

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

LÉER NR.
FILE NO. 2442121 6

HOOFREEKS
MAIN SERIES Binnenlandse Veiligheid

ONDERWERP
SUBJECT Katalering van Organies

LÉER
FILE United Democratic Front (UDF)

LÉER GEOPEN OP
FILE OPENED ON 12/7/86

LÉER GESLUIT OP
FILE CLOSED ON 11/9/86

BESKIKKINGSVOORSKRIFTE
DISPOSAL DIRECTIONS

SUBLÉER OF GEVAL
SUBFILE OR CASE

LÉER NR.
FILE NO. 2442121

DEEL
PART 6

Verligheids wetgewing

Crush the organisation instead, day by day, our people are increasingly getting organised into what the president comrade Oliver TAMBO described as a conquering force. Today, only three years since the UDF was formed, the regime has been driven back into confusion and desperation to a situation where now, it has to rule our country through a permanent state of emergency. The regime has now completely lost the strategic initiative and control of events in the country. That initiative is now in our hands, the people. Its draconian state of emergency, through which it has amassed sweeping powers to itself, was clearly an attempt to reassert its authority and seize back the initiative. But three months now into the state of emergency, it is clear that it has failed in that purpose. Our people still continue to defy even the draconian state of emergency. What is clearly emerging day by day is that the regime has no policy, and can have no policy, either to save the apartheid system from sinking deeper into crisis or to extricate this system from that crisis. All it can do now is to react to events from day to day without any consistent plan and without any overall objective except to keep itself in power for as long as possible. It can no longer guarantee a bright future even for the White social forces on which its evil system of apartheid and White domination rest. The reality in fact is that the White power bloc on its own has never been as divided as it is today. Conflict, indecision and fear of our revolutionary struggle has extended to all levels of White minority rule, including even Botha's own cabinet. This situation, countrymen, has not emerged all on its own. As we know, the regime is now unable to rule in the same old way because of our determination to render ourselves ungovernable, and the evil apartheid system unworkable. The country, today, only three years since the UDF was formed, has become ungovernable because of our sacrifices and unity in action. We have, through action, forced the racists into this position where they are now on the defensive all along the line, and this has been through our consistent, united struggle throughout our country. Indeed, for us to maintain the offensive and to rout the racists from their defensive positions and seize power, we must intensify our actions in unity. We must strengthen our unity in action. We must solidify the unity of all democratic forces. We are now faced with another challenge put before us by the apartheid regime in its attempt to drive disunity within our ranks. The challenge of the so-called National Council that the apartheid regime is planning to create with the collaboration of its stooges and bootlickers. This, countrymen, is yet another moment when the experience of three years ago which united us in struggle immediately after the formation of the UDF. That is the

struggle against the tri-cameral parliament elections for our coloured and Indian compatriots - must now be recalled. We must refuse to participate in that dummy body that Botha is trying to throw as a bone of contention and division within our midst. In this (?instance), whether Botha with the collaboration of a few treacherous puppets, tried to force toy telephone down our throats he must not be let to succeed (ed sentence as heard). It must not even be let to take off the ground. Certainly, we cannot succeed to crush the community councils and other local organs of apartheid rule, and allow the creation of that useless body whose aim is to perpetuate our enslavement too. it must be prevented from being formed at all by making sure that Botha fails to find even a single credible traitor who dares risk participating into it. Our three years of experience to unite in action against the enemy's manoeuvres to divide us, and our experience to crush all its organs of apartheid rule, must now be brought back into action against this toy telephone. At the same time, this third anniversary of our united democratic front must serve to strengthen our mass organs of popular rule, which have emerged in the place of the collapsed stooge councils of the apartheid regime. We are all aware countrymen that the enemy has failed to crush the UDF in these three years because of no other reason than that to crush the UDF it has to crush our entire oppressed nation. Entire oppressed nation it has to crush all these more than 800 (eight hundred) mass organisations that are united under the umbrella of the UDF. The regime has failed to crush the UDF because these mass organisations continue to grow and be stronger by the day. Let us work hard to strengthen them even further and in particular, on this third anniversary, let us take the opportunity to strengthen the democratic organisations amongst our White compatriots. For it is these organisations that will finally help to win more and more of our White compatriots into the democratic stream and the fight to crush apartheid and racism in our country. It is these democratic organisations which will help to bring our White compatriots away from the White laager into the democratic front. it is these democratic organisations within our White compatriots which must organise our White compatriots to realise that White minority rule is doomed. The future belongs to the majority, both Black and White, and that Botha can no longer secure them a bright future. The future belongs to the united democratic forces. Forward to a non-racial democratic South Africa. (Inako Amandla Ngawetu) Long live the UDF.

2/4/2/121 (V/Be)
J H Breyl

211043/4

BY HAND

The National Secretary
United Democratic Front
Khotso House
P O Box 10366
JOHANNESBURG
2000

REGISTRAR OF AFFECTED
ORGANIZATIONS
PRIVATE BAG X655
PRETORIA
0001

1986 -10- -9

Sir

FINANCIAL YEAR: UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

A copy of Proclamation No. 190, 1986 dated 9 October 1986 by which the United Democratic Front (UDF) has been declared to be an affected organization, is attached for your information.

In terms of section 3(3) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974) a financial year must be fixed in respect of an affected organization.

In order to enable me to fix a financial year in respect of the abovementioned organization, I will be glad to receive suggestions in this regard not later than 10 November 1986.

Yours faithfully

J. H. BREYL

REGISTRAR OF AFFECTED ORGANIZATIONS

Handwritten signature
1/10/86

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2/5/1/1 (DDV/e)
Breyl

211043/4

VIR AANDAG:
Brigadier Van der Merwe

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

23.9.86

VERKLARING TOT GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE: UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
(UDF)

1. Soos u weet, het die Staatspresident reeds besluit om die UDF tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar. Die proklamasie waarby die organisasie tot geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word, word egter agterweë gehou, soos reeds aan brigadier Van der Merwe gemeld is. U sal ingelig word sodra besluit is wanneer die proklamasie in die Staatskoerant moet verskyn.
2. Daar is gepoog om 'n persoon buite die Direktoraat: Veiligheidswetgewing as Registrateur van Geaffekteerde Organisasies aan te stel. 'n Geskikte persoon kon egter nie verkry word nie en mnr Breyl van hierdie kantoor sal voorlopig steeds dié aanstelling hou.
3. Ingevolge artikel 3(3) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 moet die Registrateur 'n boekjaar ten opsigte van 'n geaffekteerde organisasie bepaal en moet daar binne ses maande nadat elke boekjaar geëindig het, aan die Minister verslag gedoen word van geld wat deur die betrokke organisasie ontvang en uitbetaal is. Kragtens artikel 3(4) van die Wet kan die Registrateur ook van iemand wat aan 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verbonde is, sekere besonderhede aanvra. Ten einde die Registrateur in staat te stel om hierdie take uit te voer, sal dit waardeer word indien u wil aandui aan welke persone wat aan die UDF verbonde is en aan welke adres korrespondensie in dié verband gerig kan word.
4. Kragtens artikel 3(2) van die Wet kan die Registrateur of iemand skriftelik deur hom gemagtig enige perseel betree om stukke wat betrekking het op die geldsake van 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te besigtig en inligting daaruit te haal of om in sekere omstandighede sodanige stukke na 'n ander perseel te verwyder. Dit sal dus waardeer word indien die adresse van persele waar tersaaklike stukke van die UDF moontlik gehou word, verstrek kan word.

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5. Indien die bevoegdhede kragtens artikel 3(2) verleen, uitgeoefen moet word, sal die Registrateur ook van ander persone gebruik moet maak om hom in dié verband behulpsaam te wees. Dit blyk dat speurders van die Handelstak van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie moontlik in die beste posisie sal wees om met sodanige take behulpsaam te wees. Daar word dus verneem of u bereid sal wees om speurders van die Handelstak vir so 'n taak af te staan, wanneer daar wel aldus opgetree sal moet word. Daar word nie voorsien dat daar dikwels van dié persone se dienste gebruik gemaak sal moet word nie en dit behoort ook nie baie tyd van die persone in beslag te neem nie.

6. Aangesien die nagaan van die geldsake van 'n organisasie gespesialiseerde kennis vereis, sal daar ook van persone in die Staatsdiens of privaatsektor gebruik gemaak moet word wat oor gespesialiseerde kennis in dié verband beskik. Dit sal derhalwe ook waardeur word indien u voorstelle aan die hand wil doen oor persone wat oor die nodige veiligheidsklaring en kundigheid beskik, wat in dié verband genader kan word.

7. Dit sal verder waardeur word indien besonderhede van die bestaande bankrekenings van die UDF, soos die name en adresse van die banke waar dit gehou word en die bedrae wat daarin gedeponeer is, verstrekk kan word.

J. A. ...
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

22/9/86 *22/9/86*

V. 2 ...
22/9/86
7.10.86

Ther...
7.3/10/86

OPSOMMING VAN DIE FEITEVERSLAG WAT KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 8 VAN DIE WET OP GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 MET BETREKKING TOT DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" GEDOEN IS

1. In die verslag het die Komitee besin oor die vraag of die UDF voldoen aan die vereistes soos gestel in artikel 2(1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974, naamlik of politiek deur of deur middel van hom 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".

2. Nadat die Komitee verskeie geskifte waaruit die doelstellings en optrede van die UDF blyk, in die verslag behandel het, kom hy op bladsy 20 (par 2.18) tot die volgende gevolgtrekking:

"Die hoofdoelstellings van dié organisasie is om politiek te bedryf en '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. Wat buitelandse ondersteuning betref, het die Komitee bevind dat dit 'n doelstelling van die UDF is om Suid-Afrika internasionaal te isoleer. Om hierdie doel te bereik het die UDF ooreenkomste met internasionale instansies aangegaan in die veronderstelling dat sodanige instansies die UDF sal bystaan in die "nasionale bevrydingstryd".

(Verslag, para 3.1 - 3.7)

4. Die Komitee het daarop gewys dat die UDF se p
internasionale steun te verwerf suksesvol was. In die
word n gedeelte van die Sekretariële Verslag "International
Relations" aangehaal. Hierin word bevestig dat verskeie
buitelandse instansies hulle steun aan die UDF toegesê het.

(Verslag, para 3.8 - 3.11)

5. Daar is volgens die Komitee redelik min bewyse dat die UDF
fondse vanuit die buiteland ontvang. Volgens die Komitee is
die rede hiervoor klaarblyklik dat die UDF daarop bedag is dat
hy moontlik as n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar kan word.
Die Komitee het egter wel sekere bewyse dat die UDF fondse van
die buiteland ontvang om sy politiek te bedryf, in die verslag
uiteengesit.

(Verslag, para 5)

6. In die lig van voorgaande, is die Komitee van mening dat
die UDF as organisasie politiek bedryf met behulp van en in
samenwerking met organisasies en persone in die buiteland.

(Verslag, para 6)

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DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
PRIVAATSAK X655
PRETORIA
0001

'n Afskrif vir u inligting. U verwysingsnommer 2/4/2/121 (DDVz)
verwys.


ADMINISTRATIEWE SEKRETARIS



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GEHEIM

Privaatsak X463
PRETORIA
0001

Die Staatspresident
Uniegebou
Privaatsak X83
PRETORIA
0001

1986 -10-03

Geagte President,

OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN 1974) "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF)

Soos ek aan u gemeld het, word dit as wenslik geag dat 'n nuwe proklamasie waarby die "United Democratic Front" tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word, deur u onderteken word. 'n Staatspresidentsminuut en 'n konsepkennisgewing in dié verband word derhalwe in 'n afsonderlike omslag aan u voorgelê.

Die moontlikheid bestaan dat die UDF 'n aansoek vir die ongeldigverklaring van die stappe teen hom aan die Hooggeregshof sal rig. Daar mag in sodanige aansoek beweer word dat u nie u aandag aan die aangeleentheid geskenk het toe u die proklamasie onderteken het nie. In so 'n geval sal 'n beëdigde verklaring van u verkry moet word om die bewering te weerlê.

Ek voorsien nie enige probleem om sodanige bewering te weerlê nie, maar dit sou ons saak versterk indien u in 'n verklaring sou kon aandui dat u self ook oorweging geskenk het aan die verslag wat deur die feitekomitee ten opsigte van die UDF opgestel is, asook aan ander feite wat aan u voorgelê is.

In die omstandighede het ek dit goed gedink om die volgende dokumente ook vir u oorweging voor te lê:

- (a) Die verslag van die feitekomitee.
- (b) 'n Opsomming van die verslag.

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- (c) 'n Memorandum van die Kommissaris van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie waarin verdere notas oor die UDF se bedrywighede uiteengesit word.

Hoogagtend die uwe

L. LE GRANGE

LOUIS LE GRANGE



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Staatspresidentsminuut No 0021

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
vaardig ek hierby die bygaande Proklamasie (Afrikaans en



Engels) uit waarby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED
DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar
word.

P. W. BOTHA
STAATSPRESIDENT
Datum 1986-09-03

L. LE GRANGE
MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



P R O K L A M A S I E

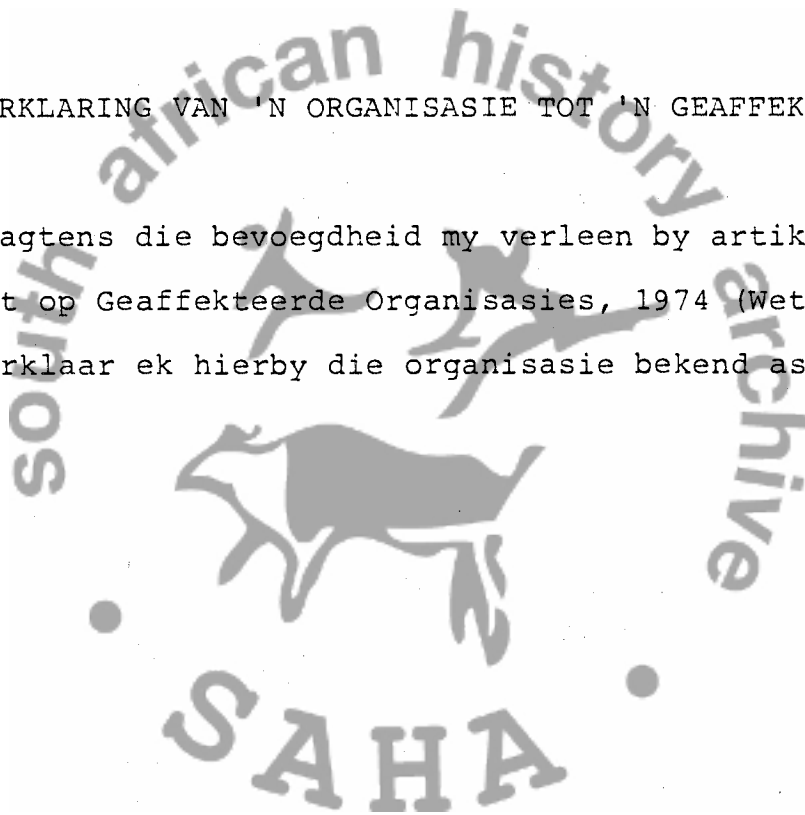
V A N D I E S T A A T S P R E S I D E N T

NO.

1986

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
verklaar ek hierby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED



DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van
Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad op hede die 8ste
dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd
Ses-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOETHA
STAATSPRESIDENT

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

L. LE GRANCE
MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET

P R O C L A M A T I O N

B Y T H E S T A T E P R E S I D E N T

NO.

1986

DECLARATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE AN AFFECTED ORGANIZATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 2(1) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974), I hereby declare the



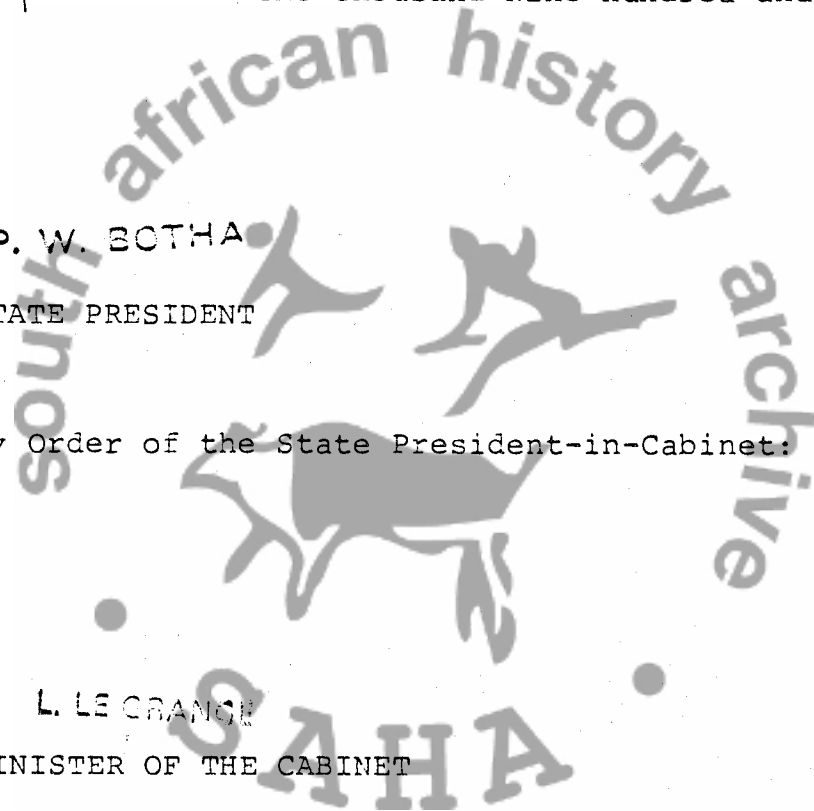
organization known as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to be an affected organization.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this 8th day of September One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-six.

P. W. BOTHA
STATE PRESIDENT

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

L. LE GRANGE
MINISTER OF THE CABINET



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United Democratic Front



**Report of the National Working Committee
Conference held on 24 and 25 May 1986**

South African History Archive
SAHA

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Influx control - the 1986 model

ent changes to the influx control have been hailed by some people and abroad. Their enthusiasm is shared by the UDF and most South Africans.

The UDF said in a statement that it welcomed any move that eased the suffering of the people; but the government is known for "giving with one hand and taking with the other." Just at the same time as PW Botha was announcing the changes to the influx control, Le Grange was being given ministerial powers.

This indicates the governments continued use and intensification of repressive measures. Legislation under which apartheid will maintain its grip until its existence.

It is clear to our people who have suffered centuries of exploitation and oppression, that the government's intentions are merely an attempt to embellish the grand design of apartheid to make it more acceptable to the people.

The government's changes to influx control have been made for a number of reasons:

- 1) It was finding it increasingly difficult to enforce the pass laws.
- 2) It wanted to avoid losing total control - an increasing possibility as a campaign to burn passes drew nearer.
- 3) It wanted to reinforce controls over the movement of black people,

using different, more effective methods.

4) It desperately needed to diffuse local and international opposition to its policies; and to deflect attention away from the central demand for majority rule being made by the people of South Africa.

A study of the "Orderly Urbanisation" white paper and the "Abolition of Influx Control Bill" reveals that what is being put forward is a more "subtle" but equally oppressive system of controls over movement and that they achieve exactly the opposite of what they proclaim.

The general thrust of these measures is to try and halt the flow of the people from the bantustans to the major townships, into other areas.

All the measures to control urbanisation are aimed at black people. Whites have always had free access to the cities. Control over accommodation won't affect whites. Policing will be by the racists and their lackeys.

The legislation to control movement will rely heavily on the various cornerstones of racist domination - the 1936 Land Act, bantustans legislation, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

The "new" urbanisation schemes plan to use the racial exclusion of African people from the land to regulate and relocate the urbanization of African people. Housing and land

will be the two pillars of the influx control measures.

"Approved Housing": Hidden Influx Control

State control over housing has always been a fundamental component of influx control. By refusing to provide housing for those moving to the cities, the regime deliberately created a critical housing shortage. This forced people to look elsewhere for housing. This is illustrated in 1968 when the government placed a total freeze on all the building of houses in the townships and instead ploughed money into the building of houses in the bantustans.

Thus if the state refused to approve accommodation in the urban areas, people would be unable to move there legally and would be placed in areas where the regime wanted them to live.

How the controls will work

Step 1: Confine black people through the Group Areas Act to land zoned for African occupation. Little or no expansion of the land is allowed. At the same time no new houses are provided by the state. Prevent black people by law from occupying empty houses in nearby white areas.

Step 2: Selectively approve the building of shacks in the townships on the so called site and service schemes. Apart from these "approved shacks", shacks built by residents will be demolished under the slum regulations

or anti-squatting laws.

In this way the regime would be able to make homeless those black people exceeding the quota of people allowed to live in the urban townships; and deny homes to those wanting to come into the cities from rural areas.

Step 3: Harass or arrest black homeless people in the cities under trespassing, vagrancy and other laws. This forces the homeless to look elsewhere for housing.

Step 4: Ensure the expulsion of people from cities through a combination of "disincentives" which includes bulldozing squatter communities and demolishing shacks and "incentives" which includes the development of state approved squatter communities far from the cities and the building of townships in the rural areas.

Step 5: Keep unemployed and other "economically unproductive" black people out of the cities by using rising rents and service charges. The cost of housing will be cheaper in state squatting areas and bantustans.

Step 6: There are still hints in the government white paper that the labour bureaux will direct the flow of rural migrants away from the main urban centres to remote "rural ghettos".

It will thus be very difficult for people to get access to the cities. Heunis made the threat clear when he

said "freedom of movement should not be seen as a free-for-all." He warned that people living in our rural areas, should not be under the false impression that the grass will be greener and the lights brighter in the cities."

Bantustans and "Orderly Urbanisation"

The white paper on influx control excludes the nine million South Africans from the independent homelands. They will not have their South African citizenship restored to them and will be subject to far stricter controls under the Aliens Act.

Non-independent homelands have also been granted extended powers and can pass legislation without consulting the South African authorities. They have also been given increased powers to control the mobility of people entering and leaving their homelands.

The homelands play a crucial role in influx control and the "reform" strategy and thus when we talk about dismantling apartheid, the abolition of the homeland system in its entirety is a critical aspect.

In addition, for as long as the South African regime has these puppet bodies to fall back on, it can disclaim responsibility for many of the horrors perpetrated on the oppressed majority of our country.

Consequences of the new controls

The creation of squatting zones

where the regime deems it convenient will have a number of consequences.

Firstly, it will lead to even greater squalor than we experience today since the state will completely abdicate its responsibility to provide proper housing and facilities.

Secondly, the concentration of thousands of unemployed people in these squatter camps will create a massive supply of cheap and defenceless labour.

Thirdly, because many of them will be situated some distance from the cities, there will still be dramatic increase in the number of people coming into the cities.

And fourthly, the regime is aware that it is difficult to create political cohesion in squalid and depressing squatter camps. By disrupting settled communities and herding people into squatter camps, the regime hopes to promote political disorganisation and undermine our struggle.

The "orderly urbanisation" programme is being linked to a scheme of "regional development". What this means is that control of oppressed communities is being handed over to regional and local powers. We have already seen the incredible abuses perpetrated by the bantustan structures and the Black Local Authorities.

Now the regime is giving greater powers and its full backing to its local organs such as the community guards, "blackjacks", vigilantes and death squads.

In this way the government hopes to deflect attention away from itself as the main enemy and be able to project these actions as "factional conflict between black people".

The linking of orderly movement and

urbanisation is an attempt to regain control over the people, to push them into a greater position of poverty and subservience and to break the growing national challenge which the people are presenting to apartheid.

Unban the ANC!

The NWC made a decision to intensify the campaign calling for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of all political prisoners. Here is the press release issued for the launch of the campaign on June 3, 1986.

For the past two years or so, South Africa has been languishing in a crisis of enormous proportions. This crisis is the product of the stubbornness of an intransigent government to initiate a process that would meaningfully and peacefully resolve the fundamental problems facing South Africa today.

The crucial question that is being posed in all quarters is: "What is to be done?"

The government's answer is naive and short-sighted. Instead of examining the root causes of the crisis and tackling them with courage and statesmanship, it has opted for intensified repression. This is specifically designed to crush the democratic movement which has continued to dictate the pace and the course of political developments in the country, and nullify the gains it has made. During the breathing space thus gained the government hopes to restore the credibility of its puppets and dummy institutions, and resume its reform initiatives which presently lie in tatters.

But the democratic movement answers the question differently!

By virtue of its monopoly of

political and economic power, the white minority alone has the right to shape the destiny of this country. Nor is the government based on the will of the people.

Thus the government is not merely undemocratic; it is, in fact, ILLEGITIMATE. And it maintains the status quo through force, and through the violence of the evil and immoral system of apartheid.

Our answer is therefore straight-forward and to the point: THE DISMANTLING OF APARTHEID, AND THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE PEOPLE has become a historical necessity. Such a process can be initiated through creating an appropriate climate for discussions and negotiations - a climate that would demonstrate the government's seriousness and its sincerity to resolve South Africa's problems meaningfully and peacefully. This in turn would entail, among other things:

- * The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees.

- * The return of those in exile.

- * The UNBANNING OF THE ANC and other banned organizations.

From the time the ANC was formed in 1912, until it was outlawed half a century later, the ANC has conducted a peaceful and non-violent struggle against injustice and oppression. From petitions, deputations and representations in the earlier years, it employed higher forms of non-violent struggle such as strikes, boycotts, stayaways and civil disobedience in later years.

But its only reward for half a century's patience, perseverance and peaceful struggle was to be banned. This was based on the government's contention that the oppressed had no right to protest against their oppression.

The ANC refused to submit, and resorted to the armed struggle. It did so, not because it cherished the loss of life or the destruction of property, but having exhausted peaceful and constitutional methods of struggle, it felt that retaliatory violence against the violence of apartheid was an additional and viable option for realising the aspirations of the people.

For three quarters of a century now, the ANC has conducted a determined and relentless struggle against oppression - irrespective of the odds.

It has long established its reputation, both nationally and internationally, as the champion of the oppressed people in this country, and occupies a place of honour in the hearts and minds of the people.

It represents the aspirations of the oppressed people and white democrats, and their vision of a future South Africa based on the Freedom Charter - which was democratically formulated and accepted in 1955 at the Congress of the People.

The ANC has long established its leadership of the struggle for freedom in this country. It has tried and tested leadership, with the vision, the skills and the experience to guide the people of South Africa towards their cherished goal of establishing a just, democratic and non-racial society. Only such a society can end the conflicts and the crisis in the country.

Broad sectors of the population as well as the international community, have granted the ANC the credibility that it truly deserves. Delegations after delegations of leaders from the student movement, from the business community, from the churches and from the trade union movement have flocked to Lusaka to have talks with the ANC.

It has generally come to be accepted that there can be no solution to South Africa's problems without the involvement of the ANC.

It goes without saying that the unbanning of the ANC is an absolute necessity, and must be seen as the first step in the process of resolving the problems in this country.

Failure to do so can only plunge the country into a deeper crisis than hitherto, and render the resolution of the problems far more difficult.

We have said that the situation

demands boldness, the UDF is today prepared to offer our country the boldness required. The initiative is now in the people's hands.

We call on all South Africans who want peace, to join us in an active campaign towards the release of our leaders and the unbanning of the ANC. In making this call, we are abundantly clear that this is not furthering the aims of a banned organization. It is merely furthering our advance towards a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Our call is for our people to, in the next period, take concrete steps

towards the unbanning and release of our leaders. We must clearly demonstrate what our choice is.

Let the ANC be unbanned and let our leaders be released unconditionally.

Let us notch up a major victory for people's power, people's choice and freedom of assembly and expression.

In making this call we are mindful of the possibility of greater repression by the regime. We call on them to back off their armed forces to allow our march to peace and security.

Letter to the Eminent Persons Group from the National Executive Committee of the United Democratic Front

As a result of a decision taken at the National Working Committee, the following letter was sent to the Eminent Persons Group (EPG):

At the time when your secretariat was attempting to make arrangements for meetings with you, you will recall that the UDF had misgivings about the commonwealth accord. Despite these misgivings the UDF decided to give its full co-operation to your effort to "initiate a process of dialogue" because of the commitment of the UDF to encourage any genuine peacemaking initiative which may result in the eradication of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule on the basis of free and fair exercise of universal adult franchise by all the people in a united and non-fragmented South Africa. We were assisted in arriving at this decision by the obvious integrity and sincerity of members of your group.

And despite our serious misgivings about the genuineness of the government's decision to negotiate a peaceful solution we co-operated with your group in the hope that the process would lead to fair and fruitful negotiations.

However we are pessimistic of the outcome. The reality is that we are now even further away from a peaceful resolution than we were when at the time of the Nassau Accord. Since then the crisis which our country is facing has deepened. At the same time whatever its public pronouncements the South African government has by its actions set itself against any genuine dialogue.

1. A de facto state of emergency exists throughout the country with organisations like the UDF finding it almost impossible to function. Our activists are continually harassed and our meetings are banned, but permission was given to the white extreme right wing to hold an open air mass rally to celebrate Republic Day at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria on the 31st May 1986.

2. The raids into our neighbouring countries on the very morning that eight cabinet ministers met with the group confirms that the South African government will continue to destabilise its peaceful

neighbours which refuse to be bludgeoned into its sphere of influence.

3. The security laws are being tightened and extended which will make free political activity impossible. Two bills are presently before parliament:

(a) The Public Safety Amendment Bill which enables the Minister of Law and

Order to suspend what is left of the rule of law by declaring 'unrest areas'.

This will enable the security forces to apply emergency powers in these areas

without having to formally declare a state of emergency.

(b) Section 50 (a) of the Internal Security Act which will allow the police to detain any person without trial for 180 days.

In both cases the jurisdiction of the courts will be ousted. The South African government will bulldoze these bills into law over weak parliamentary opposition. If implemented these may spell the end of the legal democratic movement in

South Africa.

4. The government has announced the formation of a national statutory council to 'accommodate' blacks in a new constitutional arrangement. This would directly contradict your efforts.

5. While the resistance of the oppressed has continued, the daily death rate of our people has increased alarmingly. There is evidence that the police are actively co-operating with vigilantes and Inkatha to destabilise the townships.

Whatever the South African government may say to you, we are convinced that it is not interested in a peaceful solution which will result in genuine majority rule. All the evidence points to the contrary.

It is our view that after all that you have seen and heard, you can only recommend the total isolation of the apartheid regime, politically, economically and culturally.

Anything less can only oppress this government and prolong the suffering of the oppressed.

Yours,

Resolutions

Frontline States

This UDF NWC noting that:-

Continued SADF cross border raids constitute a terrorist campaign to destabilise the Frontline States.

Therefore resolves to:-

1. Condemn these attacks on the sovereignty of these states as contrary to international law and as attempts to prevent them states from supporting our liberation struggle.
2. Call upon those states who have handed refugees over to the apartheid regime to stop such actions and to fulfill their international obligation to provide assistance to victims of apartheid terror.
3. Pledge support for the states under attack and undertake to express our solidarity in all possible ways with all those countries who support our struggle and provide refuge to apartheid opponents.

Cosatu

This UDF NWC recognising that:-

Cosatu is a leading progressive force amongst trade unions,

Therefore resolves that:-

1. The UDF encourages all workers who have not joined Cosatu affiliated unions to do so.
2. Affiliates of the UDF should give maximum support to Cosatu's programme.
3. All UDF regional committees should assist in the strengthening of existing unions and help to organise unorganised workers.
4. The UDF should involve itself in disputes when requested to do so by relevant organisations.

Relationships with other organisations

This UDF NWC having realized that: -

1. Azapo, Azanyu, the Azanian Youth Congress and Azam have been identified and seen at scenes of brutal murders, burning of houses, kidnapping and physical attacks on opponents of apartheid and members and supporters of progressive organisations.
2. Concrete evidence has been collected linking these organisations mentioned above, in collaboration with the SADF and SAP, to the above mentioned criminal acts.
3. Names of people's leaders have been vilified and bismarched in a campaign to project these organisations as contenders to leadership of the masses.
4. These acts are aimed at diverting our attention away from building our organisations and confronting the enemy.
5. In their quest for credibility and power power, these organisations project themselves as leftists and ultra-revolutionaries.

