

**ASSESSOR**

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(20)

28/9/87

THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT REPORT ON THE UDF NATIONAL LAUNCHING CONFERENCE  
AND THE PEOPLES RALLY

Ben "T" "

1. INTRODUCTION: Seven months of hard work by the Western Cape, Natal and Transvaal regions of the United Democratic Front reached fruition on 20th August 1983 when the UDF was nationally launched at Rocklands Civic Centre Mitchell's Plain Cape Town.

People's Rally organized by the UDF was held in the evening of the same day at 6.00pm.

2. CONFERENCE: The conference started at 10.00am . The opening address was delivered by Rev. Frank Chikane, one of the five vice presidents of the UDF Transvaal region. (His paper explained the broadness of the UDF as a Front and also answered the question why we needed a front.

Presiding at the conference was Trevor Manual one of the two regional secretaries of the UDF Western Cape region. He was helped by Virgil Bonhamme the vice chairperson of the UDF Natal region who chaired the last session of the conference. The conference was attended by one thousand delegates and about 500 observers..

3. ADOPTION OF DOCUMENTS:

The following documents were adopted by about a thousand delegates:-

- 3.1 UDF Declaration
- 3.2 Broad guidelines on programme of Action
- 3.3 Working principles with one addition on clause three. (see clause 3.4 of the working principles)
- 3.4 Resolutions on various aspects (see list of resolutions)

4. JOINT EXCO MEETING:

4.1 EVALUATION OF CONFERENCE AND RALLY:

On Sunday 21st August 1983 members of the committee of the three structured UDF regions met together with the P.E. UDF steering committee to evaluate both the conference and the Rally. Very constructive criticisms and comments on various aspects were brought forward.

4.1.1 RESOLUTION: Resolutions not explicit enough on what the

was going to do. Some resolutions were too long.

4.1.2 DECLARATION: Is a very important document and more time should have been allocated for a discussion on it. It was proposed that in future important documents be discussed at regional level before the conference as that would help avoid contradictions.

4.1.3 WORKING PRINCIPLES:

P.E. felt that they had very little time to acquaint themselves with the W/P. They point out that they very little consultations took place between themselves and the National Secretariat of the UDF. P.E. requested that they be given time to develop their own critique of the W/P and to forward their recommendations.

4.1.4 PROGRAMME OF ACTION:

(a) CRITICISMS:

More time should have been spent on the POA. Everybody should have left C.T. knowing exactly what was going to be done.

(b) SUGGESTIONS:

- (i) Emphasis on report back on POA.
- (ii) Regions must forward suggestion on POA.
- (iii) A national seminar be organized to look into all resolutions.

4.2 GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

It was felt that the discussions were very abstract. They did not take into account concrete issues affecting the people.

There was no clear understanding on the concept of a front and the thrust of politics. It was accordingly recommended that the NEC prepare a document explaining a front and that this document must be circulated amongst all the UDF affiliates for discussion.

4.3 RALLY

4.3.1 CRITICISMS: We (UDF) were too ambitious to have wanted to hold a rally and conference on one day. Secondly that the venue was very small for the crowd. It was recommended that the UDF try to channel the interest, excitement and enthusiasm displayed in Cape Town in organization.



#### 4.4 CROWDS

Whereas our marshalls effectively controlled the crowds at both the conference and the rally it was felt that:

4.4.1 that UDF needs to learn a lot in terms of how to control crowds more crowds are to be expected and UDF must provide the necessary guidance.

4.4.2 to know how to respond to harrassment by the police. (announcement that the police were coming to the rally could have caused panic.

#### 4.5 PUBLICITY SECRETARIAT

The nature of the campaign was that the UDF is taking up and the very broadness of the UDF is going to rely on the media for its propoganda and furtherance of its policies. To realise this task the publicity Secretariat must be considered by the NEC.

It was strongly recommended that the UDF defines in clear terms the role of the National UDF News and spell out the relationship of the National Publicity Secretary to the UDF News.

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Minutes of the UDF held on 10 and 11 September 1983 at

Phoenix Settlement in Durban

1. Present

A Gumede  
G du Plessis  
H Hlaethwa  
C Tinto  
J Marks  
V Bonhomme  
P Molefe  
C Salojee  
T Manual  
Y Mohammed  
J Phahla  
A Mokoena  
M Xundu  
A Boraine  
M Lesia  
G Sewpersadh  
M Lekota  
M Ramgobin  
M Valli  
Derek  
D Neer  
F. Msotho

2. Apologies

Mrs A Sisulu  
Mr Oscar Mpetha  
Dr Ram Salojee  
Mrs C Carolus  
Prof J coovadia

3. Correspondence

Invitation from Mr Clive Menell of Anglovaal sent on behalf of the "Synthesis" was rejected by the NEC. The Secretary General was asked to write him a letter of regret.

#### 4. REPORTS

##### 4.1 NATIONAL SECRETARIAT REPORT:

A National Secretariat report covering the Port Elizabeth presented by the National secretary was adopted.

##### 4.1.1 PORT ELIZABETH:

It was agreed that Port Elizabeth be a separate region from Border and East London as it is far from the two regions.

4.1.2 Port Elizabeth interim committee was planning mass meetings. Assistance of the N.E.C. required to address public meetings. Documents on the UDF were required.

Document must explain - history of the UDF

- what a front is
- how UDF functions

UDF audiovisual material required - Derek

##### 4.2 OTHER REGIONS:

##### 4.2.1 BORDER REGION:

It was noted that UDF had no contact with Border.

It was agreed that one of the fulltime officials must go and examine conditions in that region.

##### 4.2.2 ORANGE FREE STATE - NEW DEVELOPMENTS

To the knowledge of NEC there was no structure. Transvaal requested to make a follow-up on O.F.S.

Brandford required - M Ramgobin

car plus petrol expenses to organize Orange Free State experienced NEC members to run 2 workshops

proposal budget for organizing Orange Free State was R500 - R600

O.F.S. confident of ability to launch UDF in a week if resources were available.

NEC responded by instructing publicity secretary and S.G. to go and study conditions in the region.

P.S and S.G. to determine the needs and possibilities in the O.F.S

##### 4.3 REGIONAL REPORTS:

Reports from the following regions were received and adopted by the NEC:

1. Transvaal
2. Western Cape and
3. Natal

These reports are attached to these minutes

### FRONT FORMATION:

It was noted that the leadership and activists within the UDF have little understanding of the nature of a front that UDF was. (Y. MOHAMMED)

It was reiterated that the basis of the UDF formation was opposition to "reform proposals" and the Koornhof Bills. It was also noted that the front formation of the UDF could only be meaningful if defined in terms of all its ramifications such as removals, school boycotts etc. It was agreed that a document be drafted on the UDF front formation. Yunus volunteered to write it.

### 6 FUNCTIONS OF THE NEC & RELATIONS WITH REGIONS

The following decisions were arrived at on this aspect:

- minutes of the NEC be made available to regions
- regions must exchange minutes of their meetings
- Views of the NEC be extended to regional councils through regional structures.
- the NEC has interventionist role particularly on matters relating to policy e.g. referendum
- Coloured management committees, Community councils elections etc are matters regional issues to be handled directly by regions.

### 7. FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF:

Functions and duties of Publicity Secretary and the Secretary General were defined. See attached copy on functions and duties.

#### 7.1 NATIONAL OFFICE

It was agreed that the national office would be in Johannesburg. The publicity would be based in Durban, so as to be nearer the president at all times.

#### 7.2 TRANSPORT

The transport problem was considered and the Treasurers were mandated to handle the matter of transport.

#### 7.3 CONTROL AND SAFE KEEPING OF PROPERTY

It was observed that the UDF would need to ensure control and safe keeping of its own property. The matter was deferred to the following NEC meeting.

#### 7.4 TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

A minimum salary of R600 was decided upon for both fulltime officials. Both Publicity and General secretaries were advised to submit their budgets on a weekly basis to the National treasurers.

## 8. RELATIONSHIP FO S.G TO THE PRESS

S.G might make press comments in consultation with the Publicity Secretary particularly on matters that might have a bearing on policy.

## 9. FINANCE

9.1 Western Cape reported expenses of about thirty thousand rañds on the National Launch of the UDF, bill R7000 damages to the hall and on chairs estimated at R1 250.

More money was spent on people who were left in Cape Town by their own transport. Natal owed Western Cape R1 500.

9.2 Natal reported that its initial budget was R22 000. Collected R38 000 which equalled financial commitments in the final analysis. Natal's immediate expenses for the next four months would include budget for transport and office. Amount deposited R13 000.

9.3 Transvaal was requested to present its budget at the next NEC meeting.

## 9.4 SOURCES

It was agreed that the national treasurers must identify funding agencies and work out a system to ensure that the regions <sup>don't</sup> do fund raising from common sources as the national.

Seek clarity on the fund raising act. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~

Approach lawyers with a view to knowing the legal implications of the act.

Investigate matters relating to contracts with funding agencies.

Prepare detailed report on UDF national expenses, salaries of officials etc.

## 10. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

In its discussion of the POA the NEC noted some of the important factors that any serious programme must take into account. These included to educate, train, provide organisational skills, deepen understanding and to heighten the political consciousness of the masses.

In line with these principles the NEC resolved to encourage the UDF affiliates to take up issues such as housing, local authorities, CMC elections and to commemorate all great events.

## 10.1 OTHER DECISIONS ON POA

All regions must work towards a people's weekend starting on Friday October 28 culminating in mass rallies on 29th and 30th October. It was further agreed that church services and vigils must proceed. The rallies and other activities would project the UDF as a popular extra-parliamentary opposition. It was pointed out that the focus of the UDF must transcend the referendum to include local authorities elections.

### 10.3 SOME SUGGESTIONS ON POA

- ✓ The UDF must have a regular focus at a national level. The focus could be done on a monthly basis depending on the type of issues taken up.
- A publication common to all regions be produced.
- The idea of a declaration signature campaign be discussed at regional level.

### 11. PUBLICITY AND PUBLICATIONS

Progress report on relationship with newspapers was given by Publicity Secretary. (See report) It was agreed that the UDF news-national be produced by the end of September. Its contents were to include amongst other things:

1. The referendum
2. Local authorities elections
3. Removals in Khayalitsha
4. Regional programmes of action

Regions were to be requested to submit their articles by Wednesday 14 September. It was hoped that the master copies would be sent back to the regions by Monday 19.

### 12. REFENDUM

The NEC decided that the referendum was not irrelevant to UDF opposition. Whilst not making it the major focus of debate the NEC rejected the whites only referendum as racist, undemocratic and as an attempt to shift the debate from 'reform proposal to a simple YES or NO vote. The NEC took the position of total rejection of P.W Botha's reform offensive and saw the referendum as clearly connected to it.

The priority was to build the UDF, it was noted. To start with the referendum was viewed as completely incorrect. It was accordingly resolved that a statement be released at a press conference on the referendum which was due on Tuesday 13 September at Khotso House in Johannesburg. (For further information on the referendum please see POA.)

### 13. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The NEC resolved to have no contact with the American, British and Israeli diplomats because their countries supported the forces of oppression the world over. SG and Publicity Secretary were mandated to set up meetings with diplomats in South Africa and also to establish links abroad. SG was also instructed to write letters to all support groups and individuals who sent messages of support on the National Launch of the UDF. SG was further requested to send copies of the Grassroots supplement with the UDF declaration to those groups and individuals.

### 13 CISKEI AND THE BANNING OF SAAWU

Following the repression in Ciskei and the banning of SAAWU the NEC took these decisions :

- \*to call mass meetings in protest of th banning of SAAWU and to pledge solidarity with the people of Ciskei,
- \*to draw the unions into the campaign.If the unions already had plans of their own, the UDF should try to fit into their programmes,
- \*the secretariat to call urgent meetings with the unions in all structured regions,
- \*to issue press statement on the banning of SAAWU
- \*to expose the fraud of the Bantustan policy
- \*the secretariat to work out proposals for meetings with unions on an ongoing basis
- \*Western Cape region find out what unions were doing regarding illegal arrest of unionists from GWU and African Food and Canning Workers unions
- \*Durban region to approach the Durban office of SAAWU
- \*Transvaal region to approach the Legal Resource Centre on the illegal handover of the unionists from GWU and AF&CU to Ciskei byt he SA police

### 14.AZAPO

The NEC decided that discussion with Azapo should continue through the Transvaal region of the UDF.

### 15.THE BLACK SASH

It was reported that Popo Molefe and Cassien Saloojee had met the Black Sash to discuss areas of co-operation. It was further stated that the Black Sash and the two UDF members mentioned above had agreed to exchange literature of the erspective organisations.

### 16.UNIONS

#### 16.1 FOSATU

Popo Molefe reported that he had set up a meeting with Joe Foster the General Secretary of Fosatu. The meeting was planned to coincide with the Fosatu NEC meeting which was going to take place on Saturday 17 September 1983 at Wilgespruit, Roodepoort.

It was pointed out that whereas the UDF had to ensure that it, <sup>did</sup> not become an obstacle in the way of the unions' move towards unity, it needed however to prepare itself for possible gravitation of Fosatu into its ranks.

#### 16.1.2 LEVEL OF CO-OPERATION

It was noted that although Fosatu and other unions had not yet affiliated to the UDF that did not preclude co-operation at specific levels.

The following were identified as areas wherein the UDF and Fosatu could co-operate:

- \*fight against sales tax on food
- \*fight for extension of workers rights to domestic and farm workers
- \*campaign for a national minimum wage
- \*fight against forced subscriptions for management imposed unions
- \*fight against unemployment

### 16.1.3 DELEGATION

Messrs. Molefe, Lekota, Mohammed and Rev Chikane

### 16.2 AFRICAN FOOD AND CANNING WORKERS UNION

It was agreed that NEC must make a follow-up on a meeting between the UDF National Secretariat and the above union held in Cape Town on Thursday August 18 1983 at the union offices.

The Western Cape regional secretaries were requested to find out which days the AF&CWU NEC was going to meet so that a meeting with the union could be set up.

### 17. PATRONAGE

It was decided that Popo Molefe must approach Bishop Tutu and ask him to be one of the UDF patrons. It was further decided that the decision of the NEC be discussed by the regional councils in various provinces.

### 18. REMOVALS

Removals and resettlement were identified by the NEC as areas that the UDF must address itself to. It was felt that the possibility of creating a commission in that respect needed consideration. However no definite decision was taken on the matter.

It was decided that a newsletter on removals produced by the Surplus Peoples Project be acquired for study as the NEC did not have experience on removals and resettlement.

Other decisions were:

- \*request the Surplus peoples project to distribute UDF News in rural areas.
- \*request to Surplus peoples project to provide literature on removals and resettlement
- \*Regions of the UDF should identify and work with resistance groups in areas affected by removals
- \*each region look into the possibility of creating a portfolio on removals and resettlement.
- \*regions of UDF should organise seminars on removals and resettlement.



#### 19. LAMONTVILLE AND HAMBANATHI

It was reported by Natal that the SA government had decided to make Lamontville and Hambanathi part of Kwa-Zulu. A campaign was unfolding and the UDF was invited to address protest meetings. Mewa Ramgobin had been invited to speak at protest meetings against the inclusion into Kwa-Zulu.

#### 20. LESOTHO

The NEC did not think UDF was best placed to comment on the removal of refugees in Lesotho. It was instead decided that RMC and other organisations should be asked to comment thereon.

#### 21. EDUCATION

Following increasing crises in schools the NEC decided to ask regions to create a commission on education.

It was further agreed that the Publicity Secretary must issue a statement in consultation with the Transvaal region on education. It was suggested that Curtis Nkondo be approached to head the education commission.

#### 22. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

It was felt that as the campaign by conscientious objectors unfolded and many objectors were being charged, the UDF had to play a definite role. The UDF role was identified as a supportive one, manifesting itself in speeches, press statements and publications on conscientious objectors.

It was decided that all regions of the UDF should identify conscientious objectors support groups in their respective regions and to consult them for information on conscientious objection.

#### 23. CULTURAL BOYCOTT

A message supporting Paul Newman, Arthur Ashe and company for their courageous decision to campaign against shows by foreign artists at SunCity was read by the Publicity Secretary.

#### 24. PROGRAMME OF ACTION

After lengthy deliberations guidelines to a programme of action were adopted by the NEC.

These included:

- \*door to door campaigns
- \*church services and vigils
- \*local meetings

These would build up into a people's weekend by October 30 1983 and stretch on to challenge the Local Authorities elections on November 25 1983.

It was recommended that regions should add more flesh to the guidelines as they required flexibility based on material conditions in each region/area.

Another suggestion that a UDF calender with pictures and declaration be produced each year was passed by the NEC.

#### 25. NEXT NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

The next meeting of the NEC will held:

Venue: Jiswa (Johannesburg)

Time: 10.00am

Date: 6&7 November 1983.

1. FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND PUBLICITY SECRETARY

1.1 Secretary General:

- to co ordinate and convene the National Secretariat
- to convene the N.E.C. and the N.G.C. in consultation with the N.E.C.
- to be responsible for maintaining and safe keeping of all but financial records of the UDF.
- to promote the growth and development of the UDF nationally and internationally in conjunction and in consultation with the National Secretariat and N.E.C.
- to be responsible for all National UDF correspondence

1.2 PUBLICITY SECRETARY:

- to promote all the national media, publications and publicity of the UDF.
- to act as a channel through which all press releases shall be issued.
- to act as a PRO of the UDF
- to promote the image of the UDF
- to monitor and in conjunction with the Regional Press Liaison officers project the image of the UDF.

## FORT ELIZABETH - WORKSHOP ON 14 AUGUST 1983

### 1. INTRODUCTION:

In accordance with the decision taken in Cape Town on the 21st August, 1983 the National secretariat held a workshop at Malabar in P.E.

### 2. ATTENDANCE:

About 100 activists attended this workshop. At least 13 organizations were represented.

### 3. OBJECTIVES OF WORKSHOP

3.1 to improve our understanding i.e. the understanding of the National secretariat of the dynamics of the situation in the P.E. region.

3.2 to gain knowledge on how organisations operate in this region

3.3 to acquaint activists with the history of the U.D.F.

3.4 to develop a common understanding of the concept Front

3.5 to familiarise activists with the documents of the U.D.F. such as the Declaration, the working principles and the resolutions.

### 4. PROGRAMME OF WORKSHOP

#### 4.1 History and present state of UDF

An outline of the history of the UDF, its origin, the process of building, its structure and the tasks facing it were discussed.

#### 4.2 CONCEPT FRONT

The concept front was discussed extensively with a view to giving the activists a better understanding of different alliances. And within various alliances to situate the UDF clearly.

Under this heading, attempt was unable to show factors which influenced movement towards a front.

#### 4.3 Documents of the UDF

A short explanation of the Declaration and policy based on resolutions was discussed.

#### 4.4 Discussion local situation and organizations

There was a lengthy discussions on the conditions and organization in P.E. It emerged during the discussion that there were about 54 organizations in P.E. However most of them were very weak and were not meeting regularly.

According to reports given to the National Secretariat

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1. PREAMBLE:

Since the last NEC meeting held on 5 and 6 November 1983 interesting developments took place both within and outside the UDF. Major success were scored in boycott campaigns against the Black Local Authorities and Community Councils. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and tens of thousands of our people were mobilized through mass meetings held by the affiliates of the front. This proves that our capacity to mobilize is growing each day. The same period witnessed the UDF National Conference failure to take a definitive decision on the question of the referendum for the Coloured and Indian communities.

Sharply contrasting with the ambivalence of the UDF National Conference is the opportunistic moves by:

1.1 Labour Party:

The Labour Party Congress which dismissed the referendum and called on the government to hold early elections for the Coloured Chamber.

1.2 Rajbansi and Solidarity:

The challenge by Rajbansi to the NIC to take a decision on the referendum, and the subsequent formation of the Solidarity Party which although has declared its intention to participate in the Indian Chamber is calling for a referendum for the Indians. What we need to examine carefully is whether the initiative is not shifting from our hands to those of the reactionaries. This meeting is going to have to address this crucial question.

2. BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES:

2.1 Success and Problems:

The campaign to boycott the Black Local Authorities was a resounding success. Thousands of voters stayed away from the polls. Our assessment of the campaign is that the total percentage poll for the whole of the Transvaal and a few areas in the Cape and the OFS is nothing greater than 19%.

Although we scored these victories certain setbacks were suffered by our affiliates - when their activists were either arrested during demonstrations or assaulted after meetings. About four and fourteen activists were arrested during demonstrations at the polls in Cape Town and Welkom respectively. In Port Elizabeth, a PEBCO activist lost one eye when community councils attacked PEBCO members who were campaigning against the elections. Several other people were arrested in different parts of the country or hurt during the campaign, e.g. in the Vaal one activist was bitten by police dogs.

2.2 Challenging Legitimacy of BLA/CC's:

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The UDF and its affiliates succeeded in calling for an effective boycott of the BLA's and Community Councils. The next phase of the campaign is to challenge the support and therefore legitimacy of each Councillor in each ward. The secretariate is putting together information relating to the number of Councillors, wards and people who voted per ward in each township. Once that has been done affiliates will go on a signature campaign to prove that those Councillors are unpopular and therefore unrepresentative of the residents. On the basis of the concrete support shown in the signature forms affiliates will call for the resignation of those serving in Black Local Authorities and Community Councils. The challenge to the UDF and its affiliates is to provide an alternative to these structures. We need to develop a common understanding of this alternative. On crucial issues like this one we cannot take a defensive position. The people have shown that they are with us. We need to be on the offensive. We need to take the struggle forward taking with us the masses of the people who have shown their rejection of the "new deal".

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3. REFERENDUM:

3.1 Referendum for Coloureds and Indians:

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Two months after the white referendum the UDF has not yet taken a definitive decision as to how it is going to respond to the question of the referendum for the Coloured and Indian communities. It is not without cause that the situation is as it is for the Front. Within the Front we have not yet adequately addressed two crucial questions:

- a) development of coherent consultation networks operative at both regional and national level. However one or two regions are fairly advanced in terms of consultation at regional level.
- b) development of common perception of tactical and strategic questions. For this reason we lack common approach even to crucial questions facing the Front at this hour of our history.

The differences on the 'No' vote and boycott of the referendum at the National Conference in PE are a glaring example of our failure to intensify the work of National consultation. They indicate the magnitude of our task of creating coherent and politically disciplined cadreship structure linking up at regional and national level. We need to develop a capacity to ensure that our regions through reason and rational arguments, not emotions arrive at decisions. All decisions must be products of rational arguments. I have no doubt that some of the tactical questions we differed on in PE are fundamental to the UDF's opposition to the new constitution.

### 3.2 Tactical Flexibility:

The recommendation of conference that a greater flexibility be allowed affiliates and or regions in terms of the constitution was circulated to all regions on 30 December 1983.

## 4. RURAL AREAS, REMOVALS AND RELOCATIONS:

### 4.1 Rural Areas:

The UDF work in the rural areas has up to now been very minimal. Although some inroads have been made in the Boland, West Coast, Tzaneen and Kuruman, we<sup>ve</sup> not extended nearly enough. Our propaganda does not easily reach rural communities. A number of factors can be attributed to this:

- a) there are no newspapers.
- b) there are either no organisations or the level of organisation is very low.
- c) our own UDF news distribution network does not extend that far.
- d) villages are far removed from the towns.

With the Northern Cape Region structuring itself and the OFS beginning to move, I think the question of employing full-time regional organisers assumes importance each day. The initiative and potential present in the Northern Cape in particular must not be lost. There exist in this region very few activists with organisational discipline.

One of the only two key activists in this region has been demoted and transferred to Pretoria (TVL) by the Bophutatswana Department of Education for his activities in the UDF. The possibility exist for us to lose the remaining<sup>one</sup> to industry. I want to motivate that the NEC considers going on a fundraising drive and if successful in this regard consider employing one of the Northern Cape Secretaries on a full-time basis. One of the challenges facing us this year is to build strong regions of the UDF. We need disciplined activists in those areas (rural) who will ensure active participation by the people themselves.

### 4.2 Removals and Relocations:

One of the immediate challenges facing the UDF today is the violence of removals and resettlement system of the government. The government has intensified its offensive in this Front. In recent months only, over seven communities have either been resettled or threatened with removals. These include Leandra, Mogopa, Badplaas, Lamontville and KTC. People in these areas are looking up to the UDF for support. The Black Sash has on many occasions indicated that they had tried all the methods but failed and that they were looking up to UDF amongst other organisations to begin to play a meaningful role in respect of removals and relocations. Although

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in some regions like the Transvaal and Western Cape the UDF had some presence in these affected communities, our work is far from being enough.

The UDF must begin to view the question of removals and resettlements as forming an integral part of its programme. We must develop a strategy to challenge the state in the areas affected by the removal system.

#### 5. NEW HOUSING POLICY:

Housing has over the years been one of key political issues around which our people organised. Now with the new housing policy embodying a lot of contradictions, it seems like housing become the focal point of common community struggles. The UDF must begin to study the provision of the new housing policy, educate the community, prepare resource material and prepare generally for intense campaign/struggles around housing.

#### 6. PATRONAGE:

Bishop Desmond Tutu has accepted the NEC invitation to become one of UDF patrons.

#### 7. NEW REGIONS:

7.1 The Eastern Cape Region of the UDF was launched in Port Elizabeth on 4 December 1983. It is the fifth of officially launched UDF regions. I request the NEC

- a) to accept the two secretaries as members of the National Secretariate and therefore of the NEC;
- b) to work out a procedure for the formation of regions of the UDF.

#### 7.2 Suggested Procedure:

I suggest that regions who want to form regional structures officially must do the following:

- a) notify the General Secretary at least a month in advance;
- b) submit regional draft constitution a month in advance;
- c) submit a list of all known organisations and that of forming the region;
- d) submit minutes of the meeting that decided to form a region;
- e) submit copies of the UDF Declaration signed by organisations forming the region.

## 8. NATIONAL OFFICE:

### 8.1 Moving Office:

The SACC has decided to move the UDF office to the ground floor to a room that was previously used as a canteen. That place is very unsuitable to be a national office. Attempts to persuade Mr D Vaughan not to move our office to that place have failed. We are hoping to take up the matter with Bishop Tutu when he comes back from overseas (USA) at the end of January.

### 8.2 Receptionist/Typist:

We have not yet been able to get a receptionist/typist for the National Office. Circulars advertising that post were sent to all regions in November with a deadline as 31 December 1983. The National Office received no applications.

### 8.3 Use of Telephone:

A circular was sent to all the Transvaal affiliates through the regional office reprimanding them on the use of the telephone and explaining the conditions for the use of it (telephone). Although the problem of the use of the phone has been eased it has not been completely solved.

## 9. SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN:

Some progress has been made in preparation for the signature campaign.

- A common signature form has been adopted by a majority of regions.
- The National Secretariate recommends that the NEC consider employing a national co-ordinator of the campaign for a period of about 4 months.
- Appointment of regional co-ordinators has been recommended to regions.
- Sub-committees have been recommended to regions.
- Printing of forms will be decentralised.
- A brief document has been prepared.
- A handbook for activists has been put together.
- The possibility of using micro-films for signature forms is being investigated.
- Common storage rooms at regional level have been recommended.
- Regions have been asked to develop their own field programmes that will tie in with the work of organisations.

We need to think creatively of methods of involving students, churches and trade unions in our campaign.

LIST Yes

**T3**

No 2 : 22/5/78

Mantlana 26/5/88

New '13'

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UDF

DATE 21 JANUARY 1984

1. SINCE THE LAST N.E.C. MEETING, THREE GENERAL COUNCIL AND SIX REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS WERE HELD.

2. BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ELECTIONS

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ELECTIONS WAS CONDUCTED IN ALL AREAS APART FROM JOUBERTON IN KLERKSDORP. APART FROM WATTVILLE, DAVETON AND TEMBISA, NO INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN WAS CONDUCTED IN THE EAST RAND TOWNSHIPS. IN ALMOST ALL CASES THE CAMPAIGN WAS CONDUCTED IN THE NAME OF AFFILIATES. THE UDF - TVL PLAYED THE ROLE OF PROVIDING INFORMATION, GENERAL CO - ORDINATION, ASSISTING ORGANIZATIONS IN PLANNING ACTIVITIES AND PRODUCING PUBLICATIONS. (SEE DOCUMENT : AN ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ELECTIONS)

3. PUBLICATIONS

NUMEROUS LEAFLETS AND POSTERS WERE PUBLISHED IN THE COURSE OF THE ANTI - LOCAL AUTHORITIES CAMPAIGN. THE FIRST ISSUE OF "UDF NEWS TVL" WAS PUBLISHED IN NOVEMBER 1983.

