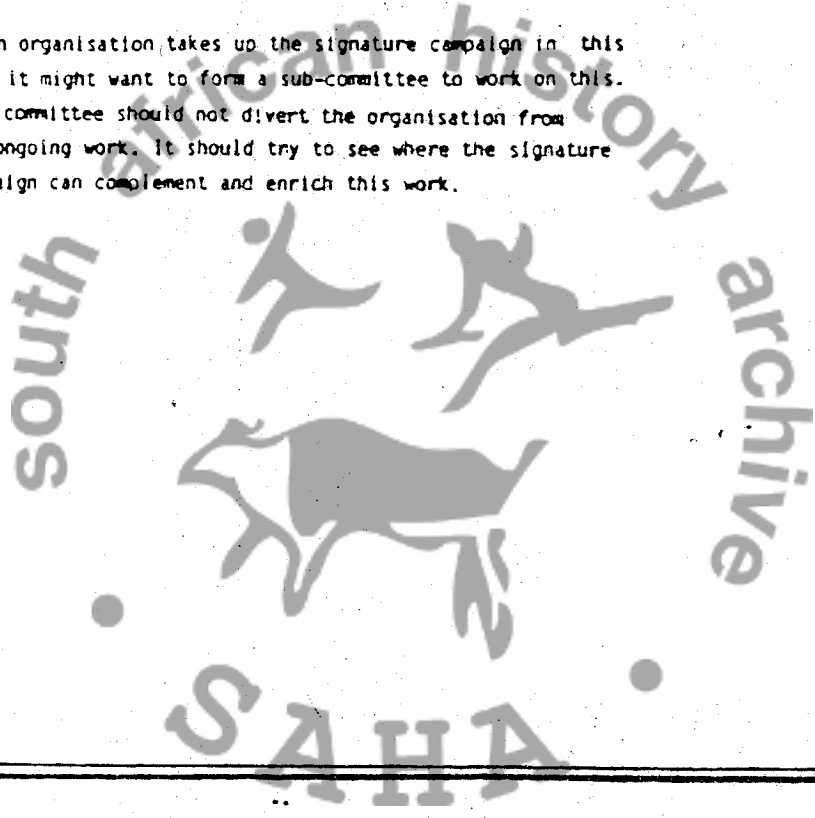
Some organisations might want to collect signatures in their own right. In this case, they may want to make the signature campaign a part of their own programme.

There is a lot of scope here:

Organisations can use the signature campaign:

- to mobilise and involve their members and supporters.
- to raise the issues of UDF, the Constitution and the Koornhof bills within the organisation and constituency.
- to educate the same people about these issues.
- to widen the horizon of their organisation's concerns and link these with the concerns of other organisations and the struggle in general.

If an organisation takes up the signature campaign in this way, it might want to form a sub-committee to work on this. This committee should not divert the organisation from its ongoing work. It should try to see where the signature campaign can complement and enrich this work.



THE TWO SIDES OF THE CAMPAIGN

There are two sides to the campaign:
A focus on organisation, and a focus on numbers
of signatures.

1: FOCUS ON ORGANISATION

An ideal way of building organisation is to be able
to meet people in their homes so that both UDF and
constitution/Koornhof Bills can be thoroughly discussed.
Time can be spent answering individual questions as
well as recruiting interested people into the work.

Door to door work is one of the best methods of conducting the
campaign because it allows for :

- The largest scope for educating.
 - The opportunity to persuade people individually to actively
give knowledgeable support the UDF.
 - The largest scope for drawing more people into the work.
 - Volunteers to understand the people, know their level
of consciousness and be in tune with them through practical
experience.
 - Another way of building and strengthening organisations
to collect signatures within your organisation and its
constituency (e.g. in your trade union and from fellow
workers.) This also has large scope for education,
individual persuasion, recruiting, and learning to
understand the people.
-

2. FOCI: ON SIGNATURES - going for numbers.

This "going for numbers" side of the campaign means collecting the most signatures in the shortest time possible. This can be done by collecting signatures at shopping centres, business centres, sportfields, etc.

This side of the campaign is important because :

- It involves a lot of publicity which serves to popularize the campaign widely.
- Because we don't have enough volunteers or time to do door-to-door work in all areas, we will also need to "go for numbers" to make sure that we get our million signatures.

Both sides of the campaign are important. We must aim to combine them.



PREPARING FOR THE CAMPAIGN

INTRODUCTION

Preparing for the Million Signature Campaign helps us lay the proper foundation on which to launch a massive campaign. Once the Million Signature Campaign is under way, it is also important that we ask ourselves before taking new steps whether what we are about to do contributes towards the aims of the Million Signature Campaign.

In this section the most important stages in the preparation for the Million Signature Campaign are discussed. It is important that all the stages below are implemented in all regions and areas.

PLANNING

For any programme or activity to be successful, proper planning is vital.

- Planning needs to be done with the largest group possible. In this way skills and responsibilities are shared around more widely.
- The essential purpose of planning is to be able to anticipate events. This helps us to be prepared for what work is needed at a later stage.

PLANNING FOLLOWS CERTAIN STEPS.

1. WHAT : We must first ask ourselves what we want to achieve. We must set our short and long term aims. For every aim we must ask how, who, and when and look back later to learn from our mistakes.

- 2. HOW : Having set our aims, we must look at ways that we are going to fulfill these objectives. For this, we have to identify our strength and weaknesses and the resources needed to meet our aims.
- 3. WHO : When we have worked out how we are going to do our work, we must identify who is going to do the work.
- 4. WHEN : It is very important to discuss and finalise when the tasks are to be done.
- 5. LOOK BACK : After the work is done it is necessary to look back and learn from our successes and failures.



WHEN THE WORK IS DONE
IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK
BACK AND LEARN FROM
OUR SUCCESSES AND
FAILURES.

It needs to be remembered that we have long-term aims and short-term aims.
Both of these need to be identified.

Our first task is to set up a Million Signature Committee, or, if one already exists, to strengthen it. A Million Signature Committee can be formed in an area or in an organisation.

Recruitment:

Our responsibility is to involve the broadest range of people and organisations in the UDF. Our only criterion must be their willingness to accept the UDF declaration and our approach to the work.

To set up an area committee; make a list of all the organisations in the area: Youth, Church, Women Civic, Cultural and Sporting etc. Speak to leading members or ask to address their meeting. From these organisations we can either get people to join our committee, or enlist their co-operation in collecting signatures in their own right.

To set up a committee within an organisation, consult with other members about how best the signature campaign can be organised in that structure. Discuss how the campaign can strengthen the organisation. Also how it can raise the participation, political understanding and practical skills of the members. How will it complement existing activities and programmes? Can the organisation spare a person or some people to co-ordinate a signature committee?

For either type of committee - area or organisational one - make a list of possible members. They should be people who have shown an active interest in the struggle, who have made some contribution in the past, or who have attended regular activities in the past. Speak to them about the UDF and draw them into your Committee, no matter how little they have to offer. Recruits go through different stages of involvement - it is a process.

An important point to remember is that the process of recruiting never ends. During the campaign we must continue to speak to people, and people themselves may show an interest. Always find a space and role for anyone showing a keenness to join.

Write a brief leaflet pamphlet:

Write a newsletter or pamphlet explaining UDF, the million signature campaign and invite people that want to help to a meeting. You dont need many copies; this is not a "mass" publication. Try to popularise a contact person, address and phone number.

Call a meeting:

Once we feel that we have enough people to start work with, the next step is to hold a meeting. The meeting should:

- introduce all the people involved (get to know each other)
- explain the UDF, million signature campaign
- elect a formal committee or structure

To ensure the smooth running of the Campaign, and ensure that all people are part of the decision making, it is important that we build a democratic committee in which all the people feel part of the group. A democratic committee also allows for the proper allocation of tasks and responsibilities.

Elect a set of officials responsible, who can and will do their work.

Suggestion: chairperson, secretary, minutes secretary, treasurer, fundraiser, media person, contact person, education officer.

Regular meetings at a central venue at which all the matters are openly discussed and decided on helps to build a strong group.

TASKS OF THE COMMITTEE:

Getting to know our areas and organisations

Before the Committee plunges into collecting, we need to know a great deal about our areas or organisations.

We need information on three things: the resources available, the nature of the area, or organisation and the people in it.



(i) Resources:

For a campaign to be successful, resources are essential. First, not if the following are available:

- venues for small meetings and mass meetings.
- printing facilities.
- homes or offices that can be used during the campaign - to meet at, store materials etc.
- loud hailers, microphones, P.A. systems etc.
- good places where posters can be put up.
- material needed for publicity - glue for putting up posters, cardboard, coki pens, masking tape, pens and forms.
- MONEY will be needed at all stages.



There will be other facilities and resources you may need. Locate them now so that when they are needed it is easy!

(ii) Your area or organisation:

An area committee needs to know how large the area is, how many homes there are, and of what type (economic, sub-economic). What are the rents and transport costs? How many people are there? What groups do they fall into? How many schools, churches, clinics doctors surgeries and sports fields are there? What kind of people and what numbers of people attend these? Who are the people in charge there - will they be sympathetic to UDF? What about shopping centres and busstops? When do people congregate at these points? What other such information will help in planning our campaign? UDF or affiliated organisations can offer help in finding this information.

An organisations committee needs to know the size of the organisation's and how it works. Who are the key people - what do they think of UDF? What ongoing programme and action is there? When do members come into contact with each other? How much participation is there?

(iii) The People

Knowing the people in our area or organisation helps us to use the right words and examples to persuade them.

- We need to know about:
- *some of their past experiences - their history
 - *their work - what the conditions are like
 - *the way they live - when are they home, when are they watching T.V. etc. (this helps us to choose the best times to visit them.)
 - *their opinions and views on politics and the people we call our leaders
 - *their prejudices - particularly race and religion.

All this helps us to speak to people without putting them off. It lets us know what our challenge is before we meet the people.

- * Any reactionary or problematic people or groups in the area or organisation and what problems they pose?



This is some of the information we need before we embark on the campaign. More information - about the people and their views about UDF etc. must be collected during our contact with people. We must try at all times to learn more about our area, the people and their lives.

TRAINING WORKSHOPS

WHY:

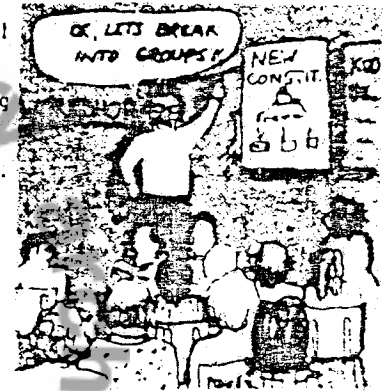
Because our organisations are still young, we usually have only a limited number of people involved. Those with organising skills are overstretched. Training people ensures that we equip more of us with a range of skills to work correctly with the greatest efficiency. Improving the skills of our people can contribute more to the struggle.

Important considerations

- Know the people we are training. What are their strengths, weaknesses and limitations? Start with what they know and build from there.
- Make them feel part of the learning. Ensure that the people contribute and take an active part in training. This helps a person gain confidence. Learning takes place in both directions - we can learn a great deal by listening to people.
- Training does not take place in workshops only. Training takes place while we are working with people on a day-to-day basis. Teaching and learning goes on all the time.

Types of Training

- Understanding the struggle. This means knowing what is important in the struggle, what our aims are at each stage, who needs to be organised and how.
- Technical skills. These skills range from taking minutes or chairing meetings to being able to write and roneo pamphlets, etc.
- Organising skills. This type of skill covers holding workshops, doing home visits, working efficiently, planning meetings, recruiting volunteers and so on.



SAHA

Some training must take place before collecting signatures, even for those who are experienced. The Million Signature Campaign is a new challenge. One or a number of workshops can achieve this training.

The Workshop

The workshop/s must be used to train the members of the committee. There are four main aims in this:

- Understanding briefly the history and nature of the struggle.
- Giving the signature collector adequate knowledge of the UDF, its history and policies. The meaning of the UDF Declaration should be gone into. The same goes for the Constitution and Koornhof Bills: Workshops should discuss what they are and what they mean for the lives of our people.
- Preparing for the actual collecting. Workshops should decide on an approach to the Campaign and how they will put this into practice. This means discussing a plan for the campaign and ways for putting the message across.
- Carrying out a practical exercise. A small experiment can help sort out the theory in practice.

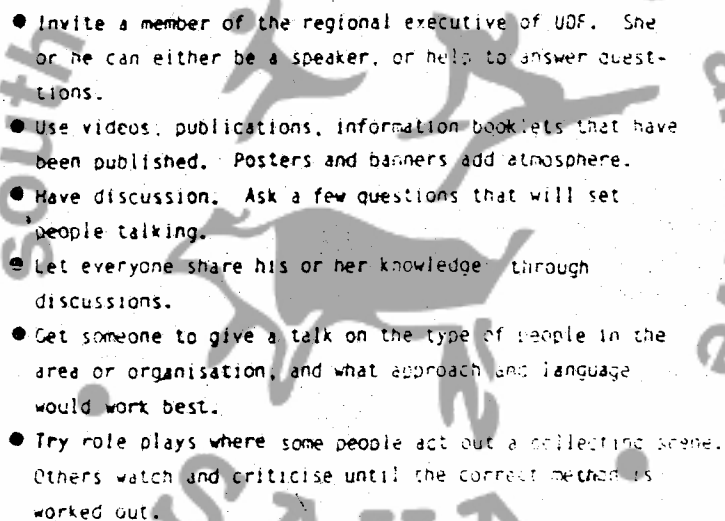
Planning the Workshop

Planning a workshop should involve as many people as is possible. This lets everyone learn how to organise a workshop, and learn what to expect to achieve from the workshop. Planning should cover:

- A venue - choose one that is suitable for the number of people invited.

-
- An invitee list - use this to check that all people are told of the workshop. Use the occasion as an issue to mobilise people on - invite as many as possible.
 - A date and a time - choose a suitable time that allows for the highest attendance and at least three hours for the workshop.
 - A programme - allow for adequate time for discussion in your programme. Don't forget breaks.
 - Look at creative ways for workshops to educate people about UDF, the Constitution and Kooznhof's Bills.
 - "Brainstorm" ideas for popularising the campaign and collecting signatures.
 - Evaluation and follow-up: discuss whether the information and ideas that came out of the workshop were adequate. Plan a follow-up workshop or meeting.

Some suggestions

- Invite a member of the regional executive of UDF. She or he can either be a speaker, or help to answer questions.
 - Use videos, publications, information booklets that have been published. Posters and banners add atmosphere.
 - Have discussion. Ask a few questions that will set people talking.
 - Let everyone share his or her knowledge through discussions.
 - Get someone to give a talk on the type of people in the area or organisation, and what approach and language would work best.
 - Try role plays where some people act out a collecting scene. Others watch and criticise until the correct method is worked out.
-
- 

PRACTICAL EXPERIMENT

- To give collectors a taste of the actual work.
- To test the approaches developed at the workshop are we able to get people to sign?
- To get an idea of the types of responses we can expect from people. What difficult questions were raised?
- To observe the level of people's awareness about UDF, Constitution, Koornhof, etc. This helps in planning our publicity campaign.
- To assess the experiment and work out better ways of working.

How to organise the experiment

For an area committee:

- Depending on the number of people who can collect choose a number of houses to visit. Be sure that the sample you choose is fairly representative of the area.
- Meet at a central venue and form the people into groups of two. This is done so that we can learn from each other and point out each other's mistakes.
- If possible, give each collector a briefing paper about the collecting, and discuss it with them.
- Allocate a reasonable number of houses to each pair of collectors.
- Set a time limit.
- Give a final briefing and wish everyone well.
- Meet after the home visits have been completed to share information.

for a committee within an organisation:

- Assess how to reach a sample of the members or supporters with the number of people in your committee.
- Brief committee members - with a document if possible.
- Set a date for report-back and evaluation.
- Be sure to clear the experiment with the leadership of your organisation.



EVALUATING THE PREPARATION

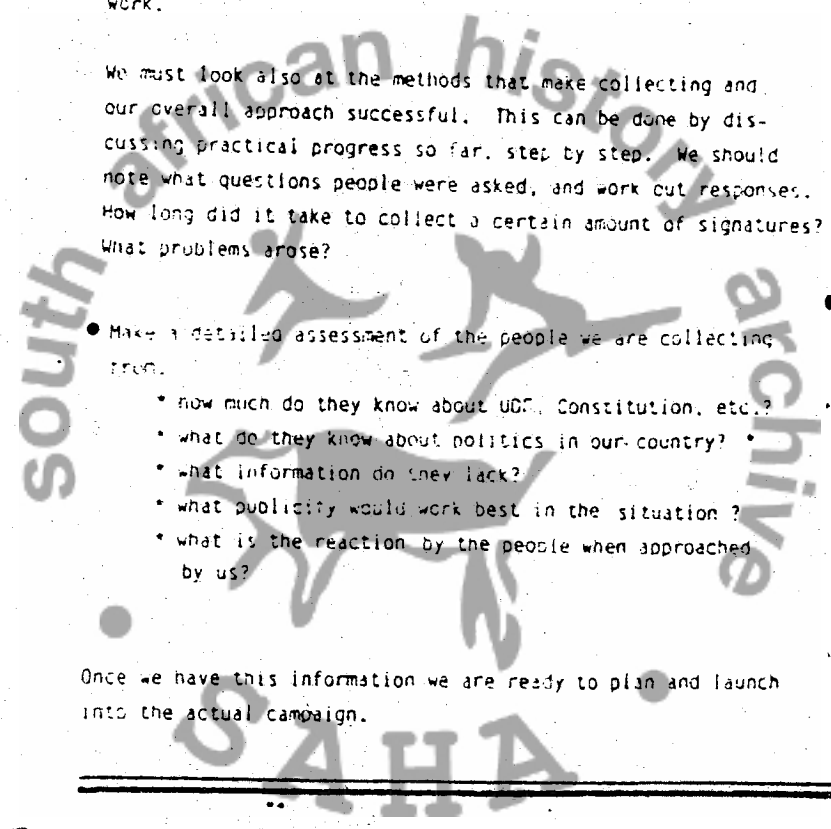
After setting up a committee, calling a meeting, looking at your resources, area and people, holding a workshop and carrying out an experiment, you have reached the final stage of preparation. A evaluation and assessment is now needed.