Therefore believing that: -

1. These organisations and individuals have by these activities wittingly or unwittingly become agents of Pretoria.
2. Whilst having revolutionary sounding slogans, speeches, policies and resolutions, we should judge them by their actions.
3. Our tolerance and open door policy towards them having on numerous occasions been treated with scorn.

Therefore concludes that: -

Their actions are tending to force people to identify them with the enemy.

And resolves: -

1. That we shall from henceforth not share any platform with them.
2. To call on all individuals within these organisations committed to the liberation of our people to publically disassociate themselves from these reactionary activities and join the forces of progress.

Organisational guidelines

Our style of work and organisational methods must be in tune with the needs

and demands of the struggle. The tasks and challenges which face the Front today is vastly different from that of 1983.

Our organisational challenges

Amongst the demands that our organisations must meet are:

1. We must develop an ability to understand the views and consciousness of the millions of people whose efforts will one day bring about change.
2. We should be able to implement decisions with the active and willing participation of all our people, i.e. youth, workers, students, women and residents. It is only in this way that the struggle can be intensified.
3. We must ensure that the lessons on one area are generalised to be of benefit to us all.
4. Let us not forget the lessons of the emergency. We must be able to continue operating effectively even under the hardest repressive conditions.
5. A democratic practice and style of work must be instilled at all levels of our organisations. At the same time we must guard against referring matters all the time and failing to act decisively.

UDF's organisational guidelines

1. Decision making

Always involve the maximum number of people in any decision. The UDF should not merely obtain mandates from officials of its affiliates, but must ensure that as far as possible structures like street committees and democratic SRC's are also consulted.

Decisions must also be reported back to the grassroots structures.

2. Representation

Regional Executive Committees' (REC's) of the Front must have as its main component people who represent constituencies. This would ensure that the Front is constantly accountable.

We need discussion on whether the numerical size of affiliates should influence representation at General Council meetings.

3. Accountability

Not only should the REC's be accountable, every affiliate must be fully accountable to its membership. Individuals and groups who provide services must be integrated into organizations.

4. Constant evaluation

Constant evaluation and reflection on our activities must occur at every level.

United Democratic Front

Programme of Action

as adopted by the extended National Working Committee on 24 and 25 May 1986

1. Bantustans

UDF needs to intensify its efforts in the bantustans. Conditions in the bantustans especially the role of vigilantes and bandits from neighbouring countries, needs to be exposed nationally and internationally. International corporations who invest in bantustans must also be exposed.

Opposition to the proposed independence of KwaNdebele must be intensified and supported nationally.

Organisation must be intensified and tribal structures should be replaced with democratic organisations.

2. Women

The task of organising women should not be seen as the task of women alone. UDF is committed to the revival of the Federation of South African Women in the year of the 30th anniversary of the women's march to Pretoria.

Women's organisations should be formed where none exist and should affiliate to regional structures which need to be built and strengthened to pave the way for a strong national structure.

3. Education

The Education Charter campaign must be supported and closely linked to the campaign for people's education. The UDF is committed to the formation of a national student organisation. A first step towards this should be the development of strong regional structures.

4. Civics

Civic associations must engage in a national campaign to counter the attempt to establish Regional Services Councils. In the course of the coming year, the UDF must also realize the aim of forming a national movement of civic structures. This will not only intensify struggles on the civic front but will also ensure that the present unevenness in terms of development is overcome.

5. The release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC

These campaigns are to be given a boost at a press conference to be held on 5 June 1986 in Johannesburg. June 16th meetings this year must call for the unbanning of the ANC and "Unban the ANC" rallies should be held in all centres on 26 June.

Through a massive campaign we must make it intolerable for the state to persist with its refusal to unban the ANC and release political prisoners.

6. Youth

The UDF is committed to the formation of a national youth organisation at a national level. The formation of this structure must mark the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprisings. As a first step, regional youth structures must be formed in all parts of the country.

7. Call to whites

More and more whites are losing confidence in the ability of the government to secure a peaceful future for them. This has resulted in many whites looking towards the democratic movement for an alternative. Our task is to spare no effort in welcoming such people and calling upon others to join the democratic movement. Every region should investigate the possibility of initiating this campaign.

8. Solidarity with Frontline States

The recent raids by the fascist SADF into neighbouring states is a direct result of the uncompromising stand which these countries have adopted against apartheid. We cannot remain silent on this matter. Protest actions must be mobilised whenever such attacks are mounted.

9. Sport and culture

Due to the interest displayed by sportpersons and artists, committees are to be established in each region to mobilise these sectors. In addition a national UDF sports and culture department is to be established.

10. Political education

With the rapid expansion of our ranks and the unprecedented scale on which the struggle is being waged, the need for political education and cadre development is greater than ever. Political education programmes in each area must be launched. Our journal, Isizwe must be read and studied by all activists.

INTRODUCTION

On 12 June 1986, the apartheid regime declared a nationwide state of emergency.

In what ways does this emergency differ from the previous emergency? What does the regime hope to achieve? How can we frustrate those aims and take our struggle for freedom and democracy to a higher level? These are some of the questions we in the UDF need to answer if we are to respond correctly.

The present State of Emergency is a major assault on the progressive movement.

Over the last 18 months the people have created a new situation in our country. They have seized the initiative from the state and begun to create conditions for the transfer of power to the people.

By declaring the Emergency, the state in turn is attempting to create completely different conditions. It sees these as a precondition to lay the basis for a new formula to retain minority rule.

To do this, it aims to wipe out the democratic movement; to close off all legal space for mass mobilisation and organisation through sitatowns and bannings; to crush township and rural uprisings with whatever force is necessary; and finally to intensify attacks on the Frontline States with the aim of militarily defeating the ANC.

In declaring a nationwide emergency today, the government has similar aims to those it had in 1960. In 1959, the ANC decided to embark on a national anti-pass campaign. This decision came after ten years of mass mobilisation had united oppressed people throughout the country. Branches of the ANC existed in almost every town and village. The strength and support of the Congress Alliance was a major threat to the apartheid regime. On 21 March 1960, police opened fire on a peaceful pass demonstration at Sharpeville.

The massacre and the uproar that followed it were used as an excuse by the

regime to launch an all-out offensive to destroy the Congress Alliance. It took the regime five years to crush the democratic movement. It took the democratic movement a further five years to re-emerge.

The crushing of the democratic movement created the conditions for the State to implement grand apartheid. The political stability which the repressive conditions created, led to a period of unparalleled economic prosperity for the apartheid regime.

The actions of the apartheid regime since the declaration of the nationwide State of Emergency suggest that the state is once again trying to create the political conditions for the continuation of white minority rule and economic prosperity.

CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE DECLARATION OF THE EMERGENCY

In the 18 months prior to June 1986, the apartheid regime faced a number of serious challenges to its continued rule. These challenges have come from a progressive movement that is increasingly militant and united. The result is that the apartheid regime is isolated both at home and in the international community. Serious conflicts within the ruling group have for some time prevented the state from working out a clear strategy to deal with the challenges to its authority.

What follows is an overview of the conditions facing the apartheid regime prior to its declaring the Emergency.

Ungovernability

The mass struggle against the Tri-cameral Parliament, the Local Authorities and the Bantustans made it clear that the government was unable to impose minority rule on our people.

The resignation of Councillors in the main urban centres throughout the country led to the collapse of the Local Authorities and the Community Councils.

In their place, civic associations and youth and student congresses formed

street committees to look into residents' problems. In some areas these street committees are developing rudimentary organs of peoples power : taking over aspects of local administration like crime prevention and rubbish removal.

Over the last six months, the struggle against puppet structures moved to the bantustans. In Lebowa, KwaNdebele, Kanguana, Venda, and Bophuthatwana, residents demanded the resignation of Bantustan puppets. In Lebowa a number of MPs and tribal chiefs resigned. In KwaNdebele, residents are actively campaigning against 'independence'.

Mass militancy has reached unprecedented levels. There has been a marked increase in the number of attacks on homes and lives of Councillors, policemen and informers in all parts of the country. Newspaper reports say that the SADF and SAP occupying forces have faced armed attacks during township raids. As a result of increasing militancy, a growing number of people are prepared to sacrifice their lives.

Another recent development has been the formation of Defence Committees in a number of areas threatened by vigilante attacks.

These conditions have led to a new phase of the armed struggle. A move from armed propaganda to a people's war.

Unity and Strength of the Democratic Movement

The last eighteen months has seen mass mobilization and organisation of all sections of the oppressed community.

Opposition to apartheid has spread to areas of the country - previously untouched, such as the bantustans and townships in white rural areas.

More unions, civics, and student and youth congresses have developed.

Vigilantes and severe harassment from the system have not succeeded in undermining organisation. Instead people have adapted to heavy repression

by finding new ways to organise. Defence committees have been set up to

protect communities from vigilante attacks. Street committees allow for greater

mass participation in organisations.

The struggle for liberation is no longer confined to the youth. Residents and workers have participated in the nationwide stayaws on May Day and 16 June. They have demonstrated their opposition to puppet structures by boycotting rents and demanding the resignation of puppet bodies. Parents have supported their children's campaign against Bantu Education by joining Parents' Crisis Committees.

Hand in hand with the high level of mass mobilization and organisation has been the growth of greater unity amongst progressive organisations.

Most important has been the united national action taken by the UDF and COSATU on May Day and June 16.

This unity has extended from national and regional levels to the local level. COSATU locals have joined with civic associations in supporting rent boycotts. They have pressurised management to refuse to allow stop orders from workers wages for rent payments.

The progressive movement has also strengthened its non racial and cross class alliances.

For the first time, TIC and NIC successfully mobilized the Indian community in support of the May Day and June 16 stayaways.

The "UDF call to Whites" campaign and End Conscription Campaign mobilized a large following in the white community.

The NECC built strong alliances between parents, teachers and students.

The consumer boycotts strengthened ties between traders and residents.

The deepening and broadening of the progressive movements means that the state is facing a far more formidable and determined opposition than that which confronted it in the past. It is truly national, both geographically and in terms of the support it is able to mobilise from all sections of the community.

As a result, all government attempts to 'reform' apartheid have been stillborn, and have failed to attract any popular support.

In the eyes of the masses, the scrapping of the pass laws meant little in the face of rising unemployment, and renewed attempts to demolish shacks. To the hundreds of thousands living in overcrowded matchboxes and shanties. Freehold tenure did not realize the people's demand for housing and security. The National Statutory Council does not meet the people's demands for real political leadership.

Discunity within the white power bloc

The collapse of apartheid rule in many areas, together with the strength of the oppositional forces has resulted in serious disputes within the enemy camp over the most effective way to maintain white minority rule. These disputes have served to weaken or divide the apartheid forces. As a result they have been unable to regain the initiative or to work out a coherent strategy for maintaining minority rule.

On the one hand, big business, the PFP and sections of the NP favoured an acceleration of reform and the incorporation of Africans into central government.

On the other hand, the right wing has demanded the preservation of old style apartheid and the use of greater force against anti-apartheid activists.

These disputes within the enemy camp have reached new levels over the last year. Thus making it impossible for the government to mobilise support for its policies whether reformist or repressive. The IWD together with the CP and BPP launched an open attack on the government by breaking up National Party meetings, and mobilising the Afrikaner folk in defence of apartheid.

Sections of big business and the PFP have realized that the scrapping of the pass laws, the national statutory council and freehold tenure were too little too late.

Big business and the PFP have opposed the implementation of RSC's. From the rightwing these measures have been described as a betrayal of the folk.

At the same time, big business, the PFP, prominent churchmen and intellectuals have visited the ANC. They have further undermined the legitimacy of the government by demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and negotiations with the ANC for SA's future.

The tensions and disputes within the enemy camp reached a climax when Le Grange's laws were rejected in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives. By steam-rolling this unpopular legislation through the Presidents' Council, the government further weakened cohesion within the ruling block, and exposed the authoritarian nature of the new constitution.

International Isolation

The apartheid regime has also grown increasingly isolated internationally. The international anti-apartheid organisations have mobilized hundreds of thousands of people against apartheid. This pressure has become so strong that even Reagan and Thatcher can no longer hold out against some form of sanctions. As a result there are increasing tensions between the regime and its major international allies. The non-aligned countries also increased pressure for action against the South African government. The EPG was established by the Commonwealth to facilitate negotiations and peaceful change in SA. At the end of its month term, the EPG concluded that the SA government had made no attempt to dismantle apartheid and therefore recommended sanctions.

Economic Crisis

The political upheavals in the country also had a serious effect on SA's crisis ridden economy.



Unemployment and the high cost of living have increased people's suffering and contributed to the unprecedented level of mass mobilisation and organisation. At the same time the recession has prevented the government from offering significant economic incentives to buy off sections of the oppressed.

The effects of unemployment and the recession have also affected the privileged position of the white working class. Many have joined the AWP, firmly believing that the government is selling them out.

For the government the most serious aspect of the crisis has been the effect of the political upheaval on the economy. The SA economy is heavily dependent on foreign loans and investment for its economic stability and growth.

However, political instability makes foreign investors nervous and unwilling to lend their money or invest it in SA. Without foreign investment and foreign loans, the SA economy declines, exacerbating unemployment and inflation. The government also finds it increasingly difficult to finance apartheid and its war at home and in Namibia.

AIMS OF THE EMERGENCY

The conditions prior to the declaration of the emergency were a real threat to the continued existence of the apartheid regime on a number of fronts.

All attempts to implement piecemeal solutions such as the partial state of emergency, the scrapping of pass laws and national statutory councils, failed to crush the uprising or win mass support. These measures merely deepened opposition to the regime and isolated it further.

The declaration of the emergency must be seen as a major attempt by the State to regain the initiative from the progressive movement by fundamentally restructuring the political terrain in the country on a long-term basis.

This aim could not be achieved regionally or sector by sector as the strength of the progressive movement over the last eighteen months has demonstrated

For this reason a national initiative was needed. The declaration of the emergency was such an initiative.

The broad aims of the emergency are to :

- *Eliminate the democratic movement
- *Smash the uprising and thereby regain control over ungovernable areas of the country
- *Prevent the advance of the armed struggle
- *Re-unite the ruling group against the majority
- *Restore business confidence in the economy

Eliminate the democratic Movement

Over the last six years the democratic movement has successfully operated openly and legally. This has allowed us to mobilise and organise thousands of people against apartheid. It is this mass support which is one of the fundamental strengths of the democratic movement.

The nature of the state's actions since the declaration of the emergency suggests that it is trying to close off the legal space within which the democratic movement has operated in order to turn back the process of mass mobilisation and organisation. To do this the state is attacking all fronts of democratic activity: trade unions, human rights organisations, civic, student and youth organisations, newspapers, and the United Democratic Front itself.

The detention of thousands of members of the democratic movement is aimed at undermining mass organisation. Those detained are from all ranks of the democratic movement: executive members of the United Democratic Front, unions and community organisations, members of street committees, SRC's and striking workers.

The stringent curbs on the press are aimed at silencing the democratic movement and stopping our organisations from responding publicly to the state attacks. It also aims to disorganise and demoralise through an information blackout.

Meetings are banned, regulations control funerals, and prevent organisations

calling for strikes, boycotts, an end to conscription or the lifting of the emergency itself. These measures are aimed at stopping mass mobilisation, to deprive the progressive movement of further support.

Smash the uprising and regain control over ungovernable areas

As said earlier that in many areas, apartheid structures like the bantustan chiefs and black local authorities had been forced to resign. In their place civic, youth and student congresses have formed rudimentary organs of people's power to take control of local administration.

Under the guise of preventing conflict between 'radicals', 'moderates', thousands of SADF and SAP have occupied the townships and bantustans.

Their presence is aimed at terrorising the local population, thereby discouraging them from participating in organisations. The government knows that this is the only way to enable Councillors and Bantustan Chiefs to operate.

Repression has been most severe in those areas where the structures of Apartheid rule have been subject to the greatest challenge: the Eastern Cape, Pretoria and KwaNdebele.

Here thousands have been detained at the grassroots level. High SADF and SAP presence have placed whole communities under siege.

Prevent the advance of the Armed Struggle

Immediately prior to the State of Emergency, the government signalled its intention to ignore international censure by attacking the Frontline States.

Since then, the SADF has conducted aerial exercises over the Kruger National Park and demonstrated its might in central Johannesburg. This show of strength have been linked to direct threats to the Frontline States.

There have been a number of battles between the Security Forces and ANC guerrillas, and attempts to populate the high risk areas in the Northern Transvaal, by providing security and financial aid to farmers.

Re-organise the enemy camp

We spoke earlier of the disputes and divisions within the enemy camp that reached a new intensity prior to the declaration of the Emergency.

The apartheid regime hopes to re-unite the ruling group by showing the right wing it is capable of controlling the African majority. It hopes to win the support of the liberal and business community by proving that the restoration of 'law and order' is a necessary pre-condition for continued and successful reform initiatives.

To do this, the State is placing considerable emphasis on (its ability to) project a different reality in the vacuum left by press restrictions.

Its propaganda aims to create the impression that the major conflict in the country is between black 'moderates' and 'radical' groups and not between the supporters and opponents of apartheid.

The State is demonstrating to the rightwing that it is not prepared to bow to international pressure.

Restore business confidence in the economy

After the crushing of the mass movements in the 1960s, the SA economy experienced a period of growth. It was this boom that made SA's ruling minority one of the richest in the world. It was also the boom that financed and created the conditions for the imposition of grand apartheid.

There is little doubt that the SA government is hoping to repeat this part of our country's history. Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr de Kock, said that foreign investors need to be convinced that SA is not on the brink of a revolution, that their assets are safe and that they will be able to reap their profits. Economists claim that the Emergency in fact restored confidence.

The government is also trying to restore ordinary people's confidence in the ability of the present economic system to provide for their well being. In this regard, the government announced it was going to spend R1,5 million to encourage economic growth.

TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The apartheid regime has launched its greatest offensive against the democratic movement. This offensive is a response to the serious challenge the regime is facing. Over the last eighteen months the democratic movement has taken the struggle forward from merely opposing apartheid structures, to replacing them with democratic organs of peoples power.

In this sense the political initiative remains in the hands of the people and the democratic movement. The apartheid regime has no clear long term strategy for the maintenance of minority rule. The regime can only remain in power through the use of extreme force.

While our organisations are under heavy attack, our struggle against apartheid continues. When we say it continues, we do not necessarily mean in exactly the same way as before. The regime's present offensive makes many of the old ways of organising and mobilising the masses impossible and inappropriate in this new phase.

In the past, the central strategic role of the UDF has been to engage in the mass mobilisation, mass organisation and politicisation of our people. This role remains unchanged in essence. We need to find new ways to continue to mobilise our people as we have not yet achieved maximum mobilisation.

At the same time we need to protect and maintain the best of democratic structures through which the mass movement exists.

If we do not continue to mobilise the masses and build our organisations we will never be strong enough to defeat the apartheid regime. If we merely build our organisations, but do not engage the regime, we will not prevent it reshaping the political terrain. For this reason, defending our democratic structures and intensifying the assault on the enemy must be part of the same process.

While the regime's offensive makes organising and mobilising in the old

which make new strategies and alliances possible.

In this regard the regime's offensive against the trade union movement and against the liberal press is of particular significance.

We said earlier that in attempting to close off the legal space, the state has launched an offensive against sections of the democratic movement which have not experienced serious repression in the immediate past. In doing this, the regime has greatly increased the range of organisations and individuals opposed to its policies.

Employers have complained that the restrictions on union activities threaten the system of industrial relations which has taken six years to build.

The recent call by businessmen for the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC is a serious blow for the governments attempt to rally all sections of the ruling block behind its emergency strategy.

The severe pressclamps have also mobilised editors of the commercial press against the regime's attempts to re-create SA reality. A number of prominent editors and writers have recently opposed emergency press restrictions.

These initiatives raise the possibility of forming new alliances to frustrate the enemy and to isolate it still further.

Our immediate tasks are to:

- *Create broad popular unity against the emergency
- *Intensify the national offensive against apartheid
- *Build mass organisation and people's power
- *Replace those activists detained or killed
- *Win the propaganda war.

Create broad popular unity against the emergency

We must draw together the widest possible range of groups and organisations to campaign against the emergency. This unity must be based on the following set of minimal demands: release of detainees lifting of the emergency.

scrapping of Le Grange's Laws, freedom of the press, freedom of association and unbanning of the ANC.

But our opposition to the new form of apartheid rule cannot stop here.

Intensify the National Offensive against apartheid

We must continue to call for the resignation of councillors, policemen, bantustan chiefs and MP's. We must refuse to allow our rents to be used to maintain puppet structures, or to finance the onslaught by the SAP or SADF.

We must intensify our call for the resignation of members of the Tricameral parliament. After Le Grange's Laws were steamrolled through the Presidents council, the toothlessness of the House of Delegates and House of Representatives has been totally exposed.

Build mass organisation and people's power

Our aim is not just to replace apartheid tyranny with a new form of serfdom. Our aim is to build a country free of oppression and exploitation.

To build organisations that will withstand the present onslaught we need to root our structures in the masses. We must build small committees in every street and school that will be able to meet and operate even under the harshest repression.

It is not enough to build our organisations. We must also extend the control over our lives by transforming street committees into rudimentary organs of people's power.

In addition to establishing street committees, we need to establish defence committees in every street to protect our people against the armed onslaught of the apartheid regime.

Replace those activists detained or killed

The enemy is trying to crush us by removing leading activists from our ranks.

Our task is to ensure that for every leader that is taken to other activists are waiting in readiness to step into his or her boots. This can

only be ensured by the all-round political training of all our activists.

Every activists should remember that there is no telling when history will call upon him or her to take over the leadership. Political education must be taken as seriously as the campaign against puppet structures. Only in this way can we ensure that the emergency is rendered unworkable.

Win the propaganda war

The tight press curbs, the information blackout and the unwillingness of the press to carry statements of the democratic movement, all place a new emphasis on the need for propaganda. Without propaganda it will be impossible to counter the state's attempts to silence the progressive movement, nor will it be possible to launch a coherent and united response to the state's offensive. No mass movement can grow or even sustain itself without appropriate propaganda. At a time of intense political conflict, the role of propaganda becomes vital.

Propaganda is not only the task of the executives of organisations.

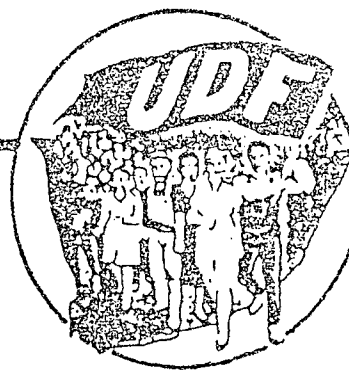
Every activist, every street committee must become a broadcasting centre for our line.

The tasks of defending our democratic structures and intensifying the assault are inseparable!

RENDER THE EMERGENCY USELESS!

LONG LIVE THE ADVANCING STRUGGLE!

ANAMDLA!



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29-1917

October 3

CIRCULAR TO ALL AFFILIATES

Re: Campaign for National ~~Unity~~ *United Action*

The Campaign for National ~~Unity~~ *United Action* in opposition to the State of Emergency was launched at a press conference on October 2 1986 held in Johannesburg. This comes after months of consultation primarily within the ranks of UDF and COSATU. While this matter was referred to UDF regions, Area Committees and affiliates, some affiliates may not have had an opportunity to discuss the campaign fully. Consultations were also held with representatives of the SACC, Southern African Catholics Bishops' Conference and the NECC.

The aim of the campaign is firstly to embark upon united action at the local and national level in opposition to the Emergency, and secondly to create the maximum possible unity at a local and national level on the basis of the following demands:

- 1). An end to the State of Emergency
- 2). The release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners
- 3). The unbanning of the Anc and all other banned organisations
- 4). The re-opening of schools, the repeal of the draconian controls imposed on students and the establishment of People's Education
- 5). An end to rent evictions
- 6). Freedom of expression and association
- 7). A living wage for workers, an end to retrenchments, jobs for all, adequate social security and the right to strike.

The programme for the first three weeks of October will involve:

A. A popularisation of the Campaign for National ~~Unity~~ *United Action*

This can be achieved by:

- 1) Discussing the campaign in all structures
- 2). Distributing leaflets

Here it is important that those areas and affiliates that are able to produce their own media like posters and pamphlets do so.

- 3). Organise mass meeting where possible and ask your local church to allow for the distribution of media or for our leaflets or press statements to be read during services.

B. Consultation on the National Day of Action

In principle both the Front and COSATU have agreed to organise a National Day of Action in support of the demands of this campaign. However, the details have not been decided upon. Affiliates and Area Committees are requested to give feedback on the following.

- 1). What form should the Day of Action take?
- 2). What should be the date of the Day of Action?

This feedback must be submitted by October 15 or as soon thereafter as possible.

C. Mobilise National unity

Here our task is to mobilise the maximum number of people and organisations into becoming part of the campaign. It would be of little effect if unity is only created at the level of national organisations. We must start to create a unity of those who support the above demands in every region, area and locality. Organisations that are outside of the UDF and COSATU structures must be approached to join the campaign; these should include sports clubs, church structures and other religious structures, cultural groups, taxi associations, burial societies etc. Lists of supporting organisations should be submitted to the Head Office.

D. Joint Action

Those organisations supporting the campaign, in particular the UDF and COSATU, should embark upon joint planning at the local level. This becomes particularly important in preparation for the Day of Action.

End the Emergency!
Isolate the Regime!
Forward to the Campaign for National Unity!

Mohammed Valli

Acting National Secretary

DECLASSIFIED

BT

VERSENDING/AFHANDELINGSVOORRANG

VOORKEUR

+KOPES.

SRA

+LEERNOMMER.

A38/3002/25

+SEKERHEIDSKLASSIFIKASIE.

BERIGNOMMER

UITERS GEHEIM

86SRA5438

+DATUM.

BELANGRIKEHEID

19861002

BAIE BELANGRIK

+AFSENDER.

NAAM VAN BEAMPTTE/DEPARTEMENT

752

+ONTVANGER VIR AKSIE.

SELGS VIR/DEPARTEMENT

SRA

HEADS OF MISSION

+ONDERWERP/VERRYKING.

UDF/ PEOPLE'S COURTS

+INHOUD.

1. Telnr SRA 5428 dated 19860929 refers.

2. The declaration of the UDF as an affected organisation is imminent. You are informed of the intention in advance in order to prepare strategies to reduce the anticipated negative official and media reactions. The actual date of the declaration has not, as yet, been decided and all information in this regard should be regarded as top secret and embargoed until further notice.

3. The following text reflects policy in the above regard and may be used at the appropriate time:

BACKGROUND : UDF

Since the founding of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, the South African Government has, in the interests of a broader debate in South Africa, sought to allow the umbrella organisation which the UDF represents, the freedom of action to participate in the political process.

Throughout the above period it has been accepted that a number of organisations affiliated to the UDF have been and are dedicated, in good faith, to a genuinely democratic South Africa.

For this reason, the judiciary has taken action against individual persons guilty of murder and atrocities, rather than against the organisation. In many instances such activities calculated to intimidate fellow-citizens and destroy existing local administration while administering

crude and barbaric justice, have been openly political. Their aim has been to place whole sectors of the black community under duress and eventually political control.

The visible organising presence of the yellow UDF T-shirt, at ongoing emotion and hate-charged rallies; the deterioration of these occasions into barbaric riots accompanied by the summary execution by torture, burning and desecration of so-called "collaborators", "puppets" and other political opponents have shocked and revolted the South African and wider community. Sinister subliminal coercion in UDF publications has done little to dispel the outrage which civilized South Africans feel regarding the organisation:

"In some areas people's courts, or people's advisory centres have been set up. In some areas if attempts to 'rehabilitate' offenders through politicisation and recruitment does not succeed, offenders are ostracised. For people who want to live and be happy amongst their neighbours, it becomes difficult not to cooperate." (UDF Update Vol 2 No 2 1986, p10)

"The UDF calls on all those serving in puppet bantustan structures and similar bodies to resign at once. The patience of the people is not endless." (UDF News Vol 3 No 2, June 1986)

The more than 350 so-called "necklace" murders to date are evidence of the pressure and coercion to which the black community has been subjected. The courts have responded to the threat and some 800 cases are pending against the perpetrators of such a atrocious crime. Some 17 are already convicted.

DECLASSIFIED

In spite of pro-UDF propaganda activities, the government has resisted proscribing the UDF in the present spirit of reform and broader democracy in South Africa. As indicated in the relevant Act, (Act No 31 of 1974) the legitimate political activities of an affected organisation as a South African political body are not limited. The aim of the legislation is solely to prevent internal organisations becoming fronts for foreign ideological and political interests and thereby increasingly polarised and divisive.

The limited effects of the legislation should not, however, be misconstrued as a lack of resolve on the part of the government by those individuals bent on the barbaric practices referred to. While the courts will continue to pursue these individuals, no government can allow such a situation to continue indefinitely.

4. The following guidelines into the use of the above text and the visual material supplied i.t.o. of the abovementioned telex are suggested:

4.1 The video-material supplied i.t.o. the above telex is subsidiary to the text supplied.

4.2 It may be found expedient to arrange meetings with

highly-placed representatives in your (preferably only one or two persons at a time) in your country of accreditation upon notification of the date and time of the government announcement. It is hoped to be able to forewarn missions before the measure becomes public knowledge in order for Foreign government to be acquainted with the reasons for the action before learning of it in the press or from their own missions in South Africa.

4.3 The above text has been formulated as a short statement for such a meeting envisaged in 4.2.

4.4 The video-material could be used to underscore the statement. It will be noticed that the text does not explicitly accuse the UDF of all atrocities committed. Likewise, if explicitly questioned as to whether the video material represents proven UDF actions, it may be indicated that the material reflects the difficulties with which the South African government and people have to contend and speaks for itself of UDF involvement.

4.5 It may also be found possible to present the material to the media. However, it is suggested that only extremely positive representatives be given the statement immediately after its communication to the official representative. The video-material could also be screened for such press contacts to increase impact.

4.6 It should be emphasised that the video material is intended to strengthen the impact of the text and thereby understanding for the government's action. It does, however contain material which is subject to commercial copyright and should on no account be given to any of the representatives referred to, either media or official. The open release of such material could also be prejudicial to court-cases presently in progress in terms of the sub-judice rule - this could be explained to representatives requesting the use of the material. After use the material should be returned to the Head of Mission's safe.

DAJUMTYDGR0EP
19861002

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VERSENDING/AFHANDELINGSVOORRANG

VOORKEUR

+KODES.

SR.

+LEERNOMMER.

A38/3002

+SEKERHEIDSKLASSIFIKASIE.

BERIGNOMMER

UITERS GEHEIM

86SRA5443

+DATUM.

BELANGRIKHEID

19861003

BELANGRIK

+AFSENDER.

NAAM VAN BEAMPTTE/DEPARTEMENT

752

+ONTVANGER VIR AKSIE. SLEGS VIR/DEPARTEMENT

HEADS OF MISSION

+INHOUD.

1. Telnr 5438 dated 19861002 refers.

2. In addition to the above telex we would like to bring to your attention in contents of a minute received from the Office of the Director of Security Legislation (Dept of Justice). The minute was drawn-up at the request of route 752.

3. Contents as follows:

"DIE GEVOLGE VAN OPTREDE TEEN 'N ORGANISASIE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 van 1974)

1. Die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 magtig die Staatspresident om 'n organisasie tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar indien hy daarvan oortuig is dat politiek deur of deur middel van daardie 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. Die Staatspresident kan alleen tot so 'n stap oorgaan nadat die Minister van Wet en Orde 'n verslag oorweeg het wat deur 'n feitekomitee bestaande uit drie landdroste, van wie minstens een 'n hooflanddroos of 'n streeklanddroos moet wees, opgestel is.

