

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

LÉER NR. 2/4/2/121
FILE NO. 2/4/2/121 Deel 5

HOOFTREKKS
MAIN SERIES *Binnelandse Veiligheid*

ONDERWERP
SUBJECT *Kontrole van Organisasies*

LÉER
FILE *United Democratic Front (UDF)*

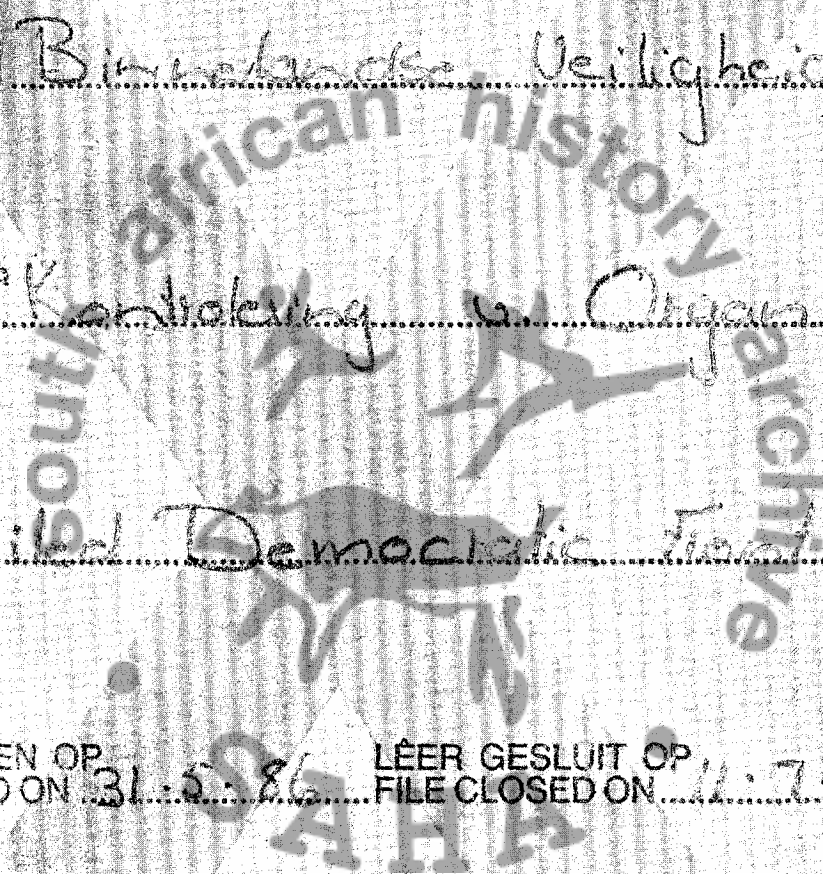
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BESKIKKINGSVOORSKRIFTE
DISPOSAL DIRECTIONS

AANTAL OF GEVAL
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LÉER NR.
FILE NO. *2/4/2/121* DEEL
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DIREKTORAT
VEILIGHEIDSWET
1986-07-15
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15/7/86

GEHEIM

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SAP 148

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE
DECLASSIFIEER

Verw./Ref.: [redacted]
Navrae/Enq.: [redacted]
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1986-07-11

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Privaatsak X655
PRETORIA
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121

ADVIESKOMITEE : UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

1. Telefoniese gesprek tussen Mnr Breyl en Kaptein Botha van ons onderskeie kantore op 1986-07-10 het betrekking.
2. Die dokumente en ander bewysstukke wat tans in die Delmas Hoogverraad saak gebruik word voldoen aan die vereistes soos deur u gestel.
3. Die aangeleentheid is met die Adjunk Prokureur-generaal, [redacted], bespreek wat van mening is; dat indien die stukke nou reeds aan die kommissie voorgelê word alvorens die hof daaroor beslis het, 'n oortreding van die "sub-judice" reël daargestel sal word en die Staat se saak te Delmas ernstig sal benadeel.

SAHA

[redacted]
n/KOMMISSARIS : SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE
[redacted]

VIR [signature] ADX 18/7/86

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V. 2 maande
naar
betrokke
stukke art.

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[signature]
18/9/86

18.9.86 (sien a-der stukke)
op deel 5

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UDF leer

*Approving vir SARK
Niere dat. afkomstig of
UDF en SARK al
leer. 2/4/86*

2/4/2/109/121 (DDVz)

DIREKTORAAT: VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

OORWEGING OM DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF) EN DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE RAAD VAN KERKE (SARK) TOT GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES TE VERKLAAR

1. n Feitekomitee het bevind dat die bogenoemde organisasies politiek bedryf met behulp van en in samewerking met organisasies en persone in die buiteland. Volgens dié bevindings voldoen die organisasies dus aan die vereistes om tot geaffekteerde organisasies verklaar te word. Sodanige optrede sal tot gevolg hê dat die organisasies nie enige fondse vanuit die buiteland mag ontvang nie.

MOONTLIKE IMPLIKASIES VAN SODANIGE OPTREDE

2.1 Hewige kritiek kan verwag word.

2.2 Die feit dat die Eloff-kommissie gedurende 1983 pertinent aanbeveel het dat die SARK nie tot geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word nie, en die redes daarvoor, sal moontlik deur kritici te berde gebring word.

2.3 Filiale van die UDF en lidkerke van SARK sal moontlik steeds namens die organisasies geld vanuit die buiteland ontvang.

3.1 Optrede teen die SARK sal meebring dat dié deel van die fondse uit die buiteland wat die SARK tot dusver vir suiwer godsdienstige en maatskaplike aangeleenthede aangewend het, ook afgesny sal word. Onskuldige persone, soos hulpbehoewendes, sal dus moontlik ook indirek deur optrede teen die SARK geraak word.

3.2 Volgens inligting blyk dit egter dat die geld wat deur die SARK bestee is om behoeftiges te help as gering beskou kan

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word in vergelyking met die geld wat vir politieke doeleindes aangewend word.

3.3 Een van die SARK se politieke doelstellings waarvoor die fondse aangewend word, is om die Republiek op ekonomiese gebied geïsoleer te probeer kry. Die vraag ontstaan dus of daar nie uiteindelik groter nadeel aan hulpbehoewendes, ens. veroorsaak sal word indien die SARK toegelaat word om onbelemmerd met sy politieke bedrywighede voort te gaan, as wat die posisie sou wees indien sy fondse uit die buiteland algeheel afgesny word nie.

4. Die Werkkomitee het die aangeleentheid oorweeg en beveel aan dat



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DIREKTORAAT: VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

OORWEGING OM DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF) EN DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE RAAD VAN KERKE (SARK) TOT GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES TE VERKLAAR

1.1 'n Komitee wat deur die Minister van Wet en Orde aangestel is om feiteverslae ingevolge artikel 8 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974) ten opsigte van die bovermelde organisasies te doen (hierna "die Komitee" genoem), het bevind dat beide organisasies politiek bedryf met behulp van en in samewerking met organisasies en persone in die buiteland.

1.2 Volgens die Komitee se bevindings voldoen die UDF en die SARK dus aan die vereistes gestel in artikel 2(1) van die vermelde Wet om tot geaffekteerde organisasies verklaar te word.

2. Die aangeleentheid word aan die Werkkomitee voorgelê vir 'n aanbeveling of dit wenslik sal wees om die betrokke organisasies tot geaffekteerde organisasies te verklaar.

UITWERKING VAN OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2(1) VAN DIE WET

3. Indien die UDF en SARK tot geaffekteerde organisasies verklaar word, sal dit tot gevolg hê dat hulle nie enige fondse vanuit die buiteland mag ontvang nie. Enige instansie of persoon wat buitelandse geld namens die organisasies sou vra, werf of in

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ontvangs neem, sal ook aan 'n misdryf skuldig wees. Geld in die besit van 'n geaffekteerde organisasie wat hy voor sy geaffekteerdverklaring uit die buiteland ontvang het, mag vir geen doel hoegenaamd aan enige ander organisasie of persoon oorgedra word nie, maar mag binne 'n jaar geskenk word aan 'n welsynsorganisasie deur die Minister van Wet en Orde aangewys, of aan 'n ander organisasie deur die Minister goedgekeur.

MOONTLIKE IMPLIKASIES VAN OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2(1)
VAN DIE WET

4.1 Daar kan verwag word dat optrede teen die organisasies hewige kritiek sal uitlok.

4.2.1 Wat die SARK betref, moet daar in gedagte gehou word dat die Eloff-kommissie gedurende 1983 pertinent aanbeveel het dat dié organisasie nie in daardie stadium tot geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word nie. Die redes van die meerderheid lede van die Kommissie was dat -

(a) so 'n stap nie die vloei van geld uit die buiteland om die "slagoffers van Apartheid" te help, sou verhoed nie.

Donasies sou byvoorbeeld steeds direk na lidkerke gekanaliseer kon word;

(b) sodanige optrede teen die SARK sou deur lidkerke gesien kon word as ongeregverdig en 'n inbreukmaking op godsdiensvryheid;

(c) daar geen bewyse gevind kon word dat die SARK deur buitelandse skenkers gemanipuleer word of dat enige

voorwaardes van politieke aard aan die skenkings gekoppel word nie; en

- (d) alhoewel die bedrag wat deur die SARK vir hulp aan hulpbehoewendes aangewend is, gering is in verhouding met die bedrag wat vir politieke doeleindes aangewend is, onskuldige persone nogtans daaronder sou ly as daar ingevolge die Wet teen die SARK opgetree word.

4.2.2 Die ander lid van die Eloff-kommissie, professor [REDACTED], was van mening dat die feit dat die SARK volgens die getuienis nie deur buitelandse organisasies of persone gemanipuleer word nie, nie voldoende rede is om die organisasie van optrede ingevolge die Wet kwyt te skeld nie. In die lig van die destydse proses van evolusionêre konstitusionele ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika, kon hy egter ook nie in daardie stadium optrede teen die SARK steun nie. Na sy mening moes die SARK eers die geleentheid gegun word om sy politieke aspirasies asook dié van sy leiers te heroorweeg. Hy het egter gemeld dat indien die SARK se benadering nie spoedig sou verander nie, die Regering verplig mag word om op te tree.

4.2.3 Die Komitee steun professor [REDACTED] se siening dat die feit dat die SARK nie deur buitelandse organisasies of persone gemanipuleer word nie, nie beteken dat daar nie kragtens artikel 2 van die Wet teen dié organisasie opgetree kan word nie. Daar dien in die verband ook gemeld te word dat die SARK nie sedert die Eloff-kommissie se verslag uitgebring is, van beleid verander het nie, maar dat dit eerder sy beleid

van konfrontasie politiek verskerp het. In die afgelope tyd het sy ampsdraers hulle veral daarop toegelê om die Republiek ekonomies geïsoleer te probeer kry.

4.3 Daar kan verwag word dat indien die twee organisasies tot geaffekteerde organisasies verklaar sou word, filiale van die UDF en lidkerke van SARK steeds namens die organisasies geld vanuit die buiteland sal ontvang. 'n Vraag wat ook in dié verband ontstaan, is of daar enige beheer oor die vloei van die rand binne die rand monitêre gebied is en of die vloei vanuit die buiteland via ander persone en organisasies se bankrekenings in Suid-Afrika na geaffekteerde organisasies, effektief beheer kan word. Aan die ander kant, alhoewel probleme in laasgenoemde verband ondervind mag word, is dit tog moontlik om beheer oor die fondse van 'n geaffekteerd verklaarde organisasie uit te oefen deur van hom te eis om sy jaarlike finansiële state voor te lê. Die Registrateur van Geaffekteerde Organisasies of sy gevolmagtigde kan ook ondersoek doen na enige stuk in besit van so 'n organisasie wat op sy geldsake betrekking het, en kan besonderhede van die organisasie aanvra van geld wat ten opsigte van die organisasie ontvang of uitbetaal is.

5.1 Die Minister van Wet en Orde het versoek dat die Werkkomitee by die oorweging of optrede teen die SARK gewens sou wees, veral ook moet let op die feit dat sodanige optrede sal meebring dat dié deel van die fondse uit die buiteland wat die SARK tot dusver wel vir suiwer godsdienslike en maatskaplike aangeleenthede aangewend het, ook afgesny sal word. Daar sal moontlik geargumenteer kan word (soos die

Eloff-kommissie ook uitgewys het (par 4.2.1(d) hierbo)) dat onskuldige persone ook in 'n mate daaronder sal ly indien daar kragtens die Wet teen die SARK opgetree word. Hier moet in gedagte gehou word dat die Wet nie voorsiening maak vir die uitsondering van 'n gedeelte van buitelandse fondse wat vir ander doeleindes as die bedryf van politiek aangewend word nie - as 'n organisasie tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie kragtens die Wet verklaar is, word die ontvangs van alle buitelandse geld vir of namens so 'n organisasie verbied.

5.2 Dit is nie moontlik om presies te bepaal welke persentasie van die SARK se begroting vir suiwer godsdienstige en maatskaplike aangeleenthede aangewend word nie. Die Eloff-kommissie (Deel IV, par 3.4) het wel aangedui dat die bedrag geld wat deur die SARK bestee word "to help the needy and deserving ... can only be described as meagre when compared with that used for mainly political purposes ...".

5.3 Die Komitee het in paragraaf 4.10 van sy verslag soos volg gemeld:

"In die 'Sunday Times' van 30 Junie 1985 word deur Beyers Naudé, Algemene Sekretaris van die SARK, bevestig dat die SARK gedurende 1984 slegs R54 000 van sy totale inkomste van meer as R4,5 miljoen aan godsdienstige sake bestee het. Dit is slegs 1,2 persent van sy totale inkomste. Dit word verder vermeld dat die SARK geweier het om besonderhede te verskaf van sy massiewe geheime betalings aan politieke aangehoudenes en hulle families of ander slagoffers van apartheid omrede die SARK vrees dat

sodanige persone se identiteit geopenbaar kan word.

Naudé word verder soos volg aangehaal:

'A substantial amount of the SACC's income is spent outside church needs, for example on detainees and their families and dependants. But I think it is wrong to make a distinction between what the council spends on spiritual and secular matters'.

Volgens die berig is die oogmerke van die Asingeni Fonds van die SARK, volgens Naudé uitgebrei om nou ook die volgende in te sluit: (i) vakbonde betrokke in arbeidsdispute, (ii) regsakies teen prysverhogings van busgelde teen bus- maatskappye wat hoofsaaklik swartmense vervoer, (iii) swart bewussynsgroepe, om hulle te versterk in hul stryd en (iv) protes teen verskuiwings en hervestiging en hulp aan die slagoffers daarvan.

Die berig sluit af met 'n verwysing na 'n dokument van die African Bursary Fund (een van die fondse van die SARK) wat baat by fondse uit die buiteland. Volgens dié dokument is een van die doelstellings van die fonds, 'clearly also a demonstration of the Church's role in the struggle for liberation of its oppressed masses'."

5.4 Die situasie doen hom dus hier voor dat die SARK aan die een kant klaarblyklik slegs 'n klein gedeelte van sy fondse vir werklike godsdienstige en maatskaplike aangeleenthede aanwend, terwyl 'n groot deel van die fondse vir politieke doeleindes gebruik word. Een van sy politieke doelstellings waarvoor die fondse aangewend word, is om die Republiek op ekonomiese

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gebied geïsoleer te probeer kry. Indien die laasgenoemde doel verweselik sou word, kan dit werkloosheid bevorder en veral die hulpbehoewendes tot nadeel strek en verdere maatskaplike probleme in die Republiek in die hand werk. Die vraag ontstaan dus of daar nie uiteindelik groter nadeel aan hulpbehoewendes, ens. veroorsaak sal word indien die SARK toegelaat word om onbelemmerd met sy politieke bedrywighede voort te gaan, as wat die posisie sou wees indien sy fondse uit die buiteland algeheel afgesny word nie.



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AAN: Die Minister van Wet en Orde

FEITEVERSLAG INGEVOLGE ARTIKEL 8 VAN DIE WET OP GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET NO 31 VAN 1974): DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF).

1. Inleiding

Die Minister van Wet en Orde het op 25 Junie 1986 ingevolge artikel 8 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 die volgende persone aangestel as h komitee om h feiteverslag te doen ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front": Streeklanddros [redacted], Landdros [redacted] en Landdros [redacted].

Die Komitee sien dit as sy taak om verslag te doen oor feite wat lig werp op die vraag of, in die woorde van artikel 8 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974, politiek deur of deur middel van die "United Democratic Front" as organisasie bedryf word met behulp van of in samewerking met of in oorleg met of onder die invloed van h organisasie of persoon in die buiteland.

By oorweging van die aangeleentheid het die komitee sover seker aspekte betref gebruik gemaak van h verslag van h komitee bestaande uit mnre [redacted] en [redacted] wat onlangs h diepgaande ondersoek na onder andere die UDF onderneem het (hierna die Scheffer verslag genoem).

2. DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" AS ORGANISASIE WAT POLITIEK

BEDRYF:

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2.1 Die bovermelde Wet omskryf organisasie as-
"ook 'n liggaam, groep of vereniging van persone, 'n
instelling, federasie, genootskap, beweging, trust of fonds
met of sonder regs persoonlikheid, en of dit ooreenkomstig 'n
wet gestig of geregistreer is al dan nie"

Afgesien van die betekenis wat die Wetgewer aan die woord
organisasie verleen, word die gewone betekenis wat aan die woord
organisasie verleen word, behou naamlik, (i) handeling van
organiseer, (ii) manier waarop iets georganiseer, ingerig is en
(iii) genootskap, vereniging, party wat as georganiseerde
liggaam optree. (sien HAT 2 de hersiene uitgebreide uitgawe
1981.)

Op 26 November 1984 het die Staatsregsadviseurs die mening
uitgespreek dat die UDF 'n organisasie is soos beoog in die
woordbepaling in artikel 1 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid
(Wet 74 van 1982.) Op 17 Oktober 1985 het die Regsadviseurs
hulle vorige mening bevestig (Bylae A). Die woordbepaling ten
opsigte waarvan die Regsadviseurs hul opinie gegee het, is soos
volg:

"Enige vereniging van persone met of sonder
regspersoonlikheid en ongeag of hy ooreenkomstig 'n wet
ingestel of geregistreer is al dan nie".

Ons is van mening dat die woordskrywing van organisasie verva
in artikel 1 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974,
heelwat wyer uitgelê moet word.

2.2 Ons het oorweging geskenk aan wat daartoe aanleiding gegee
het dat die UDF gestig is. Dit blyk dat die mobilisering van d

massas gedurende 1981 afgeneem het. Volgens Auret van Heerden, voormalige president van NUSAS, in 'n NUSAS publikasie onder die opskrif "Democratic opposition: The progressive movement in South Africa" is dit een van die grootste probleme om die organisasies aan die lewe te hou. Hy sê:

"So we are going to learn to develop new ways to sustaining our organisation, of maintaining the involved ...".

Van Heerden beoog 'n voortdurende program van aktiwiteit om mense betrokke te maak en die organisasie aan die lewe te hou. Verwysende na eerstevlak organisasies sê hy dat die mense nie in een kompartement of organisasie moet bly nie:

"We cannot limit their involvement to one organisation and one set of issues. Their experience and awareness has to be one which goes beyond the confines of any one sphere of organisation for the simple reason that no one sphere is capable of liberating our people".

Die verskillende kompartemente tussen die organisasies moet, volgens hom, afgebreek word en 'n graad van koördinering tussen die sogenoemde eerstevlak-organisasies moet bewerkstellig word sodat-

"... instead of community organisations fighting on one front and trade unions on another, we could start to bring those fronts together and advance as a progressive movement".

Van Heerden bepleit dat gemeenskapsorganisasies en die streeksstrukture met ander soortgelyke strukture op plaaslike en nasionale vlak moet koördineer:

"By this I mean linking up with similar groups locally and nationally, and with other spheres of organisation like trade unions, student and women's groups".

Vanuit hierdie gesigspunt is daar voortgegaan om op verskillende datums sedert 14 Mei 1983 UDF oorkoepelende streekliggame dwarsoor die Republiek tot stand te bring. By die stigting was groot aantal organisasies betrokke en is tans geaffilieer by die UDF. Die bestuurs- en komiteelede van die UDF verteenwoordig verskillende organisasies en dieselfde persone beklee verskillende posisies in verskillende geaffilieerde organisasies (Bylae B).

2.3 Die stigtingsvergadering van die UDF op nasionale vlak het op 20 Augustus 1983 te Mitchells' Plein Kaapstad plaasgevind. Oor die 400 organisasies was tydens die stigtingsvergadering verteenwoordig.

2.4 'n Stel "Working Principles" is tydens die vergadering van 2 Augustus 1983 aanvaar asook die "United Democratic Front Declaration". Al die organisasies wat verteenwoordig was en wat die deklarasie onderteken het, is as geaffilieerdes van die UDF aanvaar.

2.5 Omrede die gemelde deklarasie die basis van die UDF vorm word dit hieronder volledig aangehaal:

"UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DECLARATION

WE, THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA SAY WITH ONE VOICE
TO THE WHOLE WORLD THAT WE

cherish the vision of a united, democratic South Africa
based on the will of the people,

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will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitation

AND IN OUR MARCH TO A FREE AND JUST SOUTH AFRICA, WE ARE GUIDED BY THESE NOBLE IDEALS

we stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country;

we stand for a single non-racial, unfragmented South Africa
A South Africa free of bantustans and Group Areas;

we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation must end.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE NOBLE IDEALS, AND, ON THIS 20TH DAY OF AUGUST 1983, AT ROCKLANDS CIVIC CENTRE, MITCHELLS' PLAIN, WE JOI HANDS AS COMMUNITY, WOMEN'S, STUDENTS', RELIGIOUS, SPORTING AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS TO SAY NO TO APARTHEID.

We say NO to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill - a bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth

We say NO to the Koornhof Bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthright;

We say YES to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day:

WE KNOW THAT

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this government is determined to break the unity of our people;

that our people will face greater hardships, that our people living in racially segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. That rents and other basic charges will increase. And, that our living standards fall:

that working people will be divided. Race from race; urban from rural; employed from unemployed; men from women. Low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue;

students will continue to suffer under unequal education created to supply a reservoir of cheap labour. Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms: the religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religions of our people;

the oppression and exploitation of women will continue. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women will be divided from their children and families. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our families;

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non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sports facilities. And, forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow.

WE KNOW THAT APARTHEID WILL CONTINUE

that white domination and exploitation will continue; that forced removals, the Group Areas Act and the Bantustans will remain.

WE KNOW that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of the land, wealth and resources of the country. That the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life.

WE KNOW that the government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us. Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and death.

Mindful of the fact that the new Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination,

WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO UNITING ALL OUR PEOPLE WHEREVER THEY MAY BE IN THE CITIES AND COUNTRYSIDES, THE FACTORIES AND MINES, SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, HOUSING AND SPORTS FIELDS, CHURCHES, MOSQUES AND TEMPLES, TO FIGHT FOR OUR FREEDOM.

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we therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to

WORK TOGETHER TO

organise and mobilise all community, worker, student, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front;

consult our people regularly and honestly, and bravely and strive to represent their views and aspirations:

educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity;

build and strengthen all organisations of the people;

unite in action against these Bills and other day-to-day problems affecting our people.

AND NOW THEREFORE

WE PLEDGE TO COME TOGETHER IN THIS UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT AND

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

2.6 Tydens dieselfde vergadering is 'n stel "Working Principles aanvaar wat die doelstellings soos volg uiteensit:

"Aims and Objectives

- (a) To oppose the constitution and Koornhof Bills, as decided at the first national conference held in Cape

Town on the 20th August 1983, and any future conference.

- (b) To develop the maximum possible participation in the front.
- (c) To encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the UDF".

2.7 In 'n verslag van die Nasionale Sekretariaat aan die Nasionale Algemene Raad (NGC) van die UDF (verwys ook asseblief na die struktuur van die UDF- bylae C) op 17 Desember 1983, is die doelstellings van die UDF soos volg wyer omskryf:

- "(i) To take the ideological initiative out of the hands of the state
- (ii) to unite our people accross class, colour, ethnic and organizational lines to oppose the Apartheid reform offensive of Botha
- (iii) to co-ordinate the activities of all organizations opposed to Apartheid
- (iv) to advance the mobilization and to deepen the organization of our people
- (v) to prevent the state from implementing its so-called reforms, or at least, to make it difficult for them to do so.

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- (vi) to deepen the understanding of our people on issues affecting their lives, such as the P.C. Proposals and Koornhof Bills, the Community Councils and Black Local Authorities, the Coloured Management Committees and the new housing policy, etc.
- (vii) to establish a broad front to serve as the voice of our people
- (viii) to link politics with the day to day experience of our people.
- (ix) to draw into the front groupings operating outside the government structures".

2.8 In 'n gewysigde stel "Working Principles" wat op 7 April 1985 tydens die eerste amptelike UDF-konferensie (wat van 5 - 7 April 1985 gehou is) aanvaar is, word die doelstellings van die UDF soos volg uiteengesit:

"3. OBJECTS

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

- 3.1 articulate opposition to the legislative programme of the government in so far as such a programme conflicts with democratic principles

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

(Bylae D)

2.9 In 'n verklaring van die "UDF National General Council" tydens die bovermelde konferensie word die volgende gesê:

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

Op die tweede bladsy van dieselfde verklaring word die volgende gesê:

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

In 'n "Secretarial Report" wat deel vorm van die notule van die eerste jaarlikse konferensie hierbo na verwys, word die volgende as een van die sleutel aspekte vir die toekoms gesien:

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"The Transformation of mass support to active participation in the day to day activities of our organisations: we must deepen our organisation." (ons onderstreping)

Verder aan in dieselfde verslag word die volgende gesê:

"We need to deepen organisation and the level of understanding of our members. If we do not do that, we run the risk of leading paper organisations".

2.10 'n Groot aantal besluite is ook tydens die bovermelde jaarlikse konferensie geneem. Ons ag dit nie nodig om na al die besluite te verwys nie maar haal slegs sommige daarvan aan as voorbeeld van die tipe van besluite wat geneem is en waaruit blyk dat die UDF hom op vele terreine met die politiek bemoei:-

1. Op die gebied van aanhoudings word onder andere geëis:
"The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners".
2. Op die gebied van internasionale verhoudinge onder die opskrif "Considering" word onder andere die volgende gesê:
"that just as we seek to isolate the apartheid regime inside the country, our international contacts can contribute to the isolation of the regime internationally".
3. Op die gebied Vakbondwese word onder andere besluit:
"to encourage, promote and assist unorganised workers in both urban and rural areas to join or form trade unions".
4. Omtrent werkloosheid is onder andere soos volg besluit:

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"to fight increases in rent, transport fares and the price of foodstuffs, fuel and other essentials"

en

"to raise awareness amongst all the workers of our people as to the causes and solutions to the present economic crisis"

5. Onder die opskrif "Forced Removals" word onder andere geëis:

"the right of all South Africans to live and work where they choose",

en word verklaar:

"Our commitment to support all people resisting removals and to build an organisation to facilitate such resistance".

6. Onder die opskrif "Militarisation" word onder andere die volgende besluit:

"to support in whatever way possible those who do not join the SADF",

en

"to call for the disbanding of the SADF and all the so-called security forces".

7. Onder die opskrif "Women" word h beroep gedoen op vroue:

"to bring their organisations into the United Democratic Front, so that we can realise our commitment to fight shoulder to shoulder with our menfolk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination".

8. Onder die opskrif "Black Local Authorities" is onder andere besluit:

"to strive for the collapse of the local authority system throughout the country" en

"to direct all regions to consolidate, establish and encourage the formation of community organisations which must become the alternatives to the local authority system" en

"and declare that such organisations established by the people are the representatives of the people".

9. Onder die opskrif "Tricameral Parliament and Black Forum" is onder andere die volgende besluit:

"To creatively challenge all the structures under the tri-cameral parliament through people's organisations that will address the grievances of the people".

10. Onder die opskrif "Citizenship" word vasberadenheid uitgespreek om onder andere

"to strengthen links between urban and rural areas to frustrate state strategy" en

"to devise an effective programme of action against the pa laws and the denationalisation policy of the racist regime as a matter of urgency".

11. Onder die opskrif "Imperialism" is onder andere besluit:

"To demand the immediate end to US and British collaboration with the apartheid regime".

12. Onder die opskrif "Education" is onder andere besluit:

"that long-term demands must be collected and furthered by popularising the Education Charter Campaign as an

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alternative to apartheid education in urban and rural areas."

Volledigheidshalwe word die hele notule aangeheg as Bylae 1

2.11 Sedert die besluite geneem is in April 1985 het die UDF voortgegaan met die organisering en die betrekking van ander organisasies by sy werksaamhede. In 'n inligtingstuk getiteld "Join an organisation Now" word onder die opskrif "Political Organisation" die volgende gesê:

"Nothing can stifle the peoples demands for political rights. Again and again the government has tried to ban political organisations, detain their leaders and make people fearful of joining them.

Yet, thousands of people have put their support behind the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Anti-PC, the Release Mandela Committee and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee who have been voicing and fighting for equal political rights for all South Africans.

The low polls in the tricameral parliament elections dealt decisive blow to the government plans. This success can largely be attributed to the work of these organisations, united under the UDF.

They are preparing to counter any new moves the government may make. Their doors are always open to people who want become actively involved in fighting against apartheid. A day by day more people volunteer to join these organisations.

If you too want to make this decision - contact the local branch, group or committee in your area. If you do not know

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how to do so, you can contact the UDF office at Khotso House, 42 De Villiers Street, Johannesburg."

2.12 Op 31 Augustus 1985 het 'n massa begrafnisdiens vir onluste-slagoffers in Oos-London plaasgevind. By die geleentheid het Steve Tshwete, president van die UDF, Grens volgens 'n berig in die Pretoria News van 2 September 1985 die volgende gesê:

"What makes (State President P W) Botha secure at the moment is that the fires are burning in the townships, but it will not be long before the fires burn in Oxford Street (a main street in nearby white East London)."

Kompol het bevestig dat hy inderdaad dié woorde gebesig het.

2.13 In 'n joernaal van die UDF volume 1 No 1 uitgegee in November 1985 onder die naam "Isizwe" en wat klaarblyklik bedoe is om die sienswyses van die UDF uit te dra (alhoewel die teendeel in die inleiding beweer word) verskyn op bladsy 11 die volgende onder die opskrif "Power Sharing":

"'Power-Sharing' is clearly intended as a form of evolutionary change. It suggests sharing what exists. The existing cake should be more equitably divided. Some who were not invited to taste the fruits of power should now be allowed at the table to eat, or at least to nibble. This is a revival of what SPROCAS called a 'taste of power' more than a decade ago.

Central to the politics of negotiation outside the NP is the conception of the extension of civil rights. It is worth spelling out that a national liberation struggle does not seek to be 'accommodated' within an existing order, not merely to have rights gradually extended to the majority c

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people. It is a call for the People to Govern - not to share power as if the minority were equals of the majority. Hierdie is na ons mening maar een voorbeeld van vele, van die UDF om enige inisiatiewe van die Regering op politieke gebied, by voorbaat by die massas in diskrediet te bring.

2.14 Gedurende Desember 1985 is 'n massa saamtrek onder die vaandel van die UDF gereël om plaas te vind op Sondag 15 Desember 1985. Die tema daarvan was "Free Mandela leader of the People. In 'n pamflet in die verband onder die opskrif "UDF campaign to free Mandela + others" word die volgende gesê:

"The UDF as the leading force in the democratic movement in South Africa believes that it is its historic responsibility to launch a mass campaign for the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada, Govan Mbeki and others" en

"We call on the workers movement, the students, youth, women, community organisations, churches and businessmen to give their support to this campaign and actively participate.

Let us take this campaign to every factory and house. To every university, school and church. To the urban and the rural areas"

Na ons mening is dit hieruit duidelik dat die organisering van die UDF, om hulle doel te bereik nie net tot organisasies beperk is nie maar inderdaad ook tot elke individu uitgebrei is.

