

28-69

**AM1 — 69**

**Volume 3**

**ASSESSOR**

D Nkomo's Handwriting.

**AM29**

(20) 3079/87

LEGAL ADVISERS

CHEADLE THOMPSON & HAYSON

HERMAN MAINVILLE

TEL. 724-0231

1ST FLOOR DENHILL

60 <sup>CAN</sup> JORISSEN & BERTHA

2017 BRAMFONTEIN

Bas "AM 29"

Private

SECURED UNDER U.O.F. DON'T RUN AWAY FROM POLICE BECAUSE YOU ARE GIVING BY THEM POWER TO DESTROY THE ORGANISATION.

IF THE POLICE ARREST YOU TELL HIM YOU ARE BEING GIVEN THE POWER TO BECOME POWERFUL. AND DON'T GIVE ANY STATEMENT, BECAUSE WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THE RIGHT STRUGGLE.

MEET MR. M. CHIKANE ON A DATE TO BE DECIDED BY COMMITTEE.

HOUSE TO HOUSE CAMPAIGN TO BE TAKEN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO FORCE THE RESIDENTS TO REJECT THE COUNCILLOR. INFORMATION TO BE GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE ABOUT THE REJECTION OF COUNCILLORS AND THE POWER THEY DON'T POSSESS.

SHOP STEWARDS TO DISCUSS THE RENT INCREASMENTS.

WE AS R.C.A WE FEEL  
 THE ACHIEVEMENT WE GOT  
 FROM <sup>THE</sup> RESIGNATION OF ALL  
 THE COUNCILLORS WAS THE  
 GOAL WHICH MUST DESTROY  
 ALL THE GOVERN. APARTHEID  
 LAWS.

WE ASK ALL THE PEOPLE  
 TO STAND FOR THE RIGHTS  
~~THE~~ WHICH ARE BEING  
 CAULED BY THE U.D.F AND  
 ITS AFFILIATES AND WE  
 CALL THE MINISTER OF  
 JUSTICE TO RELEASE ALL  
 THOSE WHO ARE DETAINED  
 AND THE SOLDIERS TO MOVE  
 AWAY FROM ALL BLACK  
 TOWNSHIPS

WE STILL SAY WE ARE  
 NOT GOING TO BE SILENCED  
 BY THE DETENTIONS AND

POLICE HARRASMENT ON OUR MEMBERS

WE CALL THE CONGRESS TO SCRAP ALL THE APARTHEID LAW AND CALL A MEETING WITH ALL THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE

Reuben Mahlaga  
42 Mpho section  
Tembisa  
1628

D N/Carri Heidelberg

**AM30**

20

30/9/57

Rev<sup>u</sup> AM 30<sup>u</sup>

KATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION

REMARKS FROM CHAIRMAN.

INTRODUCTION. = OF THE ORGANISATION  
RENT ISSUE: DON'T PAY RENT INCREASES  
THAT WILL AFFECT YOU

SPEECH OF BY MR P. LEHUNYA

WE ARE BEING OPPRESSED  
BY RENT INCREASE. PEOPLE AGREES NOT  
TO PAY RENT INCREASEMENTS. AGREEMENT  
TO STOP GRADES OF WORKERS

SPEECH

FROM POPO MOWEPE

THERE IS NO WEAPON  
FROM BLACK PEOPLE OTHER THAN AN  
ORGANISATION. KATANDA HAS ACHIEVED A  
BEST GOAL IN THE RESIGNATION OF THE  
COUNCILLORS. LET THE PEOPLE FIGHT FOR  
STRUGGLE OF UNITY

TAXI FARES

COMMUNITY AGAINST THE ~~FARE~~ INCREASE  
OF THE FARES FROM 60c TO 70c  
THE COMMUNITY TO BOYCOTT THE TAXIS AND  
NEGOTIATE WITH THE TAXI OWNERS. DECISION  
TO BE TAKEN BY THE CIVIC ON BEHALF  
OF THE COMMUNITY.

(20)

2079/87

D N'Car.  
Heidelberg

**AM31**

(20) 307 918 4'



RATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION  
2131 ISOLO STREET  
RATANDA TOWNSHIP  
HEIDELBERG  
2400  
1984-09-20. Ben "AM31"

THE HON SECRETARY  
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT  
TRANSVAAL DIVISION  
KHOTSE HOUSE  
JOHANNESBURG  
2000

SIR

I AM HEREBY INSTRUCTED BY THE <sup>EXECUTIVE</sup> MEMBERS  
OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ASSOCIATION, TO ASK  
AN AFFILIATION UNDER YOUR UMBRELLA  
BODY.

ONE OF OUR ~~AIMS~~ <sup>DUTIES</sup> IS TO WORK AS  
WATCHDOGS ON BEHALVE OF THE <sup>RATANDA</sup> COMMUNITY  
AND FIGHT ~~THE~~ APARTHEID.

WE ENCLOSE OUR CONSTITUTION HERE IN.

I HOPE THAT OUR APPLICATION WILL MEET  
YOUR FAVOURABLE CONSIDERATION

YOURS FAITHFULLY

DANIEL NKOSI

(GENERAL SECRETARY)

MEETING HELD ON ~~TUE~~ 1984-08-08

AGENDA (I)

R45-00 FOR THE COMMITTEE

AGENDA (II)

AN CALL TO MEET OUR CHAIRMAN  
TO THE ERC MEETING.

AGENDA (III). ESKORT STOP ORDER.

A. COUNCILLOR MUST STEP OUT FROM  
HIS POSITION

AGENDA (IV)

TO OPPOSE THE COUNCILLOR WHO  
IS NOT HOLDING THE POWERS.

AGENDA (VI)

PRESENTANCE OF THE COMMITTEE AT  
KHOISO HOUSE ON THE 24/08/10 OF CIVIL

AGENDA (V)

AGREEMENT ON THE EMBLEM  
OF T-SHIRTS.

PRESENT MEMBERS

MR. A. NKOSI

" A. SIBEKO

" 2. MACHITJE

" G. MOTSEPE (GOODWILL)

AGREEMENT OF R25-00 FOR TRANSPORT

SIGNED BY

*[Signature]*

G. Sec  
*[Signature]*

*[Signature]*

MEETING HELD ON THE 24/09/10 AT COUNCIL CHAMBERS

REPORT BACK FROM THE PARTIES CONCERN  
ABOUT STOP ORDERS FROM THE FACTORIES EMPLOYEES.

CIVIC ASSOCIATION:

MR. MINGCOSINI TO RESIGN AS AN  
COUNCILLOR, BECAUSE OF FAILURE ~~TO~~ TO SOLVE  
THE PROBLEM OF STOP ORDERS. THE CIVIC  
CONSTITUTION DOES NOT ALLOW THE CIVIC TO  
WORK HAND IN HAND WITH THE COUNCILLORS.

VIGILANTE PARTY

NOT TAKING THE BOARD TO COURT, MR.  
MINGCOSINI TO WORK WITH THE VIGILANTE PARTY  
BUT NOT AS AN COUNCILLOR AND TO CALL  
THE MEETING WITH THE BOARD AND DISCUSS  
THE RENT ISSUE.

REMBRANDT COMMITTEE

NO COMMENT BUT TO REVERSE THE DECISION  
TAKEN BY THE CIVIC ASS. AND RETAIN MR. MINGCOSINI

MR. MINGCOSINI THE COUNCILLOR  
TO CALL AN COMMUNITY MEETING AND  
INFORM THE RESIDENTS ABOUT THE DECISION  
TAKEN BY THE CIVIC ASS.

# AM32

- Stay with 85-02-19. 27443.  
 1st Group Discussion Paw AM<sup>3</sup>
- ③
1. Populise u.d.f. principles.
  2. talked about being a non-racial body & not multi-national body.
  3. Govt total strategy - & see what's going on in total struggle - total rejection of schools they
  4. Area committees - full-time orgs.
  5. Mobilise around issues
  6. Mass activity.
  7. Discussion of u.d.f. with people.
  8. Look at work of day to day work. address ourselves to grassroots affected and issue-orientated work.

Building organisations  
 issues - grass-roots.  
 disciplined - work - build unity

- ④
1. Learn Councils are given more power now -
  2. expose council members who have been promising a number of things to people.
  3. attend their meetings & present our views. as we are unable to call our own mass meetings.
  4. Residents org. should work actively - eg petitions
  5. 1. Education - what C.C. are & how they fit into whole structure
  2. action -
  3. exposure - of h.A. exp. on bribery & corruption.
  6. Method used to get support of C.C. - answer - mass meetings - involve youth & res org. and interview camp
  7. Estab. advise offices

(2)

- talk to people about their problems
8. non-cooperation with dummy bodies
  9. W. Cape - form street committees
  10. Organise people into pol. structures.
  11. engage people in action.

1. Broaden front by getting more org. &
2. broaden organisations membership
3. Involvement of Church in org.
4. areas in close proximity should work tog - to strengthen other communities.
5. Must not neglect rural areas - esp. teachers
6. Work with apartheid org. & strengthen them so that they can then become affiliated to U.D.F.
7. Go out to other org. wh. are not drawn in - not necessarily only prog. org. but org. opposed to apartheid
8. U.D.F. discussion at local level as U.D.F.
9. Work thro' church org. not just leadership
10. Support diff. let hotel dwellers & residents take papers - speak people's language
11. Support org. must be brought into front.
12. Also drawing in teachers - also on issue of corruption.

**AM36**



Rev "AM 36"

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

WESTERN CAPE REGION

P.O. BOX 274  
SALT RIVER  
7925.

16 April 1984

The Secretary

UDF.....TRANSVAAL.

Dear MOSS.

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



## INTRODUCTION.

Fri night, personal intro: give questions

(1) ~~Your name~~

- The name of your civic.
- the names of everyone here who is in your civic (get them to stand in front together). What work you do, what you're involved in
- how old is your civic
- how was it started
- how does it work?
  - what structures do you have?
  - when do you meet?
  - what activities has your civic done?
  - A

Give V. night  
before  
newsprint

Q of clarification only.  
After all reports

# Our Struggle & Other Struggles:?

3 guests on a panel.

- Civic from <sup>FRA</sup> Indian area
- Civic from <sup>Eddie Mkhosi</sup> a Coloured area <sup>(Elders)</sup> ~~(~~the~~)~~ ~~area~~ Nob
- Oppose <sup>to</sup> the constit. on a Political level  
T.I.C. person
- Khandra?

Each to speak for  $\pm$  10 minutes  
with questions / discussion after  
each speaker.

Break up into groups to discuss  
questions

- ① What are the differences / similarities  
between our struggle ~~is~~ and  
those of the speakers we have heard?
- ② We have heard a lot about this new  
constitution with its 3 parliaments.  
How will this affect us?

TALK.: Constitution & other struggles

A 7M.  
Khandra  
Struggle  
Local  
level  
govt

# TIME SCALE FOR U.D.F. Educators Committee Weekend

SAT. 7 a.m. : Wake up.  
8 a.m. : Breakfast  
~~8.30~~ 8.30 : INTRODUCTIONS self + <sup>How each</sup> <sup>organisation work</sup> <sup>organisation</sup>  
10.00 : Tea  
10.30 : EVALUATION OF ANTI-C.C. CAMPAIGN.  
1.00 : LUNCH.  
2.00 : HOW DOES OUR <sup>R</sup> STRUGGLE FIT IN WITH  
OTHER STRUGGLES?  
4.00 : Tea.  
4.30 : SKILLS SESSIONS. ?  
6.00 : STOP  
6.30 : SUPPER  
8.00 : FILM.

SUN : 7 a.m. : Wake up.  
8 a.m. : Breakfast.  
8.30 : IDEAS / ISSUES TOWARDS A  
PROGRAMME OF ACTION  
10.30 : Tea.  
11.00 : WHAT IS THE UDF and HOW  
DO WE (AS CIVICS) FIT IN.?  
~~12.30~~  
1.00 : EVALUATION  
1.30 : LUNCH CLOSE

# Agenda for Educ. Comm. Meeting

6/3/84

## ① Report-back on Physical Details

Venue ?

Date ?

Invitations ?

Consultation of Civics ?

Time Scales available ?

## ② Details of Programme

(NB) Intro session

(a) how we are organised in our Civic! - what we do / structures etc - Present to whole grp. (Fri Night?)

(b) Session on Skills - how to run a committee? - (Review? - ideas / discussion)

(c) Evaluation of Anti-CC campaign? - Input

PAGE 1

REPORT.

29-10-1983

RE: S.A.C.C. WORKSHOP ON G.P. & KOORNHOF BILLS <sup>Re "AM 31"</sup>

AT KIMBERLEY, HOMESTEAD TOWNSHIP, LUTHERAN CHURCH.

AUDIENCE PRESENT - ESTIMATED - BETWEEN 40 AND SEVENTY 70

1 WE ARRIVED LATE AT ABOUT 5.30 IN THE AFTERNOON. THE WORKSHOP WAS SCHEDULED START AT 2.30 IN THE AFTERNOON. MANY PEOPLE HAD LEFT AND A FEW REMAINED.

2 WE IMMEDIATELY STARTED WITH <sup>the</sup> VIDEO ~~SLIDES~~ TAPE  
1, S.A.C.C. VIDEO TAPE WAS TORN OFF AND COULD NOT PROCEED WITH IT.

2, U.D.F. NATIONAL LAUNCH VIDEO TAPE WAS SHOWN.

3, DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD WITH PEOPLE ON G.P. AND KOORNHOF BILLS

3 <sup>from the Community Resource of Information Centre</sup> JILL WELBELOVED <sup>FROM UDF</sup> TALKED ON CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND THE COMINS REFERENDUM.

B, VINCENT MOGANE <sup>FROM UDF</sup> PRESENTED A TALK ON THE KOORNHOF BILLS, LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT, AND THE IMPLICATIONS

C, VINCENT MOGANE STRESSED THE NEED FOR UNITY TO OPPOSE REFERENDUM AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS

D, V. MOGANE: ~~EXPLAINED~~ INTRODUCED U.D.F TO THE AUDIENCE

2, EXPLAINED WHAT U.D.F IS AND ANSWERED QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR.

A DISCUSSIONS HELD WITH PEOPLE AFTER THE WORKSHOP

I WANTED TO KNOW ~~EXIST~~ COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHERS RELATED EXISTING IN KIMBERLEY AND WAS GIVEN THE FOLLOWING.

1, AZAPO = MR J. TIRE { NOT PRESENT AT THE MEETING

2, AZASM - \_\_\_\_\_ NOT PRESENT AT THE MEETING

4, BLACK PENSIONERS COMMITTEE: MR VINCENT M. THEBEY TEL 196 PHEMELO STR 43234. IPOENG, KIMBERLEY

P.T.O

Mr Vincent M. These Agreed to Talk to <sup>the</sup> Executive Committee About U.D.F.

5) Reverend William Nika. (PRESIDENT OF NORTHERN CAPE COUNCIL OF INDEPENDENT CHURCHES)  
281 MANGWATO STREET, GALESHEWE, Kimberley.

Rev. William Nika was prepared to initiate moves towards forming a U.D.F. ~~Region~~ <sup>Area Committee and</sup> consult other organizations interested.

Rev. Nika agreed to come to the U.D.F. offices in JHB on the 31/10/88 for consultation.

6) Mr Joseph Leburu (Anti-Community Council Committee Member)  
944. SEFULO STR  
GALESHEWE, Kimberley. 8301

Mr Joseph Leburu was also prepared to consult organizations towards forming a U.D.F. region.

7) Mr. Reverend L.J. Dlamini, <sup>UNITED CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH</sup> 191 BOPAPE STREET, 'KHUTSENG

Mr Rev. L.J. Dlamini was prepared to consult organizations as regard U.D.F.

Rev. M. HERADEN (TEL. 42781)  
LUTHERAN CHURCH  
11 COOP STAD AVENUE  
HOMESTEAD, Kimberley, 8301

COMMENT: I promised the already mentioned people to come back or send <sup>them</sup> by post the following U.D.F. material:  
1) DECLARATIONS IN ENGLISH, TSWANA, AFRIKAANS  
2) U.D.F. HISTORICAL MATERIALS  
3) U.D.F. POSTERS AND ALL OTHER RELATED MATERIALS  
D T A

PUBLICITY IN KIMBERLEY FOR U.D.F.

THE DIAMOND FIELD ADVERTISER 29/10/83 REPORTED AS FOLLOWS: From Press CUTTINGS:

A. JOURNAUST BY THE NAME: MISS ELIZABETH BARRAT  
DIAMOND FIELD ADVERTISER  
KIMBERLEY

COSE 0531 TELEPHONE: 26261

MISS ELIZABETH BARRAT PROMISED TO SEND US A COPY OF THE ADVERTISER TO SEE HOW THEY REPORT ABOUT U.D.F.

*29/10 Diamond Field Advertiser*

**UDF SACC MEMBERS TO SPEAK IN CITY**

A member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and a number of South African Council of Churches (SACC) speakers will address a public meeting on the new constitutional proposals in Kimberley tomorrow.

A spokesman for the SACC said the meeting would be held at the Lutheran Centre in Home stead at 7 pm. There would be an opportunity for questions and discussion after the speeches, he said.

A video and slide show would be held at the same venue at 2.30 pm tomorrow.

The spokesman said the meetings would give the church perspective on the new constitutional proposals. All people were invited to attend, he said.

*(News by A. Blau, 1 Woodley Street, Kimberley.)*

*Handwritten notes on right side of clipping:*  
 - Vertical line with scribbles  
 - "Don't hype out Thanks."

*29/10/83*

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*(News by A. Blau, 1 Woodley Street, Kimberley.)*

**AM33**



PAPER ON THE ORDERELY MOVEMENT AND SETTLEMENT OF BLACK PERSONS  
PERSONS BILL; THE BLACK COMMUNITIES DEVELOPMENT BILL AND THE  
BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT PRESENTED AT THE DURBAN  
REGIONAL WORKSHOP OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ON THE 26  
JUNE 1983 BY JILL NICHOLSON

1. INTRODUCTION.

The three Bills which constitute Koornhoff's so-called reform package are:

1. the Orderely Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill
2. the Black Communities Development Bill (Both now referred to a Select Committee)
3. the Black Local Authorities Act (which was passed last year)

These three Bills represent Dr. Koornhoff's second attempt to restructure legislation Blacks in the Prescribed Areas. In 1980 as a result of the Riekert Commissions report he introduced a Black Communities Development Bill, a Black Local Government Bill and a Laws on Co-Operation and Development Amendment Bill. All three were withdrawn and referred to the Grosskopf Committee.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT.

I think it is important to see these Bills in their historical context, which is really to see them as a culmination of a series of increasingly oppressive and restrictive legislation. I hope to show that whatever reform can be discerned in these bills is irrelevant because the Bills perpetuate the economic and political powerlessness of Black people at both local and governmental level.

They exclude access to the land as well as participation in industrial and commercial development. In other words they fall completely into line with the policy of Apartheid and with the proposed new constitution.

Ben "AM 33"

All these three pieces of legislation are concerned with people who have legal rights to live and work in the prescribed area. The geographical boundaries of the prescribed areas are diminishing and the number of people qualifying for these rights are being steadily reduced. The direction of influx legislation for the past 20 years has been to this end and these three Bills are no exception. The Orderly Movement Bill is directly and blatantly exclusive and the other two by implication because it is clear that only the comparatively wealthy, with skilled jobs or access to capital will be able to afford to live in a prescribed area.

### 3. THE BILLS

#### 3.1 ORDERELY MOVEMENT AND SETTLEMENT OF BLACK PERSONS BILL

I would like to start with the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. Although this has been shelved until next year it is possible, in the light of past legislation and behaviour of the Administration Boards and of Dr. Koornhoff, to make an educated guess at the direction this legislation will take when it reappears.

##### 3.1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE BILL

In 1964 Section 10(1)(c) of the Urban Areas Act was amended to exclude wives and children of qualified people from coming to town to live as a family unless these people had entered the prescribed

area lawfully. This remained in force for 16 years until the Komani case in 1980.

· In 1968 the Contract Labour System was introduced with the specific intention of preventing further urbanisation by forcing people out of the prescribed area once their jobs were finished or their contracts had to be renewed.

· In 1979 the fine for employing someone illegally was raised from R100 to R500. Also in 1979 Dr. Koornhoff's moratorium on illegal workers actually resulted in thousands being endorsed out of the cities and the total exploitation of many others because as soon as they lost the job in which they were registered they had to leave the prescribed area and were never eligible for work in the city again,

June 1980 saw the beginning of moves to increase the privileges of the Section 10 people, in other words those with urban rights, by giving them greater mobility and easier access to jobs. The gap between prescribed area Blacks and so-called rural Blacks widened.

A perfect example of the diminishing number of people with Section 10 rights is to be found in Durban where an estimated 5% of the total Black population retains these rights. Some 515,300 people lost them when Kwa Zulu took over some of the townships and hostels which were formally part of the prescribed area. At the risk of being repetitive I would just like to emphasise that Dr. Koornhoff's big new deal for urban Blacks applies, in Durban to

the townships of Lamontville, Chesterville and, if it remains, ~~S.A.~~ Wenolines. Every other Black resident of Durban is a contract worker or a live in domestic.

### 3.1.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE BILL

\*If the Orderly Movement Bill is passed in its present form it will result in the most efficient form of influx control that this country has ever experienced.

\*The Bill repeals sections of the Urban Areas Act and the 1936 Land Act and replaces them with one piece of legislation directed at urban and rural areas. Its intention is to minimise the number of Blacks residing permanently in the prescribed areas and by a system of permits and policing so far quite unparalleled to rid the white cities and farmlands of as many Black people as possible without upsetting the needs of agriculture or industry.

\*The rights which section 10 conferred on people will be abolished and replaced by a system based on the availability of accommodation and the Minister's discretion.

\*A new category of persons will be created—the Permanent Urban Resident (P.U.R)

-Permanent Urban Residents will be granted to the owners of fixed property, this includes 99 year lease-holders but not people renting their houses. To people who presently have section 10 rights—they will die out.

\*S.A. Citizens who have been lawfully resident in a prescribed area for 10 years may apply to be

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granted permanent urban rights-this excludes the 8 million people who are citizens of independent homelands.

\*Persons born in the prescribed area to parents both of whom are P.U.R's may apply to become P.U.R- 60% of the children are estimated to be illegitimate. In order to apply the person must have approved accomodation.

It is clear that the Minister can control the number of P.U.R. by controlling the availability of accomodation. In Durban a house was last built in the prescribed area in 1968. Any person with their names on the waiting list for a house in the prescribed area is given a house at Ntuzuma or Kwa Dengezi, both Kwa Zulu Areas, Kwa Zulu residents have no urban rights nor will they have under this Bill.