4. RURAL AREAS

4.1 MOCOPA : UDF OFFICIALS PAID A VISIT TO THIS WESTERN TRANSVAAL VILLAGE WHICH WAS THREATENED WITH FORCED REMOVALS TO THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL.

4.2 LEANDRA : THIS IS A TOWNSHIP IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL WITH A POPULATION OF 18 000. THE COMMUNITY FACES REMOVALS TO KWA - NDEBELE. A VERY CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP EXIST BETWEEN THE POWERFUL LEANDRA ACTION COMMITTEE AND THE UDF - TRANSVAAL.

4.3 BADPLAAS : THIS EASTERN TRANSVAAL RURAL SETTLEMENT ALSO FACES REMOVALS. A MEETING WAS HELD BETWEEN CHIEF J.M. DLAMINI AND UDF OFFICIALS. UDF TRANSVAAL HAS SUBSEQUENTLY BEEN INVITED TO ADDRESS THE 'SWAZI' PEOPLE MARCH WHEN THEY GATHER AT THE EBHULENI ROYAL KRAAL ON THE OCCASSION OF THE ANNUAL CEREMONIAL FEAST.

5. MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

SEE DOCUMENTS : ' MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN ' AND 'PHASES OF THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN'

AZAPO : A MEETING WAS HELD BETWEEN UDF - TRANSVAAL AND AZAPO ON 11 TH NOVEMBER 1983. AZAPO SAID THAT THEY HAVE DECIDED NOT TO AFFILIATE TO UDF. THEY WILL HOWEVER, CO - OPERATE WITH THE UDF ON ISSUES WHICH DO NOT COMPROMISE THEIR PRINCIPLES.

7/ NEW AFFILIATES.....

**7. NEW AFFILIATES**

THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS HAVE AFFILIATED TO UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL :

1. VAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION.
2. JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC ACTION COMMITTEE.
3. NATIONAL GENERAL WORKERS UNION.

**8. FINANCE**

8.1 FINANCIAL REPORT : SEE BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 DECEMBER 1983.

8.2 FUND RAISING : THE 'PEOPLE MUSIC FESTIVAL' FEATURING A HOST OF POPULAR MUSICAL GROUPS WOULD BE HELD ON THE 4 MARCH 1984 AT FUN VALLEY. THIS IS THE MAJOR FUND - RAISING ACTIVITY FOR JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

'FRIENDS OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL' IS PLANNED TO BE LAUNCHED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

*Y Mohamed Dk*

**T4**

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28/9/87

REPORT OF NATIONAL SECRETARIAT MEETING HELD ON  
10TH MARCH 1984

Rev. T. U. "

**PUBLICITY:**

The Publicity departments in the regions and the head office had to be strengthened. The Publicity Secretary was asked to meet with Publicity Secretaries in all the regions to work out ways of ensuring more effective publicity. The Publicity Secretary's priority is publicity - affiliates should remember this fact when making requests to him to address their meetings.

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28/9/89 } It was agreed that information bulletins be published regularly. Regions are to send information to be included to the general secretary. Affiliates and members of affiliates are asked to write letters to the UDF commenting on the front and the issues it takes up. These letters will assist the publicity department.

**HOUSING CONFERENCE/WORKSHOP**

A tentative date has been suggested 31st May 1984 - 3rd June 1984. The following questions need to be considered by affiliates :-

- (a) The programme for the conference, particularly the topics, speakers and the structuring of the conference itself.
- (b) Whether the conference should be held by UDF or by the Civic Organisations affiliated to UDF.

**ANTI ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN**

The campaign to be linked to M.S.C. - affiliates requested to find creative ways of facilitating this in their day to day work.

The campaign must be seen as a campaign of oppressed and democratic South Africans - not just the Indian and Coloured sectors. The Secretariat requests ideas and suggestions from affiliates on this aspect.

The campaign must also be conducted within the African areas. Affiliates should also see how White Democratic Organisations can link up with campaign.

**MAY DAY**

The Secretariat suggests that the UDF should observe this day in consultation with the Unions.

MILLION/.....

**MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN - FROM THE REGIONAL COORDINATOR**

After the launching of the Million Signature Campaign at Y.M.C.A. a number of affiliates have collected declaration forms, pamphlets, posters etc.

As co-ordinator of the campaign, I had the opportunity to visit some areas. I am however, very concerned about the way the campaign is developing.

In this regard, I wish to advise all affiliates to seriously get down to the task of collecting signatures - but to at all times :-

- (a) keep the objectives of the campaign in mind.
- (b) study the handbook and attempt to follow the directives as closely as possible.

I wish to draw your attention to the following notices :-

1. In an attempt to boost the campaign, the Natal Region will conduct a "blitz" on Saturday 31st March 1984 in Durban Central each affiliate is required to send at least ten (10) people - who will assemble at St. Anthony's at 8.30 a.m.

These people are required to have clipboards. We hope to collect TWENTY THOUSAND signatures on this day.

2. A meeting of the Co-ordinations Committee is set for Wednesday 28th March 1984 at 5.30p.m. at the U.D.F. Office - each area is required to send one delegate.

**PUBLICITY**

Our A5 pamphlet that will assist to create some "buzz" in your area will be available from Monday at the U.D.F. office. Limited quantities will be issued. Stickers will also be available.

**RETURN OF DECLARATION FORMS**

It is important that all completed forms be returned on weekly basis to the U.D.F. office.

**MORE CONTACT**

I wish to stress the importance of maintaining regular contact between the areas and the Co-ordinator. In this regard areas are required to contact the office or invite me to the area.

Wishing you success in the Campaign.

Yours in the struggle

-----  
C. NDLOVU

p.s. UDF Office - 20 St Andrews Street  
Telephone : 66019



WDF

T5

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28/9/87

7/10/87.

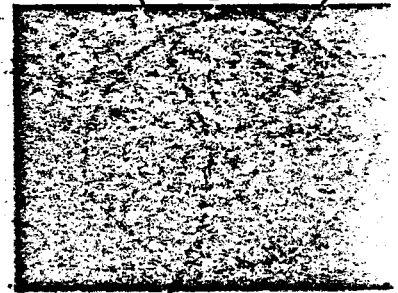
9/10/87

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

MEETING HELD ON 10 AND 11 MARCH 1984

AT JISWA CENTRE IN JOHANNESBURG

*BUTS*



1. PRESENT:

TRANSVAAL - Moss and Valli

NATAL - YUNUS.

EASTERN CAPE - Prince and Derrick

WESTERN CAPE - TREVOR AND CHERYL

NORTHERN CAPE - JOMB

NATIONAL - POPO AND TERROR.

2. APOLOGIES

NATAL - JOE

BORDER - SABELO AND HINTSA.

3. CHAIRPERSON

Terror Lekota.

4. MEETING

The general secretary must produce a schedule for both the National Executive Committee and National Secretariat meetings and make them available to regions in ten (10) days.

5. EVALUATION

There exist a need to evaluate the structures to ensure that democracy is practical. There is a need for ideological work to be intensified.

We need to contain the contradictions within the Front.

6. UNICNS

We need to monitor union unity talks.

The general secretary was requested to set up meetings with unions as follow up to previous meetings.

/it was noted ..

2  
It was noted that there is a need for a labour secretariat.

7. BROADENING THE FRONT

Secretaries must go back and discuss methods and strategies broadening the Front.

8. COMMUNICATION

It was noted that the National Office needs a telex machine.

The General Secretary to keep regular contact with regions at least once in a week.

9. PUBLICATIONS

UDF needed a news letter on a monthly basis (or information booklet for activists)

10. REVIEW OF UDF STAFF regularly to check the UDF.

The National Executive Committee must consider appointing a national organiser and regional organisers. The National Office must be requested to appoint and pay regional organisers.

11. STATE HOUSING POLICY

(2) 9/10/87 That civic bodies must take up the issue.

That the General Secretary must ensure that the conference takes place. Conference should have national impact.

Date chosen for conference 31 to 3 June.

That regions must bring civics together to discuss conference.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. AAI - Can not accept invitation by AAI (cant travel on the ticket of the said organisation) from this university

2. SWEDDISH INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CENTRE

Invitation be discussed with unions affiliated to the Front.

That the general secretary set up meeting with Unions. Before the next National Executive Committee.

Details of training programme.

Implications of receiving freedom prize - accepting prize - relative security.

ROCHEFFELER FOUNDATION

Which groups they are funding. ~~Gain intelligence from agency.~~

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

Council Union of South Africa complaints about sources of funds.

NAMIBIA should be consulted on the national party.

Commend the two secretaries for seizing the initiative of meeting Ja Toivo.

That a delegation should meet Toivo ask him to address a mass rally. explain the UDF in simpler terms.

That Ja Toivo phoned personally to thank the UDF.

That UDF sent flowers to thank JA TOIVO. list names of any UDF members.

Meeting with Toivo, Nico Bassinger, Daniel Tjongarero, Peter Witbooi and another.

That the UDF will be informed about Toivos return to Namibia so that he could be welcomed by UDF supporters.

That invitation be done through the National with the proviso that any such invitation makes national impact.

TALKS WITH NEIGHBOURING STATES BY SA.

That it be ensured that the document is acquired to equip the Front with the facts. A statement prepared by Terror and Yunus.

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28/9/87

DENIGRATION OF UDF Publicity secretary.

POTCHEFSTROOM UNIVERSITY The invitation from this university be rejected.

INKATHA 1. That the letter to Inkatha be made available to the Western Cape.

2. That regions discuss the matter further.

AZAPO 1. Transvaal motivated against invitation.

2. Matter referred back to the regional executive committee.

21  
7/10/87

PUBLICITY

Media workshop suggested that there be publication called udf updates must come out once a month. Responsibility of National publicity secretary and National secretary. Work be sent to National secretary after editing. } (20) 27/10

There should be consultation on the national poster.

That Gilbert Marcus be approached by general secretary.

Consultation in be ensured in future.

The need to explain the UDF in simpler terms.

WIP: de

National publicity secretary appeal against bans of any UDF publications.

ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

Community Paper may employ people helpful to UDF. } (20)

Alternate media project UDF. } 28/9/84

UDF need to feed alternate media on regular basis with news.

Need to respond to the David Lewis interview on the UDF with WIP (Generally affiliates and individuals who support UDF must write in response to news papers)

Regional secretaries help the Publicity secretary to monitor and respond to questions about the UDF. Need for workshop to prepare R300 for Khanya house.

UMTHONYANA

Eastern Cape expressed strong feeling about the need to democratise the project. Attempts were made by Phalo to build credibility of Umthonyana publication by using certain figures such as Popo, Terror and Prince that

That the general secretary write to Mr. Tshume in connection with usage of names of UDF officials as trustees of Umthonyana.

CONSCRIPTION

Intensify education programme for the youths on the role of SADF, anti conscription campaign, produce more information on conscription.

WESTERN CAPE

Western Cape region has already started taking up conscription. More publicity still needed.

NATAL

THE commission appointed by the region has not reported yet.

EASTERN CAPE

Very little has been done on conscription. A circular has sent to organisations.

PAPER ON CONSCRIPTION

An input paper on conscription must be presented at the next National Executive Committee. More resource information is needed on the subject. UDF must give it a correct perspective.

Western Cape must produce guidelines on conscription by March 1984.

WORKSHOP

The secretariat must investigate a possibility of a workshop by the next National Executive Committee.

REMOVALS

Transvaal is making attempts to effect greater co ordination between UDF, Black Sash and SACC. Political relationship was developing between the UDF and the Leandra people. Attempt is being made to co ordinate resistance parties in areas threatened with removals. A meeting held in Leandra in March was attended by 8 000 people who pledged support for UDF and rejected community councils. However, the UDF has not been able yet to attend to all affected spots.

NORTHERN CAPE

Valspan in Northern Cape is threatened with removals. The community Councils are encouraging removals.

WESTERN CAPE

There is serious threat of removal of people to Khayelitsha In ~~Cape~~ <sup>Conco</sup> administration board controlled area, all unemployed people are moved.

EASTERN CAPE

In Mgwali Eastern Cape Boo people interviewed by city press indicated that they were not prepared to move from their area/land/homes.

NATIONAL FOCUS

There is a need for a national focus on removals. The UDF must also consider producing a calendar on removals.

ELECTIONS

1. The UDF needs to incorporate groupings that are not part of it in the Anti Elections campaign.
2. MSC must be clearly linked up with the anti - election campaign.
3. The UDF must create a build up for the anti election campaign
4. We need to identify means and ways of involving the African communities and exactly what forum the campaign will take in these areas. (the campaign must show the link between the new constitution and the liberation of the Africans.

MSC

Reports were given on MSC by various regions followed by discussion on methods used in various regions.

FIGURES PER REGION

Western Cape	12 000
Natal	1 500
Transvaal	12 500
Border	10 000
E. Cape	Nil
N. Cape	Nil

RESOURCES

The national office must make resources available to regions to facilitate MSC.

Barometer must be arranged with the city press

Full time workers/organisers must be employed for rural areas (Western Cape motivated for a budget of R16 000 of which they raise R7 000.

It was agreed that the National Office be approached to give a grant of R9 000 to Western Cape.

Workers must be persuaded to take up the MSC. (students be requested to sign workers at factories)

MAY DAY

It was agreed the UDF must take the initiative to organise May Day activities. The General secretary must .....

The general secretary must approach unions on the matter. Trevor must make available the information on May Day.

NATIONAL CO ORDINATOR FOR MSC

UWO and Womens Front had agreed to work jointly on commemoration of womens Day (federation anniversary)

A committee comprising Trevor and three (3) members from each of the two organisations was formed to ensure process of unity.

SCHEDULE

The general secretary must draft schedule for all National Executive committee and National secretariat meetings. Schedule must made available in ten days.

COMMEMORATIONS SERVICES

RMC and other affiliates of the UDF be encouraged to organise services for June 16 and 26.



1p.0 V | Mohamed Daw

**T6**

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- 1579/87  
28/9/87

BWT 6"

SUMMARY OF THE MINUTES OF JOINT NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

AND TREASURY HELD ON THE 28TH APRIL 1984

1. PRESENT (i) TVL. M. CHIKANE.

(ii) NATAL. Y. MOHAMMED  
J. PHANILA

(iii) E. CAPE P. MSUTU  
D. SWARTS

(iv) W. CAPE T. MANUEL

(v) NATICAL P. MOLEFE  
T. LEKOTA  
C. SAICQJEE  
M. RANGCEIN

2. APOLOGIES (i) BORDER SABELC AND CHARLES ✓

(ii) N. CAPE. B. MAAPE AND J. KHASU

(iii) W. CAPE. C. CAROLCUS

(iv) TRANSVAAL. M. VALLI.

3. FINANCES

3.1 It was agreed that grants be made available to regions as o soon as money is available.

3.2 That, regions submit to National Treasurers budgets for six months. Budget should cover entire regional UDF work including rural full time workers.

3.3 Money advanced to regions now will be deducted at the time of grants.

3.4 That R5 000 be immediately made available to Western Cape for rural work.

- 4\*
- 3.5. That grants for the Border, E. Cape, N. Cape and C.F.S. regions be determined in consultation with the National Officers. ✓
  - 3.6 The National Treasurers were requested to assist Transvaal straighten up its books. ✓
  - 3.7 That regions wanting National speakers must pay for their fares.
  - 3.8 The National Treasury agreed to finance a rally in the Northern Transvaal with the proviso that all vouchers are submitted to the National Office.
  - 3.9 The treasury must demand audited statements from regions on periods determined by them. ✓
  - 3.10 Cassim Saloojee was mandated to go abroad for purposes of fundraising. ✓

#### 4. FREEDOM PRIZE

- 4.1 It was agreed that the three (3) presidents be nominated to receive freedom prize. C. Saloojee and Rev Stofile or Eric Molobi were appointed to be on stand by.
- 4.2 It was agreed a press conference be arranged when the representatives of the Front leave for Sweden.

#### 5. BRITISH LICENCE TOUR

- 5.1 It was reported that the tour was a big thing abroad Organisations were campaigning against it.
- 5.2 It was agreed that a meeting be set up between the UDF and the secretary of SACOS Morgan Kaidoo with a view to discuss a joint strategy against the tour.

5.3 It was reported by the Publicity Secretary that a telex and letter had already been sent to SANEOC.

6. MSC

6.1 REPORTS Regions reported progress on MSC. The Western Cape region with 60 000 signatures is leading the nearest region to it by 40 000 signatures. Total of signatures collected is little over 126 000.

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19/9/87



6.2 PROBLEMS The major problem common to all regions was identified as resources. Coupled with the resource problem in the Transvaal is lack of active participation by organisations and in particular leadership. Regional secretaries do not know the state of affiliates.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.3.1 Intensification of blitzes.

6.3.2 Publishing of forms in community newspapers and popular commercial news papers.

6.3.3 Setting up of shops where MSC forms will be available for volunteers to collect.

6.3.4 Usage of May - Day as an opportunity to intensify the MSC by collecting signature from the workers at all major stations. Big posters be used to draw the attention of the workers.

6.3.5 Regions must assess on a regular basis the following

6.3.5.1 How to increase the number of volunteers.

6.3.5.2 How to make follow up on contact made with volunteers.

6.3.5.3 How to assess political content.

6.3.5.4 Ideas on recruitment of people into the campaign of million signatures.

6.6 Involvement by UDF executive committee members. To that extent the UDF National Office was requested to write to all R.E.C. member and executive committees of all affiliates.

6.7 That the General Secretary and the Publicity secretary co-ordinate the million signature campaign. That the efficient administrator be employed for the National Office.

## 7. AFRICAN AREAS

### 7.1 LACK OF PARTICIPATION

It was noted that Africans were not participating fully in the campaign of the UDF. Factors influencing these conditions were identified as

- (a) The venue problems (church controlled by administration boards eg. lease holds are used to scare the priests by demanding that only bonafide religious services must be allowed).
- (b) The level of repression made people think organisations are a waste of time and are reformist.
- (c) Acute material-deprivation in these areas and the failure to involve few petit bourgeois elements made movement difficult.

### 7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

7.2.1 The secretaries must compile lists of affiliates and make assessment of their strengths - and the extent to which they are participating in the UDF.

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OTHER AREAS

9.3.1 Removals

9.3.2 Health

9.3.3 Conscription

Regarding the above areas referred to in 9.3 the National Secretariat recommends that people already working therein be approached by the UDF. It is noted that rather than duplicating structures the UDF should draw from existing resources. The Black Sash and SFP should be consulted on removals. NAMA on Health and CCSG on conscription and intimidation.

9.4 RESOURCE MATERIAL

It was recommended that the national Publicity Secretary establish a desk with all available material. It was further advised that a list containing material available be sent to regions on a regular basis

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## UNIONS & PRICES

Prices - Maize - Possibility of building this matter into the UDF.  
Unions must be approached on May Day and GST.

Unions seem<sup>s</sup> not to know what to do about GST.

UDF must give direction on GST.

### 10.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

It was recommended that the REC and the Regional General Councils put food prices and housing on their agendas.

### 10.2 CONSUMER ORGANISATIONS

That UDF must identify organisations that emerged around the high food prices and forge links with them if the need arises.

### 10.3 FEDERATION OF UNIONS

It was noted that there was a possibility of the New Union Federation asking for a meeting with the UDF for affiliation.

UDF must take the initiative in this connection.

### 10.4 SAAWU

It was recommended that the Transvaal office must write to SAAWU ask for a formal letter advising the R.E.C. on what to do with Barnabas who is currently a member of the R.E.C. on a SAAWU ticket.

## 11 REMOVALS

It was noted that the government was persistently uprooting people from the historical lands and urban areas and forcing them to settle in areas not chosen by them. Thousands of people are increasingly facing the threat of removals. The National Secretariat whilst noting the need for the UDF to address itself to the problem it believes however that without the necessary resources allowing for consistent work the issue will remain unresolved.

## 12. MAY DAY

### 12.1 LETTER TO UNIONS

The Western Cape Region reported that the AFCTU had indicated their displeasure with the letter written by the General Secretary to all unions. It is suspected that the FOSATU and GWU refused to participate in joint May Day services because of the tone of the letter. The General Secretary was requested to send a copy of the letter to all regions.

12.2 MEETINGS

According to reports presented to the National Secretariat only the Western Cape and Natal regions of the UDF had organised May Day meetings.

Other regions had either unions or affiliates ~~organising~~ organising meetings independently.

13. LEGAL MATTERS

13.1 Banned UDF news and National launch book, The Western Cape and the National Publicity Secretary were asked to take up the two cases respectively. It was agreed that the National Office will pay for legal costs.

14. LEGAL PRESS

The General Secretary was instructed to investigate serious allegations made about the UDF in the City Press of the 22nd April 1984, and seek a legal opinion on the matter.

15. EDUCATION CRISIS

15.1 It was reported that a workshop was being planned by AZASO, FUSAS and COSAS. According to the report the workshop would focus on how education could be linked up with the MSC and general UDF work.

15.2 CRADOCK

Twenty two people were reported arrested in Cradock. Six were charged with intimidation and public violence.

15.3 REPORTS ON EDUCATION

15.3.1 TVL was requested to prepare report on education crisis in Pretoria.

15.3.2 Eastern Cape was requested to prepare a report on the education crisis in Uitenhage.

15.3.3 The national publicity secretary offered to prepare a report on Cradock.

15.4 NATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY

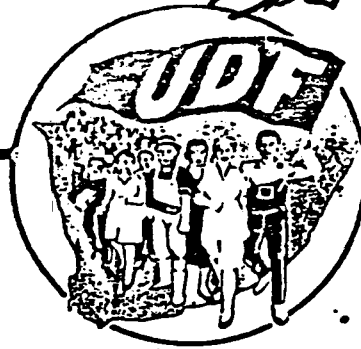
The national secretariat agreed to recommend to regions that a national Day of Solidarity with the people of Cradock. The meetings must make a call for the release of Mathew Goniwe. The General Secretary was mandated to consult the Black Sash and the DFSC on the matter.





# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

*Leila Patel*

THE AGENDA FOR THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 7 AND 8 JULY 1984 IN DURBAN.

- 1. Chithra - division of groups
  - 2. Workshops
  - 3. Labour Unit
  - 4. Kwa-Ngweni of country
  - 5. ...
- 1) Front - 1st  
 2) National Council  
 3) Association of UDF  
 4) Justice teachers  
 5) UDF  
 6) Local personal proposal

## AGENDA

1. MATTERS ARISING FROM N.E.C MINUTES (CONCERNING THE SECRETARIAT)

2. POLICE HARASSMENT AND UDF RESPONSE

2.1 State strategies to disorganise

2.2 Legal action

- 1. Informative / detailed communication.
- 2. Graphs / charts.
- 3.

3. FINANCES

4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4.1 Geneva —

4.2 Youth —

4.3 Women —

4.4 Sweden (Cultural exchange programme) E

4.5 Bonn conference (AAM - [Reform Strategy and UDF's response.] September. Publicity Sec + Info, train + Research Com.

4.6 Tribunal \*

4.7 Visit to S.A. by U.S. Congressman. } Jesse Jackson. House of Reps Sub-Comm on Africa - Walter Hancock

5. OFFICE

5.1 Equipment *typewriter, work-procress? photostating machine? cards*

5.2 Staff ✓

5.3 Job description ✓

5.4 Relationship with the Tvl Office ???

CALL FOR RESIGNATION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

6  
6  
6

Call for resignation of local authorities  
Posters & handbills

2nd local authorities

POSTERS & HANDBILLS | UDF NEWS.

6. PUBLICITY

6.1 Press Relations

ESTATE + AREAS.

6.2 Role of National Publicity Secretary

6.3 Regional Publicity

1. Public systems of papers.
2. headline of papers
3. Press-Conference - facts released
4. News news media. conflict, press, sensational
- 5.

7. RURAL AREAS

7.1 Removals

7.2 Rural Organisers

7.3 Northern Transvaal

Media Production.

1.1.

8. Draft Constitution (discussion)

9. INKATHA

10. ROLE OF UDF (Future Strategy)

11. ROLE OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT

12. GST AND RISING FOOD PRICES

13. ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

13.1 Report from Commission on Anti-Election Campaign

13.2 Discussion of Report

13.3 Recommendations and suggestions

13.4 Propaganda

14. EDUCATION OFFICE

1. Structures = <sup>various campaigns</sup> Joint Planning Council = 30 coordinators  
Removals Committee }  
Elections Committee }  
Working Committee = Media, Fund raising Committee

2. Activities = marches, etc.  
Rally for 28 July.

3.

(20) 28/9/87  
29/9/87

(21) 9/10/87  
26/10/87

J. Note 7 No (14)

NOTES ON

E5(4)  
NATSECT MEETING 7/

Dec 18

1. W. Cape - National joining summit take serious --  
Need to be strict

2. FINANCES -  
allocations: decisions in terms of 2 of 1000 NCC decisions.  
emergency allocations had already been made in respect of the Western Cape.  
Allocation could not be made before regions submitte to the National Treasury - income and expenditure statements.

3. National Officers reports provide details relating to the number of seats in various areas.  
W. Cape rural - 54 + 2 Indian seats.  
Total = 7 Indian + 10 coloured seats.

\* 4. Two National Secretaries - draw proposals in rural areas to be presented to National Treasury.  
- Also must look into possibility of employ rural organisers for Natal.

5. That two tickets from Durban to Cape Town be made available to

b. Matters arising out of N.E.C minutes

b.1. Amkha - response given of various levels by National publicity meeting - pending with Mr. B. Skosana - Natal to approach New Xandu.

b.2. N.E.C workshop  
Parameer - National secretaries re speaker removals, under heading the Front team evaluate the work of the Front - Gen. Sec. to develop a critique

(3)

- that critic people outside the Front.
- National convention must be expanded on (then future alternatives of the Front) targets that we are going to use. The line must emerge before 18/19 August that the N.E.C. members be consulted in advance of the workshop.

Date ÷ 21 July 1984

Venue ÷ OB. — — — — — Mass and Terror before Pinda

Arrival — FRIDAY 12/7/84

Motivation of 1. Proposals for L. Govt.

2. United Campaign

3. Critique must be presented by Sec

7. MEDA 9. Heila Patel

2. Guy

3. W. J. ...

8. International relations — set in the ...

process of setting up ...

9. Labour

- monitoring developments nationally and internationally

- advise on possibilities in strengthening relations with unions

- provide if entirely need provide training

- assess the strength and weaknesses of unions applied to the Front.

that the Gen. Secretary — must inform

N.E.C. members of developments in within

SAWU.

10. Letters to Michael, Bogiland, Front line states



- 11. Housing Conference - 9/9/84 5 delegates
- 12. Local govt. input - Vally & Torres w. Cape - No. 21 9/1/87
- 13. Legal proceedings - late for USA news National Pamphlets - rest not liable
- 14. ON National Days - removals, Education

20

29/9/87

- 15. Centre for Integral Studies - invites UAF for Wednesday MP. for Jeepe Wageman Malan in panel
- 2. Gatsha
- 3. What's conflict management
- Invitation rejected - USA does not send anybody
- that TVL persuade A. Motlana not to attend the said meeting

- 16. State Strategies to disorganise
  - prevention to UAF from collecting signatures
  - 29 people charged in Natal and collection of signature forms and posters
  - 4 persons were arrested and suspected charged with
  - Intadict - that this must be done
  - Briefing document must be issued out in all region explaining that people have a right to collect signature.
  - In Bantustans - legal proceedings must be initiated as and when necessary.

17 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

- (Geneva) Convention
- source body for to 3 months period - ETC. suggest names

- YOUTH  
 International Year of the Youth - IYY  
 Secretariat - They circulate Publication  
 - Problems with visiting other countries  
 - Youth General Assembly - USA could  
 send youth representative

- Women  
 End of 4th Women's Decade  
 - UDF must pull women together to  
 get a representative to Nigeria where  
 the conference will take place 1/7/85  
 Youth (Gins) - Geneva Imperial Meeting  
 where a South African youth would sit  
 - Azaso be advised to link up with  
 ① Asian Students Movement  
 ② African Students etc

18. Youth Events  
 - the UDF should sponsor events  
 - criteria to choose people to go abroad  
 - role and in this respect and relations  
 with youth

19. UIC - suggest  
 19. Response to IYY - that the matter  
 be discussed by regions

20. Bona  
 Paper - on Reform Strategy and the  
 UDF's response thereto.

- in September
- That the Gen. Sec. reply find out the deadline and that Pub. Sec. with foreign Secretaries work on the paper and present it at the workshop.

21. TRIBUNAL (People's Tribunal)

- suggested setting up a people's Tribunal
- that the regions discuss the matter.