- The evaluation should look at our collecting ability and our approach to the campaign. All errors and weaknesses should be attended to. This is best done collectively - with all the people that did the collecting, and others. Everyone should be encouraged to participate, criticise each other and themselves in a way that will improve our work.

We must look also at the methods that make collecting and our overall approach successful. This can be done by discussing practical progress so far, step by step. We should note what questions people were asked, and work out responses. How long did it take to collect a certain amount of signatures? What problems arose?

- Make a detailed assessment of the people we are collecting from.
 - how much do they know about UDF, Constitution, etc.?
 - what do they know about politics in our country?
 - what information do they lack?
 - what publicity would work best in the situation?
 - what is the reaction by the people when approached by us?

Once we have this information we are ready to plan and launch into the actual campaign.



PUBLICITY

Publicity means "making public" - popularizing the Million Signature Campaign with the public. Informing them of the facts about the Constitution, Kooymhof's Bills and the UDF.

Publicity must be understood by the people and must appeal to them. To be effective, the publicity campaign must be based on the assessment of the area or organisation which was done earlier.

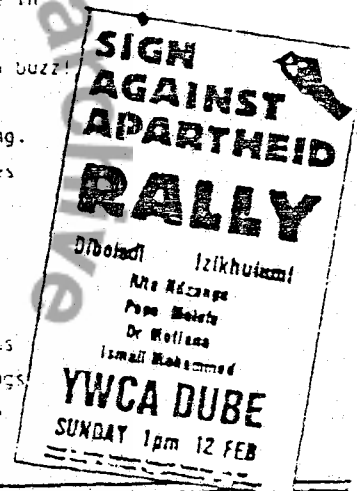
Local character to publicity is important in running a national campaign locally. People must not view the UDF coming in from the outside, but rather from within the area or organisation.

Aims of a Publicity Campaign

- To make people aware that the campaign is taking place in their area or organisation.
- To get people talking about the campaign - to create a buzz!
- To inform people about the issues in the campaign.
- To educate people about the UDF and what it is opposing.
- To enable signature committees to popularize themselves so as to attract more members.

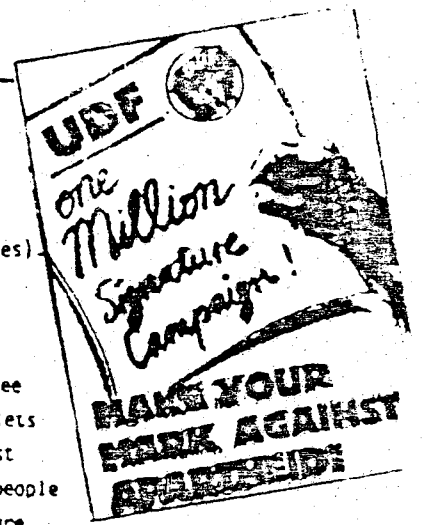
Publicity means:

Posters	Stickers	Pamphlets
Drama and music	Local press	Mass meetings
Placard demonstrations (with permission)	Street theatre	
Speaking at church	Staging a 'mini-event'	Banners



Posters

Posters should be brief and clear in their message and appearance. Use the national poster for the Signature Campaign, as well as local posters (even hand-drawn ones).



Pamphlets

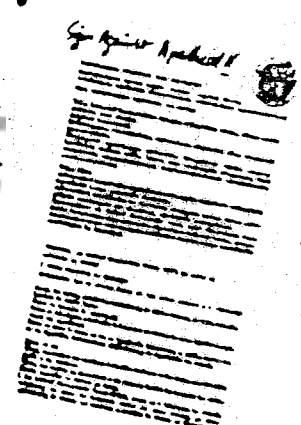
Pamphlets should cover all the aims of the campaign (see page 5). In large communities or organisations, pamphlets should be handled a section at a time to ensure greatest impact. You might distribute in one section and tell people you will be back in a few days to collect their signature. Do this a section at a time.

Local Press

Use the local press - commercial newspapers, community and organisational newspapers and newsletters, church and sports magazines, etc., to advertise the campaign. Use UDF NEWS to boost your local public presence.

Application

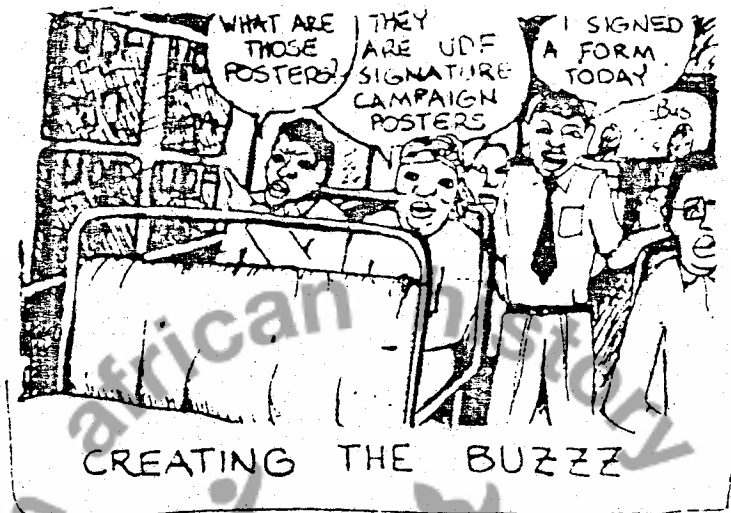
Different ways and media for publicity should be joined together into a systematic publicity campaign. Not all media need be used. Choose in terms of your needs and resources. Remember that a publicity campaign is not the same as the signature campaign, but only a part of it. Media cannot and should not replace organisational work like workshops, fundraising, collecting signatures, recruiting people and so on.



Example of a publicity campaign

1. Discuss in your committee how, when and where you are going to tackle your area, organisation or constituency.

2. Discuss the findings from the practical experiment and your experience in collecting signatures. How many people have heard of the campaign and what it involves?
3. Decide if you need posters to create a buzz. If the area or organisation is large, and we are going to do a section at a time, we must put posters in the part we are going to cover first.



4. Steps to be taken: allocate tasks like getting the posters, organising string, backing cardboard for poles, glue, brushes etc. Allocate a meeting time for volunteers to come and put up posters (assess what time of day would be best for this). Locate places where posters will be seen by the most people.
5. It is likely that a 'buzz' may be created, but people still have no knowledge of UDF, Constitution-Koornhof Bills, local leadership, etc. They still do not know that the campaign is taking place nationwide, that someone is going to ask them to sign, and so on. Therefore there is a need for education to come after the initial 'buzz'. Pamphlets can be useful here.

6. Steps to be taken: Do we have the skills, technical resources and finance? If we don't, how can we get assistance and training? If we do - pull together people with the skills and start working. Pull together the whole group for distribution.
7. Collecting starts, but after a while, we need a boost for people to know that the campaign is still going on. This is a chance to popularise UDF and its slogans to people who have by now heard a bit about the campaign. You could try a 'mini-event' at this stage where you get an important union leader, local figure, sports team, etc., to sign at a public event. For area committees, this could be at a popular shopping centre on a Saturday morning. Collectors can use this opportunity to collect signatures on the street and inside the shopping centre. Committees based within organisations can try for an AGM or similar function. UDF stickers and pamphlets can be given out at a 'mini-event' and the local press asked to publicise it.

Contacting leading individuals and organisations.



8. At a certain stage, a targeted area may be nearly covered. Maybe this is the time to have a mass meeting inviting UDF leaders to address our people on organisation or "politics"
9. Publicity for such a meeting is needed - pamphlets and posters will be useful. A banner for the meeting looks good. Allocate tasks among the committee.

10. Keep an eye open for burning issues in your area or organisation, and see if you can bring them into your media about the campaign.
11. Keep in touch with what UDF will be doing regionally and nationally around publicity for the campaign (eg. coming out with UDF NEWS, releasing international messages of support, etc.).



HOUSE MEETINGS

WORKING OUT THE LOGISTICS:

Logistics is an important part of planning our work. It ensures that time and energy-saving methods are used, and that we work efficiently. Logistics means organising the supplies (e.g. pens, signature forms, banners, cars, etc.) and the people so as to get them together at a certain point at a certain time.

Here is an example of working out the logistics for house visits. The principles applied can be used for any aspect of the campaign.

We must find out how many streets there are in particular areas, and how many houses per street there are. Supposing we find 56 houses in First street, 32 in Second street, and 19 in Third street.

We have found out from our practical experiment that it takes two volunteers working together 15 hours to visit 15 homes. We know that in one evening we need to send 4 pairs of volunteers to the First Street, 2 pairs to Second street, and 1 pair to Third street.

Our next step is to put an adequate no. of the Signature forms into a paper folder or envelope, marked "Section D, Road 1, 8 people needed". This we do for each street.

On the day of the visits, we count the no. of collectors. If there are 8, we know exactly that we can only cover First street that session. Second and Third streets will have to be done the next session. After allotting people to houses, write names of the two volunteers on the cover of the file/envelope and send them out.



This method ensures that:

- we complete the area systematically
- we know how far we have gone
- we know which volunteers did which street

At the end of the session of visiting, volunteers can write on the cover any comments, helpful people, etc. that they found during their visits.

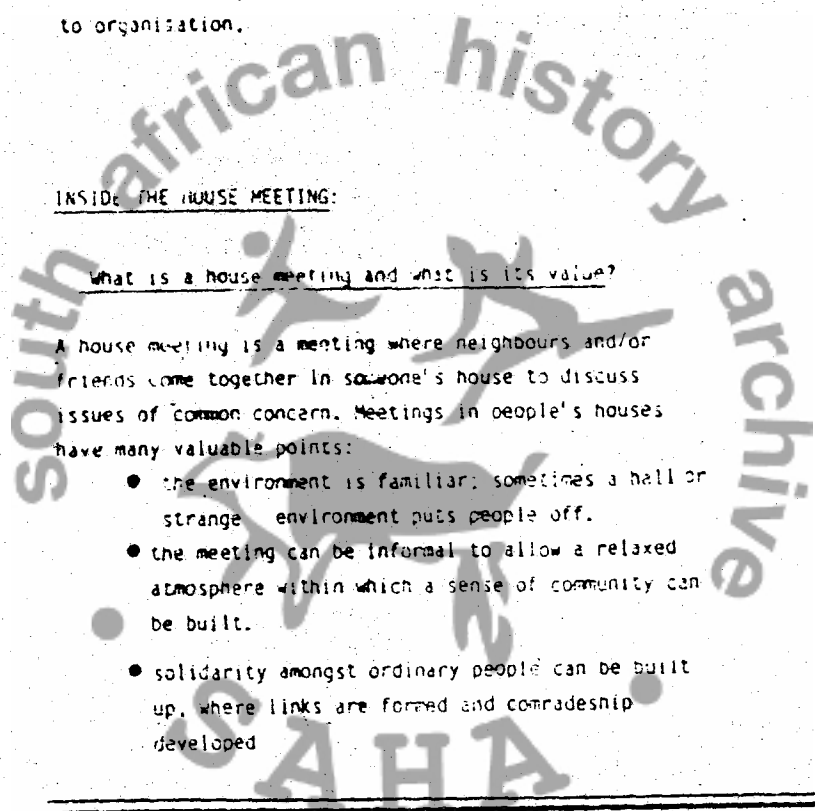
For example, volunteers or a single volunteer can be allocated a certain area to complete within a period of time. However, working collectively gives a greater sense of confidence and security. It also contributes towards building a group identity, and eventually, to organisation.

INSIDE THE HOUSE MEETING:

What is a house meeting and what is its value?

A house meeting is a meeting where neighbours and/or friends come together in someone's house to discuss issues of common concern. Meetings in people's houses have many valuable points:

- the environment is familiar; sometimes a hall or strange environment puts people off.
- the meeting can be informal to allow a relaxed atmosphere within which a sense of community can be built.
- solidarity amongst ordinary people can be built up, where links are formed and comradeship developed



- it is possible to have full participation from everyone in a small group. (This can be the basis of democracy in any community or organisation. Not only does this build strong organisation, but it educates every member as well.)
- an informal network of communication can be set up which will help easy mobilization of the community
- once house meetings are established on a permanent basis they can be an important base of community organisation
- house meetings help to overcome the problems of transport and time
- volunteers can become well known and trusted in the area.

How to run a house meeting:

a) Select a host:

House meetings can be set up in two ways:

- While collecting signatures on a door to door basis you might come across someone who is keen to help and who is prepared to involve his/her friends. To this person suggest they organise a house meeting and offer your services in helping them carry out the idea.
- Whilst planning in your MSC committee, select popular people in an area who would be prepared to hold a house meeting. If this person is respected and liked, an MSC house meeting will give further door to door collecting or house meetings, greater credibility.



Once the host of a house meeting has been approached and consulted, plan a time. Now the meeting needs to be advertised.

b) How to advertise a house meeting:

There can be two kinds of house meetings:

- one mainly for the friends and relatives of the host. These friends may or may not live in the same neighbourhood.
- one where the participants are from the same street/neighbourhood and may or may not know each other.

In the case of the first kind of house meeting, the host will want to contact and invite his guests. The role of the MSC volunteer then, will be mainly to plan the house meeting with the host. This kind of house meeting can be the basis for further meetings.

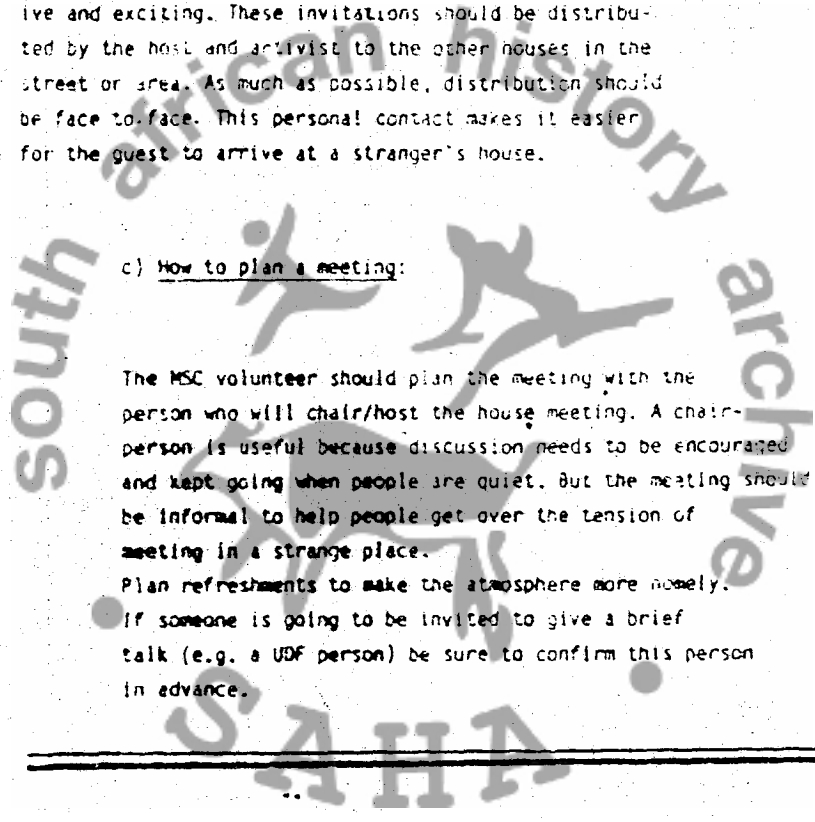
In the second kind of house meeting, the MSC volunteer and the host should produce an invitation. This could be hand written or typed out. Make sure it is attractive and exciting. These invitations should be distributed by the host and activist to the other houses in the street or area. As much as possible, distribution should be face to face. This personal contact makes it easier for the guest to arrive at a stranger's house.

c) How to plan a meeting:

The MSC volunteer should plan the meeting with the person who will chair/host the house meeting. A chairperson is useful because discussion needs to be encouraged and kept going when people are quiet. But the meeting should be informal to help people get over the tension of meeting in a strange place.

Plan refreshments to make the atmosphere more homely.

If someone is going to be invited to give a brief talk (e.g. a UDF person) be sure to confirm this person in advance.



