

ASSESSOR

UDA Jus

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No (19). 1078787 = 11/8/87

(20) 17/9/87
23/9/87 f.4.

(21) 27/10/87

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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MINUTES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD IN JOHANNESBURG ON 10 & 11 NOVEMBER 1984

PRESENT: A Sisulu; F Chikane; M Chikane, I Mohammed; M Moosa;
C Saloojee; Z Yacoob; C Ndlovu; Y Mohammed; J (Jabu);
K Gordham; C Carolous; A Boraine; J de Vries; M...
(Miranda); S Tshwete; A Hendricks; T Manuel; S(Sabelo)
J Khasu; B Hermanus.

APOLOGIES: A series of apologies tendered for all except E. Cape
delegation.

- AGENDA:
1. Correspondence
 2. Discussion on prevailing situation
 3. Introduction to assessment
 4. Input & discussion on political aspects of UDF
 5. Input & discussion on organisational aspects of UDF
 6. " " " " administrative " " "
 7. Broad strategic direction
 8. National General Council
 9. International Youth Year
 10. General

1. Correspondence (received)

1.1 UDF Co-ordinating Committee Northern Transvaal re: request
for financial assistance.

~~1.2~~ Zakhe - information re: their funding application

~~1.3~~ Anti-P.L. Committee - request for funding

~~1.4~~ East London Women's Organisation - disaffiliation from Border
Region.

~~1.5~~ Cassim Saloojee, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede

~~1.6~~ National President: Edgar Ngoyi

~~1.7~~ National Secretary: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin

National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa Lekota

National Secretary: Popo Molefe

- 1.5 Basuto National Party - congratulations and thanking UDF for concerns expressed in previous letter.
- 1.6 Transvaal Region enquiries re: Anderson's visit.

Items 1.1 to 1.3 referred to discussion on finances under 'admin'
Item 1.4 - N.E.C informed that there appears to be a connection between E.L.W.O and the E.L.Y.C which had previously disaffiliated

Item 1.5 - Head Office requested to reply

Item 1.6 - Referred to discussion on political aspects of UDF

2. Discussion on prevailing situation.

Transvaal delegates gave an account of the situation. The report included UDF participation in the Stay-away, the schools boycott, the relationship with trade unions; FOSATU's call for a Black Christmas; the Vaal; Soweto increases; forced resignation of community councillors; pattern of detentions.

Head Office gave an account of the raid under Section 54 of I.S.A and the kind of material removed. Also, the acting General Secretary reported on the interest shown by RDM & SAPA in UDF finances.

The events surrounding the Durban Consulate were explained. The motivation for the move, the processes of consultation, the difficulties in consultation and the impact of the move were explained. In addition the queries raised by Transvaal regarding Anderson's visit were explained.

3. Introduction to assessment

To lead-in the assessment, a brief input was given on behalf of head office. This input raised the following points for consideration:-

... changing circumstances and UDF's inability to change sufficiently to accommodate these.
... of features which make for a truly national movement, UDF ... still have a largely regional character.

- * Lack of understanding for front politics
- * Inability to exact uniform discipline from units e.g MSC
- * The need to politically extend on our objectives and in particular to focus attention on issues which affect the majority of our people.
- * Unrealistic goal-setting which does not sufficiently take into account the objective material conditions.
- * Unity is sometimes superceded by inter-regional competition.
- * The need for absolute honesty about achievements.
- * The nature of the front and its relation to state power often not sufficiently clear.

4. Input on political aspects of UDF
(see attached input)

Out of discussion on the paper the following agreements were reached.

4.1 THE DECLARATION AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER

The two documents are not incompatible however, the Freedom Charter is a document of far greater stature. Organisations which have adopted the Freedom Charter should campaign for this document. It would be unwise for the front per se to adopt the Charter at this juncture. This does not however preclude this position from being later achieved.

A brief report was given on discussion of the assessment meeting of the Transvaal Stay-away Committee. There would not be another stay-away, instead the TSC would support the call for a Black Christmas. The N.E.C unanimously decided to support the Black Christmas call, to issue a press statement to the effect and urgently requested regions to discuss the practical implementation of the call.

4.2 Some discussion followed on working class leadership, militance and spontaneity. The agreements related to advancing both working class interests and leadership within the UDF and ensuring that in all regions we are sufficiently sensitive to all needs and views and that the front can continue to win over the maximum number of people and organisations.

4.3 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The major focus on was the Durban Consulate. Discussion and debate around whether the issue was advancing or clouding the anti-imperialism content of our struggle was fairly intense and, for all intents and purposes unresolved. Other elements of the Durban Consulate issue were also discussed. Eventually, the following points crystallised out of the discussion:-

1. Differences around the autonomy of regions to wage campaigns in the name of the UDF.
2. Differences in the understanding of our resolution on imperialism.
3. Different understandings of tactics, strategy and principles.

Further, it was strongly motivated that the consulate issue be rounded off and until such point, head office should be a point of communication to ensure that all regions are involved in decisions related to the consulate issue.

5. INPUT AND DISCUSSION ON ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS OF UDF.

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The attached input was presented. As much of the issues raised were self-explanatory and the suggestions were to be referred back, not much discussion ensued. The following points were raised:-

- 5.1 Insufficient attention is being paid to development of rural structures.
- 5.2 N.E.C members must attend N.E.C meetings fully armed with information on activities, feelings, etc at base level.
- 5.3 There had been no feedback whatsoever on amendments to Working Principles.

6. INPUT AND DISCUSSION ON ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS OF UDF

See attached input. Arising from the input, the following points were discussed:-

6.1 The accountability of Head Office

It was agreed that a Head Office Committee be established comprising of President Sisulu, Treasurer Saloojee, Acting General Secretary Manuel and Administrative Officer Maleka. This committee would have powers to take emergency decisions.

6.2 .E.C Minutes

These should be circularised and time allowed for comment.-

6.3 Administrative Officer

Should convene all N.E.C meetings and attend these for purposes of recording.

6.4 Information Office & Officer

This should be addressed as a matter of urgency to ensure speedy implementation.

6.5 Statements on Policy matters

These would be issued by or in the name of the President.

** Northern Cape requested to leave at 13H00. They gave an undertaking that their R_G_C would be set up by the end of January.

6.6 FINANCES

It was the understanding of National Treasurers that they would be expected to raise and administer funds for the National Office. However, they have gone beyond that to raise funds to assist the regions. However, an undue demand was placed on the National Treasury by regions. It was reported that to date, allocations had been made in close consultation with the National Secretariat. Also, allocations had been made ~~exclusively~~ to regions and not to affiliates.

The auditors appointed by head office were greatly concerned about the fact that regional grants are by large completely unaccounted for. An urgent appeal was made to regions to submit audited statements of account.

Regions requested income and expenditure statements from the national treasurer. It was agreed that these would be forwarded soon.

The National Treasury was remotivated. It was agreed that it would meet at the same time as the Secretariat. Its task would be to discuss financial accountability, agree on a single accounting method and arrive at a more scientific basis for future grants.

N Tvl's request for funding. This would be made available subject to discussions at the meeting of the National Treasury and funds being available.

Western Cape reported that the N.E.C had accepted their rural budget. However only 1/3 of this money had been granted. Also, all regions still owe the W Cape substantial amounts of money. The treasurer reported that funds were low and indicated that the matter would be rediscussed at the above-mentioned meeting. It was further agreed that all regions would pay the W Cape the outstanding amounts.

7. BROAD STRATEGIC DIRECTION

The future work of the UDF should take the following into account:-

7.1 Economic Contradictions

7.2 Continuing contradictions around the implementation of the constitution e.g local councils. Also the handling of strategic considerations e.g the upgraded powers of Allen Hendrickse *etc.*

~~7.3 Forced Removals~~

~~7.4 Greater national link-up~~

~~7.5 Greater advancement of the demands of the majority of our people.~~

- 7.6 National Conference of civics - agreed that it would be convened in Natal.
- 7.7 Militarisation
- 7.8 UDF offensive

8. THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

The attached report on the I.Y.Y was tabled by a delegation from the I.Y.Y meeting.

The youth comrades were commended by the N.E.C., who promised to give maximum support to their work.

9. NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

It was agreed that the N.G.C be held in Johannesburg over the Easter weekend. Prior to this, preferably during March, all regions should hold the A.G.M's.

It was further agreed that the N.G.C take the form of an A.G.M with keynote address.

10. GENERAL

1. Women's organisation.

W Cape reported on their attempts to unify the two women's organisations viz. UWO & WFO. They also requested that the attached report be circularised to all regions.

2. Million Signature Campaign

Regions were urged to discuss the MSC so that a decision on the future of the campaign be reached

3. It was requested that regions investigate an extension of the BLA campaign to take into account the prevailing circumstances.

