

**G1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6**

**ASSESSOR**

# G1

No 19 = 5/8/87  
6/8/87  $\times \frac{3}{2}$

No 19 7/8/87  
13/8/87  
17/8/87

- (20) 14/9/87 - G2.  
15/9/87, 17/9/87
- (20) 25/9/87  
28/9/87
- (21) 6/10/87  
7/10/87  
~~8/10/87~~

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Gen G1

Mont P.S. GOOSEW.

MINUTES OF THE UDF N.E.C. MEETING HELD ON 1 AND 2 JUNE 1984 AT THE RONDEBOSCH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN CAPE TOWN

Conspicuous in Reception  
Movement.

1. PRESENT

Chickens return

- O Mphetha (Chair)
- A Gumede,
- P Lekota
- P Molefe
- C Saloojee
- M Ramgobir
- M Valli
- M Chikane
- G du Plessis
- A Mokoena
- Y Mahomed
- J Coovadia (Chair)
- E Ngoyi
- P Msutho
- D Swartz
- P Manilal
- S Tshwete
- S Ndzota
- B Maape
- J Khasu
- M Lesia
- C Carolious
- A Boraine
- C Tinto
- T Manuel
- J Marks

2. APOLOGIES

- A Sisulu
- C Nqakula
- M Stofile
- N Bouhonne
- M Xundu
- G Supersadh
- R Saloojee
- H Hlaethwa

3. MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING

The minutes of the previous meeting were taken as read and were adopted.

4. MATTERS ARISING FROM PREVIOUS MINUTES

4.1 CONSTITUTION

M(19)  
7/5/87

It was agreed that the copy of a draft Constitution in the hands of the treasury be made available to all N.E.C. members for perusal, as from June 1, 1984.

4.2 N.E.C. MEETINGS AND VENUES

4.2.1 The General Secretary was instructed to negotiate for central venues in Kimberley and Bloemfontein. Henceforth the N.E.C. would meet in Kimberley and/or Bloemfontein.

4.2.2 The General Secretary was asked to work out another schedule for the N.E.C. meetings as the previous schedule had been disrupted.

#### 4.3 WORKSHOP FOR N.E.C.

4.3.1 It was noted that what was minuted on the workshop, did not reflect what had been agreed upon. The minutes were amended to read:

"The workshop must be organised to assist N.E.C. members develop a common understanding of how a Front should function and also to deal with the contradictions within the Front".

4.3.2 The General Secretary in conjunction with the Regional Secretaries is to make arrangements for the workshop.

4.3.3 It was agreed that the workshop should take place after the August 22nd Elections for the Tricameral Parliament.

### 5. REPORTS

#### 5.1 OFFICER'S REPORT

The report was read. Regions felt that there was an imbalance with regards to section "D" of the report, and that there was no definite yard stick used to assess the Regions.

#### 5.2. REGIONAL REPORTS

5.2.1 Natal: The report of the Natal Region was received.

5.2.1.1 MSC: 35 000 signatures were collected according to the report.

5.2.1.2 Inkatha was reported to be a major obstacle.

5.2.1.3 MSC was combined with the Anti-Election Campaign.

5.2.2 Western Cape

5.2.2.1 MSC: 87 000 signatures collected on a door-to-door basis mainly.

5.2.2.2 Grassroots: Have published MSC form with space for 12 signatures, but the response was not encouraging.

5.2.2.3 Elections: Pensioners and civil servants were being forced to register as voters for the Tri-cameral Parliament.

5.2.2.4 Region observed the difference between the Labour Party and the UDF is not very clear to the masses.

5.2.3 Transvaal

5.2.3.1 MSC: 42 000 signatures are reported as collected.

5.2.3.2 There is a lack of enough activism in the Transvaal.

5.2.3.3 Problems were identified as being both of a structural and a leadership nature.

5.2.3.4 The R.E.C. was advised to address the problems.

5.2.3.5 The National Officers were advised to assist the Transvaal Region to arrange a meeting of the R.E.C., and the activists, as a way of motivating the activists.

5.2.4 Border

5.2.4.1 MSC: 30 000 signatures have been collected. MSC units have been set up.

5.2.4.2 The region is experiencing problem of blitzes being disrupted by the police.

- 5.2.4.3 Some signatures collected in Grahamstown, which is considered as part of the Boarder Region, were sent to the Eastern Cape.
- 5.2.4.4 Region requested that National officers be sent to the Border Region to look into the problem between the Region and the Youth Congress.
- 5.2.5 Northern Cape
  - 5.2.5.1 MSC: 1 600 signatures have been collected.
  - 5.2.5.2 Two MSC committees have been set up in Kimberley and Vryburg.
  - 5.2.5.3 The Region experiences a problem of lack of basic organisational skills.
  - 5.2.5.4 The state of organisation in the Indian and coloured areas is very weak.
  - 5.2.5.5 The Western Cape Region is willing to help with media organisation in the Northern Cape.
- 5.2.6 Eastern Cape
  - 5.2.6.1 MSC: 17 000 signatures have been collected.
  - 5.2.6.2 Co-ordination and leadership is a problem in the coloured areas. The leadership role is played by youth.
  - 5.2.6.3 Fosatu has been requested to allow UDF activists and volunteers collect signatures at Fosatu meetings.
  - 5.2.6.4 The Labour Party is taking an upper hand in the coloured areas.

## 6. UNITED NATIONS

It was agreed that the MSC figure be presented to the UN at the end of the campaign.

## 7. METHODS

- 8.1 It was noted that new methodologies had to be developed.
- 8.2 The MSC has to be used effectively to prove the incorrectness of the registration figures claimed by the Labour Party and other pro-constitution groups.

## 8. ELECTIONS

The following decisions were taken regarding the elections:

- 8.1 that the UDF makes a national call to the people of South Africa to boycott the elections for the Tri-cameral Parliament
- 8.2 that the masses of our people be made aware that it is not illegal to boycott the elections. A leaflet must be produced to this effect.
- 8.3 that it be recommended to regions to form Joint Planning Councils (JPC) to facilitate effective campaign against the elections. (In the TVL, the Regional Secretaries must work jointly with the National Officers towards the formation of JPC's).
- 8.4 that anti-elections meetings be organised throughout the country. These meetings would culminate in mass national rallies to be addressed by a speaker from Swapo of Namibia.
- 8.5 the weekend of the 18 and 19 August has been chosen for rallies to climax the anti-election campaign. During the same weekend, the anniversary of the UDF will be celebrated.
- 8.6 Transvaal is to be regarded as a priority region for the speaker from Namibia.