\*Everyone who is not a P.U.R will enter the prescribed area as a contract worker and may not remain in the area, without a permit, between 10pm. and 5am. No one may have a visitors permit for more than 14 days in the year. People are required to produce on demand their permits to be in the area and will be presumed not to have a permit if they cannot do this.

Dr. Koornhoff's recent announcement that he will abide by the Rikhoto judgement but amend the Act to exclude the families of people qualifying in terms of this judgement unless they have approved family accomodation is I believe one of the many signs that

the Bill we are discussing is in fact being brought in through the back door at the moment.

\*The rural areas are the areas which are not prescribed or part of the independent or non-independent bantustans.

The Act provided that no black person shall be a resident in the rural area unless he or she has a permit to be there. A landowner may be called on to give details of the people on his land. It is a criminal offence to refuse to do this. A landowner may also be ordered to remove people from his land and if he fails to do so he commits a criminal offence.

\*This Act provides for the setting up of farm tenement boards to determine whether the number of blacks in an area is too large. The Board may order that a group of people in excess of the areas labour needs be removed.

\*There are numerous other provisions which relate to the removal of people. They all rest upon the discretion or the opinion of the Minister. He may remove people if he thinks they are being a nuisance or are congregating in an area where it is undesirable or if their presence may canvass support for a public campaign to change the law or that their presence is endangering the maintenance of law and order or threat to public health.

The Minister may order that these people be removed with dependants to any place the Director-General may decide.

### 3.1.3 ENFORCEMENT THROUGH HARSH PENALTIES

It is obviously the intention of the Minister to enforce this barbaric legislation with an even more barbaric system of penalties. These include R500 or 6 months on Black people who are found in the prescribed area between 10pm. and 5am. without a permit and the same penalty for the person who provides accommodation for such a person, R500 or 6 months on employers who employ a person who has no permit to be in the area. The Bill makes normal human activity such as offering someone a job or having a relative to stay into serious offences. We have already seen the introduction of this kind of penalty when the fine for trespassing was raised from R50 to R2000 this year. Finally I want to point out that Clause 52 of the Bill gives the Minister the power to alter, nullify or apply the entire Bill as he sees fit. The Minister is in a position to absolute control with the possibility of legal action against him almost excluded by the fact that it is virtually impossible to contest an opinion or discretion in court.

### 3.2. THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT OF 1982

I now come to the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 which basically sets out how local government will take place in some black townships in the prescribed areas. For us in Durban it is potentially only applicable to Lamontville and Chesterville.

It is supposed to grant a substantial measure of

autonomy to blacks on the local level and it is over this very issue of autonomy that people are divided. I don't believe we can properly assess this Act until we know how the Black Local Authorities are to finance themselves. This is absolutely critical to the viability of the local authorities and also to the status and recognition that they will receive. It has not yet been announced.

The structures set up in the new constitution to deal with local government maintain the separation within the cities of racially orientated local governments. Until everyone has access to the total revenue of a municipality I don't really think we can talk about viable autonomy.

Even were the Black Local Authorities Act to confer on Blacks the same powers of local govt. which whites have, blacks would not have the same means for generating funds. For example the very high rates drawn from the central business district all go into white revenue. The Black Local Authorities will be expected to exercise powers of local govt without ownership of land or business. The local authorities are only able to allocate land, they have no power to expropriate white land and so increase the boundaries of the local authority. Whatever provision is made for the financing of these local authorities they will still have to raise money for improvements because they have no access to white revenues. The Act in its final form is certainly an improvement on the Bill as it first



appeared but just like the Orderly Movements Bill is dogged with the exercise of the Minister's discretion. And, of course unlike other Indian, Coloured and White local governments the black local authority will have no representation at govt level

The Act basically provides for the dissolution of the old community councils and the establishment of local authorities in the form of town or village councils. It provides for the appointment of a Director of Local Govt and sets out how the local authority will be constituted, how members will be elected, the duties of the mayor, town clerk and executive committees. It details the powers, functions and obligations of the local authority and the powers of the Minister to intervene in the affairs of the local authority.

### 3.2.1. IMPLICATIONS OF THE BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ACT

I will attempt very briefly to outline some of the discriminatory and unacceptable provisions of the Act:

- only Blacks can vote at local authority elections. This excludes numbers of Coloureds living legally in Black urban areas.
- No one is eligible for election if he has ever been found guilty of an offence under any law to combat communism or terrorism.
- The Minister determines the number of members in the local authority and the basis for election. If the community does not elect members or there are too few elected members the Minister can appoint persons until further elections.

·The Director of Local Government lays down conditions and prove expenses relating to the mayor and deputy.  
·An official of the State can attend meetings of the local authority and can participate but not vote - in other words the State watches over meetings.  
·The local authority must have the approval of the Minister before it can acquire stocks or borrow money or overdraw an account or invest money or make or accept donations impose levies. Any by-laws must be made with the approval of the Minister.

None of these provisions apply to white local govts.

·If the local authority fails to perform its function the Minister has the power to take action and costs incurred by him will be payable by the local authority.

·If the Minister thinks that finances are unsound he can tell the local authority what should be done and if it fails to do this the Minister can remove any particular person from office or dissolve the local authority.

·Appointment of law enforcement officers by the local authority is subject not only to the Ministers approval but he has also to get the approval of the Minister of Law and Order.

·In spite of the extreme authority which the Act gives to the Minister he has the power to delegate this authority to any other person in this dept.

I feel I need not elaborate any further. This is a paternalistic and discriminatory Act which has not been drafted with the intention of responding

to the wishes of the communities but to the dictates of the apartheid system.

### 1.3 THE BLACK COMMUNITIES DEVELOPMENT BILL

Finally the Black communities Development Bill. I do not intend to comment in detail on this Bill. I believe it will be totally revamped by the Select Committee and it is not so easy to make predictions as is the case with the Orderly Movement Bill.

#### 1.3.1 BACKGROUND

It repeals sections from no fewer than 47 Acts, including those sections of the Urban Areas Act not repealed by the Orderly Movement Bill. It also makes considerable amendments to the Black Affairs Administration Act of 1971.

#### 1.3.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITIES DEVELOPMENT BILL

It basically deals with the functions of the Development Boards—the new name for Administration Boards—this includes the running of townships and hostels, the charging and collecting of rents, appointment of inspectors, registering of sites and so on.

It also sets out the position of the Development Boards in relation to the Local Authorities. The Board is the sole authority responsible for acquiring land and establishing townships and local authority has no powers in such matters. The Board will be the owner of the housing stock.

The Minister has the power to de-establish a township this in spite of the long term rights granted to residents in terms of the 99 year leasehold system

Certain powers are given to the Board that should be in the hands of the local authority. For instance the vacating and demolishing of condemned buildings, the regulating of hawking and peddling within the township, the prohibition or permitting of any commercial or industrial undertaking within the township.

.Only the Board may grant the right of leasehold and leasehold may may only be granted to permanent urban residents as defined in the Orderely Movement Bill, or to a descendant of such a person or a person approved by the Minister.This excludes all citizens of independant homelands who do not actually have Section 10 rights at the date of the commencement of this Bill.

I think I have said enough to negate any suggestion that these Bills might initiate any meaningful reform or autonomy for urban Black people.

# AM34

Paper for U.D.F. workshop - 25th May 1983

I have been asked to discuss the three bills which constitute Dr Koornhof's so called reform package, - that is the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill, the Black Communities Development Bill - both now referred to select Committees and the Black Local Authorities Act which first appeared with the other bills and was passed last year.

These three bills represent Dr Koornhof's second attempt to restructure legislation covering <sup>in the Prescribed Areas</sup> ~~black~~ Blacks. In 1980 as a result of the Riekert Commissions report he introduced a Black Communities Development Bill, a Black Local Govt Bill and a Laws on Co-Operation and Development Amendment Bill. All three were withdrawn and referred to the Grosskopf Committee.

I think it is important to see these Bills in their historical context, which is really to see them as a culmination of a series of increasingly oppressive and restrictive legislation. I hope to show that whatever reforms can be discerned in these Bills is irrelevant because the Bills perpetuate the economic and political powerlessness of Black people at both local and gov't level. They exclude access to the land as well as participation in industrial commercial development. In other words they fall completely in line with policy of Apartheid and with the proposed new Constitution.

These three pieces of legislation are concerned with people who have legal rights to live and work in the prescribed area. The geographical boundaries of the prescribed areas are diminishing and the number of people qualifying for these rights are being steadily reduced. The direction of influx legislation for the past 20 years has been to this end and these three Bills are no exception. The Orderly Movement Bill is directly and blatantly exclusive and the other two by implication because it is clear that only the comparatively wealthy, with skilled jobs or access to capital will be able to afford to live in a prescribed area.

I would like to start with the Orderly Movement etc Bill. Although this has been shelved until next year it is possible, in the light of the behaviour of the Administration Boards and of Dr Koornhof, to make an educated guess at the direction this legislation will take when it reappears.

In 1964 Section 10(1)(c) of the Urban Areas Act was amended to exclude wives and children of qualified people from coming to town to live as a family unless these people had entered the prescribed area lawfully. This remained in force for 16 years until the Komani case in 1980.

Rev AM 34

In 1968 the Contract Labour System was introduced with the specific intention of preventing further urbanisation by forcing people out of the prescribed area once their jobs were finished or their contracts had to be renewed.

In 1979 the fine for employing someone illegally was raised from R100 to R500. Also in 1979 Dr Koornhof's moratorium on illegal workers actually resulted in thousands being endorsed out of the cities and the total exploitation of many others because as soon as they lost the job in which they were registered they had to leave the prescribed area and were never eligible for work in the city again.

June 1980 saw the beginning of moves to increase the privileges of the Section 10 people, in other words those with urban rights, and by giving them greater mobility and easier access to jobs. The gap between urban and rural Blacks widened. //

A perfect example of the diminishing numbers of people with Section 10 Rights is to be found in Durban where an estimated 5% of the total Black population retains these rights. Some 515,300 people lost them when Kwa Zulu took over some of the townships and hostels which were formally part of the prescribed area

At the risk of being repetitive I would just like to emphasise that Dr Koornhof's big new deal for urban Blacks applies, in Durban to the townships of Mmontville, Chesterville and, if it remains, St. Wendolins. Every other black resident of Durban is a contract worker or a live in domestic.

I apologise for taking so long to actually get to the Bill <sup>itself</sup> but I feel it is very important when analysing it that we do so in the context of the realities of the present situation.

If the Orderly Movement Bill is <sup>passed</sup> in its present form it will result in the most efficient form of influx control that this country has ever experienced.

The Bill repeals sections of the Urban Areas Act and the 1936 Land Act and replaces them with one piece of legislation directed at urban and rural areas. Its intention is to minimise the number of blacks residing permanently in the <sup>prescribed</sup> urban areas and by a system of permits and policing so far quite unparalleled to rid the white cities and farmlands of as many black people as possible without upsetting the needs of industry or agriculture.

The rights which section 10 conferred on people will be abolished and replaced by a system based on the availability of accommodation and the Minister's discretion.

A new category of person will be created. The Permanent Urban Residence (P.U.R.) will be granted to the owners of fixed property, this includes 99 year leaseholders but not people renting their houses.

To people who presently have section 10 - they will die out.

S.A. Citizens who have been lawfully resident in a prescribed area for 10 years may apply to be granted permanent urban rights - this excludes the 8 million people who are citizens of independent homelands.

Persons born in the prescribed area to parents both of whom are P.U.R.s may apply to become a P.U.R. - 60% of the children are estimated to be illegitimate. In order to apply the person must have approved accommodation.

It is clear that the Minister can control the number of P.U.R.s by controlling the availability of accommodation. In urban a house was last built in the prescribed area in 1968. Any person with their names on the waiting list for a house in the prescribed area is given a house at Mtuzuma or kwa bengezi, both kwa zulu areas, kwa zulu residents have no urban rights now nor will they have under the B.U. Everyone who is not a P.U.R. will enter the prescribed area as a contract worker and may not remain in the area, without a permit, between 10pm and 5am. No one may have a visitors permit for more than 14 days in the year. People are required to produce on demand their permits to be in the area and will be presumed not to have a permit if they cannot do this.

Dr Koornhof's recent announcement that he will abide by the Rikhotso judgement but amend the Act to exclude the families of people qualifying in terms of this judgement unless they have approved family accommodation is I believe one of the many signs that the Bill we are discussing is in fact being brought in through the back door at the moment.

The rural areas are the areas which are not prescribed or part of the independent or non independent bantustans.

The Act provided that no black person shall be a resident in the rural area unless he or she has a permit to be there. A landowner may be called on to give details of the people on his land. It is a criminal offence to refuse to do this. A landowner may also be ordered to remove people from his land.



and if he fails to do so he commits a criminal offence.

The Act provides for the setting up of farm tenement boards to determine whether the number of blacks in an area is too large. The board may order that a group of people in excess of the areas labour needs be removed.

There are numerous other provisions which relate to the removal of people. They all rest upon the discretion or the opinion of the Minister.

He may remove people if he thinks they are being a nuisance or are congregating in an area where it is undesirable or if their presence may canvas support for a public campaign to change the law or that their presence is endangering the maintenance of law and order or a threat to public health.

The Minister may order that these people be removed with dependents to any place that the Director General may decide.

It is obviously the intention of the Minister to enforce this barbaric legislation with an even more barbaric system of penalties. These include R5000 or 12 months on employers who employ a person who has no permit to be in the area, R500 or 6 months on black people who are found in the prescribed area between 10pm and 5am without a permit and the same penalty for the person who provides accommodation for such a person. The Bill makes normal human activities such as offering someone a job or having a relative to stay into serious offences. We have already seen the introduction of this kind of penalty when the fine for trespassing was raised from R50 to R2000 this year. Finally I want to point out that Clause 52 of the Bill gives the Minister the power to alter, nullify or apply the entire Bill as he sees fit. The Minister is in a position of absolute control with the possibility of legal action against him almost excluded by the fact that it is virtually impossible to contest an opinion or discretion in court.

I now come to the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 which basically sets out how local government will take place in some black townships in the prescribed areas. For us in Durban it is potentially only applicable to Mambantville and Chesterville.

It is supposed to grant a substantial measure of autonomy to blacks on the local level and it is over this very issue of autonomy that people are divided. I don't believe we can properly assess this Act until we know how the black local authorities are to finance themselves.

This is absolutely critical to the viability of the local authorities and also to the status and recognition that they will receive. It has not yet been announced.

The structures set up in the new constitution to deal with local government maintain the separation within the cities of racially oriented local govts. Until everyone has access to the total revenue of a municipality I don't really think we can talk about viable autonomy.

Even were the black local authorities not to confer on blacks the same powers of local government which whites have, blacks would not have the same means for generating funds. For example the very high rates drawn from the central business district all go into white revenue. The black local authorities will be expected to exercise powers of local government without ownership of land or business. The local authorities are only able to allocate land, they have no power to expropriate white land and so increase the boundaries of their local authority. Whatever provision is made for the financing of these local authorities they will still have to raise money for improvements because they have no access to white revenue. *E.g. Swaziland now having 2000000 people on 1000000 acres to pay for electrification of Swaziland - but white minority is unwilling from all the sides of electoral gate - money from 1000000 acres to pay for electricity and roads*  
 The act in its final form is certainly an improvement on the Bill as it first appeared but just like the Orderly Movement Bill it is dogged with the exercise of the Minister's discretion. And of course unlike other Indian Coloured and white local governments the black local authority will have no representation at government level.

The act basically provides for the dissolution of the old community councils and the establishment of local authorities in the form of town or village councils. It provides for the appointment of a Director of Local Government and sets out how the local authority will be constituted, how members will be elected, the duties of the mayor, town clerk and executive committees. It details the powers, functions and obligations of the local authority and the powers of the Minister to intervene in the affairs of the local authority.

I will attempt very briefly to outline some of the discriminatory and unacceptable provisions of the act.

Only blacks can vote at local authority elections. This excludes hundreds of coloureds living legally in black urban areas.

No one is eligible for election if he has ever been found guilty of an offence under any law to combat communism or terrorism.

The Minister determines the number of members in the local authority, and the basis for the election. If the community does not elect members or there are too few elected members the Minister can appoint persons until further elections.

The Director of Local Government lays down conditions and approves expenses relating to the Mayor and Deputy.

An official of the State can attend meetings of the local authority and can participate but not vote - in other words the State watches over the meetings.

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In spite of the extreme authority which the Act gives to the Minister he has the power to delegate this authority to any other person in this department.

I feel I need not elaborate any further. This is a paternalistic and discriminatory Act which has not been drafted with the intention of responding to the wishes of the communities but to the dictates of the apartheid system.

Finally the Black Communities Development Bill. I do not intend to comment in detail on this Bill. I believe it will be totally revamped by the select

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committee and it is not so easy to make predictions as is the case with the orderly movement bill.

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It basically deals with the functions of the development boards - the new name for administration boards - this includes the running of townships and hostels, the charging and collecting of rent, appointment of inspectors, registering of sites and so on.

It also sets out the position of the Development boards in relation to the local Authorities. The Board is the sole authority responsible for acquiring land and establishing townships and the local authority has no power in such matters. The Board will be the owner of the housing stock.

The Minister has the power to de-establish a township, this in spite of the long term rights granted to residents in terms of the 99 year leasehold system.

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Only the Board may grant the right of leasehold and leasehold may only be granted to permanent urban residents as defined in the Orderly Movement Bill, or to a descendent of such a person or a person approved by the Minister. This excludes all citizens of independent homelands who do not actually have section 10 rights at the date of the commencement of this bill.

I think I have said enough to negate any suggestion that these bills might initiate any meaningful reform or autonomy for the urban black people.

William Nicholson  
Black Cash  
125 Dale St  
Durban.

# AM35

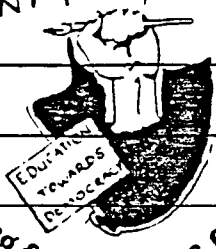
# AM37

Hiedie uitgawe van die  
Azaso National Newsletter  
is reeds in die Alpha-leër.

# AZASO

Rev "AM 37"

organising for a peoples education



## National Newsletter

March 1984

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### STATE OF STRUGGLE

An analytical overview of the past year, looking at the balance of forces i.e. who makes up the enemy camp what are their strengths and weaknesses. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the forces on the side of the people. Flowing out of this, we can look at the role of the UDF and AZASO and the relationship between them - how their campaigns are going to inter relate and how one is going to support the other.

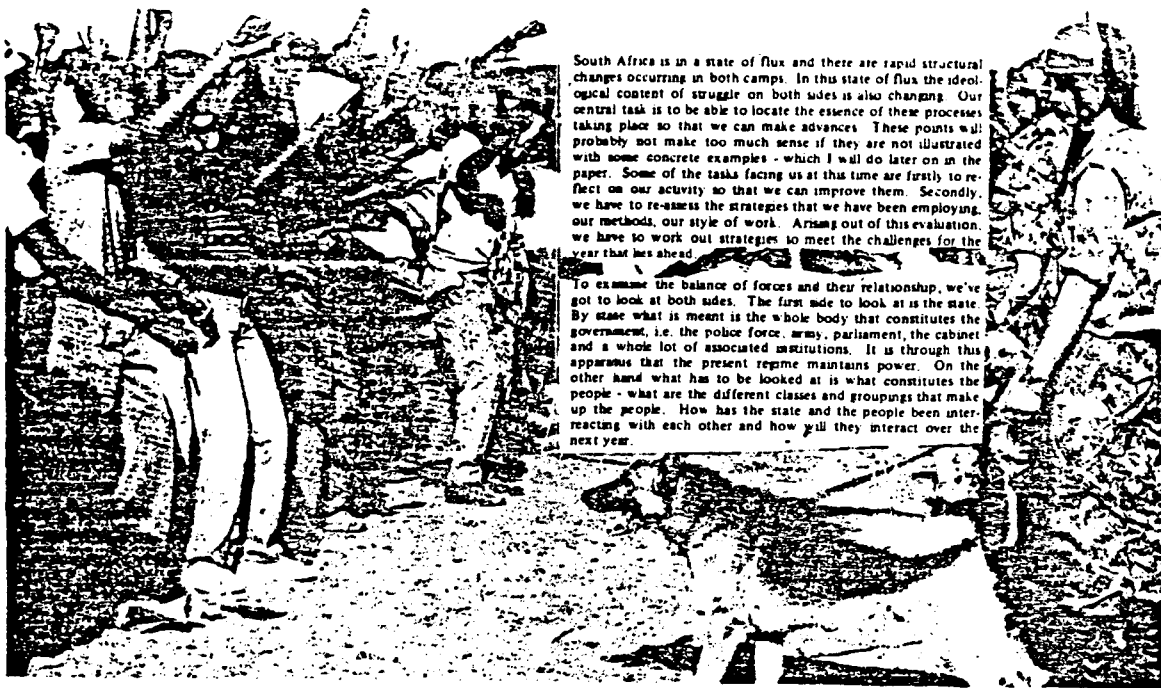
1984



(Y. MAHOMED)

AZASO - GC '83

## DISCUSSION SERIES No 1



South Africa is in a state of flux and there are rapid structural changes occurring in both camps. In this state of flux the ideological content of struggle on both sides is also changing. Our central task is to be able to locate the essence of these processes taking place so that we can make advances. These points will probably not make too much sense if they are not illustrated with some concrete examples - which I will do later on in the paper. Some of the tasks facing us at this time are firstly, to reflect on our activity so that we can improve them. Secondly, we have to re-assess the strategies that we have been employing, our methods, our style of work. Arising out of this evaluation, we have to work out strategies to meet the challenges for the year that lies ahead.

To examine the balance of forces and their relationship, we've got to look at both sides. The first side to look at is the state. By state what is meant is the whole body that constitutes the government, i.e. the police force, army, parliament, the cabinet and a whole lot of associated institutions. It is through this apparatus that the present regime maintains power. On the other hand what has to be looked at is what constitutes the people - what are the different classes and groupings that make up the people. How has the state and the people been interacting with each other and how will they interact over the next year.

When we look at the state, we say that the state is in a CRISIS and this crisis is an ORGANIC CRISIS. Firstly we have to look at what constitutes the crisis. The crisis can be characterised into three aspects:

- i) Economic
- ii) Political
- iii) Ideological.

#### THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The economic crisis is characterised by the following features. Firstly, unemployment is intensifying due to the recessionary phase of the economy and even if we move out of the recession, there will still be people permanently unemployed. Secondly, there is the ever persistent problem of balance of payments and this problem is going to remain. The reason for the problem is that even though South Africa is a developed industrial state, its main industries are manufacturing and mining. None of these produce capital goods, i.e. they don't produce machines that are used in order to produce consumer goods. All it does is that it produces consumer items - items that are used by the end user. It is able to straddle the balance of payments problem because of the gold price. It is able to produce a very precious raw material and when the price surges it is able to temporarily overcome the balance of payments, but it is a permanent structural problem that will remain. Thirdly, is the aspect of the decline in foreign investment. Fourthly, is a negative growth and in fact a stagnation of the economy. This also contributes to unemployment. The final point is failure of the decentralisation policy. This policy is an economic policy in terms of which the state wants to make its political strategy viable, i.e. the whole Bantustan policy. An example of this strategy can be seen in Mdantsane in East London, which is a decentralised point. More than R500 million would be set aside to offer various perks to attract capital to these areas. This has not succeeded.