The question of appointments to head office was raised as a problem by Transvaal. The N.E.C re-affirmed its previous decision.

The meeting terminated at 16h30 on Sunday 11 November 1984.

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(16) 8/9/87

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Bishop Manas B. 18/2/87

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1. CAMPAIGNS.

BLACK CHRISTMAS.

The meeting called to evaluate the stayaway, a decision was taken at that meeting to launch a consumer boycott. The NEC also met and took a decision before this meeting to go on the black christmas campaign. The UDF was asked to convene a meeting of all organisations to discuss this matter.

In the UDF general council meeting a black christmas committee was formed to popularise this campaign.

Public meetings were organised and the black christmas cards were distributed.

2. ANTI REPRESSION CAMPAIGN

Mass meetings were held in Pretoria, E. Rand, and Tembisa. - Soweto mass meeting was banned though the banning order was contested successfully.

A protest meeting in support of the treason trialist was banned, in Johannesburg but was shifted to Pretoria where more than thousand people were attracted to this meeting though at a very short notice.

3. VAAL RELIEF WORK.

The UDF (TVL) set up a Vaal crisis committee in order to address the Vaal crisis situation.

The Vaal information service was set up with offices in Sebokeng and Sharpeville.

ITS TASKS

- Distribute food to destitute families.
- Assists individuals and families requiring legal or medical assistance.

4. DPSC.

Has been established in Sebokeng and in Sharpeville, attempts are being made to revive affiliates in this area.

5. EDUCATION CRISIS.

In a public meeting organised by UDF area committee (SOWETO) a parents committee was formed, to work very closely with COSAS.

Mona Bayle
18/5/88

7. REPRESSION.

If there is any period very significant in the UDF itself it is the period after or during the elections.

Repression mounted, and it found the UDF unprepared for it. Immediately after UDF big names were locked up in jails - the whole machinery of the UDF came to a standstill.

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8/19/89

Crisis in areas like the Vaal, Tembisa and Soweto erupted - No UDF quick response came out. The masses expected UDF to give direction, UDF was not there to give direction, opportunists were there to seize the opportunity. We must address this question very seriously.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL.

The N.E.C. took a decision on a "BLACK CHRISTMAS" thing of all the regions only Transvaal region effected the decision, Transvaal was left alone to see what it can do. Was it simply because the crisis affected Transvaal only? We must address this situation very seriously also.

WHERE IS UDF - WHERE IS UDF GOING TO ?

Now that elections are over, the question where is the UDF going to? must be attended to very closely. The question of political alternatives must be looked into very seriously.

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~~(20) 17/9/87~~

(20) 22/9/87 , 24/9/87

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INPUT AT N.E.C. OF 10/11 NOVEMBER, 1984.

ON POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE FRONT.

Rev" J3 11

1. Introduction

We meet at a very crucial period in the history of our struggle, at a time when the state is responding with harsh repression in a desperate attempt to hold the apartheid system which is in a serious crisis as a result of a determined and consistent challenge by the masses of our people.

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We need to take the opportunity and creative initiatives to build unit with the UDF and progressive forces as a whole, together we need to develop a clear programme which will address the growing need to build organisations to challenge the state and forge forward to democracy.

We need to look honestly at ourselves and examine the conditions that obtain. In doing so, we should make an objective assessment of our overall activities and subject ourselves to constructive criticism which will enable us to correctly locate and rectify our weaknesses.

In attempting to discuss the role and future of the UDF, it is important to recall some of the fundamentals that guide us in our work.

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2. Our objective is:

To dismantle apartheid and replace it with a more just and democratic system.

Often in the day to day heat of the struggle, we forget that our enemy is the apartheid system and not those whose views differ with ours.

2.1 Approach to struggle

Clarity to the question of which is the most appropriate form of organisation for our struggle at this stage, it is important to have increasing clarity among our ranks of questions such as:

2.1.1 What is wrong with apartheid?

2.1.2 What kind of society do we want?

2.1.3 How are we going to bring about change?

2.1.4 What is the role of organisation in this process?

2.1.5 What are the stages in the development of organisation and struggle?

The next question on which we require clarity is the question of how this change will come about?

Firstly - is it through the actions and work of the few like ourselves or the many - the masses?

2.2 Our view

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The masses are the makers of history. It is they who must become active participants in the struggle without this there cannot be any successful victory.

It therefore becomes imperative to evaluate our organisational activities in such a way that we draw the maximum participation of the broad masses - through mobilization, education and by mapping out in clear terms the need for unity, to reject attempts by the enemy to divide our forces on racial lines.

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2.2.1 Second Question

The second question is how do the masses become effectively historical forces for change?

2.2.2 By each ordinary man and woman acting on his or her own without common goals, purpose etc. or

2.2.3 By becoming a highly cohesive/united body with resilience dedicated and experienced leadership etc - in other words becoming ORGANISED.

3. Organisation - a vital role

3.1 There can be no "struggle" against apartheid without an organised people.

3.2 Our success must be measured against the criteria - to what extent have we mobilised and organised our people.

3.3 The task of organising then will be an added task of the Front.

3.4 Appropriate resources need to be allocated for this purpose.

The way in which people become organised, the form that the organisation takes place and its particular style of work is determined by the particular historical circumstances in which the organisation developed - so that at different stages in our struggle, our peoples' organisation have taken different forms.

The crucial question to address ourselves to is, how much of our time and energy do we spend towards organisational work? How many among us are prepared to sacrifice and seriously take as a priority the need to place in the background individual interests - in an effort to maximise greater mass participation in the day to day organisational decisions.

There are two categories of organisations. They also serve different roles in our struggle. We need to understand what they are and how each contributes.

3.2 Political Organisation

A political organisation has:

- 3.2.1 a unitary cohesive structure
- 3.2.2 a single common ideological position
- 3.2.3 a wider ranging programme

4. Type of political structure

To assess what type of political structure was necessary and possible, we have to understand and examine some of the characteristics of a unitary political organisation.

- 4.1 High level of ideological cohesiveness;
- 4.2 Presence of experienced activists and leadership;
- 4.3 Capacity to build organisational structures throughout the country;
- 4.4 An appropriate mass political consciousness and readiness for active participation;
- 4.5 The level of repression and what space there was for legal mass organisation;
- 4.6 The level of disciplined political conduct among activists and leadership.

5. Mass Organisation:

Structurally not bounded by any parameters - could be national or very localised - no fixed ideological position;

- it arises out of day to day issues affecting people e.g rent, transport
- it responds to a limited particular area of people's experiences
- not a political organisation although it responds to issues that may be political in nature.

We must remember that the question of organising our people is a historical process. It is a long and hard road. Our glorious heroes of the past have taken us some distance along this road.

Whilst it seems unnecessary for us to go into details about the history of our struggle for liberation. From the formation of the ANC in 1912, the Congress Alliance etc until the banning of the people's organisations in 1960, it is, however, significant to examine the political situation from the 1970's.

6. 1970's.

We saw the emergence of organisations of all types and at all levels.

6.2 1980's

We saw the growth in organisations:

POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS:

N.I.C; T.I.C; R.M.C; Anti Community Council Committees and eventually the UDF.

Youth Clubs and Congresses.

Women's Organisations throughout the country e.g FED, (Trade Unions. (Although there appears evidence of the lack of worker participation in UDF)

Students: COSAS, AZASO.

There was also a growing need to:

- build national unity and working relationship
- take up certain issues affecting our people at a national level e.g rent, etc
- challenge the apartheid system through some national structure rather than on a fragmented basis
- begin first stages of building a national non-racial democratic political structure
- in 1983, to challenge the new constitutional proposals
- this led to the formation of the N.C.C

These then were the conditions in which we as democrats began to look at in 1983; how best to offer the most maximum participation of all our people against the new constitutional proposals.

However, the following considerations actually determined the form that our organised resistance took in 1983.

- The regional nature of the development of resistance with minimal, if any, interprovincial links. This gave us the regional structures in the UDF.
- The low level of political organisation in the country, which gives us more non-political organisation in the UDF than political organisations.
- The large number of mass organisations which grew out of mass action of the 80's on all sorts of issues:
Community, worker, students, etc.

These then act as a major base of the UDF

Fragmented, unco-ordinated resistance - providing the urgent need to launch a national political structure which would lend cohesiveness to resistance, but at the same time help organise the unorganised areas.

That is why the UDF today plays both the role of a front in certain parts of the country and the role of an organisation in other parts.

6.3 Our Objective Weakness

In experience in handling front politics - no highly developed layer of activists throughout the country - inexperience in political mobilization techniques - resulting in the need for the UDF to provide resources and skills to train personnel, but also the recognition that organic leadership will grow from the campaigns of the UDF.