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- 1 8.7 Tactics on how to handle reactionary parties would be determined on the basis of material conditions in each region. The same position holds for the sharing of platforms with collaborators and government officials or agents.
- 8.8 At the end of the Elections, the Front must challenge those with 32% poll and below, to resign.
- 8.9 The National Secretariat and the National Treasury must formulate a national strategy for the Anti-Election Campaign.
- 8.10 The anti election thrust must link to the removals of Africans and other key issues facing this community.

## 9. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### 9.1 REPORT FROM REPRESENTATIVE WHO WENT ABROAD

#### 9.1.1 "Let Live Prize"

Cassim reported that whilst in Sweden, he and Murphy (who was still abroad) met; the Editor of Arbetet (the Swedish minister who handed over the prize on Sunday 27 May 1984 in Malmö), some political parties and other organisations. His impression was that the Front is perceived as a very significant and powerful resistance movement in the country. The support for the Front was very substantial.

#### 9.1.1 Centre Against Apartheid

Cassim further reported that at an event of top religious leaders of the world, held at the UN Centre Against Apartheid in March 1984, the Front represented by Cassim spoke on the New Constitution.

### 9.2 GENERAL OVERSEAS PUBLICITY WORK

Valli gave a brief report of his six weeks publicity work overseas.

#### 9.2.1 Countries and groups

Some of the countries he visited are; Canada, U.K., West Germany, U.S.A. and Holland. His report indicated that several organisations were met.

#### 9.2.2 Anniversary of UDF

Support groups abroad would consider calling for an International Day of Solidarity with the UDF and the people of S.A. on the Anniversary of the Front.

9.2.3 A Form is being circulated, to be signed by organisations rejecting the New Constitution.

9.2.4 There is a need to keep the African Diplomats informed about the developments in the country. (A booklet is to be produced on a regular basis and sent to them.)

9.2.5 There is a need to follow-up the work already done abroad.

9.2.6 SACC Booklet on Removals made a very big impact in church and organisational circles.

9.2.7 It was decided that a Foreign Relations Sub-Committee must be formed. The Secretariat was charged with that responsibility.

## 10. SWAZILAND

10.1 Letter: The National Publicity Secretary was instructed to write a letter to the government of Swaziland in which he is to state the position of the Front on the Land Deal question and Repression.

10.2 The National Officers must go to KaNgwane, assess the conditions there and prepare briefing notes for Regions,

11. NKOMATI

11.1 UDF Position: It was decided that the matter of the position of the Front on Nkomati should be referred to the Sub-Committee on Foreign Relations.

11.2 The National Publicity Secretary must write a letter to President Machel impressing upon him that it is the right of the S.A people to define their own struggle.

12. P.W. BOTHA

A letter must be written to the South African Bishop's Conference asking them to communicate to the Pope the position of the Front on P.W.'s trip abroad with the view to persuading the papal states to understand our view.

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE

13.1 REPORT ON PREPARATION

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13.1.1 The Diakonia is willing to sponsor the conference, i.e. the conference must be under their auspices.

13.1.2 The 23rd or 30th June are suggested dates for the first consultative meeting on the conference.

13.1.3 A maximum of 5 people per region was suggested.

13.1.4 It was agreed that the matter be taken back to the Regions and that the feed-back be given to Cde, Yunus Mahomed within ten days of the N.E.C. meeting.

14. RESTRUCTURING

14.1 PUBLICITY

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6/8/87

14.1.1 It was noted that a properly equipped office for Publicity, Research and Information would facilitate the work of the Front in that respect.

14.1.2 The office should have telex and photo-copying facilities.

14.1.3 The National Publicity Secretary was mandated to set-up a sub-committee to fulfil this function.

14.1.4 The National Officers must set-up a labour unit to address labour problems and relations with unions.

14.2. NATIONAL OFFICE

21 7/10/87  
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14.2.1 Administration: It was decided that an efficient administrative person be employed for the National Office.

14.2.2 The National Officers and the National Treasurer were mandated to interview applicants.

14.2.3 The Transvaal Region was instructed to stop using the National Office telephone, to apply for their own and to pay their rental henceforth.

14.2.4 The National Treasurer was instructed to stop all payments of debts incurred by the Transvaal Region, and to debit to the Region all the money owing to the National Office. In the

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event of allocations, all money owed to the National Office is to be deducted immediately.

14.2.5 Transvaal is to return all National Office keys to the National Office.

14.2.6 Patrick Lephunya is no longer a paid worker in the National Office.

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14.2.7 The N.E.C. ratified the National Secretariat decision that the National Officers must play the role of organisers.

14.2.8 The N.E.C. ratified the decision of the National Treasury to employ Cde Johnson Khasu for the Northern Cape Region.

14.2.9 The National Treasury was empowered to determine the salary for Jomo.

14.2.10 The National Treasury was given the mandate to employ rural organisers once resources are available.

## 15. FINANCES

### 15.1 GRANTS

The decision taken by the National Secretariat regarding grants to Regions was ratified by the N.E.C.

15.1.1 New Grants: The three major regions, Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape were each granted R8 000. Northern Cape, Border and Eastern Cape were each granted R2 000.

15.1.2 Further grants would be given were resources available.

### 15.2 STATEMENTS

It was decided that all regions submit their audited statements to the National Office within two (2) weeks of the N.E.C. meeting. Failure on the part of the regions would lead to the National Treasury with-holding grants due to those regions.

15.3 Regions must carry the responsibility of transporting N.E.C. members in their regions.

### 15.4 GRANTS FOR RURAL WORK

15.4.1 Western Cape: It was agreed that the R5 000 grant already advanced to the Western Cape be treated as separate from their general budget.

15.4.2 Transvaal: R6 000 (six thousand rand) must be made available to the Transvaal Region once money is available. (The grant would be for work in the Northern Transvaal.)

## 16. DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONS

The National Officer must develop a system of monitoring the development of regions. It was noted that Regions could not forever be regarded as major and small without a definite strandard used to determine which are major and vice-versa.