#### THE POLITICAL CRISIS

The political crisis is characterised by the following factors. Firstly, the increasing role of the military. Together with this there has been the movement of power away from parliament to executive committees with an increasing role of the military in these structures, e.g. State Security Council, Economic Advisory Board, Cabinet Committees. These have become more the organs of power than parliament. These committees operate in secrecy and are much more bureaucratized and controlled from the top. A further point is the failure of the bantustans. The failure to win legitimacy from any other state institutions, i.e. the SAIC, CRC, the Management Committees and Community Councils. All these structures have failed. Whatever attempts

to control or win people over by consensus have failed. What has intensified the crisis are the increasing struggles of the workers, community, student, women and on the political level. One of the vehicles through which these various struggles have fused is the UDF. This is also an area through which there has been a contribution to the political crisis.

#### THE IDEOLOGICAL CRISIS

What the state is experiencing at this stage is a crisis of legitimacy. It knows that it does not enjoy the support of the majority of the people, it makes numerous attempts to show that it does - that it does have a national policy. The whole Bantustan policy, the Constitution Act, the attempt to incorporate Indians and Coloureds, giving greater rights through the Black Local Authorities Act to urban Africans are all attempts to legitimate its power. Again you see this in Pik Botha's trip overseas after the referendum, where he has been trying to project an image of reform. These are some of the characteristics of the crisis.

When we say that this crisis is organic, we mean that the crisis has been around for a long time. Secondly, the crisis has got incurable structural conditions. Whatever attempts are being made are not going to solve the problems. The crisis is only going to be solved by a fundamental restructuring of society. Despite this, there is movement within the political forces in the capitalist state in that they are trying to bring about changes from the top. In order to save the situation, because the state knows that it has to do so to maintain power - these are the kind of efforts that are being made.

Let us look at what the efforts are to restructure. On the level of trying to control the flow of labour due to the increasing resistance of workers, we see the Riekert and Wiehahn reports. This was to in some way control workers, but also to allow them to operate under certain controlled conditions. Secondly, the Riekert report was to control the flow of influx labour from the Bantustans. If we look at these two reports we can see that they are inevitably bound to fail. They will fail because of the economic need that drives people, whether they are in Bantustans or not, drives them to the urban areas for employment. If people are staying in the Bantustans they are going to move to urban areas even if they have to go to jail, because the choice is between starvation or being in jail in an urban area. So no matter what systems of control are going to be used, people are still going to gravitate toward the urban areas. Another point is that the way the Bantustans are structured, i.e. pieces of land all over the show so that the ability of the state to control and police them in terms of borders becomes virtually impossible.



Another attempt at restructuring is the Constitution Act, where power is shifted away from parliament to more executive control while at the same time a very concerted effort is made to break black unity by coopting certain sectors of the Coloured and Indian communities although there is an attempt to incorporate the community as a whole. The design is that they know that they cannot coopt the community as a whole and what they need is to coopt certain leading actors within these communities. Therefore the actions of the state are actually to reach out to more businessmen. The Labour Party for example are not having mass meetings. They are carefully choosing certain targets like teachers, small businessmen, civil servants etc.

The Koornhof Bills on the other hand is part of the same package. It is again firstly seeking to divide the urban from the rural people because it is going to give more rights in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act and the Genocide Bill. Secondly, it is part of the strategy to create a black urban dweller who is going to be given security. This further strengthens the housing policy - "give a person some property and he will be satisfied in that context".

Even in education, (this is something that AZASO can look at more closely), is the De Lange Commission and the White Paper that arose from it. All this is to be geared to the 'restructuring' process and when this is examined it should be done so in the light of the above considerations.

What we have to do is to look at whether this restructuring actually alters the terrain of struggle. The question we should ask is not whether this is reform, are these changes genuine or cosmetic. The right attitude to adopt is that these changes are taking place. We KNOW what the state's objectives are. It is making these changes in order to maintain itself in power. The real question is how we can use them to our advantage, because we also want power. Therefore this is a constant dialectic of struggle between the two contending forces, ie. those that don't have power and those that do.

These have obviously broadened out the space for legal struggle. When we say this, we must also bear in mind that the state rules by consensus or by coercion. It has still got the strong military, police force and all its repressive apparatus waiting. It attempts at consensus fail, we are going to be crushed. This is something we must never lose sight of. So while we've got the space, we must make maximum use of it and not be unmindful that the moment we overstep a certain mark, they are going to crush us. Therefore strategies must be worked out carefully so as to maintain a balance of forces and still make gains.

To come back to the points that were made in the introduction, Because the state is making all these attempts to restructure, it means that strategies we employ must also change. What is then required in this state of flux is the creative ingenuity that we have to use in looking at new ways of doing things, at the same time bearing in mind the coercive and repressive apparatus. Secondly, we know that when we move forward, we must also have a defensive position so that we can retreat. When we do move forward, we must be cautious about it, but on the other hand, we must not trail behind. What is important is that we've got to have popular support when we move forward. In different circumstances we must look at old tactics that we've employed and see if we can give them a different content. Let me give one illustration, recently there was a discussion amongst activists who were organising around the water issue in a particular area. Due to water restrictions, there had been various surcharges and some areas had already had mass meetings which were fairly successful (about 500 - 600 people attended). People were arguing that mass meetings should be held. Some people were of the opinion that there were already mass meetings in their areas and this had achieved nothing. You get people together without achieving concrete results. Someone came up with the idea that what we had to engage in was some kind of action. Some kind of protest that is going to yield results. A mass meeting was not going to make an impact.



Therefore an alternate form of action needed to be engaged in. In this new form of action perhaps fewer people can be involved eg. 50 people going to the City Hall and occupying an office or something like that. If this is done, at some level you are going to get a concession. Either a stay of the increases or something, and then you have your mass meeting. In that sense your mass meeting can serve a different function because it makes an advance on your previous position. Previously mass meetings were held to rally support to demonstrate that the people are behind you in the demands that are being made. In a sense we have to look at the old methods and see in what kind of ways we can restructure the ways and methods that were being used in the past.

Now I want to move to the area of looking at the people themselves. When I talk about the people, I refer to a number of classes. It is primarily the working class but also all the oppressed people who are denied the right to vote which will include the student sector, professional people etc. All these people constitute the people. Firstly, if we look at the past year, there has obviously been an increase in the level of organisation and mobilisation. If we sat back a year ago and looked at the UDF launch, for example, the fact that we could mobilise 15 000 people to come to a rally would have been beyond our expectations at that point in time. At Edendale, during the People's Weekend we could get 7 000 people and I think the capacity to mobilise people has been repeated in different parts of the country. In Port Elizabeth, which was totally unorganised, we could get 300 people. So, the capacity to mobilise has made certain advances, but then questions we must ask ourselves, is what must we do with these people? Are they organised into any kind of disciplined unit - can you make calls upon them to engage in forms of action - do we have that capacity? Do we know who they are and how they are organised - what level of skills do they possess? So these are all the kinds of questions that are thrown up. This increasing capacity to mobilise shows an increasing strength of our organisation. Also, the past year has seen the growth of UDF, but this will be dealt with later as a special category.

This year has also seen the hegemony of those persons who accept the national democratic struggle as part of a principled strategy. That the character of the struggle has got to be national and democratic. Within student ranks the whole concept of national and class struggle - which is primary and which is secondary, always takes up a lot of time. Basically we have to

remember that there is a dialectical relationship and not necessarily a succession i.e. that one follows the other. Workers are part of the oppressed community and their national demands cannot be met without certain fundamental social changes and that these struggles are the struggle for national liberation and these are the only struggles, if one looks back historically, that have ever succeeded. If one looks at our experience throughout the world, there has never been a struggle between the workers and the capitalists, where the workers alone, the workers and the capitalists, where the workers alone, without alliances with others, have succeeded. But also in any state that national oppression exists, there is a movement for democratic rights. National democratic rights mean the right to vote, the right to freedom of movement, etc. This cannot simply be located at the relations of production - these are felt rights, even by workers themselves outside the production process. The whole denial is mediated by the relationship between the oppressor and oppressed - they are not related at the point of production. People who don't see this miss out on a very important fact.

I would like to read out a passage that encapsulates the point better than I can.

*"The enemy is defined not by its function of exploitation but by wielding a certain power and this power too does not derive from a place in the relation of production, but is the outcome of a form of organisation characteristic of the present society.*

*The society is indeed capitalistic, but this is not the only characteristic. It is sexist and patriarchal as well as racist".*

This illustrates my point that we cannot ignore that these are all other characteristics and you've got to struggle against them too. At this point, I would like to leave the issue of the national democratic struggle.

Now to move on to just looking at the past year and the development of the UDF. All of us have at some level or other participated in the UDF. AZASO, being the first affiliate of UDF, would have taken a leading role at some point. But firstly if we look at the UDF - it has been through some phases that by January it had been formed in embryo. Over the next 2 to 3 months, people went out and consulted because it was only a few people at the Transvaal Anti-SAIC conference who took the



decision. In this sense the UDF has been characterised with some kind of compliance with the democratic process leading on to regional formations prior to the national launching. Thereafter, the next phase was the national launching and at that point again, we had a debate as to whether 3 regions were strong enough to take that decision to have a national launching for the whole country. Again we felt that it was important to make an impact. One of the motivating factors then was that a group that did not have any kind of mass support, i.e. the National Forum Committee came into existence particularly to, in a sense, thrust aside the eloquent momentum that was being developed by the UDF. This had to be counteracted on an ideological level and we had to take the decision to seize the moment at that point in time. So we had the national launching. Subsequently if one looks at the state reaction to UDF we find that it ignored the UDF or what it tried to do was to move just prior to the launching by coming out with fake pamphlets which said the launching by coming out with fake pamphlets which said the rally was called off. There were also pamphlets issued in the name of the BC movement and so on, trying to disrupt the event. These actions backfired on the state because our ideological machinery was well geared - we got more publicity in the press, and were able to come up counter posters and pamphlets almost overnight. Before the rally there was the whole question of the UDF and the National Forum being counterposed to each other and this left everybody wondering what the strength of the UDF was.

At Rocklands, at the conference, in terms of national representation, and at the rally in terms of mass support of the people in the area, showed the state that the UDF had become the most significant political force since the Congress Alliance. This then is the reality which the state had to contend with. Its response then to the UDF was to ban most of its meetings and also meetings of its affiliates. This indicated the desperation of the state and we took a decision subsequently that the next time they banned a meeting, provided that the legal considerations warrant it, that the ban would be challenged. The UDF also decided to take on the state at many levels. What was then done was a letter was written to the Prime Minister. Let us look at the post national launching period. The UDF needed to demonstrate the support it had on a national and regional level. To allow the masses of the people of the different regions to actually participate in that process of being part of a rally, coming together to take a stand to demonstrate that the majority of the people within this country had an alternative focus to the white referendum which took place on the 2 November. Then the UDF moved into its current phase, which has been intensifying our opposition because it is clear that once the state had finished off with the white sector, major energies were going to be thrust at the Indian and Coloured communities. Firstly, the state was launching into the whole exercise to divide the unity of the black people and coopt certain sectors of the Indian and Coloured communities. Secondly, it was going to launch within the African sector in terms of implementing the whole Koorhof Bills strategy, particularly the elections that took place in many parts of the country through the Black Local Authorities Act and the Community Councils where they existed. This is basically the point that we are at at present. I'll come back to future strategies and what phases we are going to move into. I think it is opportune now to take some of the lessons we have learned and to evaluate them. Firstly, we have achieved a level of mobilisation that is beyond which we would have made in terms of our assessments if we had made it a year ago. Secondly, we haven't answered the question of what we are going to do with that capacity to mobilise and how do we transform this into more solid organisation. We know that that is the challenge that lies ahead and that's what we have got to go ahead and do.

Whilst we are developing an offensive strategy, and using the space that has been provided by the 'restructuring' process, we have got to continue developing new strategies. One of the things that we need to begin doing is to engage the state. This can take on various forms. Firstly it took on the form of the

letter that was written to the Prime Minister and if one takes the response to that in the various areas one finds that there are various views on this particular tactic.

Let us look at the motivations for actually taking on the state. Firstly, the point has to be made that we are moving away from the phase that characterised the 70s, the phase of protest politics, the phase of militant rhetoric ... One can shout militant slogans until one is blue in the face, but this is not going to get power. What we have to do is to move into a different phase. We are serious about gaining political power in this country, we want to eliminate oppression and exploitation and we know that we the only people who can do this. When we deal with the state we believe in the concepts of mass mobilisation, mass organisation - that we are answerable to the masses of our people. We have gone beyond the stage of militant rhetoric and therefore we've got to show people that we can actually take on the state. WE are beginning to organise ourselves in some way, we are a force, we can say that there are two to two and a half million people behind us - that there are 500 organisations affiliated to the UDF. In some way it's a measure of strength that hasn't been seen since the Congress Alliance. But we have to look at that relative strength so that when we write a letter to the Prime Minister, it must reflect the reality that we are looking at. We cannot make unrealistic demands - when we say that we are going to do something - we must be able to carry it out: this is what we mean by serious politics.

People have in fact said that writing a letter to the Prime Minister is moving backwards. Are we actually moving backwards? We are moving backwards in the sense that this was a tactic that was employed by the Congress Alliance in the 50s. They used to write to the state at that time and we say that when we evaluate that tactic

was employed by the Congress Alliance in the 50s. They used to write to the state at that time and say that this is the conditions that exist and you don't do A,B,C, - we are going to engage in X,Y,Z, acts and that's what they actually did. The point that has to be made is that when we evaluate that tactic, we must do it in such a way that it takes us forward, we must not make threats that are empty because then people don't take you seriously. Now we are not a small group of militants that are isolated from the mass of the people, we are now representative of a constituency. In a sense those people expect leadership from us. When we call upon our people to do something and they respond, that is when we say that we are organised and that is the level of politics that we are engaged in today.

Engaging the state doesn't just mean writing letters to the Prime Minister. It can take on many other forms. Another form is what happened in Natal recently. The Natal Indian Congress was faced with a situation where some people were saying that the NIC was only capable of rallying a lot of African people from the townships who fill um the halls at meetings. The criticism was that the NIC didn't enjoy support from the Indian masses. The NIC therefore had to do something especially in the light of the fact that P.W. Botha was moving in on an initiative to win over the Indian people. Somehow the NIC had to engage in some sort of action that would dislodge the focus on him and what he wanted to do to what NIC wanted to do. The NIC after a great deal of discussion decided that what they needed to do was to protest with a placard demonstration just outside the City Hall. NIC also realised that this act might be illegal, but went on as an act of defiance. The result was that the NIC had actually succeeded in dislodging the Prime Minister as the newspapers carried headlines about the event. Further than this the NIC had managed to rally people around simply because this act was legitimate in the eyes of the people. The important point here is that the act of defiance didn't alienate NIC from the masses of the people, it actually carried the masses along. The lesson to be learnt here is that what we must do is we must make a careful assessment of what we are going to do - as well as the consciousness of our people at the time



and whether we can carry them along with us. We become vulnerable to the state the moment we speed too far ahead and we isolate ourselves from the people. We must know that our strength is our people - the main resource that we organise and can mobilise is the strength in our numbers of our oppressed people. The other aspect of that strategy was clearly that it was not just the radical people within the NIC Exec. that went on that protest, but it was the whole exec. and beyond that it took a number of people that were invited. Whilst these people were still in the police cells, the NIC was still winning a victory in that those people who were involved were in the process and at the same time mass support was growing. This example illustrates the fine balance that exists between a kind of conservatism (in that the masses go in front of you) and on the other hand, adventurism (going ahead irrespective of the level of the consciousness of the people and leaving them behind). We must move in tune with the masses so that when you take on those actions you have popular legitimacy. The final point that has to be made is what is known as flexibility of tactic - we will have to make very sharp twists and turns and that these changes are necessary because they advance the struggle. Writing a letter to the Prime Minister at a particular point in time might be the correct thing, it doesn't mean that we are moving backwards or forwards - we might be moving sideways. It's like climbing a mountain, ie. you can't always go upwards sometimes it is necessary to get a better position so you actually have to move sideways so that you can climb again. We have to be creative at all times and move differently and use different tactics.

Just looking at the people's camp again, the other aspect that I want to go into is the whole area of those people who don't share the national democratic struggle as a strategy but are still part of the people's camp. The first grouping is the workerist grouping. These are the people that believe that workers must go in on their own and their belief is that an alliance of classes, which is what the UDF is, and what the national character of the struggle requires, then what is going to happen is that the petty bourgeoisie, the student sectors are going to use the working class in order to divert the struggle and therefore that form of struggle is not valid. The response to that kind of argument is that there is some truth in what they say - there is that kind of danger and the working class has to at all times be vigilant. Let us see that the whole concept of working class is different from worker. A person who supports the working class ideology means that he doesn't share the values of the capitalist system of exploitation and believes that society has to be restructured so that you remove the conditions of exploitation and his class background may be different. As long as he is truly committed to those beliefs, and has committed himself to make

that sacrifice and works in a disciplined way with workers and with the broad masses of people - that person is actually promoting the struggles of the working class irrespective of the fact that he works in a factory or not. The point that has to be made is that the intelligentsia has certain inherent weaknesses and because of this we have to continually struggle against these tendencies within ourselves. The workerist also argues that people can only be organised at the point of production where the main relations are the relations of exploitation, but it must be noted that the capitalist doesn't maintain power only through the relations of production, but also through the capitalist state. If you are going to transform society, there is some way that you have to politically challenge the capitalist state and that can only be done through political formations. The success of the national democratic struggle is going to be determined by the working class hegemony within the alliance of classes and how strong it is.

The second grouping are those who align themselves to the black consciousness outlook. The point must be made here that this grouping exerts very little influence on the broader national democratic struggle simply because they remain a small group of intelligentsia who do not engage in mass mobilisation as a form of struggle. However of all the mass organisations, AZASO is, by its nature, being a student organisation, particularly susceptible to the advances of the black consciousness philosophy. What remains is for AZASO to be vigilant and to continue to expound the principles of the national democratic struggle, to its member and to the community at large.

The third grouping is Inkatha. Inkatha is historically a cultural movement. But one cannot deny the fact that Inkatha has to some degree mass support. Therefore it becomes important in how we deal with Inkatha. Some of the problems with Inkatha are that it preaches tribalism. Inkatha does not attract intellectuals therefore it is no real threat to AZASO. However, UDF needs to reach out to the people in the rural areas.

The next area I want to look at briefly is the role of AZASO and the relationship between AZASO and the UDF.

Students generally form part of the intelligentsia. One of the roles of students is to expound the revolutionary theory. What we need in the struggle is people who can defend our position in terms of theory and students can play an important role in this aspect. This area is one of our weaknesses in that we do not have people who can respond immediately to any criticisms that may arise. AZASO should assert itself as being the national student representative of the students of South Africa. It should have total hegemony in the student sphere nationally and should be the voice of South African students internationally. This is one aspect in which AZASO is lacking and should make every effort to forge links with international student movements.

#### Relationship between AZASO and UDF

AZASO as one of the first affiliates of the UDF must begin to play an important role in its campaigns, one of them being the anti-conscription campaign, because it directly affects students. Other campaigns that AZASO can involve itself in are:

- 1) Forced removals
- 2) Million signature campaign
- 3) Anti-Community Council campaign
- 4) Expansion into rural areas
- 5) Other new avenues.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion I would like to pose four questions which generally the progressive movement needs to answer:

- 1) To what extent do we understand the nature of our struggle?
- 2) How many activists have the necessary skills and how do we facilitate these skills?
- 3) How organised are our structures and how organised are the masses of the people?
- 4) What are the priorities facing us?

The challenge facing the progressive movement in the coming year is very demanding and we need to conduct ourselves in a disciplined manner and with utmost commitment in order to meet these challenges.

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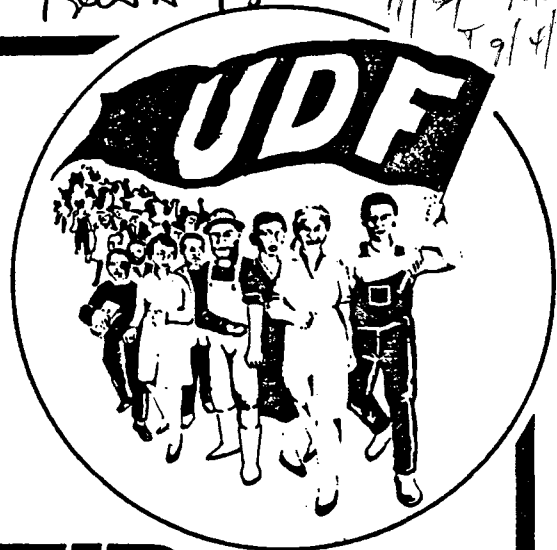


**AM38**

"New AM38"

11/2/86  
T 9/4/86

**Don't  
vote  
for**



**APARTHEID**

What is the government doing?

It is making new laws. The government calls one of these new laws the Black Local Authorities Act. They tell us that this law will give us a say in how our community is run.

The law says:

- A new town council will take the place of every community council.
- The new council will now do some of the Administration Board's work — like breaking down shacks and putting up the rents.
- To do this work, the council must get its own money.
- We should vote for people in these councils.

But what does it mean?

- The council will be under Koornhof and will have no power.
- It is the same as the community council but only has a new name.
- It cannot solve our housing problems, blocked drains, high rents or transport problems.
- The community council will get its money from us, by putting the rents up, giving us high water and light accounts and even raising dog tax.
- The council will only help make Apartheid strong.

**WE SAY NO TO APARTHEID  
WE SAY NO TO THE  
GOVERNMENT'S NEW LAWS**

*We will not vote for these new councils.*

**A VOTE FOR THE COUNCIL IS A  
VOTE FOR APARTHEID**

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"AM38"

# **Le seka la tlhopa (boutela) APARTHEID**



## Ke eng se se dirwang ke mmuso?

U dira melao e meswa. Mmuso o bitsa mongwe wa melao e meswa e Molao wa Bantsho wa Puso ya Selegae (Black Local Authorities Act). Ba re bolelela gore molao o o tla re neya tetla ya go bua ka mokgwa oo morafe wa rona o buswang ka teng.