These are the conditions among others, which led to the establishment of a front-political structure. It is the actual conditions, as spelt out that determine the precise form that the political structure takes.

So a Front (in S A conditions) is

- The coming together of a number of existing organisations - each maintaining its autonomy - but also the creation of more organisations where they do not exist.
- The adoption of a broad program and ideological position - compatible with attracting the largest number of persons/organisations
- Having a clear focus on campaigns e.g Constitution, etc.

Political Organisation

- Has a unitary cohesive structure
- Single, common ideological position
- Wider ranging program

7. One Year of the UDF : Our achievements & weaknesses

- We have created more regions;
- We have a national presence;
- Ideologically we have made an impact - both within the country and internationally;
- We have enhanced the process of building organisations;
- We have laid down progressive guidelines and alternatives
- Democratic ideals of an undivided non-racial South Africa.

8. Organising: A historic process.

We made the point earlier that the question of organising our people is a historical process - and we say that the UDF is merely another stage along this process - it is, therefore, not an end in itself.

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We must still continue until we reach our goal of a highly organised people - capable of swinging the overall balance of forces in our favour so that when we finish our reflection, we must plan to move to the next stage of the road; to become highly organised.

This will only materialise if the progressive forces in the front realise and are ready to meet the challenges confronting them:

- proper and constant communication;
- co-ordinating and sharing of experiences;
- preparedness to correct our shortcomings in the interest of a broader democratic struggle.

The next important consideration for us to understand clearly is, that the change of an organisation from one form to another e.g front to unitary political organisation is by and large, determined by whether all development that is possible within that form has been achieved before one can consider the transformation to another more cohesive form e.g (National political organisation).

9. General Plan

In the light of the fore-going considerations, we need to pause - reflect and formulate our strategy to ensure that we are on the correct path.

There is no better way than to refer to our fundamental principles in relation to change.

9.1 Style of Work

The nature of repression and minimal scope to work within the legal organisational structures, forces us to be:

- conscious and ensure that our conduct reflects the type of discipline required to maintain security at all levels and at all times;
- accountability on the part of both the leadership and activists to preserve the image of our organisations and the UDF;
- highlight those positive aspects which unite us as against points of differences which are negative and divisive;
- differences to be discussed frankly in a comradely manner; (which is constructive)
- discourage gossiping
- to be patient, tolerant, respect one another's viewpoint;
- to ensure collective responsibility, leadership and democratic decision-making;
- to fight against individual tendencies which are not exposed to criticism;

- discourage regionalism and provincialism which tend to create cliques that undermine our national unity.

10. Focus on crucial issues

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The present political situation in S A today demands that we re-view our strategical and objective approaches. It would appear that our immediate focus in the future of our struggle for the total liberation of the oppressed should be the:

- liberation of the African masses. The recent campaign has exposed our weakness in this regard, we should refer to
 - trade unions (labour field)
 - rural organisation
 - the creation of UDF Support Committees

We need to:

- build a Liberation Alliance
- to take up broad political issues such as:-
 - removals, government urban strategy, Black Local Authorities
 - continue to challenge the implementation of the Constitution
 - to take up education country wide
 - to improve the level of our organisation and its leadership;
 - we need to mobilize and organise our people to enable them to clearly identify the true enemy.

11. Programme of Action

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Our decision to draw up a programme of action, brings to the fore important considerations:

- to pull our energy, both mentally and physically and direct our skills and resources towards the realisation of our programme.
- to promote our objectives
- to organise our people
- to expand the Front
- to train personnel
- to challenge the state much more vigorously;

- take definite steps to defend UDF
- set proper guidelines to improve our relationship with all affiliates;
- guidelines for taking up issues;
- restructuring the Front;
- we need to have a structure which is more cohesive to enable us to arrive at quick decisions.

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A. Goalsetting

It is necessary for us to set our sights high, but we should also be realistic. An incorrect assessment of what is possible can lead to public embarrassment for the Front and can be used to undermine the confidence of the people in the Front. Our activists also become demoralised if they had worked very hard and failed to attain goals we've set for ourselves.

In future proper assessment and planning should take place in all structures which will be expected to contribute to the attainment of a particular goal. Logistics should be worked out as far possible before we commit ourselves firmly.

We should also define far more clearly what objectives we have i.e. whether the emphasis is on depth or high profile activity. During the elections we also learnt that is not possible to sustain two intensive campaigns with different profiles at the same time (i.e elections & MSC).

CR

Criteria for affiliation

Organisations. The UDF must continue to encourage as many kinds of organisations with their interests, irrespective of their size or constituency. We should be realistic about the fact that we will rely more on some affiliates to do the mass work while that of others are valuable in other respects.

Where we need to make a distinction, is in terms of decision-making. A formula should be found where numerical representation at decision-making. Forums like G.C should be commensurate with the capacity of an affiliate to take practical responsibility to implement decisions of the Front.

2. Regions. We should critically assess what the point is at which regional status is accorded. It appears as if our earlier motivation that inclusion into national structures will stimulate the development of regions, has had some adverse effects. Very often this has drained those areas, because of the demands placed on them. They are often compelled to respond to activities which were decided on by national structures where the pace is determined by the stronger region. In the long run this can undermine development.

We should accept that the core of the UDF will always exist around urban areas like Johannesburg, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth & Cape Town. However, fairly substantial structures are developing in some of the rural areas which form part of our existing regions. We need to find ways of incorporating those areas more directly into decision-making of the UDF, because distances from the towns responsible for them often makes this impossible.

Possible guidelines for the future:

Conferences must have been allowed to develop to the extent where there is a general council which can meet regularly and consist of affiliate organisations

Organisations in the geographic area, must launch the region and apply for national status once they feel they are in a position to take responsibility for (i) surrounding area

(ii) national campaigns

- Re-assess existing regions l.t.o. above criteria
- Assess whether regional boundaries should be re-defined to create smaller more manageable regions.

C. Decision-making:

1. Processes:

We need to strike a balance between the need for UDF to respond speedily to crisis and the need for all our affiliates to be party to and committed to decisions we take.

Practical proposals in this regard are that agendas of national gatherings be sent out timeously and that allowance be made for discussion thereof in affiliates and that affiliates be encouraged to make suggestions l.t.o N.E.C agendas. We should accept that we will have to respond to urgent issues and take decisions without following this procedure. The nature of such discussion and decisions should however be disseminated as soon as possible to all affiliates.

2. Autonomy of affiliates in relation to decision.

It is unhealthy for any of our affiliates to actively go against majority decisions taken. We should however understand when some affiliates are not in a position to participate actively in some of our campaigns. Such affiliates should however be encouraged to look at means of playing a supportive role.

In terms of our past practice, we need to assess flexibility/autonomy and its implications for unity in the Front.

D. Accountability:

The formation of the UDF marked a new era of closer co-operation between progressive forces in S A. Most of our affiliates do not have the experience of having worked in an alliance like the UDF. While we encourage affiliates to take up campaigns, we must bear in mind that the work of our affiliates will invariably have a bearing on the work of the rest of the Front. As affiliates, we should feel duty-bound to consult with or at least inform the rest of the Front about all campaigns we propose to tackle, particularly when campaigns will be mass based. This can only serve to strengthen such campaigns and contribute to unity in action.

E. Discipline

Because we are a Front and not a political organisation, the only basis in terms of which we can take disciplinary measures against any affiliate or individual, is the principle enshrined in our declaration, resolutions and working principles. We should endeavour to foster sound relationships among our affiliates but we should be aware of the UDF's limitations to try and resolve differences among organisations especially where those differences arose because of dynamics outside of the Front.

If such transgression does occur, R.E.C's & N.E.C should not be structures which decide on the form of discipline. Such matters are best dealt with collectively through forums like Regional G.C's.

UDF has no real discipline over individuals in the Front - organisations must take responsibility for their membership. We should however bear in mind that the best guarantee for discipline is to inculcate a sense of trust and a strong loyalty towards the front and its objectives. Drastic disciplinary measures should only be considered after comradely attempts to explain to those at fault, had failed or if the fundamental principles of the UDF had been consciously flouted.

F. Structures

We need to assess whether our existing structures are appropriate for the work it is intended to do. The following are some practical proposals:

- NGC - should gather only once a year and serve the purpose of an AGM
- should only take place after regional AGM's
 - representation per region should be determined l.t.o numbers only. Regions should decide how best they and their affiliates can be represented.
 - we should determine how national formations will be represented if the above proposal is accepted

NEC - to be held less often

- its work should revolve largely around policy and broad guidelines for work
- emergency NEC's to be called only if regional feedback is not the best method at arriving at a national position. Practical decisions to be taken by appropriate structures e.g Treasury, Secretariat, Publicity dept
- all reports to be circularised prior to NEC and only matters arising to be discussed

~~given~~ the logistics and finances ~~involved~~ in having an NEC, ~~we~~ should assess its size.