2. Hierdie wetgewing gee uitdrukking aan 'n algemeen aanvaarde reël dat daar nie met die binnelandse politiek van 'n ander land ingemeng word nie. Die gevolg van so 'n verklaring is dat verhoed word dat daardie organisasie geld vanuit die buiteland ontvang. So 'n verklaring verbied nie die organisasie om sy bedrywighede voort te sit nie. Al wat gebeur is dat sy buitelandse fondse afgesny word in 'n poging om sodoende die invloed wat buitelandse instansies, in die nastrewing van hulle eie politieke oogmerke, deur middel van die geaffekteerde organisasie op die Suid-Afrikaanse binnelandse politieke toneel uitteef, tee te werk. Die beginsel wat hier ten opsigte van organisasies ter sprake is, geld ook, deur die werking van 'n wetsbepaling, vir private persone en vir politieke partye. Artikel 3 van die Wet op die Verbod op Buitelandse Finansiering van Politieke Partye, 1968 (Wet 51 van 1968) bepaal

naamlik soos volg:

"-(1) Geen politieke party of lid van so 'n party en geen ander persoon mag geld wat op grond van 'n skenking of op enige ander grond bestem is om gebruik te word, of na goeddunke van daardie politieke party, lid of ander persoon gebruik kan word, om die belange van 'n politieke party of die kandidatuur van homself of 'n ander persoon wat tot kandidaat vir 'n verkiesing ingevolge die Kieswet, 1979 (Wet No 45 van 1979), of 'n ander wet waarop die Staatspresident die bepalings van hierdie artikel by proklamasie in die Staatskoerant van toepassing gemaak het, genomineer is of genomineer kan word, te bevorder, of om die een of ander doelstelling of beginsel van 'n politieke party te bekamp, van buite die Republiek in die Republiek ontvang of inbring of laat inbring nie.

(2) By die toepassing van hierdie artikel beteken 'geld' ook enigiets wat gewissel of in geld omgesit kan word".

4. Please note that this information is embargoed in the same manner as tel no SRA5438 until further notice.

DATUMTYDGRÖEP
19861003/1455

EINDE
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Lêer No. 2/4/2/121 (DDV/e)
File No.

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR

OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP
GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN 1974)
"UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF)

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE
1986-10-07
MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

DIREKTORAAT VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
1986-10-03
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

1. Die Staatspresident het besluit om die UDF tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar.

2. 'n Konsep-persverklaring (Afrikaans en Engels) in dié verband is in die omslag vir die Minister se oorweging asseblief.

DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
10-9-86
30/9/86
#625/9/86

Konsep-persverklaring GOEDGEKEUR/

MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE
7/10/86

ADV 21/10/86
DRN 21/10/86
DRA
DDV 21/10/86

h-Div 21/10/86
Thee asseblief
21/10/86

PERSVERKLARING DEUR LOUIS LE GRANGE, MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE,
UITGEREIK OP OKTOBER 1986 TE PRETORIA

Die Staatspresident het 'n proklamasie onderteken waarby die "United Democratic Front" (UDF) kragtens artikel 2 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974) tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word. Die proklamasie verskyn in vandag se Staatskoerant.



PRESS STATEMENT BY LOUIS LE GRANGE, MINISTER OF LAW AND
ORDER, ISSUED ON OCTOBER 1986

The State President has signed a proclamation by which the United Democratic Front (UDF) is under section 2 of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974) declared to be an affected organization. The proclamation appears in today's Government Gazette.

L. LE GRANGE





*Kantoor van die Staatspresident
State President's Office*

Staatspresidentsminuut No 0924

Hierby trek ek Staatspresidentsminuut No. 0924 gedateer 8
September 1986 in.

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),

GEWAARMERKTE AFSKRIF
CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY

D. D. D.

ns/SEKRETARIS-GENERAAL, KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT
pp/SECRETARY-GENERAL, STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

vaardig ek hierby die bygaande Proklamasie (Afrikaans en Engels) uit waarby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word.

P. B. B. B.
STAATSPRESIDENT
Datum 6. 10. 86

[Signature]
MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



GEWAARMERKTE AFSCRIF
CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY

[Signature]

ns/SEKRETARIS-GENERAAL KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT
pp/SECRETARY-GENERAL STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE



P R O K L A M A S I E

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

NO.

1986

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974), verklaar ek hierby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED



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GEWAARMERKTE AFSKRIF
CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY

Dumie

ns/SEKRETARIS-GENERAAL: KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT
pp/SECRETARY-GENERAL: STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van
Suid-Afrika te Pretoria op hede die 6de
dag van Oktober Eenduisend Negehonderd
Ses-en-tagtig.

P. B. S.
Staatspresident

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

[Handwritten Signature]
Minister van die Kabinet

GEWAARMERKTE AFSKRIF
CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY

[Handwritten Signature]
SEKRETARIS-GENERAAL, KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT
SECRETARY-GENERAL, STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE



P R O C L A M A T I O N

by the

State President of the Republic of South Africa

NO.

1986

DECLARATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE AN AFFECTED ORGANIZATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 2(1) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974), I hereby declare the



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GEWAARMERKTE AFSCRIF
 CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY

Dumani

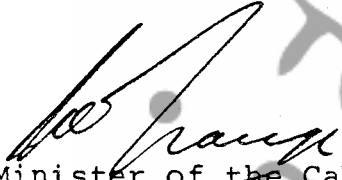
ns/SEKRETARIS-GENERAAL KANTOOR VAN DIE STAATSPRESIDENT
 pp/SECRETARY-GENERAL STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

organization known as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to be an affected organization.

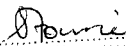
Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this 6th day of October One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-six.


State President

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:


Minister of the Cabinet

GEWAARMERKTE AFSCRIF
CERTIFIED A TRUE COPY


TS/SEKRETARIS-GENERAAL VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
ppr/SECRETARY-GENERAL, STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Staatspresidentsminuut No

0971

Hierby trek ek Staatspresidentsminuut No. 0924 gedateer 8
September 1986 in.

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),



vaardig ek hierby die bygaande Proklamasie (Afrikaans en Engels) uit waarby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word.

P. W. BOTHA
STAATSPRESIDENT

Datum 1986-10- -6

L. LE GRANGE
MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



P R O K L A M A S I E

van die

Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

NO.

1986

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
verklaar ek hierby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED



DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van
Suid-Afrika te Pretoria op hede die 6de
dag van Oktober Eenduisend Negehonderd
Ses-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA

Staatspresident

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

L. LE GRANGE

Minister van die Kabinet

P R O C L A M A T I O N

by the

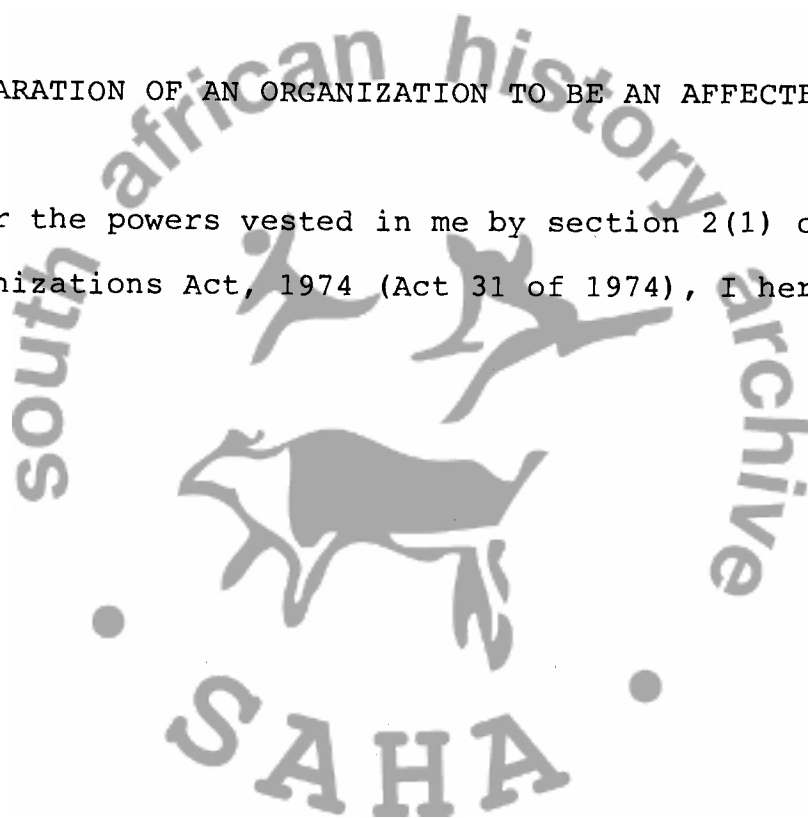
State President of the Republic of South Africa

NO.

1986

DECLARATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE AN AFFECTED ORGANIZATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 2(1) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974), I hereby declare the



organization known as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to be an affected organization.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this 6th day of October One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-six.

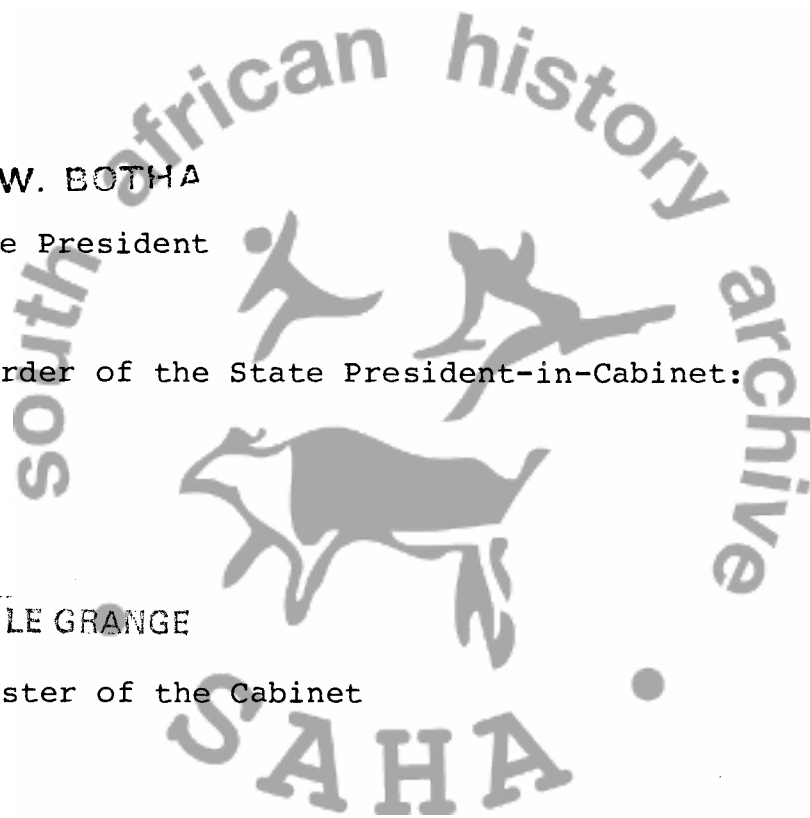
P. W. BOTHA

State President

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

L. LE GRANGE

Minister of the Cabinet





Lêer No. 2/4/2/121 (DDV/e) <

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR

OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP
GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN 1974)
"UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF)

MINISIELE VAN WET EN ORDE
1986 -09- 19
MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
1986 -09- 30/9/86
DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

1.1 Die Staatspresident het op 8 September 1986 'n proklamasie onderteken waarkragtens die UDF tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word.

1.2 Soos die Minister egter reeds ingelig is, is 'n versoek van die Departement van Buitelandse Sake ontvang dat die aangeleentheid teruggehou word hangende die finale besluit oor sanksies teen die Republiek deur president Reagan van die V.S.A.. 'n Teleksberig wat in dié verband op 8 September 1986 van die Ambassadeur, Washington ontvang is, lui onder andere soos volg:

"Senator Dole het in 'n nuusprogram vanoggend opgemerk dat wetgewende prioriteite voor die verkiesing in November nou sodanig verander het dat indien president Reagan sy uitvoerende bevel sou uitbrei, die kans goed is dat 'n veto deur hom van die sanksiewetgewing, nie omvergewerp sal word nie.

[Redacted text]

ADV 30/9/86
DRV 30/9/86
DRR 1/10/86
DDV 6/10/86
Mere 19/6/1986
D.L. 10/1986

DECLASSIFIED

GEHEIM



DECLASSIFIED

GEHEIM

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(Teleks)

1.3 Die Minister het in die lig van die versoek van die Departement van Buitelandse Sake goedkeuring verleen dat die aangeleentheid teruggehou word.

1.4 Mnr [REDACTED] van die Departement van Buitelandse Sake is nou weer genader om te probeer bepaal wanneer die aangewese tyd is om die proklamasie waarby die UDF as geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar word, in die Staatskoerant te publiseer. Hy is van mening dat dit nie voor 3 Oktober 1986 behoort te geskied nie.

2.1 Daar dien op gewys te word dat die proklamasie wat deur die Staatspresident onderteken is in die geheel in die Staatskoerant gepubliseer moet word. Die datum waarop dit onderteken is (8 September 1986) sal dus ook daarin verskyn. Dit mag vreemd voorkom indien daar 'n geruime tyd verloop tussen die datum waarop die Staatspresident geteken het en die datum waarop die proklamasie in die Staatskoerant gepubliseer word. Moedswillige media kan dit moontlik aangryp om hulle eie afleidings aan die publiek voor te hou en munt daaruit te probeer slaan. Die afkondiging van die proklamasie kan dus nie te lank agterweë gehou word nie.

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2.2 Aan die ander kant is dit egter ook so dat die aangeleentheid rakende sanksies teen die Republiek op die oomblik 'n uiters sensitiewe aangeleentheid is. Dit sal die land veral baie skade aandoen, indien president Reagan gedwing sou word om die sanksiewetgewing soos reeds deur die Senaat goedgekeur, te bekragtig. Indien enigsins moontlik, behoort enige optrede in Suid-Afrika wat ons saak in die V.S.A. kan benadeel, dus agterweë gehou te word tot ná verdagting van die Amerikaanse Kongres. In dié verband dien daarop gewys te word dat 'n verdere twee weke uitstel van optrede teen die UDF (afgesien van die kwessie van die vroeë datum wat op die proklamasie voorkom) onses insiens nie veel skade sal doen nie. Daar word dus aan die hand gedoen dat die proklamasie op 3 Oktober 1986 in die Staatskoerant gepubliseer word.

3.1 Dit is ook aan die Minister gemeld dat aangesien dr De Loor nie sy weg oopgesien het om dienende beamptes van sy kantoor af te staan om as Registrateur van Geaffekteerde Organisasies aangestel te word nie, afgetrede beamptes van die kantoor van die Ouditeur-generaal genader sou word met die oog op die aanstelling as Registrateur van Geaffekteerde Organisasies. Twee persone wat deur dr De Loor in die verband aanbeveel is, is genader, maar hulle het nie hulle weg oopgesien om so 'n aanstelling hulle te laat welgeval nie.

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GEHEIM

3.2 Ons beskik nie oor die name van enige ander geskikte kandidate buite die Direktooraat: Veiligheidswetgewing wat in die verband genader kan word nie. Mnr J H Breyl van die Direktooraat hou huidiglik die aanstelling van Registrateur. Daar word dus aan die hand gedoen dat daar voorlopig met dié aanstelling volstaan word.

3.3 Daar word verder aan die hand gedoen dat indien optrede kragtens artikel 3 van die Wet, soos die betreding van persele om inligting oor die geldsake van die UDF te bekom, genoodsaak word, daar van die dienste van speurders van die Handelstak van die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie gebruik gemaak word om in dié verband behulpsaam te wees.

3.4 Daar word voorsien dat die nagaan van die finansiële state en die ondersoek van die geldsake van die UDF ook spesiale kundigheid sal vereis. Daar word aan die hand gedoen dat daar in dié verband in oorleg met Kompol van kundiges op dié gebied in diens van die Staat of in die privaatsektor wat oor 'n gepaste veiligheidsklaring beskik, gebruik gemaak word.

4. Die aangeleentheid word voorgelê indien die Minister in die eerskomende vergadering van die Staatsveiligheidsraad daarna wil verwys.

5. U sal waarskynlik op Maandag, 22 September 1986 terugvoering aan die S.V.R oor die aangeleentheid gee. Dit bekommer my as die Proklamasie van die Staatspresident van 8 September 1986 vir bykans 'n maand teruggehou en dan gepubliseer word. Moontlik sou die beste wees om nuwe Proklamasies vir ondertekening deur Staatspresident voor te berei

19/9/86
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

19/9/86 19/9/86

1. Die Proklamasie moet op 3 Oktober 1986 in die Staatskoerant, gepubliseer word.

2. Paragraaf 3.2 GOEDGEKEUR/

3. Paragraaf 3.3 GOEDGEKEUR/

4. Paragraaf 3.4 GOEDGEKEUR/

5. Para 5 - ek stem saam


MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE
20/9/86

VERGADERING GEHOU OP 4 SEPTEMBER 1986 MET BETREKKING TOT 'N MEDIAPLAN MET DIE OOG OP DIE MOONTLIKE VERKLARING VAN DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF) EN DIE "SUID-AFRIKAANSE RAAD VAN KERKE" (SARK) AS GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES

Die volgende aanbevelings is tydens die bovermelde vergadering gemaak:

(i) Dat dit nie nodig sal wees om 'n "klimaat" vir die optrede te skep nie, aangesien daar reeds genoeg "klimaatskepping" in die verband was.

(ii) Dat daar eerder 'n dag of twee voor die tyd inligting aan uitgesoekte koerantredakteurs beskikbaar gestel word, sodat hulle 'n objektiewe beeld van die beoogde optrede in hulle koerante kan skep. Dit sal die angel uit latere berigte wat in ander koerante mag verskyn, neem.

(iii) Dat die beoogde optrede teen die bovermelde organisasies vroeg in die week geneem word, sodat die nuus teen daardie komende naweek reeds "oud" sal wees, en dat dit nie soveel indruk sal maak as sekere Engelstalige - naweekkoerante oor die optrede berig nie.

(iv) Dat die nodige agtergronds-inligting met betrekking tot beoogde optrede aan hom (brig ██████████) beskikbaar gestel word, ten einde hom in staat te stel om dit aan sekere koerantredakteurs te verskaf.

(v) Dat die buitelandse am^bassadeurs van volledige inligting met betrekking tot die optrede teen die bovermelde organisasies, voorsien word.

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(vi) Dat daar wel 'n persverklaring uitgereik word, maar dat daar geen redes vir die optrede verskaf word nie. Dit sal verhinder dat linksgesinde persone sodanige redes later in hofaansoeke kan gebruik.



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→ UDF leer ⁴⁷⁹



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Lêer No. 2/4/2/109/121 (DDVz)
File No.

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR

OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP
GEEFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN
1974): DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF) EN
DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE RAAD VAN KERKE (SARK)

1. Die memorandum direk hieronder en samesprekings met die
Minister op 28 Augustus 1986 verwys.

(Memo)

2. Die dokument met die oog op die bespreking van die
aangeleentheid deur die Werkkomitee van die
Staatsveiligheidsraad is aangepas en is in die omslag vir
die Minister se oorweging asseblief. (n Ekstra afskrif van
die dokument is vir die Minister se gebruik ingesluit).

Handwritten signature
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

Handwritten date
29-8-86

Voorlegging aan Werkkomitee GOEDGEKEUR/

Handwritten signature
MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE

DECLASSIFIED

Handwritten note:
Hierdie arb. afskrif
op SARK en UDF
22 leer.

Handwritten date:
23/9/86

MINISTERIE VAN WET EN ORDE
1986-09-01
MINISTRY OF LAW AND ORDER

Handwritten note:
K2-Bere
20/9/86

Handwritten date:
11/9/86

Republiek van Suid-Afrika

Republic of South Africa



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Lêer No. 2/4/2/109/121 (DDVz)
File No.

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR /

OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP
GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN
1974): DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF) EN
DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE RAAD VAN KERKE (SARK)

1. Konsep-proklamasies met die oog op die verklaring van die UDF en die SARK tot geaffekteerde organisasies is reeds aan die Minister voorgelê. Die Minister het die aangeleentheid by die Staatsveiligheidsraad geopper en die SVR het aangedui dat dit by die eersvolgende sitting van die Werkkomitee bespreek moet word en 'n aanbeveling eers van dié komitee verkry moet word.

(A; B)

2.1 Die Sekretariaat van die Staatsveiligheidsraad het nou versoek dat 'n kort voorlegging vir dié doel opgestel moet word waarin die moontlike implikasies van optrede teen die twee organisasies uiteengesit word.

2.2 'n Dokument in dié verband is opgestel en is in die

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2-Bere
1/23/74

omslag vir die Minister se goedkeuring asseblief, alvorens dit aan die Werkkomitee besorg word. (n Ekstra afskrif van die dokument is vir die Minister se gebruik ingesluit).

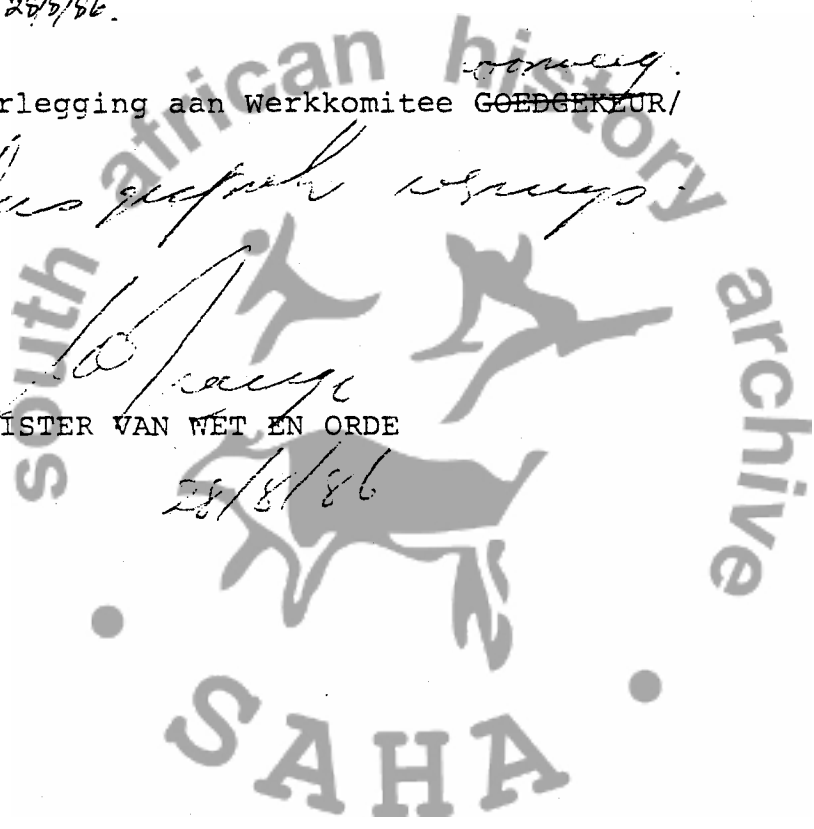
Steyn 28/8/86
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
28/8/86

kommissie
Voorlegging aan Werkkomitee GOEDGEKEUR/

besluit

Steyn
MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE

28/8/86





→ UDF/leer

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Lêer No. 2/4/2/109/121 (DDVz)
File No.

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR /

OPTREDE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2 VAN DIE WET OP
GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN
1974): DIE "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT" (UDF) EN
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2.2 'n Dokument in dié verband is opgestel en is in die

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22/9/82

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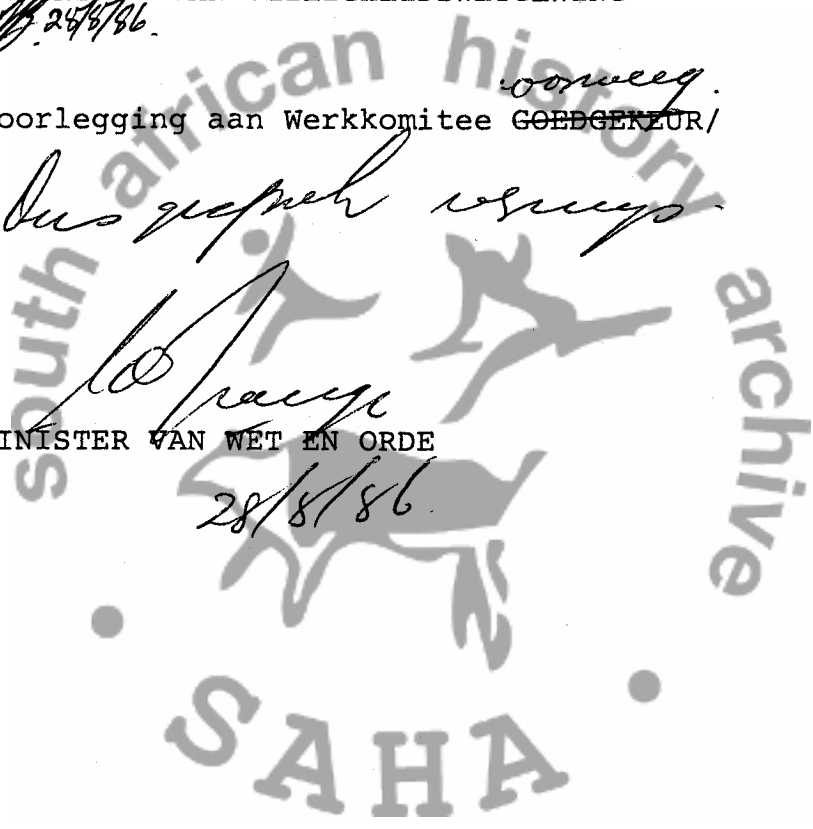
Maand 28/86
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
28/8/86

vooreeg.
Voorlegging aan Werkkomitee GOEDGEZUR/

besprekings

toeprae
MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE

28/8/86



2/4/2/121(V/Ce)

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE
ORGANISASIE: UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

1. Die Minister het op 25 Junie 1986 kragtens artikel 8 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 die volgende persone aangestel as 'n komitee om 'n feiteverslag te doen ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front" (UDF):

Streeklanddros [REDACTED],
landdros [REDACTED] en
landdros [REDACTED].

[REDACTED]

2.1 Die Komitee het nou 'n feiteverslag oor die UDF uitgebring. In sy verslag het die Komitee besin oor die vraag of die UDF voldoen aan die vereistes soos gestel in artikel 2(1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974, naamlik of politiek deur of deur middel van 'n 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".

2.2 Nadat die Komitee verskeie geskryfte waaruit die doelstellings en optrede van die UDF blyk, in die verslag

behandel het, kom hy op bladsy 20 (par 2.18) tot die volgende gevolgtrekking:

"Ons is ... die mening toegedaan dat dié (geskifte) waarna hierbo verwys is vir ons genoegsaam is om tot die slotsom te kom dat die UDF 'n liggaam of beweging is wat hom besig hou met die handeling van organiseer. Dit is volgens die feite 'n 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 en '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."

3.1 Wat buitelandse ondersteuning betref, het die Komitee met verwysing na die [REDACTED]-verslag bevind dat dit 'n doelstelling van die UDF is om Suid-Afrika internasionaal te isoleer. Om hierdie doel te bereik het die UDF ooreenkomste met internasionale instansies aangegaan in die veronderstelling dat sodanige instansies die UDF sal bystaan in die "nasionale bevrydingstryd".

[REDACTED]

3.2 Die Komitee het daarop gewys dat die UDF se pogings om internasionale steun te verwerf suksesvol was. In die verslag word 'n gedeelte van die Sekretariële Verslag

"International Relations" aangehaal. Hierin word bevestig dat verskeie buitelandse instansies hulle steun aan die UDF toegesê het.

([REDACTED])

3.3 Die Komitee het wat die UDF-ANC verhouding aanbetref, verwys na die [REDACTED]-verslag, waar bevind is dat die UDF se doelstellings soortgelyk is aan dié van die ANC en SAKP, en wel, om die massas te politiseer, om die bestaande stelsel omver te werp en om 'n bestel gebaseer op die beginsels van die "Freedom Charter" daar te stel.

([REDACTED])

3.4 Daar is volgens die Komitee redelik min bewyse dat die UDF fondse vanuit die buiteland ontvang. Volgens die Komitee is die rede hiervoor klaarblyklik dat die UDF daarop bedag is dat hy moontlik as 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar kan word. Die Komitee het egter wel sekere bewyse dat die UDF wel fondse van die buiteland ontvang om sy politiek te bedryf, in die verslag uiteengesit.

([REDACTED])

4. In die lig van voorgaande, is die Komitee van mening dat die UDF as organisasie politiek bedryf met behulp van en in samewerking met organisasies en persone in die buiteland.

([REDACTED])

5.1 Dit is duidelik volgens die Komitee se verslag dat die UDF aan die vereistes soos in artikel 2(1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 gestel, voldoen. Daar bestaan dus voldoende gronde om die betrokke organisasie tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar.

5.2 Die volgende dokumente is in die omslag vir die Minister om te onderteken asseblief, indien hy goedkeur:

(a) Konsep-Staatspresidentsminuut

(b) Konsep-proklamasie (Afrikaans en Engels)

6. 'n Konsep-persverklaring sal intussen voorberei en

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voor publikasie van die proklamasie in die Staatskoerant,
aan die Minister voorgelê word.

DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING

Paragraaf 5.2(a): ONDERTEKEN/

Paragraaf 5.2(b): ONDERTEKEN/

MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE

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Republiek van Suid-Afrika

Republic of South Africa



2/4/2/121 (V/Ce)

Lêer No. _____
File No. _____

DIREKTORAAT VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING DIRECTORATE OF SECURITY LEGISLATION

DIE DIREKTEUR / MINISTER
THE DIRECTOR

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE: UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

MINISTER OF SECURITY
1986-05-12
MINISTER OF SECURITY

Die Minister het op 25 Junie 1986 kragtens artikel 8 van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 die volgende persone aangestel as 'n komitee om 'n feiteverslag te doen ten opsigte van die "United Democratic Front"

(UDF):

- Streeklanddroos [REDACTED]
- landdroos [REDACTED] en
- landdroos [REDACTED]

2.1 Die Komitee het nou 'n feiteverslag oor die UDF uitgebring. In sy verslag het die Komitee besin oor die vraag of die UDF voldoen aan die vereistes soos gestel in artikel 2(1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974, naamlik of politiek deur of deur middel van hom 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".

2.2 Nadat die Komitee verskeie geskryfte waaruit die doelstellings en optrede van die UDF blyk, in die verslag

*1/2 - Berie
23/9/82*

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"Ons is ... die mening toegedaan dat dié (geskifte) waarna hierbo verwys is vir ons genoegsaam is om tot die slotsom te kom dat die UDF 'n liggaam of beweging is wat hom besig hou met die handeling van organiseer. Dit is volgens die feite 'n 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 en '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."

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[REDACTED]

4. In die lig van voorgaande, is die Komitee van mening dat die UDF as organisasie politiek bedryf met behulp van en in samewerking met organisasies en persone in die buiteland.

[REDACTED]

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5.1 Dit is duidelik volgens die Komitee se verslag dat die UDF aan die vereistes soos in artikel 2(1) van die Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 gestel, voldoen. Daar bestaan dus voldoende gronde om die betrokke organisasie tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie te verklaar.

5.2 Die volgende dokumente is in die omslag vir die Minister om te onderteken asseblief, indien hy goedkeur:

- (a) Konsep-Staatspresidentsminuut
- (b) Konsep-proklamasie (Afrikaans en Engels)

6. 'n Konsep-persverklaring sal intussen voorberei en

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voor publikasie van die proklamasie in die Staatskoerant,
aan die Minister voorgelê word.

Stoepand 12.8.86
DIREKTEUR VAN VEILIGHEIDSWETGEWING
12/8/86.

Paragraaf 5.2(a): ONDERTEKEN/

Paragraaf 5.2(b): ONDERTEKEN/

} hier aan teken

*8/9/86: Goedgekeur deur
S.V.R.*

[Signature]

[Signature]

MINISTER VAN WET EN ORDE

14/8/86.

*25/8/86: Kopie van S.V.R met versoek ^{B7/14/8}
dat die [redacted] hanteer skerp
die mak aanleg en terug advies
voor die volgende vergadering.*

[Signature]

*Her adv.
110K. Lier.
11/2/86.*

Leërapskrif-

Staatspresidentsminuut No

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
vaardig ek hierby die bygaande Proklamasie (Afrikaans en



Engels) uit waarby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED
DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar
word.

STAATSPRESIDENT

Datum

MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



P R O K L A M A S I E

V A N D I E S T A A T S P R E S I D E N T

NO.

1986

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
verklaar ek hierby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED



DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van
Suid-Afrika te op hede die
dag van Eenduisend Negehonderd
Ses-en-tagtig.

STAATSPRESIDENT

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



P R O C L A M A T I O N

B Y T H E S T A T E P R E S I D E N T

NO.

1986

DECLARATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE AN AFFECTED ORGANIZATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 2(1) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974), I hereby declare the



organization known as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to be an affected organization.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at this day of One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-six.