## 17. RMC

(20) 17/9

17.1 Cde Abrey Mokoena raised the issue of the N.E.C's responsibility in terms of building the RMC. It was pointed out that the N.E.C. could not be held responsible for a matter that had never been forwarded for discussion within the N.E.C. meeting. It was noted



- 25.2 that the task of building the RMC is that of the structural regions of the RMC. The N.E.C. could, if approached, help from time to time.
- 17.2 The RMC Natal and Transvaal are to resolve the divisions existing between them.
- 17.3 The problems existing in the Transvaal between some members of the RMC and some members of the Transvaal UDF Region must be resolved by them.
- 17.4 It was suggested to Cde Aubrey Mokoena that he consult regions of the UDF if he wanted assistance in terms of setting up the RMC structure, and also as a way of ensuring that people constituting the RMC are not hostile to the UDF.

## 18. CODE OF CONDUCT

- 18.1 It was noted that the N.E.C could <sup>not</sup> at this stage set hard and fast rules in terms of code of conduct for the regions and affiliates.
- 18.2 Regions are empowered to discipline their members.
- 18.3 The Transvaal Region was advised to take up the issue of Dr Motlana's interview with the SABC-TV.
- 18.4 Transvaal was asked to inform Herbert Barnabas that he can no longer serve in the R.E.C of the Transvaal region as he is no longer a member of S.A.A.W.U in terms of their last Congress decisions.

## 19. DECISIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

The General Secretary was instructed to remind regions on a regular basis of major decisions that must be implemented and to ensure that regions carry out their tasks.

## 20. STATE OF AFFILIATES

- 20.1 Regions must submit to the National Office updated lists of their affiliates. } 20
- 20.2 Regional secretaries must visit their affiliates on a regular basis and assess the general state of development. } 19/8,
- 20.3 The National Officers must prepare questionnaires to assist regions in the work of assessing affiliates. }

## 21. UNIONS

### 21.1 NEW FEDERATION

The matter must be referred to the Labour Unit and any other labour matter must hence forth be handled by this unit.

## 22. ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

- 22.1 It was noted that resources would determine the extent to which the UDF could address the question of alternative media.

## 23. REMOVALS

- 23.1 It was noted that the Western Cape Region was assisting to co-ordinate an Ecumenical Service organised by the W.P.C for June 24, 1984 at 2.30 p.m.

- 23.2 The N.E.C. was asked to send a message of support to the Service. The focus of the service is to be Khayelitsha. Slogan: "No to Removals and Yes to Unity". Speakers are to include: Dr Boesak, speakers from Khayelitsha, Mgwali, CAHAC etc. No 19  
5/8/84
- 23.3 The National Officers must develop guidelines for discussion at the next N.E.C. meeting.
- 23.4 The National Secretariat was requested to put removals on the agenda of its next meeting.
- 23.5 It was agreed in principle to employ a full-time person to address the question of removals.
- 23.6 Regions must consider the possibility of sending small volunteer groups to work in areas affected by removals.
- 23.7 The National Secretariat must take the task of organising a National and International Day of Focus on Removals.

#### 24. CONSCRIPTION

- 24.1 The report from the Western Cape Anti-Conscription Commission was presented. This region is planning an Anti-Conscription Rally for June 17 1984. No 19  
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- 24.2 Natal, Transvaal and Border Regions are addressing the question of conscription.

#### 25. G.S.T. AND FOOD PRICES

It was noted that a campaign against the G.S.T and high prices had the capacity to take the Front beyond the August 22 Elections. It was accordingly decided:

- 25.1 That the Front must prepare a list of basic items (based on research) and couple a campaign around this and G.S.T. No 19  
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- 25.2 The National Publicity Secretary was asked to contact research units with a view to evolving a program of action.
- 25.3 Regions must consult unions and ask them to participate in a joint campaign with the Front.
- 25.4 It was recommended that July 1, 1984 be a National Day of Focus on High Food Prices and G.S.T.

#### 26. EDUCATION

- 26.1 Regions gave reports on how they handled the crisis in schools.
- 26.2 It was decided that a National Day of Solidarity with the people of Cradock must be organised and that is must be coupled with one of the days referred to earlier. (The focus of the Rally will be amongst others, a call for the release of the people detained during the school crises).

#### 27. CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE UDF

- 27.1 It was decided that a press conference be organised by all regions to address the campaign that is aiming at discrediting the UDF.
- 27.2 The Publicity Secretary was asked to prepare a fact sheet on attacks on the Front, and make it available to all the regions on 7 June 1984.

- No 19  
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- 27.3 The Front must produce a publication clarifying the position of the Front, in the light of this campaign.
- 27.4 Noting the bias fo the Ilanga Editorial on UDF/Inkatha Relations, the N.E.C. asked the National Publicity Secretary and President Archie Gumede to respond to the editorial comment.
- 27.5 Regions were requested to ask their affiliates or members of these affiliates to write letters to the Editor of Ilanga Newspaper defending the position of the Front, in particular the decision not to meet Gatsha and his Inkatha.
- 27.6 The Western Cape Region was mandated to instruct lawyers in terms of pamphlets discrediting the Front, as well as various matters needing legal opinion.

28. ROLE OF ISRAEL IN CISKEI

The Border Region was asked to make the details of Israeli involvement in strengthening Ciskei, available to the National Publicity Secretary.

29. NEXT N.E.C. MEETING

The next N.E.C. meeting must be combined with a National Workshop for N.E.C. members.

30. CLOSURE

The meeting closed on Sunday, June 2, at 14-00 hrs.

# G2

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1579/87

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7/10/87

Handwritten notes: "Handwritten", "Gerrit... - K...", "M..."

A. - PREAMBLE

This is the second NEC session this year. It is also the first since the official launch of the Million Signature Campaign four months ago. At that stage many of our regions were still paralysed by the tensions generated by the debates of the December conference and the issue of the referendums for the Indian and Coloured communities. To a large extent these tensions have now dissipated especially as much of our attention has been focussed on the M.S.C. lately. It will be a major task of this N.E.C. to make an assessment of the M.S.C. and on the basis of regional reports which will be tabled during this session, give definite guidelines to our anti-election campaign and lay some general basis for work in the post-election period. Additional to matters of daily activities of the Front, this session must evaluate such issues as the education crisis, the implications of P.W. Botha's trip, Nkomati accord and the secret land deal between South Africa and Swaziland.

B. MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

To date, four months after its launch, this campaign has yielded only an approximate two hundred thousand signatures leaving us with a staggering figure of eight hundred thousand signatures still to be collected within the next two months. Going by our performance so far it may be said that if in four months we collected two hundred thousand signatures in the remaining two months we shall add another one hundred thousand only. If this is indeed so we are deep in a crisis. In these circumstances we must take a fresh look at ourselves.

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C. ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

When we started the Million Signature Campaign we said that in part it would lay the foundation for a vigorous anti-election campaign. Now, ten weeks away from the election date, and given our level of performance in the M.S.C. we decide on the best course to take. In this regard this session must find ways of and commit itself to active forms of generating a lively campaign to boycott these elections. Room must also be found to tie in the activities of other extra-parliamentary groupings that are without the Front. In some areas where the Front has not yet consolidated itself, and where there are groupings that are willing to take up the campaign but would not like to be identified with the Front, it may be necessary for us to consider some anti-elections ad hoc structures in the interest of unity in action.

Perhaps M.S.C. and the anti-election campaign are matters of a do or die nature for the Front. The Front was formed specifically to oppose the so-called New Deal. If we fail to score success at the level of these campaigns what reason do we have to justify our continued presence on the S.A. political scene?

D. THE STATE OF THE FRONT

It is nine months since we launched the Front and whilst we have boasted of six hundred organisations and approximately 1.5 million membership the practical question of keeping these affiliates together and properly co-ordinated proved to be more complex. And yet this is the test of the strength of the Front. Much of the insight into every region will be revealed by regional reports. All we do here is to give brief glimpses of the head office.

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1. NATAL

- 1.1 - all affiliates fairly active within area committees. Greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg are ahead of other Natal areas.
- 1.2 - Inkatha is major obstacle in this region, but Front is able to hold its own in all communities and is gaining ground.
- 1.3 - Relations with unions not satisfactory.

2. WESTERN CAPE

- 2.1 - Lively participation by affiliates is reflected in the M.S.C. figures. Head office has however observed periodic lapses between some of the areas and some affiliates.
- 2.2 - This region has penetrated deep into rural and platteland areas.
- 2.3 - Relations with unions fair.

3. TRANSVAAL

(20) 14/9/87

- 3.1 - Minimal co-ordination between affiliates and R.E.C. and, among affiliates themselves. All this is reflected by performance in the M.S.C.
- 3.2 - Administration of this region is very disturbing.
- 3.3 - Some measure of contact with rural areas particularly Northern and Eastern Transvaal has been made.
- 3.4 - Lapses of contact between areas are observable ~~and at times racial overtones are detectable.~~
- 3.5 - Relations with union periodically good and largely due to lack of participation by our affiliates, often poor

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#### 4. EASTERN CAPE

- 4.1 - Affiliates in some areas are strong and active in the M.S.C. but in other areas we are very weak.
- 4.2 - R.E.C. has very irregular meetings and this leaves the region without guidance and also affects the efficiency of the R.G.C.
- 4.3 - Affiliated unions in this region fairly weak and stronger unions still distant from reach.
- 4.4 - This region lacks resources but has potential.

#### 5. BORDER

- 5.1 - There are a number of strong area units which show growth potential.
- 5.2 - Affiliates are faced with heavy repression. Strong trade union links have been forged.
- 5.3 - There are very strong links with rural communities.
- 5.4 - Poor resources and media are its urgent problems.

#### 6. ORANGE FREE STATE

- 6.1 - There are no affiliated organisations except COSAS but support for UDF is abundant. Youth Congresses supportive of the Front on the increase. In Bloemfontein, Manyany? Youth Congress and Thaboy Youth Congress in Welkom.
- 6.2 - Region lacks resources and there is little publicity.
- 6.3 - Such unions as NUM, (Cawusa and Naawu are moving into this region. Labour Party is moving in too.
- 6.4 - Heavy repression takes the form of confiscation of publications, T-shirts, assault on activists and raids on homes of suspected sympathisers and supporters.

#### 7. NORTHERN CAPE

- 7.1 - We have about nine or ten affiliates in this region based mainly in rural and semi-rural reas.
- 7.2 - Interim structure of UDF in existence.
- 7.3 - Church playing progressive role.
- 7.4 - Full-time regional organiser??
- 7.5 - Region in dire need of resources

Over and above all this there are areas such as Northern Transvaal and Northern Natal where rudimentary work has begun and must be intensified. Then, there are also areas such as Transkei, Gazankula, Venda, large parts of Bophutatswana and Qwaqwa which still remain virgin territories to the United Democratic Front. We must remind N.E.C. that with the intensification of the forced removals programme these areas will increasingly demand our attention.

E. REMOVALS

The system of forced removals and violent uprooting of families all over the country is intensifying. To date over 3,½ million people have been resettled (according to the Surplus Peoples Project (S.P.P.)). Dr. Koornhof announced in parliament recently that the programme of removals shall have been completed by 1988. This announcement indicates clearly that the S.A. government will stop at nothing in its pursuit of the policy of uprooting families.

The following are some of the areas facing the threat of being removed:-

Cross Roads in Cape Town, Huhudi in the Northern Cape, Leandra and Kwa-Ngema in the Transvaal, Mgwali in the Border and Warwick and Inanda in Natal. The people of Mogopa have already been moved. They are now in a place called Pachsdraai. In Natal St. Wendolin's Mission and Lamontville are facing the threat of being incorporated into the Kwa-Zulu Bantustan.

Although the Front has a limited presence in these areas, we have not done enough. We must begin to intervene in a more systematic way.

F. EDUCATION

*unwieldy  
information*

There is a deepening crisis in the country today. Conditions similar to those which preceded the 1976 uprisings are unfolding very rapidly. To date 29 000 students have been affected by the crisis in schools and universities.

The University of Transkei has been closed down. Six schools in Pretoria affecting 6 000 students have been closed down until the end of the year. In Bloemfontein one student was shot. He later escaped assassination by people suspected to be security police. In Vryburg 18 students were convicted and given 10 cuts each. 20 students have been arrested in Pretoria. In Cradock about 22 people were arrested. Six of them have been charged with intimidation and public violence. Amongst those detained is the leadership of the Cradock Residents Association - an affiliate of the UDF.



