

DAAD 58

Udf, sy geaffilieerdes, die ANC en AZAPO, almal samesweerders, het dieselfde standpunt t.a.v. tuislande en onafhanklike State soos die Ciskei, Venda ens. - hul erken nie die State en gebiede nie, en verklaar dat die gebiede steeds deel van die RSA is, en dat, hy magsoorname, die gebiede almal weer by die RSA se grondgebied ingelyf sal word.

Om die rede veral word die S.A. Regering, die tuislande- en onafhanklike State se regerings en instellings van daardie gebiede by die massas afgekraak en word die massas opgesweep om die beleid van die regering en die instellings te verwerp as 'n klomp "sell-outs", geen werklike leiers, maar lakeie van die S.A. Regering en mense met geen integriteit wat omgekoop is en wat nie die massas verteenwoordig nie.

1. Bew. B. 3

In sy presidensiële rede propageer die AZAPO-leier in 1983 aan die massas dat die tuisland-leiers die lakeie van die Regering is - ooglopend om hul in diskrediet by die massas te bring en die massas teen hul op te sweep.

2. Bew.. B. 7

Die National Forum het Junie 1983 die massas geïndoktrineer en gepropageer teenoor hul dat hul onmiddellik moet eis die

"Reintegration of the 'bantustam' human dumping grounds into a unitary Azania."

3. Bew./...

3. Bew. B. 12 en AB. 16

Ook AZASO, in sy beleidsdokument sweep die massas op om die tuislangde te beskou as "human dumping-grounds", en om nie die selfregerende state te erken nie.

AB. 16 is diemanufes van AZAPO, en verklar in identiese terme hul beleid t.a.v. die tuislangde

4. Bew. C. 20

Hierdie dokument, wat by UDF in Johannesburg gevind is, en wat ex facie die streek se toespraak is, sweep die massas teen die Regering op en veroordeel die tuislande as:

"Forlorn backgrounds of this land where they were to become "nations" in there own hush republics". - p. 6 (genommer 2)

en word die massas tot verenigde aksie opgeroep:

"We are expected to remain contend to ike out a life of poverty, when the glossy palaces of the ruler and his economic might are built on the blood, sweat and tears of our people. We are expected not te resist this shameful and humiliating existence, when we raise our voices in rejection we are banned, when a sense of manhood and self-respect in us prompt us to resist this unacceptable and inhuman state of affairs, we are jailed, exiled, called agitators and terrorists." . p. 7 (genommer 3)

Die oproep vir eenheid:

"At this hour in the story of an unfolding struggle for Democracy in our country, there is a definite, almost urgent need for unity....they must use various methods of recovering it, in our circumstances we have a mass based broad front which will effectively frustrate and lening to failure all of the facts mouldy proposals/...

proposals." - p. 14 (genommer 9)

5. Bew. C. 27

die samesweerder, G. Mohamed, en 'n leidende lig in UDF, het in hierdie "assessment of likely Events" die kampanjes van UDF genoem, en dan op p. 4 spel hy uit dat:

The above (al die knelpunte wat hy genoem het, soos rural poverty, unemployment, housing" ens.), and other issues, must fuel township dissatisfaction and uprisings."

Dit is dus, met respek hieruit duidelik dat hulle in UDF weet en besef die knelpunte moet tot oproer lei, en tog noem hul die knelpunte vir "verenigde aksie".

6. Bew. C. 55

In hierdie stuk, wat ex facie die dokument 'n onderhoud met Terrer Lekota (besk. 20) is, maar wat by be-Marobe, 'n mede-samesweerder, gevind is, word gewys op die belang van tuislande om die massas te organiseer en word erken dat die knelpunt van tuislande deel van die doel van UDF is om die Regeringsbestel te vernietig.

"As the bantustan policy matures, the question of additional land for African people is going to become a daily issue...the fact that only 13 % of the land has been set aside for African people, has meant that this small area is literally overflowing we can't see how the government can call ^m this situation."

en

"Those bantustans are a part of apartheid. Part of the strategy to destroy apartheid is to destroy the bantustans as well." - pp. 1 en 5

7. Bew./....

7. Bew. C. 56

Hierdie is 'n addisionele stuk wat met die stukke van bew. C. 5 gelees moet word, en op p. 2 kom die rede vir die organisasie van die massas in die tuislande na vore:

"Also, because workers in urban areas are relatively more comfortable, it seems that a high level of militancy will come from these areas, ^{To ignore these areas,} is to ignore areas of high resistance." - p. 2

8. Bew. C. 75

In die dokument wat gekry is aan huis van M. Rangobin van NIC, 'n geaffilieerde, word NIC se beleid uiteengesit en word die massas opgesweep tot onteunediheid want:

"80 % of our people can not survive our 13 % of the country hand shall be in the hands of those who work it."

9. Bew. C. 102

In die stukke van die algemene vergadering van UDF (nasionaal) in 1985, word die massas opgesweep teen die staatshertel en word 'n eis gestel, as die begin van 'n proses van oorgang van die huidige

"oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state",

t.o.v. die tuislande.

"the immediate scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 ^L acts and all group areas Laws,...

the dissolution of the bantustams and the end of the migratory labour system" - p. 2 van die verklaring van

UDF/...

Die massas word op p. 11, in die Sekretariële verslag opgesweep om te aanvaar dat die grootste deel van die massas uitgewerp word na tuislande om daar te verhonger - p. 11, par. 8.5

10. Bew. C. 108

In hierdie opleidingskursus-verslag van Fedtraw, 'n geaffilieerde van UDF, word die vroue opgesweep met stellings soos: (p. 2)

"They are forced to stay in the poverty stricken homelands and scratch out a living.",

en dan word die vroue hierdie o.a. geïndoktrineer om te aanvaar dat hul

"must fight along side our men for a free and democratic South Africa. The women's struggle must be part and parcel of our struggle for national liberation." - p. 5

11. Bew. C. 132

In die memorandum word die massas in Noord transvaal opgesweep teen ons tuisland-leiers en die Regering:

"The worst features of apartheid and fascism show themselves clearly in the Bantustam. The tribal structures, the puppets and the homeland leaders are the worst hated symbols of the Bantustams." - p. 1

12. Die W. Reeks van bewysstukke

In verdere publikasies en besluite van UDF, sy geaffilieerdes en aktiewe ondersteuners, word die massas teen die regering opgesweep deur die tuisland-beleid, tuislande en tuislandleiers te propageer by die massas as onderdrukkers, plekke waar die massas heen gestuur word om te verhonger/...

ger, waar geen werk is nie, en word die leiers voorgehou as marionette en omgekooptes wat nie na die massas se belange omsien nie, maar hulself verryk:

(a) Bew W. 1 - State of the Nation - Aug. 1983:

"...once there, their shacks are demolished, forcing them back to the starvation which they hoped to escape."
- p. 16

(b) Bew. W. 1 p. 1 en 6

"Yet those who moved found just another dustbowl with even less to offer."

(c) Bew. W. 5, State of the Nation, Febr. 1985:

Die massas word hier ingelig dat dit nodig is vir hul om die omstandighede van die mense in die tuislande te verstaan.

"Bosses could only pay law wages because they know workers' families were stuck away on tine bantustam plots, scratching out whatever they could to stay alive, and because they knew that workers who organised against this could be removed and dumped in the veld, miles away." - p. 2

en ook'

"Traditional chiefs and headmen were turned into employees of the apartheid government, and used to keep rural people under control, either by using resources like land to reward friends and punish enemies, or by naked force." - p. 2

en

Finally,/....

Finally, the bantustams have healed the government and the bosses to turn their backs on the housing, healthcare and welfare needs of millions of South Africans. The homeless, the sick, the old and the disabled were moved out of urban areas and left to fend for themselves. And nothing has changed. - p. 2

Sien ook:

"For many the long wait outside a labour bureau for a job is an endless one - with no hope of escaping the mass prisons called "homelands" except illegally."
- p. 2

In die slot van die artikel word die Freedom Charter dan by die massas gepopulariseer as die alternatief. - p. 2

Sien verder p. 34 -

"But the focus of persuasion that induce chiefs to re-settle - such as tribes of luxurious farmhouses and choice land - become more difficult when officials are forced to negotiate with elected leaders of freehold areas. Pretoria's answer is to create chiefs if no real ones can be found."

en sien ook verder p. 37 - 43 van dieselfde publikasie wat op dieselfde trant geskryf is.

(d) Bew W. 6: UDF News: N-Tvl. - Vol. 1 No. 1:

In die nuusbrieff word die massas opgesweepte teen die Regering en tuislandleiers deur hul voor te hou as korrup, bloedsuiers en marionette van die Regering wat verantwoordelik is vir hul probleme:

"we/...

"We know Phatudi eats together with the apartheid regime which bring us suffering, and decease.

Phatudi's water machine will not finish our sufferings, only our Unity will, Unity under our organisations that want peace in our land.

Let us say in one voice, we do not want it, bloodsuckers such as Phatudi, Mphephu and others who bring us hunger, poverty, thirst and oppression.

We want our true leaders."

(e) Bew W. 8 Persverklaring van UDF van 23 Jan. 1985:

Hier word teenoor die massas gepropageer dat die oplossing vir die S.A. ekonomiese krisis geleë is o.a. in die "dismantling of the costly and unpopular Bantustans..."

(f) Bew. W. 12: Resolusie van Fedtraw, 'n geaffilieerde van UDF - Des. 1984:

"1. Many of our women throughtout South African are fighting bitter struggles to prevent forced removals.

2. That they refuse to move because they huan that there is only poverty and starvation in the bantustans, and that there is much repression in these areas."

- resolusie 4

(g) Bew. W. 15: AZASO Newsletter: Maart 1984:

"If people are staying in the Bantustans they are going to move to urban areas even if they have to go to jail, because the choice is between starvation or being in jail in an urban area." - p. 1, laaste par.

(h) Bew./...

- (h) Bew. W. 17: AZASO Orientation News: 1984

"The 'Cisheim' army and police regularly invade the Fort Hare Campus to crush the peaceful protests of students."

- (i) Bew. W. 23: SASPA National: Mei/Junie 1984

"Buthelezi has long been accused by students of being a government stooge for his role as chief minister in the government created Julu Bantstan." - p. 3, 4de kolom.

- (j) Bew. W. 24: UDF News: Okt. 1983

"Control is the name of the bantustan Jame. Struggle in the bantstans is far from the power centres of South Africa. And puppet 'governments' come down hard on any resistance." - p. 2, kolomme 2-3

- (k) Bew. W. 42: UDF News: Okt. 1984

"We are told to note for dummy leaders, violent Bantustan leaders, robbers in the new apartheid parliament."

- (l) Bew. W. 43: UDF News: (N-Kaap) Vol. 1 No. 1:

"P.W. Botha soek ons geld en ons seuns, maar hy is vasbeslote om apartheid te laat voortbestaan. Hy het uitgespel dat sy grondwet: ... swart manse moet met die arte bantoestans tevrede wees." - p. 1

- (m) Bew W. 44: UDF News (Tvl.): Aug. 1984

"We have mobilised against repression in the Ciskei and other bantustans" - p. 1

en

"sell-outs/....

"Sell-outs who take part in the new apartheid parliament will - like the so-called leaders in the bantustans - become junior partners in apartheid". - p. 3

en

"The Blacks will be pushed far away, to homelands (false homelands) of Seke and Mpephu. The government wants to exploit the Black person economically while not giving him a right in government." - p. 3 asook op p. 3, die laaste kolom.

(n) Bew. W. 45: UDF News (Wes-Kaap)

"To think that the government spend over R96 million a year to keep and force people out of towns! And how many millions on puppet governments in the bantustans? Your money and my money! How many houses, how many clinics could be built with this? Even one armoured car could build homes for many families. Instead they chase us like dogs!" - p. 2

(o) Bew. W. 55: NUSAS Pamflet:

"Not only are Africans entirely excluded, but the new constitution is premised on their permanent exclusion and on the irreversability of the bantustan policy." - p. 2, 1ste kolom

(p) Bew. W. 58: Congress Resister (TIC): Okt. 1984

Die hele publikasie is een beskuldiging op die ander teen die Regering en regerings-instellings, en 'n verheerliking van die UDF, die ANC en SAKP geskiedenis en bevat hul eise vir 'n "non-racial and democratic South Africa" - "free of the Group Areas Act and Bantustans." - p. 4

Wat/.....

Wat insiggewend is, is die kenteken wat op p. 1 van die publikasie regs-bo verskyn - dit is 'n variasie op die bekende "Freedom Wheel" van die ANC.

(q) Bew. C. 59: UDF News (Tvl.): Nov. 1983:

"A note for the councils is a note that will tell the government we are happy for them to keep on taking away our rights and putting us under the bantustans."
- p. 1

en ook

"As ons stem dan sê ons die Regering moet aangaan met die vuil verwydering van mense na die tuislande."
- p. 2 en 3

13. Bew. AA. 4: UDF Persverklaring: 12/12/84

Die massas word opgesweep teen die Regering vir verenigde aksie deur te propageer dat die sg. "Black Christmas" - campaign in solidariteit met "...Those dying of hunger in the Bantustans...", gevoer word - met die uitsluitlike doel natuurlik vir mobilisasie -

"It is therefore an attempt to win people onto the side of those committed to change" - p. 2

14. Bew. AA. 7: UDF-pamflet:

Die pamflet wat ooglopend vir verspreiding bedoel is, verklaar ook t.a.v. die "Black Christmas" dat "There is nothing to rejoice about. Let us remember:

"X...

X Those dying of hunger in the Homelands...

The joke about Homelands, we do not agree with...

The oppression under this government is unbearable, we can not carry the burden any longer.

How can we celebrate X-mas and new year ... when

we/...

we are out of employment, and dying of hunger in Homelands?"

Die pamflet is met die seën van East Rand UDF area committee, Fedsaw, TIC, RSM, BLY, ERAPO, SAAWU, COSAS en RCA o.a. uitgegee - almal geaffilieerdes van UDF.

15. Bew. AB. 28: UDF rondskrywe:

In hierdie dokument word, as deel van die sg. "Education Charter", gepropageer dat die "reintegration of bantustan structures into a democratic national system" deel moet uitmaak van die toekomstige onderwysstelsel.

16. Bew. AC. 4

In die resoluëie word die Tuislande voorgehou as:

"Barren, overcrowded and impovenished."

17. Bew. AC. 7:

In die AZASO-pamflet word die massas teen die Regering en "tuislandregerings" opgesweep en word beweer.

"Black education in South African has reached another crisis point with the racist state and its bantustan extensions more prepared to crush student opinion in our campuses and schools."

18. Bew. AD. 16: ECC-pamflet:

Om die massas teen konskripsie te indoktrineer, word aan hul voorgehou dat die Regering die weermag gebruik om mense wat teen verskuiwings na tuislande gekant is, te forseer. Aan die massas word die tuislande, om hul simpatie op te wek, voorgehou as "the impoverished homelands or bantustans, which were the most underdevelopment and improductive areas."

19. Bew./...

19. Bew. AJ. 7: NEC-verklaring van UDF:

Die massas word geïndoktrineer om te aanvaar dat die tuislande "distant wastelands" is en dat tuislande en seefregering op die massas afgedruk word.

20. Bew. AJ. 16: Verklaring van UDF 20/9/83:

Die massas word opgesweep teen die S.A. Regering en geïndoktrineer om te aanvaar dat

"Bantustan structures will increasingly be used to suppress any resistance to their apartheid policies."

21. Bew. AL. 64: Anti-P.C.-verklaring: 16/2/84:

In die verklaring deur die samesweerde I. Mohamed namens die anti-P.C., 'n affiliaal van UDF, word die massas teen die Grondwet, Regering en tuislandleiers opgesweep, en beweer I. Mohamed:

"We shall make it our duty to inform the community fully what serious dangers the constitution holds for us - we will become junior partners in imposing apartheid on the oppressed people helping to dump African people in the barren homelands to die of starvation, poverty and disease.

22. Bew. AL. 135: SCA-pamflet:

Die SCA sweep die massas op teen Raadslede en die verkiesing deur gebruikmaking van die knelpunt:

"A vote for the apartheid constitution is a note for: support for the government condemning us to the Bantustans..."

Remember/...

Remember....

The Hendrickse's Rajbansi's etc. and their counterparts like bantustan leaders have no right to claim to represent the African majority."

23. Bew. AL. 138: UDF-pamflet:

UDF sweep die massas op deur te beweer dat die massas se belastinge aangewend word deur die regering:

"To keep the bantustan governments in power and force people to live there."

24. Bew. AL. 139: UDF-pamflet:

Die pamflet is uitgegee ooglopend met die doel om kerke en kerkgangers in UDF se doeleindes te mobiliseer en beweer o.a.

"Why UDF rejects the constitution. African's will carry on being deprived of S.A. citizenship and forced into Bantustans."

25. Bew. AL. 150: UDF-persverklaring:

Besk. 19 propageer hier namens UDF dat die regering nie eerlik is met sy beleid van dialoog nie, en sweep die massas teen die Regering op deur o.a. te eis dat

"the reversal forthwith of the hated policy of Bantustans"

o.a. sal bewys dat die Regering eerlik in sy motiewe is.

1. Die organisasie van Vroue om te deel in die Vryheidstryd is by die ANC van groot belang en met die verklaring van die jaar van eenheid in aksie word vroue opgeroep om te organiser op groot skaal om as verenigde mag deel te neem aan die vryheidstryd.

Sechaba Februarie 1982 p. 9 AAE 2

"We call upon our women folk to raise the cry for vengeance against those who are murdering, maiming and torturing our sons and daughters for their participation in our struggle. You~~x~~ have already demonstrated that you do choose between dying in defence of apartheid or joining the noble cause of national liberation."

2. Mayibuye No. 9 ^{way} 1983 op p. 7 - BEW. AAF 8

Dit is van kardinale belang om daarvan kennis te neem dat die kampanje vand-ie jaar van die vroue en om vroue te verenig vir deelname in die Vryheidstryd. Hierdie kampanje is net so opgeneem en bedryf deur UDF.

"The decision by the ANC to name 1984 the year of the women was taken in recognition of the immense contribution of the women to the struggle for liberation in South Africa."

Daar is vrou wat kop en skouers uitstaan bo andere in die voer van die vryheidstryd en diens van die ANC. So is daar in die UDF en nog steeds prominent in die Stryd, Albertina Sisulu. (n Skets van haar aktiwiteite word verskaf).

"During the launching of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Cape Town on the weekend of 20th August, the tens of thousands of those who attended the historic event were given so many names of participants who couldn't be present. One of them, one of the UDF Presidents/...

Presidents, Mrs. Albertine Konsikelelo Sisula, could not be there because she had been arrested earlier and charged with furthering the aims of the ANC."

h Tweede vrou wat voorgehou word as h navolgingswaardige heldin van die massas is Dora Tamana, h Persoon wat ook besonder aktief is in die aktiwitiete van UDF en dan word h oproep gedoen om organiseer agter leiers van die stryd.

*ANC
Konsikelelo* | "We must rally behind stalwarts like Francis Baard, another UDF patron, Helen Joseph"

3. Mayibuye No. 1 van 1984 - Bew. AAF 10 - p. 1 ,

O. Tambo het 1984 amptelik namens die ANC verklaar as die jaar van die vrou en h oproep gedoen dat die vroue in die RSA georganiseer en gemobiliseer word as h aktiewe mag vir rewolusionere verandering. Ook hierdie oproep het UDF opgeneem en h kampanje gevoer om vroue in die RSA te verenig vir deelname aan die vryheidstryd.

| "In the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress I declare 1984 the year of the women, and charge the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country with the task of joining in the effort to mobilise our women to unite in struggle for people's power." |

Mobilise and March Forward for People's power!!!!

It will be our special task this year to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force revolutionary change."

4. Mayibuye No. 2 van 1984 - Bew. AAF 11 - p. 3

(1) Wanneer daar deur die ANC sowel as UDF verwys word na die platteland en Tuislande is dit altyd met enersluidende en oordrewe argumente van onderdrukking en hongersnood.

"As/...

"As one approaches the bantustans ... people and livestock."

(2) Die organisering en mobilisering van hierdie mense en veral die vroue is vir beide UDF en ANC van kardinale belang.

"There is no doubt that these masses of our people, condemned to spend their lives in such misery, possess tremendous revolutionary potential for the bitter struggle that lies ahead. And, since the women are in the majority ... it is essential that they be organised into a fighting force..."

(3) Stedelike en plattelandse organisasie en mobilisasie is ^{vir} alle rewolusies van besondere belang.

"As has happened with all successful popular revolutionary struggle in the world, it is essential for us to combine urban and rural organisation ~~and~~ mobilisation ... Presently, we have achieved a relatively advanced level of urban organisation and must do the same with rural masses, especially the women, in this year of the women."

(4) 'n Lang lys van ANC/UDF argumente volg waarom die platteland in die toestand is en dan word gestel.

"The question of migrant labour and in-flux control must then form one of the core issues around which we organise the rural women ..."

(5) Ook Tuislande moet gebruik word om te organiseer en te mobiliseer,

"To avert the situation means organising these women against the bantustan administrations who are collaborating in the fascist schemes to make the Bill into law..."

(6) Net/...

(6) Net so ~~moet~~ die massas rondom die land vraagstuk georganiseer en gemobiliseer word.

"On the question of organising ... Seize the land."

(7) Die Tuislande bied geen heenkome aan die vrouens nie en op die plase word vrouens en kinders uitgebuit. Daarom:

"For the successful revolutionary overthrow of the fascists we cannot afford to leave this important section of our people unorganised."

(8) Om die vroue te organiseer en te mobiliseer moet daardie vraagstukke wat hulle kan verenig, uitgesoek word.

"To achieve the task of bringing the women together into strong, united organisations, we have to select those issues that can bring them together immediately and create the necessary grounds for national unity around such tasks as destroying the bantustan system and the struggle..."

(9) Sulke vraagstukke waarom vroue georganiseer kan word, is :

"Thus in the first step in the organisation of rural women, we must organise them around their immediate problems - removals, living and working conditions in the white farms and in the bantustans, health facilities etc."

(10) Die belangrikste van alles in hierdie artikel is egter die feit dat die ANC vir UDF openlik identifiseer met die "broad democratic front" waarna voorheen so dikwels verwys was het so belangrik is die feit dat die ANC aan UDF die taak van die organisering en mobilisering van die vrou opdra om sodoende die "democratic movement" te versterk.

"A broad democratic front like UDF should also take, as one of its priorities, the involvement of rural women. This would help further to deepen the roots of the democratic movement."

5. Voice of women No. 1 van 1983 - Bew. AAJ 1 - p. 1

"A Conquering Force!"

(1) Die rewolusioneres moet hulself organiseer in 'n oorwinningmag ooreenkomstig die oproep van die uitvoerende gesag van die ANC. Die rassiste verval dieper in 'n politieke en ekonomiese krisis. Die inisiatief is besig om oor te gaan in hulle hande - die hande van die massas. Daarom is die rassiste besig om voor te berei vir die krisis wat voorlê. Dit is een van die oorsake van konstitusionele veranderinge wat daarop gemik is om gesag te sentraliseer in die hande van die President.

(2) Daarom is dit vir hulle nodig om te organiseer:

"But we must organise ourselves 'Comrade Tambo said' for the capacity to attack effectively as well as defend ourselves effectively. We must organise ourselves into a conquering force. The level of our political and armed offensive must reach new heights during 1983. This will be the year of our united action.

(3) Die gehalte van organisasie wat oorwinning vereis, kan nie oornag bereik word nie daarom word die vereiste organisasie uitgespel.

"Obviously, the kind of organisation that victory demands of us cannot be achieved overnight. That is why it is important for us to fight on all fronts.

Comrade Tambo says:

'To increase our offensive, we must:

* Organise all the people into strong mass democratic organisations.

* Organise/...

* Organise all revolutionaries into units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and

* Organise all democratic forces into one united front for national liberation."

(4) Ons as vrou moet ons suksesse op aldie vlakke van die stryd ondersoek. Soos nooit te vore moet ons vroue organiseer om deel te vorm van demokratiese vroue organisasies.

"We have to struggle as never before to organise all our women into democratic ^womens organisations. It is only in conscious, organised struggle that we enhance our role in history, in changing our society. It is in such organisations that we learn to know the strength and the weaknesses of the racist enemy."

(5) Massa demokratiese organisasies alleen sal nie oorwinning te weeg bring nie en wanneer ons baklei oor huur is die doel daarvan nie om slegs tydelike oorwinnings te behaal nie. Dit is deel van ons nasionale stryd vir magsoorname.

"Victory cannot be won in mass democratic organisations alone. For when we fight rent battles, it is not just to win temporary victories. These are part of our national struggle for the seizure of power."

(6) Dit is maklik vir die vyand om op te tree teen openlike demokratiese organisasies en hulle te dwing om ondergronds te gaan soos bv. die ANC. Daarom moet ons die stryd ondergronds en nie openlik voer nie. Ons taak is om die ANC ondergronds te versterk. Dit is ons waarborg vir oorwinning. Op hierdie gebied is dit van kardinale belang om ons organisasies te beskerm.

"One/...

"One of the most important lesson we have to learn at this level of action, is to defend our organisations."

- (7) Gepaard met ondergrondse strydvoering is die aanslae van Umkhonto we Sizwe:

"The latest MK actions against racist targets like railway bridges, fascist supreme court and community council offices, show us once again that our struggle has reached the stage where the mass actions of the people go side by side with armed actions."

- (8) Een van hul vernaamste take is organisasie en mobilisasie:

"This places on our shoulders one of our most important tasks - to organise and mobilise more and more women into the ranks of our people's army. We must take up the spear and fight for our children.

We must also organise women to support and shelter our combatants inside the country. Our homes must become the bases from which we launch our attacks against the enemy. Guerilla warfare cannot succeed without the active support of the people. To undertake this tasks we have to organise ourselves into underground units."

- (9) n Ander baie belangrike taak is om hulle te organiseer in ondergrondse eenhede om die propaganda offensief te versterk. Rewolusionere publikasies en propaganda moet oorgeskryf en versprei word want.