STATE PRESIDENT

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

MINISTER OF THE CABINET



→ UDF 1983

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

1983-09-07



Ltkol J C van der Merwe

Veiligheidshoofkantoor
Polley's Arkade
Pretoria

1/2-Berri
20/9/83

1.1 THEINFO

*More work on
UDF - Lear -
23/9/86.*

1.2 UDFINFO

UDF
Hoofleer: [REDACTED]
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

ORG40574
Leernr: [REDACTED]

1.3 STATUS

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| Geaffekteerd op | | kragtens artikel |
| Van wet | | |
| Ingevolge | Staatskoerant Nr | gedateer |
| of | Goewermentskennisgewing Nr | gedateer |
| Van wet | | kragtens artikel |
| Ingevolge | Staatskoerant Nr | gedateer |
| of | Goewermentskennisgewing Nr | gedateer |

1.4 GESKIEDENIS

1.4.1 1983-01-02

Gedurende Januarie 1983 is daar tydens die TRANSVAAL ANTI SAICC kongres te Johannesburg besluit om n UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) in die lewe te roep ten einde alle linksradikale groepe wat teen die regering se nuwe grondwetlike bedeling gekant is, in n eenheidsfront te probeer saamsnoer. Die UDF is geïnisieer deur Dr ALAN BOESAK () en die voorsitter van die ANTI-SAIC COMMITTEE, Dr ESSEOP JACSAAT ([REDACTED]).

Befondsing word verkry uit donasies, ledefooie en verkopings. Dit wil voorkom of die UDF oor onbeperkte fondse beskik aangesien daar al reeds in die bestek van 6 maande ongeveer R16,000 aan pamflette en advertensies bestee is.

Die UDF, n veelrassige organisasie beskik tans oor massasteun en na buite die indruk skep dat hy n volksbeweging is. Hierdie persepsie dat die UDF die grootste enkele liggaam is wat die regering en spesifiek die nuwe grondwetlike bedeling teenstaan, word ook versterk deur binnelandse persberigte wat die beeld probeer uitdra.

1.5 OMSKRYWING

Die UDF is n eenheidsfront wat sedert die begin van 1983 in reaksie teen die regering se voorstelle vir n nuwe grondwetlike bedeling tot stand gekom het.

Die bestuurslede van die verskillende UDF streke is almal uitgesproke en geharde politieke belhamels en n groot aantal van hulle was al reeds aangehou en/of ingeperk ingevolge veiligheidswetgewing. Hierdie feit alleen laat geen onduidelikheid in watter rigting die UDF stuur en by wie sy lojaliteit le nie. Alles in ag geneem moet die UDF in n baie ernstige lig beskou word daar dit die potensiaal het om die massa oor n wye spektrum te verenig in n solidariteitsfront wat vanuit n relatiewe magsposisie oor die toekoms van die RSA wil beding.

Dit dui daarop dat die UDF, wat op die lees van die CONGRESS ALLIANCE geskoei is, drie fases in hulle aanslag teen die status quo onderskei naamlik "organisation, education and defiance". Hoewel meer is dat die eerste fase feitlik afgehandel is, is hierdie fases oorevloeiend en in die praktyk nie duidelik van mekaar te onderskei nie. Sodra die UDF genoegsame massasteun gemonster en sy volgelinge voldoende gepolitiseer het, sal hy waarskynlik tot openlike konfrontasie met die regering oorgaan.

Hoewel die UDF nie in hierdie stadium formeel as n ANC front beskou kan word nie, kan voorsien word dat die ANC sal probeer om direkte invloed te verkry en alles in sy vermoë sal doen om momentum te verleen aan die aktiwiteite van die UDF. Die ANC beskou die UDF as n 'groot stap vorentoe'.

1.6 CONSTITUTION

1. NAME

The name of the organization shall be the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (the UDF).

2. HEAD OFFICE

The Head Office of the UDF shall be at Johannesburg or at such other place as the National Executive Committee may determine from time to time.

3. OBJECTS

The UDF shall strive towards the realization of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa and towards this and shall:

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

democratic principles, and in particular shall articulate opposition tot the Constitution Act, 110 of 1983 and also The Black Local Authorities Act, the Orderly Movement and Resettlement of Persons Bill.

- b. act as a co-ordinating body for progressive community, social, educational, political and other such organization which subxscribe to democratic principles;
- c. ariticulate the social and political auperations of members of the UDF and its affiliates;
- d. engage in appropriate actions and undertake appropriate programmes in pursuit of the above.

1. POWERS

- a. The UDF shall have all powers necessary or incidental to the carrying out of its objects, which shall include the power to-
 - 1) borrow or raise monies and funds;
 - 2) invest money and funds;
 - 3) open, operate and close banking accounts and to control its finances;
 - 4) hold, lease and own property of all kinds, apart from its members;
 - 5) engage and discharge employees and to set their terms and conditions of employment;
 - 6) sell, exchange, lease or mortgage any or all of its assets;
 - 7) control the funds and property of the UDF and to apply such funds in such manner as may be necessary to carry out its functions;
 - 8) institute and defend leagal proceedings by or on behalf of the UDF;
 - 9) enter such contracts and engage in such transactions as may be necessary to achieve its objects.
- b. Only the National Executive Committee (NEC) shall exercise the above powers : provided that the NEC may delegate any of its powers to persons or committees, including Regional Executive Committees (REC) on terms and conditions which it may decide from time to time.
- c. All the funds of the UDF shall be used solely in furtherance of the objects specified in clause 4.1.

5. LEGAL PERSONALITY

The UDF shall be a body corporate, having perpetual succession and capable of suing and being sued in its own name. The liability of members shall be limited to the amount of their subscriptions outstanding at any time. No member shall have any right to assets of the UDF.

6. STRUCTURE

The UDF shall consist of a National General Council and Regional General Councils. The number of Regional General Councils and their geographic boundaries may be altered from time to time by the NEC, subject to ratification by the next meeting of the National General Council.

7. MEMBERSHIP

There shall be two classes of members, as follows:

a. AFFILIATES

- 1) All organizations present at the inaugural conference of the UDF on 20 August 1983 otherwise than as observers, shall be members of an appropriate Regional General Council, unless they decline such membership. These organizations and the Regional General Councils under which they fall are set out in the schedule to this Constitution part "A".
- 2) All organizations of a community, social, sporting, religious, educational, political or similar nature which subscribe to the objects of the UDF may apply for affiliate membership of one or more of the Regional General Councils of the UDF: provided that-
 - a) a prospective affiliate must operate and have members of its own in the geographic area of the Regional General Council in respect of which it seeks membership;
 - b) Admission, suspension and expulsion of members shall be at the discretion of the Regional General Councils with jurisdiction, subject to the overriding powers of the National General Council to change any decision of a Regional General Council in this regard.

b. SPECIAL MEMBERS

- 1) Organizations located outside South Africa which support the objects of the UDF may apply for special membership thereof.
- 2) Admission, suspension or expulsion of special members shall be at the discretion of the National General

Council. The NEC may provisionally admit, suspend or expel members pending the next meeting of the National General Council.

3. MEMBERSHIP FEES AND OTHER FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS

a. AFFILIATE MEMBERS

- 1) The respective Regional General Councils shall determine the joining and annual subscription fees of affiliates. The amounts of such fees may vary from member to member, according to particular circumstances. In special cases such fees may be waived.
- 2) Records of all fees received from affiliates and individual members shall be maintained by the Regional General Council concerned.
- 3) Affiliates may be required at any time if called upon to do so by their respective Regional General Councils to pay an additional levy in order to supplement the funds of such Councils.

b. SPECIAL MEMBERS

The National Executive Committee shall determine the joining and annual subscription fees of special members, which may vary from member to member. Records of all fees received from special members shall be maintained by the NEC.

4. NATIONAL COUNCIL

- a. The National General Council shall be the supreme policy- and decision-making body of the UDF. It shall endeavour to allow Regional General Councils and their affiliates as great a measure of independence as is consistent with the objects and unity of the UDF. Affiliates of Regional General Councils shall be free to pursue their respective objects without interference from the UDF: provided that, if the National General Council or a Regional General Council is of the opinion that any affiliate's conduct is inconsistent with the objects or the unity of the UDF, action may be taken against it under a sub-clause.

b. MEETINGS

- 1) The National General Council shall convene an Annual General Meeting at least once per year at a time determined by the National Executive Committee.
- 2) If any three Regional General Councils call for a special meeting of the National General Council, the NEC shall convene such meeting as soon as possible.

- 3) The NEC may convene interim National General Council meetings of its own motion.
- 4) Regional General Councils shall be given at least one month's notice of the convening of the National General Council, as well as details of the agenda and venue, and Regional General Councils shall be charged with passing on such information to their respective affiliate without delay.
- 5) Accidental omission to notify any affiliate or non-receipt by any affiliate of such notice shall not invalidate the proceedings of a meeting.
- 6) The NEC shall decide in what manner the proceedings of the National General Council shall be conducted. These powers may be delegated to the Chairperson of the National General Council, who shall be appointed by the NEC on an ad hoc basis.

c. DELEGATIONS TO NATIONAL COUNCIL

- 1) The National General Council shall comprise of delegations from the Regional General Councils. Each affiliate of a Regional General Council will be entitled to two representatives in a delegation. Further representatives may be allowed at the discretion of the NEC.
- 2) Each representative shall have one vote and all votes shall carry equal weight.
- 3) Decisions of the National General Council shall be by majority vote.

d. ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS AND NOMINATION OF PATRONS

- 1) The National General Council shall elect the Presidency, consisting of three Presidents, and two National Treasurers at its Annual General Meeting. The office bearers shall hold office until the next but one Annual General Meeting, when they may be eligible for re-election.
- 2) Should three or more candidates be nominated for an office, two or more ballots shall be conducted such that the candidates who receives the least votes in each round shall be eliminated. The successful candidate shall be the person who receive the least votes in each round shall be eliminated. The successful candidate shall be the person who receives the most votes in the ballot between the last two remaining candidates.
- 3) The National General Council shall nominate Patrons of the UDF on an annual basis.

10. THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- a. The National Executive Committee shall consist of the following persons:
- 1) members of the Presidency;
 - 2) the Secretariat, consisting of the two Regional Secretaries of each Region;
 - 3) The two Vice Presidents of each Region;
 - 4) two additional members from each Regional General Council, who shall be members of the REC.
 - 5) two additional persons, co-opted by the NEC, so serve as the National Publicity Officer and the National Organizing Secretary respectively; these persons shall be employees of the UDF.
- b. Should any office-bearer elected by the National General Council also be entitled to membership of the NEC by virtue of his or her position on a Regional General Council, then such office bearer's Regional Executive Council may nominate another of its members to represent it on the NEC.
- c. The NEC shall have the power to co-opt persons from regions which are not yet duly constituted.
- d. The National Executive Committee may allocate specific portfolios and titles to its members.
- e. At each of its meetings, the NEC shall appoint from its members an ad hoc Chairperson to preside thereat.
- f. A majority of the members of the NEC shall constitute a quorum at a meeting. Members may participate in a meeting by means of a telecommunications system.
- g. Should it be impossible because of extraordinary circumstances for enough members to attend a meeting of the NEC in order to constitute a quorum, such members who are in a position to attend shall constitute a quorum.
- h. The NEC shall endeavour to arrive at its decisions through consensus; otherwise the decision shall be reached by majority vote and the chairperson shall have a deliberative but not a casting vote.
- i. Should three-quarters of the members of the NEC decide that a member is unfit to remain in office on the grounds of improper conduct or incapacity, his term may be terminated prematurely, subject to ratification of the decision by the next meeting of the National General Council. In such event, the NEC may appoint a replacement in an acting capacity

pending the election of a new member by the National General Council.

j. POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE NEC

- 1) The NEC shall be responsible for the execution of the National General Council policy and decisions, and shall attend to the affairs and administration of the UDF. It shall be entitled to initiate or pursue any actions consistent with its powers as described in this Constitution.
- 2) The NEC shall be entitled to appoint sub-committees in the performance of its functions.
- 3) In furtherance of its powers and functions described in 11.10.1, the NEC may assign specific administrative tasks and impose particular duties on the Secretariat.
- 4) The National Treasurers shall be responsible for the administration of the financial affairs of the UDF. They shall ensure that proper books of account are kept in respect of the financial matters of the NEC. They shall ensure that audited financial statements in respect of the NEC's financial matters are prepared within four months of the close of the financial year, which shall be on 31 December each year.

11. REGIONAL COUNCILS

a. COMPOSITION

- 1) A Regional General Council shall comprise of affiliates which have individual members in the particular region.
- 2) Each affiliate shall be entitled to send a delegation comprised of not more than two delegates to a Regional General Council. Delegates shall have speaking rights at the Council.
- 3) Each delegate shall have one vote and all votes shall carry equal weight. Should an affiliate be represented by one delegate only, he or she shall have two votes.
- 4) Affiliates shall be entitled to send further representatives to a Council as observers, subject to the discretion of the REC.

b. MEETINGS

- 1) The Regional General Council shall convene an Annual General Meeting at least once per year at a time determined by the REC.

- 2) If any five affiliates of a Regional General Council call for a special meeting of that Regional General Council, the REC shall arrange for such meeting as soon as possible.
- 3) As REC may convene interim meetings of a Regional General Council of its own motion.
- 4) Affiliates shall be given at least one month's notice of the convening of the Regional General Council, as well as details of the agenda and venue.
- 5) Accidental omission to notify any affiliate or non-receipt by any affiliate of such notice shall not invalidate the proceedings of a meeting.
- 6) The REC shall appoint an ad hoc Regional Chairperson to preside at a council meeting.
- 7) Conduct of meetings shall be regulated by the Regional Chairperson.
- 8) Observers may address the Council with the permission of the Regional Chairperson.
- 9) One third of the number of delegations eligible to attend a particular Regional General Council shall constitute a quorum. Should insufficient delegations be present at any meeting to constitute a quorum, such meeting shall be reconvened for two weeks hence. The delegates attending such later meeting shall constitute a quorum.
- 10) The decision of the majority of delegates at a meeting shall be the decision of the Council.

12. REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- a. A REC shall be elected by each Regional General Council at its Annual General Meeting.
- b. An REC shall consist of not less than eight members, who shall hold office until the next but one Annual General Meeting of the particular Regional General Council, when they may be eligible for re-election.
- c. An REC shall elect from amongst its members a Regional President, two Regional Vice-Presidents, two Regional Secretaries and a Regional Treasurer.
- d. Should three-quarters of the members of an REC decide that a member is unfit to remain in office on the grounds of improper conduct or incapacity, his term may be terminated prematurely, subject to ratification of the decision by the next meeting of the particular Regional General Council. In such event, the REC may appoint a replacement in an acting

capacity pending the election of a new member by the Regional General Council.

e. POWERS AND FUNCTIONS

- 1) The REC shall be responsible for the execution of the policies of the UDF in a region as formulated by the National and Regional General Councils. The REC shall also be responsible for the running of the day-to-day affairs of the UDF in a particular region.
- 2) Should there be any dispute between the NEC and an REC over the interpretation or implementation of the policies of the UDF, the decision of the NEC shall prevail.
- 3) The Regional Treasurer shall be responsible for the administration of the financial affairs of the Region. He or she shall ensure that proper books of account are kept in respect of such financial affairs and that audited financial statements are prepared within three months of the end of the financial year, which shall be on 31 December each year.
- 4) Each Regional Treasurer shall submit accurate income and expenditure accounts for the Region to the National Treasurers every three months.
- 5) The Regional Treasurer shall ensure that a certified copy of the financial statements of a Region are submitted to the National Treasurers as soon as they are audited each year.

13. DISSOLUTION

- a. If for any reason the UDF is unable to function and there are no reasonable prospects of it being able to do so in the near future, or if two thirds of the votes of the delegates to the National General Council are in favour of a resolution that the UDF be dissolved, then the UDF shall be dissolved.
- b. In such event, the NEC shall appoint a liquidator to wind up the affairs of the UDF. The liquidator shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of his duties.
- c. In the event of dissolution, the liquidated assets of the UDF shall not be distributed to any members of the UDF being natural persons, but shall be distributed to an organization or organizations, selected by the NEC, which pursues or pursue objects similar to those of the UDF.

14. AMENDMENTS

- a. This Constitution may be altered if two thirds of the votes of the delegates to the National General Council are in favour of an amendment.

- b. Notice of any proposed amendment must be given in accordance with clause 10.2.4.

1.7 DOELSTELLINGS

1.7.1 DECLARATION OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

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.

will strive for the unity of all 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 the 20th day of August 1983 at Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchell's Plain, we join hands as trade union, community, women's, student's, religious, sporting and other organisations 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 virth of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT On this historic day:

We know that

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

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.

Grateful of the fact that the new Constitutional proposals and Kooishof measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination.

We commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, housing and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom.

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;

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

And now therefore we pledge to come together in the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and fight side by side against the Government's constitution proposals and the Koornhof bills.

1.8 STRUKTUUR

Nasionale Uitvoerende Bestuur

Subsekskomitees

Areakomitees

Beskermhere

1.9 AMPSDRAERS - 1983

NAAM/AMP

LEERNR/LIGGING

OSCAR MPETHA (SM)
Nasionale President

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

ALBERTINA SISULU (SV)
Nasionale President

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

ALPHIE GUMEDE (SM)
Nasionale President

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

CHRISTMAS TINTO (SM)
Vise-President

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

JOE MARKS (KM)
Vise-President Wes-Kaap

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

VIGIL BONHOMME (KM)
Vise-President Natal

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

GEORGE SEWPERSADH (AM)
Vise-President Natal

■■■■■■■■■■
Binnelands

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
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| GEORGE DU PLESSIS (KM) Vise-President Transvaal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| EERWAARDE FRANK CHIKANE (SM) Vise-President | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| TREVOR MANUEL (KM) Streeksekretaris Wes-Kaap | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| CHERYL CAROLUS (KV) Streeksekretaris Wes-Kaap | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| JOE PAAHLA (SM) Streeksekretaris Natal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| YUNUS MOHAMMED (AM) Streeksekretaris Natal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| MOHAMMED VALI (AM) Streeksekretaris Transvaal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| POL MOLEFE (SM) Streeksekretaris Transvaal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| ANDREW BORRAINE (WM) Uitvoerende Streeksbestuurid Wes-Kaap | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| MILDRED LESIA (SV) Uitvoerende Streeksbestuurid Wes-Kaap | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| Professor HOOSEN MOHAMMED @ JERRY COOVADIA (AM) Uitvoerende Streeksbestuurid Natal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| MCIBISI XUNDU (SM) Voorsitter Natalstreek | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| DR R A M SALOJEE (AM) Uitvoerende Streeksbestuurid Transvaal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| ANDREW MOKOANA (SM) Uitvoerende Streeksbestuurid Transvaal | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| NELSON MANDELA (SM) Beskermheer | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| HELEN JOSEPH (WV) Beskermheer | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| SJEG NAZEEM MOHAMED (KM) Beskermheer | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| FLORENCE MKIZE (SV) Beskermheer | [REDACTED] Binnelands |

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| DENNIS GOLDBERG (WM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| DR ALAN BOESAK (KM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| DS BEYERS NAUDE (WM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| MONTY NAICKER (AM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| FRANCIS BAARD (SV) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| DOROTHY NYEMBE (SV) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| HASAN HOWA (KM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| MALITHA MAHLANGU (SV) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| JOHNNY ISSEL (KM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| VADER SMANGALISE MKATSHWA (SM) Beskermheer | ██████████ Binnelands |
| ZOLLIE MALINDI (SM) President Wes-Kaapstreek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| WILFRED RHODES (KM) Vise president Wes-Kaapstreek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| MARINDA QWANYASHE (SM) Sekretaris Wes-Kaapstreek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| AL-AHIM RASSOOL (KM) Sekretaris Wes-Kaapstreek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| ZOLISWA KOTA (SM) Publisiteitsekretaris Wes-Kaapstreek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| JOE ADARI (KM) Tesourier Wes-Kaapstreek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| GODAM ABOOBAKER (AM) Fondsinsamelaar Wes-Kaapstreek Binnelands | ██████████ |
| JEREMY CRONN Gewone Lid | ██████████ |

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| SYD LUCKET Gewone Lid | ██████████ |
| MILDRED LESIA Gewone Lid | ██████████ |
| MOUNTAIN QUMBELA Gewone Lid | ██████████ |
| GRAEM BLOCH Gewone Lid | ██████████ |
| SAMSON NDOU (SM) Vise president Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| ISMAIL MAHOMMED (KM) Vise president Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| RAM SALOJEE (AM) Vise president Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| PAUL MASHATILE (SM) Alg Sekretaris Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| MOHAMMED VALLI (AM) Alg Sekretaris Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| EDDIE MAKULE Notariele sekr Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| SYDNEY MAFUMADI (SM) Publisiteits sekr Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| MYARPHYSON MARCBE (SM) Plattelandse sekr Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| AZHAR CACHALIA (AM) Tesourier Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| LETTUS MAFOLO (SM) Tesourier Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| MZWAKHE MBLILI (SM) Media Beampste Transvaalse streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| RAYMOND SUTTNER (WM) Opvoedkundige Beampste Transvaal streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| ARTHUR MKWANAZI (SM) Gemeenskapsverteenwoordiger TVL streek | ██████████ Binnelands |
| DANIEL MONTSITSI (SM) Jeugverteenwoordiger TVL streek | ██████████ Binnelands |

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|-----------------------------------|------------|
| MATTHEWS SATHEKAE (SM) | [REDACTED] |
| Studentevertewoordiger TVL streek | Binnelands |
| PAUL MASEKO (SM) | [REDACTED] |
| Arbeidsvertewoordiger TVL streek | Binnelands |
| AMANDA KWADI (SV) | [REDACTED] |
| Vroue Transvaalse streek | Binnelands |
| R D NAIDU (AM) | [REDACTED] |
| Vise president Natalstreek | Binnelands |
| VICTORIA MXENGE (AV) | [REDACTED] |
| Tesourier Natalstreek | Binnelands |
| LECHISA TSENOLI (SM) | [REDACTED] |
| Publisiteitsekretaris Natalstreek | Binnelands |

President - EDGAR NGOYI ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

Vise-President - HENRY FAZZIE ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

Drie sekretarisse wat onderskeidelik die volgende funksies sal verrig :

Pulisiteits Sekretaris - STONE SIZANI ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

Notariele Sekretaris - MTHIWABO NDUBE ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

Plattelandse Organiseerder - MATTHEW GONIWE ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

Media Beampste - PERCY SMITH ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

Tesourier - MANGALISO NGXOKWANA ([REDACTED]) [REDACTED]

NASIONALE UITVOERENDE BESTUUR - 1985/1986

| NAAM/AMP | LEERNR/LIGGING |
|---|----------------|
| <u>CL NICK NDLOVU (SM)</u> Vorsitter | [REDACTED] |
| ALBERTINA SISULU (SV) Nas Presidente | [REDACTED] |
| ARCHIE GUMEDE (SM) Nas President | [REDACTED] |
| POPO MOLEFE (SV) Alg Sekretaresse | [REDACTED] |
| CASSIM SALOOJEE (AM) Nas Sekretaris | [REDACTED] |

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| MEWA RAMGOBIN (AM) Nas Sekretaris | ██████████ |
| TERROR LEKOTA (SM) Publ Sekretaris | ██████████ |
| AZAAR CACHALIA (AM) Tesourier | ██████████ |
| STEVE TSHWETE (SM) President | ██████████ Grens |
| ZOLIE MALINDI (SM) President | ██████████ Wes Kaap |
| MCEBISI ZUNDU (SM) Voorsitter | ██████████ Natal |
| EDGAR NGOYI (SM) President | ██████████ O.P. |
| MA. LENKESI STOFIE (SM) Sekretaris | ██████████ Grens |
| YUNUS MOHAMMED (AM) Sekretaris | ██████████ Natal |
| TREVOR MANUEL (KM) Sekretaris | ██████████ Wes Kaap |
| MOHAMMED VALI (AM) Alg Sekretaris | ██████████ Transvaal |
| DERRICK SWARTZ (KM) Sekretaris | ██████████ O.P. |
| JOMO KGASU (SM) Voorsitter | ██████████ Noord Kaap |
| JIMMS MOFOLO (SM) Tesourier | ██████████ Transvaal |
| OLIVER MOHAPI (SM) Verteenwoordiger <u>BESKERMHEER</u> | ██████████ OVS |
| NELSON MANDELA (SM) Beskermheer | ██████████ |
| HELEN JOSEPH (WV) Beskermheer | ██████████ |
| SHEIK NAZEEM MOHANNED (AM) Beskermheer | ██████████ |

FLORENCE MKIZE (SV)
Beskermheer

DENNIS GOLDBERG (WM)
Beskermheer

ALAN BOESAK (KM)
Beskermheer

BEYERS NAUDE (WM)
Beskermheer

MONTY NAICKER (AM)
Beskermheer

FRANCIS BAARD (SM)
Beskermheer

DOROTHY NYEMBE (SV)
Beskermheer

ELIAN HOWA (KM)
Beskermheer

MARTHA MAHLANGU (SV)
Beskermheer

JOHNNY ISSEL (KM)
Beskermheer

SMANGALISO MKHATSWA (SM)
Beskermheer

ESSOP JASSAT (AM)
Beskermheer

1.10 KOMITEES

1.10.1 OPVOEDKUNDIGE KOMITEE

Die Komitee is tans besig om 'n "Onderwysers Unie" te stig en saamtrekke te beplan, wat gehou sal word vir ouers, kinders en onderwysers om sodoende meer inligting te versprei ten opsigte van skole-boikotte.

Die opvoedkundige komitee gaan dien as 'n forum om kennis te versprei in verband met die boikotaksies, die opvoedkundige situasie soos dit tans daar uitsien asook die geskiedenis en alles wat daarmee saamhang.

1.10.2 DIE BEHUISINGSKOMITEE

Die komitee tree op as 'n koördinerende liggaam wat hom toespits op die swart behuisingsprobleem.

1.10.3 STRUKTURERENDE KOMITEE

Tydens die algemene jaarvergadering van UDF (Port Elizabeth) wat gehou was op 1984-03-03 te Court Chambers, Port Elizabeth, is heelwat voorstelle aan die hand gedoen om die komitee meer plooibaar te maak. Die gevolg daarvan is dat die uitvoerende komitee tans soos volg daar uitsien.

TVL STREEKSKOMITEE

ALBERTINA SISULU (SM)
President

SA LON NDOU (SM)
Vise-President

ISMAEL MOHAMMED (KM)
Vise-President

R A M SALOOJEE (AM)
Vise-President

GEORGE DU PLESSIS (KM)
Vise-President

MOSS H LAPANE
Vise-President

MOHAMMED VALI (AM)
Alg Sekretaris

JOJO MOLEFE (SV)
Alg Sekretaris

PAUL MASHATILE (SM)
Alg Sekretaris

AZAAR CACHALIA (AM)
Tesourier

TITUS MOFOLO (SM)
Tesourier

ARTHUR MKWANAZI (SM)
Gemeenskap Vert

EDDIE MAKUE (KM)
No. 1 Sekr

SYDNEY MAFUMADI (SM)
Publ Sekr

MURPHY MOROBE (SM)
Platt Sekr

MZWAKE MBULI (SM)
Media Vert

RAYMOND SUTTNER (WM)
Opv Beampte

DAN MONTSISI (SM)
Jeug Verteenwoordiger

MATHEWS SATHEKGE (SM)
Student Vert

PAUL MASEKO (SM)
Arbeids Vert

AMANDA KWADI (SV)
Vroue Vert

NOORD TRANSVAAL AREA KOMITEES - VERKIES FEBRUARIE 1986

NAAM/AMP

LEERNR/LIGGING

LOUIS MNGUNI (SM)
Waarnemende President

Pietersburg

PETRUS NCHABELENG (SM) (dood)
Voorsitter

Pietersburg

MASHARA SWEEDY SHILUBANE (SM)
V/Voorsitter

Pietersburg

A. M. MAKALENG (SM)
Publ Sekretaris

Pietersburg

SAMUEL MAPANGA (SM)
Tesourier

Pietersburg

REJOICE MABUDAFASI (SM)
Sekretaresse

Pietersburg

EPHRAIM MOGALE (SM)
Organiseerder

Pietersburg

SAM NKOSI (SM)
Organiseerder

Pietersburg

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| DAN NKOLA (SM) Ad ^{er} lid | [REDACTED] Pietersburg |
| MATOME PATRICK MALATJI (SM) Add lid | [REDACTED] Pietersburg |
| JAPHTA MAMABOLO (SM) Add lid | [REDACTED] Pietersburg |
| MANDLA MASOBELLE (SM) Add lid | [REDACTED] Pietersburg |
| SAM NKOSI (SM) Organiseerder | [REDACTED] Steelpoort |
| W MANALIA (SM) Organiseerder | [REDACTED] Steelpoort |
| E NCHABALENG (SM) Organiseerder | [REDACTED] Steelpoort |
| GIVEN MELDREN CAVE (KM) Koördineerder | [REDACTED] Nelspruit |
| YUSUF VAWDA (AM) Koördineerder | [REDACTED] Nelspruit |
| OOS RAND AREA KOMITEES | |
| NAAM/AMP | LEERNR/LIGGING |
| ENCCH GODONGWANE (SM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Thokoza |
| SAM NTULI (SM) Openb Skakelbeampste | [REDACTED] Thokoza |
| CHRIS DLAMINI (SM) Tescurier | [REDACTED] Thokoza |
| DAMIEN NKOSI (SM) Streeksorganiseerder | [REDACTED] Oos Rand |
| CASSEL VELAPHE KHANYILE (SM) Algemene lid | [REDACTED] Thokoza |
| PARANJOTHI PERSUMAL (SM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Germiston |
| I PADIACHY (AM) Onder-Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Germiston |
| WES RAND AREA KOMITEE | |
| NAAM/AMP | LEERNR/LIGGING |

PHILIP TLHAPANE (SM)
Voorsitter

SOWETO AREA KOMITEE

NAAM/AMP

LEERNR/LIGGING

AMOS MASONDO (SM)

GODFREY MONATE (SM)

AMANDA KWADI (SV)

ISMAEL MONOMIAT (AM)

SISI FIHLA (SV)

IE MAKUE (SM)

GRENS STREEKSKOMITEE - 1985

NAAM/AMP

LEERNR/LIGGING

STEVEN TSHWETE (SM)
President

VUSUMZI MSAULI (SM)
Tydelike President

SONDWABA NGQOLA (SM)
Vise-President

REV M STOFIE (SM)
Sekretaris

ANDREW HENDRICKS (KM)
P.l. Sekretaris

LUCILLE MEYER (KM)
Adm Sekretaris

HINISA SIWISA (SM)
Tesourier

T BOTHA (SM)
Ass Tesourier

HUMPHREY MOXHEGWANA (SM)
Organiseerder

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

JEFF WABENA (SM)
Organiseerder

YURE MDYOGOLO (SM)
Addisionele lid

1986 BESTUUR VERKIES OP 1986-03-08

NAAM
LEERNR

AMP
LIGGING

TOMMY NTOYAKE DHARLEMANGNE (SM)
President

MLULEKI EDITOR GEORGE (SM)
Add President

LUCILLE YVONNE MEYER (KV)
Adm Sekretaris

MV MAKENKESI STOFILE (SM)
P/Sekretaris

MAFA DENNIS GOCI (SM)
Public Sekr

HINTSA SIWISA (SM)
Tesourier

SAMSON NUBE (SM)
Add Tesourier

LUYANDA IVAN SONDLLO (SM)
Organiseerder

GRENS AREA KOMITEES

NAAM/AMP

LEERNR/LIGGING

LINDA SISHUBA MAC ISAAC (SM)
Voorsitter

Queenstown

NO...THEMBA SIDANDALA GLEN THOMAS (SM)
O/Voorsitter

Queenstown

MJILA VUSUMZI LUCKY MAKEBA (SM)
P/Sekretaris

Queenstown

LUYANDA SONDLLO MONGEZI SIHLAHLA (SM)
A/Sekretaris

Queenstown

MOGEZI SISHLAHLA JOSEPH MANA (SM)
Organiseerder

Queenstown

LUNGILA GANJANA (SM)
Tesourier

Queenstown

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|---|--|
| SONDWABO NGQOLA (SM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Oos London |
| ANDREW HENDRICKS (KM) O/Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Oos London |
| GERTRUDE BOTHA (SV) Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Oos London |
| LUCILLE MEYER (KV) Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Oos London |
| EERW MAKENKESI STOFIE (SM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Alice/Fort Beaufort |
| SMUTS NGONYAMA (SM) President | [REDACTED] Kingwilliams Town (86-04-14) |
| SINDISILE MACLEAN (SM) Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Kingwilliams Town (86-04-14) |
| THEMBANI TOM (SM) A/Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Kingwilliams Town (86-04-14) |
| STOMBO GLINA MAGAQA (SM) Tesourier | [REDACTED] Kingwilliams Town (86-04-14) |
| MHLOPE BONGOPI (SM) Organiseerder | [REDACTED] Kingwilliams Town (86-04-14) |
| NATAL STREEKSKOMITEE | |
| NAAM/AMP LEERNR/LIGGING | |
| ARCHIE GUMEDE (SM) President | [REDACTED] |
| REV M XUNDU (SM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] |
| BILLY NAIR (AM) V/Voorsitter | [REDACTED] |
| YUNUS MOHAMMED (AM) Sekretaris | [REDACTED] |
| LECHESIA TSENOLI (SM) Alg Sekretaris | [REDACTED] |
| JERRY COOVADIA (AM) NIC Verteenwoordiger | [REDACTED] |
| SANDY AFRICA (KM) NCC Verteenwoordiger | [REDACTED] |