2.15 In die "UDF Information Bulletin volume 1 No 2 December 1985" by name "UDF Update" word onder die opskrif "Comment" 'n kort oorsig van gebeure gegee en onder andere die volgende gesê

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"Our task is to continue to isolate the enemy locally and internationally. Secondly we must mobilise our people, built strong organisations and strengthen discipline. The struggle must be taken to a higher level. Only in this way will we move forward to people's power".

(Bylae F)

In die tweede uitgawe van die UDF-joernaal "Isiswe" in Maart 1986 word 'n wye aantal onderwerpe van publieke aard bespreek. Ons ag dit nie nodig om verder daarna te verwys nie, behalwe om op die volgende uitlatings op bl 11 te wys:

"We must have no illusions about the difficulties of building people's power. The gains we make in developing organs of people's power are not necessarily permanent. We are locked into a massive power struggle, we have made important gains, but these are not necessarily irreversible (ons onderstreeping - Volledigheidshalwe word die twee uitgawes van "Isizwe" asook verder relevante aanhalings daaruit deur 'n lid van Kompol as bylae G aangeheg).

2.16 In die April 1986 uitgawe van die UDF inligtingsbulletin "UDF Update" word 'n groot aantal onderwerpe verslag oor gedoen. Ons wys slegs op die volgende uitlatings onder die opskrif "Comment" op bl 1.

"We have made important gains in the last year. The initiative has passed to the people.

Apartheid will be removed through the combined actions of the organised masses. This means that we need to build and develop our organisations in the factories, the communities

amongst women, students and youth in every sector of the people. We need to do this at an area, block and street level - wherever the people are".

(Bylae H)

2.17 Uit die Junie 1986 uitgawe van die "UDF Update" blyk dit dat die werwing van lede om die UDF te steun ook na blankes uitgebrei is. Onder die opskrif "UDF's call to whites campaign draws large numbers" word onder andere soos volg berig:

"The 'UDF call to whites' campaign which run for two months included a number of public meetings, house meetings, a UDF Open Day, a concert and a flower laying ceremony at the graves of Alexandra unrest victims. Over 300 white people attended this ceremony despite being threatened with arrest".

Die taak om blankes te werf, is klaarblyklik opgedra aan 'n komitee genaamd "The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee" (JODAC) en die veldtog is geloods by 'n "highly successful meeting addressed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert; Dr Beyers Naudé and Murphy Morobe". In dieselfde publikasie is persone opgeroep om ter herdenking aan die Soweto onluste, op 16 Junie 1986 van die werf weg te bly. Onder die opskrif "Comment" op bl 1 word onder andere die volgende gesê:

"Our demands are the same as before:

The resignation of members of Parliament, councillors and bantustan leaders.

The unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees.

The unbanning of the ANC and COSAS.

The immediate withdrawal of troops from the townships.
The total dismantling of apartheid and the transfer of power to the people."

(Bylae I)

2.18 Daar is heelwat ander geskifte waaruit die doelstellings en optrede van die UDF blyk. Ons is egter die mening toegedaan dat dié waarna hierbo verwys is vir ons genoegsaam is om tot di slotsom te kom dat die UDF 'n liggaam of beweging is wat hom bes hou met die handeling van organiseer. Dit is volgens die feite organisasie wat uit 'n groot groep ander organisasies bestaan. Organisasies wat as gevolg van die samestelling van die topstruktuur georganiseer word deur die UDF. Die hoofdoelstellings van dié organisasie is om politiek te bedryf 'n front teenoor die regering te vorm. Ter uitvoering daarvan bedryf die UDF tans politiek op bykans elke terrein van die gemeenskapslewe en is die invloed daarvan algemeen bekend.

3. BUITELANDSE ONDERSTEUNING

3.1 Sover die buitelandse element betref, vereis artikel 2 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 dat die organisasie bedryf moet word "met behulp van of in samewerking met of in oorleg met of onder die invloed van 'n organisasie of persoon in die buiteland".

As agtergrond sover hierdie aangeleentheid betref en wat dit duidelik stel dat die UDF nie net tevrede is met die binnelands steun wat dit geniet nie, maar ook uitgebreide steun vir hulle politieke oogmerke in die buiteland gesoek het, sal by geleentheid kortliks na die Scheffer-verslag verwys word.

3.2 Dit blyk dat die UDF se binnelandse en buitelandse beleid dieselfde is naamlik:

".....to isolate the racist regime from any support, to mobilise the greatest possible support.... to encourage any action that will reduce the capacity of the regime to continue its oppressive system...."

Hierdie standpunt word weerspieël in 'n dokument getiteld "The role of UDF in the international Struggle against apartheid."

Ter bereiking van die doel moes ooreenkomste met internasionale organisasies, state, politieke organisasies en kerkgroepe aangegaan word in die veronderstelling dat sekere state en organisasies hulle sal bystaan in die stryd en sal verstaan dat dit 'n nasionale bevrydingstryd is.

Die UDF het tydens die Asiër- en Kleurlingverkiesings briewe aan verskeie state en organisasies gestuur met versoeke vir solidariteitsbetoning: Die gevolg hiervan was dat wyle Mev Gandhi, destydse Eerste Minister van Indië, 'n beroep op kiesers in Suid-Afrika gedoen het om nie te stem nie, en verder dat die Veiligheidsraad van die Verenigde Nasies die nuwe konstitusie van die RSA as ongeldig verklaar het.

([REDACTED])

3.3 Die sekretaris van die Natal UDF, Yunis Mohamed, het op 22 Julie 1983 briewe aan 22 instansies in Engeland, Nieu-Zeeland, Verenigde State van Amerika, Nederland, Frankryk, Amsterdam, Cameroun, Egipte en Indië gestuur. Die versoek was dat

boodskappe van solidariteit tydens die nasionale loodsing van die UDF gestuur moet word. 'n Soortgelyke versoek is ook aan die Voorsitter van die Spesiale Komitee teen apartheid gerig.

3.4 Verdere voorbeelde van steunwerwing in die buiteland blyk onder andere uit: (i) die beswaar wat die UDF gemaak het teen die voorgenome besoek van die voetbal toerspan van Engeland aan die Republiek. Terror Lekota sê in 'n brief aan die voorsitter van SANROC onder andere:

"....if it does finally takes place (it) will be seen by our people as a deliberate endorsement of these racial disparities in SA sport, and contempt for our people's expressed and demonstrated opposition to apartheid in sport...."

(ii) die besluite wat op 1 en 2 Junie 1984 op 'n vergadering van die National Executive Committee (NEC) van die UDF geneem is naamlik:

(a) Die uitslag van die miljoen handtekening veldtog wat teen die Indiër en Kleurling verkiesings gerig was sal aan die Verenigde Nasies gestuur word,

(b) die diplomate van Afrika moet op die hoogte gehou word met die verwickelinge in die Republiek,

(c) 'n brief moet aan die SA Biskopraad geskryf word voor die Staatspresident se besoek aan die Pous om die UDF se standpunt oor die besoek aan die Pous oor te dra.

Tydens dieselfde vergadering het Cassim Saloojee verslag gedoen oor sy besoek aan die "U N Centre Against Apartheid" gedurende Maart 1984. Mohamed Valli (bestuurslid van die UDF Nasionale Uitvoerende Raad) het ook verslag gedoen oor sy besoeke aan

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Kanada, Verenigde State van Amerika en Holland waar hy met verskeie organisasies samesprekings gevoer het.

([REDACTED])

3.5 Tydens 'n Algemene Raadsvergadering (RGC) van die Transvaal UDF op 20 Oktober 1984 is besluit dat die sekretariaat die vraagstuk van internasionale steun moet ondersoek omdat, hoe groter die steun vir die UDF is hoe minder die kans dat die organisasie verbied kan word.

([REDACTED])

3.6 Die Algemene Raad van die Verenigde Nasies het 1985 as die "Jaar van die Jeug" aangewys. In 'n dokument waarvan die outeur onbekend is, oor die "International Youth Year" verskyn die volgende stelling onder die opskrif "International Developments":

"An International Secretariate has been established to co-ordinate the IYY internationally. We in the UDF are fortunate in that we have a South African who is a UDF member on the Secretariate (not representing UDF but YWCA)... Up to this point, it seems as if the UDF are to be invited to the General Assembly on Youth as the official representative of South Africa. We will be given a platform on that occasion. The SA Government will also be going there but will not be recognised".

([REDACTED])

3.7 In die UDF Transvaal Sekretariaat se verslag gedateer 9 Maart 1985 word die indruk gelaat dat die UDF deur verskeie

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organisasies wêreld-wyd ondersteun word.

(Bylae J)

3.8 Dat die pogings van die UDF om steun en hulp vir sy saak in die buiteland te werf nie vrugtelos was nie, blyk duidelik uit die notule van die UDF se Jaarlikse Nasionale Konferensie wat op 5 April 1985 gehou is. In die Sekretariële verslag onder die hoof "International Relations" op bladsy 5 - 6 van die verslag word die UDF se Buitelandse verhoudinge uiteengesit. Dit lees soos volg:

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

Anti-apartheid organisations throughout the world have firmly supported the Front since inception. Indeed, those governments which have stood up against South Africa have done so largely because of the strength of anti-apartheid movements in those countries. In this regard we must sing out the Swedish Labour Movement which was the first to acknowledge the contribution of the UDF to the struggle for freedom by awarding the Front the 'Let Live Prize' on 27 July 1984. The prize was received by Comrades Murphey

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Morobe and Cassim Saloojee. Subsequent to this, a number of organisations in Sweden produced booklets and posters on the UDF and of these were widely distributed. Progressives in countries such as the Netherlands, in Great Britain and elsewhere in continental Europe, rose up to the occasion as they pressured their governments to support the anti-apartheid cause. The most dramatic work was that performed by the British AAM and, early this year, the "Free South Africa Movement" who successfully pressured these governments to vote in favour of the call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; the release of UDF leaders who are charged with treason and the condemnation of murder of our people in Crossroads who were resisting forced removals.

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

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anti-imperialist camp includes anti-imperialist groups, organisations, classes and strata in those countries.

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

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

(Bylae E)

3.9 Tydens dieselfde vergadering op 5 April 1985 is die volgende resoluëie geneem:

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"UDF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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

NOTING:

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

BELIEVING:

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

CONSIDERING:

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

WE THEREFORE RESOLVE:

UDF consolidate and develops the UDF's international contacts, in accordance with the objectives and principles of the UDF". (ons onderstreping)

(Bylae E)

3.10 Ten opsigte van die voorgenome Nieu Zeeland voetbaltoer na die RSA lees die notule van dieselfde bovermelde konferensie as volg:

"NOTING

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

FURTHER NOTING

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

AND BELIEVING

that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society

THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. to warn the New Zealand Rugby Board that any tour of South Africa by a New Zealand Rugby team will be regarded as complicity in the crime of apartheid

2. to urge the New Zealand Rugby Board and the people of New Zealand to ensure that such a tour does not occur

3. to co-operate with and support the South African Council on Sport and all other organisations inside and outside the country in mobilising mass resistance against rebel tours, and in particular the New Zealand rugby tour".

Die NEC het op 4 April 1985 besluit dat Eerwaarde Stofile (Sekretaris UDF Grens) Nieu-Zeeland en Australië as gas van die A A M en HART sou besoek. Dit is algemeen bekend dat hy getuigenis in Nieu Zeeland gelewer het in verband met die beoogde "All Black" voetbal toer en dat die toer daarna afgelas is.

Volgens 'n UDF publikasie "UDF Update" No 1, Julie 1985 was Eerwaarde Stofile na Nieu Zeeland gestuur "to present our case to the people of New Zealand".

[REDACTED]

3.11 In dieselfde publikasie verskyn die volgende stelling onder die opskrif "International Support":

"The National General Council of the UDF committed itself to the complete isolation of S A internationally."

Dit is duidelik dat 'n groot deel van die politiek wat die UDF bedryf daarin geleë is om S A op alle moontlike terreine te isoleer. Uit die voorafgaande blyk dit dat die UDF in die verband swaar steun op en hulp verkry van organisasies en personele

in die buiteland om hierdie deel van sy politiek suksesvol te k bedryf.

3.12 In h Veiligheidsverslag oor h UDF Algemene Bestuursvergadering gehou op 27 Februarie 1986 te die Presbiteriaanse Kerk, Heideveld, Athlone word gemeld dat Jeremy Cronin (Opvoedkunde en opleiding W.P. RGC en oud ingeperkte) h kort inset gelewer het. Hy het onder andere genoem dat die UDF afgevaardigdes, wat samesprekings met die African National Congress (ANC) in Swede gevoer het, die volgende terugvoeringsverslag gelewer het, naamlik:-

- a) dat die UDF die inisiatief moet neem ten opsigte van:
"RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN"
- b) dat die UDF en die CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS (COSATU) moet saamwerk.

4. DIE ANC EN DIE UDF:

4.1 Mnre [redacted] en [redacted] kom in hulle verslag tot die volgende bevinding: "Daar bestaan geen twyfel dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommuniste Party (SAKP) steeds h alliansie met die ANC in die buiteland vorm nie en dat die SAKP in werklikhei die ANC in die buiteland oorheers. Die SAKP se strewe is die vereniging van alle klasse persone sodat hy deur die massas, onder die vaandel van die ANC, die SA-Regering kan aandurf om Blanke dominansie te vernietig. Vir doeleindes van die bevrydingstryd word die "Freedom Charter" as basis aanvaar. Di ANC en die UDF het presies dieselfde doelstellings as die SAKP

die massas te politiseer en te mobiliseer om tot aksie oor te gaan om die bestaande stelsel omver te werp en 'n bestel gebaseer op die beginsels van die "Freedom Charter" daar te stel".

4.2 Oliver Tambo, President van die ANC, het in 'n verklaring van die Nasionale Uitvoerende Raad van die ANC op 8 Januarie 1983 ter herdenking van die 71ste jaar van die bestaan van die ANC 'n verdere beroep om 'n verenigde front gedoen. Hy sê:

"Last Year ... the ANC and its allies in struggle ... organised and carried out successful political confrontations and economic strikes throughout the country ... Our underground organised forces are striking deeper roots and multiplying among the masses who are the bedrock of our revolution. ... Our policy document, the Freedom Charter ... is winning the hearts and the minds of growing number of our people ...

To increase our offensive power:

- we must organise the people into strong mass democratic organisation;
- we must organise all revolutionaries into underground units of the ANC;
- we must organise all combatants into units of Umkhonto We Sizwe;
- We must organise all democratic forces into one front for nation liberation". (ons onderstreping)

Hy sê verder:

"The level of our political and armed offensive must reach

new heights during the year 1983. This will be our year of United Action!"

Die vraag kan gevra word of dit bloot toeval is dat die UDF kort daarna gestig is; onses insiens nie en ons gaan akkoord met die bevinding waarna verwys is in par 4.1 supra. Steun wat die ANC in die buiteland werf sal dus noodwendig ook die doelstellings van die UDF bevorder.

5. BUITELANDSE HULP MET BETREKKING TOT FONDSE

5.1 Bewyse dat die UDF fondse uit die buiteland ontvang is redelik min. Die rede daarvoor is klaarblyklik soos mnre [REDACTED] en [REDACTED] in hulle verslag bl 184 bevind het naamlik: "Van die vernaamste redes daarvoor is dat skenkings ontvang is, die UDF Streekrade nie 'n behoorlike boekhou stelsel bygehou het nie, en dat daar 'n vermoede bestaan dat sekere bedrae in die privaatrekenings van individue inbetaal is". 'n Verdere moontlike rede is dat die UDF daarop bedag is, dat hy moontlik as geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar kan word en fondse vanuit die buiteland derhalwe nie openlik en direk in hul bankrekening ontvang nie. Ons het egter die volgende bewyse gevind van fondse wat aan die UDF vanuit die buiteland toegesê is ter bevordering van die bedryf van sy politiek as organisasie:

(i)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(ii) [REDACTED]

(iii) Ebrahim Salojee die UDF se nasionale tesourier het in November 1984 n UDF verslag aan NOVIB gestuur waarin uiteengesit word vir watter doel fondse benodig word. NOVIB het n skenking van R190 000,00 aan die UDF gemaak vir die uitvoering van hulle program vir 1985 en n ooreenkoms tot die effek is tussen NOVIB en die UDF aangegaan.

[REDACTED]

(iv) Die "Swedish International Development Agency" (SIDA) het n bedrag van R900 000 aan die UDF bewillig. In di begroting vir die UDF vir 1985 word onder andere bevestig "SIDA has pledged towards the 1985-budget R900 000".

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(v) Op 14 Januarie 1985 is berig ontvang dat die Arbeid Instituut Solidariteitsfonds, Swede n skenking van R241 008,58 aan die UDF gemaak het.

(vi) Die "Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Washington" het ook n skenking van R3350 vir regs-kost aan die UDF gemaak. Kompol berig onder verwysing [REDACTED] dat vanuit [REDACTED] bronne blyk dit dat die bedr soos aangedui vanuit die buiteland op die UDF se bankrekening gedeponeer is.

(vii) [REDACTED] het die maatskappy Carruthers and Company te London Engeland, die bedrag van R150 000,00 by die kantore van die opdraggewende prokureur YUNUS MOHAMED (ook sekretaris van die UDF Natal) in Durban vir die verdediging van die 16 persone wat van hoogverraad aangekla is, inbetaal.

(viii) [REDACTED] prokureursfirma Carruthers and Company in London,

Engeland die bedrag van 25000 Britse pond (plus minus R100 000) gedurende die eerste helfte van Oktober 198 aan die firma Seedat Pillay and Govindsammy in Durban oorbetaal het ter delging van die regskostes van die UDF aangeklaagdes in die Pietermaritzburg hoogverraadsaak.

(ix)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] n ooreenkoms waar NOVIB in samewerking met die "Henk van Andel Trust Fund" in Nederland n bydrae van 56,150 frank aan die UDF ter uitvoering van projek no SAF 86-5/G-86, gemaak het.

(x)

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] die bedrag van R5851,90 (2334,91 UD Dollar) op 5 Junie 1986 per Rabobank, Nederland (Coop Centrale Raiffeisen-Boeren-Lenbank B A) Utrecht, Holland ten gunste van Saamstaan Publikasies Rural Committee Newspaper, Oudtshoorn RSA gedeponeer by die Standard Bank Oudtshoorn.

[REDACTED]
Saamstaan Publikasies word geïdentifiseer as verbonde aan die UDF.

6. Op die voorgenoemde feite is ons van oordeel dat die UDF as organisasie, politiek bedryf met behulp van en in samewerking van organisasies en persone in die buiteland.

GETEKEN TE PRETORIA OP HIERDIE

DAG VAN JULIE 1986.



[REDACTED] (VOORSITTER)

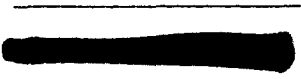
[REDACTED] (LID)

[REDACTED] (LID)

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1986*

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AANSTELLING VAN ADVIESKOMITEE: "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" EN ANDER ORGANISASIES

1.1 'n Komitee, bestaande uit twee beamptes van die Departement van Justisie is gedurende 1985 aangestel om die Minister van Wet en Orde onder andere te adviseer oor die wenslikheid, al dan nie, van die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee kragtens artikel 7 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front" (UDF), "Natal Indian Congress" (NIC) en die "Transvaal Indian Congress" (TIC)

1.2 Die Komitee het nou sy verslag uitgebring en 'n opsomming daarvan volg hierna:

2. Die geskiedenis van die betrokke organisasies soos deur die Komitee geskets, kan soos volg saamgevat word:

2.1 Die "Natal Indian Congress" en die voorloper tot die "Transvaal Indian Congress", die "Transvaal British Association", is in 1894 en 1903 onderskeidelik gestig.

2.2 Onder beïnvloeding van die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party (SAKP) het genoemde organisasies en verskeie ander linksgesinde organisasies later die "Congress Alliance" gevorm. Dié organisasies het die "Congress of the People" in 1955 verteenwoordig te Kliptown waar die "Freedom Charter" aanvaar is.

2.3 Na 'n tydperk van onaktiwiteit het NIC weer gedurende 1980 aktief geraak, terwyl TIC in 1983 heraktiveer is. Op 'n vergadering van NIC en die Transvaalse tak van die "Anti South African Indian Council" op 9 Januarie 1983 het Zac Yacoob vir die stigting van 'n "United Democratic Front" gepleit. Die UDF is daarna op 23 Januarie 1983 gestig. Die Nasionale loodsin van die UDF het op 20 Augustus 1983 plaasgevind.

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3. Die vernaamste bevindings van die Komitee word hieronder uiteengesit:

3.1 Die ANC en die UDF het presies dieselfde doelstelling as die SAKP om die massas te politiseer en te mobiliseer om die bestaande bestel omver te werp en 'n bestel gebaseer op die beginsels van die "Freedom Charter" daar te stel.

3.2 Die verrigtinge tydens die nasionale loodsing van die UDF was oorwegend ANC georiënteerd.

3.3 Die alliansie tussen die ANC en UDF is duidelik weerspieël in die samestelling van die nasionale bestuur wat tydens die Algemene Jaarvergadering wat in April 1985 verkies is. Die UDF se metodes ter bereiking van sy doelwit het mettertyd meer militant geraak. Sekere veldtogte en begrafnisdienste wat deur die UDF-lede toegespeek is, het tot die uitbreek van geweld met gepaardgaande lewensverlies geleid.

3.4 UDF beskermhere het hulle ten gunste van die ANC uitgespreek; UDF-lede is in die hantering van wapens en plofstowwe opgelei en lede van die UDF het hulle ten gunste van geweld uitgespreek, asook dreigemente van weerwraak ge-uiteer.

3.5 Beide NIC wat 'n belangrike rol gespeel het in die stigting van die UDF en TIC is aan die UDF geaffilieer. Beide organisasies streef die doelstellings van die UDF na en neem aan die bedrywighede van die UDF deel.

3.6 Die Komitee het tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat daar voldoende inligting is om 'n advieskomitee aan te stel om die bedrywighede van die betrokke organisasies te ondersoek. Die Komitee beveel egter om die volgende redes aan dat 'n advieskomitee nie aangestel word nie:

- (i) Ondervinding het geleer dat sodra 'n organisasie onwettig verklaar word sonder optrede teen, ampsdraers/lede die bedrywighede van die organisasie voortgesit word in 'n veranderde vorm met gewysigde doelstellings.
- (ii) Dit te laat is om nou optrede te oorweeg omdat veral die UDF binnelands en buitelandse erkenning geniet.
- (iii) Alhoewel dit betwyfel word of die UDF aan onderhandelings met die Regering sal deelneem, kan optrede teen die UDF in hul guns aangewend word deur te argumenteer dat die Staat teen partye opgetree het wat aan die onderhandelinge wou deelneem, maar deur die Staat se optrede verhoed word om dit te doen. Dit mag ook ander belanghebbende partye ontmoedig om deel te neem.
- (iv) Optrede teen die organisasies kan nie gelyktydig met die Hoogverraad verhoor (verwysende na die Pietmaritzburg- en Delmas-sake) oorweeg word nie. In die Transvaal verhoor staan die UDF as sulks op verhoor en gevolglik sal die bevinding van 'n advieskomitee nie voor die einde van die verhoor

bekend gemaak kan word nie omrede die gevaar bestaan dat die bevindings van die komitee en dié van die hof mag verskil. Twee verskillende uitsprake oor die bedrywighede van die UDF sal noodwendig verleentheid skep. Die Komitee mag besluit om getuies te roep wat ook in die verhore getuig het o moet getuig. Dit behels 'n risiko, indien die komitee besluit het om die hou van die verrigtinge nie bekend te maak nie, dat die werksaamhede van die komitee bekend sal word. Indien die komitee besluit om kennis aan organisasies van die ondersoek te gee sal die verdediging kan argumenteer dat hulle op twee fronte deur die Staat aangeval word en sodoend die beskuldigdes se verdediging beïnvloed.

- (v) Alhoewel die organisasies nie as sulks in Pietermaritzburg op 'verhoor' was nie, vertolk die algemene publiek dit so. Die Staatsadvokaat het in die ope hof tydens 'n argument gesê dat die Staat nie sal beweer dat die 'Natal Indian Congress' en die 'Transvaal Indian Congress' betrokke was in die omverwerping van die Regering nie, maar dat persone in die organisasies besig was om 'n revolusionêre klimaat te skep. 'n Teenoorgestelde bevinding deur advieskomitee sal beslis verleentheid skep."

3.7 Die Komitee beveel egter aan dat oorweging daaraan geskenk word om kragtens artikels 18, 19 en 20 van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 teen 27 persone wat deur hulle geïdentifiseer is, opgetree word.



UITERS GEHEIM

Lêer No. 2/4/1/1 (DDVz)
File

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR

AANSTELLING VAN ADVIESKOMITEE TEN OPSIGTE VAN
SEKERE ORGANISASIES

MINISTRIE VAN VEI EN ORDE
1986-06-09
DEPT OF LAW AND ORDER

1986-06-21
DIRECTORATE
SECURITY LEGISLATION

HDV
DRV 16/24/86
DRX
DDV
A.D.V.
13.03.1986
24/5/86
24/5/86
24/5/86

1.1 Na aanleiding van die Minister se versoek gedurende Augustus 1985 aan die Minister van Justisie dat 'n advieskomitee(s) ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front" (UDF), die "Natal Indian Congress" (NIC), die "Transvaal Indian Congress" (TIC), die "Azanian Students Organisation" (AZASO), die "Azanian Peoples Organisation" (AZAPO), en die "Azanian Students Movement" (AZASM), aangestel word, is menere [redacted] en [redacted] opdrag gegee om 'n ondersoek in dié verband in te stel. Daar is egter aan die [redacted]-komitee slegs opdrag gegee om verslag oor die UDF, NIC en TIC te doen.

1.2 Soos die Minister weet, het die [redacted]-komitee intussen aanbeveel dat daar nie teen UDF, NIC en TIC opgetree word nie. Die Staatsveiligheidsraad het dié aanbeveling aanvaar.

2. Daar is nog nie uitsluitse oor AZAPO, AZASO en AZASM verkry nie. Dit blyk egter in die lig van die besluit ten opsigte van UDF, NIC en TIC aangewese te wees om ook nie i dié stadium teen AZAPO, AZASO en AZASM op te tree nie, maa

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om eerder teen individuele lede daarvan op te tree, indien voldoende getuienis in dié verband ter hand sou kom.

3. Die aangeleentheid word aan die Minister voorgelê aangesien die Minister moontlik hieronder wil aandui of enige verdere stappe met betrekking tot dié organisasies as sulks gedoen moet word.

[Handwritten signature]
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
17/4/86. ————— 4/6/86

Geen verdere stappe moet teen die betrokke organisasies in hierdie stadium gedoen word nie/

Das geprek wys op h. f. se stappe

[Handwritten signature]
L-LE GRANGE
MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE
18/6/86

Die spreke wys ook beson

DAV ADV

Minister het aangedui dat hy verlang dat in voorlegging van hom gemaak word m.b.t die organisasies tov wie hy nie nou die Minister van Justisie gonade het, vir die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee nie. Indien ons op die bykomende inligting steeds van oordeel is dat die inligting voldoende is vir die aanstelling van sodanige komitees moet die nodige konsultasie in die verband aan die Minister van Justisie in sy onderhandelinge voorberei word.

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2/4/1/1 (V/Be)
J G Adendorff

211043/4

Die Kommissaris van die
Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie
Privaatsak X302
PRETORIA
0001

1986-07- -4

AANSTELLING VAN ADVIESKOMITEE TEN OPSIGTE VAN SEKERE ORGANISASIES

- Memo.
21.5.86*
1. Na aanleiding van die Minister se versoek gedurende Augustus 1985 aan die Minister van Justisie dat 'n advieskomitee(s) ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front" (UDF), die "Natal Indian Congress" (NIC), die "Transvaal Indian Congress" (TIC), die "Azanian Students Organisation" (AZASO), die "Azanian Peoples Organisation" (AZAPO), die "Azanian Students Movement" (AZASM), "South African Congress of Trade Unions" (SACTU) en die "South African Allied Workers Union" (SAAWU) aangestel word, is menere [redacted] en [redacted] opdrag gegee om 'n ondersoek in dié verband in te stel. Daar is egter aan die [redacted]-komitee slegs opdrag gegee om verslag oor die UDF, NIC en TIC te doen.
 2. Die Minister het die Minister van Justisie nou weer versoek om 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van die UDF, NIC en TIC aan te stel.
 3. Wat AZASO, AZAPO, AZASM, SACTU EN SAAWU betref, het die Minister aangedui dat hy geadviseer moet word of die noodsaaklikheid nog bestaan om 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van daardie organisasies aan te stel.
 4. U kommentaar en aanbeveling in dié verband sal waardeer word. Dit sal ook waardeer word indien getuienis rakende daardie organisasies se bedrywighede sedert die vorige verslae aan my voorgelê is, beskikbaar gestel kan word ten einde die Minister gepas te kan inlig.

J. H. BREYL

DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

3/7/86

CH
23/111/3 - Bere hierde op
1/11 24/11 en 24/11 Ac
vir organisasie 1986**DECLASSIFIED**



UDF. 1201

Lêer No. / File No.

10/3/14/1(V/Be)

2/4/12

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / THE DIRECTOR

MINISTER

WET OP GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 1974)

1. Die Staatsveiligheidsraad het besluit dat oorweging daaraan geskenk word om die "United Democratic Front" (UDF) en die "Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke" (SARK) tot geaffekteerde organisasies te verklaar.

2.1 Artikel 2(1) van die bogenoemde Wet bepaal soos volg:

"(1) Indien die Staatspresident oortuig is dat politiek deur of deur middel van 'n organisasie bedryf word met behulp van of in samewerking met of in oorleg met of onder die invloed van 'n organisasie of persoon in die buiteland, kan hy sonder kennisgewing aan eersgenoemde organisasie, maar behoudens die bepalings van artikel 8, daardie organisasie by proklamasie in die Staatskoerant tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar."

Artikel 8 van die bogenoemde Wet bepaal soos volg:

"Die bevoegdheid wat by artikel 2 aan die Staatspresident verleen word om 'n organisasie tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar, word nie uitgeoefen nie, tensy die Minister oorweging geskenk

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HDU
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ADX
VA
VB
VC
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Beleëte in SARK
op 10/3/14
24/12

Handwritten initials: B, 13

het aan h feiteverslag wat met betrekking tot daardie organisasie gedoen is deur h komitee bestaande uit drie landdroste deur die Minister aangestel, van wie minstens een h hooflanddros of h streeklanddros moet wees."

3. Die Direkteur-generaal: Justisie beveel aan dat die volgende persone op die feitekomitee dien:

- (a) Streeklanddros [REDACTED] - Voorsitter
- (b) Landdros [REDACTED] - Lid
- (c) Landdros [REDACTED] - Lid

4. Daar word aanbeveel dat bogenoemde persone aangestel word om h feiteverslag met betrekking tot die UDF en die SARK uit te bring.

5. Die nodige aanstellingsdokument is in die omslag vir die Minister se ondertekening asseblief.

Handwritten: 25/6/86
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

- (a) Paragraaf 4 GOEDGEKEUR/
- (b) Aanstellingsdokument ONDERTEKEN/

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MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE




AANSTELLING VAN 'N KOMITEE INGEVOLGE ARTIKEL 8 VAN DIE WET OP
GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN 1974)

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 8 van die Wet
op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974), stel
ek, LOUIS LE GRANGE, Minister van Wet en Orde, hierby die
volgende persone aan as 'n komitee om 'n feiteverslag te doen
ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front" (UDF) en die
Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke (SARK):

Streeklanddros [REDACTED]	-Voorsitter
Landdros [REDACTED]	-Lid
Landdros [REDACTED]	-Lid

Geteken te *Pretoria* op hierdie *25ste*
dag van *Janie* 1986.


MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE



2/4/2/121 (DDVe)

Lêer No. / File No.

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / THE DIRECTOR
MINISTER

AANSTELLING VAN 'N ADVIESKOMITEE: UNITED DEMOCRATIE
FRONT (UDF)

MINISTRE VAN WET EN ORDE
1986-06-15
MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

SECURITY LEGISLATION
20/6/86
1986-06-15

1. Die Minister het aangedui dat stappe gedoen moet word vir die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee om 'n feiteverslag en 'n aanbeveling met betrekking tot die UDF aan hom voor te lê.

2.1 Na aanleiding van 'n vorige versoek van die Minister aan die Minister van Justisie gedurende Augustus 1985 om 'n advieskomitee met betrekking tot die UDF, NIC EN TIC aan te stel, is menere [redacted] en [redacted] aangestel om die Minister onder andere te adviseer oor die wenslikheid, al dan nie, van die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee.

2.2 Die [redacted]-komitee wat sy verslag gedurende Februarie 1986 uitgebring het, het tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat daar voldoende inligting is om 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van die UDF, NIC en TIC aan te stel. Die komitee het egter om die redes soos in paragraaf 5 van die stuk gevlag "7.5.86" opgesom, aanbeveel dat daar nie 'n advieskomitee aangestel word nie, maar dat daar eerder teen individuele lede van die betrokke organisasies opgetree word. 'n Opsomming van die komitee se verslag is ook in die stuk gevlag "7.5.86" ^(pa. 4 en 5) vervat.

HDV
DRW 20/6/86
DRX 20/6/86
DDV 30/6/86
1R - plaas ook op
V. 14/7/86 UDF
30/6/86
13- Berri
A 1/1/86

2.3 Van die 27 gevalle wat die [REDACTED]-komitee identifiseer het vir moontlike optrede kragtens veiligheidswetgewing, is daar tot dusver slegs in twee gevalle definitiewe optrede deur Kopol aanbeveel. Dié gevalle word tans deur ons oorweeg. Dit blyk egter dat selfs in hierdie twee gevalle die inligting dun is en dit word betwyfel of dit wel aan die riglyne deur die Appèlhof in die Nkondo-uitspraak gestel, sal voldoen. Dit wil dus voorkom dat, behalwe vir optrede kragtens die noodregulasies, voorkomende optrede kragtens veiligheidswetgewing teen individuele lede van die UDF in die nabye toekoms nie sodanig sal kan wees dat dit die UDF as organisasie wesenlik aan bande sal lê nie.

3. Sedert die [REDACTED]-komitee sy verslag uitgebring het, het die UDF met sy bedrywighede voortgegaan. In die lig van die tydfaktor, kon daar nie 'n volledige uiteensetting van die UDF se bedrywighede sedert die voornoemde verslag uitgebring is, saamgestel word nie. Hieronder word slegs na sekere aangeleenthede in die verband verwys.

3.1 Uit onlangse publikasies van beide die ANC en die UDF blyk dit duidelik dat dié twee organisasies steeds sterk tot mekaar aangetrokke voel en daar word dikwels in hulle publikasies na mekaar verwys. In die UDF se publikasie UPFRONT van Maart 1986 word onder andere gemeld dat Mandela nog steeds die "most popular acclaimed leader in the new wave of struggle in effecting the

ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter" bly. Volgens die betrokke artikel is die populariteit van Mandela 'n refleksie van die populariteit van die ANC. Daarin verskyn ook die volgende:

"The ANC flag has presided over almost every township funeral and the two most important organisations operating legally inside SA, the UDF and COSATU, have held landmark meetings with the named organisation. In townships politics the ANC has long since been effectively unbanned".

(X)

3.2 In 'n dokument wat die UDF op 9 Maart 1986 vir die "Eminent Persons' Group" opgestel het, is onder andere die volgende gemeld:

"The African National Congress which since 1912 has represented the aspirations of the oppressed people was banned in 1960. Its leadership was jailed or forced into exile. Despite this ban, this organisation remains the most popular organisation enjoying the greatest support of the oppressed people. The ANC has intensified the armed struggle.

Increased repression is leading greater numbers to armed resistance. In this context, the UDF accepts fully that it is not the only body resisting oppression. While we are engaged in the legal terrain of struggle we understand the course of action adopted by the ANC."

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3.3 In die SECHABA van April 1986 is onder andere n onderhoud met Steve Tshwete, n voormalige president van die UDF in die Grensstreek, gepubliseer. In die onderhoud wei Tshwete uit oor die huidige "upsurge" in die Republiek en meld dat dit groter in omvang is as die 1976 onluste. Hy verwys onder andere na die sogenaamde "liberated zones, which is an important new phenomenon, and which is an indication at the same time of the heavy presence of the influence of the spearhead of our revolution in South Africa, that is the African National Congress and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe." Hy gaan dan verder:

"The coming into being of the United Democratic Front in 1983 was a very important phenomenon. It was the UDF which was able to harness this mass anger, to give it direction, to point to certain targets, immediate targets and ultimate targets. That was the primary responsibility of the Front. So, to a very large extent, the United Democratic Front has played a very important role in giving direction to the present mass upsurge in the country and at the same time the African National Congress and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, together with its allies of course has always played a very important role as the spearhead of our revolution in the country."

(Y)

3.4 In n ANC-pamflet wat onlangs in die Polisie se besit

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gekom het, kom die volgende voor:

"LET US DEFEND OUR DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS.

The Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime has unleashed its terrorist onslaught on the United Democratic Front.

- The threat of a ban hangs over the UDF!
- Assassinations and imprisonment of UDF leaders and cold-blooded murder of its followers are attempts to wipe it out of existence.
- The struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action.

WE CALL ON ALL OUR PEOPLE TO STAND BY THE PATRIOTIC LEADERS OF THE UDF AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS AND TO DEFEND THEIR ORGANISATIONS"

(Z)

4. Die volgende aanhalings uit publikasies van die UDF dui ook aan hoe die UDF die massas op 'n subtiele wyse opsweep om onder andere bestaande instellings af te takel en eie strukture daar te stel.

4.1 In die publikasie ISIZWE-THE NATION van Maart 1986 word onder andere gesê:

"We must begin to place power in the hands of the people in all spheres...

We want laws that are widely discussed throughout our country, street committee by street committee

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before they are debated in parliament...

The working class is the most dependable class in the struggle for national liberation, and this is why we say the working class must lead the struggle."

(Daar word wel in die inleiding van die betrokke publikasie gesê dat die UDF nie noodwendig dié publikasie se beskouing onderskryf nie, maar dat "They are designed to encourage discussion, debate and education among comrades." - Dit bly dus 'n subtiele wyse van opsweping.)

4.2 In 'n pamflet wat gedurende Mei 1986 versprei is, word onder andere verwys na die sogenaamde "fascist acts" van die Regering en gemeld: "In light of such actions by the State we once again call on our people to fight on... The fact that our people are increasingly taking over the management of our townships is clear evidence that people's power is being entrenched in many areas of the country."

5. Lechesa Tsenol, algemene sekretaris van die UDF, Natalstreek is op 12 Junie 1986 kragtens die noodregulasies gearresteer nadat hy in besit van 'n F1-handgranaat van Russiese oorsprong gevind is. Hy word tans nog ondervra en daar kan nog nie in dié stadium gesê

word of die UDF as organisasie by enige optrede van Tsenoli in dié verband betrokke is nie. Dit dui egter op die kaliber persone wat aan die stuur van sake in die UDF is.

()

6. In die lig van voorgaande, is ons steeds van mening (soos reeds in vorige memoranda uitgewys) dat daar voldoende gronde bestaan om die UDF aan 'n ondersoek van 'n advieskomitee te onderwerp. Die argumente wat ons in vorige memoranda teen optrede teen die UDF geopper het (veral dié in verband met die hofsake wat te Pietermaritzburg en Delmas hangende is) en wat in 'n groot mate met dié van die -komitee ooreenstem, geld egter steeds en sal steeds by 'n finale besluit of daar nou teen die UDF opgetree behoort te word, in aanmerking geneem moet word.

(A - C)

7. Ons is egter van mening dat indien 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van die UDF aangestel word, daar oorweeg moet word om terselfdertyd ook dié komitee opdrag te gee om NIC en TIC se bedrywighede te ondersoek, aangesien dié twee organisasies so nou by die UDF betrokke is.

8. Twee alternatiewe konsepbriewe aan die Minister van Justisie gerig, is voorberei: In die konsepbrief gevlag "A" word daardie Minister versoek om 'n advieskomitee slegs ten opsigte van die UDF aan te stel, terwyl die konsepbrief gevlag "B" 'n versoek bevat dat 'n

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advieskomitee ten opsigte van die UDF, NIC en TIC
aangestel word.

[Handwritten signature]
13/6/86
14/6/86
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

- ~~1. 'n Advieskomitee ten opsigte van die UDF moet
aangestel word en konsepbrief A ONDERTEKEN/ of~~
2. 'n Advieskomitee ten opsigte van die UDF, NIC en TIC
moet aangestel word en konsepbrief B ONDERTEKEN/ ✓

[Handwritten signature]
MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE
23/6/86.

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REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

VERW. NR. MP 8/4
REF. NO. _____

**Ministerie van Wet en Orde
Ministry of Law and Order**

Privaatsak X9080
KAAPSTAD
8000

Mnr H J Coetsee L P
Minister van Justisie
Privaatsak X256
KAAPSTAD
8000

Geagte Kollega

WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982: ADVIESKOMITEE: "UNITED
DEMOCRATIC FRONT"

Soos u weet, het die "[REDACTED]-komitee" wat na aanleiding van my eendersgenommerde brief gedateer 8 Augustus 1985 aan u, aangestel is, bevind dat daar voldoende inligting is om 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van, onder andere, die "United Democratic Front" aan te stel. Die komitee het egter op grond van sekere oorweginge nie die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee in daardie stadium aanbeveel nie. Die Staatsveiligheidsraad het op 12 Mei 1986 besluit dat die "[REDACTED]-komitee" se aanbeveling in die verband gevolg moet word.

Nadat daar nou verdere inligting wat sedert die "[REDACTED]-verslag" uitgebring is, aan my voorgelê is, is ek tog van mening dat dit nou aangewese geword het om dié organisasie kragtens artikel 4(1) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet 74 van 1982) tot 'n onwettige organisasie te verklaar.

Dit sal dus waardeer word indien u ooreenkomstig die bepaling van artikel 7(2) van die Wet die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee om ondersoek na alle aangeleenthede met betrekking tot die bovermelde organisasie in te stel, by die Staatspresident wil aanbeveel.

Met vriendelike groete

LOUIS LE GRANGE

DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
PRIVAATSAK X655
PRETORIA
0001

Afskrif vir u inligting. U leêrnommer 2/4/2/113(V/C) verwys.

ADMINISTRATIEWE SEKRETARIS



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MP 8/4

Privaatsak X9080
KAAPSTAD
8000

Mnr H J Coetsee L P
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Dit sal dus waardeur word indien u ooreenkomstig die bepalinge van artikel 7(2) van die Wet die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee om ondersoek na alle aangeleenthede met betrekking tot die bovermelde organisasie in te stel, by die Staatspresident wil aanbeveel.

Met vriendelike groete

LOUIS LE GRANGE

DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
PRIVAATSAK X655
PRETORIA
0001

Afskrif vir u inligting. U leêrnommer 2/4/2/113(V/C) verwys.

ADMINISTRATIEWE SEKRETARIS

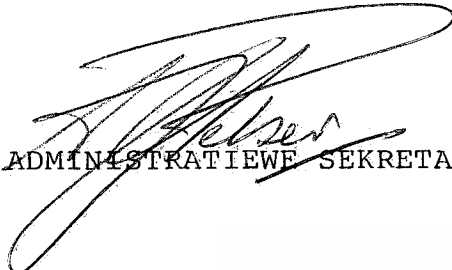




KONSEPBRIEF "B"

DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
PRIVAATSAK X655
PRETORIA
0001

Afskrif vir u inligting. U lêrnommer 2/4/2/113(V/C) verwys.


ADMINISTRATIEWE SEKRETARIS



Privaatsak X9080
 KAAPSTAD
 8000

Mnr H J Coetsee L P
 Minister van Justisie
 Privaatsak X256
 KAAPSTAD
 8000

1986-06-23

Geagte Kollega

WET OP BINNELANDSE VEILIGHEID, 1982: ADVIESKOMITEE: "UNITED
 DEMOCRATIC FRONT" EN ANDER ORGANISASIES

Soos u weet, het die "██████████-komitee" wat na aanleiding van my eendersgenommerde brief gedateer 8 Augustus 1985 aan u, aangestel is, bevind dat daar voldoende inligting is om 'n advieskomitee ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front", die "Natal Indian Congress" en die "Transvaal Indian Congress" aan te stel. Die komitee het egter op grond van sekere oorweginge nie die aanstelling van 'n advieskomitee in daardie stadium aanbeveel nie. Die Staatsveiligheidsraad het op 12 Mei 1986 besluit dat die "██████████-komitee" se aanbeveling in die verband gevolg moet word.

Nadat daar nou verdere inligting wat sedert die "██████████-verslag" uitgebring is, aan my voorgelê is, is ek tog van mening dat dit nou aangewese geword het om dié organisasies kragtens artikel 4(1) van die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid, 1982 (Wet 74 van 1982) tot onwettige organisasies te verklaar.

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Met vriendelike groete

LOUIS LE GRANGE

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2.3.198

2.3.86

in die RSA bedrywig is. Vir hierdie doel het sedert 1985 klein getalle PAC-terroriste na die RSA geïnfiltreer. Feitlik almal is reeds gearresteer.

Die OAE onder leiding van brigadier MBITA (voorsitter van die OAE se Bevrydingskomitee) poog reeds sedert 1985 om 'n versoening of samewerkingsooreenkoms tussen die PAC en die ANC te beding. Dit kom egter nie voor of eenwording of 'n samewerkingsooreenkoms bereik kan word nie, weens diepgaande ideologiese verskille en die onderskeie leiers se persoonlike inspirasies.

VERTOLKING

Die PAC is toenemend besig met 'n uitgebreide buitelandse steunwerwingsaksie en is nie van plan om sy gewapende aanslag teen die RSA te staak nie. Vreedsame onderhandeling of dialoogvoering word nie deur die PAC oorweeg nie. MLAMBO se stelling dat die PAC nie-rassisties is, is nuut en klaarblyklik daarop bereken om sy Blanke gashere te beïndruk. Die PAC se grootste verskil met die ANC is inderdaad in die ANC se veelrassige samestelling, om ook Blanke Kommuniste te akkommodeer, geleë. Daarinteen is die PAC in wese 'n Pan-Afrikanistiese organisasie wat Blankes uitsluit.

3. UDF

3.1 PUBLIKASIE - ISIZWE - THE NATION VOL 1 NO 2 MAART 1986

Isizwe - The Nation vol 1 no 2 van Maart 1986 (van 52 bladsye) se tema is "The people shall govern". In die

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inleiding word oa gesê dat die UDF nie noodwendig dië publikasie se beskouing onderskryf nie, maar "They are designed to encourage discussion, debate and education among comrades".

Onder die onderstaande opskrifte word die volgende beweer:

BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER

"Peoples Power" word gesien as die leerskool vir die massa. Na die oornome van die RSA moet die mense in staat wees om hulself te regeer. "We must begin to place power in the hands of the people in all spheres."

- PEOPLE'S POWER AND THE ENEMIES POWER

Volgens dië artikel behels die huidige stelsel in die RSA die uitbuiting van die meerderheid van werkers deur 'n klein groepie "bosses". Die staat is daarop ingestel om dië "onderdrukking en eksploitering" in stand te hou. Die "stryd" van die massa gaan om die beheer van die RSA. "We want laws that are widely discussed throughout our country, street committee by street committee before they are debated in parliament".

- BUILDING PEOPLE'S POWER

"Like never before, in a whole series of sectors we have begun not just to demand a people's government, but we have begun to build in that direction". In the skole het die leerlinge,

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ouers en onderwysers reeds begin om beheer oor te neem. Die einddoel tov beheer is nog nie bereik nie maar "the government has now lost the ability to run them (schools)".

In woonbuurte oor die hele land is die gemeenskaprade effektief uitgeskakel. As gevolg van massateenkanting is baie woonbuurte "no-go"-areas vir die SAP en SAW en in die Karoo, Oos-Kaap, Grens en sekere gebiede in Transvaal bestaan reeds straatkomitees.

Vakbondbewegings het gegroei en die stigting van COSATU is 'n belangrike faktor in die opbouing van "People's power". So byvoorbeeld het 385 000 werksdae verlore gegaan dmv stakings in vergelyking met 5 000 werksdae vir die ooreenstemmende tydperk verlede jaar.

"...workers influenced by the political struggles, are challenging the racist power structures in the production process".

'n Nuwe belangrike strategie, "Sit-ins" is suksesvol deurgevoer. Moses MAYEKISO, 'n MAWU-organiseerder het hierdie strategie as volg gestel: "They (workers) learnt that the real power to control production lay with them, not the bosses. Secondly, they saw the only way to protect their jobs was through fighting. A sit-in makes it difficult to cross the picket line - to scab - and it makes it difficult for the police to smash the workers inside. In addition the rest of the community gets involved.

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LESSONS, PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

Die volgende aspekte word bespreek:

- "organs of people's power must be democratic and they must be under political discipline";
- "the organs of people's power are not built up positively outside of the ongoing struggle"; en
- "the problem of reformism and co-operation".

BEYOND THE TOWNSHIPS

"We must guard against a tendency to imagine that people's power is confined to our townships and schools. People's power must not be locked up in ghettos and group areas. People's power can only be consolidated if it addresses the existing structures of power in the ruling bloc. These structures of power are concentrated in the institutions of government and in major economic centres."

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE AND ULTRA LEFT

Dië strategie in die breër sin is gemik teen die sogenaamde onstabiele kapitalistiese stelsel in die RSA.

A SPECIAL COMBINATION

Die RSA is 'n kapitalistiese land waar die ekonomie gebasseer is op private winste vir die "bosses" en nie die behoeftes van die meerderheid nie.

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Buiten die kapitalistiese eksploitering is daar ook nasionale (rasse-) onderdrukking. In die verlede het 'n kombinasie van hierdie faktore tot gevolg gehad dat die regerende groep in die RSA baie sterk was, maar hierdie situasie is besig om te verander.

Die stryd teen lae lone, hoë pryse en werkloosheid is gekoppel aan die massaweerstand teen 'n hele reeks van nasionale onderdrukkings soos "gutter education", gedwonge verskuiwings, paswette, "puppet administrations" en polisie en weermag-terrorisering, wat die "vyandelike kamp" bedreig. Die "vyandelike kamp" word geïsoleer deur die meerderheid en is 'n verleentheid vir buitelandse beleggers.

THE POPULAR STRUGGLE - THREAT TO CAPITALISM

Die "stryd" het 'n bedreiging geword vir die voortbestaan van kapitalisme. Daarom is buitelandse beleggers sowel as plaaslike leidende kapitaliste gretig is om die RSA te "de-racialise". Kapitalisme in die RSA het 'n "slegte naam gekry omrede die meerderheid dit koppel aan "apartheid".

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

Die verset in 1985 is 'n voortsetting van 'n tradisie van verset. Om die nasionale demokratiese stryd te verstaan moet daar gekyk word na die gemeenskap, wat is kapitalisties. Die vraag is hoekom is 'n nasionale demokratiese stryd nodig? Die antwoord lê in die tipe kapitalistiese stelsel in die RSA.

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WHITE RULING BLOC AND THE OPPRESSED

Alle Swartes in die RSA word onderdruk deur die wit minderheid en 'n klein groepie Swart medewerkers. Die Swart meerderheid het geen politieke regte nie. Die feit dat alle Swart Suid-Afrikaners onderdruk word deur "apartheid" gee alle Swartes 'n belang in die vernietiging van "apartheid".

UNDERSTANDING SOUTH AFRICAN CAPITALISM

Nasionale onderdrukking (soos bo uiteengesit) is 'n sleutel aspek van SA kapitalisme, wat na die RSA gebring is deur imperialisme waardeur Europese kapitalistiese lande die kolonies geëksploiteer.

Die kolonialiste het in die RSA die Swartes ontnem van hul grond en hul gedwing om belasting te betaal wat veroorsaak het dat die Swartes in die myne moes gaan werk.

"Capitalism in South Africa has been built on the foundations of national oppression and apartheid. This is why the national democratic struggle is the programme we follow in South Africa".

UNDERSTANDING THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

Dmv die NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE (NDS) sal die "onderdruktes" en Blanke "demokrate"

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minderheidsoorheersing vernietig en om 'n demokratiese staat tot stand bring.

- Die NDS is 'n nasionale stryd omrede dit alle "onderdrukte" en Blanke "demokrate" verenig.
- Die NDS is 'n stryd om demokrasie. Dit beteken dat die politieke seggenskap en hulpbronne in die hande van die massa moet wees.
- "The NDS is not a civil rights struggle; it is a national liberation struggle.

CLASSES ON THE ROAD TO NATIONAL LIBERATION

Alle klasse van die "onderdrukte" het belang by die vernietiging van "apartheid" en die Blanke minderheidsregering. Terselfdertyd moet onthou word dat daar verskillende "onderdrukte" klasse is met elk hul onderskeie prioriteite.

"The working class is the most dependable class in the struggle for national liberation, and this is why we say the working class must lead the struggle. Dit is ook belangrik dat die ander belangegroepe by die stryd moet ingesluit word.

TOELIGTING/VERTOLKING

Die betrokke publikasie is reeds in die Wes-Kaap en Port Natal versprei maar verspreiding mag landwyd voorkom.

Die publikasie is reeds aan die DVP voorgelê vir 'n beslissing.

Hoewel die stelling gemaak word dat die inhoud nie die amptelike standpunt van die UDF is nie en slegs gepubliseer word om besprekings, debat en kennis onder kamerade te bevorder, is dit duidelik 'n georkestreerde propaganda/politiseringspoging deur die UDF Wes-Kaap streek.

Dit is ook ontstellend om waar te neem in hoe 'n mate die idioom waarin die publikasie geskryf is ooreenstem met die verbode Sechaba van die ANC.

4. SWARTES

4.1 VERSKERPTE VELDTOG VIR DIE INSTELLING VAN 'N NASIONALE HUURBOIKOT IN SWART WOONBUURTE

Tydens 'n werkskool gedurende die naweek van 14 tot 16 Maart 1986 deur verskeie CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS (CIVICS) in Johannesburg, is besluit dat alle Swart gemeenskappe geraadpleeg moet word oor die moontlikheid van 'n nasionale huurboikot.

Daar is ook besluit dat CIVICS in staat gestel moet word om huurgeld in Swart woonbuurte in te samel en dat inwoners ontmoedig moet word om huishuur te betaal. Om in hierdie doel te slaag, moet 'n huurboikot van huis tot huis gepropageer word.

Aanvanklik is gemeen dat hierdie besluite 'n voortvloeiing is van waarskuwings in die Sowetan van 19 Februarie 1986 dat 'n RENT CRISIS COMMITTEE gestig sou word indien Swart stadsrade en plaaslike besture huurverhogings na willekeur

86030717

capt Bama

15.5.8

BERIGNR.61
1986/05/15

VAN : V/TAK, W.W.R.

AAN : (A) B/O X302 PTA (W.S.)
(B) V/TAKKE SOWETO//GOS-RAND//WES-RAND

+++ VERTROULIK +++

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15.5.86 15.5.86
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VERSPREIDING VAN PAMFLETTE DEUR DIE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
(UDF - [REDACTED])

A.1. 'N ONGEREGISTREERDE (B.2) BRON OORHANDIG TWE E KSEMPLARE VAN 5,000 PAMFLETTE 15 X 21CM GROOT GETITELD : ' ' ONE MORE ATROCITY ON OUR PEOPLE ' ' UITGEREIK DEUR DIE UDF DEVILLIERSSTRAAT 42, JOHANNESBURG EN BESTEL DEUR AZHAR CACHALIA (WA/VP.2/672 - S.2/9858) VANAF GLODE DRUKKERS, LILIANWEG ' ' / FORDBURG, JOHANNESBURG.

2. DIE BEWOORDING IS IN BEIDE ENGELS AAN DIE EENKANT EN ZOELGE AAN DIE KEERSY EN LEES SOOS VOLG IN ENGELS :-

' ' ONE MORE ATROCITY
ON OUR PEOPLE

THE AGENTS OF THE APARTHEID REGIME ONCE AGAIN MASSACRED OUR PEOPLE IN ALEXANDRA. PEOPLE WEARING BALACLAVAS MURDERED 9 COMRADES. THE SAP MURDERED COMRADES FROM AYCO. THE BALACLAVA-CLAD MURDERERS WENT ON A RAMPAGE BURNING TAXIS AND CARS PACKED OUTSIDE HOMES OF ACTIVISTS WE SAY THAT THESE PEOPLE IN BALACLAVAS ARE OFF-DUTY POLICEMEN. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THESE ARE EXAMPLES OF SO-CALLED ' ' BLACK ON BLACK ' ' VIOLENCE. WE SEE THESE AS A CONCERTED ATTEMPT BY THE STATE TO CRUSH DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS IN OUR TOWNSHIPS.

THE USE BY THE STATE OF SUCH BLATANTLY VIOLENT METHODS IS AN ADMISSION

ON ITS PART THAT THE APARTHEID REGIME HAS COMPLETELY LOST THE ABILITY TO GOVERN. THEY CANNOT BRING ABOUT ANY STABILITY EVEN THOUGH THE SADF AND SAP ARE OCCUPYING OUR TOWNSHIPS. THEY CANNOT STOP THE MARCH OF OUR PEOPLE TO FREEDOM BY DETAINING OUR LEADERS AND KILLING THEM WITHIN A FEW HOURS OF THEIR DETENTION. SO NOW THEY USE POLICEMEN WHO HAVE TO HIDE THEIR FACES.

THE UDF WARNS THIS GOVERNMENT THAT FASCIST ACTS SUCH AS THIS LATEST ATROCITY AGAINST OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT DETER US. OUR PEOPLE HAVE RALLIED

TO OUR CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S POWER AND NO AMOUNT OF NAKED TERROR FROM BOTHA, RAJBANSI, HENDRIKSE, BUTHELEZI AND OTHER PARTNERS TO APARTHEID WILL SUCCEED IN CRUSHING OUR ORGANISATIONS. NO AMOUNT OF REPRESSION WILL STOP THE RELENTLESS SURGE OF THE APPRESSED MASSES OF THIS COUNTRY TO THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN S.A.

IN LIGHT OF SUCH ACTIONS BY THE STATE WE ONCE AGAIN CALL ON OUR PEOPLE TO FIGHT ON. WE ARE IN NO DOUBT THAT THE OPPRESSED OF THIS COUNTRY WILL BE ABLE TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS AND OPERATE IN A WAY THAT WILL EFFECTIVELY COUNTER THE NAKED BRUTALITY OF THE STATE. THE FACT THAT OUR PEOPLE ARE INCREASINGLY TAKING OVER THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR TOWNSHIPS IS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT PEOPLE'S POWER IS BEING ENTRENCHED IN MANY AREAS OF THE COUNTRY. WE THUS SAY TO THE APARTHEID STATE THAT WE WILL RESPOND TO WHATEVER ACTION THEY TAKE AGAINST US. WE SAY

T H E P E O P L E S H A L L G O V E R N ' '

3. DIE PAMFLET IS ALREEDS AFGEHAAL.

4. 'N AFSKRIF VAN DIE PAMFLET WORD U ONDER APARTE DEKKING TOEGESTUUR.

B.1. TER INLIGTING.

BT

PVG/-TYD.. 18H23
V H K NAVRAE

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Mev. Breyl

Abesdie
ANC-pamflet het omlang
in ons besit gekom.

Sien veral x liter
like steun vir die UDF
gevoel word.

Verder word geweld
deurloos en die uit-
breiding van die
geweld na areas buite
die Swaziland-gebied

H.W. McDonald
30.06.12

SAHA

THIS IS THE YEAR OF MK

- Let this year of the People's Army see us engulf the apartheid system in the fires and the thunder of a people's war.
- Let the *Year of MK* see us mount a military offensive that will push the enemy into a strategic retreat!
- Let us create a formidable force of the people, superior to the enemy forces because of the justice of our cause, the discipline of our combatants and the bravery and boldness of our warriors!

THE BOTHA REGIME HAS LOST THE STRATEGIC INITIATIVE. THE RACIST REGIME HAS NO POLICY. ALL IT CAN DO NOW IS TO REACT TO EVENTS FROM DAY TO DAY, WITHOUT ANY CONSISTENT PLAN AND WITHOUT OVERALL OBJECTIVES.

- The strategic initiative is now in our hands!
- The Botha regime is on the defensive all along the line and this is of decisive importance for the further advance of our struggle.
- Botha can no longer guarantee a bright future for the white social forces on which it rests.

WE MUST RETAIN THIS INITIATIVE BY GOING ON THE OFFENSIVE ON ALL FRONTS, CONTINUOUSLY AND BOLDLY!!

OUR STRATEGIC GOAL MUST BE TO SHIFT THE BALANCE OF STRENGTH DECISIVELY IN FAVOUR OF OUR STRUGGLE.

- Thus we must continue to *make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.*
- Thus, in the attack we must aim further to weaken the Botha regime drastically, to sap its strength, to take away from it the capacity to launch a limited counter-offensive.
- Thus, while on the march, we must build our forces into an even more formidable united mass army of liberation, an army that must grow in strength continuously.
- Thus, our eyes must ever be firmly fixed on the goal of the destruction of the apartheid regime and the transfer of power to the people.

THE CENTRAL FOCUS OF OUR CONTINUOUS OFFENSIVE HAS TO BE THE IMPOSITION OF THE WILL OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY OVER THE RACIST MINORITY.

In this regard a question of primary concern to us all is that of education.

- What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education, whose broad principles are contained in the Freedom Charter.
- What we need is the unity of the students, teachers and parents and the entire democratic movement.
- What we demand is the release of all student leaders and activists imprisoned by the Pretoria regime.
- In this year, the year of the *10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings*, we must ensure that the apartheid education system is destroyed once and for all.

OF GREAT IMPORTANCE ALSO, TO THE STUDENTS AND YOUTH, IS THE FORMATION OF A NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANISATION.

- This movement must reach into all schools and areas of our country.
- This movement must continue to organise all our youth to act with the same discipline and unity, on a national scale.

In this year, the year of the *10th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings*, the ANC declares June 16 *South Africa Youth Day*. We are confident that our youth and students, through the length and breadth of our country, will prove themselves worthy of this National Honour.

WE WELCOME WARMLY THE FORMATION OF THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS.

- Let this federation advance the unity of the working class and defend and advance the interests of this class.
- Let this federation ensure that the organised, united and conscious workers remain in the front ranks of the struggle and as an integral part of the mass army of revolution that is today shaking the apartheid system to its very foundation.

THE ANC APPEALS TO THOSE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNIONS THAT STILL REMAIN OUTSIDE OF COSATU TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITIONS.

1986 is the 40th Anniversary of the great mineworkers strike of 1946 and is also the 100th Anniversary of May Day – International Workers' Solidarity Day.

- The entire democratic forces, especially the trade union movement, must draw on the revolutionary traditions of the African mineworkers.
- The entire democratic forces, especially the trade union movement, must struggle to realise the demand that from 1986 onwards, May Day should become a fully paid public holiday.

LET US DEFEND OUR DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS.

The Botha-Malan-Coetzee regime has unleashed its terrorist onslaught on the United Democratic Front.

- The threat of a ban hangs over the UDF!
- Assassinations and imprisonment of UDF leaders and cold-blooded murder of its followers are attempts to wipe it out of existence.
- The struggling masses of our country need the UDF as an instrument to maintain, advance and deepen our united action.