On Tuesday 29th May 1984, students in almost all universities boycotted classes in response to the call by the Azaso to observe a National Day of Solidarity with students affected by the closure of schools.

This N.E.C. meeting must develop an approach to this question.

#### F. GENERAL SALES TAX AND FOOD PRICES

This year the S.A. government has unleashed a heavy attack on the standard of living of the people with the increase to ten percent of G.S.T. and, the increase on maize prices and other basic foodstuffs. Some consumer organisation have already emerged around the price increases. Unions - Fosatu in particular had already called for the scrapping of G.S.T. on certain basic foodstuffs. Whilst the government seems to have responded positively to this call, it has ensured however, that it recovers this loss through its massive 66,6% G.S.T. increase in one year.

The Front, in order to increase its relevance, must begin to seek ways of addressing itself to some of these concrete problems affecting thousands of its supporters. We must in this N.E.C. meeting look critically into the extent to which our affiliates are taking up the price increases. We must take the initiative in terms of opposing the G.S.T. and examine the possibility of developing consumer structures or strengthening the existing ones.

#### G. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

##### 1.1 PUBLICITY

Since the last N.E.C. meeting at least four people have been abroad to do work for the Front. Support for the Front is growing abroad. Extensive amount of publicity work has been done during the last six weeks.

The "Let Live" Prize awarded to the Front on May 27, 1984 has given a boost to our publicity work at that level.

##### 1.2 REBEL BRITISH LIONS TOUR

The position of the Front was presented to support groups on the matter. A letter was written to the SANROC expressing UDF's opposition to the tour.

##### 1.3 NEW ZEALAND REBEL TOUR

A letter was sent to Halt All Rugby Tours (HART) stating the view of the UDF on the impending tour by the New Zealand rugby team.

## 2. ACCORDS

The Nkomati Accord has been concluded and secret negotiations for the excision to Swaziland of part of the South African land are going on between P.W. Botha and the Swazi government. Resistance on the part of the people of ka Ngwane is building up.

## 3. BOTHA'S "CRUSADE"

P.W. Botha has gone abroad to sell his so-called reform and his illusory peace initiatives for Southern Africa. Efforts have been made by the national office to present the position of the Front on the trip. The message has been telexed to organisations and major newspapers.

The Nkomati and the Swaziland Accords and, P.W. Botha's trip abroad are burning political questions with possible implications for the Democratic Movement in our country. For this reason we would like, even at this late hour, to impress upon this N.E.C. the need to address itself to these questions and to emerge out of this meeting with a clear UDF position.

The N.E.C. must for instance consider a national campaign against the land deal between Swaziland and the South African Government. This is a national question which the Front must not leave to the Ka Ngwane Bantustan to handle alone. A definite recommendation in this regard must be made.

## H. RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

The Front must through its National and Regional offices intensify its efforts to establish and to strengthen links with organisations still not part of it. Every region must begin to actualise its commitment to the broadening of the Front. Faced with the mammoth task of collecting a million signatures and engaging in an effective boycott of the tri-cameral elections within the next 10 months, to win the support of these organisations is very crucial.

Over the last seven months several meetings have been held between the UDF and unions that are not affiliated yet. Most of the unions approached (by the UDF) indicated their willingness to co-operate in some campaigns of the UDF, including the M.S.C.

However, no vigorous follow-up has been made by the Front. Fresh efforts need to be made with regard to strengthening relationships between the Front and the unions and, other organisations.

7/.....

## I. CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FRONT

The S.A. Government has effectively applied military, economic and political pressure on its neighbours. It has forced them to sign sham peace pacts. The focus is now shifting to the internal opposition. The UDF seems to be its prime target in this regard.

The nine (9) pamphlets distributed throughout the country during the last 2 weeks alleging that the UDF is an ANC Front, and also urging people not to support the M.S.C., the harassment and detention of UDF activists throughout the country (particularly in Bloemfontein), the refusal of passports to the leadership of the Front, the threats of a banning order to the president of the Border Region, the banning of the UDF publications and those of institutions supporting its programmes, and the intimidation of churches and other bodies showing willingness to provide venues for the UDF public meetings, indicate clearly the growing intolerance on the part of the state towards the Front and its preparedness to undermine the work and success of the UDF.

On the other hand the allies of the state who are frustrated by the work of the UDF, such as Sebe and his green beretts, Mangope and Buthelezi are now becoming more vicious and ruthless in dealing with the leadership and the supporters of the Front. The banning of our affiliates in Kwa-Zulu, the attack on one of our presidents Cde. A. Gumede by the Inkatha supporters, the dismissal of our activists from their teaching posts by Mangope and continued harassment of the workers of the Front by Sebe are glaring examples of growing intolerance and assault on the Front from these quarters.

This N.E.C. meeting must begin to think seriously on how to respond in this connection.

UDF *John Tawana*

**G3**

REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETING (U.D.F.) HELD ON 1ST AND 2ND JUNE 1984 AT CAPE TOWN

59  
60  
61

CONSTITUTION:

The constitution of the National UDF has been redrawn. A copy thereof will be forwarded to all regions in the next two (2) weeks. Once it has been approved by the various general councils it will be approved by the National Executive for ratification at the next National General Council Meeting. Any affiliate wishing to inspect the constitution may do so at the U.D.F. offices, Eumenical Centre, 20 St. Andrew's Street, Durban. The constitution will lie for inspection at these offices.

MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

Approximately TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY THOUSAND (230 000,00) signatures have been collected nationally. The breakdown is as follows :-

Western Cape	90 000,00	✓
Transvaal	40 000,00	
Natal	40 000,00	
Eastern Cape	20 000,00	
Border	30 000,00	
Others	10 000,00	

The National Executive decided that in view of the fact that the publicity secretary has made several press announcements that the signatures will be collected before the elections has urged all regions to intensify the efforts to collect the million signatures. It is confident that with the combined and sustained efforts of all regions and affiliates the target will be reached. Affiliates and areas are requested to intensify their drives for signatures and to insure that all signatures collected are handed in at the UDF offices.