G. Education & Training

We are very conscious of the need for far more systematic education & training of our activists as well as new people who are being drawn in. We need to assess whether this is best done through permanent, high structures or more informally.

There are two categories which are not necessarily related.

- 1) Equipping our activists with organising skills. This is best done when based on practical experience e.g briefing before going into areas & assessments afterwards.
- 2) Broadening the political understanding of those within the front. Regular open discussions or forums should be encouraged as long as these do not become substitutes for structures like GC to discuss policy matters.

We should look at how experience in this regard can be shared.

H. Relationship to non-affiliates

Our emphasis should always be to seek those areas where co-operation is possible. It is important that we should continue to try and win over all progressive organisations.

As far as other political tendencies are concerned, our most serious consideration should be those which have a mass base. By now we should be able to be realistic about the areas and nature of co-operation which is possible. It is our task to ensure that we and those not affiliates never lose sight of the fact that the apartheid state is the enemy and that if any ideological differences do exist, we should respect those and not allow it to undermine the potential areas of unity.

(19)
11/8/87

BEW 55

UDF NATIONAL OFFICE

16 NOVEMBER 1984

Dear Comrades

Here is the report on our deliberations regarding the International Youth Year.

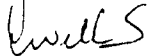
I would just like to mention that this report was drawn up separately from the report on the whole plenary session and that explains why this section only covers the IYY. Comrade Deacon is still working on the rest of the report.

I would just like to stress that there are a number of important issues that we need to address ourselves to presently:

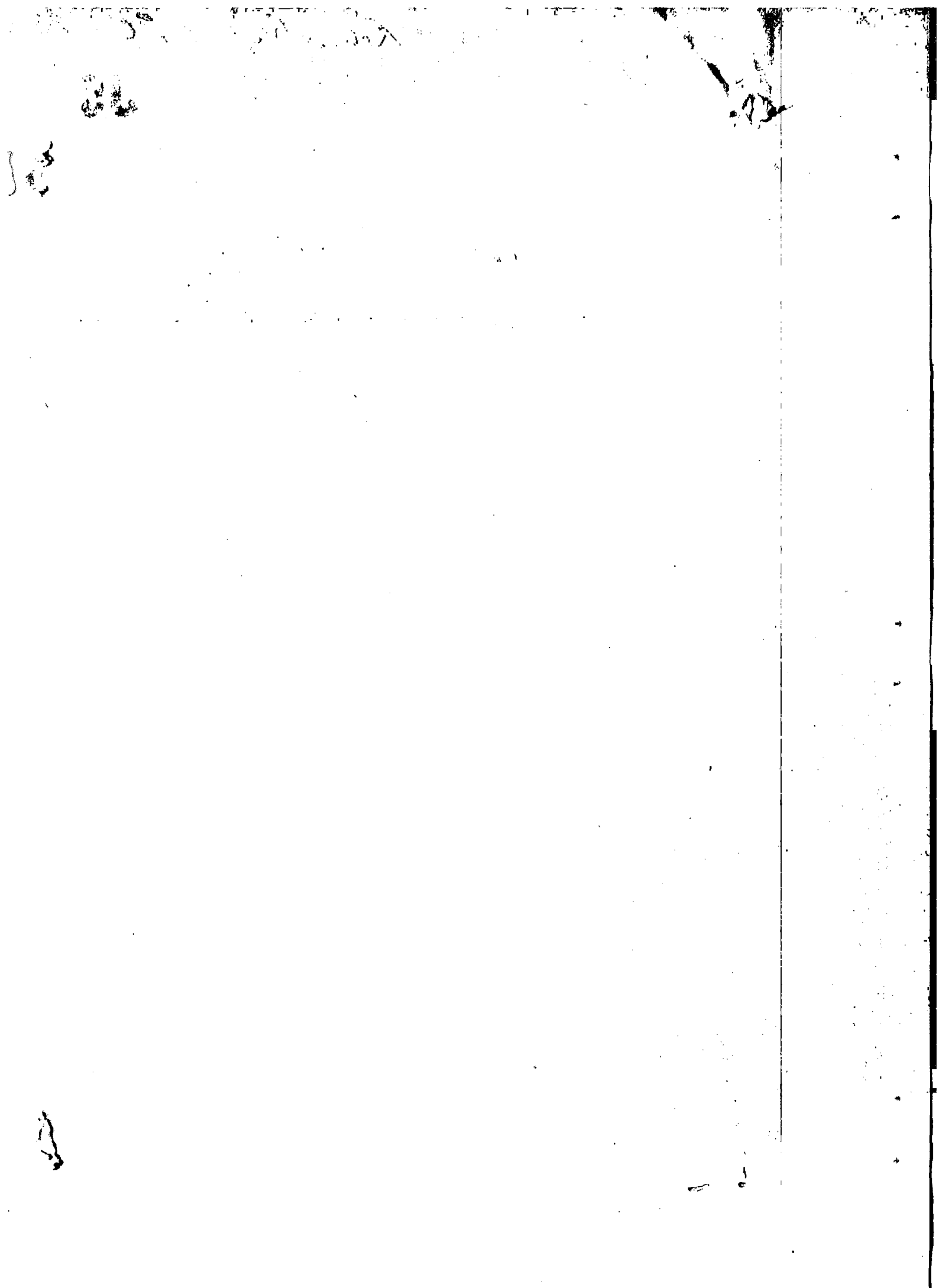
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2. Contacting church and sports structures
3. Finance for the campaign
4. Local and regional launches

It would be appreciated if comrades in various regions could address themselves to these issues and prepare reports for the next Interim Committee meeting which would take place in December. The Interim Committee would also welcome suggestions in terms of resources and the national launch.

Yours in the struggle



Vincent Williams



THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

REPORT OF PLENARY SESSION HELD AT LENASIA

10 - 11 NOVEMBER 1985(4)

addition
Rev "JS"

Our focus on the IYY started with a paper on the history, background and objectives ., and also some information regarding international developments up till now.

The paper also attempted to contextualise the IYY in South Africa, and spell out what objectives we could have for the campaign.

In conclusion, the IYY paper attempted to raise some of the important questions and issues that needed to be clarified. (See included paper).

In the light of the paper presented and questions raised, the following discussions were held and conclusions reached., after we had established the fact that we were meeting as UDF affiliates and thus accountable to UDF.

Arising out of the questions raised by the paper, we attempted to draw up a list of priorities and campaigns that are going to face democratic organisations next year, and more specifically youth organisations.

Through reflection on the events that took place this year, the following things were isolated:

1. Anti-conscription and militarisation
2. 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter
3. Forced removals
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6. Education Charter
7. Unemployment
8. Effective leadership and skills training
9. Establishment and strengthening of organisations in rural areas
10. Strong national co-ordination

Taking into account these priorities, we agreed that the youth should engage themselves in these campaigns. At this stage the question of the Freedom Charter arose - Should we as UDF affiliates take up the 30th anniversary of the Charter ?

Taking into account UDF's position in relation to the Charter and also the fact that we have agreed to take up the IYY under the banner of UDF, it was decided that we should not. It was however agreed upon that individual organisations are free to take it up as one campaign in their IYY programme

Attempts were made to decide whether we should take the IYY up as a campaign or a theme. Due to lack of clarity on the difference between the two, attempts were made to clarify each one.

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A THEME was seen to be more long-term and can serve as an overall guideline as to the manner in which to engage ourselves in action. A theme like that of the IYY allows for the incorporation of broader issues which become campaigns in themselves. This does not mean that the theme itself does not get emphasised - it means that all campaigns that are engaged in, should serve as an opportunity to popularise the theme.

It was concluded that we should not attempt to clarify whether we take up the IYY as a campaign or a theme, but that the nature of our actions will determine the nature of the IYY. This means that at specific stages the IYY can be regarded as a theme and at others it will be a campaign.

No 19
17/8/87
20
17/8/87

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1. It gives us an opportunity to mobilise and organise the youth of our country.
2. At the same time we can exploit the opportunity that the IYY presents to popularise, strengthen and build our organisations, including the UDF.
3. It gives us the opportunity to put the S.A. struggle on the international agenda, while at the same time developing a consciousness and understanding of the struggles in other countries.
4. Through the IYY we can establish a unified programme of action and hence establish effective co-ordination.

Under the question of our relationship to other structures, the following were isolated:

1. UDF - It was agreed upon that we were meeting as UDF affiliates and that we would thus work under the banner of UDF, while at the same time expecting support from REC's and the NEC.
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2. Establishment of local and regional IYY committees.
3. Working towards local and regional launches.
4. It was tentatively decided that a national launch would take place at the end of January 1985.

