

**E1, 2, 3 & 4**

**ASSESSOR**

# E1

No 19 5/8/87  
17/8/87

(20) - 15/9/87, 17/9/87  
24/9, 25/9

(21) 7/10/87

Laurence T. - 24/2/88



The general secretary was instructed to make a follow up on the patronage issue of Bishop Tutu.

The National Secretariat was mandated to consider the Mrs. King's scheduled visit to SA. and give recommendation on the matter.

### 5.1.2 SOME TACTICAL QUESTIONS

It was stated that some questions such as the sharing of platform with PFP member by the UDF representative in NATAL could affect the unity of the front. Feelings were expressed that the matter should have been discussed with other regions before. Also expressed was need for the UDF to be able to pick the right moment for certain tactics.

### 5.1.3 PAPER ON THE FRONT

A paper explaining a front was presented. The N.E.C. recommended the paper be improved to include:

- 20  
25/9/87
- (a) Specific issues such as conditions leading to the formation front.
  - (b) Guidelines on the how to develop a common approach within the front.
  - (c) Guidelines on the how to conduct ourselves at mass level.
  - (d) How the UDF could be popularised and legitimatised.
  - (e) How the fronts worked in other countries.
  - (f) Showing of specific conditions that make the UDF different from other alliances.
  - (g) Response to questions raised about the UDF.
  - (H) Assesment of whether the UDF has reached a stage of a tactical alliance.
  - (i) Explanation of multi - class fronts.

#### 5.1.4 OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS LEADING TO FORMATION OF THE UDF

##### A BRIEF ANALYSIS

A brief analysis of conditions leading to the formation of the UDF was given. Also examined was the change in the state. Attitude towards the UDF since the National launch in August 1983. This change had been characterised by amongst others, the banning of UDF meetings and those of its affiliates and arrests of members of the front.

##### 5.1.4.2 RESPONSE TO STATE STRATEGY

The change in the state attitude meant that the UDF

Had to seize the initiative

Had to broaden its base

Had to deepen organisation

Make organisations to sign the UDF Declaration as a way of making them feel part of the Front

| Had to intensify creation of new organisations.

Had to provide training on various aspects eg. How to call meetings, How to make posters, pamphlets, banners, etc.

| Had to help organize an effective boycott.

##### 5.1.4.3 REMOVALS AND RELOCATIONS

A representative of the surplus People's project addressed the N.E.C. on removals and relocations.

*Laurin  
24/2/83*

##### SOME IMPORTANT POINTS

The following are some of the important points on the question of removals and relocations.

- (a) Bantustans benefit from removals in terms of increase of population.
- (b) Resistance to removals is increasing in areas where there are communities as opposed to isolated families on farm lands.

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- (c) Squatter settlements - have a potential for organisation.
- (d) Unemployed rural people have nothing to loose therefore, there exist/  
potential for organisation.

5.1.4.4 INVOLVEMENT OF OUTSIDERS IN REMOVALS OF THE COMMUNITIES.

24/2/88  
C. M. M. T. R.

Examining the involvment of outsiders the following were observed -

That it was easy for outsider to undermine the people.

Progressive groups had to attend meetings when invited by communities threatened with removals and participate in debates to provide clarity.

Politicise in the rural areas were very complex reactionary groups/ organisations were often viewed as progressive.

That there were local committees formed by the people to resist removals.

It was reported that a workshop on removals and relocation was being planed by the S.P.P. for December 1983.

6.1

REFERANDUM - COLOURDS AND INDIANS

It was noted that the YES and NO vote had become a reality. The question of the Coloured and Indian communities had to be addressed adequately.

It was reported that an interim committee had been formed in Natal by the N.I.C. and that the weekend of 12 - 13 November had been declared the Anti Constitutional proposals weekend.

It was observed that the success of the boycott campaign against the BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES in Soweto was going to be decisive in terms persuading the Indian and Colourds communittees not to accept the Constitution, according it was decided that the UDF through its regions should ensure the success of the campaign.

6.1.1

STATE STRATEGY

It was felt that the government was likely to intensify its propaganda.

That they (Govt.) were likely to target rural areas were political consciousness was very low.

That cevil servants were likely to be called upon to support the "reforms" offensive.