"A newspaper is an organiser. It spreads ideas, stimulating, mobilising and guiding people into action. This is why the enemy fears our magazines and pamphlets. This is ^{why} he has banned all our literature We must spread the word of liberation. Pass Vow on. Pass it on to your friend. Pass it on to your neighbour/...

hour. Pass it on to your fellow worker. Pass it on to your children

Let 1983 be the year of organisation for the heightened onslaught."

6. Sechaba Januarie 1984 - Bew AAE 18 p. 1-3

(1) Die ANC het 1984 ~~verklaar~~ tot die jaar van die Vroue verklaar sodat hulle 'n rol kan vervul in die sg. nasionale vryheidstryd en in Suid-Afrika het UDF dit spesifiek opgeneem as een van sy kampanjes.

"The ANC has declared 1984 the year of the Women. There is ample reason for this. The declaration of 1984 as the year of the Women is a tribute to the militant struggles waged by the women of South Africa - that mighty detachment of our revolutionary struggle for national liberation and social emancipation"

(2) 'n Geskiedkundige oorsig word gelewer van vroue se aktiwiteite in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd en as deel van die ANC.

(3) Albertina Konstsikelelo Sisulu (een van die presidente van UDF per Bew. A. 1 p. 6) word spesiaal uitgesonder as 'n steunpilaar van die ANC wat 'n navolgingswaardige voorbeeld stel.

"There are scores of women who are daily harassed by the racist regime. If there is one woman we have to single out - as an example of many - it is Albertina Kantsikelelo Sisulu."

en op p. 3

"...neither will her influence wane: she has become one of the martyrs of our revolution."

(7) Sechaba/...

(7) Sechaba Februarie 1984 - Bew AAE 19 - p. 6

"South Africa's year of the Women a call to the people's!"

Die doel van die ANC om 1984 as die jaar van die vrou te verklaar is om vroue te betrek in die nasionale vryheidstryd:

"We have thus dedicated the coming year as confirmation of the resolve of the South African national liberation movement to see the women of our motherland play their rightful role in the forefront of the struggle for the destruction of the monstrous system of apartheid and the creation of a peaceful, democratic and non-racial South Africa."

8. Sechaba Oktober 1984 - Bew. AAE 26 - p. 8

"South African Women's Day"

(1) "Unity in action is the hallmark of the womens struggle" in Suid-Afrika en daarom word dit deurweef met UDF se nasionale kampanje teen die konstitusie.

"Hence, national Woman's day has been integrated into the nationwide campaign to reject and resist the fraudulent constitution under the theme 'Women Unite Against Botha's Deal.'"

(2) Persverklaring van Fedraw word verskaf en wat Albertina Sésulu te sê het. Dan wat een van die Prokureurs van die Verdediging se politieke aktiwiteite in die sameswering.

"Mrs. Priscilla Jana, a lawyer, told the rally that the new constitution would seal the fate of the black worker as more and more will become aliens in the ~~S~~country of their birth, Labour needs in the 'white' cities will be filled by contract workers, who will be seperated from their families as imigrants and who will not dare demand their rights for fear of
their/...

their contracts being cancelled. Anybody who participates in the new constitution will be as guilty as the perpetrators of this crime against the people participation is betrayal of the children of 1956. He who participates is a traitor. He must be branded as a sell-out and treated as a leper."

(3) Die gees van die Fedsaw vergadering word weerspieël in:

"One of the founders of Fedsaw and a patron of UDF, Mrs. Frances Beard, drew a storm of applause when she declared: 'We are on the march to freedom. If anyone stands in front of us, we are going to crush them.' Another women on the platform at the rally was Mrs. Sarah Mosololi, who is the courageous mother of the ANC freedom fighter, Jerry Mosololi, illegally executed by Pretoria in June 9th last year. During the meeting the audience stamped and clapped as they sang freedom songs and chanted the praise of ANC President, Oliver Tambo."

Let op die waarde wat geheg word aan hierdie simbole van die vryheidstryd.

9. Dawn Vol 7 No. 8 van 1983 - Bew. AAG 1 - p. 18

"Womans Forum - A Legacy to be Enriched."

10. Bewysstuk A. 1

(1) Die ANC beklemtoon in die besonder dat vroue georganiseer word om aktief deel te neem aan die vryheidstryd en deel te wees van die rewolusie van die massas. Hulle word selfs beskryf as 'n "Conquering Force". Volgens Bew. AAF 11 word bv. uitdruklik 'n beroep op UDF gedoen om:

"A/...

"A broad democratic front like UDF should also take as one of its priorities, the involvement of rural women. This would help further to deepen the roots of the democratic movement."

Die ANC beskryf homself by herhaling as die democratic movement. Dus moet UDF die vroue betrek en organiseer om die ANC te bevoordeel.

(2) Die UDF het dan ook 'n kampanje aanvaar met spesiale koppeling aan die vroue wat die land uitgevlug het en wat uit die aard van die saak deel vorm van die ANC dat vroue hulle skaar onder die vleuels van die UDF - Sien p. 25 Bew. A.1.

Die ANC en ook UDF het 'n kampanje gevoer om vrouens, en veral Swart vrouens, te organiseer en te betrek in organisasies ten einde die vrouens, en dan veral die Swart vrouens, in die RSA te mobiliseer, op te sweep en/of te aktiveer om deel te neem aan geweldpleging en/of handelingte waardeur die RSA onregeerbaar gemaak moes word en wat moes uitloop op 'n gewelddadige rewolusie deur die massas in die RSA.

1. Bewysstuk C35 (eerste dokument) wat in die UDF-kantore gevind is, bevat 'n kort skets van die ontstaan van die Federation of South African Women. Die doel met FEDSAW was, onder andere, om vrouens oor die hele land te organiseer en ook om hulle 'n rol te laat speel in die sogetoename stryd vir nasionale bevryding.
2. Op 'n konferensie van die Streekraad van UDF (Oos-Kaap) op 4 Desember 1983 het PEWO 'n resolusie voorgestel wat aanvaar is, om te affilieer by UDF om daardeur die nuwe grondwet en Koornhof-wette teen te staan en te veg vir 'n verenigde demokratiese en nie-rassistiese Suid-Afrika, omdat -

"No nation can be free unless the Women too are free, and that we women must stand shoulder to shoulder with our men folk in the common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination".

BEWYSSTUKKE: C46, p. 2;
C114, p. 3;
AD2, p. 3.

3. In Bewysstuk C78 verklaar JODAC dat een van die kwessies wat hulle gaan opneem, handel oor die rol van vrouens. Hulle stel dit dat die meeste vrouens nie georganiseer is in politieke vroue-organisasies nie en daarom gaan hulle hulle lede onderrig in verband met vroue-aangeleenthede en help om vrouens te organiseer om deel te neem aan en steun te gee aan die stryd van FEDTRAW - p. 3.

4. Op die opleidingskursus wat op 20 Januarie 1985 in Johannesburg gehou is as deel van die Freedom Charter-kampanje, het Raymond Suttner van UDF, 'n referaat gelewer waarin hy 'n politieke analise gedoen het van die Freedom Charter. Daarin het hy dit, onder andere, gestel dat die kwessie van vrouens in die Freedom Charter behandel word as deel van die breë vraagstuk van nasionale bevryding. Die Charter beklemtoon die algemene doel van gelykheid tussen mans en vrouens met betrekking tot demokratiese regte en betaling vir werk. Verder word sekere meer spesifieke eise gestel om dié breër oogmerke te verwesenlik.

BEWYSSTUK: C97, p. 26.

5. Op 7 April 1985 het UDF se Nasionale Algemene Raad sekere resolusies aanvaar. Dit is gekonstateer -

- "1. that the extent to which the women are organised is a barometer of the level of the struggle as a whole;
2. that many of our finest and bravest women have been forced into exile by the apartheid system, and experience hardship through banishment and imprisonment;
3. that this system thrives on division, one of which is the division between men and women, created by unequal wages and conditions of employment, inequality before the law, vicious applications of removals and pass laws against women, and the burden of responsibility for the home;

5. that despite the increased organisation of women, the oppression and hardship in the lives of South African women has intensified over the past ten years.

WE BELIEVE -

1. that the goal of full recognition of all women, of freedom and happiness for our children cannot be achieved in the present political and economic situation;
2. that oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed without removing the oppression of women;
3. that while the resources of a country, the product of the exploitation of the majority are used for the benefit of the majority, the women of South Africa like other workers will continue to be oppressed and exploited.

WE THEREFORE -

1. call on all women to bring their organisations into the United Democratic Front, so that we can realise our commitment to fight shoulder to shoulder with our men folk in the common struggle against race, class and sexual discrimination.
-
3. and call on the government to lift the banishment of all women, including Winnie Mandela and for the release of all women political prisoners."

BEWYSSTUK: C.102 p. 35;
SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK C.138 p. 22.

6. In Mei 1985 het FEDTRAW en UDF 'n gesamentlike opleidingskursus aangebied wat gehandel het oor die rol van vrouens in die stryd. Dit is aan die vrouens oorgedra hoe hulle onderdruk word deur die Regering se apartheid- en ekonomiese beleid om 'n rewolusionêre gesindheid by hulle op te wek. Hulle is dan ook ingelig oor die trotse tradisie van massamobilisasie en nasionale organisasie deur vrouens. Dit word by die vrouens ingeskerp dat -

"The struggle of women in the 1950's show clearly that women can and must play a role in our struggle for national liberation. As women, we cannot fight for our rights as women only, we must fight alongside our men for a free and democratic South Africa. The women's struggle must be part and parcel of our struggle for National liberation. We say this because we believe that our people will never be free while our women are in bondage.

Our watch word today is to unite and organise women. To educate men and women about the women's struggle and to fight for a free South Africa". p. 5

Daar was ook 'n oproep dat UDF-geaffilieerdes vrouens moet organiseer rondom sogenaamde "day-to-day issues" en dat die vroue-kwessie opgeneem moet word in die ander organisasies soos jeug- en burgerlike gemeenskapsorganisasies en vakbonde. Dit moet gedoen word om 'n rewolusionêre gesindheid onder die vrouens op te wek en te bevorder teen die Regering vir deelname aan die rewolusionêre stryd.

BEWYSSTUK: C.108.
SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK AE25 wat deur Beskuldigde 19 opgestel is.

7. UWO bring dit onder die vrouens se aandag dat hulle slawe-
arbeid verrig en dit word by hulle tuisgebring dat hulle
deur die Regering en die Blankes onderdruk en uitgebuit
word. Hulle word ook opgeroep om saam met die mans te
verenig in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd en aktief te werk
saam met ander organisasies -

"Comrades, the United Women's Organisation works hand
in hand with other organisations. Within the UDF we
hope to move the women's struggle and the struggle
as a whole forward. Our task is to reach out to un=
organised women and draw them into the democratic
movement. The task of organising women is a task
that confronts us all - the trade union movement,
the student movement, the civic associations and
the youth movement".

BEWYSSTUKKE: C.141 p. 2; en AE28.

8. Dat die vroue-kwessie van groot belang vir die UDF is, blyk
ook uit die NEC-besluit wat hulle op 21/22 Julie 1984 geneem
het dat hulle meer konkrete en ernstige aandag aan dié kwes=
sie moet gee.

BEWYSSTUK: H.1 p. 2.

Dit blyk ook uit die verslag wat FEDSAW voorgelê het aan die
Spesiale Algemene Raadsvergadering van UDF (Transvaal) op
14 Julie 1984.

BEWYSSTUK: R2 p. 1.

Ook in die Sekretariële Verslag aan die Algemene Raad van
UDF (Transvaal) op 25 Februarie 1984 is dit gestel dat die
vroue-kwessie nie die aandag gekry het wat dit verdien nie.
Dit word dan ook gestel dat -

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

BEWYSSTUK: T.19 pp. 2 en 3.

SIEN OOK IN HIERDIE VERBAND BEWYSSTUK: AE29.

9. Op 23 en 24 Junie 1984 het FEDSAW 'n opleidingskursus in die Transvaal aangebied. Die verskillende vrouegroepe het verslae gelewer. Onder andere het die Vaal Women's Group vertel hoe hulle in die Vaal vroue organiseer rondom daaglikse knelpunte soos hoë lewenskoste, hoë huishuur ens. Hulle het ook baie nou saamgewerk met VCA.

Dit is ook by die vrouens ingeskerp dat hulle dié groep is wat die meeste onderdruk en uitgebuit word in die huidige bestel om sodoende 'n rewolusionêre gesindheid by hulle op te wek en te bevorder. Dit word dan ook aan hulle oorgedra dat hulle moet organiseer en aktief betrokke raak in organisasies om hulle te laat beseef dat hulle moet deelneem aan die sogenaamde vryheidstryd. Hulle moet onderrig word oor die "national struggle in our country". Hulle moet ook ander organisasies betrek en betrokke maak by hul stryd.

'n Groep van die vroue het ook 'n UDF-opleidingskursus, wat terselfdertyd aangebied is oor die nuwe grondwet, gaan bywoon -

"Here they shared ideas with other organisations on how we as women can work against Botha's New Deal.

This helped us get a clearer picture of what action should be taken. And we learnt how important it is for our women to stand united with all other organisations in this campaign against Botha" - p. 8.

BEWYSSTUK: U5-a.

10. In Bewysstuk AB43 op p. 11 wys COSAS op die belangrike rol wat vrouens in die stryd speel en spel COSAS sy aandeel hierin uit -

"It is therefore our task to organise our women students into COSAS, to mobilise them against the problems they experience. We must educate them about the nature of our society. We must involve them in our campaigns and programmes".

Dit word dan ook gestel dat die probleme wat vroue studente ondervind -

"--- lies in the heart of our society. A society which promotes sexism, oppression, hunger, exploitation and all other evils".

11. In die Augustus 1984 nuusbrieff van FEDSAW word alle vroue opgeroep om die Regering se hervormingsplanne te beveg en onwerkbaar te maak en skaar hulle, hulle agter die UDF in sy kampanje teen die nuwe grondwet.

BEWYSSTUK: AE.1 en AE32.

12. In Bewysstuk AE2 word die geskiedenis van FEDSAW weergegee. Van belang, ook, is om te let op die doelstellings van FEDSAW, wat soos volg lui -

- "- to create a broad-based, non-racial organisation, to unite women and work towards full liberation;
- to strengthen, build and bring together women's groups through joint campaigns;
- to organise women around day-to-day issues like rent and electricity increases, food price increases; removals; creches; township facilities; and bus fare increases;
- to link local demands of women to national struggles;
- to demand an equal role for women in society, and in the political struggle" - p. 1.

13. Op 4 November 1984 het FEDSAW 'n vergadering gehou in Soweto. Daarop is uiting gegee aan die oproep dat die vrouens se stryd betrek moet word in ander organisasies om deel te vorm van die sogenaamde vryheidstryd. Die sprekers het agt verskillende organisasies verteenwoordig.

BEWYSSTUK: AE5.

14. Bewysstuk AE6 is 'n publikasie wat handel oor FEDSAW en sy geskiedenis. Daarin word aangetoon hoe die vrouens al van vroeg af georganiseer is en deel gevorm het van die sogenaamde vryheidstryd. Van belang is om te let op die rede vir die verspreiding van dié publikasie -

"The purpose of this booklet is to give women a starting point for thinking about and discussing :

- how we should organise;
- how we can learn from the past;
- how we can prepare for the future" - p. 3.

Deurgaans word daarop gewys hoe die vrouens onderdruk en uitgebuit word deur die Blanke en die Regering.

Dié publikasie word versprei om die vroue te verenig en 'n rewolusionêre gesindheid jeens die Blanke Regering op te wek en te bevorder, om hulle te betrek in die rewolusionêre stryd.

15. In Bewysstuk AE7, wat by Beskuldigde 19 gekry is, word die United Nations Decade of Women bespreek. Die sogenaamde knelpunt wat veral die Swart vroue in die RSA raak, word uitgelig. Daar word ook 'n oproep gedoen dat wanneer kampanjes beplan word, moet daar gestrewe word om die vroue te organiseer. Daar word ook reeds geraak aan die rol van die vrou in die "bevryde" Suid-Afrika -

"Women's problems are the people's problems. In our struggle we lay the basis for a future society. We want women to be active and equal members of a free South Africa. We must start laying that basis now in all our organisations" - p. 3.

(Dit is insiggewend dat hierdie stuk deur UWO gestuur is aan FEDTRAW, maar na UDF toe in Johannesburg. In 'n meegaande skrywe deur UWO word vroue opgeroep om op te staan en te verenig en solidariteit te betoon met vroue wat gearresteer is in die Kaap tydens 'n protesoptog. Daar word vyandige gesindheid teenoor die Blankes aangeblaas as die skrywe soos volg afsluit -

"To us women the time has come. These Boers do not get tired of sucking the black man's blood. If we remain silent, until when will it be. Stand up women the time has come. Let us remember that no nation was ever liberated without its women standing up".)

16. Bewysstuk AE8, uitgegee deur FEDTRAW - geaffilieer by UDF en 'n lid van die sameswering - is 'n kalender vir 1985. Van groot belang is die boodskap op die voorblad wat in Engels sowel as twee Swart tale weergegee word. Hierdie boodskap met die opskrifte -

"THE UNITY WE NEED IS PEOPLE'S UNITY
 WE NEED IT ALL
 WE NEED IT HERE
 WE NEED IT NOW!
 ORGANISE FIGHT ON!",

lui soos volg -

"The emancipation of women is not an act of charity, the result of humanitarian or compassionate attitude. The liberation of women is a fundamental necessity of the revolution, the guarantee of its continuity and the precondition of its victory. The main objective of the revolution is to destroy the system of exploitation and build a new society which releases the potentiality of human beings, reconciling them with labour and with nature. This is the context within which the question of women's emancipation arises."

Dit is belangrik om daarop te let dat hierdie boodskap onder die massas versprei is.

Daar word 'n rewolusionêre gesindheid by die massas, en veral die Swart vroue, opgewek en bevorder en hulle word opgeroep om te organiseer en deel te neem aan die rewolusionêre stryd.

17. Bewysstuk AE9 is 'n publikasie met die titel "Women against pass laws" waarin die geskiedenis verhaal word van die vroue-optog na die Uniegebou in Pretoria op 9 Augustus 1956 om te protesteer teen die paswette. Hierdeur word die vroue bewus gemaak van die rol wat hulle moet speel in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd en word hulle geaktiveer om voort te gaan met die stryd.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUKKE: W64 p. 19; W67 p. 10; W71 pp. 4 en 5; W73 p. 11 en W77 p. 10.

18. Bewysstuk AE.10 is 'n AZASO-publikasie en bevat onder andere die "Womens Working Programme". Daarin word die aandag gevestig op die onderdrukking van vroue en die hoofmerk daarvan is -

// "that of organising women students to take their rightful place in the National Democratic Struggle" - p. 2

Daar word ook in detail ingegaan op die rol van die vrou in die "National Democratic Struggle", met bespreking ook van die rol wat vroue in sogenaamde bevrydingsrewolusies in ander lande gespeel het.

Oor die rol van die vrou in die "National Democratic Struggle" in Suid-Afrika, word klem gelê op die besonder wrede manier waarop vroue getref word deur die Regering se sogenaamde "apartheid laws and policies" - p. 10.

Die konklusie is dan dat -

"The challenges facing South African women are great. Women need to address the question of how to relate class struggle to the struggles against their social oppression. Yet abstract theories will not help us in answering these questions. Only by actively attempting to raise women's consciousness, by mobilising and organising them around issues that affect their day to day lives, will we be able to identify the links. Also, we must remember that our guiding principle is mass mobilisation, and we must take up issues that do not alienate women" - p. 12.

19. In Bewysstuk AE.11 word uitgespel hoe vroue studente georganiseer moet word. Daar word gewys hoe vroue studente ook deur die Regering onderdruk word en dit word beklemtoon dat die vrouestryd gekoppel moet word aan die "broader democratic struggle". Die stuk word afgesluit met 'n aanhaling van Machel -

"Women must be mobilised for internal struggle and for mass struggle, and they must be organised. They will then be able to internalise the political line to start the offensive. They must be involved in the battle for political education of the next generation and in the battle for large scale mobilisation and organisation of the masses. Their commitment to the liberation struggle will then become concrete action, leading them to take part in making decisions affecting the country's future" - p. 4.

20. Op 2 Augustus 1984 het FEDSAW 'n uitnodiging aan Beskuldigde 20 gerig om as spreker op te tree by 'n FEDSAW saamtrek op 12 Augustus 1984. Hy moes praat oor "The UDF and the

*Azaso
clo...
Gewind 6, 11
Mar...
...*

need for unity with special reference to Women".

Dit is in ooreenstemming met die oogmerk om die vroue te betrek saam met ander organisasies in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd.

BEWYSSTUK: AE.13.

21. Bewysstuk AE.14 is 'n uitnodiging van FEDSAW aan die UDF om hul fokus-week van 9-12 Augustus 1984 by te woon. Daarin word alle vroue ook opgeroep om te verenig teen die Regering se hervormingsplanne.
22. Die samewerking tussen vroue-organisasies en ander organisasies in die stryd word bevestig in FEDSAW se oproep dat almal 'n sogenaamde "civic meeting" wat belê is deur Diep-kloof Civic Association op 9 September 1984 moet bywoon.
BEWYSSTUK: AE.15.
23. Op 24 Augustus 1984 het FEDSAW 'n persverklaring gemaak waarin hulle te velde trek teen die aanhouding van UDF-lede en hul geaffilieerdes. Daar word ook 'n gevoel van haat jeens die Regering opgewek onder die massas deurdat die Regering as 'n klomp lafaards en "thugs" uitgekryt word. Hulle wêreld ook 'n rewolusionêre gesindheid by die massas op en hou voor dat die vulkaan sal uitbars as die Regering nie hul leiers vrylaat nie.
BEWYSSTUK: AE.16.
24. Hierdie selfde strategie word gevolg en veel sterker gestel as FEDSAW soos volg skryf aan die SWAPO Women's Group in Namibië -

"We (you and us) are fighting a common enemy. The same evil South African government we are fighting is the same crooked government that is oppressing you in Namibia. If we could forge links, meet and discuss ways of combating this parasite which is draining our beautiful black blood. This vampire needs to have a stake put through its evil heart. And that, dear comrades, will and can be done by nobody else for you, but yourselves".

BEWYSSTUK: AE.17.

25. Bewysstuk AE.18 is 'n pamflet wat 9 Augustus as "South Africa Women's Day" adverteer. Die rewolusionêre ingesteldheid word oorgedra deur die embleem van 'n vrou met 'n geweer oor die skouer met die byskrif "Women against Apartheid". Dit bevat ook 'n uitnodiging na 'n rolprentvertoning met die titel "South Africa belongs to us" wat handel oor vroue onder apartheid.

*Gewind in UDF kantore
Klotso House
Vrou met geweer*

~~Insiggewend ook is dat hierdie pamflet dieselfde is as die voorblad van Bewysstuk AAO die amptelike publikasie van die ANC oor vroue.~~

26. Bewysstuk AE.19 is die notule van die Transvaal FEDSAW Interim Co-ordinating Committee se vergadering wat op 21 Julie 1984 gehou is om die plan van aksie te bespreek vir die viering van die Women's Day op 9 Augustus. Dit is insiggewend dat dié notule gevind is in die UDF-kantore. Daar is onder andere besluit dat die tema van die viering sal wees "Women unite against Botha's new deal". Dit word gestel dat die vroue hierdeur sal aansluit by die UDF se nasionale kampanje teen die nuwe grondwet en Koornhof-wetsontwerpe. Daar sal ook 'n parallel getrek word tussen die sogenaamde "new deal" en die daaglikse knelpunte van vroue. Daar is ook besluit op welke knelpunte opgeneem sal word. Daar is ook besluit dat Allan Boesak of Beskuldigde 20 'n toespraak sal lewer oor "unity", die UDF-kampanje in die algemeen en waarom vroue belangrik is in die kampanje.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: AE20.

27. Die samewerking tussen FEDSAW en ander organisasies blyk uit FEDSAW se oproep, om te deel in FOSATU se Black Christmas-kampanje, wat gekry is in die UDF-kantore.

BEWYSSTUK: AE21.

SIEN IN HIERDIE VERBAND OOK BEWYSSTUKKE: AE22; AE23 en AE24.

28. Bewysstuk AE26 is gevind by, en opgestel deur, Ela Ramgobin, op die bestuur van NIC en 'n samesweerder.

Die geskiedenis van die vroue se stryd in die RSA word weergegee. Die knelpunte wat vroue tref word uitgelig en dit word beklemtoon dat -

"The significance of their (die vroue) involvement today - as it was 35 years ago - is the realisation that their struggle is a national liberation one" - p. 3.

En verder op dieselfde bladsy -

"--- the liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for emancipation and the liberation of the people of the country".

Dit word ook gestel dat -

"The women have also played a prominent role in the establishment of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August 1983 and are continuing to play an active role in political organisations such as the UDF and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO).

They have also actively participated in the campaigns against the new tri-racial constitution of the government of Mr. P.W. Botha" - p. 4.

Die stuk word só afgesluit -

"The women have discovered that no sacrifice is too great when their struggle is a just one. Their determination for justice and liberation was succinctly demonstrated by Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, wife of political prisoner Walter Sisulu and a President of the UDF, when she addressed a mass meeting in Durban recently -

'We are not passive onlookers but active cadres in the struggle for freedom from injustice, poverty, hunger and want. We, the women, have realised that we have to work shoulder to shoulder with our men to rid ourselves not only of political oppression but also the social and economic evils that beset our people in their everyday lives today'." - p. 5.

29. Bewysstuk AE30 is opgestel en versprei deur getuie I.C.11. Daarin word dit onder die mense se aandag gebring hoe Swart vroue veral deur die Regering onderdruk en uitgebuit word.

Die vroue word ook opgeroep om te verenig en by UWO en UDF aan te sluit. Daar word 'n haatgevoel opgewek teen die Raadstelsel en Raadslede wat voorgehou word as moordenaars van die gemeenskap se kinders. Dit word op die vroue se harte gedruk dat hul deelname aan die vryheidstryd van die grootste belang is.