22. Jesse Jackson : Although he may be in the advantage to the UDF the matter must be discussed ~~at~~ by regions.

- supported Sullivan principles.
- alternative - that the church plan the itinerary. UDF cannot invite him.
- That the Gen Secretary and National Secretary look into other options

23. Congress men - Democratic Party members

- that they come back to SA. and that they be met by R.C.C. and/or N.E.C. members wherever they may be

24. OFFICE EQUIPMENT

- that the National Office buy a word processor
- letter head on colour be investigated

25. PUBLICITY :

- Relationship with some <sup>new</sup> papers improving

• A book on How to Use the Media can be of help.

• Brief discuss on how to use the media

— That a seminar on how to use the media be made available to all secretaries.

UDF NEWS ROLE OF NATIONAL PUBLICITY SECRETARY

public must be helped out of the situation of having to speak at almost every time/day  
Guidelines & Schedule for national office

26 RURAL AREAS

26- EASTERN COPE

that in the future this region must consider as a mutual responsibility to ascertain the details of the meeting

27. ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

removal committee

W.C. African areas JPC 20-10-ordinators and removals  
sub-units committees

27.1.1

Co-ordinating committee 22 persons sent to a constituency

~~27.1~~ Conference formed inter-region body comprising of 7 regions.

Contact with Koro upington etc. meeting of co-ordinating meeting to be held the following week.

Students grouped according to regions which they were from.

27.1.2

27.1.2 ACTIVITIES Not a lot field work  
Fieldwork was done. Not a lot of time spent on door to door. People responding positively.

Meetings. mass meetings

Publications: UDF news 2 months ago, pamphlets use. A 3 fold publication for rural areas.

mass participation emphasized  
march on housing, march against Amalgetda  
focus on GST, pickets on lobby, demo.  
on rent increase. Another march against  
electricity

27.1.3 Press relations - Press briefings.  
Labour parties invited to meetings and  
has - is exposed through the press.

27.1.4 relation with ~~209 GST~~  
unions meet with Cape Action League Fed of  
Cape Unions. Rally to show opposition  
Jointly with unions.  
Work force +400  $\frac{2}{3}$  -  $\frac{1}{3}$  prepared to work  
3 days a week. Education and training  
not receiving enough attention  
Attendance at meetings fluctuating - some 50 persons.

27.2. TRANSVAAL

~~27.2.1 Structure~~

ANTI-PC (al) grass root org) District committees  
on the net. Council of 20 people. TIC structures in all  
major centres. Levy 5 zones. Activists over a  
duplicated no. of houses.  
Campaign committee / E media committee.  
JOBAC - JHB - East, West and Central branches  
of 40 persons.  
youth - co-ordinating committee

27.3.2 ACTIVITIES  
- ~~2 Bures~~  
- inter organisational meeting - TIC Anti-PC. JOBA  
- Workshops.  
- Youth co-ordinating committee - rally 28/7/84  
Field work - door to door.  
meetings Eldorado Park, Langham  
3 mass meetings in major areas.

27.3.3 Publications -  
2 newsletters Anti-PC.  
Pamphlets

The general secretary must approach unions on the matter. Trevor must make available the information on May Day.

NATIONAL CO ORDINATOR FOR MSC

UWO and Womens Front had agreed to work jointly on commemoration of womens Day (federation anniversary)

A committee comprising Trevor and three (3) members from each of the two organisations was formed to ensure process of unity.

SCHEDULE

The general secretary must draft schedule for all National Executive committee and National secretariat meetings. Schedule must made available in ten days.

COMMEMORATIONS SERVICES

RMC and other affiliates of the UDF be encouraged to organise services for June 16 and 26.

1p.0 V/Mohamed Daw

**T6**

(20) - 15/9/87  
28/9/87

BWT 6"

SUMMARY OF THE MINUTES OF JOINT NATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
AND TREASURY HELD ON THE 28TH APRIL 1984

1. PRESENT (i) TVL. M. CHIKANE.

(ii) NATAL. Y. MOHAMMED  
J. PHANLA

(iii) E. CAPE P. MSUTU  
D. SWARTS

(iv) W. CAPE T. MANUEL

(v) NATIONAL P. MOLEFE  
T. LEKOTA  
C. SAICQJEE  
M. RAMGBIN

2. APOLOGIES (ii) BORDER SABELC AND CHARLES ✓

(ii) N. CAPE. B. MAAPE AND J. KHASU

(iii) W. CAPE. C. CAROLCUS

(iv) TRANSVAAL. M. VALLI.

3. FINANCES

3.1 It was agreed that grants be made available to regions as o soon as money is available.

3.2 That, regions submit to National Treasurers budgets for six months. Budget should cover entire regional UDF work including rural full time workers.

3.3 Money advanced to a regions now will be deducted at the time of grants.

3.4 That R5 000 be immediately made available to Western Cape for rural work.



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- 3.5. That grants for the Border, E. Cape, N. Cape and O.F.S. regions be determined in consultation with the National Officers.
  - 3.6 The National Treasurers were requested to assist Transvaal straighten up its books.
  - 3.7 That regions wanting National speakers must pay for their fares.
  - 3.8 The National Treasury agreed to finance a rally in the Northern Transvaal with the proviso that all vouchers are submitted to the National Office.
  - 3.9 The treasury must demand audited statements from regions on periods determined by them.
  - 3.10 Cassim Saloojee was mandated to go abroad for purposes of fundraising.

#### 4. FREEDOM PRIZE

- 4.1 It was agreed that the three (3) presidents be nominated to receive freedom prize. C. Saloojee and R-v Stofile or Eric Molobi were appointed to be on stand by.
- 4.2 It was agreed a press conference be arranged when the representatives of the Front leave for Swedden.

#### 5. BRITISH LICENS TOUR

- 5.1 It was reported that the tour was a big thing abroad Organisations were campaigning against it.
- 5.2 It was agreed that a meeting be set up between the UDF and the secretary of SACOS Morgan Naidoo with a view to discuss a joint strategy against the tour.

5.3 It was reported by the Publicity Secretary that a telex and letter had already been sent to SANBEC.

6. MSC

6.1 REPORTS Regions reported progress on MSC. The Western Cape region with 60 000 signatures is leading the nearest region to it by 40 000 signatures. Total of signatures collected is little over 126 000.

(20)

19/9/87

6.2 PROBLEMS The major problem common to all regions was identified as resources. Coupled with the resource problem in the Transvaal is lack of active participation by organisations and in particular leadership. Regional secretaries do not know the state of affiliates.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.3.1 Intensification of blitzes.

6.3.2 Publishing of forms in community newspapers and popular commercial news papers.

6.3.3 Setting up of shops where MSC forms will be available for volunteers to collect.

6.3.4 Usage of May - Day as an opportunity to intensify the MSC by collecting signature from the workers at all major stations. Big posters be used to draw the attention of the workers.

6.3.5 Regions must asses on a regular basis the following

6.3.5.1 How to increase the number of volunteers.

6.3.5.2 How to make follow up on contact made with volunteers.

- 6.3.5.3 How to assess political content.
- 6.3.5.4 Ideas on recruitment of people into the campaign of million signatures.
- 6.6 Involvement by UDF executive committee members. To that extent the UDF National Office was requested to write to all R.E.C. member and executive committees of all affiliates.
- 6.7 That the General Secretary and the Publicity secretary co-ordinate the million signature campaign. That the efficient administrator be employed for the National Office.

## 7. AFRICAN AREAS

### 7.1 LACK OF PARTICIPATION

It was noted that Africans were not participating fully in the campaign of the UDF. Factors influencing these conditions were identified as

- (a) The venue problems (church controlled by administration boards eg. lease holds are used to scare the priests by demanding that only bonafide religious services must be allowed).
- (b) The level of repression made people think organisations are a waste of time and are reformist.
- (c) Acute material deprivation in these areas and the failure to involve few petit bourgeois elements made movement difficult.

### 7.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

- 7.2.1 The secretaries must compile lists of affiliates and make assessment of their strengths - and the extent to which they are participating in the UDF.

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OTHER AREAS

9.3.1 Removals

9.3.2 Health

9.3.3 Conscription

Regarding the above areas referred to in 9.3 the National Secretariat recommends that people already working therein be approached by the UDF. It is noted that rather than duplicating structures the UDF should draw from existing resources. The Black Sash and SPP should be consulted on removals. NAMDA on Health and CCSG on conscription and intimidation.

9.4 RESOURCE MATERIAL

It was recommended that the national Publicity Secretary establish a desk with all available material. It was further advised that a list containing material available be sent to regions on a regular basis

## UNIONS & PRICES

Prices - Maize - Possibility of building this matter into the UDF.  
Unions must be approached on May Day and GST.

Unions seem not to know what to do about GST.

UDF must give direction on GST.

### 10.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

It was recommended that the REC and the Regional General Councils put food prices and housing on their agendas.

### 10.2 CONSUMER ORGANISATIONS

That UDF must identify organisations that emerged around the high food prices and forge links with them if the need arises.

### 10.3 FEDERATION OF UNIONS

It was noted that there was a possibility of the New Union Federation asking for a meeting with the UDF for affiliation.

UDF must take the initiative in this connection.

### 10.4 SAAWU

It was recommended that the Transvaal office must write to SAAWU ask for a formal letter advising the R.E.C. on what to do with Barnabas who is currently a member of the R.E.C. on a SAAWU ticket.

## 11 REMOVALS

It was noted that the government was persistently uprooting people from the historical lands and urban areas and forcing them to settle in areas not chosen by them. Thousands of people are increasingly facing the threat of removals. The National Secretariat whilst noting the need for the UDF to address itself to the problem it believes however that without the necessary resources allowing for consistent work the issue will remain unresolved.

## 12. MAY DAY

### 12.1 LETTER TO UNIONS

The Western Cape Region reported that the AFCTU had indicated their displeasure with the letter written by the General Secretary to all unions. It is suspected that the FOSATU and GWTU refused to participate in joint May Day services because of the tone of the letter. The General Secretary was requested to send a copy of the letter to all regions.

12.2 MEETINGS

According to reports presented to the National Secretariat only the Western Cape and Natal regions of the UDF had organised May Day meetings.

Other regions had either unions or affiliates ~~organising~~ organising meetings independently.

13. LEGAL MATTERS

13.1 Banned UDF news and National launch book, The Western Cape and the National Publicity Secretary were asked to take up the two cases respectively. It was agreed that the National Office will pay for legal costs.

14. LEGAL PRESS

The General Secretary was instructed to investigate serious allegations made about the UDF in the City Press of the 22nd April 1984, and seek a legal opinion on the matter.

15. EDUCATION CRISIS

15.1 It was reported that a workshop was being planned by AZASO, FUBAS and CCSAS. According to the report the workshop would focus on how education could be linked up with the MSC and general UDF work.

15.2 CRADOCK

Twenty two people were reported arrested in Cradock. Six were charged with intimidation and public violence.

15.3 REPORTS ON EDUCATION

15.3.1 TVI was requested to prepare report on education crisis in Pretoria.

15.3.2 Eastern Cape was requested to prepare a report on the education crisis in Uitenhage.

15.3.3 The national publicity secretary offered to prepare a report on Cradock.

15.4 NATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY

The national secretariat agreed to recommend to regions that a national Day of Solidarity with the people of Cradock. The meetings must make a call for the release of Mathew Goniwe. The General Secretary was mandated to consult the Black Sash and the DPSC on the matter.



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 10366  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

*Leila Patel*

THE AGENDA FOR THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT MEETING SCHEDULED FOR 7 AND 8 JULY 1984 IN DURBAN.

- 1. Gubatha - division of groups
  - 2. Workshops
  - 3. Kibbutz Unit
  - 4. Kwa-Ngweni of country
  - 5. ...
- 1) Front - 4th.  
 2) National Council  
 3) Association of UDF  
 4) Justice Institute  
 of UDF  
 5) Local personal  
 proposals

## AGENDA

1. MATTERS ARISING FROM N.E.C MINUTES (CONCERNING THE SECRETARIAT)

2. POLICE HARASSMENT AND UDF RESPONSE

2.1 State strategies to disorganise

2.2 Legal action

- 1. Informative / detailed communication.
- 2. Graphs / charts.
- 3.

3. FINANCES

4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

4.1 Geneva —

4.2 Youth —

4.3 Women —

4.4 Sweden (Cultural exchange programme) [E]

4.5 Bonn conference (AAM) - [Reform Strategy and UDF's response.] September. Publicity Sec + Info, train + Resources Com.

4.6 Tribunal \*

4.7 Visit to S.A. by U.S. Congressman. Jesse Jackson.

} House of Reps Sub-Comm on Africa - Wolpe Hurdle

5. OFFICE

5.1 Equipment *typewriter, work - processor? photostating machine? cards*

5.2 Staff ✓

5.3 Job description ✓

5.4 Relationship with the TvI Office ???



2 Posters by Anti-PC.  
used effectively - The Islamic pamphlet from  
Cape Town

27.3.4 Press Relations: letters to the press  
statements on various events - the press not  
friendly enough.

27.3.5 RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGS

meeting with JODAC - JODAC produce  
Publications - involved knowing what they do, Soyos.  
making joint efforts - TIC - for rural areas.  
Jacos campaign generally supportive of the anti-Election

27.4 EASTERN CAPE

27.4.1 Structures - Eastern, Western, and Central  
JPC - Consisting of 8 person  
C.W.D. Grahamstown, typical structures  
Organising Committees in CEA area

JPC - Area groups  
27.4.2 Activities - JPC - reps of area committees  
fieldwork - Blitzes, MSC...

Home visits - Pamphletting in factories  
Malabar, has not started work yet.

Meetings - No meeting  
Workshop

27.4.3 Press - Statements issued

27.4.4 ALLIANCES - AAWUSA, AFCCWU, FOSATU  
Fosatu going distr. pamphlets. Prepared to  
join campaign under different structure.

27.5.0

N. Cape :-

27.5.1 Structures - no structures except affiliates (no orgs in the coloured areas)

27.5.2 Activities

2 Mass meetings in Kimberley  
in Galeshewe  
- Workshop - University students  
- Meeting - Coleridge  
Constitution - MISC. and urged to boycott election  
Several workshop in African areas.

Support significant

Blitzes - Kimberley - Galeshewe  
- " - " - Home Valley  
blitzes build into anti. Elections  
" in Coleridge - no activists were present from this areas

27.5.3 Publications/media

little publicity. One African pamphlet and stickers

27.5.4 Press Relations - for Diamond

Fields Advertisers  
Opposition Groups

27.5.5 ALLIANCES & RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGS.

Labour Party depends on civil servants  
Postmansburg - L.P. little support.

27.5.6 Press L.P. supported by the Press.

27.5.7 State - L.P. supported by the S.A.P.

27.5.8. Future Plans - for mass meetings, publications, workshops,

Leslie Abraham's spokesman of L.P.  
former Editor of DFA.

27.6. WATAL

27.6.1 Structures JPC not formed yet

- African, White, Indian, Coloured Structures
- breaking areas into small zones
- NIC - organising com.
- Org. Com - Structures
- Reg. Councils of NIC
- 4 Reg. Standing Com - Operational
- Area Com - same Reg. Com.
- area Com divided into zones.
- Press Com, Legal Council of Publications Com
- Finance Com

27.6.2 Decide

field work, organisational work. establishing structures

32-120 people participated  
provincial office 90-140 people  
regional work pre.  
Kwa - Zulu office

Estimate 120000 Indian and Coloured houses + 40000 houses covered. 10000 Tongaat, 6000 Phoenix

Meetings - 1 seat in Phoenix sweets 15 hrs. received Pamphlets blitzes at factories, schools re. consumer  
at African areas, MSC blitzes every week  
Meetings - number of active participation by Africans

Now - Stanger, Verulam, Tongaat  
Ladysmith

27.6.3 Publications - schools pub.

news paper advert.

one VSO Publication has come out.

27.6.4. Press  
~~27.6.4. APPA~~

balling to win support.

27.6.4 Alliances with orgs - none

27.7. Opposition - Groups

L.P. - Coloured  
PCP (Solidarity) - Indian  
Redeem Freedom Party  
17 of 20 seats

Candidate announced.

27.7.1 Methods

3 candidates unknown. No organization done  
few the need  
tell people that it is legal to boycott elections  
to vote candidates not to vote

- target groups - pensioners registering people on pension queues

- Arguing that they have reduced prices of bus

- caught registering people dated 23/6/84

long age closing date of registration law.

27.7.2 Publication

PCP - one hand bill

- L.P. - dropped pamphlet at night

27.7.3 Relation with Press - need to develop relation with <sup>Afrk. Paper</sup> N. paper - in Boland

Boland News - Abrahams

Press - liaison officers

27.7.4 Relations with State

Not obvious

David Lewis - Stella - people out of

27.8. TVL

27.8.1 Parties

L.P., Redeem Party, Solidarity, P.P.P.

27.8.2

CONSTITUTES - matewan strong  
worked in the large community

mainly Richard - mgmt. committee  
Judicial Islamic

candidate - being discredited - SAC involve (13)

Jack Robie - Leizer Park but not canvassing in his area.

Ralph Thompson - former teacher with some credibility - did some work on registration, candidate -

28.8.3. ~~Methods~~ <sup>front org.</sup> ~~meeting~~ <sup>Land and 1577/84.</sup> ~~Leaflets~~ <sup>Pensioners</sup>

28.8.4 ~~Pushovers~~ <sup>used cards but writing people</sup> ~~WCC~~ <sup>solidarity</sup> ~~penioners~~ <sup>needed to pay 2.50</sup>

28.8.5 Relationship with Press - own publication  
Abraajee in P.T.A

28.8.6 Relationship with light wing groups  
~~State~~ <sup>gangs</sup> ~~Parties~~ <sup>supporting these</sup>

28.9 ~~APOL~~ E. Cape <sup>support</sup>

28.9.1 ~~Series~~ <sup>LP</sup> ~~PCP~~

PCP 800 people attended - hidden large young people <sup>disillusioned with LP.</sup>  
Shana strong - Malabar

28.9.2 Candidate - Malabar one doctor.

~~Henrickson~~ <sup>cons. members</sup>

28.9.3 ~~METHODS~~ <sup>Youth meeting - 200</sup>  
~~Branches~~ <sup>15 people</sup>  
~~Shana~~ <sup>owns the P. press - distribute</sup>  
~~pamphlets~~ <sup>on a door to door basis.</sup>

28.9.4 Relationship with Press - articles appeared

28.9.5 Relationship with State - J.V.T.

28.10 NATAL

28.10.1 Parties

Solidarity, NPP, P.P. & a number of independent candidates

P.C.P. L.P.

Strength - Solidarity employed full time of organizer R3-000.

NPP - same as 801 c

L.P. - people with local affairs

Candidates - 3 large no announced that they are standing

29.10.2

Methods - Boycotts are ASC moscow lack 10 - 300 people

in their meeting

Lawson - went with coloured

Chakward - Solidarity - Jw Reddy

Local issues dev. of - Chak ward - exploited by party

29.10.3

Relations with - Name of paper - Gopwin - letters to editor

29.10.4

Relation with State etc. fairly good. Rajbansie is making a comeback - more sophisticated.

- extensive coverage TV and Radio.

- Rajbansie employing security to work as marshals

29.11 W. Cape Planning

29.11.1 African areas - Removal focus.

African speakers invited, African challenge

L.P. on the basis that L.P. claim to represent them

election) • meeting must coincide with (4)

29.11.2 PUBLICATIONS

- Boycott Pamphlet
- Pamphlet for pensioners
- Pamphlet for schools
- 22-23/7 UDF News for distribution
- letter by prominent persons urging boycott (in pamphlet form)
- stand card meeting poster
- Pre-rally poster for August
- UDF News 11-12 August

29.11.3  
Press tel.

ADVERT in paper sponsored by prominent individuals. (Main planned for Monday)

\* Pulling geographic area together to in meetings (2 first weeks of August)

29.12. PUBLICATIONS

29.12.1 - Calendar, Pamphlets and posters to distributed in areas not covered.

Poster for workers rally UDF news last week of July, UDF leaflet on 10 August, sticker slogan (Don't Vote) "Votes for all in SA!"

29.12.2 ACTIVITIES Mass meetings 9/8/84

- 28/7/84 joint youth rally
- 4/8/84 workers rally (jointly unions)
- 5/8/84 N. TUL Rally generals and celebrations
- 12/8 joint - woman's rally focus rising food prices and GST.
- unity events placard demonstrations

this will link up various communities - Soweto, Eldorado Park, Lang etc.

- Aug. 18/19 Final Rally
- 2-3 joint MSC blitzes targeting Soweto and Katlehong
- 17 prayer weekend MOSC
- 19 Churches
- Idea of a Freedom Rat League from Pietersburg and Pollmoor - carrying message 11/8 through P.A. 12/8 through Johannesburg
- Affiliates - JSAC mass meeting
- TTC 18/7 City Centre
- Big walk against the Constitution
- Defiance campaign (symbolic acts of defiance)
- Anti National Slogans
- Work stoppage - developing organically from unions

29.12.83 Structures - JPC

- Area Committees (use campaign to do so)
- Local UDF Committees

29.13. EASTERN TVL up to 22/7

29.13.1 activities - house visits malabar & C. areas.

- mass meeting
- Conj of organisation 1st 2 weeks.
- Mass Rally 19/8
- Blitzes in Coloured areas using slogan

29.13.2 Pub.

• Pamphlets, Posters on Const. and UDF

GAZETTE on DELIMITATION



29.14 NATAL

29.14.1 Structures, IPC, women's week, 60. organizing Structures

29.14.2 Field work - use visits - recorded on evaluation sheet - for follow up  
meetings - public meetings, challenge candidates  
Rally nature

29.14.3 Pub - media meeting the needs of  
- do use visit needs, workers, students  
- business and professional  
- for workshop  
- conference by all organizations  
- 90 - anniversary of Congress

29.14.4 Plan areas - 2 weeks in August  
- not yet clear what strategy  
- challenge the candidates

29.14.5 NATIONAL EVENTS  
- Rally = 18/19 August  
- Friday weekend  
- publicity prior to national office through commercial press  
- emphasize publicity campaign  
- international co-ordination  
- National co-ordination structure

S. S. S. S.

29.15 Aims AND OBJECTIVES

1. Boycott (effectively of election)
2. lay basis future action of the UAF and
3. Organisation
3. use campaign on lay basis for organisational infra structure
4. Isolate Collaborators
5. Project alternative demand and leadership  
(what do we offer? Show people what they can win through org)
6. Drawing in coloured and African

\* That the National Officers ensure a common \*  
 \* understanding on the call for a National Convention \*

The Secretariat must issue an explanatory circular to all regions on the N Conv. and must base it on conference resolution.

29.15 FUTURE PLANS

29.16.1 - Planning (delimitation)

- Coordination
- field work
- Action
- Publication
- Strategic (Political and slogans / E mass line) courses
- UAF profile
- Events
- Organisation (unstructured regions)
- MSC
- Strategy for African areas

29.16.2

(Picking on practices)

(a)

Planning Field work (gazette important)  
use: visits, blitzes, use meetings,  
registered voters, posters, <sup>local</sup> schools etc.  
mass student rally  
sports, books...

(20)

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(b) Action, <sup>50 without figures, prominent</sup> demos and marches, mass meetings  
challenges to collaboration, unity claim  
walk and run, acts of conscience/  
demonstrations

(c) Org. <sup>type</sup>, <sup>Northward</sup> Area Com.  
emerge areas, rural areas  
training, appear areas

(d) African Areas: Structures - link to elects  
campaigns, program, leading role  
tenorals, joint action & joint  
field work, ~~link to~~

(e) Events - Paye - Weekend 17-19  
18<sup>e</sup> - 19 August - 9 August, Youth  
Rally, Women's Rally, Wk. Rally  
Election - days

(f) Press - Nat. Strategy - Regional Publicity,  
International publicity, link to  
events and the action, letters  
to Editors, adverts and features  
training.

(9) PUBLICATION : Nat. publications, slogans  
 stickers, buttons, etc. their sharing  
 co-ordinated production, community  
 newspapers, link with phrases,  
 possible national letter to voters

(10) MSC — Target, link with other  
 activities

(11) STRATEGIC LINE — slogans, people and image  
 overall strategic approach

Overall approach  
 national convention  
 local option  
 who do we see  
 change

Mass Line  
 day to day issues  
 GST, Prices, Corruption  
 Education  
 reports to state

(12) CO-ORDINATION AND PLANNING

sharing of resources  
 demarcation — Gazette

unorganized areas — voters send letters and  
 publications.

cooperative cost studies / computers be used to  
 dispatch info into regions,

### National Events.

- Demos so speakers leading figures
- distribution of speakers
- Letter to the Prime Minister  
Content: Elections, utterances of P.W.
- National letter signed by national figures  
calling on the reactionaries to resign.
- JPC - national officers push it.
- National co-ordination (24 hr evaluation and assessment consider employing a full time person) Tel. conference
- UNORGANISED AREAS
  - drawing pulling together activists into uninvolved legal
  - W. Cape, Anti-PC. and W. Cape could assist.
  - reproduction and organization publication - W. offices.
- TRAINING - training emphasized in as much as possible (creation of structures) need for cohesive structures in African areas

### African Areas

- African Areas - challenges to collaborators  
- bartholomew, local authorities, legitimacy  
- calling on them to resign

### Events in Africa

- Workers Rally
- Election Day - must be investigated profile RGC (activists) including no. of people going to the polls.
- Circular to regions affiliates - conduct open letter to the press War and is democratic
- PRESS - National Strategy
- co-ordination vis-a-vis the press - kind of publicity letters must match the phase and direction of campaign
- [Telephone answering machine must be bought for the office]
- tele machine be acquired funds permitting
- Regional Publicity - weekly contact with press
- Re Publicity Report from Vally - with National Officer

• Adverts & features - project the true image

• (NATIONAL) PUBLICATIONS - 2 UDP news

One before and one after

- SLOGANS - Need to be developed.

- National stickers - regional media committees must address themselves to this matter to be achieved by within 2 weeks.

- Community Newspaper - must carry leading articles on elections

- Letter to voters - must be co-ordinated

by National

M.S.C.

Natal 55,000

TVL 42,000

E. Cape 27,000

N. Cape 29,000

OFS 4,000

Border 30,000

W. Cape 100,000

259,000

(Opening of Tricameral Parliament - 3/9/84)

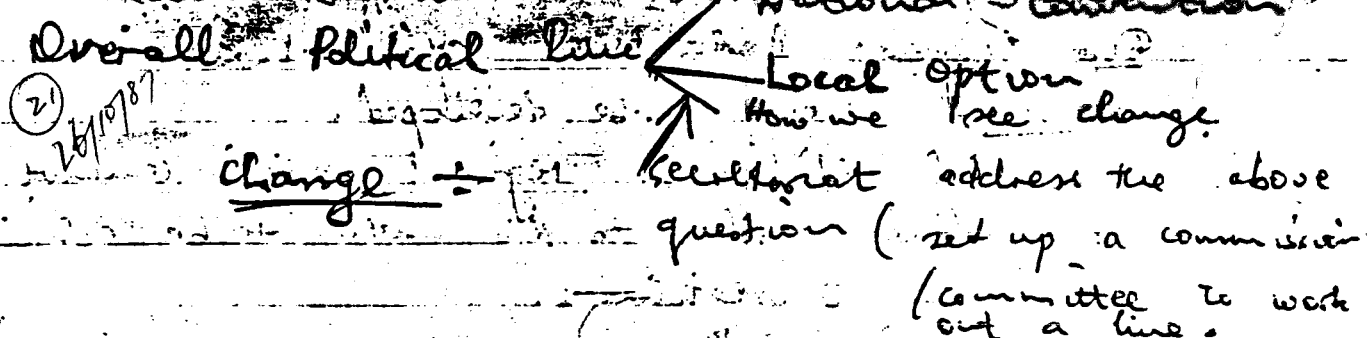
Harassment

people detained, <sup>data</sup> called in & questioned on why he signed. There must systematic publicity on harassment

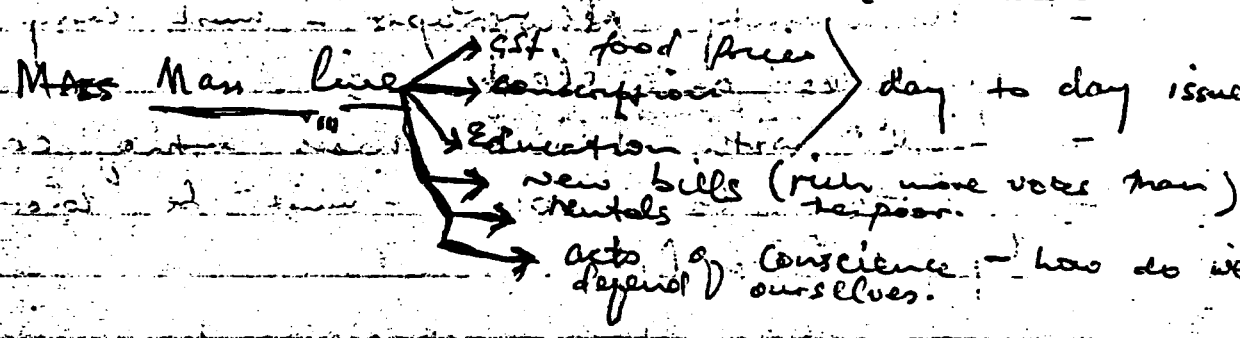
STRATEGICAL LINE:

capture the reason for the penetration and the UDP and projected

press statements and publications (UDF News)  
- Balance between the profile of the UDF and <sup>affiliates</sup> that of a national liberation




(21) 2/8/87



Freedom Run by TVL and the Western Cape

was + 226 co-ordinated

- CO-ORDINATION & PLANNING
- sharing of resources
- demarcation of areas (Goyelle)
- (Llanza copy to James)

1. Full time person  to co-ordinate Campaign

logistic committee

General Secretary send motivation to Region by Wednesday 11/7/84.