## Molao o re:

- Makgotla a maswa a teropo a tlo tsaya manno a makgotla a merafe (Community Councils).
- Makgotla a maswa jaanong a tla dira ditiro dingwe tsa Lekgotla la Tsamaiso — jaaka go thuba mekgoro le go atisa madi/tshelete ya khiro kgotsa rente.
- Gore ba kgone go dira tiro e, makgotla a a tla tshwanela go nna le tshelete ya one.
- Re tshwanetse go boutela batho go tsena mo makgotleng a.

## Mme se se tlhalosa/bolela eng?

- Makgotla a tla nna ka fa tlase ga Koornhof mme ga a kitla a nna le thata.
- A tshwana le makgotla a merafe, mme fela a na le leina le leswa.
- Ba ka se kgone go rarabolola mathata a rona a go nna le dintlo, mesele e e thibaneng, dirente tse di kwa godimo mathata a thoro (transport).
- Makgotla a a tla bona tshelete mo go rona — ka go oketsa rente le go re fa ditshupamolato (accounts) tsa metsi le mabone tse di kwa godimo.
- Makgotla a a tla thusa fela ka go thatafatsa kgethololo (apartheid).

**RE GANANA LE KGETHOLOLO  
RE GANANA LE MELAO E MESWA  
YA MMUSO**

**Ga re kitla re boutela makgotla a maswa a  
GO BOUTELA MAKGOTLA A GO  
TSHWANA LE GO BOUTELA  
KGETHOLOLO**

Capt Mair 11/6/86.

(20) 30/9/87

McLachlan 24/5/88.



# **IRHINI COUNCIL IBHOKILE NEEHOLO ZOLUNTU!**

Uluntu lwase Rhini olulixhoba lengcinezelo eqiniswa yiRhini Council mhlawumbi luthe nqa ukuba iGRACA ithe nya phi na okanye yalunikela umva kusini na.

*blw AM 39"*

Isizathu sokunqaba kweGRACA sinye qha - iRhini Council ayivumi neeholo zoluntu kwaye akukho nesizathu esibekwayo.

## UMNQA NGOWUPHI KE?

1. Ezi holo zakhiwa ngeemali zabantu abaNyama, zisakhelwa uluntu laseRhini ukuba luzisebenzise phakati kwezinye izinto, ukugwadla imicimbi neenyewe ezidla umzi.
2. Wonke umntu ohlawula irente apha eRhini kukho imali ebhatalelwa ukusebenzisa iiholo namabala (stadiums) oluntu.
3. iGRACA yazimanya nokuthetha iryaniso, ukumela nokulwela amalungelo abantu, nokungoyiki ngokoyikiswa kweli dabi lenkululeko ngabantu abachasene nenyano nenkululeko iyamangaza into yokuvinjwa kwabantu abahlawula ezi holo ilungelo lokuzisebenzisa ekuphefumleni ngenyaniso nangemeko-bume jikelele.
4. Wonke umntu unelungelo lokuthetha ngemeko edla uluntu kwiihlo zoluntu, ezakhiwe nezihlawulwa ngabantu, zihlawulelwa uluntu lwaseRhini.
5. Yaye iGRACA ngumbutho okholelwa ekusebenziseni amathambo engqondo. Wona awufani tu kwaphela nezinye iimfikimfelana zeendladiya ezindlongondlongo, oohamlomo boo-Qhimqoshe abangakwaziyo ukwahlulaisandla sasekunene kwesasekhohlo.

## OKU KUTHETHA NTONI?

1. Ukudlwengulwa kweemfanelo namalungelo angoondoqo oluntu.
2. Ukurhwaphilizwa nokukhuthuzwa ngolunya nangaphandle kwemfobe imali zabantu abazibilele nzima nakabuhlungu kuba kaloku ezi holo zihlawulwa qho ngenyanga kwimali yerente ngemivuzo yobukhoboka nephantsi apha eRhini.
3. Intliziyozabantu ziza kuhlala zidada egazini, abantu bahlale bentyumpa-ntyumpeka kwichibi lodandatheko nengcinezelo kuba bevinjwa ilungelo lokudibanela kwiihlo zabo, bafakane imilomo bephefumelana ngezinto ezikrethetha ubomi babo nezingcungcuthekisa imiphefumlo yabo.
4. Kananjalo oku kudandalazisa ukusetyenziswa kwegunya lokuphatha abantu ngendlela engeyiyo nangolunya.
5. Ngaphandle kwamathandabuzo, iRhini Council ayinguwo tu kwaphela umbutho woluntu kuba nalu uluntu ngoku luvinjwa ilungelo lokusebenzisa iihlo oluzihlawulayo nezakhiwe ngeemali zoluntu. Naku ngoku le Rhini Council idini ibhatalisa abantu iirente namaloja aqhekeza intloko nezingahlawuleyiko. Naku ngoku le Rhini Council ikhupha abantu ezindlwini zabo. Naku ngoku le Rhini Council ibamba abantu ndenxa yemali yezinja. Naku ngoku abantu beza kuvela ezintolonweni ngenxa yamanzi irente, amaloya nemali yezinja. Naku ngoku le Rhini Council inegalelo enalo ekhutshweni kwabantu ngolunya apha eRhiningesitampo esikhulu sika PHUMAPHELE. Thina GRACA sikholelwa ukuba akukho mntu unokuza eRhini kungekho nto imbangela oko kwaye wonke ubani unelungelo lokuhlala apho afuna ukuhlala okanye ukuphangela khona.
6. Iyeza linye qha qwaba kwaye nali: IRHINI COUNCIL NGUMBUTHO WOKUKHATYWA UCHITHWE UNYANZELISWE UKUBA UNGABIKHO TU KWAPHELA APHA eRHINI.

KUQHUBEKA NTONI MALUNGA NEEBHASI?

Njengokuba aba siswana-sibomvana neenkabi zomdongwe zidilika nje ngoku, into ka Wright yona iye yoyisakala mpela zizithonga zabantu baseRhini kwaye ayinamlomo malunga nedabi leebhasi, yakhetha ukulithengisa ishishini layo kumfo ka Mathe waseMdantsane eCiskei. Asazi ke mawethu sisakhe umkhanya, kodwa siqwenela ukudibana naye zibekwa nje mhla wafika oka Mathe, siqazise ngedabi baseRhini malunga neebhasi.

KUQHUBEKA NTONI NGOKA B.B. ZONDANI?

Kaloku yena lo "Grease-boy" unxibe i-"overall" enqongo yi "grease" okanye i-oyile, umaphikana nothambisa amavili wale nqwelo yengcinezelo ukuze ihambe kakuhle, uye wakhiqwa ukuba aba nguSihlalo we Executive Committee ye Rhini Council. Ngoku ke USIHLALO WALE RHINI COUNCIL ICINEZELAYO NGUMFO KA NDUNA AZE ANCEDISWE NGOKA DRAAI, aze amalungu ungeziweyo wona ibe ngala: Miss Mgcanca no Mr Khulu Thinta. He-e-he-e-he-e! Kunzima eRhini! Asazi ke nokuba bazakuyihlisa na bona irente yaseRhini, sisakhe umkhanya nakuleyo into, sakutya efileyo.

Kukho namahum-hum wokuba kukho iimali ezingenamkhondo ukuqalela ngomnyaka ka 1978 ukuza kuthi ga ngoku kwaye la madoda axabana odwa ngoku. Aba balandelayo bona ngoku ngamalungu akwiKomiti eyodwa (Council):

Mr Ntsikelelo Botha, Mr Siphso Qangule, Mr Frank Mvuka, Mr Zondani kunye nomfundisi u Bonakele Gaqa oshiye ityalike kaThixo wangena kwi Rhini Council ka Sathana. Asazi ke sisajongile ukuba aba oo "Grease-boy" noNongcekulana ukuba basiphathele ntoni na yaye baza kusicinezela njani. Phofu ingathi baqalise apho oka aphele khona.

**KAZI KODE KUBE NINI IG OQOZA LE NQWELO YENGCINEZELO?**

**INGABA BETHU BAKHONA ABANTU ABADALELWE INGCINEZELO NGONAPHAKADE KANAPHAKADE?**

**KODWA i-GRACA YONA INENKOLO YOKUBA UKUCINEZELWA NOKUHULULEKA KWETHU KUXHOMEKEKE KUTHI THINA BACINEZELWA.**

ININI INTLANGANISO YE-GRACA?

Njengoko ke iGRACA ikweli dabilekufumana iiholo, abantu baya kwaziswazizakubezin-yibilikile iintliziyo zaba bangcungcuthekisi babadandathekisi nabatsutshisi babantu abangenanto nabangenatyala.

Isaziso seentlanganiso siya kukhutshwa ngelo xesha ke, hlala ujongile, musa ukulahla ithemba, kaloku akulahlwa mbeleko ngakufelwa.

Ikhutshwa yi-GRACA (Grahamstown Civic Association)

C/O Private Bag 1024

GRAHAMSTOWN BIC

RHINI COUNCIL REFUSES TO LET GRACA USE COMMUNITY HALLS

THE COMMUNITY OF GRAHASMTOWN WHICH IS THE PREY OF OPPRESSION WHICH IS STRENGTHENS BY RHINI WONDERS WHAT HAPPENED TO GRACA. THE REASON : THE RHINI COUNCIL REFUSES TO LET GRACA USE THE COMMUNITY HALLS. NO REASON IS GIVEN.

1. THOSE HALLS WERE BUILT WITH THE BLACK PEOPLES MONEY, WERE BUILT FOR THE COMMUNITY OF GRAHAMSTOWN TO USE THEM, DISCUSS THEIR PROBLEMS.
2. EVERY PERSON WHO PAYS RENT THERE IS A SUM OF MONEY WHICH IS DEDUCTED FROM HIM TO PAY FOR THE USE OF COMMUNITY HALLS AND STADIUMS.
3. GRACA SPOKE THE TRUTH IN FIGHTING FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS AND WAS NOT STONED FROM THREATS IN THIS STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM FROM THOSE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO TRUTH AND FREEDOM.
4. EVERYBODY HAS THE RIGHT TO SPEAK ABOUT MATTERS WHICH EFFECTS THE COMMUNITY IN THIS HALLS WHICH WERE BUILT AND PAID FOR BY THE PEOPLE OF GRAHAMSTOWN.
5. GRACA IS AN ORGANISATION WHICH BELIEVES IN USING ITS BRAINS UNLIKE OTHER ORGANISATIONS WHICH DOES NOT KNOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE LEFT AND RIGHT HAND.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

1. THE TAKING AWAY OF PEOPLES RIGHTS.
2. THE ROBBING AND TAKING AWAY OF PEOPLES MONEY. THOSE PEOPLE HAVE WORKED HARD FOR THE LOW WAGES WHICH THEY PAY MONTHLY FOR THESE HALLS.
3. PEOPLE'S HEARTS ARE IN DEEP SORROW. THEY ARE LIVING UNDER OPPRESSION. THEY HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED THE RIGHT TO USE THE HALLS SO THAT THEY CAN DISCUSS MATTERS EFFECTING THEIR SOULS.
4. THIS SHOWS THE POWER OF RULING THE PEOPLE WITHOUT MERCY.
5. WITHOUT DOUBT THE RHINI COUNCIL IS NOT A PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION BECAUSE IT DEPRIVES THEM THE RIGHT TO USE THE HALLS WHICH THEY ARE PAYING FOR. WHICH HAD BEEN BUILT BY THEIR MONEY. THIS RHINI COUNCIL LETS THE PEOPLE PAY HIGH RENTALS AND LODGERS WHICH ARE UNPAYABLE. EVEN NOW THIS RHINI COUNCIL EVICTS PEOPLE FROM THEIR HOUSES. THIS RHINI COUNCIL ARRESTS PEOPLE FOR DOG'S LICENCES. PEOPLE ARE TO APPEAR BEFORE COURTS FOR WATER, RENTS, LODGERS AND DOGS LICENCES. THIS RHINI COUNCIL HAD TAKEN PART IN FORCING, EVICTING PEOPLE, WHO HAD NO SECTION 10 RIGHTS OUT OF GRAHAMSTOWN. GRACA BELIEVES THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE RIGHT TO COME TO GRAHAMSTOWN. HAS THE RIGHT TO GO AND WORK AND STAY WHERE HE WANTS TO WORK OR STAY.
6. THERE IS ONLY ONE MEDICINE : RHINI COUNCIL MUST BE OPPOSED, ~~DESTROYED~~ AND FORCED NOT TO BE INEXISTANCE IN GRAHAMSTOWN.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THE BUSES?

AS THOSE BIG STOMACHS DAY OXEN FALLS, MR. WIRGHT HAD DECIDED TO SELL HIS BUSES. HE HAD DECIDED TO SELL HIS BUSINESS TO MR. MATHE OF MDANTSANE, CISKEI. WE ARE WATCHING THIS MR. MATHE. AS SOON AS HE COMES WE ARE GOING TO TELL HIM ABOUT THE BUS STRUGGLE IN GRAHAMSTOWN.

WHAT HAPPENS TO B.B.B ZONDANI?

THIS "GREASE BOY" WHO WEARS A DIRTY OVERAALL FULL OF GREASE OR OIL IS BUSY GREASING THE WHEELS OF THE WAGON OF OPPRESSION SO THAT IT CAN GO SMOOTHLY.

HE HAS BEEN AXED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE RHINI COUNCIL. NOW THE CHAIRMAN OF THIS RHINI COUNCIL IS MR. NDUMA ASSISTED BY MR. DRAAI. THE ADDITIONAL MEMBERS ARE AS FOLLOWS:-

MISS MGCANCA AND MR. KHULU THINTA. HA A-HA A THINGS ARE HARD AT GRAHAMSTOWN WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THEY ARE GOING TO LOWER THE HOUSE RENT OF GRAHAMSTOWN.

THERE ARE RUMOURS THAT SINCE 1978 VAST SUMS OF MONEY HAD DISAPPEARED AND THERE IS A QUAREL BETWEEN THESE MEN NOW. NOW THE FOLLOWING ARE IN A SEPARATE COMMITTEE :-

MR. NTSIKELELO BOTHA

MR. SIPHO QANGULE

MR. FRANK MVUKA

MR. ZONDANI

REVEREND BONAKELE GAQA WHO HAD LEFT THE CHURCH OF GOD AND HAD JOINED THE DEVILS OF RHINI COUNCIL.

HOW LONG WILL THIS WAGON OF OPPRESSION GO?

ARE THERE PEOPLE WHO HAD BEEN CREATED TO BE OPPRESSED FOR EVER?

BUT GRACA BELIEVES THAT TO BE OPPRESSED OR TO BE FREE DEPENDS ON US.

WHEN IS GRACA'S MEETING?

AS GRACA IS IN THE STRUGGLE TO GET THE HALLS, THE PEOPLE WILL BE NOTIFIED AS SOON AS THE OPPRESSORS HEARTS HAD SOFTENS, WHEN THE NEXT GRACA MEETING WILL BE HELD.

YOU SHALL BE NOTIFIED IN TIME. DO NOT GIVE UP HOPE.

ISSUED BY GRACA (GRAHAMSTOWN CIVIC ASSOCIATION)  
c/o PRIVATE BAG 1024  
GRAHAMSTOWN

\*\*\*\*\*

*Pugelhardt 1216186  
1 Capt. Maritz*

# PROGRAMME

## Wed 22 Aug

*Bas 4 AM 40 "*

9.30-10.30 - March from Drostdy Arch

10.30-11.00 - Opening address

11.00-11.30 - Tea

11.30-12.30 - Education Crisis

### LUNCH

2.00-2.30 - Economic Crisis

2.30-3.00 - Housing and Influx control

3.00-3.30 - Play on conscription

3.30-4.00 - Focus on Namibia

4.00-5.00 - Psychological effects of un-  
employment (paper).

5.00-6.00 - Assessment

All events held on KAIF Lawn.

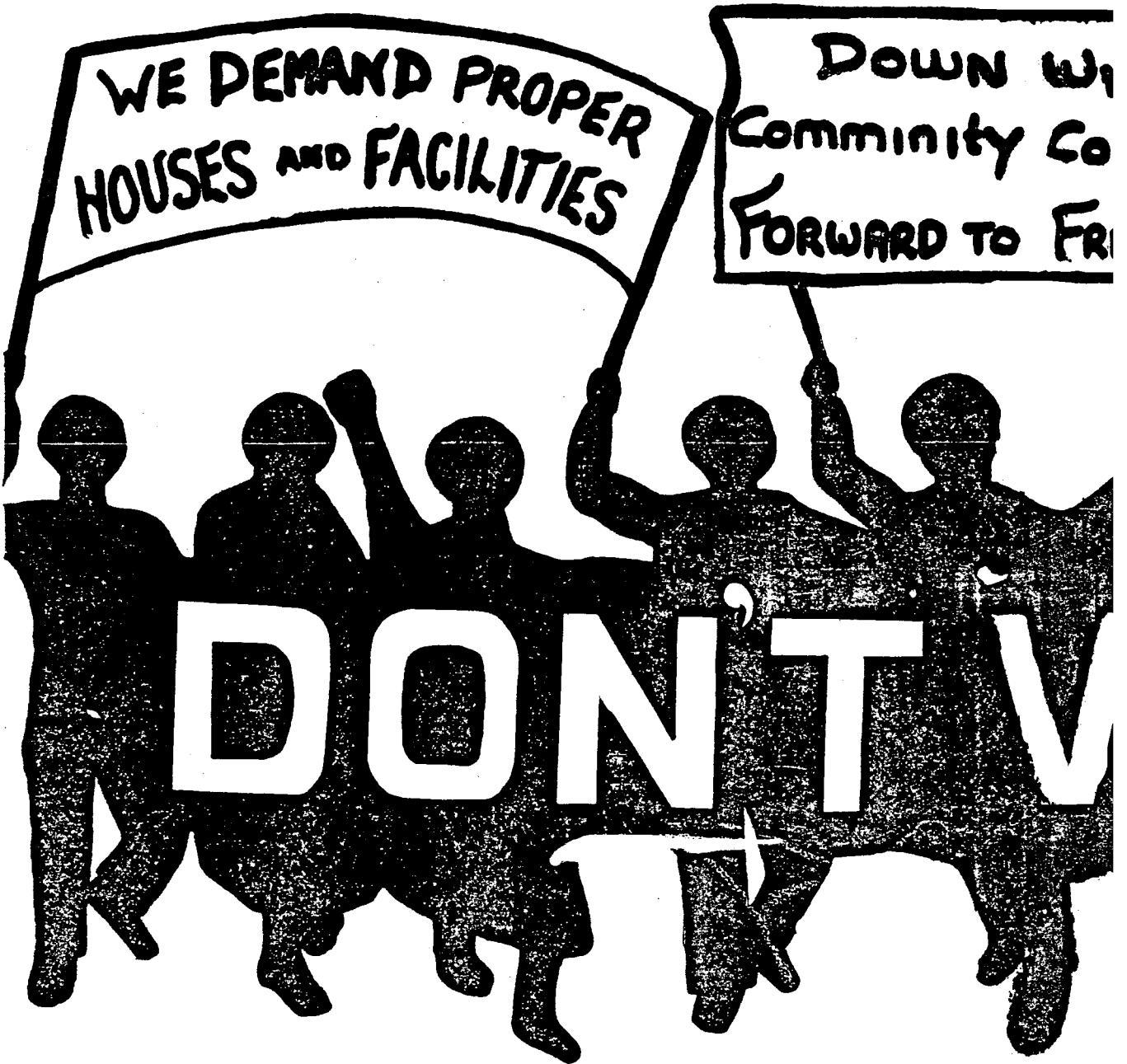
Evening: Videos in Oppidan Common Room

Issued by BSM and NUSAS  
Sue Lund 75 Bathurst Str.  
Grahamstown 6140

# AM41

(19) 27/8/87  
(16) 8/9/87  
(20) 23/9/87

**A VOTE FOR COMM  
IS A VOTE AGAINST**



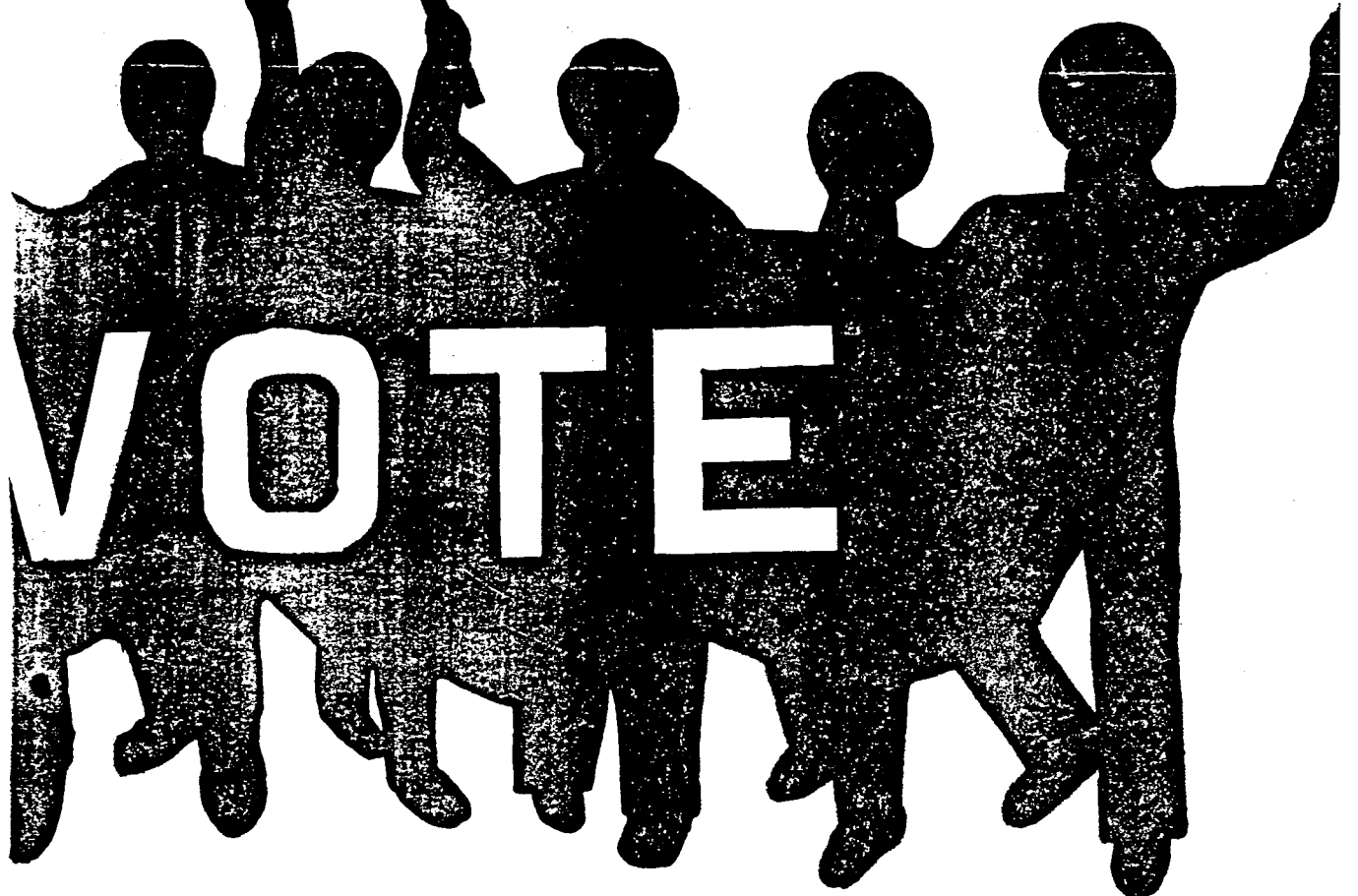
**SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION**



# MUNITY COUNCILS NST THE PEOPLE

WITH  
Councils  
FREEDOM

PEOPLE'S UNITY BRINGS PEOPLE'S POW



UNUNITES-KOORNHOF DIVIDI

**AM42**

Bew"AM 424

**ATTEND / IBAKHONA**

**UDF  
MASS MEETING  
EMHLANGANWENI**

**AT / E**

**REGINA MUNDI**

**ON / NGE**

**Sunday 16th December**

**AT / NGO**

**2.00 p.m.**

**Speakers:  
ALAN BOESAK  
SAMSON NDOU**

**NO TO SADF INVASION!  
GA RE BATLE MASOLE!  
MASOTSHA PHUMANI NIPHELE!**

# **BLACK CHRISTMAS NOTHING TO CELEBRATE**

## **REMEMBER**

- \* THOSE DETAINED \* THOSE WITHOUT JOBS**
- \* THOSE DYING OF HUNGER IN THE HOMELANDS**
- \* THOSE BEING KILLED BY POLICE AND SOLDIERS**

1984 has been a year of UNITED ACTION. A year of heroic struggles against APARTHEID:

- The INDIAN and COLOURED people have rejected BOTHA'S APARTHEID parliament. They have no intention of becoming junior partners of P.W. Botha.
- The AFRICAN people said and continue to say NO to community councils and NO to Bantustans.