WE CALL ON ALL OUR PEOPLE TO STAND BY THE PATRIOTIC LEADERS OF THE UDF AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS AND TO DEFEND THEIR ORGANISATIONS.

THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY HAS AN IMMENSE AND URGENT RESPONSIBILITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE SITUATION THAT OBTAINS IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY.

- It must act in defence of life itself.
- It must fight for justice and peace.
- Inspired by their own faiths, this sector must further enhance its contribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system and to create a society in which the right of life will be respected.

WE PAY SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO THE WOMEN OF MAMELODI AND TO ALL OUR WOMENFOLK ON THIS 30th ANNIVERSARY OF THE HEROIC MARCH ON PRETORIA IN 1956.

The regime fears the united offensive of the oppressed and exploited women of our country as exemplified by the

women of Mamelodi.

On this 30th Anniversary of the march on Pretoria:

- Let us use this event as a source of inspiration to all our struggling people.
- Let the women emulate the example we set ourselves three decades ago and last year in Mamelodi.
- Let the women unite and fearlessly join the mass offensive against the Botha regime.
- Let us continue to work for the formation of a national women's organisation.

THE YEAR OF THE CADRE PRODUCED NEW ORGANISATIONAL FORMATIONS AND ADOPTED NEW FORMS OF STRUGGLE IN KEEPING WITH THE HEIGHTENED PAGE OF OUR REVOLUTION.

- The organisational formations, the mass combat units, must continue to perform their tasks, including those related to the destruction of the organs of apartheid rule and making the country ungovernable.
- The measures we have taken, among things, to protect our leaders and to maintain revolutionary law and order in various localities throughout the country, must be consolidated.
- The collectives of revolutionary cadres must grow and deepen their roots among the people.
- The masses of our people must persist to give the necessary protection to the mass combat units and the co-operation which the further advancement of our struggle demands.
- In the face of the harshest enemy repression, we must continue to intensify our military offensive and to enlarge the popular forces inside our country, organised to wage the struggle arms in hand.

TO RETAIN THE STRATEGIC INITIATIVE, APART FROM CONFRONTING THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN OUR AREAS, IT IS:

- Essential that we carry and extend our offensive beyond the township borders into other areas with even greater determination.
- Vital to mount a continuous assault on the economy to deny the racists the material base which gives them the means to conduct their campaign of terror, both inside and outside our country.

OUR CALL TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY, ESPECIALLY THE YOUTH.

- Break ranks with the apartheid system.
- Refuse to serve in the SADF.
- Do not mortgage your future to a racist system that is doomed to destruction.
- Win your place in the future democratic South Africa by joining the struggle to turn that future into reality.
- Join the mass democratic struggle in your millions.

TO THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

- Stop producing weapons that are used to murder our people.
- Do not demand passes from the African workers, as part of the struggle against the pass laws.

TO THE BLACK SOLDIERS OUR MESSAGE IS CLEAR.

- Refuse to offer yourselves as cannon-fodder, as assassins in the pay of a regime which holds you and your people in contempt.
- Prepare to turn your guns against the common enemy of the people.
- When the bells of victory toll, you too must be counted among the liberators of our country.

OUR POLITICAL AND MILITARY OFFENSIVE MUST BE HEIGHTENED TO REALISE THE TASKS WE SET OURSELVES IN THE YEAR OF THE CADRE.

- Of particular importance in this regard are the tasks of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them.
- Continuing to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

Our strategy is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive. **THIS IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY!!**

THE ANC, ONCE MORE, BOLDLY CONFRONTS THE ISSUE OF THAT BADGE OF SLAVERY – PASS LAWS!

- We call on you to take this issue as part of our mass offensive to *make apartheid unworkable*.
- We support the demand made inside our country that passes must go, now!
- We should no longer allow ourselves to be given special labels in the country of our birth.

THIS year – away with passes We must not be misled by the enemy's promises to abolish influx control and so-called common citizenship.

CAMPAIGN AND INCREASE LEVEL OF OF RESISTANCE AND DEFIANCE AS NEVER BEFORE!

- Campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and detainees.
- Demand the lifting of all treason and other political trials.
- Demand the lifting of the state of emergency.
- Demand the scrapping of all repressive laws.
- Demand the withdrawal of all troops and police from the townships.

WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO RESORT TO MEANINGFUL ACTION TO ADVANCE OUR DEMANDS!!

TO SUCCEED IN OUR CAMPAIGN TO CHALLENGE THE ENEMY'S REPRESSIVE ONSLAUGHT WE NEED TO BE DARING!

- Whereas the enemy seeks at all times to impose on us a fascist legality, we must impose on our country our own popular legality.
- We must assert ourselves as the alternative power.
- Our goals and aspirations which are diametrically opposed to those of the enemy must prevail.

IN ACTION, AND THROUGH ACTION; WE MUST COMPEL THE ENEMY TO END REPRESSION NOW!

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEOPLE'S POWER, HOWEVER RUDIMENTARY OR PRECARIOUS, IN AREAS WHERE WE HAVE DESTROYED PUPPET LOCAL ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT, IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE.

- We must continue to demand for democratic, non-racial municipal councils.
- Through struggle, we must continue to destroy puppet institutions of apartheid rule.
- For every town and city, there must be one local authority, elected by all residents, both black and white, on the basis of one person one vote.
- We should take the occasion of the centenary of the birth of the city of Johannesburg, which falls this year, as one for the most determined offensive to ensure that the political situation changes in this prime example of the iniquity of the system of colonial

- and racist rule.
- We call on whites in these areas to join this struggle.
 - They too must participate in the offensive to abolish the apartheid institutions in the white areas, once and for all!!

OUR MASS POLITICAL OFFENSIVE MUST OF NECESSITY ALSO SUCCEED TO DRAW IN THE MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY SIDE, BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE BANTUSTANS.

- We must undertake with more vigour the organisational and mobilisation work that still remains to be done here.
- We must raise sharply the question of the need to destroy the oppressive bantustan system.
- We must urge the people to rise up against the blood-sucking soldier-farmers.
- We must bring the people to address the central task of the landless masses seizing land which rightfully belongs to them.
- We call on those who may have been duped or bribed or persuaded into this system to consider whether the time has not come for them to join the masses of the people to destroy this system and regain their honour as patriots and their dignity as men and women of principle.

AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME, WE CALL ON OUR PEOPLE TO UNITE AND FIGHT AGAINST THE SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE OF THE KWANDEBELE BANTUSTAN TO BE IMPOSED ON THIS AREA.

We salute our struggling people in this area and urge them to fight on

THIS YEAR WE SHALL BE OBSERVING THE BI-CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF THAT OUTSTANDING AFRICAN STATESMAN, KING MOSHOESHOE I.

- Let those who consider themselves to be leaders of our people emulate King Moshoeshoe's examples.
- Let them strive to unite the African people and not divide them.
- Let them work to satisfy the aspirations of the people and not betray them.
- Let them fight arms in hand in defence of the interests of the masses and when necessary negotiate as genuine representatives of the masses and not as beggars at the master's table.

As King Moshoeshoe foresaw, our strength lies in unity. We must guard that unity like the apple of our eye!

THE ENEMY HAS ALSO LOST THE STRATEGIC INITIATIVE ON THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT!

- The more we act to liberate ourselves, the more resolute international action will become.

THE CHARGE WE GIVE TO UMKHONTO WE SIZWE AND TO THE MASSES OF OUR PEOPLE IS: ATTACK, ADVANCE, GIVE THE ENEMY NO QUARTER -- AN EYE FOR AN EYE, A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH!!

- This past year we have made significant strides towards the transformation of our armed struggle into a people's war.
- We have created mass insurrectionary zones in many parts of the country.

The enemy's response has been to bring in white soldiers and police, as well as black mercenaries, in its intent on maintaining power at any cost. **THEREFORE WE MUST FIGHT!**

- We must organise and arm ourselves to fight harder and better for the overthrow of the apartheid regime.
- We must expand and extend the activation of Umkhonto we Sizwe within the country, drawing in the millions of our people into combat.
- We have to increase greatly the guerrilla units of MK, as well as the mass combat units.
- We must further strengthen the links between the guerrilla and combat units in order to build a vast army that can carry out both offensive and defensive tasks.
- We must draw on the resolve of our people in the mass insurrectionary zones to build up these forces while working to ensure that these zones multiply in number to cover the country in its entirety.

DURING THIS YEAR OF MK -- THE PEOPLE'S ARMY.

- Let us mount a determined mass and political offensive!
- Let us retain the strategic initiative!
- Let us, in struggle, shift the balance of power further in favour of the revolution!
- Let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield!
- Let us weaken the enemy and prepare to seize power!
- **EVERY PATRIOT A COMBATANT, EVERY COMBATANT A PATRIOT!**
- Let us replace each combatant who fell last year with a hundred more!

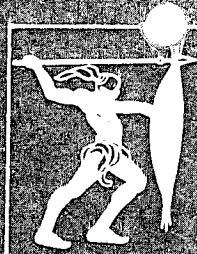
PEOPLE'S POWER IS WITHIN GRASP!



WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE



Federation of South African Women - Founded 17 April 1954



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APRIL 1986



80th ANNIVERSARY OF BAMBATHA 1906

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APRIL ISSUE 1986

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ERRATUM: In the March issue, the year of the Rivonia Trial should be 1964, not 1984 as stated on the centre spread.

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The picture on the front cover shows Bambatha in the foreground.

EDITORIAL

The Regime Pinned Against the Wall

People's war in South Africa is the people's fierce resistance to the regime, their assault on the power of the state. It had already reached a new stage when the state of emergency was declared in July 1985. The emergency was an effort to intimidate; it was what the régime hoped was a trump card, desperately played, in an attempt to win in a situation it knew it could no longer control.

The emergency was no trump card. Resistance went on growing, and the offensive spread. Recently, the people of Alexandra have demonstrated for an end to police repression, and the whole town became a no-go zone in March, for the funeral of those shot by the police. There have been more demands for satisfactory inquests into the deaths of police victims. Consumer boycotts have been lifted for negotiation, and re-imposed when the demands of the people were not met. Among our people, and at the centre of our people's war, are the cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe and there have recently been more MK actions. The bombing of police headquarters in Johannesburg can be compared with the bombing of those other closely-guarded installations, Sasol and Koeberg, and has proclaimed yet again that MK is everywhere.

Albertina Sisulu said at the funeral in Alexandra:

"The government is pinned against the wall, as the struggle intensifies."

It is true that the regime has nowhere to go from here. It has lifted the state of emergency, but what does that mean? Botha's statement on the lifting of the emergency was on a par with his other non-statements, like the one about 'power sharing' (which seems to refer to some new version of the tricameral parliament) and the one about 'citizenship for all South Africans' (by which he appears to mean no voting rights for Blacks).

Lifting the emergency meant as little as imposing it. Those detainees who were being held under the emergency regulations have been released, but some have been rearrested, for there are still no less than three clauses in the Internal Security Act providing for detention without trial, and people have been held under this law all along, and tortured in secret. The police and army are still in the townships, and the shooting hasn't stopped. The police have lost some of the powers the emergency gave them, but when were they ever restricted by the law? — they have long behaved as if they were above it. The vast Black majority of South Africans are still living in inferior housing or in cardboard shacks or in the open; are still living on starvation wages, or no wages at all if they are unemployed; are still being deported to die of hunger in bantustans with governments paid by Pretoria and as repressive and brutal as the Pretoria regime itself.

Who is Botha trying to deceive with his empty statements? He is hardly likely to deceive our supporters outside the country — those thousands of people throughout the world, who work and fight for democracy and whose campaigning threatens South Africa's trade, bank loans and supplies of fuel. He certainly hasn't deceived the people of South Africa, who are themselves suffering the shootings and the starvation.

He certainly hasn't deceived the African National Congress. We have pledged that this year will be one when the war is intensified further, and the attack on the regime will spread like fire. We have said we will fight until the aims of the Freedom Charter have become reality. In the words of another speaker at the Alexandra funeral:

"We shall defeat the system. We shall govern the country."

DEATH OF COMRADE MOSES MABHIDA

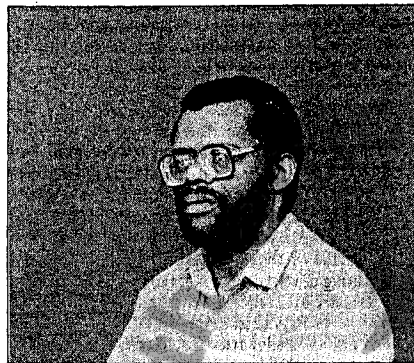
At the time of our going to press, the sad news reached us of the death of a great freedom fighter and an outstanding leader. Comrade Moses Mabhida, member of the national executives of the ANC and SACTU, and General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, died on the 8th March, at the age of 62.

A full obituary will appear in the May issue of *Sechaba*.

"I WILL NOT BE BOUGHT"

Steve Tshwete Speaks to Cassius Mandla

Steve Tshwete



At the head of the valiant popular offensive that has reduced the apartheid regime's ability to misgovern our country for the second year running, marches the United Democratic Front (UDF). It is an organisation that marshals against the regime the most pre-eminent fighters for freedom. Steve Tshwete hails from its regional leadership in a region that decisively etched itself on the map of the fearsome confrontations that have been an ever-present feature of urban and peri-urban life since September 1984. This is the Border region. Included in this region are such areas as East London, Fort Beaufort, Queenstown, King William's Town, Adelaide and others. He led the UDF in this region as its president. Its strength was upwards of 200 affiliated organisations ranging from trade unions to students, civic and woman's organisations.

Graduate of the Isle

Tshwete's political apprenticeship was served in the ranks of the ANC. While studying at secondary school at King William's Town in 1958, he was introduced into the ANC by one of his teachers. He completed his matric after the ANC was banned but got involved in clandestine political activity. It was this activity that ultimately landed him on Robben Island. The charges laid against him when he was arrested in 1963 were split into three: advancing the cause of the ANC, soliciting funds for it and belonging to it. Each of these counts was worth five years in prison. In all he has served fifteen years on Robben Island since 1964.

He recounts his experience on the Isle rather stolidly. The depth of emotion that one expects is not perceptibly manifest. A few incidents are related, even then, casually, though the adjectives used are strong. Some incidents are now well known, after such publications as Albie Sachs' and Indres Naidoo's *Island in Chains*. In Tshwete's words:

"The position, generally, on Robben Island was very, very terrible, particularly from the period 1963-1972. We went through a very bitter period; because, as you will remember, at that time the morale of the fascist clique in our country was very high. They had routed our movement, our underground structures throughout the country. They had dumped a huge number of our people into prison, and they were believing that they were deep-freezing us by giving us long terms of imprisonment; that the people would ultimately forget about us, and that the freedom struggle in the country would ultimately come to an end. They never entertained any idea that the struggle for liberation is the product of the objective situation in our country; it's not something that is directed by certain individuals, by certain leaders, but that is born of the objective situation of brutal oppression and ruthless exploitation of our people inside the country. That is why their morale was so high in that period.

"Secondly, it was high because as you can remember, the nearest African state that was free, the nearest African state to South Africa at that

time was Tanzania. Zambia was still under colonial rule. Similarly with Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. So they were quite convinced that we would never be in a position at all to shake them, particularly from a military angle. That was their point of view. That was why they were so brutal in prison against us, particularly people associated with the ANC."

Death On Robben Island

"I remember, for instance, how one of our dearest comrades, Speedo Ncaphayi from Port Elizabeth, died as a result of deliberate exposure to cold on the Island; a very young comrade. The memory of his death still haunts me right up to the present moment. He was a friend of mine, and I was personally disturbed to see a young comrade being left to die without any medical treatment offered him at all. That was one example of brutal torture that we had to go through whilst serving our sentences on Robben Island.

"The conditions improved in the early seventies not out of change of heart on the part of the prison warders, but because of our own struggle inside the prison itself. We had to mount a number of hunger strikes we had to stage a number of court appearances, challenging the atrocities of the prison authorities. So even right inside prison itself the struggle had to continue. There was no time of resting, and saying okay we have just to allow them to do whatever they would do to us. We would never allow that sort of thing, we were prepared to fight even to death for that matter inside prison itself, for our own rights."

Offered An Olive Branch

It was not until the 22nd of March 1979 that he was released. On release he was presented with a banning order restricting him for two years. The banning order expired on 31 March 1981. He then returned full force to political activism.

After landing outside from the Island, Tshwete had Lennox Sebe, the leader of the Ciskei Bantustan, read the riot act to him. It was not done forthright. Sebe made it appear as a brotherly act of sympathy with one who had sacrificed for the cause of freedom. He offered the olive branch of a high-salaried ministerial post in the bantustan authority. His appeal was that Steve renounce the struggle and reconcile himself to the treachery

of bantustan politics.

"Sebe pointed out to me that he would never turn his back on any person who has been to Robben Island, and that he was urging me to accept a post, a cabinet post, in his so-called government, in recognition of the services that I had done towards the Black man, as he put it. This as he explained further, was a gesture of sympathy on his part, because I had come to find myself being left behind by my colleagues and contemporaries. I was not married, I had no decent house, my mother had passed away whilst I was in prison in 1971, there was absolutely nobody at home except for my ageing and ailing father. He was promising me the moon, that if I accept the position, then I would be provided with a decent house, I would get, as he put it, a White man's salary and would have even to go overseas and sell Ciskei's independence to such countries as Japan and the like.

I Will Never Falter

I had taken a vow, even before I left prison, that no matter how difficult my situation might be, I would never see myself compromising the position of the Congress movement, and the position of my people who have been waging a heroic struggle against the fragmentation of their country into bantustans right up to even that moment in time.

"So I was going to be part and parcel of the entire general mass struggle in our country. I was not going to be bought into positions of relative comfort for purposes of advancing the interests of a clique that has been bought by Pretoria at the expense of our revolution. So I declined the offer outright."

Thus was snubbed a hireling of the Pretoria regime. Out of his over-obsequiousness to his masters, he burnt his fingers. It was a triumph of the revolutionary politics of the Congress Movement over both the junk of the regime's own politics and that of its puppets. He was in all probability acting on behalf of his masters impelled by the belief that the venality characteristic of the hotchpotch of Botha's minions is shared by other Black people.

Standing In The Breach

The conflict of interest between Tshwete and Sebe did not end there. Double-barrelled assaults from both Sebe and his masters were to dog

Tshwete up to the moment he left the country in October 1985.

He was rejected by the Boers as a Ciskei citizen. Since he wanted to have no truck with Sebe, thebantustan leader sent his Security Police to hound him. As he was in an area known in the mumbo-jumbo of apartheid politics as a White corridor, sometimes Pretoria's Security Police would come after him, at others Sebe's. He was given no respite. Neither did he ask for quarter.

At one instance when the Ciskei lackeys were clamping down on the UDF in the border region they came for him but:

"I told them that: 'You have no right to come and arrest me because in terms of your own constitution this part of Peulton does not fall within your jurisdiction. This is South Africa; you are not policemen here. You are just a bunch of robbers and thugs. You have no right at all to come and detain me here.'

"I showed them a copy of the Supreme Court ruling to the effect that that section of Peulton was indeed South African territory. So I told them, 'You have no jurisdiction. Forget about me. If you want to arrest me, wait for me the other side of the railway line, which is Ciskei.'

"All members of the UDF in the region were being persecuted, but Steve stood in the breach with both the South African and Ciskei administrators trying every trick in the book to make life unbearable for him. Persecuting him on the part of the apartheid regime was not only the Department of Law and Order but that of Justice as well. At its most desperate, the regime used its Department of Home Affairs to get its own from an implacable adversary. In 1984 the Director-General of this department served notices on Steve in terms of the Aliens Act. He was thenceforth not to enter South Africa without a valid visa, for he was regarded as a Ciskian foreigner. He relates:

"...the White Security Police in King Williams Town, apparently on a tip-off from their hirelings in the Ciskei, came and visited me. They put the question to me: 'What is your attitude towards obtaining a visa? — because you are not supposed to be here; you are supposed to be outside this particular area; this is South African territory. What is your personal attitude towards obtaining a visa? — because in terms of the banishment order you must be in possession of a visa

to be here and a temporary resident's permit."

"I told them point blank that I am not going to apply for a visa. I am not going to apply for even a resident's permit, for that matter. This is my country. I am not going to be told by any other person that I must be carrying documents to be in the country of my birth."

At this point the discussion comes to centre on the UDF region he was leading, its strength and its activities. Its a subject on which he is very forthcoming, more enthusiastic than when narrating his experiences on the Island.

"In East London alone for instance there are over twenty affiliates of the United Democratic Front the biggest of them being the South African Allied Workers' Union, which carries membership of between 40 000 and 50 000 workers. In addition to SAAWU we have a variety of other equally big organisations, like civic organisations, students' organisations, church organisations, women's organisations youth organisations. And then you go to Queenstown: we have a similar assortment of organisations that belong to us there; from trade union organisations, students' organisations, church organisations. You go to Fort Beaufort, to Adelaide, to Bedford, to Alice, to the rural areas of the border region, the so-called Ciskei Republic. You find that organisations are mushrooming every single day there. Teachers' organisations, students' organisations, inside so-called Ciskei in open defiance of puppet Sebe."

UDF — AZAPO Clashes

How does he see the internecine clashes?

"Azapo wants to assert itself. I remember for instance during the burial of the victims of the (March 21, 1985) unrest at Uitenhage where Azapo came out to claim that United Democratic Front in their region had hijacked, that's the term they used, the funeral at Uitenhage and even gone to the extent of driving away people wearing Azapo T-shirts at the entrance to the stadium. That's the type of propaganda they were selling. "That was agent-provocateuring, certainly, because whatever differences they might have had with the United Democratic Front whatever insults they had felt they had suffered at the hands of the United Democratic Front in that region... they ought to have conducted discussions with the fraternal organisation, the UDF. When they came out openly in the press, attacking the United

Democratic Front certainly they were inviting a similar response from the UDF.

"This, of course, had to express itself in terms of first verbal clashes in Port Elizabeth, and then subsequently physical clashes. And then Azapo came out ultimately to be a factor that was used by the enemy to destabilise the United Democratic Front in that particular area. To destabilise an organisation which alone was engaging the enemy in stirring battles on a number of issues, civic, trade union, church and whatnot.

"Even if initially they had acted of their own free will, in due course the enemy seized the opportunity and used Azapo to mount sorties against the popular leadership of the United Democratic Front, in Port Elizabeth in particular. There are instances, no doubt about that, where Azapo people had to run to the Casspirs of the SADF when chased by our people, in broad daylight. And there are instances in which Azapo people were seen to be in the company of the SADF to launch attacks on properties and houses of our people in the region."

Mass Revolutionary Upsurge

He links the onset of the Azapo sorties against the UDF to the intensity of the mass revolutionary upsurge and the apartheid regime's counter offensive against the masses. The resistance itself he discusses with vehemence. It is of a character such as our country has never seen. Particularly striking, he asserts, is the emergence of what he terms "popular structures" that were not seen during the 1976-1977 bout of resistance.

"It is not the first time for instance, that we have an uprising of this nature. But I personally believe, and this is the view of quite a number of people inside the country, that there is a qualitative change in the present upsurge from what we saw in 1976.

"You take the type of language our people are using today. They talk in terms of liberated zones, which is an important new phenomenon, and which is an indication at the same time of the heavy presence of the influence of the spearhead of our revolution in South Africa, that is the African National Congress and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. You are left with no doubt in your mind when you listen to them singing, when you listen to them speak in buses, in

trains about their engagement with the enemy, that to a very large extent they have been inspired by the leadership of the African National Congress. You hear them talking about the leaders of the ANC, about Umkhonto we Sizwe; you hear them sing about the South Africa of their dreams, and quoting extensively from the Freedom Charter.

"As I have said to you that (there are) talks like — 'liberated zones' where the police, Community Councillors have been flushed out and people have instituted their own power structures, like for instance Peoples Courts which we never saw earlier; but today there are People's Courts and today there are *amabutho*. *Amabutho* are completely a new phenomenon, which originated in Port Elizabeth as organs which were meant to protect the leadership of the United Democratic Front against assaults by Azapo and the police and which ultimately spread to other areas of the country to such places like East London, Fort Beaufort, Adelaide, and Queenstown, Cape Town and even Natal and the Reef.

"Now this is a new phenomenon, which is very important. And even more important is the fact that these *amabutho* are not only attuned to protecting the leadership of the UDF inside the country, but they are propagating the politics of the Front. They are popularising whatever campaigns the Front is mounting like for instance, the consumer boycott. It is the responsibility of the *amabutho* to see to it that the consumer boycott becomes a success in the areas in which it is still operating.

"There are new features which are an indication of People's Power, an expression of People's Power, for instance, in such places like Uitenhage, where people actually have power in their own hands even if the enemy in future might come and reassert itself, but the crux of the issue is that up to the time of my departure from the country (that is in November 1985) there were those areas which were under the full control of our people, where our people had established their own area committees, their own street committees, their own People's Courts (and) they had their own cells. That's why I say that is an indication of the of the qualitative change from 1976 to 1985.



Funeral, Eastern Cape

It was at a funeral like this that Steve Tshwete came out of hiding and urged people to take the struggle into the White areas.

Motive Forces Of The Resistance

"This mass upsurge is born of the objective situation in the country is born of mass unemployment of the rising cost of living, of retrenchments, of repression and exploitation in general. It is not something that is superimposed. It's not something that is wished upon our people by a few agitators, so-called. But it's springing from the incubator of apartheid itself, it's apartheid that has hatched it, and as long as apartheid is still there, that is going to continue, no doubt about that.

"They might succeed perhaps in certain areas to 'quell' it, in their own words, but that is certainly temporary, in a situation where people have actually gone to the extent of erecting organs of popular power, as I've just enumerated.

"When young people, old people, when workers and students and church people, when the people decide to unite in the manner they are, it is because of the intensity of exploitation and oppression; it is because they feel the pangs, they feel the scourge of apartheid on their shoulders. Right enough, that, on its own, is not a condition for the type of resistance that we are witnessing inside the country.

"The people have to be organised, have to be directed; they have to be led. And in order for them to achieve these perspectives, there must

certainly be an organisation which is going to bring them together, which is going to set their immediate goals and their long term goals.

"The coming into being of the United Democratic Front in 1983 was a very important phenomenon. It was the UDF which was able to harness this mass anger, to give it direction, to point to certain targets, immediate targets and ultimate targets. That was the primary responsibility of the Front. So, to a very large extent, the United Democratic Front has played a very important role in giving direction to the present mass upsurge in the country and at the same time the African National Congress and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, together with its allies of course has always played a very important role as the spearhead of our revolution in the country. Because...even with the UDF being there, but without...the certainty that there is the organisation that is the only one that has been able to challenge the fascists in our country today, politically and militarily, quite effectively at that, the people of South Africa today would not be having all the courage they have to challenge the South African government as they are doing. They are doing what they are doing today because they know that they are being led by a politically powerful organisation the ANC and by a mighty military organisation in the MK"

THE CONSUMER BOYCOTT A PEOPLE'S WEAPON

By Jean Middleton

The consumer boycott movement, which has now lasted since before the middle of 1985, has attracted attention and comment in the press both inside and outside South Africa. It has been remarkable for the inspired simplicity of the idea, for the highly politicised mass action that went into it, and for the response it has evoked from organised White business. Its results were dramatic (in spite of failure in a few regions) but it didn't require ordinary people to make themselves physically conspicuous, or even to go out in the streets more than they otherwise would. It became part of the huge national upsurge now taking place in South Africa, a fight for freedom in which different forms of struggle feed each other and are complementary to each other.

Consumer boycotts are not a new form of protest in South Africa; the tradition has its roots in the potato boycott of the late 1950s (a protest against conditions in the farm gaols of the potato-growing area of Bethel in the Transvaal), and even further back, in the Indian Congress practice of keeping *hartal*, when people made their protest by staying at home and not going to the shops. There have been the Black Christmases of recent years, when people refrained from celebrating and kept their buying to a minimum. Most of the earlier boycotts, though, have been directed against a certain industry — like the red meat boycott of 1979 — or against a certain manufacturer — like the boycott of Fatti's products of about the same period. The great movement of 1985-86 has been directed at shops belonging to people who are perceived as collaborators with the regime.

Pressure on White Voters

The vast majority of boycotted shops were owned by Whites. White businessmen were seen as a

voting constituency, which would be influenced by the drop in trade and would bring pressure to bear on the regime. Murphy Morobe, the UDF publicity secretary, supported the call as "a means of forcing the Botha government to heed our demands," and Jethro Dlalisa of the Transport and General Workers' Union in Johannesburg said, "We want them to feel the pain and do something." *The Sowetan* saw the ensuing negotiations as a way of talking directly to Whites, "not only through their own media."

Black shopkeepers who had collaborated with the regime were boycotted, while Whites who had opposed it were exempted. The Watson brothers of the Eastern Cape, for instance, were exempt because, some years before, they had registered their protest against the unequal facilities in apartheid sport by leaving their Whites-only rugby club and going to play for a Black team in Port Elizabeth. During the boycott their shops did a good trade.

Some Coloured, Indian and African shopkeepers who were community councillors, or who had taken part in the tricameral elections of 1984, were boycotted, and the campaign acted as another deterrent to these businessmen not to participate in the plans of the regime. Some believed that bringing this pressure to bear on them was a way of promoting unity, of drawing them into the struggle on the side of all the oppressed. At the beginning of the boycott, prices in the Black-owned township shops were generally higher than those in the White-owned shops in the cities, and some Black shop owners took advantage of the situation by marking their goods up even further: 40% mark-ups were reported in the Transvaal, and 50% in Port Elizabeth. The organisers of the boycott came to an arrangement with these traders in most areas.

Local and National Demands

In all regions, it was very clear what conditions had to be met before the boycott was to be called off.

Early on, and in country districts, the demands concerned local matters that could be put right by local action, like school buildings, toilets, taps, tarred roads, the right to graze cattle on the commonage. Later, after the declaration of the state of emergency, as police violence continued in the townships and activists were detained or murdered, the demands widened to include those that were becoming general throughout the country — that the state of emergency should be lifted, that the army and police should be withdrawn from the townships and that all political prisoners and detainees should be released. These were still accompanied by local demands in different areas — in East London, that the city council should end the harassment of Black hawkers, that Duncan Village should not be incorporated into the Ciskei, that local amenities should be made available to all sections of the community, and, in Colesburg, for satisfactory inquests into the deaths of those shot by the police.

The first organised boycott seems to have taken place in May, in Adelaide in the Eastern Cape, and it was supported by the Adelaide Youth Congress, COSAS, the Women's Association and the Residents' Association.

The campaign was taken up in other regions, and local consumer boycott committees were set up to organise and publicise it. Local democratic community organisations were represented on these committees — the UDF was in the forefront here — and trade unions. As a result, representatives already elected by the people became leaders of the boycott, and the boycott movement was linked even more firmly with other campaigns. Thousands of leaflets and pamphlets were distributed, and the boycotts were launched at public meetings. The campaign was supported by the ANC in a statement from Radio Freedom.

Drop in Sales

The success of the boycott became apparent in August, when it began to get a good deal of attention in the press. It was said that an estimated R2.2 billion was "at stake."

In Port Elizabeth, the sales of some shops dropped from 30% to 100%; some retailers started offering discounts of up to 50% on clothing.

Some small firms went under. The mayor of the town appealed for help from the State President, to save businessmen from financial ruin. In East London, where White shops had virtually no Black customers after July 29th, badly hit firms spoke of seeking drought aid: "We are suffering from financial drought," said the secretary of the East London Chamber of Commerce at the end of August. By October, sales in some East London shops had dropped by almost 100%.

The boycott was already spreading to the Western Cape, where it took the form of a boycott of major chain stores and large local shops. There it was supported by Allan Boesak; at a meeting in Worcester, just before the state of emergency was declared, he said:

"We can bring Worcester to a standstill within a few days if we refuse to buy from people who cannot treat you decently. Why should we make Worcester rich when these people vote for the National Party and keep P W Botha in power?"