Van belang is ook om daarop te let dat getuie I.C.11 hierdie pamflet opgestel en verspei het in haar hoedanigheid as 'n lid van die ANC en in uitvoering van haar algemene opdrag van die ANC.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK AE31 wat dieselfde boodskap uitdra.

30. Bewysstuk AE33 is gevind by Amanda Kwadi - 'n lid van die bestuur van UDF (Transvaal). Daarin word die geskiedenis weergegee van die vroue se stryd in Suid-Afrika en ook van FEDSAW se geskiedenis. Daar word deurgaans gewys op die onderdrukking en uitbuiting van die vrou en hoe onderdrukkend die S.A. Regering is en dat die vroue moet verenig. Die vroue in Suid-Afrika word ook opgeroep om aktief deel te neem aan die sogenaamde vryheistryd - p. 2, par. 2.4.
31. Bewysstuk AE34 is versprei deur TIC en gevind by Albertina Sisulu, 'n Presidente van UDF. Daarin word die vrouens opgeroep om te verenig teen die inwerkingstelling van die nuwe grondwet en word die sogenaamde knelpunte uitgelig wat teweeggebring is deur die sogenaamde Apartheidsregering. Die vroue word opgeroep om rondom hierdie kwessies te verenig.

Die pamflet bevat ook 'n afskrif van die Women's Charter wat in 1956 deur FEDSAW aanvaar is.
32. Wat die W-reeks van bewysstukke betref, word op die volgende gewys :
 - (a) In "State of the Nation" van Augustus 1983 verskyn 'n artikel oor vroue. Dit word voorgehou hoe vroue

onderdruk en uitgebuit word. Die sogenaamde knelpunte wat vroue raak word ook uitgelig en word daar 'n oproep gemaak dat vroue verenig moet word deur hulle te betrek in sogenaamde demokratische organisasies.

BEWYSSTUK: W.1 p. 1.

- (b) In "State of the Nation" van Februarie/Maart 1985 verskyn 'n onderhoud met Beskuldigde 20. Hy stel dit dat UDF in hul strewe om plattelandse gebiede te organiseer, gekonsentreer het op die organisering van die vroue in die platteland.

BEWYSSTUK: W5, p. 9.

In dieselfde uitgawe is 'n artikel wat handel oor die lot van die plattelandse vroue. Daar word klem gelê op hoe dié vroue onderdruk word en die blaam word voor die deur van Regeringsbeleid gelê - p. 18.

- (c) Bewysstuk W.12 bevat die resolusies wat FEDTRAW aanvaar het op sy Eerste Konferensie in Desember 1984. Feitlik al die resolusies is dieselfde as dié wat deur UDF aanvaar is.

Hulle het verder ook die Women's Charter aanvaar as basis vir hul organisering van vroue, en genoteer dat -

"It is the task and duty of every freedom loving woman in our country to stand up and fight this apartheid regime" - p. 3.

- (d) In AZASO - "National Student Newsletter" van Oktober 1983 verskyn 'n artikel oor die National Women's Day.

Daarin word dit beklemtoon dat alle vroue onderdruk word en in Suid-Afrika word Swart vroue drievoudig onderdruk as gevolg van die onderdrukkende wette en regeringsbeleid.

Dit word ook gestel dat dit belangrik is dat vroue die aard van hul onderdrukking moet verstaan en die oorsprong daarvan moet identifiseer -

"Women's fight is not against men but a struggle of women and men against the system which oppresses both. Although it is necessary for women to organise as women to fight their specific form of oppression, this struggle must be part of the broader struggle for liberation as well."

Die geskiedenis van Women's Day word ook weergegee, en gestel dat -

"It is a very special and important day because it portray the organisation and militancy of the women of South Africa."

Dit word ook onder die aandag gebring dat die vroue se stryd noodsaaklik is om 'n nuwe, bevryde Suid-Afrika wat vry sal wees van uitbuiting en onderdrukking daar te stel.

BEWYSSTUK: W.13 - p. 5.

- (e) In "Challenge" Vol. 4 No. 2, uitgegee deur AZASO, verskyn 'n artikel oor die geskiedenis van die Women's Federation. Die geskiedenis van die stryd en van die onderdrukking van die vroue deur die Regering en hoe die vroue rondom daaglikse knelpunte georganiseer is, word uitgebeeld. Die artikel word afgesluit met 'n oproep dat die vroue moet verenig in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd -

"In the light of these present conditions women cannot be spectators in the struggle. The call for unity and organizational involvement of women needs to be translated into practical reality. The 30th Anniversary should provide the impetus for the rejuvenation of women's organizations in our communities, on the campuses, on the factory floors in our womens groups. Our demands must be articulated to the National demands made by all the people of South Africa. It is our task that the voice of women is heard in all our organizations, especially the United Democratic Front".

BEWYSSTUK: W34 p. 5.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK W61 pp. 44 en 45.

- (f) In Bewysstuk W64 verskyn 'n artikel oor die vieringe van 9 Augustus as "Women's Day" op verskeie plekke in

die land. Van belang is om te let op die prominente rol wat UDF hierin gespeel het. Beskuldigdes 19 en 20 was albei sprekers by verskillende byeenkomste - p. 2.

- (g) In Bewysstuk 67 op p. 3 word FEDSAW se standpunt teen die nuwe grondwet en Koornhof-wette weergegee. Dit word beklemtoon dat onder die nuwe bestel, die Swartes steeds deur die Blankes oorheers, onderdruk en uitgebuit sal word.

IMPERIALISME

Die isolasie van Suid-Afrika op politieke, ekonomiese en alle ander vlakke is vir die ANC van kardinale belang, want daardeur kan 'n ideale rewolusionêre klimaat en omstandighede in die RSA geskep word. Om dit te verwesenlik word imperialisme gekies as die vernaamste wapen en word veral drie westerse state uitgesonder vir imperialisme en steun dan SA - dit is Amerika, Engeland en Israel.

'Statement of the National Executive of The African National Congress" - dd 8 January 1983 pp 4,

"During the past year, this regime has been encouraged in its counter-offensive by the criminal activities of Zionist Israel against the people of Lebanon and ... Apart from anything else, the Pretoria regime used this experience to prepare the white South African population for similar campaigns of terror against the peoples of Southern Africa, as happened and is happening in Southern Angola, as happening in South-Western Zambia and in Maseru. Significantly, both Zionist Israel and fascist South Africa enjoy the full, active, political and material support of the Reagan Administration. It is this support that has strengthened the striking capability of these two regimes.

...

The Reagan Administration has placed itself firmly and unequivocally among the bandit forces that are conducting a reign of terror throughout Southern Africa. Its support for the apartheid regime consists precisely in encouraging these fascists to intensify their counter-offensive and in guaranteeing them immunity from punitive international action. Every crime that the Pretoria regime commits be it in South Africa, Namibia or elsewhere, bears Washington's stamp of approval. This regime goes into action backed

by/...

by the logistic, financial and political support of the United States. The Apartheid regime, acting in its own right and in furtherance of the global strategy of the United States, constitutes a strike force for the accomplishment of the counter-revolutionary objectives of defeating the progressive forces in Southern Africa, including SWAPO and the ANC, and transforming our region into an exclusive economic, political and military preserve of the imperialist world.

2. Die kwessie van imperialisme is lank reeds al 'n vername teiken van die ANC omdat dit gesien word as 'n vername stut vir sy onderdrukking en eksploïtisme van die Swart massas in Suid-Afrika. Die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee van die ANC gee op 8 Januarie 1982 volle weergawe hiervan en word o.a. die volgende gestel:

Sechaba Februarie 1982 - Artikel "Act in UNity" p 2 op 5
AAE 2

It is equally true that the revolutionary transformations that we have witnessed on the continent of Africa are also a component part of the broader global struggle waged by progressive mankind against the dark forces of imperialist domination over the world and of the exploitation of man by man. At the time of the founding of the ANC a handful of imperialist powers dominated the rest of the world politically and economically. Africa had been carved up among the grabbing imperialist forces in pursuit of strategic raw materials, profit and spheres of influence. Millions upon millions of people in the colonial and semicolonial world had been reduced as objects of unbridled exploitation and producers of fat profits for foreign masters".

en p 9

"All these struggles together with our own belong to
one/...

one democratic and anti-imperialist mainstream. Any advances they make contribute to the furtherance of our own struggle; any advances we make strengthen the hand of those sister movements which like us, confront the forces of imperialism, headed by the United States of America.

These forces of reaction can see that the risen peoples are determined to bring to an end the epoch of imperialist domination.

3. Ook die Britte moet vervreem word van SA.

Sechaba Februarie 1982 op p 12 AAE 2

"At the heart of our work, however, has been the campaign to end all forms of British collaboration with apartheid and we have campaigned for *many* years for a strict, comprehensive and effective arms embargo, action to end nuclear, oil and other forms of collaboration, and, most important, for the imposition of United Nations mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. Indeed, the AAM was established in response to the call made in 1959 by Chief Albert Lutuli, the then President of the ANC, for international support for boycott policy.

This central campaign is of particular relevance to British trade unionists..."

4. O.R. Tambo gee 'n volledige uiteensetting in die Kampanje teen imperialisme in 'n toespraak uiteengesit in Sechaba-February 1982 p 24 e.v. AAE 2.

5. Ook in die Sechaba van April 1982 AAE 4 word 'n striemende aanval geloods op Imperialisme en Amerika se aandeel daarin.

bv. Sechaba April 1982 op p 16 AAE 4

"This/...

"This is the daily experience of Namibia; and Angola is in a permanent state of war. But the Botha regime is not acting in isolation. Its criminal role in Africa is an expression of the determination of international imperialisms, led by the United States, to defeat the forces of progress and impose its will on the people. In pursuit of these goals, the Reagan administration has entered into strategic alliances with the most reactionary regimes in the world. These include the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Zionist regime of Israel and the genocidal junta in El Salvador.

United by their absolute contempt for human life and driven by the desire to ensure imperialist domination everywhere, these forces of reaction exclude no means or methods in the pursuit of their goals. Above all, brute force constitutes the centre-piece of their strategy. This is why today the Reagan government is busy reducing expenditures on social security while visibly increasing its military budget and sabotaging the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

6. In Hele werkstuk getiteld "Twin Outposts of Imperialism" handel oor samewerking tussen Israel en Suid-Afrika wat die ANC veroordeel en afkeur.

Sechaba April 1982 p 20 AAE 4

7. In Sechaba Mei 1982 word in die redaksionele kommentaar en in 'n artikel striemende aanvalle geloods op die sogenaamde Amerikaanse imperialisme, steun vir Suid-Afrika en Amerika se afkeuring en teenkanting teen die ANC en terreur en hulle nie daarin kon slaag om 'n wig in te dryf tussen SA en Amerika nie.

Sechaba Mei 1982 p 1 tot 8 en op p 8 die volgende AAE 5

"At/...

"At a time when a state of undeclared war exists in Southern Africa and acts of brigandage of apartheid regime are escalating, even a higher price is being paid in terms of life and suffering of the people of Southern Africa, the United States regime proclaims itself as an ally of Pretoria. The Reagan regime stands out in contemporary world politics as the arch enemy of progress, the bulwark of international reaction which screams out loudly against sanctions in so far as they are intended to isolate the South African apartheid regime, but seeks its allies into joining it to impose sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union. The US condemns the Soviet Union for supplying the peoples of Southern Africa with weapons to fight for their liberation ..."

8. Die isolasie van Suid-Afrika en daar téenoor die popularisering van die ANC en die se aanvaarding deur die wêreld gemeenskap is 'n baie belangrike faktor in die ANC se strategie. Die artikel "Italy Pledges Greater Solidarity" in Sechaba Mei 1982 op p 11 e.v. is 'n sprekende voorbeeld hiervan en bespreek die ANC die sg. krisis van die SA Regering volledig.

9. Sechaba Maart 1983 p 21 e.v. Apartheid Terror
AAE 13

10. Sechaba April 1983 - Bew. AAE 14 - p 4

"Angola is not Seeking Peace at Any Price"

(i) Suid-Afrika, Amerika, Israel word beskuldig van imperialisme, met SA aan die voorpunt om die Afrika State te destabiliseer en dat SA in die besonder terreur pleeg in Angola.

(ii)/...

- (ii) Die weste word beweër stuur valse inligting die wêreld in en daar kan nie sprake wees van samewerking tussen SA en Angola nie. Dit raak direk die toekoms van S.W.A. en onttrekking van Kubanse magte.
 - (iii) Die skuld vir alles word toegedig aan die RSA en die VSA.
11. Sechaba April 1983 - Bew. AAE 14 - p 7
- "People's War - the task is to make these words a reality".
- (i) Joe Slovo stel dit dat daar tans in Suidelike Afrika die velste en mees geko-ordineerde aanslae deur imperialisme gevoer word en die doel is om Angola en Mozambiek te vernietig weens hul Regerings norme.
 - (ii) Die onafhanklikheid van Namibia word vertraag en die vestiging van 'n marionette Regering daar sal al die omringende State destabiliseer. om te verseker dat hulle ondergeskik gestel word aan SA en imperialisme.
 - (iii) Hierdie offensief word identifiseer aan die hand van SA se aggressie teen Angola; inval in Lesotho waar ANC basisse aangeval was; daar is strooptogte in Zimbabwe en dan ook nog algemene imperialisme.
 - (iv) Dan is daar Zaire se geheul met SA en met Israel om 'n verdere front teen Angola.
 - (v) Dan is daar die ekonomiese en diplomatieke offensief van imperialisme met SA die vernaamste eksponent om onafhanklike Afrika te ondermyn waar hulle die ANC ondersteun.

(vi)/...

- (vi) Imperialisme het Suid-Afrika afgesonder om die winste van onafhanklike State te reismier en die nuwe sosiale sisteme te vernietig en meer in besonder om rewolusionere bewegings soos die ANC en SWAPO te vernietig.
- (vii) Dit moet nie toegelaat word nie en kan gestop word met die hulp van die Sosialistiese State en die ANC se eie pogings.
- (viii) In SA eerstens, is daar nou 'n ernstige ekonomiese krisis wat hoofsaak die Swart mense tref. Buitelandse beleggings verminder en vir die massas beteken dit swaarkry. Werkloosheid styg, geld se koopkrag verminder terwyl kostes van verbruikersgoedere en vervoer styg.
- (ix) Op militêre gebied word meer spandeer en kan die invloed van die weermag duidelik gesien word.
- (x) Die vernaamste verwikkeling is die konstitusionele voorstelle. Dit is gemik teen die groeiende eenheid van die Swart massas. Die Arbeids Party oorweeg om met apartheid saam te werk wat deur Amerika en Engeland verwelkom word. Die Kleurlinge sal hulle egter nie so laat gebruik nie want die toekoms is gesetel in swart eenheid.
- (xi) SA kan nie sonder swart samewerking regeer nie en hul strategie om h bestaan is gemik om die Kleurlinge aan hulle kant te kry, en so ook die Indiërs. Verder moet die mag van hul marionette in tuislande gebou word om versterking vir die SA Weermag en Polisie te kry.
- (xii) Elke ernstige rewolusionêre beweging maak gebruik van alle afwykings in die vyandelige kamp. Die ANC moet ook gebruik maak van afwykings in wit politiek want

op /...

op die lang termyn kan die rewolusionêre stryd daarby baat.

- (xiii) So is daar ekonomiese afwykings wat wit arbeiders afvallig maak. Daar is politieke magstryd in die Nasionale Party. Wat egter vir die ANC van besondere belang is is of fundamentele verandering in die wit politiek waar te neem is en die antwoord is nee.
- (xiv) Die ANC streef om 'n Rewolusie te laat plaasvind. Teen ons is die teen-rewolusionêre magte bestaande uit alle Blanke Politieke Partye. Nogtans is daar teenstrydighede tussen hulle hoe om die rewolusie teen te staan en in die skepping van 'n verenigde nie-rassistiese demokrasie te verhoed.
- (xv) Nogtans moet ons hierdie afwykings nie verontagsaam nie want dit verswak die vyand. Fundamentele veranderinge in SA kan alleen geskied deur ons stryd en mag.
- (xvi) Ons organisasie het die afgelope drie jaar groot sukses behaal en was die ANC aanvaar soos nooit tevore nie en word geredleik aanvaar as die alternatiewe mag. Die mense het dit waargeneem in ons aksies en aktiwiteite, die kaliber van ons leierskap binne SA. Dit is die rewolusionêre aktiwiteite contra-teorie wat hiervoor verantwoordelik is.
- (xvii) Op politieke gebied het ons ondergrondse vleuel gegroei en kon leiding verskaf in massa aksies en ook op militêre gebied was daar sukses. Ons moet voortbou op hierdie winste. Die wekroep van "united action" is 'n verneme punt en moet die stryd teen "Bantustans" konstitusionele voorstelle en

gemeenskapsrade/...

gemeenskapsrade as onverdeelbaar en onderskeibaar beskou word.

- (xviii) Ons moet verseker dat ons mense in eenheid optree. Hulle bestaan uit die onderdrukte swartes en saam met daardie wittes wat bereid is om saam te werk in die rewolusionêre stryd moet in eenheid optree.

"It is the united action of these forces which is the key to this coming period. And in general, although it has been repressed and reworded, it is now the slogan of united action, it is basically the continuation of what we set ourselves in 1982 only more so.

- (xix) Oor werkers het hy heelwat te sê en kan soos volg saamgevat word: Die organisering van die Swart werkers groei in SA. Die geregistreerde werkers is 'n geweldige mag. Ons sien militante stakings aksies wat sal toeneem. Dit skep 'n groot potensiaal vir die voortgang van die rewolusionêre beweging want dit is die werkers wat die vryheidsmag vorm en ons oorwinning sal verseker. OP sy eie sal vakbonde en aksie nie lei na rewolusie toe nie maar moet die potensiaal ge-eksploteer word en daar het die ANC 'n groot rol te vervul en leiding te gee. Ons moet die mense politiseer om ontslae te raak van die 'racist regime'. Dit is egter belangrik dat vakbonde verenig.

- (xx) Dit is die "peoples war" wat sal oorwin - 'n rewolusie van die massas.

"it is peoples war that define our tasks in the further unfolding of the armed struggle. Our task are more and more to involve the people in actual/...

actual participation and not just as sympathetic onlookers, not just as masses who welcome what we are doing, not just as people who cheer the brave deeds of our cadres and who weep when any of them are caught and destroyed by the enemy. If we talk in terms of people's war as we are talking in terms of people's war, the task in the unfolding of the struggle is to make those words a reality. What we have done in the last few years has made this possible more than ever before.

11. Sechaba July 1983 - Bew. AAE 16 - p 4

Amerikaanse, Israelse en Suid-Afrikaanse Imperialisme - Die SA beleid van terreur en moord - ANC se soort van "peace."

Oor die verloop van die Vryheidstryd in Suid-Afrika word aangevoer:

"The ANC and the People's Struggle.

Combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, the ANC has been able to draw into mass action millions of oppressed people of South Africa. Defying harassment, imprisonment and other methods of intimidation, our workers have organised themselves into militant, independent and democratic unions - a powerful and growing detachment of the National Liberation struggle - struggling for full trade union and democratic rights.

At the same time the intensification of our armed struggle has led to an important qualitative development in our struggle for national liberation and social justice. The heroic actions of our combatants inside our country have heightened the mass upsurge that has become a permanent feature of our struggle. Despite being banned for

over/...

over twenty years, the ANC has been able to impose its own legality in the country. The Freedom Charter has become the rallying point for all democratic forces in South Africa.

12. Sechaba April 1984 - Bew. AAE 20 - p1

"U.S. Manoeuvres in South Africa.

- (i) There are disturbing developments in Southern Africa. American imperialism is again showing its ugly force. Yesterday it encouraged the racist regime to attack the ANC and SWAPO in the neighbouring South African states; it attacked the front-line states, including Lesotho; it still trains, finances and deploys bandit troops in Mozambique, Angola and recently in Zimbabwe. now the US is twisting the arm of the racists to negotiate with the front line states. The aim is is to undermine the positions of the liberation movements by cutting the support these movements receive from the neighbouring countries.
- (ii) Die hele alliansie tussen SA en Amerika is gemik op die bekamping van die ANC en om dit te vernietig. Die druk deur die VSA op die VVO kan nie negeer word nie. Daar kan geen vrede in SA wees nie totdat die apartheid sisteem in SA vernietig is .

"Those who want peace in South Africa have no choice but to support the struggle of the South African people as led by the ANC."

13. Sechaba April 1984 - Bew. AAE 20 - p 16

Children accuse Imperialism.

(i)/...

- (i) 'n Striemende aantal word geloods teen imperialiste waarvan Amerika, Israel en die Weste as die vernaamste eksponente beskuldig word.
- (ii) Imperialisme se sg "organised crime against humanity" word soos volg saamgevat.

"1. The imperialist countries of the west, bearing the major responsibility for

The aggravation of the situation of exploitation, poverty and oppression to which the majority of human beings are subjected, including millions of children.

The unbridled plunder of the natural resources of under-developed countries particularly by transnational companies, and for the exploitation of the labour power of those countries, including child labour.

The establishment and maintenance by forces of fascist and bloody regimes.

The growing threat to peace and security in the world.

2. The racist minority South Africa regime bearing responsibility for:

The continuation of its inhuman apartheid policy which truly affects the everyday life of children and threatens their future.

The intensification of its policy of police and military repression against the majority of the people and their vanguard, the ANC, a policy that badly affects mainly children and young people.

The/...

The illegal armed occupation of Namibia, and for its terror and repression against the people that country, irrespective of age or sense, which terror and repression is directed particularly against their liberation movement, SWAPO.

Repeated acts of aggression against independent states in the region, especially Front Line countries, and for the illegal occupation of a large part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola, which, apart from the enormous material damage caused, imposes on the youth of Angola the supreme sacrifice of their lives, in the efforts to resist aggression.

3. The Zionist and colonial Israeli regime, instrument of US imperialist policy in the Middle East for:

The war of extermination it is waging against the Palestinian People.

Criminal aggression against neighbouring states, especially Lebanon.

The criminal policy of discrimination against the Arab population under its jurisdiction, continuously subjected to provocations and attacks, who live in a permanent state of insecurity.

4. The expansionist and colonialist regimes in Morocco and Indonesia, for:

Criminal aggression against the peoples of neighbouring territories, in violation of their unalienable right of self-determination and independence.

The /...

The genocide perpetrated by the militarist Indonesian regime against the people of East Timor, and for the deliberate attacks on the civilian population of the Western Sahara committed by the expansionist Moroccan regime.

5. The countries allied in particular with the United States and the foreign economic interests which take part in this imperialist policy of oppression and exploitation, the source of poverty, degradation, despair and death.
6. The International Tribunal, 'Children Against Imperialism' concludes that imperialism and its agents are guilty of:

The crime of aggression

The crime of genocide

Crimes against humanity

Crimes against peace

The crime of war.

It calls on the conscience of the people to mobilise to put an end to the crimes which, by affecting millions of children, are threatening the very existence of mankind, and to demand reparations for the immense moral and material damage caused by these crimes.

14. Sechaba Mei 1984 - Bew. AAE 21 - p 1

ANC Says: "Solidarity is Internationalism"

- (i) Die tekening van die "Umkomati Accord" het die wêreld verras en die ANC standpunt word gestel.

(ii)/...

- (ii) S.A. probeer ieder en elk te oortuig van veranderinge in SA, terwyl onderdrukking voortgaan.
- (iii) Veranderinge in SA kan alleen deur rewolusie tot stand gebring word. Daar het die ANC, UDF en demokratiese organisasies 'n vername rol te speel.

"It is our honest conviction that peace in Southern Africa cannot be brought about by 'appeasing' the racist regime - ^{WHAT EVER} the motives are. Change in South Africa and in Southern Africa cannot be brought about by the racists. It is only the organised might of the black masses - in conjunction with all democratic forces - that will bring about peace and change in Southern Africa.

The African National Congress together with other democratic forces within the country is the real force that will bring about change and good neighbourly relations in Southern Africa. It is only on the basis of joint action to destroy the present system in South Africa, that we can think - let alone talk - of a 'new era' breaking through in that part of the world."

- (iv) Die nuwe strategie van nie-aanvalsverdrae en Amerikaanse beleid van konstruktiewe verbondenheid verg van die ANC verdubbelde aandag en die internasionale wêreld het 'n verantwoordelikheid om te vervul want die mense van SA veg om hulself te bevry op nasionale vlak van koloniale en rassistiese uitbuiting en onderdrukking. Deur SA te bevry help ons om internasionale imperialisme te verswak en dra sodoende by tot die wêreld wye anti-imperialistiese stryd. Dit is ook 'n stryd wat UDF opgeneem het.

"No. 1 to US Meddling in Our Affairs".

- (i) Die AFL-CIO organisasie in Amerika sê die ANC is 'n imperialistiese organisasie wat die Amerikaanse steun ontvang en verdeeldheid saai onder sy demokratiese werkers-unies.
- (ii) Hierdie organisasie wil rou vir Gatsha Buthelezi en Neil Aggett.
Hierdie organisasie is nie wêreldwye om Aggett te vereer nie en enige samewerking met hulle word in die RSA verwerp.
- (iii) Weens die gevaar wat die org. verteenwoordig word die volgende voorgestel:

"George Meany, the arch disrupter of working class unity, is not in the same league with Dr. Aggett. George Meany's sole brother is Chief Buthelezi who has time and again threatened to unleash the wrath of his shock troops on workers who go on strike and protest against increased rents and bus fares. He has sent marauding thugs after protesting students, the children of the workers. It is this harsh suppression of the workers and their children that has earned him the George Meany Award.

....

Men like the late Meany and their awards from the USA are threatening working class unity in our country. We call upon the working men and women in our country, upon the entire labour movement to resist and defeat these attempts.

We/...

We call upon the people to struggle for the withdrawal of American corporations from our country.

We must heap scorn upon the AFL-CIO, its related Agencies and lackeys.

We must maintain control of our trade unions and reject the ^{BRIBERY}liberty with the American dollars.