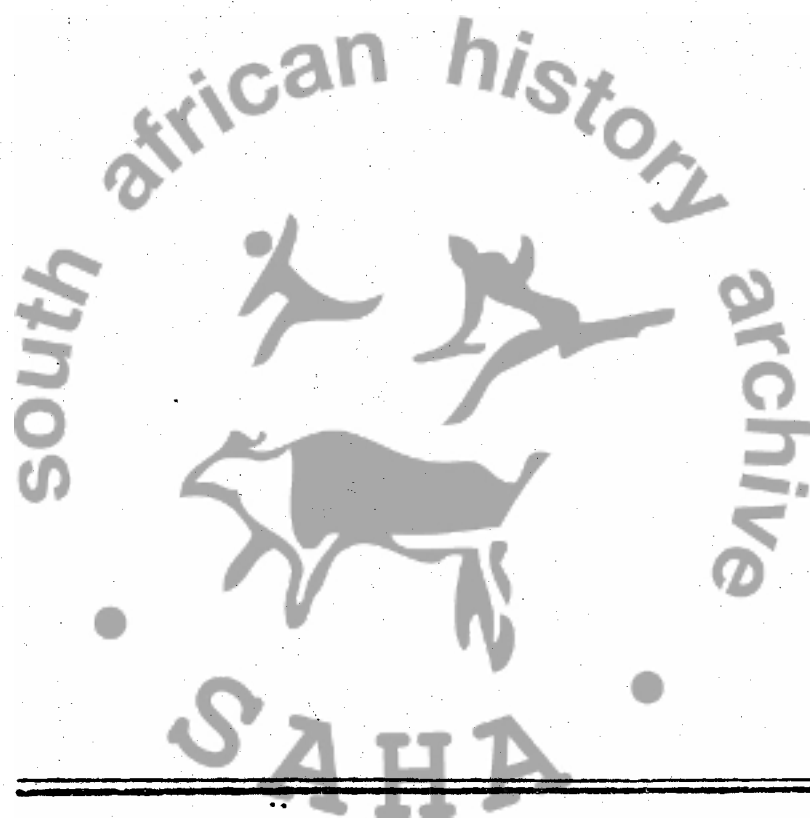
d) Possible agenda:

- Introduction
The chairperson should first introduce him/herself to his /her family. Then get everyone to introduce each other and to say something about why they came to the meeting.
- Input on UDF and the MSC
Invite someone to present information on "what is UDF?" Explain why it has taken up the MSC and the aims and objects of the campaign. The input should not be long or arrogant.
- Questions and discussion:
Ask for questions and discussion on UDF and MSC.
- Local problems:
Get people to discuss the problems they face as members of the community. Do this by maybe introducing the "session" with a question: "How do you feel about living in" "What problems do you have?" Discuss local problems, like the local authorities, recs, housing etc. In the process of discussion we should link this to: local community/youth/women's organisations and discuss why they have affiliated to UDF.
- The MSC and local issues. Discuss why UDF and local organisations have taken up the MSC.
- Once again this should be short and brief
- Signing of forms:
At this point forms can be signed by those attending the meeting. Plans can also be made for people to take forms to get them signed at school, work, sports organisations they may belong to etc. Write down who takes forms and how many. You may need to follow them up.
- Planning for the future:
 - announce meetings of : MSC committees
 - : local organisations

- ask if anyone else would like to host a house meeting
- ask if the house meeting would like to meet again.

Follow up.

After the meeting, we should evaluate the meeting with the chairperson/host. Discuss how it was run, who showed interest, how to follow up individuals, another meeting etc. During the meeting, we should take notes and report back to the signature committee and / or local organisation. After a week or so return and collect the forms if they are not returned.



THE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN AND THE LAW

We are all aware that the democratic movement in South Africa has been and will be continually harassed, intimidated and attempts will be made to disrupt whatever campaign it is involved in. We need to be acutely aware of this during the MSC. We need to protect ourselves.

- Our most important defence weapon is discipline. We must conduct ourselves in a proper manner. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked either by police or people that have different views. Our discipline will ensure our survival, and prevent any potential disruptions.
 - We must locate a lawyer within our area that is willing to come to our aid in times of crisis. He must be available to assist when an activist is harassed or detained. His phone no. or address must be made available. If the lawyer is not available, contact local organisations or the UDF office.
 - Report any incidents of harassment etc. to local leadership and regional executive.
 - We need to keep our publicity material (posters etc.) and signed declarations in a safe place that cannot be easily found out. This is to protect our hard work so that it is not taken away or destroyed. If any item is removed by the police, demand a receipt.
 - You have the right to defend yourself against an assault by any person. You may only use such force as is necessary, to ward off the danger against you.
-
-

• If you are assaulted, you can lay a charge at the nearest police station. Try and obtain full details of the person who assaulted you.

• If you have to see a doctor, obtain a certificate from him.

• If a policeman assaults you, take the number down, if you do not know his name.



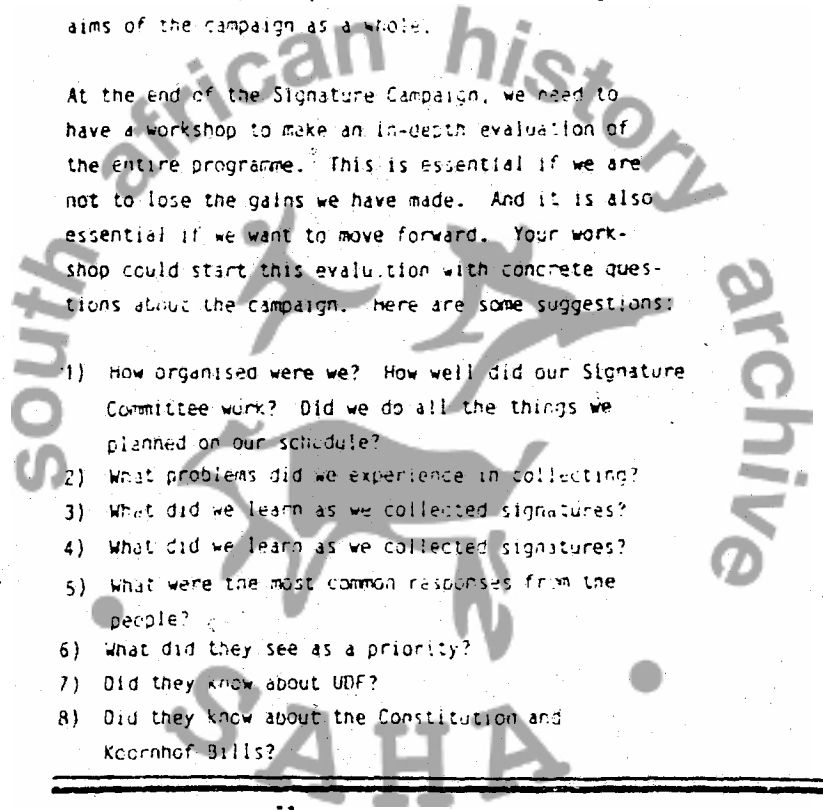
EVALUATING THE ENTIRE CAMPAIGN

To get the most gain from the Million Signature Campaign, we need to evaluate and assess our actions all the time. Each person should do this and signature committees should have regular evaluations. Evaluation must be honest and constructive - "tell no lies, claim no easy victories" (Cabral).

In evaluating our progress, we need to look at both the successes and the problems. These should be measured against the short term aims of the particular action or time-period, as well as the more long-term aims of the campaign as a whole.

At the end of the Signature Campaign, we need to have a workshop to make an in-depth evaluation of the entire programme. This is essential if we are not to lose the gains we have made. And it is also essential if we want to move forward. Your workshop could start this evaluation with concrete questions about the campaign. Here are some suggestions:

- 1) How organised were we? How well did our Signature Committee work? Did we do all the things we planned on our schedule?
- 2) What problems did we experience in collecting?
- 3) What did we learn as we collected signatures?
- 4) What did we learn as we collected signatures?
- 5) What were the most common responses from the people?
- 6) What did they see as a priority?
- 7) Did they know about UDF?
- 8) Did they know about the Constitution and Koornhof Bills?



- 46
- 9) Did they know about local organisations that they could join?
 - 10) What did they think about UDF, the government's plans, and their local organisations?
 - 11) What do we think of their views?
 - 12) What can we do to follow up on contacts with the people?
 - 13) What skills have we learnt in the campaign?

After answering these concrete questions, your evaluation might move on to more general discussion.

Do we remember the aims and objectives of the campaign at this stage? Can people at the workshop recall them? Here they are:

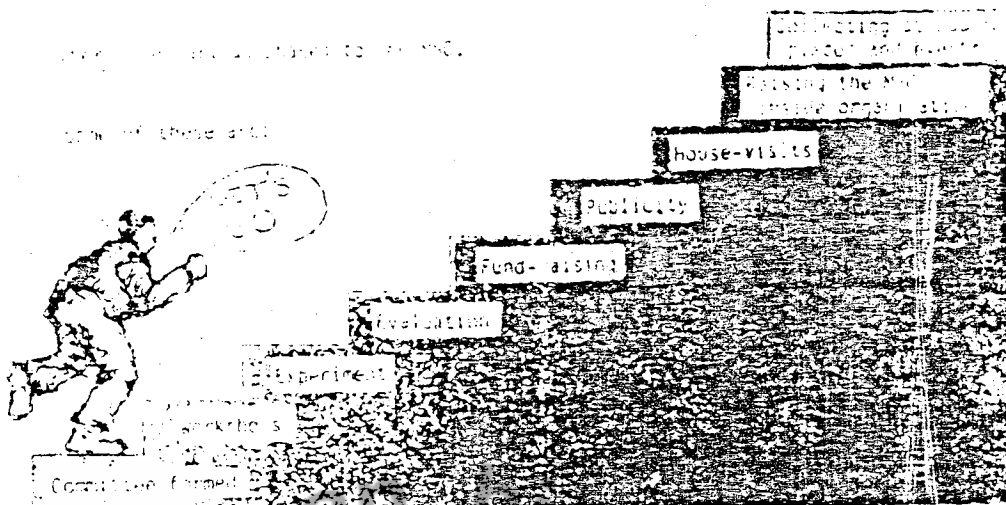
- to collect one million signatures,
- to show the popularity of the UDF and its demand for a non-racial democratic South Africa,
- to show the people's rejection of the Constitution and the Koozhoof Bills,
- to contribute towards building democratic people's organisations.

Your meeting could take each of these aims and discuss it in detail.

Further questions are:

- Was anything else achieved that is not listed in the aims and objectives?
- What should UDF do with the signatures now?
- What are the needs of the struggle at present?
- How can UDF respond?
- If we have "made history" with the campaign, then where do we - the Signature Committee - go now?

PLANNING A SCHEDULE FOR THE CAMPAIGN



All of this has to be drawn into a systematic campaign which starts step by step. We need to identify each step and draw up a schedule for the campaign. The schedule will help us to understand and plan the whole campaign.

A schedule must take into account the organisational side and the "bring in numbers" side of the campaign. It must also pay attention to publicity, educational and practical-organisational parts of the campaign.

- Publicity: the schedule should try to predict when different kinds of publicity will be needed.
- Education: we must not forget to back up our campaign with educating our collectors as well as those approached to sign.
- Practical-organisation: money is needed for much of the campaign, and this must be organised. The same goes for venues and transport. Holding the Signature Committee together with regular meetings, etc is also part of all this.

Your schedule is best drawn up in terms of general steps. After this you can apply it to a year-planner calendar, giving it precise dates. It is important to draw the schedule remembering the resources at hand - people, venues, money, time, transport etc.

	WEEK 1	WEEK 2	WEEK 3	WEEK 4	WEEK 5	WEEK 6
Committee formed						
Workshops						
Experiment						
Evaluation						
Fund-raising						
Publicity						
House-visits						
Raising the MSC inside organisations						
Collecting at public places and events						

You can fill in what tasks should be done at what stage, and who will be responsible for doing them. For example, you might want workshops in the first and fourth weeks - fill them in on the planner, as well as where they will be held, who will organise them and so on.

South African Communist Party, United Democratic Front, Khotso House,
2 Dr ... Johannesburg, Tel: 29-1916/7

GEHEIM

SAP 148

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE / SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE



P/sak-P/Bag X302 Tel. adr.-add. "KOMPOL"

Verw./Ref.:	[REDACTED]
Navrae/Enq.:	[REDACTED]
TEL.:	214511 x 262

VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH
HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA
0001

1985-05-13

Die Direkteur van
Veiligheidswetgewing
Privaatsak X655
PRETORIA
0001

Handwritten signature and date: 8/7/85

UDF : PAMFLETTE

1. Telefoniese gesprek op 1985-05-13 tussen u mnr Smuts en [REDACTED] verwys.
2. Afdruk van pamflet "THIS IS WAR" word vir u inligting aangeheg.
3. Die pamflet "THIS IS CIVIL WAR" is vanaf ons Veiligheidstak te Kaapstad aangevra, en u sal met 'n afdruk voorsien word, sodra beskikbaar.

[REDACTED]
N/KOMMISSARIS: SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE
[REDACTED]

GEHEIM
DECLASSIFIED

DOMINICAN "A"

THIS IS WAR!

UITENHAGE is part of our country. There it is South Africans who are being killed. Shot by police. Surrounded by tanks, helicopters above. They shoot with R1 rifles; guns which soldiers in the army use. There is death in the air in Uitenhage.

There are terrible things being done. In Uitenhage on 21 March, people were going to a funeral - peacefully, in kombis. The police forced them out and made them walk. The police followed the crowd in a hippo. Suddenly, when people looked up, there was another hippo across their path. They were trapped, a hippo in front, a hippo behind.

Then the police opened fire. Afterwards, they walked among the dead and the dying, and they shot those who were still struggling to breathe. They put stones among the people so that they could say they shot in self defence. They got the fire brigade to wash away the blood. Only then did they allow the newspapers in.

On that day, 43 people were killed, and it is said that another 70 died in hospital. They have closed the hospitals so no-one may visit. More than 100 children are missing, and who knows where they are?

In Uitenhage, friends, this government went too far. What right do they have to shoot our people down? Those bullets hurt us too.

WE WILL NOT FORGET, AND WE WILL NOT FORGIVE.

Thursday is a Day of Mourning. Wear your black armbands.

Tell the people the truth. We are suffering too.

WEEK OF MOURNING

**WED: Mass Meeting - Hanover Park
Park Civic, 7.30pm**

THURS: National Day of Mourning

**PLEASE WEAR BLACK ARMBANDS ALL WEEK
TO SHOW OUR SOLIDARITY WITH UITENHAGE**

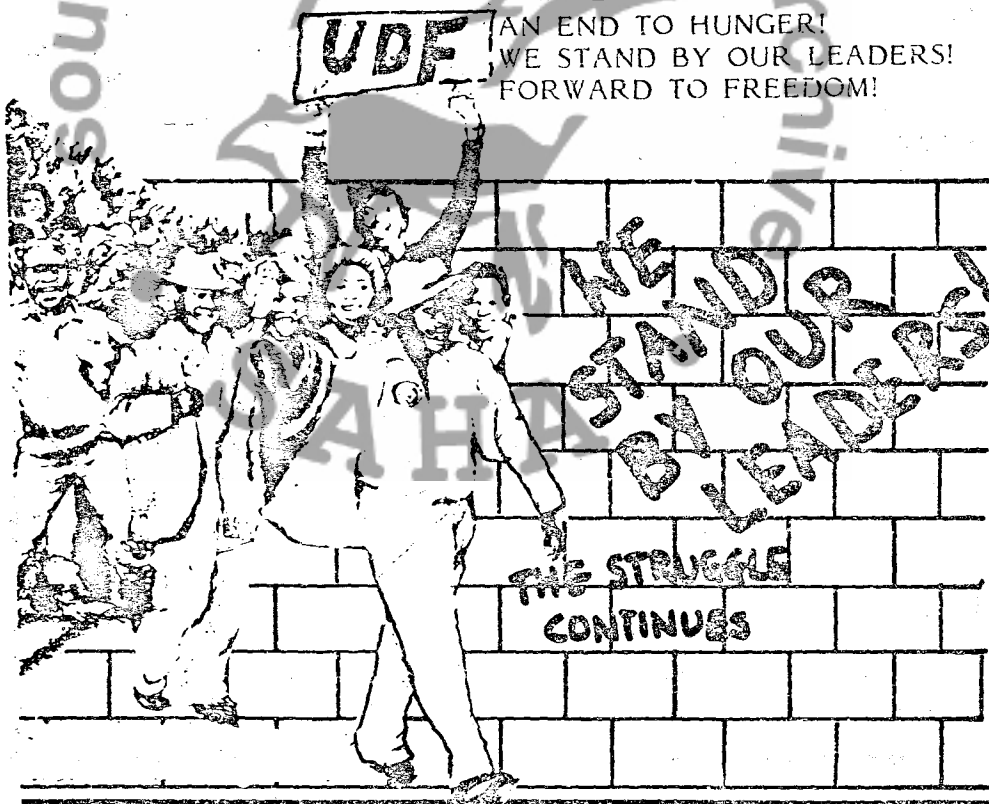
FRIENDS, it is not only guns that are killing our people. It is unemployment and retrenchments; GST and food prices; transport and rents. Perhaps Botha thinks that this is a cheaper way of getting rid of us. After all, bullets cost money.

Through all this suffering, we know that there have been those who have stood up for us. Who have spoken of our hunger and our grief, and of our will to be free.

Now, once again, Botha and his government are trying to silence these leaders and the UDF. On Friday, 16 UDF leaders will stand trial in Pietermaritzburg for treason. The government says that it is treason to say that apartheid must end, that our people must be free. But we say that it is apartheid that is treason and not the struggle of our people.