The result has been: many of our people are being detained and imprisoned and many more have lost their jobs.

STUDENTS have not written their examinations. Bantu education is to blame and the Department of Education and Training led by Viljoen stands accused.

RENTS, BUS FARES and ELECTRICITY are going up. Life under Botha's government is not tolerable. Enough is indeed enough. This is not acceptable to us.

How can we be happy when millions of our people are suffering?  
How can we celebrate during this CHRISTMAS and NEW YEAR?

Let us instead remember those who are in jail, those without jobs and those dying of hunger in the homelands.

The year ahead, the new year, will be a year of more difficulties. Our wages and salary will buy less. Let us therefore save the few cents we have and not spend our money on luxury and extravagances. Buy only that which you really need in your local area. Don't buy from businesses supporting Community Councillors and the Tri-Cameral Parliament.

Finally, Let us be sober during the FESTIVE SEASON. Let us reflect on how we are going to strengthen the struggle in the New Year.

The organisations of the people:- the UDF, Fosatu, Gawu, Mgwusa, Saawu, Soweto Civic Association, RMC, Soyco, Fedsaw, TIC, LYL, Anti-PC and many others believes that

## **AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!!**

ISSUED BY THE UDF. 42 DE VILLIERS STREET, JOHANNESBURG

14 27/8/87

Rev "AM 43"

# THE ANTI-COMMUNITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE.

WE THE PEOPLE OF SOWETO HEREBY STATE IT LOUD AND CLEAR THAT: GOVERNMENT CREATED INSTITUTIONS HAVE FAILED, US AND THOSE WHO TAKE PART IN THEM HAVE ALWAYS BEEN REJECTED BY THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE. IT IS NOT ONLY THE N.R.CS, U.BC, COMMUNITY COUNCILS BUT THE WHOLE POLICY OF SEPERATE DEVELOPMENT, BE IT BANTUSTANS, COLOURED REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS OR SAIC. THAT HAVE ALWAYS MET WITH FORMIDABLE RESISTANCE FROM THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITATED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

IF BOTHA AND HIS HENCHMEN THINK THAT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT REPRESENTS PROGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHY DO THEY NOT ESTABLISH SEPARATE INSTITUTIONS FOR THE JEWS, IRISH, ENGLISH AND THE ITALIANS ? THE ANTI-COMMUNITY COUNCIL COMMITTEE IS THE PEOPLE'S ORGANISED STRUCTURE THROUGH WHICH THE PEOPLE OF SOWETO VOICE THEIR RESISTANCE AND REJECTION OF APARTHEID AND ALL ITS DUMMY INSTITUTIONS. OUR REJECTION OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS COMES FROM A PRACTICAL REALISATION THAT OUR NEEDS CANNOT BE MET WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THESE HATED INSTITUTIONS.

#### WHAT ARE OUR NEEDS ?

WE HAVE A CRITICAL SHORTAGE OF HOUSES HENCE THE EXPANDING OF SHACKS AND ZOZOS. THEY HAVE BECOME THE ORDER OF THE DAY. THE PEOPLE SHALL CONTINUE TO FIGHT THE HIGH RENTS? SHOCKING ELECTRICITY BILLS, THE EVER INCREASING BUSFARES AND THE GENERAL MISMANAGEMENT OF THE AFFAIRS OF OUR TOWNSHIPS, BY WHITE SUPERINTENDANTS MOST OF WHOM ARE PENSIONERS FROM THE POLICE FORCE. EVICIONS ARE AN EVER INCREASING THREAT FACING OUR DAILY LIVES. TO SAY THAT THEBEHALI AND HIS CLIQUE HAVE FAILED TO ANSWER THESE PRESSING NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE IS TO HEAP THEM WITH PRAISES. SILVER AND GOLD HAVE CORRUPTED THEM AND THEY TOO KNOW THAT THERE IS NOTHING THEY CAN DO FOR THE PEOPLE.

WE OF THE ANTI-C.C ARE MAKING A CALL TO ABL SOWETO RESIDENTS TO EFFECTIVELY USE THIS FORUM.

WE ARE ALL AWARE OF THE CONTINUOS MASS RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLE. IT IS YOU AND I WHO CAN ORGANISE AN ORGANISED RESISTANCE. IT IS ONLY WHEN WE ARE ORGANISED, SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE, ACTING IN UNITY THAT WE CAN EFFECTIVELY BOYCOTT THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT OUR STRUGGLE SHALL NOT END UP WITH THE DESTRUCTION OF THE COUNCILS, BUT WILL CONTINUE UNTILL THE REALISATION OF A FREE, NON-RACIAL AND JUST SOCIETY.

POWER TO THE RESIDENTS.

**AM44**

AO

2nd August 1984.

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Bew "AM44"

Dear Comrade(s)

INVITATION TO A PROTEST CONFERENCE AND RALLY IN SOWETO.

You are invited to attend a "protest" conference and rally of Civic Associations/Organizations and representatives of rural and resettlement areas to be held at the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH in PHIRI, SOWETO, on the 12th August 1984, starting from 11a.m. to 3p.m.

The Protest Conference will consist of two sessions. The first session will be a business session to adopt a position statement on the 'Coloured-Indian' elections and the New Constitution. The Statement will then be read in the second part of the meeting which shall take the form of a Rally.

The aim here is to "raise" the "voice" of those affected by the Bantustan System and the Black Local Authorities which are the basis for the New Constitution. To register a message that participating in these elections (New System) is accepting and endorsing the pain and <sup>misery</sup> of the oppressed majority in the country. We want to make a decision as to what we should do with the Hendrickse's and the Rajbansi's who claim that they are going to represent 'Africans' in the New System.

1 The Draft Position Statement is enclosed for your consideration and suggestions. Please Telephone the office of Rev. F. Chikane at 339-2513 (011) for ammendments and additions to the Statement before or on Thursday the 9th August 1984.

DO COME TO THIS HISTORICAL DAY THAT WILL TURN THE TIDE AGAINST THIS EVIL SYSTEM AND THE PARTICIPANTS THEREOF.

YOURS SINCERELY



FRANK CHIKANE <sup>most of</sup>  
(On behalf of ~~the~~ the Civic Associations in the Witwatersrand)



PROPOSED POSITION STATEMENT ON THE "COLOURED INDIAN"  
ELECTION FOR THE TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT.

We, the confined majority within the ghettos and deserts of this our motherland through the inhuman and unjust laws of this Apartheid Regime executed through the Apartheid Courts, police and the army. We, the confined majority within 13% of the land in the barren Bantustans (and so called independent national states), resulting in the loss of our citizenship and thus becoming foreigners in the land of our birth, noting:

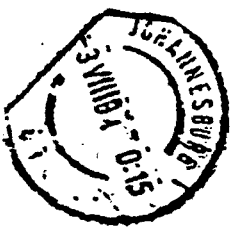
- (1) That the New Constitution of South Africa as endorsed by the white minority at the November 2nd 1983 referendum is based on this brutal act of confining us into the Bantustan by force after the long and painful process of dispossession.
- (2) That this New Constitution is founded on the pain and suffering and even unto death, of about 3 million Africans who have been forcefully removed and relocated to complete the confinement of the African majority, thus paving paving a way for the New Constitution.
- (3) That this Constitution is based on the success of the Apartheid Regime in confining the African majority within the Bantustans and proclaimed "white" areas through the racist influx control which has resulted in the prosecution of millions of our people (at a rate of more than 500 people per day in 1982) in the Apartheid Courts of the Racist Regime with many serving jail sentences and others "deported" to the said Bantustans.
- (4) That thousands of our people have been brutally killed and some tortured to death others maimed by the police force and army of this Apartheid Regime for rejecting and resisting Apartheid.
- (5) That many of our leaders are languishing in jail and many oth have served long (and short) sentences in the Apartheid prisons resisting this Apartheid Regime.

We therefore wish to declare to all South Africans (both White and Black) and to the world at large.

- (a) That there will never be peace in South Africa as long as the majority of the oppressed is not involved in determining their own destiny but confined in a brutal way to 13% of the land.
- (b) That those who have chosen to participate in the racist Tri-Cameral Parliament have henceforth crossed the battle line (like all participants in the Bantustan System and the Black local authorities) to join the white minority in the oppression of the Black Majority.
- (c) That all those who are going to put their vote on August 22nd and 27th shall also be declaring their side with the enemy against the oppressed majority and thus will be taking the blame for the evils of this system as perpetrated against the defenceless majority and also for the blood that will be shed in South Africa after August 1984.
- (d) We further wish to warn, in the strongest possible terms Hendrickse and Rajbansi and their parties to stop the crime of saying they are going into the system to represent Africans when they are doing so for their own personal gains. We want to make it clear that we do not need their representation. We are here to represent ourselves, our leaders are here to represent us, they are languishing in prison.

We express nevertheless our confidence in our brothers and sisters in both the Coloured and Indian communities that they will never abandon our long tradition of suffering and struggling together, and that they will refuse to be co-opted to the system on the election-day by staying away from the polls in solidarity with the oppressed.

10



82533FK 1.12  
'84-08-03 H076

UDF- SECRETARY  
P.O. BOX 48060  
DUNALBERT  
4078

**AM45**

Saw "AM 4:"

**DON'T VOTE**  
**FOR COMMUNITY COUNCILS**  
**SUPPORT SCA**

Issued by UDR Khutsa House, De Villiers Street, Johannesburg, P.O. Box 25062, Fereiretown. Printed by Shani's Printers, Benoni.

D. Nkosi Herbarium

**AM46**

(2)

307 9/87

RATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Bew "AM 46"

RATANDA CIVIC UNITES - COUNCILLORS DIVIDE!!

We thank all residents for the support they gave to their civic body to reject and force the councillors(government puppets)to resign.

However, our demands remain the same:

- \* NO TO HIGH RENTS
- \* TARRED ROADS
- \* PROPER HOUSING
- \* ELECTRICITY
- \* NO TO BUCKET SYSTEM

\*\*\*\*\*

Re leboha baahi ba motse wa Ratanda ka thuso e Bafaneng ka yona hontsha majotla a senang thuso. Ho feta moo tletlebo tsa rona disa eme dile jwalo:

- \* RE HANANA LE RENTE E NYOLOTSWENG
- \* KAHO YA MATLO
- \* DITERATA A DI KENGWE SEKONTIRI
- \* MOTLAKASE MATLONG OHLE
- \* HARE BATLE MABAKETE DINTLWANENG. LE TSE DING

\*\*\*\*\*

SIYABONGA ZAKHAMUZI ZASE RATANDA NGONCEDOE NILISIPHE LONA NGOKUCOSHA  
AMACOUNCILLORS. SISAZILWELA LEZIDINGO:

- \* UKULWELA IRENT
- \* IZINDLU
- \* AMABHAKEDE
- \* I ELECTRIK
- \* IZITILATI EZINGE SKONTILI NJALO NJALO.

ASINAMALI ASIBHADALI

ISSUED BY

R.C.A.

**AM47**



Coetzee kst v.1  
ToonXink  
WDF kantore  
1985 02 19

11

inganyspartaal

# ATTEND MASS MEETING

## UNITE AGAINST

## HIGH RENTS RISING FARES

VENUE ANGLICAN CHURCH  
DATE 3-2-85  
TIME 2-00 PM

SUPPORT RATANDA CIVIC  
ASSOCIATION

Issued by RCA

**AM43**

7<sup>th</sup> AM

FROM RATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION

SIX PEOPLE DIED DURING THE STAY-AWAY INCLUDING  
A TEN MONTHS CHILD WHO DIED AFTER POLICE  
HAVE THROWN A TEARGAS AT HIS HOME WHEN  
HE WAS FAST ASLEPT. FORTY PEOPLE WERE INJURED  
~~40~~ BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND THE ERANES  
OFFICIALS AFTER THE POLICE HAVE PROVOKE  
AN PEACEFUL STAY-AWAY WHICH WAS HEDED  
BY THE WHOLE TOWNSHIP IN OUR TOWNSHIP  
RATANDA TROUBLE STARTED AFTER THE SA DE  
ARRIVED. A BOTTLE STORE WAS BURNT DOWN,  
TWO HOUSES ~~WERE~~ OF FORMER COUNCILORS  
WERE SET ALIGHT AND TWO CARS WHICH  
BELONGS ~~OF~~ TO ONE OF THE COUNCILORS WERE  
BURNT DOWN.

EIGHTEEN ~~A~~ PEOPLE WERE ~~WE~~ ARRESTED  
ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE UIRREST, TWO MEMBERS  
OF THE CIVIC ASS WERE ARRESTED INCLUDING  
THE SECRETARY WHEN MONITORING THE UIRREST  
LATER SIX PEOPLE WERE ARRESTED. POLICE ARE  
STILL LOOKING FOR ONE MEMBER OF THE

CIVIC ASS. WHO IS STILL ON THE RUN.

WE THE KATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION CALL ALL THE ~~THE~~ CIVIC ASS. TO FORCE ALL THE COUNCILLORS TO RESIGN BECAUSE THEY ARE BEING USED AS GOVERNMENT PUPPETS. WHEN THE COUNCILLORS OF KATANDA RESIGNED WE TOLD THEM THAT THEY WERE ~~BEING~~ CALLED CARELESS CAPPERS NOT COMMUNITY COUNCILLORS BY THEIR FORMER BOSS ~~BECAUSE~~ PIET KOORNHOF BECAUSE THEY'VE GOT NO SAY IN THE CENTRAL ~~GOV'T~~ GOVERNMENT AND ARE ONLY SELL OUTS AND SUFFOCATE THEIR BLACK PEOPLE WITH MIRTH TO BOTHA AND HIS BOYS

WE CONDEMN THE DETENTION OF OUR LEADERS AS IT WILL NOT SOLVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE OPPRESSED WE ALSO CALL THE GOVERNMENT FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL THE ARMIES, POLICE AND SOLDIERS AT OUR TOWNSHIP

THE FIGHT WHICH IS IN THE SOMETO CITY COUNCIL FOR THE MAJORAD ELECTION WILL NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE PEOPLE YET THEREFORE CALL THEM TO RESIGN AND NOT CAUSE CONFUSION

AMONG PEACE LOVING PEOPLE OF THIS TOWNSHIP.

OUR REQUEST TO THE PEOPLE IS TO PRAY  
AND MOURN FOR THOSE WHO DIED, JAILED, DETAINED,  
BANNED AND INJURED DURING THE PAST ~~5~~<sup>UNREST</sup> ~~AWAY~~  
IN THE COMING ~~5~~ BLACK CHRISTMAS. LET US  
ALL FIGHT FOR THE STRUGGLE ~~OF~~ AND THE  
RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEACE LOVING, PEOPLE OF  
THIS WORLD AND NOT FORGET THAT AN INJURY  
TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.

ISSUED BY

DANIEL MLOSI AND R. C. A.

**AM49**

# MASS MEETING

## R. C. A.

COME TO A MEETING WITH US ON SUNDAY

BOYCOTT RATANDA HALL

LET US UNITE AGAINST THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS  
AND FIGHT FOR RENTS, ELECTRICITY  
WE CAN AFFORD AND BETTER HOUSES.

ORGANISE OR BE HOMELESS!

RATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION UNITES!

VENUE: ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

DATE: 17 MARCH 1985

TIME: 2.00 pm

Issued by RCA

*Bew'AM 4411*

# MASS MEETING R. C. A.

COME TO A MEETING WITH US ON SUNDAY

BOYCOTT RATANDA HALL

LET US UNITE AGAINST THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS  
AND FIGHT FOR RENTS, ELECTRICITY  
WE CAN AFFORD AND BETTER HOUSES.

ORGANISE OR BE HOMELESS!

RATANDA CIVIC ASSOCIATION UNITES!

VENUE: ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

DATE: 17 MARCH 1985

TIME: 2.00 pm

Issued by RGA



**AM50**

I. INTRODUCTION:

Today nine months after the formation of Huhudi Civic Association (Huca), we meet to assess our strength, count our achievements, review our methods and adopt new strategies to advance our cause i.e.; a struggle for a peaceful and stable Huhudi community. To make this more real we need to broaden our knowledge on issues facing us. We need to know strategies used by forces against whom we are contending. Our programme should be more action-oriented than reactionary. More action and less reaction should be our guiding principle. We must be pace-setters in our cause. The opposite forces should not dictate a programme to us as this will result in them shifting our focus from our envisaged goal. We agree that we must take advantage of methods available to us, but we must also on the other hand weigh the long term effects of the methods given at a time.

2. ASSESSING OUR STRENGTH

From the onset our workforce has never been in pace with the work-amount. We have been relatively weak both in terms of numbers and organisational skills. To ignore the latter will display a subjective assessment of ourselves. It will mean a stubborn reluctance to accept self-criticism. It will spell a sign of immaturity and will even show lack of constructive analysis of our cause. Our cause calls for strategic and tactical approach borne of honesty with ourselves.

Our financial link has been remarkably disturbing. Our programme has been disastrously (though not entirely) hampered by lack of finance-injecting undertakings. However this cannot in anyway be used to explain away other inherent weaknesses.

Our support from the community cannot be doubted (i.e. compared to the period and conditions our attempts have been undergoing). We believe sadly that the nature of our attempts is quite unique and of a high profile: bearing in mind the lengthy period within which our people have been subjected to high-handed intimidation. There has never been this level of opposition to the undemocratic institutions leading our community in Huhudi.

3. COUNTING OUR ACHIEVEMENTS

The founding of Huca per se is an achievement, the successful embarkment on its programme and modification and its survival a development. The receptive attitude in the community cannot be overlooked. A graphic improvement in the attendance of our meetings has always given incentive to concretise the reality of Huca.

3.1. PUBLICITY - The publicity we enjoy in the commercial press (though insufficient) is quite commendable. The community-based newsletters e.g. SASPU, SPEAK, etc. have shown an unwavering support to the plight of the residents of Huhudi. Their unfailing coverage and exposition of conditions as revealed in their papers. Their literally insistent attitude to know more about the struggles of our community. And all these and many others have made our work more easier and enjoyable.

3.2. LAUNCH OF HUYO - Amongst our aims and objects a remarkable end has been realised with the formation of HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION (HUYO). Our youth programme (aimed at involving the youth in community struggles) has successfully got off the ground. Huyo may not be a picture we had envisaged at the moment, but it is also not different from that envisaged picture.

3.3. ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKERS' MOVEMENT - Huca although a first level organisation has always identified other fields of our struggle. The successful introduction of trade unions in our community is one example. This was based on the conviction that the condition of workers at the factories determine their lifestyle in the community. That our workers' "virtual ignorance" and lack of contact with trade unions deny them a chance to realise their stre-

HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION (HUYO)

MONTELY-PASS -- A SELO KE BOTUBI?

1. A BATSADI BA RONA BA PHOSO GONNA LE BANA BA NGWAGA TSE SOMEROBEDI (18).
2. BA DUELA DIBUKA KO SEKOLONG, BA REKA DIJO, DIAPARO, BA DUELA RENTE MADI A MANTLE-PASE A TLA TSWA KAE?
3. COMMUNITY COUNCIL TLHALOSANG GORE GORENG GAMMOGO LE MABURU A LONA LO EPELA BAGOLO BA RONA LENGOPÉ?
4. GO BA DUEDISA DIMANTLE-PASE KE GO DIA LE BUSETSA MORAGO MAEMO A BONA A BOTSHELO.
5. BATSADI BA RONA BA DIRELE MABURU KA BOTHATA GA BA AMOGELE. GORENG LO SA BUE LE MABURU A BONE A BA DUELE PELE LO BUA; KA MANTLE-PASE.
6. RE BATLA GO TLHALOSA GORE MANGOPE OTLHE A LO RE A EPELANG, KE MAIKAELELO A MABURU A LONA GO RE ISA. PUDUMONG.
7. GA RE TLHALOGANYE GORE MADI A RENTE ONE A DIRA ENG MOISENG. RENTE E TLHATLHOGA NGWAGA LE NGWAGA MME MAEMO A HUHUDI A TLASE TSATSI LE LETSATSI.
8. GO RE DUEDISA DIRENTE TSE DI KO GODIMO LE MANTLE-PASE, KE BOGODU JWA PHATLHALATSA.
9. KE GO KGORONTSA GA MAEMO A NTLHA. MME NTLHAKGOLO KE GO RE TRUBELA MALAPA LE GO RE KGOROMELETSA PUDUMONG.
10. RE BATLA LO ISA MOLAETSA O MO KWA GO BA BA LO HIRILENG:
  - (a) GA RE BATLE MANTLE-PASE.
  - (b) RENTE E SE KA YA TLHATLOGA LO ISE LO LETLELELE BATSADI GO AGA.
  - (c) BA BA LO HIRILENG BA SHEBELELE PETITION KGATLANONG LE MANTLE-PASE.