An Injury to one is an Injury to All!!! "

15. Bew. A 1 p 33

- (i) Dit is onteenseglik so dat die ANC hom daarvoor beywer dat SA op internasionale gebied geïsoleer word en daardeur kwesbaar word. Om dit te ver-wesenlik word 'n intensiewe kampanje gevoer teen sogenaamde Imperialisme waar veral die V.S.A. Brit-tanje en Israel as die skywe uitgesonder word soos hierbo gesien.
- (ii) Hierdie kampanje word met vers en kapittel net so oorgeneem deur UDF volgens hul resolu-sie van 20 Augustus 1983 waar die oogmerk ook onomwonde gemik word op die isolasie van die RSA - p 33.

"1. to demand the immediate end to the US - British - Israel Government support for the South African Government;

2. to reject the policy of constructive engagements and demand the immediate end to any support for the SA Government.

Dit kan nie bloot toevallig wees nie en die identiese aard

van/...

van hierdie kampanje met die van die ANC sal infra
duidelik blyk.

DAAD 60

Die belang van hierdie kampanje wat gevoer word, moet gesien word teen die agtergrond van wat UDF uiteindelik wil hê - 'n sosialistiese Staat na die afbreek van die kapitalistiese stelsel, en die feit dat UDF as deel van sy program om dié doelstelling te bereik, die S.A. Regering wil isoleer sodat die Staat geen hulp of ondersteuning vandie ander westerse lande wat hom tans nog goedgesind is, sal verkry nie.

Soos elders die ANC se kampanje teen Imperialisme bespreek word, blyk dit dat die ANC presies dieselfde doelstelling met sy kampanje teen Imperialisme beoog, en dat hy dieselfde argumente as wat in die UDF se propaganda gebruik word, gebruik.

1. Bew. B 17: Azapo se Algemene Kongres 1982

In die Uitvoerende verslag van die organisasie, vind ons dat ook hul reeds in 1982 bedrywig was met pogings om die RSA te isoleer van die res van die wêreld -

p 11, par. 4

Ook word 'n resoluëie aanvaar ten aansien van die Reagan-administrasie:

"The decision by the fascist and reactionary Reagan administration to lift the ban on arms sales to S.A. against the resolutions of the U.N., O.A.U. and Black people of Azania, hereby resolves to condemn the Reagan Administration for its overtures that contribute to the enslavement of the black people ..."

2. Bew. B 26: Azapo se 1984 - Nuwejaarsboodskap

IN die pamflet word die massas teen die Amerikaanse Regering opgesweep.

"Who

"Who continues to treat this miserable, repressive and unhappy regime as a 'wayward but beloved child'.

Dit is nodig vir die vryheidstryd omdat die S.A. Regering, wanneer ge-isoleer, makliker tot magsoorname gedwing kan word vir 'n uiteindelijke "anti-racist socialist workers' Republic in Azania" - 'n kommunistiese bestel dus uiteindelik.

3. Bew. W 28: Frank Talk: Julie 1984:

In die Amptelike publikasie van Azapo word op p 3 ook ge-propageer teen Amerikaanse betrokkenheid in Suider-Afrika.

"The Accord (Nkomati) showed that Pretoria is playing the game according to the dictates of Washington, actually soeing the Yankee imperialist policy towards our region..."

4. Bew. C 97 Freedom Charter:

Op p 14 bespreek R. Suttner, die opleidingsbeampte van UDF en 'n leidende figuur in UDF, die aard van die Freedom Charter en hy propageer dan ook teenoor die aktiviste dat

"The Charter is also anti-imperialist- In the first place its attack on the monopolies is in part an attack on the control of the South African economy by international capital. Equally, in the present context, the clause demanding the right to work is an attack on foreign controlled industries, for international investment is primarily concentrated in capital intensive industries, which, especially in the current recession, have thrown many people out of work.

But the Charter is also anti-imperialist in a more fundamental sense. For it is only when the People do Govern that/...

that they can create the conditions to control their own country, make it fully independent and sovereign, and ensure that they break the stronghold of international imperialism."

5. Bew. C 102:

In die stukke van die Algemene Vergadering van UDF (Nasionaal) van 1983, vind ons dat die massas in die verklaring van die algemene Raad opgesweep word teen die "Reagan/Thatcher/Kohl axis and their allies" wat "continue to bolster the apartheid regime , en eis UDF namens die

"oppressed and democratic South Africans" dat "these imperialist powers support the forces of justice and democracy. They must abandon their traditional role in backing the oppressive and undemocratic governments purely for motives of greed and profit". Dan word verder vir die regerings vertel wat hul plig behoort te wees:

"Their duty is to support the just struggle of the South African people for peace, justice and freedom."

In dieselfde dokumente is die resolusies van UDF vervat - o.a. een oor Imperialisme, en daar verkondig UDF teenoor die massas, en sweep UDF die massas op om te aanvaar:

"We note with anger the support of the imperialist countries, led by the Thatcher and Reagan governments, for the racist South African government.

We know that the US government is, through its policy of constructive engagement furthering its own economic interests.

Foreign companies invest their capital in South Africa because of the huge profits they make through the ex-

ploitation/...

ploitation of our people and the natural wealth of outland.

This unshamed greed and support for the Nationalist government by the governments of the United States and Britain is pursued at the expense and the welfare and even the lives of the people of South Africa and cannot stop us in our march towards freedom.

We furthermore note the collaboration of the governments of Israel, Chile, Taiwan and other anti-democratic regimes with the South African government and its bantustans.

We further note the role of these imperialist countries in the destabilisation and economic exploitation of developing countries.

WE DEMAND THAT:

1. All foreign governments recognise the right of our people to live in a non-racial and democratic country

WE BELIEVE

1. That foreign investments do not benefit the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa but bolster the apartheid government.
2. That the present disinvestment campaign in the USA shows that the American people are neither fooled by the sham reforms of the Botha government nor the police of Constructive engagement
3. That those who claim to believe in democracy have an obligation/...

obligation to support the just struggle of the South African people for liberation from oppression and exploitation

NOW THEREFORE RESOLVES

1. To demand the immediate end to US and British collaboration with the apartheid regime
2. to demand an end to the exploitation of the people and the national wealth of our country by foreign investors
3. to reject the argument that foreign investments benefit the oppressed and exploited of South Africa
4. to condemn the support of the government of Israel, Chile and the Taiwan puppets for the apartheid government and its bantustans and to support those struggles for democracy in those countries
5. to pledge our solidarity with all oppressed people in their struggle against imperialism.

Finally we declare to all these accomplices in the crimes of apartheid that we will leave no stone unturned in winning support throughout the world to expose and end their ruthless treachery."

en spesifiek ten aansien van Amerika word verklaar:

"THIS National General Council reaffirms the total opposition of the UDF to any form of imperialism , including any attempts to undermine the sovereignty and independence of states or any measures taken to undermine any people's struggle for national liberation.

NOTING /...

NOTING

1. the reactionary foreign policy of the Reagan administration aimed at subverting progressive states and movements and its support for reactionary states and organisations
2. that the policy of constructive engagement has provided material and political support to the Apartheid regime and has sought to undermine the people's forces struggling for liberation

CONDEMNS

1. the concerted campaign of subversion conducted by the Reagan administration throughout the world
2. the complicity of the Reagan regime in the crimes of apartheid

AND EXPRESSES

outrage at the recent statements of President Reagan which amount to a condonation of the Uitenhage massacre

AND WARNS

the American Government that its continued complicity in the continuation of these acts of violence against the South African people, have serious long-term effects.

THEREFORE CALL

on the American people to intensify the struggle against "Constructive engagement" and to compel the American government to abandon this policy and to support the just struggle of the people of South Africa for liberation from apartheid"../...

apartheid."

6. Bew. C 106

In die stuk, wat ex facie die dokument n toespraak was wat gehou was by die Nasionale Algemene Raadsvergadering van UDF in 1985 en wat gevind is by UDF te Johannesburg, word op p 5 verklaar teenoor die gehoor

"Imperialist forces to continue to bolster Apartheid and protect their own interests. They have destabilised independant neighbouring states and have compromised the potential of the Angolan and Mozambican Governments could have played to support our struggle.

Imperialist countries especially USA & UK have often refused to condemn the Nats. In this regard they are accomplices to atrocities perpetrated against opponents of the Apartheid regime."

Sien in die verband Bew. T.15, p 9, par. 12.9 waar besluit is deur die NEC oor die inhoud van die toespraak.

7. Bew. C. 138

Dit bevat die stukke van die Algemene Raadsvergadering op 16/17 Maart 1985 van UDF (Wes-Kaap) en die resoluie ten aansien van Imperialisme is vir alle praktiese doeleindes n identiese kopie van Bew. C 102 soos supra aangehaal. Dit word dus nie verder bespreek nie.

8. Bew. W 1: State of the Nation Aug. 1983:

In die publikasie, pp 28-29, word die massas opgesweep teen veral Amerika se betrokkenheid in die RSA en word dit gepropageer dat Amerika na sy eie belange omsien en nie in die welvaart van die massas belangstel nie.

9. Bew. W 19: Saspu National, Maart 1984: op p 12 van die publikasie word teenoor die massas gepropageer dat

"The role the USA has played with their so-called constructive engagement has messed up everything. The Reagan Administration is only concerned with their own interests. They are not concerned about the interests of the oppressed people in South Africa and Namibia."

10. Bew. AJ 10: UDF-persverklaring 10.12.84:

IN die persverklaring word die massas opgesweep om te glo dat die Reagan-regering die SA Regering vir sy eie gewin manipuleer -

"Our release at this point in time ... is calculated to accord credibility to the constructive engagement of the Reagan administration. Recent developments have revealed an increasing and direct control (by) the US government of the Southern African region via the Nationalist government".

(par. 1)

11. Bew. AJ 47: TIC-pamflet:

Die massas word opgesweep teen die Regering, sy beleid, veiligheidswetgewing en die Amerikaanse. en Engelse regerings se beleid deur die wetgewing as "unjust law" te tipeer en die betrokke buitelandse regerings as die meelopers van die SA Regering voor te stel

"On the one hand, they think that by trying to convict our leaders under their unjust laws, Reagan and Thatcher will be able to counter the anti-apartheid groups in their countries. The British Government can also use this as an excuse to reject our leaders from the consulate."

12. Bew. AL 11: "Let live" - toespraak :

IN die teks van die toespraak namens UDF, word ook verkondig dat "the Thatcher, Reagan, Kohl Axis is deliberately reinforcing this false notion to protect and promote their own financial interests" - 2

POPULARISERING EN OPBOU VAN ANC IN DIE RSA -
POLITIEKE GEVANGENES.

1. Die skepping van 'n sogenaamde massa demokratiese front in die RSA skep natuurlik vir die ANC besondere probleme. As verbode organisasie kan die ANC nie so 'n demokratiese front in die RSA openlik steun nie, want dan kan so 'n front ook verbode verklaar word. Aan die ander kant weer bestaan die moontlikheid dat die massas onbewus van die ANC se aandeel en status, sodra hulle die demokratiese front gestig het, maklik die ANC op die agtergrond kan skuif en selfs geheel en al kan uitskakel. Dit is baie interessant en baie belangrik om te sien op watter vernuftige wyse hierdie probleem opgelos word deur die ANC, en ek haal aan -

"STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ANC:
8 JANUARY, 1983 p. 7 - A A H 1

'While the task of building the mass democratic movement must fall on the shoulders of the patriotic forces of our country and in their entirety, a special responsibility for the accomplishment of this task rests with the membership of the African National Congress.

On this day, we salute you, dear comrades, and express our profound admiration for the manner in which you have contributed to raise the struggle to the level at which it is today. Yet that very achievement imposes on the ANC new, more complex and urgent tasks.

The people expect us to lead them to victory. They expect us to answer the question, together with them, in struggle and in action - the question: What is to be done?

We must, therefore, pose the question to ourselves. Are we organised enough, strong enough, disciplined en dedicated enough to meet our obligations to the people? Let all of us, on this day, the 71st anniversary of our organisation, seek to answer these questions frankly and honestly in order to correct all previous mistakes and to learn from our experience with a view to building the ANC itself inside the country into a more formidably organised force than it is today.

As members of the ANC we must, together with the people, in fact, help to solve all problems that serve to slow down the progress of the struggle, provide a clear perspective of where we go from here and translate that perspective into a practical programme of action.

This year we shall be observing the 20th anniversary of the Rivonia arrests. By decision of the United Nations General Assembly, the international community will observe this anniversary by further intensifying the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all South African political prisoners. We the people of South Africa, must be in the forefront of this campaign - in our millions.

But we must also observe this anniversary by seeking to emulate the example set for us by these outstanding revolutionary patriots who have remained in captivity for two long decades. To emulate them means that for every Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg; for every Mosele, Gwala, Nyembe or Hogan that the enemy has captured, we must produce a thousand others to take their places.

We have a duty to make our own sacrifices in the struggle to which they dedicated their lives. We must follow in their footsteps, learning from their experiences, inspired by their courage and fired with the same love for the people and the same dedication to the cause of freedom which have made theirs to be household names not only in South Africa but throughout the world'."

SIEN OOK: Dokument met buiteblad -
"Comrade O R Tambo. The People's President".

BEW. AAE.13 : SECHABA, Maart 1983, p. 2 -
"We must Organise Ourselves into a Conquering Force".

Die harde werklikheid ten aansien van hierdie politieke gevangenes is dat hulle almal terroriste en lede van die ANC is wat weens dade van terreur en selfs gruwelike moorde deur bevoegde Suid-Afrikaanse Howe skuldig bevind en gevonnisd was. Hul name word outomaties aan terroriste-organisasies te wete ANC, SAKP en Umkhonto we Sizwe gekoppel as hulle as volkshelde deur die massas aanvaar en vereer word en terselfdertyd word ook hierdie terroriste-organisasies aanvaar en vereer deur die massas as die organisasies wat die leiding gee aan die massa demokratiese beweging wat die kampanje voer.

2. Die ANC bevestig self dat die sing van vryheidsliedere, vertoon van die ANC se vlag en kleure, die napraat van die ANC

se eise, sowel as die bevordering van die ANC se program en die popularisering van die leiers van die ANC baie belangrik is en baie daartoe bydra om die beeld van die ANC onder die massas te bou en die ANC te populariseer as die leierorganisasie in die vryheidstryd. Die ANC dien as inspirasie vir die massas om deel te hê aan die vryheidstryd.

SECHABA, MEI 1982 op p. 16 (BEW. AAE5) :

"Our people are not intimidated. The African National Congress was declared an illegal organisation in 1960. In spite of this the ANC has in the recent past emerged as the undisputed voice of the democratic majority of our people. It is once again in the streets, in the meeting halls, our flag, our colours, our freedom songs, our demands, our programme, are voiced everywhere; not in whispers or in secret, but in public proclamations of the masses, in their varied forms of resistance, by political leaders - not necessarily those of the ANC itself, but those who head political protest in its own right, and who support the ANC programme for the liberation struggle and a new South Africa.

For, the African National Congress maintains its leadership of the struggle not merely by its presence, by the actions of its combat groups and its political underground, but also by its policy and programmatic inspiration to other related but independent, resistance."

3. In die Sechaba van Julie 1982 (BEW. AAE7) verklaar die Sekretaris-generaal van die ANC, Alfred Nzo, dat die program van die ANC, beliggaam word in die Freedom Charter terwyl die leiers van die ANC in die gevangenis of buite die landsgrense is :

Op p. 14 -

"Today, the entire democratic movement of South Africa openly proclaims the Freedom Charter, the political programme of the ANC and its allies, as the only acceptable basis for the solution of the South African problem. The leaders of our movement imprisoned in Botha's jails and operating from outside South Africa are similarly openly recognised by the people as their leaders."

4. Nkosi Sikelela is die nasionale volkslied van die ANC en dit dien as 'n vername skakel in die popularisering van die ANC en die opbou van eenheid in aksie. Die simboliek word soos volg verduidelik -

SECHABA, Maart 1982 op pp 24 en 25 (BEW. AAE3) -

"This alone makes it imperative for Sechaba to investigate - albeit briefly - the origin of Nkosi Sikelela Afrika and the role it has played (and continues to play) in the process of national unity. In this year of Unity in Action there is more reason for that because the acceptance and adoption of Nkosi Sikelela by the ANC as a national anthem meant the strengthening and reinforcement of what we call a loyalty of a new type.

The ANC adopted it in 1925 as its national anthem and all organisations and churches followed suit. It was also at this time that the ANC adopted the black, green and gold colours as national colours. The status and dignity of our national anthem has grown: today the song has become a national anthem of many countries in Africa north of the Limpopo.

Today Sontoga's Nkosi Sikelela is closely associated with and symbolises the struggle of our people for a democratic South Africa. It can be heard at protest and solidarity meetings, conferences and worker support concerts throughout the country. People stand at attention, all activity comes to a halt as a sign of respect. They raise their fists throughout the song's duration and at its ending the people chorus slogans such as 'Amandla', 'Maatla', 'Power to the People'."

5. In Sechaba, Julie 1982 (BEW. AAE7) op p. 20, word 'n artikel oor Mandela wat deur die ANC beskou word as die mees belangrike simbool van die massas se vryheidstryd, gepubliseer waarin hy dan ook inderwaarheid ook as die simbool en leier van die ANC geskets word en wat as voorbeeld dien.
6. Lilian Ngoyi se lewensgeskiedenis ten aansien van haar aandele in die aktiwiteite in die ANC, word 'n heldebeskrywing en voorbeeld vir navolging deur die Swart massas tot deelname aan 'n rewolusie in die RSA.
SECHABA, Augustus 1982, (BEW. AAE8).

7. Die 16de Desember is "Heroes Day" vir die ANC en word hulde gebring aan alle terroriste in aanhouding, in ballingskap en selfs die wat die hoogste tol betaal het vir die wreedste dade van terreur en moord in Suid-Afrika.

SIEN: Die artikel in Sechaba, Desember 1982 (BEW. AAE.10) p. 7 e.v. - 'n reeks terroriste se geskiedenis word geskets.

Verder is daar ook 'n lewensskets van die terroriste-leiers Nelson Mandela en J.T. Gumede.

8. In Sechaba, Januarie 1983 (BEW. AAE.11) word 'n artikel gewy aan die uitwissing van 'n ANC-basis in Lesotho. 'n Bytende propaganda aanval word geloods teen die bestel en wit gemeenskap in Suid-Afrika. (Dit is belangrik om later daarop te let hoedat UDF hierdie selfde insident en argumente ook gebruik vir propaganda en politiseringsmiddel - ANC-terroriste word die helde).

SECHABA, Januarie 1983 op p. 4 e.v.

9. Die betekenis van die verering van terroriste as helde se rewolusionêre betekenis kom duidelik uit in die redaksionele kommentaar van die ANC in Sechaba, Februarie 1982, p. 1 (BEW. AAE.12) -

"The nature of the funeral of our fallen heroes in Maseru was a powerful reply to the terror tactics of the fascist state. One poster held aloft at the occasion read: The Blood of Martyrs is Water for the Tree of Freedom."

Dit is interessant om daarop te let hoe die stuk afgesluit word -

"The racist must be clear of the force of people's power. Let us remind them of Comrade Mandela's words:

'Between the anvil of mass united action and the hammer of armed struggle we shall crush white minority rule'."

Die gedagtes van "the tree of freedom" wat met bloed gevoed word en die "anvil of mass united action" waarop "white mi=

nority rule" vernietig moet word kom later weer tevoorskyn by UDF se dokumente. ✓ *Bewys*

10. SECHABA, Maart 1983 (BEW. AAE.13) op p. 11 - Die opbou van Nelson Mandela, die ANC-terroristeleier as held en leier van die massas.
11. Die werklike waarde van die heldeverering van terroriste kom sterk na vore in die hieronder aangehaalde stellings van die ANC. Die waarde vind veral openbaring deur die massas in die RSA deur hul aanvaarding van die ANC, terreur en terroristeleiers met die teenstellende haat teen die wettige Regering in die RSA wat wet en orde moet handhaaf.

SECHABA, Augustus 1983 (BEW. AAE.17) op p. 2 -

"The judicial murders of Marcus Motaung, Thelle Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Semano Mosololi were carried out in an attempt to affirm the power of the apartheid state. But for the people of South Africa the executions were a call to battle.

Amid defiant protests in many streets of our towns, the ANC flag was held aloft, and hundreds marched in solidarity with the ANC Three. At the Dube YWCA, the hall was filled with freedom songs supporting the leadership of ANC President, Comrade Oliver Tambo. Bishop Tutu's speech was punctuated with shouts of 'Long live the Freedom Charter'.

In Durban four hundred workers and students marched through the streets under the colours of the African National Congress. Police arrived in force at the University of Zululand and Northern Natal, where more than seven hundred students demonstrated and set a police van alight. Fort Hare campus was yet another focus for angry protest ----."

'n Mens kan met reg vra wat van die vyf Swart polisiebeamptes wat, sonder dat hulle 'n kans gehad het om hulself te verdedig, koelbloedig vermoor was.

12. Solomon Mahlangu, 'n veroordeelde moordenaar, word deur die ANC aan die massas in die RSA voorgehou as 'n volksheld wat gevolg moet word en wie se wapen opgeneem moet word. Sy sogenaamde laaste woord word aangehaal -

MAYIBUYE NO. 3 van 1983 (BEW. AAF5) op p. 3 -

"I have done my bit of contribution. Tell my people that I love them. My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom."

Hy word ook deur UDF voorgehou as 'n volksheld en let op die aanhalings deur UDF.

13. MAYIBUYE NO. 3 van 1983 (BEW. AAF5) op bladsy 8 -

Elias Motsoaledi, 'n veroordeelde terroris, word voorgehou as 'n volksheld en sy woorde aangehaal.

Stuk sluit met -

"It is twenty years too long!!! Motsoaledi, Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Goldberg, Mlangeni, Kathrada, must be released with all other political prisoners!!! They must be released to lead us!!!"

14. In die MAYIBUYE NO. 9 van 1983, word Yusuf Dadoo vereer as 'n volksheld van die terreurorganisasies. Vanaf die RSA verteenwoordigers van NIC en TIC sowel as die Free Mandela Committee na sy begrafnis in Engeland gegaan om aan hom hulde te bring.

MAYIBUYE NO. 9 van 1983 op p. 4 (BEW. AAF8).

15. 'n Verdere persoon wat deur die ANC vereer word as 'n volksheld is Reginald Mavili Mabuza. John K. Nkadimang, Algemene Sekretaris van SACTU en ANC-lid van die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee het hom spesiaal vereer.

MAYIBUYE NO. 9 van 1983 op p. 5 (BEW. AAF8).

16. MAYIBUYE NO. 6 van 1983 (BEW. AAF6) p. 6 -

Op 11 Julie 1963 was verskeie "leaders of the ANC High Command" arresteer. Hulle is Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni en Dennis Goldberg, en dan nog Mandela.

Hoewel hulle in die gevangenis is, beklemtoon die ANC dit weer eens dat hulle steeds leiers van die ANC is. 'n Beroep word gedoen vir hul vrylating. Sketse van die aktiwiteite van Goldberg en Ahmed Kathrada word verskaf.

Vergelyk met UDF se verkondiging dat hulle hierdie terroriste as hul helde en leiers beskou en hulle oproep vir die vrylating van hierdie terroriste.

17. MAYIBUYE NO. 2 van 1984 (BEW. AAF.11) - p. 7 :

(1) Populêre leiers van die massas het die vermoë deur hul dood om die massas op te sweep tot geweld. Selfs wanneer die Regering nie deel het aan hul dood nie, word dit die Regering toegedig as die moordenaars -

"When the racist regime in Pretoria, working through its stooges, murdered people like Msizi 'Asinamali' Dube, it had no idea of the unifying effect the slaying of this popular leader had on the people. The homes of the murderers and conspirators were stoned and set on fire in Lamontville; busses, bottle stores, administration offices, vehicles, houses of police and 'mpimpis' were set ablaze.

The people of Lamontville and Chesterville have for some time been at the edge of the storm as they waged wars against the racists' institutions such as the administration boards and the councilors."

(2) Dié optrede sien die ANC as deel van hul stryd teen huurverhogings en ander aspekte van apartheid -

"In the course of our struggles against rent increases and other facets of apartheid, such as the proposed incorporation of some townships into the Kwazulu Bantustan, we have gone further to destroy part of the administrative infrastructure of the Pretoria regime."

- (3) Na voorbeeld van Umkhonto we Sizwe is die massas besig om te ontwikkel in die "Spear of the nation" en dat hulle die vyand identifiseer het en dit beveg.

"Inspired by the glorious example of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the people are transforming themselves into the Spear of the Nation; they have identified the enemy and worked at elimination of all those things in the community that harass people and oppress them."

- (4) Die massas identifiseer hulle met die ANC deur die skryf van slagspreuke teen mure. Dit moet aangemoedig word en sodoende word die ANC gewettig en gepopulariseer -

"The people have formed themselves into propaganda units that have made the name of the ANC and heroic army of the people known to all through their writing on the walls. We must sharpen this aspect of our war against the regime. We must leave no public space empty of our political slogans."

- (5) Na die verwerping van Gemeenskapsrade deur die boikot van die verkiesings, moet daar verhoed word dat hulle ingestel word en moet hulle vernietig word.

"From the examples President O R Tambo said, 'it is clear that we have the ability to raise the struggle to greater heights. Having rejected the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should now allow them to be imposed on us. We do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards have taken over their function, then these must be destroyed too."

18. MAYIBUYE NO. 4 van 1984 (BEW. AAF.13) p. 5 -

- (1) Solomon Mahlangu 'n guerilla wat deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Howe skuldig bevind was aan moord, word vir die massas voorgedhou as held was nagevolg moet word. So ook ander terroriste.
- (2) 'n Oproep word gedoen op die massas om terroriste te word en aan te sluit by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

- (3) Umkhonto we Sizwe is gewapen en sterker as die Weermag en hulle bevind hulle onder die massas in Suid-Afrika. Die klein eenhede moet opgebou en versterk word. Vryheid sal kom deur 'n kombinasie tussen gewapende stryd en massa-aksie.

"This is the way to grow because small units must, through their actions and examples, grow into larger units. Umkhonto we Sizwe will always be there to sharpen our skills in guerilla warfare.