It spread to the Transvaal — a headline in the *Weekly Mail* read, "Boycott Politics Sweep North". However, though it was effective in Pretoria (where, in August, some stores were reported to have suffered a drop of 40%), it did not reach its full effectiveness on the Reef till the end of the year.

Buthelezi Does the Work of the Regime

It spread to Natal. In the Pietermaritzburg area in August it had some success, having become linked with the boycott of BTR Sarmcol products, a protest against the sacking of 1 000 workers from the BTR Sarmcol plant in Howick. It was also successful in Mooi River, Hammarsdale and Pinetown. Nearer the coast, it was sabotaged. Gumede, President of the Inanda branch of National African Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC), stated that his organisation could not support the boycott, which he said would hurt the South African economy and displease Gatsha Buthelezi. He called on citizens of KwaZulu to co-operate in crushing the boycott, and threatened with expulsion any local NAFCOC branch that entered into negotiations as a result of it. He claimed there had been "intimidation," and offered what he called "protection" to those who wanted to ignore the boycott call. Early in October, the local organisers of the boycott called the action off,

saying:

"We now believe that the continuation of the boycott threatens to divide rather than unify, due to the particular situation that exists in Natal. The Inanda Chamber of Commerce has openly and publicly threatened violence."

There are no prizes for guessing from what quarter violence was threatened; enough has been made public about the attacks made by the hit squads of Inkatha on the UDF, the community organisations and the unions in Natal. It seems clear that, in this act (which was against their financial interests, after all), NAFCOC was acting as Buthelezi's agent.

Police Persecution

All over the country, and in vain, the regime used intimidation against the campaign, and this became merged in its whole policy of intimidation against the people. Shops were closed and their owners detained under the emergency regulations; in Tembisa, in August, seven shops were closed, and in the Eastern Cape, one shopkeeper was detained for four months. In Pretoria, police urged the public to ignore the call to boycott and to ignore pamphlets distributed by "spineless and nameless people." In the Eastern Cape, trade union spokesmen said police were forcing people to buy at White-owned shops. 'Cheeky' Watson claimed that they were coming into his shop and standing around and had questioned him as to why his shop was not boycotted. Later, the Watson brothers' house was destroyed by fire. In December and January, as the boycott began to bite on the Reef, shoppers at a supermarket in Krugersdorp reported being harassed; members of the General Workers' Union in Krugersdorp reported having been assaulted outside a shop by men arriving in a van.

At the beginning, chambers of commerce used subtler pressures. 40 000 pamphlets were dropped over Duncan Village, appealing to the "proud Xhosa nation" not to allow itself to be "bullied by a radical minority." Some shops that had been hit laid off Black workers, or put them on short time; Emma Mashinini of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union saw this as intimidation, and an effort to "set Black against Black."

In Colesburg (where one of the demands was

for satisfactory inquests into the deaths of those killed by the police) the local retailers used strong-arm tactics. When they decided on the boycott, the people of the township chose to use two White-owned shops nearby, whose owners, they said, were "sympathetic to our cause." One of these shops was burgled, the other forced to close, and then the White shops in the town refused to serve Blacks. Worst of all, the residents of the township found their water supply was being cut off for five hours each day. When interviewed, the chairman of the local Sakekammer (an organisation of Chambers of Commerce dominated by Afrikaans-speaking businessmen) denied responsibility for the cutting off of water, but admitted that it was "not entirely incorrect" to say that pressure had been brought on the exempted stores to close; he also telephoned the police to come and remove the journalist who was interviewing him. Colesburg is a small, isolated country town and the boycott was crushed there, but the story in other towns was different.

Local Grievances Redressed

Most local chambers of commerce expressed themselves as anxious to redress the grievances of the people and put an end to the boycott.

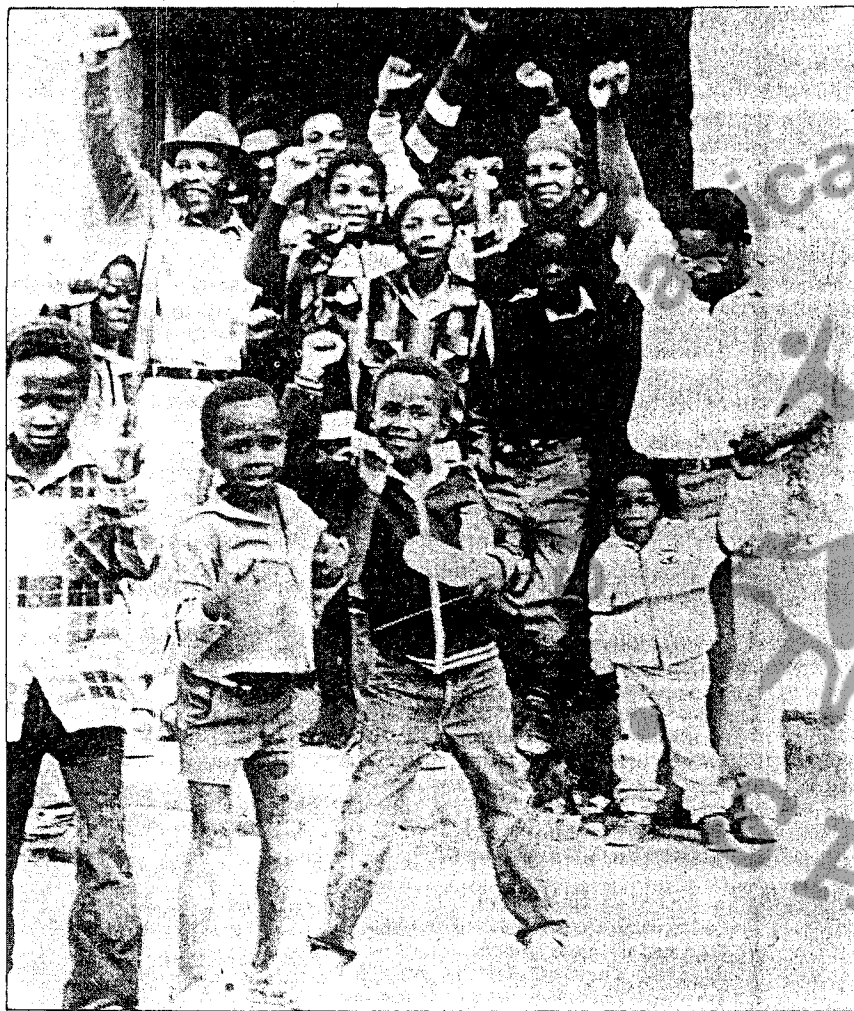
They began negotiations with the boycott committees. In doing so they were forced to give recognition to the real leaders of the people, and seek them out. Here they found themselves in conflict with the regime, because many organisers active in the UDF were either in gaol or in hiding. The Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce said that the declaration of the state of emergency had "wrecked" its negotiations. When it petitioned Pretoria for an end to the state of emergency and safe conduct for those in hiding, so that negotiations could take place, it met — in the words of a spokesman — a "flat refusal."

This was the general pattern. At a local level the chambers of commerce found it possible to redress grievances, like basic services in townships, recreational facilities and so on; and some notable successes were achieved, as when the plan to give Duncan Village over to the Ciskei was shelved. When, however, they tried to take political action at a higher level, they found themselves frustrated by the regime.

The anxiety felt by White retailers in most regions was demonstrated when they began to

act as a country-wide organisation. As early as August, 80 representatives of chambers of commerce and White retailers from all over South Africa met in Johannesburg, with the president of Assocom (the national organisation of chambers of commerce) in the chair. They

discussed the implications of the emergency, especially boycotts and stayaways, and, according to press reports, "the importance of negotiation and communication." Raymond Ackerman, chairman of a supermarket chain, said he was setting up a committee of 10 businessmen to "use



Lingelihle residents at the Zenzele general store in the township. The boycott of shops in Cradock was launched immediately after the murders of Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

financial muscle" to "press for reform and to promote dialogue." A spokesman for Assocom said it was imperative for the government to start "meaningful negotiations with effective Black leaders across a broad political spectrum." John Malcomess, a Progressive Federal Party MP, said he had received more telephone calls about this issue than about any other in his political career. All this must have played a very large part in the pressure that finally took representatives of White business to Lusaka to hold 'talks' with the ANC.

Unity in Action

The action did, indeed, promote unity among the oppressed. A high degree of organisation was shown in the negotiations and in the response to them, and so was the enthusiasm, the political consciousness and political discipline of the people. Just as the action had been decided on at public meetings, so public meetings were again held for the negotiators to report back, and at these meetings decisions were usually taken to suspend the boycott and await results. In Lingelihle, the magistrate gave special permission for such a meeting to be held in a hall. The boycott in Port Elizabeth was finally suspended in early December, at a rally attended by 50 000 people; but only after the boycott leaders, released from detention in November, had conducted negotiations.

When results have not been forthcoming, boycotts have been reimposed after a certain period; in the course of such negotiations there have been three periods of boycott in Grahamstown, while the boycott in Pretoria was called off in January 1986, and imposed again in February.

The state of emergency has recently been lifted and those still imprisoned under the emergency regulations have been released, but the people of South Africa are still fighting for the police and army to be pulled out of the townships, and for the release of all political prisoners and detainees.

The White retailers were able to change the policies of local town and city councils, of which many of them are members, but the "flat refusal" they got from Pretoria when they suggested changes in national policy shows the limits of

their influence. It also shows the limitations of a boycott that is directed against retail outlets only. To be sure, this sector includes a number of large concerns, like supermarket chains (and some of them were badly hit), but it is a sector that is largely composed of small businesses. A boycott of this kind does not touch the wholesaler who supplies both township and city and who can increase the supply he sells to the township, if it suits his pocket to do so; nor the manufacturer of those goods, like food and other essentials, which people have been buying in the township shops. We should remember that it doesn't even touch all retailers, for those shops that do not normally depend on the custom of Blacks were left unaffected.

The boycott of retailers inevitably involved a drop in sales of certain commodities — those not generally sold in township stores, such as clothing and liquor. In the Eastern Cape, Coloureds and Africans account for 80% of the cheap wine trade, which dropped sharply as a result of the boycott of White-owned shops. In this way, the campaign moved to another level, in which it affected bigger interests, and it must have gained strength from this. Boycotts of selected commodities are a potentially powerful lever, and this is something we should, perhaps, bear in mind for the future.

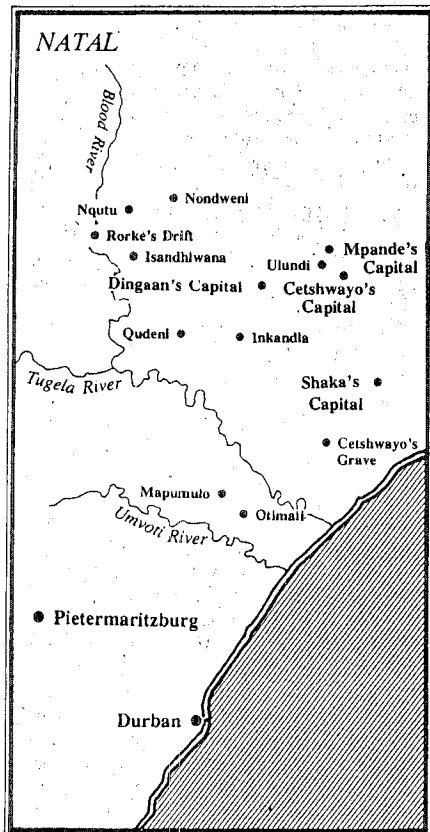
Some commentators have seen the boycott of shops as having taken the struggle into the White areas. It has, indeed, taken the struggle on to White doorsteps; it has not yet taken it into the inner corridors of power. And yet, even within these limitations, the results of the boycott have been remarkable.

The buying power of four-fifths of the population — even if it is the poorest four-fifths — is a significant factor in the economy of any country, and to divert it or withdraw it must have significant effects. At a time when the whole country is boiling with protest, when the forces of the regime are using fire power, imprisonment, torture and all forms of intimidation against the people, the boycott is one of the weapons in the people's hands, and one that is all the more powerful because of its flexibility. There is no doubt that we have not seen the end of this present phase of boycott; neither is there any doubt that the boycott weapon will be used again.

UYADELA WENA OSULAPHO!

By Sello Moeti

"Uyadela wena Usulapho!" was a war cry of Zulu warriors during battles. The words literally mean, "happy are you, who are already there!" This article is dedicated to the 80th anniversary of what has come to be known as Bambatha Rebellion of 1906.



NATAL AT THE TIME OF BAMBATHA

The months from April to July in 1906 were to see young African men take spears and rifles again. Old men with grey hair were picking up their old spears and marching hundreds of kilometres again in another battle of the old war, 250 years old it was at the time. This was the war of resistance to foreign, racist, colonial domination. A war many of whose battles we had won and many more had lost. But 1906 was to see the war which sometimes was silent, while one of the sides licked its wounds, break out into open warfare again. This time it was to be fought in Inkandla forest and Mapumulo. The battles in Inkandla and Mapumulo, closed a chapter, burying once and for all the ability of intelezi and the spear against the guns of the Whites. It opened the chapter of the warfare when the majority fight as the minority and the minority as the majority. The Inkandla and Mapumulo battles brought in these times when we, the majority, break into small groups chipping at the enemy's sides, slowly encircling him with our majority, they brought in this face of the war that is now becoming a genuine People's War.

If we teach anyone anything, these battles showed clearly that without unity we are weak and without action, military action, we remain oppressed. As a befitting tribute to the warriors who 80 years ago stood up to be counted, we need to learn from their effort, make a thoroughgoing post mortem, to assess the damage done by our enemy and our own mistakes. We need to study carefully their experience not because we have any penchant for studying history. The reason is that war is still on. Indeed, now is escalating, deliberately started by us to take the things which were grabbed from us those 80 years ago and before then. So the best tribute to Bambatha, Cakijana, Mehlokazulu, Mtele Sigananda and thousands of other warriors is to escalate this war taking their mistakes to heart, vowing never to repeat them.

The Issues of the War

The main issue, the cause of the war of 1906, was the same issue as in the wars fought for more than 250 years before, the same issue that is at the heart of the conflict which has resulted in the Soweto, Uitenhage, Mamelodi massacres. The source of the problem was, as it still is, national oppression. Alien racist colonial domination. True, colonialism has changed in form from what it was in 1906. Today Britain, the original thief, has moved back, leaving kith and kin to pass on the stolen goods. Yet this is still essentially the same armed national struggle against foreign, racist colonial domination. The wars of resistance in the east coast had seen Isandhlwana and other epic battles. But also there were the defeats of Income, Ulundi and others. The huge British colonial imperial army had merely won the battles. It wanted now to settle the war in its favour. The high point of colonial achievement is not just the looting of the defeated, the plunder of their economic and human resources, the rape of their culture and dehumanisation, but is above everything, to keep the defeated as loot themselves to generate even more wealth. It was in an attempt to develop us as fully fledged colonial vassals, hopelessly poor, barely managing to survive but able to generate wealth for Britain and its local kith and kin, that the British undertook the measures that provoked the war. This was the second major cause of the war of 1906.

Our Country Under Colonial Rule

The immediate political reality was that half of the world was under British rule. We too, after Ulundi in the East coast, the defeat of Sekhukhune in the North, the annexation of Lesotho, our whole country was finally under colonial rule. The phony Anglo-Boer War, the war of the falling out of the thieves, had just ended. Some Blacks, like Mahatma Gandhi had been loyal to the British empire. Others had helped the Afrikaners. The majority treated that war as the White man's war that it really was.

The White colonists in Natal fell into two categories. They were farmers and townspeople. The townspeople were few, engaged in an embryonic manufacturing industry and the professions. The farmers formed the majority, including the Afrikaner, and dominated the political life, asking for a responsible government

from Britain in 1874. They were given it in 1893. Africans in Natal were governed from Britain until 1897 when we were put under the colony. This was done after the whole country was divided into little chiefdoms, the only criterion for leading them being loyalty to Whites. Even Dinuzulu was declared a chief in charge of a few homesteads under the watchful eye of White magistrates. The leaders of the people to these magistrates were mere children, spies to control their people on behalf of the Whites. The sheer arrogance of the magistrates, the crude political control by the colonial regime, was another reason for the war.

The White population in Natal by the turn of the century was about 100 000 strong, 76% were British, (40% of whom being direct British born), 13% Afrikaner and 11% others with 101 000 strong Indians. With the rising population, the crop farmers among the Whites were taking the land with an amazing speed; in 1875 they cultivated 191 808 acres, in 1893 this had gone up to 519 744 acres and by the turn of the century this had reached about one million acres. In fact the area of White settlement was stretched to the border of Mozambique. While distributing the land at this pace, colonists demanded that not only those areas, which they had taken and announced as their own land, areas which have been populated even during the Difaqane but they wanted the two-thirds of the fertile land declared as Zululand by the colonial office, Inkandla and Nqutu area in particular as it was fertile and a good cattle country. The colonists had clearly not changed from the ways of the Cape Colony of riding a horse half a day and calling the area they had covered as their land. The people who fell under this type of land division were declared tenants and expected to comply with stiff rules of tenancy not to mention working for the farmers free of charge. Land therefore was one of the major issues at the root of the war.

Increasing The Yoke

It was however the stock farmers who were the most hostile to the Blacks whose land they were farming on. Firstly, they hated the existence of the stock farming African with his own herd of cattle. This African would not leave his fields to farm those of the Whites. He would not leave his stock to look after those of the Whites. In no way was he going to agree to control and use of

water, movement of cattle and other restrictions imposed by the newcomers. Besides ordinary competition, the stock farmers, like the tea and sugar growers, depended 100% on African labour. British colonial police records show that their most persistent complaint was that the Africans were not looking after their cattle and tilling the land for them. At first they resolved that Africans can only have a stipulated number of cattle and shot those that were supposedly in excess. Thus at the heart of the causes of the war was an attempt by the colonial regime of Britain through its local colonists to turn the African population into paupers who would work for the farmers and mine owners in the Transvaal.

To compound the already untenable relations of master and servant, colonised and coloniser which were crystallising, when a series of live stock and crop diseases broke out in Natal, they blamed it on the African. Rinderpest, lung-sickness, East Coast fever, scab and mange broke out and were said to be caused by African ownership of cattle and land on which they were farming. The White farmers not only called for heavy taxes on the Africans to increase their poverty so that they must work for them, but they used the outbreak of the diseases to kill many African cattle and to spread the diseases by mixing healthy cattle with sick ones and wholesale shooting of healthy cattle ostensibly as a quarantine measure.

"...Every Farmers' Conference that has taken place for the last ten or twelve years have agitated for an increased Hut Tax, and why? To increase the natives' wants and so bring about a better state of labour" so wrote a minister of Native Affairs of the colony in 1905. The Hut Tax was £2 when the annual income of Africans employed all year round by Whites was estimated at £3. The Master's and Servant's Law was "stiffened" and in 1905 the clamouring from the colonists finally produced the Poll Tax of £1 a year on all African males. It was to be a combination, this taxation and the way it was implemented, that was to light the war in Inkandla and Mapumulo.

The Warriors And Their War

The colonial administration and the local colonists in particular had long been expressing a wish to 'lick the natives into shape' and to 'knock

the hell out of them' as they had become 'insolent' and were 'getting out of hand.' All talk by the Africans of their rights was 'dangerous sedition mongering.' While imposing the heavy taxes on the Africans, openly stating that their aim was to make Africans poor so that they must work for them, on the other hand the Whites were at the same time preparing for war. They organised what was called Militia Reserve, started cadet training, had all men as members of a so-called Rifle Association and formed a Natal Volunteer Force. A Norwegian colonel, a certain Bru-de-Wold, was appointed the commander of their forces. He had written extensively on the "growing insolence of young natives and (their) disrespect for the White man". Not only did he speed up the militia reserve training, but he increased the acquisition of expanding bullets. The Mark V and VI bullets were acquired as "...the importance of dum-dum bullets with their greater stopping power when fighting 'members of savage races (who) it must be remembered are not creatures of nerves' was stressed." It was however another colonist called Duncan McKenzie who was to carry out the most atrocious crimes of that war. He gave Faku, whose people were supposed to be refusing to surrender their spears, the following order:

"I want fifteen head of cattle and all the assegais at Highflats. This is the last chance. (Faku had just brought in eleven assegais in response to a previous demand) He need not come to me with a few assegais; I will go and collect them if he does not bring them all and I will take every beast he has got and burn his kraals if the cattle and assegais are not there. He has to come to the store at Highflats tomorrow at this time"

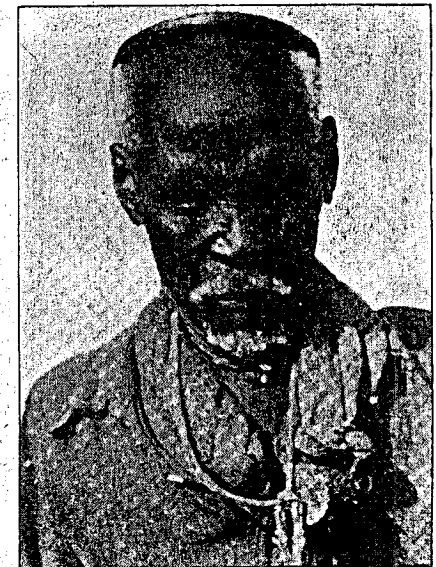
The great Zulu War had ended to our disadvantage. The White colonial administration was extracting its pound of flesh. They demanded total submission. They were demanding all spears and guns. They had declared the land we stay on as their land. They were shooting and infecting the cattle with diseases. Young men had to be conscripted to do forced labour for the colony free and pay the other taxes and as from January 1906 the Poll Tax. The crops had to be sold to pay rent. Money had to be used to pay for permits to travel out of Natal. All of what remained of economic life was now going to be used for paying taxes to run an economy they open-

ly stated was for Whites only. Now they were demanding that Africans not only wear certain types of clothes but virtually tearing their backs for not showing 'proper respect for the White man.' All Africans resisted the taxes and when the Poll Tax was announced the pressures reached breaking point.

All Africans without exception resisted the Poll Tax. Even those Blacks who had listened to the missionaries telling them that they are sinners by living under their own rulers and 'loyal natives' found the taxes too much. In the beginning the resistance took the form of not paying covered with lots of excuses. But as time went on some communities started throwing away all things of European origin and killing animals with white colour. This would not do. The magistrates were demanding the tax. A state of emergency was declared. Colonial troops started haunting the land. Drumhead court martial was shooting people at random.

Bambatha was from the Zondi. He had been one of the leaders who were resisting the burden of taxes and had had a few brushes with the White man's law. At the end he resolved to fight. He first went to Dinuzulu to raise the necessary support. Failing this he went to the people themselves. Young men joined in their hundreds. They came from as far as the Rand mines to join in the war that was unfolding. The Whites were anxious and wanted to know why they were coming home in such numbers. "We have come to see our women," the men answered. Old men like Sigananda, in his nineties, joined him. Leading men like Ndube, Mpumela, Makubalo, sent many men to join the army.

On April 3rd they ambushed a group of White policemen at Mpanza valley, killing four. It was clear the army of the people was strong enough now. The colonists mobilised detachments of the Natal Police, the Greytown Reserve, the Natal Field Artillery and the Durban Light Infantry and in an elaborate plan encircled Mpanza valley. Bambatha and the African army was by then at Mome Gorge, 40 to 50 miles away. On the way they passed Hlangabeza and Gayede where they were joined by Mangati ka Godide. Mangati had not only been Cetshwayo's induna, but brought with him many men from the Ntulis. He was also the grandson of Ndlela, a warrior who became a legend in his own lifetime, serving under Shaka and Dingane after him.



*Sigananda
A warrior in his nineties.*

The second major encounter between the Warriors' Army and the more than 5 000 Whites mobilised from as far as London, Johannesburg, Cape Town and other places, paid for by the rich farmers and mine owners, was to be in Bobe Ridge. The White army was reinforced with about 3 000 of what is called "African levies". In all the several hundred strong Warriors' Army was faced with 8 000 well armed troops in 17 columns who converged on Bobe Ridge and Mome Gorge. 60 warriors were killed in this engagement. After this battle Bambatha separated with Sigananda. He, Cakijana, and Mangati headed to Macala Hills. Sigananda with part of the army went to Mome. After clashing with the warriors under Sigananda, forcing them to leave their bases, the White troops under Duncan McKenzie burnt down the grave of Cetshwayo which was in Mome Gorge as they looted the surrounding area, driving away cattle and burning down grain.

With the main forces of the Warriors' Army divided and overwhelmed by superior armed forces, the colonial troops moved down to the south of the Tugela river. Tula, a chief appointed



Pupils proclaim the new name of Clermont High on their school wall.

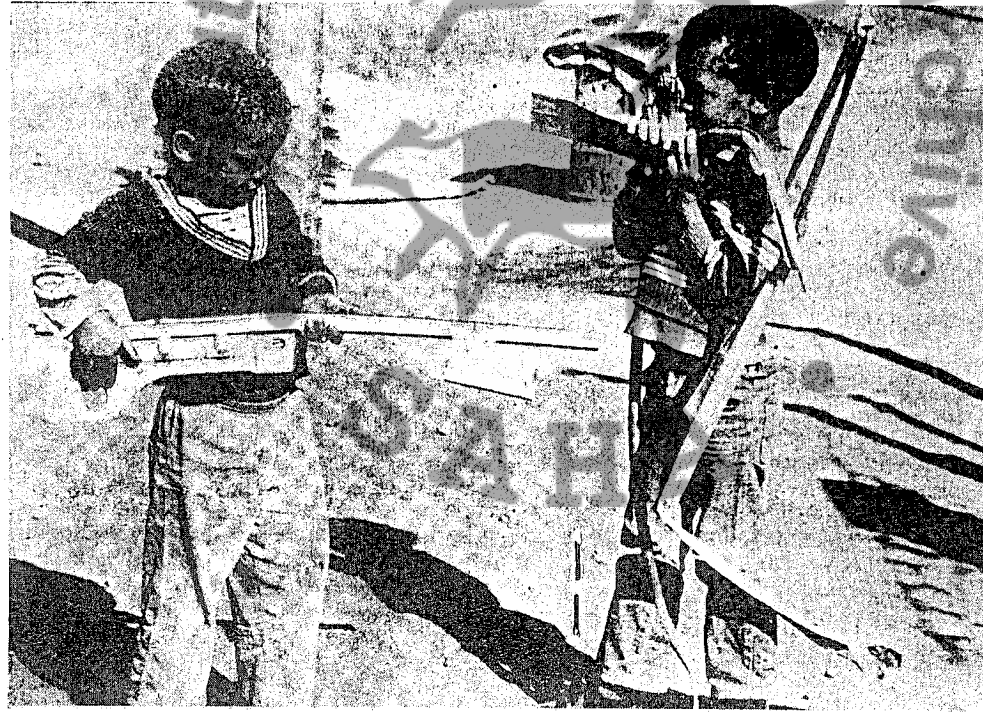
CHILDREN IN THE FRONT LINE

*Children in the townships use scrap metal as toys today.
Soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe tomorrow?*

11-year-old Fanie Kuduka spent 57 days in solitary detention despite two court hearings to secure his release. He was subsequently acquitted of a charge of public violence.



He is now in hiding. The police who assaulted him during detention still constantly hound him.



Released from detention. In spite of it, the struggle continues for these and many other children.

by the government, was asked to surrender one of his subjects. He brought the man to the magistrate despite opposition from the people. He himself was arrested and the people in the meantime doctored themselves for war. Neighbouring groups jolted by the doubledealing of the British, who ostensibly were supposed to be protecting them, rebelled themselves. Mtele, Manuka were some of the people who took to the mountains in the South of the Tugela river. Mehlokazulu, who had a long history of fighting with the colonial forces, too, joined the war. Mehlokazulu, Mtele, and Nondubela went to the Qudeni mountains. On the second day of their arriving there, Lubuhlungu of the Faku people joined them. By the fourth week some of the people who survived the battles at Macala Hills joined the warriors in Qudeni mountains and were led by Faku's right hand man Babazeleni. Bambatha himself had gone to Usuthu where Dinuzulu was staying.

In the last week of May, the Warriors' Army attacked one of the columns of the colonial army at Mpukinyoni. Again the colonial troops proved superior not only in numbers but also in armament. The attack at Mpukinyoni was unlike the ones at Mome Gorge by Bambatha, where rifles were used and the engagements not long enough to allow the superiority of the colonial columns to come into play. At Mpukinyoni the battle formation was the old traditional type which relied on superior forces. Babazeleni's warriors were only about 800 in all. They were thus by far outnumbered and outclassed in every respect. As a result Babazeleni and about 100 of his men were killed. After this battle, the Warriors' Army moved to Nkonyeni forests near Nkombe.

McKenzie, using his superior forces, searched the whole of Inkandla forest, killing about 60 people there. On the 3rd of June warriors intercepted his troops at Manzipambana and by the 7th the warriors were all leaving the besieged fortress going in the direction of the mountains and hills of Qudeni and Macala. McKenzie, who had in the meantime been promoted to Supreme Command for his services was 'scouring' both sides of the Tugela looking for the Warriors' Army's base. It was only on the 9th that he got wind that Bambatha has been joined by Mehlokazulu and some men from Natal, from Ngobizembe in Konyeni forests and were moving back to the east

of Mome Gorge to link up with Siganda. The information of Duncan McKenzie proved correct and on the night of the 10th he struck at the Warriors' Army's main body which had arrived at the spot only half a day earlier. Bambatha, Mehlokazulu, Nondubela, Mtele and a large number of their soldiers died in the attack. Only Mangati and Cajikana survived the attack and moved northwards into the terrain. The colonial forces cut off Bambatha's head. White historians now say it was for identification purposes. The old man Siganda, now surrounded and isolated by numerically superior troops, surrendered and was taken prisoner. He died soon thereafter.

War In Mapumulo

After Inkandla, the colonists were overjoyed. Their governor was reporting to London that there was "no chance whatever of the rebellion spreading into Natal." Only the following day, warriors under Ndlovu ka Timuni attacked an army outpost at Thring's Post, Mapumulo, killing the soldier manning it and a Norwegian running a store there. They also ambushed a convoy of Natal's Mounted Rifles trying to cross Otimati River. Mapumulo had seen a series of brushes with the colonial authorities in January in which Ngobizembe, Meseni, Swaimana, Matshwili, Tshingumusi and Ndlovu ka Timuni himself in the jargon of the colonial officials were "severely punished for being disaffected" and allowing men to take ntelezi for war. When more and more troops from Inkandla passed through their areas, looting, plundering and lynching people for not 'showing proper respect for the White man,' Meseni, who himself had been in gaol two months earlier, distributed ntelezi among his men. In other areas of Natal the other leaders were forced to do the same.

The result was that by the end of June there were three main groups armed, and smaller ones too, operating independent of each other. They were "under Meseni, who was joined by some of Swaimana's people, under Ndlovu ka Timuni who was joined by Ngobizembe's followers under Sambela, and under Matshwili, joined by Tshingumusi's people, plus a number of people from a smaller chiefdom under Xegwana." At the same time McKenzie had established himself as strongman of the colonists and had moved his troops from the north to Mapumulo where they were joined by 2 500 White troops. In addition



Prisoners of war: Warriors captured during the Bambatha rebellion.

they were joined by 500 men from the Transvaal Mounted Rifles. Although Meseni sent word to Durban for all his people to come and fight and 1 000 dockworkers, 500 domestic servants and about 40% of the African Borough Police responded, the numbers were too small to overwhelm the huge army of McKenzie and too big for manoeuvre in Mapumulo's open plains.

Hence McKenzie, enjoying numerical superiority and all other factors, ordered his divisions to encircle Mtandeni where Meseni's main base was. Despite his network of agents and spies, McKenzie found only 1 500 'war huts' in Mtandeni. According to his version, his forces were ambushed "half-heartedly" by four groups of warriors later on as they marched to the Mapumulo-Esidumbeni Road going to Isizimba where Matshwili and Tshingumusi were lodged.