Friends, our pain and our suffering must end. This is the message of Sebokeng and Cradock, of Crossroads and Uitenhage. We must make apartheid suffer; we must make apartheid starve; We must bury apartheid.

SOLIDARITY AND STRENGTH TO
THE PEOPLE OF UITENHAGE!
AN END TO HUNGER!
WE STAND BY OUR LEADERS!
FORWARD TO FREEDOM!



DIREKTORAAT
VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
1985-04-18
DIRECTORATE:
SECURITY LEGISLATION
P/sak - P/Bag - 302 - Tel. adr. = add.

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DDU V/B
23/4/85
SAP 148



SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

Verw./Ref.: [REDACTED]
Navrae/Enq.: [REDACTED]
Tel.: 214511 x 317

VEILIGHEIDSTAK
SECURITY BRANCH

HOOFKANTOOR
HEAD OFFICE
PRETORIA
1985-04-16

ADV S/N
V/A Gs. 23
V/C # 23/4
V/D D. Croft

Die Direkteur
Veiligheidswetgewing
Privaatsak X655
PRETORIA
0001

- 1) Ter kennis
 - 2) Terug na V.
- 23/4/85

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT : KONSEP GRONDWET

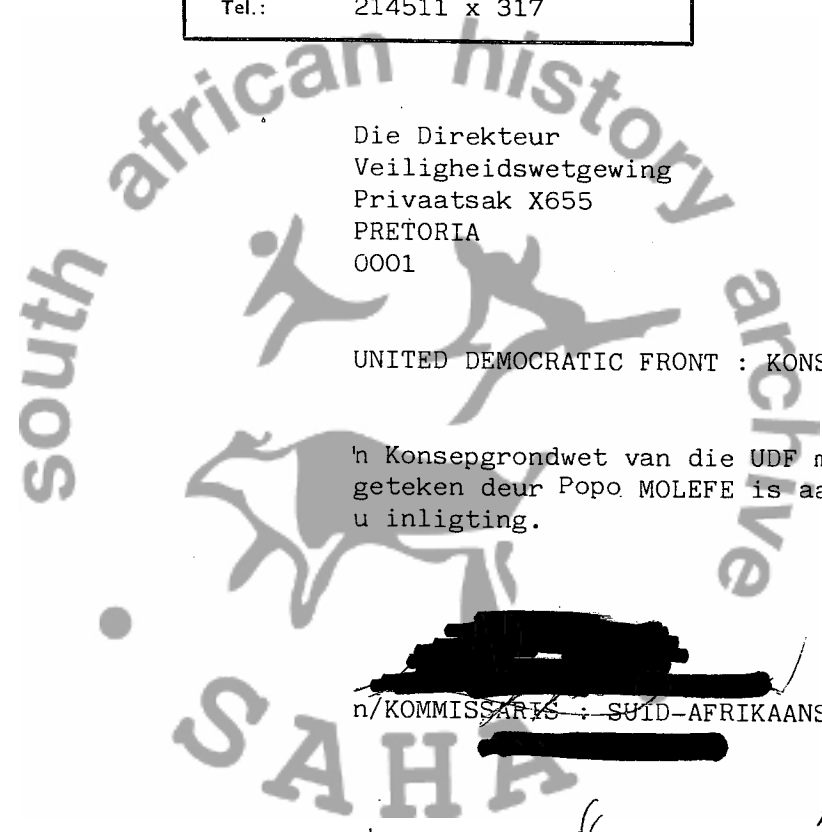
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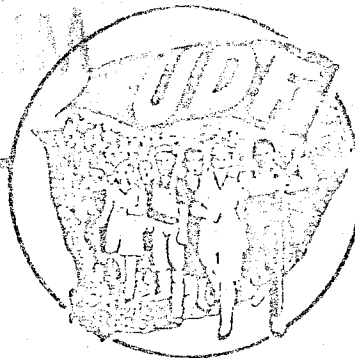
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23/4/85

~~DECLASSIFIED~~



ED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

01 October 1984

CIRCULAR TO ALL REGIONS

Amendments to Working Principles

Comrade Secretary

At the N.E.C meeting held in Pretoria on 21/22 January 1984, a number of weaknesses in the Working Principles (Appendix A) were pointed out. Cde Cassim Saloojee was mandated to prepare a draft amendment (Appendix B) which was circulated in June.

Subsequently, an attorney in the Western Cape was approached and his feeling was that the Draft Constitution (Appendix B) was too detailed and that elementary amendments to Working Principles as per Appendix C would be adequate.

This matter should be finalised at the next N.E.C. I realise that discussions on matters like constitutional amendments are normally cumbersome but possibly some shorter methods could be arrived at.

We await your reply.

Yours in struggle,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Robo Molefe', written in a cursive style.

ROBO MOLEFE
GENERAL SECRETARY

the name of this front is the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

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.

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.

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:

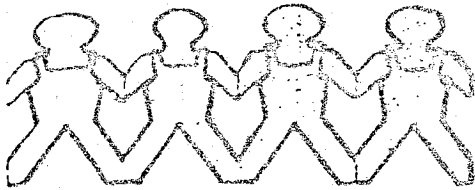
- 7.1. Patrons. The number to be determined by National General Council.
- 7.2. Regional formations consisting of
 - 7.2.1. an executive committee, and
 - 7.2.2. a general council
- 7.3. National General Council (N.G.C.)
- 7.4. National Executive Committee (N.E.C.)

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

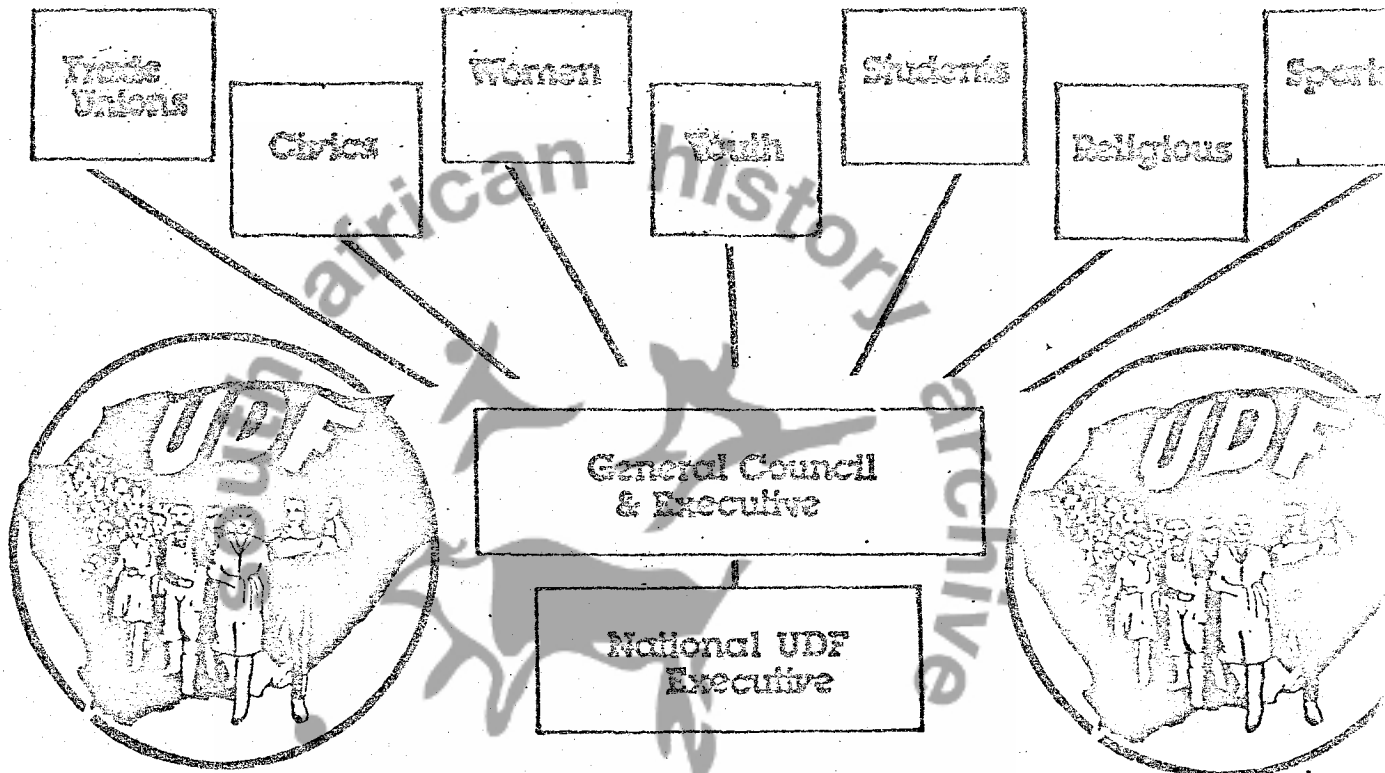
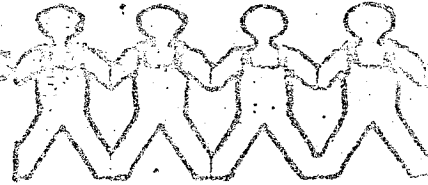
- 8.1. The N.G.C. will comprise all affiliated organisations and regions.
- 8.2. The N.G.C. shall meet as and when necessary but at least once a year.
- 8.3. Voting rights and representation at any conference or meeting of the N.G.C. shall be determined by the National Executive Committee in consultation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



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

1. Name

The name of the organization shall be the United Democratic Front ('the UDF').

2. Head Office

The Head Office of the UDF shall be at Johannesburg, or at such other place as the National Executive Committee may determine from time to time.

3. Objects

The UDF shall strive towards the realization of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa and towards this end shall:

3.1 articulate opposition to the legislative programme of the government in so far as such programme conflicts with democratic principles, and in particular shall articulate opposition to the Constitution Act, 110 of 1983 and also The Black Local Authorities Act, the Orderly Movement and Resettlement of Persons Bill and the Community Development Bill (generally known as the 'Koornhof Bills').

3.2 act as a co-ordinating body for progressive community, social, educational, political and other such organizations which subscribe to democratic principles;

3.3 articulate the social and political aspirations of members of the UDF and its affiliates;

3.4 engage in appropriate actions and undertake appropriate programmes in pursuit of the above.

4. Powers

4.1 The UDF shall have all powers necessary or incidental to the carrying out of its objects, which shall include the powers to-

4.1.1 borrow or raise monies and funds;

4.1.2 invest money and funds;

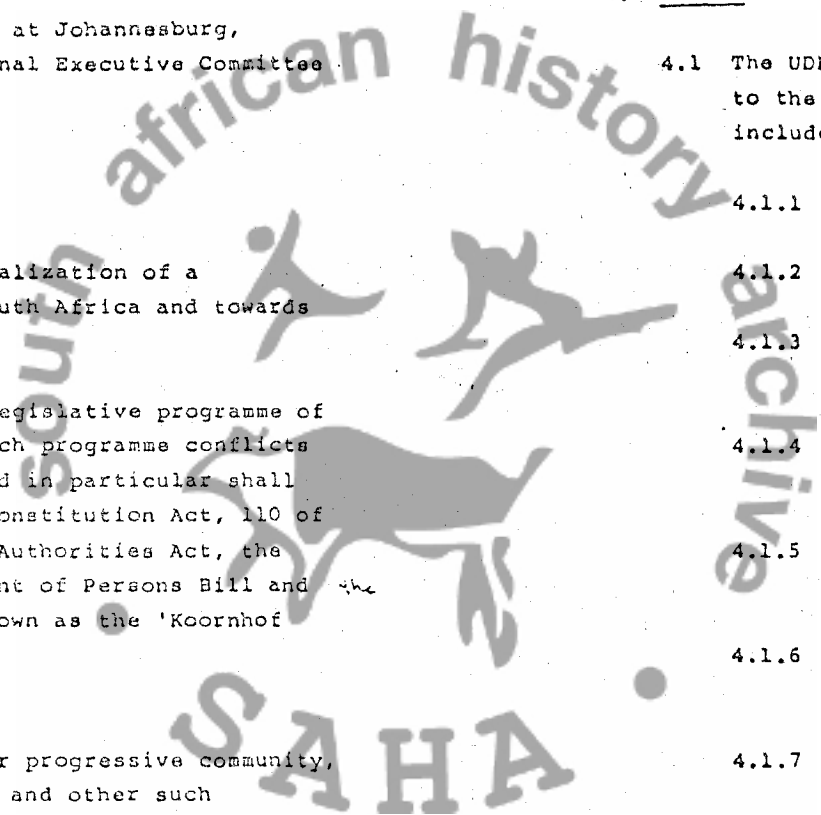
4.1.3 open, operate and close banking accounts and to control its finances;

4.1.4 hold, lease and own property of all kinds, apart from its members;

4.1.5 engage and discharge employees and to set their terms and conditions of employment;

4.1.6 sell, exchange, lease or mortgage any or all of its assets.

4.1.7 control the funds and property of the UDF and to apply such funds in such manner as may be necessary to carry out its functions;



4.1.8 institute and defend legal proceedings by or on behalf of the UDF;

4.1.9 enter such contracts and engage in such transactions as may be necessary to achieve its objects.

4.2 Only the National Executive Committee ('NEC') shall exercise the above powers; provided that the NEC may delegate any of its powers to persons or committees, including Regional Executive Committees ('REC'), on terms and conditions which it may decide from time to time.

4.3 All the funds of the UDF shall be used solely in furtherance of the objects specified in clause 4.1.

5. Legal Personality

The UDF shall be a body corporate, having perpetual succession and capable of suing and being sued in its own name. The liability of members shall be limited to the amount of their subscriptions outstanding at any time. No member shall have any right to assets of the UDF.

6. Structure

The UDF shall consist of a National General Council and
Regional General Councils. The number of Regional General Councils and their geographic boundaries may be altered from time to time by the NEC, subject to ratification by the next meeting of the National General Council.

7. Membership

There shall be two classes of members; - as follows:

7.1 Affiliates

7.1.1 All organizations present at the inaugural conference of the UDF on 20 August 1983 otherwise than as observers, shall be members of an appropriate Regional General Council, unless they decline such membership. These organizations and the Regional General Councils under which they fall are set out in the schedule to this Constitution marked 'A'.

7.1.2 All organizations of a community, social, sporting, religious, educational, political or similar nature which subscribe to the objects of the UDF may apply for affiliate membership of one or more of the Regional General Councils of the UDF: provided that

7.1.2.1 a prospective affiliate must operate and have members of its own in the geographic area of the Regional General Council in respect of which it seeks membership;

7.1.2.2 Admission, suspension and expulsion of members shall be at the discretion of the Regional General Councils with jurisdiction, subject to the overriding powers of the National General Council to change any decision of a Regional General Council in this regard.

7.2 Special Members

7.2.1 Organizations located outside South Africa which support the objects of the UDF may apply for special membership thereof.

7.2.2 Admission, suspension or expulsion of special members shall be at the discretion of the National General Council. The NEC may provisionally admit, suspend or expel members pending the next meeting of the National General Council.

8. Membership Fees and Other Financial Obligations

8.1 Affiliate Members

8.1.1 The respective Regional General Councils shall determine the joining and annual subscription fees of affiliates. The amounts of such fees may vary from member to member, according to particular circumstances. In special cases such fees may be waived.

8.1.2 Records of all fees received from affiliates and individual members shall be maintained by the Regional General Council concerned.

8.1.3 Affiliates may be required at any time if called upon so to do by their respective Regional General Councils to pay an additional levy in order to supplement the funds of such Councils.

8.2 Special Members

The National Executive Committee shall determine the joining and annual subscription fees of special members, which may vary from member to member. Records of all fees received from special members shall be maintained by the NEC.

9. National Council

9.1 The National General Council shall be the supreme policy- and decision-making body of the UDF. It shall endeavour to allow Regional General Councils and their affiliates as great a measure of independence as is consistent with the objects and unity of the UDF. Affiliates of Regional General Councils shall be free to pursue their respective objects without interference from the UDF; provided that, if the National General Council or a Regional General Council is of the opinion that any affiliate's conduct is inconsistent with the objects or the unity of the UDF, action may be taken against it under sub-clause 8.1.2.2 above.

9.2 Meetings

9.2.1 The National General Council shall convene an Annual General Meeting at least once per year at a time determined by the National Executive Committee.

9.2.2 If any three Regional General Councils call for a special meeting of the National General Council, the NEC shall convene such meeting as soon as possible.

9.2.3 The NEC may convene interim National General Council meetings of its own motion.

9.2.4. Regional General Councils shall be given at least one month's notice of the convening of the National General Council, as well as details of the agenda and venue, and Regional General Councils shall be charged with passing on such information to their respective affiliates without delay.

9.2.5. Accidental omission to notify any affiliate or non-receipt by any affiliate of such notice shall not invalidate the proceedings of a meeting.

9.2.6. The NEC shall decide in what manner the proceedings of the National General Council shall be conducted. These powers may be delegated to the Chairperson of the National General Council, who shall be appointed by the NEC on an ad hoc basis.

9.3 Delegations to National Council

9.3.1 The National General Council shall comprise of delegations from the Regional General Councils. Each affiliate of a Regional General Council will be entitled to two representatives in a delegation. Further representatives may be allowed at the discretion of the NEC.