The ANC states that our liberation will come through the combination of armed and mass struggle."

- (4) Die pad na "peoples power" vereis dat Umkhonto we Sizwe en organisasies gegrondves is in die massas.

"Our path towards people's power requires a firm rooting of our army and organisations in the people."

19. VOICE OF WOMEN No. 1 van 1983 (BEW. AAJ) p. 2 -

"The Pollsmoor Widows" - VOW sê :

- (1) Vanjaar is die 20 jaar gelede dat ons leiers arresteer was te Rivonia en wat daartoe gelei het dat Mandela, Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada en Dennis Goldberg tot lewenslange gevangenisstraf gevonnis is.
- (2) Vir die vroue is die stryd vir die vrylating van die ANC se leiers van kardinale belang. Hulle moet aan die voerpunt staan van 'n kampanje om hul onmiddellike vrylating te eis.
- (3) Die twintigste herdenking van die Rivonia arrestasies skep nuwe uitdagings -

"These are our leaders. They stood and still stand against white supremacy, apartheid, colonialism and injustice. They represent the highest of morality. They stand for a free and democratic South Africa."

20. SECHABA, Julie 1983 (BEW. AAE.16) p. 1 -

"Nelson Mandela We Salute you".

- (1) Die ANC voer propaganda aan van wreedheid teenoor Mandela en sy Rivonia trawante deur die Suid-Afrikaanse owerhede.
- (2) Die plek wat Mandela inneem in die ANC se geleedere word bevestig en hoedat die massas in Suid-Afrika hulle deur Mandela assosieer met die ANC -

"Mandela and Our Struggle:

Mandela's spirit is very much alive in the ANC, and among our people in general. The very fact that the Freedom Charter, in whose formulation he featured prominently, is publicly distributed at home, and that many people of different walks of life come to associate themselves with the ANC, is evidence of this.

- (3) In Soweto het die ANC 'n nuwe element gebring in die vryheidstryd -

"The ANC introduced a new element in the Soweto uprising, namely the combination of armed struggle with unarmed demonstrations. The incident involving the arrest and execution of Solomon Mahlangu - the hero of the revolution - was directly connected with this process.

These developments to a change in the weapons used to a determined attempt at parity in strength; to a shift in the relationship of contending forces, a shift in our favour - a characteristic feature of the present stage of our struggle.

This is how we celebrate Mandela's birthday - by putting his theories, ideals and aspirations into practice."

21. SECHABA, July 1983 (BEW. AAE.16) p. 14 -

"Rivonia : Twenty Years On".

'n Skets word gegee van die sogenaamde nasionale vryheid=

stryd en die ANC se oorlewing van Regeringsoptredes.
 Let in die besonder op dat al die persone genoem as
 beskuldigdes, beskermhere is van UDF - sien Bew. A.1,
 bladsy 6 -

"The ANC Survives and Leads.

The struggle of the ANC to survive the defeats of
 the 1960's, to rebuild its organisation, and to
 effectively and concretely resume its leading role
 in the national liberation struggle inside South
 Africa, was carried on in the face of formidable
 obstacles, including the unconstrained power of
 the state's security apparatus. Nevertheless,
 our movement not only survived, but continued to
 operate on an ever-expanding scale in both the
 political sphere and in the armed struggle within
 South Africa.

----- The role of our movement is testified to by
 the fact that its leadership has been spontaneously
 recognised by individuals and organisations alike
 engaged in the struggle for national liberation in
 South Africa."

22. SECHABA, July 1983 (BEW. AAE.16) p. 18 e.v.

Twee artikels waarin beweerde ANC-helde vereer word -

(1) Stop Repression of Trade Unions.

Oscar Mpetha, een van die presidente van UDF
 (Sien Bew. A.1 p. 6) word vereer as 'n getroue
 ANC- en Vakbond steunpilaar.

(2) "Incredibly Brave Men".

Nelson Mandela voorgehou as voorbeeld vir navolging.

23. MAYIBUYE NO. 1 van 1982 (BEW. AAF.1) p. 6 -

"Defend the Patriots in Botha's Dungeons".

(1) Daar is 'n opkoms en uitbreiding van 'n breë massa
 beweging teen aanhouding van leiers van die massas
 en patriotte.

- (2) Organisasies is "Detainees Parents Support Committee" en "Detainees Health Rights Steering Committee".
- (3) Die kampanje vir die vrylating van politieke aangehoudenes kom op 'n tyd toe die Staat optree teen "those who seek and fight for justice and democracy in our land".
- (4) Hierdie oproep is 'n sege vir die massas en beklemtoon dat aanhoudings sonder verhoor skend menseregte en word die wreedheid van die magte van die Staat oorbeklemtoon. Dit word verder beklemtoon dat die so-genaamde Pretoria "regime" nie die massas verteenwoordig nie en 'n onwettige Regering is sonder die magte van arrestasie en vervolging. Die arrestasies is 'n poging om die stem van geregtigheid en demokrasie die swye op te lê.

Die oproep van die ANC is -

"Whilst the 'Charge or Release' slogan correctly focusses the attention of the people on the fascist nature of Pretoria's state machinery, it could - and does - imply witting or unwitting recognition of the legality of the racist state including its judicial machinery."

- (5) Veiligheidswetgewing in Suid-Afrika is daarop gemik om apartheid te beskerm en is daarom -

"At the same time, it is a challenge to all the struggling people to broaden the anti-detention front whilst at the same time deepening its thrust to the very nerve centre of the system. We should extend the Detainees Support campaign to encompass all patriots within the grey walls of Botha's prisons, the banned and the banished ---- So should the urgent campaign to stop the execution of our heroes and Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants on the death row: Naphtali Manana, Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu and David Maise".

24. MAYIBUYE NO. 5 van 1984 (BEW. AAF.14) p. 2 -

"Extract from an address by President O.R. Tambo on March 21st, 1984 -

- (1) Die apartheid Regering probeer om te oortuig dat hulle vrede nastreef maar die ANC sê daar sal nie vrede wees nie.

"For the people of South Africa, there is neither the prospect nor the promise of peace. The reasons for Pretoria's aggression and therefore for the wars in the region lie within South Africa, and there they still remain."

- (2). Die geveg in Suid-Afrika sal voortduur vir die nasionale bevryding en die Tuislandbeleid en nuwe konstitusie sal voortduur teen apartheidsinsettings.
- (3) Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu en Govan Mbeki het hul vrylating op voorwaarde dat hulle in die Transkei gaan woon, onvoorwaardelik verwerp. UDF is bereid om te veg vir ideaal van ANC.

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"Today, people of all races are united in a broad democratic front of millions, determined to fight for the realisation of a democratic, non-racial South Africa. Our country is now the site of a gathering mass struggle reinforced by armed action by units of the peoples army, Umkhonto we Siswe."

- (4) Om die toestand in Suid-Afrika te handhaaf, word organisasies buite die land geblameer vir toestande in Suid-Afrika. Dit is nie die geval nie -

"It is more comforting for it to attribute to external agitation the resistance that springs from our people's commitment to the cause of liberation, and, it is more reassuring for Botha to see our national liberation movement as a transient force, having its roots on foreign soil and drawing its main support from forces outside our borders."

- (5) Die leier van die ANC stel die onomwonde dat solank die nasionale vryheidstryd duur, sal die ANC groei en eienaardig genoeg nie UDF nie -

"Our national liberation movement sprang from the loins of the people, fathered by their dispossession, oppression and exploitation, nurtured by their belief in a just society, and tempered by years of struggle. So long as these conditions remain, so long will our people remain committed to liberate themselves and their country, and so long will the ANC grow in strength and effectiveness".

25. DAWN Vol. 7 No. 8 van 1983 (BEW. AAG.1) p. 18 -
"Heroes of Our Revolution".

26. BEWYSSTUK: A.1, pp. 30 en 31.

(1) UDF openbaar 'n besondere gesindheid teenoor die ANC en hierdie organisasie se lede en leiers. 'n Resolusie was tydens die stigting van UDF aanvaar om in die bres te tree vir die ANC-leiers, terroriste, politieke aangehoudenes en die ANC en dié se vlugteling lede.

SIEN: die resoluusie op p. 31.

(2) Dit is egter nie die einde van die storie dat slegs gepleit word vir die vrylating van hierdie persone, soos wat noodwendig geargumenteer gaan word ook deur ander wettige organisasies gedoen word nie, maar gaan heelwat verder en propageer en maak hierdie organisasies, terroriste en terroristeleiers deel van hul eie. Só word die Rivonia-terroriste almal beskermhere van UDF. Dit is Dennis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Malangeni, Elias Motsoaledi en Walter Sisulu (vergelyk p. 6 met BEW. AAE.16 pp. 1 en 15).

~~Die volgende het ook vonnis uitgedien -~~

1. Hierdie kampanjes van die UDF en die ANC/SAKP bring die sameswering tussen die onderskeie organisasies sterker as die ander kampanjes na vore.

Nie alleen is minstens 9 van die 20 Nasionale Beskermhere van UDF veroordeelde ANC-leiers nie, maar is die Ma van h tereggestelde ANC-terroris en h aantal ander persone wat ANC-simpatiseerders en/of -meelopers is, ook Nasionale Beskermhere van UDF.

Ook verskeie lede van die Nasionale Uitvoerende Komitee van UDF is gevonnise ANC-lede of -meelopers.

Verder is die Streke van UDF se Uitvoerende Komitees ook gesaai met óf gevonnise ANC-leiers, óf oud-ANC-leiers (soos Albertina Sisulu, C. Nkondo, Eric Molobi, Francis Baard, Dr. N. Motlana - almal van Transvaal-streek; Archie Gumede, Paul David van Natal-streek; Oscar Mpetha van Wes-Kaap; en Steve Tshwete van UDF Oos-Kaap).

Selfs onder die beamptes van UDF en 1985-bestuur, is die oud-ANC/SAKP-lede volop aan te tref - in prominente poste - (Curnick Ndlovu, Steve Tshwete, Edgar Ngoye, M. Morobe, Raymond Suttner, Dan Montsisi en Billy Nair).

SIEN BEWYSSTUKKE: A.1, A5 en C.102.

2. Soos uit die bespreking van die ANC-kampanje oor hierdie aspek blyk, volg die UDF en die ANC mekaar slaafs na, selfs ten opsigte van die fynere detail rakende die kampanje. Dit is vir beide die ANC en UDF van die grootste erns dat die ANC-leiers sy beleidsdokument (die Freedom Charter), die ANC-geskiedenis en die ANC-terroriste en hul dade, by die massas gepopulariseer moet word tot so h mate dat die massas die ANC en alles wat met die ANC saamgaan, as hul eie sal aanvaar.

A1 P6

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Daar kan tog net een rede daarvoor wees, en dit is dat die ANC en UDF beide ten doel het dat die massas onder die vaandel van die ANC uiteindelik saamgesnoer moet word sodat in geval van 'n uiteindelijke magsoorname, die UDF en ANC seker sal wees dat dit 'n magsoorname deur die UDF/ANC/SAKP-alliansie sal wees, en geskoei op die beginsels van die Freedom Charter - die ANC se selfverklaarde beleidsdokument.

3. Ten einde hierdie uiteindelijke doel van die UDF/ANC/SAKP te bereik, het die UDF (soos die ANC en SAKP) publikasies, pamflette, ens. uitgegee en versprei onder die massas waar= deur die massas gepolitiseer, indoktrineer, mobiliseer en georganiseer moes word vir massa-aksie in die rewolusionêre oorlogvoering.
4. Om die rewolusionêre stryd te bevorder, moet die RSA ook onregeerbaar gemaak word en daarom is dit ook nodig om enige instellings of beleid van die Staat ter voorkoming of be= lemmering van die rewolusie af te breek. Vir hierdie doel was dit dan verder nodig om die massas deur middel van pro= paganda op te sweep teen die Staat, veiligheidsmagte, wet= gewing betreffende Staatsveiligheid en die Staat, sy beleid en instellings gehaat onder die massas te maak en terself= dertyd geweld en terreur deur die ANC-terroriste onder die massas te populariseer sodat die massas bereid en gewillig sal wees om aktief deel te neem aan die rewolusie en selfs bereid sou wees om te sterf vir die rewolusie.
5. BEWYSSTUKKE B2 en B9 :

Dit is die stukke van AZAPO se derde Jaarkongres in 1983, en hierin word op p. 3 die massas se simpatie opgewek teen= oor politieke vlugtelingte :

"Some cannot attend because they have been forced to find shelter in distant lands by the oppressive white racist settler regime of South Africa."

Ook word op p. 3 die massas se simpatie teenoor die aangehouenes en veroordeeldes opgewek -

"A great number are still incarcerated and made to languish in the dungeons of oppression erected through the length and breadth of this our beloved country."

Op p. 18 word die massas teen die Veiligheidswetgewing opgesweep -

"These and many other laws of this Government create a situation of institutionalised violence.

We must live with the knowledge and belief, however, that no amount of security legislation can forever suppress man's inborn desire for justice and liberation."

AZAPO propageer op p. 38 aan die massas dat -

"All political prisoners should be freed the banned unbanned, the banished unbanish, and amnesty granted to exiles, which act would be a de facto recognition of the authentic leaders of Azania."

Verder word ge-eis -

"the historical political organisations such as ANC, PAC, BPC ----- should be party to the talks."

Verder word die geweld van terroriste teenoor die massas aanvaarbaar gemaak -

"The attack on our brothers on the borders should come to an end for we believe that the people who have resorted to the armed struggle have done so because of frustration that their protests and complaints have fallen on deaf ears." (My onderstreping).

Dit is opvallend dat die gevonnide terroriste (20 van hulle, wie se name op die laaste bladsy, die laaste paragraaf van die Bewysstuk verskyn) 'n staande ovasie en 'n helde-ontvangs van AZAPO se Kongres gekry het. Dit is uit die name verder opvallend hoeveel van die terroriste leiersfigure in AZAPO is of was.

6. BEWYSSTUK B7 :

Resolusies van die National Forum ten aansien van gevonnide terroriste en moordenaars word by die massas gepropageer dat

hul "three freedom fighters murdered -----
by the racist Botha regime," is, p. 1.

7. BEWYSSTUK B26 :

AZAPO pamflet "New Years Message, 1984" :

Die massas word geïndoktrineer dat hulle in die "vryheid=stryd" deur niks gestuit sal word nie -

"We will stop at nothing in our fight for the reposses=
sion of our land and the tranference of power to the
rightful owners : Black people."

8. BEWYSSTUK C21 :

Hierdie is 'n toespraak wat gelewer is deur die samesweerder I. Mohamed, en die dokument is self ook in sy besit gevind.

In die toespraak verwys hy op p. 1 na die byeenkomste van die "Congress Movement" en Kommuniste Party en vergelyk dit met die huidige byeenkomste van JODAC, UDF-geaffilieerdes en dan word die gehoor geïndoktrineer dat die "struggle" van die UDF en sy affiliale dieselfde stryd as dié van die "Congress Movement" en Kommunistiese Party is.

"It is in gatherings like these of the old guard and of the youth - a gathering of those who were active in the ---- trade unions, the Communist Party and the Congress Movement and of those active today in JODAC, DPSC, Black Sash and affiliates of UDF - that our tradition of struggle and total commitment shall live forward and sustain all who cherish the dream of a just and democratic South Africa."

Ook verkondig hy teenoor sy gehoor ten aansien van die ANC-leiers :

"We remember particularly our leaders Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg and others imprisoned for so many long years, but we also remember our young people Barbara Hogan, Rob Adams, Mandla Mtembu, Karl *Nischen*, Tsotsobe -----"

Row W 1 : State of the Nation p 32

Die gehoor word dan ook opgesweep op indirekte wyse tot deelname en vereenselwiging met dae van terreur -

"The death of Jabulani is proof that there is not going to be peace until we have claimed our heritage and liberated our country ----.

*Jabulani Ngobo
Crushed down in 'Mangweni'
as ANC dog - - -*

C 21 p 3.

"His death, like those of Solomon Mahlangu, Mogoerane, Mosololi, Motaung ----- is testimony that the rulers have set this country firmly on the road to violence and conflict. But we shall not be deterred from struggling for a free and democratic South Africa."

9. BEWYSSTUK C22 :

Bewysstuk C22 is die geskrewe teks van die toespraak gemaak deur die samesweerder I. Mohamed by die UDF People's Rally op 30 Oktober 1983.

Afgesien daarvan dat die stuk self voorgaande bewering bevat, word dit bevestig deur Bewysstukke 19 en V.19(a) wat die video-opname van die betrokke vergadering is.

Die betrokke bewysstuk word elders bespreek en daarom word hier net kortliks betoog dat hierdie bewysstuk gebruik was om die massas op te sweep teen die Staat, 'n gevoel van haat op te wek by die massas teen die Regering, en die massas verder opgesweep word tot gewelddadige rewolusie (p. 2, middelste paragraaf) en aanvaarding van die terroriste van die ANC as hul eie, en as inspirasie vir hul eie deelname aan die "vryheidstryd".

10. BEWYSSTUK C23 :

Hierdie is eweneens die teks van 'n toespraak van I. Mohamed, ^{EN} _^ ex facie die stuk het hy dit gelewer by die 'SCA Anti-Local Authorities Meeting - 27 November 1983".

Ook hier word die gehoor opgesweep om die ANC-leiers en -terroriste as hul eie te aanvaar wat hulle moet aanspoor "to destroy the local authorities".

11. BEWYSSTUK C25 :

Hierdie is ex facie die stuk die toespraak wat I. Mohamed by die AZASO-konferensie op 4 Julie 1984 gelewer het.

Ook hierin word die massas opgesweep tot deelname aan die sogenaamde "vryheidstryd", word die "anger" van die massas aanvaarbaar gemaak onder die massas, word die terroristestryde

in Angola, Mosambiek en Zimbabwe as navolgingswaardige "victories" voorgehou aan die massas, word die massasge-indoktrineer om Mandela en sy trawante as hul leiers te aanvaar, en word die ANC-terroriste en -leiers voorgehou as die inspirasie wat die "flames of freedom" in "raging fires of liberation" sal omskep.

12. BEWYSSTUK C26 :

Ex facie die stuk het I. Mohamed hierdie toespraak by die begrafnis van ene Jabulani Ngcobo in Soweto op 30 Desember 1984 gelewer namens UDF.

Ook hierin word die massas opgesweep om die persone wat die land verlaat en na die ANC gaan vir militêre opleiding as hul eie te aanvaar, word die Blankes gehaat gemaak by die Swartes en word die gehoor opgeroep tot verenigde aksie vir hul bevryding :

"Our sons and daughters have left our homes and country to wage the struggle that we all shall be free"

en

"We must unite in a determined common struggle to liberate our country -----".

13. BEWYSSTUK C41 :

Beskuldigde 19 het die toespraak van Nelson Mandela waar hy die Staatspresident se aanbod om voorwaardelike vrylating afgewys het, aan al UDF se streke gestuur met die versoek om dit te vertaal, afskrifte te maak en dit "broadly" te sirkuleer.

In die stuk van Mandela word die UDF bedank vir sy samewerking om die toespraak wêreldkundig te maak, en UDF self vereenselwig hom tot so 'n mate met Mandela en sy toespraak waarin Mandela die ANC, sy stryd en eise populariseer, dat hy dit landwyd versprei. Hierdeur populariseer UDF Mandela en sy trawante asook die ANC onder die massas.

14. BEWYSSTUK C96 :

Hierdie publikasie van NIC en AFCWU, beide UDF-geaffilieerdes, en wat gevind is in die kantore van UDF (Kaapstad) is ooglopend bedoel vir verspreiding.

In die dokument word die deelname van Billy Nair, wat 'n leidende figuur in UDF is, aan die "vryheidstryd (wat 15 dae van sabotasie ingesluit het), voorgehou as 'n voorbeeld van "courage, deep commitment and unfailing loyalty to the creation of a democratic South Africa based on the Freedom Charter -----."

Ook 'n ander UDF-leier, Curnick Ndlovu, se aandeel in dae van Sabotasie, waarvoor hy 20 jaar gevangenisstraf uitgedien het, word besing. (Curnick Ndlovu is, aldus die erkennings, van net na Augustus 1983 op die NEC van UDF).

15. BEWYSSTUK C97 :

Die eerste deel van dié dokument (tot by p. 32) is lesings wat twee UDF-leiersfigure (en oud ANC en SAKP-lede) gelewer het by die opleidingskursus van UDF op 20 Januarie 1985 ten opsigte van die ^{se} Freedom Charter Kampanje. Die lesings populariseer die ANC en SAKP by die gehoor en die tweede deel van die dokument (pp. 33 - 35) bevat onder andere die besluit van UDF om dié kampanje te seën en verkondig die siening dat daar geen konflik tussen die Freedom Charter (die ANC se "policy-document") en die UDF se Deklarasie is nie. Die kampanje word gevoer, aldus p. 34, deur UDF se geaffilieerdes, soos TIC, Anti-PC, JODAC ens.

16. BEWYSSTUK C102 :

Hierdie stukke van die Algemene Raad van UDF is gevind by UDF se kantoor, Johannesburg, en 'n ander kopie is in besit van Beskuldigde 19 gevind, terwyl hy klaarblyklik op reis was daarmee.

Hierin verkondig UDF teenoor die massas dat die terugkeer van politieke vlugtelingen, opheffing van verbannings van organisasies, skraping van alle veiligheidswetgewing en die

vrylating van alle politieke gevangenes geëis moet word as die begin van 'n proses van magsoorgawe aan die sogenaamde "demokratiese" staat.

Ook is 'n resoluëie aangeneem waar gepropageer word dat die massawoede nie sal afneem nie, dat die Staat niks kan bied wat vir die massas aanvaarbaar is nie, dat diegene wat in aanhouding of verhoorafwagtend is, die ware leiers van die massas is en dat die vrylating van alle politieke gevangenes geëis moet word.

Die massa word opgesweeë teen die Staat en sy instellings met bewerings dat die Staat begin het met 'n "reign of terror" in die woongebiede, en dat die Staat verantwoordelik is vir die "frequent assassination" van aktiviste.

17. BEWYSSTUK C106 :

Hierdie is ex facie die stuk, 'n toespraak wat namens UDF-bestuur (skynbaar die sogenaamde "keynote-address") by die ^{NASIONALE} Algemene Raadsvergadering van UDF (Nasionaal), en dit was, soos uit Bewysstuk C.102 blyk, 5 - 7 April 1985. Bewysstuk C.106 is gevind by UDF Johannesburgse kantoor.

Die spreker verkondig teenoor die gehoor dat hy hulle "greet in the name of the leading patriots who continue to inspire us from Robben Island, Pollsmoor and in exile.

I greet you in the name of Comrade Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and many others who continue to contribute to the struggle for liberation from outside our borders."

18. BEWYSSTUK C138 :

Dit is die stukke van UDF (Wes-Kaap) se Algemene Raadsvergadering wat in Maart 1985 gehou was.

In die Sekretariële Verslag blyk dit dat UDF daadwerklik gebou het en steeds bou aan die aansien van Mandela sodat hy vir die massas aanvaarbaar moet word en dat hulle hom as hul

leier moet aanvaar :

"---- we saw last week how ordinary people responded to the "City Press" poll to find South Africa's most popular leadership. Very little of this was thought to be possible before August 20, 1983." 75
(p. 2 van die Sekretariële Verslag).

19. BEWYSSTUK W2 :

Speak : Maart 1985.

Op p. 3 word gepropageer dat die Staat mense aanhou om hulle af te skrik en vir geen wettige rede nie -

"The state hoped to frighten our leaders and the communities with detentions, but this meeting is an indication that we are not afraid and will not sit back while our leaders are jailed."

Op p. 14 word die toespraak van Mandela na aanleiding van die Staatspresident se aanbod gepubliseer en word Mandela ook gepopulariseer as 'n ware leier van die massas, en word die leiers van die onafhanklike state en Kleurling- en Indiërparlementariërs teenoor die lesers voorgestel as geen ware leiers van die massas nie.

20. BEWYSSTUK W3 :

"Izwilethu : September 1984" (CUSA).

Op pp 4 - 5 word die wetgewing ten aansien van aanhouding teenoor die massas gepropageer as "a vicious system of detention without trial".

21. BEWYSSTUK W.12 :

FEDTRAW Resolusies : Desember 1984.

Die vroue word hier geïndoktrineer dat dit "the task and duty of every freedom loving woman in our country (is) to stand up and fight this apartheid regime", en word die vroue in die gevangnisse vereer vir hul aandeel in die vryheidstryd.

22. BEWYSSTUK W.13 :

AZASO Newsletter : October 1983.

Teenoor die lesers word gepropageer dat AZASO die tradisie geskep deur die ANC Youth League, voortsit - p- 3.

23. BEWYSSTUK W.19 :

Saspu National : Maart 1984.

Op p. 8 word Dorothy Nyembe besing as 'n "symbol of courage to many South Africans. She has bravely faced and overcome hardships in her tireless work for democracy". Ook word ander vroue, wat vir ANC-bedrywighede onder andere veroordeel is, besing en gepopulariseer.

Op p. 13 word die lesers geïndoktrineer dat die omstandighede van politieke aangehoudenes in die gevangnisse baie swak is.

24. BEWYSSTUK W23 :

Saspu National : Oktober 1983.

Op p. 7 word die lesers geïndoktrineer om te aanvaar dat "there can be no democracy when the Constitution is made without the presence of these people".

Yusuf Dadoo, die voorsitter van die Sentrale Komitee van die SAKP, word op p. 12 gepopulariseer by die lesers as 'n leier van die massas.

25. BEWYSSTUK W33 :

"The Young Leader" : 1984.

Hier word aan die lesers verkondig dat die terroriste nie terroriste is nie, maar "--- young people who left South Africa in 1976. These people are in fact fighting for equal rights, better housing, health services and a peaceful future."

*Lemana
Youth
League*

26. BEWYSSTUK W34 :

"Challenge" (BSS-AZASO).

Op p.3 word die lesers opgesweep om die ANC-leiers soos Mandela, Mbeki en andere te aanvaar as die "symbol of

U

hope and inspiration for the oppressed people. They have become the peoples leaders."