Matshwili and Tshingumusi had ambushed another convoy on the 2nd of July at Bond's Rift. On the 8th however the joint forces of McKenzie and his divisions attacked their main base in a surprise attack. Matshwili, his induna and his

sons were killed with about 600 of their soldiers. This battle virtually left Ndlovu ka Timuni as the main warrior leader still commanding large forces. He however dispersed his forces trying to leave Natal going north to Usuthu where they thought they might get support. But one by one Meseni, Macabacaba, and other leaders, leading small skirmishes against the colonial forces, were arrested before reaching Usuthu.

The colonial forces in the meantime unleashed a reign of terror, lynching, looting and plundering the whole area of Mapumulo as they had done in Zululand. Perhaps what they did can be judged from the following by the Bishop of Zululand: they "swept up large numbers of cattle and goats belonging to loyal natives indiscriminately ... They entered kraals of loyal natives and robbed them of clothes, blankets, mats and money ... Some of the women had clothes taken off their backs. Certain natives were found in hiding. They were brought into camp on the 5th (July) and five of them were shot ... The father of three of them was forcibly compelled to look on whilst his sons were shot ..."

the two delegations agreed that it is important that these organisations should work in co-operation and not in competition with the rest of the democratic movement of South Africa.

The two delegations agreed that it is of central importance that the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners should develop with even greater intensity. They agreed that both their organisations would do their utmost in pursuit of this goal.

The two delegations further agreed that the obstacle to a negotiated resolution of the South African problem is the Botha regime. They con-

cluded that no negotiations are possible while the leaders of the people are in prison and while the Pretoria regime refuses to accept that our country should be governed by all its people, both Black and White, as equals, brothers and sisters.

The delegations of Inyandza and the ANC expressed great confidence that the victory of the people over the system of White minority rule is not far off. They agreed that both organisations would spare nothing in the struggle to realise this objective.

The two organisations agreed that they would meet again at a time to be agreed upon between them.

ANC Pays Tribute to Olof Palme

Olof Palme, the Prime Minister of Sweden, was murdered in Stockholm on the 28th February, 1986. President Tambo of the ANC sent the following message of condolence to Ingvar Carlsson, the Deputy Prime Minister.

We have received with extreme shock and heartfelt grief news of the death of our very dear brother, the Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme — a death that came as a lightning bolt out of the cloudless skies.

The unspeakable crime of his assassination has sent a stunning shock wave throughout the ranks of the leadership and membership of the African National Congress and the millions of our people. We had come to know him not only as a leader of the Swedish people and an international statesman, but also as one of us, a fellow combatant who has made an inestimable contribution to the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

The murderer's gun that fired the fatal shot was aimed directly against the ANC and our people as well, because none can benefit from this enormously horrendous crime except the oppressors and exploiters, and first and foremost among them the Pretoria regime. We who saw him only a week ago, drawing strength from his confidence in the proximity of our victory, know it in our hearts that even as he breathed his last, his thoughts were about those who are struggling for their emancipation, for a decent life in conditions of liberty and for a world free of wars. From Vietnam to Nicaragua, from El Salvador

to Palestine, from Sahara to South Africa, across the face of the globe, the flags hang limp and at half mast in loving memory of this giant of justice who had become a citizen of the world, a brother and comrade to all who are downtrodden.

As we march forward towards the accomplishment of Olof Palme's dream of a lifetime, the liberation of South Africa, his name will be on our banners, his memory in our hearts and minds and his example a driving impulse to us who must be prepared to give our lives as he did his own. Standing by his deathbed, to him and the Swedish people who raised for us an outstanding champion of our struggle and a standard bearer of our cause throughout the world, we pledge that we will vindicate his confidence in us by ridding our people of the murderous apartheid system and transform South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and peaceful country.

On behalf of the ANC and the people of South Africa, we extend our deepest and heartfelt condolences to the Government and brother people of Sweden as well as the SAP and the Swedish labour movement as whole.

Please also accept my most sincere condolences to you all, dear friends, and to Olof Palme's family, especially his dear wife, Lisbeth. I shall forever cherish his friendship and miss his comradeship with an intensity that defies description.

May he rest in peace.

3rd March, 1986.

ANC INTERNATIONAL

'KATHRADA HOUSE' IN LONDON.

In February, one of the buildings of the Polytechnic of Central London was named 'Kathrada House' in honour of our imprisoned comrade, Ahmed Kathrada, who was one of the accused in the Rivonia trial in 1964, and who has now served nearly 22 years of a life sentence in South Africa.

The main speaker at the ceremony was Comrade Paul Joseph, who knew Comrade Kathrada well in the 1950s. He spoke of Kathrada's loyalty and dedication, of his fighting and campaigning spirit. He told how Kathrada was offered an amnesty in 1973 and refused it, how he was offered conditional release in 1985, and refused again. He quoted a letter Kathrada sent to a friend in 1985:

"To many it may have seemed as if we were a hairsbreadth away from 'freedom.' But in fact, from the very moment the announcement was made it was a non-starter.

"Now I don't want to indulge in any false modesty when I say I have not got that stuff that heroes are made of. But really I did not have to go through any sleepless nights to arrive at a decision. It was so patently designed to humiliate me that there just could be no other decision for me but to reject it."

Paul Joseph added:

"Such is the quality of the man you have today honoured."

ANC AND SACTU SPEAKERS TOUR DENMARK

Three representatives of the South African liberation movement made a speaking tour of Denmark in November and December 1985: Comrades Johnson Makatini, head of the International Department of the ANC, Dennis Goldberg of the ANC (who spent 20 years in gaol in South Africa)

and Bonisile Norushe of SACTU.

Their visit was well covered by the Danish media. Comrade Makatini, who had gone to Denmark to hear a debate in the Danish parliament on the intensifying sanctions against South Africa, held a press conference together with Comrades Aaron Mnisi, ANC representative in Denmark, and Jimmy Joseph, SWAPO representative in Sweden. He told the press:

"We are very encouraged by the attention we are getting in this part of the world... Sanctions alone don't do it, but they are an important supplement to the struggle."

FINNISH SUPPORT FOR OUR STRUGGLE

The Finnish Transport and General Workers' Union has effectively imposed an embargo on the import and export of all goods to and from South Africa. In many other ways, as well, the democratic people of Finland are joining hands with the oppressed people of South Africa in our common struggle for peace and social justice, and their support is taking a concrete and material form.

Finnish Women Extend Solidarity

At the invitation of the Democratic League of Finnish Women, two representatives of the ANC Women's Section were invited to address the Fourth Working Women's Forum held in Helsinki on the week-end of the 1st and 2nd of March.

This impressive gathering of over 1 700 working women, drawn from all parts of Finland, came together to discuss the problems they faced in the factories and places of work and in their homes and communities as workers.

They called for peace and international co-operation, not simply as the absence of war in

general, but linked it to the necessary conditions of development and the ending of hunger and poverty everywhere. They also declared that as long as such a crime against humanity as apartheid is allowed to exist they could not consider themselves to be living under conditions of peace.

These Finnish women, workers and peace activists, extended their solidarity to the people of South Africa through the ANC, and expressed their resolve to campaign for the total isolation of Pretoria and to step up their support for the ANC.

Through the Democratic League of Finnish Women, the women of Finland have undertaken to fund a project to establish two women's houses for mothers with children and young girls who are forced to flee the ravages of the war that South Africa is wreaking upon them.

Students Support ANC and SWAPO

A resolution adopted by the National Union of Finnish Students at its annual conference in November 1985, condemned the system of apartheid, the illegal occupation of Namibia, and the attacks on Angola. It called for an end to the state of emergency, for the freeing of Nelson Mandela, for freedom of movement for Black citizens of South Africa and for democratic elections. It demanded that Finland cut off all its relations with the South African regime, and support the ANC and SWAPO, and appealed to all states and peoples of the world to work for the total boycott of the Republic of South Africa.

Bus for SOMAFSCO

In Helsinki, a couple named Helena and Risto Kekkonen were convinced of the importance of SOMAFSCO. They made a film about the school, wrote in a number of journals, and finally raised enough money for the materials needed to build a bus for the complex at Mazimbu. They then persuaded all the workers at the Kutter factory to donate their labour and time, something they willingly did once they had learned something about education under apartheid and what SOMAFSCO stands for.

SWEDISH RACEHORSE RACES FOR THE ANC

In 1984, Bengt Nordenbrand of Stockholm in Sweden bought a half share in a young racehorse, which, he says, has grown into a promising

horse, one of the best in Sweden. He has promised to donate all his share of the prize money earned by this horse to the children of South Africa, via the ANC. He has already sent 11 600 Swedish kroner to the ANC, and hopes to send a lot more this year.

LETTERS OF SUPPORT

From time to time, in this column, we print extracts from letters we have received in the *Sechaba* office, from friends and supporters in different parts of the world.

Among the letters we have received recently, is one from **Spain**, from the Institute of Political Studies in **Spain** and Latin America:

"We have ... the possibility of publishing — here in Madrid — a book about Nelson Mandela ... not only to tell the story of his life but the story of his fighting, the story of the ANC, the struggle of the South African Black people, the external alliances of Pretoria, etc ...
"Please write to us your point of view ... and good luck to you."

From **Italy**, Father Sergio Agostoni of the Verona Fathers also asked for information:

"... I want to manifest my deep appreciation for your work, and my solidarity with the struggle South African people are carrying on ... I cooperate with the Italian magazine, *Nigrizia*, ... we would like to present some figures of the South African resistance. We are looking for material on Winnie Mandela, the wife of Nelson, and the Rev. Allan Boesak. We ... hope that a better information will contribute to create greater sensibility and solidarity with your struggle."

From the **United States**, Booker T Evans of Chicago wrote:

"I would like to say that we here in the Afro-American community support the struggle against racist domination in Southern Africa.
"There is a good deal of support here for the end of slavery in South Africa. Everyone, even the children on the street, speak of it!
"Last year, when I was in Brazil, the Afro-Brazilian community was very concerned about the state of affairs in South Africa.
"I buy *Sechaba* on the newsstand."

DUAL POWER AND THE CREATION OF PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

By Alex Mashinini

South Africa has undoubtedly come to be one of the most volatile of conflict-torn areas in world politics today. The regime has plunged irremediably into deep social, political and economic crisis. The declaration of the state of emergency is evidence, if any is needed, that the social engineering measures of the regime, presented as reforms, have dismally failed, and is a further acknowledgement on the part of the Botha clique that it has lost control over the government of the country. Apartheid is increasingly becoming unworkable. The level of mass political and military participation in the struggle for liberation has shown us the possibility of revolution.

The economy is in a shambles, and the prospects of recovery are as dim as those of political stability. Foreign investors are quitting the country in large numbers, and the threat of international economic sanctions is looming large.

Yet all these developments — a product of sacrifices, selflessness and determination by our people and their international friends — have brought new complex challenges.

How to Sharpen the Spear?

How, then, do we sharpen the spear to drive back the apartheid monster, and finally defeat it? Which methods and principles for revolutionary action should we employ to deepen the enemy crisis still further, to render the rule of the enemy ineffective and finally to smash him?

So far, much has been written on such strategic aspects of our revolution as protracted people's war, arming of the masses, embryonic forms of self-government and popular power, insurrection and so on — important questions at the present stage, ones which have been subject to much debate and discussion, and which cry for greater clarity.

At such crucial and historic moments as the present one, we need a coherent, clear and unambiguous strategic perspective as regards these questions; not only for the purpose of greater understanding within the liberation movement itself, but also (and this is very important) because we must always strive to impart to our people the course of events in our national democratic revolution. We need to:

"advance our aims more comprehensively and boldly at such a time, so that our slogans shall always be in advance of the revolutionary initiative of the masses, serve as a beacon, reveal to them our democratic ideals ... and show them the shortest and most direct route to complete, absolute and decisive victory." (V I Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*.)

What do we mean by such concepts and categories as people's war, the arming of the masses, insurrection, embryonic forms of self-government and popular power, and so on, as they are related to South Africa's own set of concrete and historical conditions?

We should guard against a tendency to provide prescriptions and definitions which do not bear the least affinity to the essence of our national democratic revolution, and against amorphous approaches which collapse these concepts and categories into a whole, while failing to distinguish the order of priorities and the likely course and sequence of events in our revolution.

Here, we shall confine ourselves to discussing the issue of **dual power**, and embryonic forms of self-government and popular power.

Colonialism of a Special Type

The South African liberation movement describes the social, political and economic rela-

tionship prevailing in our country as that of colonialism of a special type. Unfortunately, this thesis is mostly understood in geographic terms, in which the coloniser (the White minority state) lives side by side, and coexists, with the colonised (the Black majority), and also in terms of the relations of domination and subjugation.

But in terms of the revolution, this thesis cuts across the whole social fibre of South African society. It exposes and lays bare those conditions in South Africa which make it a reality that the struggle of the oppressed majority has to be waged along two dialectically connected lines.

When the struggle against White domination in South Africa came to a point where peaceful methods of struggle alone proved inadequate, the people became disillusioned with peaceful methods. Despite the enormous sacrifices and hardships it would entail, they were prepared to support the strategy of armed struggle and to participate in it. The first necessity, then, was to embark on armed struggle, as it could be conceived of in conditions of colonialism (see *Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*, adopted at the Morogoro Conference, 1969).

At the same time, the highly developed capitalism of South Africa (a feature not found in any other colonial situation) has given rise to a large Black working class, relatively highly organised and class-conscious, with a political experience and maturity arising from half a century of mass political mobilisation. This brought to the fore of the struggle the issue of insurrection, as it can be conceived of in any highly developed capitalist country.

Mass Political Action and Armed Struggle

The objective existence of these two conditions serves as a material foundation for the strategy of combining mass political action with armed struggle, and gives meaning to it. They also expose those conditions in the South African revolution which make the relationship between armed struggle and insurrection a reality, and not an academic exercise.

Having said this, we should not lose sight of the fact that ours is a national democratic revolution, which seeks, by the application of revolutionary violence, to replace the present White racist minority rule with the rule of the majority, based on the democratic principles of the Freedom Charter.

We accept, not only in principle but also in all its implications, the eventuality of an armed uprising, an insurrection, as a culmination of the combination of mass political action with armed struggle. It then becomes necessary not only to seek to understand this relationship but also to emphasise, always, the particular needs and demands of the struggle that this necessity imposes on every stage of our revolution.

People's War

The liberation movement has adopted the strategy of a people's war. It is a war in which our entire nation is engaged — Umkhonto we Sizwe, the people's army, workers, the rural masses, women, students, intellectuals, the religious community and so on — collectively in groups, and as organised individuals. They use all forms of revolutionary warfare — armed and non-combat, legal and illegal — to attack and destroy all symbols, structures and organs of apartheid power, including all those who man them. The underlying principle here is that all these forms of revolutionary warfare, even those aimed at achieving certain short-term goals, should have as their long-term and fundamental objective, the total destruction of the South African system.

But the nature of our forces and those of the enemy makes it necessary that we protract our war. This, as a guiding principle, will offer us an opportunity to build, consolidate and develop our forces from our present weak position to that of material and moral superiority over the enemy.

Ours, therefore, is a protracted people's war as a means in a revolutionary process towards the ultimate build-up into an insurrectionary overthrow of the South African state.

What, then, are the immediate tasks of the vanguard movement at the present stage of our revolution? In which areas of activity should we put more emphasis in the development of our strategy of a people's war?

The journals and policy statements of the liberation movement have singled out certain areas of activity where we should move with urgency. These include consolidating and extending the underground structures of the ANC, the intensification of the armed struggle, the training and arming of the masses (see the ANC January 8th Message, 1986). We shall confine ourselves here to the issue of the emerging embryonic forms of self-government and popular



Duncan Village, December 1985.

power, and the creation of people's committees, in the belief that the other issues have been thoroughly (though not exhaustively) discussed and debated, and have become part of the day-to-day routine work of the vanguard movement in the execution of the struggle.

Dual Power

In executing the strategy of a people's war, the liberation movement, headed by the ANC, has evolved specific and concrete tactical offensive positions for our people to make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable. The enthusiasm with which our people carried this out shook, and is still shaking, even the most unconcerned observers both in South Africa and abroad. The campaign is sapping the central power of apartheid rule and stretching it to its limits, by destroying its local organs of administration and control. In most of the areas torn by upsurge, government-instituted community councils have been destroyed, and those who man them have either been killed or forced to resign. Black police and informers have been forced, through mass revolutionary violence, to quit most of the townships.

Thus, in several areas of the country, we have what the press has come to term 'no-go areas.' These are the areas in which the police have maintained a conspicuous absence, except when patrolling in large military convoys. In other areas, the people have not paid rent since September 1984!

Apartheid is increasingly becoming unworkable, and the country is rapidly degenerating into a state of complete ungovernability. How, then, do we appraise these developments? What tactical inroads have been made, what challenges are presented? What strategic shifts is the revolution likely to experience through the cumulative impact of these campaigns?

These are questions to which the vanguard movement must seriously address itself, not only for the purpose of its own inner clarity, but, above all, to give aim, purpose, guidance and leadership to the mass democratic movement.

In South Africa today, the enemy can no longer rule in the same old way. There is a considerable measure of independent action on the part of the masses, who are enforcing their will, both against that of the ruling classes, and parallel with it. As a result, there has emerged (but not yet on a na-

tional scale) a peculiar form of dual power, not in an administrative, but in a political sense.

Let us clarify what we actually mean by this peculiar form of dual power, so as to ward off any unwarranted optimism, which can only lead to a confusion of priorities.

Local Organs of Power Disintegrating

We are far from implying that two governments exist in South Africa today. Quite the contrary! There is still one central government in power, that of the racists, which still kills and maims our people, which taxes and exploits our people, which enacts laws and imposes them on our people. There is this difference: it is the racist government which has lost, and is still losing, control over its local organs of Black administration and law enforcement. It is a central government whose local organs of power are being gradually undermined by the masses, and indeed, are disintegrating. It is therefore a central government which, given the unabated continuity and escalation of these campaigns, will in the end remain a centre without reference co-ordinates, and therefore isolated and irrelevant.

But let us not lose sight of the fact that this is but an aspect (legislative and executive at Black local levels) of the South African apartheid system. Its state, whose purpose it is to protect and sustain by force of arms the rule of the White racist minority over the democratic majority, is still intact.

It is therefore in the light of this that the real power of the majority can only be achieved after the revolution has smashed and dismantled this state power.

"All revolutions are about state power. Ours is no exception." (ANC January 8th Message, 1986)

This, therefore, is the nature of this peculiar form of dual power, which signifies that the 'crisis of power' has already dawned in the South African revolution.

But our analysis of this peculiar form of dual power would indeed be incomplete if we omitted to look into the significance of this development for the entire course of our revolution.

Embryonic Popular Power

First and foremost, this development signifies the emergence, still embryonic, still incipient, of organs of self-government and popular power.

These are organs which have rejected the illegitimate rule of apartheid, which are challenging the apartheid authorities for the control of these areas, emerging, therefore, as the alternative power. They are, and should be seen as, what Lenin in *Letters From Afar* called "organs of insurrection," which, when that moment arrives, will be called upon to rise, arms in hands, and seize power.

Now, given the escalation of these campaigns in which the apartheid system is increasingly becoming unworkable, in which the country is rapidly degenerating into a state of complete ungovernability, and in which "the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power,"¹ it goes without saying that these embryonic organs of power have to be strengthened, consolidated and developed.

What, then are the immediate and concrete tasks of the vanguard movement in providing leadership and guidance to these new revolutionary developments? Which concrete methods of organisation and slogans of mobilisation should the vanguard movement advance and pursue, to meet these new conditions of struggle?

The urgent task of the vanguard movement in these new conditions of struggle is to "transform these areas (no-go-areas) into mass revolutionary bases,"² through which we can realise our strategy of a people's war. We can do this by, among other things, creating in these areas local Revolutionary People's Committees, as a rallying slogan, and also as organs of self-government and popular power, and as organs of insurrection.

Is the slogan of creating Revolutionary People's Committees an appropriate one to meet the revolutionary demands of our times? Will it serve to show the mass of our people in their present endeavour to make apartheid unworkable and to render the country ungovernable, the aim and likely course of the revolution towards the armed seizure of power and its transfer into the hands of the democratic majority, for the establishment of a people's power? Why not, for example, refer to these organs as local People's Communes? These are questions of topical importance if our slogans, together with our mobilisation and organisational tasks are not to end up in revolutionary phrase-mongering and misguided actions!

A Rallying Slogan

We believe that these local committees, firstly as a rallying slogan, are not only appropriate, but revolutionary as well, precisely because they answer the question: What is to be done in those areas where the local organs of apartheid power have been destroyed by the people?

They are not only appropriate, but revolutionary as well, precisely because in those areas where the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power, where the popular will has been asserted, the consolidation, strengthening and development of this alternative power can only be organised, created and guided. It is unthinkable that these forms of alternative power could be organised and guided without a clear strategy that maps out their organisation and guidance. Any approach which fails to recognise the need to organise, create and guide these forms of alternative power into Revolutionary People's Committees will not only be sheer idle talk, but will also be noxious to the whole course of the development of our revolution, for such an approach neglects this trend to its own spontaneity.

Should we call them People's Communes? No. What if people ask (as they will, of course, do) what these communes are? The answer will unavoidably have to be provided by way of the historical experiences of the Paris Commune of 1871, which was defeated by counter-revolution. While we value the rich experiences of the Paris Commune, we should, at the same time, not live in the memories of the past. This can only:

"confuse the minds of the people with the distant echo of sonorous phrases or empty rhetoric. The more we cherish the memory of the Paris Commune, the less permissible it is to refer to it offhand, without analysing its mistakes and the special conditions attending it." (V I Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social Democracy*)

We will call them Revolutionary People's Committees, precisely because they address themselves to the very essence of the popular and democratic nature of our revolution, which seeks to establish a People's Power.

We will call them Revolutionary People's Committees, precisely because they address themselves to, and seek to implement, the democratic provisions of the People's Charter — the Freedom Charter!

Tasks of the Committees

The urgent tasks of these People's Committees is to seek to implement the provisions of the Freedom Charter, by:

- Organising the masses and transforming the no-go areas into strong mass revolutionary bases to provide the ground for the growth and development of our people's army and for the escalation of our people's war,
- Transforming these areas into strong mass revolutionary bases to serve as organs of insurrection and self-government.
- Ensuring, through action, that the expelled and rejected organs of apartheid power do not return to these areas,
- Escalating, and spreading to yet unaffected areas, the campaign of making apartheid unworkable and rendering the country ungovernable, and other important issues.

It is clear from this that we are far from suggesting that these People's Committees, where they exist, should implement the democratic provisions of the Freedom Charter.

Mind-Defying Miracles of the Revolution

We deliberately used the term, "seek to implement" these provisions through the destruction of the local organs of apartheid power, through the combination of mass political action with armed struggle. To suggest, therefore, that these People's Committees cannot be created, let alone defended, on the basis of arguments that project the superior military power of the apartheid state, is to lapse into the much-discredited 'theory of processes,' is to undermine the revolutionary potential of the masses (who in times of revolution are capable of mind-defying miracles) thereby negating the very essence of our revolutionary war, which is to fight and act, and to act and fight.

As revolutionaries, our duty is not to put obstacles before the revolution, but to surmount them.

"We must use our organised mass strength and, by attacking, consolidate our victorious emergence as the alternative power." (ANC January 8th Message, 1986)

In conclusion, let us dedicate a few words to the strategic benefits and advantages which will accrue from the creation, consolidation and

development of Revolutionary People's Committees.

This becomes an issue of the utmost importance in the light of the present fluidity (this is objective) of the revolutionary upsurge inside the country, and which has opened vast avenues of possibilities. Among other things, there is the likely probability of a sustained nation-wide uprising, with nation-wide industrial and community action, continued students' boycott and upsurges throughout the country. This is not an expression of blind optimism or an attempt at 'revolutionary prophesying,' but, on the contrary, is a realisation that, as Clausewitz said, there is no form of human activity that:

"stands so constantly and so generally in close connection with chance as war."

The calculation of probabilities should, therefore, accompany the execution of war.



The creation, consolidation and development of Revolutionary People's Committees, both as organs of self-government and popular power and of insurrection, will therefore (and in any eventuality) serve as indicators to:

- How loyal the people are to the democratic ideals, programme and leadership of the vanguard movement, the ANC, and
- How organised they are in the townships, villages, districts, regions and finally, therefore, on a national scale.

The initiative is in our hands! Let us cling to it like grim death!

Footnotes:

1. ANC January 8th Message, 1986.
2. Ibid.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Editor
Sechaba

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would be grateful if you would provide space in your magazine for this letter.

On behalf of the Muslim people of the Republic of South Africa and Zimbabwe, I wish to pledge our support for your struggle against oppression in South Africa.

The Muslim freedom movements of South Africa, in particular, wish to reaffirm their support for your struggle against injustice, and to reinforce that your struggle is their struggle. Furthermore, the South African Muslim liberation movements and their representatives express their desire for both your groups, the Muslim and the ANC movements, to reach a mutual understanding, to dismantle the racist apparatus and to bring freedom to the people of South Africa.

Those Muslims fighting in the cause of justice are urged to action not only by the injustice and suffering inflicted on the people, but by the injunctions found in Islam's holiest book, the Holy Quran, to actively struggle against oppression. I quote:

74.
Let those fight
In the cause of God
Who sell the life of this world
For the Hereafter
To him who fighteth
In the cause of God —
Whether he is slain
Or gets victory —
Soon shall We give him
A reward of great (value)

75.
And why should ye not
Fight in the cause of God
And of those who, being weak,
Are ill-treated (and oppressed)?
Men, women and children
Whose cry is: "Our Lord!"
Rescue us from this town,
Whose people are oppressors,

And raise us from Thee
One who will protect;
And raise for us from Thee
One who will help!

76.

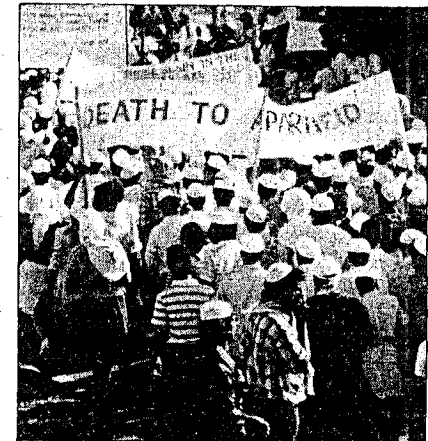
Those who believe
Fight in the cause of God
And those who reject faith
Fight in the cause of Evil
So fight ye against the
Friends of Satan: feeble indeed
Is the cunning of Satan.

The ANC and Muslim liberation movements should find unity in their purpose and goal. Undivided, they must strive to defeat the enemy and so achieve justice and order.

May your struggles eventuate in a peaceful solution, and may God continue to assist your groups in this noble and important task.

Yours sincerely,
R Z Ezat (Miss)
(Zimbabwean Muslim woman)

Harare,
12th February, 1986.



*Demonstration at a Moslem funeral,
Athlone in the Cape.*

TO BENJAMIN MOLOISE

O Moloise
With the wrath
Of an ash-strewn mother
Poetry ever vigilant
Receives you tonight.

Standing upright
In the flowing light
Of your verse,
Standing tall
As your people
Dark and slender
As the cypress.

Benjamin, take to heart
That of all the poets
And peoples of your time
You are admired.

Our peoples hearkened,
Startled at the close
Of your verse
Flowing free
As a great river
And surging forth
At the hour of your death.

Like a thunderbolt
Fell the news
Striking the very hearts
Of our peoples.

We heard you speak, O Benjamin,
Of your time
In words glowing and winged,
And saw you bent
Over the list of martyred poets
With your reflective jetstone gaze
Shining down the corridors
Of time.

We saw you harvesting
With your pen
All the tears and bitterness
Of the season.

Saw the pen guided
By those firm fingers
As if they comprised
Your very essence.

Now our words like great fans
Lie screened in the dense foliage
Of the wood
Stirring the motionless air
Of eternity
With midnight octaves.

Moloise, Benjamin
The butterflies of Greece
Small partisans
Would load the lilies
Of your land like gunbarrels
With the sulphurous pollen of the pine.

In these times
Poets
Are closing in
On the gallows of shame,

Beholding you, the poet,
Immovable straddling
The wave of frenzied
Twentieth century rage,

Sensing the pungence
Of gunpowder,
Humility
And wrath,

Beholding you, the poet,
Decimating the legions
Of imperialism
With the keen and true sabre
Of your verse.

Christos Karabetsos

(Translated from the Greek by Judy Hogan)

SECHABA and other ANC publications are obtainable from the following ANC addresses:

ALGERIA
5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
Algiers.

ANGOLA
PO Box 3523
Luanda.

AUSTRALIA
Box 49 Trades Hall (Room 23)
4 Goulburn Street
Sydney NSW 2000.

BELGIUM
9e Rue de Russie 1060
Bruxelles.

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Toronto
Ontario M5C-2J4.

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Havana.

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EGYPT
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Zamalek
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Addis Ababa.

FRANCE
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75010 Paris

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
Angerweg 2
Wilhelmsruh
Berlin 1106.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Postfach 190140
5300 Bonn 1.

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Bhagat Singh Market
New Delhi 1.

ITALY
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00153 Rome.

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PO Box 80
Tananarive.

NIGERIA
Federal Government
Special Guest House
Victoria Island
Lagos.

SENEGAL
26 Avenue Albert Sarraut
Dakar Box 34 20.

SWEDEN
PO Box 2073 S-103 12
Stockholm 2.

TANZANIA
PO Box 2239 Dar es Salaam.
PO Box 680 Morogoro.

UNITED KINGDOM
PO Box 38
28 Penton Street
London N1 9PR

UNITED STATES
801 Second Avenue Apt 405
New York NYC 10017

ZAMBIA
PO Box 31791
Lusaka.

LISTEN TO: Radio Freedom Voice of the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army.

Radio Luanda
short wave: 30 & 40 m. bands
medium wave: 27.6 m. band
7.30 p.m. daily.

Radio Lusaka
short wave: 31 m. band, 9580 KHz
7.15-8.00 p.m. Monday to Friday
10.05-10.35 p.m. Wednesday
10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday
7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

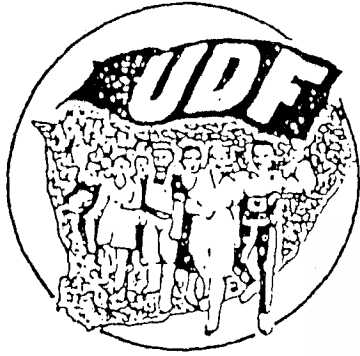
Radio Madagascar
short wave: 49 m. band, 6135 KHz
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

Radio Ethiopia
short wave: 31 m. band, 9545 KHz
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

Radio Tanzania
Short wave: 19 m. band, 15435 KHz
Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday,
8.15 p.m.
31 m. band,
Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday,
6.15 a.m.

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UDFMEMO
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page 1

United Democratic Front

MEMORANDUM

This memorandum has been prepared by the National Executive Committee of the UDF for the Eminent Persons Group.