To facilitate the work that needs to happen during the next few weeks, a National Interim Committee was established with representatives from all the regions and one person from the NEC of COSAS; AZASO AND NUSAS. The work of the committee was outlined as follows:-

1. Contact absent regions and get representatives
2. Work towards establishing IYY local and regional committees
3. Liaise with UDF, church and sports structures
4. Investigate international links and finance
5. Release press statements
6. Convene the National Launch

Nolaw Writi PE

J6



11
Rev "I6"

THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

The year 1985 has been declared the International Youth Year by the United Nations General Assembly. The proposal was first made in 1977 and officially adopted in 1979 by the U.N. Since then, almost all the countries affiliated to the U.N. have been preparing for this year.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES AS SEEN BY THE U.N.

The main aims of the IYY should be to disseminate among youth the ideals of peace, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, human solidarity and dedication to the objectives of progress and development. The IYY is intended to harness the energies, enthusiasms and creative abilities of youth to the task of nationbuilding and to the struggle for national independence and self-determination, as well as against foreign domination and occupation and for the economic, social and cultural advancement of people. The IYY will serve to mobilize efforts at local, national, regional and international levels in order to promote the best educational, professional and living conditions for young people, ensure their active participation in the overall development of society and encourage the preparation of new national and local policies and programs in accordance to each country's experience, conditions and priorities. The IYY must be orientated towards action and results that will improve the living conditions of youth, rather than being merely a year of ceremonies.

In accordance with this, they are demanding that the IYY be aimed at achieving a substantial improvement of the educational, working and living conditions of young people. Specific attention has to be given to the illiteracy and unemployment of youth.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

An International Secretariate has been established to co-ordinate the IYY internationally. We in the UDF are fortunate in that we have a South African who is a UDF member on this Secretariate (not representing UDF but YMCA) The Secretariate has called for a national programme by August already, but due to lack of co-ordination we haven't done that and an international calendar was circulated without a S.A. programme. The programme is still wanted however. Up to this point, it seems as if UDF are to be invited to the General Assembly on youth as the official representatives of South Africa. We will be given a platform on that occasion. The S.A. government will also be going there, but will not be recognised. This meeting will take place in October 1985.

Another very interesting factor in the IYY is that internationally, they are going to focus on the conditions of youth in the Third World countries - Africa, Asia and Latin America. Common issues would be things like unemployment etc. So we in S.A. under the UDF would be part of these international developments.

Whilst the IYY is spearheaded by the U.N. there are also another body of youth and students that would be participating independently. This is the World Federation of Youth

na Students. Their theme for the Year is Anti-imperialist solidarity, Peace and Friendship
he WFYS consists of socialist and communist youth organisations. Their 12th International
estival would have IYY as a theme and will take place in Moscow in June 1985. Among the
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THE IYY IN SOUTH AFRICA

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country. The IYY should be seen as an attempt to mobilise and organise the youth of S.A.
to draw them into our organisations.

CONTEXTUALISING THE IYY

The IYY cannot be taken up outside of a context. That would be meaningless and a fruit-
less exercise. When planning to take up the IYY, we need to look at the theme, Partici-
pation; Development and Peace in the context of the conditions in our country. The condi-
tions in our country should influence our understanding of the themes.

PARTICIPATION

The concept of participation is realised on different levels:

1. Education
2. Workplaces
3. Government
4. People's organisations

Participation is particularly important in S.A. where a minority government and the pupp-
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ets make every attempt to prevent the people from participating in the running of their
lives. For us, participation implies enhancing the different organisations existing.

It also demands the creation of the necessary conditions that will permit young people to assume their responsibilities individually or collectively.

DEVELOPMENT

Real development must answer the fundamental needs of people collectively. It must not be in the interests of a minority, who through the accumulation of wealth, create situations of unemployment and starvation. Taking into account that development is stunted through measures like Racial laws, gutter education and unemployment, our contribution to the IYY should be counter-measures and this implies our own methods of education through the teaching of skills to a broader group of people as opposed to the academics who often use skills as tools of oppression.

Development also implies the strengthening of people's organisations and a culture of the people, not influenced by Western imperialism, but born from the traditions and roots of the people, to a culture of liberation.

PEACE

Peace in S.A. is not only threatened by wars and militarization, but by all types of violence that exist in our society. Apartheid, forced removals, pass laws and influx control are all measures of institutionalized violence which lead to the non-existence of peace. Peace cannot be realised through negotiations, but through the destruction of laws that prevent peace. The recent peace initiatives are proof of the fact that peace can only come when the demands of the people are met. It cannot be built upon passive acceptance and co-operation, as the recent uprisings clearly pointed out, The SADF and SAb serve as forces which subject the people to accept a false peace, but peace can only be achieved when justice rules.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we can say that there are a number of questions facing us and issues that need to be clarified. For this purpose we need to discuss the following questions:

1. What are the priorities of Democratic Organisations for 1985?
2. What are the priorities for youth organisations for 1985?
3. Taking into account these priorities, what campaigns are we going to take up under the IYY? Do we take up the IYY as a campaign or these?
4. What advantages are there to taking up these campaigns under the IYY?
5. What programme of action are we going to follow on a national level? (Ideas for prog)
6. What structures (nationally and regionall) do we set up to facilitate the campaign?
7. What will our relation be to
 - (1) UDF
 - (2) other non-Charterist forces
 - (3) other established structures

8. Do we develop a national theme separate to the theme of the U.N.

9. What suggestions are there for a national theme, colours and logo of the campaign ?

① How is the campaign going to be financed ?

no in detail

Acc 22 Grobanschen

J7

(200)
UDF NATIONAL OFFICE
16 NOVEMBER 1984

Len J M
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10 - 11 NOVEMBER 1985

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5. Release press statements
6. Convene the National Launch

A very broad programme of action was proposed and it was felt that the Interim Committee needed to investigate this and develop a more streamline programme, with suggestions from regions.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

- | | | |
|----------------------|----|---------------------------|
| 1. End of January | - | National Launch |
| 2. 8 March | - | International Women's Day |
| 3. 21 March | - | Sharpeville Day |
| 4. 1 May | -- | Labour Day |
| 5.. 16 - 26 June | - | National Youth Week |
| 6.. 15 - 16 December | - | National Youth Festival |

It was agreed upon that local and regional committees would develop their own programme of action with some assistance from the National Committee.

This report was presented to the UDF , MEC and was well received. They promised to support us in whatever way they can.

UDF Jwb
J8

NEC

10/11 NOVEMBER

17
"J8"

Apologies:- Hlaletwa; RAM Saloojee, Aubrey Motseane
Gerry Govadia, Rev Xuan, Virgil
Borukhame; Oscar Mpetsha; Yusuf Adams,
Joe Marks; Christines Tuito; Stofile;
Ray Curry; Joe Phachla.

Letter ex Transvaal

- Who invited
- Who paid
- Press conference
- Press statement

→ Letter sent to Basotho National Party.

* Acknowledgement of letters.

Re: Disaffiliation of E.L.W.A.

Discussion around letter ex Basotho National Party. - Acknowledgement, ways future co-op; affiliates check DPSC - handing over.

Refugees ex MNR.

Release statement on Vaal situation, FOSATU Black Xmas, meeting with FOSATU.

Newsletter / pamphlets.

*. Firmly, instruct Cheadle, Thompson & Hayson
as first option.

Don Consultation

Feb 17, telephoned when people in Consulate. Decisions
taken by 12 to 15 people VOF/WIC. First 3 or 4 days
crisis. Beyond decisions taken by 5 or 6 people
- 2 issues where others consulted, measure
secrecy necessary.

Anderson — [±] honesty prior to arrival. No
consultation with Feb/17. W. of op rights —
language prepared by people in Olan.
VOF office telephoned request to arrange
press conference. Motivation for
Anderson — excavation of contradictions
in CIA.

New 'honeymoon' period over. Link
people in Consulate with org work.
Take Britain on fairly & squarely.

Attention in Consulate elements of leverage
etc. Possibility of someone from Dutch arm
& Hollandsche Social Party. Arrive
London along to large rally.

Political Assessment (Presented by Natal)

Hands repression in attempt to hold together
crisis - ^{minor} apartheid state.

Objectives :- (1) Dismantle apartheid state replace
democratically as per FC? (2) Identify enemy.

How change? Role of org? Stages of develop-
of org?

Masses makers of history.

Polit org - single ideological position, wide
policy programme. High level org & ideological
cohesiveness.

Mass based org - not fixed ideologically.
Not politic. Can respond to politic
issues.

Adoption of FC → cannot be handled inorganically
Programme of action for popular FC.

SUNDAY SESSION

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (CONT.)