RUSSEL NTPANGA (SM)
RMC Verteenwoordiger

RONALD KHOZA (SM)
Studente Verteenwoordiger

VIRGIL BONHOMME (KM)
DHAC Verteenwoordiger

IAN MKHIZE (SM)
JORAC Verteenwoordiger

PADDY KEARNEY (WM)
DIAKONIA Verteenwoordiger

THEMBA NXUMALO (SM)
Vakbond Verteenwoordiger

NOORD NATAL AREA KOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

DR M Y ASMAL (AM)
President

DR P PILLAY (AM)
Voorsitter

KASSEM GOGA (AM)
Sekretaris

DR A H SADER (AM)
Tesourier

NATAL MIDDELLANDSE STREEKSKOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

MZIKHAYISE THUSE (SM)
Organiseerder

MARTIN WITTENBERG (WM)
Komitee lid

SIKHUMBUZO NGWENYA (SM)
Sekretaris

ZAKHELU KHUMALO (SM)
Kontakpersoon

Ulundi

OOSTELIKE PROVINSIE STREEKSKOMITEE

E NGOYI (SM)
President

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

HENRY FAZZIE (SM)
Vice-President

DERRICK SWARTZ (KM)
Alg Sekretaris

STONE SIZANE (SM)
Publ Sekretaris

M NDUBE (SM)
Notule Sekretaris

DERRICK SWARTZ (KM)
Tesorier

STONE SIZANE (SM)
Organiseerder

OOSTELIKE PROVINSIE AREA KOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LI RNR/LIGGING

JANET CHERRY (WV)
Voorsitter

Port Elizabeth

STONE SIZANE (SM)
Publ Sekretaris

Port Elizabeth

WESTELIKE PROVINSIE STREEKSKOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

ZOLLIE MALINDI (SM)
President

VILFRED RHODES (KM)
Vise-President

CHRISTMAS TINTO (SM)
Vise-President

TREVOR MANUEL (KM)
Sekretaris

MARINDA QWANYASHE (SM)
Sekretaris

EBRAHIM RASOOL (KM)
Sekretaris

ZOLISWA KOTA (SM)
Publ Sekretaris

JOE ADAM @ YUSUF (KM)
Tesorier

GOOLAM ABUBAKER (AM)
Ford Ins

JEREMY CRONIN (WM)
Opv en Opl

MILDRED LESIA (SM)
Addisionele lid

MOUNTAIN QUMBELA (SM)
Addisionele lid

GRAEME BLOCH (WM)
Addisionele lid

SYDNEY LUCKETT (WM)
Addisionele lid

MANSOOR JAFFER (KM)
Addisionele lid

NALLEGH JAFFER (KM)
Addisionele lid

VERONICA SIMMERS (KM)
Addisionele lid

NICKY ROSSOUW (WM)

Interim Komitee
WESTELIKE PROVINSIE AREA KOMITEES

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

DAPHNE WILLIAMS (KM)
Gebiedsameroeper

THERESA SOLOMON (KM)
Gebiedsameroeper

RYLAND FISCHER (KM)
Media

TREVOR OOSTERWYK (KM)
Onderwys en Opleiding

DONNY JURGENS (KM)
Tesourier

VERONICA SIMMERS (KM)
Sekretaris

SHAHIEDA ISSEL (KM)
Sekretaris

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Athlone
[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

WILLIE SIMMER (KM)
Sekretaris

[REDACTED]
Mitchells Plein

RUBENA MARKS (SV)
Gebiedsameroeper

[REDACTED]
Noordelike Voorstede

NASEEG JAFFER (KM)

[REDACTED]
Bo-Kaap

RENE KING (WV)

[REDACTED]
Bo-Kaap

ANDRE KRAAK (WM)

[REDACTED]
Bo-Kaap

ANNE MAYNE (WV)

[REDACTED]
Bo-Kaap

BARBARA ORPEN (WV)

[REDACTED]
Bo-Kaap

MILDRED LESIA (SV)

[REDACTED]
Swart Woongebiede

ZOLISWA KOTA (SM)

[REDACTED]
Swart Woongebiede

MARINDA QWANYASE (SM)

[REDACTED]
Swart Woongebiede

MOUNTAIN QUMBELA (SM)

[REDACTED]
Swart Woongebiede

ZOLLIE MALINDI (SM)

[REDACTED]
Swart Woongebiede

CHRISTMAS TINTO (SM)

[REDACTED]
Swart Woongebiede

NOORD-KAAP STREEKSKOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

EERW BROOKS HAROLD (KM)
Voorsitter

[REDACTED]
Vryburg

H GALENG (SM)
O/Voorsitter

[REDACTED]
Vryburg

JOHNSON KGASU (SM)
Sekretaris

[REDACTED]
Vryburg

ABEL MAAPE (SM)
O/Sekretaris

[REDACTED]
Vryburg

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| WILFRED KRUTSE (SM) Tesourier | [REDACTED] Vryburg |
| WILLIAM LANGEVELD (KM) O/Tesourier | [REDACTED] Vryburg |
| I MAKADI (SM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Galeshewe |
| M MAEKANE (SM) S4A9616 O/Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Galeshewe |
| J JONKER (SM) Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Galeshewe |
| J LEBURU (SM) O/Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Galeshewe |
| EERW GELDERBLOM PIETER (KM) Tesourier | [REDACTED] Galeshewe |
| JAMES GEORGE SUMMERS (KM) Voorsitter | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| PENENE ONIONS DIKGETSI (SM) O/Vooristter | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| MOSIMANEOTSILE MARIIBE (SM) Tesourier | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| JAMES LETSWALO (SM) Publ Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| DENNIS GWELE (SM) Sekretaris | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| CONSTANCE LETIMELA (SM) Addisionele lid | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| IBONE MCSEBUNA (SM) Addisionele lid | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| CAROLINE SEME (SV) Addisionele lid | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| DOROTHY PETERS (SV) Addisionele lid | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| BONNIE ANDRIES THEKISO (SM) Addisionele lid | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |
| PATRICK PIENAAR (SM) Addisionele lid | [REDACTED] Kimberley (FEBR 1986) |

MEV FLATELA (SM)
Addisionele lid

Kimberley (FEBR 1986)

SWD STREEKSKOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

REGINALD OLIPHANT (KM)
Voorsitter

HUMPHRY JOSEPH (KM)
Organiseerder

DERRICK JACKSON (KM)
Sekretaris

HUMPHRY JOSPEH (KM) S3/9292
2/Sekretaris

CLIVE STUURMAN (KM)
Tesourier

JOHNNY STUURMAN (KM) S3/8044
Lid

JACOBUS JOHANNES MOSES (KM)
Lid

DAVID ARTHUR PYPERS (KM)
Lid

DAVID GRCOTBOOM (SM)
Lid

EVELYN CAROLINE MOSES (KV)
Lid

HARRY ROLAND NOEMDOE (KM)
Lid

VERITY BENITA PETERSEN (KM)
Lid

SWD AREA KOMITEE

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

REGINALD OLIPHANT (KM)
President

CLIVE STUURMAN (KM)
Tesourier

DERRICK JACKSON (KM)
Sekretaris

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

HUMPHREY JOSEPH (KM)
Pu. Sekretaris

[REDACTED]
Oudtshoorn

CAROL MOSES (KV)
Organiseerder

[REDACTED]
Oudtshoorn

NOEL WILLIAMS (KM)
Hoof Organiseerder

[REDACTED]
Atlantis

ABE CROUTZ (KM)
Mede Organiseerder

[REDACTED]
Atlantis

JOYCE GROOTBOOM (SM)
Organiseerder

[REDACTED]
Beaufort Wes

JOYCE GROOTBOOM (SM)
Organiseerder

[REDACTED]
Victoria Wes

NICO BOTHA (KM)
Hoof Organiseerder

[REDACTED]
Weskus

BOLAND AREA KOMITEES

NAAM/AMP
LEERNR/LIGGING

CLIVE GABRIELS (KM)
Voorsitter

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

RACHEL ALEXANDER (KV)
Sekretaresse

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

ANDRIES DU TOIT (WM)
A/Sekretaris

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

ROB GAYLARD (WM)
Tesourier

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

KATHLEEN WENTZEL (KV)

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

GREG WILLIAMS (KM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

SAMSON SETONA (SM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

SIMON ADAMS (KM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

KOBUS DAVIDS (KM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

EUGBIE NEL (WM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

NEELS THERON (WM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Stellenbosch

RONALD ROBINSON (KM)
Koördineerder

[REDACTED]
Paarl

ANTHEA ABRAMS (KM)
Sekretaris

[REDACTED]
Paarl

LLOYD FORTUIN (KM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Paarl

GARTH ADAMS (KM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Paarl

CECIL KAMALIE (KM)
Lid

[REDACTED]
Paarl

REGINALD JACOBS (KM)
Nog Openb Verh Beampte

[REDACTED]
Springbok

HENDRIK VISSER (KM)
Kontak Persoon

[REDACTED]
Springbok

DAVID NAUDE (KM)
Kontakpersoon

[REDACTED]
Vredendal

1.11 ADRESSE

Wes-Kaap Streekskantoor
Posbus 274
SALT RIVER 7925
Tel: 479569

Natal Streekskantoor
Posbus 48060
Quilbert
Durban 4078
Tel: (031) 327860 (031) 63280
Teleks: 624395

Transvaal Streekskantoor
Posbus 25063
Ferreirastown
JOHANNESBURG 2048
Tel: (011) 8521311 (011) 8521316

UITVOERENDE BESTUUR
STRAAT : Khotsohuis
Dekortestraat 42
BRAAMFONTEIN

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

Noord Transvaal Coordinating Committee
(UDF - NTVL Streeksraad)
Winkel 24B
Nuwe Indierkompleks
PIETERSBURG

1.12 ORGVERBAND

ORG/VERWANT/PLEK

LEERNR/LIGGING

SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS
UNION (SAAWU) : Skakeling
Durban

██████████
Binnelands

COUNCIL OF UNIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA
(CUSA) : Skakeling
Johannesburg

██████████
Binnelands

SOwETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION (SCA)
Skakeling
Soweto

██████████
Binnelands

MEDIA WORKERS' ASSOCIATION OF
SOUTH AFRICA (MWASA) : Skakeling
Johannesburg

██████████
Binnelands

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN
(FSAW) : Skakeling
Johannesburg

██████████
Binnelands

ISLAMIC COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA (ISCO)
Skakeling
Durban

██████████
Binnelands

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (TIC)
Skakeling
Johannesburg

██████████
Binnelands

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC)
Skakeling
Durban

██████████
Binnelands

WITWATERSRAND COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC)
Skakeling
Johannesburg

██████████
Binnelands

KOMITEE VAN TIEN (KOT)
Skakeling
Soweto

██████████
Binnelands

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| AZANIAN STUDENTS ORGANISATION (AZASO) Skakeling Durban | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| AFRICAN FOOD AND CANNING WORKERS UNION (AFCWU) : Skakeling Kaapstad | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| TRADE UNION COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA (TUCSA) : Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION (JPC) Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| SOUTH AFRICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS CONFERENCE Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| ANCIENT RESIDENTS COUNCIL COMMITTEE (ARCC) : Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (COSAS) : Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION (GAWU) Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| YOUNG CHRISTIAN STUDENTS (YCS) Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE (DPSC) : Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |
| BLACK STUDENTS SOCIETY (BSS) Skakeling Johannesburg | [REDACTED] Binnelands |

1.13 FILIALE

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| NAAM | LEERNR |
| TIPE | LIGGING |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student | [REDACTED] DBN |

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

African Food and Canning Workers Union
(AFCWU)
C..

██████████

Anti Presidents Council Committee (OPCC)
JHB

██████████

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student

██████████

Turfloop

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student

██████████

Wits Black Students Society

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student

██████████

Medunsa

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student
College

██████████

Soweto Teachers Training

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student

██████████

Soweto College of Education

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student

██████████

Transvaal Regenal Committee

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Student

██████████

Student Tuition Society

Alexandria Youth Congress
Youth

██████████

Actionville Rents Action Association
Civic Association

██████████

Alexandria Peoples Action Party
Political

██████████

Anti-Community Council Committee
Political

██████████

Africa Perspective
Other

██████████

Afrika News Association
Other

██████████

PTA

Azanian Students Organisation
Student

██████████

Univ.CT

Azanian Students Organisation
Student

██████████

Univ. West Cape

| | |
|--|---|
| Azanian Students Organisation Regional Committee Student | ██████████ |
| Association of Christian Students Religious | ██████████ |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student | ██████████ University Durban Westville |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student Pietermaritzburg | ██████████ Univ. of Natal |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student | ██████████ Univ. of Natal Durban |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student | ██████████ Durban Medical School |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student | ██████████ Ngoye |
| Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO) Student | ██████████ Natal Technikon (SRC) |
| Amoltana Youth Club Youth | ██████████ |
| Ashport Youth Youth | ██████████ |
| African Workers Association Worker | ██████████ |
| Asherville Ratepayers Association Civic | ██████████ |
| Amoytana c | ██████████ |
| Anti-South African Indian Council Political | ██████████ |
| All Saints Youth Youth | ██████████ Oudtshoorn |
| Abreca Religious | ██████████ |
| Al Jihaad West Cape | ██████████ |
| Addo Youth Congress (ADYCO) | ██████████ |

Azanian Students Organisation (AZASO)
Rhodes

Adelaide Womens Organisation
Women

Border

Adelaide Youth Congress (AYCO)
Youth

Border

African Culture & Community Development
ASS. (ACCD)

Asherville Housing Action Comm (ASHAC)

Association of Durban Democrats (ADD)

Anti-Local Affairs Comm

Asherville Parents Action Committee

Asherville Housing Action Committee

Afro News Association (ANA)
Pretoria

Akasia Youth Organisation (AYO)
Potgietersrus

Anti-Presidents Council Committee (Anti-Pec)

Atteridgeville/Saulsville Residents
Organisation (ASRO)

Axaadville Youth Association (AYA)

Anti-IMC

Actonville Residents Action Committee
:NAAM
JPF

LEERNR
LIGGING

Black Students Society (BSS)
JHB

Benoni Youth League
Youth

Benoni (Y) Student Movement
Youth

Bosmont Youth Organisation
Youth

Black Sash, Transvaal
Women

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

Black Students Society
Students

██████████
Rhodes

Bloemfontein Youth Congress
Youth

Broederkring
Religious

Border Region Delagation
Other

Border Rugby Union (BRU)

Beaufort West Youth Movement (BWYM)

Bekommerde Gemeenskapsgroep (BGG)
Willowmore

Bongolethu Youth Organisation (BOYO)
Tstshoorn

Bridgton Youth Organisation (BRIYO)

Black Womens Federation
Natal

Bombay Heights Residents and Tenanis
Association
Pietermaritzburg

Bophelong Youth Association

Belaar Civic Ass.

Bellville Civic Ass.

Bonteheuwel Civic Ass.

Blythar Youth Organisation

Bellville South Youth Organisation

Bonteheuwel Youth Organisation

Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)
JHB

Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
Student

██████████
JHB

Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
Student

██████████
Soweto

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| Congress of South African Students (COSAS) Student | ██████████ Pretoria |
| Congress of South African Students (COSAS) Student | ██████████ Alexandria |
| Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union Worker | ██████████ |
| Council of Union of South Africa Worker | ██████████ |
| Co-ordinating Rents Action Committee (CRAC) Civic Association | ██████████ |
| Community Newspaper Project Other | ██████████ |
| Community Resource and Information Centre Other | ██████████ |
| Congress of South African Students (USAS) 18 Branches in Western Cape | ██████████ |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Ocean View |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Lavender Hill Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Steenberg Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth Youth | ██████████ Lotus River/Grassy Park |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Wynberg Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Landsdowne Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CPYCO) Youth | ██████████ Crawford Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Hanover Park Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Rocklands Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | ██████████ Portlands Youth |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Westridge Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Eastridge Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Lentegeur Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Tafelberg Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Silvertown Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Heideveld Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Bonteheuvel Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Kensington - Pacriton Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Belhar Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Bellville Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Elsies River Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] KTC Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Guguletu Section One Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Guguletu Section Two Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Guguletu Section Three |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Guguletu Section Four Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] New Roseroads Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Mau Mau Nganga Youth |

| | |
|---|---|
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Zwelitsha Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Zwelintevanha Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Nyanga Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] New City Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Mbekweni Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Worcester Youth |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth | [REDACTED] Zimele Sege (Paarl) |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Inter Church Youth (ICY) | [REDACTED] |
| Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) Youth - Western Cape | [REDACTED] 285 Youth Groups |
| Cape Areas Housing Actions Committee (CAHAC) Civic - Residence Assn | [REDACTED] Lavender Hill |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic - Housing Area Comm | [REDACTED] Steenberg/Retreat |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic | [REDACTED] Hout Bay Action Committee |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic Ratepagers/Tennants Ass | [REDACTED] Kensington/Facreton |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic | [REDACTED] Avondale Tennants Ass |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic Committee | [REDACTED] Ravensmead Residents Action |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic Residents Ass | [REDACTED] Lotus River/Grassy Park |

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Action Comm

[REDACTED]
Bellville South Housing

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Association

[REDACTED]
Bonteheuwel Residents

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Association

[REDACTED]
Hanover Park Residents

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic

[REDACTED]
Kentown Residents Ass

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic

[REDACTED]
Silvertown Residents Ass

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Association

[REDACTED]
Schotleshe Kloof Civic

Cape Areas Housing Committee
Civic
Association

[REDACTED]
Crawford Residents

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Comm

[REDACTED]
Woodlands Housing Action

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Comm

[REDACTED]
Westridge Housing Action

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic
Comm

[REDACTED]
Worcester Housing Action

Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC)
Civic

[REDACTED]
Valhala Park Civic

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic

[REDACTED]
Belhar Civic

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic

[REDACTED]
Mananberg Civic

Cape Areas Housing Committee (CAHAC)
Civic

[REDACTED]
Rylands Civic

Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
Student

[REDACTED]
Natal

Chesterville Youth Organisation
Youth

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Chatsworth Housing Action Committee Civic | ██████████ |
| Committee of Concern Civic | ██████████ Sydenham |
| Commuters Association Civic | ██████████ |
| Committee of Concern Civic | ██████████ Pietermaritzburg |
| Committee of Concern Civic | ██████████ Wentworth |
| Committee of Concern Civic | ██████████ Verulam |
| Cato Manor Ratepayers Ass Civic | ██████████ |
| Church of The Nazareth Religious | ██████████ |
| Claremont Advice Office Other | ██████████ |
| Congress of South African Students (COSAS) Students | ██████████ Eastern Cape |
| Congress of South African Students (COSAS) Students | ██████████ Bloemfontein |
| COSMOS Youth Organisation (CYO) Youth | ██████████ |
| Congregational Youth Youth | ██████████ Oudtshoorn |
| Catholic Students Association Religious | ██████████ Transkei Univerity |
| NAAM TIPE | LEERNR LIGGING |
| Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC) Civic | ██████████ Rocklands Civic Ass |
| Congress of S.A. Students (COSAS) Suid Kaap | ██████████ |
| Cradock Residentes Ass (CRADORA) | ██████████ |
| Cradock Women's Ass (CRADOWA) | ██████████ |
| UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) | |

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Cradock Youth Ass (CRADOYA) | ██████████ |
| Committee of Concern (COC) Kimberley | ██████████ |
| Cato Manor Residents Ass | ██████████ |
| Chatsnorth Parents' Support Committee | ██████████ |
| Clayfield Ratepayers Ass | ██████████ |
| Combined Indian Ratepayers Association Pietermaritzburg | ██████████ |
| Committee of Concern Durban/Kimberley | ██████████ |
| Committee of Ten | ██████████ |
| Clarendon Youth League Youth | ██████████ Durban |
| Chesterville Youth Org Youth | ██████████ Durban |
| Cape Youth Congress - Suidelike Streek Noordelike Streek Athlone Mitchells Plain Swartwoongebiede | ██████████ |
| Graaf-Reinet Students Ass (GRASA) Graaf-Reinet | ██████████ |
| Co-Ordination Residence Action Committee | ██████████ |
| Council Union of S.A. | ██████████ |
| Durban Parents Support Committee (DPSC) Other | ██████████ JHB |
| Diepkloof Extension Residents Committee Civic Association | ██████████ JHB |
| Detainees Aid Movement Other | ██████████ |
| Detainees Parents Support Committee Other | ██████████ West Cape |
| Durban Housing Action Committee (DHAC) Civic | ██████████ |
| Durban Women's Group Women | ██████████ |

Daikonia

Democratic Lawyers Association
Political

Detainees Support Committee
Political

Detainees Support Committee
Political

Detainees Support Committee
Political

Durban Parent's Action Committee

Durban Parents Support Committee

Durban South Parents Support Committee

Durban Civic Association (DUCA)

Emedeni South Civic Association
Civic Association

East Rand People's Association (ERAPO)
Civic Association

Extension 9 Residents Association - Lenasia
Civic Association

Extension 10 Residents Association - Lenasia
Civic Association

Ennerdale Civic Association
Civic Association

Ecumenical Visitors Programme
Religious

The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM)
Religious

Eastern Province Dancing Association (EPDA)

East London Friends of The UDF (ELF-UDF)

East London Progressive Teachers Union
(ELPTU)

East London Youth Organisation (ELYO)

East London Youth Congress (ELYC)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

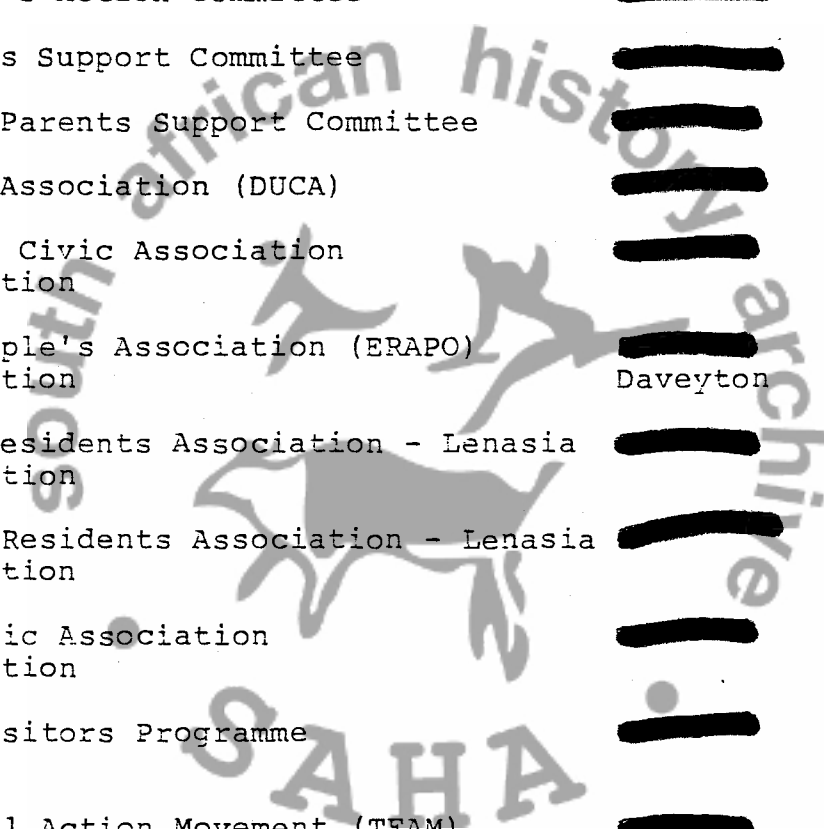


Pietermaritzburg

Durban

Border

Daveyton



Eldoradopark Senior Secondary School Sports
Committee (EPSSSSC)

Ekangala Civic Association (ECA)

Ennerdale Residents Action Committee (ERAC)

Evaton Ratepayers Ass
Residensia

End Conscription Campaign

Education Charter Campaign

Elsiesrivier Youth Organisation

Eldorado Park Residents Action Committee

Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW)
(FSAW)

Men

JHB

Federation of Residents Association
- Lenasia
Civic Association

Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW)

Freedom Charter Campaign

Faetreton/KensingtonTennants and Residence
Ass

General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU)
JHB

Grassroots Newspaper
Other

Glenvale Youth Organisation
Youth

General Workers Union of South Africa
Workers

Galandale Civic Association (GELCA)

Grahamstown Covic Ass (GCA)

Grahamstown Committee of Democrats (GCOD)

Grahamstown Youth Congress

Graaf Reinet Community Organisation
(GRAFCOM)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

Graaf Reinet Studens Ass (GRASA)

Graaf Reinet Youth Congress (GRAYCO)

Galeshewe Youth Organ (GYO)
Kimberley

Gandhi Memorial Trust

Greenbury Ratepayers Ass

Grassy Park Civic Ass

Grassy Park Youth Organisation

NAAM
TIPE

LEERNR
LIGGING

Huhudi Civic Association
Civic Association

TVL

Health Workers Association
Other

Health Cape Trust (HCT)

Huurders Aksiekomitee (HAK)
Oudtshoorn

Hunudi Civic Ass (HUCA)
Vryburg

Hunudi Youth Organisation (HUYO)

Hambanathi Residents Association (HRA)
Natal

Hanover Park Civic Ass

Bay Civic Ass

Hanover Park Youth Organisation

Islamic Council of South Africa (ISCO)
Durban

Isipingo Youth Organisation
Youth

Isilido United Congregational Church
Religious

Independent Youth Association
Youth

Bloemfontein

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

Inter Church Youth (ICY) [REDACTED]

In. Lan Ratepayers and Residents Action
Committee [REDACTED]
Pietermaritzburg

Ikageng Action Committee (IAC) [REDACTED]
Potchefstroom

Ikageng Youth Club (IYC) [REDACTED]

Industrial Aid Society [REDACTED]
Excom

Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) [REDACTED]
JHB

Johannesburg Scooter Drivers Association [REDACTED]
Worker

Jambani Civic Association [REDACTED]
Civic Association

Joint Rent Action Committee (JORAC) [REDACTED]
Natal

Johannesburg Democratic Action
Committee (JODAC) [REDACTED]

Joint Academic Staff Ass [REDACTED]

Komitee van Tien (KOT) [REDACTED]
Soweto

Kagiso Youth League [REDACTED]
Youth

Krugersdorp

Krugersdrop Residents Association [REDACTED]
Civic Association

Kilross Civic Association [REDACTED]
Civic Association

Kmovangano Cultural Group [REDACTED]
Other

Kiva-Mashu Youth League [REDACTED]
Youth

Kwamashu Women's Group [REDACTED]
Women

Kwanobuhle Rugby Union (KNRU) [REDACTED]

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

King Williams Town Friends of the UDF
(KWTTF-UDF)

Kuruman Youth Congress (KYO)

Kwa Mashu Youth League

Kagiso Residents Organ (KRO)

Kensington Youth Organisation

Kagiso Residence Organisation

Kagiso Youth Organisation
Krugersdrop

Khuvangana

Lenasia Youth League (LYL)
Youth

Lutheran Church Youth League
Youth

Lenasia Resource Centre

Laboar Resource Centre

Lamontville Youth
Youth

Leandra Community Organ (LECO)

Leandra Youth Movement (LYM)

Lebowakgomo Youth Movement (LEYMO)
Lebowa

Lebonya Youth Congress (LYCO)
Lebowa

Lavender Hill Civic Ass.