INTRODUCTION

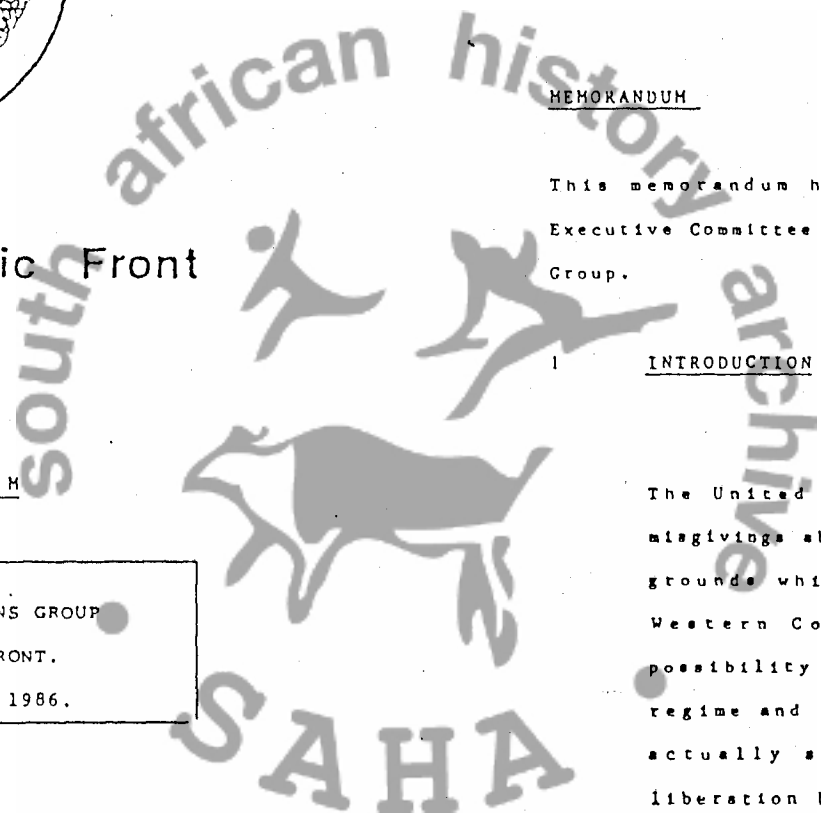
The United Democratic Front has had grave misgivings about meeting the EPG on a number of grounds which include the experience of the Western Contact Group in Namibia, the possibility of giving recognition to the SA regime and establishing dialogue with it and actually setting back the struggle for liberation by the imposition of half-hearted measures for the convenience of some members of the Commonwealth.

However, the UDF has reconsidered its position in the sincere hope that this meeting will

MEMORANDUM

PREPARED FOR EMINENT PERSONS GROUP
BY THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.
9 MARCH 1986.

Geheim



contribute to the isolation of the apartheid regime and assist in the eradication of apartheid.

2
9-3-80
OUR STRUGGLE

The regime is in severe crisis. It maintains power mainly through the repressive machinery of the state which includes the armed forces, the police and repressive legislation. The management of the economy is also in the hands of the regime which has systematically destroyed it ever since 1948 by the misallocation of scarce resources in the implementation of its racist policies. These billions have been increasingly wasted to this day by the duplication of services for the different racial groups. Examples of these include the creation of the "Triracial Parliament", the creation of "bantustans" and the support of these with vast sums of money, the expansion of the armed forces beyond its needs and the destabilisation of its neighbouring states by use of its tremendous military might.

We are of the view that the initiative to effect fundamental change leading to peace and security, at this point in our history—is not in the hands of the apartheid regime but in the hands of the broad masses of the oppressed people of SA. The morale of the vast majority of the oppressed has never been higher. The politicisation of the entire population, rural and urban, is extensive. The courage shown by even young children in the face of the formidable weapons wielded by agents of the regime is a humbling experience. The miserable living conditions of human beings living in shacks made of cardboard and corrugated iron over open sewers has made them more determined to strive for and if necessary to die for, their freedom. The inhabitants of black townships have taken their destinies into their own hands. They do not consider that these areas are ungovernable at all. They are governing themselves and the State recognises this fact.

The African National Congress which since 1912 has represented the aspirations of the oppressed people was banned in 1960. Its leadership was jailed or forced into exile. Despite this ban, this organisation remains the most popular

organisation enjoying the greatest support of the oppressed people. The ANC has intensified the armed struggle.

Increased repression is leading greater numbers to armed resistance. In this context, the UDF accepts fully that it is not the only body resisting oppression. While we are engaged in the legal terrain of struggle we understand the course of action adopted by the ANC.

3. THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

The government has lifted the Emergency not because it has suddenly been inspired by a sense of goodwill. On the contrary, the sustained pressure both internationally and within this country has forced this upon them. That the government has failed to suppress the resistance of our people through the emergency is beyond dispute. Indeed, the emergency has now spread beyond emergency areas. Hardly any area in our country has remained unaffected.

The lifting of the emergency is a shrewd move

aimed at placating world opinion. It hopes that this move will help decrease the unprecedented pressure which has built up over the last year.

The UDF is particularly concerned that by amending the existing legislation to deal with "incidents of unrest" the regime intends to broaden the already draconian provisions contained in its security legislation. The effect of this is that a de facto state of emergency will exist throughout our country.

We want to draw the attention of the EPC to the 1960 State of Emergency when various emergency measures continued to exist even after the emergency was lifted.

4. UDF PERSPECTIVE OF THE STRUGGLE

The UDF wishes to emphasize that we are not waging a civil rights struggle - a struggle for reforms. We are resisting the very basis of economic exploitation and political domination in our land. In our view the democratisation of the South African state can only be effected by

a fundamental transformation of this society - a transformation which our rulers cannot countenance.

We know that we have no option but to intensify our struggle at all levels. We expect a concomitant increase in state terror, the consequences of which the Group of Eminent persons is only too well aware of.

For this reason we expect the backing of the international community to complement the efforts of the patriots in our country. We do not believe, given our experience, that it is unreasonable to demand the isolation of the racist regime at all levels. The vast majority of our people have been heartened by the support that our struggle has received from the international community. Independent surveys disclose that the oppressed people support comprehensive sanctions against this country. For this reason there is a great deal of anger against the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States of America which have continued to prop up the apartheid regime.

5. PRECONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

The Commonwealth accord sets out certain preconditions which it expects the Government to meet before there can be a negotiated settlement in South Africa. The UDP at its last National General Council in April 1985 set out a comprehensive policy statement on this point. For the purposes of this memorandum, we have summarised our position as follows.

There is still time for the racist minority regime to consult with the authentic leaders of the people, with the sole objective of making the necessary arrangements for the speedy and effective dismantling of the apartheid state and transfer of power to the people. We therefore make the following immediate demands as the beginning of a process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state:

- 5.1 The immediate scrapping of all racist and oppressive laws.

5.2 The dissolution of the bantustans and the ending of the migratory labour system.

5.3 The scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament and all other puppet bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and other instruments of racist rule.

5.4 A unified and democratic education system.

5.5 The release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of banned organisations and individuals, the return of exiles and lifting of all restrictions on speech and assembly.

5.6 The disbanding of the SADF, SAP and all other instruments of repression.

6

CONCLUSION

While the UDP is not opposed to a negotiated

transfer of power, its bitter experience makes it sceptical of any attempts to persuade the Botha regime to negotiate at this stage. We are certain that the regime is not interested in the negotiated transfer of power. In fact, it is only interested in making those changes which will enable it to remain in power under different guises.

In these circumstances we recommend the total isolation of the regime. This would include the breaking of all diplomatic ties with South Africa, expelling South African personnel from all international forums (sporting, cultural, scientific etc.) and necessary economic action.

Should the EPG accept our recommendations, as we sincerely hope that they will, we are still concerned that many of the measures will remain rhetorical because of the absence of an effective implementative machinery being established in the member countries. We recommend that a monitoring machinery be set up. It should keep contact with all forces struggling against apartheid to ensure that these measures are actually enforced.



We finally wish to say that the Botha regime is incapable of effecting a negotiated transfer of power. All those who claim to support our struggle for national liberation must take whatever action is necessary in support of the democratic movements which will bring about the collapse of the apartheid regime and establish peace and security in Southern Africa.



9.3.81

SEKERHEIDSKLASSIFIKASIE

GEHEIM

VEILIGHEIDSVERSLAG

VIR V H K GEBRUIK



BEVELVOERENDE OFFISIER

SA POLISE
VIR V H K GEBRUIK

Datum van ontvangs 1986-04-14

PRIVAATSAK X302, PRETORIA 0001

VEILIGHEIDSTAK HOOFKANTOOR

Dokumentnommer

Op dokumentebasis ingevoer

Datum

Takkantoor	Afdelingshoofkantoor																
Naam	Naam V/Tak, WESTELIKE PROVINSIE																
Verw.	Verw. [redacted]																
Datum	Datum 1986-04-07																
Ingedien deur	Verspreiding (slegs na V H K)																
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Kodnr. van bron [redacted]																	
*Waardebepaling van bron B																	
*Betroubaarheid van inligting 1																	
Verspreidingsbeperking (indien enige)																	

Opskrif	Afdelings
MEMORANDUM : VOORBEREI VIR DIE	A <i>Het ons al op verslag gehoo?</i>
"EMINENT PERSONS GROUP" OPGE-	B <i>[Handwritten]</i>
STEL DEUR UNITED DEMOCRATIC	C <i>[Handwritten]</i>
FRONT [redacted] :	D <i>[Handwritten]</i>
H K 1986-03-09	E <i>[Handwritten]</i>

Verslag, kommentaar en uitkenning

- Hierdie kantoor se eendersgenommerde druktelegram [redacted] gedateer 1986-03-19 het betrekking.
- Hierby aangeheg betrokke memorandum (gemerk "A") genoem in voormelde druktelegram. Dit is deur beriggewer [redacted] bekom.
- UITKENNING VAN ORGANISASIE GENOEM IN VERSLAG:
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

wnd/AFDELINGSBEVELVORDER : VEILIGHEIDSTAK
AFDELING WESTELIKE PROVINSIE

verwysings
her. v. Gericke
hier in Hk
met afskrif van
nuwe vir my rob
[Handwritten signature]

* Waardebepaling van bron:

- A Geheel-en-al betroubaar
- B Gewoonlik betroubaar
- C Redelik betroubaar
- D Nie altyd betroubaar nie
- E Nie betroubaar nie
- F kan nie beoordeel word nie

DISTRIBUSIE:

L : 1

[redacted] : 2

[redacted] : 3

[redacted] (Plaaslik) : 4

Betroubaarheid van inligting:

- Bevestig deur ander onafhanklike en betroubare bronne
- Waarskynlik juis
- Moontlik juis
- Twyfelagtig
- Waarskynlik vals
- Kan nie beoordeel word nie

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versamelpunt vir radikales kon word. MABHIDA se datum van afsterwe (8 Maart) sal waarskynlik op die SAKP, ANC en UDF se kalender vir "feesdae" vir toekomstige gebruik geplaas word.

Die hegte bande wat daar tussen die ANC/SAKP en die UDF bestaan, het weer duidelik uit die betrokkenheid van die UDF en sy belangrikste filiaal, die NIC, na vore gekom.

4. UDF

4.1 PUBLIKASIE : UPFRONT NR 3, MAART 1986

Sedert 1 April 1986 word die UDF-publikasie van die Observatory en Claremont areakomitees waarin die volgende artikels verskyn, versprei:

REDAKSIONEEL

Die politieke inisiatief lê nie meer by die regering nie maar is oorgeneem deur "alternatiewe" strukture in die woongebiede wat in beheer is van Swart onderwys en die administrasie van die gebiede.

Die ANC geniet ongeëwenaarde steun oor die hele Suid-Afrika in so 'n mate dat dr Van Zyl SLABBERT in die laaste parlamentsitting gesê het "to make war on the ANC is to make war on the people of SA". In die lig hiervan het die ANC die gewapende stryd geïntensifiseer.

As gevolg van buiteparlementêre druk is die regering gedwing om sekere hervormings te doen. Die gevolg hiervan was dat dr Van Zyl SLABBERT en dr Alex BORAINÉ bedank het

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uit die parlement en die hoop word uitgespreek dat meer PFP-lede die voorbeeld van SLABBERT en BORAINÉ sal volg.

Die druk op die regering moet vergroot word vir die vrylating van MANDELA en die wettigverklaring van die ANC.

KAMPANJES : "NELSON MANDELA AWAITING A DIVIDED NATION"

MANDELA bly nog steeds die "most popular acclaimed leader in the new wave of struggle in effecting the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter". Die populariteit van MANDELA, is volgens die artikel, 'n refleksie van die populariteit van die ANC.

"Botha decisively lost the political initiative and also his ability to govern the country. The ANC flag has presided over almost every township funeral and the two most important organisations operating legally inside SA, the UDF and COSATU, have held landmark meetings with the named organisation. In townships politics the ANC has long since been effectively unbanned". Daar word verder beweer dat Cheryl CAROLUS gesê het dat "today Nelson MANDELA is P W BOTHA's jailer".

UDF - MURPHY MOROBE INTERVIEWED - BOTHA IS ON THE RUN

MOROBE het o.a. die volgende gesê: "One of the UDF pre-conditions for negotiations is that the SA Government must lay down arms. The UDF is not a liberation movement and before the UDF is able to negotiate the liberation movements must be unbanned".

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Volgens MOROBE is die UDF bereid om op 'n beperkte skaal met die PFP te onderhandel omdat dit aan die UDF 'n platform binne die Blanke gemeenskap verskaf.

EDUCATION 1986 - THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA

"Dr Allan BOESAK observed at the UDF launch that instead of turning out Zombies bantu education had created a most political conscious generation of young people determined to struggle for a beter future".

Die konsep van "peoples education" het voortgevloei uit SPCC-inisiatiewe. Die "peoples education thrust is a port of a general political development towards peoples power". Die "peoples education" is geskep om die huidige regeringsonderwysstelsel te vervang. Volgens die artikel het die organisering van "alternatiewe" onderwysprogramme reeds begin.

TOELIGTING/VERTOLKING

Die verspreiding van 'n nuusblad met berigte van hierdie aard sal bydra tot die politisering en mobilisering van die algemene publiek, veral na die opheffing van die gedeeltelike noodtoestand. Verder kan dit ook gesien word as 'n meningsvormer, veral onder die liberale Blankes in Claremont/Observatory en ander Blanke gebiede. Dit val ook saam met JODAC se "Call to Whites"-kampanje.

5. SWART ONDERWYS

5.1 SITUASIERAPPORT VIR DIE TYDPERK 2 TOT 9 APRIL 1986

Sedert die heropening van Swart skole op 2 April 1986, is

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1

LYS VAN ORGANISASIES GEAFFILIEERD BY DIE UDF

1.12. FILIALE:

1. NOORD-TRANSVAAL

Atteridgeville Action Committee (AAC)
Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents Org (ASRO)
Azanian Students Organization (AZASO)
Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC)
Detainees Support Committee (DESCOM)
Inter Denominational African Minister Association of SA
(IDAMASA)
Mamelodi Action Committee (MAC)
Mamelodi Youth Organization (MAYO)
Mamelodi Parents Association (MPA)
Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organization (SAYO)
Soshanguve Residents Organization (SOREA)
Soshanguve Youth Organization (SOYO)
South African Black Taxi Association (SABTA)
South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC)
South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR)
South African Students Press Union National (SASPU)
Young Christian Students (YCS)
Young Christian Workers (YCW)

2. VERRE-NOORD-TRANSVAAL

Namakgale Youth Congress (NAYCO)
Shiluvane Youth Congress (SYCO)
A Rethusaneng Youth League
Lenyenye Youth Congress (LEYCO)

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UITERS GEHEIM

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2

Kgapane Youth Congress (KYCO)
Tivoneleni Womens Club
Muhlubu Youth Organisation
Zebediela Youth Congress (ZEBYCO)
Mpahlela Youth Coagress (MPAYCO)
Mopong Youth Congress (MOPYCO)
Mankweng Youth Congress (MAYCO)
Kratzenstein Youth Congress
Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO)
UNIN Womens Club
Mankweng Civic Association (MACA)
Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDITRAW)
Release Mandela Committee (RMC)
Detainees Support Committee (DESCOM)
Lebowakgomo Youth Congress (LEYCO)
Seshego Youth Congress (SEYCO)

3. WITWATERSRAND

Alexandra Peoples Action Party
Bosmont Youth Organisation
Alexandra Youth Congress (AYCO)
National Union of SA Students
Release Mandela Committee
Reygers Park Youth Movement
Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee
~~Witwatersrand Council of Churches~~
Reygers Park Tendants and Rentpayers Association
~~Black Cash~~

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4. SOWETO

Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO)
~~Orlando Civic Association~~ (win SCA)
Federation of Transvaal Woman (FEDTRAW)
~~Soweto Residents Association~~
Lenasia Youth League (LYL)
~~Jabulani Civic Organisation~~ (win SCA)
Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)
~~Diepkloof Extention Residents Committee~~
Congress of South African Students (COSAS) (Herbodi)
~~Lenasia Womens Group~~
Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Federation of Residents Association - Lenasia
Soweto Civic Association (SCA) ← *ORANGE CIVIC ASS.*
TABULANI " "
NALEEL " "
~~Anti Community Council Committee~~
Release Mandela Committee
Detainees Parents Support Committee
Young Christian Students (YCS)
~~Soweto Committee of Ten~~
~~Mothakeng Civic Association~~
~~Naledi Civic Association~~ (win SCA)

5. OOS-RAND

Congress of SA Students (COSAS)
Duduza Civic Association
Duduza Parent/Student Committee
Duduza Youth Congress (DUYCO)
East Rand Peoples Organization (ERAPO)
Ratanda Civic Association (RCA)
Tembisa Civic Association (TCA)
SACC YOUTH CONGRESS (SACCYC)
BENONI STUDENT MOVEMENT (BSM)

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Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)

Tsakane Youth Congress (TSAYCO)

South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU)

ACTONVILLE RENT ACTION COMMITTEE (ARAC)

6. WES-RAND

YOUNG CHRISTIAN WORKERS (YCW)
KAGISO WOMENS LEAGUE

Vaal Civic Association (VCA)

Vaal Youth Congress (VAYCO)

Vaal Information Services (VIC)

Congress of South African Students (COSAS)

Evaton Ratepayers Association (ERPA)

Sharpeville Civic Association (SCA)

Bophelong Civic Association

Boipatong Civic Association

Vaal Ministers Solidarity Group

Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation (KRO)

KRUGERSDORP YOUTH CONGRESS id. MET

KAGISO YOUTH CONGRESS (KAYCO)

~~7. COS-RAND~~

Congress of South African Students (COSAS)

South African Council of Churches Youth Congress (SACCYC)

8. COS-TRANSVAAL

SEKHUKHUNELAND YOUTH ORGANISATION (SEYO)

Lowveld Youth Movement

United Peoples Cultural Club

Maviljan Youth Congress (MAVIYCO)

Congress of South African Students (COSAS)

STEELPOORT YOUTH CONGRESS (STEYCO)

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9. ORANJE-VRYSTAAT

~~Mangaung Youth Congress (MYC)~~
~~Congress of SA Students (COSAS)~~
~~Bloemfontein Youth Congress~~
~~Independent Youth Association~~

OVS 17/476/15 (H. Erasmus)
dt 86/01/27 in OVS UIDF
bilial.

10. NOORD-ORANJE VRYSTAAT

~~MASELO YOUTH CONGRESS (MASCO)~~
~~THABONG YOUTH CONGRESS (TYCO)~~
~~Congress of SA Students (COSAS)~~
~~Tumahole Youth Congress (TYC)~~
~~Tumahole Civic Association (TCA)~~
~~Mokwallo Youth Congress (MOYCO)~~
~~DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DPSC)~~
~~RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN (RMC)~~

MELORING YOUTH CONGRESS (MESCO)
MELORING STUDENTS CONGRESS (MESL)
PHOMOLONG YOUTH CONGRESS (PYCL)
MOPHATE YOUTH CONGRESS (MOYCO)
KUTLWANG YOUTH CONGRESS (KUY)

11. WESTELIKE PROVINSIE

Ad-hoc Action Committee (ADAC)
Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Belydende Kring
Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC)
Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO)
Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC)
Educational Resource and Information Centre (ERIC)
End Conscription Committee (ECC)
Inter Church Youth (ICY)
Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA)
Mowbray Inter-Racial Group (MIRGE)
Muslim Judicial Council (MJC)
National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
South African Council on Sports (SACOS)
The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM)

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United Womens Organisation (UWO)
Young Christian Students (YCS)
Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA)
Western Cape Traders Association (WCTA)
Womens Front Organisation (WFO)
Ocean View Youth
Lavender View Youth
Steenberg Youth
Grassy Park Youth
Wynberg Youth
Landsdown Youth
Crawford Youth
Hanover Park Youth
Portlands Youth
Westridge Youth
Eastridge Youth
Tafelberg Youth
Heideveld Youth
Bonteheuwel Youth
Kensington Facrenton Youth
Belhar Youth
Elsiesrivier Youth
Guguleto Youth
New-Crossroads Youth
Mau-Mau-Nyanga Youth
Zwelitsha Youth
Zwelinthevanba Youth
Nyanga Youth
New-City Youth
Moekweni Youth
Lavender Hill Residence Association
Steenberg/Retreat Housing Area Action Committee

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7

Hout Bay Action Committee
Kensington and Facreton Ratepayers and Tennants Association
Avondale Tenants Association
Ravensmead Residents Action Committee
Lotus River/Grassy Park Residents Association
Bellville South Housing Action Committee
Bonteheuwel Residents Association
Hanover Park Residents Association
Kewtown Residents Association
Silvertown Residents Association
Schoteshe Kloof Civic Association
Crawford Residents Association
Woodlands Housing Action Committee
Westridge Housing Action Committee
Valhala Park Civic
Belhar Civic
Manenberg Civic
Rylands Civic

12. SUID-WESTELIKE DISTRIKTE (SWD)

Bongolethu Parents Committee - Oudtshoorn
Bongolethu Youth Organisation
Bridgton Jeug Organisasie
Congress of SA Students - Beaufort-Wes
Congress of SA Students - Mosselbaai
Congress of SA Students - Oudtshoorn
Detainees Parents Support Committee - Graaff-Reinet
George Youth Organisation
Graaff-Reinet Community Organisation
Graaff-Reinet Youth Congress
Hanover Residents Association

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Hanover Youth Organisation
Hofmeyer Youth Organisation
Jansenville Youth Congress
Klipplaat Youth Congress
Molteno Residents Association
Middelburg Residents Association
Middelburg Youth Congress
Noupoort Youth Association
Oudtshoorn Resource and Advice Centre
Pearston Youth Congress
United Democratic Front Oudtshoorn
Victoria-Wes Youth Association
Victoria-Wes Youth Congress
Zanokhanyo Civic Committee
South West District Primary Schools Sports Association

13. NOORD-KAAP

General and Allied Workers Union
Kudumane Youth Unity
Galeshewe Youth Organisation
Galeshewe Students Organisation
Huhudi Civic Association
Huhudi Youth Organisation
Lesidi Community Project
Detainees Support Committee
Congress of SA Students (COSAS)

14. BOLAND

~~Atlantis Eweners Vereniging (AEV)~~
Atlantis Advies Kantoor (AAK)

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Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO)

~~Congress of SA Students (COSAS)~~

Mbekweni Advieskantoor

Montagu Ashton Gemeenskapsdiens

Paarl Munisipale Huurders Vereniging

~~Paarl Studente Assosiasie~~

~~Paarl Youth Movement~~

Swellendam Youth Congress

Western Cape Civic Association

Worcester Advice Office

~~Worcester Youth~~

United Womens Organisation

~~Laaipek Burgerlike Vereniging~~

Pelikaan Ontspannings Kultuur Organisasie

West Coast Youth Congress

West Coast Muslim Association

~~West Coast Church Association~~

Moravian Church - Genadendal

Broederkring

ABRESCA

~~West Coast Traders Association~~

INTER CHURCH YOUTH (ICY)

15. OOSTELIKE PROVINSIE

Cradock Residents Association (CRADORA)

Cradock Womens Organisation (CRAWO)

Somerset East Residents Association (SERA)

Grahamstown Civic Association (GRACA)

Grahamstown Committee of Democrats

Nomzamo Students and Gaurdian Association

Fort Beaufort Organisation of Peace

Fort Beaufort Parents Committee

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10

Crisis Relief Committee

Fort Beaufort Womens Association

Detainees Support Committee

Save the Starving Committee

Parents Committee

~~Uitenhage Black Civic Association~~

Uitenhage Health Safety and Cultural Association

Uitenhage Womens Organisation

Malaba Residents Association

Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation

Crisis in Education Committee

Port Elizabeth Womens Organisation

Congress of SA Students (COSAS)

Port Elizabeth Students Committee

Port Elizabeth Youth Congress

Gelvandale Youth Movement

Westville Youth Movement

Grahamstown Youth Congress

Grahamstown Youth Movement

Port Alfred Youth Congress

Fort Beaufort Youth Congress

Uitenhage Youth Congress

Uitenhage Students Committee

Cradock Youth Association

Somerset East Youth Congress

Adelaide Youth Congress

Cookhouse Youth Organisation

Alicedale Youth Congress

Black Students Movement

~~National Union of Sotho Students~~

Cape College Congress

Black Students Society - Rhodes

NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF S.A. (NEUSA)

SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION (SAAWU)

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HUMANSDORP YOUTH CONGRESS (HUYCO)
NUSAS - Rhodes University

Westville Youth

~~Gautschoorn Congregational Youth~~

P.E. Black Civic Organisatio

Malabar Ratepayers and Tenants Association

Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union

General Workers Union of SA

~~Gautschoorn All Saints Youth~~

~~Saldana Food and Canning Workers Union~~

16. GRENS (*hier agter vir geshrewe lys*)
RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN (RMC)
PHEFFERVILLE YOUTH MOVEMENT (PYM)

East London Youth Organisation

East London Youth Congress

East London Friends of UDF

African Culture and Community Development - Kultuur
Organisasie (ACCDA)

United Democratic Front (UDF)

1 South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU)

~~African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU) - Valbond~~

~~Congress of South African Students (COSAS) - Jeug organisasie~~

~~King William's Town Friends of UDF (KWTFUDF) - Gemeenskap
organisasie~~

~~Mgweni Residents Association (MRA) - Gemeenskap organisasie~~

1 Queenstown Youth Organisation (QEENYO) Jeug organisasie

~~Queenstown Friends of UDF - Gemeenskap organisasie~~

1 Catholic Students Association - Transkei Universiteit

DETAINEEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DESCOM)

DUNCAN VILLAGE RESIDENTS ASS. (DVRA)

17. PORT NATAL

Natal Indian Congress

Durban Housing Action Committee

GRENS
DUNCAN VILLAGE YOUTH MOVEMENT (DVYM)
DEMOCRATIC WOMEN OF EAST LONDON (DOWEL)
EAST LONDON STUDENT COUNCIL (ELSCO)
" " WOMENS ASS. (ELWA)
MAANTSAANE BURIAL ASS. (MBA)
" " RESIDENTS ASS. (MORA)
" " STUDENTS COUNCIL (MDASCO)

URENS FILLIAE

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

AZANIAN STUDENTS ORG. (AZASO)

DEMBAZA YOUTH CONGRESS (DIYCO)

GINSBERG YOUTH ORG. (GIYO)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN CENTRAL AND DISTRICTS

RUGBY UNION (KARU)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN STUDENTS COUNCIL

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN YOUTH CLUB (KYC)

NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF S.A. (NEUSA)

PHAKAMISA YOUTH ORG. (PAYO)

STUTTERHELM YOUTH CONGRESS

QUEENSTOWN

NATIONAL EDUCATION UNION OF S.A. (NEUSA)

QUEENSTOWN RESIDENTS ASS.

QUEENSTOWN YOUTH ORG. (QUEENYO)

ALICE

ALICE HOUSING COMMITTEE

ALICE YOUTH ORG.

FORT BEAUFORT

FORT BEAUFORT ORGAN OF PEACE

" " PARENTS COMMITTEE

" " RESIDENTS ASS.

" " WOMENS ASS.

" " YOUTH CONGRESS (FOYCO)

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GEHEIM

12

United Committee of Concern
Release Mandela committee
Freedom Charter Committee
Azanian Students Organisation
Muslim Youth Movement
Muslim Students Association
International Youth Year Committee
Joint Rent Action Committee
National Medical and Dental Association
Natal Organisation of Women
Islamic Council of South Africa
Phoenix Working Committee
Newlands East Residents Association
Congress of SA Students (COSAS)
Reservoir Hills Youth Club
Lamontville Youth
Matinane Youth
Tongat Youth Club
Amoltana Youth Club
Kiva-mashu Youth League
Chesterville Youth Organisation
Umlazi Youth League
Isipingo Youth Organisation
Hel
Progress Youth
Verulam Youth
Masakane Youth
Ashport Youth
Sons of Young Africa
Chatsworth Housing Action Committee National Union of SA
Students
Cato Manor Residents Association

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13

Black Womens' Federation
End Conscription Campaign
Detainees Support Committee
Umlazi Residents Association
Black Sash
Sydenham Heights Tenants Association
Merwent Ex Students Society
Reservoir Hills Ratepayers Association
Reservoir Hills Youth Club
Rates working committee
SA Allied Workers Union
National Federation of Workers
Congress of SA Students
AZASO - Universiteit Durban Westville
AZASO - Universiteit Natal (Durban)
AZASO - Durban Medical School
AZASO - Ngoye
AZASO - Natal Technikon SRC
National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
NUSAS - Universiteit Natal (Durban) SRC
NUSAS - Universiteit Natal (Pietermaritzburg) Local Command
African Workers Association
South African Tin Workers Union
Asherville Ratepayers Association
Reservoir Hills Action Committee
Amoytana
Meerbank Ratepayers
Tongaat Civic Association
Greenwood Park Ratepayers Association
Natal Commuters Committee
Sydenham Committee of Concern
Commuters Association

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GEHEIM

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Wentworth Committee of Concern
Verulam Committee of Concern
Newlands East Ratepayers Association
Cato Manor Ratepayers Association
St Wendolins Ratepayers Association
Kwa Mashu Womens Group
Durban Womens Group
Natal University Womens Organisation
Young Christian Students - Pietermaritzburg
Nazareth Baptist Church
Isilido United Congregational Church
Church of Nazareth
Diakonia
Democratic Lawyers Association
Anti South African Indian Council
Social Workers Forum
Claremont Advice Office
Natal Health Workers Association
UKUSA Newspaper.