KETSISO: -GO BATSADI;) RE KOPA TIRISA. NOMMOGO YA LONA MO PETITIONING YA DITSHAENO DI LE SEKETE (1 000) SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN), KGATLANONG LE MANTLE-PASE. GA RENA TLATA KWANTLE GA LONA.

RE A LEBOGA.

E NTSHITSWE KE: INFORMATION COMMITTEE YA HUYO.

That our workers' "virtual ignorance" and lack of contact with representative trade unions in our community is one example. This was based on the conviction that the conditions of workers at the factories determine their lifestyle in the community. That our workers' "virtual ignorance" and lack of contact with trade unions deny them a chance to realise their strength both in terms of short and long term demands. With the introduction of Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Ccawusa) our people were undoubtedly convinced of our struggle for a genuine and authentic representation. With the establishment of the General & Allied Workers Union (Gawu) side by side with Ccawusa this conviction was further enhanced. The trade union movement (with our limited knowledge and experience in the field) nevertheless grows, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

### 3.4. PARENTS' SUPPORT COMMITTEE

The inevitable but unfortunate school-boycotts at our local high school saw Huca emerging again with a solution that would have long term educative impact on our community. Huca brought together parents whose children were detained to fight the detention problem and processes flowing out of that. The subject committee with its indefinite period of existence is nonetheless a symbol of unity Huca would like to see itself identified with.

### 3.5. DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

A subtle, informal but remarkable defiance campaign was embarked upon by Huca since its inception last year. More than five houses were built and some renovated in defiance to authoritative restrictions. In each and every meeting of Huca an emphatic note was always made to residents to violate such restrictions. Some were threatened with fines and court summonses, amongst which Huca directly intervened. Quote examples. As this campaign was not properly structured from the onset our programme of action for the current year will amongst other issues improve on the campaign.

### 3.6. AFFILIATION TO THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

The birth of the UDF drew a responsive attention of Huca. With the formation of UDF (Tvl), Huca was amongst the first organisations to join. Its (Huca) representative outlook (as reflected in its constitution) was never doubted even at national level. This affiliation serves as a measure of guarantee that our struggle is also a struggle of other communities and that we are not alone in it.

### 3.7. IDENTIFYING THE ENEMY STRATEGIES

Side by side with the physical issues in our programme, we had indulged in an educational programme of teaching our people the origin of our set-backs. Institutions such as community councils were taught and accepted as undemocratic and unrepresentative. They were identified as strategies of the forces of opposition. Their serious limitations were revealed. This was a great success.

### 4. REVIEW OF METHODS

4.1. ON PUBLICITY - In a very few situations our reaction to certain issues has been a bit disturbing. As we have pointed out in the introduction our reactionary attitude may lead to us losing track of our ultimate objective. In the subject situations we started as pace-setters but ended giving the authorities (against whom we are contending), the latitude to set pace for us. Quote examples. Besides this few unfortunate incidents strategic and tactical approach has been displayed.

4.2. INTERNAL WEAKNESSES - There has been a gross negligence on the question of delegation of duties. Our approach on the matter has been assumed as being right on the initial. With instant results on ~~few~~ few issues, the question of specific field of work to specific people as a matter of procedure was virtually ignored in the process. Quote examples. We need a strategy when drawing our programme of action.

### 4.3. GRASSROOT SUPPORT...3

HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION (HUYO)

MONTHLY-PASS -- A SELO KE BOTUBI?

1. A BATSADI BA RONA BA PHOSO GONNA LE BANA BA NGWAGA TSE SOMEROBEDI (18).
2. BA DUELA DIBUKA KO SEKOLONG, BA REKA DIJO, DIAPARO, BA DUELA RENTE MADI A MANTLE-PASE A TLA TSWA KAE?
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6. RE BATLA GO TLHALOSA GORE MANGOPE OTLHE A LO RE A EPPLANG, KE MAIKAELELO A MABURU A LONA GO RE ISA PUDUMONG.
7. GA RE TLHALOGANYE GORE MADI A RENTE ONE A DIRA ENG MOSENG. RENTE E TLHALHOGA NGWAGA LE NGWAGA MME MAEMO A HUHUDI A TLASE TSATSI LE LETSATSI.
8. GO RE DUEDISA DIRENTE TSE DI KO GODIMO LE MANTLE-PASE, KE BOGODU JWA PEATLHALATSA.
9. KE GO KGONGONTSA GA MAEMO A NTLHA. MME NTLHAKGOLO KE GO RE TRUBELA MALLAPA LE GO RE KGOROMELETSA PUDUMONG.
10. RE BATLA LO ISA MOLAETSA O KW KWA GO BA BA LO HIRILENG;
  - (a) GA RE BATLE MANTLE-PASE.
  - (b) RENTE E SE KA YA TLHALOGA LO ISE LO LETLELELE BATSADI GO AGA.
  - (c) BA BA LO HIRILENG BA SHEBELELE PETITION KGATLANONG LE MANTLE-PASE.

KETSISO:--GO BATSADI;) RE KOPA TIRISANOMOGO YA LONA MO PETITIONING YA DITSEBENO DI LE SEKETE (1 666) SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN), KGATLANONG LE MANTLE-PASE. GA RENA THATA KWANTLE GA LONA.

RE A LEBOGA.

E NTSHITSWE KE INFORMATION COMMITTEE YA HUYO.

GRANDOTISG

6

4.3. GRASSROOT SUPPORT → This has largely been gauged in the form of mass meeting attendance. The house to house meeting has always has proven difficult to execute due to irregular and sometimes impromptuous outgoings. The most distinctive support is undoubtedly youth-based. This support (a necessary development anyway), obscures our contact with the grassroots. We strive to quench the expectations of the youth, and this results in our tempo being fast for the grassroots. Our formal membership barometer is however inconsistent with the support we enjoy from the cross-section of the community. The card-carrying membership is lesser compared to the real support as reflected by the improving numbers of meeting attendants.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

The flaws within our organisations and methods of organisation will definitely have to be minimised. Our area of strength should be enhanced and more work should be done. In broadening our knowledge on organisation and management thereof we need to constantly read, organise workshops, discuss, analyse and constructively criticise ourselves and our colleagues. We need to read situations beyond our boundaries. We need to selflessly discuss what we have learnt in order to build up the image of our organisations. We need to bear in mind that ours is a long hard struggle on which our methods must have positive long-term effects.

In conclusion I'd suggest we form more sub-structures because I believe them to be the most viable strategy that can make easier the delegation of duties, the execution of tasks and finally the true assessment of our strength in the community.

AMANDLA.

VEREENIGING C.R. 75/10/84

HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION (HUYO)

## MONTHLY PASS - IS CRYING WITCHCRAFT?

1. ARE OUR PARENTS AT FAULT FOR HAVING CHILDREN OF EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE?
2. THEY PAY FOR BOOKS AT SCHOOL, THEY BUY FOOD, CLOTHES THEY PAY RENT, WHERE WILL THE MONEY FOR MONTHLY PASS COME FROM?
3. COMMUNITY COUNCIL, PLEASE EXPLAIN WHY YOU AND YOUR BOERS ARE DIGGING A HOLE FOR OUR PARENTS?
4. BY CAUSING THEM TO PAY MONTHLY PASS, IS TO MAKE RETROGRESS IN THEIR LIFE STYLE.
5. OUR PARENTS WORK HARD FOR THE BOERS, AND ARE NOT PAID.
6. WE WANT TO STATE THAT YOU ARE DIGGING HOLES FOR US, FOR THE CONVENIENCE OF YOUR BOERS TO REMOVE US TO PUDUMONG.
7. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT IS BEING DONE WITH THE RENT MONEY FOR THE TOWNSHIP. RENT IS BEING RAISED YEARLY, YET THE STANDARD IN HUHUDI IS SO LOW DAILY.
8. TO CAUSE US TO PAY HIGH RENT AND MONTHLY PASS IS PUBLIC THEFT.
9. IT IS HIGHLY OFFENSIVE, THE MAIN AIM BEING TO BREAK OUR HOMES AND FORCE US TO PUDUMONG.
10. WE WANT YOU TO TAKE THESE MESSAGES TO THOSE YOU WORK FOR (EMPLOYERS) :
  - (A) WE DO NOT WANT MONTHLY PASS;
  - (B) THE RENT SHOULD NOT BE INCREASED BEFORE OUR PARENTS ARE PERMITTED TO BUILT;
  - (C) THOSE EMPLOYING YOU SHOULD NOTE THE PETITION ABOUT MONTHLY PASS.

NOTICE TO PARENTS:

WE ASK YOUR CO-OPERATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE PETITION OF 1 000 SIGNATURES (1 000 SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN) AGAINST MONTHLY PASS. WE HAVE NO POWER WITHOUT YOU.

WE THANK YOU.

ISSUED BY THE INFORMATION COMMITTEE OF HUYO.

HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION (HUYO)

MONTHLY-PASS -- A SELO KE BOTUBI?

1. A BATSADI BA RONA BA PHOSO GONTA LE BANA BA NGWAGA TSE SOMEROBEDI (18).
2. BA DUELA DIBUKA KO SEKOLONG, BA REKA DIJO, DIAPARO, BA DUELA RENTE MADI A MANTLE-PASE A TLA TSWA KAE?
3. COMMUNITY COUNCIL TLHALOSANG GORE GORENG GAMOGO LE MABURU A LONA LO EPELA BAGOLO BA RONA LENGOPHE?
4. GO BA DUEDISA DIMANTLE-PASE KE GO DIA LE BUSETSA MORAGO MAEMO A BONA A BOTSHELO.
5. BATSADI BA RONA BA DIRELE MABURU KA BOTLATA GA BA AMOGELE. GORENG LO SA BUE LE MABURU A DONE A BA DUELE PELE LO BUA KA MANTLE-PASE.
6. RE BATLA GO TLHALOSA GORE MANGOPE OTLHE A LO RE A EPELANG, KE MAIKAELELO A MABURU A LONA GO RE ISA PUDUMONG.
7. GA RE TLHALOGANYE GORE MADI A RENTE ONE A DIRA ENG MOISENG. RENTE E TLHATLHOGA NGWAGA LE NGWAGA MME MAEMO A HUHUDI A TLASE TSATSI LE LETSATSI.
8. GO RE DUEDISA DIRENTE TSE DI KO GODIMO LE MANTLE-PASE, KE BOGODU JWA PHATLHALATSA.
9. KE GO KGONGONTSA GA MAEMO A NTLHA. MME NTLHAKGOLO KE GO RE TRUBELA MALAPA LE GO RE KGOROMELETSA PUDUMONG.
10. RE BATLA LO ISA MOLAETSA O KWA GO BA BA LO HIRILENG:
  - (a) GA RE BATLE MANTLE-PASE.
  - (b) RENTE E SE KA YA TLHATLOGA LO ISE LO LETLELELE BATSADI GO RGA.
  - (c) BA BA LO HIRILENG BA SHEBELELE PETITION KGATLANONG LE MANTLE-PASE.

KETSISO: -GO BATSADI;) RE KOPA TIRISANOMOGO YA LONA MO PETITIONING YA DITSHAENO DI LE SEKETE (1 000) SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN), KGATLANONG LE MANTLE-PASE. GA RENA TLATA KWANTLE GA LONA.

RE A LEBOGA.

E NTSHITSWE KE INFORMATION COMMITTEE YA HUYO.



# AM51

Adum W.D.F. / G.A.A.W.A  
office Vryburg

Ditsole 30/1/86  
No (19) 14/9/87  
(20) 27/9/87

Raussi Dikole  
30/4/80

Ben AM 51"

WE REMEMBER JUNE 16.

"WE REFUSE TO BEG FOR OUR FREEDOM, BECAUSE IT IS OUR RIGHT TO BE FREE."

June 16.....The day dawned fine and clear, as one and a half million people prepared themselves for work. Within hours, the blue sky was filled with smoke from raging fires, the air was filled with echoes of pistols, rifles, RI's, sub-machine guns, tear-gases and the roar of helicopters at the same time the crying echo of a teenager....HECTOR PETERSON from Mfolo Park.

IT WAS TO BE A DAY THAT WOULD CHANGE SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY. THE DAY ON WHICH 15 000 STUDENTS STOOD UP AND SAID "TO HELL WITH BANTU EDUCATION". THE DAY ON WHICH STUDENTS HIGHLIGHTED THEIR GRIEVANCES THROUGH THE MEDIA AND DEFIED THE RACIST FIRING SQUAD. FROM NOW ON WE SHOULD KNOW THAT EVERYONE HAS THE RIGHT OF EDUCATION? AND THAT OUR PARENTS HAVE A PRIOR RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE KIND OF EDUCATION THAT SHALL BE GIVEN TO US. EDUCATION HAS TO BE DIRECTED TO THE FULL DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM? NOW CAN THIS BE ACHIEVED IF THE EDUCATION IS NOT FREE, DYNAMIC, COMPULSORY AND EQUAL.

THE STATE SHALL HAVE TO RESPECT THE RIGHT OF PARENTS TO ENSURE SUCH EDUCATION AND PHILOSOPHICAL CONVICTION. BUT HOW CAN THIS BE ACHIEVED IN THIS 'CHRISTIAN COUNTRY OF SOUTH AFRICA' WHERE THE MINORITY DECIDES FOR THE MAJORITY AND DENIES THEM THE RIGHT OF HUMANITY.

SO, WATCH IT AND RECOGNISE JUNE 16 AS STUDENTS' DAY!!!  
THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPEN TO ALL'.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN

AMANDIA.....NGAWETHU

POWER AND SOLIDARITY TO THE PEOPLE!! MATIMBA.....ATENA

ISSUED BY: HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION  
P.O. BOX 289  
HUHUDI TOWNSHIP  
VRYBURG 8600

**AM52**



**AM53**



DROOMPRAATJIES; ONBETROUBAARHEID; RAAISELPRAATJIES; SKELMHEID; EN SLEGTE BANGHEID:

ONS HOOR DAT DAAR VANAAND 'n BYEENKOMS GEHOU SAL WORD. DAAR SAL GEPRAAT WORD VAN VERSKUIWINGS.

DEUR WIE IS HY GEORGANISEER ?  
DEUR MENSE WAT HULLE SELF DIE GEMEENSKAPSRAAD NOEM.  
DEUR WIE IS HIERDIE MENSE UITGEKIES ?  
VIR WIE TEENWOORDIG HIERDIE MENSE ?  
SOOS WANNEER HET HULLE MENSE VERTEENWOORDIG ?

INWONERS VAN HUHUDI; HET ONS DAN NIE NOU DIE DAG VERTEENWOORDIGERS VERKIES NIE; EN NOU WAT VERKIES ONS ?

WEES VERSIGTIG

- (1) HIERDIE MENSE IS BESIG OM ONS LEWE IN GEVAAR TE STEL.
- (2) HULLE VERHOOG ONS HUISHUUR EN DIE REDE IS DAT HULLE VAN PLAN IS OM ONS TE KAN VERSKUIF.

BYVOORBEELD: (a) HULLE STEM MET DIE BOERE OM ONS HUISHUUR TE VERHOOG.  
(b) HULLE STEM MET DIE BOERE OM ONS LOSSEERDERSPERMITTE TE VERHOOG.  
(c) HULLE STEM MET DIE BOERE OM ONS WOESTYNE TOE TE VAT, WAAR DAAR HONGERTE IS, DORS, EENSAAMHEID, EN SWAARHEID TE PUDIMOE.

OM MET DIE GEMEENSKAPSRAAD TE STEM WAT ONS NIE GEKIES HET NIE, BEDOEL ONS :-

- (1) STEM MET DIE SWAAR LEWE.
- (2) STEM MET DIE HOë HUISHUUR.
- (3) STEM MET DIE LOSSEERDERSPERMITTE.
- (4) STEM MET DIE VERSKUIWINGS.

ISSUED BY: HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION  
P.O. BOX 1630  
HUHUDI T/SHIP

"LET US UNITE UNDER THE BANNER OF THE PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION"

"LET THERE BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT FOR ALL IN HUHUDI"

**AM54**

*Dillon 30/4/86*



KA PITSO YA LIASON BOARD

*Rowland  
Dikole 30/4/86  
"Ben" AMS4 U*

Ka Laboraro (7 March) maitseboa go ne go tshwerwe pitso ya Liason Board kwa ntlo-lehalahala. Gatwe maikaelelo e ne e le go rerisana mathata a motse a rona le mokgwa wa go a fedisa. Mathat a rona jaaka DIRENTE TSE DI KWA GODIMO, DIMENTLELEPASE, MELAO E E GHNANG BANA KWA DIKOLONG LE PHUDUGA TSA PATELETSO, ga a rarabololwa ka gope. Boemong jwa moo go buisanwe ka mekgatlo e batho ba e ipopetseng jaaka HUCA le HUYO. Go ne go buiwa maswe ka makgotla a jaaka maburu a tlwaetse go bua ka one. Go itemosa fa pitso ya gonna jalo e eme maburu nokeng ka thata.

KE BO MANG BA BA NENG BA TSENETSE PITSO E?

Mokonsolo le bapalamente ba mmuso wa bophuthatswana

Mokonsolo yo o agileng kwa toropong (ntlo ya gagwe e kikaganyeditsewe ke mabota le diterata) ga a itse gore fa re bua ka DIRENTE TSE DI KWA GODIMO, MENTLELEPASE, DIKHUDUGA TSE DI PATELEDITSWENG le BANA BA BA GANWANG KWA DIKOLONG re bua ka eng: Puso ya gagwe ke yona e isitseng batho ko disanteng tsa Deurward, ke yona e dumalaneng le go sutisiwa ga batho go tloga ko Mogopa go ya ko sekakeng sa Pachaasdraai. Ga re itse gore a maikaelelo a bona ke go re isa kwa Pudumong. Go itemosa jalo ka ke fa ba bua ka supermarket ya Pudumong rona re swa tlala mo. Jaaka e kare ba tla re fa dijo mahala kwa Pudumong.

Maloko a community council

Community council e e tlhopilwang ke maburu le yone e ne ele gone. Batho ba ba palelwang ke go re agela matlo. Se ba se kgonang sentle ke go TLHATLHOSA DIRENTE, GO RE DUEDISA DIMENTLELEPASE, GO RE HUDUSETSA PUDUMONG LE GO LOTLELA MATLO A BASADI-BAGOLO BA BA SENANG MADI. Go itemosa fa liason board e leka go re pateletsa lekgotla le le sa thuseng sepe le.

Baruti bangwe ba dikereke

Ee makadiwa ke baruti bangwe ba rona ba ba ratang go dirisa kereke ya Modimo go tsweletsa kgatelelo ya maburu ya DIRENTE TSE DI KWA GODIMO, DIMENTLELEPASE, GO GANWA GA BANA KWA DIKOLONG LE DIKHUDUGA TSE DI PATELEDITSWENG. Bishop Tutu le Dr Boesaak, baetapele ba bagolo ba dikereke, ba tlhalositse ka botlalo fa Apartheiti le makgotlanyana a yona jaaka dicommunity council le dipateletso tsa

di muduga e le SEBE. Go itemosa sentle gore baruti ba ba dirang tiro e ke ba ba nang le ditshwanelo kwa phuthatswana.

Matitshere mangwe le maloko mangwe a dikomiti

Matitshere mangwe a a neng a tlile mo pitsong e ke ba ba ganang bana mo dikolong tse di agilweng ke madi a borra-rona a di sales-tax le makgetho a mangwe. Bangwe ba bone ke ba ba tlisang ditlhakatlhakanyo mo dikolong ka go gana go reetsa dingongorego tse di utlwalang tsa bana jaaka go itewa jaaka ditonki le go sa rutiwe ka tshwanelo.

Bangwe ba batsadi ba rona re itse sentle fa tota ba ne ba ile ka maikaelelo a go re thusa go fedisa mathata a a umakilweng. Re rata go ba itsese gore mathata a a ka fedisiwa fela ke makgotla a a bopilweng ke batho e seng maburu.

Rona re tla ema lekgotla lengwe le lengwe nokeng fa e le gore le emetse go lwantsha DIMENTLELEPASE, DIRENTE TSE DI KWA GODIMO, GO GANIWA GA BANA MO DIKOLONG, DITUELO TSE DI KWA TLASE LE-DIPHUDUGA TSA PATELETSO.

E NISHITSWE KE HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION

## IN VERBAND MET DIE VERGADERING VAN LIASON BOARD

Op Woensdagaand (7Maart) was daar n vergadering gehou van die Liason Board in die gemeenskapsaal. Daar was gesê dat hulle beoog om reëlings te tref om die lokasie se probleme op te los. Ons probleme soos HUISHUUR WAT HOOG IS, LOSEERDERSPERMIT, WETTE WAT DIE KINDERS WEIER BY DIE SKOLE EN GEDWONGE VERSKUIWINGS, hulle is nie opgelos nie. Daarna praat hulle van organisasies wat die mense vir hul gestig het soos HUCA en HUYO. Daar was sleg gepraat van hierdie organisasies net soos die boere altyd sleg praat daarvan. Dit is duidelik dat vergaderings soos hierdie die boere steun.

### WIE IS DIE MENSE WAT DIE VERGADERING BYGEWOON HET?

#### Die konsulate en parlamentslede van die regering van Bophuthatswana

Die Konsul wat sy huis in die dorp het (sy huis is deur mure en drade omhein) weet nie as ons van HOË HUISHUUR, LOSEERDERSPERMIT, GEDWONGE VERSKUIWINGS en KINDERS WAT GEWEIER WORD BY SKOLE waarvan ons praat nie: Dit is sy regering wat die mense na Deurward se sand geneem het, dit is die regering wat saamgestem het dat die mense van Magopa na Pachaasdraai se woestyn verskuif word. Ons weet nie of hulle van plan is om ons na Pudimong te verskuif nie. Dit wil so lyk want hier praat hulle van n supermark vir Pudumong terwyl ons honger ly. Dit word gepraat asof hulle vir ons kos verniet sal gee in Pudumong.

#### Lede van die Gemeenskapsraad

Die Gemeenskapsraad wat deur die boere gekies is was ook teenwoordig. Hulle wat te swak was om vir ons huise te laat bou. Wat hulle goed kan doen is om HUURGELD TE VERHOOG, LOSEERDERSPERMIT TE LAAT BETAAL, PUDUMONG TOE TE VERSKUIF EN DIE HUISE TE SLUIT VAN DIE OU-VROUE WAT NIE GELD HET NIE. Dit is duidelik dat die liason board ons wil laat onderdruk deur n raad wat ons niks help nie.