9.3.2 Each representative shall have one vote and all votes shall carry equal weight.

9.3.3 Decisions of the National General Council shall be by majority vote.

9.4 Election of office bearers and nomination of patrons

9.4.1 The National General Council shall elect the Presidency, consisting of three Presidents, and two National Treasurers at its Annual General Meeting. The office bearers shall hold office until the next but one Annual General Meeting, when they may be eligible for re-election.

9.4.2 Should three or more candidates be nominated for an office, two or more ballots shall be conducted such that the candidate who receives the least votes in each round shall be eliminated. The successful candidate shall be the person who receives the most votes in the ballot between the last two remaining candidates.

9.4.3 The National General Council shall nominate Patrons of the UDF on an annual basis.

10. The National Executive Committee

10.1 The National Executive Committee shall consist of the following persons:

10.1.1 members of the Presidency;

10.1.2 the Secretariat, consisting of the two Regional Secretaries of each Region;

- 10.1.3 The two Vice Presidents of each Region;
- 10.1.4 two additional members from each Regional General Council, who shall be members of the REC.
- 10.1.5 two additional persons, co-opted by the NEC, to serve as the National Publicity Officer and the National Organizing Secretary respectively; these persons shall be employees of the UDF.
- 10.2 Should any office-bearer elected by the National General Council also be entitled to membership of the NEC by virtue of his or her position on a Regional General Council, then such office bearer's Regional Executive Council may nominate another of its members to represent it on the NEC.
- 10.3 The NEC shall have the power to co-opt persons from regions which are not yet duly constituted.
- 10.4 The National Executive Committee may allocate specific portfolios and titles to its members.
- 10.5 At each of its meetings, the NEC shall appoint from its members an ad hoc Chairperson to preside thereat.
- 10.6 A majority of the members of the NEC shall constitute a quorum at a meeting. Members may participate in a meeting by means of a telecommunications system.
- 10.7 Should it be impossible because of extraordinary circumstances for enough members to attend a meeting of the NEC in order to constitute a quorum, such members who are in a position to attend shall constitute a quorum.

10.8 The NEC shall endeavour to arrive at its decisions through consensus; otherwise the decision shall be reached by majority vote and the chairperson shall have a deliberative but not a casting vote.

10.9 Should three-quarters of the members of the NEC decide that a member is unfit to remain in office on the grounds of improper conduct or incapacity, his term may be terminated prematurely, subject to ratification of the decision by the next meeting of the National General Council. In such event, the NEC may appoint replacement in an acting capacity pending the election of a new member by the National General Council.

10.10 Powers and functions of the NEC

10.10.1 The NEC shall be responsible for the execution of the National General Council policy and decisions, and shall attend to the affairs and administration of the UDF. It shall be entitled to initiate or pursue any actions consistent with its powers as described in this Constitution.

10.10.2 The NEC shall be entitled to appoint sub-committees in the performance of its functions.

10.10.3 In furtherance of its powers and functions described in 10.10.1, the NEC may assign specific administrative tasks and impose particular duties on the Secretariat.

- 10.10.4 The National Treasurers shall be responsible for the administration of the financial affairs of the UDF. They shall ensure that proper books of account are kept in respect of the financial matters of the NEC. They shall ensure that audited financial statements in respect of the NEC's financial matters are prepared within four months of the close of the financial year, which shall be on 31 December each year.

11 Regional Councils

11.1 Composition

- 11.1.1 A Regional General Council shall comprise of affiliates which have individual members in the particular region.
- 11.1.2 Each affiliate shall be entitled to send a delegation comprised of not more than two delegates to a Regional General Council. Delegates shall have speaking rights at the Council.
- 11.1.3 Each delegate shall have one vote and all votes shall carry equal weight. Should an affiliate be represented by one delegate only, he or she shall have two votes.
- 11.1.4 Affiliates shall be entitled to send further representatives to a Council as observers, subject to the discretion of the REC.

11.2 Meetings

- 11.2.1 The Regional General Council shall convene an Annual General Meeting at least once per year at a time determined by the REC.
- 11.2.2 If any five affiliates of a Regional General Council call for a special meeting of that Regional General Council, the REC shall arrange for such meeting as soon as possible.
- 11.2.3 A REC may convene interim meetings of a Regional General Council of its own motion.
- 11.2.4 Affiliates shall be given at least one month's notice of the convening of the Regional General Council, as well as details of the agenda and venue.
- 11.2.5 Accidental omission to notify any affiliate or non-receipt by any affiliate of such notice shall not invalidate the proceedings of a meeting.
- 11.2.6 The REC shall appoint an ad hoc Regional Chairperson to preside at a council meeting.
- 11.2.7 Conduct of meetings shall be regulated by the Regional Chairperson.
- 11.2.8 Observers may address the Council with the permission of the Regional Chairperson.

12.5.5 The Regional Treasurer shall ensure that a certified copy of the financial statements of a Region are submitted to the National Treasurers as soon as they are audited each year.

15.2 Notice of any proposed amendment must be given in accordance with clause 10.2.4.

13. Dissolution

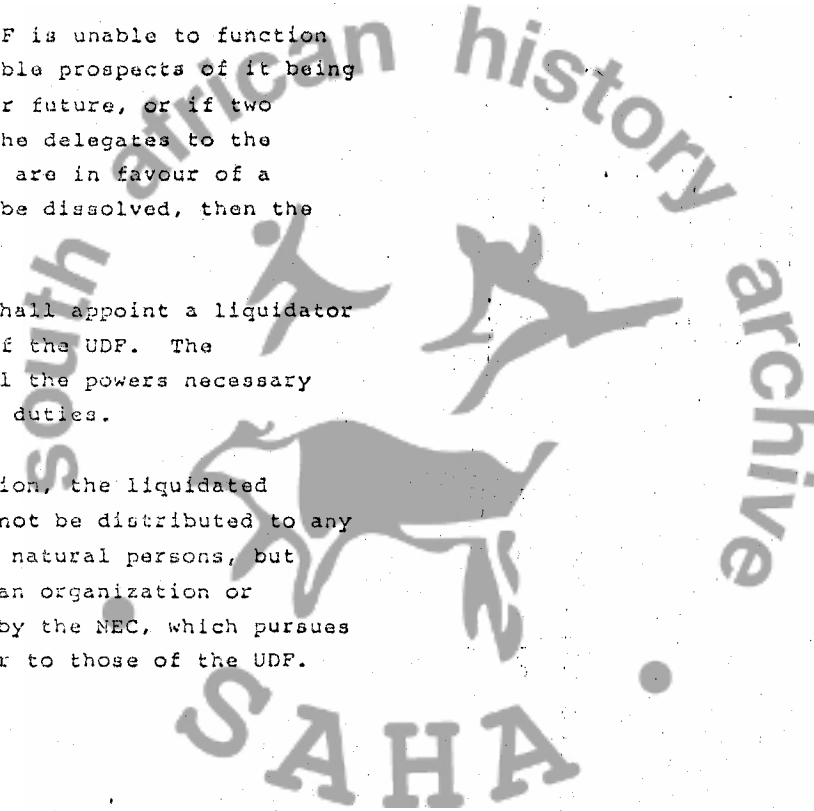
13.1 If for any reason the UDF is unable to function and there are no reasonable prospects of it being able to do so in the near future, or if two thirds of the votes of the delegates to the National General Council are in favour of a resolution that the UDF be dissolved, then the UDF shall be dissolved.

13.2 In such event, the NEC shall appoint a liquidator to wind up the affairs of the UDF. The liquidator shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his duties.

13.3 In the event of dissolution, the liquidated assets of the UDF shall not be distributed to any members of the UDF being natural persons, but shall be distributed to an organization or organizations, selected by the NEC, which pursues or pursue objects similar to those of the UDF.

15. Amendments

15.1 This Constitution may be altered if two thirds of the votes of the delegates to the National General Council are in favour of an amendment.



MEMORANDUM

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

1. Constitution of an Organisation governs the composition management and control of the Organisation.
2. It's essential purpose is to ensure the smooth and efficient functioning of the organisation. The Constitution should not stifle the work of the organisation and should not be bogged down by technicalities.
3. Because of its objects, its function and its composition a certain amount of freedom must be given to the various units of the U.D.F. to enable it to carry out its work within the scope, principles and policy of the organisation.
4. By it's very nature, U.D.F. will attract a lot of attention from the authorities and will be subjected to security risks.
5. Furthermore, the needs and requirements of the various units might differ from place to place, depending on it's strength and weaknesses.
6. In view of the above, the Constitution should provide basic guidelines to the organisation and provision should be made for such guidelines to be supplemented by Special Resolution from time to time as the need arises.
7. We have studied the existing Constitution of the Organisation as well as the draft Constitution. Although there is room for improvements in the existing Constitution, we feel it does provide a basic framework within which the Organisation can function.

The / . . .

The Draft Constitution is a good legal document and under "normal circumstances", we would have had no hesitation in recommending its adoption. In view of the forces militating against the Organisation we would suggest the existing Constitution be retained with the following suggested amendments.

9. POWERS

- (f) institute and defend legal proceedings in the name of the U.D.F. and in the case of regions in the name of a particular region and any two officials of U.D.F. or the Regions as the case may be can be authorised to such any legal documents.
- (g) to do any such further acts as may be necessary to achieve its objects and carry out its resolutions.
- (h) all or any powers can be delegated to any unit, committee or officials of the U.D.F. by the N.E.C.

10. MEETINGS

1. The National General Council shall convene an annual general meeting at least once a year and such further meetings as the N.E.C. may determine.
2. The N. E. C. shall meet at least once a quarter.
3. The Regional ^{General} Council shall meet at least twice a year, with one of such meetings being an annual general meeting.

4. The / . . .



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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Vol. 238

PRETORIA, 19 APRIL 1985

No. 9703

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF HOME AFFAIRS

No. 936

19 April 1985

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, has decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LIST/LYS P85/32

Entry No. Inskrywing No.	Publication or object Publikasie of voorwerp	Author or producer Skrjwer of voortbringer	Section 47 (2) Artikel 47 (2)
P85/4/35	<i>This is War!</i> (Pamphlet/Pamflet)	UDF, Cape Town	(e)
P85/4/43	<i>Revolution in Angola</i>	Merlin Press, London	(e)
P85/4/48	<i>Civil War</i> (Pamphlet/Pamflet)	Observatory UDF Area Committee, Observatory	(e)
P85/4/49	<i>Youth! Arise for Islamic Revolution</i>	QIBLA, Crawford	(e)

No. 937

26 April 1985

SUSPENSION IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 13 (3) (a) OF THE PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974, AS AMENDED, BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PUBLICATIONS APPEAL BOARD OF A DECISION OF A COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATIONS

The Chairman of the Publications Appeal Board has suspended the decision of a Committee of Publications that the publication *Bunny Girl* (April 1985) is undesirable until the Appeal Board has determined the appeal.

J. C. W. VAN ROOYEN, Chairman of the Publications Appeal Board.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

No. 936

19 April 1985

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 937

26 April 1985

OPSKORTING KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 13 (3) (a) VAN DIE WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974, SOOS GEWYSIG, DEUR DIE VOORSITTER VAN DIE APPELRAAD OOR PUBLIKASIES VAN 'N BESLISSING VAN 'N KOMITEE VAN PUBLIKASIES

Die Voorsitter van die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het die beslissing van 'n Komitee van Publikasies dat die publikasie *Bunny Girl* (April 1985) ongewens is, opgeskort totdat die Appèlraad oor die appèl beslis het.

J. C. W. VAN ROOYEN, Voorsitter van die Appèlraad oor Publikasies.

CONTENTS

No.	Page No.	Gazette No.
GOVERNMENT NOTICES		
Home Affairs, Department of		
<i>Government Notices</i>		
936	1	9703
Publications Act (42/1974): Undesirable publications or objects: List P85/32		
937	1	9703
do.: Suspension in accordance with section 13 (3) (a) of the Act		

INHOUD

No.	Bladsy No.	Staatskoerant No.
GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS		
Binnelandse Sake, Departement van		
<i>Goewermentskennisgewings</i>		
936	1	9703
Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Ongewenste publikasies of voorwerpe: Lys P85/32		
937	1	9703
do.: Opskorting kragtens artikel 13 (3) (a) van die Wet		

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria, 0001

Gedruk deur en verkrygbaar by die Staatsdrukker, Bosmanstraat, Privaatsak X85, Pretoria, 0001



UITERS GEHEIM

Lêer No. 2/4/2(V/Az)
File No.

121

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR

OORWEGING VAN AANSTELLING VAN ADVIESKOMITEES:
WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982 (WET 74 VAN 1982)

1985-02-22
MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

1985-03-08
DIREKTORAAT VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

Handwritten notes and signatures:
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1/3/85

1.1 Die Staatspresident het reeds 'n advieskomitee om die bedrywighede van die "Congress of South African Students" (COSAS) te ondersoek, aangestel.

1.2 Die Minister het aangedui dat hy ook geadviseer moet word oor die aanstelling van advieskomitees om die bedrywighede van onder andere die volgende organisasies te ondersoek:

- "Transvaal Indian Congress" (TIC),
- "Natal Indian Congress" (NIC),
- "South African Congress of Trade Unions" (SACTU),
- "South African Allied Workers Union" (SAAWU),
- "United Democratic Front" (UDF).

2.1 Kompol is van mening dat daar voldoende inligting bestaan om die organisasies wat in paragraaf 1.2 genoem word, tot onwettige organisasies te laat verklaar.

Volgens Kompol word daar deur hierdie organisasies, onder leiding van die UDF, algemene steun en 'n rewolusionêre klimaat tydens byeenkomste beding. Kompol meld voorts:

"Afgevaardigdes van die ongeveer 700 lidorganisasies van die UDF word bloot gestel aan rewolusionêre

idees en ANC ideologieë. Dit het tot gevolg dat die afgevaardigdes van die lidorganisasies by hulle terugkeer in hulle onderskeie gebiede die idees wat aan hulle voorgedra is weer aan lede van hulle organisasies propageer. Op hierdie wyse word algemene steun vir 'n rewolusionêre klimaat ten gunste van die ANC geskep wat onteenseglik tot die huidige onrusituasie in die RSA bygedra het".

2.2 Kompol het memorandum ten opsigte van die bogenoemde organisasies se bedrywighede voorgelê. (n Opsomming van elke memorandum, gevlag volgens die name van die organisasies, is hieronder).

2.3 Ten opsigte van SAAWU meld Kompol dat dit 'n vakbond is en dat enige optrede teen SAAWU, behalwe 'n hofsak waarin byvoorbeeld hoogverraad bewys kan word, deur plaaslike en internasionale vakbonde en drukgroepe aangegryp sal word om die Regering se verklaarde beleid van nie-optrede teen vakbondlede en vakbonde as 'n verdigsel af te maak. 'n Saakdossier ten opsigte van die bedrywighede van ampsdraers van SAAWU, NIC en TIC is vir oorweging aan die Prokureur-generaal van Natal voorgelê. Hy het beslis dat die volgende persone op 'n aanklag van hoogverraad moet teregstaan:

[REDACTED]

Al die bogenoemde persone, behalwe [REDACTED] is gedurende verlede jaar ingevolge artikel 28 van die Wet aangehou. 'n Kennisgewing is ook ingevolge artikel 28 ten opsigte van [REDACTED] uitgereik, maar daar kon nie in geslaag word om hom te arresteer nie. Al die persone het intussen op 'n aanklag van hoogverraad in die Streekhof, Durban verskyn. 'n Verhoordatum is nog nie bepaal nie.

([REDACTED])

3.1 Getuienis oor vergaderings, toesprake en geskifte van die TIC, NIC en SAAWU is deur Kompol aan prof [REDACTED] van die [REDACTED] voorgelê vir sy deskundige kommentaar. Prof [REDACTED] se getuienis as deskundige op die gebied van die Staatsleer is reeds by verskeie geleenthede in die Hooggeregshof getoets. Hy sal ook in die bogenoemde verhoor as getuie vir die Staat optree. Alhoewel prof [REDACTED] se mening spesifiek oor NIC, TIC en SAAWU handel, word daarin ook na die UDF en SACTU verwys. (SACTU is nie 'n onwettige organisasie nie, maar ná veiligheidsoptrede teen ampsdraers, daarvan, tree die organisasie vanuit die buiteland op). In die dokument wat deur prof [REDACTED] in die verband opgestel is, word 'n uiteensetting van die doelstellings van die

Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party (SAKP) en die "African National Congress" (ANC) gegee. Die band tussen die SAKP, ANC en SACTU as synde al drie lede van die Rewolusionêre Alliansie, word duidelik deur prof [REDACTED] aangetoon.

3.2 Prof [REDACTED] meld op bl 3 van Bylae A van sy dokument dat:

"(a) Enige politieke stelsel of moontlike voorloper van 'n nuwe politieke stelsel (soos 'n rewolusionêre organisasie) benodig diffuse steun;

(b) legitimering van simbole soos 'n vlag, volkslied en nasionale helde is 'n belangrike bron van diffuse steun; en

(c) bewegings soos die ANC probeer sy simbole legitimeer sodat die organisasie en sy ideologie daarby kan baat (dit wil sê steun verkry)".