Logistic Committee

- ① demarcation
- ② dealing with problems - interventions
- ③ letters to voters

- 4. knowing what should be filtered through to regions.
- 5. that the National offices must be satisfied themselves that a logistics committee can be set up in TSL. failing which must consider setting it up in Natal or W. Cape.

b. skilled (highly) discipline  
 of knowledge of national dynamics  
 Political experience  
 Campaign experience

Suggestion

- 1. Pravin Gordon
- 2.

Harlem  
 G.P.S.O. G.P.Y.C.O.  
 Graaf Reinet - 300 at max.  
 Noupoort

ASSISTANCE - W. CAPE

2-3 persons to O.F.S. to make assessment of the situation and to develop response. <sup>each</sup> one for Northern Cape and O.F.S. Available within a week

W. Cape (Seats)

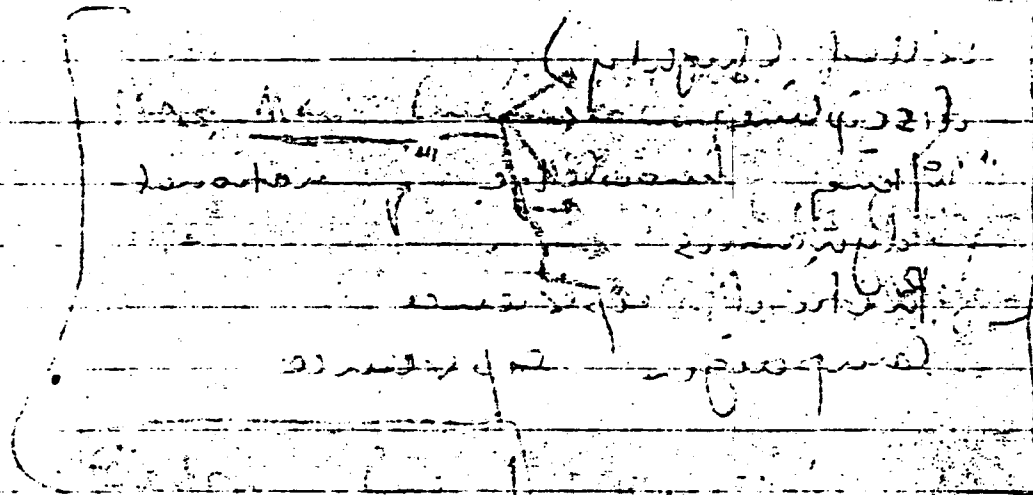
- 1. Mainland
- 2. Orange and West
- 3. Northern Eastern Cape.

Publication



Publication for Rural Areas:

- Standard Centre spread
- in april
- picture of local personality



3000  
 1000  
 2000

1000

1000

1000

UDT. Off. CT.

**T9**

(20)

28/9/87  
8/10/87

Bew'tg" ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~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.

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 <sup>have to</sup> 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.

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 <sup>are</sup> 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 <sup>are</sup> fair.

3. TRANSVAAL

- 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.

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. *sports - Jim Ruan door to door*
- 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. *united national UDF youth decentralised*
- 4.3 - Affiliated unions in this region fairly weak and stronger unions still distant from reach. *not present SACOS*
- 4.4 - This region lacks resources but has potential. *Graham Auri Labour Party giving KASATI*

17000

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. *Graham Auri*
- 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. *3000 500*
- 6.2 - Region lacks resources and there is little publicity. *not for*
- 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. *Vreyburg 1667 door to door mass meeting may say what is lack of skills - kindly drafting circular no offices no support*
- 7.2 - Interim structure of UDF in existence.
- 7.3 - Church playing progressive role. *no org in Asiatic & Coloured Communities*
- 7.4 - Full-time regional organiser??
- 7.5 - Region in dire need of resources. *NEC - Rones machine*

*Church groups*

4/.....

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, V 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.

*Handwritten:* H.N. when removed off

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

There is a deepening crisis in the country today. Conditions similar to those which preceeded 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. *letter written to Morgan Mair*
- 2. (

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.

*English Rugby Tour*

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.

*and also to New Zealand Rugby Board*

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. *Mulholland*

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.

20  
25/9/87  
6/1/87

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.

*Administration*



2/3

**REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETING (U.D.F)  
HELD ON 21ST July 1984**

**FUTURE OF FRONT**

The future of the Front was discussed under the following sub-headings:-

- 1.1 Structure
- 1.2 Policy
- 1.3 Scope of Operation
- 1.4 Strategy

It was agreed that the Front will continue but that a few changes will have to take place as a result of the change in conditions. Regions are requested to discuss the future of the Front under the headings mentioned above.

An aspect which will cover several of the abovementioned sub-headings was the whole question of the centrality of the role of the African Masses in the struggle for freedom.

**1.1 STRUCTURE**

Regional Councils who were also requested to look at the manner of representation at General Council Meetings to see how this can be improved.

The following areas were considered as important - affiliates are requested to discuss them :-

- terrain of struggle
- the role of organisations
- practice of non-racialism
- centrality of African Masses
- democracy

**POLICY**

There were policy matters on which the Front needed to clearly state its policy. Regions were asked to submit proposals on policy

**SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES**

Although the U.D.F. was formed to oppose the constitution and the Koornhof Bills, it has in its day to day activities come to play a role larger than was initially envisaged. Affiliates required to

comment/.....

*Ben Tio*

Page Two

comment on the broadening of the scope of activities that the Front in particular the following sectors:- WOMEN, YOUTH, LABOUR, SCHOOLS and HOUSING

#### ANTI-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

##### STRUCTURES

JOINT Planning Committees have either been formed or are being formed in all the regions. A National Co-ordinating Committee consisting of one (1) person per region is to be set up. The National Co-ordinating Committee will meet as often as is necessary.

##### NATIONAL EVENT

Mass Rallies are to be held on the weekend of the 18th and 19th August

1984. Regions are asked to look at the possibility of monitoring polling booths on election day so that we could determine the number of persons actually voting. The National Co-ordinating Committee may come up with ideas which would make possible other forms of activity of a national basis.

##### HARRASSMENT

It was recorded that harrassment in various forms was taking place nationally. It was agreed that a national dossier recording all the types and forms of harrassment that have occurred during the course of this campaign should be compiled. This document will be available to affiliates once it has been compiled.

##### M.S.C.

Affiliates are urged to intensify their efforts to collect signatures so that we could reach our target by the end of August

##### PUBLICITY

The National slogan that was agreed upon was NO TO APARTHEID ELECTIONS - FORWARD TO FREEDOM. The rest of the matters regarding publicity will be worked out by the National Co-ordinating Committee. It was agreed though that a National U.D.F. News should come out by the middle of August.

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**T11**

*Fisher*

REPORT OF NATIONAL SECRETARIAT MEETING HELD

IN DURBAN ON 13/14 OCTOBER 1984.

1. FOLLOW-UP TO THE NEC.

- \* Request for Murphy's assistance in Head Office. Clear issue with Transvaal + GAWU or find alternative person.
- \* Leader Page articles. All regions to take initiative to place leader page articles.
- \* Unions: Head Office would send letter to head offices of unions. Regional Secretaries to initiate meetings as a follow-up.
- \* Support for UAF against ban.
  - o International support - Natal to draft & circulate document to be signed by dignitaries and heads of state.
  - o Support from academics - Western Cape would draft & circulate document. All regions to set up networks of academics to ensure document signed.
  - o Support from non-academic dignitaries - Transvaal would draft & circulate document. All regions to set up networks for signing.
- \* Briefing of Embassies.  
Head Office will programme meetings to brief Ambassadors. Regions would brief local consulates.
- \* People's Weekend.  
Agreed that this be held on 27/28 October.  
Need for creativity which extends beyond mere rallies. Mobilise around slogan -



LONG LIVE UDF - BAN APARTHEID.

## 2. MEDIA.

\* Sticker - amend attached draft.

W. Cape could print cheapest. Money outstanding for anti-election sticker.

\* UDF NEWS - Finances a major constraint. Investigate local alternatives. Possible within limited time?

\* Poster - Transvaal to circulate draft.

## 3. FINANCES.

\* Regions must cut reliance on Head Office for finances. Principle of self-sufficiency important.

\* Audited financial statements to be submitted to head office by 15/10/84.

\* All video material to be submitted to h/o as part of obligation to funders. (A video entitled - "UDF: ONE YEAR OF UNITED ACTION" will be produced.)

## 4. REGIONAL REPORTS.

\* Not dealt with in detail.

\* Reports to be submitted to head office by Monday 22/10/84 for production of UDF UPDATE.

\* Attention must be given to incorporation of new regions of N. Tvl, S. Cape, OR etc

## 5. INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

- Circular had been sent to all regions requesting meetings to be arranged of youth/student affiliates.
- \* National consultative meeting of I.Y.Y. to be held simultaneous to NEC meeting in Kimberley.

## 6. BY-ELECTIONS

- \* Regional Secretaries to check on dates for by-elections in Beaufort West & Steinkopf.
- \* Basis must be laid for solid campaigns.

## 7. MEETING WITH SACOS

- \* Meeting requested by SACOS exec on instruction from its general body.
- \* Purpose of meeting to establish common ground and lay the basis for co-operation.
- \* Clear that SACOS cannot affiliate. This does not preclude co-operation.
- \* Agreed that communication would be at a national level at this point. All regions requesting co-operation with SACOS units to put request via SACOS Secretary for Internal Affairs.
- \* SACOS Charter & UDF Declaration & Resolutions would be exchanged.
- \* Joint press statement issued.

## 8. Preparation For NEC WORKSHOP.

- NEC Workshop would be held to lay the ~~basis~~ <sup>basis</sup> for discussion at National Conference
- \* Workshop would do an assessment & attempt to ensure agreement for discussion of our objectives (both long & short term) in all regions.
- \* We would discuss matters at organisational, administrative and political levels.
- \* All regions to submit regional assessment & pointers for national assessment by TUESDAY 23<sup>rd</sup> October.
- WORKSHOP TO BE HELD IN KIMBERLEY  
on 10/11 NOVEMBER.





Office copy

H/H

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Box "112"

P. O. Box

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT HELD ON 13&14 OCTOBER  
SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

1. Follow up to NEC Discussions

- \* Murphy's position - clarify TVL and GAWU. Check alternatives.
- \* Leader Page articles - local initiative required.
- \* Unions - Regions to receive copies of Coetzee statement. Head Office will send letters to all unions. Regional Secretaries to follow-up and convene meetings with locally-based trade unions. This to be completed by date of NEC.
- \* Document signed internationally. Natal would submit draft to H/O by Tuesday 16 October.
- \* Visits to Embassies. Initiative at local and national level required.
- \* Document to be signed by academics would be drafted in W Cape and circulated. Transvaal would prepare draft to be circulated amongst prominent persons (not academics).
- \* National Weekend, 27/28 October agreed. Slogan - 'THE PEOPLE'S WEEKEND LONG LIVE UDF' It emerged out of discussion that we need to be fairly creative in our approach to the weekend. Activities should ideally include rallies but should extend beyond. Importance of participatory activities. The flame as symbol would be fairly useful.
- \* Sticker- cost to be borne regionally. W Cape can print cheapest. Monies outstanding to W.Cape for anti-election stickers to be paid.
- \* UDF NEWS (National). Indication from all regions that costs prohibitive. Alternatives must be found.
- \* Finances. Future grants from National to be for properly motivated projects only. All regions to furnish H/O with audited statements by Friday 191084.
- \* Poster- draft to be circulated.

2. REGIONAL REPORTS

- \* Full regional reports were not discussed. These would be submitted to H/O by Monday 221084 for UDF Update.
- \* Some criteria need to be developed for incorporation of new regions eg South Cape, OFS and N TvL.

3. INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

- \* Clear indications that UDF had not taken initiatives required.
- \* Circular had been sent ex H/O requesting regional secretaries to convene meetings with all youth & student affiliates. This issue has become urgent.
- \* Agreed that national consultative meeting of youth affiliates be organised simultaneously with NEC in Kimberley to cut costs.

4. BY- ELECTIONS

- \* In Bosmont, Beaufort West and Steinkopf possibly on 22 November. Basis must be laid for solid campaigns.

5. MEETING WITH SACOS

- \* The secretariat met with SACOS Executive on their invitation.

- \* SACOS had been instructed by their general body to meet with all progressive organisations to define a working relationship.
- \* There was acceptance in principle of the need for a closer working relationship. Ideally this should take place at a national level. All regional activities would be communicated to the SACOS Secretary for internal affairs and communicated downwards.
- \* All UDF regions were asked to discuss this working relationship and to initiate meetings with SACOS units.
- \* Copies of the SACOS CHARTER and UDF DECLARATION and resolutions would be exchanged for information.
- \* A joint press statement was issued .

#### 6. NEC WORKSHOP

- \* The workshop should include both a national assessment of the activities of the UDF and lay a basis for setting new objectives regionally which could be decided on at the NGC.
- \* In both the assessment and definition of goals, the organisational, administrative and political functioning of the UDF would be looked at.
- \* Inputs from regions for the national assessment, and their regional assessment should be sent to head office by Tuesday 23rd.
- \* The workshop will be held in Kimberley on 10/11 November and delegations were asked to arrive in Kimberley on the Friday evening to ensure starting early.

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1. INTRODUCTION .

Today, almost a year after the germ of the United Democratic Front was conceived, and just a few days before the beginning of a new year, we are gathered here in all our hundreds as delegates from various centres of South Africa, to synthesize and decide on very crucial questions in our history. This now demands of us a very careful evaluation of our work, tactics and strategies. This conference promises therefore, to be a truly momentous event in the life of our Front. Decisions and resolutions adopted by this conference are going to be decisive in terms of the future direction of the UDF and, indeed, the way forward of the national democratic struggle in South Africa.

However, to be able to arrive at a correct political decision, we need to take a synoptic look at a number of factors influencing our tactics, strategies and programmes. This report will, therefore, attempt to cover the following :

- a) The State Crises and its strategy
- b) The Democratic movement.
- c) Our gains and problems
- d) Our future strategy

2. STATE CRISIS

South Africa is today in a state of crisis. This crisis has manifested itself on all fronts - in education, on the labour front, within political structures and within economic circles where inflation and recession have assumed alarming proportions. These are but a few of the areas of crisis. Also worth mentioning here, is the housing backlog, which is today a permanent contradiction and a political issue in our country.

The state crisis, we must point out, continues to deepen as the forces of resistance develop and become stronger. Our organizations have, over the last few years, organized high forms of resistance - around education, around housing, rentals, high transport fares, against puppet state bodies and for better pay and working conditions on factory floors. All forms of resistance in the different sites of struggle challenged and frustrated relations of domination and oppression.

2.1. State response to the crisis :

The government realised that it could no longer rule by the same methods. It had to adapt to new conditions and situations. It responded by starting on a process of restructuring its rule. A process essentially calculated to maintain the relations of domination, exploitation and oppression. As far as the government was concerned, the most effective and viable strategy was to weaken the forces of resistance by resorting to sophisticated methods of divide and rule. In short, what they hoped to do, was to co-opt a tiny middle-class sector and in this way to isolate the working class.

To realise its objective the government appointed a number of commissions on various aspects to determine the most effective methods of control, e.g. Wiehahn and Riekert on Labour relations, Rabie on security, de Lange on education. Similarly, the PC proposals and the new housing policy are some of the state's attempts to survive, and preserve Apartheid and the current economic relations.



Apart from all these, we have seen in recent years, a close alliance developing between big business and the military. The State Security Council, a body making the most important and strategic decisions for the country, is today effectively controlled by the military and big business. We see here a systematic shift of power from the hands of parliament to those of unelected bureaucratic structures. Having succeeded in drawing big business into its ranks, the state has clearly broadened its base and increasingly its resilience. Over the past few years, as well, the state has increasingly attempted to crush democratic forces outside South Africa, through its policy of destabilization. More and more, it has hit out at those countries on its borders which have dared not only to sympathize with the struggle against Apartheid, but who also, within their own countries, have tried to build a new society..

We see, then, that although the government is certainly not in a state of collapse. To believe otherwise, would be an illusion..

However, as the state is restructuring itself, our organizations too have responded to the challenge and, are also restructuring. We think that the growth of our organizations and resistance to oppression is particularly important to us, because if the state's restructuring is unopposed, it could weaken our struggle, and our organizations. It is, therefore, very important that we effectively defend our hard won unity, the unity that took years and great sacrifices to build.

#### THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Our response to the state strategy has been to oppose the division of our people. We see the unity of our people as paramount: it had to be fought for, it has to be defended. Our response, therefore, was the formation of the United Democratic Front.

At the same time, though, the UDF was not simply a response to a call for unity. It was a culmination of building organizations which fought struggles affecting all our people in various parts of the country. Although these struggles were unco-ordinated, they all challenged the relations of domination. In this way, the UDF grew out of the development of organizations and the need to co-ordinate isolated struggles into broader forms of national campaigns and resistance.

#### 3. WHAT WERE OUR OBJECTIVES WHEN WE FORMED THE UDF?

- (i) to take the ideological initiative out of the hands of the state
- (ii) to unite our people across class, colour, ethnic and organizational lines to oppose the Apartheid reform offensive of Botha.
- (iii) to co-ordinate the activities of all organizations opposed to Apartheid.

- (iv) to advance the mobilization and to deepen the organization of our people
- (v) to prevent the state from implementing its so-called reforms, or at least, to make it difficult for them to do so.
- (vi) to deepen the understanding of our people on issues affecting their lives, such as the P.C. Proposals and Koornhof Bills, the Community Councils and Black Local Authorities, the Coloured Management Committees and the new housing policy, etc.
- (vii) to establish a broad front to serve as the voice of our people.
- (viii) to link politics with the day to day experience of our people.
- (ix) to draw into the front groupings operating outside the government structures.

#### 4. THE TRACE RECORD OF THE UDF.

Although we started the front with only 3 regions, namely, Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape, we have, during the last three months, extended to other regions. Two regions of the UDF have been formed in the Eastern Cape and the Border. An interim committee has been formed in the Northern Cape which is a largely rural area. Inroads have been made in the Orange Free State where Area Consultative Committees have been formed. We are confident that by the end of the first quarter of the new year we shall have extended to all regions of South Africa.

The last three months has also seen a mushrooming of new civic and youth organizations. These organizations were not only inspired by the UDF, but were initiated by the UDF itself.

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We have also been able to increase our capacity to reach the people and to win some amount of legitimacy for the ideals of the Front as well as to provide an alternative for a democratic South Africa. We can see this from the thousands who have responded to our newsletters, mass meetings, etc. For example, 15 000 people attended the UDF National Launch, over 30 000 attended our Peoples' Weekend rallies, and more importantly, thousands are reached daily in our areas by our affiliates.

In addition, we have scored major successes in a number of campaigns over recent months :

- \* Following a UDF call in the Western Cape, there were very low polls in the Coloured Management Committee Elections.
- \* Similarly, people responded throughout the country to the UDF call to boycott Community Council and Black Local Authorities elections.
- \* The UDF focus on the Ciskei evoked national and international attention.
- \* Thousands of people attended the NIC meeting to challenge the Botha/Rajbansi meeting.

We have made these gains in a climate in which the state is engaged in a battle to win support for its initiatives. We can say without fear that we have, for the moment, gained the upper hand in this battle. And, at no stage can we afford to take a step back.

To ensure that this does not happen, we need to look not only at our gains, but also at our problems..

Before the launch of the UDF, organizations had been engaged in their day to day activities and struggles.. The emergence of the UDF presented new problems. The fast rate of growth created excitement and interest which drew more and more of the leadership of the affiliates into UDF campaigns. The result was that the activities of the affiliates were subsumed by the UDF activities and organizations were drained of their leadership. In essence, this meant that consolidation became very difficult for many first level organizations. This poses a threat to the long-term activities of these organizations and the entire democratic movement. The challenge facing this conference is to evolve a programme of action which will allow scope for growth and development of these organizations; a programme of action that will link our day to day work in our organizations with the work of the UDF in a way that will build both..

We have also not been able to facilitate effectively the process of consultation and democracy. We need to ensure that all decisions are taken or understood by the membership of organizations, taking into account the masses we still have to organize. This problem must be addressed in order to prevent mistaking the consciousness of the leadership for mass consciousness. This is important because we know that over the years, people have developed a scepticism and a fear of politics. We cannot pretend that the excitement the UDF has created has put an end to these feelings. We must take the prevailing consciousness as a baseline and take people through a process that will overcome their scepticism and fear. Again, this means that we must take the day to day concerns with which people are familiar, and link them to our political work..

These organizational problems must be addressed seriously. When we ask ourselves - "Where are all the people we have reached? Have they come into our organizations?" we find ourselves unable to answer precisely because we have not been able to channel effectively the people we have won over into our organizations.

The other difficulty which we face is that the different aspects of the 'New Deal' affect different sections of our society differently. In fact, the constitution and Koornhof Bills are designed to fulfil the specific function of sowing division. How do we approach these matters? Do we act as though we are affected similarly? Do we act as though divisions on the basis of race are non-existent? On the other hand, do we through our practice encourage and entrench these divisions?

What are the factors which guide us? Is there a difference between campaigns initiated by us and those which are responses to state initiatives? To illustrate, when we responded to the Black Local Authorities Elections, our campaigns were directed primarily, or even exclusively at affected communities. However, when we initiate the signature campaign, we cannot afford the risk of entrenching divisions. The underlying objective of such a campaign must be the building of unity. These questions will assume increasing importance in the future. In answering them, it is important that we understand the conditions at a given point and that we take decisions that will fulfil the aims and objectives of the UDF.

The U.C.C.

response to the LP; ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> excuse for opting for a  
solution, "that they fear intimidation from organisations  
in the U.D.F., the U.C.C. challenges the LP not to fear  
—and expressions of the views of the people, but  
to confidently test their support for the P.C.  
proposal in the form of a referendum.

By ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the CP have views of their  
own, he recognises that Coloured people have  
views & aspirations of their own and will  
not allow intimidation to affect their  
decisions. ~~The Rev. A. Kendeke~~ <sup>It is felt that this</sup> ~~thus reflects~~  
that the Rev. A. Kendeke has <sup>very little</sup> confidence  
in his support amongst the people and has no  
input for the decision making ability of the  
Coloured people.

## THE FUTURE:

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this conference is primarily to plot a course for the months ahead. We do this with an understanding of our successes and failures as detailed earlier. We should also take account of where the government is and what can be expected from those quarters.

We operate in a period in which PW Botha believes that he has a strong mandate from the white electorate following the 66% YES vote in the white referendum. PW Botha believes that this mandate allows him to proceed with his attempts at restructuring. This confidence results in a strategy which rules out naked repression as an immediate option. We see therefore that even though the UDF has made major gains, gains which threaten the implementation of the 'new deal', Botha has not yet resorted to mass detentions and individual bannings, or the banning of the UDF itself. Instead, we have seen a shift to harassment which involves threatening telephone calls to leadership and an increasing number of arrests involving little more than technical offences - eg motorcades, distributing leaflets, demonstrations etc. This is coupled with various attempts to isolate the UDF by attempting to project it as a front for the banned ANC. In relation to the previous years of harsh repression, these moves indicate a strategy of gentle persuasion, to create the conditions whereby the democratic movement can be isolated and cast out.

Yet, all is not rosy for the state. At an international level, P. W. Botha has been largely unsuccessful in attempts to win support of European governments, support so necessary for the state to regain entry into the international fold.

Also, the state has grossly over-estimated the strength of the junior partners. Neither Hendrickse nor Rajbansi have sufficient confidence to face a referendum. Together with Botha they are trying to manoeuvre their way out of this situation by using flimsy arguments about the cost of a referendum. They wish to hide behind 'scientific surveys' the results of which they hope will be less embarrassing than the results of a referendum.

The sum total of this is a realisation by the state that it is losing the battle for the hearts and minds of our community; a battle which will determine whether or not it can rule by consent, or whether the big stick must be hauled out and it must rule by coercion. It is for this reason that the state is now desperately trying to prop up its allies, Rajbansi and Hendrickse. It has set up, in the case of the Labour Party, a specialist unit for conducting the campaign within the so-called Coloured community. Already, RLM has been collected. With such backing, the Labour Party hopes to lay the basis for an acceptance of the constitution by so-called Coloureds.

Within this framework, we need to understand the scope of our work in the year ahead. We need to identify certain characteristics of our campaigns in order to make our task more efficient and effective.

Our campaign against the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills must be intensified. We must direct our energies towards a fuller understanding at a mass level of the need for unity and an absolute rejection of this so-called new deal.

The base of the UDF is largely urban. Yet, repression is at its worst

verify, it ~~was~~ has that the Labour Party was  
support of the Coloured community in further  
UCC has undertaken intensive house-to-house  
in areas of new UAPSU  
discuss to obtain the views of the people  
and the general feeling was one of rejection  
The PC proposals are, Alan Hendrickse Labour  
Party & all other parties participating in the  
new deal.

The main concern in the Coloured community  
- It has been the question of conscription.  
The UCC challenges the Labour Party to  
guarantee that there will be no conscription  
for Coloureds. It is obvious from legal  
parameters of the P.C. proposals that this  
is beyond his control, since it is 'general  
law and not an own affair'.

When a decision concerning conscription  
standing committee will where the ratio of  
4 whites : 2 Coloureds : 1 Indian prevails, will  
make it impossible for the Labour Party or any  
other Party to motivate for non-conscription,  
since the majority of their white contemporaries  
will be voting in favour of conscription  
to further prove that the I.P. cannot guarantee  
non-conscription views stated by the Defence  
Minister Magnus Malan & P.W. Botha & M. P. W. Botha  
certainly could rule out the possibility of the use  
of the

in the rural areas. It is these people who are increasingly faced with barbaric forced removals to bantustans and an increased police and military presence.. To be effective and truly national, the UDF must try to include these farflung communities and thereby extend our base.. Already we have made some gains. The period ahead calls for an intensification of this.

Our future work is going to be crucially affected by the manner and extent to which we address the Koornhof strategy. The continued denial of Section 10 rights to Africans, the removals and relocations and the incorporation of areas into the bantustans are all part of a strategy designed to force Africans into bantustans. Our people in Magopa, Driefontein, Crossroads, KTC, Lamontville and Hambanathi are under the threat of either being removed or of having their areas incorporated into these backyards of Apartheid..In addition, those who cannot acquire Section 10 rights, are forced to the bantustans to starve there.

On the other side of the resettlement/relocation coin is Koornhof's attempt to co-opt a select few through the Black Local Authorities. Yet already we have made substantial gains here: we have successfully mobilized for a boycott; we have created informal organizational structures; we have created organizations opposed to those government created institutions, and we have discredited the Black Local Authorities.

But, we must recognize too, that the Black Local Authorities are a reality. They are being implemented and they will affect the daily lives of our people. What is the next phase of our campaign? Are we going to relax now that we have organized an effective boycott? Or are we going to find new ways to frustrate the Koornhof Bills, and in doing so, develop a coherent strategy against these bills.

Even though we understand the UDF to be a broad front, we must recognize that it is not nearly broad enough. There are many organizations which remain outside our front, organizations which have not been part of the mainstream of the democratic movement over the last few years.

We cannot accept this situation as it is these organizations who will become the targets of co-optation. Our task is to bring them into our fold.

At the same time, this expansion must not happen at the expense of our organizations. The previously mentioned tasks relating to democracy and the building of organizations must be made concrete.

This is the scenario of the next few months. We see the UDF fulfilling these tasks by applying itself to the issues which will dominate discussion at this conference: namely, our response to the referendum/elections, the signature campaign and our campaign against conscription. Unfortunately we will not have time to deal with the question of removals and resettlement, but they must be built into our campaign.