6.1.2

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Noting the <sup>seriousness</sup> series of the implications of the new constitution for the democratic movement, in particular the Coloured and Indian National groups, the N.E.C. decided to recommend to all regions that a special National Conference be held in Port - Elizabeth from 16 to 18 December 1983.

The conference would determine the UDF response to both the referendum and elections for the tri - cameral parliament for Indians and Coloureds.

The National Secretariat was mandated to work out the details of the conference.

6.1.3 SOME SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

PUBLIC POSTURE

It was agreed that there existed the need for the UDF to take a particular public posture.

The N.E.C. recommended a call for a referendum stating previous demands for the National Convention.

6.1.4 INCREASE SUPPORT

The following were suggested as way of increasing the support for the UDF.

- (a) Consultations with organisations which are not yet part of the front must be initiated.
- (b) That regions must up date the lists of their affiliates and submit same to general secretary by November 16 1983.
- (c) That General Secretary compile and compare lists submitted by regions with the list of organisations registered in Cape Town on 20 August 1983.
- (d) That subcommittees of three members per region be recommended for purposes of facilitating consultations.

6.1.5 INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Invitation extended to the National publicity secretary by the Dutch church groups was accepted.

It was recommended that information about the UDF be made available to agencies for publicity abroad.

6.1.6 SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

It was decided that a million signature campaign must be initiated.

(a) HOW CAMPAIGN COULD BE USED EFFECTIVELY

It was stated that the campaign had:

- To be built into organisational work.
- To be used to strengthen organisations
- A vital propaganda value.

(b) OTHER DETAILS

Regions were requested to "work out the practicalities" of the campaign.

- To present their proposals before the conference scheduled for for P.E. in December.

6.1.6.1 TIME LIMIT

It was recommended that the campaign starts at the beginning of January 1984 and the end of April 1984

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15/9/8

6.1.6.2 IDEOLOGICAL IMPACT

To create an ideological impact of the UDF the N.E.C. recommended the following

- (a) Letters be written to the commercial press by the UDF members and symbolic persons supporting the Front.
- (a) Symbols such as badges, T - Shirts, UDF colours, calendars etc be used.

6.1.6.3 TRAINING

21  
7/10/87

It was decided that the National Secretariat must recommend that regions set up training committees. The task of the committees amongst others would be to identify areas where training is needed, plan programmes which would include the UDF documents.

6.1.6.4 CONSTRICTION

No 19  
6/10/87

The Western Cape Region was instructed to form a commission on the question of constriction.

It was decided that the youth organisations affiliated to the Front be encouraged to spearhead the campaign.

The General Secretary was instructed to make available to the Western Cape Region all affiliated youth groups.

6.1.6.5 ENGAGING THE STATE

It was decided that :

- (a) A follow up letter be written to the Prime Minister.
- (b) Applications for passport by N.E.C. members be made.
- (c) It be recommended to General Councils of all regions that the possibility of a meeting with PRIME MINISTER be discussed.

CONDITIONS FOR MEETING PRIME MINISTER BE LAID DOWN.



## 7. REPORTS

### 7.1 WESTERN CAPE

Western Cape region gave a verbal report. Stated that a written report had been posted to General Secretary.

#### 7.1.1 FINANCIAL STATEMENT

A financial statement was presented by Western Cape Region.

#### 7.1.2 HONOURARY MEMBERSHIP

Investigating possibility of opening up honourary membership as a way of fund raising.

#### 7.1.3 SELF - SUFFICIENCY OF AFFILIATES

Affiliate organisations to be self - sufficient

Income of Regional to be used for common projects and trips of N.E.C. members and secretariat members in Western Cape.

UDF video sold to organisation for R50 00.

### 7.2 NATAL

Natal submitted a written report.

#### 7.2.1 FOSATU

Natal reported that FOSATU workers in Durban supported Peoples Weekend call. (go slow form of support).

#### 7.2.2 PIETERMARITZBURG

FOSATU organised a people's rally.

#### 7.2.3 LAMONTVILLE

People rejected inclusion into Kwa Zulu. People threatened with violence by Inkatha.

#### 7.2.4 STATEMENT

Statement given to the the Kwa Zulu legislative assembly and describing Rev. Xundu as a porn .... was repudiated by N.E.C.

#### 7.2.5 VIDEO - PEOPLES RALLY

Natal will make available to regions and H/O video of the people rally.