18. NATAL

Allandale Ratepayers and Residents Association
Azanian Students Organisation
Bombay Heights Ratepayers Association
Combined Pietermaritzburg and District Ratepayers Association
Cultural Action Society of Eastwood
Edendale Youth Organisation
Imbali Youth Organisation
Joint Academic Staff Association
Ladysmith Youth Club
Midlands Information Centre and Research Unit

UITERS GEHEIM

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15

Mountain Rise Ratepayers and Residents Association
New Holme Ratepayers Association
Northdale Ratepayers and Residents Association.
Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness
Pietermaritzburg Coloured Welfare League
Pietermaritzburg Indian Child Welfare Society
Pietermaritzburg Indian Ratepayers and Residents Association
Sabantu Youth Organisation
Congress of SA Students
Pietermaritzburg Committee of Concern
Zomani Ladysmith Club
Imbali Civic Association

ASHDOWN YOUTH ORGANISATION AYO

19. NCORD-NATAL

Newcastle Youth Organisation
OSIZWENI Civic Organisation

20. WES KAAP

AZASO - UCT
AZASO - UWC
AZASO - Regional Committee
NUSAS - UCT SRC
Muslim Students Association
CAYCO - Rocklands Youth
CAYCO - Lentegour Youth
CAYCO - Gugulethu Youth Section 1 - 4
CAYCO - KTC Youth
CAYCO - Tafelberg Youth
CAYCO - Silverton Youth
CAYCO - Bellville Youth

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CAYCO - Zimele Sege (PAARL) Youth
CAYCO - Inter Church Youth
Retail and Allied Workers Union (RAWU)
Worcester Housing Action Committee
United Womens Organisation - Claremont
United Womens Organisation - Wynberg
United Womens Organisation - Observatory
United Womens Organisation - Woodstock
United Womens Organisation - Gardens
United Womens Organisation - Athlone
United Womens Organisation - Paarl
United Womens Organisation - Stellenbosch
United Womens Organisation - Ocean View
United Womens Organisation - Worcester
United Womens Organisation - Gugulethu
United Womens Organisation - Langa
United Womens Organisation - Kensington
United Womens Organisation - Mdekweni
United Womens Organisation - Kayamandi
United Womens Organisation - Cloeteville
United Womens Organisation - Zwelentlemba
United Womens Organisation - New Crossroads
United Womens Organisation - Nyanga
Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM)
Association of Christian Students WC
Student Union for Christian Action (SUCA)
Grassroots Newspaper
Saldana Youth
St Blaiz Roman Catholic Youth
Pelikan Ontspannings en Kultuur Organisasie

UITERS GEHEIM

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21. TRANSVAAL

- AZASO - Wits Black Student Society
- AZASO - Turfloop
- AZASO - Medunsa
- AZASO - Soweto Teachers Training College
- AZASO - Transvaal Regional Committee
- AZASO - Student Tuition Society
- NUSAS - Wits SRC
- COSAS - Soweto
- COSAS - Pretoria
- COSAS - Alexandria
- Kagiso Youth League
- Benoni Youth League
- Benoni Student Movement
- Lutheran Church Youth League
- Time to Learn
- ~~SACC Youth Desk~~
- South African Mineworkers Union
- Municipal and General Workers Union
- General and Allied Workers Union
- Orange Vaal and General Workers Union
- ~~JOHANNESBURG SCOOTER TRANSPORT AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION~~
- ~~Johannesburg Scooter Drivers Association~~
- ~~Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union~~
- ~~Council of Unions of SA~~
- Winterveld Action Committee
- Sendane Civic Association
- Co-ordinating Rents Action Committee (CRAC)
- Wesbury Residents Action Committee
- Emedeni South Civic Association
- Mapetta Village Civic Association
- Noordgesig Ratepayers Association
- DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DPSC)
- DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DESCOM)
- INDUSTRIAL AER SOCIETY (IAS)
- UITERS GEHEIM
- REVEREA YOUTH CONGRESS (RYC)
- SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION (SAAWU)
- TRANSVAAL INAZAN CONGRESS (TIC)

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GEHEIM

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Actionville Rents Action Association
Extension 9 Residents Association - Lenasia
Extension 10 Residents Association - Lenasia
Ten Morgan Residents Action Committee
Kincoss Civic Association
Ennedate Civic Association
West Rand Action Committee
Federation of South African Women
University Womens Group Turfloop
Womens Group - Glynn Thomas
Pfunanoni Womens Club
~~Ecumenical Visitors Programme~~
~~The Grail - Johannesburg~~
Transvaal Anti-PC Committee
Media Action Group
Detainees Aid Movement
~~Africa Perspective~~
Community Newspaper Project
SASPU National Newspaper
~~Community Resource and Information Centre~~
Africa News Association
Khovangano Cultural Group
Labour Resource Centre
~~Speak Newspaper~~
National Education Union of SA
~~Health Workers Association~~
Workers Support Committee
~~Media and Resource Centre~~
~~National Medical and Dental Association~~
Kgapanne Highschools Student R.C.
Bokgaga SRC
~~Environmental Development Agency~~
WESTBURY RESIDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE (WRAC)
YOUNG CHRISTIAN WORKERS (YCW)

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GEHEIM

- Lengenge Youth Congress
- Modjadji SRC
- Mogoboya Youth Congress
- Muhlaba Youth Congress
- Ramalema Youth Congress
- Ramoba SRC
- Shilubane Youth Congress
- TRANSVAAL STUDENT CONGRESS (TRASCO) ?

OP WIEKLOPERS / SIMPATISBEREERS :

1056/MC

- AARD YOUTH CONGRESS
- AARD PARENTS COMMITTEE (KIRKWOOD)
- COMMITTEE OF TEN (KIRKWOOD)
- KARAH RESIDENTS ASSOCIATION
- KIRKWOOD YOUTH CONGRESS
- KIRKWOOD STUDENTS COUNCIL
- ROSEDALE YOUTH CONGRESS
- UITENHAGE PEOPLES ORGANISATION
- UITENHAGE COMMITTEE OF TEN
- UITENHAGE ADVISARIO
- UITENHAGE PARENTS COMMITTEE
- UITENHAGE STUDENTS COUNCIL
- UITENHAGE RESIDENTS CIVIL ORGANISATION
- AZANIAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION
- CONSUMER BOYCOTT COMMITTEE
- EAST CAPE STUDENTS COUNCIL
- INTERDENOMINATIONAL AFRICAN MINISTERS ASS. OF S.A.

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UTTERS GEHEIM

Lias UDF versigter
86
10/20

BEPLANNING VIR 1986 UDF EN SOMMIGE FILIALE

UDF

As oorkoepelende organisasie het die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT morele en ander steun aan die COSATU-vakbondgroep asook die doelstellings van die NECC toegesê.

Op vakbondterrein het die UDF ook die stigting van 'n "National Planning Committee" waarop COSATU, kerkorganisasies, UDF en filiale sitting sal hê bepleit.

Die UDF poog om dmv sy streeks en area komitees die "G-plan", wat in die Oos-Kaap suksesvol toegepas is, in alle gebiede binne die RSA gevestig te kry wat dan die beheer oor aksies soos boikotte ens sal vergemaklik en die toepassing van Wet en Orde erg sou bemoeilik. In hierdie verband het die WP streeksraad reeds 'n versoek tot die OP streeksraad gerig vir opleiding en hulp met die implementering van die "G-plan".

Na die dood van Peter NCHABELENG (Voorsitter UDF N/TVL streek) het die UDF voorts verklaar dat hulle weens "unmitigated violence against its officials" nie onbepaald met hulle nie-gewelddadige beleid sal kan volhou nie.

Tans dui onbevestigde inligting daarop dat die UDF na bewering 'n kantoor in Chicago in die VSA het. Verder reis Steven TSHWETE 'n uitgeweke UDF leier uit die Oos-Kaap as lid van die ANC afvaardiging in die buiteland hoewel dit duidelik gestel word dat hy 'n UDF-lid is.

TOELIGTING/VERTOLKING

Hoewel geen definitiewe beplanning deur die Nasionale Uitvoerende bestuur bekend gemaak is nie blyk dit duidelik uit die optrede van filiale en nuutgestigte filiale dat die UDF hom beywer vir:

- die vervanging/oornam van die regering;
- die vrylating van MANDELA en alle sg politieke gevangenes;
- disinvestering in die RSA;
- die belemmering en afbreek van bestaande en nuwe regeringstrukture;
- uitstel van alternatiewe onderwysstelsel;
- instel van vakansiedae soos oa Meidag, South African Youth Day (16 Junie) ens;
- die implementering van die beginsels van die FREEDOM CHARTER;
- herroep van alle onderdrukkende wetgewing

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC)

As gevolg van die stryd tussen UDF en Inkatha wat meegebring het dat UDF steun in Natal getaan het, loods

die NIC onder sy eie vaandel en dmv 'n "organising committee" tans 'n veldtog om verlore steun vir die NIC/UDF te herwin.

Die veldtog het as hoof oogmerk die popularisering van die FREEDOM CHARTER en die aanval van die beleid gevolg deur Indiër lede van die raad van afgevaardigdes deur veral gemeenskaps en ander griewe of gewaande griewe wat mag lei tot lg se bedanking.

Die primêre metodes wat gevolg word is huis tot huis besoeke, openbare vergaderings, verspreiding van pamflette en stukke van die alternatiewe media en ook die opleiding van persone as steunwerwers.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (TIC)

Dieselfde metodes as die van die NIC word deur TIC gevolg weens basies dieselfde redes.

RELEASE MANDELA COMPAIGN (RMC)

Die doel van die RMC is oa 'n kampanje om te eis dat:

- MANDELA en alle ander politieke gevangenes vrygelaat word;
- uitgewekenes toegelaat word om na Suid-Afrika terug te keer;
- alle onderdrukkende en onregverdige wette herroep word.

Die RMC se doelstellings vir 1986 is soos volg:

- om die FREEDOM CHARTER meer bekend te stel;
- hou van openbare vergaderings om die publiek oor die kampanje in te lig;
- huis-tot-huis besoeke;
- druk van MANDELA T-hempies;
- uitgee van kalenders wat belangrike datums in die "stryd" beklemtoon;
- druk van plakkers en plakkate om die kampanje te populariseer;
- organisering van seminare en werkskole om die kampanje meer effektief te maak; en
- om plekke dwarsdeur die land te besoek om die kampanje bekend te stel en die vorming van plaaslike strukture.

JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC ACTION COMMITTEE (JODAC)

JODAC as die belangrikste blanke UDF filiaal het gedurende Januarie 1986 'n poging van stapel gestuur om 'n oorkoepelende liggaam vir sg demokratiese blankes op die been te bring wat egter nog nie realiseer het nie. Die gevolg hiervan was egter dat die organisasies wat daaraan deel gehad het meer gekoördineerd optree en veldtogte loods.

JODAC het veral stukrag verleen aan die "Call to Whites" kampanje wat ten doel het om meer blankes by aktiwiteite van die UDF te betrek en is veral gerig op liberale akademici, studente, besigheidslui en oud-lede van die Congress of Democrats.

JODAC het ook 'n voltydse organiseerder aangestel en is in die proses om 'n kantoor te bekom.

TOELIGTING

Tom WASPE 'n akademikus en stigterslid van JODAC het onlangs na Europa en die VSA vertrek om fondse te bekom en ook die organisasie bekend te stel.

VROUE ORGANISASIES

Alle blanke- en swart vroue organisasies geaffilieer by die UDF poog tans om vroue by die "stryd" te betrek en ook om die organisasies vanaf area en streeks vlak onder een oorkoepelende liggaam te organiseer en daardeur beter koördinering teweeg te bring.

TOELIGTING

Die UDF as oorkoepelende organisasie bestaan uit ongeveer 700 filiale wat op alle terreine van die samelewing aktief is en as gevolg van die "grassroots" aanslag van hulle aktiviste beslis veld wen veral agv gebrekkige wetgewing en bekwame regsadvies deur organisasies soos Legal Resources Centre, Centre of Applied Legal studies en

Lawyers for Human Rights en die deelname van sekere regters aan die aktiwiteite van die gemelde organisasies asook die probleme met die opsporing van en verkry van getuienis met die oog op vervolging.

VERTOLKING

As gevolg van die groter samehorigheid onder radikales geaffilieer by die UDF en die sukses behaal met die Meidag-wegblyksies kan verwag word dat emosionele gedenkdae se herdenkings in dieselfde mate suksesvol sal wees. Hier word veral gedink aan:

- 16 Junie SA YOUTH DAY (10de kerdenking)
- 26 Junie FREEDOM CHARTER DAY (31ste herdenking)
- 9 Augustus SA WOMENS DAY (30ste herdenking)
- 20 Augustus UDF Stigting (3de herdenking)
- 28 Augustus Verbod op COSAS
- 12 September Dood van Steve BIKO
- 11 Oktober Solidariteit Politieke Gevangenes
- 10 Oktober Verbod op 2 Koerante en 17 Organisasies
- 30 November Stigting COSATU
- 10 Desember Maseru-aanval
- 16 Desember Heroes day.

BESOEK VAN STATEBONDSGROEP

1986-02-18: Samesprekings word gehou met die UDF om 11h00 in die Nuweland Hotel, Nuweland. Die volgende persone het die UDF afvaardiging uitgemaak:

Trevor MANUEL - die sekretaris van die Wes-Kaap streeksraad. (Ingeperkte)
Ibrahim RASOOL - sekretaris van die Wes-Kaap streeksraad.
Zollie MALINDI - president van die Wes-Kaap streeksraad.
Veronica SIMMERS - addisionele lid van die Wes-Kaap streeksraad.

Die statebondsgroep het bestaan uit die volgende persone:

Malcolm FRASER
Olusegun OBASANJO
John MALECELA
Nita BARROW
Hugh CRAFT
Swaran SINGH

'n Verslag van die samesprekings is deur Trevor MANUEL saamgestel en daarin is die volgende standpunte ingeneem.

UDF:

- (a) Die UDF het nie 'n mandaat om op te tree nie agv "onderdrukking" (verwysend na die Noodtoestand) en die tydsfaktor.
- (b) Die massa stel nie in dialoog belang nie en die inisiatief vir 'n oplossing is nie meer in die hande van die "apartheid"-regime nie.
- (c) Die UDF is gewillig om binne 'n beperkte raamwerk samesprekings te voer.
- (d) Daar moet aan die volgende eise voldoen word alvorens die UDF sy standpunt tov dialoogvoering sal wysig.
 - (i) Sekerheidsgevangenes moet vrygelaat word.
 - (ii) "Politieke" organisasies moet gewettig word.
 - (iii) Die ANC onwettigverklaring moet opgehef word.

(iv) Die SAW moet ontbind.

(v) Uitgewekenes moet toegelaat word om na die RSA terug te keer.

STATEBONDSGROEP:

- (a) Die afvaardiging oefen nie druk tov dialoogvoering uit nie en ondersoek slegs die heersende situasie met die oog om 'n verslag.
- (b) 'n Volle afvaardiging sal die RSA moontlik gedurende Maart 1986 besoek.
- (c) Daar word nie beoog om buitelandse druk teen die RSA regering te verminder nie maar eerder om buitelandse steun teen "apartheid" te bevorder.

1986-03-05 Tydens 'n besoek van die Statebondsgroep aan De Aar het Mnr Malcolm FRASER, die leier van die groep beswaar gemaak by die Departement van Buitelandse Sake nav die arrestasie van twee swartmans op kriminele klagtes. Die klagtes teen die twee gearresterdes was dat een 'n voertuig bestuur het sonder bestuurderslisensie en die ander dat hy in besit was van 'n vervalste bestuurderslisensie. Die swartman sonder bestuurderslisensie was reeds gevoonis en sy boete is betaal by die De Aar Gevangenis. Die ander aangeklaagde moes op aandrang van Mnr FRASER dadelik vrygelaat word waaraan gehoor gegee is.

1986-03-09: 'n Memorandum wat deur die UDF opgestel is vir voorlegging aan die statebondsgroep is op baie delikate wyse bekom.

In die inleiding word die samesprekings in 'n baie skeptiese lig gesien aangesien samesprekings wat met vorige soortgelyke afvaardigings gevoer is nie veel vir die "stryd" opgelewer het nie. Die hoop word egter uitgespreek dat die huidige samesprekings sal bydra tot die isolasie van die apartheidsregering asook die vernietiging daarvan.

Die volgende punte word ook uitgewys:

"Ons stryd"

Die UDF is van mening dat die inisiatief om daadwerklike verandering in die land te weeg te bring, in die hande van die verdrukke massa lê, en

nie in die van die apartheidsregering nie. Die jeug is nie meer bang vir die wapens wat deur die regering teen hulle gebruik word nie. In die swart woongebiede het die mense sleg die beheer oorgeneem en regeer hulle daar. Hierna word 'n kort agtergrondskets gegee van die ANC se bedrywighede in SA vanaf 1912 tot 1960 toe die organisasie verbode verklaar is. Daar word ook gesê dat ten spyte van die feit dat dit 'n verbode organisasie is, geniet dit die grootste steun in SA.

NOODTOESTAND

Volgens die memorandum is die noodtoestand opgehef agv internasionale druk en die onvermoë van die regering om die bevolking gedurende die noodtoestand te beheer.

UDF SE PERSPEKTIEF VAN DIE STRYD

- (a) Die UDF staan die ekonomiese uitbuiting en politieke dominasie in die land ten sterkste teen.
- (b) Die stryd moet op alle vlakke toeneem.
- (c) Daar word gemeld dat onafhanklike opnames toon dat die verdruktes alomvattende sanksies teen die land ondersteun.

VOORWAARDES VIR ONDERHANDELING

- (a) Die onmiddellike afskaffing van alle apartheid- en onderdrukkende wette.
- (b) Die ontbinding van die nasionale state en die beeëndiging van die trekarbeiderstelsel.
- (c) Die afskaffing van driekamer parlement en ander "puppet bodies created under the black local authorities act and other instruments of racist rule".
- (d) 'n Verenigde en demokratiese onderwysstelsel.

(e) Die vrylating van alle politieke gevangenes, die wettig verklaring van alle verbode organisasies en persone en die wegdoening van alle beperkings op spraak en byeenkomste.

(f) Die ontbinding van die SAW, SAP en alle ander "instruments of repression".

1986-03-10: Die statebondsgroep bestaande uit Mnr Malcolm FRASER, Genl Olu ABASAMO (voormalige president van Nigerië), Sardha Swaran SINGH (voormalige Minister van Buitelandse Sake van Indië), Nita BURROW (President van die Wêreld Raad van Kerke), John MALECELA (voormalige Minister van Buitelandse Sake van Tanzanië) en Aartsbiskop Edward SCOTT (Aartsbiskop van Kanada), het 'n afvaardiging van die UDF in Durban ontmoet vir same-sprekings. Die UDF afvaardiging het bestaan uit:

Archie GUMEDE	:	Nasionale President van die UDF.
Paul DAVID	:	Voorsitter van die Release Mandela Committee.
Fatima MEER	:	Direkteur van die Institute of Black Research.
Mewa RAMGOBIN	:	Uitvoerende Bestuurslid van die Natal Indian Congress en Nasionale Sekretaris van die UDF.
Dennis HURLEY	:	Rooms Katolieke Aartsbiskop.
Lechesia TSENOLI	:	Algemene Sekretaris van die UDF Natal Streeksraad.
Yunus MOHAMED	:	Sekretaris van die UDF Natal Streeksraad.
Joe PAAHLA	:	Oud-president van AZASO.

Op 'n vraag van die statebondsgroep wat hul minimum eise is vir same-sprekings met die Staatspresident, is die volgende eise genoem:

(a) Die afskaffing van alle apartheidswette.

(b) Die ANC moet gewettig word.

(c) Politieke uitgewekenes moet toegelaat word om na die RSA terug te keer.

(d) Die vrylating van alle politieke gevangenes.

Die statebondsgroep het beklemtoon dat hulle poog om weë te vind vir dialoog tussen die regering end ie "egte" leiers. Hulle is wel deeglik bewus van die politieke situasie in die land en hul hou by hul mandaat van die minimum vereistes vir dialoog tussen die regering en die "egte" swart leiers, en nie met verteenwoordigers wat deur die regering geskep is nie.

1986-03-11: Die statebondsgroep ontmoet 'n NIC afvaardiging onder leiding van M J NAIDOO, Vice-President van die NIC. Die gesprek het dieselfde strekking gehad as die met die UDF op 1986-03-10.

Na die samesprekings, is die statebondsgroep vergesel van Mewa RAMGOBIN en Paul DAVID na Kwa-Mashu, Phoenix en Inanda woongebiede geneemf waar uitgebrande huise wat die gevolg was van die onrus aan hulle uitgewys is. Hierna is samesprekings gevoer met Fatima MEER wat die rol van die vroue organisasies in die stryd teen apartheid en die regering verduidelik het.

1986-03-11: Die statebondsgroep het 'n "Prayer service" met die tema "Release Prisoners and Detainees" saam met Allan BOESAK bygewoon. Met die aankoms van die groep het die atmosfeer in die saal verander en het die mense met meer skouspel gereageer op toesprake.

Baie delikate inligting dui daarop dat die "Prayer service" op versoek van Malcolm FRASER georganiseer en plaasgevind het.

VERTOLKING:

Dit is duidelik dat die statebondsgroep nie bereid is om met die gemeenskapsleiers, wat volgens hulle nie die regte leiers van die mense is nie, te praat nie, en dat hulle geloofwaardigheid aan buite-parlementêre drukgroepe wil verleen.

Die statebondsgroep handhaaf ook 'n baie lae profiel en vermy die pers sover as moontlik.

A/M.

Han ook vers my in in subties - ek was nog
in soetgelyke stek.

WWR 768.



INTRODUCTION.

The UDF - ANC alliance has one clear short term aim and that is to make South Africa ungovernable. The new UDF publication Isizwe makes an important contribution towards that aim. The campaign to make South Africa ungovernable has reached a critical turning point, if the UDF is to succeed they must broaden their support base and co-ordinate their revolutionary strategy nationwide. Isizwe will make an important contribution to the revolution in that it is being used to communicate revolutionary principles and aims to the man in the street. Mobilisation of the masses must be speeded up and widespread violence maintained if revolutionary momentum is to be speeded up. The only way to do this is through propaganda - Isizwe is the propaganda weapon of the UDF. Nationwide distribution of Isizwe will provide the UDF and the ANC with the propaganda weapon they have been lacking for decades. Isizwe will become the revolutionary's Bible and it will encourage the violent overthrow of the South African government.

The various quotes from Isizwe listed below serve to indicate the role of such a publication in the revolutionary process.

- 1) Isizwe is clearly designed to contribute towards the solving of problems concerning the UDF/ANC revolutionary strategy. They emphasise that revolutionary theory relevant to the South African situation must be used in the struggle:

"In order to steel ourselves against the attacks of the government, and to carry forward our tasks, it is important that we should develop our understanding of the struggle. Let us use theory as another weapon in our march forward."

Isizwe, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1985, p.3.

- 2) The journal is attempting to mobilise the masses against an "enemy" which the UDF has defined:

"Whatever differences there are between the NP on the one hand, and sections of the bosses, the PFP and imperialism on the other, we must clearly understand what is fundamental and common to all these forces. This is their intention to seek a solution over the heads of the people, one that excludes the masses."

Ibid., p. 11.

- 3) Reassurance is provided for revolutionaries who may be experiencing difficulties:

"But in a struggle like ours, we must constantly prepare ourselves for the possibility of altered conditions. We cannot allow ourselves to be paralysed by such changes. The difficult conditions under which we work now can, we will argue, in fact be turned to our advantage and be used to deepen organisation, to enhance our capacity to advance the struggle."

Ibid., p.14.

- 4) As part of their strategy to weaken the government the UDF encourages readers to reject government offers:

"But how do we intervene to achieve this? One of the ways we do this is to ensure that they have no illusions about puppet solutions. e.g. every time we reject PW's offers - it actually energises business to come up with their own vision and that again exacerbates the split. The fact that business has met with the ANC is partly a

result of popular rejection of government initiatives. In a sense, every time we successfully remove the legitimacy from a government initiative by getting the masses to support us, we further sharpen the division within the ruling bloc."

Ibid., p. 15.

- 5) The journal urges the mobilisation of the masses - a stated ANC aim and a key element in any revolution:

"If our ranks are made up simply of a few thousand activists and some leading personalities on the one hand, and tens of thousands of sympathisers on the other - then we are playing into the hands of the apartheid government. We are making ourselves vulnerable to annihilation. Our greatest struggle, the guarantee of survival, lies in mass-based organisation, that will endure through the detention of leaders."

Ibid., p. 16.

- 6) Isiswe is being used to encourage actions which will further weaken the state:

"We in the UDF are also greatly heartened by the growth of the independent trade union movement. The new federation of unions will represent another step forward in the struggle of the working class on the factory floor and beyond."

"The last period has seen, then, the ^{defi}~~fed~~nitive entry of the broad masses of working class and democratic South Africans onto the political stage."

Ibid., p. 22.

- 7) Revolutionaries are encouraged to observe discipline, thereby strengthening the revolutionary onslaught:

"But when we call for discipline, we are above all making a positive call to take the struggle to a higher level. Increasing our discipline will make it possible to move from protest to co-ordinated challenge, from mobilisation to high levels of organisation."

Ibid., p. 24.

"Carrying out organisational decisions

A decision is made once a line has been democratically established. The second stage of organisational discipline consists in effectively carrying out that line. Everyone is bound to stand by the collective decision, and to defend it, no matter what their own position was during the discussions."

Ibid. 27

"At our April National General Council the dangers of indiscipline were emphasised. "Unless indiscipline is eliminated, our organisations are threatened with disunity, division and suspicion. All forms of factionalism, regionalism, individualism and cliquism must be stopped. We are working not in our individual capacities but as activists of a people's front."

Ibid., p. 27.

- 8) Isizwe accepts the ANC's interpretation of the South African situation by capitalism as an enemy:

"But this strange situation where we waste one quarter of our workers has everything to do with the kind of society we live in. South Africa is a CAPITALIST Society, and capitalism causes unemployment."

Ibid., p. 30.

- 9) Socialism is promoted in the journal:

"Also, in modern socialist countries, like Cuba, there is no such thing as unemployment. The fields and factories belong to the whole Cuban working people. Everyone who is old enough and healthy enough is expected to work, to build up the wealth shared by all Cuban working people. Work is guaranteed to all citizens in socialist countries. Work is not seen as an unpleasant duty, it is not slave labour for a boss. In a socialist country work is a way of developing yourself as a full human being, learning skills and working together with others."

Ibid., p. 32.

- 10) Isizwe promotes the classical revolutionary strategy of turning every social problem into a political issue - ie. the government or as in this case capitalism is responsible

for all the hardships of the people. In response to this the people obviously join the struggle to overthrow the system because they believe this will end all their difficulties.

"We have seen that capitalism causes unemployment. We have also seen that in South Africa the national oppression of black people adds to this problem of unemployment. It is for this reason that we say that the struggle against unemployment is also a struggle against capitalism and national oppression.

Ibid., p. 39.

- 11) The journal calls on revolutionaries to sharpen the focus of their revolutionary activity to increase the effectiveness of the struggle:

"Nevertheless, whatever relations we enter into, whatever diplomatic initiatives we undertake, must be measured against our overall goals. We must therefore ask, when evaluating any particular action or possibility: does it or will it advance the struggle to end apartheid, either by widening or strengthening the anti apartheid forces, and/or by weakening the regime and/or by exposing its criminal acts to the world and/or by loosening the ties between the regime and its sympathisers?"

Ibid., p. 42.

- 12) In an effort to make union action more effective Isizwe urges workers to consider sit-in as an option:

"A sit-in makes it difficult to cross the picket line - to scab - and it makes it difficult for the police to smash the workers inside. In addition, the rest of the community gets involved. Workers inside the factory depend on them for material support. The consciousness of non-workers is raised and links are forged between them and the workers." (SALB, Jan. 1986)

Isizwe, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1986, p. 7.

- 13) The UDF points out that revolutionaries should not be preoccupied with providing services in liberated areas, they should rather be concerned with promoting the revolution. The UDF also calls for the politicisation of every issue so as to promote revolutionary activity:

"On the other hand, we do not want to tie our organisations down in the endless supply of services, if this means that they forget the main task of political struggle. We must, therefore, approach every issue from a political standpoint. We must always ask what possibilities it has for advancing the struggle. We may give different answers to the same action in different situations."

Ibid., pp. 12 - 13.

- 14) Isizwe argues that if the revolution is to succeed certain factors should be taken into consideration:

"But for this strategy to work we have to ensure that we do not ignore the objective differences within the unity of the broad people's camp. We must avoid both the dangers of ultra-leftism and of populism. Ultra-leftism speaks only of the working class and neglects the task of uniting the broadest popular unity in the national democratic struggle. Populism tends to neglect the crucial leading role of the working class within that popular unity."

Ibid., p. 25.

- 15) It is clearly stated that future issues of Isizwe will attempt to resolve issues standing in the way of revolutionary progress:

"In future issues of ISIZWE we will look at other political concepts that are often used in our struggle. Many of these concepts are used in confusing ways. We plan to look at concepts like WORKERISM VOLUNTARISM, NATIONALISM, SYNDICALISM, etc."

Ibid., p. 26.

- 16) Revolutionaries are reminded of the weaknesses of the people which have to be taken into account when planning action:

"It is very important that we recognise that all classes among the oppressed have an interest in the destruction of apartheid and white minority rule. Only a small and unrepresentative ligue have gone into the tricamerals and community councils. At the same time, we must not forget that there are different classes with different interests among the oppressed. While they are united around the immediate task of destroying national oppression, their long-term interests are not identical. For example they do not all look to socialism as the solution to our problems. Nor are they all able to engage in the struggle in the same way."

Ibid., p. 32.

- 17) People responsible for successful revolutionary actions are interviewed and their "success formulas" made known:

"To learn from comrades in the Eastern Cape about their experience of building people's power and controlling crime, ISIZWE conducted interviews."

See ibid., p. 35.

- 18) Isizwe contains numerous suggested "Questions for discussion" - These are obviously intended for revolutionary leaders who may then guide their followers in an effort to strengthen the onslaught:

"QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION-

1. What is meant by saying that the international goals of the UDF are the same as the internal goals, but the way in which we conduct these different parts of our struggle may be different? Do you agree with this?
2. Discuss the tactics and strategy of the Consulate 6, and compare these with the statement made by Kadir Hassim of APDUSA.
3. "The struggle will be won inside South Africa, not outside ... therefore UDF should forget about the international struggle". - Discuss this statement."

Ibid., p. 42.

- 19) The journal promotes the aims of the ANC indirectly by supporting Nelson Mandela:

"Mandela stands above all tribal and racial divisions. He is recognised by an overwhelming majority of South Africans as their national leader. Even a growing number of whites see in Mandela the hope for peace and security in our land. These are not empty claims, the apartheid government's own public opinion surveys have had to recognise Mandela's overwhelming support."

Ibid., p. 45.

- 20) Isizwe quotes the Phillipines as an example to show the effectiveness of external pressure. The message for South African revolutionaries is that their activities must be designed to increase internal pressure which in turn will lead to a weakening of the government:

"Nothing brings down dictators quicker than their backers getting cold feet. If anything, recent events in the Phillipines have shown just how true this is, and how much influence the US imperialism, has over politics in its client states."

Ibid., p. 49.

- 21) Quotes are designed to encourage greater revolutionary activity:

"The ANC and the UDF had taken control of 27 townships in the Eastern Cape and their influence was spreading to other parts of the country, Mr Koos Van der Merwe (Conservative Party, Jeppe) said yesterday.

Ibid., p. 52.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The quotes from Isizwe clearly indicate that the journal is designed to promote revolutionary activity - ie in the short term make the country ungovernable and in the long term bring about the revolutionary overthrow of the government. The purpose of the journal is to speed up the revolution by advising people about how best to weaken the government. The four key elements which Isizwe has identified are: organisation, will, focus and methods - all are essential for a successful revolution.

1) Organisation

Isizwe encourages the organisation of revolutionaries and has made specific suggestions concerning the mobilisation and discipline of the people. Other problems of organisation are examined in an attempt to further weaken the government.

2) The will of the revolutionaries.

Isizwe reassures and encourages revolutionaries. Readers are urged not to despair when faced with difficulties and solutions to various problems are suggested.

3) Focus the aims of the revolutionaries.

Isizwe urges the people to clarify and focus their revolutionary aims by: remembering that all their actions must weaken the government; identifying the true enemies; politicising all social issues; remembering that Socialism is the long term aim; promoting the ANC and therefore identifying with the aims of the ANC.

4) Methods of revolution.

The most important function of Isizwe is to provide guidance for revolutionaries. Problems are discussed, success formula's proposed and revolutionary methods are analysed. The purpose is to mobilise the masses into an effective revolutionary movement.

In emphasising these four key elements Isizwe is an important guide for revolutionary leaders as well as for the masses. The UDF can use this journal to communicate with their followers and to encourage and guide them in carrying out a national revolutionary strategy. The journal is clearly being used to co-ordinate strategy and tactics in an effort to strengthen the revolutionary movement. One of the problems the UDF is facing is indiscriminate violence on the part of blacks - through their publication they can encourage the lovers of violence to co-ordinate their activities and focus their actions so as to achieve the maximum benefit for the revolution. A problem which all South African revolutionaries are facing is how to adapt revolutionary theory (Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung etc.) to local conditions. Through Isizwe the process of theoretical adaptation is being enhanced and thereby the revolutionary movement is being strengthened.

In conclusion, it is strongly suggested that the distribution of Isizwe be prevented because:

- 1) It is being used to further the violent overthrow of the legal order in South Africa.
- 2) It is being used as a means to mobilise the masses, explain the revolutionary process to ordinary people and to encourage violence.
- 3) It is being used as a method to communicate and to co-ordinate

revolutionary activities throughout the country.

- 4) It is being used as a means of communication between revolutionary leaders and their followers.

If the distribution of Isizwe is not prevented there can be no doubt that it will become an important propaganda tool for the UDF/ANC and will contribute to the speeding up of the revolutionary process in South Africa.