For these reasons, the decisions which we take will be crucial to the nature of our work. These decisions, must above all, build both the unity of our people, and of our front.

was an organisation torn out of the govt's attempt  
 to create an organisation unaffected based in the  
 coloured Group areas in and around Durban, especially  
 in the East, Westworth & Sydenham was formed to  
 serve a much need purpose in these areas. This organisation  
 was formed primarily to serve as a <sup>platform</sup> from which  
 the coloured community can ~~register~~ actively oppose  
 the govt's constitutional

## Unhindered Inspection of Labour Party and Constitutional Proposals.

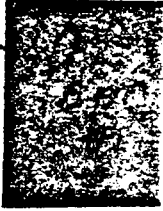
we ~~with~~ challenges the Labour Party's  
~~the~~ ~~the~~ view that the Coloured ~~the~~  
 community supports the constitutional proposals  
 of the Labour Party in a General  
 election. ~~The Labour Party~~ Rev. Allan Hendrikse  
 said the Labour Party have not been active  
 in the area ~~for the~~ ~~and~~ for the past 10  
 years and there is a general feeling in  
 the coloured communities of <sup>especially in the</sup> Durban <sup>that</sup> ~~that~~  
 areas that represent their views and is definitely  
 at <sup>in</sup> touch with the aspirations of the  
 coloured people in Natal. This is proven by  
 a ~~fact~~ that the Labour Party has not  
 held a public meeting for the last 10 years  
 in Natal.



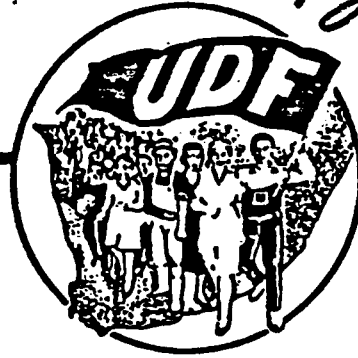


**UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

**OF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



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**NATIONAL SECRETARIAT MEETING - 12/13 JANUARY 1985**

**AGENDA**

1. Regional Reports
2. M.S.C
3. Preparations for the National General Council
4. Discussion on Black Local Authorities
5. Housing Conference
6. Discussion on F.C
7. Removals
8. Jackson's visit
9. International Youth Year
  1. Secretariat discussion (closed)
  2. Joint Secretariat-Youth Discussion
10. Finances (Joint discussion with Treasury)
11. General

SECRETARIAT	N.E.C	N.G.C	VENUE
12/13 JANUARY			DURBAN
	23/24 FEB		EAST LONDON
23/24 MARCH			JOHANNESBURG
		06/07 APR.	JOHANNESBURG
11/12 MAY			KIMBERLEY
	01/02 JUNE		CAPE TOWN
06/07 JULY			PORT ELIZABETH
	10/11 AUG		
21/22 SEPT			
	02/03 NOV		
07/08 DEC			

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Moss

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**F UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



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## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE UDF HELD ON 12 - 13 JANUARY 1985

### 1. AGENDA

- 1.1. Regional reports
- 1.2. Million Signature Campaign (MSC)
- 1.3. Jackson's visit
- 1.4. Black Local Authorities & Housing Conference
- 1.5. Removals
- 1.6. Finances
- 1.7. International Youth Year
- 1.8. N.G.C - preparations
- 1.9. General (Black Christmas, Rural organisers, schedule for meetings, etc)

### 2. PRESENT:

Yunus (Natal), Derrick & Prins (E. Cape), Valli & Moss (Transvaal), Joe Adam (W Cape), Stofile (Border), P Molefe, P Lekota & T Manuel (Head Office). Held I.Y.Y. Regionale workshop last week to discuss feasibility of the I.Y.Y. campaign

### 3. APOLOGIES:

Joe Phaahla (Natal), Cheryl Carolous (W Cape)

### 4. ABSENT:

U Khasu and Brian Hermanus (Natal)

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### 4. ABSENT:

J Khasu and Brian Hermanus (Northern Cape)

- 5. Late Start. Secretaries attending a National Secretariat meeting must contact hosting secretaries about venue and time for meeting. It should not be Head Office responsibility.

## 6. REPORTS

at

6.1 NATIONAL OFFICE: The National officers must present reports to all National Secretariat meetings. These must be written reports.

6.2 REGIONAL: All reports were verbal. Regions will forward written reports to Head Office.

6.2.1 Border - supported N.E.C call for Black Christmas

- Black Christmas was successful in some areas.
- 2 school children were shot on Friday January 11, 1985 in Port Alfred
- There is a total boycott of classes.

6.2.2 E Cape held 4 General Councils since the last election for the Houses of Delegates and Representative. 2 were called off following poor attendance.

- 8 R.E.C meetings were held.
- Attendance of R.E.C members not consistent
- R.E.C failing to provide Leadership and direction
- Experiencing serious administrative problems
- Committee setup to workout proposals for re-organisation
- 2 mass rallies banned - but are going to organise one.
- Held two workshops to evaluate the role and state of the Front. The report forwarded to Head Office
- Held local workshops to assess local situation
- Held I.Y.Y Regionals workshop last week to discuss feasibility of the I.Y.Y campaign
- Now have 23 affiliates, 20 active
- Four organisations have applied for affiliation
- Kennedy - affiliates free to participate, but not the UDF
- Parents and students in P.E decided to continue school boycott. Boycott 100%

6.2.3 W Cape - since last N.E.C several R.G.C were held.

- R.E.C meetings held weekly
- Held on Anti-Removals Conference attended by all affiliates. Unions were visibly absent
- Conference noted anti-pass campaign was necessary and important.

- Housing, removals were seen as important
- Theme of Conference was "Housing, security and Comfort"
- Conference decided that non Africans would defy permit system
- Bus boycott was not successful. It was too short

6.2.3.1 Kennedy - special R.G.C decided not to host Kennedy

- participation will be indirect. Although there will be no UDF speaker anti-apartheid imperialist stance etc will be made clear.
- Activists will assist to ensure success of Kennedy public meeting.
- It was discovered after meeting that some people were not satisfied with the compromise.
- Lack of clarity about role of National Secretariat its powers regarding emergencies like Kennedy visit, strengthening of communication with regard to the UDF National views.

6.2.3.1 AGM of W Cape will be held on 16 March 1985

- UDF assessment paper of N.E.C is being considered by affiliates.

6.2.3.2 Tasks for 1985 are anti-removals and I.Y.Y. campaigns, Local Authorities, strengthening of democratic structures.

- International Relations will receive attention e.g how to handle the struggle internationally
- Pass Laws, food prices, increase on fares, rent.
- Looking into means and ways of transforming passive support into active support
- Disunity affected the work of the UDF
- No adequate consultation took place during emergencies e.g Kennedy

6.2.3.3 Rural Areas- held Conference in Beaufort West for rural organisations and communities

- the W Cape Region with the assistance of H/O should determine whether these areas should form their own RGC or should continue depending on the W Cape. There are problems of distance and therefore inability to participate fully in the Western Cape G.C.



Yet there is a need for these areas to be part of the decision-making process. How can this be done?

#### 6.2.3.4 PATRONS - did not consult the Front on the Kennedy Jackson invitation

- we must improve relation with patrons
- procedure must be found to ensure that proper consultation takes place before an invitation like the Jackson Kennedy one is made.

#### 6.2.3.5 UNIONS

- Relations not quite good with Unions. There were disagreements on the bu-boycott
- Regions will continue seeking co-operation
- H/O must also hold discussion with the Unions - especially Federations.

### 6.2.4 TRANSSVAAL

#### 6.2.4.1 BLACK CHRISTMAS (B.C)

- was successful. Affiliates and non-affiliates were involved. Total support in the Transvaal. Rallies held on Christmas Day
- B.C cards were distributed
- There was confusion regarding the nature of the call. Many people thought it was a call for consumer boycott.

#### 6.2.4.2 REPRESSION

Anti-repression meetings were held in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Tembisa. The meetings in West Rand and Soweto were banned. Fordsburg meeting to protest the treason trial was banned.

#### 6.2.4.3 VAAL CRISI

A Crisis Committee was set up to assist families of detainees. The Vaal Information Services & DPSC were also set up.

#### 6.2.4.4 UDF AREA COMMITTEES

Committees have been formed in Johannesburg, Soweto, Pretoria. These are functional. Those in the East Rand, West Rand and N Transvaal are not fully functional.

#### 6.2.4.5 Eastern Transvaal youth groups appealed for UDF assistance.

6.2.4.6 Regions working towards restructuring. A workshop has been arranged for 26 February 1985 to look at the structure of R.E.C and R.G.C.

6.2.4.7 Kennedy - following Bishop Tutu's request that the UDF assist with practical arrangements for the Kennedy meeting in Soweto the following decision were taken:

- that UDF shall not send a speaker
- that activists and affiliates would participate in Soweto
- it was important to take advantage of the meeting to make the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-constructive Engagement Policy stance clear as well as other important matters.
- Samson Ndou and I Mogase of SCA were asked to speak

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6.2.4.8 FESTIVAL

Transvaal is planning a music festival for 3 March 1985

6.2.4.9 EDUCATION

Parents committees have been set up in Soweto and other parts of the Region to deal with the Education crisis. A National Parents Committee consultative meeting was held on 29 January 1985. A draft constitution has been prepared.

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MATTERS ARISING OUT OF TVL REPORT

EDUCATION

The UDF must seek to get involved in resolving the Education crisis.

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The National Officers and the TvI Secretaries must set up a meeting with the National Executive Committee members of COSAS to seek clarity on position of COSAS on boycott. A meeting of UDF and COSAS and Parents Committee must be called. The National Office must compile information on Education especially the COSAS Congress Resolutions.

6.2.5 NATAL

- campaigned for the release of detainees and held a demo outside the consulate
- held evaluation workshop

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- the present size of the N.E.C
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- role of Patrons
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- do we maintain three Presidents or have one President
- Treasury two or 1

- National organiser
- proportional representation - size and ability to implement decision and programme.
- subscription fee.

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- attitude to imperialism structures of Apartheid
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- need to involve communities e.g. mass meetings, pamphlets, etc.

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- circular was forwarded to Regions in this regard
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- ° Programmes of Officers be approved by H/O Committee
- ° Consider employing Vincent and Mafison

**Termination time: 16H10**

18. ACCIDENTS



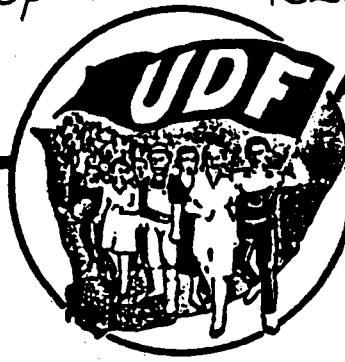


(a) Coetzee KSE. W  
1985.02.19.

Desk of KOPOL MOLEFE

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**JDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

## MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE UDF HELD ON 12 - 13 JANUARY 1985

### 1. AGENDA

- 1.1. Regional reports
- 1.2. Million Signature Campaign (MSC)
- 1.3. Jackson's visit
- 1.4. Black Local Authorities & Housing Conference
- 1.5. Removals
- 1.6. Finances
- 1.7. International Youth Year
- 1.8. N.G.C - preparations
- 1.9. General (Black Christmas, Rural organisers, schedule for meetings, etc)

### 2. PRESENT:

Yunus (Natal), Derrick & Prins (E. Cape), Valli & Moss (Transvaal), Joe Adam (W Cape), Stofile (Border), P Molefe, P Lekota & T Manuel (Head Office).

### 3. APOLOGIES:

Joe Phaahla (Natal), Cheryl Carolous (W Cape)

### 4. ABSENT:

J Khasu and Brian Hermanus (Northern Cape)

5. Late Start. Secretaries attending a National Secretariat meeting must contact hosting secretaries about venue and time for meeting. It should not be Head Office responsibility.

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## 6. REPORTS

6.1 NATIONAL OFFICE: The National officers must present reports at all National Secretariat meetings. These must be written reports.

6.2 REGIONAL: All reports were verbal. Regions will forward written reports to Head Office.

6.2.1 Border - supported N.E.C call for Black Christmas

- Black Christmas was successful in some areas.
- 2 school children were shot on Friday January 11, 1985 in Port Alfred.
- There is a total boycott of classes.

6.2.2 E Cape held 4 General Councils since the last election for the Houses of Delegates and Representative. 2 were called off following poor attendance.

- 8 R.E.C meetings were held.
- Attendance of R.E.C members not consistent
- R.E.C failing to provide Leadership and direction
- Experiencing serious administrative problems
- Committee setup to workout proposals for re-organisation
- 2 mass rallies banned - but are going to organise one.
- Held two workshops to evaluate the role and state of the Front. The report forwarded to Head Office
- Held local workshops to assess local situation
- Held I.Y.Y Regionals workshop last week to discuss feasibility of the I.Y.Y campaign
- Now have 23 affiliates, 20 active
- Four organisations have applied for affiliation
- Kennedy - affiliates free to participate, but not the UDF
- Parents and students in P.E decided to continue school boycott. Boycott 100%

6.2.3 W Cape - since last N.E.C several R.G.C were held.

- R.E.C meetings held weekly
- Held an Anti-Removals Conference attended by all affiliates. Unions were visibly absent
- Conference noted anti-pass campaign was necessary and important.

- Housing, removals were seen as important
- Theme of Conference was "Housing, security and Comfort"
- Conference decided that non Africans would defy permit system
- Bus boycott was not successful. It was too short

**6.2.3.1 Kennedy - special R.G.C decided not to host Kennedy**

- participation will be indirect. Although there will be no UDF speaker anti-apartheid imperialist stance etc will be made clear.
- Activists will assist to ensure success of Kennedy public meeting.
- It was discovered after meeting that some people were not satisfied with the compromise.
- Lack of clarity about role of National Secretariat its powers regarding emergencies like Kennedy visit, strengthening of communication with regard to the UDF National views.
- AGM of W Cape will be held on 16 March 1985
- UDF assessment paper of N.E.C is being considered by affiliates.

**6.2.3.2 Tasks for 1985 are anti-removals and I.Y.Y. campaigns, Local Authorities, strengthening of democratic structures.**

- International Relations will receive attention e.g how to handle the struggle internationally
- Pass Laws, food prices, increase on fares, rent.
- Looking into means and ways of transforming passive support into active support
- Disunity affected the work of the UDF
- No adequate consultation took place during emergencies e.g Kennedy

**6.2.3.3 Rural Areas- held Conference in Beaufort West for rural organisations and communities**

- the W Cape Region with the assistance of H/O should determine whether these areas should form their own RGC or should continue depending on the W Cape. There are problems of distance and therefore inability to participate fully in the Western Cape G.C.

Yet there is a need for these areas to be part of the decision-making process. How can this be done?

**6.2.3.4 PATRONS - did not consult the Front on the Kennedy Jackson invitation**

- we must improve relation with patrons
- procedure must be found to ensure that proper consultation takes place before an invitation like the Jackson Kennedy one is made.

**6.2.3.5 UNIONS**

- Relations not quite good with Unions. There were disagreements on the bu-boycott
- Regions will continue seeking co-operation
- H/O must also hold discussion with the Unions - especially Federations.

**6.2.4 TRANSVAAL**

**6.2.4.1 BLACK CHRISTMAS (B.C)**

- was successful. Affiliates and non-affiliates were involved. Total support in the Transvaal. Rallies held on Christmas Day
- B.C cards were distributed
- There was confusion regarding the nature of the call. Many people thought it was a call for consumer boycott.

**6.2.4.2 REPRESSION**

Anti-repression meetings were held in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Tembisa. The meetings in West Rand and Soweto were banned. Fordsburg meeting to protest the treason trial was banned.

**6.2.4.3 VAAL CRISIS**

A Crisis Committee was set up to assist families of detainees. The Vaal Information Services & DPSC were also set up.

**6.2.4.4 UDF AREA COMMITTEES**

Committees have been formed in Johannesburg, Soweto, Pretoria. These are functional. Those in the East Rand, West Rand and N Transvaal are not fully functional.

**6.2.4.5 Eastern Transvaal youth groups appealed for UDF assistance.**

6.2.4.6 Regions working towards restructuring. A workshop has been arranged for 26 February 1985 to look at the structure of R.E.C and R.G.C.

6.2.4.7 Kennedy - following Bishop Tutu's request that the UDF assist with practical arrangements for the Kennedy meeting in Soweto the following decision were taken:

- . that UDF shall not send a speaker
- . that activists and affiliates would participate in Soweto
- . it was important to take advantage of the meeting to make the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-constructive Engagement Policy stance clear as well as other important matters.
- . Samson Ndou and I Mogase of SCA were asked to speak

6.2.4.8 FESTIVAL

Transvaal is planning a music festival for 3 March 1985

6.2.4.9 EDUCATION

Parents committees have been set up in Soweto and other parts of the Region to deal with the Education crisis. A National Parents Committee consultative meeting was held on 29 January 1985. A draft constitution has been prepared.

MATTERS ARISING OUT OF TVL REPORT

EDUCATION

The UDF must seek to get involved in resolving the Education crisis.

The National Officers and the Tvl Secretaries must set up a meeting with the National Executive Committee members of COSAS to seek clarity on position of COSAS on boycott. A meeting of UDF and COSAS and Parents Committee must be called. The National Office must compile information on Education especially the COSAS Congress Resolutions.

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- campaigned for the release of detainees and held a demo outside the consulate
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Termination time: 16H10

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SECRETARIAL REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING HELD ON 10 DECEMBER 1983.

1. The Eastern Cape Region of the UDF was successfully launched on the 4 December 1983 in Port Elizabeth. Eighteen organisations have already affiliated to that region.
2. The National Publicity Secretary has written a letter to the USA Government congratulating it on its condemnation of the S.A. and Ciskein Governments for the events on the border region.
3. The Western-Cape Region of the UDF is being taken to court by the magistrate who was responsible for the banning of their meeting in October. The magistrate claims that the UDF won the interdict by mis-informing the judge. He is also challenging the region's legal status. The N.E.C. has mandated the Western Cape region to defend itself.
4. 250 000 copies of the first issue of UDF - News Transvaal has been printed and distributed. The issue focused on the Black Local Authorities elections.
5. Finance:  

The UDF - Transvaal region is facing a financial crisis. The financial records are in a chaotic state and our debt is astronomical.

In order to rectify the situation the executive committee has appointed Nasim Pahad to assist the treasurers. It has also been decided that no expenses would be incurred until the records are set in order, a firm financial policy and procedure for the expenditure is adopted and the astronomical owed to debtors are paid.

Furthermore a volunteer sub-committee has been established for the purpose of fund-raising. A musical festival is being planned for the 4 March 1984 at Fun Valley. Each affiliate is requested to second one person to this committee.

An amount of R100 has been contributed by NEUSA, and further amount of R500 by the TIC, however, most affiliates have not made any contributions whatsoever.
6. The Head-Office has decided to employ two people in the new year. The first is a post for a full-time receptionist/Typist. The second is a temporary post of National Co-ordinator of the million signature campaign. Circulars advertising the post have been posted to affiliates.

The campaign against the Black Local Authorities elections was conducted in all areas apart from Jourton in Klerksdorp. Apart from Wattville, Daveyton and Tembisa no intensive campaign was conducted on the East Rand townships. In almost all cases all affiliates conducted the campaigns in their own names. The UDF-Transvaal played the role of providing information, general co-ordination, assisting organisations in planning activities and producing publications. 26/10/87 (21)

The executive committee has produced an analysis of the results. The analysis provides an interpretation of the results. The analysis is far more accurate than the information provided by the % polls. Our analysis indicates very clearly that the Local Authorities are as despised by our people as the community councils were.

The office is in the process of collecting and collating information as regards the elections. Affiliates are requested to contact the secretaries in order to study the results for their own areas. A thorough understanding of the results is essential for all those organising in communities.

#### 8. Reports from Affiliates:

Reports have been received from DESCOM, AYCO and SOWETO RESIDENTS COMMITTEE. The Soweto Residents Committee is developing alternative proposals to the Black Local Authorities. Descom Has assisted the Vaal Civic Association trace its members who were arrested on voting day. They have also had discussions on the reform-strategy, UDF-media and the Coloured and Indian referendum.

AYCO reports that an Adhoc Committee was formed by AYCO, COSAS and the Alexandra Civic Association to oppose the Koornhof Bills. A demonstration is planned for 1 February 1984 when the Alexandra Council inaugurates. AYCO also plans to challenge Rev. Sam Buti on statements he has made about the UDF.

Most affiliates have once again failed to submit their reports on time. This makes it impossible for the UDF to have an understanding of what is happening in different areas. Without this knowledge this council would fail in its duty of steering the UDF on the path leading to freedom.

#### 9. National General Conference:

The national general conference is scheduled to start on Saturday, 17 December 1983 at 10 am in P.E. The conference would end ~~xxx~~ before lunch on Sunday, 18 December 1983. The following issues would be dealt with:

a. Removals and Relocation.

- b. Million Signature Campaign
- c. Military Conscription
- d. State strategy of co-option - Coloured and Indian
- // e. Assessment of Black Local Authorities elections.
- f. Programme of action for the next six months.

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REPORT TO THE NATAL REGION GENERAL COUNCIL OF  
UDF ON THE PORT ELIZABETH CONFERENCE HELD ON  
17/18 DECEMBER 1983.

(a)

1. DELEGATES

A total of 90 delegates in addition to members of the regional executive represented the Natal region at the conference. There were no observers from Natal.

2. TRANSPORT

About 64 of the delegates travelled by bus and some of the others by cars. The entire cost was covered by the contributions of the delegates. The bus left on Thursday 15th December at 11pm and returned on Monday 19th December at 9am.

3. ACCOMODATION

Most of the Natal delegates were accomodated in a church hall. Meals were provided at the conference hall.

4. CONFERENCE - SATURDAY, 17 December

4.1 Session ONE

\* Opening Address by the President, A.Gunede

He pointed to the key issues which were to be discussed at the conference. He said that although there would be many different views on the issues there should not be any division in the UDF ranks. He called for open, rational and dispassionate discussions which would enhance the unity of UDF.

\* Report of the National Secretary - P.Molefe

Copies of this report are available. This report examines the crisis in the ranks of the oppressor and the problems in the forces of resistance. The tremendous progress made by the UDF in extending organisation to new regions such as Border and the OFS and more important, to the rural areas. He indicates some of the challenges that faces the UDF in the near future.

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26/12/83

\* Commissions

5 Commissions of about 100 persons were formed. 4 Questions were discussed in the commissions:

- i) the relationship between "first level" organisations and the UDF
- ii) broadening of the UDF
- iii) transforming the mobilising capacity of the UDF into a more disciplined and permanent form.
- iv) how should the successful campaign against the recent Black Local Authority elections be followed up?

LUNCH

4.2 Session TWO

\* Paper on the Referendum by E.Molobi

Copies of this paper are available. This paper looks at the objectives of the UDF, defines principles, strategies and tactics and looks at some of the operational principles of the UDF.

\* Plenary Discussion on the Paper

\* Comments on the Position of each Region

Natal - our position was given by C.Mdlovu in an excellent address

Northern Cape - their position was a "vote no" position

Border - boycott - although they had not discussed the issue before coming to P.E.

Western Cape - had 3 views : boycott, vote no and a national convention.

Eastern Cape - had 2 views : boycott and vote no

Transvaal - had 2 views : boycott and vote no

OFS - at this stage their position was a "vote no" position



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\* Clarification and Motivation on above positions

Each region then clarified its position. Where there were "split" votes, separate speakers motivated each position.

At this stage it was clear to the house that there were strong differences in approach to the question.

\* Commissions

The commissions were to have discussed the key questions in E.Molobe's paper related to the referendum. However, the discussion took the form of a debate between the proponents of the "boycott" and "vote no" positions.

The Natal delegates argued their case with great vigour and clarity. They were able to clarify their position and persuade large numbers of the correctness of their positions.

\* Report Backs

The reports indicated that both positions were being argued strongly, but that there was a swing towards the "vote no" position.

\* Straw Vote

The Natal delegation requested a straw vote to indicate the strength of the two positions. Although the declared result was 55-45 in favour of the "vote no" position a more accurate figure would have been 60-40.

5. CONFERENCE - SUNDAY, 18 December

\* Commission

A commission consisting of 7 persons from each major region and smaller numbers from the others was appointed to formulate a compromise.

This commission worked from 11pm on Saturday to 5am on Sunday. It recommended that in view of the different conditions in the Indian and Coloured communities, the urgent need to advance the campaigns against the constitution and collaborators further, and the need to maintain unity in the ranks of the UDF there was an urgent need for tactical flexibility to be accorded to affiliates. It recommended that the question of flexibility and the two tactics be referred back to each region for further discussion. The regions are expected to discuss this as a matter of urgency and communicate their decisions to the secretariat.

\* Conscription

A very short paper was presented because time was running out.

\* Million Signatures Campaign

A report was presented. All regions agreed to participate in the campaign.

\* Resolutions

This part of the agenda remained incomplete.

\* Closure

The closing address was given by President, O.Mphetha.

6. DEPARTURE

The Natal delegation left for Durban at the end of the conference.

7. COMMENTS

Every delegate is to be commended for the mature and disciplined way in which the debate was conducted by them. The Natal delegation received national recognition for this quality.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT TO THE UDF NGC.

### 1. INTRODUCTION :

Today, almost a year after the germ of the United Democratic Front was conceived, and just a few days before the beginning of a new year, we are gathered here in all our hundreds as delegates from various centres of South Africa, to synthesize and decide on very crucial questions in our history. This now demands of us a very careful evaluation of our work, tactics and strategies. This conference promises therefore, to be a truly momentous event in the life of our Front. Decisions and resolutions adopted by this conference are going to be decisive in terms of the future direction of the UDF and, indeed, the way forward of the national democratic struggle in South Africa.

However, to be able to arrive at a correct political decision, we need to take a synoptic look at a number of factors influencing our tactics, strategies and programmes. This report will, therefore, attempt to cover the following :

- a) The State Crises and its strategy.
- b) The Democratic movement
- c) Our gains and problems
- d) Our future strategy

### 2. STATE CRISES

South Africa is today in a state of crisis. This crisis has manifested itself on all fronts - in education, on the labour front, within political structures and within economic circles where inflation and recession have assumed alarming proportions. These are but a few of the areas of crisis. Also worth mentioning here, is the housing backlog, which is today a permanent contradiction and a political issue in our country.

The state crisis, we must point out, continues to deepen as the forces of resistance develop and become stronger. Our organizations have, over the last few years, organized high forms of resistance - around education, around housing, rentals, high transport fares, against puppet state bodies and for better pay and working conditions on factory floors. All forms of resistance in the different sites of struggle challenged and frustrated relations of domination and oppression.

#### 2.1. State response to the crisis :

The government realised that it could no longer rule by the same methods. It had to adapt to new conditions and situations. It responded by starting on a process of restructuring its rule. A process essentially calculated to maintain the relations of domination, exploitation and oppression. As far as the government was concerned, the most effective and viable strategy was to weaken the forces of resistance by resorting to sophisticated methods of divide and rule. In short, what they hoped to do, was to co-opt a tiny middle-class sector and in this way to isolate the working class.

To realise its objective the government appointed a number of commissions on various aspects to determine the most effective methods of control, e.g. Wiehahn and Riekert on Labour relations, Rabie on security, de Lange on education. Similarly, the PC proposals and the housing policy are some of the state's attempts to survive, and preserve Apartheid and the current economic relations.

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Apart from all these, we have seen in recent years, a close alliance developing between big business and the military. The State Security Council, a body making the most important and strategic decisions for the country, is today effectively controlled by the military and big business. We see here a systematic shift of power from the hands of parliament to those of unelected bureaucratic structures. Having succeeded in drawing big business into its ranks, the state has clearly broadened its base and increasingly its resilience. Over the past few years, as well, the state has increasingly attempted to crush democratic forces outside South Africa, through its policy of destabilization. More and more, it has hit out at those countries on its borders which have dared not only to sympathize with the struggle against Apartheid, but who also, within their own countries, have tried to build a new society.

We see, then, that although the state is in a state of crisis, the government is certainly not in a state of collapse. To believe otherwise, would be an illusion.

However, as the state is restructuring itself, our organizations too have responded to the challenge and are also restructuring. We think that the growth of our organizations and resistance to oppression is particularly important to us because if the state's restructuring is unopposed, it could weaken our struggle, and our organizations. It is, therefore, very important that we effectively defend our hard won unity, the unity that too many years and great sacrifices to build.

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Our response to the state strategy has been to oppose the division of our people. We see the unity of our people as paramount; it had to be fought for, it has to be defended. Our response, therefore, was the formation of the United Democratic Front.