#### 7.3.1 TRANSVAAL

Transvaal Region reported that its POA had been implemented. That included -

- Mass meetings in various centres.
- Workshops.
- Publication by affiliates eg. YCS.
- About 5 000 and 6 000 copies of UDF news Volume no. 3 had been confiscated but were later returned by the Police.

#### 7.3.2 AZANIA TRUST

Letter from Azania Trust requesting literature and articles about the UDF was presented.

ICSA

Icsa's relationship with the UDF was reported as being of non-affiliation.

#### 7.3.3 RURAL AREAS

It was reported that people continue to be forced out of the historical lands by the state and Bantustans.

- Those resisting removals had their passes and houses burnt out.
- It was very difficult to organize in rural areas.
- UDF MUST ADDRESS THE PROBLEM OF SURVIVAL OF THE REMOVED AND RELOCATED COMMUNITIES.

## 7.4 EASTERN CAPE

The Eastern Cape would submit typed report to General Secretary.

### 7.4.1 UDF LAUNCH IN P.E.

Consultations were reported to be at advanced stages. It was stated that the Eastern Cape region was considering to launch the UDF region on 4 December 1983.

### 7.4.2 SPEAKERS

A request was made for comrades, Lekota, ED. Naidoo and Dr. Allan Boesak to be speakers at the Eastern Cape launch on 4 December 1983.

### 7.4.3 MATTERS ARISING

Eastern Cape was not receiving enough UDF News. Western Cape stated that in view of the expansion of the region they were not going to cope with the burden of catering for Eastern Cape in the future.

Eastern Cape was asked to forward their budget for the launch and also to state how much they could raise on their own.

## 7.5. BORDER REGION

It was reported that :

The border region had finally been launched on the 15 October 1983.

85% of the commuters were still boycotting the buses in Ciskei.

Brutal repression still going on, students were still being arrested. A call was made to the UDF to address Ciskei problem adequately.

## 7.6. NORTHERN CAPE

It was reported that a UDF consultative committee had been formed in the Northern Cape.

Consultations were going on in various centres of the region local structures were being formed.

One of the structures the Kimberly Action League was planning a mass meeting for 20 November 1983 where the General Secretary was invited to speak.

## 8. DEMARCATION OF WESTERN CAPE

It was reported that the Western Cape region had already started organising part of the Northern Cape. It was therefore going to be difficult to differentiate between Northern Cape and the part that constitute Western Cape part. The National secretariat was mandated to investigate the demarcation of the Northern Cape.

9 GENERAL SECRETARY

A report from the General Secretary was received. The report included developments in the Border, OFS, and the Northern Cape regions.

10 PUBLICITY SECRETARY

10.1 MEDIA AND DIPLOMATIC MATTERS.

Report from the Publicity secretary was received. In his report he expressed concern at the irregularities regarding the production of UDF news, eg. Natal had not been able to produce second issue of the UDF news in time whilst Cape Town could not print it at all.

He reported significant progress in terms of relations with news papers, the media in general and also on the diplomatic plane.

10.2 OFFICE AND PETTY CASH

The publicity secretary reported that he would move into a new office in Durban and that Petty cash, typewriter would be required.

10.3 TRANSVAAL AND PUBLICITY

It was noted that Transvaal had issued a pamphlet on Inkatha and press release on the results of the referendum without consulting with the Publicity Secretary. Transvaal accepted the critics in and promised to avoid a repetition of the same mistake in the future.

Telescope Office Files

**E2**

No 10	29/1/87
	3/2/87 for 7
No (9)	6/1, 2,
No (20)	25/9/87

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E2

1. MASS MEETINGS:

- 1.1 Mass Meetings were held in Kagiso 1, Kagiso 2, various parts of Soweto, Alexandra, Riverlea, Lenasia, Turfloop, Mansieville, // Cartonville, Sebokeng, Wits, Kathlabong, Eldorado Park, Actonville, Soshanguwe, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Medunsa.
- 1.2 All of these mass meetings were held in the name of the local // affiliates. In almost all of these meetings the focus was either the Constitution Act or the Black Local Authorities Act.
- 1.3 The S.A. Catholic Bishop's Conference held a mass meeting which was addressed by UDF-speakers.

2. WORKSHOPS:

No 9  
3/3/83 // Workshops were conducted in the Northern Transvaal, Kagiso, Lenasia, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Tsakane, Johannesburg, Actonville, Laudium, Vaal and Bosmont. In addition CUSA has held a workshop and the YCS is conducting a series of internal workshops.