Ook op p. 10 word 'n ANC-leier by die lesers gepopulariseer as 'n "source of inspiration to the young women of today".

27. BEWYSSTUK W35 :

Bewys 7

"ADAC News" - Julie 1984. *Geen bewys dat dit gefabrieer is.*
Op p. 2 word al die Rivonia-beskyldigdes weer eens gepopulariseer onder die massas en word hulle voorgestel as -

"They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African struggle ----- without their leadership brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa."

28. BEWYSSTUK W42 :

"UDF-News" : Oktober 1984.

UDF verkondig onder die massas dat die Regering die massas se "leiers" aanhou en verban omdat die leiers teen die Raadslede georganiseer het. Ook word verkondig dat vergaderings verban word omdat "the Government fears our voice".

Die verdere oproep word dan gemaak dat alle politieke aangehoudenes vrygelaat moet word - p. 2.

29. BEWYSSTUK W44 :

"UDF-News (Transvaal)" ; Augustus 1984.

Die massas word opgesweep teen die Regering en dan word verklaar -

"But the harshest effects of the New Deal will come when the new parliament starts in September.

That is the time that our resistance must be deepened."
en

"We must redouble our efforts to build the power of our democratic organisations. We must bring in more people. We must develop more organisers and fighters for a free South Africa."

en

dan word die massas geïndoktrineer om die vrylating van politieke gevangenes te eis :

"We know that we cannot discuss a constitution without the release of political prisoners, the unconditional return of exiles and the repeal of all unjust laws."
- p. 1.

Ook word op p. 2 verkondig dat geen vrede moontlik sal wees sonder vrylating van die politieke gevangenes nie - onder andere Mandela en kie.

30. BEWYSSTUK W49 :

"TIC-pamflet".

Die massas word teen die Regering opgesweep want die Regering sou dan nie drie ANC-"terroriste" se doodsvonnisse voltrek het nie, maar slegs "children of normal South African families caught up in an ever-escalating civil war".

31. BEWYSSTUK W58 :

"Congress Resister" : Oktober 1984.

Die massas word opgesweep om die vrylating van politieke aangehoudenenes en veroordeeldes te eis want, word verkondig :

"We want our heroes and heroines to take their rightful place in our Country, to guide us in our fight ----".

32. BEWYSSTUK W68 :

"The Eye" : Maart 1985.

Op p. 12 word Mandela se antwoord op die Staatspresident se aanbod om voorwaardelike vrylating gepubliseer.

33. BEWYSSTUK W70 :

"Speak" : November 1984.

Die massas word teen die Regering opgesweep deur bewerings dat persone aangehou kan word omdat -

"The Minister of Law and Order believes they may have been thinking of endangering the Security of the State" - p. 7.

34. BEWYSSTUK W71 :

"JODAC News" : Augustus 1984.

Die massas word opgesweep teen die Polisie en word beweer -

"Our security legislation allows the police unlimited power. This, combined with the sinister web of secrecy they spin around the detainees, creates justified concern in the minds of the public" - p. 3.

35. BEWYSSTUK AA4 :

UDF-persverklaring : 12 Desember 1984.

Teenoor die massas word verkondig dat die "popular leaders are either banned, banished, detained, imprisoned".

36. BEWYSSTUK AE.16 :

FEDSAW-persverklaring : 24 Augustus 1984.

Die Regering word teenoor die massas uitgekryt as "lafaards" en word die vrylating van aangehoudenes geëis anders sal "the volcano erupts".

37. BEWYSSTUK AG3 :

Persverklaring UDF : 31 Januarie 1985.

Hierin verkondig UDF teenoor die massas dat die Regering verantwoordelik sal wees vir enige "konflik" wat mag vererger solank Mandela en ander politieke aangehoudenes aangehou word.

Ook word dit by die massas ingeprent dat net die vrylating van politieke gevangenes en die afbreek van die Regeringstrukture "stabiliteit" en "vrede" sal bring.

38. BEWYSSTUK ^A DG4 :

Persverklaring UDF : 31 Januarie 1985.

Die massas word hier, onder die hand van Beskuldigde 21, geïndoktrineer dat Mandela geregverdig sal wees as hy nie geweld afsweer nie.

39. BEWYSSTUK AG5 :

UDF-persverklaring : 9 Februarie 1985.

Die idee dat Mandela en kie. die massas verteenwoordig in die RSA, word onder die mense versprei.

"--- the Government is still not prepared to accept the fact that Mandela and his Comrades represent the aspirations and the will of our people."

40. BEWYSSTUK AG7 :

Memo aan alle Streke : Februarie 1985.

Onder die hand van Beskuldigde 19 word gepropageer dat -

"The apartheid regime is illegitimate and so is its pernicious system of detention and, charges under its security legislation".

41. BEWYSSTUK AG8 :

AZASO-publikasie.

Die hele publikasie is 'n verheerliking van Nelson Mandela en sy trawante uit die Rivonia-verhoor. Die massas word geïndoktrineer om Mandela as "the people's Leader" te aanvaar.

42. BEWYSSTUK AG9 :

TIC-pamflet.

Ook hier word die massas opgesweep om die Veiligheidswette as "unjust laws" te sien en te eis vir die vrylating van politieke aangehoudenes.

43. BEWYSSTUK AG.10 :

RMC-pamflet.

'n Massavergadering waarop Beskuldigde 20 onder andere as spreker opgetree het, word adverteer, welke vergadering in solidariteit met Mandela gehou word.

44. BEWYSSTUK AG.12 :

TIC-pamflet.

Die Sekretaris van die SAKP word in dié pamflet verheerlik as 'n "freedom fighter".

45. BEWYSSTUK AG.17 :

AZASO-pamflet.

AZASO verkondig hier teenoor die massas dat Mandela "the source of inspiration to all the oppressed people of the land" is en dat hy vrygelaat moet word as vereiste vir vrede en vrymaking van die juk van onderdrukking.

46. BEWYSSTUK AG.18 :

In die TIC/UDF-plakker eis dié organisasies die vrylating van "our leaders".

47. BEWYSSTUK AG22 :

Die massas word in dié TIC/UDF-pamflet opgesweep om onder andere te glo dat "in all countries around the world, a person has to be found guilty in Court before being jailed", e

"In South Africa, the Government can throw anybody into jail for as long as they like, without giving them a court trial",

en dan word die politieke aangehoudenes vereer as "our leaders".

48. BEWYSSTUK AG23 :

Persverklaring : I.J. Mohamed : 3 September 1983.

Dié samesweerder en leidende figuur in UDF, TIC, en Anti-PC verkondig teenoor die massas dat Tambo die "leader of the Vanguard Movement of our Country" is.

49. BEWYSSTUK AG24 :

Songsheet.

In die liedere (wat by I. Mohamed gevind is) word Mandela en kie. besing as die leiers van die massas en word die ANC-terroriste by die massas verheerlik.

50. BEWYSSTUK AG25 :

In die boodskap van Transvaal Anti-PC (wat deur I. Mohamed geskryf is) aan UDF by sy loodsing, word die massas eweneens daaraan herinner dat die aangehoudenes, veroordeeldes en terroriste van die ANC in die buiteland "our brave patriots" is waarop UDF gebou word.

51. BEWYSSTUK AG26 :

W 19
S aapw p 8
W 34 p 10
Chapman
7 In sy verwelkoming van Dorothy Nyembe, wat pas vrygelaat is na sy 15 jaar gevangenisstraf uitgedien het vir ANC-bedrywighede, word die massas deur I. Mohamed te Pietersburg (Mankweng), opgesweep teen die Regering en Blanke minderheid -

"acknowledges the suffering of the mothers who have been robbed of the precious lives they brought into this world and we think particularly of Mahlangu, Magoerane, Motaung, Mosolodi and very particularly of Benjamin Moloise -----"

en dan word die massas opgeroep om te verenig -

"we must build them into an anvil on which the beast that is destroying our people in detention and imprisonment will meet its end".

52. BEWYSSTUK AJ2 :

NIC-pamflet.

Die massas word opgesweep teen wetgewing oor aanhoudings -

"South Africa's courts have decided that the Government can detain them, even though they have committed no crime".

53. BEWYSSTUK AJ8 :

UDF-persverklaring ; 21 Augustus 1984.

Die massas word opgesweep dat die aanhouding van hul aktiwiste ongeregverdig is, en dan -

"We demand the immediate release of all these activists and the cessation of these acts of terror".

54. BEWYSSTUK AJ.10 :

UDF-persverklaring ; 10 Desember 1984.

Ook hierin word die massas geïndoktrineer dat "only the release of our people's leaders and the dismantling of apartheid will bring about peace in this country".

55. BEWYSSTUK AJ.13 :

UDF-persverklaring : 2 Oktober 1984.

Die Regering word hier gewaarsku dat "detentions only serve to fuel the anger of our people".

56. BEWYSSTUK AJ.14 :

UDF-persverklaring.

UDF populariseer hul organisasie vir die "courage and spirit of resistance of our people led by Gadora and Cradoya" en eis dan die vrylating van die aangehoudenes.

57. BEWYSSTUK AJ.18 :

UDF-persverklaring.

Die massas word geïndoktrineer om te aanvaar dat die Regering Beskuldigde 20 deur middel van aanhouding treiter en die UDF verklaar, by monde van Beskuldigde 19, dat dit hom nie sal laat afsien van die intensifisering van sy kampanje teen die Regering nie.

58. BEWYSSTUK AJ.19 :

UDF-persverklaring ; 3 Februarie 1984.

Die massas word geïndoktrineer dat die Staat slegs UDF se leiers, Elliot Shabangu en Amos Masondo, uit paniek laat aanhou het, en verklaar dat dié twee here verantwoordelik was vir die "victorious victory of the Soweto people against the Black Local Authorities".

59. BEWYSSTUK AJ20 :

UDF-persverklaring.

Die massas word in die verklaring geïndoktrineer om te glo dat die persone wat in die Vaal na die opstande en oproer arresteer is "--- show trail, in an attempt to distract attention away from the regime's policies and to criminalise legitimate opposition in the townships", sal kry en word artikel 54 van Wet 74 van 1982 afgemaak as 'n "vague and extremely broad section in the Act which would not find a place in any democratic society".

60. BEWYSSTUK AJ22 :

UDF-persverklaring : 24 Oktober 1983.

Die massas word opgesweep teen die aanhouding van aktiviste van UDF en word die Regering beskuldig -

"--- this racist government is setting the scene for a tragic conflict in our society".

Beskuldigde 19 het dié verklaring onderteken.

61. BEWYSSTUK AJ24 :

UDF/DPSC/DSC-persverklaring.

Ook hierin word teenoor die massas verkondig dat "History has shown that violence meted out to unarmed people leads to reciprocal violence in desperation" en word die Regering daarvoor verantwoordelik gehou.

62. BEWYSSTUK AJ28 :

TIC-pamflet.

Die Regering word hier beskuldig dat hy die UDF, RMC, TIC en NIC-leiers slegs arresteer en aanhou om hulle te treiter en dat die Regering geensins belangstel in vreedsame oplossings van die land se probleme nie.

63. BEWYSSTUK AJ30 :

CUSA-persverklaring.

Die aanhouding van sy leiers en lede word teenoor die massas voorgedou as blote treitering deur die Regering.

64. BEWYSSTUK AJ32 :

TIC-pamflet.

Die massas word teen die Regering opgesweep en word hulle geïndoktrineer om te glo dat die arrestasies van UDF, SAAWU, TIC en Anti-PC-leiers uit blote treitering geskied en gedoen is om die leiers te intimideer.

65. BEWYSSTUK AJ33 :

AZAPO-pamflet.

Hierin word al die persone wat sedert 1920 in opstande in aanhouding is, vereer vir hul deelname aan die "vryheidstryd"

66. BEWYSSTUK AJ36 :

BSM/AZASO-pamflet.

Die massas word teen die Regering opgesweep en word verklaar -

"--- het die polisie en weermag honderde mense afgemaai
----- hierdie mense was besig om op wettige wyse teen:
hervestiging, vrot opvoeding --- te protesteer. Dit
is duidelik dat die Staat oorlog op ons mense verklaar
het. Daarom kamerade, laat ons verenig en laat ons
by progressiewe organisasies soos GRACA, GYM, COSAS,
CRAYCO en GRAWO aansluit".

67. BEWYSSTUK AJ43 :

UDF-rondskrywe aan die Streke.

Beskuldigde 19 skryf hier aan al die Streeksekretarisse dat hul massavergaderings moet reël waarin hulle die vrylating van Mathew Goniwe moet eis.

68. BEWYSSTUK AJ47 :

TIC-pamflet : Desember 1984.

Die massas word uitgenooi na 'n protesvergadering teen die

aanhouding van TIC, NIC en RMC-leiers. Die massas word verder teen die Regering opgesweep en word beweër -

"By repressing the peaceful struggles of our people, the Government is inviting and encouraging a show of violence. We thus put the recent unrest in the Townships squarely on the shoulders of the State".

69. BEWYSSTUK AJ48 :

UDF/DESCOM/DPSC-persverklaring : Oktober 1984.

Die Regering word veroordeel vir die aanhouding van COSAS-leiers en lede en word die Regering uitgekryt vir sy "insincerity of recent government attempts to solve the education crisis" en word verklaar "Detentions of student leaders will not bring peace to classrooms in our country".

70. BEWYSSTUK AL4 :

UDF, net soos die ANC, verklaar dat 'n "demokratiese" konstitusie nie tot stand sal kom sonder die "release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of the banned and restricted and the return of those who have been forced into exile".

71. BEWYSSTUK AL5 :

In die stuk, wat ex facie die stuk, 'n UDF-dokument is, word gepropageer dat 'n Nasionale Konvensie alleenlik kan plaasvind as onder andere die aangehoudenenes vrygelaat word, verbannings opgehef word en die Veiligheidswetgewing herroep word.

72. BEWYSSTUK AL83 :

Black Sash, 'n aktiewe ondersteuner van UDF, sweep die massas op om nie aan die verkiesings deel te neem nie, en een van die redes is die -

"--- detention, prosecution and imprisonment of political and community leaders under so-called security legislation passed by a parliament which represents a minority of South Africans".

73. BEWYSSTUK AL.126 :

TIC-pamflet.

Die massas word opgesweep teen die Regering se konstitusionele voorstelle en word SAKP en ANC-leiers vereer vir hul deelname aan die sogenaamde "vryheidstryd" -

"Their sacrifice has not been in vain, nor have those of Gandhi, Naicker, Dadoo, Timol ---- been. Only the scrapping of unjust laws, the return of exiles and the release of political prisoners will bring peace".

Dan word Mandela en sy trawante gepopulariseer as -

"-- the people's true leaders" en
"We demand the release of Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu and all other political prisoners. We demand a national convention ----".

74. BEWYSSTUK AL.135 :

In die pamflet wat uit Khotso Huis, UDF se kantore te Johannesburg, kom, word verklaar dat die "people's leaders are in prison, exile"

75. BEWYSSTUK AL.150 :

UDF-persverklaring : 2 Julie 1984.

Beskuldigde 19 populariseer Nelson Mandela en sy mede-ANC-lede en word verklaar dat as die Regering ernstig is om vreedsame oplossings te verkry vir die land se probleme, hy Mandela en die ander leiers en aktiviste van die ANC moet vrylaat.

76. BEWYSSTUK AL.154 :

UDF-persverklaring : 23 Augustus 1984.

Jonathan de Vries, een van die samesweerders, propageer dat 'n nuwe Grondwet opgestel kan word slegs as alle politieke gevangenes vrygelaat word, alle verbannings opgehef word, politieke vlugtelingte toegelaat word om terug te keer en alle "unjust" wette herroep word.

HOOFSTUK 13

KAMPANJE F.C.

1.

Die voer van Kampanjes vervul 'n spesiale doel in die strategie van UDF nl. dat dit o.a. baie belangrik is in die politisering van die massas. Vir die ANC is die F.C. van besondere belang, nie alleen is dit 'n deel van hulle program van aksie nie maar is baie belangrik as die basis waarop hulle ^{so genoemde} sy Regering van dié massas gefundeer moet word as 'n sosialistiese vorm van Regering.

UDF verklaar teenoor die wêreld dat dit nie 'n organisasie is wat die F.C. aanvaar nie. Dit is 'n onwaarheid wat doelbewus verkondig word om sekere faksies in die samelewing 'n rat voor die oë te draai om hulle steun en samewerking te verkry. Soos gesien sal word is UDF se "Deklarasie" geskoei na die voorbeeld van die F.C. en verder kan UDF se kampanjes tuisgebring word onder elkeen van die voorskrifte van die F.C. Dit is ook duidelik dat elkeen van die aktiviste en leiers van UDF openlike steun aan die F.C. verkondig.

1.1 UDF self propageer in sy dokumente dat hulle streef na 'n demokratiese regeringstelsel volgens die F.C. As 'n nagedagtenis word dan bygevoeg dat dit so is vir diegene wat die F.C. onderskraag. In al die massa bewysstukke wat ingehandig is, is daar nie een wat nie die F.C. aanvaar nie.

Bew. C 1.

"Our objective is to dismantle apartheid and replace it with a more just and democratic system (as in the Freedom Charter, for those of us who subscribe to it)".

1.2 Popo Molefe, Besk. 19 raak hierdie voorgee uitdruklik waar hy die volgende noem in sy skrywe aan sy kollega in UDF Steve Tshwete waar hy vra vir 'n handleiding aan aktiviste en leiers in UDF.

Bew. C 3/...

Staat
Sukkers
AA M/19 x 20
strategiese + Takties
FC's
program van
ANC

Bew. C 3.

I think this aspect is very important because many of our activists are beginning to ask the following questions -

(a) Why does the UDF not become a Freedom Charter Front?

(b) Are we to compromise Freedom Charter for the sake of tiny liberal non-Charter organisations"

1.3 Steve Tshwete van UDF se antwoorde en handleiding op hierdie kwelvrae is 'n openbaring en besonder insiggewende getuïenis:

Bew. C 4 p 5.

"5. The UDF and The Freedom Charter

Comrades I cannot see how any organisation can be in a position to come up with a better set of demands than those enshrined in this ever ^{de}graan document. At the same time any attempt to formulate a watered-down version of those demands is certainly a sell-out position in the contest of the present struggle. The people of South Africa have gone a very long way to reach the Kliptown pinnacle in 1955. For us, 35 years later, to shun these demands would be outright reconciliation with the status quo and imperialism. I agree that le Grange's linkage cause would be strengthened but, we know and everybody in his right senses knows that the Freedom Charter is and was never an ANC document. The ANC had its own documents like the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and African Claims. The F.C. belongs to the people of South Africa and at this point of our struggle
~~there/...~~

W there is no reason why we should not adopt it as an alternative to the racist constitution. Everyone of those 10 points can be used to rally our people anywhere in South Africa. It has been hailed throughout the African continent as a piece of realistic document. The progressive international mankind has applauded it at various forums as an ideal alternative. Nelson Mandela and Anderson remain fascinated with it right up to now. The masses have coined moving songs out of every point in the 10. The masses of our people love and need to know it deeper. Those of our affiliate who may still entertain aversions against it need to^{b2} educated about it in a persuasive and tactical manner."

Waar Tshwete voorgee dat die F.C. nie 'n dokument van die ANC is nie, is dit klaarblyklik 'n poging aan sy kant om diegene wat dit nie aanvaar nie te "educate about it in a persuasive and tactical manner."

2.

Dat UDF nie 'n aanhanger is van die F.C. nie, is soos reeds genoem 'n truuk om sekere dele van die massas wat dit nie aanvaar nie te mislei. Dit word weereens bewys deur die feit dat daar 'n opleidingskursus vir UDF aktiviste gehou was oor die waarde en belang van die F.C. in hulle vryheidstryd. Uit die dokumente van die kursus - Bew. C 97 - word belangrike feite bewys.

2.1 Die dokumente word so belangrik geag dat hulle onder UDF aktiviste versprei word onder dekking van 'n dekblad met die ANC se simboliese wiel van Vryheid.

2.2 Die feit dat die jaar 1985 verklaar is tot die jaar van die F.C. en dat die F.C. gepopulasieer moet word onder die massas is 'n bepaling en oproep van die ANC. Die feit dat UDF aan hierdie leiding vandie ANC gehoor gee en sy steun toesê aan die voer van 'n kampanje om die F.C. te

populariseer/...

populariseer is van die uiterste belang. Veral so as gelet word op hoe die F.C. gebruik word in die "day-to-day struggles" van die massas.

PROPOSALS FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN EMERGING FROM THE WORKSHOP HELD ON 20 JANUARY 1984 IN JOHANNESBURG

A. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN

1. To popularize the Freedom Charter and its ideology.
2. To educate activists about the Freedom Charter and related issues.
In addition, to build a common understanding and greater cohesiveness at a regional and national level.
3. To present the Freedom Charter as a political alternative by linking it to ongoing mass struggles.
4. To consolidate the gains of 1984.
5. To realise the claim that the Charter is a "living document."

B. PROGRAM OF ACTION

1. EDUCATION: A very important aspect of this Campaign is the question of self-education.
As activists, we cannot expect to educate the masses unless we ourselves have an in depth knowledge of the Charter. Education can take the form of workshop and seminars. Also; papers on the Charter can be read and discussed in small groups.

Together/...

is that of educating

Together with self-education; there is also a need for research in order to enrich and broaden ^{our understanding apart from self education an important task} the masses. The masses of the people must understand the significance and meaning of the Charter. Here; door-to-door work would be invaluable.

2. GRASSROOTS: IN order to "take the Charter to the grassroots"; local struggles, campaigns and demands must be linked to clauses in the Freedom Charter. IN this way each local struggle against oppression and each short-term demand would be linked to the demand for national liberation. The above can be achieved in many different ways: Civic Associations can adopt the clause on Housing; Youth Organisations can link the Freedom Charter Campaign to the IYY and so on with women; the Churches and trade unions.
3. RURAL AREAS: During the C.O.P. campaign in 1955 much attention was paid to rural areas so that the Charter would be representative of both the urban and rural areas. In this spirit the 1985 campaign must not be limited to the cities and towns. Every attempt must be made to reach out to the remote areas of the countryside.
4. CULTURE: Culture is part of struggle and struggle is part of culture. Cultural activities should constitute part of the campaign (e.g. songs of the COP should be revived.)
5. MEDIA: The alternate press has an important role to play in this Campaign. Also posters; buttons etc. should be produced.

Dit is ook n belangrike feit hoedat beplan word om n deel

van/...

van die ANC te wete SACTU spesifiek betrek word.

6. IMPORTANT DATES: May Day; Anti-Republic Day; June 16; the 30th Anniversary SACTU; etc.; should be incorporated into the campaign.

7. PHASES OF THE CAMPAIGN:

The first phase (before June 26) would involve education; publicity and door-to-door work.

This would build up to the second-phase which would involve large-scale activities during the period around June 26 (possibly rallies etc.)

The third-phase covers the period after June 26 during which the Freedom Charter would become a permanent feature of struggles and campaigns.

2.3 Verdere belangrike feite is dat 'n koördinerende struktuur, bestaande uit UDF lede aangestel is om die populariseringskampanje te voer; dat daar geen konflik bestaan tussen UDF se Deklarasie en die F.C. nie en dat UDF uitdruklik verklaar dat dit hierdie besondere kampanje sal steun.

CO-ORDINATING STRUCTURE: The campaign would be co-ordinated by a Co-ordinating Committee consisting of people from the following organisations or constituencies: RMC TIC; Anti-PC: JODAC; YOUTH; STUDENT; WOMEN; CHURCH; and TRADE UNIONS.

D. THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN AND THE UDF:

The UDF; being a front cannot co-ordinate or spearhead this campaign. However; two points must be made:

1. There is no conflict between the Freedom Charter and the Declaration of the UDF.

2. The Charter is a great document that has emerged from the mass-struggles of our people and the COP stands out as the most representative gathering of our people.

It is for this reason that UDF should play a supportive role and also "bless" the campaign. There is a need for further discussion within UDF on its role as regards this campaign.

FORWARD TO THE 30th YEAR OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER:

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN:

- 2.4 In Ander baie belangrike en insiggewende feit is dat die enigste en baie belangrike referate deur twee belangrike aktiviste van UDF gelewer word. Dit is so belangrik geag dat dit versprei word onder ander aktiviste.

THE FREEDOM CHARTER CAMPAIGN

WORKSHOP HELD IN JOHANNESBURG ON THE 20th JANUARY 1985

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2.5 Laloo Chiba maak dit dan ook baie duidelik dat die F.C. gesien moet word in die lig van die sogenaamde "people's struggle for freedom" In hierdie verband speel veral die ANC en SAKP 'n belangrike rol en het die vryheidstryd groter momentum gekry sowel as meer organisering en ko-ordinasie.

I/...

Hoe UDF en sy geaffilieerde organisasies hierdie kampanje rondom die Freedom Charter gevoer het, blyk ook uit die volgende bewysstukke wat hierna na verwys word.

6.1 In die UDF (Grens) se sekretariële verslag aan die NEC-vergadering van 23-24 Februarie 1985, rapporteer hulle dat een van die kampanjes wat hulle in die toekoms sal besig hou, die een rondom die Freedom Charter is.

BEWYSSTUK: C.11 p. 2.

6.2.1 Hierbo is verwys na die UDF se veelvoudige verwysing na die Freedom Charter se klousule "The people shall govern". In Bewysstuk C.18 waarin die hele kwessie rondom die hou van 'n Nasionale Konvensie bespreek word, stel UDF dit só :

"We need to develop an understanding of how far we still have to go. We need to know what balance of forces is needed before we can draw up a real people's constitution so that, in the words of the Freedom Charter, The People Shall Govern."

BEWYSSTUK: C.18 p.1 ..
SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: AL.1.

6.2.2 Dat UDF die Freedom Charter aanhang en sy eie maak, blyk uit die volgende stukkie redenering in dieselfde stuk :

"Why do we need a NC if we already have a programme the Freedom Charter?"