Question raised re: manner in which demands had been raised in Consulate issue, tending to place 'hope in constitutional arrangements.'

Response — tactical issue to embarrass British. Need to take masses through process to give concrete effect to anti-imperialist content of our struggle.

Raised question of whether we should talk to Le Brange at all, or reps of British Government.

Issue revolves around understanding of principles, strategies & tactics.

Debate extends beyond the issue itself — autonomy within front etc are also at issue.

There were various views raised as to how to resolve the issue — whether immediate or by extended regional debate & discussion.

Cde S. Tshwete — raised the viewpoint that the UDF postn on Imperialism had not been flouted but the manner in which the demands re: detentions had been raised are the issues in question.

Requested that the Consulate affair be handled practically.

Motivated that UDF as a whole should be responsible for decisions around the Blon Consulate.

The consulate issue has significance for the anti-imperialist struggle, in essence the issue must extend beyond the detention laws.

The question of representations to de Grange was raised as a problem. Natal responded by the view that representations to de Grange is not a matter of principle. It is a tactic used at any point to engage the state. The object of representations to de Grange was to attack the state.

Motivated that NEC be involved. Natal responded that NEC responsibility would be required a fullest discussion of tactics and consult similarly in future.

44 - Task of NEC is to lay down broad, general guidelines. Head Office be used as pt of communication.

Border motivated for the Consulate issue to be brought to a head.

Raise link up of recruitment of mineworkers ex Britain to work in S.A.

TM - Motivated that the hand of Britain is forced.

Nabal - tactical considerations are at play.

ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS OF UOF.

Process blag nat. people's movement. Problems need to be overcome & strengths marshalled to build national polit. consciousness. Have to strengthen mass-based orgs. Balance req'd between sustaining popularity & continuing to project with strengthening 1st class orgs.

Goal-setting realistic req's. Unrealistic planning. → image of front eye use - serious de. moralisation. future work realistic. In-built balance between high-powered & slog work.

Criteria for affiliation - Continue to encourage as many orgs possible to find common ground with UOF. Even though we have to do work, important to take such groupings along. Look at formula for numerical rep commensurate with amount of work possible.

Need to critically assess (Aff of regions to UOF Nat) pt at which regions included nationally. Open people compelled to implement decisions at pace determined by stronger regions. Meeting attendance etc can drain resources & can undermine

development of regions. Accept ipso facto
kernel of VDF work linked to industrial
centres. Fairly sophisticated structures
are evolving in rural areas. Need to
incorporate those regions more directly into
decision-making in VDF. Guidelines -
Conditions must allow for functioning & with
affiliates & apply for national status
→ one in post to implement
Nat Campaigns. Redefine boundaries
of regions for smaller, more manageable
regions. Reassessment of existing regions
i.t.o. criteria.

Decision-making / autonomy. - A tension
between NEC/REC decisions and decisions
by orgs. Clear methodology req'd. Often
information not properly disseminated after
nat. gatherings. Agenda's NEC's, Sec
be circulated sincerely for greater
localised discussion.

(Feeling) - Unhealthy for any affiliate to
speak out against majority decision of
front. Principles of alliance necessary
of militance / religious groupings.

Critical view of flexibility req'd.
Flexibility needs to be balanced against
unity of front.

Accountability - rebly nation. Teething
problems & misunderstanding. What we should

encourage individual initiative, ^{decision} bearing on all of WDF. Must lay basis for consultation or at least informing.

Discipline - problem of front per se. Only basis for creating discipline - Decl, Working Fine etc marginally utilised. Often dynamics arise as result of situations outside of front. Discipline broadly decided upon at broadest collective of REC. NEC/REC should discipline individual office bearers. Best for discipline to inculcate sense of loyalty & trust. Drastic disc measures only taken after all attempts fail.

Structures - Assessments rep'd - created in vacuum at inception.

NGC - Propose change to see as AGM.

Representation not each affiliate. Proportional rep / region. Regions can decide. Take place only after REC AGM's. Policy etc only not issue of constitution. Crucial decisions on basis of regional mandate.

NEC - Minimise no. NEC members.

NEC discussion should revolve around policy. Other matters delegated. Look at cutting down on size of NEC → det. at AGM. Reports circulated prior to NEC.

EDUCATION & TRAINING - more systematic approach req'd. Best done through permanent light structures or ad hoc basis. Two categories - ① activists basic org. skills → upgrade quality → ② Broadening political depth & understanding. Encourage regular open forums. Joint to non-policy matters. Look at greater sharing nationally of ideas.

Relationship to non-affiliates - look for areas of co-operation & not pt. of difference. Not confuse who the enemy is. Only consider those who have a mass base. Cannot afford to take stand against any moves ^{towards} unity. Define the terrain for co-operation. Respect ideological differences & not allow to undermine spirit of unity.

TM raised the posture of SOUTH CAPE - request for observer status nationally. W. Cape indicated that request be held in abeyance until structure further democratized.

Nabal instructed that Secretaries examine & make recommendation.

TUC (L.M.) - raised problem of insufficient attention paid to development of rural regions.

for record - Amendments to Working Principles circulated
& still not forthcoming.

Same discussion on decisions of practical nature
taken at NEC. Important that NEC members
should have feel for what is going on at ground
floor.

Important that consideration be given to structure
at National of Structures.

ADMINISTRATIVE

(See notes)

Head Office, Communication, Office - Bearers.

Problem raised by TUL as to allocation of
responsibilities & accountability of head office
Request for minutes of national gathering.
Written communication.

Time for comment on NEC minutes should
be allowed.

Deadline for JDF NEWS region.

Raised possibility that Presidents from 5
region could constitute emergency NEC.
Together with secretaries & treasurer.

Suggestion that NEC should function in
more traditional way eg. Presidents
should preside over meetings.

Information office / officer needs to be looked at.

Esther → to record at NEC meetings
concerning NEC meetings her task.

~~NEC~~ → N-Cape requested to leave at
13400. Gave an undertaking that RGC would
be set up by January.

Policy statements / issued in name of President
Structure established in Tul (Pres, Sec & Nat Treas)
with admin officer to meet weekly. Supported.
Structure given powers for emergency decision.

FINANCES

Nat Treasurers understanding raise & administer
funds for Nat. Office. Went beyond that
to raise funds to subsidise work of regions.
Sensitive matter. Allocation of funds done in
close consultation with national Sec & pd
officers. Allocation on as equitable a basis
as possible. Tul, W. Cape & Natal equal,
pro rata.

Many of regions becoming dependant on Nat.
office for finances. Important polit. principle
at play. Allocations made only to regions
and not to affiliates.

Not raised regular income & expenditure.

Statements from regions. Appointed auditors to do books & appointed lawyers to assist in process. Financial year ended at the end of September - auditors cannot audit without properly audited statements from regions.

Presently low on funds, position might change in near future. No allocations until certain statements from region.

Accountability of funds is crucial. Income & expenditure. Areas - money raised to date, money expended on head office, equipment owned, allocations to regions to date (Required at Nat Treasury).

Policy on fundraising - Nat ex agencies & regions local fundraise. Limitations on fundraising locally.

Transvaal requested that each region appoint a person to sit with a Treasurers to obtain details of how monies spent. Response that secretaries could do this.

Strongly motivated that Nat Treasury be established.

More scientific criteria need to be established.

Agreement on Nat. funds to be handled at Nat. Treas. meeting to coincide with next Nat sec meeting.

N. Tol → request for salary for an organiser. Subject to availability of funds. Subject to meeting of National Treasury.

W. Cape → NEC had undertaken to make allocation for funding for rural areas. 1/3 received.

Treasurer → Nat funds low. Undertaking carried out when funds available. Other regions who owe W. Cape money → petition to repay.

ITEMS :- BROAD DEFINITION STRATEGIES etc.

Transvaal reported that they had sub-divided themselves into sub-regions. Further, there are a number of issues which confront the region

- ① Economic Contradictions
- ② Continuing contradictions around the implementation of constitution eg. local councils. How do we handle strategic considerations eg. ref to Hendrikse etc.
- ③ Removals.
- ④ Greater national link up
- ⑤ Greater advancement of demands of vast majority of our people.

- ⑥ Motivation for pulling together of cities nationally would require regions raising own funds.
- ⑦ Workshop (NCC) for purpose of coming at common approach. -
Anti-imperialist Campaign
Engaging state.
- ⑧ Greater participation from all sectors in current struggles.
- ⑨ Militarisation
- ⑩ VDF Offensive

THE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR (Joint Discussion)

Question whether I.Y.Y. Campaign / Theme?
Unresolved in absolute terms.

1. I.Y.Y. strengthen / popularise structures & VDF.

2. Place S.A. struggle on int. agenda.

Description, Removals, Ed. Charter

Question re:- Freedom Charter. →

Proper Nat Committee formed end Jan.