- // 3. Discussions are being held with the S.A. Black Taxi Drivers Association. A meeting with AZAPO is scheduled for 11 November 1983.

4. PUBLICATIONS:

Apart from "UDF News";

- // 4.1 "DON'T VOTE", a leaflet on Black Local Authorities.  
4.2 Information leaflet on Ciskei.  
4.3 UDF Declaration.  
4.4 YCS Booklet for Churches.  
4.5 "What is Inkatha up to?"

5. CISKEI REPRESSION:

The SAAWU and BORDER SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE has been formed. The Committee consists of representatives from GAWU, MGWUSA, SASDA, SAAWU, AFCWU, CCAWUSA, JUEP, DESCOM, OVGWU, CUSA, and MAWU. A joint press conference and a solidarity mass meeting was held. The UDF - information leaflet was distributed by thetrade unions and a dossier of press clippings was circulated to a wide range of organisations. The committee has also appointed a sub-committee to co-ordinate fund raising.

6. NGOYA UNIVERSITY KILLINGS:

A joint UDF-AZASO memorial service was held. The service was addressed by speakers from UDF, Azaso, Azapo, and SOYCO. A leaflet on Inkatha was published and a delegation would represent the UDF at the Bushbuckridge funeral today.

7. BLACK LOCAL AUTHORITIES ELECTIONS:

No 10  
31/2/87  
A programme of door-to-door work, house meetings and mass meetings would culminate in a series of rallies at the end of November. The process has been set into motion in all areas except in certain East Rand townships.

8. RURAL AREAS:

Workshops have been held in Northern and Western Transvaal areas. A field worker is to tour Eastern Transvaal next week. The feasibility of the establishment of a Northern Transvaal sub-region is being considered. It has been noted that at this point in time we do not have the resources to do justice to the vast rural areas.

9. NATIONAL PEOPLE'S WEEKEND:

- 9.1 Over Friday and Saturday, placard demonstrations were held in Lenasia, Coronationville, Bosmont, Newclare and the City Centre.
- 9.2 200 000 copies of the Declaration were distributed.
- 9.3 Mosques and Church services were dedicated to the People's Weekend in certain areas.
- 9.4 The UDF Video was screened in some areas.
- 9.5 Discussion groups were set up.
- 9.6 15 000 posters and 100 3m banners were displayed.
- 9.7 The People's Rally was attended by about 5 000 people from all parts of the province and Northern Cape. The Rally was held at the Nur-ul-Islam and Fatidar Halls. Speakers at the rally were Bishop Tutu, N. Motlana, A. Mokoena, E. Jassat, I. Mohamed, D. Webster and F. Baard.

10. REFRESSION:

- 10.1 Three RMC Meetings, a TIC meeting, a MOCA meeting and a UDF national secretariat meeting were banned in addition to the banning of meetings which were to commemorate the 1977 bannings.
- 10.2 5 000 copies of UDF News no. 2, 10 000 copies of UDF News no. 3 and 3 000 People's Weekend leaflets were confiscated in numerous separate incidents. All of these have subsequently been recovered.
- 10.3 20 UDF-News distributors were detained for 2 days in Pretoria and a number of other volunteers were detained briefly.

10.4 A.Mokoena was detained for five hours.

10.5 9 people were charged for distributing leaflets over the People's Weekend.

11. Moss Chikane was elected as joint secretary of UDF Transvaal and M.Vally has been appointed on a full time basis.



*E. Kamsobu' Dku*

**E3**

Stairwell : 85-02-19 - 07h45.

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J.L.

REPORT OF N.E.C. MEETING HELD  
ON 5TH AND 6TH NOVEMBER 1983

1. P.E. CONFERENCE - 16th, 17th and 18th December 1983.  
P.W.'S major thrust was going to be in the Indian and Coloured sector. Important to hold conference to plan National strategy in Labour Party stronghold Port Elizabeth - referendum question to be discussed and decision taken.
2. MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN  
Natal will have to collect 300 000 signatures between 1/1/84 and 30/4/84.
3. LETTER TO P.W. BOTHA  
Should discuss follow up and to discuss other ways to get the State to relate to United Democratic Front.
4. CONSCRIPTION  
W. Cape will do research and let us have feedback on how to intensify campaign.
5. UNSTRUCTURED REGIONS  
Eastern Cape region will be launched on 4/12/1984.  
R.D. Naidu required as speaker.  
Free state preparing to launch early in 1984.  
Northern Cape will also look at possibility of launching early 1984.
6. COMMUNITY COUNCILS  
Campaigns against community council elections are continuing
7. INTERNATIONAL  
Many more support messages were obtained from organisations in Europe
8. ORGANISATION  
Regions are urged to strengthen organisations and draw in more support from additional organisations