At the same time, though, the UDF was not simply a response to a call for unity. It was a culmination of building organizations which fought struggles affecting all our people in various parts of the country. Although these struggles were unco-ordinated, they all challenged the relations of domination. In this way, the UDF grew out of the development of organizations and the need to co-ordinate isolated struggles into broader forms of national campaigns and resistance.

3. WHAT WERE OUR OBJECTIVES WHEN WE FORMED THE UDF?

- (i) to take the ideological initiative out of the hands of the state
- (ii) to unite our people across class, colour, ethnic and organizational lines to oppose the Apartheid reform offensive of Botha.
- (iii) to co-ordinate the activities of all organizations opposed to Apartheid.

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 (3)  
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- (iv) to advance the mobilization and to deepen the organization of our people
- (v) to prevent the state from implementing its so-called reforms, or at least, to make it difficult for them to do so.
- (vi) to deepen the understanding of our people on issues affecting their lives, such as the P.C. Proposals and Koorhof Bills, the Community Councils and Black Local Authorities, the Coloured Management Committees and the new housing policy, etc.
- (vii) to establish a broad front to serve as the voice of our people.
- (viii) to link politics with the day to day experience of our people.
- (ix) to draw into the front groupings operating outside the government structures.

#### 4. THE TRACT RECORD OF THE UDP.

Although we started the front with only 3 regions, namely, Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape, we have, during the last three months, extended to other regions. Two regions of the UDP have been formed in the Eastern Cape and the Border. An interim committee has been formed in the Northern Cape which is a largely rural area. Inroads have been made in the Orange Free State where Area Consultative Committees have been formed. We are confident that by the end of the first quarter of the new year we shall have extended to all regions of South Africa.

The last three months has also seen a mushrooming of new civic and youth organizations. These organizations were not only inspired by the UDP, but were initiated by the UDP itself.

We have also been able to increase our capacity to reach the people and to win some amount of legitimacy for the ideals of the Front as well as to provide an alternative for a democratic South Africa. We can see this from the thousands who have responded to our newsletters, mass meetings, etc. For example, 15 000 people attended the UDP National Launch, over 30 000 attended our Peoples' Weekend Rallies, and more importantly, thousands are reached daily in our areas by our affiliates.

In addition, we have scored major successes in a number of campaigns over recent months :

- Following a UDP call in the Western Cape, there were very low polls in the Coloured Management Committee Elections.
- Similarly, people responded throughout the country to the UDP call to boycott Community Council and Black Local Authorities elections.
- The UDP focus on the Ciskei evoked national and international attention.
- Thousands of people attended the NIC meeting to challenge the Botha/Rajbansi meeting.

We have made these gains in a climate in which the State is engaged in a battle to win support for its initiatives. We can say without fear that we have, for the moment, gained the upper hand in this battle. And, at no stage can we afford to take a step back.

To ensure that this does not happen, we need to look not only at our gains, but also at our problems..

Before the launch of the UDF, organizations had been engaged in their day to day activities and struggles.. The emergence of the UDF presented new problems. The fast rate of growth created excitement and interest which drew more and more of the leadership of the affiliates into UDF campaigns. The result was that the activities of the affiliates were subsumed by the UDF activities and organizations were drained of their leadership. In essence, this meant that consolidation became very difficult for many first level organizations. This poses a threat to the long-term activities of these organizations and the entire democratic movement. The challenge facing this conference is to evolve a programme of action which will allow scope for growth and development of these organizations; a programme of action that will link our day to day work in our organizations with the work of the UDF in a way that will build both..

We have also not been able to facilitate effectively the process of consultation and democracy. We need to ensure that all decisions are taken or understood by the membership of organizations, taking into account the masses we still have to organize. This problem must be addressed in order to prevent mistaking the consciousness of the leadership for mass consciousness. This is important because we know that over the years, people have developed a scepticism and a fear of politics. We cannot pretend that the excitement the UDF has created has put an end to these feelings. We must take the prevailing consciousness as a baseline and take people through a process that will overcome their scepticism and fear. Again, this means that we must take the day to day concerns with which people are familiar, and link them to our political work..

These organizational problems must be addressed seriously. When we ask ourselves - "Where are all the people we have reached? Have they come into our organizations?" we find ourselves unable to answer precisely because we have not been able to channel effectively the people we have won over into our organizations.

The other difficulty which we face is that the different aspects of the 'New Deal' affect different sections of our society differently. In fact, the constitution and Koornhof Bills are designed to fulfil the specific function of sowing division. How do we approach these matters? Do we act as though we are affected similarly? Do we act as though divisions on the basis of race are non-existent? On the other hand, do we through our practice encourage and entrench these divisions?

What are the factors which guide us? Is there a difference between campaigns initiated by us and those which are responses to state initiatives? To illustrate, when we responded to the Black Local Authorities Elections, our campaigns were directed primarily, or even exclusively at affected communities. However, when we initiate the signature campaign, we cannot afford the risk of entrenching divisions. The underlying objective of such a campaign must be the building of unity. These questions will assume increasing importance in the future. In answering them, it is important that we understand the conditions at a given point and that we take decisions that will fulfil the aims and objectives of the UDF.

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#### THE FUTURE:

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this conference is primarily to plot a course for the months ahead. We do this with an understanding of our successes and failures as detailed earlier. We should also take account of where the government is and what can be expected from those quarters.

We operate in a period in which PW Botha believes that he has a strong mandate from the white electorate following the 66% YES vote in the white referendum. PW Botha believes that this mandate allows him to proceed with his attempts at restructuring. This confidence results in a strategy which rules out naked repression as an immediate option. We see therefore that even though the UDF has made major gains, gains which threaten the implementation of the 'new deal', Botha has not yet resorted to mass detentions and individual bannings, or the banning of the UDF itself. Instead, we have seen a shift to harassment which involves threatening telephone calls to leadership and an increasing number of arrests involving little more than technical offences - eg motorcades, distributing leaflets, demonstrations etc. This is coupled with various attempts to isolate the UDF by attempting to project it as a front for the banned ANC. In relation to the previous years of harsh repression, these moves indicate a strategy of gentle persuasion, to create the conditions whereby the democratic movement can be isolated and cast out.

Yet, all is not rosy for the state. At an international level, PW Botha has been largely unsuccessful in attempts to win support of European governments, support so necessary for the state to regain entry into the international fold.

Also, the state has grossly over-estimated the strength of the junior partners. Neither Hendrickse nor Rajbansi have sufficient confidence to face a referendum. Together with Botha they are trying to manoeuvre their way out of this situation by using flimsy arguments about the cost of a referendum. They wish to hide behind 'scientific surveys' the results of which they hope will be less embarrassing than the results of a referendum.

The sum total of this is a realisation by the state that it is losing the battle for the hearts and minds of our community; a battle which will determine whether or not it can rule by consent, or whether the big stick must be hauled out and it must rule by coercion. It is for this reason that the state is now desperately trying to prop up its allies, Rajbansi and Hendrickse. It has set up, in the case of the Labour Party, a specialist unit for conducting the campaign within the so-called Coloured community. Already, RLM has been collected. With such backing, the Labour Party hopes to lay the basis for an acceptance of the constitution by so-called Coloureds.

Within this framework, we need to understand the scope of our work in the year ahead. We need to identify certain characteristics of our campaigns in order to make our task more efficient and effective.

Our campaign against the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills must be intensified. We must direct our energies towards a fuller understanding at a mass level of the need for unity and an absolute rejection of the so-called new deal.

The base of the UDF is largely urban. Yet, repression at its worst

in the rural areas. It is these people who are increasingly faced with barbaric forced removals to bantustans and an increased police and military presence.. To be effective and truly national, the UDF must try to include these farflung activities and thereby extend our base.. Already we have made some gains. The period ahead calls for an intensification of this.

Our future work is going to be crucially affected by the manner and extent to which we address the Koornhof strategy. The continued denial of Section 10 rights to Africans, the removals and relocations and the incorporation of areas into the bantustans are all part of a strategy designed to force Africans into bantustans. Our people in Magopa, Driefontein, Crossroads, KTC, Lamontville and Hambanathi are under the threat of either being removed or of having their areas incorporated into those backyards of Apartheid..In addition, those who cannot acquire Section 10 rights, are forced to the bantustans to starve there.

On the other side of the resettlement/relocation coin is Koornhof's attempt to co-opt a select few through the Black Local Authorities. Yet already we have made substantial gains here: we have successfully mobilized for a boycott; we have created informal organizational structures; we have created organizations opposed to those government created institutions, and we have discredited the Black Local Authorities.

But, we must recognize too, that the Black Local Authorities are a reality. They are being implemented and they will affect the daily lives of our people. What is the next phase of our campaign? Are we going to relax now that we have organized an effective boycott? Or are we going to find new ways to frustrate the Koornhof Bills, and in doing so, develop a coherent strategy against these bills.

Even though we understand the UDF to be a broad front, we must recognize that it is not nearly broad enough. There are many organizations which remain outside our front, organizations which have not been part of the mainstream of the democratic movement over the last few years. We cannot accept this situation as it is these organizations who will become the targets of co-option Our task is to bring them into our fold.

At the same time, this expansion must not happen at the expense of our organizations. The previously mentioned tasks relating to democracy and the building of organizations must be made concrete.

This is the scenario of the next few months. We see the UDF fulfilling these tasks by applying itself to the issues which will dominate discussion at this conference: namely, our response to the referendum/elections, the signature campaign and our campaign against conscription. Unfortunately we will not have time to deal with the question of removals and resettlement, but they must be built into our campaign.

For these reasons, the decisions which we take will be crucial to the future of our work. These decisions, must above all, build both the unity of our people and of our front.

*Key*

We meet at a time when the history of this country passes through one of its most important moments. In South Africa today, the capitalist system together with its organ of power, the racist state, are experiencing a crisis the severity of which mounts by the day. At times like these, it is imperative that all of us who are rallied as an antithetical force against the present regime should analyse thoroughly the objective conditions which shape our lives in this country. We should then reassess our strength and strategies in order to chart scientifically the course of our future struggles.

The democratic movement picks up the reigns of a struggle endowed with rich historical experiences. A synoptic look at our history will reveal that our people through various campaigns have always engaged the enemy on many occasions. When the rulers set up the Union of South Africa in 1910, the people set up their own organisation in the form of the ANC, two years later, in 1912. This organisation was set up to oppose the government and to concretise their national aspiration. 1919 saw the Free State women campaigning against the passes. The 1935-36 Hertzog bills which actually removed the Franchise from the African and Coloured sections did not go without challenge. In 1946, opposition against the Indian Unsettled Acts in Natal was also staged by the massive participation of the people. 1952 brought the initial stages of the boycott campaigns, and later on, when the regime sought to strengthen their position by bolstering Bantu Education, the students registered their categorical rejection in the 1976-1980 boycotts.

Presently, the state is coming with the 'new constitution' and the Koornhof bills' and this whole gimmick of reform, which the democratic movement must attend to.

The democratic movement must in the first instance adopt a particular frame of outlook if it is to face the challenges of its day successfully. That conceptual framework must be a scientific one in which case no amount of tradition and emotion will cloud its analytical processes. The democratic movement is called upon to be flexible in its approach and in this regard recognise the fact that the objective conditions in which it operates are not permanent or static at any given time, but are dynamic. There is the ever present flow and ebb represented by the regimes political twist and turn which the democratic movement must fully analyse and take advantage of.

Great challenges presenting a new set of conditions are presently facing the democratic movement in South Africa. It is imperative that in responding to these conditions, the democratic movement should be able to maintain a proper balance between its principles as against the strategies and tactics applied in order to achieve its objectives. Firstly, principles are essentially fixed and fundamental beliefs around which a general outlook is formed. The form general guides to action but are not the actual action itself. Strategies on the other hand are processes involving the proper timing and planning in order to create conditions that are suitable for the implementation of one's programme at one's own pace, taking into account the material conditions in order to change them. Whereas tactics are mere skillful procedures calculated to gain some end. Principles are therefore long term and are more philosophical and ideological; whereas strategies are more of medium term nature while tactics are actually flexible and short term as they are the tools utilised to achieve our objectives. In order to illustrate this point, let us take an example from a practical situation. As a principle, the democratic movement believes in a non-racial South Africa. The strategy it has adopted is that of opposing the government's constitutional plans. What the conference last now discuss are the various tactics

applicable to implement that principle of non-racialism and quoted. It is important for our difference between principles and tactics on the other. It is only to be flexible in pursuing our

Coming back to the present position FRONT. The question of the unity importance to everybody not only and freedom-loving person in and tactic we apply, these should principles, but also against attacks that would weaken its effectiveness from both the left and

In the present discussions concerning the referendum which was staged and its qualifings, and was the reaction towards the constitution and its stooges have developed and his lackeys talk of going perhaps an embarrassing situation we shall be discussing the relevant questions related to this issue

1. The Unity of the FRONT
2. Which tactic would best serve
3. Which tactic would best disseminate
4. The best way of preventing/ states constitutional process

**THE OPERATIONAL OBJECTIVES:**  
Looking at the short track of in Cape Town. It is necessary principles, specially because day. In this regard, we need:

- a. To strengthen the structure constituent member basis. New meetings, local campaigns on v of the constituent members with political campaigns.
- b. To intensify our campaigns organisations while we spread no from of activity is taking
- c. To isolate the racist government intensified awareness programme promises of the state, but also Democratic front, while we neutral
- d. We need to exercise utmost moment of unprecedented violent



protected quarters. We must never allow our detractors and enemies to have reason to disrupt our work and programmes. We have a noble task of mobilising and organising our people into a formidable front that will be able to render the useless plans of the government's reform unworkable.

e. Lastly, we must be initiators and not only reactive. We must constantly study the unfolding political and economic situation so as to keep abreast with all the low powered tricks of the oppressive regime.

In conclusion, let us recall the words of Cabral, when he was addressing the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, when he declared:

"We reject the idea of begging for freedom because it is incompatible with the dignity and sacred right of our people to be free and independent."

Let us therefore reaffirm our steadfast determination irrespective of the sacrifices involved to work tirelessly for a free and non-racial democratic South Africa.

WDF m. Gurb

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SECRETARIAL REPORT TO THE GENERAL

'COUNCIL OF THE UDF (TVL) HELD ON

25 FEBRUARY 1984

This council of the UDF (TVL) meets at a time when the Democratic movement is facing increasing challenges. The UDF is hereby called upon to play an ever wider role in co - ordinating resistance to injustices and to intervene in an ever increasing number of situations where the rulers are being challenged. This is an indication of the growing support being enjoyed by the UDF. The formation of the UDF has without any doubt, given freedom loving people of our country a sense of hope and confidence and has inspired many to double their efforts towards the cause of liberation.

However, it has become evident that the UDF (TVL) does not have the capacity to accomodate this quick growth, nor does it have the capacity to harness the widespread resistance to oppression and exploitation. The single most serious challenge faced by us today and over the next few months is to be able to overcome this incapacity.

After having seized the initiative last year by creating this historic unity in the form of the UDF, today we are lagging behind the masses and their struggles.

In the first two months of this year a number of issues arose : The year began with strikes at Pick n Pay, AECI, COCA COLA, GENERAL TYRE & RUBBER, OK BAZAARS and many others. We have also seen the ugly face of facsim displayed at Mogopa last week and renewed threats to the rural communities of Badplaas, Leandra and Ga Matlala. At the same time Bantu Education was thrown into a crisis once more. Parents and pupils alike were up in arms about the matric and J.C. results. Schools in Attridgeville, Alexander and Tshiawelo are on strike. History repeated itself with the boycott of PUTCO by the Alexander commuters.

All this has resulted in new system of taxation for African people, a 1% increase in the sales tax and a rise in the price of bread. Clearly the cost of living is ever increasing and real wages decreasing while unemployment is continuing unabated.

There is no doubt that the economic recession has deepened as manufacturing and production has slowed down further and the gross domestic product remains sluggish. In addition the price of gold has continued to drop.

The state, despite the setback suffered during the Anti - BLAA campaign is still determined to implement the constitution Act by having announced elections for the puppet Coloured and Indian parliaments.

Externally, the state is making every attempt to stall its withdrawal from Namibia. After years of destabilisation due to the mounting internal and external resistance it is attempting to create a situation of relative peace on the borders so as to use the available resources to respond to the internal challenge and at the same time rebuild the broken morale of whites. Ideologically these manoeuvres would make it easier for the imperialist Reagan-Thatcher axis to support the fascist regime at international forums.

Internally, police brutality has continued. Hundreds of UDF members are being hounded by security police, pass arrests have increased and forced removals are the order of the day. Those who regard this as rhetoric, we refer to the death in detention of MUVFE TSHIKUDU in Vendaleland and that of MALATJIE at the Protea police station.

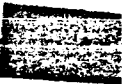
The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT has launched into its one million signature campaign. This campaign, which is both a test and a challenge is one which has far reaching consequence for both the reality ruling class and the UDF. For the UDF, it is a mass education and mobilisation programme, it is a project which will force us to oil every component of our machinery and it will serve to link almost all facets of our struggle. For the rulers it will deal a national and international blow to the claim that they represent the people and it will certainly bring to question their right to rule over us.

Amongst the various issues that have not received a deserved attention there are three that are worthy of mention at this point in time.

Firstly, much has been said about developing a campaign against the extension of military conscription, but thus far, in the Transvaal there has been little progress - secondly struggles around the housing question, which remains a burning question in the ghettos, need to be intensified and co-ordinated both regionally and nationally. To this the Executive committee has requested of the S.C.A. to make proposals for and convene a regional meeting of civic organisations. Thirdly, the struggle of women,

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..... the most exploited and oppressed amongst us, need to be brought into a sharper focus. The struggles being conducted by the mothers and wives by the domestic and farm workers need to be linked to the national political struggles being waged by the UDF.

The various debates that were conducted within the UDF over the last few months has brought to the fore the urgency for us to arrive at a collective understanding of what the nature of the UDF is. Since the formation of the UDF, discussion on the nature of the UDF was not conducted systematically, both in the Transvaal and elsewhere in the country. We thus have a situation today where there are a range of differing interpretation of what this Front is all about. If this situation is not overcome, we are bound to encounter internal difficulties. We cannot avoid facing these issues squarely and systematically.

At the local level, the formation of the UDF has demanded of all local organisations to embrace the national political struggles of the day. This has introduced a tension between the local organisational imperatives of affiliates and the demands being made by the Front. This tension has begun to manifest itself as a problem which must be overcome.

In view of the great challenges being faced by the UDF, the executives committee has begun developing a proposal for a restructuring of the UDF (TVI). This will assist in executing more effectively, the administrative and political tasks of the Front.

MEDIA - A national seminar of all media committees from all regions was held on 21 and 22 January 1984. Amongst the recommendations made by the committee is a proposal for a monthly internal newsletter called UDF updates.

On 3 February 1984 a 'Media Night' was held at Khotso House at which members of a number of affiliates attended. Banners were printed, T-shirts silkscreened and signature forms renewed. Because of the success of the event the media committee has decided to repeat the performance in other areas if such request are made.

The media committee has also decided to co-opt members of affiliates for a period of three months so that more people can gain skills.

### MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

A workshop involving about 70 seventy activist was held on 11 February 1984. The workshop discussed the aims and objectives of the campaign. Also issues such as fund - raising, education and using the campaign to strengthen local organisations.

An organising manual is being prepared for the campaign. Two copies of this book would be made available to affiliates. Furthermore, an information booklet is being prepared. This booklet would contain useful information for signature collectors. Both booklets are scheduled to be printed by the end of next week.

The signature committee meets on We Wednesdays at 5.30 pm at the office. Please ensure that your area/organisation is represented on the committee. The committee has decided to collect signatures at the NPSL cup final on 10 March 1984. Many volunteers would be needed to assist. Volunteers would be gathering at 9am at Khotso house.

A full time co - ordinator for the campaign is to be employed for the Transvaal. Applications are still open and those wishing to apply should do so by Monday (27 -2 - 84)

### UDF PEOPLES FESTIVAL

The festival committee has been working daily over the past three weeks in order to ensure that the festival is well advertised. A meeting of all marshalls will be taking place at Khotso House tomorrow at 2pm. All organisations are requested to attend the meeting as over 250 marshalls would be required on 4 March 1984. Those volunteering as marshalls would be gathering at Fun Valley on 3 March 1984 at 9am and camping over for that night.

Affiliates have been requested to use the opportunity of the Festival to raise funds by selling food or any other items. This should be done in consultation with the Festival committee.

Organisations have also been requested to display their banners at the Festival and use these when the organisation signs the signature form in between sessions of music. These banners could be painted at at Fun Valley when marshalls gather the day before.

### REFERENDUM

The decision of the NEC on the referandum is as follows :

- (a) That the UDF calls for a non - racial referendum.
- (b) That the UDF calls for .....

/b... that each affiliate.....

- (b) That each affiliate of the UDF mobilize and organise the people to oppose the constitution on the basis determined by local conditions and in accordance with the aims, objects and principles of the UDF.

All Transvaal affiliates have accepted the demand for a non - racial referendum, and none have made a demand for an additional referendum.

#### SABC - TV

The N.E.C. decided that no UDF official/spokesperson shall give interviews to SATV. Furthermore SATV would not be invited to UDF functions.

#### INKATHA

On the question of a meeting between the UDF and Inkatha as proposed by GATSHA BUTHELEZI, the N.E.C. took the following decisions :

- (a) That there must be no meeting with Inkatha as no basis exist for such a meeting.
- (b) That an open letter be written to Inkatha stating the reasons why UDF will not meet Inkatha.

#### REPORT FROM AFFILIATES

Reports have been received from AYCO, the VCA. and the T.I.C. AYCO has not been able to meet to discuss the M.S.C. due to the recent detentions and harassment of most of their members.

The T.I.C. has launched its campaign for the boycott of the forthcoming elections for the Coloured and Indian parliaments. A successful mass-meeting of over 3000 people held on 8 - 2 - 84 and two plays on the constitution have been staged in Azaadville, Lenasia, Laudium and Nelspruit.

The V.C.A. (Vaal Civic Association) has launched a branch in zone 7 Sebokeng at a mass - meeting held on 19 - 2 - 84. They are planning to oppose the introduction of mini - busses. Another problem is that the Orange Vaal Administration Board has threatened to withdraw the deed of lease of any church that allows its premises to be used by the V.C.A, UDF or TRADE UNIONS. Seven members of the Bophelong Youth Congress have been detained in the last week of which four have been released on a bail of R150.00 each. The chairperson of the V.C.A. Lord er MacCamel has been dismissed from his teaching post in Bophelong.

The V.C.A. also complains that no UDF speaker arrived at its meeting on 19 02 84.

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YAAL CIVIC ASSOCIATION (Y.C.A.)

26/2/86

REPORT TO THE U.S.F. GENERAL COUNCIL1984-02-20.

No 10

27/1/87

No 9

26/2/87

1. The Action Committee in Zone 7, Sebokeng organised a mass meeting on Sunday 19th February 1984 at the Roman Catholic Church, Small Farms, Evaton. This meeting was well attended and there was participation in discussing local problems. One of the burning issues was the introduction of mini-buses which have to start on the 4th March. A committee of 18 members was elected, thus launching an area branch of the Y.C.A. No 9  
27/2/87
2. There has been a spate of detentions and intimidation of members of the Y.C.A. and the Sephelelong Youth Association. Seven members were detained last week - four are out on R50,00 bail each. U.S.F. calendars were removed from their homes.
3. The Orange - Vaal Administration Board has announced that all churches under its jurisdiction run the risk of having their lease withdrawn if they allow non-church activity meetings on their premises. Quoted as not to be allowed meetings were e.g. Y.C.A., U.S.F. and Trade Unions. This prompted us to call a meeting of all affected bodies but due to the short notice, attendance was poor and those present asked to discuss first with their organisations so as to be fully representative. Such a meeting will be held very soon.

4. The V.C.A. invited the Exeter Playwrights Association to a meeting as an affiliate of U.D.F. to discuss our local demand for the million signature campaign. These people have not responded to our requests even after we went to see the chairperson on two occasions. He has not been clear in his explanation. No 6 9/88

5. The V.C.A.'s demand is: No to the ban on meetings held in churches.

6. There is a complaint about the U.D.F. not responding properly to invitations. We, for example, expected speakers on Sunday the 19th February. Please notify us in good time if you can't be represented. (No 9. 26/487)

7. The chairperson of the V.C.A., Lord ER Mc-CAMEL, has been dismissed from the teaching post he held at Sophelony, Wanderslipark on Monday 20th February 1984. The reason was introduced by the circuit inspector for his action. This was immediate dismissal.

We finally wish for the best of support for the Peoples Festival.

J. M. M. M.

Secretary

Leslie Spencer

1984-02-22

# Alexandra Youth Congress



# AYCO

NO: 2-17th AVENUE  
P.O. Box BERGVLEI  
2012

23 February 1984

## REPORT TO THE UDF GENERAL COUNCIL

AYCO would like to put forth its apology for having failed to send delegates to the last UDF General Council. Some of our members were delegated to the youth conference in Milgespruit on the 14th January 1984. The rest were highly committed to the Alex Putco boycott endeavour. We hope that a full story of the boycott has reached most of the comrades' ears.

We acknowledge the receipt of the minutes from the last general council. AYCO fully abides with the decision taken therein and strongly condemns the action taken by the Transvaal Indian Congress of calling for a referendum. We feel that this is an individualistic action causing disunity in our Front.

### The Signature Campaign

Owing to recent detentions and harassment of most of our members, we have not been able to meet yet to discuss the issue of a million signature campaign in our area. A meeting to discuss the launch and conduct of the campaign has been envisaged for next week.

Yours in the struggle

J.B. MASHALI  
SECRETARY GENERAL

MINUTES OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT HELD ON 30 JUNE 84

1. 1.1 ATTENDANCE

AFFILIATES : EVATON RATEPAYERS ASSOCIATION, MAMELODI YOUTH ORGANISATION, AZASO, LENASIA YOUTH ORGANISATION, SASDU, RMC, NALEDI CIVIC ASSOCIATION, VCA, JODAC, NEUSA, TIC, SAAWU, AYCO, SAYO, SRC, SMWU, AFRI NEWS, ASRO, SOYCO, DESCOM, MGWUSA, YCS, FEDSAW AND NGWU.

R.E.C. MEMBERS C. SALOOJEE. (CHAIR) I. MOHAMED, L. VOGELMAN, W. BOKALA N. PAHAD, A. SISULU, M. CHIKANE, R.A.M. SALOOJEE, M. VALLI AND D. MATHE.

1.2 APOLOGIES : F. CHIKANE, A. MOKOENA AND R. NDZANGA.

2. MINUTES OF THE PREVIOUS MEETING

2.1 The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted.

MOVER: L VOGELMAN.

SECONDER: I. MOHAMMED.

2.2 Amendments ANTI P.C. COMMITTEE should be included under item "affiliates present."

3. CORRESPONDENCE :

3.1 A letter from T. Mohale (of SASDU) was read.

3.2 A letter applying for membership of UDF (TVL) from Vaal organisation of Women (VOW) was read. The application was accepted.

4. REPORTS

4.1 SECRETARIAL REPORT

This report was read by Valli.

4.2 MATTERS ARISING FROM THE SECRETARIAL REPORT

P. Molefe said that 22nd July 1984 has been earmarked for the Day of Solidarity with the people of Cradock. It was decided that the Atteridgeville crisis be included in this campaign.

4.3 M.S.C. REPORT

This report was presented by M. Morobe.

4.4 MATTERS ARISING

It was decided that affiliates report on the MSC in their reports to the General Council. Co - ordinator was asked to report on the number of signatures submitted by each affiliates. The council also requested that more joint blitzes be organised. P. Molefe reported that over 3000 signatures were collected in Welkom and Parys.

**T20**



L2  
Beut2

The general council of the United Democratic Front meets at a very crucial moment in the history of the Front. The next two months would act as the acid test for the UDF. On the one hand we need to complete the Signature Campaign and on the other the fraudulent apartheid constitution needs to be defeated. At the same time the living standards of our people are eroded even further with the rising food prices and particularly the increase in GST as from tomorrow. The forced removals of our people, the Bantustan policy and the dummy black local authorities continue to face the wrath of the people. The action on the part of the mineworkers and the resulting death points to the growing determination of working people to free themselves. The present Anti-Election Campaign in the Coloured and Indian communities being conducted by affiliates of the UDF is the most intensive campaign conducted in these communities in decades.

The state on the other hand has intensified its actions against the Front. Both signature collectors and signatories of the MSC have been harassed. In Parliament allegations have been made that the UDF is a front for certain banned organisations. A whole series of illegal leaflets have been systematically distributed - all of which make false claims of the UDF. Now even Mangope has joined in. He alleges that the UDF is interfering in the affairs of a foreign country by organising in Bophutatswana.