#### Predikante van ander kerke

Ons is verbaas om te sien dat sekere predikante besig is om die kerk van die Here n plek te maak van besprekings om ons te laat onderdruk deur die boere met HOË HUISHUUR, LOSEERDERS-

PERMITTE, WEIERING VAN KINDERS BY SKOLE EN GEDWONGE VERSKUIWINGS. Biskop Tutu en Dr. Boesak, hoofleiers van die kerke het dit duidelik gestel dat Apartheid en ander organisasies soos gemeenskapsrade en gedwonge verskuiwings SONDE is.

Onderwysers en ander lede van die komitee

Sommige van die onderwysers wat die vergadering bygewoon het was verantwoordelik dat ons kinders geweier word by die skole wat met ons voorvaders se geld gebou was soos geld van verkoopsbelasting en ander belastings. Party van daardie onderwysers was die mense wat die oorsaak van die skoolstaking teweeggebring het deurdat hulle nie na die kinders se klagtes geluister het nie byvoorbeeld om soos 'n donkie geslaan te word en ook nie op die regte wyse geleer te word nie.

Ons weet presies dat van ons ouers daarheen gegaan het om van ons genoemde probleme op te los. Ons wil net die mense inlig dat ons probleme net opgelos kan word deur die organisasies wat deur hulle gekies is en nie deur die boere nie.

Ons sal enige organisasie steun wat gekent is teen die IOSEERDERSPERMIT, HOË HUISHUUR, WEIERING VAN KINDERS BY SKOLE, KLEIN SALARISSE EN GEDWONGE VERSKUIWINGS.

UITGEREIK DEUR HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION

**AM55**

Raashe  
Motloko 1/5/86

H U H U D I Y O U T H O R G A N I S A T I O N

VENUE : HUHUDI HALL

TIME : 9.30pm

DATE : 6th NOVEMBER 1983

Ben AMSS

1. LODGER'S PERMITS (MANTLE-PASS)

BATSHA BA LALE TSA MOTSE OTLHE.

SELO SE KE ENG?

- 1. KE MOK&WA MONGWE WA GO RE ISA PUDUMONG.
- 2. KA TSELA EA GO G DUELA RE THUSELELE TSA PATIKO YA RONA.
- 3. RE DUELELA GO AGA MATLO A PUDUMONG.

4. KE TSELA N<sup>o</sup> 4 YE YA GO DIRELA COMMUNITY COUNCIL DICHELETE  
DINTLHA KA BOTLALO KA LA ~~MATLHATSO~~ SONTAGA

DATE 6th NOVEMBER 1983

NGWANA, MOGOLO LO LALEDIWA LOTLHE

2. COMMUNITY COUNCIL

SELO SE KE ENG?

- 1. KE LEKGOTLA LEO MADURU A LETLHOMILENG GO TSWELE TSA KGATELELO FA BONE BA CHAISITSE
- 2. BA DIRISA BAGOLO BA RONA GO EMA KGATLANONG LE TSWELELODELO YA MOTSE.
- 3. KE LEKGOTLA LA GO TLHATLHOSA PIRENTE.

4. LEKGOTLA KE LONE LE LE BUSEDITSENG DIMANTLA-PASS.

DINTLHA KA BOTLALO KA LA ~~MATLHATSO~~ SONTAGA

DATE 6th NOVEMBER 1983

NGWANA, MOGOLO RE AMEGA ROTLHE

E NTSHITSWE KE; INFORMATION COMMITTEE

HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION.

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H U H U D I   Y O U T H   O R G A N I S A T I O N

PLEK :        HUHUDI SAAL  
TYD    :        9.30nm  
DATUM :        6de NOVEMBER 1983

1. LOSEERDERSPERMIT

Die jeug nooi die mense.

Wat is dit? (Die Loseerderspermit)

1. Dit is een van die maniere om ons na Pudumong te stuur.
2. As ons dit betaal onderdruk ons onself.
3. As ons dit betaal help ons om die huise wat te Pudumong gebou word te betaal.
4. Met ander woorde, dit is om geld vir die Gemeenskapsraad in te samel.  
Alle verduidelikings sal op Sondag 6 November gegee word.  
Ouers en kinders word genooi om teenwoordig te wees.

2. GEMEENSKAPSRAAD

Wat is dit?

1. Dit is n raad wat deur die boere gestig is om voort te gaan om die mense te onderdruk terwyl die boere van diens is.
2. Ons ouers word gebruik teen die ontwikkeling van die swartwoonbuurt.
3. Die gemeenskapsraad is net daar om die huishuur te verhoog.
4. Die Gemeenskapsraad is die oorsaak dat die loseerders-permit weer ingestel en betaal word.

Alle verduidelikings sal op Sondag 6 November 1983 gegee word.

Klein en groot dit raak ons almal

Die inligting is verskaf deur die  
HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION

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**AM56**

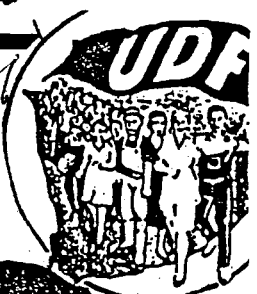


# GUNS FOR REFORM... OR FOR REPRESSION?

*Randall  
Matloka*

*Rev. AM 564*

*1/5/84*



## 1. REFORM OR REPRESSION ?

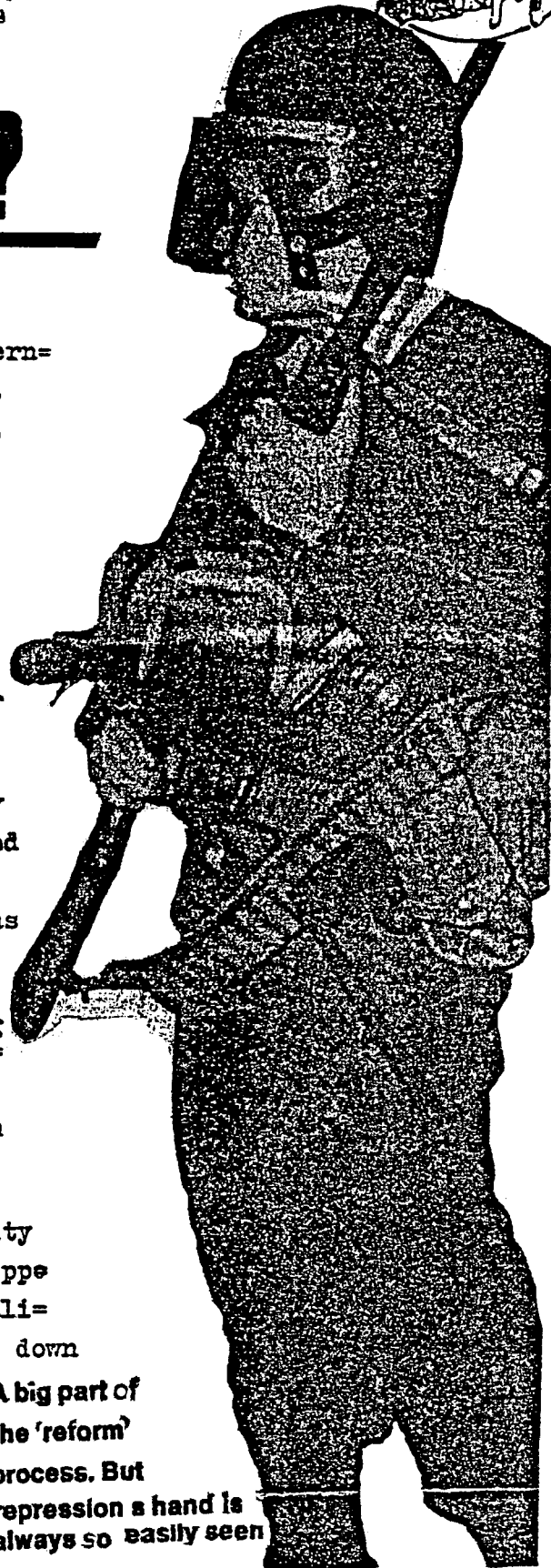
The talk about reform by this government has never been louder before. Yet alongside this talk of reform, repression in this country today remains unequalled to any repression in the past. The violent behaviour of this government to peaceful, powerless and deprived township communities throughout the country is a serious cause for concern.

- In July 1984 the unarmed community of Tumahole peacefully demonstrated their inability to pay high rents. The response of this government was violent.

In September 1984 the peace-loving people of the Vaal Triangle expressed their inability to pay high rents. They met with violence from the South African police.

- In February 1985 when the community of Crossroads demonstrated their opposition to forced removal to Khayalishsha, 18 people were brutally mowed down by the police.

**A big part of  
the 'reform'  
process. But  
repression's hand is  
always so easily seen**



# TREASON TRIAL

## WHO SHOULD BE CHARGED WITH TREASON ?

The continued detention of sixteen of our people is no suggestion of change, it is a clear indication of this government to suppress legitimate opposition to its brutal system and justifying it with what it calls treason. Their continued incarceration and that of other political detainees, e.g. Cde Bushy Maape (UDF N.Cape Secretary), shall not deter us from continuing our struggle for freedom and justice.

We think P.W. Botha and his colleagues deserve to be charged with treason. By throttling attempts to liberate ourselves is an act of treason in itself.

WE BELIEVE THAT "THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE IN OUR COUNTRY IS NOT AN ACT OF TREASON!"

# T APARTHEID IS VIOLENCE

On the 21st March 1985 unarmed people of Uitenhage (Langa and Kwano buhle), were massacred when they peacefully demonstrated against the high cost of living.

The violence unleashed against the peace-loving community of Uitenhage is the justification of the violent nature of apartheid.

This government has clearly proven to all in South Africa and abroad that it is maintaining its power through violence.

In 1960 it was Sharpeville, in 1976 Soweto, in 1984 Sebokeng and now in 1985 Uitenhage.

HOW LONG SHALL THIS BRUTAL MURDER GO ON? HOW LONG?? JUST HOW LONG???

STOP THIS VIOLENCE!! WE MUST STOP THIS VIOLENCE!!!

---

**LONG LIVE UDF!!**

**BAN APARTHEID!!!**

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Issued by UDF N.CAPE, Box 289, Vryburg, 8600

**AM57**

Rev AM 574

# JORAC

(JOINT RENT ACTION COMMITTEE)

LAMONTVILLE: DEATHS AND VIOLENCE

## protest meeting



VENUE: ST ANTHONY'S CHURCH

DATE: SUNDAY, 3 JULY 1983

TIME: 1.30 P.M.

Issued by JORAC  
P.O. Box 4021  
LAMONTVILLE

Joint Sponsors: NIC, RMC, DHAC, Black Sash, UDF, Diakonia, WPCN

# JORAC

(JOINT RENT ACTION COMMITTEE)

LAMONTVILLE: DEATHS AND VIOLENCE

## protest meeting



VENUE: ST ANTHONY'S CHURCH

DATE: SUNDAY, 3 JULY 1983

TIME: 1.30 P.M.

Issued by JORAC  
P.O. Box 4021  
LAMONTVILLE

Joint Sponsors: NIC, RMC, DHAC, Black Sash, UDF, Diakonia, WPCN

**AM58**

*Beut No 5*

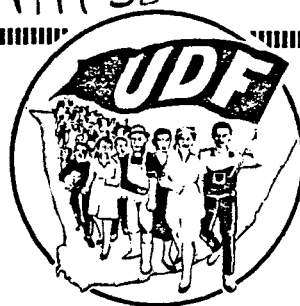
Dear Harold  
Ben "AMS8" Joko Zelen

17/3/86

No 10

22/1/81

28/1/87



# **Don't vote for APARTHEID!**

## **DON'T VOTE FOR KOORNHOF'S COUNCILS**

### What is the government doing?

It is making new plans. The government calls one of these new plans the Black Local Authorities Act. They tell us that this law will give us a say in how our community is run.

### The government says:

- A new town council will take the place of every community council.
- The new council will now do some of the Administration Board's work — like breaking down shacks and putting up the rents.
- To do this work, the council must get its own money. They will get it from us.

### But what does the Local Authorities Act mean?

- The council will be under Koornhof and will have no power.
- They are the same as the community councils but only have a new name.
- They cannot solve our housing problems, blocked drains, high rents or transport problems.
- The councils will get their money from us, by putting the rents up, giving us high water and light accounts and even raising dog tax.
- The councils will only help make Apartheid strong.

**WE SAY NO TO APARTHEID!**  
**WE WILL NOT VOTE FOR THESE**  
**NEW COUNCILS!**

**A VOTE FOR THE COUNCIL IS A**  
**VOTE FOR APARTHEID!**

Issued by the United Democratic Front (Transvaal Region)

The United Democratic Front has 400 organisations in it opposing the government's new plans. Support the UDF's programme of action against the government's new plans.

UDF, Fourth Floor, Khotso House, De Villiers St, Johannesburg.

# LE SEKE LA VOUTELA APARTHEID



## LE SEKE LA VOUTELA MAKGOTLA A KOORNHOF

### Ke eng seo mmuso o se etsang?

Mmuso o etsa maqheka a matjha. Le leng la maqheka a matjha ke molao wa makeishene a ba batsho (Black Local Authorities Act). Mmuso o re molao ona o tla re neha monyetla wa ho hlahisa maikutlo a rona ka kamoo re buswang ka teng makeisheneng.

### Mmuso o re:

- Lekgotla la toropo (town council) le tla nka sebaka sa lekgotla la baahi (community council).
  - Lekgotla la toropo le letjha le tla etsa e meng ya mesebetsi e neng e etswa ke makgotla a tsamaiso (administration boards) e kang ho heletsa mekhukhu ya batho le ho nyolla dirente.
  - Lekgotla la toropo le tla tlameha ho iphumanela tjehelete hore le tsebe ho etsa mesebetsi ena. Tjehelete ena e tla tlameha ho tswa ho rona.
- Empa Molao ona o motjha o bolela horeng?
- O bolela hore makgotla a matjha a ke ke a rarolla mathata a rona a matlo, a dirente tse phahameng le a dipalangwa.
  - Makgotla ana a tla ba ka tlasa taolo ya Koornhof kahoo a ke ke a ba le matla a letho.
  - Makgotla a ditoropo a ntse a itshwanela le makgotla a baahi a kgale. Ho mpa ho fetotswe lebitso feela.
  - Makgotla ana a tla fumana tjehelete ho rona ka ho nyolla dirente, theko ya metsi le ya motlakase, le lona lekgetho la dintja.
  - Makgotla a matjha a tla thusa feela ho matlafatsa Apartheid.

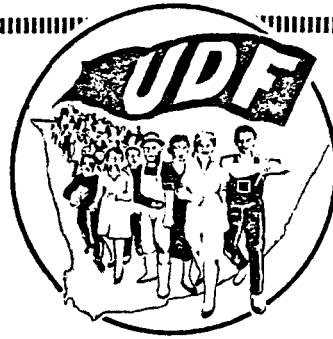
**HA RE BATLE APARTHEID!**  
**RE KE KE RA VOUTELA MAKGOTLA**  
**A KOORNHOF!**  
**HO VOUTELA MAKGOTLA A**  
**MATJHA KE HO VOUTELA**  
**APARTHEID!**

E hlahisitswe ke United Democratic Front (Tvl Region)  
United Democratic Front e theilwe ke mekgatlo e 400 ho lwantsha melao e  
metjha ya mmuso. UDF E HLOKA TSHEHETSO YA HAO HO LWANTSHA  
MAQHEKA ANA A MATJHA A MMUSO.

UDF, Fourth Floor, Khotso House, De Villiers Street, Johannesburg.



# **Le seka la tlhopa (boutela) APARTHEID**



## **LE SEKA LA BOUTELA MAKGOTLA A GA KOORNHOF**

### Ke eng se se dirwang ke mmuso?

O dira melao e meswa. Mmuso o bitsa mongwe wa melao e meswa e Molao wa Bantsho wa Puso ya Selegae (Black Local Authorities Act). Ba re bolelela gore molao o o tla re neya tetla ya go bua ka mokgwa oo morafe wa rona o buswang ka teng.

### Mmuso o re:

- Makgotla a maswa a teropo a tlo tsaya manno a makgotla a merafe (Community Councils).
- Makgotla a maswa jaanong a tla dira ditiro dingwe tsa Lekgotla la Tsamaiso — jaaka go thuba mekgoro le go atisa madi/tshelete ya khiri kgotsa rente.
- Gore ba kgone go dira tiro e, makgotla a a tla tshwanela go nna le tshelete ya one.
- Re tshwanetse go boutela batho go tsena mo makgotleng a.

### Mme jaanong molao wa puso ya selegae o bolela eng?

- Makgotla a tla nna ka fa tlase ga Koornhof mme ga a kitla a nna le thata.
- A tshwana le makgotla a merafe, mme fela a na le leina le leswa.
- Ba ka se kgone go rarabolola mathata a rona a go nna le dintlo, mesele e e thibaneng, dirente tse di kwa godimo mathata a thoro (transport).
- Makgotla a a tla bona tshelete mo go rona — ka go oketsa rente le go re fa ditshupamolato (accounts) tsa metsi le mabone tse di kwa godimo.
- Makgotla a a tla thusa fela ka go thatafatsa kgetholo (apartheid).

## **RE GANANA LE KGETHOLOLO GA RE KITLA RE BOUTELA MAKGOTLA A MASWA A**

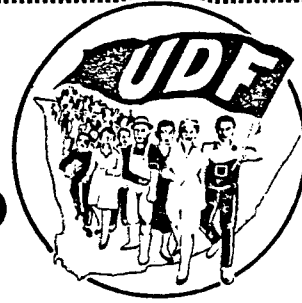
### Ga re kitla re boutela makgotla a maswa a

## **GO BOUTELA MAKGOTLA A GO TSHWANA LE GO BOUTELA KGETHOLOLO**

E tlhagisitswe ke The United Democratic Front (TVL Region).

The United Democratic Front e na le dithulaganyo tse di 400 mo tirong ya yona ya go nna kgatlhanong le dipolane tse dintshwa tsa mmuso. EMANG UDF MO NOKENG DA LENANE LA YONE LA TIRO KGATLHANONG LE DIPOLANE TSE DINTSHWA TSA MMUSO

# MUSA UKUVOTELE UBANDLULULO NOBUDLOVA



## UNGAVOTELI AMAKHANSELA kaKOORNHOF

### Uhulumeni Wenzani?

Uhulumeni uza namaqhinga amasha. Elinye lalamaqhinga libizwa iBlack Local Authorities Act okungumthetho okuthiwa uzokwenza sikwazi ukuziphathela amalokishi wethu.

### Uhulumeni uthi

- Amakhansela amasha amalokishi azothatha umsebenzi walamakhansela akhona manje.
- Lamakhansela amasha azoqhubeka adilize imikhukhu yethu anyuse namarende njengoba kwenza lamakhansela esiwaziyo.
- Ukwenza konke lokhu lamakhansela azoba khona adinga ukuba nemali ezophuma ki thina.

### Kepha isho ukuthini iLocal Authorities

- Amakhansela lawa angeke anikwe amandla okushintsha noma yini, ngu Koornhof ozoqhubeka abenamandla okwenza noma yini ayithandayo.
- Lamakhansela amasha azofana namadala kuzoshintsha igama nje kuphela.
- Ngeke neze lamakhansela akwazi ukucazululula izinkinga esibhekene nazo njengezindlu iningi lethu elingenazo, opompi abavuzayo, amarende aphezulu namabhosi nezitimela ezidulayo.
- Lamakhansela azothola imali kithi ngokunyusa amarende, ngokufaka amamitha amanzi nokudulisa ugesi nentela bazothi inyuswe.
- Lamakhansela azokwenza ukuthi inqubo yobudlova nobandlululo yande.

## ASIWUFUNI UMBUSO WOBANDLULULO!

## NGEKE SIWAVOTELE LAMAKHANSELA AMASHA!

## UMA SINGAVOTELE LAMAKHANSELA SIYOBE SIVOTELE UBANDLULULO!

Umbutho owakhiwe ngabantu abacindezelwe iUDF. Kunemibutho engaba yi 400 ngaphansi kwe UDF elwisana nalemithetho emibi kahulumeni.  
MASIHLANGANENI SONKE NGAPHANSI KWE-UDF SILWE  
NAMAQHINGA AMASHA KAHULUMENI.

**AM59**

Analysis of the 1983 Black Local Authorities Elections:

A scrutiny of the recent election results indicate very clearly that the new Black Local Authorities are no more acceptable to our people than the community councils were. It is thus that the Local Authorities would suffer the same fate as the community councils. There is no hope of the new Local Authorities gaining the support of the masses.

The rejection was far greater than would appear from the percentage polls. A few points need to be made in this regard:

1. Almost one-third of the wards throughout the country were uncontested. In fact, at least five entire councils were nominated, rather than elected. (Kwa Nobuhle, Lingelihle, Meluzi, Alexandra, and Huhudi.)
2. A large portion of the township population voting age was excluded from the voters roll. In some cases as many as half of the people were excluded. This fact has distorted the percentage poll.
3. A comparison of statistics of the 1983 elections with that of the last community council elections indicate that :
  - a. On an average the same number of candidates were nominated.
  - b. A similar number of wards were contested.
  - c. A similar number of people voted.
4. In Dobsonville the percentage poll decreased from 42% in 1978 to 23,6% in 1983.
5. The traditional pattern of rejection only in larger townships has been broken. A case in point is the Eastern Cape Township of Rini which had a poll of 26% in 1978.
6. The poll for Kagiso is 36,6% , yet only 1016 people actually voted. This constitutes a mere 3% of the population of voting age. (See attached Tables for a similar interpretation of the poll in other townships.)
7. Reports received from affiliates of the UDF indicate that a large number of those who voted were pensioners who are in an obvious position of vulnerability.

REV. FRANK CHIKANE

(Vice-President UDF - TVL.)