NGC

Agreed that NGC to be convened ~~in~~ over Easter with smaller delegations. Motivated that NGC takes form of AGM with keynote addresses etc. To be held in the Transvaal. Transvaal should undertake to fundraise for the event.

Regional AGMs to be held in March.

Womens Organisation

Report tabled from Western Cape on attempts at unifying two womens organisations viz WWO & WFO.

GENERAL

1. The Million Signature Campaign - Decision req'd on future of campaign.
2. Decision req'd to extend B.L.A. Campaign to take into account prevailing situation.
3. The question of appointment to H/O was raised as a problem by the TVL.

Previous REC decision re-affirmed.
Communicate to regions

UDF Jhu

J9

(21)

7/10/87

NEC HELD ON 10 + 11 Nov.

SAT 10.

Chair: Yunus Mohammed.

47
98 1(2) 59"
Rw"

1. APOLOGUES:

2. CORRESPONDENCE:

1. UDF Co-ord. Comm. to Tr. - Request for financial assistance - 250 p.m. travelling + 1 salary.
 2. ZAKHE - Support for funding.
 3. Anti - P.C. Comm. for "
 4. EWA - Disaffiliation from UDF border region. Working principles not adequately explained.
 5. Basuto National Party - congratulations + thanks for sympathy expressed with their difficulties.
 6. Tr. region re Anderson visit - clarification.
- 1-3 → Ref. to Admin: Finance.

4. Chair referred to enquired whether (i) this matter had any bearing on discussion at previous NEC re E.L.Y.C. (ii) whether Nat. Sec's had met with E.L.Y.C. - yes, position unchanged.

5. No copy, content not

6. Invitation, itinerary, cost of dinner, press conference refer item 3. on agenda.

4. ♀ also members of E.L.Y.C. - not significant group. Rest of ♀ continue to grow under UDF.

Reply letter. Acknowledge role, inform org's in S.A re difficulties the Lesotho people had braved in their fight against S.A. govt.

Investigate allegations made at DPSC conference re role of Lesotho Police in handing over refugees.

Caro's
Black Christmas.
Bbn.

From FOSAW - 9 refugees in Transvaal due to HNR -
Stabilisation. Bankhandan govt paying informants.
Request for relief from UDF.

- 3. Townships.
- Raid
- Consulate.

Reports.

TVL:

School boycotts cont. → meeting with Org's
→ Stayaway Comm. formed - UDF not present.
~~Stayaway~~ = army raids, more than 68 dead.
Main stayaway - supported by UDF affiliates.
" on 5+6 - Affiliates on comm.
very successful, most support from "A" area.
Soneto 10, Pretoria 2, Tembisa 5

21
7/10/87

Leads detained - those still out = underground
heavy police presence in township.
FOSATU has called for a Black Christmas
large scale resignation of Comm. Councillors =
implementation of BLA impossible.

Rent + electricity increases - Soneto scrapped, but
under

Vaal - most shops burnt & closed.

rent - Army used to. Threatened to stop all services

Students - detentions + exiles → almost entire COSAS
leadership

FOSATU

MARUW threatened to disaffiliate if FOSATU did not co-operate in campaigns.
 UDF partic. in worker campaigns eg. Sumba
 BOYCOTTS.

* Request - the statements on Vaal, Black Christmas & dismissed FOSATU workers. CT Station Nat. sit. role of military - eg. Blandfort army + schools, clinics, distrib.

Note. role of Bambunan puppets in trying to undermine fact that people engaged in liberation

E. CAPE : No transport. Unacceptable, viewed seriously.

RAND : Sec 54 Internal security
 10 placements in office, more on other floors.
 Removed correspondence

Roo. TVL, FREEWAY HOUSE, SARUW + THE EYE in PRETORIA.

SAPA + Financial Mail enquiries re UDF financial resources + allocation thereof in stayaway.

CONSULATE

1. Level to obtain benefits for all detainees.

2. Potential to overshadow publicity round opening.

3. Attention on nat. events + in partic. Vaal.

4. Expose British verbal opposit. to apartheid.

5. " other Western countries - partic. America

6. Increase understanding re imperialism in mass campaign around.

Decisions taken: As soon as entered Consulate, JHB & CT contacted. ± 15 people involved in decs. making

- Afterwards 5-6 NTC in contact with NATAL REC.
- Consultation hampered by: Swift change in tactics needed most times + secrecy to retain initiative.

Anderson: Consultation betw. UDF Natal & NTC, Itinerary - Natal Draft, consulted TVL.
late Fri

Objectives - Exacerbate contradiction in Brit + Internationally.

L.P. - responded to issue immediately - Kinnock letter.

Next Phase: Highlight org. work of those in Consulate. Far more difficult.

Arguments: For leaving - material conditions in Consulate far worse

Overall

- Consultation - contacting individuals?
- Lack of clarity re where decisions were made.

1 omile

GENERAL OVERVIEW + ASSESSMENT.

Bad Rapid changing circumstances
 little proof of uof being nat. unit ^{strong} regional
 character.

- Building nat. political movement.
- Political prog. to cope with events.
- Lack of understanding of front politics
- Unable to exact uniform discipline from units - eg. results in MSC
- Polit. extends on objectives - concentrated on "e" + "I"
- Unrealistic goalsetting without taking into account objective material conditions
- Units not always supervised reg. compet.
- Honesty about achievement
- Nature of front & relation to state power not sufficiently clear
- Clarify l.t.o. objectives at launch → politic org.

POLITICAL

create units ^{betw.} front + prog. forces.

Objectives

1. Demantle Apartheid ~~+~~ + replace with just system.
 ∴ enemy = state not those who differ ideologically.
2. Clarify re form about most appropriate forms
 to oppose of org. + struggle to oppose.
 - Assess those engaged in

How will change come about? = masses.
Mobil, educ + pointing out the need for unity

How do masses become historical force for change
- highly co-ordinated body / Organised.

Role of org.

- Success measured against criterion of to what extent mobil. masses.

- Resources need to be allocated for this.

Form of org. det. by historic. circumstances under which they dev.

How much time is spent on org. work.

2 CATEGORIES OF ORG.

A - Political Org. Unitary, single common ideal, part. + ^{mainstream of activities} widely polit prog. High level of ideol. cohesion. Be able to assess needs properly + exercise discipline
Mass consciousness

B - Community Org's - day to day issues, ~~etc~~

History of organisation in SA.

1970's - community orgs, schools, women building nat. unity thru issues + building non-racial structures nationally.

'83 - Opposit. to N.D.

UOF - very few polit. org's in S.A. ∴ UOF have large^{no} commun. type / non-polit. org.

∴ UOF plays role of front in some parts of SA + some = Polit. org

UDF - Analysis

1. Front = co-ord. autonomous units

2. Initiating org's

Charact. of front

Adoption broad prog. to draw in widest no's
weaknesses. Inexp. in front practices

Very few seasoned activists
Lack of prov.

Org. techniques → org leadership to emerge

More condit's bet. structure of front now.

1 YEAR LATER

Created more regions → expanded
Nat. movement - beginning.

Ideolog. impact

Enhance process of building org.

Prov. alternative ideas for people

Non-racial unity.

UDF - merely stage in org. people. → swinging
balance of forces

Only happen if we are ready to meet challenges.
+ clear on how to do this

- Co-ord; sharing exp;

Change in form to unitary part. formation
if possible. → refer to ^{our} fundamental principles

Style of operation.

1. Legal front - conduct to maintain discipline + security at all times
2. Accountable - preserve image of NSF
3. Issues - ^{not} confronted in positive way, but gossip \rightarrow affect leadership \rightarrow dangerous to ~~the~~ ~~NSF~~ credibility of leadership thru gossip \rightarrow destroy our org.
Def. not always ideology, but on tactics.
... Emphasis always on those which unite us -
far too much emphasis on Def's.
4. Learn to accept criticism + to crit. constructively.
5. Regionalism against when Def. with other regions

PRIMACY

Def front emphasis to issues which affect mapuku,

TASKS.

Local structures.

Removals.

Local authorities

Educ.

Oppose implementation of constt.

Proad.

τ τ

Challenge state.

Defend NSF.

Structures \rightarrow more cohesion, respond quickly, admin

(5)

DECLARATION. X FREEDOM CHARTER

Principles in 2 documents not in conflict

Declaration - min points of agreement among wide grouping

F.C. - ~~document~~ document drawn up by masses of people.

But not acceptable ^{understood} to masses + it is our task to ensure that the F.C. is being held up more + more as the beacon of our struggle.

Needs.

- How WDF can ensure that charter can be popularised which structure - UDF / Charter Comm / Org's in WDF which have adopted Charter.