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**E4**

No 10 : 3/2/87

opening & welcome: Edgar Ngoyi

He condemned the removals in Eastern Cape and urged that a comradely spirit must be maintained at the conference. Discussion must be objective.

2. Presidential Address. Archie Gumede.

Main points:

1. World attention on this conference.
2. The focus was on so-called tempo of change:-
3. However we must be cognisant of the differences in the constraints in the different areas. An example of this was in the History of S.A. where Cape & Natal had qualified franchise and when this was taken away - political movement sprung up and greater political awareness grew. So also now there were differences in the levels of political awareness & development in different sectors.
4. Emphasised the need to understand & implement democratic processes in our work:-
  - (a) full & thorough discussions.
  - (b) full participation.
  - (c) communication must be effective.
  - (d) majority decisions.
  - (e) all must be bound by majority decision.
  - (f) flexibility more desirable to rigidity.

(2)

(g) Unity must be developed in action

5 Problems:

1. communal problems — aggravated by group areas & state policy.

No 10  
3/2/87 But in work-place all communities had access to each other — important therefore to identify common purpose & aim to thereby dismantle apartheid & race divisions

The main aim of the new constitution was to strengthen apartheid & its military might. Blacks were being harassed by removals & homelands system.

The need for concrete tangible unity was necessary, the aim must be to achieve National concordance & full human rights for every person.

3. Report from T. h. — Bishop Tutu accepted patronship of U.D.F.

Dr Boesak — sent a message of solidarity.

34 German organisations pledged solidarity with U.D.F.

4. Secretarial Report. Popo Molefe.

(a). State Crisis.

i. in the field of education.

ii labour front.

(iii) political front.

(iv) economic front.

(v) the housing back log & community struggles.  
As resistance grows so the crisis deepens.

### Evaluation:

1. Regions - u.D.F. started with 3 regions, Now new reg formed in E. Cape, Border, and O.F.S. and intention is to extend to all areas.
2. Recently there has been a mushrooming of civics and other organisations.
3. People must be won to accept ideals of u.D.F.
4. Thousands of people were mobilised in response to news-letters, peoples rallies etc.
5. People have demonstrated their support by:-
  1. Coloured management committee:- low poll.
  2. African areas:- low polls.
  3. Cis-kei - National & International response to call against this rule.

### Problems:

1. u.D.F. drew many leaders from local organisations & as a result day-to-day work of local organisations was affected u.D.F. took priority to local work.
2. u.D.F. must evolve a programme of action to overcome this and to build at both levels.
3. Process of democracy very important & must be addressed - barriers to these

④

processes was the prevailing scepticism and fear of politics.

4. New deal - affects people differently - this is deliberate & is imposed on us. -

(a) States-response: - process of re-structuring its rules but to continue domination by policy of divide & rule - implement black authorities, removals and isolate working class. ① it set up commissions resulting in P.C. & Kwaana Bills.

② it also made an alliance between military and big business, and a

③ shift from parliamentary control to big business. ④ policy of destabilisation of neighbouring states - all this in "defence against communism" but in actuality it hit out not only at those forces attacking S.A. but also those struggling for progressive structures within their country.

Our response:

No 10  
3/2/87 1. organisation against states re-structure  
ing is growing and strengthening.  
2. Important to defend our hard won  
unity.

3. our strategy - ① to oppose the division of our people - (formation of U.D.F.)

② building organisations

③ taking up peoples struggles.

④ developing democratic organisations at various levels

Stairwell : 85-02-19. (5), 07h45

Thrift E.L

U.D.F. Formed :-

1. to co-ordinate local struggles
2. to take away initiative from the State  
    & to act.
3. to co-ordinate activities .
4. to encourage unity
5. oppose Bills designed to divide .
6. deepen understanding of people of  
    issues facing them .