Landsdown Youth Organisation

Media Workers Association of South Africa
(MWASA)
JHB

Munisipal and General Workers Union
Worker

Mamelodi Action Committee
Civic Association

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

Mohlakeng Civic Association
Civic Association

Mapetta Village Civic Association
Civic Association

Media Action Group
Other

Media and Resource Centre
Other

Muslim Students Association (MSA)
Student

Media Workers Association of South Africa
(MWASA)
Worker

West Cape

Matinane Youth
Youth

Masakane Youth
Youth

Meerbank Ratepayers
Workers

Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union

Malabar Ratepayers & Tenants Association
Civic

Moravian Church
Religious

Genadedal

Mobray Inter-Race Group (MIEGE)

Malabar Residents Ass (MRA)

Moravian Youth Organisation (MYO)

Mdantsane Burial Society (MBS)

Mqwali Residents Ass (MRA)

Mosselbay Civic Organisation (MCO)

Mosselbay Youth Congress (MOYCO)

Mangahng Youth Congress (MYCO)
Bloemfontein

Marburg Ratepayers and Civic Association

| | |
|---|------------------------|
| Merebank Parents Support Committee | ██████████ |
| Mi. Lands Parents Support Committee | ██████████ |
| Mountain Rise Indian Ratepayers and Residents Ass Pietermaritzburg | ██████████ |
| Mankweng Civic Association (MACA) Lebowa | ██████████ |
| Mankweng Youth Congress (MYCO) Lebowa | ██████████ |
| Mamelodi Youth Organisation (MYO) | ██████████ |
| Maviljan Youth Congress (MAVIYCO) Bosbokrand - Lebowa | ██████████ |
| Muhlaba Youth Organisation (MUYO) Gazankulu | ██████████ |
| Macwusa/Gwusa | ██████████ |
| Masibonisane Lamontville Youth Org (MALAYO) Lamontville | ██████████ |
| Mitchells Plain Youth Organisation | ██████████ |
| Estridge Youth | |
| Lentegeur Youth | |
| Portlands Youth | |
| Rocklands Youth | |
| Tafelsig Youth | |
| Westridge Youth | |
| Mamelodi youth Organisation | ██████████ |
| NAAM | LEERNR |
| TYPE | |
| Natal Indian Grongress (NIC) Gurban | ██████████ |
| National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) Student | ██████████ Wits SRC |
| Naledi Civic Association Civic Association | ██████████ |
| Noordgesig Ratepayers Association Civic Association | ██████████ |
| National Education Union of South Africa Other | ██████████ |
| UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) | |

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| National Medical & Dental Association Other | [REDACTED] TVL |
| National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) Student | [REDACTED] UCT - SRC |
| National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) Student | [REDACTED] Durban SRC |
| National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) Student Committee | [REDACTED] Pietermaritzburg Local |
| National Federation of Workers (NFW) Worker | [REDACTED] Natal |
| Newlands East Ratepayers Association () ic | [REDACTED] |
| Natal University Women's Organisation Women | [REDACTED] |
| Nazareth Baptist Church Religious | [REDACTED] |
| National Medical & Dental Association Other | [REDACTED] Durban |
| Natal Health Workers Association Other | [REDACTED] |
| National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) Students | [REDACTED] Rhodes University |
| Natal Commuters Association | [REDACTED] |
| Natal Parents Support Comm | [REDACTED] |
| Natal Ratepayers Association | [REDACTED] |
| Natal Ratepayers Working Committee | [REDACTED] |
| New Holmes Indian Ratepayers Association Pietermaritzburg | [REDACTED] |
| National Iron, Steel, Metal, Allied workers Union (NISMAWU) | [REDACTED] |
| Naledi Youth Club (NYC) | [REDACTED] |
| National General Workers Union (NGWU) | [REDACTED] |
| UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) | |

National Union of Printers and Allied
Workers (NUPAW)

Nigel Youth League (NYL)

Natal Organisation of Women (NOW)
Women

Newlands East Residents Ass (NERA)

Oranje Vaal and General Workers Union
Worker

Orlando Civic Association
Civic Association

Oranje Free State Delegation
Other

Oranje Vaal Workers Union

Pfannaroni Womens Club
Women

Tzaneen (Letaba)

Progress Youth
Youth

Pietermaritzburg Ratepayers
Civic

Phoenix Working Committee
Civic

Pietermaritzburg Child Welfare Society
Other

Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO)
Youth

Port Elizabeth Ontspannings en Kultuur Organisasie
Youth

Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation
(PEBCO)
Civic

Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO)
Women

Port Elizabeth Area Comm 9PEAC - WHITES)

Phoenix Parents Support Committee

Phoenix Rent Action Committee

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) Durban | ██████████ |
| Soweto Civic Association (SCA) Soweto | ██████████ |
| South African Catholic Bishops Conference JHB | ██████████ |
| Saulsville/Attridgeville Youth Organisation Youth | ██████████ |
| Soweto Youth Congress (SOYCO) Youth | ██████████ |
| Sacc Youth Desk Youth | ██████████ |
| South African Mineworkers Union Other | ██████████ |
| Sendane Civic Association Civic Association | ██████████ |
| Soweto Committee of Ten Civic Association | ██████████ |
| Soweto Residents Association Civic Association | ██████████ Kwa - Xuma |
| Sasput National Newspaper Other | ██████████ |
| South African Students Press Union Other | ██████████ |
| Speak Newspaper Other | ██████████ |
| Student Union for Christian Action (SUCA) Student | ██████████ |
| Sons of Young Africa Youth | ██████████ |
| South African Tin Workers Union Worker | ██████████ |
| St Wenolins Ratepayers Association Civic | ██████████ |
| Social Workers Forum Other | ██████████ |

South Cape Youth
Youth

ST Blaiz Roman Catholic Youth
Youth

Saldanha Youth
Youth

South African Allied Workers Union
Worker

Saldanha Food & Canning Workers Union
Worker

South West District Primary Schools
Sports Ass
Other

South African Non-Racial Rugbyboard (SANRUB)

NAME
TYPE

LEERNR
LIGGING

Sada Action Comm (SAC)
Border

Shallcross Parents Support Committee

Sibongile Committee

Southern Durban Civic Federation

Springfield Tenants Ass

Support Housing Action Comm

Sydenham Heights Tenants Association

Sintu Youth Congress (SYC)
Pietermaritzburg

Sharpville Civic Association (SHACA)

Shkuvane Youth Congress (SYCO)
Gazankulu

SA Scooter Drivers Union (SASDU)
JHB

Seshego Youth Congress (SEYCO)
Lebowa

Sosaanguve Resedents Ass (SOREA)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union
(SARHWU)

SA Transport and Allied Workers Union
(SATAWU)

Steelpoort Youth Congress (STEYCO)
Sekhukhuneland Lebowa

Student Cultural Planning Committee

Schotse Kloof Civic ASS

Steenberg Civic Ass

Silvertown Youth Organisation

Steenberg Youth Organisation

Studenteraad van JC Botha Skool

Studenteraad van Rivellea Skool

Sharpville Civic ASS (SCHASA)

SA Mineworkers Union (SAMWU)

Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)
JHB

Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA)
JHB

Time to Learn
Youth

Tembisa Civic Association
Civic Association

Mr Morgan Residents Action Committee
Civic Association

The Grail - JHB
Religious

Transvaal Indian Congress
Political

Transvaal Anti-PC Committee
Political

Tongaat Youth Club
Youth

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| Tongaat Youth Congress (TYCO) Civic | ██████████ |
| Thabong Youth Congress (TYCO) Welkom | ██████████ |
| Tembisa Civic Association (TCA) | ██████████ |
| Tembisa Youth Movement (TYM) | ██████████ |
| Transvaal Netball Union (TNU) | ██████████ |
| Tsakane Youth Congress (TYCO) Brakpan | ██████████ |
| Thumanhole Civic Association (TCA) Parys | ██████████ |
| University Womens Group Turfloop Women | ██████████ |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Claremont |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Wynberg |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Observatory |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Woodstock |
| United Womens Organistaion Women | ██████████ Gardens |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Athlone |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Paarl |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Stellenbosch |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Ocean View |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Worcester |
| United Womens Organisation Women | ██████████ Guguletu |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| United Womens Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Langa |
| United Womens Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Kensington |
| United Womens Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Mbekweni |
| United Womens Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Kaymandi |
| United Womens Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Cloeteville |
| United Womens Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Zwelentlemba |
| United Women Organisation men | [REDACTED] New Crossroads |
| Un. ed Women Organisation Women | [REDACTED] Nyanga |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Cape Town |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Northern Suburbs |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Southern Suburbs |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Athlone |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Mitchells Plain |
| UDF Regional Committees Po. tical | [REDACTED] Townships |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Stellenbosch |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Paarl |
| UDF Regional Committees Political | [REDACTED] Worcester |
| Umlazi Youth League (UMYOLE) Youth | [REDACTED] |

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Imlaer Ratepayers Association ivic | ██████████ |
| JDF Regions olitical | ██████████ Western Areas |
| JDF Regions olitical | ██████████ North Coast |
| JDF Religions olitical | ██████████ Meerbank |
| JDF Religions olitical | ██████████ Pondoland |
| Jkusa Newspaper Other | ██████████ |
| Jitenhage Youth Congress (UYCO) kesh | ██████████ |
| JL Interim Committee Other | ██████████ Eastern Cape |
| Jmlazi Residents Association (URA) | ██████████ |
| Jmlazi E-Section Youth Club | ██████████ |
| Jmlazi V-Section Youth Club | ██████████ |
| Jnemployed Workers Union (UWU) | ██████████ |
| United Committee of Concern (UCC) | ██████████ |
| University of the North Womens Club (UNWC - Vrouevleuel van AZASO) | ██████████ |
| Univarsity BBN/Westville SRC Council (UW/SRC) | ██████████ |
| Un. arsity of Natal Black SRC | ██████████ |
| NAAM | LEERNR |
| TIPE | LIGGING |
| Verulam Youth | ██████████ |
| Victoria West Youth Congress (VWYC) | ██████████ |
| Verulam Education Action Committee | ██████████ |
| Verulam Housing Action Committee | ██████████ |
| Vaal Action Committee (VAC) Vereeniging | ██████████ |
| UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) | |

Vaal Civic Association (VACA)
Sokeng

Vaal Civic Association
Evaton

Vaal Civic Association
Sharpeville

Vaal Womens Organisation

Vaal Youth Congress
Vereeniging

Valhala Park Civic Ass

Witwatersrand Council of Churches (WCC)
JHB

Interveld Action Committee (WAC)
Civic Association

Westbury Residents Action Committee
Civic Association

West Rand Action Committee
Civic Association

Womens Group Transvaal Indian Congress
Women

Womens Group Glynn Thomas
Women

Workers Support Committee
Other

Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA)
Civic

Six Township Zones

Womens Front Organisation
Women

Western Cape Traders Association
Other

West Coast Youth
Youth

Westville Youth Movement
Youth

West Coast Womens Organisation
Women

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| West Coast Muslim Association Religious | ██████████ |
| West Coast Church Organisation Religious | ██████████ |
| West Coast Traders Association Other | ██████████ |
| Womens Moevement for Peace (WMFP) | ██████████ |
| Whitilesea Youth Congress (WYC) | ██████████ |
| Women for Peaceful Change Now (NPCN) | ██████████ |
| Wattville Youth League (WYL) | ██████████ |
| Westbury Action Committee (WAC) | ██████████ |
| Worpswade Youth Organisation | ██████████ |
| Worcester Civic Ass | ██████████ |
| Woodlands Civic Ass | ██████████ |
| Young Christian Students (YCS) Youth | ██████████ JHB |
| Young Christian Students (YCS) Youth | ██████████ PTA |
| Young Christian Students (YCS) Youth | ██████████ Central Beancu |
| Young Christian Students Religious | ██████████ Western Cape |
| Young Christian Students Religious | ██████████ Pietermaritzburg |
| Young Christian Workers | ██████████ |
| Zomani Lady Smith Club | ██████████ |
| Zwide Rugby Union (ZWIRU) | ██████████ |
| Zanokhanya Civic (ZC) Beaufort-West | ██████████ |
| Zanokhanya Youth Organ (ZYO) Beaufort-West | ██████████ |

1.14 PUBLIKASIES

ISIZWE - The Nation - half jaarliks (Wes-Kaap)

UDF NEWS - maandelikse nuusbrieff (Wes-Kaap)

UDF Update - maandelikse nuusbrieff

Periodieke nuusbriewe en pamflette - gemik teen Apartheid, verkiesing, onderwys, behuising ens.

1.15 ALLERLEI

1. Tydens 'n Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council kongres wat vanaf 22-23 Januarie 1983 te Johannesburg gehou is, is o.a. besluit dat 'n United Democratic Front (UDF), in die lewe geroep moet word. 'n 'n' hom sal beywer om alle groepe wat teen die regering se nuwe grondwetlike bedeling gekant is in 'n eenheidsfront saam te snoer en as koördineerder op te tree ten einde alle sodanige regeringsinisiatiewe te opponeer.

2. Loodsingskomitees, verteenwoordigend van Natal, Transvaal en Kaap is dat verkies om die stigting van die UDF in hul onderskeie gebiede te bevorder.

3. Op 1983-03-26 vergader verskeie organisasies te durban om die stigting van die UDF te bespreek. Op 1983-05-14 word die UDF (Natal-streek) gestig en ampsdraers verkies.

4. In die Kaap is onderskeidelik op 1983-04-30 en weer op 1983-05-12 vergaderings gehou om die UDF te stig. Geen besluit is egter verkies nie, maar daar is besluit dat die tak as die CAPE DEMOCRATIC FRONT (CDF) bekend sal staan.

Die United Democratic Front is op 20 Augustus 1983 te Kaapstad gestig en vind beslis aansluiting by die ANC se jaartema vir 1983 nl United Action. Die UDF se bestuur en raad van trustees bestaan uit bekende oud ANC-gesindes, soos die drie nasionale presidente, Albertina SISULU, Archie GUMEDE en Oscar MPHETA. SISULU se eggenoot dien tans lewenslange gevangenisstraf uit vir sy ANC-bedrywighede. Sy is self op die oomblik op borgtog uit hangende 'n appel teen haar skuldigbevinding en vonnis op 'n aanklag dat sy die doelstelling van die verbode ANC bevorder het. Archie GUMEDE was voorheen President van die ANC se Pietermaritzburgtak en is tans die voorsitter van die "Release Mandela Committee" in Natal. Oscar MPHETA is 'n stigterslid van die ANC georinteerde SA Congres of Trade Unions (SACTU) en geniet tans borgtog hangende 'n appel teen sy skuldigbevinding en vonnis op 'n aanklag ingevolge Veiligheidswetgewing. Die volgende persone is tot die Nasionale intvoerende bestuur verkies:-

PRESIDENTE

NASIONALE TESOURIER

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

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Archie Gumede (Oud ANC-lid)

Mewa Ramgobin (NIC)

Oscar Mpetha (Oud ANC-lid)

Cassiem Saloojee (TIC)

Albertina Sisulu (Oud ANC-lid)

VICE-PRESIDENTE:

STREEK SEKRETARISSE:

Virgil Bonhomme (UCC)

Moss Chikane (COSAS)

Rev Frank Chikane (Swartmag)

Cheryl Carlous (UWO)

Joseph Marks (CAHAC)

Trevor Manuel (CAHAC)

George Sewpersadh (NIC)

Yunus Mohamed (NIC)

Christmas Tinto (Oud ANC-lid)

Mohamed Valli (TIC)

NASIONALE SEKRETARIS :

ADDISIONELE UITVOERENDE LEDE:

Po Molefe (Swartmag)

Andrew Borraine (NUSAS)

Cunick Ndlovu

Jerry Coovadia (NIC)

Lolile Malindi

Mildred Lesia (UWO)

Aubrey Mokoena (RMC)

RAM Saloojee (TIC)

Mcibisi Xundu (Oud ANC-lid)

NASIONALE PUBLISITEITSSEKRETARIS

Mosiwe Patrick "Terror" Lekota (Oud SASO - Sekerheidsgevangene) van die UDF se vernaamste beskermhare is Nelson MANDELA, en alle Rivonia veroordeeldes, Helen JOSEPH, Alan BOESAK en Beyers NAUDE, wie geen bekendstelling nodig het nie.

6. Die verklaarde doelwitte van die UDF is om die grondwetlike hervorming in die RSA te beveg op die grondslag van die "Freedom Charter", soos beliggaam in hul verklaring van voorneme, veral die beginsel van veel-rassigheid en die uitgangspunt dat Suid-Afrika aan al die inwoners van die land behoort. In die breë gesien is die UDF 'n sambreelorganisasie wat 'n tuiste bied aan alle versetgroepe wat teen die staatkundige bedeling in die RSA agiteer.

7. Die UDF het mense in die 1984 verkiesing probeer oorreed om nie te stem nie. Hulle het die Blankes probeer beïnvloed om die referendum te boikot, die Swartes om nie aan verkiesings van die gemeenskapsrade deel te neem nie, en 'n hewige veldtog teen die Kleurling en Indiër verkiesings van stapel te stuur.

Dit is opmerklik dat die UDF trag om binne die wet maar buite regeringstrukture hul verset politiek te bedryf, dog die gevolg van

die subtiele aanhitsing wat tot burgerlike opstand lei as einddoel het. Dit is ook insiggewend dat die UDF se stigting na die werksaamhede van die Rabie-Kommissie en die daaropvolgende nuwe veiligheidswetgewing plaasgevind het. Die indruk word verkry dat UDF-regskundiges 'n diepte-studie van veral die Wet op Binnelandse Veiligheid (Wet 74/1982) gedoen het voordat die formulering van UDF se stigting en strategie bekend gemaak is. Die bestaan van werklike politieke en sosiaal maatskaplike knelpunte ten opsigte van anderskleuriges, bied aan die UDF en lidorganisasies 'n wettige verhoog waarby dan die versetpolitiek ingeklee en die terrein vir rewolusie voorberei word. Die persone wat op die verkillende UDF-streeksbesture dien is of oud ANC-lede van anti-regerings organisasies wat die ANC en SAKP se saak probeer dien ten einde 'n klaslose, sosialistiese, en "demokratiese" staatsbestel daar te stel.

8. Die UDF het na sy totstandkoming deur middel van sy geaffilieerde organisasies talle sosiaal/maatskaplike knelpunte aangegryp om 'n klimaat vir burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid te probeer skep. Massavergaderings en die verspreiding van pamflette is dusver hieroor aangewend. Hierdie klimaatskepping deur die UDF het begin gestalte toe daar op die naweek van 15 en 16 Julie 1984 geweldpleging in Thumahole Swartwoonbuurt by Parys plaasgevind het na aanleiding van verhoogde huishuurtariewe.

9. "Terror" LEKOTA, die publisiteitsekretaris van die UDF, en as sulks hul spreekbuis, was voor die naweek in Thumahole opgemerk. Op 1984-07-19 het die UDF 'n soliariteitsbveenkoms ten behoeve die "slagoffers" van Thumahole te Khotsohuis, Johannesburg gehou. In sy toespraak tydens die bveenkoms het LEKOTA gemeenskapsleiers daarvan beskuldig dat hulle verantwoordelik is vir die probleme in die Swartwoongebiede. LEKOTA het 'n beroep op die inwoners van alle Swartwoongebiede in die RSA gedoen om alle besighede, huurmotors en instellings wat deur die Swartgemeenskapsrade beheer word te boikot. Hy het ook ge-eis dat gemeenskapsleiersbedank.

10. Op 1984-08-06 het LEKOTA op 'n UDF vergadering in Athlone, Kaapstad 'n beroep op werkers gedoen om te mobiliseer teen hoër huishuur, busgeld, verskuiwings, ens. Tydens die vergadering is daar 'n pamflet uitgedeel met die opskrif "Stop the Apartheid Ambulance - Boycott Collaboration", wat soos volg afgesluit word:

"Boycott the elections and New Deal! Throw the collabrators out of the community! Make the life impossible for them! Smash the sell-outs!"

11. Na die onrus in Thumahole en LEKOTA se oproep tot 'n landswye boikot, het die onrussituasie na verskeie ander Swartwoongebiede uitgebrei waar petrolbomme gegooi is, eiendomme beskadig en drie Swart stadsraadslede dusver op wreedaardige wyse vermoor is. Tientalle ander Swartmense het dusver as gevolg van die onluste gesterf. Die volgende is enkele gevalle waar onrus en onluste voorgespruit het uit 'n klimaat wat deur die UDF-geaffilieerde organisasie geskep is:

(a) In Cradock in die Oos-Kaap weier die 4 200 Swart leerlinge van 6 skole sedert Maart 1984 om skool by te woon. Hierdie boikot is geïnisieer deur UDF-geaffilieerde organisasies Cradock Residents Association (CRADORA) en Cradock Youth Association (CRADOYA).

(b) In Pretoria is die UDF-geaffilieerde Congress of South African Students (COSAS) vir skole-onrus en boikot verantwoordelik. Ses Swart skole met 'n leerlingstal van 6 000 is sedert Maart 1984 gesluit.

(c) Die UDF-geaffilieerde Vaal Civic Association het die onlangse onluste in die Vaaldriehoek geïnisieer nadat 'n protesvergadering onder leiding van hierdie organisasie gehou is en op skoleboikotte, stakings en busboikotte besluit is.

(d) Benewens die voortgesette sporadiese voorvalle van geweld in o.a. die PWV-gebied, heers daar tans ook skoleboikotte in Port Elizabeth wat aangestig is deur die volgende UDF-geaffilieerde organisasies nl. COSAS, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (PEBCO), en Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO). Op 1984-10-03 het 1 skole met 'n leerlingstal van 20 000 nog aan die boikot deelgeneem.

12. Ten einde die belangrikheid van UDF vir die rewolusionêre strategie van die verbode ANC te kan evalueer, is dit nodig dat kennis geneem word van die ANC se uitsprake oor UDF. In "Sechaba", amptelike mondstuk van die verbode ANC, se Oktober 1983 uitgawe word gesê: "The UDF mobilises all people into one mass movement and co-ordinates community resistance,..." Dit word duidelik gestel dat die ANC groot waarde aan die stigting van UDF as mobiliseerder van die massas heg. Die ANC gee spesifieke opdragte dat brood- en botterkwessies soos huishuur, bustariewe en voedselpryse aangewend moet word. Hierin moet daar met Swartmagorganisasies saamgewerk word, ten spyte van ideologiese verskille, aangesien die Swartmagorganisasies net soos die UDF die daarstelling van 'n "verenigde demokratiese" RSA ten doel het.

13. In Uitgawe nr 8 en nr 9 vir 1984 van die ANC-tydskrif "DAWN, JOURNAL OF UNKHONTO WE SIZWE" word die volgende oor die United Democratic Front (UDF) gesê:

"...Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is conscious of this powerful campaign that is building up against the President's Council and Koornhof genocidal bills and the duty that its fighting ranks are charged with. We are called upon to sharpen our spears and intensify the war against racist regime. Only by so doing shall we create a favourable climate for the flourishing of the UDF and the overall advance to the seizure of power. Herein lies to a large extent the success of the fight against the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills. FORWARD TO VICTORY..."

'n Verdere artikel in dieselfde publikasie, getiteld "Some thoughts on the United Democratic Front" word die omstandighede waaronder die Congress Alliance in 1955 tot stand gekom het beskryf en 'n paralel met die UDF getrek. Dit vestig ook die leser se aandag daarop dat dieselfde mense wat die Congress Alliance tot stand gebring het,

vandag in die bestuur van die UDF dien. Die name van Nelson MANDELA en die Rivoniasaak veroordeeldes word pertinent genoem. Die skrywer beïmpel die UDF as " a powerful weapon in the national liberation struggle. In reality in the UDF one can see the political and social edifice which also determines our forward drive to victory. Hence the ANC is obliged to support its (UDF's) actions politically and organisationally. The nationally. The national liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground structures within the UDF".

'n Volgende artikel onder die opskrif "MK Soldiers' Viewpoint, our army needs a dynamic political programme", word die gesamentlike taak van die ANC, UDF en UDF-lidorganisasies soos SAAWU en AZASO in die "United Action"-konteks soos volg saamgevat ...

"The formation of the United Democratic Front recently is a practical realisation of the thesis that the maximum mobilisation and unity of our people is the fundamental requirement of our victory over the forces of racism and reaction ..."

'n The African Communist van die tweede kwartaal 1984, amptelike mo. stuk van die verbode SAKP, bevat 'n artikel getiteld "United Front to End Apartheid - The Road to Mass Action in South Africa" waar spesifiek na die UDF verwys word. Die volgende gedeelte is van belang:

"This means that it is not difficult to identify those issues around which the broadest possible unity of the oppressed can be forged. As Dimitriy put it, "The path is indicated by life itself and by initiative of the masses themselves". This is what Comrade Tambo meant when he stated that "the formation of the UDF was a product of our people's determination to be their own liberators."

14. Die volgende openbare verklaring van Yusaf DADOO, Voorsiter van die verbode SAKP op 1983-09-19 kort voor sy dood, is van belang.

"The years of painstaking work by the Party and the ANC are showing results. There is the continued tremendous growth of internal, organised opposition exemplified by, among other events, the tremendous gathering in Cape Town during last month which launched the United Democratic Front. At the same time this growth of resistance imposes its own exacting demands on our Party. The gains achieved must be consolidated."

15. Die Rand Daily Mail (RDM) het op 1984-10-11 prominensie aan uitsprake van die volgende UDF ampsdraers tydens 'n perskonfederensie in Johannesburg op 1984-10-10 verleen:-

- voormalige ANC-ingeperkte Swartman Stephen TSHWETE (uitgewyk 1986) wat tans die UDF-president van die Oos-Londen streek is:
- Kleurlingmans Jonathan DE VRIES, UDF-organiseerder in die Wes-Kaap;
- Swartman Price MSUTU, UDF-organiseerder in Port Elizabeth;

- Kleurlingman Trevor MANUEL, UDF-organiseerder in die Wes-Kaap en tans werksaam in die UDF hoofkantoor te Khotso Huis, Johannesburg as agerende algemene sekretaris in die plek van Popo MOLEFE wat tans ingevolge veiligheidswetgewing aangehou word; en

- Swartvrou Albertina SISULU, voormalige ANC-ingeperkte en een van die UDF se drie presidente.

Die Minister van Wet en Orde se onlangse verklaring oor die UDF is deur Trevor MANUEL beskryf as "ill-advised" en deel van volgehoue pogings van regeringskant om teen UDF-lidoringanisies op te tree. Die minister se poging om die UDF met die ANC te verbind berus volgens MANUEL op "flimsy evidence".

Stephen TSHWETE het beweer dat daar onlangs 'n aanslag op die lewe van 'n UDF-aktivis in Oos-Londen gedoen is.

Die gesamentlike UDF-persverklaring word as volg in die RDM weergee:

"...Government suggestions that the UDF was responsible for the current turmoil in South Africa were attempts to divert attention from its own bankruptcy and inability to govern.

The Government's undemocratic constitution has been rejected, international isolation is unparalleled, the economic crisis looms large in the face of the falling rand. The Government has lost control. South Africa faces a bleak future in the hands of the present Government.

Banning the UDF would contribute nothing towards alleviating the present crisis but would exacerbate it.

The UDF merely articulates the aspirations of the majority of the people and these aspirations cannot be wished away by a ban".

Op 1984-11-05 tot 1984-11-06 het daar 'n "Stay-Away" plaasgevind wat gereël is deur organisasies wat by die UDF geaffilieer is. Na die Stay Away het Thami MALI 'n persverklaring uitgereik waarin hy die mense aangemoedig het om Suid-Afrika onregeerbaar te maak. Thami MALI is betrokke by die Soweto Youth Congress en hy was gearresteer en aangehou vir sy betrokkeheid by die reëlings van die "Stay Away". Hy is egter op borgtog vrygelaat en het die land onwettig verlaat.

17. Op 1985-02-12 het die UDF 'n vergadering gereël in die St George Katedraal te Kaapstad. In sy toespraak het Trevor MANUEL, UDF-sekretaris, Wes-Kaap, die aanwesiges aangeraai om nie die verhoogde huur te betaal nie en om hulle te verset teen uitsetting. Hy het die opmerking gemaak dat wanneer die vragmotors daar opdaag, sal hulle gereed wees om hulle te verset, wat die gebeure by Sebokeng soos 'n Sondagskoolpiekniek sal laat lyk.

18. 'n Verdere 3 vergaderings is tot 25 Februarie in Kaapstad deur die UDF gehou waar solidariteit met die Kruispad-inwoners betoon en die aanwesiges aangeraai is om hul teen verskuiwing te verset. As gevolg van hierdie vergaderings het daar op 1985-02-18 geweld

losgebars in Kruispad waar minstens 18 persone gedood, talle beseer en kindom beskadig is.

19. Die belangrikste gebeurtenis wat potensieel die grootste invloed op die UDF se toekomstige optredes kan uitoefen, is sy hantering van die vraagstuk rakende die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA. Die UDF het met sy vergadering op 10 Februarie 1985 in Soweto vir die eerste keer 'n amptelike platform aan MANDELA en by implikasie die ANC gebied toe MANDELA se reaksie op die Staatspresident se aanbod bekend gemaak is, nadat dit deur die UDF se regsadviseurs goedgekeur is. Namate die UDF openliker met die ANC, en by implikasie met lg. se beleid van voortgesette gewelddadige optrede, vereenselwig word, kan hy deur meer militante uitsprake en 'n beleid van konfrontasie met die Regering sy aansien verhoog by diegene wat beweer dat geen blywende vrede en veiligheid in die RSA verseker kan word sonder die ANC (en die UDF) se deelname aan die regeringsproses (na afloop van 'n nasionale konvensie) nie.

20. Die volgende skrywes word tans deur die Nasionale kantoor aan al die UDF streke gesirkuleer:

"Proposals for discussion on Education Crisis"

In die skrywe meld die UDF dat hulle op 1985-01-17 samesprekings gevoer het met COSAS se Nasionale bestuur en word 'n aantal waarnemings gegee waarvan die belangrikste die volgende is: "That the students are on the threshold of victory and that this should not be allowed to slip out of our hands".

Die UDF versoek verder dat die stuk aan Parent Committees, kerke, vakbonde en prominente persoonlikhede versprei moet word.

"International Youth Year (IYY)"

In die brief versoek die UDF sy streke om die (IYY) onder sy beskerming te laat plaasvind en sé o.a. "The UDF has already won a great amount of legitimacy both nationally and internationally. Many people and organisations on these planes will support anything that is associated with the Front. To give the IYY campaign publicity and to win even greater support for it we need to encourage our affiliates to conduct it under the banner of the UDF. This will also provide a measure of protection from state harassment to activities for they will be projected as UDF activities in the event of detention and arrest. And the state does not want negative publicity at this stage. They may therefore avoid unnecessary arrests".

21. Die UDF het van 23 Maart tot 1 April 1985 13 protesvergaderings gehou oor die voorval by Uitenhage. Oor dieselfde tydperk het hy by 14 geleenthede pamflette in die verband versprei.

Hieronder volg die datums en plekke waar die vergaderings en pamfletverspreiding plaasgevind het:

PAMFLETVERSPREIDINGS

25 Maart 1985 Kaapse Skiereiland

25 Maart 1985 Durban en Pietermaritzburg

26 Maart 1985 Worcester

26 Maart 1985 Kranskop, Natal

27 Maart 1985 Oos-Londen, Mdantsane en Ciskei

27 Maart 1985 Johannesburg

27 Maart 1985 Wattville Swartwoongebied, Benoni en Kathlehong Swartwoongebied, Germiston

27 Maart 1985 Fort Beaufort Swart- en Kleurlinggebiede

27 Maart 1985 Pretoria

2 Maart 1985 Kagiso, Krugersdorp

28 Maart 1985 Universiteit van die Noorde en Swartwoongebied Mankweng

28 Maart 1985 Soweto

1 April 1985 Kaapse Skiereiland

2 April 1985 Johannesburg

PROTESVERGADERINGS

23 Maart 1985 Athlone, Kaapstad (ongeveer 130 persone)

25 Maart 1985 Universiteit van Kaapstad (800 studente)

26 Maart 1985 Schauderville, Port Elizabeth (getal onbekend)

2 Maart 1985 Hanoverpark, Kaapstad (ongeveer 1 300 persone)

28 Maart 1985 Khotsohuis, Johannesburg (ongeveer 200 mense)

28 Maart 1985 Kagiso (ongeveer 35 persone)

28 Maart 1985 Lotussaal, Pietermaritzburg (ongeveer 400 persone)

28 Maart 1985 Lamontville, Durban (ongeveer 300 persone)

28 Maart 1985 St Anthony's Hall, Durban (ongeveer 200 persone)

28 Maart 1985 Universiteit van Natal (ongeveer 150 studente)

28 Maart 1985 Universiteit van Durban-Westville (300 studente)

30Maart 1985

Durban (400 persone)

1 April 1985

Durban (6 000 persone)

Die UDF het met hierdie kampanje 'n ernstige klimaat van vyandigheid teenoor die Polisie in besonder en die owerheid in die algemeen geskep. Hierdie klimaat het beslis aanleiding gegee tot meer aggressiewe optrede teen die S A Polisie en owerheidsinstellings wat weerspieël word in die toename van aavalle op die S A Polisie en gemeenskapsleiers.

22. Tydens die Nasionale Algemene jaarvergadering van die UDF op 1985-04-05 tot 1985-05-07 te Azaadville Krugersdorp is Curnick NDLOVU, 'n voormalige ANC saboteur wat vir sy sabotasiedade 20 jaar tronkstraf opgelê is en wie ook 'n gelyste kommunist is, tot Nasionale Uitvoerende voorsitter verkies. 'n Ander gelyste kommunist Zolie MALINDI is ook tot die Nasionale bestuur verkies. Die feit dat die UDF nie skroom om gelyste kommuniste in hul uitvoerende komitee op te neem nie toon duidelik waar hul simpatie lê.

Die volgende verklarings, uitlatings en besluite is tydens die vergadering gedoen.

POPO MOLEFE (nasionale algemene sekretaris) het die UDF se oogmerke as drieledig beskryf, nl. om die Staat in 'n meerdere mate van die publiek te isoleer, om die Staat van die internasionale gemeenskap te isoleer en om tweespalt te veroorsaak tussen die junior en senior vennote in die Parlement (verwysende na die driekamer parlement).

"TERROR" LEKOTA (publisiteitsektaris) het gesê dat die Swart gemeenskapsleiers subtiele geweld gebruik teenoor hul eie mense en dat hulle "klein VORSTERS en BOTHAS is" en dat die geweld wat nou teenoor hulle gebruik word slegs verdedigende geweld is.

Die volgende besluite is daarna geneem:

- om die Staat effektief uit te daag;
- om die Staat se voornemens te frustreer en die Staat te forseer agteruitgang;
- massa protesvergaderings en burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid aan te moedig; en
- teen buitelandse beleggings te protesteer maar nie direk op disinvestering aan te dring nie.

Na die vergadering het TRERROR LEKOTA 'n perskonferensie gehou en o.a. verklaar dat:

- die tyd aangebreek het vir 'n nuwe aanslag teen die regering;
- daar nog tyd vir die regering is om met die "ware" leiers te onderhandel en "apartheid" af te breek;

- die UDF knelpunte aanhoudend sal opneem en aaval en nie met persverklarings tevrede sal wees nie;

- daar nie gekroom sal word om met aktiviste in die strate 'n opmars te hou nie;

- daar ander maniere gevind sal word om "nee" te sê;

- daar teen die Nieu-Seelandse rugbytoer betoog sal word; en

- burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid nie die regte woord is vir wat beplan word nie want dit kom neer op erkenning van bestaande wetgewing en daar is geen wetgewing in die RSA wat hul agting afdwing nie.

24. Hierdie klimaat wat die UDF en sy filiale skep, lei tot konfrontasie met die polisie en 'n verset teen owerheidsinstellings waartydens heelwat mense gedood, amptenare se huise aan die brand gestek, openbare geboue beskadig, asook polisie- en privaatvoertuie beskadig word.

Tans die begrafnis van persone wat gedurende die oproer gedood is, word emosionele politieke toesprake gehou wat weer tot verdere konfrontasie en geweld lei. Hierdie begrafnisse dien gewoonlik as platforms vir aktivistesprekers en kan inderdaad as versetvergaderings beskou word.