3.3 Die gevolgtrekking waartoe prof [REDACTED] kom, word volledig aangehaal, aangesien dit die situasie volledig opsom.

"Daar is gepoog om in hierdie verslag te wys op die bestaan van 'n rewolusionêre alliansie tussen die ANC, die SAKP en SACTU wat al drie selferkende rewolusionêre partye is wat radikale verandering deur middel van geweld

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voorstaan. Daar is voorts daarop gewys dat die suksesvolle deurvoer van h rewolusie (wat h vorm van aggressiewe politieke geweld is wat geen politieke stelsel duld nie) verskeie aksies (strategie) behels en dat die selferkende rewolusionêre alliansie in Suid-Afrika aan so h veelvuldige terrein van optrede glo. Rewolusie is dus h proses.

Die mobilisering en politisering van die sogenaamde massa vorm h belangrike onderdeel van daardie proses, saam met die aspekte soos 'gewapende propaganda'. Geen bestaande stelsel of opkomende stelsel (soos h rewolusionêre beweging) kan sonder steun funksioneer nie, en vandaar die noodsaak om jou party bekend te maak ten einde lede te rekruteer vir verskeie take. In van die sake wat behandel was in my getuienis in die bylae hierbo is onder andere myns insiens bewys gelewer dat sekere persone of organisasies wel publisiteit in h steunverwekkende wyse aan die ANC verleen. h Verdere bewys hiervan vind h mens in die amptelike mondstuk van die SAKP, die African Communist, eerste kwartaal van 1984. In h verklaring uitgereik deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party in September 1983 onder die titel: 'A United People will Defeat the Enemy' word op bladsy 36 die volgende beweer:

'The heroic and increasingly effective actions of MK combatants are greeted everywhere amongst the people with acclaim. Despite the most savage repression against the underground activists of our liberation movement there are continuous open demonstrations (during funerals, trials of our cadres, important

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anniversaries, etc) of support for the ANC and the Freedom Charter. The scale of this defiance has created moments in which the people themselves have legalised the ANC despite the threatening presence of armed police contingents'.

Behalwe dokumente wat die ANC dus self probeer versprei waarvan hofsake in Suid-Afrika genoegsame getuienis lewer wanneer verbode literatuur van die rewolusionêre alliansie in besit van mense gevind word, is daar dus ook frontorganisasies of front individue wat in die mobilisering en politiseringsaksie die rewolusionêre organisasies ondersteun.

Die South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) blyk so 'n frontorganisasie vir die rewolusionêre alliansie te wees.

Die kwessie van 'n verenigde front om die rewolusie te bespoedig, is 'n saak wat ook vanuit rewolusionêre kant herhaaldelik beklemtoon word. Die ANC het byvoorbeeld 1982 verklaar as die jaar van "Unity in Action". Die toesprake wat ek in my bylae ontleed het, wys ook herhaaldelik op die noodsaak van eenheid in die bevrydingstryd. Die Anti-SAIC vergadering val dan ook in 'n nuwe lig waar die TIC daar herleef het asook die gedagte geopper was van die stigting van 'n United Democratic Front. Die indruk wat die vergadering skep is duidelik dat die organisasies wat in 1955 die sogenaamde Congress Alliance gevorm het, indien moontlik, weer saam-gebind moet word in 'n front vir die

bevrydingstryd. 'n Interessante en belangrike feitegewe-
rakende die ou Congress Alliance kom voor in die
publikasie wat uitgegee is deur die Suid-Afrikaanse
Kommunistiese Party in 1981 getiteld: 'South African
Communists Speak - Documents from the History of the
South African Communist Party 1915 - 1980', waar 'n
uittreksel uit die African Communist van die Tweede
Kwartaal van 1976 herdruk is. Kritiek word gelewer teen
die sogenaamde 'Gang of 8' wat 'n groep persone was wat
uit die ANC weggebreek het om sekere redes. Die kritiek
van hierdie 8 persone word dan van SAKP kant gekritiseer
en onder andere gesê dat die Congress Alliance nie self
ontbind het in die sestigerjare omdat die ANC en SAKP 'n
gewapende stryd sou wou aanpak nie, maar 'For the same
tactical reasons (which seem very obvious) it was decided
that the SAIC, CPC and SACTU should not do anything to
jeopardize their legality by an open commitment to armed
struggle'. (P 413) Daar word ook genoem op dieselfde
bladsy dat veiligheidsmagte optrede egter sake vir
hierdie ander organisasies in Suid-Afrika bemoeilik het.

Daar is reeds hiervoor genoem en bewys in my
hoofgetuienis vanaf bl 11 tot 15 dat SACTU sedertdien
homself in sy amptelike publikasies openlik verbind het
aan die gewelddadige aspek van die stryd. Daar is hierbo
reeds geargumenteer en hopelik bewys dat SAAWU se leiers
hulself as deel van hierdie rewolusionêre alliansie
beskou via SACTU. Een van die affiliale van die SAIC
naamlik TIC het soos hierbo gesien herleef op die
Anti-SAIC vergadering in Januarie 1983. Die Natal Indian

Congress (NIC) is reeds sedert die sewentigerjare weer aktief. In dieselfde African Communist van die Eerste Kwartaal 1984 waaruit hierbo aangehaal is word op bladsy 50 die volgende gesê:

'In the 40's and 50's the Indian Congress movement (radicalised and led by revolutionaries such as our late Chairman, Yusuf Dadoo), even won the adherence of a large section of the Indian commercial bourgeoisie for 'n policy growing unity in action with the other national movements, especially the African National Congress. And this tradition continues to express itself in the current revival of Indian congress organisations in Natal and the Transvaal'.

In die lig van hierdie dokumentêre bewys uit 'n primêre bron van een van die partye in die rewolusionêre alliansie plaas dit die pamflette wat ek hierbo ontleed het vanaf bladsy 17 tot 19 asook die optrede van leiers van TIC en NIC op die vergaderings wat ek hierbo ontleed het in die bepaalde perspektief dat ek glo gesê kan word dat TIC en NIC saam met SAAWU frontorganisasies van die rewolusionêre alliansie in Suid-Afrika is.

Hoewel ek spesifieke gevolgtrekkings gemaak het oor bogenoemde 3 organisasies sou ek in die lig van die bestudering van hierdie vergaderings en ander dokumentêre bewyse (dit wil sê die primêre bronne van die rewolusionêre organisasies wat ek bestudeer) ook wou byvoeg dat daar myns insiens 'n sterk vermoede bestaan dat

die United Democratic Front ook 'n frontorganisasie vir die rewolusionêre alliansie kan wees in die politiserings- en mobiliseringsfase van die rewolusie. Met die afsterwe van Yusuf Dadoo in 1983 stuur die UDF byvoorbeeld ook 'n telegram van simpatisering tydens die begrafnis van Dadoo. In die African Communist Eerste Kwartaal van 1984 word byvoorbeeld op bladsy 13 gerapporteer onder 'n sub-opskrif 'United Democratic Front South Africa' dat:

'We salute Yusuf Dadoo, hero of the nation, architect of national unity freedom fighter, upholder of justice'.

Die UDF is egter 'n organisasie wat uit 'n groot groep ander organisasies bestaan en die bewyslas om al hierdie organisasies aan rewolusie te verbind, sou inderdaad baie moeilik wees vir my as 'n akademikus.

Tog is dit my mening uit die studie wat ek tot dusver rondom die rewolusionêre alliansie gemaak het, dat die bevordering van eenheid en daardeur die politisering en mobilisering van die massas in Suid-Afrika vir rewolusie, 'n hoë prioriteit geniet in die rewolusionêre aanslag op die huidige stadium. Ek besef as akademikus dat die politiserings- en mobiliseringsaksies oppervlakkig mag lyk in sommige gevalle, na onskuldige demokratiese handeling, in 'n land wat daarop roem om 'n vorm van demokrasie te wees. Nogtans is dit net so waar dat hierdie (onskuldige) aksies deel kan wees van 'n doelbewuste poging om rewolusie (dit wil sê die

gewelddadige omverwerping van die bestaande politieke stelsel) te bewerkstellig en in hierdie geval is die SAAWU, TIC en NIC myns insiens beslis besig met die mobilisering vir 'n rewolusie".

(Prof [REDACTED])

4. Dit is insiggewend dat daar die afgelope jaar al verskeie kere ingevolge veiligheidswetgewing na aanleiding van bedrywighede van die betrokke organisasies opgetree moes word. Vanaf 22 September 1983 tot op datum is verskeie vergaderings van SAAWU, TIC en UDF verbied. Ampsdraers van die organisasies moes vir tydperke aangehou word, aangesien hul bedrywighede (in hul hoedanigheid as ampdraers van dié organisasies) 'n gevaar vir die handhawing van wet en orde ingehou het. Daarbenewens is verskeie publikasies van die organisasies ingevolge die Wet op Publikasies, 1974 (Wet 42 van 1974) ongewens verklaar uit hoofde van hul staatsgevaarlike aard.

5. Wat SACTU betref, moet vermeld word dat hierdie organisasie primêr vanuit die buiteland opereer en dat sy ampdraers in die buiteland verkeer. Dit blyk ook dat SACTU se bedrywighede binnelands hoofsaaklik deur SAAWU voortgesit word. Hoewel Kompol van mening was dat optrede teen SAAWU nie gewens is nie, stem Kompol na oorlegpleging saam dat 'n advieskomitee ook ten opsigte van SAAWU aangestel behoort te word, indien 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van SACTU aangestel word.

N.D.

6.1 Ten opsigte van die UDF dien vermeld te word dat die volgende regsrae ontstaan het, naamlik of die lede van die UDF, wat sêlf organisasies is, wel "persone" binne die omvang van die woordskrywing van "organisasie" (artikel 1 (xviii) van die Wet) is en, indien nie, of enige sodanige organisasie wel 'n tak, afdeling of plaaslike, streek- of hulpliggaam, soos bedoel in artikel 1 (xv)(b) van die Wet, van die UDF is en gevolglik ook onwettig sal wees indien die UDF tot 'n onwettige organisasie verklaar word.

6.2 Die vrae is aan die Staatsregsadviseurs gestel, aangesien daar van die Direktoraat se kant twyfel daaroor was of 'n interpretasie van 'n "organisasie", as synde ook 'n vereniging van ander verenigings, te versoen is met al die bepalings van die Wet, byvoorbeeld dié met betrekking tot die plaas van name op die gekonsolideerde lys, (artikel 16(1)(c)), dié met betrekking tot diskwalifikasie van bepaalde regsberoepe (artikel 34(1)), dié met betrekking tot sekere misdrywe en die strawwe wat opgelê kan word (artikel 56(1)(d) en (e)), en artikel 56(1)(i) en (ii)), onderskeidelik).

6.3 Die Staatsregsadviseurs is van mening dat die wetgewer wel bedoel het dat "persone" in die omskrywing van "organisasie" ook die uitgebreide betekenis moet dra,

nl om prima facie ander liggame van persone hetsy met regs persoonlikheid beklee al dan nie, in te sluit.

Volgens hulle kan die UDF dus wel tot onwettige organisasie verklaar word. Wat die tweede vraag betref (of die lid-organisasies van die UDF ook onwettig sal wees indien die UDF onwettig verklaar word), is die Regsadviseurs van mening dat h onwettigverklaring van die UDF nie per se hoof mee te bring dat die vereniging wat "lid" is ook as vereniging onwettig sal wees nie; "dáárvoor sal hy afsonderlik onwettig verklaar moet word". (Opinie)

7. In die lig van die inligting wat deur Kompol in verband met die onderskeie organisasies voorgelê is en professor [REDACTED] se siening soos in paragrawe 3.2 en 3.3 hierbo, uiteengesit, blyk daar voldoende gronde te wees om die betrokke organisasies aan die ondersoek van advieskomitees te onderwerp.

8. Daar is egter verskeie aspekte waaroor besin sal moet word, alvorens h finale besluit oor die aanstelling van advieskomitees, geneem kan word. Die belangrikste vraag is of dit in die huidige omstandighede vanuit h taktiese en politieke hoek gesien, gerade is om teen die organisasies op te tree. In dié verband moet daar op gewys word dat daar in die "Totale Strategie vir die Bekamping van die UDF" wat op 21 November 1984 deur die

Werkkomitee van die SVR goedgekeur is, die volgende stelling gemaak word:

"Optrede teen lede van die UDF ingevolge veiligheidswetgewing is 'n sensitiewe aangeleentheid en kan na gelang van die politieke situasie (buitelands sowel as binnelands) in bepaalde gevalle teenproduktief wees"

()

Hierdie stelling is natuurlik net so van toepassing op optrede teen die UDF self en ander organisasies. Of optrede teen UDF en ander organisasies teenproduktief sal wees, al dan nie, is 'n aspek wat ook op die terrein van die politici en strateë uitgemaak sal moet word.

Hieronder word egter na sekere aspekte verwys wat ook in aanmerking geneem sal moet word by die besluit of daar teen die organisasies opgetree behoort te word, al dan nie.

8.1.1 In die eerste plek sal die blote optrede teen enigeen van die organisasies 'n stortvloed van kritiek veroorsaak. In dié verband moet in gedagte gehou word dat prominente figure wat in die buiteland in sekere kringe groot aanhang geniet, byvoorbeeld (), ampsdraers of aktiewe ondersteuners van die organisasies is. Indien die organisasies onwettig verklaar word, sal dit onses insiens wenslik wees dat die Minister die beredderaar ingevolge artikel 14(10) van die Wet gelas om 'n lys van ampsdraers, ens. op te stel. Hierdie persone se name sal deur die Direkteur ingevolge artikel 16 van die Wet in die

gekonsolideerde lys opgeneem moet word. Afgesien van die kritiek teen die onwettigverklaring van die organisasies, sal die opname van name soos dié van [REDACTED] in die gekonsolideerde lys, nie in 'n geringe mate bydra tot die intensiteit van die kritiek nie.

8.1.2 Daar kan veral sterk teenkanting verwag word, indien daar teen vakbondorganisasies soos SACTU en SAAWU opgetree sou word. Die kritiek wat gewoonlik ontlok word, selfs van Afrikaanse organisasies, wanneer daar sogenaamd teen vakbonde ingevolge veiligheidswetgewing opgetree word, is weer onlangs bewys toe persone wat by vakbonde betrokke is, ingevolge artikel 29 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 aangehou is.

8.1.3 In die verband kan verder gemeld word dat daar gedurende 1964 ook oorweeg is om SACTU onwettig te verklaar. Die Sekretaris van Arbeid (soos hy toe was) het egter daarop gewys dat die onwettigverklaring van SACTU ernstige reperkussies in die buiteland sou hê. Daar is gevolglik destyds besluit dat daar nie met die onwettigverklaring voortgegaan sou word nie, maar dat daar eerder teen die ampsdraers opgetree moes word. Die situasie met betrekking tot SACTU is tans ook so dat daar nie van sy ampsdraers in die Republiek is nie. Indien daardie organisasie onwettig verklaar word, sal dit bloot simbolies wees en die vraag ontstaan of die kool die sous werd is.

8.2.1 In die memorandum gevlag [REDACTED] is daar aan die Minister uitgewys dat indien die persone in die

sogenaamde SAAWU-saak ([REDACTED] en andere van wie onder andere ook ampsdraers van die UDF is) aangekla sou word, die posisie kan ontstaan dat 'n verhoor en 'n ondersoek deur 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van dieselfde feite terselfdertyd sou dien, wat 'n onhoudbare situasie kan veroorsaak. Daar is ook uitgewys dat die advieskomitee, indien aangestel, kan verlang dat die ampsdraers van die betrokke organisasies voor die komitee getuienis aflê. Indien daar dan reeds 'n verhoor teen die ampsdraers hangende is, kan hulle die beswaar opper dat die saak sub iudice is en weier om te getuig. Die advieskomitee sou dan geen ander keuse hê as om die ondersoek tot na afloop van die saak teen hulle, uit te stel nie. Die Prokureur-generaal het intussen besluit om [REDACTED] en andere weens hoogverraad aan te kla. Die argument wat in die vermelde memorandum geopper is, geld dus steeds.

8.2.2 Indien 'n advieskomitee wel aangestel word en dit by die Minister sou aanbeveel dat die betrokke organisasies onwettig verklaar word, voordat die uitspraak in die bogenoemde verhoor gelewer is, kan dit ernstige verleentheid skep en die advieskomitee, asook die Minister se optrede (indien hy wel die advieskomitee se aanbeveling sou volg) onder verdenking plaas, indien die ampsdraers van die organisasies later deur die hof onskuldig bevind sou word. In dié verband moet daar in gedagte gehou word dat die getuienis waarop die Staat se saak teen [REDACTED] en andere gebaseer is, seer sekerlik ook deur die advieskomitee oorweeg sal moet word, alvorens

tot 'n beslissing geraak word.

8.2.3 Dit is natuurlik ook so dat die bogenoemde saak nog 'n geruime tyd kan sloer ('n tydperk van twee jaar is al genoem). Die vraag kan dus ontstaan of die betrokke organisasies nie intussen onherstelbare skade kan aanrig, indien met optrede teen hulle tot na afhandeling van die saak, gewag moet word nie. Onses insiens bestaan daar egter voldoende ander masjinerie om intussen teen byvoorbeeld ampsdraers van die organisasies aan te wend (bv. inperking en aanhouding), indien dit nodig sou word. Die organisasies se optrede kan ook teengewerk word en hulle aanhang verdeel word, deur die aanwending van strategiese kommunikasieaksies. Soos in paragraaf 8 hierbo uitgewys, is daar reeds 'n Strategie vir die bekamping van die UDF goedgekeur. Dit is reeds na die onderskeie Departemente versprei vir uitvoering.