ANTI ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The constitution affects all South Africans. The opposition to the elections must involve all South Africans. All affiliates are requested to discuss the anti election campaign and suggest how they can contribute to the anti election campaign. It was agreed that mass rallies to demonstrate opposition to the elections as well as celebrating the first anniversary of the UDF should be held in all centres on the weekend of the 18th and 19th of August 1984. Affiliates are requested to suggest ideas for venues, speakers and the content of rally at the next general council meeting.

HARASSMENT/...

HARASSMENT

UDF supporters and members of affiliates who are being harassed all over the country. It was decided that all acts of harassment should be reported to the UDF office and if possible press publicity should be obtained. Affiliates are also requested to write to the press protesting at such harassment.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

LIVE LET LIVE PRIZE (FREEDOM PRIZE)

The UDF was awarded this prize by the Swedish Labour Movement. This award was made to Mr. Murphy Morobe who accepted the prize on behalf of the UDF. This prize was awarded to the UDF because it has been recognised by Sweden as promoting principles enshrined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights thereby contributing to the struggle for democracy peace and justice.

ENGLISH AND NEW ZEALAND RUGBY TOUR

The publicity secretary has written letters to the team touring South Africa and to the New Zealand Prime-Minister expressing our opposition to such tours.

P W VISIT

The UDF has sent a telex to British Newspapers expressing opposition to the P W Visit and will be writing to Western Governments expressing our opposition to the tour and to the government's policies.

HOUSING CONFERENCE

Diakonia has agreed to host a planning conference which will plan and determine an agenda for the National Housing Conference. Secretaries for the various regions will revert to the Natal Secretaries to advise whether it would be possible to hold such a planning conference.

EVALUATION

Many of the questionnaire forms are still outstanding. Those affiliates who have not completed their questionnaire are requested to complete them and leave them at the UDF offices. Affiliates are also requested to come with clear proposals as to how the evaluation programme is to be continued and finalised.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The UDF Regional Executive Committee was elected on the 14th May 1984! It has been in office for over a year. Affiliates are requested to suggest when the next Annual General Meeting should be held.

FINANCE/...

FINANCE

Diakonia has contributed the sum of R250,00 as its affiliation fees. Affiliates are requested to emulate this exemplary action by Diakonia as money is urgently needed,

REMOVALS

This is a matter which has been discussed on many occasions at all levels of the UDF. However affiliates are requested to discuss the matter - in particular what forms of action the UDF can engage in to oppose removals. Affiliates are requested to make specific concrete and practical suggestions.

The next General Council Meeting will be held on Wednesday the 13th June 1984 at 5.30 p.m. at the Ecumenical Centre.

UDF sub

**G4**

(20)

28/9/87

Summary of NEC Meeting held on 1/2 June 1984

RWN C 4

TVL NEC MEMBERS PRESENT : M. Chikane  
 C. Saleojee  
 G. DuPlessis  
 M. Valli  
 A. Mokoena

1. Working Principles

Draft amendments to the constitution be circulated to all regions for consideration before the next NEC meeting.

2. 18/19 August Rallies

It was decided that Andimba Toive Ja Toive would address the Transvaal rally.

3. Joint Planning Councils

It was agreed that these would be established in all regions in order to plan and co-ordinate a joint campaign against the new constitution.

4. International Relations

A letter is to be written to Samora Machel and other Frontline States responding to the claim from within the Mozambican government that ours is a struggle for civil rights.

5. National Housing Conference

The national officers were requested to convene a planning committee meeting for this purpose.

6. Restructuring of UDF

6.1 A committee of 3 is to be appointed by the Publicity Secretary in order to assist with information and research.

6.2 A full-time Office Administrator would be employed for the head-office.

6.3 The administration, telephone lines, etc. of the TVL office is to be separated from the head office.

6.4 Labour Unit - B. NAIR and K. NDLOVO to be asked to undertake labour relations together with one of the national officers.

6.5 Rural Organisers - Rural organisers would be employed by the NEC as and when funds permit.

(20)  
 28/9  
 6/10/87



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inance

- 7.1 An amount of R8000,00 was allocated to the Transvaal region.
- 7.2 It was agreed that monies owing by Transvaal to the National Treasury would be deducted from the next NEC allocation.
- 7.3 All regions are to submit Income and Expenditure Accounts within the next two weeks to the National Treasurers.
- 7.4 The N.Tvl would be financed by the NEC.

8. Broadening of UDF

Each region is requested to:-

- a. Compile a list of affiliates.
- b. Visit all affiliates.

9. GST and Rising Food Prices

Regions to discuss the possibility of a campaign against the increase in GST and the price of food. Regions are to also discuss the possibility of declaring 1 July 1984 a DAY OF PRAYER in this regard.

10. Education Crises

It was decided that all regions should focus on the crises in Cradock.

11. General

- 11.1 The Transvaal REC was requested to address the matters concerning the appearance of one of its members on SATV.
- 11.2 It was ruled by the NEC that H.Barnabas' membership of the Tvl REC cease as he is no longer a member of an affiliate of the Front.

SAAWU, East London  
+ A Handwritten East London

**G5**

REPORT.

52(5)  
ben G2-

Represented : All Regions

Chairing: Archie Gumemedo, Cde Co- President

Preamble

Much as it would have been desired , and as such it had been planned that all UDF-BORDER NEC members go to this meeting this could not be due to transportation arrangements which failed. The car to be used on this trip failed to function. The result hereof was that the Secretary, Sabelo Ndzuta, had to be flown to Cape Town on the morning of the meeting , Friday the 1st. He was joined on Saturday by Cde Steve Tshwete, who flew in from another commitment in Johannesburg.

UDF-Eastern Province was delayed and only arrived at the discussion of the item, "Million Signature Campaign".

The Meeting.

Apologies : Various Cdes including those from this region.

Correspondence: General secretary could not find list and this item skipped.

Minutes; Taken as read since they were circulated to the regions.

Matters arising: Constitution= Drafted by treasury and copies of draft to be circulated to regions for comment in time for the next A.G.M. where the constitution shall be tabled for adoption.

N.E.C. Meetings : Venue should be equidistant for regions as much as possible. Bloemfontein or Kimberley chosen as most suitable places. General Secretary to secure next venue and draw out rooster for subsequent meetings.