Al hierdie protes-, verset- en boikotaksies wat tans binne die RSA aan die gang is, veral binne die raamwerk van die ANC se oproep deur OLIVER TAMBO en ander ANC-leiers om Suid-Afrika onregeerbaar te maak.

25. Die UDF en sy filiale poog om deur 'n algemene toestand van onregeerbaarheid te skep, te bewys dat die Regering die onrusituasie nie kan stabiliseer nie en gedwing kan word tot alternatiewe optrede, soos die hou van 'n nasionale konvensie. Hoewel 'n algemene toestand van onregeerbaarheid nie in die RSA heers nie, word probleme ondervind met die implementering van die derdevlakregeringstelsels in Swart woongebiede. 'n Vakuum wat reeds in bepaalde Swart woongebiede geskep is en wat subversiewe organisasies probeer vul, dui reeds op 'n mate van onregeerbaarheid binne daardie woongebiede. Sedert die afgang van die onrus tot en met 25 Junie 1985 het 33 Swart plaaslike besture opgehou om te funksioneer, terwyl geen van die plaaslike besture, wat voor Junie 1985 opgehou het om te funksioneer, weer in werking gestel is nie.

26. Die UDF en sy filiale is besig om vir die ANC/SAKP 'n infrastruktuur te skep wat infiltrasie sal vergemaklik, asook die nodige politieke infrastruktuur waardeur die Regering openlik uitgedaag kan word. Daarbenewens bevorder die UDF, as 'n oorkoepelende front op politieke gebied, die ANC se doelstelling om eenheid in optrede en gesamentlike optrede ("Unity in Action - United Action") te verwesenlik. UDF-bepanning om Noord-Transvaal te aktiveer en sy verbandhoudende UDF-optrede in Nylstroom en Pietersburg, is onder andere daarop gerig om 'n politieke infrastruktuur in Noord-Transvaal op die been te bring.

27. Die verbruikersboikotte wat tans deur die UDF en sy filiale in die Oos-Kaap en Grens toegepas word, blyk sowel 'n effektiewe ekonomiese as politieke wapen teen die Regering te wees. Dr Allan BOESAK het na aanleiding hiervan 20 Julie 1985 tydens die GONIWE-begrafnis op die uitbreiding van die boikotte na alle dele van die land aangedring.

28. Blanke radikale organisasies waaronder die UDF-geaffilieerde Grahamstown Committee of Democratic (GCD) is ook van mening dat die effektiwiteit van verbruikersboikotte, vergeleke met ander metodes van protes, in die volgende geleë is:

- dit is 'n nie-gewelddadige, dog kragtige en samebindende metode van protes;

- dit is 'n vreedsame metode om Swartes se frustrasies en eise bekend te maak en invloedryke Blankes in byvoorbeeld stadsrade en die georganiseerde handel te forseer om druk op die Regering uit te oefen om aan die eise toe te gee; en

) dit dui op die interafhanklikheid van die Swart en Blanke gemeenskappe asook die integrerende deel wat die Swart verbruiker in die ekonomie vorm.

29. Bogenoemde verbruikersboikotte word effektief op die Swart gemeenskappe afgedwing deur veral grootskaalse gewelddadige intimidasie en deur die vernietiging van voorrade wat by Blanke ondernemings gekoop is. Op hierdie wyse is daar reeds geslaag om Blanke ondernemings, veral in die platteland, finansiëel te benadeel. Gevolglik kan verwag word dat die UDF sal poog om dit so lank moontlik te laat voortduur, selfs al sou daar aan sommige van hulle eise voldoen word.

30. Een van die primerêre doelwitte van die UDF is om die huidige konstitusionele hervormingsinisiatiewe buite bestaande parlementêre strukture, dog kwansuis op 'n wettige grondslag, op alle denkbare terreine te opponeer. In hierdie verband neem die UDF aktief deel aan nasionale boikotaksies teen die verkiesing van Swart gemeenskapsrade, die Kleurling- en Indierverkiesings asook die nuwe Regering in die algemeen. Teenkanting jeens vermelde verskynsels word onder andere deur middel van opruiende massavergaderings, propaganda-materiaal en by monde van sekere alternatiewe media-strukture aangemoedig en gekoördineer.

Ander aspekte van Regeringsbeleid wat ook deurlopend deur die UDF en sekere van sy surrogaatstrukture kritiseer word sluit in hervestiging, trekarbeid, behuisingsknelpunte, veiligheidswetgewing, nasionale diensplig en die groepsgebiedewet.

31. Gedurende April 1985 word samesprekings gevoer i.v.m. die stigting van 'n ADMINISTRATIVE TRAINING PROJECT (ATP) vir opleiding van alle vrywilligers wat vir organisasies onder die UDF-sambreel werk. Die ATP val onder die beheer van die UDF en die opleiding sal die volgende behels.

- praktiese indiensopleiding
- byhou van korrekte rekords
- boekstaving van skenkings

Die UDF adverteer tans die beskikbare fondse.

32. 'n Aantal Natalse UDF-leiers, waaronder Curnick NDLOVU, Yunus MOHAMED, Roy PADAYACHEE en Pravin GORDHAN besoek Soweto gedurende Junie, Julie 1985. Hiertydens voer hul samesprekings met die UDF-ondersteuners wat betrokke was by die onluste wat sedert September 1984 in die Vaaldriehoek en die Oos-Kaap voorkom, en besluit om 'n soortgelyke onrusklimaat in die Durban-omgewing te skep. Na aanleiding van die besluit is 'n groep wat hoosaaklik uit jeugdige bestaan het, uit Transvaal na Durban vervoer om te help met die klimaatskepping in die gebied.

33. Die Swart faksie van die UDF-geaffilieerde Cape Youth Congress (CAYCO) het hom op 'n vergadering op 5 Augustus 1985 in die "T" plakkerskamp (naby Kaapstad) uitgespreek teen die UDF-georganiseerde verbruikersboikot in die Wes-Kaap, die intimidasie van persone wat wel goedere by Blanke sakeondernemings koop en die verspreiding van UDF-pamflette deur Swart jeugdige. Die vergadering het ook besluit dat Rosberry SONTU (President van CAYCO) vanweë sy voortgesette betrokkeheid by UDF-geïnisieerde versetaksies nie meer as leier van die organisasie erken sal word nie.

Die CAYCO-faksie is gekant teen alle inisiatiewe van die UDF aangesien hulle "..." aan CAYCO wil voorskryf wat om te doen en hoe om op te tree".

4. 'n Bestuurslid van die East London Friends of the UDF (ELF-UDF) besoek op 13 Augustus 1985 dat Kleurlingbestuurskomitee lede in East-Londen se huise gelyktydig afgebrand gaan word en dat die huis van Peter MOPP (lid van die Huis van Verteenwoordigers) met andgranate verwoes gaan word. MOPP se huis is reeds op 12/13 Augustus 1985 deur oproeriges met petrolbomme aangeval, waar 'n ander ELF-UDF lid opgemerk het: "He is a lucky man because we missed him".

5. Op 1985-08-14 hou die UDF (Wes-Kaap) 'n banket te Wynberg waar 'n beroep gedoen word op die aanwesiges om die verbruikersboikot te teun, ook deur finansiële bydraes. Verder word die INKATHA - UDF tryd, en die "GUTTER EDUCATION" bespreek. Twee bydraes van R1000 00 elk is tydens die vergadering ontvang.

6. Gedurende 19 tot 26 Augustus 1985 loods die UDF 'n boikotaksie teen die EVENING POST en die EASTERN PROVINCE HERALD weens die afname in publisiteit aan gebeure in Swart woongebiede en omdat berigte daaroor wat wel gepubliseer word, "...saamgestel word uit politieke verklarings".

7. Die UDF het reeds 'n suksesvolle boikotveldtog teen die DAILY DISPATCH gevoer, wat op 26 Julie 1985 beëindig is na onderhandelinge tussen die UDF en die bestuur van die koerant.

37. Die UDF hou 'n massa-vergadering op 20 Augustus 1985 te Mitchell'splein, Kaapstad waar verskeie sprekers optree en o.a. die volgende uitlatings maak.

Imam Hassan (lid van die JUDICIAL COUNCIL) het die afkondiging van die noodtoestand kritiseer en voortgesette klasseboikotte en die verbruikersboikot propageer;

Veronica SIMMERS (sekretaresse van die UDF-Mitchellsplein) het uitgewei oor behuisingsprobleme en dit toegeskryf aan die miljoene rande wat die SAW "ingepomp" word;

Trevor MANUEL (organiseerder van die UDF Wes-Kaap) het beweer dat die SAP talle UDF kantore landwyd gesluit het maar dat dit nie hulle inisiatiewe sal stuit nie, die verbruikersboikot propageer en verklaar dat hulle sal aanhou met die terrorisering van ministers RAJBANSI en HENDRICKSE totdat hulle uit hul ampte bedank; en Dr Allan BOESAK (beskermheer van die UDF) het verklaar dat die Staatspresident dom is en sy verklaring op 15 Augustus 1985 in Durban niksseggend is. Volgens hom belieg die radio en media die massa, net soos die Staatspresident ook doen. Hy het voorts o.a. die verbruikersboikot en skoleboikot propageer en verklaar dat die mense nie gerugte en pamflette wat deur die Regering versprei word moet glo wat verklaar dat die verbruikersboikot afgelas is nie aangesien hy wat BOESAK is, self die mense sal ingelig, sou besluit word om die boikot af te las.

Die volgende resolusies is ten besluite eenparig aanvaar:

- die noodtoestand moet opgehef word;
- NELSON MANDELA moet vrygelaat word;
- alle "politieke gevangenes moet vrygelaat word; en
- die doodmaak van mense betrokke in die "stryd" moet beëindig word.

38. 'n UDF-koördineersvergadering is op 1985-08-25 te Hazendal gehou met verskeie linkse persone as sprekers. Al die sprekers gaan in op voorgenome opmars na Pollsmoor-gevangenis op 1985-08-28. Die geestelikes sal voor loop met die kinders en ander volwassenes agterna, om sodoende te keer dat die polsiie die mense en kinders beseer.

'n "Naweek van Ontwrigting" word ook beplan, waarop die winkels wat geboikot word, ontwrig moet word (Datums onbekend).

39. Die UDF het 30 000 eksemplare van NEWSLETTER - SPECIAL EMERGENCY EDITION AUG 85 in Johannesburg laat druk. Die inhoud daarvan behels o.a. items onder die volgende selfverduidelikende opskrifte:

- DON'T BUY AT WHITE SHOPS:
- UDF BACKS MINE STRIKE:

- BOTHA CANNOT MEET OUR DEMANDS - THE FUTURE IS OURS TO DETERMINE;
en

- UDF SAYS - KEEP ON WITH THE STRUGGLE.

40. Die UDF het onlangs by monde van Murphy MOROBE (waarnemende Nasionale Publisiteitsekretaris) sy steun toegesê aan die Franse regering se onttrekking van sy Ambassadeur aan die RSA. Die beweging het bg regering ook geloof vir die verbod op nuwe Franse investering in die RSA en die hoop uitgespreek dat ander Westerse regerings soortgelyke stappe sal doen.

Volgens MOROBE sien die UDF uit na die dag wanneer die Franse regering op die hoogste vlak betrekkinge met die beweging sal handhaaf en "...Suid-Afrika 'n regering het waarop die internasionale gemeenskap trots kan wees".

MOROBE het ook oa 'n beroep op die internasionale gemeenskap om die RSA op politieke, kulturele en ekonomiese terrein te isoleer. Hy het v lts verklaar dat die Veiligheidsmagte tans "...gevrywaar is" van enige geregtelike optrede en dat die beskerming van die aangehoudenenes ingevolge die noodmaatreëls "...grootliks afhang van internasionale protes teen die Suid-Afrikaanse regering se optrede en sy toepassing van die noodmaatreëls.

41. Tshwete (President van die UDF (Grensstreek) sowel as lid van die Nasionale uitvoerende Bestuur spreek die massa-begrafnis van onluste slagoffers te Duncan Village, Oos-Londen op 1985-08-31 toe en maak o.a. die volgende uitlating. "It will not be long before the fires are burning in Oxford Street in East London and other cities. The war is no longer on the borders but at the doorsteps". Verskeie ander sprekers tree ook op en 'n pamflet getiteld "Duncan Village Massacre 12 - 14 August" is ook tydens die diens versprei. Hierin word aanvalle geloods teen die Weermag, die apartheidsbeleid, gemeenskapsbeleid, gemeenskapsrade en die nuwe bedeling.

42. Tydens 'n onlangse vergadering van die Oos-Londen tak van die UDF (Grens) is 'n aantal persone na bewering aangestel as MARSHALLS en CAPTAINS.

Die MARSHALLS se pligte is om persone wat verdink word van samewerking met die SA Polisie se woonhuise op ongereeelde tye te besoek en te bepaal wie van hierdie persone met lede van die Veiligheidstak kontak het.

Die CAPTAINS moet strategie, wat tydens onluste gevolg moet word, beplan. Die CAPTAINS dra hul besluite aan die MARSHALLS oor wat dit weer aan die jeug oordra.

Die MARSHALLS is almal jeugdige terwyl die CAPTAINS na bewering almal oud-ANC-lede is wat reeds vonnisse op Robbeneiland uitgedien het.

43. Die UDF stel 'n memorandum saam gedurende Augustus/September 1985 en versprei dit aan alle groot besighede en maatskappye.

Die memorandum sien as volg daaruit:

1. PREAMBLE

South Africa is in a severe economic, social and political crisis. An escalating civil war is raging between the minority Botha government and the oppressed people of South Africa.

This government has launched a brutal and unrelenting campaign of repression, violence, murder and wanton destruction against our people. It now seeks to justify its inhumanity and callousness by declaring a State of Emergency in certain parts of South Africa.

Our valiant people are resisting apartheid everywhere. In our communities our people are struggling against high rentals, indecent housing and the Black local authorities. In our schools and universities our youth protest against racist education. Workers are organising against unemployment, low wages, harsh working conditions and generally increasing numbers of the oppressed people are actively engaging in the struggle for a united democratic South Africa.

In recent years the United Democratic Front has been at the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. Today the United Democratic Front (UDF) enjoys popular support throughout South Africa amongst all sections of our people. The inevitable consequence of this is that the UDF has been the main target of the government's repression. UDF leaders, activities and supporters throughout the country are facing treason trials, are detained, jailed under the emergency laws, are murdered and generally persecuted by Botha's security forces.

2. A HISTORIC CHOICE

It is in the above context, where our people are showing an unparalleled determination, even willingness to die for their freedom that the UDF has the historic responsibility, as the foremost legal popular voice of the people, to pose a vital challenge to certain persons, organisations and countries:

ARE YOU SUPPORTING THE APARTHEID SYSTEM

Or

ARE YOU WILLING TO SUPPORT THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The time for vacillation and equivocation is over. The time "constructive egagement" and a policy of "persuasion" is over. At a time when hundreds of our people are being killed, thousands are in jail, leaders are being assasinated, vacillation can only be construed to mean explicit support for the Botha government and its campaign of repression.

To the following we address the above challenges and demand that a choice be made between the Botha government and the oppressed people.

(i) All foreign governments who enjoy diplomatic relations with South Africa

(ii) All foreign companies and business men who have an interest in South Africa

(iii) South African business men as represented by organisations such as ASSOCOM, FCI, Handelsinstituut, Chamber of Mines, Afrikaanse Sakekamer, etc.

3. THE BOTHA GOVERNMENT : PREPERATIONS OF VIOLENCE AND BRUTALITY

The violence perpetrated by various white minority governments against the oppressed majority is legend in our history. Sharpeville in 1960; Soweto in 1976; The Western Cape in 1980; The Vaal Triangle in 1984; Uitenhage in 1985.

After these experiences there can be no doubt the intentions of the Botha government in which we include the Sebes, Hendrickses and Rajansis. Contrary to the image of "reform and negotiation" the Botha government has shown itself to be:

3.1. unwilling to compromise on the following fundamental demands of the majority which must be met if there is to be a peaceful future for all South Africans, Black and White:

3.1.1. a united non-racial South Africa;

3.1.2. all the people of South Africa must participate equally in the government of the country;

3.1.3. universal franchise;

3.1.4. ending exploitation of man by man.

3.2. refusing to enter into meaningful negotiations with the authentic leaders and organisations of the people and creating the conditions for such negotiations by:

3.2.1. releasing all political prisoners;

3.2.2. permitting the return of all exiles;

3.2.3. unbanning the banned organisations;

3.2.4. ending the persistent and increasing detention, trial and imprisonment of popular leaders.

3.3. Launching an unrelenting campaign of terror against our people and organisations and now giving licence to the "security forces" occupying our townships.

3.4. directly responsible for the disappearance and assassination of UDF activities and leaders.

3.5. forcibly imposing puppets and dummy institutions like the Black local authorities against the express will of our people.

3.6. wilfully destabilising Southern Africa as seen in Cabinda and Gaberone raids.

3.7. flagrantly disregarding international opinion as in the case of the Coventry Four and Namibia

3.8. refusing to address the daily problems affecting our communities; high rents, unemployment, etc.

BOTHA : INCAPABLE OF PEACE AND REFORM

4.1. The Botha government and its satellites are increasingly regarded as illegitimate and do not enjoy any credibility among the vast majority of Sour Africans.

4.2. This government can only maintain its position through violence and by refusing to accede to the basic human rights that our people struggle for.

4.3. There is no fundamental reform taking place in South Africa. The essential fabric of apartheid remains unchanged. This is confirmed by the violent response

4.3. CONTINUED

of this government to the legitimate grievances and protests of the people in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape in particular.

4.4. It is the firm view of the UDF that the Botha government is incapable of bringing peace and initiating fundamental reform in our beloved country. Instead this government is:

4.4.1. provoking and fuelling hatred and counterviolence from our people in their selfdefence;

4.4.2. destabilising the Southern African region and posing a threat to regional and world peace. Further evidence of this is the recent threat by Botha to forcibly expel over a million "foreign" workers from South Africa.

4.4.3. sabotaging the right of the Namibian people to freedom and independence.

5. WHO CONSPIRES WITH BOTHA AGAINST US

5.1. The Botha government would have been unable to subjugate the majority and defy world opinion without active assistance and connivance of certain governments and local and foreign business in particular.

5.2. The UDF believes that there is an international conspiracy among the South African governments, certain foreign governments,

foreign and local big business to continue the oppression and exploitation of the majority in South Africa in one form or another.

5.3. FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

5.3.1. At the outset we acknowledge the assistance given by certain governments to our struggle and hope that they would intensify their efforts to isolate South Africa internationally.

5.3.2. On the other hand the American, British and West German governments stand accused of conspiring with the Botha government and wilfully impeding our struggle for democracy by:

5.3.2.1. giving open diplomatic support to the Botha government in international forums:

5.3.2.2. by encouraging investment in South Africa and engaging in the super exploitation of workers as seen for example in the case of BTR SARMCOL in Howick, Natal;

5.3.2.3. supplying the technology and material for the development of the armament and nuclear industry in South Africa which is being used to subjugate our people

5.3.2.4. active collaboration with the South African Defence Force, the South African Police and other state agencies through the supply of technology, intelligence and other resources;

5.3.2.5. promoting the minor cosmetic changes undertaken by Botha as reform leading to fundamental changes to apartheid and defending the policy of constructive engagement on this basis.

5.4. FOREIGN BUSINESS AND BANKS

5.4.1. Billions of rand are being poured into South Africa:

5.4.1.1. as loans to the Botha government,

5.4.1.2. as loans to the para-statal companies e.g. ESCOM,

5.4.1.3. as investment in the Bantustans,

5.4.1.4. as investments in the private sector.

5.4.2. The effects of the above are:

5.4.2.1. strengthening of the apartheid system;

5.4.2.2. using the repressive machinery of this system to protect such investment;

5.4.2.3. the super exploitation of the black workers.

thereby conspiring with the Botha government to secure your mutual survival

5.4.3. The UDF therefore finds unacceptable the facile and naive contention of foreign business men that their continuous presence in South Africa is in the interests of the Black majority.

5.5. SOUTH AFRICAN BIG BUSINESS

5.5.1. Organised business has given open support to the:

5.5.1.1. declaration of the state of emergency;

5.5.1.2. use of state violence to "normalise the situation";

5.5.1.3. killing, imprisonment and detention of thousands of activists and leaders throughout the country.

5.5.2. The call for "law and order" in the South African context is a call for the continuation of white domination.

5.5.3. Business has given unqualified support to Botha's meaningless and inconsequential "reform programme" in exchange for unfettered exploitation of Black labour, the increasing monopolisation of industry and commerce, and access to parastatals.

5.5.4. Business and the Botha government are undoubtedly joint partners in the persecution and exploitation of the Black majority.

UDF DEMANDS OF THE BOTHA GOVERNMENT

Peace and prosperity can only be restored to our country if the Botha government meets the following demands:

6.1. OUR DEMANDS

6.1.1. The immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, all those detained and the withdrawal of charges against all those facing political trials.

6.1.2. The unbanning of all political organisations and return of all exiles.

6.1.3. The immediate scrapping of all discriminatory legislation.

6.1.4. Negotiation with the true representatives of the people.

6.2. OUR IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

6.2.1. The immediate lifting of the emergency.

6.2.2. The withdrawal of the South African Defence Force and South African Police from unrest areas.

6.2.3. The immediate dismantling of community councils and the puppet structures.

6.2.4. Negotiations with the real leaders at the community level.

5.2.5. Address people's daily problems - rent, education, wages, racial discrimination.

UDF DEMANDS OF CERTAIN FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

7.1. The political and diplomatic isolation of South Africa:

7.1.1. by breaking diplomatic ties with South Africa

7.1.2. expelling and excluding South Africa from all international forums.

7.2. The immediate termination of the policy of constructive engagement pursued by the American, British and West German government.

7.3. The immediate cessation of military, technological and intelligence support to the Botha government.

7.4. Stop the "wait and see" approach to Botha's reform when there exists no evidence that there is any intention to stop apartheid.

7.5. Extend economic sanctions and sports boycotts urgently.

7.6. Give positive support in every sense to the UDF and democratic movements in their endeavour to oppose the vicious Botha government.

UDF DEMANDS OF FOREIGN BUSINESS

8.1. Stop all forms of financial and material assistance to the Botha government, the bantustans and South African business.

8.2. It is a proven fact that your continued participation in the South African economy sustains apartheid and encourages belligerent and violent policies of the Botha government. Are you willing to continue being a party to genocide?

8.3. In the interim, full rights must be accorded to workers and the trade unions: living wages, decent living conditions, proper working conditions.

8.4. You must await the day when your investments can be used for the development and strengthening of a genuine democracy governed by all the people of South Africa.

9. UDF DEMAND OF SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS

9.1. Organised business must stop its support for the Botha government and its fraudulent reforms.

9.2. Withdraw your support for the State of Emergency and the use of force and demand immediate:

9.2.1. lifting of the State of Emergency;

- 9.2.2. unconditional release of all detainees;
- 9.2.3. unconditional release of all political prisoners;
- 9.2.4. withdrawal of South African Police and South African Defence Force from the townships.
- 9.3. Support our call for direct negotiations between the Botha government and the authentic leaders and organisations of the people.
- 9.4. Permit unrestricted organisation of workers into trade unions. Pay a living wage and ensure decent working and living conditions.
- 9.5. Stop support for "lrebel" sports tours which breaks the international isolation campaign against South Africa.
- 9.6. Even if you cannot be persuaded on moral grounds selfinterest alone dictates that you support the organisations of the people and initiate meaningful discussions with them.

CONCLUSION

We are confident that the people of South Africa will soon be in a position to judge who were their allies in the quest for freedom and who were the opponents.

There is no middle road left in South Africa. The choice clearly is between the aggressor, the Botha government, and the aggrieved, the oppressed people of South Africa.

The UDF must demand that all governments, individuals and organisations throughout the world and in South Africa do everything possible to bring the Botha government to its senses and stop the genocide taking place in our country.

POSTSCRIPT

As this memorandum was being drafted, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, Treasurer of the UDF, Natal, and executive member of the Natal Organisation of Women and the Release Mhadela Committee was assassinated by agents of this government. This is what you support when assisting the Botha government.

September 1985

44. Die UDF Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee beplan om 'n afvaardiging na Brittanje en Wes-Europa te stuur om die beweging se uitgangspunte te stel en sodoende hoofminister BUTHELEZI van Kwa-θulu se standpunte oor o.a. die onrusituasie, die UDF asook disinvestering in "die regte perspektief" te plaas.

Stone SIZANE (publisiteitsekretaris van UDF Oos-Kaap) het hom reeds op 11 Augustus 1985 bereid verklaar om as UDF-afgevaardigde na die buiteland te gaan.

45. Die UDF in Wes-Kaapland versprei tans 'n INFORMATION SHEET tydens vergaderings waarmee gepoog word om terugkeer te kry oor die wy. van aanbieding en wat die inslag van die algemene publiek is. Hierdeur word verbeter en potensiele ondersteuners geïdentifiseer met die oog op uitbreiding van hul invloedssfeer en aktiwiteite.

Die vraelys sien soos volg daaruit:

WE WOULD LIKE TO HEAR YOUR OPINION ABOUT TONIGHT'S MEETING. WE WOULD ALSO APPERCIATE YOUR RESPONSE TO THE FOLLOWING:

HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT THIS MEETING?

POSTERS ... PAMPHLETS ... PRESS ... FIEND ... OTHER ... (SPECIFY)
...

WOULD YOU LIKE TO MAKE ANY COMMENTS ABOUT THIS MEETING?

.....

WOULD YOU LIKE THE UDF TO KEEP IN CONTACT WITH YOU?

WOULD YOU LIKE TO RECEIVE ANY LITERATURE PUT OUT BY THE CLAREMONT & OBSERVATORY AREA COMMITTEES OF THE UDF?

.....

WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN ATTENDING A HOUSE MEETING IN YOUR AREA?

.....

WOULD YOU BE INTERESTED IN HOSTING A HOUSE MEETING OF A FEW OF YOUR FRIENDS, TO BE ADDRESSED BY A UDF SPEAKER?

.....

NAME:

ADDRESS:

POSTAL ADDRESS : 131 MAIN ROAD., OBSERVATORY

46. Gedurende die nag van 5 en 6 Oktober 1985 word pamflette in die swartwoonbuurt Beaufort-Wes versprei. Hierop verskyn die UDF-embleem asook op die voorblad 'n stuk onder die opskrif "Die Boere is bekommerd" en op die agterblad verskyn hul eise i.v.m. die woonbuurt.

47. Die UDF hou 'n koördineerdersvergadering op 1985-10-06 te Athlone waar die verbruikersboikot hoofsaaklik bespreek is.

MARKS het gemeld dat indien die mense deur die SAP in hegtenis geneem word en ondervra word oor die verbruikersboikot, moet hulle meld dat die boikot geroep is in solidariteit met hulle kamerade in die Oos-Kaap.

JOE ADAM het bygevoeg dat die mense moet se dat die UDF die verbruikersboikot ondersteun maar dat die UDF nie die alleenstruktuur t...v. die verbruikersboikot vorm nie.

Hy het verder gemeld dat verskeie organisasies die verbruikersboikot ondersteun en deel van die struktuur vorm.

THERESA SOLOMON het genoem dat dit moonlik is om te werk op 'n selektiewe winkelboikot. Sy het o.a. gemeld dat daar nog baie mense by OK Basaars en PICK AND PAY koop, omrede hulle pryse op basiese voedselsoorte so laag is. 'n Onbekende swart vrou verbonde aan die UNITED WOMENS ORGANISATION het gemeld dat dit nou die tyd is dat die vrouens tot aksie moet oorgaan. Sy het gemeld dat baie vroues en kinders alreeds seergekry het vanwee die optrede van die veiligheidsmagte. Sy het gemeld dat die UWO beoog om op 1985-10-13 'n massavergadering in die swartwoongebiede te hou.

48. Gedurende Oktober 1985 word die amptelike publikasie van die UDF (Natal) UDF News in Wentworth, Durban versprei. Hieruit blyk dit dat "...Vrede in Suid-Afrika slegs moontlik is indien vrye en onverderfde verkiesings vir een parlement in 'n onverdeelde Suid-Afrika plaasvind sodat die Mandelas, Sisulus, Kathradas, Nairs en Boesaks hulle regmatige plek kan inneem in een parlement wat waarlik die bevolking verteenwoordig."

Daar word ook aangedring op die afskaffing van "apartheid", die ontbinding van die SAP en die SAW, die vrylating van alle "politieke gevangenes" en die opheffing van die verbod op "alle organisasies van die bevolking". Diegene betrokke by die "Konvensie-alliansie" (tans die National Convention Movement - NCM) word ook gekritiseer, o.a. omdat hulle "...namens die bevolking besluite neem".

49. 'n UDF-massavergadering is op 19 Oktober 1985 te Kaapstad gehou, waar ongeveer 3000 persone teenwoordig was.

Verskeie UDF persoonlikhede, waaronder Christmas TINTO, Zoli MALINDI, Jeremy CRONIN, Vivian DANIELS, Mildred LESIA en Trevor MANUEL, het as sprekers opgetree. Die volgende uitsprake is o.a. deur hulle gemaak.

daar sal opgetree word teen Kleurlingmoeders wat die verbruikersboikot van Blanke winkels oortree - hulle sal gedwing word om rou wors en hoenders te eet en visolie te drink;

- die inwoners van Kruispad sal nie hoër huishuur nie;

- die regering maak 'n fout deur te dink hulle kan die UDF vernietig deur hul leiers aan te hou - die stryd gaan voort en die UDF sal nooit stilgemaak kan word nie;

- die tereggestelde ANC terroris, Ben MOLOISE, is 'n held wat deur die regering vermoor is;

- daar oor 'n datum vir 'n opmars na Caledon Plein besin moet word ten einde aangehoudene Shirley DUNN te gaan bevry;

- veiligheidsmagte moet uit die woongebiede onttrek;
- alle aangehoudenes moet onmiddellik vrygelaat word; en
- die stryd moet voortgaan want die FREEDOM CHARTER is die enigste basis waarvolgens die rykdom en regering van die land gedeel kan word.

50. Die UDF het op 17 Oktober 1985 'n dringende vergadering te Ubunye House, Pietermaritzburg gehou om 'n voorgename massavergadering te bespreek ten einde:

- die moreel van die mense wat deur die sg. "Third Force" (Inkatha) aangeval word, te verhoog;
- aan te toon dat die UDF nie dood is nie en ook nie die "Third Force" vrees nie;
- die "vuil-werke" van Inkatha, wat binne die "system" werk, te ontbloot; en
- die Hoogverraadverhoor bekend te stel en persone daarom heen te politiseer.

Die datum en plek van die vergadering sal tydens 'n Verdere vergadering op 24 Oktober 1985 te Ubunye House bepaal word.

51. Tydens die vergadering op 1985-10-24 is o.a. die volgende besluite geneem dat:

- omgesien moet word na die welsyn van die 16 beskuldigdes in die hoogverraadsaak en 'n komitee wat spesifiek daarvoor verantwoordelik sal wees is aangewys;
- die UDF voortaan self persverklarings sal vrystel waarin hul reaksie op en sienswyse van gebeure, veral optredes teen die UDF, weergegee sal word. Veral INKATHA en sogenaamde BALACLAVA ATTACKERS se optredes sal uitgelig word;
- die beoogde massavergadering waartoe daar op die vorige vergadering besluit is, in die lig van die huidige hofsaak te Pietermaritzburg liewer uitgestel moet word en vervang word met 'n nagwaak om simpatie te betoon met slagoffers van die onrus in Wes-Kaapland, solidariteit te betoon met die 16 UDF-beskuldigdes in vermelde hofsaak en afkeur te betoon met die afkondiging van die noodtoestand in sekere gebiede. Geen datum vir die nagwaak is egter bepaal nie; en
- die UDF voortaan steun sal verleen aan die MPOPHOMENI YOUTH ORGANISATION in 'n poging om meer van die Swart jeug vir die UDF te wen.

52. Inligting is ontvang dat die prokureursfirma CARRUTHERS AND COMPANY in London, Engeland die bedrag van 25000 Britse pond (+- R100 000) gedurende die eerste helfte van Oktober 1985 aan die firma

SEEDAT PILLAY AND GOVINDSAMMY in Durban oorbetaal het ter delging van die regskostes van die UDF aangeklaagdes in die Pietermaritzburg hoogverraadsaak.