The task of a NC would not be to draw up a programme, but to draw up a constitution for a non-racial democratic South Africa. The Freedom Charter calls for the people to govern. A NC would be part of the mechanism for transferring power to the people, and entrenching that power in the spirit of the Freedom Charter" - p. 3.

6.2.3 Bewysstuk AAD3, wat by Eerw. Sid Lockett, 'n samesweerder, gevind is, is deur UDF uitgegee. Dit is 'n pamflet wat

handel oor die 30-jarige viering van die Freedom Charter en is 'n uitnodiging na 'n massavergadering vir die herdenking van die Freedom Charter.

Die pamflet bevat grepe uit die Freedom Charter, en sluit soos volg af :

"Maar die belangrikste van alles sê die Vryheidshandves - die mense sal regeer! Die tuislande, driekamer parlement, die community councils en management committees is almal puppets van die goewerment.

Ons eis een nie-rassige regering waarvoor almal die reg het om te kan stem.

Hierdie eise wat 30-jaar gelede gemaak is deur miljoene Suid-Afrikaners leef nog steeds voort. Weg met apartheid!

Weg met swaarkry in hierdie land van rykdom!
VOORWAARTS NA 'N SUID-AFRIKA GEBASEER OP
DIE VRYHEIDSHANDVES!" - p. 2.

- 6.3 In Bewysstuk C20, wat in die UDF-Hoofkantoor gevind is, waarin die geskiedenis van die vryheidstryd bespreek word, word afgesluit met die oproep -

"Let us pledge our unflinching support to the
Freedom Charter -----

LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER!" - laaste bladsy van die handgeskrewe deel.

- 6.4.1 Op 30 Oktober 1983 was Prof. I. Mohamed, 'n baie prominente aktivis in die UDF, 'n spreker by die UDF People's Rally in Johannesburg. Hy spel dit duidelik uit dat -

"We shall not accept a constitution imposed by a minority ruling class and that there will be no peace in this country until we meet in a national convention with all our leaders now held in prison or exile to determine our constitution based on the Freedom Charter."

BEWYSSTUK: C22, p. 4. SIEN OOK BEW. A.G. 25, BEW W39.P-3, BEW W57 P-46

- 6.4.2 Op 20 Januarie 1985 is 'n Opleidingskursus aangebied in Khotso House, Johannesburg, onder leiding van RMC, 'n

UDF-geaffilieerde. Dit was om strategie te bespreek vir die voer van die kampanje rondom die 30-jarige herdenking van die Freedom Charter.

SIEN BEWYSSTUK: AH9, wat in die UDF-hoofkantoor gevind is

- 6.4.3 Dat Prof. I. Mohamed hierin aktief betrokke was, blyk uit sy aantekeninge daaroor.

SIEN BEWYSSTUK: AH7.

- 6.4.4 Om uitvoering aan hierdie kampanje te gee, is 'n komitee saamgestel uit verteenwoordigers van onder andere RMC, TIC, ANT-PC, JODAC - almal by UDF geaffilieer.

SIEN BEWYSSTUK: AH.10 wat by Prof. I. Mohamed gevind is.
SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: W2 p. 1.

Hieruit blyk dat UDF aktief betrokke was in hierdie kampanje, maar, om soos dit gestel word, vir taktiese redes nie op die voorgrond kon tree nie -

"(b) Most of the organizations participating in this campaign and (sic) UDF affiliates. UDF is the political fron(t) that is carry= ing most of our political activity forward. At this point, for tactical reason.UDF has so far not decided to formally run the cam= paign. However, a close relationship between this structures and the UDF needs to be main= tained, and in fact the nature of the rela= tionship should be clearly worked out, both from the point of view of UDF and our commit= tee. Any unnecessary implication should be awarded. Here is suggestion for setting up a media committee would be thrown into question. Also where UDF are a Committee exist no local structure should be developed, etc."
- p. 3.

- 6.5 In Bewysstuk C75 word NIC, 'n geaffilieerde van UDF se stand= punt weergegee oor die Regering se grondwetlike voorstelle. Daarin word elke klousule van die Freedom Charter bespreek as basis vir die grondwet wat hulle wil hê. Onde bespre= king van hul strategie word dit dan gestel -

"We want a South Africa based on the Freedom Charter. The method we would choose is a national convention"
- p. 10.

6.6 In JODAC, wat by UDF geaffilieer is, se program van aksie, word dit in Februarie 1985 gestel dat een van JODAC se vernaamste aktiwiteite in 1985 sal wees om aktief betrokke te wees in die kampanje rondom die Freedom Charter-

"1985 is the 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter. The Charter as a historic statement of the minimum demands of South Africa's people is as relevant today as it was in 1955. It links present struggles with those of the past. Its demands around such issues as political rights, economic, social, educational and others are demands that must be met if democracy in South Africa is to be achieved. It helps provides a vision of a future democratic South Africa.

The campaign to popularise the demands of the Freedom Charter is going to be taken up by a number of democratic organisations and will help to bring about greater unity between different areas and constituencies. JODAC's participation in the campaign should aim to :

- * Firstly educate its members about the demands of the Charter, its tradition and significance today.
- * Work with other groups in the Johannesburg area on this issue to broaden an understanding and acceptance of the Freedom Charter.
- * Together with these groups run a mass campaign in the Johannesburg area.
- * Participate in and support the broader Freedom Charter campaign.

As much as possible the Freedom Charter campaign should be linked to all other campaigns and issues taken up by JODAC. It should be a major priority in JODAC and all of our structures and membership should be integrated into the campaign."

BEWYSSTUK: C.78, p. 2.

6.7.1 Op die Algemene Raadsvergadering van UDF (Wes-Kaap) op 16 - 17 Maart 1985, sluit die President sy boodskap soos volg af :

"Long live U.D.F.!
 Long live the Freedom Charter!
 There shall be houses for all
 There shall be work for all
 There shall be equal education for all
 The people shall govern.
 Amandla!"

BEWYSSTUK: C.138, p. 3.

6.7.2 In die Sekretariële Verslag word die program van aksie uiteengesit en word dit gestel dat 'n kampanje, onder andere rondom die Freedom Charter, gevoer sal word - p. 8.

6.7.3 Daar is ook 'n resoluëie aanvaar oor die Freedom Charter -

"This conference notes :

1. the Freedom Charter is the most democratic statement of the people's demands ever drawn up in South Africa;
2. that the demands of the Freedom Charter are still the demands of the people;
3. that the Freedom Charter is also a guide to our unity and on our methods of organising;

calls on all affiliates of the United Democratic Front :

1. to present the Freedom Charter to their membership for debate and adoption;
2. to popularise the Freedom Charter in their work at all times;
3. to honour the clause The People Shall Govern by reflecting the principle of people's democracy in their organisational work". - p. 20.

6.7.4 In sy verslag aan die Nasionale Kantoor oor 'n oorsig van die Front se werksaamhede, het UDF (Wes-Kaap) reeds oor die toekoms gesê -

"1. We should become far less reactive. Our campaigns must be geared towards presenting positive alternatives. We must look at how we can use democratically drawn up documents like the UDF declaration and the Freedom Charter to do so".

BEWYSSTUK: U7 p. 3.

6.8 COSAS, by UDF geaffilieer, stel dit duidelik dat hul eise gebaseer is op, en die uitvloeisel is, van die eise wat gestel word in die Freedom Charter -

"The demands made by us students of South Africa, not out of outside influence but from our own practical experiences, for democratically elected and run

genuine representation in our schools, must not be seen in isolation from other demands in workplaces, community and everywhere our People are. All these led to the drawing of the Freedom Charter which today is 29 years old and which stands for the demands of the People's Democratic South Africa".

BEWYSSTUK: AB9 p. 1.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: AB43 p. 13.

- 6.9 Ook SOYCO, wat by UDF geaffilieer is, sluit in sy program van aksie in om saam met alle progressiewe magte te werk vir die verwesenliking van sy "non-racialism" soos bedoel in die Freedom Charter -

"17. To make a principled alliance with all the progressive forces striving towards non-racialism as embraced within the ever democratic document; the beacon of the people's liberation; the Freedom Charter".

BEWYSSTUK: AB25 p. 1.

- 6.10 Ook AZASO, wat by UDF geaffilieer is, stel dit dat sy program vir 1985 insluit die voer van die Freedom Charter kampanje wat in 1985 as 'n nasionale kampanje geloods sal word.

BEWYSSTUK: AB30.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUKKE: AE.10 p. 5; W.13 p. 3; en W65 p. 2.

- 6.11 UDF het sekere riglyne aan sy geaffilieerde organisasies gestuur vir die daarstelling van 'n Education Charter. Een van dié riglyne is dat daar moet wees -

"Free and compulsory education for all"

soos gestel in die Freedom Charter.

BEWYSSTUK: AB28.

- 6.12 In Bewysstuk AE7, wat uitgegee is deur UDF en UWO, word dit gestel dat die vroue-organisasie ook sal deelneem aan die voer van die kampanje rondom die Freedom Charter. Dit word ook gestel dat dié kampanje, onder andere, gebruik moet word om die vroue te organiseer in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd - p. 3.

- 6.13 In Bewysstuk AG8 (tweede dokument), 'n AZASO-publikasie, wat by S. Mabo (n samesweerder) gevind is, word Zinzi Mandela, n samesweerder, soos volg aangehaal :

"--- those who rejected the Freedom Charter (are) 'traitors'. Those who dared attack the Charter and pose alternatives in the form of their manifesto are diverting the peoples struggle" - p. 1.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: AG17.

- 6.14 Die RMC, wat by UDF geaffilieer is, gee aan al sy takke sekere riglyne wat hulle moet nastreef in hul program van aksie. Een van die riglyne is -

"5.4 Popularising the Freedom Charter, making it available in all languages.

5.5 Relating the demands of the Freedom Charter to topical political issues e.g. education, housing, removals etc."

BEWYSSTUK: AG.16 p. 3.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: AH3, W.19 p. 1.

- 6.15 Van belang is om te let op die belangrike plek wat die Freedom Charter inneem in die ideologiese siening van Beskuldigde 19. Hy het hom ook verbind tot die ideale soos beliggaam in die Freedom Charter. Dit is veral ook insiggewend dat dit juis 'n prominente ANC-lid was wat hom oorgehaal het om hierdie idelogie te aanvaar.

"A great influence in his (Beskuldigde 19) change of view was Joe Quabi, an ANC member, who brought Molefe to commit himself to the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter, the principle of non-racialism and the concept that South Africa belonged to all those who lived in it."

BEWYSSTUK: AG.19 p. 2.

- 6.16 Bewysstuk AH.1 is by L. Chiba, 'n samesweerder, gevind en geen NIC, 'n UDF-geaffilieerde, se standpunte oor die sogenaamde vryheidstryd weer. Dit spel uit dat die teorie van dié stryd gebaseer is op die Freedom Charter.

"It also represents the beginning of a new era of clarity and perspective, of commitment and vision,

designed to unite and galvanise the majority of South Africans into an unbreakable dynamic whole. In its reflection of a people's commitment to a struggle for equal distribution of resources, the Charter establishes the national democratic nature of our movement, for it is impossible to achieve these laudable goals without dismantling the economic and social order of this unjust society." - p. 3.

Dit word ook uitgewys hoe belangrik die Freedom Charter is in die strategie om die massas te mobiliseer -

"4.3 Testimony to the Freedom Charter as a living document is to be found in the undisputable fact that its programme has not only survived almost 30 years but has during this period formed a continuing basis for the determination of strategy and tactics for organising people, for welding unity and for raising and strengthening consciousness" - p. 4.

Dit word ook uitgespel dat met die stryd voortgegaan sal word ongeag onderdrukking deur die Staat en ongeag lewensverlies. Dit word ook gestel dat -

"The growing militancy of the masses during the last decade bears testimony to the resilience of the democratic movement and to the Freedom Charter as a living document" - p. 7.

Hulle bevestig ook hul standpunt -

"--- to fight side by side to create the society contemplated by the FREEDOM CHARTER" - p. 7.

6.17 Bewysstuk AH4 is gevind by Lucille Meyer en opgestel deur Steve Tshwete - albei prominente UDF-aktiviste. Daarin word die geskiedenis van die Freedom Charter breedvoerig bespreek asook hoe die toekomstige "bevryde" Suid-Afrika daar sal uitsien wat geskoei sal wees op die beginsels vervat in die Freedom Charter. Ten slotte, word die Freedom Charter beskryf as die bron van inspirasie uit die stryd totdat die sogenaamde vryheid verower is -

"May this document remain the source of inspiration it is till the dawn of that great day, which shall be given a name by those who shall see it. It shall be called the Peoples Day of South Africa" - p. 13.

6.18 Bewysstuk AH5 is in die UDF-hoofkantoor gevind en is 'n konsep-bespreking van die Freedom Charter "as an organizing tool". Die bespreking wentel om die kwessie van hoe die Freedom Charter aangewend moet word om die massas te organiseer en mobiliseer. Dit word ook beklemtoon dat die Freedom Charter 'n uiters belangrike plek inneem in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd -

"The FC is the recorded voice of the masses of our people. It is one of the most valuable tools we have in our struggle" - p. 2.

Dat die georganiseerde ^{massas} moet oorgaan tot daadwerklike optrede en rewolusie, blyk uit die slotopmerking -

"Finally, it must be said that the demand that the 'People Shall Govern' cannot be fully realised just by building up strong democratic organisations within the existing apartheid state. The FC calls for --- (etc. quote the demand and explain in simpler words relating to the various instruments of State power - army, police, courts, admin.)" - p. 4.

6.19 Bewysstuk AH6 is in die besit gevind van Amanda Kwadi, 'n prominente UDF-aktivis.

Die publikasie bevat 'n kort geskiedenis van die ontstaan van die Freedom Charter en verder bevat dit die eise soos uiteengesit in die Freedom Charter. Hierdie publikasie is deur NIC, 'n UDF-geaffilieerde, uitgegee en versprei om die Freedom Charter onder die massas te populariseer.

6.20 UDF se betrokkenheid in en bevordering van die kampanje rondom die Freedom Charter blyk ook baie duidelik uit Bewysstuk AH8. Dit is 'n skrywe van UDF, ook onderteken deur Beskuldigde 19 wat aan hulle aanhangers uitgestuur is tesame met onder andere 'n publikasie oor die Freedom Charter getiteld "The People's Charter in the Eighties" - "The former (hierdie publikasie) should lay a good basis for discussion of the Freedom Charter". Dat hierdie publikasie wel

versprei is, blyk daaruit dat 'n afskrif daarvan gevind is by 'n UDF-aktivis in Soweto - Amanda Kwadi.

Hierdie publikasie is 'n referaat wat gelewer is deur Raymond Suttner by die Universiteit van Kaapstad op 26 September 1984. Die inhoud daarvan kom feitlik identies ooreen met die lesing van Raymond Suttner wat gelewer is by die opleidingskursus wat reeds hierbo volledig bespreek is onder Bewysstuk C97.

6.21 Bewysstuk AH.11 is 'n weergawe van die Freedom Charter wat in verskillende Swart tale uitgegee is. Dit is insiggewend dat dit in die besit van Beskuldigde 22 gevind is.

6.22.1 Bewysstuk AJ29 is by Amanda Kwadi, 'n UDF-aktivis, gevind en handel oor sekere UDF-leiers wat moes teregstaan op 'n aanklag van hoogverraad. Daarin word dit ook, onder andere, gestel dat die massas die Freedom Charter aanhang en ten doel het om dit te implementeer -

"The people have shown that they stand by the vision of a free S.A., created by themselves 30 years ago in the Freedom Charter. The struggle to realize the FC has seen other treason trials and other forms of repression. None of these has stopped the people's determination to realize their goals and to implement the Charter" - p. 5.

6.22.2 Bewysstuk AJ47 is gevind by Yusuf Dadoo, 'n samesweerder, en is uitgegee deur TIC, 'n UDF-geaffilieerde. Dit handel ook oor die aanhouding van die UDF-leiers en roep die mense op vir 'n protes-saamtrek op 13 November 1984 in Johannesburg. Beskuldigde 20 was een van die sprekers by dié byeenkoms. In dié stuk word dit onder andere gestel dat -

"Our leaders have always conducted our just struggles in a peaceful manner in accordance with the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the demand of the Freedom Charter."

- 6.23.1 Bewysstuk AL.16 is gevind by Prof. I. Mohamed, 'n UDF-aktivis, en handel oor die stigting van die Oos-Rand tak van TIC op 6 Mei 1984. Daarin verbind TIC hom opnuut tot gebondenheid aan en die implementering van die Freedom Charter - p. 7.
SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUKKE: W.1 p. 22; W7 p. 4; W30 pp. 3 en 4; W58 pp. 2 en 3.
- 6.23.2 Bewysstuk AL56 is ook by prof. I. Mohamed gevind en bevat 'n konsep vir bespreking deur die Transvaal Anti-PC, 'n UDF-geaffilieerde, van die Regering se grondwetlike voorstelle. Daarin word verwys na die geskiedenis van die sogenaamde vryheidstryd en dan word dit gestel dat -
"With these lessons in mind we must consciously -

(iii) Demonstrate that nothing short of a people's government based on the Freedom Charter can resolve the question of national oppression and economic exploitation" - p. 5.
- 6.24 Bewysstuk AM.17 is die Notule van die Regional Steering Committee van UDF se vergadering wat op 27 Oktober 1984 in Huhudi gehou is. Die eerste dokument is in die UDF-hoofkantoor gevind en die tweede dokument in besit van Johnson Khasu van UDF (Noord-Kaap).
Die Komitee se politieke aktiwiteite is bespreek en deel daarvan is die popularisering van die Freedom Charter -
"iii Freedom Charter organisations within the Front should be given support at all levels in their campaigns to popularise the charter.
iv 30th anniversary of the Charter should be observed as an important development within the UDF" - p. 3.
SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: 02 p. 1.
- 6.25 Wat die W-reeks van bewysstukke betref, word op die volgende gewys -

6.25.1 In die "SPEAK" van Maart 1985 verskyn 'n artikel oor die geskiedenis van die ontstaan van die Freedom Charter. Dit word ook beklemtoon dat die Freedom Charter nog lewendig is en dit word by die massas ingeskerp dat hulle in die sogenaamde vryheidstryd betrokke moet raak om die eise soos vervat in die Freedom Charter te verwesenlik.

"The Charter will not be realised without struggle. That is why it concluded with a pledge:

'Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here :

THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.'

And now, 30 years later, the people of South Africa re-dedicate themselves to achieving their demands as set out in the Freedom Charter."

BEWYSSTUK: W2 p. 7.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: 19 pp. 10 en 11.

6.25.2 In die redaksionele artikel in STATE OF THE NATION van Februarie/Maart 1985 word dit uitgedra dat die Freedom Charter die eise uitspel oor landelike gebiede en dat dit die probleme in die plattelandse gebiede koppel aan die ander probleme wat teweeggebring word deur die apartheidsregering. Die mense word ook opgeroep om die eise van die Freedom Charter te verwesenlik.

"The Freedom Charter links problems in rural areas to others caused by the apartheid system. Land redistribution would not be enough without fulfilling all of the demands of the Freedom Charter and without South Africa's working people having their rightful share in all of the country's wealth.

The struggle for land cannot be separated from the struggle for the right to work, for housing, security, comfort, education, and for political rights."

BEWYSSTUK: W5, p. 2.

6.25.3.1 In AZASO National Student Newsletter van Oktober 1983 word verslag gedoen oor die Derde Jaarlikse Kongres van AZASO. Adv. Zac Yacoob van NIC en

UDF het daar 'n referaat gelewer waarin hy die Freedom Charter aangeprys het "as being the beacon and guiding force in the struggle for total liberation in South Africa".

Hy het ten slotte die potensiaal uitgespel wat UDF het om eenheid te bewerkstellig tussen progressiewe magte. En verder -

"He stated that unity of all organisations and people is essential to inspire united action among the masses and also because it becomes impossible to liberate one national group without freedom for all. It is for this reason that we must remain committed to fight side by side to create the society contemplated in the Freedom Charter".

BEWYSSTUK: W.13 p. 4.

- 6.25.3.2 In dieselfde publikasie verskyn 'n artikel oor National Women's Day en daarin word die vroue opgeroep om te verenig, want -

"Only by building unity amongst the oppressed can we overcome the divisions created in our society and rebuild a society on new foundations - based on the demands of the Freedom Charter". - p. 5.

- 6.25.4 In FOCUS van November 1984 stel AZASO dit duidelik dat die Education Charter (wat reeds vroeër bespreek is) 'n uitbouing van een van die eise van die Freedom Charter is.

"The Freedom Charter is a popular document incorporating all the demands of the whole nation. The Education Charter is intended to be an amplification of the education clause in the Freedom Charter - that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all.

The question the Education Charter will be answering is how the doors shall be opened - on a short, medium and long term basis".

BEWYSSTUK: W21 p. 30.

- 6.25.5 Op 'n gedenkdiens wat in Sobantu vir ene Graham Radebe gehou is wat gedood is in polisie-optrede, was prominente UDF-leiers, soos Archie Gumede en Mewa Ramgobin van die sprekers. Nog 'n UDF-spreker was Ian Makgize - sekretaris van UDF (Noord-Kus). Hy het, onder andere, die volgende gesê -

"These bodies (die gemeenskapsrade) are imposed on us and cannot solve our problems such as the lack of houses people can afford.

The alternative is for all people to come together around the demands of the Freedom Charter. -----The Charter speaks of houses for all and this is still the demand of people all over the country".

BEWYSSTUK: W23 p. 8.

- 6.25.6 Op die Derde Algemene Raadsvergadering van CAHAC wat in Oktober 1984 gehou is, het CAHAC, wat by UDF geaffilieer is, besluit -

"--- (to) adopt the Freedom Charter as a 'basis for the establishment of a just and democratic order in South Africa'".

BEWYSSTUK: W32 p. 4.

- 6.25.7 In die redaksionele artikel van SASPU NATIONAL van Desember 1984, word dit oorgedra dat die eise van die Freedom Charter verwesenlik moet word -

"1985 is the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter. It's demands have still not been met. Next year these demands will ring in the ears of South Africa's rulers. If they ignore them, 1984 will be repeated. And no amount of repression will stop that".

BEWYSSTUK: W32 p. 6.

- 6.25.8 In 1984 het 'n aantal jeugorganisasies, wat by UDF geaffilieer is, saamgekom by 'n National Youth Conference in Johannesburg. Een van die resolusies wat aanvaar is, was vir die propagering van die Freedom Charter -

"Conference resolved to propagate the Freedom Charter as the Beacon in the struggle".

BEWYSSTUK: W48 p. 11.

- 6.25.9 Op die vergadering waarop TIC weer herleef het op 1 Mei 1983, was adv. Zac Yacoob (n samesweerder) van NIC een van die gassprekers -

"Yacoob called for a programme which would encourage maximum participation by the majority of South Africans, which would 'galvanise our strength and minimise our weaknesses' and would 'take every advantage of chinks in the armour of the other side'.

This programme 'draws its direction and inspiration from a clear and undisputed beacon - the Freedom Charter'.

'The Freedom Charter represents the culmination of a significant part of the history of the struggles of the people', he said.

'It also established the national democratic character of our movement, for it is impossible to achieve its laudable goals without dismantling the economic and social order of this unjust society'".

Hy het ook die belangrike rol wat UDF in die soegenaamde vryheidstryd speel, beklemtoon.

BEWYSSTUK: W49 p. 2.

SIEN OOK BEW W 61 P 10

- 6.25.10 Die Benoni Student Movement (BSM) is by UDF geaffilieer. Hulle onderskryf en hang ook die Freedom Charter aan.

SIEN BEWYSSTUK: W61 pp. 39 en 53.

- 6.25.11 In die redaksionele kommentaar van GRASSROOTS van Februarie 1985 word die boodskap uitgedra dat die Freedom Charter die "people's alternative to apartheid" is, en die massas se minimum vereistes bevat. Dit word ook ingeskerp dat die stryd voortgesit moet word om n Suid-Afrika daar te stel wat gebaseer is op die voor=skrifte van die Freedom Charter.

BEWYSSTUK: W66 pp. 4 en 6.

6.25.12 Ook in die redaksionele artikel van THE EYE van Maart 1985 word die Freedom Charter gepopulariseer. BEWYSSTUK: W68 p. 4.

6.25.13 In VOICE OF AYCO van 1984 verskyn 'n artikel oor die Freedom Charter. Die geskiedenis van die Freedom Charter word uitgebeeld. Die mense word ook opgeroep om steeds die Freedom Charter aan te hang en deel van die stryd te maak.

"It therefore is imperative for us to rededicate ourselves in popularising the Freedom Charter. For us and those in support of the Charter this means that we must integrate the Charter into our daily struggle, whether in education, labour, communities or whatever aspect of South African reality concerns us most".

BEWYSSTUK: W73 p. 10.

ONDERDRUKKING

1. In Baie belangrike faset in 'n Rewolusie is om die gesagstrukture soos die polisiemag, veiligheidsmagte en regspleging by die massas in onguns te bring as instansies van dwingelady, brutaliteit as onskuldige handeling vir vrede en geregtigheid terwyl die van regeringsinstansies, tipeer word as dade van terreur, wreedheid en onregverdigde vervolgings van onskuldiges. Terreur moord en geweld word geregverdig as dade vir versekering van vrede is terwyl die Regering se bekamping daarvan neerkom op vernieting van vrede en voorspoed en neerkom op terreur en geweldpleging. Daarom word altyd voorgegee dat die magte van rewolusie en terreur vreedsame veranderinge tweek wil bring en die magte wat dit teenstaan die geweldenaars is en teenstaanders van vrede. Dit word deur propaganda by die massas ingeskerp sodat hulle die gesagstrukture kan haat en verwerp.

Die ANC maak oorfloediglik van hierdie taktiek gebruik.

Sechaba Maart 1982 AAE 3 - p 1 Verklaring van Alfred Wzo, die Sekretaris-generaal van die ANC.

"The apartheid regime is escalating its brutal repressive measures against the democratic forces in the country confronting its decaying despotic rule ...

As part and parcel of these fascist repressive measures are the brutalities that are being perpetrated by the Venda bantustan puppets who are vainly hoping to curb the growing resistance of the masses in oppositon to the hanted Seperate development policies ...