N.E.C. Workshops: Date and venue to be arranged by the General Secretary and should be after August 22. The main question will be where U.D.F. goes to after the tri-cameral elections.

U.D.F. Officer's Report presented.

Million Signature Campaign ; NATAL - Reported that campaign going on well. Interference by Inkatha violence. Cannot reach some areas for fear of Inkatha. To counter this a full-page advert costing about R 3 000 placed with ILANGA. It is hoped that this will reach the Inkatha areas.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED: 30 000

Western Cape; This region has a very intensive campaign rate. On the 31.05.84 alone about 12 000 signatures were collected over a period of 3(three) hours at Crossroads. This region is by far the most organised in many aspects.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED : 85 000

Transvaal : This region although the one with the best potential is plagued by numerous problems. This is reflected by the amount of work done to-date. Soweto remains untouched.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED: 42 409

Border ; No amount of certainty over work done due to lack of proper co-ordination of work due in part to lack of funds. Also plagued by problems. ELYCO. problem also affecting regions performance. State repression also blamed.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED: 30 000

Decided ; the National Secretaries should come to region as a matter of urgency to sort out ELYCO problem. Cde Sabelo pointed out urgency of matter and called for quick action as this could have far-reaching consequences since, already names of NEC members were being mentioned in the dispute. Secretaries to come to region on Monday 4.6.84 with view to seeing all concerned parties.

N.Cape : This unconstituted region also present. Reported scarcity of means. limitation on available activists.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED : 6 500

E. Cape; No proper co-ordination. Things reported improving.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED ; 17 000

O.F.S. : This unconstituted region not represented. Gen. Sec. reported on progress here.

SIGNATURES COLLECTED : 3 500

Decided; that despite the great deficit from the 1 mill target the should still remain a million and that more concerted effort be put into the campaign. Pointed out that no campaign can be protracted forever and all energies should be towards reaching the target soon and save DUF's name here and abroad.

Tri-cameral elections :

Need for- i. Positive Action

ii. Common stand (boycott)

iii. Common events on a national scale.

Weekend of 18th and 19th August chosen as one for National Action against tri-cameral elections. All regions to have functions on this weekend.

Decided; i. Cde Herman Toivo ja Tiovo to speak in Soweto on this weekend.

ii; statement to be issued re-affirming our boycott stand on the coming elections.

iii. Joint planning council made up of Nat Secs and some transvaal Cdes to plan strategies.

iv. Attendance at participating parties' meetings left open but encouraged.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: Cde Saloojee, Mohamed and Morake had been overseas. Reported contacts with high ranking government officials in several countries like Sweden, Britain, West Germany, America and Canada. Also seen officials of many organisations. Also held several press conferences to fill an obvious gap in publicity work overseas about UDF.

Frontline States: The Swazi activities outlined. Secretaries To visit 'Kangwane' and assess potential for mobilization. Also promote mil. sig. camp. while there. The guiding principle is that we cannot let a piece of our land be given away.

Nkomati: Write to all frontline states and clearly outline what our analysis of our struggle is. This is to rebut the ideas of the Machel and similar governments that ours is a civil rights campaign. Only those inside can define the struggle.

Botha's masquerade: Write to all heads of state he visited including the pope and condemn the visits.

National Housing Conference: Should get ideas from the regions *as to when a planning conference can be and get back to Cde. Junus within ten days. Funds and venue already available and if not used soon might fall away.* *Offered to the UDF - discuss - Resolution -* *AD-161* *Shane*

Restructuring: Committee to assist in research to be set up by Pub Sec. Person to man office and co-ordinate its work appointed in principle.

Labour unit: People to be specifically entrusted with relations labour movement to be nominated.

National Organiser: Same as under 'restructuring'. Applications from all regions.

Rural Organiser : Agreed to have them appointed for each region as soon as funds permit. One Apointed for N.Cape.

National Office: Reported that Tvl has maasive debts owed the national office. Have not payed rental or phone since Oct.'83. Last telephone acc. for Tvl and National office ammounted to R1 8 00 . No satisfactory explanation given. Rental for Tvl R60.00 Pcr month and responsible for half telephone bill per agreement with national office.

Decided :i.Tvl arrange rental directly with SACC.

ii.Only one line be left and that to be locked.For use by national office only.

iii.Tvl pay back all its debts. Theses be deducted f from their grant and distributed equally among the regions.

Pat. : Not employed by national office. If employed Tvl's responsibility.

Finance : Statements of previous grants to be submitted within two weeks.

Travel to NEC the responsibility of regions.

Stated by Border= There is a need to assess our ideas on state and extent of regions and our categorising them into Major, Intermediae, Minor and Unconstituted . Funding shuold be directed at achieving higher operational levels rather than maintaining status qu o.  
Endorsed by meeting.

Grants : National Office	R10 000
Transvaal (M.R.)	8 000
Natal ( " )	8 000
W. Cape ( " )	8 000
E. Cape (I.R )	3 000
Border (Mnr.R.)	2 000
N. Cape (U.R )	2 000

Code of Conduct : Reported by Cde. Mokoena that there are racial slanders in the Tvl mainly directed at people like him . Also accused NEC of abdicating its responsibility in not assisting in the growth and development of RMC. Also accused Natal of being anti spread of RMC and its development into a national organisation.

5/... Replied....

Replied: i. That such slandering is endemic in the struggle. only solution is programmes for political education as these are often occasioned by differential levels of politicisation. These should be dealt with at regional level not at NEC.

ii. Development of RMC not responsibility of NED but rather of RMC itself and NEC can only be held responsible if such development has been discussed at NEC level and a formal decision taken thereon. UDF cannot impose itself over activities of affiliates except by invitation. Pointed out that it is necessary to approach the right people when moving into an area to ensure maximum support of effort by all progressive forces. Tvl REC to look into problems of Tvl and sort them out.

Motlana's interview with SABC-TV : Tvl to handle this matter in line with NEC resolution on SABC-TV

Saawu : Barnabas no longer member of Tvl REC since he no longer represents Saawu.

NEC Decisions : Not all can be carried uniformly by all regions due to subjective realities. Should point-out those that are major and take them up on a National basis.

State of affiliates: Regions to -

- i. Supply list and strength of affiliates.
- ii. Contact all affiliates through visits by Secretaries of regions.
- iii; fill in a uniform questionnaire to be compiled by pub. sec.