53. Oktober 1985: Die UDF (WP) beoog om die huidige eksamenboikot na 'n huishuurboikot om te swaai. Die leuse van die boikot sal wees: "As jy huur betaal is jy 'n verraaiër en toon jy geen respek vir die wat vir die stryd gesterf het nie."

54. Die Africa Groups of Sweden het tydens sy 11de jaarlikse kongres solidariteit aan die UDF betoon en die UDF geluk gewens met die sukses wat hy tot dusver behaal het.

Verder het hul ook die hoogverraadsake teen UDF-lede veroordeel en hul volle steun beloof vir die UDF se pogings om "bevryding" van "apartheid en onderdrukking" in die RSA te bewerkstellig.

55. Op 19 November 1985 is 'n UDF -pamflet, getiteld UDF ORGANISEERING TRANSKEI, in die Veiligheidstak kantore gevind. Die pamflet is gerig aan die eerste minister, kabinetslede en departementele sekretarisse van die Transkei regering waarin hul bedanking voor 25 Desember 1985 geëis word, of "failing which you are all going to be banned".

Verder word geëis dat Transkeise burgers toegelaat moet word om by die "ware leiers" soos MANDELA, TAMBO en SISULU aan te sluit.

56. Gedurende September 1985 is die moontlikheid geopper om "met terorrisme in Suid-Afrika te skakel" ten einde opleiding vir jeuggroepe te bekom.

Hieruit volg dit dat UDF-aktiviste gedurende November 1985 beplan om aanvalle op prominente Inkathalede te doen en om groepe jeugdige, o.a. met vuurwapens en petrolbomme bewapen, te gebruik om "UDF-ondersteuners te beskerm teen aanvalle deur Inkatha-lede".

57. Andrew HENDRICKS, die publisiteitsekretaris van die UDF, Grens het gedurende 'n onderhoud laat blyk dat daar verskille in die UDF-bestuur is oor watter vorm die bepaalde Black Christmas in die Grens moet aanneem.

Die meerderheidsgevoel is dat 'n oproep nie gedoen moet word om die boikot van winkels en kersfeesvierings nie, aangesien vorige pogings in die verband misluk het.

Indien pamflette vir 'n Black Christmas versprei sou word, moet die boodskap aan beide Blankes en anderkleuriges wees om simpatiekgesind teenoor die eise van die UDF, waaraan die regering nog nie gehoor gegee het nie, te wees.

58. Tydens die "UDF Rally" wat op 15 Desember 1985 in die Curries Fountain sportkompleks te Durban gehou is deur ongeveer 4 000 persone van alle rasse en beide geslagte bygewoon is, is die beperkinge wat deur die Hooflanddros van Durban op die byeenkoms geplaas is feitlik in geheel ignoreer.

Die lys van name van persone wat in die aansoek vir die hou van 'n op'ug byeenkoms verskyn en goedgekeur is as sprekers tydens die geleentheid bevat die name van:

- Billy NAIR;
- Curnick NDLOVU;
- Zinzi MANDELA;
- Archie GUMEDE;
- Albertina SISULU;en
- Henry FAZZIE.

Die groep wat op aanklagte van Hoogverraad tydens die Piermaritzburg verhoor vrygespreek is, het egter ook as sprekers opgetree.

59. Henry FAZZIE, Vise-president van die UDF (Oos-Kaap) en Mkhuseli JANTJIE woon op 29 Desember 1985 die begrafnis van die ANC-lede wat op 19 Desember 1985 in Maseru doodgeskiet is, in Lesotho by. FAZZIE bepleit by die geleentheid onder meer gewelddadige optrede teen die SAW asook die instel van ekonomiese dwangmaatreels deur die VSA en Brittanje teen die RSA.

Hy stel ook voor dat die RSA-regering en die SAW, as "onderdrukkers van die massa" na die voorbeeld van die Mau-Mau in Kenia op 'tradisionele wyse' beveg word. Hy doen dus indirek 'n oproep om steun aan Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

50. Gedurende Desember 1985 versprei die UDF(Wes-Kaap) 'n kerskaart met die volgende op die voorblad: PRISON WALLS WILL NEVER STOP THE GROWING TIDE OF FREEDOM sowel as RELEASE ALL DETAINEES.

Op die binneland verskyn die volgende boodskap : "At this time we remember all in detention, all those who have been injured and killed, all those who are unemployed and hungry. Let us work for the day when we will celebrate Christmas in Peace and Friendship".

Op die agterblad verskyn die UDF-embleem.

51. Januarie 1986 : Die UDF in die Kaapse Skiereiland is tans in drie faksies verdeel betreffende die beoogde heropening van Kleurlingskole op 15 Januarie 1986.

Die een groep stel o.a. die volgende eise vir klasbywoning deur studente:

- alle geskroste en afgedankte onderwysers moet heraangestel word; en
- alle geskorste leerlinge moet onvoorwaardelik hertoegelaat word.

Die tweede groep, wat minder aanhang geniet, steun die heropening van skole op 28 Januarie 1986.

Die derde faksie, wat hoosaaklik steun in die Mitchellsplein-omgewing geniet, propageer die standpunt dat daar geen skoolbywoning in 1986 sal wees nie.

62.

1.1. Die UDF en COSATU het in Februarie 1986 tydens 'n geslote vergadering in Johannesburg besluit om gekombineerde aksies/optrede tov die volgende aangeleenthede te loods:

- Die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA
- Groter betrokkenheid op die Gekleurde onderwysterrein.
- Die afskaffing van die "paswette"
- 'n Boikot van The Sowetan
- Jamesprekings/onderhandelings met Blanke sakelui.

1.1.1. Daar is ook besluit om op 'n deurlopende grondslag oor sommige van bg aangeleenthede te beraadslag, terwyl die UDF voorgestel het dat 'n "National Planning Committee" aangestel word om aksies rondom die moontlike vrylating van MANDELA te koördineer.

63. Tydens 'n byeenkoms van UDF-takke olv Joyce MABUDAFHASI (lid van die Mankweng Youth Congress - MAYCO) op 9 Februarie 1986 by Kratzenstein naby Pietersburg is oa besluit om

- nav die Staatspresident se standpunt oor die vrylating van Nelson MANDELA, 'n beroep op die Sowetunie en Angola te doen om nie die "prisoners of the people's war" vry te laat nie, aangesien die RSA-regering as 'n "minderheidsregering" nie namens die bevolking so 'n eis kan stel nie;

- 'n landwye verbruikersboikot op 1 April 1986 te loods;

- UDF- nasionale vergaderings in die toekoms by afgeleë plekke in Noord-Transvaal te hou ten einde inmenging deur die Veiligheidsmagte te vemy;

- indien daar nie aan die eise van 'n gelyke demokratiese onderwysstelsel en die onvoorwaardelike vrylating van "politieke gevangenes" voldoen word nie, aksies rondom die 10de herdenking van die 1976-onluste asook aksies van burgerlike ongehoorsaamheid te intensiveer, 'n volksburgermag te vorm, disinvestering aan te moedig en vanaf 1 April 1986 'n boikot van Swart opvoedkundige inrigtings te loods.

64. Op 16 Februarie 1986 het die NIC en UDF 'n gesamentlike werkskool in Asherville, Durban gehou om 'n veldtog teen die instel van streekdiensrade te bespreek. Die werkskool is deur ongeveer 100

NIC- en UDF-aktiviste bygewoon. Billy NAIR, vise-president van die UDF in Natal, het 'n uiteensetting van die parlementêre stelsel gegee en gesê dat streekdiensrade die pligte van die Natalse Provinsiale Administrasie gedurende Julie 1986 gaan oorneem. Hy het o.a. beweer dat:

- Die SDR's sal lei toe die stigting van dorpsrade wat die regering sal beheer.

- Inwoners sal vir die bestaan die SDR moet betaal en hoër huurgelde sal gehef word vir wonings, water en elektrisiteit ten einde die SDR's te finansieer.

NAIR het voorgestel dat inwoners dmv huisbesoeke teen die SDR's se instelling geaktiveer moet word om te verhoed dat hulle dit aanvaar.

65. Die UDF voer op 1986-02-18 samesprekings met 'n statebondsgroep in Nuweland. Die UDF-afvaardiging het bestaan uit:

- Trevor MANUEL - die sekretaris van die Wes-Kaap streeksraad.
(1 beperkte) 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

Onlusegun OBASANJO

John MALECELA

Nita BARROW

Hugh CRAFT

Swaran SINGH

Ver slag van die samesprekings is deur Trevor MANUEL saamgestel en daarin is die UDF sowel as die statebondsgroep se verpligtinge en probleme uiteengesit.

Op 9 Maart 1986 het die UDF 'n memorandum aan die statebondsgroep voorgelê.

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 Styrde"

Die UDF is van mening dat die inisiatief om daadwerklike vergadering in die land te weeg te bring, in die hande van die verdrukte 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 self 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 internasionaledruk 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 van 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 VAN ONDERHANDELING

- (a) Die onmiddellike afskaffing van alle apartheid- en onderdrukkende wette.
- (b) Die ontbinding van die nasionale state en die beeindiging van die trekarbeiderstelsel.
- (c) Die afskaffing van die kamer 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 SW, SAP en alle ander "instruments of repression".

67. 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 Ministe van Buitelandse Sake van Tanzanië) en Aartsbiskop Edward SCOTT (Aartsbiskop van Kanada), het 'n afvaardiging van die

UDF in Durban ontmoet vir samesprekings. 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.

Yusuf 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 samesprekings met die Staatspresident, is die volgende eise gencem:

- (a) Die afskaffing van alle apartheidswette.
- (b) Die NAC 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 en die "egte" leiers. Hulle is wel beglyk bewus van die politieke situasie in die land en hul hou by die 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.

DF. Die UDF het op 6 Maart 1986 'n werkskoolkonferensie by die Universiteit van Kaapstad (UK) gehou wat deur ongeveer 200 persone wat radikale jeugorganisasies landwyd verteenwoordig het, bygewoon is. Op 11 Maart 1986 is 'n Free Mandela-massavergadering in Claremont gehou wat deur die UDF se Observatory- en Clameont-takke gereel is en ook deur ongeveer 2 000 persone bygewoon is. Die konferensie op 6 Maart 1986 is aanduidend van groter UDF-betrokkenheid by die "stryd" op alle terreine, veral tov skole- en vakbonde. Die besprekingspunte is veral op die groter mate van organisering veral op jeug- en kolevlak. Daar kan verwag word dat die onrusituasie in die nabye toekoms en veral vanaf 21 Maart 1986 (Sharpeville-dag) momentum sal kry agv vergaderings van hierdie aard en omvang.

69. In 'n besonderhoud op 23 Maart 1986 het Mohammed VALLI (Sekretaris van UDF(TVL)) gesê dat die UDF tydens die gedeeltelike no toestand aanpassings t.o.v. sy organisering en strukture gemaak het, "in'n poging om onderdrukking en regeringsoptrede teen te staan". Hoewel die UDF na die opheffing van die noodtoestand sy openbare beeld steeds gaan probeer uitbou, sal sy komitees toenemend in die geheim byeenkom en die lede van die komitees anoniem bly. In die verband het hy verklaar. "It is more difficult to fight an enemy you van't see than one you can."

VALI het ook bekend gemaak dat die UDF hom op die kort termyn gaan toespits op veldtogte rondom die vrylating van "politieke gevangenes", die wettiging van die ANC, teenkanting teen die beplande onafhanklikwording van KwaNdebele, die herdenking van Meidag en die nasionale onderwys konferensie teen die einde van Maart 1986.

70. Die UDF hou 'n "Release Mandela Mass Rally" op 1986-04-04 te Mitchells Plein. Verskeie UDF-lede tree as sprekers op soos o.a. Trevor MANUEL, Willie SIMMERS, Chris NISSEN en Johnny ISSEL. In die toesprake is veral klem gelê op die skoleonrus, plaaslike raatskomitees en die wettiging van die ANC.

71. Die UDF versprei op verskeie geleenthede gedurende April plakate en pamflette, soos op 1986-04-04 op Witbank en weer op 1986-04-11 op Kimberley.

72. 'n UDF-afvaardiging bestaande uit Trevor MANUEL, Mafison MOROBE, Curnick NDLOVU en Henry FAZZIE het op 1986-04-15 en 1986-04-16 samesprekings gevoer met plaaslike ambassadeurs. Tydens die samesprekings is 'n memorandum, opgestel deur die UDF, aan die ambassadeurs oorhandig.

Die memorandum handel oor die volgende:

INLEIDING

Die regering kon nie daarin slaag om die weerstand van die massas te onderdruk nie en 'n de facto noodtoestand bestaan nog steeds. Met betrekking tot die opheffing van die noodregulasies en die beoogde uitbreiding van veiligheidswetgewing word die mening gehuldig dat die regering sodoende weer drasties en onderdrukkende wetgewing daar wil stel.

ONDERDRUKKING

Die onderdrukking duur voort ten spyte van die opheffing van die noodregulasies. Vier onderdrukkingspatrone word uitgelig nl die Bantustans aanvalle op aktiviste, optredes deur vigilante groepe sowel as optredes van die (onregverdigte beslissings deur boere veral in die platteland).

OPVOEDKUNDIGE KRISIS

Die ongevoelige optrede deur die regering en sy surrogate verhoed dat die pogings van die National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) om die

krisis op te los skipbreuk lei. Die SPCC se eise is nie aan veldoer nie. vertraagde herstel van beskadigde skool geboue en in Kwazulu het In. Atha vir alle praktiese doeleindes die skole gesluit.

Die NECC ondervind reeds probleme in sommige gebiede waar leerlinge hulle daarvan beskuldig dat hulle te tegemoetkomend is en indien die toedrag van sake voortduur sal nie die NECC of enige iemand anders die plofbare situasie kan hanteer nie.

BREE POLITIEKE PERSPEKTIEF

Dit is 'n feit dat die noodtoestand en die voortgesette onderdrukking nie die weerstand van die massas teen apartheid kan keer nie. Die nie-betaling van huur, die populêre eis dat MANDELA vrygelaat moet word en die feit dat die ANC by begrafnisse vir alle doeleindes onthou is word as voorbeelde genoem.

Die doeltreffende vergadering op alle vlakke lê nie meer in die hande van die regering nie maar wel in die hande van die massas.

OF BENADERING

(a) Die UDF beklemtoon die feit dat hy hom nie besig hou met hervorming nie, maar dat hy ekonomiese uitbuiting en politieke oorheersing teenstaan.

(b) Die UDF besef dat hy die stryd op alle vlakke moet intensifiseer ten spyte van die verwagte gepaardgaande eskalering in terreur toegepas deur die staat.

(c) Om die genoemde redes doen die UDF weereens 'n beroep op die internasionale gemeenskap om die "rassistiese regime" te isoleer en sanksies teen SA toe te pas.

AFSLUITING

Die UDF vra vir die totale isolasie van die SA regering. Die meeste regering word daarvan beskuldig dat hulle nie streng genoeg optree is en drastiese aksies word bepleit. Die UDF huldig die mening dat Atha nie daartoe instaat is om te onderhandel oor die oordrag van eiser nie en stappe om die SA regering tot 'n val te bring word in hierdie lig geregverdig.

TOELIGTING

Olgens beskikbare inligting is samesprekings gevoer met die Duitse, Franse.

Op 1986-05-30 en 1986-05-31 word die leidsingsvergadering van 'n International Civic Organisation te Kaapstad gehou. Afgevaardigdes van die volgende UDF-streke het die leidsing bygewoon: Grens, Natal, Transvaal, Oos-Kaap en die Westelike Provinsie.

Die volgende onderwerpe is bespreek:

- Gebrek aan dissipline.
- Onderhandelinge met Munisipaliteite.
- Streekdiensterade.
- Die huurkwessie.
- Die rol van gemeenskaporganisasies.

DISSIPLINE

Die jeug moet gedissiplineer word sodat hulle deur ouer persone gerespekteer kan word.

ONDERHANDELINGE MET MUNISIPALITEITE

Daar is besluit om met Stadsrade wat gewillig is om aandag te skenk aan Swartes se griewe, te onderhandel. So nie moet hul geboikot word. Verder is besluit dat swart woongebiede moet deur Munisipaliteite bestuur word en nie deur Streekdienste nie.

STREEKDIENTERADE

Daar is saamgestem dat die mense nie ten gunste van Streeksdiensterade is nie, maar dat dit verkieslik is bo gemeenskapbesture, maar dat 'n finiale besluit eers geneem sal word sodra Streekdiensterade in Julie geïmplementeer word.

DIE HUURKWESIE

Die vergadering was verdeel oor hierdie kwessie. Sommige was ten gunste daarvan dat huur betaal moet word as gevolg van uitsettings en die verval van woongebiede omdat daar geen inkomste is nie. Die Transvaal-streek was ten gunste van 'n totale boikot. Geen besluit was geneem nie en elke streek moet op 'n later datum verslag lewer oor hoe die mense in die verskillende streke oor die mense in die verskillende streke oor die saak voel.

GEMEENSKAPORGANISASIES

Die kwessie van 'n nasionale loodsing is bespreek maar daar is besluit om dit eers agterweë te hou tot einde Junie om eers die standpunte van die verskillende streke te bekom.

1.14. BEFONDSING:

Binnelands

Standaard no. [REDACTED] WWR

Barclays no [REDACTED] WWR

Johanneburg Barclays no [REDACTED] WWR

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF)

Pietersburg Standard no [REDACTED] Verre NTVL
 Qu Anstraat Durban Barclays no [REDACTED] Port Natal
 Oos-Londen Barclays no [REDACTED] Grens
 Athlone Standard no [REDACTED] WP
 Port Elizabeth Nedbank no [REDACTED] OP
 Vryburg Standard no [REDACTED] Noord Kaap
 Welkom Barclays no [REDACTED] N-OVS
 Oudtshoorn Standard no [REDACTED] Suid-Kaap
 Oudtshoorn Standard no [REDACTED] Saamstaan Publikasie van UDF

Buitelands

1984 Arbeid Instituut Solidariteitsfonds, Swede R2240
 98,58.

Julie 1985 Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) R900
 000 00

Julie 1985 Netherlands Organisation for International Development
 Co-Operation (NOVIB) R190 000 00

6 Januarie 1986 Stockholm, Swede R99 975

Mei 1986 NOVIB R48826,08

Februarie 1985 Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law,
 Washington R3350-00

AKTIVISTE

1985

NA. AFDELINGEERNKERNR

BONHOMME VIGIL (KM) [REDACTED] Port
 Natal PNV10/21

MARKS JOE (KM) [REDACTED]

SEWPERSADH GEORGE (AM) [REDACTED] Port
 Natal PNV2/666

DU PLESSIS GEORGE (KM) [REDACTED]

JOSEPH MPATLE MAAKE [REDACTED] VERRE NOORD
 TRANSVAAL [REDACTED] Oos
 Rand ORV11/Alg

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) 97

| | | | |
|---|------------|--------|------------|
| MOLEFE POPE (SV) | [REDACTED] | Soweto | [REDACTED] |
| BC AINE ANDREW (WM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| LESIA MILDRED (SV) | [REDACTED] | | |
| Soweto SWT4/A/1717 | | | |
| MOHAMMED PROFESSOR HOOSEN @ JERRY COOVADIA (AM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| BOESAK DR ALAN (KM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| Witwatersrand WA/VP3/471 | | | |
| TSHWETE STEVEN (SM) | [REDACTED] | Grens | [REDACTED] |
| NAUDE DS BEYERS (WM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| NAICKER MONTY (AM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| MOHAMMED YUNUS (AM) | [REDACTED] | | Port |
| Natal PNV2/361 | | | |
| VA. MOHAMMES (AM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| Witwatersrand WA/VP2/689 | | | |
| CAROLUS CHERYL (KV) | [REDACTED] | | Westelike |
| Provinsie | | | |
| PHAAHLA JOE (SM) | [REDACTED] | | Port |
| Natal PNV4/327 | | | |
| JOSEPH HELEN (WV) | [REDACTED] | | |
| MOHAMED SJEG NAZEEM (KM) | [REDACTED] | | Westelike |
| Provinsie | | | |
| MKIZE FLORENCE (SV) | [REDACTED] | | Port |
| Natal PNV4/870 | | | |
| OLDBERG DENNIS (WM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| CH. ANE EERWAARDE FRANK (SM) | [REDACTED] | | |
| Soweto SWT4/4747 | | | |
| RAMGOBIN MEWALAL (SM) | [REDACTED] | Natal | 5 |
| LEKOTA TERROR MOSIUOA (SM) | [REDACTED] | | Port |
| Natal PNV4/1705 | | | |
| MANUEL TREVOR (KM) | [REDACTED] | | Westelike |
| Provinsie | | | |
| XUNDU MCIBISI (SM) | [REDACTED] | Grens | 5 |
| SALAJEE DR R A M (AM) | [REDACTED] | Soweto | 5 |

| | | |
|---|------------|-------------------|
| MOKOANA ANDREW (SM) Soweto SWT4/1787 | [REDACTED] | |
| MANDELA NELSON (SM) | [REDACTED] | |
| GUMEDE ARCHIE (SM) | [REDACTED] | Natal [REDACTED] |
| TINTO CHRISTMAS (SM) Provinsie | [REDACTED] | Westelike |
| MPETHA OSCAR (SM) Provinsie | [REDACTED] | Westelike |
| SISULU ALBERTINA (SM) | [REDACTED] | Soweto [REDACTED] |
| HOWA HASAN (KM) Natal PNV3/4/214 | [REDACTED] | Port |
| MANLANGU MARTHA (SV) NT9/47/38 | [REDACTED] | Noord Transvaal |
| BA. D FRANCIS (SV) Provinsie | [REDACTED] | Oostelike |
| NYEMBE DOROTHY (SV) Natal C111/992 | [REDACTED] | Port |
| MOROBÉ MURPHY (SM) | [REDACTED] | Soweto [REDACTED] |
| MCUTHU PRINCE (SM) Provinsie | [REDACTED] | Oostelike |
| ISSEL JOHNNY (KM) | [REDACTED] | Kaap [REDACTED] |
| MKATSAWA VADER SMANGALISE (SM) Soweto SWT4/A/387 | [REDACTED] | |
| DE VRIES JOHATHAN (KM) Provinsie | [REDACTED] | Westelike |
| FU. U NOTHO (SM) Provinsie | [REDACTED] | Oostelike |
| RAMGOBIN MAWALAL @ MEWA (AM) Natal PNV2/602 | [REDACTED] | Port |
| JASSAT ESSOP ESSACK (AM) Pretoria WA/VP2/86 | [REDACTED] | |
| MAWALAL alias MEWA RAMGOBIN NATAL PNV2/602 | [REDACTED] | PORT |
| JASSOP ESSACK JASSAT PRETORIA WA/VP2/86 | [REDACTED] | |

1.15.1 TENDENSBEPALING

1.15.1.1 UDF : INTERNE VERDEELDHEID

Verdeeldheid in UDF-geledere oor die beweging se samestelling, beleid en strategie kortwiek sedert sy stigting, maar veral vanaf die begin van 1985, sy aktiwiteite en beplanning. Vanwee die UDF se samestelling het die potensiaal vir verdeeldheid sedert sy stigting bestaan, aangesien UDF-filiale in die algemeen oor slegs die volgende drie uitgangspunte/doelwitte saamstem, nl 'n unitere RSA, 'n afkeer van "apartheid" en steun aan 'n nie-rassige samelewing.

Een van die eerste probleme waaroor die inisierders van die UDF te staan gekom het, was om konsensus te bereik oor die affiliasie van liberale Blanke organisasies soos die BLACK SASH en NUSAS. Opmerking : Die BLACK SASH het slegs waarnemerstatus op die UDF en is nie reëffilieer nie. Lede van voormalige Swartbewustheidsgeïntereerde organisasies soos COSAS en die CAPE AREAS HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE (C. AC) asook van ander radikale jeugorganisasies soos die CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS (CAYCO) het reeds voor die UDF se amptelike stigting aangedui dat voorgenome steun aan die beweging moontlik onttrek sal word indien fronte van die UDF se bevrydingstryd tot die UDF toegelaat word. CAHAC-lede het onder andere aangevoer dat bg Blanke organisasies doelbewus die "... bevrydingstryd op 'n syspoor sal dwing en die werkersrewolusie sal kaap". Die argument is ook deur sommige vakbonde as een van die vernaamste redes aangevoer waarom hulle nie bereid is om by die UDF te affilieer nie. Weerstand teen die Blankes se rigtinggewende rol in die UDF duur steeds voort en tydens die beweging se algemene jaarvergadering in April 1985 is geen Blanke tot die Uitvoerende Bestuur verkies nie en in die vorige bestuur het slegs ANDREW BORAINÉ as addisionele lid gedien.

Tydens en kort na die UDF se stigtingsbyeenkoms het leiersfigure van die beweging verdere probleme ondervind met die opstel van die Verklaring van Voorneme. Hoewel die meeste UDF-filiale die Vreedom Charter as vertrekpunt aanvaar, het veral kerklike organisasies en lede van die BLACK SASH aspekte van die dokument verwerp, onder andere vanwee die sosialistiese inslag daarvan. 'n Afgewaterde vorm van die Freedom Charter is egter later as die UDF se Verklaring van Voorneme vrygestel.

Die toename in die UDF se nasionale aktiwiteite soos pamfletverspreiding, werksgroepsessies en massabyeenkomste asook die "sukkses" wat die beweging met sy veldtogte teen onder andere die Kleurling- en Indierverskiesing behaal het, het ten koste van UDF-filiale se eie aktiwiteite op plaaslike vlak plaasgevind. Veral gemeenskapsorganisasies in die Wes-Kaap het hulle ontevredenheid hieroor uitgespreek en aangevoer dat die UDF hulle aktiwiteite kortwiek en hulle 'n bestaansreg ontnem. KATE PHILIP (Voormalige NUSAS-president) het by geleentheid verwys en opgemerk dat die UDF in 'n publisiteitsorganisasie ontwikkel het wat in die proses sy "grassroots support" verwaarloos.

Die "demokratiese proses" in die UDF, waarop hy na buite roem, ontlok heelwat kritiek in UDF-geledere en veral kleiner filiale wat nie veleenwoordigers op streeksbesture het nie, is hieroor ontevrede. BLACK SASH-lede het reeds tydens die UDF se stigtingsbyeenkoms hulle kommer uitgespreek oor die wyse waarop die verkiesing van die Uitvoerende Bestuur plaasgeving en die voorsitter netelige vrae oor 'n moontlike regeringsvorm wat deur die UDF voorgestaan word, as "onbelangrik" afgemaak het. Verskeie UDF-streekbestuursverkiesings is daarna ook gekenmerk deur 'n gekoukus vooraf, wat daartoe aanleiding gegee het dat kandidate van minderheidsgroepe tydens die verkiesings uitgestem is. Na aanleiding van die tendens het van die filiale die verkiesings as "ongeldig" bestempel en het die EAST LONDON YOUTH CONGRESS (ELYCO) reeds as gevolg daarvan van die UDF gedisaffilieer hoewel hulle steeds UDF-doelstellings bevorder.

Pogings deur UDF-leiers om eenheid in die beweging ten alle koste te behou, het ook tydens enkele vergaderings daartoe gelei dat die UDF nie demokraties kon optree en meningsverskille by wyse van stemming kon besleg nie. Nieteenstaande die feit dat die meerderheid van die UDF-ondersteuners in die Wes-Kaap tydens 'n vergadering aangedui het dat hulle gekant was teen sen KENNEDY se besoek en enige kontak met hom, het die voorsitter hulle standpunt omseil ten einde die minderheidsgroep tevrede te stel, en aangekondig dat die UDF geen amptelike besluit oor die aangeleentheid sal neem nie. Pogings deur die Uitvoerende Bestuur om besluite by wyse van konsensus te neem en die menings van lede/filiale op "grassroots"-vlak in ag te neem, is op 'n vroeë stadium reeds as tydrowend en onsuksesvol bewys en het daartoe aanleiding gegee dat die bestuur al meer outokraties begin optree het. Ten einde besluitneming te vergemaklik, is die Nasionale Uitvoerende Bestuur tydens die afgelope algemene jaarvergadering van 25 na 16 lede verminder.

Vandag die UDF se korttermyn doelwit (om te verhoed dat die nuwe grondwetbedeling en die sg KOORNHOF-wette geïmplementeer word) nie meer as 'n saambindende faktor kan dien nie, is die feit dat die UDF nie 'n duidelike omskrewe einddoelwit het nie, 'n verdere verdelende faktor. Veral in die Wes-Kaap en in 'n mindere mate in Transvaal word geargumenteer oor die UDF se presiese ideologiese orientasie, en dit kom voor of die argumente in 'n pro-ANC/SAKP-teenoor 'n meer gematigde standpunt uiteenval. Die meer gematigde faksie, wat noodsaaklik uit Blank oorheersde groepe bestaan, voer aan dat die afskaffing van "apartheid" die beweging se vernaamste doelwit is, terwyl diegene wat ten gunste is van die meer radikale benadering, toenemend argumenteer dat die stryd verder as die afskaffing van "apartheid" gevoer moet word en dat die klassestryd prominensie moet geniet.

Aansluitend hierby word daar tans 'n debat in UDF-geledere gevoer oor 'n gewelddadige teenoor 'n nie-gewelddadige benadering ten opsigte van die beeindiging van die status quo. Hoewel die UDF tydens sy pasafgelope jaarvergadering besluit het om nie van sy beleid van geweldloosheid af te wyk nie, is daar 'n groeiende faksie in die beweging wat geweld bepleit. Prominente leiers soos TERROR LEKOTA (UDF-publisiteitsekretaris) en TREVOR MANUEL (Streeksekretaris) dreig

1.16 DOKUMENTE

Inligt: 86029009

Bywerk: 85046956 85059720 85059707 86029643



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Beveiliging
25/9/86



Republiek van Suid-Afrika
Republic of South Africa

~~Departement van~~ Direktooraat van Veiligheidswetgewing
~~Department of~~ (Volle afleveringsadres/Full delivery address)

..... Privaatsak X 655; PRETORIA; 0001
..... 12. 8. 19. 86

Die Sekretaris van die Kabinet
The Secretary of the Cabinet

Ondergenoemde dokument gaan hierby vir voorlegging aan die Kabinet.
The undermentioned document is attached for submission to the Cabinet.

Direkteur-generaal: Veiligheidswetgewing *[Signature]*
Director-General

| No. | ONDERWERP/SUBJECT |
|-----------|--|
| 2/4/2/121 | <p>0021</p> <p>VERKLARING VAN DIE ORGANISASIE BEKEND AS DIE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 2(1) VAN DIE WET OP GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIES, 1974 (WET 31 VAN 1974)</p> <p><i>[Signature]</i></p> |



Staatspresidentsminuut No 0024

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
vaardig ek hierby die bygaande Proklamasie (Afrikaans en



Engels) uit waarby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED
DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie verklaar
word.

P. W. BOTHA

STAATSPRESIDENT

Datum 1986-09--8

L. LE GRANGE

MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



P R O K L A M A S I E

V A N D I E S T A A T S P R E S I D E N T

NO.

1986

VERKLARING VAN 'N ORGANISASIE TOT 'N GEAFFEKTEERDE ORGANISASIE

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 2(1) van die
Wet op Geaffekteerde Organisasies, 1974 (Wet 31 van 1974),
verklaar ek hierby die organisasie bekend as die UNITED



P R O C L A M A T I O N

B Y T H E S T A T E P R E S I D E N T

NO.

1986

DECLARATION OF AN ORGANIZATION TO BE AN AFFECTED ORGANIZATION

Under the powers vested in me by section 2(1) of the Affected Organizations Act, 1974 (Act 31 of 1974), I hereby declare the



DEMOCRATIC FRONT tot 'n geaffekteerde organisasie.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van
Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad op hede die 8ste
dag van September Eenduisend Negehonderd
Ses-en-tagtig.

P. W. BOTHA
STAATSPRESIDENT

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

L. LE GRANGE
MINISTER VAN DIE KABINET



organization known as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT to be an affected organization.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at *Cape Town* this *8th* day of *September* One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-six.

P. W. BOTHA

STATE PRESIDENT

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

L. LE GRANGE

MINISTER OF THE CABINET