TUL STAYAWAYS - COMMIT. : ± 30 reps of 10-12 orgs.

FOSATU = won't ~~st~~ support another stayaway soon
- crit. how others org. stayaway.

all major unions in agreement.

Black Christmas - FOSATU to discuss on 17th.

All in committee to meet 26 Dec to discuss this. To be convened by UDF.

Discussion:

WCL: But. control within UDF

MILITANCE + SPONTANEITY.

- Dif. in cond'ts which obtain
- What kind of leadership we are building
- Autonomy of org's within the front.
- How we can create conditions where partic. affiliates do not feel ~~that~~ so disillusioned that they no longer raise sentiments / make proposals in REC + RGC

- Spontaneity of the masses + the role of org. within it
- Accommodating changed conditions since launch with i.t.o. level of militance in the country, without alienating certain sectors.

INTERNAT. RELATIONS: consulate.

Revel on imperialism - not uniformly understood.
 eg. Consulate - appeal to Thatcher to intervene on behalf of the people. Money & resources which could have been used in areas like Natal - as well as

How we as a front relate to the rest of the world + on what basis.

TUL: Major Demand that Le Strange meets UDF to discuss detention - undermines basic ideas we are trying to propagate eg. The govt = illegitimate, that change is going to be achieved via constitutional path, myth that change will come via external power.

DSN: Britain's role

SUN 11. - 9.35 : CHAIR CASS SAHOJEE.

DBN CONSULATE : Cont.

- Differences ultimately -
- ① Autonomy of regions to conduct campaigns in name of VBF
 - ② Understanding of resolution against imperialism
 - ③ " " Tactics, strategy & principles

INPUT. ON ORG. Given.

HEAD OFFICE.

- TASKS :
- Articulate national opinions
 - Info supply
 - Org. among regions
 - Bring reg. leg. → nat. movement.
 - Act from reg. office → superstructural.

Probs.

Consultation — Trust from reg's, time constraints
NEC to redefine staffing & H.O. mandate.

- Breakdown betw. nat. discussions & implementation.
- dissemination & responsibility of regions to do so.
- H.O. can only apply pressure on regional secretaries to implement nat. decision

Relat. / Accountability of regional organisers →
Training prog.

Esther : To convene NEC + ~~at cont.~~ see to arrangements

Sub-comm's / Commissions : To .

Role of ~~the~~ Pres's: More active role.

- Secretariat directly responsible to Pres.
-
- Statements in consultation with Nat. Pres.
- ~~Pres.~~ & Nat. Sec, Treasurer, Pres. be responsible for A.C. All officers / employees answerable to such structure.

→ None.

FINANCE.

Raise funds + administer it.

Allocation - equitable as poss. → TVL, NATAL, w. CAPE = maj. reg

Tasks.

Democratisation

Rationalisation of or what we spend money.

Nat. treasury to meet at next sec. meeting.

STRATEGY.

1. Economic contradiction. — Rents, prices
2. Around country.

Local Authorities
Gravances directed to Tri commercial structures → our attrit to ↑
3. Removals.
4. Link + content to pres. struggles — generalise issues
5. Issues appealing to "African" sector.
6. Housing Conference.
7. Uniform understanding, info re nat events
8. Multiracialism.

UDF Pub.

J10

UDF NATIONAL OFFICE
16 NOVEMBER 1984

Dear Comrades

Here is the report on our deliberations regarding the International Youth Year.

I would just like to mention that this report was drawn up separately from the report on the whole plenary session and that explains why this section only covers the IYY.

I would just like to stress that there are a number of important issues that we need to address to presently:

1. Setting up of local and regional committees.
2. Contacting church and sports structures.
3. Finance for campaign. (R20 0000 - National)
4. Local and regional launches

It would be appreciated if comrades in various regions could address themselves to these issues and prepare reports for the next Interim Committee meeting which would take place in December. The Interim Committee would all welcome suggestions in terms of resources and the national launch.

Yours in the struggle

Vincent Williams

REPORT OF PLENARY SESSION HELD AT LENASIA

10 - 11 NOVEMBER 1985

Our focus on the IYY started with a paper on the history, background and objectives. and also some information regarding international developments up till now. The paper also attempted to contextualise the Iyy in South Africa, and spell out what objectives we could have for the campaign. In conclusion, the IYY paper attempted to raise some of the important questions and issues that needed to be clarified. (See included paper)

In the light of the questions raised, the following discussions were held and conclusions reached, after we had established the fact that we were meeting as UDF affiliates and thus accountable to UDF.

Arising out of the questions raised by the paper, we attempted to draw up a list of priorities and campaigns that are going to face democratic organisations next year, and more specifically youth organisations. Through reflection on the events that took place this year, the following things were isolated:

1. Anti-conscription and militarisation
2. 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter
3. Forced removals
4. Anti-detentions campaigns
5. Consolidation of organisations
6. Education Charter
7. Unemployment
8. Effective leadership and skills training
9. Establishment and strengthening of organisations in rural areas
10. Strong national co-ordination

Taking into account these priorities, we agreed that the Youth should engage themselves in these campaigns. At this stage the question of the Freedom Charter arose - Should we as UDF affiliates take up the 30th anniversary of the Charter? Taking into account UDF's position in relation to the Charter and also the fact that we have agreed to take up the IYY under the banner of UDF, it was decided that we should not. It was however agreed upon that individual organisations are free to take it up as one campaign in their IYY programme.

Attempts were made to decide whether we should take IYY up as a campaign or a theme. Due to lack of clarity on the difference between the two, attempts were made to clarify each one.

A CAMPAIGN was seen as a short-term, with specific objectives and a specific issue to mobilise around. An example was given of the Million Signatures Campaign - it was specific, with particular objectives and limited to a particular aspect.

A THEME was seen to be more long-term and can serve as an overall guideline to mobilise ourselves in action. A theme like that of the IYY allows for the incorporation of broader issues which become campaigns in themselves. This does not mean that the theme itself does not get emphasised -- it means that all campaigns that are engaged in should serve as an opportunity to popularise the theme.

It was concluded that we should not attempt to clarify whether we take up the IYY as a campaign or a theme, but that means the nature of our actions will determine the nature of IYY. This means that at specific stages the IYY can be regarded as a theme and at others it will be a campaign.

On discussing the advantages of taking up the IYY, the following conclusions were reached:

- 1.. It gives us the opportunity to mobilise and organise the youth of our country.
2. At the same time we can exploit the opportunity that the IYY presents to popularise, strengthen and build our organisations, including the UDF,
- 3.. It gives the opportunity to put S.A. struggle on the international agenda, while at the same time developing a consciousness and understanding of the struggle in other countries.
4. Through the IYY we can establish a unified programme of action and hence establish effective co-ordination.

Under the question of our relationship to other structures, the following were isolated:

- 1.. UDF - It was agreed upon that we were meeting as Udf affiliates and that we would thus work under the banner of UDF, while at the same time expecting support from REC'S and the NEC.
- 2.. Non-Charterist forces -- At this stage it would be detrimental for us to establish links with these forces. We should avoid extending them a direct invitation to them, for fear of provoking reaction. It was thus agreed upon that we needed to finalise our programme of action and extend a public invitation to all forces that are willing to work under the banner of UDF.
- 3.. Religious and sports bodies -- We cannot fully involve these structures in the planning of our programme of action, but we need to draw them in as our programme develops. It was however agreed that we needed to try and establish contact with them immediately.

The following things were isolated as important priorities for the next few weeks:

- 1.. Popularising of the IYY through press releases and other forms of media.
2. Establishment of local and regional launches
4. It was tentatively decided that a national launch would take place at the end of January 1985.

To facilitate the work the needs to happen during the next few weeks, a National Interim committee was established with representatives from all the regions and one person from the nec of COSAS; AZASO and NUSAS.. The work of the committee was outlined as follows:--

- 1.. Contact absent regions and get representatives
2. Work towards establishing IYY local and regional Committees
3. Liaise with UDF, church and sports structures
4. Investigate interernational links and finance
5. Release press statements
6. Convene the National Launch

A very broad programme of action was proposed and it was felt that the Interim Committee needed to investigate this and develop a more streamline programme, with suggestions from regions.

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

- | | | |
|----------------------|----|---------------------------|
| 1. End of January | - | National Launch |
| 2. 8 March | - | International Women's Day |
| 3. 21 March | - | Sharpeville Day |
| 4. 1 May | -- | Labour Day |
| 5.. 16 - 26 June | - | National Youth Week |
| 6.. 15 - 16 December | - | National Youth Festival |

It was agreed upon that local and regional committees would develop their own programme of action with some assistance from the National Committee.

This report was presented to the UDF , NEC and was well received. They promised to support us in whatever way they can.