Labour Federation : Will get recommendations on this from Labour Unit(UDF)

Alternative Media; Investigate the existence of progressive media in each region.

Removals and Relocations : No strategy to combat this available at UDF. This deplorable .

Decided: i. RGC'S to ponder on action oriented progrms.  
ii. All platforms; local , regional, national and international must be used to highlight the situation.

iii. Possibility...





UDF Christo Haas Yhb.

**G6**

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1. GENERAL COUNCILS

Five Regional General Council Meetings have been held since the last NEC. These are now being held once a month. Attendance varies between 60% and 80%.

2. SUB-REGIONS

RGC had appointed a commission to investigate the state of sub-regional structures and to make recommendations with regard to their status. The following recommendations were accepted:

- All existing sub-regional structures to be given full voting rights and allowed delegates at G.C.
- That accreditation be periodically assessed to ensure that sub-regions are maintaining and increasing their ability to reach people in their constituenc;

3. RESTRUCTURING

We have decided to democratise our existing structures to include the vast areas beyond the Peninsula (Rural Areas) in our decision-making process. We will now have an Executive Council consisting of the Western Cape Exec. reps. from each of our rural sub-regions.

An added motivation is that through such ongoing contact we can develop persons who have surfaced politically for the first time and lay a solid foundation for building sound political leadership in areas where organisation had not previously existed.

4. RURAL AREAS

The rural areas had been divided into 4 sub-regional structures, 2 of these (Boland and West Coast) now have properly structured General Councils.

The West Coast was launched at a mass meeting attended by ± 800 people on 14 April.

A workshop was held in the South Western Districts (Oudtshoorn) on 19 May where an ad hoc committee, consisting of individuals from organisations as well as leading community figures, was established. The committee had committed itself to work towards the establishment of a full fledged UDF structure within 6 weeks. The weekend was concluded by a church service led by Dr. Allan Boesak the Sunday. ± 2 500 people attended the service.

5. MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

We have crossed the 86 000 mark. We believe that this was possible largely because of the decision to divide our region into sub-regions which were each allocated a number of signatures to collect.

See section on page 4\*

2. Blitzes need to be followed up by eg. Area mass meetings;
3. Media around the M.S.C. must be stepped up;
4. We should aim to round the campaign off by the end of June.

6. ELECTIONS

G.C. had agreed that all organisations should tailor their activities in such a way that it does not detract from an intensive anti-election campaign. All other organisational work should be suspended between June and August.

All sub-regions will be having workshops to discuss an anti-election strategy in their areas. Representatives from these structures will then meet to synthesise the proposals and develop an overall strategy for the Western Cape.

7. CONSCRIPTION (See report from Conscription Sub-committee)

8. REMOVALS

A removals sub-committee had been set up. They will focus on the following:

- (a) Removals from Crossroads - Out of 43 000 residents only 6 000 are "legals" and will be moved to Khayalitsha. The rest will be moved to the bantustans. This process is likely to start in July.
- (b) The government had finally announced that they indeed plan to relocate all residents of the existing African townships, in Khayalitsha. Because of the strong opposition, the government had announced that this is a long term plan which will be phased in gradually. They have however, abandoned Phase 2 and 3 of the planned New Crossroads development. All further developments in the townships had also been stopped.

The demands articulated thus far are:-

1. The abolition of the Homeland system and pass laws; ✓
2. The abolition of the Coloured labour preferential policy;
3. That existing land be used to build houses;
4. If that is inadequate, that houses be built from the boundaries of the township and if it then needs to continue right up to Khayalitsha, then so be it.

## MEETINGS

- (a) A May Day rally was attended by approximately 3 000 people;
- (b) A mass meeting, to follow up a signature blitz, was held in Lavender Hill;
- (c) A meeting, aimed primarily at the white areas, was held in the Claremont Civic Centre and was attended by approximately 1 000 people. International messages of support were received.

## 10. LEGAL MATTERS

- (a) One of the groups charged for having a motorcade, over the people's weekend, had been fined R50,00 each. They have appealed.
- (b) Our appeal against the state's appeal which got the Supreme Court ruling to set aside the banning of the Rondebosch meeting, cancelled, is currently being heard.
- (c) Some members of our affiliates had been informed that charges were being laid against them for allegedly disrupting a P.C.P. meeting in Mitchell's Plain.
- (d) E. Moosa had been instructed to investigate a libel suit, to be laid against Rapport for publishing a letter where the UDF was linked to the ANC.

## 11. MEDIA

The following had been produced:-

- (a) UDF News - English/Afrikaans and English/Xhosa editions.
- (b) UDF Nuns - Rural edition in Afrikaans only.
- (c) Pamphlet for West Coast sub-region launching.
- (d) Signature Campaign media
  - "The Call": pamphlet used before blitzes, now out of print.
  - Signature forms (most with Afrikaans and Xhosa translations on the back)
  - Pre-blitz A5 flyer stating that we will be coming into an area to collect signatures. (Afrikaans, ENglish and Xhosa).
  - Volunteers handbook.
  - Poster
  - UDF on high prices, G.S.T., wages and the new deal pamphlet left with those who had signed.

- In addition to this, most areas produce area specific pamphlets which link local conditions to the new deal.

(e) Another 700 T-shirts with "Join a million Sign against Apartheid" on the back have been printed and sold.

Total T-shirts sold thus far = 3 000.

A further 2 T-shirts with the slogans "We won't go to Khayalitsha" and "Don't vote for Apartheid" will be produced.

(f) 2 May Day buttons were produced by one of our sub-regions.

(g) A pamphlet, a flyer, a sticker and a glossy brochure had been produced for May Day.

(h) A poster and a pamphlet on prices/poverty was produced for churches.

\* This section precedes page 2

Most of these sub-regions organise blitzes at least fortnightly. In addition to these, joint blitzes are held in areas where little or no organisation exists and/or are too vast for sub-regions to cover. Three such blitzes have been held, in Heideveld, Elsies River and Mitchells Plain. (A fourth blitz, in Crossroads, took place yesterday.)

An assessment workshop was held on 23 April where the following proposals (subsequently endorsed by GC) were made:

(1) Thorough training should be provided for UDF volunteers to ensure that our signatures collected are meaningful;