Sechaba Maart 1982 p 22 - AAE 3

"... In/...

"... In South Africa the 1970's was a period of mounting black working class struggle culminating in the 1976 uprising and the launching of the urban guerilla campaign by Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the anc.

The inadequacy of the police and judicial repressive machinery in attempting to implement the fascist policies of ruthlessly suppressing the black majority had already begun to emerge in the decades of the 60's
Unity in Action an ANC publication states:

'The South African fascist regime was on the one hand constantly strengthening its defences and extending its horizons of economic domination and political influence well beyond our borders. on the other hand the regime was desperately striving to demoralise, divide and weaken our people, to intimidate and corrupt them into submission, while trying to stamp out and prevent the growth of a revolutionary movement in the country by every means, at its disposal.

The enemy's basic vulnerability was the reason for its utmost, 'vigilance' and justification for its aggressiveness. Its discovery in Rivonia of large-scale and advanced preparations for armed struggle and its disastrous, contact with ANC fighters in Zimbabwe in 1976 were for him a frightening revelation of the danger he faces'."

2. Dit is nogal treffend en insiggewend om te sien hoe die ANC hulle siening van "peace" kan plooi om by hulle propaganda in te pas. As Suid-Afrika homself verdedig teen rewolusio-
 nêre geweldadige aanslae van terrorisme, is Suid-Afrika die
 geweldenaar en dissipel van geweld en terreur terwyl die ter-

roris/...

roris n sg. vryheidsvegter vir vrede is. Kyk hoe leries
word dit gestel ten aansien van n "kameraad" vandie ANC.

Sechaba April 1982 op p 13 AAE 4

We are here today because exactly a year ago to this day, at praca de Independencia in Maputo, the celebrated Leader and Commander of the heroic Mozambican people, comrade President Samora Machel, responded to the Matola raid by summoning his people back to the war trenches they had known since September 25, 1964; back into battle, for the defence of their motherland, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, their national dignity, for the defence of the gains of the Mozambican revolution, for the defence of their internationalist^t essence and their Socialist future - ^aau-tu^uture of which the victory of the struggle led by the ANC and SWAPO against the Pretoria facists is an integral part.

.....

And with respect to these three fronts like the racist regime, the people of South Africa led by the ANC and ^{overthrow of the Pretoria racist minority regime will thwart the designs of} its allies also feature in a central role. The imperialism in this region and usher in an era of rapid international reconstruction under conditions of peace and security.

op p 18

All of us gathered here today value human life as a sacred thing. If we did not, would ~~be~~ be prepared to die as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us the right to live? All of us gathered here today value peace among the peoples as a noble goal.

If we did not, would we be prepared to go to war as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us peace? Could we ever be free if we were not prepared to forego the life of a slave and an oppressor's peace in order to attain freedom for the people.

That/...

That commitment to freedom, to the life and to peace demands that we defeat Botha and his fellow racists. It demands that we sweep the Bothas and Reagans off the face of our continent and restore power into the hands of the people of South Africa as we have done in Mozambique.

3. Die kampanje van die ANC om die Suid-Afrikaanse Regspraak en Regstoepassing by die massas in die RSA en in die oë van die wêreld in onguns te bring en voor te hou as onregverdig en bevooroordeeld vind uiting in 'n artikel in Sechaba Augustus 1982 op 7, Die artikel is nog meer venynig en ongevraagd omdat ANC terroriste en moordenaars ter sprake is. Die optrede deur die Sid-Afrikaanse Regstelsel teen terroriste en moordenaars en ter beskerming van die bevolking word tipeer as moord deur die Regering en sy instellings.

Sechaba Augustus 1982 p 7 AAE 8

Nadat hierdie mense verhoor, skuldig bevind en gevonnissen is, het die ANC hierdie tirade voortgesit en regverdig hierdie moordenaars se dade as volg:

Sechaba^b September 1982 p 15 AAE 9

"The 'Moroko Three' pledged not guilty to all the allegations made by the apartheid court. The so called crimes they were accused of committing were aimed actions by the people's army, Mkhonto we Sizwe, a component part of the just struggle for national liberation being waged by the South African people. Indeed, it became clear during the trial that their determination to fight for freedom had been forged during the 1976 student uprising."

Dit is interessant om te let op die betekenis van "just struggle for national liberation by the people" as in gedagte gehou word dat die 'Moroko Three' vyf mense vermoor het in drie terreuraanvalle op polisiestases.

Sien/...

Sien ook die artikel "The Murder" op p 18 van dieselfde Sechaba

4. In 'n toespraak van O. Tambo gepubliseer in Sechaba Desember 1982 voor die VVO word 'n striemende propaganda aanval ge-
loods teen sogeneemde ^{de} onderdrukking en wreedheid in SA.
Sechaba December 1982 p 18 AAE 10
"Mr. President, the situation prevailing in SA, - -"
5. Redaksionele kommentaar Sechaba Mei 1983 p 1 - AAE 15.

Act now to save the ANC six.

6. Mayibuye No. 6 van 1983 - Bew. AAF 6 - p 1

'n Belangrike teiken vir die ANC is die regstelsel en Regspraak in die RSA. Wanneer die SA Regstelsel terro~~r~~riste en moorde-
naars veroordeel ^{ne} straf, word dit aan die massas voorgehou
as moord.

"The judicial murder of these brave soldiers of the
people should encourage us to fight on as never be-
fore. We must unite in our determination to rid South
Africa the entire continent and progressive mankind
as a whole of this racist terrorism."

Dan word oorgegaan om ander terroriste te populariseer by die
massas te wete Basil February, Solomon Mahlangu, Gordon Dikeba,
Ernest Dipale, Die Silverton 3, - Thami Makhubu, Zamela Madela,
Fanie Mafoko en dat hulle volkshelde is wat geveg het vir die
nasionale emansipasie van die massas en 'n Suid-Afrika volgens
die voorskrifte van die F.C.

"They fought for a South Africa which will be based on
the principles enshrined in our Freedom Charter."

Die uitoefenaars van die Regstoepassing sal gestraf word.

"Our resolve should be to punish ... and its perpetrators".

Die/...

Die onderdrukking en treitering word voortgesit in tuislande, toestromings beheer, op werkersvlak, kulturele onderdrukking, onderwys ens. Daar word 'n oproep gedoen op die massas om deel te neem van die stryd.

Die ooreenstemmende benadering en oproep van UDF en sy tra-wante word duidelik bewys.

7
8. Sechaba Februarie 1984 - Bew. AAE 19 - p 29

"Letter to the Editor"

1. Twee vrae van belang word bespreek, nl.

(a) Wat bedoel ons met magsoorname deur die massas

(b) Hoe bepaal ons wie gesamentlik en afsonderlik verhoor moet word weens apartheid misdade.

2. Wat die eerste vraag betref:

"To my way of thinking, a 'seizure, of power by the people' means the complete destruction of the mono-poly- capitalist South African state and all its power organs; and the creation of a completely new peace state in which all the new power organs will be in the hands of the people. For example, there will be a new peoples judiciary."

3. Wat die tweede vraag betref:

"Collective responsibility for the crime of apartheid rests with: the head of the apartheid state, the prime minister, the government, the leaders of the Nationalist Party ... authorised representatives of the apartheid state in the Bantustans... Individual/...

Individual responsibility for the crime of apartheid rests with: judges, magistrates, prosecutors and hangmen as well as the actual killers ...".

9.

Bew. A 1 p 32

- (i) Vir die ANC in sy rewolusionêre strewe is dit van besondere belang dat die gesagstrukture in SA ondermyn en in diskrediet onder die massas gebring word. As hiermee geslaag kan word, is dit soveel makliker vir die massas om hierteen in opstand te kom. Soos hierbo gesien is die vernaamste teikens die regspleging aan die hand van die geregshowe, regstoepassing aan die hand van die veiligheidsmagte en veral die SA Polisie, en bestaande wetgewing en veral die veiligheidswetgewing. Daarom voer die ANC ook op hierdie vlak 'n intense kampanje en beroep hom op die massas in SA om hierdie kampanje in die RSA te voer.
- (ii) Ook hierdie kampanje was deur UDF opgeneem en op 20 Augustus 1983 was 'n resoluësie aanvaar tot hierdie effek. Weereens is dit opmerklik hoe identies die kampanjes van die ANC en UDF gevoer word. Wat egter ^{noe} meer betekenisvol is is hoedat UDF hom vereenselwig met die ANC en juis die ANC se stryd opneem.

"1. That the government, despite its false claims of reform continues to use brutal force in its attempt to crush the forces of resistance;

2. That notwithstanding this onslaught, the government is finding it increasingly difficult to prevent the collapse of Apartheid;

3. That Our leaders continue to be jailed, banished harassed.

4./...

4. That this repression and harassment is directed at peoples' organisations.

Hereby Resolve:

That we will not be deterred by these actions of the State to stop our march to freedom

.(iii) Dit verkry selfs prominensie in UDF se verklaring p 5.

"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".

Dit is insiggewend dat hierdie stigterslede van UDF hulle identifiseer met verbannings en daarom besluit om die massas te mobiliseer, organiseer en politiseer vir eenheid in aksie teen die Staat. p 5.

Die ANC en SAKP en ook UDF het 'n kampanje gevoer om die S.A. Re=gering, die Blankes in Suid-Afrika, die S.A. Polisie, die land se geregshowe en ander veiligheidsmagte te beswadder en te be=skuldig van sogenaamde treitering en onderdrukking. Hierdie kam=panje is van groot belang in die rewolusionêre stryd. Daardeur word daar 'n gesindheid by die massas aangekweek om die Regering en sy organe te haat en te sien as die vyand van die massas as synde verantwoordelik vir hulle onderdrukking en uitbuiting. Ter=selfdertyd word die gevoel by hulle ingeskerp dat die sogenaamde vryheidstryd geregverdig is en word die massas oorgehaal om deel te neem aan die rewolusionêre oorlogvoering teen die Staat.

- 1.1 In die inleiding van Bewysstuk A.1 oor die stigting van UDF, word dit gestel dat deel van UDF se program van aksie sal wees om die aandag te vestig op die behuisingskrisis, ens.

"By doing so, the UDF hopes to show the destructive and oppressive reality of apartheid, not just as a system of racist legislation but as a system that has the effect of controlling and exploiting the majority of South Africans for the benefit of a wealthy minority" - p. 2.

- 1.2 Ook in die UDF Deklarasie word dit uitgespel dat onder die huidige bestel -

"Our lives will still be filled with fears of harassment, bannings, detentions and deaths" - p. 5.

- 1.3 UDF het dan ook by die stigtingsvergadering 'n resoluëie oor hierdie onderwerp aanvaar -

"1. That the government, despite its false claims of reform continues to use brutal force in its attempt to crush the forces of resistance;

3. That our leaders continue to be jailed, banished and harassed;

4. That this repression and harassment is directed at people's organisations.

HEREBY RESOLVE :

That we will not be deterred by these actions of the State to stop our march to freedom." - p. 32.

- 1.4 Op die stigtingsvergadering het Samson Ndou dit by die gehoor ingeskerp dat -

"Shooting, banning and imprisonment carry on while the government tries to make us believe that the government is really changing" - p. 40.

En verder dat -

"Exploitation and low wages in the factories cannot exist without influx control, pass laws, group areas, and the education system. Our people are oppressed wherever they are. We must fight to change that exploitation and oppression."

 "These Koornhof and Constitutional Proposals are not the first acts of the repressive regime, they are simply the ongoing process of domination and exploitation of one class over another." - p. 41.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: C.114 p. 2.

- 1.5 Ook Aubrey Mokoena, een van die sprekers, het dit aan die gehoor oorgedra dat die Regering onregverdigte wette maak wat die massas onderdruk -

"I would like us to pray for all the people who have been detained, I would like us to pray for all the people who are standing trial because of the unjust laws of the country and who are being tried for their convictions. I would like us to pray for those people who are in exile and I beseech you to pray with your eyes wide open as revolutionaries ----- " - p. 43.

- 1.6 Dr. Allan Boesak was ook 'n spreker en het by die gehoor haat aangeblaas teen die Regering. Hy verwys na die huidige bestel as 'n "evil system", en verder -

"How can we see something positive in a system which is built on oppression, injustice and exploitation? What is positive about a system which destroys, systematically and by design, the human dignity of people;

How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it spawns policies which cause little children to die of hunger and malnutrition, which break up black family life and which spell out a continuous hopeless death for millions of black people?"- p 47.

Op bladsy 48 verwys hy na die Regering se tuislandbeleid "which is surely the most immoral and objectionable aspect of the apartheid policies of the government".

- Swind
UDF
HK*
2. Bewysstuk C20 is die teks van 'n toespraak wat gelewer is by 'n herdenkingsbyeenkoms van 16 Junie. Dit is gevind in die UDF-hoofkantoor. Daarin word aan die mense oorgedra hoe 'n onmenslike diaboliese en barbaarse regering die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering is en word haat by die massas in sterk taal aangeblaas teen die Regering.

"This meeting should be regarded as a token of resistance against an inhuman system of a government guilty of the most callous and barbaric atrocities ever levelled against a people. People often talk of Nazism and Fascism as if they are mere memories in the shameful pages of history, hopeful that mankind will forever be vigilant NEVER to relive those moments. But for us who live in South Africa today, Fascism and Nazism are well and alive in Pretoria. Their fervour brought us June 16, 1976. Their consistent weight weighs heavy in the lives of the oppressed and exploited masses of our people."
- p. 1.

Daar word dan verhaal wat aanleiding gegee het tot die gebeure van 16 Junie 1976 en dat die skoliere geen ander keuse gehad het nie,

"---- but to register their messages through a peaceful protest march. And we know today that the repressive agents of the state replied with the usual ever present vernom of brutality" - p. 1.

Dit word ook aan die mense oorgedra dat die Suid-Afrikaanse Regering 'n onwettige regering is en die wette van die land nie regsgeldig is nie en dat die Swartes nie daaraan gebonde is nie -

"In the first place, the present government cannot claim any ligitimacy because it was not democratically elected by all the people in South Africa. It therefore goes without saying that all the laws that flow out of such an eligitimate government can only hold for those it represents." - p. 10.

Die spreker verwys dan na al die sogenaamde onderdrukkende en wrede wette, byvoorbeeld -

"The Orderly Movement and settlement of Black Persons Bill is a crude piece of Law meant to make us aliens in our country. Trade Union leaders are faced with daily harassment and detention, the number of people who eitehr die in detention or are simply shot by state agents is increasing." - p. 12.

Die mense word ook opgeroep om die Regering se grondwetlike voorstelle te verwerp -

"--- we today in this historical gathering must take a stand that we reject those proposals in their entirety and see in them fraudulent measures enforced by an undemocratic white minority government whose aim is to rule a divided and broken people." - p. 12.

- 3.1 Bewysstuk C21 is die teks van 'n toespraak wat in Prof. I. Mohamed, voorsitter van die Transvaal Anti-PC en UDF-aktivis, se besit gevind is. Daarin word dit oorgedra dat die S.A. Regering 'n onderdrukkende regering is wat verantwoordelik is vir die treitering, onderdrukking, verbanning, aanhouding van en selfs moord op die onderdrukte Swart massas se leiers -

"For a time the tremendous struggles waged seemed to be crushed by the oppressive regime and with the greater part of our leadership restricted, harassed, banned, banished, detained, jailed and even murdered here and beyond our borders" - p. 1.

"At this particular time as we enter the new year we are reminded of the harassment and persecution of our comrades (wat daarna genoem word as Mandela en ander veroordeelde ANC-terroriste) and of the many who have been banned, restricted, banished, in detention, in prison and those who have been maimed and killed." - p. 3.

Op bladsy 2 word ook verwys na die land se onderdrukkende weermag en die mense word opgeroep en aangemoedig om daarteen te stry.

- 3.2 Prof. Mohamed het as spreker opgetree by die UDF Peoples Rally op 30 Oktober 1983 in Johannesburg en Bewysstuk C22 is 'n teks van sy toespraak.

Daarin dra hy dit aan die toehoorders oor -

dat die suid-Afrikaanse Regering 'n "oppressive regime" is - p. 1;

dat die massas deur die Regering onderdruk word deurdat hulle vergaderings verban word, hul standpunte onderdrukkend word en hul aktiviste aangehou en getreiter word - p 4;

dat tereggestelde ANC-terroriste deur die Regering "cruelly robbed of life" is - p 6.

- 3.3 Prof. Mohamed was ook 'n spreker by 'n SCA-vergadering op 27 November 1983 in Soweto waar dit gehandel het oor teenkanting teen Swart Plaaslike Besture. Hy het in sterk taal haat aangeblaas teen die Regering, dit by die mense ingeskerp dat die Regering onbevoeg is om hulle te regeer en die mense aangemoedig om die Regering te beveg en dit te vernietig.

"Those who rule over us have proved themselves totally incapable of ruling." -

BEWYSSTUK: C23 p 3.

"The beast that is destroying us by imprisonment, starvation, wages, bulldozed shanties, long working hours, totally inadequate health facilities is suddenly pretending that they are giving us genuine local administration. At this very moment that beast is destroying the Bakwena, Ba-Magopa like it is trying to destroy the people of Crossroads, Rooigrond, Kliptown and elsewhere." - pp 4 en 5.

"We must build our people - workers, community and students - into massive anvil on which the beast that is destroying us will meet its end." - p 5.

Hy verwys ook weer eens na veroordeelde ANC-terroriste as hul leiers "who are incarcerated in the oppressors prisons" - p 5, en na tereggestelde ANC-terroriste "who have been so cruelly robbed of life" - p 6.

Verder word haat aangeblaas by die mense teen die Blankes en die Regering se sogenaamde onderdrukkende wette -

"Under the pretence that we will control our own affairs we shall be made to impose the oppressive laws of the whiteman on our suffering people" - p 4.

- 3.4 By die AZASO-konferensie op 4 Julie 1984 in Soweto, was Prof. Mohamed 'n spreker. Bewysstuk C25 is 'n teks van sy toespraak. Hy het dit weer onder die mense se aandag gebring -

dat die mense onderdruk word deur die Regering se "hated apartheid laws" - p. 5;

dat "We dare not be fooled by the beast that is destroying us by imprisonment, starvation and slave education ----- That beast which is at our neighbours door today will tomorrow tear us apart" - p 6;

dat "our leaders and youth (veroordeelde ANC-terroriste) - are incarcerated in the oppressors prisons ----" - p. 7;

dat tereggestelde ANC-terroriste "---- have been so cruelly robbed of life ----" - p 8.

- 3.5 Bewysstuk C26 is die teks van 'n toespraak wat Prof. Mohamed as verteenwoordiger van UDF op 30 Desember 1984 in Soweto gelewer het by die begrafnis van Jabulani Ngcobo, "----(who) was killed by apartheid. Like so many of our sons and daughters he was driven from our country by the hated apartheid system" - p 1.

Hy het ook weer haat aangeblaas teen die sogenaamde onmenslike landswette en onderdrukkende Blankes -

"Our sons and daughters have seen our people driven out of the towns and cities by influx control laws of those who rule over us with the gun; they have seen families suffering from malnutrition unable to keep body and soul together while the vast majority of white South Africa live in luxury and wealth with an overabundance of food; they are painfully aware that the inferior racist education to which they are subjected is designed to make them cheap docile labour while white South African youth would be educated to occupy positions of authority and privilege" - p 1.

Hy wek ook 'n haatgevoel op teenoor die Regering wat politieke vlugtelinge (wat as helde voorgelou word) buite die landsgrense vervolg en dood -

W "But the hated apartheid system has persuaded our people beyond our borders and enlisted others in their murderous deeds" - p 2.

- 3.6 Op 5 Julie 1984 het Prof. Mohamed 'n persverklaring uitgereik namens die Transvaal Anti-PC Komitee waarin die mense oproep word om nie te stem in die Indiër- en Kleurlingverkiesings nie. Dan word dit by die massas ingeskerp dat die Regering hulle onderdruk en uitbuit en word daar ook haat teenoor die Blankes aangeblaas -

"--- the apartheid constitution

- offers us a junior partnership in oppression and exploitation;
- offers us a junior partnership with Whites to drive the African people out of the towns and deny them citizenship in the land of their birth;
- offers us call up into the racist army to die on the borders fighting our sons and daughters who were forced to flee from apartheid repression;
- offers us ever increasing prices of food, hospital fees and rents, starvation wages and unemployment to pay for the National Party's unjust wars against freedom seeking people;
- offers us positions as informers, sell outs, quislings and traitors against those in our various community organisations who are striving for a non-racial, democratic and peaceful South Africa."

BEWYSSTUK: AL67.

4. Bewysstuk C53 is 'n verslag wat UDF opgestel het as motivering vir fondsinsameling en is by E.A. Saloojee, 'n UDF-ampsdraer, gevind. In die inleiding word dit beklemtoon dat die S.A. Regering "is extremely repressive - detention and harassment of UDF leadership, banning of meetings and publications are their methods" - p 1.

SIEN OOK p 8.

5. Bewysstuk C75 is 'n verslag oor NIC se siening van die Rege-
ring se grondwetlike voorstelle. In die inleiding word
dit gestel dat die S.A. Regering ondemokraties en geweld=
dadig is.

"The heroic and courageous struggles of the oppressed
peoples of South Africa against the anti-democratic
and violent system of apartheid have precipitated
a profound crisis upon the oppressor" - p 1.

"--- our belief that there exists in South Africa a
bond between government, its international allies,
business, media, and certain lackeys to mask the
suffering inflicted on millions of oppressed people
by this violent and vicious apartheid system" - p 2.

"2.1 The government maintains apartheid through
violence. It forces one 'plan' after another
onto the unenfranchised communities against
their wishes and aspirations. Jailing, deten=
tions, bannings and 'disappearances' and
murders under unexplained circumstances (e.g.
Mxenge, Dube) of opponents of apartheid en=
sures the suppression of resistance.

2.2 The economic exploitation of blacks continue
unchecked" - p 2.

6. Bewysstuk C.102 handel oor UDF se Algemene Raadsvergadering
in 1985 en is by Beskuldigde 19 gevind.

In die Algemene Raad se verklaring word na die S.A. Regering
verwys as die "racist minority regime" en die "evil apart=
heid system". Daar word ook haat teenoor die Staat aange=
blaas en dit word beklemtoon dat die Staat verantwoordelik
is vir die mense wat in die Swart dorpe gedood word, en vir
die mense se swaarkry en onderdrukking -

"The State and its agents are engaged in the wholesale
letting of blood in the townships, billions of rands
are spent maintaining apartheid structures; while
subsidies for essential food are reduced or withdrawn,
raised GST pays for SADF aggressions. Instead of
homes at affordable rent, adequate recreational fa=
cilities, equal, democratic education, the people
experience ever increased misery and oppression" - p 6.

Daar word ook verwys na die Staat se onderdrukkende magte en barbaarse wette en UDF stel in dié verbnad die volgende eise "as the beginning of a process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state :

8. the disbanding of the SADF, Koevoet, the SAP and all other repressive apparatuses;
9. the scrapping of all barbaric 'security' laws which violate the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" - p 7.

Hierdie tema word voortgesit in die Sekretariële Verslag -

"But this conference also takes place against the backdrop of viscious and escalating state repression. The detention of our leadership in Augusts that year, the treason charges brought up against sixteen of them, the rising numbers of deaths in the streets and schools of the townships and the bombing of homes of our leading activists shows that the reactionary forces of the system are determined to destroy our broad people's Front by all means in their power. It will be important for this conference to keep this fact of heightened state repression in mind as it makes decisions on our future work" - p 8.

Verder in die verslag word dit gestel dat "--- the state, or at least some arm of the state, has taken a deliberate decision to employ terrorist methods against our activists ---" p 15.

SIEN OOK: p 17 .

Die Konferensie het dan ook 'n resoluksie aanvaar oor Aanhoudings en Hoogverraad verhoor, na aanleiding van -

"The brutal police and SADF violence against the peaceful protests of our people"

SIEN: p 26;

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUK: C.109.

7. In Bewysstuk C.109 verklaar UDF dat die Staat onderdrukkend optree deur die arrestasies en vervolging van UDF-leiers op aanklagte van Hoogverraad.

UDF spel dit ook uit dat "... the present regime with its sweeping security laws has no legitimacy to rule over the people of South Africa because of its undemocratic origins" - p 2. UDF maak dit ook duidelik dat die regstelsel net uit Blankes bestaan wat die land se onregverdigte en onderdrukkende wette slaafs navolg en toepas, en kom dan tot die gevolgtrekking dat -

"In the light of these and other considerations we cannot be reconciled to the thought and expectation of a fair and just trial for our leaders and, secondly, we insist that the present South African government, with its undemocratic origins and orientation has no legitimate right to put on trial and pass judgement on our leaders" - p 3.

8. Bewysstuk C.134 is 'n verklaring uitgereik deur Mankweng Civil Association, 'n UDF-geaffilieerde. Daarin word dit aan die mense oorgedra dat die polisie hulle vyandiggesind is en 'n klomp moordenaars en kriminele is. Daar word dan ook ge-eis dat besighede nie hul goedere moet verkoop aan polisie-manne nie, dat polisiemanne uit die Kerke geskop en skoolkomitees geskop word, dat taxis en inwoners nie polisie-manne moet vervoer nie en dat die polisie permanent uit die woongebiede moet onttrek.

SIEN OOK: BEWYSSTUKKE C.135 en C.136.

- 9.1 UDF het in sy program van aksie die kampanje teen onderdrukking ingesluit en hierdie kampanje ook gekoppel aan ander belangrike UDF-kampanjes.

SIEN BEWYSSTUK: T25 en p 5.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUKKE: AD.10; AJ3; AJ4 en AJ5.

- 9.2 In Bewysstuk AA.1 koppel UDF hierdie kampanje aan sy Black Christmas-kampanje. In hierdie bewysstuk word emosionele taal gebruik om die mense se haat teenoor die huidige stelsel aan te wakker.

SIEN OOK BEWYSSTUKKE: AA3; AA5; AA6; AA7 en AA8.