8.3.1 In die betrokke strategie waarna in die vorige paragraaf verwys word, word onder andere uitgewys dat die UDF nie die deurbrake kon maak waarop hy gehoop het nie. Sy onvermoë om een miljoen handtekeninge teen die nuwe bedeling te verkry, laat byvoorbeeld twyfel ontstaan oor sy werklike steun (na bewering twee miljoen lede) in die gemeenskap, asook sy organisasievermoë.

8.3.2 Volgens die strategie beïnvloed die volgende faktore die groei van die UDF negatief. *bls. 17*

- (a) Die ideologiese verwydering van Swartbewustheidsorganisasies weens die UDF se nie-rassige uitgangspunte en lidmaatskap.
- (b) Die konfrontasie met Inkatha wat daartoe gelei het dat albei organisasies daarop ingestel is om die ander se doelstellings en ondersteuning teen te werk.
- (c) Optrede teen die UDF deur die regerings van Ciskei, Bophuthatswana en Transkei.
- (d) Potensiële ondersteuners se persepsie van die UDF as die binnelandse (hoewel nie-gewelddadige) vleuel van die ANC en vrees vir owerheidsoptriede teen hulle.
- (e) Die nuwe grondwetbedeling bring enersyds mee dat die UDF geloofwaardigheid inboet omdat hy die lae stempersentasies ten spyt nie die inwerkingtreding daarvan kon verhoed nie en andersyds dat hy sy belangrikste saambindende faktor verloor aangesien die "onderdrukte" nie voortaan in dieselfde mate daarteen gemobiliseer kan word nie.



8.3.3 Hierde faktore kan deur strategiese kommunikasiemiddele uitgebuit word om die UDF te verswak. Onses insiens word die mag van Swartmagorganisasies soos AZAPO aan die een kant en organisasies wat die Freedom Charter aanhang, soos UDF aan die ander kant, veral verswak deur die ideologiese verskille tussen hulle soos in (a) van die vorige paragraaf vermeld. Indien die UDF en sy lidorganisasies asook organisasies soos AZAPO egter

nou onwettig verklaar sou word, kan die moontlikheid nie uitgesluit word nie dat dié stap die ondersteuners van die onderskeie faksies in een kraal sal dryf. Dit is immers reeds deur 'n organisasie soos AZASO bewys dat 'n aanvanklike Swartmagbeleid oorboord gegooi kan word om die beleid van die UDF te volg. Indien so 'n verenigde front van alle organisasies (afgesien van elkeen se individuele beleid) sonder enige opposisie in die breë, gevorm sou word (soos dan ook deur die UDF bepleit), sal dit baie meer vermag as wat die huidige verdeelde organisasies kan doen. Optrede teen die onderskeie organisasies kan dus in dié opsig teenproduktief wees.

8.4.1 'n Verdere aspek waarna verwys moet word, is die feit dat die onwettigverklaring van organisasies in die verlede bewys het dat dit geensins 'n langtermyn oplossing bied nie. Die ANC en PAC het byvoorbeeld nie net ondergronds gegaan nie, maar het met militante bedrywighede voortgegaan, nadat hulle onwettig verklaar is. Dit blyk dan ook dat daardie organisasies (veral die ANC) vandag nog van wettige organisasies gebruik maak om hulle bedrywighede te bevorder en hulle uiteindelijke doelwitte te probeer bereik.

8.4.2 Nadat die agtien organisasies gedurende 1977 onwettig verklaar is, is daar ook feitlik onmiddellik begin om plaasvervangende organisasies in hulle plek, te stig. Dit het tot gevolg gehad dat ons vandag 'n magdom

organisasies het, wat feitlik dieselfde doel as hul voorgangers nastreef. Daar kan verwag word dat die proses homself sal herhaal indien die betrokke organisasies nou onwettig verklaar sou word. Daar word voorsien dat daar nou selfs vinniger tot die stig van plaasvervangende organisasies oorgegaan sal word, aangesien die organisasies se ampsdraers moontlik beter georganiseerd is as in die verlede en selfs beter voorbereid is op moontlike optrede ingevolge veiligheidswetgewing.

9.1 In die lig van bogenoemde, bestaan daar twyfel of optrede teen die organisasies aangewese is. Dit geld ook ten opsigte van AZAPO, AZASO en AZASM wat in 'n afsonderlike memorandum aan die Minister, bespreek word.

9.2 Indien die Minister egter sou besluit dat advieskomitees aangestel moet word, word daar aan die hand gedoen dat daar met die aanstelling van die komitees ten opsigte van al die organisasies (ook wat AZAPO, AZASO en AZASM betref) gewag word tot na afhandeling van die verhoor teen [REDACTED] en andere waarna in paragraaf 8.2 hierbo verwys word.

9.3 Daarbenewens word aanbeveel dat alvorens 'n finale besluit geneem word oor die aanstelling van advieskomitees ten opsigte van SACTU en SAAWU, die Minister van Mannekrag se kommentaar oor die wenslikheid

van so 'n stap verkry word. Vir die doel is 'n konsepbrief in die omslag gemerk 'A' vir die Minister se oorweging.

9.4 'n Konsepbrief aan die Minister van Justisie gerig, is egter nogtans voorberei en is in die omslag gemerk 'B' indien die Minister sou besluit om nou reeds daardie Minister te nader met die oog op die aanstelling van advieskomitees ten opsigte van al die organisasies (ook AZAPO, AZASO en AZASM)

21/2/85
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
19.2.85

- ✓ 1. Paragraaf 9.1 (geen advieskomitees aangestel te word nie) GOEDGEKEUR; of
- 2(a) Paragraaf 9.2 (advieskomitees moet aangestel word, maar daar moet met die aanstelling daarvan gewag word tot na afloop van die verhoor teen Gumede en andere) GOEDGEKEUR; en
- ✓ (b) Paragraaf 9.3 (die Minister van Mannekrag moet intussen genader word oor SACTU en SAAWU) GOEDGEKEUR; en die konsepbrief (A) aan die Minister van Mannekrag ONDERTEKEN; of

3 Advieskomitees ten opsigte van alle organisasies moet nou aangestel word en die konsepbrief (B) aan die Minister van Justisie ONDERTEKEN/

L Le Grange

L LE GRANGE
MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE

para 1 en 2 (b) goedgekeur.
para 2 (a) + 3 staan o.w.

L Le Grange

1/3/85.

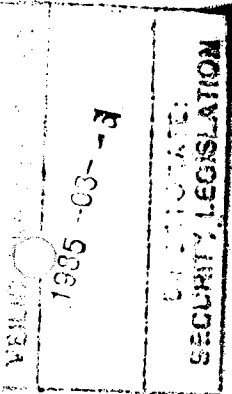


DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF)

1. GESKIEDENIS EN AGTERGROND

1.1 Hoewel die UDF op 20 Augustus 1983 gestig is, is daar reeds gedurende 1980 begin om 'n klimaat te skep vir 'n "broad democratic movement". Faktore/gebeure wat bygedra het tot die klimaatskepping sluit die volgende in:

- (i) Die loodsing van die "Free Mandela Campaign" gedurende Maart 1980;
- (ii) die grootskaalse verspreiding van die "Freedom Charter" sedert 1980 ter herdenking van die 25-jarige bestaan van dié dokument en as deel van die strategie om as alternatief vir die Regeringsinisiatiewe 'n "People's Republic" te propageer;
- (iii) die ontwikkeling van die "alternatiewe media", veral op gemeenskapvlak, wat die beginsels van die "Freedom Charter" propageer en die "Congress Alliance" as model voorhou;
- (iv) die anti-Republiekfees- en anti-S A Indiërverkiegingsveldtogte waarin radikales van alle bevolkingsgroepe in 'n "non-racial alliance" begin saamwerk het;



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- (v) h verbrokkeling van die Swartbewustheidsbeweging, onder andere as gevolg van die alternatiewe media se propagering van "nie-rassigheid" en die pers se beriggewing dat Swartbewustheid as filosofie uitgedien en irrelevant is;
- (vi) die ontstaan van talle gemeenskapstrukture wat dit veral ten doel het om die Kleurling- en Indiërgroepe aan die hand van die "Freedom Charter" ten opsigte van brood-en-botter-kwessies te mobiliseer;
- (vii) teenkanting teen die Regering se voorgestelde grondwet, die "uitsluiting van Swartes" en die behoefte aan 'n nasionale eenheidsfront. Ten opsigte van laasgenoemde sê Allan Boesak by tydens h "Anti-S A Indian Council"-kongres op 23 Januarie 1983 die volgende:
- "Our response to the crisis facing us today is the politics of refusal. In order to do so we need a united front".

([REDACTED])

1.2 Volgens die UDF se eie aanspraak is dit 'n ware demokratiese organisasie wat vanaf "grassroots"-vlak (d.w.s. plaaslike studente-, jeug-, vakbond-, gemeenskaps-, en kerklike organisasies) opgebou is. Dié organisasies het later byeengekom om oorkoepelende organisasies te vorm en

die volgende stap was om streekstakke te vorm voordat daar oorgegaan is tot die stigting van die UDF.

([REDACTED])

([REDACTED])

1.3 Alhoewel die UDF daarop roem dat die organisasie 'n ware demokratiese organisasie is, moet die waarheid vir dié samestelling eerder op die vlak van die rewolusionêre strategie gesoek word. Dit is veral insiggewend dat die "Sechaba" (amptelike mondstuk van die verbode ANC) hom in die Oktober 1983-uitgawe soos volg uitlaat:

"The UDF mobilises all people into one mass movement and co-ordinates community resistance..."

Groot waarde word dus geheg aan die UDF as politiseerder en mobiliseerder van die massas en in die proses moet kwessies soos huishuur, bustariewe, voedselpryse en loongeskille aangewend word.

([REDACTED])

1.4 Die Kommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie wys ook op die volgende:

"In Uitgawes nr 8 en nr 9 vir 1984 van die ANC-jeugtydskrif "DAWN, JOURNAL OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE" word die volgende oor die United Democratic Front (UDF) gesê:

'... Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is conscious of this powerful campaign that is building up against

the President's Council and Koornhof genocidal bills and the duty that its fighting ranks are charged with. We are called upon to sharpen our spears and intensify the war against (the) racist regime. Only by so doing shall we create a favourable climate for the flourishing of the UDF and the overall advance to the seizure of power. Herein lies to a large extent the success of the fight against the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills. FORWARD TO VICTORY...'

(In) 'n verdere artikel in dieselfde publikasie, getiteld 'Some thoughts on the United Democratic Front' word die omstandighede waaronder die Congress Alliance in 1955 tot stand gekom het, beskryf en 'n parallel met die UDF getrek. Dit vestig ook die leser se aandag daarop dat dieselfde mense wat die Congress Alliance tot stand gebring het, vandag in die bestuur van die UDF dien. Die name van Nelson MANDELA en die Rivoniasaak veroordeeldes word pertinent genoem. Die skrywer bestempel die UDF as '...a powerful weapon in the national liberation struggle. In reality in the UDF one can see the political and social edifice which also determines our forward drive to victory. Hence the ANC is obliged to support its (UDF's) actions politically and organisationally. The national liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground

structures within the UDF'.

(In) 'n volgende artikel onder die opskrif 'MK Soldiers' Viewpoint, our army needs a dynamic political programme', word die gesamentlike taak van die ANC, UDF en UDF-lidorganisasies soos SAAWU en AZASO in die 'United Action'-konteks soos volg saamgevat:

'The formation of the United Democratic Front recently is a practical realisation of the thesis that the maximum mobilisation and unity of our people is the fundamental requirement of our victory over the forces of racism and reaction ...'

Ook 'The African Communist' van die tweede kwartaal 1984, amptelike mondstuk van die verbode SAKP, bevat 'n artikel getiteld 'United Front to End Apartheid - The Road to Mass Action in South Africa' waar spesifiek na die UDF verwys word. Die volgende gedeelte is van belang:

'This means that it is not difficult to identify those issues around which the broadest possible unity of the oppressed can be forged. As Dimitriv put it, 'The path is indicated by life itself and by the initiative of the masses themselves'. This is what Comrade (Oliver) Tambo meant when he stated that 'the formation of the UDF was a product of our people's determination to be their own liberators'.'

Die volgende openbare verklaring van Yusuf Dadoo, Voorsitter van die verbode SAKP op 1983.09.19 kort voor sy dood, is van belang:

'The years of painstaking work by the Party and the ANC are showing results. There is the continued tremendous growth of internal, organised opposition exemplified by, among other events, the momentous gathering in Cape Town during last month which launched the United Democratic Front. At the same time this growth of resistance imposes its own exacting demands on our Party. The gains achieved must be consolidated''.

([REDACTED])

2. AMPSDRAERS

2.1 Die UDF se bestuur en raad van trustees bestaan uit bekende oud ANC-gesindes, soos die drie nasionale presidente, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede en Oscar Mpheta. Sisulu se eggenoot dien tans lewenslange gevangenisstraf uit weens sy ANC-bedrywighede. Sy is self op die oomblik op borgtog uit hangende 'n appèl teen haar skuldigbevinding en vonnis op 'n aanklag dat sy die doelstelling van die verbode ANC bevorder het. Archie Gumede was voorheen President van die ANC se Pietermaritzburg-tak en is tans die voorsitter van die "Release Mandela Committee" in Natal. Hy staan tans tereg op 'n aanklag van hoogverraad. Oscar Mpheta is 'n stigterslid van die ANC georiënteerde "SA Congress of Trade Unions" (SACTU) en is tans op borgtog vrygelaat hangende 'n appèl teen sy skuldigbevinding en vonnis op 'n aanklag ingevolge Veiligheidswetgewing.

2.2 Die volgende persone dien op die Nasionale Uitvoerende bestuur van die UDF:

Presidente

Archie Gumede (Oud ANC-lid)
Oscar Mpetha (Oud ANC-lid)
Albertina Sisulu (Oud ANC-lid)

Nasionale Tesouriers

Mawalal Ramgobin (NIC)
Cassiem Saloojee (TIC)

Vise-Presidente

Virgil Bonhomme (UCC)
Frank Chikane (Swartmag)
Joseph Marks (CAHAC)
George Sewpersadh (NIC)
Christmas Tinto (Oud ANC-lid)

Streeksekretarisse

Moses Chikane (COSAS)
Cheryl Carolus (UWO)
Trevor Manuel (CAHAC)
Yunus Mohamed (NIC)
Mohamed Vali (TIC)

Nasionale Sekretaris

Popo Molefe (Swartmag)

Addisionele Uitvoerende Lede

Andrew Borraine (NUSAS)
Jerry Coovadia (NIC)
Mildred Lesia (UWO)
Aubrey Mokoena (RMC)
R A M Saloojee (TIC)
Mcibisi Xundu (oud ANC-lid)

Nasionale Publisiteitssekretaris

Mosiwe "Terror" Lekota (Oud SASO - Sekerheidsgevangene)

(Verskeie van die bogenoemde persone is gedurende Augustus 1984 ingevolge artikel 28 van die Wet op Binnelandse

Swart woonbuurt by Parys plaasgevind het na aanleiding van verhoogde huishuurtariewe.

(iii) Op 19 Julie 1984 het die UDF 'n solidariteitsbyeenkoms ten behoeve van die "slagoffers" van Thumahole te Khotso-huis, Johannesburg gehou. In sy toespraak tydens die byeenkoms het Lekota gemeenskapsleiers daarvan beskuldig dat hulle verantwoordelik is vir die probleme in die Swart woongebiede.

Lekota het 'n beroep op die inwoners van alle Swart woongebiede in die RSA gedoen om alle besighede, huurmotors en instellings wat deur die Swart gemeenskapsrade beheer word, te boikot. Hy het ook geëis dat gemeenskapsleiers bedank. (n Berig oor Lekota se toespraak het in die Sowetan van 20 Julie 1984 onder die opskrif "UDF calls for boycott" verskyn - Aanhangsel C van Kompol se voorlegging).

(iv) Op 6 Augustus 1984 het Lekota tydens 'n UDF-vergadering in Athlone, Kaapstad 'n beroep op werkers gedoen om te mobiliseer teen hoër huishuur, busgeld, verskuiwings, ens. Tydens die vergadering is daar 'n pamflet uitgedeel met die opskrif "Stop the Apartheid Ambulance - Destroy Collaboration", wat soos volg afgesluit word:

Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet 74 van 1982) aangehou. Gumede, Ramgobin, Sewpersadh en Mokoena staan ook tans tereg op aanklagte van hoogverraad).

2.3 Van die UDF se vernaamste beskermhede is Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph, Allan Boesak en Beyers Naudé.

([REDACTED])

3. BEDRYWIGHEDDE

3.1 Die nasionale liggaam van die UDF het nie 'n grondwet waaruit duidelik omlynde doelstellings blyk nie, maar het wel 'n "Declaration" - 'n verklaring van voorneme - waaruit dit duidelik blyk dat "apartheid" en "apartheidswetgewing" die primêre teikens van die UDF is.

3.2 Insiggewend is dan ook van die uitlatings wat UDF-leiers tydens die nasionale loodsingsbyeenkoms gemaak het:

- (i) "The UDF is a continuation of the progressive movement (Congress Alliance) of the fifties" (Helen Joseph).
- (ii) "The UDF is a 'front', it is not an organisation. It is a 'front' composed of different organisations which do not necessarily agree in all respects with each others point of view, but who are all in agreement that apartheid must vanish from the face of South Africa" (Archie Gumede).