These are all signs that the UDF has become a nightmare for the white minority rulers and the surrogates.

The strategy of our enemies has been to:-

1. disorganise our ranks.
2. alienate the UDF from the masses
3. divide us - affiliate from affiliate, race from race and urban from rural.

Our task is to effectively counter this strategy.

The UDF (Tvl) has held a successful workshop on 23 June 1984 to develop a united campaign against the constitution. The report from the workshop would be presented separately.

At this meeting we also present an audited financial statement of the People's Festival and a financial report of the UDF(Tvl).

#### Attendance at General Council Meetings:

The executive committee has decided that only bona fide delegates and accredited observers be allowed at general council meetings. Bona Fide delegates would be those whose names appear on registration forms which would be issued before the next meeting. An accredited observer would be one who is recommended by the delegates from the organisation the person belongs to. Members of sub-committees would require the recommendations of the secretariat. Proxies for delegates would be required to furnish the credentials committee with written evidence of their bona fides. The credentials committee would comprise of L.Vogelman and N.Pahad.

Special General Council Meeting 1984/07/14

LAASTE BLADSY VAN OORSPRONKLIKE BEWUSSTUK

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

The following committee was appointed by the council T. Mali, M. Valli, G. Burger, D. Montsis, Patrick Dan (Tembisa), Khauhelo and Khehla. The task of this committee would be to organise the convention.

In view of the time it was decided that a special General Council be held on the 7/07/84 in order to discuss the anti election campaign.

GENERAL

None.

VOORLAASIE BLADDE VAN  
OORSPRONKLIKE BEWYSSTUK.



Lucretia Meyer 24

**T21**

(21)

8/10/87 E

26/10/87

SECRETARIAL REPORT.

This report covers the period 18-II-84 to 15-2-85. Because there has been little or no feed-back from affiliates, the report tends to be dry and administrative in focus. We hope this will not be the case in the future.

*Bev T21*

ACTIVITIES:

National:

1. A number of our leaders are still in detention and have been charged with Treason. The case is taking place in Durban.
2. There has been a NATIONAL SECRETARIAT meeting in Durban on the 12/13 Jan. 1985. The following issues were discussed:
  - (a) Regional report
  - (b) M.S.C.
  - (c) F.C.C.
  - (d) Black Authorities.
  - (e) Housing Conference.
  - (f) Forced Removals.
  - (g) Kennedy & Jackson visits.
  - (h) I.Y.Y.
  - (i) Finances.

*27*  
*Adwards*  
*has was*  
*prob a by*  
*f R.S.C.*

On the M.S.C. - a feeling of disappointment was expressed on the under - par level of participation. Suggestions and latest data are expected on this matter.

It is projected that the M.G.C. will take place during the Easter Week-end. More on this under correspondence.

The Black Authorities will be under focus and workshops have been arranged in the Tvl to organise united strategies on resisting them.

*21*  
*8/10/85*

The Housing Conference will be hosted by Natal and preparations are afoot. More details will be forwarded by Natal in due course.

A comprehensive data on Forced Removals should be compiled by regions and forwarded to H.O. Intensified resistance should be organised and events monitored closely.

Kennedy: U.D.F. Did not invite Kennedy. The Front would also not participate officially in the programmes but will not stop its affiliate organisations from participation. We do not see Kennedy as a liberator. But any voice that is heard against apartheid helps the struggle. The Front recognises that there are contradictions within the imperialist camp. These should be exploited for our cause on our own terms.

Jackson: It was felt that his is a private visit on the patrons' invitation. But it seems an inopportune moment for such a visit. The patrons will be persuaded to prevail on Jackson not to come.

A National Conference for the Youth took place at the same time as the Secretariat - some 50kms away. We had hoped to get a brief on proceedings but this never came. The Border region sent youth reps to this conference.

The Finances of the Front were discussed at a special session of National & regional treasurers. The treasurer will briefly report on this.

3. The next R.E.C. will be hosted by this region on the 23/24 Feb. All those who can assist with accomodation and catering are welcome to do so.

#### REGIONAL.

1. We had hoped to have a rally in December to popularise the Black X-mas. This was made impossible by the enemy. We had to be content with pamphleteering for this call.

2. The R.E.C. has been trying to get in touch with some of our affiliates to sort out things and engender a sense of co-operation.

We hope this will also improve organisation. Unfortunately we have not visited all areas yet. We still must go to Mgwali.

3. Our affiliate organisations need to show more life, and keep in touch with <sup>the</sup> secretariat.

4. Our units seem to be more active this year. We hope that the organisations will participate fully at unit level.

5. The education crisis has assumed critical proportions in Fort Beaufort. It has been compounded by an arrogant brutality from the community councils there. There will be a formal report on this.

6. Both Cape Teachers College and Fort Hare are again victims of political purges by the enemy. But the comrades at CTC are fighting **back**.

7. Our activists continue to be harassed and one of our presidents is still confined to Ciskei.

#### Correspondence.

1. National
2. Regional

Lastly, the level of our organisation still has to be intensified. The dawn of our liberation has never been clearer. For this purpose repression will also intensify. But this should not daunt us. It should strengthen our resolve to be liberated and our leaders set free - in our life time!

**T22**

Same as T2

(16)

8/9/87

(21)

26/10/87



*Beu "122"*

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 successful

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 been made to revive affiliates in this area.

5. EDUCATION CRISIS.

*8/9/87*  
*16*

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

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.

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.

} 21  
26/10/87

UPT office file

**T23**

(21) 26/10/87



Bas 123" (5/20)

ASSESSMENT OF UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL TO THE NEC

This region has up to now more than forty organisations affiliated to it. ~~N. TRANSVAAL AFFILIATES ARE NOT ADDED IN THIS~~  
40 ORGANISATIONS.

The thrust of the Transvaal has been guided by the events in the area especially after the coloured and indian elections and the NEC took a decision to involve all the affiliates in the campaign. We experienced a lot of harrasment in African areas especially in the Vaal and the Soweto area. Soweto was involdved in a two day stayaway and this was followed by the bigger stayaway call which affected larger parts of the Transvaal which was called by ~~UDF, UDF~~ and other organisations, including non-affiliates of the UDF. ~~stay-away committee~~ ~~of about 37 organisations~~ ~~outside community~~ ~~of all the most~~ ~~of the~~ ~~front~~  
It made it impossible to follow events as planned by the National Executive Committee eg. peoples weekend had failed to take place.

STRUCTURES

General Council of this region has appointed an evaluation committee to look into the structures and the finances of the region. Commission visited most of our affiliates after the much heated debate around the referund-m. The finding of the comm-ssion would be made available after most of the recommendations have been thoroughly looked into by the fegeional general council meeting.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Some of their recommendations are :

1. Restructuring.
2. Decision making.
3. Participation of affiliates in the UDF activities.
4. Financial matters.

RESTRUCTURING

Region has made progress into the ways of improving communication by setting up area committees that will in future ensure the process of communication can be guaranteed.

That communication between organisation operating in the same area can be encouraged.

That programms in areas can be discussed by all our affiliates.

We will ensure that the communication to from the office reach our affiliates in time by having one person attending executive committee meetings.

DECISION MAKING

Decision taken by the REC and those of NEC would be communicated and vice versa.

PARTICIPATION IN THE UDF.

Area committees would ensure that all organisation can participate activities of their areas.

This is going to change the general council structures that the area committees be part of the general council meeting instead of two representatives per organisation we are going to have two representatives per area committees in some general council sittings for the purpose of coordination.

#### WORKING RELATIONSHIP

Would be improved if well organisations plan together in area committees

#### FINANCES

Will be discussed as well as functions of organisations by organisations working in one area.

#### POLITICAL DIRECTION

1. Mass mobilisation.
2. Educational projects.

#### CRISIS AFTER THE ELECTIONS

National conscious position.  
Taking mass and working class demands.  
Focus after the election went into African areas.  
People are questioning the method of approach.  
We are guided by what is happening.  
Rural areas.  
Northern Transvaal/Leandra.  
Financial position.

UDF Jw

**T24**

Steynia 2/6/88

f2(3)

Rev "124"

POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO MILITARISM  
IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY.

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THE CRISIS

Structural/economic  
factors:

- growth of monopoly capitalism
- recession
- increased unemployment
- rising inflation
- price hikes in basic foodstuffs
- war economy
- skills shortage
- role of Apartheid to rest of economy -  
+ 1000 private businesses involved
- skilled + unskilled unemployed  
looking to SANDF for employment
- housing - e.g. K.T.C.
- drought

Ideological factors:

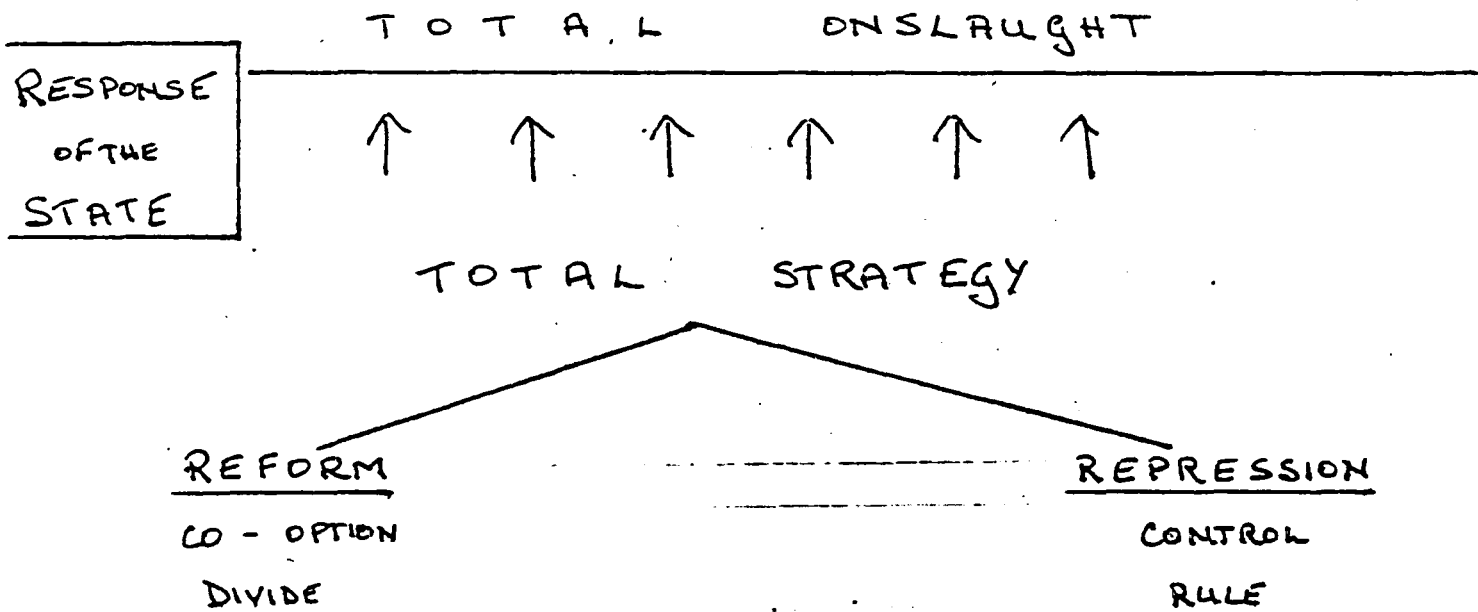
- media - threat to end of media
- myth of communist threat
- myth that the war can be won
- myth that army can be used as shield  
while reform happens (PFP)
- T.V.
- bonus bonds
- army making "he-men"
- use of language - e.g.  
terrorist - freedom fighter
- use of army in adverts
- apartheid - struggle of ideas
- education for perpetuation of  
the system



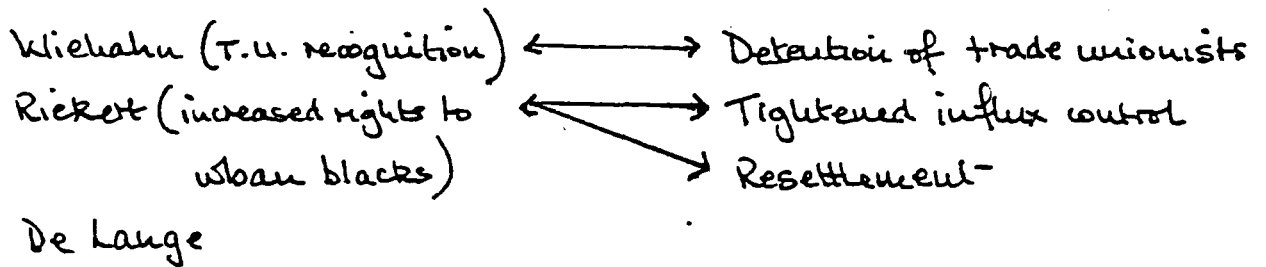


Political resistance factors:

- worker action grows
- worker-supportive action on increase
- rise of schools, youth, student, women's community, sports organisations
- growth of exiles (white) resisting SMDF call-up
- re-emergence of ANC presence in W. Cape + in general
- relatively outspoken + unbiased news reports on independent radio 604



→ Commissions:



Constitutional proposals:

'Power sharing' ←→ Concentration of power  
"Inclusion" of "Coloureds"  
+ Indians  
(extend laager) ←→ Apartheid

> Rikhotso judgement

←→ Bantustans implementation

KTC

Khayelitsha

Koorhof Bills

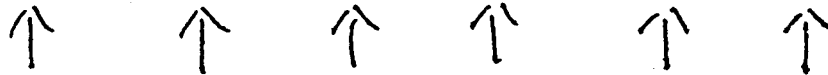
- quota bill
- tightening up of security legislation
- police empowered to search cars anywhere
- Commission of Enquiry into S.A.C.C.
- Army used for repression not defence & in civil issues
- atrocities in Namibia :-
  - economic / political need for war there
- increasing role & extent of military in society
- destabilization of frontline states for economic & political reasons:
  - Keep them economically dependant on S.A.
  - e.g. NMR, UNITA, ZLA, Zimbabwe resistance troops
- raiding of ANC + SWAPO offices abroad
- homeland armies:
  - Transkei: 17% budget on development
    - rest on salaries, mostly police & army
  - sophisticated recruiting propaganda
- foreign support:
  - embargos & sanctions not enforced
  - new set of international relations
    - e.g. Israel, Taiwan, Chile, etc
  - military technology & knowledge exchange

- UK + USA involvement:
  - training centre on interrogation methods
  - "co-operation" with 3rd world governments
- international militarization + violence
- massive IMF loan of R1240 million
- admittance of SADF to international military trade fair in Greece
- purchase of arms in Britain thru private sales
- upward spiral of arms trade
- business involvement in military
- influence of Army in Government:
  - National Security Council, Cabinet
- "hearts + minds" policy: 80% political, 20% military
- extended call-up

DEVELOPING

CRISIS

RESISTANCE



- Right-wing backlash:
- political storm in Disbaune leader
  - "battle of the Borge"
  - Broedeboud / SABSRA controversy
  - general resistance to new constitution

Big business pressure

Foreign pressure:-

- negative coverage of SADF in Namibia at U.N.
- increase in anti-SADF reporting from journalists in neighbouring countries

- Internal resistance:-
- changing as economic crisis continues
  - T.U. activity
  - community resistance  
e.g. Driefontein, KTC, Lamontville, Clarendonville, Clairwood
  - COSAS + AZASO
  - growth + reemergence of democratic organisations
  - Charterists  $\longleftrightarrow$  National Forum
  - non-racial struggle

- Position of resisting whites:-
- increasingly isolated from white community
  - scope of operations narrowing

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑  
D E V E L O P I N G      R E P R E S S I O N

### RESPONSE

- media:
  - more severe clamp-down on reporting of military affairs
  - counter-propaganda
  - detentions and prosecutions
- likely call-up of "Coloured" + Indian men
- development of more sophisticated weaponry

### THE FUTURE

- Economy:
- promoting war economy to prop up sagging economy will ultimately unbalance it further



## Politicization / education

- need for united strategy in resisting co-optation
- need to plan ahead at a community level, to be creative, take initiatives
- way of approaching people is important  
• need to show unity rather than play on fears
- spreading information:  
eg business involvement in military needs to be exposed in S.A.
- possibilities of eg. Bopulatswama T.O.
- vigorous reporting in alternative community + student press.

## Militarisation

- create awareness of civil war

## Conscription

- deal with doubts + fears

## Role of the Church

- ?

### Report to N.E.C on events in Cradock

The Cradock Residents Association (Cradora) exploded on to the civic scene with a big bang on the 4 October 1983. The actual formation of CRADORA was the culmination of a relentless struggle by the residents of the township, which started when a meeting was called on the 25 August 1983 to protest the high rentals in the township.

The struggle initially manifested itself as a loose formation of people who were brought together by a common problem, the rent problem. Under the determined and resolute leadership of an interim committee, the unfolding of the struggle went beyond the confines of a specific problem. The particular civic issues were seen to be interwoven with, in fact to be emanating from the general problem of exploitation in our country.

The phenomenal growth of CRADORA went far beyond the expectations of those who oppose people's struggles. Clearly, the enemy underestimated the stamina of the residents. When all indications were that the organisation was gathering strength from day to day, the establishment unleashed an all-out campaign to destroy it. The leadership, particularly the chairman, comrade Goniwe, became the targets of the security police. Activists received visits at their homes and places of employment. Many people reported the attempts of the security police to use them as informers. But harassment by the security police only served to give the organisation credibility, most particularly in the eyes of the youth.

When harassment by the security police did not achieve the required results, thousands of pamphlets were strewn all over the township on two different occasions. Even this venture was counter-productive. The anonymous smear pamphlets served to unite the residents against a common enemy. The authors of the smear pamphlets inadvertently helped to advertise the movement.

The growth of the movement necessitated the decentralisation of meetings to various church halls. The security police responded by approaching the church authorities of the churches in question. Consequently, one church after another denied us use of their halls. The minister of the only church hall open to us, the Church of Ascension, tried to deny us the hall and escape with his dignity unscathed. Where all along we were allowed to use the hall gratis, he demanded that we pay R2 a day retrospectively to our first meeting. As if this was not enough, we were subsequently told that the Church Council, which boasts a security policeman and a councillor in its membership, had decided that we would never use the hall again until we pay R15 a night and R7,50 a day retrospectively to our first meeting. We were told we owe R165. The person responsible for the hall, an active member of Cradora and a member of the Church Council, was kicked out of his duty for maintaining that there was absolutely no reason why we should be expected to pay for the hall.

On the 29 November 1983, our chairman <sup>c</sup> comrade Goniwe, who was at the time acting principal of Sam Khallie Secondary School, received a letter from the circuit office at Graaff Reinet transferring him to Nweba High School at Graaff Reinet as acting Head of Department, with effect from the 1st January 1984. The news of the transfer was received with great shock by the community. Meetings were held to discuss the transfer. Letters were written and deputations led to various departmental authorities.

The situation is so emotion-charged, the youth association, CRADOYA, has resolved to call for a school boycott if all attempts to reason with those responsible fail. Presently, a combined effort is being made by Cradora and Cradoya to circulate a petition which will be sent to the department.

There is only one aim in transferring comrade Goniwe, to wit, to frustrate the growth of Cradora. Since all other means exploded in the face of the enemy, the transfer of comrade Goniwe, who the enemy sees as the power behind the awakening in Cradock, was the only option left. Comrade Goniwe has, correctly, decided to ~~stagnate~~ defy the transfer. He didn't report for duty on the opening. In fact, he has decided to stay in Cradock and continue to organise the people. This is another victory for the people. Comrade Goniwe has effectively demonstrated the need to subordinate personal aggrandizement to national issues.

From last Friday, the 13 January, the security police embarked on another form of harassment and intimidation. On that Friday, the organiser of Cradora, comrade Goniwe(Jnr), was taken by security police from his place of employment. He was interrogated and released after a specimen of his writing and photographs were taken. The following morning at 4 O'Clock, the secretary of the organisation, comrade Ngikashe, and two members of Cradoya, comrades Frans and Jacobs were detained. They were also released after an interrogation which was accompanied by their writings and photographs being taken.

Cradora fervently wishes to ask the UDF for whatever kind of assistance it can offer in its efforts to have the transfer rescinded. We further wish to ask for a loan of R1000 which we promise to repay before the end of March. Following a decision which was taken at our first rent meeting on the 25 August, contributions of R5 per household were collected towards meeting the costs of taking the matter to court. We managed to collect a sum of R2,500. Whilst we enjoy the overwhelming support of the community, we feel that it will be impolitic to ask for money from the people until the court case is resolved one way or the other. The required loan will be used as capital which will be used to, amongst others, buy Cradora skippers which will be sold to generate interest for the organisation.

Compiled by:

.....(organiser)  
(Mbulelo T. Goniwe)

~~170~~

Daniel  
Nicozi

Katamba (No 14)

Says  
was member  
ILCA

No 19 =

17/8/87

1/9/87

No 21

26/10/87

27/10/87

UDF TRANSVAAL SECRETARIAL REPORT TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL  
MEETING HELD ON 9 MARCH 1985

T 25

Revised 125



1. INTRODUCTION

The task of compiling a secretarial report which covers the first twenty-two months of the Transvaal Region of the United Democratic Front is a mammoth one. The UDF's rapid growth and its extraordinary dynamism is difficult to capture in a report of this nature. An added difficulty is the absence of all our records which have been confiscated by the security police.

21  
26/10/87

Of the volumes that can be written about the UDF (TVL), we present a modest attempt at reporting on the activities of the Front in this region to date. Many events of the Front are not mentioned here, for such events of the Front are too numerous to mention in a short report.

This report is in four sections. First we will deal with the situation prior to the formation of the Front, then our response, this will be followed by an evaluation of the present situation, and we shall end with pointers to the way forward.

2. SITUATION PRIOR TO THE FORMATION OF UDF

During the period between 1977 and 1983, there was a countrywide wave amongst progressive people towards grassroots organisational work. Although a large number of organisations emerged, these were isolated and sparsely distributed. Political campaigns were either localised or of an ad hoc nature, for example, Anti-Republic Day Campaign and the Anti-Saic Campaign.

The political and economic crisis facing the Apartheid State was ever deepening. By 1982 the state had to undertake definite steps towards resolving the crisis. Amongst these steps was the adoption of the so-called Reform Strategy which in the main involved the Koornhof Bills and the Constitution Act. With this devious scheme the regime aimed at: dividing the cherished unity of the oppressed; co-opting sections of the coloured, Indian and African communities, and thereby broadening its reactionary base; isolating the working class by luring the oppressed middle classes and finally, creating the impression of reform abroad.

P W Botha and the new "enlightened" Nationalist Party emerged as the great Afrikaners who would resolve the crisis. The white public and the Western Nations were convinced of this - The bold, confident Botha was on the march. His political moves served to confuse the ranks of the PFP, and he confidently allowed the ultra-right verkrampes to be alienated. He became the darling of big business. This campaign climaxed with the Eshowe Conference (held on 4 January 1983) - for a moment it seemed as if this grand trick would work.

On the international scene, the regimes Western allies were on the offensive against solidarity groups, claiming that there were signs of change in South Africa. At the same time the US was stepping up "constructive engagement" with this illegitimate state. The South African question was slipping from the agenda of International Human Rights Organisations.

#### OUR RESPONSE - THE IDEA OF A FRONT

It became clear that only a United Front of all the people of our land would be able to effectively counter this onslaught. This United Front Against Apartheid would: unite our people across racial lines; unite democrats across class boundaries; co-ordinate resistance to the reform strategy at a local, regional and national level; link the struggles of the urban centres to those of country-towns and rural areas; counter the state propaganda both at home and abroad; unite groups and organisations with different ideological leanings and ignite the fires of resistance in every corner of the country.

The conference of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee provided the opportune moment to issue the call for united action. In the Transvaal an interim committee was formed to begin the ground work and in May 1984 the Transvaal UDF was launched with a General Council and a consultative committee for the purposes of co-ordination. The region was not fully constituted and structures were not finalised, for every attempt was being made to draw in as wide a range of progressive organisations as possible, into the Front. A concerted attempt was even made to persuade Azapo to affiliate. In most quarters the idea of the UDF was received with excitement and enthusiasm. In July 1983 the first Transvaal Regional Executive Committee was elected. Comrade Albertina Sisulu, who was in detention at the time, was elected as President.

On 20 August 1983, six hundred people from the Transvaal attended the National launch of the UDF, either as delegates or as observers. The historic launch had an electrifying effect on organisations and individuals throughout the country, and the Transvaal was no exception.

On returning from Cape Town, the region plunged into the first major campaign of the UDF - the Anti-Black Local Authorities Campaign. The Programme of Action of this campaign included; the formation and strengthening of local organisations like the SCA, VCA, etc. It also included door-to-door work, workshops, propaganda and mass-meetings. By December 1983, through our campaign, we displayed that the new Black Local Authorities were as unpopular as the hated Community Councils. The campaign also laid a firm basis for the eventual dismantling of the Black Local Authorities in most townships. Through this campaign the UDF was introduced at a mass level in almost all the townships. We failed, however, to link the campaign to issues in the coloured and Indian areas.

By this stage, a number of important new organisations were formed, and affiliated to the Front. Amongst them are the VCA, SOYCO, AYCO, TIC and the Anti-PC Committee.

In November 1983, the white referendum was conducted. On the eve of the referendum the first major provincial rally was held as part of the National Campaign against the fraudulent constitution.

In this period, the 'Solidarity with the People of Ciskei Campaign' was undertaken jointly with affiliated and non-affiliated trade unions like CCAWUSA and MAWU. The solidarity campaign was in response to the events surrounding the uprisings and brutal repression in Mdantsane.

We ended 1983 at the National General Council held in P.E. The Conference dealt almost solely with the infamous debate surrounding the coloured and Indian referendum. The Transvaal delegation went ill prepared to the Conference and the resulting difference on the issue led to bitter conflicts and divisions which haunted the Transvaal UDF for many months thereafter.

In February 1984 the Million Signature Campaign was launched at a rally in Soshanguve. Amongst the aims of the campaign was to: consolidate the mobilisation during the Anti-BLA Campaign; to intensify grassroots work by entering into one-to-one discussions with people in the streets and in their homes; to display to the regime, the world and our people that the UDF has a large number of supporters. The campaign stretched on for much longer than initially planned. In the Transvaal, about 60 000 signatures were collected, rather than the targeted 250 000. The campaign was hampered by state harassment and counter propaganda. However, the campaign assisted greatly towards advancing the aims of the Front. Firstly, it provided a means for active involvement of a large number of people who had not previously participated in the activities of the Front. Secondly, it acted as a unifying campaign in the sense that it was conducted in all constituencies and amongst all the affiliates throughout the country. Thirdly the campaign introduced the UDF and its policies to hundreds of thousands of people at a personal level - perhaps herein lay the greatest value of the campaign. And, lastly, the propaganda generated by the campaign served to counter state propaganda. Thus, what on the surface appeared to be a harmless collection of signatures was in fact a campaign which engaged the state on terms and at a pace dictated by us. This campaign was not a reaction to a state initiative but rather forced the state to react to us on our terrain.

The P.E. Conference decided that a campaign against conscription should be launched. However, this issue was not addressed as a campaign, apart from it being linked to the Anti-Constitution Campaign by the TIC and Anti-PC Committee. This was because most organisations outside of the white community did not regard this as an immediate issue.

No report can be complete without mentioning the only major fund-raising activity we engaged in - the highly successful People's Festival was held in March last year.

By mid year the Anti-Constitution Campaign had taken root, particularly in the Indian and coloured communities. Intensive door-to-door work was being conducted in these areas. This campaign was also being conducted by the youth organisations, women's organisations, trade unions and organisations in the African townships. The momentous victory that followed, once and for all shattered the false image created by P W Botha.

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The first large scale detentions of leading UDF activists was on the eve of the August elections. Despite the repression suffered by UDF, affiliates intensified the struggle against the racist regime. The Vaal Civic Association embarked upon a rents boycott which is historically unprecedented. Neither the occupation of the townships by the SADF, nor the detention of every politically active person, nor the many deaths in the streets could quell the militancy of the people.

On the education front, COSAS had continued to draw in more and more schools into the battle for SRC's and relevant education.

All of these events culminated in the highly successful two day stay-away in November. The stayaway united trade unions and UDF affiliates in action.

Because of the repression against UDF, the slogan "Long Live UDF, Ban Apartheid" was adopted by the NEC. It was decided that a pro-UDF Campaign around this slogan be conducted.

The year was closed with the Black Christmas Campaign, a campaign which was used to take stock of the events of the past months and to generate solidarity with those who suffered because of the uprisings.