UDF STATISTICS

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| Township               | De Facto<br>Population<br>Over 20 | No. Of<br>People<br>on Voters<br>Roll | No. Of<br>People<br>Who<br>Voted | Average<br>% Poll |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| KAGISO                 | 34 000                            | 18 300                                | 1 016                            | 36,6              |
| DOBSONVILLE            | 31 000                            | 18 000                                | 2 402                            | 23,6              |
| SOWETO/DIEP-<br>MEADOW | 615 000                           | 223 200                               | 31 910                           | 10,7              |
| ALEXANDRA              | 35 000                            | 27 000                                | -                                | -                 |
| KATLEHONG              | 104 000                           | 65 000                                | 11 589                           | 22,7              |
| WATTVILLE              | 16 000                            | 15 586                                | 2 022                            | 16,6              |
| VOSLOORUS              | 34 400                            | 2 003                                 | 2 003                            | 11,9              |
| DAVEYTON               | 60 000                            | 45 700                                | 5 083                            | 18,6              |
| TEMBISA                | 130 000                           | 86 460                                | 7 703                            | 16,9              |
| KWA-THEMA              | 56 000                            | 45 560                                | 7 909                            | 20,7              |
| TOKOZA                 | 28 000                            | 24 000                                | 4 019                            | 20,4              |
| JOUBERTON              | 22 000                            | 14 517                                | 4 606                            | 31,7              |
| IKAGENG                | 23 000                            | 14 450                                | 3 036                            | 24,5              |
| LEKOA                  | 160 000                           | 106 690                               | 14 321                           | 14,7              |

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| <b>%<sup>1</sup> Of<br/>De Facto<br/>Population</b> | <b>No. Of<br/>Positions<br/>On Council</b> | <b>No. Of<br/>Positions<br/>Uncontested</b> |
|---|--|---|
| 3   | 11   | 3   |
| 7,7   | 7  | 2   |
| 5,2   | 45   | 8   |
| -   | 9  | 9   |
| 11,1  | 14   | 2   |
| 12,6  | 5  | 1   |
| 5,8   | 9  | 4   |
| 8,4   | 10   | 4   |
| 5,9   | 17   | 7   |
| 14,1  | 10   | 1   |
| 14,3  | 9  | 0   |
| 20,9  | 8  | 0   |
| 13,2  | 8  | 1   |
| 8,9   | 39   | 5   |

| Township   | De Facto<br>Population<br>Over 20 | No. Of<br>people<br>on voters<br>Roll | No. Of<br>people<br>who<br>voted | Average<br>% Poll | % Of<br>De Facto<br>Population<br>over 20<br>voting | No. Of<br>Positions<br>on council | No. Of<br>Positions<br>uncontested |              |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|
| EVATON   | 33 000                            | 23 540                                | 535                              | 5,1               | 1,6   | 11                                | 7                                  |              |
| MAMELODI   | 80 000                            | 78 360                                | 20 346                           | 28,0              | 25,4  | 12                                | 1                                  |              |
| ATTERIDGE-<br>VILLE/<br>SAULSVILLE               | 58 000                            | 53 685                                | 8 074                            | 14,8              | 13,9  | 11                                | 0                                  |              |
| <b>Overall<br/>Transvaal<br/>Averages</b>        |                                   |                                       | 126 574                          | 19,5              | 10,1  |                                   |                                    |              |
| KAYAMNANDI                                       | 204 000                           | 109 300                               | 19 442                           | 18,7              | 9,5   | 21                                | 1                                  |              |
| RINI   | 16 000                            | 15 146                                | 252                              | 5,9               | 1,6   | 9                                 | 6                                  |              |
| KWANOBUHLE                                       | 20 000                            | 18 835                                | -                                | -                 | -   | 16                                | 16                                 | not elected, |
| LINGELIHLE                                       | 7 500                             | 4 000                                 | -                                | -                 | -   | 7                                 | 5                                  | not elected  |
| GALESHEWE  | 34 000                            | 16 620                                | 4 111                            | 27,0              | 12,1  | 12                                | 1                                  |              |
| KWAGUKA  | 30 000                            | 27 365                                | ?                                | 29,6              | ?   | 13                                | 8                                  |              |
| MHLUZI   | 18 000                            | 12 623                                | -                                | -                 | -   | 11                                | 11                                 | not electe   |
| <b>Total Averages<br/>(Transvaal and others)</b> |                                   |                                       | 150 379                          | 19,0              | 9,8   | 324                               | 103                                |              |

### NOTES ON STATISTICS

1. The figures produced in the 1980 census have been used as a guide to calculate the "de facto population over 20".
2. While all legal residents of a township over the age of 18 are eligible to vote we have worked with the number of residents over the age of 20 as it is not possible to calculate the de facto population over the age of 18 using the 1980 population census figures. Thus our estimates in all cases would be a conservative.
3. Soweto and Diepmeadow has been combined due to it being difficult to obtain separate population estimates for the two townships.



**AM60**

UDF PRESS RELEASE ON MR. TOM BOYA

Rew AM 60"

The appending of a signature on the UDF declaration by Mr. Tom Boya is a demonstration on his part of identification with the UDF, rejection of the Black Local Authorities and admission of the correctness of the UDF position against the patently unjust system of Apartheid.

It is now very clear that Mr. Boya has got no option but take his courageous decision a step further and resign from these most discredited structures. By so doing, he shall have identified with the masses and stayed clear of the crime of Apartheid.

We note with disgust the prepadness of Mr. Sinaba to be a "porn and a tool" in the hands of Piet Koornhof. His determination to be a partner in the crime of Apartheid is clearly indicated by the characteristically shamless fashion in which he defends Apartheid. We call on all the mayors to see reason now, and to resign before it is too late. Lest they go into the dustbins of history with all the sellouts who came before them. Those who want to repent must do so now.

10/04/84



**AM61**

Ben AM 61 u

Mr. Mohammed Valli - Executive member of the UDF

The "reform" proposals

In 1982, because of the mounting pressures on white minority rule, the South African government proposed certain new laws.

These were, on the one hand constitutional changes, and on the other hand the Koornhof bills.

In terms of the new constitution (now the Constitution of South Africa Act of 1983) three houses of parliament would be established in a tri-cameral system. These would be the white, coloured and Indian houses of parliament. The new constitution makes no mention of the African people, who constitute 75% of the population. For every four white representatives in parliament, there would be 2 coloureds and one Indian.

Furthermore a President's Council consisting of 20 whites, 10 coloureds and 5 Indians - elected by the respective houses of parliament - would be established. In addition to these 35 the President appoints a further 25 members to this council. The Presidents Council would have the final say in the event of the three houses of parliament not arriving at consensus on a matter.

The President would have wide powers, for example, control of the military and the administration of African people.

The Koornhof Laws (named after Piet Koornhof, the notorious minister of Co-operation and Development) were:

1. The Black Local Authorities Bill (now the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983);
2. The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (now replaced by Aliens and Immigrations Bill) and
3. The Black Development Bill (now the Black Development Act.)

The Black Local Authorities Act provides for the establishment of autonomous local authorities for African townships in urban areas. The autonomy at the local level is meaningless without political power. There being no economic infrastructure in the African townships makes these financially unviable. It can only lead to increases in rents and taxes and thus further eroding the already poor living conditions of our people.

The Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill was aimed at further restricting the mobility of people living in the rural areas and in the Bantustans. It proposed that any person providing accommodation to an "illegal" (ie. one who does not have a permit to be in a town or city) would be fined an amount of R200. Any person who provides employment for an "illegal" would be fined an amount of R5000.

The United Democratic Front:

It was in response to the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof laws that Dr. Allan Boesak (President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches) said at a conference held in Johannesburg in January 1983 that "there is no reason why churches and community workers and students organisations cannot form a united opposition to these new evils of apartheid."

This momentous call sparked off a process of vigorous discussions at national, regional and local levels on the feasibility and need for a united opposition. This process culminated in an historic conference held in Cape Town at which 400 organisations represented by 1500 delegates launched the United Democratic Front. (UDF)

The UDF rejects the new laws on the following grounds:

1. The essence of apartheid ie. the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, Bantu Education, and the legalised denial of human rights remain unchanged.
2. Millions of African people continue to be deprived of their citizenship in the forced implementation of the Bantustan policy, thus making our people foreigners in the land of their birth.
3. The new constitution, on the one hand ensures that the white minority retains all political power, and on the other hand entrenches racialism.
4. These "reforms" are aimed at dividing the unity of the oppressed - coloured and Indian from African and urban from rural.
5. These laws are also aimed at improving the image of apartheid abroad.

#### A Historic Unity

Today, the UDF has 590 member organisations. Amongst these are trade unions, civic Associations, womens organisations, Youth organisations, student unions, political organisations and religious bodies. The three Presidents of the UDF are Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede and Oscar Mpetha, all veterans in the struggle for national liberation. Our patrons include: Dr. Beyers Naude, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Fr. Smangaliso Mkatshwa, Dr. Alan Boesak, Francis Baard Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg and Ahmed Kathrada.

The UDF is both non-racial and non-sectarian. Its principal aim is to unite our people in action against apartheid and in particular against the hated "reforms". It is the biggest and most significant non-racial political movement operating legally within the country since the Congress Alliance of the 1950's. The membership of the UDF has been estimated to be two million people.

During November 1983 the first elections for the new Black Local Authorities were held. The UDF campaign for a nationwide boycott of these elections. The result was an average national poll of 10%. In Soweto a township of 2 million inhabitants, the poll was only 6%. This marked UDF's first major victory against the so-called reform strategy of the white-minority government.

Presently the UDF is involved in a number of campaigns:

1. The first elections for the coloured and Indian houses of parliament are to be held on 22nd and 29th August 1984 respectively. We are once again campaigning for a boycott of both the dummy parliaments and the elections.
2. The "Million Signature Campaign" which was launched earlier this year aims at amassing signatures of one million South Africans who reject the new laws and apartheid.
3. Over the last two decades 3.5 million of our people have been forcibly removed from land which they have occupied for generations and relocated into the barren bantustans. A further two million people have been earmarked for forced removals. The UDF has begun to intensify the opposition to forced removals and dispossession of our land by co-ordinating the resistance of individual villagers throughout the countryside.

**AM62**

copy to udf

Rev AM to 2"

MESSAGE TO KAIROS HOLLAND ATT HANS  
FROM UDF TVL  
ON 3 SEPT COMMUNITIES IN SEBOKENG, EVATON AND BOPHELONG MARCHED  
TO THE ADMIN BOARD TO PROTEST AGAINST HIGH RENTS AND HIGH UN  
EMPLOYMENT COUNCILLOR CAESAR MOTJEANE WAS AKSED TO JOIN THE  
MARCH-INSTEAD HE OPENED FIRE ON THEM. THIS TRIGGERED OFF CHAOS.  
SHOTS FIREC INTO ISO RADITSELA HOUSE  
SAM MATHOLE, EXEC MEM OF VAAL CIVIC PRESUMED DETAINED  
EDWARD MODUBATSE, MEM VL CIV PRESUMD DETAINED  
KNOX MATJILA, SOLLY.MOFOKENG, SIMON MATSEKE, ALL RESIGNED FROM  
VAAL COMMUNITY COUNCIL.  
UDF VISITED VAAL AREA- 5 SEPT. ENTIRE AREA SEALED OFF BY POLICE.  
TOWNSHIP OPEN LATE AFTERNOON BUT SITUATION STILL VIOLENT - NO  
FOOD, SHOOPS BURNT DOWN - PRICES EXHORBITANT  
6 SEPT- INJURED PEOPLE WITH NO MEDICAL CARE OR FOOD SUPPLIES  
UDF TRYING TO GET EMERGENCY LEGAL AND MEDICAL CLINIC INTO  
AREA. BAPTIST CHURCH ORGANISED TO PROVIDE MEANSXX MEALS IN  
COLLABORATION IWITH VAAL VICXXCICIC  
NEED FOR TRANSPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO HELP HUNGRY PEOPLE IN THE  
AREAS.

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WAITING FOR YOUR MESSAGE

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MES TE TO KAIROS HOLLAND ATT HANS

FROM UDF TVL

ON 3 SEPT COMMUNITIES IN SEBOKENG, EVATON AND BOPHELONG MARCHED TO THE ADMIN BOARD TO PROTEST AGAINST HIGH RENTS AND HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT. COUNCILLOR CAESAR MOTJEANE WAS ASKED TO JOIN THE MARCH- INSTEAD HE OPENED FIRE ON THEM. THIS TRIGGERED OFF CHAOS. SHOTS FIRED INTO ISO RADITSELA HOUSE

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TOWNSHIP OPEN LATE AFTERNOON BUT SITUATION STILL VIOLENT - NO FOOD, SHOOPS BURNT DOWN - PRICES EXHORBITANT

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COLLABORATION WITH VAAL VICXXCICIC

NEED FOR TRANSPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO HELP HUNGRY PEOPLE IN THE AREAS.

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*fsr - Reserve files*

MESSAGE TO KAIROS HOLLAND ATT HANS  
FROM UDF TVL

ON 3 SEPT COMMUNITIES IN SEBOKENG, EVATON AND BOPHELONG MARCHED TO THE ADMIN BOARD TO PROTEST AGAINST HIGH RENTS AND HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT. COUNCILLOR CAESAR MOTJEANE WAS ASKED TO JOIN THE MARCH-INSTEAD HE OPENED FIRE ON THEM. THIS TRIGGERED OFF CHAOS. SHOTS FIRED INTO ISO RADITSELA HOUSE

SAM MATHOLE, EXEC MEM OF VAAL CIVIC PRESUMED DETAINED

EDWARD MODUBATSE, MEM VL CIV PRESUMED DETAINED

KNOX MATJILA, SOLLY MOFOKENG, SIMON MATSEKE, ALL RESIGNED FROM VAAL COMMUNITY COUNCIL.

UDF VISITED VAAL AREA- 5 SEPT. ENTIRE AREA SEALED OFF BY POLICE. TOWNSHIP OPEN LATE AFTERNOON BUT SITUATION STILL VIOLENT - NO FOOD, SHOPS BURNT DOWN - PRICES EXHORBITANT

6 SEPT- INJURED PEOPLE WITH NO MEDICAL CARE OR FOOD SUPPLIES

UDF TRYING TO GET EMERGENCY LEGAL AND MEDICAL CLINIC INTO AREA. BAPTIST CHURCH ORGANISED TO PROVIDE MEANSXX MEALS IN COLLABORATION WITH VAAL VICXXCICIC

NEED FOR TRANSPORT AND ASSISTANCE TO HELP HUNGRY PEOPLE IN THE AREAS.

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WAITING FOR YOUR MESSAGE

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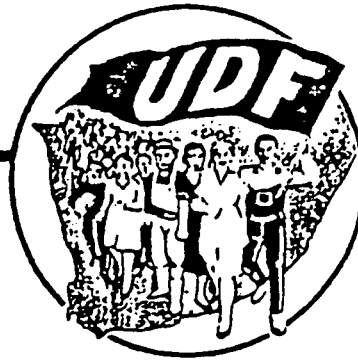
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**AM63**

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

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Re AM 63

## UDF PRESS RELEASE ON THE NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST

SEPTEMBER 1, 1984.

The United Democratic Front declares Monday September 3rd 1984 a National Day of Protest against the implementation of the tri-cameral parliament, whose fate has already been determined by the massive 82,7% rejection.

This sterile parliament is being ushered in against the backdrop of general unrest, Police repression, detention of UDF officials and activists and unprecedented propaganda against the Front. The implementation of the new parliament under these conditions is a clear <sup>indication</sup> that this government remains committed to the promotion and protection of the White minority rule. To guarantee this, the government has co-opted Indian and Coloured collaborators as junior partners to suppress legitimate opposition.

The glorious victory of the UDF has exposed the political bankruptcy of the National Party policy of divide and rule. In just one year of its existence the UDF has thrown the ruling group into complete disarray. This is clearly evidenced by the senseless detentions indicative of panic and desperation by the government. Above all the cheap and irrational talk of a new carrot (Black rights) for urban Blacks. The "Urban Blacks" have already shown in the November 1983 BLA elections, that they will not settle for anything less than full political rights in a non-racial, united and democratic South Africa.

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: Popo Molefe

These factors indicate conclusively, the new parliament is doomed to fail and is a miscarriage. The Apartheid policy has run its course. The only way the racist government can cling to power is by force. The heavy police presence at UDF meetings, at all polling stations and the display of force in Lenasia and Actonville bears testimony to this fact. But the people's quest and desire for freedom cannot be suppressed by detentions, harassments and force.

Those who have opted to enter this parliament are endorsing the present tension and are equally guilty of the Apartheid crimes against our people. We call on them not to enter this farcical and illegitimate partnership.

We demand the scrapping of the new constitution and the release of all activists and leaders. The massive international recognition and popular local support of these people clearly indicates that our struggle is just and legitimate.

**AM64**



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FRIDAY 12 OCTOBER 1984

UDF STATEMENT ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT THAT  
COMMUNITY COUNCILLORS IN THE VAAL WILL  
BE GIVEN POWERS TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN  
POLICE FORCE.

The UDF believes that the decision by the government to allow councillors in the Vaal to establish their own police <sup>force</sup> will only serve to exacerbate the turmoil in the Vaal.

This decision is again indicative of the high-handed manner with which the people's grievances are dealt. South Africa has bitter experiences of the chaos resulting from unlimited powers given to <sup>puppet</sup> home land leaders. Mass detentions in Venda, the many deaths resulting from Inkatha - inspired violence in Natal, the detention of 253 students in the Transkei and the bloodshed in the Ciskei during September 1983 all bear testimony.

In all these cases, the people have been unequivocal in their rejection of puppet leaders. The events in the Vaal over the past few weeks tell the same story.

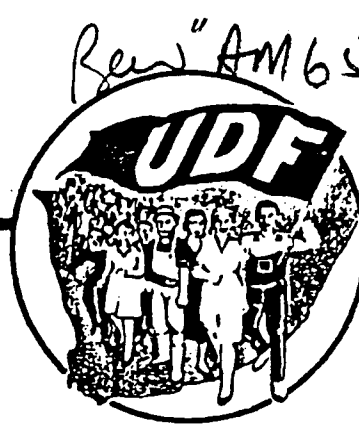
It is abundantly clear that this so-called police force will be used to buttress community councils beyond all reason. It also becomes a dangerous tool in a grudge game. Whilst at the same time it detracts the basic demands of the people in the Vaal.

We believe that the voice of the people of the Vaal must be heard and that their demands for rents they can afford and for full participation in a central parliament must be met as a starting point for peace.

**AM65**

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7 January 1985

## RENT HIKES

The failure of the Local Town Councils is not as a result of the people's lack of comprehension of the system of determination of rent hikes and other charges. This excuse seeks to justify the retention of these ineffectual institutions.

The real problem is that these bodies are politically powerless and economically not viable. No amount of excuses will render them acceptable.

M LEKOTA

**AM66**

Ben "AM 66"

9 January 1985

PRESS STATEMENT ON UCASA - BLA

There are none so blind as those who would not see. To believe that it is out of ignorance that the brave people of the Vaal have rejected the dummy councils is to believe that it is out of ignorance that the oppressed masses are resisting White minority rule.

In fact, the statement made by UCASA represents the pinnacle of myopia and ignorance. It is because of the backwardness and greed of these puppets of Apartheid that they failed to heed the warnings sounded by UDF that the implementation of dummy councils would lead to an escalation of the violent conflict in S A.

Is it the fault of the UDF that the Lekoa Council was forced to raise rents and service charges because it was financially unviable?

We reemphasise that representation at the local level is meaningless without democracy at the level of central govt.

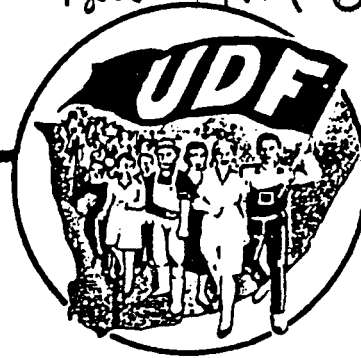
The only honourable action for UCASA members would be to follow their many colleagues and resign their positions on the hated councils.

Issued by P Molefe.

**AM67**

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11 January 1985

## PRESS STATEMENT ON THE RESIGNATION OF THE LEKOA COUNCILLORS

The UDF salutes the Mahlatsi brothers for the gallant stance they took against the Lekoa Town Council. This is the most logical step that any sensible person could take. Their resignation vindicate the UDF's position of total rejection of the BLA.

Their resignation has given a lie to the so-called powers of these structures. From the reasons given for their quitting, it is clear that real powers reside in the White controlled Development Boards. This means that these structures are instruments of Apartheid. They can only increase the hardships of the residents.

The UDF calls upon those councillors still remaining in the Council to resign. They do not represent any one except Apartheid.

We urge the residents of the Vaal to accept the Mahlatsi brothers as sinners who have now repented. We also advise the Mahlatsi brothers to now begin to support the organisations of the people in all ways possible.

POPO MOLEFE

R.D.M. (710-2550 - Anton Harber  
710-2546 - Sipho Ngcobo)

Star = will phone back  
Jon Gwela.

# AM68



Reu "AM 68"

BLACK TOWNSHIP POLICE FORCES

23 January 1985

The police forces that are being set up in Black Townships are not aimed at crime prevention. They will be tools in the hands of the unpopular town councils to defend councillors and suppress mass resistance to arbitrary measures like high rents, high water and electric charges, etc.

They are intended to relieve the already overburdened SAP and SADF from the obligation of controlling unrest in the townships.

Their establishment will further syphon off funds which should be used to provide the much needed amenities such as housing, recreation facilities, etc.

They will only serve to deepen the scale of conflict in the affected communities.

We reject them and call on the Department of Co-operation and Development and the Councils to abandon the scheme and solve the material problems of the people.

P. LEKOTA

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Now that the White referendum with its results is behind us, Black Local Authorities already exploding into the faces of the Nationalists and both Coloured representatives and Indian delegates are seating next to parliament the big question is: what will happen to the UDF?

Our commitment to resist the new dispensation began with the generation of refusal by the people to participate in the formalities leading to implementation of the government proposals for the various racial groups. That we succeeded in this is a known fact.

The percentage poll in the Black Local Authorities elections of November 1983 and the subsequent rejection of town councils plus the resignations of councillors from these bodies show that these are dying an early but slow death.

Even within the White community there are growing disgruntment with government policies. Resistance to militarisation and conscription is an indicator that even in this quarter Apartheid is increasingly questioned.

But, headstrong as they are the Nats are implementing their schemes. We on the other hand retain the mandate of the people to oppose that implementation and we shall, therefore, be moving on to oppose the Nats and their minions.

But what form, emphasis or direction will UDF activity assume?

Broadly, the Front remains committed to non-violent forms of resistance in which direct mass-participation will continue to increase.

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Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi  
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin  
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota  
National Secretary: Popo Molele

However, the democratic nature of the Front makes it imperative for it to draw specific emphasis of programme from the majority views of its affiliates. This means that for the present intensive consultation with affiliates, progressive unions such as FOSATU and community organisations will take precedent. Within the UDF itself the process of consultation will culminate in a national general council in the new year.

Meanwhile the pending appeal of Presidents A Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha who are both out on two thousand and one one Rand bail respectively, the arrest and treason charges brought against President Archi Gumede and other members of the national and regional executives councils, have opened yawning gaps in the structures of the Front. Thus our attention will be focused on reorganising ourselves.

Fortunately the campaigns of the last year or so have brought forward an array of talented and determined young activists who will enable us to fill up these openings.

With the support we command today, we have sufficient manpower resources to surmount this problem. We have mobilised the oppressed majority successfully - our task now is to organise them and hone the UDF into an even sharper instrument against Apartheid.

M LEKOTA