(iii) "We want all our rights, we want them here, and we want them now" (Allan Boesak).

([REDACTED])

3.3 Wat spesifieke bedrywighede van die UDF betref, noem Kompol die volgende voorbeelde:

(i) Die UDF het die Blankes probeer beïnvloed om die 1983-referendum te boikot, die Swartes om nie aan verkiesings van die gemeenskapsrade deel te neem nie, en h hewige veldtog teen die Kleurling en Indiër verkiesings van stapel gestuur.

(ii) Die UDF het na sy totstandkoming deur middel van sy geaffilieerde organisasies talle sosiaal-maatskaplike knelpunte aangegryp om h klimaat vir burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid te probeer skep. Massavergaderings en die verspreiding van pamflette is tot dusver hiervoor aangewend. (Sien die berig in die Sowetan van 9 Julie 1984 waar gerapporteer word dat Oscar Mpetha h oproep tot "civil disobedience" gedoen het - Aanhangsel B van Kompol se voorlegging).

Hierdie klimaatskepping deur die UDF het veral gestalte gekry toe daar gedurende die naweek van 15 en 16 Julie 1984 geweldpleging in die Thumahole

"Boycott the elections and New Deal! Throw the collaborators out of the community! Make the life impossible for them! Smash the sell-outs!"

- (v) Na die onrus in Thumahole en Lekota se oproep tot 'n landswye boikot, het die onrussituasie na verskeie ander Swart woongebiede uitgebrei waar petrolbomme gegooi is, eiendomme beskadig en drie Swart stadsraadslede vermoor is. Tientalle ander Swart mense het tot dusver as gevolg van die onluste gesterf.

[REDACTED]

- (vi) Die volgende is enkele gevalle waar onrus en onluste voortgespruit het uit 'n klimaat wat deur die UDF-geaffilieerde organisasies geskep is:
- (a) In Cradock in die Oos-Kaap weier die 4 200 Swart leerlinge van 6 skole reeds sedert Maart 1984 om skool by te woon. Hierdie boikot is geïnisieer deur die UDF-geaffilieerde organisasies "Cradock Residents Association" (CRADORA) en "Cradock Youth Association" (CRADOYA).
- (b) In Pretoria is die UDF-geaffilieerde "Congress of South African Students" (COSAS) vir skole-onrus en boikot verantwoordelik. Ses Swart skole met 'n leerlingtal van 6 000 moes in Maart 1984 gesluit word as gevolg hiervan.

(c) Die UDF-geaffilieerde "Vaal Civic Association" het die onluste laat verlede jaar in die Vaaldriehoek geïnisieer nadat 'n protesvergadering onder leiding van hierdie organisasie gehou is en daar op skole-boikotte, stakings en busboikotte besluit is.

(d) Benewens die voortgesette sporadiese voorvalle van geweld in o.a. die PWV-gebied, heers daar tans ook skoleboikotte in Port Elizabeth wat aangestig is deur die volgende UDF-geaffilieerde organisasies naamlik: COSAS, "Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association" (PEBCO), en die "Port Elizabeth Youth Congress" (PEYCO). Op 3 Oktober 1984 het 19 skole met 'n leerlingtal van 20 000 nog aan die boikot deelgeneem.

([REDACTED])

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(vii) Verskeie publikasies van die UDF is deur die Publikasieraad ongewens verklaar.

(b) _____)

(viii) Die Rand Daily Mail (RDM) het op 11 Oktober 1984 prominensie aan uitsprake van die volgende UDF-ampsdraers tydens 'n perskonferensie in Johannesburg op 10 Oktober 1984 verleen:

- voormalige ANC-ingeperkte Stephen Tswete wat tans die UDF-president van die Oos-Londen streek is;
- Jonathan De Vries, UDF-organiseerder in die Wes-Kaap;
- Price Msutu, UDF-organiseerder in Port Elizabeth;
- Trevor Manuel, UDF-organiseerder in die Wes-Kaap en tans werksaam in die UDF hoofkantoor te Khotso-huis, Johannesburg as agerende algemene sekretaris in die plek van Popo Molefe wat onlangs ingevolge artikel 28 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 aangehou is; en
- Albertina Sisulu, voormalige ANC-ingeperkte en een van die UDF se drie presidente.

Die Minister van Wet en Orde se onlangse verklaring oor die UDF is tydens die geleentheid deur Trevor Manuel as "ill-advised" en as deel van volgehoue pogings van regeringskant om teen UDF-lidorganisasies op te tree,

beskryf. Die Minister se poging om die UDF met die ANC te verbind berus volgens Manuel op "flimsy evidence".

Die gesamentlike UDF-persverklaring word as volg in die Rand Daily Mail weergee:

"... Government suggestions that the UDF was responsible for the current turmoil in South Africa were attempts to divert attention from its own bankruptcy and inability to govern.

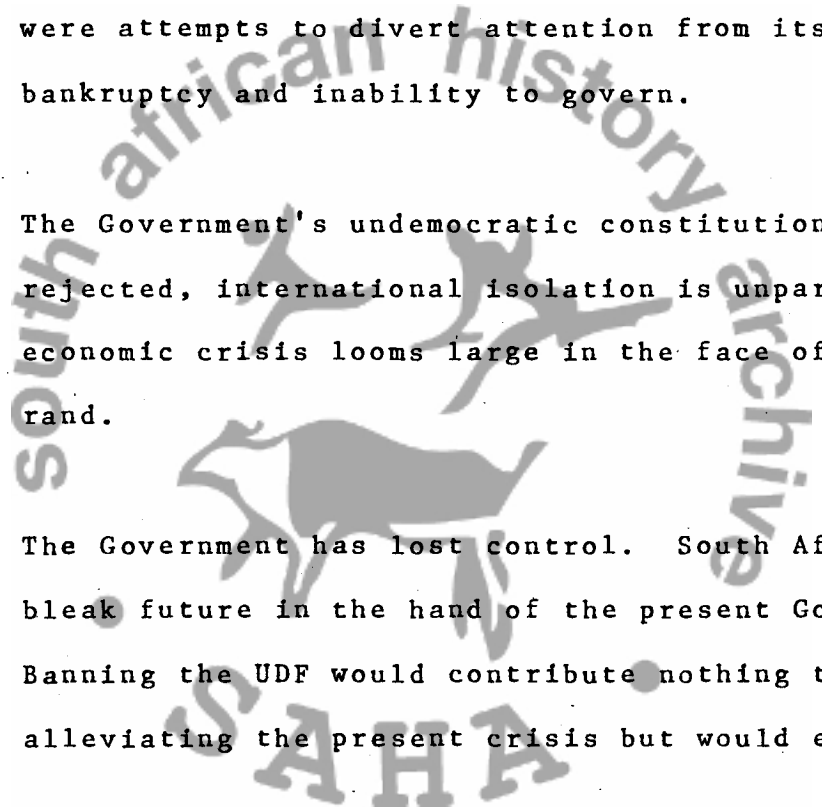
The Government's undemocratic constitution has been rejected, international isolation is unparalleled, the economic crisis looms large in the face of the falling rand.

The Government has lost control. South Africa faces a bleak future in the hand of the present Government. Banning the UDF would contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis but would exacerbate it.

The UDF merely articulates the aspirations of the majority of the people and these aspirations cannot be wished away by a ban".

([REDACTED])

11/3/85



UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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 all 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 THIS 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 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;

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 continued to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people;

the oppression and exploitation of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by 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 a 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 COUNTRYSIDES,
THE FACTORIES AND MINES, SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND
UNIVERSITIES, HOUSING 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 and honestly, and bravely
and 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

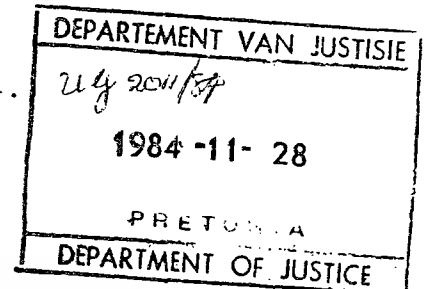
FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL
PROPOSALS AND THE KOORNHOF BILLS.

SAHA

DRV

WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982 (WET 74 VAN 1982): ARTIKEL 1(xv) (b) EN (xviii)

U memo 2/4/2/121 gedateer 22 November 1984.



Die Staatsregsadviseurs merk soos volg op:

Ons word twee vrae gevra na aanleiding van die omskrywing van "organisasie" in artikel 1 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet 74 van 1982), wat soos volg lees:

" 'organisasie' (beteken) enige vereniging van persone met of sonder regs persoonlikheid en ongeag of hy ooreenkomstig 'n wet ingestel of geregistreer is al dan nie;".

Die vrae word gevra met betrekking tot 'n sekere "vereniging" ten opsigte waarvan alle feite blykbaar nog nie beskikbaar is nie, en 'n advieskomitee bedoel in artikel 7 van die Wet nog nie 'n verslag uitgebring het nie. Ons word tans net van 'n enkele stuk voorsien, naamlik 'n "Declaration" wat die algemene doelstellings van die betrokke "vereniging" bevat. Ons word egter gevra om te aanvaar dat die "vereniging" 'n "vereniging" van ánder verenigings is.

Op dié basis is die eerste vraag of so 'n "vereniging" van ander verenigings, 'n "organisasie" kan wees soos in die Wet bedoel. Ons het oorweging geskenk aan die argumente in die voorlegging geopper, maar is van mening dat die antwoord op hierdie vraag bevestigend is, om die volgende redes:

1. In ons reg is 'n vereniging wat ánder verenigings as lede het, onses insiens 'n erkende figuur, en 'n verskyningsvorm van die sogenaamde "voluntary association". B Bamford omskryf laasgenoemde op bl. 117 van sy "The Law of Partnership and Voluntary Association in South Africa" (derde uitgawe, 1982) soos volg -

"A voluntary association is a legal relationship which arises from an agreement among three or more persons to achieve a common object, primarily other than the making and division of profits."

Dat die woord "person" in hierdie omskrywing ook bedoel is om ánder "verenigings" van persone (hetsy met of sonder regs persoonlikheid) in te sluit, blyk duidelik uit verskeie plekke in genoemde werk, byvoorbeeld by die behandeling van lidmaatskap op bl. 141:

"A member of a non-corporate association which is a member of another association (for example, a club in a rugby union) is himself a member of the latter."

(Ons beklemtoning).

Indien 'n ander vereniging met regs persoonlikheid by die betrokke vereniging geaffilieer is, is so 'n ander vereniging sêlf die lid van laasgenoemde vereniging, en gewoonlik nie sy lede nie (tensy 'n ander gevolgtrekking uit sy konstitusie gemaak kan word): vergelyk Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers of S.A. and an. v Die 1963 Ambagsaalvereniging, 1967(1) S.A. 586 (T) op bl. 591 - 2; en ook Lourens and others v Transvaal Rugby Football Union (Incorporated) and others, 1946 TPD 601 op bl. 606 ("If a club which has no existence apart from its members is a member of the Rugby Union, it would seem to follow that the club members are members of that Union"); en Arnison v Tresize and others, 1960(4) S.A. 508 (T).

Ook in ons wettereg geniet sodanige verenigings van ander verenigings erkenning: vergelyk federasies van vakbonde, en artikel 80 van die Wet op Arbeidsverhoudinge, 1956 (Wet 28 van 1956).

Of so 'n vereniging wettiglik tot stand gekom het, is natuurlik 'n feitlike vraag. Dit hoef nie noodwendig 'n geskrewe grondwet te hê nie (Bamford, a.w., bl. 132). Of dit by totstandkoming regs persoonlikheid verkry het, sal vasgestel moet word aan die hand van die gewone vereistes (Amalgamated Society-saak, supra, op bl. 591). In die afwesigheid van 'n geskrewe grondwet, kan, by die vraag of aan daardie vereistes voldoen is, "regs persoonlikheid ... aan die hand van die organisasie se eksterne en interne

optrede vasgestel word" (G J Pienaar, Die Gemeenregtelike Regspersoon in die Suid-Afrikaanse Privaatreg, LL.D.-proefskrif, PU vir CHO, 1982, bl. 129, noot 46).

2. In die aangehaalde omskrywing van "organisasie", supra, moet die woord "persone" onses insiens eweneens vertolk word om prima facie ander liggame van persone, hetsy met regspersoonlikheid beklee al dan nie, in te sluit, en wel op grond van die omskrywing van "persoon" in artikel 2 van die Interpretasiewet, 1957 (Wet 33 van 1957). In die lig van die bestaanbaarheid van verenigings van ander verenigings in ons gemenereg (paragraaf 1 hierbo) kan ons aan geen rede dink waarom hierdie prima facie afleiding wat van die gebruik van die woord "persoon" in die omskrywing gemaak kan word, nie 'n afdoende afleiding kan wees nie.

3. In die voorlegging word egter na verskeie bepalings van Wet 74 van 1982 verwys, en geargumenteer dat dié bepalings onbestaanbaar is met 'n bedoeling van die wetgewer dat genoemde woord "persone" in die omskrywing die uitgebreide betekenis dra soos in paragraaf 2 hierbo uiteengesit.

Ons het dié bepalings ondersoek, maar meen dat hulle ook toegepas kan word ten opsigte van 'n "organisasie" wat 'n "vereniging van verenigings" is. Dit blyk minstens uit die hofsake hierbo genoem dat so 'n "organisasie" lede kan hê (dit wil sê òf die geaffilieerde verenigings, òf die

individuele lede van laasgenoemde, afhangende van die betrokke grondwet en of laasgenoemde verenigings regs-persoonlikheid het al dan nie); asook amptdraers, en beamptes. Waar op die feite al die lede van die organisasies self regspersone is, kan die natuurlike persone wat aldus self net lede van die geaffilieerde verenigings is, op die feite blyk "aktiewe ondersteuners" van die organisasie te wees, soos bedoel in artikel 14(10) van Wet 74 van 1982. Begripsmatig én juridies kan so 'n organisasie onses insiens ook "takke" of "afdelings" hê, dit wil sê georganiseerde sub-groeperinge van die geaffilieerde verenigings.

Ons meen dus dat 'n vaste afleiding gemaak kan word dat die wetgewer ook bedoel het dat "persone" in die omskrywing van "organisasie" die bedoelde uitgebreide betekenis moet dra.

4. Bowendien kom 'n uitleg van die woord "persone" in die omskrywing van "organisasie" op so 'n wyse dat dit net op natuurlike persone betrekking het, in die lig van die feit dat dit prima facie ingevolge artikel 2 van die Interpretasiewet, 1957, 'n uitgebreide betekenis het, onses insiens in stryd met die vermoede dat die wetgewer nie 'n kragtlose bepaling wou maak nie (Steyn, Uitleg van Wette, Vyfde Uitgawe, 1981, bl. 119 e.v.). Dit kan byvoorbeeld meebring dat 'n organisasie, ten einde Wet 74 van 1982 te ontduik, homself eenvoudig organiseer as 'n federasie of unie of vereniging van ander verenigings, om nie deur die bepalings

van die Wet getref te kan word nie. Op grond van al die oorwegings hierbo genoem, is ons van mening dat die wetgewer dit nie kon bedoel het nie.

5. Ten slotte kan ons net meld dat, indien veronderstel word dat die wetgewer in genoemde omskrywing van "organisasie" slegs natuurlike persone op die oog gehad het, dit desondanks argumenteerbaar is dat indien dit op die feite sou blyk dat in die onderhawige geval die geassosieerde verenigings dié tipe liggame is wat in die definisie van "persoon" in die Interpretasiewet, 1957, bedoel word, 'n mens met liggame te doen het wat almal in die grond van die saak slegs natuurlike persone as substraat het (vergelyk CIR vs Emasy, N.O., 1961(2) S.A. 621 (A) op bl. 623H: "... the entities expressly included are entities which consist of persons or which have persons underlying their existence ..."), en dat al dié natuurlike persone regstreeks of onregstreeks by die oorkoepelende vereniging betrokke is. In die breë gesien vorm hulle deel van laasgenoemde "organisasie", en kan daar moontlik geargumenteer word dat ook op daardie basis aan die omskrywing voldoen word.

Ons word laastens gevra of die geaffilieerde verenigings as "takke" of "afdelings" van die hoofvereniging beskou sal kan word (vergelyk paragraaf (b) van die omskrywing van "onwettige organisasie" in artikel 1, wat ook melding maak van 'n "komitee", en "enige plaaslike, streek- of hulpliggam" wat deel van so 'n "organisasie" uitmaak). Ons meen dat hierdie vraag se beantwoording afhang van die presiese

feite rondom die konstitusie of organisatoriese struktuur van die betrokke organisasie. Normaalweg egter sal 'n geaffilieerde vereniging net 'n "lid" van die organisasie wees (vergelyk ook paragraaf 3 hierbo). 'n Onwettigverklaring kragtens artikel 4 van die Wet hoef dus nie per se mee te bring dat die vereniging wat "lid" is ook as vereniging onwettig sal wees nie; dáárvoor sal hy afsonderlik onwettig verklaar moet word. Ons beskik nie oor genoegsame feite aangaande die organisasie hier ter sprake om hierdie vraag verder te voer nie.



[REDACTED] /1984.11.26

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