We debated Edward Kennedy's visit early this year, and thereafter began work for the Peace Prize Celebration. The celebration was very significant in that it brought the UDF new allies. Its significance also lies in the fact that it was the biggest UDF function ever held in Soweto.

On 19 February 1985, scores of homes and offices were raided by the security police and a further eight people were detained for high treason. The state is continuing in its attempts to disorganise the UDF and at the same time marginalise it by alienating the Front and its leadership from the masses. Fortunately we were much better prepared this time than we were in August last year - our operations have continued smoothly.

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

At the organisational level the Front has grown to become very strong. Today there are organisations in many, many more areas than had existed prior to the formation of the UDF. There is also a new sense of militancy amongst the people. They are displaying a preparedness to fight the Apartheid system regardless of the cost. However, many organisations in the Front do not have strong and sophisticated organisational networks and yet many others do not have a developed layer of activists.

By effectively mobilising against the Black Local Authorities and the Tri-Cameral parliament, we have broken the back of the state's so-called reform strategy. At the same time, with the intensification of the struggle and the deepening economic recession, the state has little hope of resolving the crisis it faces. The state is no longer forging ahead confidently, nor is its strategy as clearly worked-out as it once was.



On the international front, the balance of forces has definitely swung into our favour. The South African question is once again high up on the agenda. As a Front, we are also in dynamic interaction with support groups and other organisations throughout the world.

#### 5. THE WAY FORWARD

No 19  
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A programme of action for the UDF has begun to take shape in the following issues and campaigns: the Anti-repression and Release our Leaders Campaign, the cost of living issue, the Anti-Conscription Campaign, the Anti-Forced Removals Campaign, the development of organisation in rural areas and the Campaign to bring the Black Local Authorities, the Tri-cameral Parliament and the Bantustan Governments to a halt.

We go forward confidently with the knowledge that not many more of our AGM's will be held under Apartheid rule.

This started just after our arrival

The reading of the financial report 83 to Dec 1



CIRCULAR TO ALL AFFILIATES AND VOLUNTEER GROUPS.National Peoples WeekendINTRODUCTION

The UDF has declared the weekend of 29 and 30 October 1983 the NATIONAL PEOPLES WEEKEND. It is during this weekend that we will say with one voice throughout the country that we reject the Constitution Act, the Koornhof Bills and in fact the entire unjust system under which we are suffering. It is during this weekend that we will demonstrate that we are a people that is united in action. It is during this weekend that we will declare that the future belongs to us and now is the time to act. It is during this weekend that we will show that the UDF has the support of the majority of our people. The activities of this weekend will also expose the racist white referendum.

Every affiliate and supporter of the UDF needs to contribute to the success of this momentous weekend.

ACTIVITIES DURING THE PEOPLES WEEKENDA. PEOPLES RALLY

A rally will be held for the people of the Transvaal region. This rally would be attended by people from all corners of the Transvaal and surrounding areas. It would be held at the Nur-ul-Islam Hall in Lenasia on Sunday 30th October 1983 at 1.00pm.

B. CHURCH AND MOSQUE SERVICES:

Churches and mosques are to mention the significance of the People's Weekend and discuss Botha's plans in services which would be held over the weekend.

C. PLACARD DEMONSTRATION

Placard demonstrations would take place in all areas. This activity would take place on the morning of Saturday 29th October (mainly at shopping-centres and other places at which a large number of people are gathered). In this regard take note that the law does not allow a gathering of people. There should therefore be a safe distance between each demonstrator.

D. MOTORCADES

This would involve a string of cars which are plastered with posters travelling through the streets of the area. Where possible, the procession can be lead by a float. The suggested time for this activity is the afternoon of Saturday, 29th October.

E. OTHER ACTIVITIES

Organisations need to engage in other creative activities wherever possible. Some other suggested activities are: night vigils and screening the UDF video.

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 rosbank.  
 Sen. L. J. Botha.



## TASKS FOR LOCAL GROUPS

Apart from organising local activities mentioned under B,C,D and E above, the following important tasks pertain to the PEOPLES RALLY directly.

### 1. PUBLICITY

The following is the publicity schedule:

Wednesday	19 October:	Poster - "UDF UNITES, APARTHEID DIVIDES"
Thursday	20 October:	Poster - "PEOPLES WEEKEND"
Friday	21 October:	Banner - "PEOPLES RALLY"
Saturday	22 October:	Poster - "PEOPLES RALLY"
Sunday	23 October:	Distribution of "UDF NEWS" No. 3
Monday	24 October:	
Tuesday	25 October:	Distribution of "Peoples Rally" Handbills
Wednesday	26 October:	

(The above items would be available at the UDF office, Khotso House)

### 2. TRANSPORT

Each area/ organisation should organise busses to transport people to the rally. Details should be finalised by Sunday 23 October.

### 3. MARSHALLS

Each area/organisation should submit a list of marshalls who would assist with crowd control at the rally.

### 4. ORGANISATIONAL BANNERS

Each organisation should bring its own banner to the rally.

### 5. FINANCE

Affiliate organisations hereby asked to submit the R100 (or more) contribution to the UDF as soon as possible.

### 6. REPS MEETING

Kindly send representatives of your area/organisation to the following co-ordination meetings:

- i) Friday, 21 October 1983, 4.00pm, Khotso House
- ii) Wednesday, 26 October 1983, 4.00pm, Khotso House

THE FUTURE IS OURS!

FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S WEEKEND!

FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

Book down ~~① + ②~~ Jhb  
WDF

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9/10/87

# DEMOCRATIC FRONT

ES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!

(21) 9/10/87



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOI  
42 DE VILLIER  
JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 1036  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

21 January 1985

## CIRCULAR TO ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

Dear Comrades

RE: HOUSING CONFERENCE & LOCAL AUTHORITIES

As you should know the Housing Conference has been on our Agenda for now a year. But because of the urgency of the campaign against the new constitution this issue has been shelved from time to time. However, the matter must still be pursued with all the seriousness it deserves.

The National Secretariat at its meeting on 12 and 13 January, 1985 decided to postpone the conference in this regard to June. (The date will be made known to you in due course).

This will allow for proper discussions and preparations for the conference by our appropriate affiliates. I urge you to ensure that thorough discussions go into this matter. Once this has been done please forward to the H/O a synthesis of these discussions.

I enclose herewith a copy of proposals worked out by our office in the Western Cape in conjunction with CAHAC - as the basis for discussion.

Although the conference is scheduled for June, I wish to urge you to address it as a matter of urgency.

Please circulate it amongst our appropriate affiliates e.g Civic organisations, Housing Action Committees, etc.

Thank you.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede  
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi  
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin  
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota  
National Secretary: Popo Molefe



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# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE REGION

P.O. BOX 274  
SALT RIVER  
7925

16 April 1991

The Secretary

.....

Dear

RE: PROPOSALS FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

Following our decision at the NEC and our subsequent discussions at the National Secretariat, we have discussed the ideas in the Western Cape. Also, in telephonic communication with Popo, we were requested to take initiatives along with CAHAC to implement the plans for a conference.

Attached, are the proposals which emerged from Western Cape consultations. Kindly forward copies of the attached to the major civics in your region and ensure that the discussions are conducted in the appropriate forums.

I will telephone all regional secretaries on Thursday 19 April for a progress report. I realise that this leaves very little time, but as can be gleaned from the attached, these matters demand some urgency.

We await your positive responses.

Yours in struggle

Trevor Manuel  
Regional Secretary

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CIRCULAR: NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

TO: ALL UDF REGIONAL SECRETARIES FOR REFERRAL TO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

FROM: UDF WESTERN CAPE /CAHAC

The UDF NEC meeting held in Pretoria on 21/22 January decided to implement whatever steps were necessary to convene a National Conference of civic organisations. Subsequently, the National Secretariat discussed this matter at its meeting in Johannesburg on 10/11 March where the urgency of the conference was re-emphasised.

In accordance with the above, our REC has discussed the conference with CAHAC and the following proposals have emerged from these consultations.

1. AIMS

1.1 Major thrust should be the discussion of a campaign around the 'new housing deal', forced removals & local government. Discussions should facilitate the strengthening of civic organisations and the campaign should attempt to bridge racial divisions, urban/rural divisions and organisational unevenness.

1.2 Make a political statement (concretised) on the housing crisis.

2. CONTENT

2.1 Discussion of the implications of the 'new housing deal'.

2.2 Looking at involving civics nationally in the campaign.

2.3 Discussing and developing approaches to changed local government, both as Black Local Authorities and Local Councils as per new constitution.

2.4 Developing approaches to the 'Koornhof Bills' and forced removals with emphasis placed on attempts at co-option.

3. DATE

3.1 1 & 2 June : The advantages of this date would be a) the long weekend would allow for a full 2-day conference and facilitate travelling and therefore participation by working people. b) sufficient time would be allowed for the campaign to take shape and possibly climax around the time of elections c) the matters under discussion could be placed on the agenda of civic organisations sooner, thereby giving impetus to campaigns such as forced removals. The major disadvantage is the short time within which to adequately prepare.

3.2 Mid- July: The advantages would be a) more time for preparation and consolidation before the conference b) The impact of the 'political statement' would be greater because it will be made closer to the elections. The disadvantages are a) the short time for a campaign to take shape in the community before the elections. b) Reactionaries like the Labour Party have placed a heavy emphasis on housing and are gaining ground by seeking concessions.

4. PREPARATION

4.1 Discussion of this circular/proposal within civic organisations.

4.2 Initial feedback at UDF NEC.

4.3 In W.Cape a mini-conference of the rurally-based emerging civic organisations is scheduled for 29 April.

4.4 A trip from the Western Cape (CAHAC & WCCA) during early MAY for national consultation, touching at the major centres. If the idea is acceptable, consultations should be held with the primary civic organisations (rather than a few activists) in each centre.

4.5 Establishing a pre-conference National Co-ordinating Committee.

5. THE CONFERENCE

- 5.1 Suggested size ±300 i.e 50 per centre/region.
- 5.2 Suggested situation : W.Cape either in Cape Town or one of the inland towns (Motivation to follow)
- 5.3 Consideration needs to be given to the inclusion of groups like trade unions and churches who might share concerns about the matters under discussion.

6. FINANCES

Budget to follow.

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BY OORSPRONKLIKE BEWUSSTUK,  
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CONTENT OR PROGRAMME OF CONFERENCE ON HOUSING

The conference must not be seen as one where many long papers (talks) are given, to be followed by little discussion. But rather as one which reflects the anger of our people. Our people are angry because of the hardships caused by bad housing, bad planning, high rents, bad living conditions and low wages. It is very important that the conference and talks given make it easy for a fair amount of participation by all the people.

The discussion and decisions must be able to guide us in our struggles around housing issues in the future. It must also assist us to solve the many organisational problems that make our work difficult.

The conference must be seen as our statement (or view) i.e. the view of democratic organisations from all over the country, to the housing crisis and the new housing policy of the government.

Any programme we accept must take into account the points made above. A suggested programme is presented below. We would like it to be discussed by as many people and organisations as possible. With feedback and criticism a final programme would be worked out.

1. HOUSING CRISIS

A talk (input) on what we understand by the Housing Crisis and how it has come about. For example, the housing backlog, problems with rents and maintenance, lack of facilities, the Group Areas Act, etc. would be looked at.

2. CHANGES IN THE HOUSING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

A short input (talk) on how the state has responded to the housing crisis and why. It would look at the various (different) aspects of the New Housing Policy:-

- sale of houses
- lowering of standards
- decision not to build houses for those earning more than R150 p.m.
- new formula for calculating rents
- etc.

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3. OUR RESPONSE TO THE NEW HOUSING POLICY

In this session we would work out our response (what we are going to do) to the new housing policy i.e. to the different aspects that make this up e.g.

- sale of houses
- rent increases
- etc, etc.

4. LOCAL AUTHORITIES

— (21) 9/10/87 28/10/87

We all know about the successful boycott of the community council and Black Local Authority Act elections in the African areas. Many of us, however, do not understand all the details of the local proposals of the President's Council. These are now part of the constitution.

A talk (input) on the implications of the decision of the government to create new local authorities. It would also look at what this would mean for our organisations when they take up problems experienced in our communities.

We would also need to discuss the type of problems we must take up after our successful boycott of Community Councils and Black Local Authority Act.

5. ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY "CIVICS"

Our organisations are experiencing many difficulties. We also talk about building unity across townships. But very often we are not clear as to how we must respond to these. In this session we hope to have a talk or paper on what are some of our organisational problems and how to go about building unity. This would be followed by discussions.

6. FORCED REMOVALS

We hear constantly of new townships which are going to be built far from our places of work. In Cape Town there is talk of moving all the Africans to Khayalitsha.

In this session a talk (paper) on the threat of forced relocation of our people all over the country. In the discussion that would follow we can discuss how we must respond to these forced relocations and what kind of support and assistance we can give to each other.

NOTE

1. We would like a lot of discussion and for this reason papers or talks would be small and simply presented.

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2. Resolutions could be passed after each session. These would be published as our joint views on a number of issues or problems.
3. Copies of talks or papers, if they are ready before the conference, would be sent to the different centres.



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE  
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TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

*Bev  
11/28*

01 October 1984

## CIRCULAR TO ALL REGIONS

### Amendments to Working Principles

Comrade Secretary

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

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

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

We await your reply.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY

1. NAME AFDRUK VAN OORSPRONKLIKE UIT BEW. "AI"

The name of this front is the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

2. COMPOSITION

The UDF shall consist in the first instance of regional formation, the boundaries of which are to be determined by the National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils or by the National General Council from time to time.

3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- 3.1. To oppose the Constitutional and Koornhof Bills as decided at the first national conference held in Cape Town on 20 August 1983 and any future conference,
- 3.2. To develop the maximum possible participation in the front,
- 3.3. To encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the UDF,
- 3.4. The UDF shall not purport to replace the accredited liberation movements of the people.

4. POWERS

4.1. The UDF shall have all the powers necessary and desirable to achieve its aims and objectives. These will include the power to :

- a) collect subscriptions from members
- b) receive money from any person and to undertake to perform any work or do anything in return for such payment provided
- c) issue publications
- d) establish such branches as may be necessary from time to time
- e) approach such organisations as it deems desirable for support or affiliation.

5. MEMBERSHIP

5.1. All organisations present at the first national conference otherwise than as observers, shall be members of the UDF subject to:

5.1.1. their right of withdrawal

5.1.2. review by the National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils or by the National General Council from time to time.

5.2. All organisations which are prepared to commit themselves to the declaration policy and to the programme of action will be eligible to make an application for affiliation through the regional councils.



- 5.3. In terms of membership of national organisations which are not members of regional committees shall be decided from time to time by National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils.

## 6. RIGHTS OF MEMBERS

- 6.1. All regional formations and member organisations shall have complete independence within the umbrella of the United Democratic Front, provided that actions and policies of members are not inconsistent with the policy of the UDF.
- 6.2. The National Executive Committee in consultation with regional councils will decide whether or not any inconsistencies exist.

## 7. STRUCTURE

The Front shall comprise:

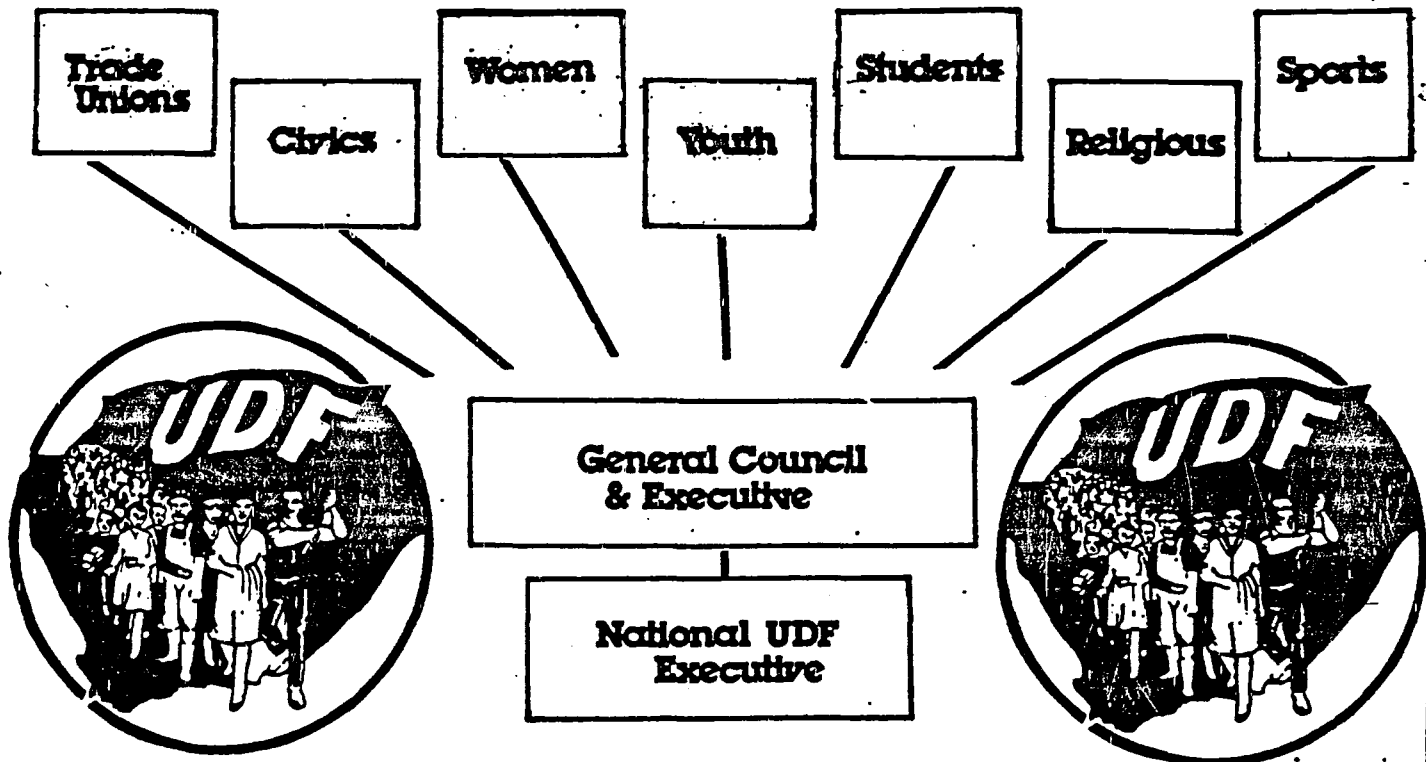
- 7.1. Patrons. The number to be determined by National General Council.
- 7.2. Regional formations consisting of
- 7.2.1. an executive committee, and
  - 7.2.2. a general council
- 7.3. National General Council (N.G.C.)
- 7.4. National Executive Committee (N.E.C.)

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

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

## 9. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 9.1. The N.E.C. shall comprise:
- 9.1.1. The Presidency consisting of three Presidents
  - 9.1.2. An executive chairperson appointed by the N.E.C. from time to time.
  - 9.1.3. Two vice-presidents appointed by each duly constituted region
  - 9.1.4. The two secretaries of each constituted region
  - 9.1.5. Two executive members elected by each constituent region
  - 9.1.6. Two national treasurers.
- 9.2. The N.E.C. will have the power to co-opt persons in its discretion from regions which are not yet constituted, or any other person likely to make a significant



contribution to its functions.

- 9.3. The N.E.C. shall carry out the policy and programme of the UDF as determined by the N.E.C. from time to time.
- 9.4. The decisions of the N.E.C. shall be carried out by the secretariat which will comprise two secretaries from each region.

## 10. FINANCE

- 10.1. The UDF shall be empowered to open a banking account at a bank or building society.
- 10.2. All cheques shall be signed by either of the treasurers and one of two other members of the executive committee and two other members of or N.E.C. appointed by N.E.C.

## 11. OFFICERS

- 11.1. The UDF shall employ
  - 11.1.1. A general-secretary
  - 11.1.2. A publicity secretary
- 11.2. The general-secretary and publicity secretary shall be members of the National Executive Committee.

CONSTITUTION

(APPENDIX B)

1. Name

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

2. Head Office

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

3. Objects

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

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

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

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

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

4. Powers

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

4.1.1 borrow or raise monies and funds;

4.1.2 invest money and funds;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 5. Legal Personality

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

## 6. Structure

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

**7. Membership**

There shall be two classes of members, as follows:

**7.1 Affiliates**

- 7.1.1** All organizations present at the inaugural conference of the UDF on 20 August 1983 otherwise than as observers, shall be members of an appropriate Regional General Council, unless they decline such membership. These organizations and the Regional General Councils under which they fall are set out in the schedule to this Constitution marked 'A'.
- 7.1.2** All organizations of a community, social, sporting, religious, educational, political or similar nature which subscribe to the objects of the UDF may apply for affiliate membership of one or more of the Regional General Councils of the UDF: provided that-
- 7.1.2.1** a prospective affiliate must operate and have members of its own in the geographic area of the Regional General Council in respect of which it seeks membership;
- 7.1.2.2** Admission, suspension and expulsion of members shall be at the discretion of the Regional General Councils with jurisdiction, subject to the overriding powers of the National General Council to change any decision of a Regional General Council in this regard.

**7.2 Special Members**

- 7.2.1 Organizations located outside South Africa which support the objects of the UDF may apply for special membership thereof.
- 7.2.2 Admission, suspension or expulsion of special members shall be at the discretion of the National General Council. The NEC may provisionally admit, suspend or expel members pending the next meeting of the National General Council.

**8. Membership Fees and Other Financial Obligations**

**8.1 Affiliate Members**

- 8.1.1 The respective Regional General Councils shall determine the joining and annual subscription fees of affiliates. The amounts of such fees may vary from member to member, according to particular circumstances. In special cases such fees may be waived.
- 8.1.2 Records of all fees received from affiliates and individual members shall be maintained by the Regional General Council concerned.
- 8.1.3 Affiliates may be required at any time if called upon so to do by their respective Regional General Councils to pay an additional levy in order to supplement the funds of such Councils.

**8.2 Special Members**

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

**9. National Council**

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

**9.2 Meetings**

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

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



- 9.2.3 The NEC may convene interim National General Council meetings of its own motion.
- 9.2.4 Regional General Councils shall be given at least one month's notice of the convening of the National General Council, as well as details of the agenda and venue, and Regional General Councils shall be charged with passing on such information to their respective affiliates without delay.
- 9.2.5 Accidental omission to notify any affiliate or non-receipt by any affiliate of such notice shall not invalidate the proceedings of a meeting.
- 9.2.6 The NEC shall decide in what manner the proceedings of the National General Council shall be conducted. These powers may be delegated to the Chairperson of the National General Council, who shall be appointed by the NEC on an ad hoc basis.

9.3 Delegations to National Council

- 9.3.1 The National General Council shall comprise of delegations from the Regional General Councils. Each affiliate of a Regional General Council will be entitled to two representatives in a delegation. Further representatives may be allowed at the discretion of the NEC.
- 9.3.2 Each representative shall have one vote and all votes shall carry equal weight.

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

9.4 Election of office bearers and nomination of patrons

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

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

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

10. The National Executive Committee

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

10.1.1 members of the Presidency;

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

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

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

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

10.10 Powers and functions of the NEC

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

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

10.10.3 In furtherance of its powers and functions described in 11.10.1, the NEC may assign specific administrative tasks and impose particular duties on the Secretariat.

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

11 Regional Councils

11.1 Composition

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

**11.2 Meetings**

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

- 11.2.9 One third of the number of delegations eligible to attend a particular Regional General Council shall constitute a quorum. Should insufficient delegations be present at any meeting to constitute a quorum, such meeting shall be reconvened for two weeks hence. The delegates attending such later meeting shall constitute a quorum.
- 11.2.10 The decision of the majority of delegates at a meeting shall be the decision of the Council.

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12 Regional Executive Committee

- 12.1 A REC shall be elected by each Regional General Council at its Annual General Meeting.
- 12.2 An REC shall consist of not less than eight members, who shall hold office until the next but one Annual General Meeting of the particular Regional General Council, when they may be eligible for re-election.
- 12.3 An REC shall elect from amongst its members a Regional President, two Regional Vice-Presidents, two Regional Secretaries and a Regional Treasurer.
- 12.4 Should three-quarters of the members of an REC decide that a member is unfit to remain in office on the grounds of improper conduct or incapacity, his term may be terminated prematurely, subject to ratification of the decision by the next meeting of the particular Regional General Council. In such event, the REC may

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

15.2 Notice of  
accordance

### 13. Dissolution

13..1 If for any reason the UDF is unable to function and there are no reasonable prospects of it being able to do so in the near future, or if two thirds of the votes of the delegates to the National General Council are in favour of a resolution that the UDF be dissolved, then the UDF shall be dissolved:

13..2 In such event, the NEC shall appoint a liquidator to wind up the affairs of the UDF. The liquidator shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his duties.

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13..3 In the event of dissolution, the liquidated assets of the UDF shall not be distributed to any members of the UDF being natural persons, but shall be distributed to an organization or organizations, selected by the NEC, which pursues or pursue objects similar to those of the UDF.

### 15. Amendments

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



SECRET

M E M O R A N D U M

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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

The / . . .

OFFICE  
OF THE  
SPEAKER  
OF THE  
HOUSE  
OF ASSEMBLY  
PRETORIA

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

9. POWERS

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

10. MEETINGS

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

4. The / . . .

4. ~~The~~ R. E. C.'s shall meet at least once a quarter.

11. REPRESENTATION

1. The N. G. C. shall comprise of 2 representatives ~~from R. G. C. of each affiliate~~
2. The N.E.C. shall comprise the Presidency, Executive Chairperson approved by N. E. C. 2 Vice-Presidents, 2 Secretaries and 2 Executive members of each region.
3. R.C. shall comprise 2 representatives of affiliates.
4. R. E. C. shall comprise 8 members elected by R. C. and who shall amongst themselves elect affiliates.

12. AMENDMENTS

The Constitution can be amended at a General Meeting of the N.G.C. provided advance notice is given of such amendments to the N. E. C.

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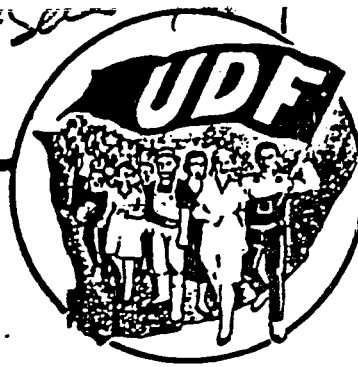
29/10

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**IF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



TVL



NATIONAL OFFICE

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

15 January 1985

MEMORANDUM: TO REGIONAL SECRETARIES

FOR REFERENCE: R.E.C AND R.G.C

SUBJECT: PREPARATION FOR NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL

Comrades

We have less than twelve weeks left to the National General Council. We believe that this period needs to be maximally utilised to ensure adequate and thorough preparation. As discussed at the National Secretariat (12 & 13 January) some areas would have to be agreed upon beforehand to ensure the smooth running of the NGC.

Key dates for these agreements are the N.E.C meeting (East London 23/24 February) and National Secretariat (Johannesburg 23/24 March). The N.E.C will have to agree on matters like keynote addresses and allocation thereof; representation at N.G.C; the Agenda; Amendments to structure and working principles. The secretariat would finalise the keynote addresses, secretarial report and logistics.

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What follows is a tentative programme to ensure that the required agreements are reached at N.E.C and Secretariat. I would urge secretaries to comply with deadlines to ensure that the national office can co-ordinate.

2/.....

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede  
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi  
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin  
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota  
National Secretary: Poppo Molele

## PROGRAMME:

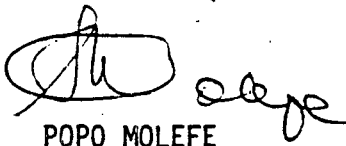
DATE	ACTIVITIES	REMARKS
Week ending 19 January	Secure venue and pay deposit	Transvaal
Week ending 26 January	National Office to prepare proposals for representation, themes, structure & amendments	
Week ending 02 February	Above proposals and topics for keynotes sent to regions. Budgets to be ready.	Meeting of National Treasury
Week ending 09 February		
Week ending 16 February	National Office receives reports from regional secretaries for compilation of secretarial report	
Week ending 23 February	Above discussions tentatively complete for agreement at N.E.C	
24 Feb to 16 March	National Officers possible visit to all regions	Coincide with regional AGM's and opportunity to clarify certain questions
Week ending 23 March	Secretarial reports & keynote addresses complete	Meeting of National Secretariat
24 March to 05 April	Advance planning team in Johannesburg for finalisation.	

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We trust that this will help you plan discussions in the region.  
Do not hesitate to clarify any questions you might have on the  
plan with head office.

Yours in struggle,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Po Molefe', written over a horizontal line.

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY