

DRAFT

**Forward:**

Need to say that this a limited project, charting the role and activities of the UDF within five years of struggle. Much more occurred than we have mentioned here.

**Introduction:**

The launch of the UDF on 20 August 1983 marked a dramatic leap forward in the struggle for freedom in South Africa. It brought over 500 grassroots organisations together in a broad front against apartheid.

When the UDF launched it aimed to campaign for the rejection of the Black Local Authorities and tricameral parliament: the government's so called "new reform deal" which it had introduced in 1982.

Following the massive rejection of these bodies, the concerns of the UDF have moved and shifted in tune with the struggles of its affiliates and people.

The formation of the Front and its national campaigns and raised the political consciousness of millions of South Africans. It spurred the development of organisations in a way that had never been seen before. Numerous ad-hoc committees formed to fight the new deal, grew and transformed themselves into civics and other structures. National contact facilitated the sharing of experiences and resources.

UDF expanded from three geographical regions to eight from the West Coast to the Northern Transvaal.

The formation of the Front also resulted in increased unity among oppressed people and democratic whites/allies.

UDF campaigns and demands won widespread support from our people. Today the democratic movement exists in almost every school, factory, township, street and in the rural areas.

The people of SA have through their militancy, organisation and unity challenged apartheid rule on every front: around political and economic demands, rents and living conditions, and against unequal education, repression and bantustan structures.

The Front has become the vehicle which embodies the political aspirations of the masses. At the grassroots level and in the battle for ideas, the Front has no equal among opposition groups. And despite the smears by the regime and others, it is the only viable political home for those in the legal democratic movement who stand for real change.

**Jan 1983 - 20 August 1983: ?title**

After the idea of a united democratic front was raised at the Anti-SAIC Conference, intense consultation ensued throughout the country on the idea of forming a Front to oppose Botha's reforms.

Hundreds of national, local and regional organisations were consulted in an attempt to design the structure and policy of the Front in a manner which would provide a home for the broadest cross-section

of South Africans. Among the organisations that were consulted were: Fosatu, Cusa, Azapo, SACC, SACBC, Black Sash and Sacos.

[Fosatu felt it needed to build its factory floor structures rather than participate in politics at that stage, Cusa affiliated but later withdrew, Azapo said it could not belong to the same front with Nusas.]

Graphic: Original declaration of the UDF.

**4 Jan 1983:** The annual congress of the Labour Party decides to participate in the new constitution. This decision is met by anger and outrage at report back meetings in coloured areas. Pics: Chair throwing and angry people at LP meetings. (Got pic but need to get better one)

**23 Jan 1983:** In the wake of the LP decision there is an urgent need to demonstrate the true feelings of the coloured and Indian people and to reject the new deal.

This becomes the major theme at a conference called by the Transvaal Anti-South African Indian Council Committee and Rev Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, calls for the formation of a broad front to oppose the new deal.

A commission appointed at the conference discusses the issue and suggests the formation of a united democratic front to oppose the new constitution and Koornhof Bills. The idea is welcomed by the conference and a steering committee established.

Pics: Anti-SAIC conference, Allan Boesak. (look more)

**May 1983:** The Transvaal and Natal regions of the UDF are launched.

Pics: Pic of first Tvl executive - got

**July 1983:** The UDF Western Cape is launched and UDF committees are set up in the Border and Eastern Cape.

Pics: Oscar Mpetha - got

**Aug 1983:** The Western Cape UDF holds a Youth Festival and a public meeting in the white areas, as part of their campaign to popularise the UDF. In other parts of the country, the hundreds and thousands of the first edition of UDF NEWS is distributed publicising the launch.

Graphics: UDF launch posters (still to get)

**20 August 1983:** National launch of the UDF is held at Mitchells Plain in Cape Town. It is attended by 15 000 people from all corners of South Africa.

Over 500 organisations which had affiliated to the Front in the preceding months elect a national executive and adopt a declaration and working principles for the Front.

Archie Gumede, Oscar Mpetha and Albertina Sisulu are elected national presidents. Popo Molefe is elected national secretary and Terror Lekota, national publicity secretary. Among the patrons elected at the launch are Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph and Allan Boesak.

[Need to add something about excitement?]

Pics: Launch pics (need more), office bearers.

List: of major affiliates.

**First year of UDF: Defeating the new deal**

In its first year of existence, the UDF and its affiliates campaigned tirelessly against the black local authorities and tricameral elections. The result - only 10 percent of eligible voters voted for the BLA's. The following year only 16 percent of eligible Indian and coloured voters took part in the tricameral elections.

The massive stay away from the polls expressed an unequivocal rejection of Botha's fraudulent reforms. People indicated that they had no faith in the ability of the apartheid government to act as a custodian of their rights. Instead they indicated that they were opposed to any form of government-imposed bodies and would be satisfied with nothing less than majority rule.

The stay away was also a demonstration of popular support for the UDF. Far from achieving its objective of dividing our people, the new constitution served to build unity between Indian, coloured and African people.

**7 September 1983:** UDF campaigns successfully for a boycott of the coloured and Indian management committee elections in the Western Cape. In some instances the poll was less than two percent.

?The UDF writes a letter to the then Prime Minister, P.W. Botha calling on him to withdraw his "reform proposals" and warning him that its implementation, against the will of the people would lead to an "escalation of the violent conflict".

The letter was personally delivered to the Union Buildings by the general secretary. It was never replied to.

Graphic: copy of letter.

**Sept/Oct 1983:** Ciskei authorities impose a reign of terror in Mdantsane following a successful bus boycott. Saawu is banned in Ciskei and over 800 people detained, and 100 killed. UDF initiates a "Solidarity with the People of the Ciskei" campaign, exposing the fraud of bantustan "independence" and helping unite the people of Ciskei against their despotic rulers.

Pic: Sisa -got, possibly more at Saspu

**Oct/ November 1983:** White supporters of the UDF hold mass meetings in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban to protest against the referendum.

They spell out the UDF view that the referendum will give the minority government an opportunity to force upon the people of SA a constitution that is not based on the will of the people. Labeling the referendum as an undemocratic method of deciding on the future of the people of SA, UDF calls on people to show that they are determined to control their own destiny.

This was the motivation behind the UDF People's Weekend held on the weekend before the white referendum on November 2nd. Fetes and mass rallies are held in the Western Cape and Transvaal.

[A motorcade carrying UDF banners and posters leaves from three different parts of Cape Town to converge at one fete. Two of the con-

tingents are stopped, arrested and charged with illegal gathering.]

**November 1983:** UDF campaigns for a boycott of the BLA elections to be held in 22 townships. Thousands of posters, pamphlets and rallies call on people not to vote.

"A vote for the councils is a vote for apartheid", said the first edition of UDF Transvaal News. "We demand a full vote for the government of the country." The News also warned that "a vote for puppet councils is most certainly a vote for higher rents, more evictions and demolitions."

Less than 10 percent of eligible votes vote in the BLA elections.

Pics: placard demonstrations etc - got

**7 December 1983:** 22 affiliates launch the UDF Eastern Cape region with a conference and mass rally.

Pics: Fazzie and Ngoye - got.

**16/17 December 1983:** UDF holds their first national conference in PE. Delegated discuss whether the UDF should call on the government to hold a referendum in order to demonstrate the support of coloured and Indian people for the so called "new deal". No decision is taken, but it is unanimously decided to boycott the tricameral elections.

Policy: on boycotting elections. (need to get??)

Pic: Of national leadership at conference - need to get from EP Herald.

**8 Jan 1984:** The Border region of the UDF is launched.

Pics: Steve Tshwete, and George - got (could get better of ST)

**22 Jan 1984:** The Million Signature Campaign is launched at a rally in Soshanguve in Pretoria. Thousands of UDF activists and supporters go door-to-door and stand at bus stops and street corners collecting signatures. After six months nearly half a million signatures are collected, despite a concerted effort by the state to crush the campaign.

The MSC campaign spreads the message of the UDF far and wide and adds to the impetus of those who wanted to fight against apartheid to unite and form organisations. The campaign also gives UDF activists the opportunity to discuss the political situation with hundreds and thousands of ordinary people.

Pics: National spread of signature collecting - got

Graphics: of MSC media.

**1 Mar 1984:** Herman Toiva Ja Toiva, general secretary (check) of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) is released from prison after serving 16 years of a 20 year sentence. Soon after his release he meets with UDF officials in Johannesburg. Pic: Terror and Valli hugging Toiva - got

( need date) **Mar 1984:** Money is raised for UDF coffers, UDF's profile is enhanced and signatures are collected at a massive music festival, called the UDF's People's Festival. A second festival was held in

April 1985.

Pics: of the festival (need to get - or graphic)

**13 Mar 1984:** UDF commemorates the 30th anniversary of the formation of the Federation of South African Women. A rally is held in Mamelodi.

The UDF identifies the organisation of women as a priority: "In our struggle for a democratic future men and women must fight side by side. "The People Shall Govern" means all the people, not just the half that are men. And we cannot wait on this new South Africa to be won before we start working on establishing this equality."

pic: of rally - got

**April 1984:** The UDF West Coast region is launched.

Information: On the West Coast: size, towns involved, nature of community?

Pics: ?

**(date check) May 1984:** UDF is awarded the Swedish "Let Live" prize by the newspaper Arbetet. [Murphy Morobe and Cas Saloojee received it on behalf of the Front.]

**1 July 1984:** There is a march in Tumahole against the high cost of living. One person is killed: the first death as a result of police action. In the next year (still need?) people were to die as a result of political violence.

UDF on political violence:

"Since the birth of the UDF, the state has employed numerous measures including the most sinister methods of repression and intimidation to disrupt and in fact crush legal democratic opposition to apartheid.

"Many of the repressive moves by the state have served to narrow the legal terrain within which the democratic movement is operating.

"Ultimately there will be no room left for legal and non-violent opposition to apartheid. As and when this happens, the UDF may be compelled to review its non-violent strategies.

Until then, however the UDF's record speaks for itself. Under the most difficult conditions and despite brutal and sustained attacks by the state, we have continued to explore every legal and peaceful avenue to further effective mass opposition to apartheid."

(Statement 26/1/87.)

**29 July 1984:** The UDF Southern Cape region is launched.

Information: On the Southern Cape region.

Pics: ?

**July - Aug 1984:** UDF campaigns against the forthcoming elections for the coloured and Indian parliaments. Hundreds of thousands of coloured and Indian people are visited, explained the "new deal" and urged not to vote. Rallies are held in places like Kimberley and the Northern Transvaal for the first time. 10 000 people attend the Northern Transvaal rally.

Pics: National spread of election campaign meetings.(need more from regions)

**19 Aug 1984:** Simultaneous mass rallies are held in the major centres to culminate the election boycott campaign and celebrate the first anniversary of the launch of the UDF.

Pics: National spread of rallies.-got but need better from Saspu.

**21 Aug 1984:** UDF leaders in the Transvaal, Natal and the East Cape are arrested and placed under preventative detention.

This was the first time UDF activists were detained. Since then the UDF have born the brunt of repression. DPSC estimated that consistently 75% or more of detainees belong to the UDF or its affiliates.

Pics: Of Jassat's surgery closed, others as well - got 2

Graphics: Poster produced by STP "Release our leaders"

**22 Aug 1984:** There is an effective 82.5% stay away from the polls for the coloured elections - many eligible voters having decided not to register. Schools and campus boycotts on run-in to elections.

**29 Aug 1984:** There is an even higher boycott in Indian areas - only 15.5% of the Indian population turned out to vote. There are clashes between UDF supporters and the police at a number of polling stations.

Pics: Lenasia man with eye shot at./ clashes at polls.- got

**Sept 1984:** Six Natal UDF and NIC leaders, who had been released after a Natal judge had declared their Section 28 detention orders invalid, enter the British consulate to avoid further detention.

The occupation of the consulate led to a national and international campaign which:

\* Threw into international limelight the repression of democratic leaders whose only offence was to have campaigned against the new constitution.

\* Created tensions between the "friendly" South African and British regimes. The British were unable to kick the UDF leaders out and the South Africans were unable to march into the consulate.

\* Gave the UDF profile and popular rejection of the constitution received international publicity.

When the Consulate Six eventually left the consulate several months later, five were re-arrested and later charged with treason.

Pics: Billy Nair led shoulder high on release - need to get

### **New chapter: Sept 84 - ? The collapse of bodies of minority rule**

Ignoring the stated wishes of the masses, the government nevertheless pushed ahead with its attempts to reform apartheid. By giving the new black local authorities powers to increase rents, the seeds of their downfall were sown. Despite election promises, councillors raised rents and service charges and did nothing to improve living conditions.

Township uprisings began in Tumahole in July 1984, but it was the uprising in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 which signaled the end of the BLAs throughout the country. By end of 1985, few town councils

remained intact.

Need to add something about UDF's role in this period: Protest to Challenge?/ Delmas??

**3 Sept 1984:** A stay-away and peaceful protest march against rent hikes in the Vaal turns into a bloody confrontation between residents and the police. In the ensuing conflict four councillors are killed. Conflict spreads throughout the Vaal Triangle and 66 people die in the first week.

When UDF campaigned against the BLA's they warned that this policy will intensify conflict and bring about violence. The events of the Vaal Triangle and other areas vindicated their stance.

Even, a government commission, the Van der Walt Commission, established to inquire into the reasons behind the Vaal unrest, found that residents had "genuine grievances" and that government bodies were guilty of "maladministration". (add more here - very NB)

Pics: Vaal unrest. - need to get

**Oct 1984:** 7 000 SADF troops and SAP personnel invade Sebokeng. In the following year, according to government figures, over 35 000 troops occupy 93 townships. UDF and the End Conscription Campaign launch ongoing "Troops Out" campaign.

Graphics: ECC Troops Out media especially stickers.

Pics: got

**5 - 6 Nov 1984:** The largest stay away in 35 years occurs in the Transvaal. Initiated by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and supported by the UDF and the entire union movement the demands centred around the education crisis, the presence of the police and army in the townships, increases in rents and taxes and detentions.

## **PAGE ON TRIALS**

On the **10 Dec 1984**, six detained UDF leaders are charged with high treason in Durban. They are Archie Gumede, George Sewpersadh, Aubrey Mokoena, Curtis Nkondo, M.J. Naidoo and Paul David.

On the **19th of Feb 1985** over one hundred homes of UDF activists and UDF offices countrywide are raided and leaders Dr I Mohamed, Cas Saloojee, Frank Chikane, Sisa Njikelana, Thozamile Gweta, Isaac Ngobo, Sam Kikini, Albertina Sisulu and Mewa Ramgobin are detained. The following day they are charged together with the six other UDF treason trialists.

In **Dec 1985** the charges against 12 of the 16 Pmb trialists were dropped. The charges against the remaining four Saawu leaders were dropped in **June 1986**.

Pics: of the trialists.

## Delmas

On the **19th of April 1985**, Terror Lekota, National publicity secretary and Popo Molefe, national general secretary were detained.

Exactly a month later on **19 June 1985**, they were charged together with 20 other UDF, Vaal Civic Association, church and Azapo leaders

with high treason.

The state claims that the UDF, its affiliates and allied organisations, acted as a front for the African National Congress and was responsible for "orchestrating the unrest" in the Vaal and other parts of the country.

The trial has become one of the longest political trials in South Africa's history - now in its third year.

#### Alexandra trials

13 Alexandra activists are on trial in two separate trials. Moses Mayekiso and four others of the Alexandra Action Committee are charged with having tried to overthrow the authority of the state by conspiring to seize control of Alexandra and make the area ungovernable.

They did this, it is claimed, by establishing organs of "people's power". This included forming or participating in the Alexandra Action Committee, organising residents into yard, block and street committees, and forming people's courts.

In the other trial, eight Alexandra Youth Congress members are alleged to have conspired with the ANC, UDF and Cosatu to initiate "organs of people's power" to take over the functions of the government and township authorities in Alex.

#### Stofile trial

The Rev Arnold Stofile, Border secretary of UDF's trial ran from **March to May** in the Ciskei Supreme Court.

Stofile was charged with five others with terrorism and alternatively with taking part in the activities of an unlawful organisation. They also faced 11 counts for possession of arms and ammunition.

The trial was very eventful, with most of the state witnesses, including French citizen Pierre Andre Albertini, either refusing to testify or renegeing on their evidence.

And after the state had closed its case, it announced that it had made a mistake in the charge sheet. The judge accepted the state's amendment which broadened the charges to covering not only actual acts of violence, but also acts intended to bring about acts of violence.

Stofile was sentenced to 11 years after being found guilty of assisting co-accused Ndela by finding a "safe house" for him. At the moment - attempting to (check?) due to the fact that the interpreter was not sworn in.

Treason trials have been a means of reducing the efficiency of the UDF by depriving it of the daily performance of its leaders.

The state, as well as using overtly repressive measures has trying to criminalise anti-apartheid activists in order to give the international community the false impression that only law-breakers are punished.

The trials are also attempts to smear the UDF as a subversive and violent organisation and isolate it from the people of South Africa.

(more??)

Pics: of the treason trialists -got Pmb,Mayekiso. need to get Delmas

**Dec 1984:** UDF backs a call made by some unions to observe Christmas as a Black Christmas. The UDF says that Christmas should be regarded as a time of mourning for those killed, injured or detained as a result of the township uprisings. People are urged to buy only necessities in their own areas.

The call for a Black Christmas or a Christmas to remember repression became a common one in the years to come - often commemorated with the lighting of candles and lights out protests.

graphic: Xmas Cards

**Jan 1985:** UDF decides to commemorate United Nations International Year of the Youth, giving impetus to the growth of the youth movement.

Increasing anti-apartheid activity had attracted thousands of young people who established youth structures such as the Soweto Youth Congress, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and Cape Youth Congress and became tireless cadres in the UDF campaigns.

The formation of specific youth structures also helped the shift away from mainly youth led resistance to the involvement of workers, parents, residents and other sectors through civic structures and parent/teacher and student associations.

(need to add)

Pics: Pics of youth launches in different parts of the country. -need more and graphics

**Jan 1985:** Senator Edward Kennedy of the United States visits South Africa as a guest of UDF patrons Rev Allan Boesak and Bishop Desmond Tutu. He addresses a UDF rally in CT but in Soweto a planned rally is disrupted by Azapo supporters. On his return to the United States he calls for increased economic and diplomatic isolation of South Africa.

The Kennedy visit raised the issue of UDF's international policy among its affiliates. At the April National General Council meeting a resolution was taken committing the UDF to consolidate and develop its international contacts in accordance with the objectives and principles of the UDF.

Just as the UDF was formed internally on the basis of a united opposition to apartheid shared by a variety of groupings, internationally it sought support from all opponents of apartheid.

And just as the UDF inside the country seeks to isolate the apartheid regime inside the country, international allies can contribute to the isolation of the regime internationally.

It was agreed that the UDF could make considerable gains by publicising overseas the people's struggles and the atrocities of the regime.

**2 Feb 1985:** UDF celebrates the granting of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu at a mass rally in Soweto. At the same gathering, Zinzi Mandela reads a message from her father, Nelson, to the people of South Africa explaining why he will not agree to renounce the armed struggle in exchange for his freedom.

The call for the release of Nelson Mandela has always been a central one for the UDF. [In August 1985, the people in the Western

Cape intended to march to Pollsmoor with the following message:

"You are a true leader of our people. You have not sold the birthright of your people in order to be free, and we will not rest until you are free. Your release and that of all political prisoners is imperative. We acknowledge your leadership. We affirm your sacrifice for your people."]

The UDF regards Mandela as much more than the president of the ANC. He embodies the hopes and aspirations of the vast majority of South Africa's people.

The UDF has always emphasised the need to fight for the unconditional release of all political prisoners: "They must be able to take up their places in mass based politics inside our country. Any effort to release Mandela and his colleagues into the Transkei, Lusaka or elsewhere must be resisted."

Pic: can get coloured pics at City Press, also got

? Western Cape - Crossroads 16 residents killed. As the UDF Western Cape was gearing itself up to fight the forced removal of some quarter of a million Crossroads residents. After some initial probes early in the year which left 16 Crossroads residents dead, the state has not dared to pursue this forced removal.

**Page on massacres?**

**21 March 1985:** 22 people are killed at Langa, Uitenhage during a peaceful march. The massacre was preceded by a highly successful stay away in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage area to protest the high cost of living.

Pics: Uitenhage massacre/ funeral - still get

**21 November 1985:** Police broke up a peaceful protest of 50 000 residents in Mamelodi and over 13 people were killed and hundreds injured.

The marchers, led by the mothers of Mamelodi, were demanding to see the Mayor about restrictions on weekend funerals, the lowering of rents and the withdrawal of troops from the township.

[The massacre' changed relations between the generations in Mamelodi. A member of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo) said: "21 November proved to our parents that we were right about the police and the struggle - they are now participating with us."]

UDF role in ??

Also add Crossroads ? , Winterveld, Alex, White City

**26 Aug 1986:** White City massacre -30 killed. In September there is the longest stay away since 1976 in Soweto.(need more)

UDF Statement on foreign investment in SA - 2 April 1985 after after the Uitenhage massacre was condoned by President Reagan:

The UDF protested against:

- \* The collaboration of the USA with apartheid. Under the guise of "constructive engagement", the USA lends political

support to the SA government.

\* Foreign companies provide the financial back-bone for the apartheid machinery. Foreign corporations pay large sums of money in taxation to the apartheid state.

\* Foreign companies are silent each time the apartheid state violates the rights and humanity of our people. For years, foreign companies were content to reap super profits from workers who were denied trade union rights.

\* Pretensions of concern for our people by claiming that foreign investment benefits the oppressed people.

The UDF view is that foreign investment facilitates oppression and exploitation and that there is an international duty to isolate the apartheid regime and support the just struggle of the people of SA to free themselves.

Position on sanctions: (unclear where should go)

"The history of white minority rule has always been that of intransigence. The Nats have not been known for democratic practices and sensitivity to the wishes of the majority. Facts show that it is only through pressure that they were forced to take certain political steps.

So called "reforms" have nothing to do with change of heart on their part. It is simply a direct result of various forms of pressure that has been exerted on the government over the years. International isolation and sanctions are among the most potent and non-violent methods at the disposal of anti-apartheid forces the world over.

The argument that blacks will suffer more in the event of sanctions does not hold much water if one considers the fact that workers have always been willing to go on strike for better working conditions. People have become increasingly aware of the fact that freedom never comes on a silver plate.

Sanctions on their own can obviously not abolish apartheid. It is their combination with other forms of struggle that has the greatest potential to influence the further advance of our struggle."

**Mar 1985:** UDF rallies commemorate the 30th anniversary of the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu)  
Graphic: of T-shirt

**9 March 1985:** UDF presents memorandum to Eminent Persons Group. The UDF had misgivings about meeting the EPG. It felt that the EPG could give recognition to the regime and by establishing dialogue with it set back the struggle for liberation by the imposition of halfhearted measures for the convenience of some members of the Commonwealth.

However, the UDF later reconsidered its position in the sincere hope that its representations would contribute to the isolation of apartheid and assist in the eradication of apartheid.

It said to EPG that if the government was serious in

its professed desire to find a peaceful solution to the country's problems, it must unambiguously commit itself to dismantle apartheid, end its war on the people by withdrawing all troops from the township, create the conditions of political freedom and release political prisoners.

Its representations concluded by saying that while the UDF is not opposed to a negotiated transfer of power, its bitter experience makes it sceptical of any attempts to persuade the Botha regime to negotiate at this stage. Thus they recommended the total isolation of the regime including the breaking of all diplomatic ties with South Africa, expelling South African personnel from all international forums and necessary economic action.

**6 - 7 April 1985:** UDF holds its second National General Council in Azaadville, Krugersdorp. 400 delegates elect a new national executive with Curnick Ndlovu as executive chairperson and Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu as the two presidents.

Lekota and Molefe - who emerged from hiding - are re-elected national publicity secretary and general secretary.

The conference commits itself to implementing the theme: From mobilisation to organisation - from protest to challenge.

Themes: explain theme "From protest to challenge" (still need)

Pics: of conference, exec - got

#### New period?

1985, the 30th anniversary year of the Freedom Charter, has seen a more explicit attempt to develop alternative political visions and rudimentary political structures.

In the school struggle, there have been marches on locked schools by parents, teachers and students. There has also been a reinvigorated interest in alternative programmes. Students, teachers and parents are not just protesting against gutter education, they are also raising the question of popular, democratic control over education.

In the course of consumer boycotts, largely working class communities, have worked with, monitored and pressured black shopkeepers to ensure that there is no speculation on the people's struggle. This raised the question of popular control over distribution.

**June 1985:** The planned All Blacks/ Kiwi Rugby Tour is canceled after massive protests in New Zealand and court action. The Rev Arnold Stofile, a member of the UDF NEC and South African Council of Sport (Sacos) administrator toured New Zealand and gave crucial evidence in support of the court application which led to the cancellation of the tour.

Policy: UDF policy on sporting tours. (should we put sports desk section here - see later)

**26 June 1985:** UDF rallies commemorate the 30th anniversary of the

Congress of the People and the adoption of the Freedom Charter.  
Pics and graphics: Charter at UDF meetings, commemoration rallies. - still to get

**1 July 1985:** The bodies of four East Cape activists, Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sicela Mhlawula and Thomas Mkonto are found near Port Elizabeth. It appears that they had been murdered after stopping at a road block on their journey home to Cradock.

Mathew Goniwe was a UDF Eastern Cape rural organiser and was fast rising to prominence as a key UDF national leader. His home town, Cradock has been a centre of resistance staging the longest school boycott in the history of South Africa.

Pic: of Goniwe and funeral - got

Page: on assassinations.

From March to July 1985, 27 people went missing, six people disappeared and were later found killed, eight people were assassinated and a number of people were named on hit lists.

Cosas in the Eastern Cape lost 16 members - nine disappeared and seven were assassinated.

Pebco's president, Qaqawuli Godolozzi, general secretary Siphon Hashe, and organising secretary, Champion Galela went missing on their way to PE airport in May 1985.

On 2 August 1985, Victoria Mxenge, UDF Natal treasurer and women's leader was gunned down in front of her Durban home.

Nqoako Ramalepe, an Azaso activist and president of the SRC at Modjadji College, Lebowa died as a result of Lebowa police action on 18 October 1985.

In the Transkei, Batandwa Ndonga was shot down in the middle of the street by Transkeian police at the end of 1985. He had been active in Azaso.

Graphic: poem on UDF pamphlet after Goniwe was killed.

**15 July 1985:** Consumer boycott begins in Port Elizabeth. At the funeral of Mathew Goniwe, a call is made for the boycotts of white shops which had begun in Port Elizabeth and other Eastern Cape towns to be spread nationwide. Within the next month, consumer boycotts are launched in Pretoria, the Western Cape, Johannesburg, the Vaal Triangle and East London.

The consumer boycotts were prompted by community anger about police brutality, the state of emergency and township conditions.

The three major political demands of the consumer boycott committees were: police and army out of the township, an end to the state of emergency and the release of detainees.

Different areas also articulated local demands. For example in East London, included that hawkers be allowed to trade in town, the halls in white areas be made available for meetings, that democratic student representative councils be permitted, that forced removals be ended and that Duncan Village be relieved from proposed incorporation into the Ciskei.

UDF affiliates played more or less active roles in the

consumer boycott committees.

There was no doubt that the boycott worked. Within two weeks of the boycott in PE, a PFP survey of small retailers reveals that two had already closed, and 32 of the 43 interviewed gave figures indicating a turnover drop of 80 - 100%.

[By early August in EL, local white businessmen were willing to negotiate through the Chamber of Commerce and by the end of the month some of their demands had been met.]

In many areas (eg Port Alfred) local demands were met and white business was forced to recognise and acknowledge the democratic movement. However ? point about national political demands etc

(need more about Port Alfred)

**21 Jul 1985:** A State of Emergency is declared on the same day as the mass funeral of the four activists founded murdered on 1 July. ? attend the funeral from all parts of the country.

**Jul 1985:** Thousands of UDF activists including 136 known UDF officials are detained during the State of Emergency. The first State of Emergency was repealed on ? March 1986.

(need make point about effect on organisation)

**Aug 1985:** Inkatha attacks on UDF activists and supporters intensifies in Natal. Numerous houses of UDF supporters are petrol bombed and at least four UDF activists including two trade unionists are allegedly killed by Inkatha. (Perhaps add about Inanda and impact on Indian community.)

#### UDF policy/position on Inkatha

"The UDF has as its central tenet the unity of all progressive and democratic forces opposed to apartheid. These forces would operate outside of government created structures and have, correctly, chosen to wage the struggle outside these puppet structures.

"Until not so long ago the options for our broad liberation movement have been open in so far as Inkatha is concerned. But in recent times these have been greatly narrowed down by the collaborationist postures of Inkatha and its leadership in particular.

"In general Inkatha is not a national movement but an organisation built to fit into the tribal compartments that this government had always wanted blacks to fit into. In this sense, it stands directly against our united singular objective of the creation of a non-racial democratic and united South Africa.

"We make the distinction though between the leadership of Inkatha, which has its own interests and designs and the vast majority of its membership who would invariably be ordinary people often abused by some of these leaders.

"Its leaders spend two thirds of their speeches attacking the UDF, SACC, ANC and all recognised leaders of the black majority. Even as early as six years ago the Inkatha leadership

showed clearly on which side of the fence it stood when Gatsha sent his impis to attack high school students boycotting classes.

In 1983 Inkatha impis massacres students at Ngoye University who were protesting against the presence of Buthelezi on their campus.

Pics: of the violence?

**26 Aug 1985:** The largest UDF affiliate, Cosas is banned.

1984 and 1985 saw the growth of Cosas and the articulation of student demands on a national basis. The state responded brutally to the students demands culminating in the banning of Cosas. However other UDF affiliates stepped in and this resulted in the growing involvement by teachers and parents and the setting up of joint students, parents and teacher committees in many parts.

Pics: Banner with Cosas - got.

**28 August 1985:** Thousands answer the call to march to Pollsmoor Prison to demand the release of Nelson Mandela. Police and the SADF break up the march and many community leaders and clergymen are arrested.

This leads to pitched battles between the people and the police, and is the turning point which sets the tone of people's resistance.

Intensifying school boycotts are handled in high handed manner. Eventually, all schools, including primary schools in Western Cape are closed. When they are re-opened a month later, SRC's are banned, security guards are appointed to "control" access to the premises and other stringent regulations.

On 15 October, three children are shot dead by police hiding in crates on back of an SAR truck, lying in wait as the truck cruised up and down Athlone - the so-called Trojan Horse incident.

Thousands of muslims are angered after a mosque in Athlone is besieged by police. A shooting battle ensues when the people fire back at police.

There is a consumer boycott of white shops coordinated by a committee representing UDF affiliates as well as others.

On 25 October, a state of emergency is declared in Western Cape. By the end of the year, many students are detained, teachers dismissed, some students do not write exams while others are forced to write at gunpoint.

Pics: Boesak march, Trojan Horse shooting, Shahid Esack

**Oct 1985:** UDF launches the call: "Forward to People's Power" (check legally)

In resolution on Black Local Authorities 's at Azaadville, UDF resolved to expose the inadequacy of the BLA's, strive for the collapse of the system, isolate those who collaborate with puppet structures and direct all regions to establish community organisations as alternatives.

By mid-1985, people had moved beyond rejecting bodies of minority rule. With the government displaying no intention of introducing democracy into the political process, ordinary people developed their own unique form of democracy.

In the rural areas tribal authorities were replaced by democratically elected village councils while the collapse of the BLA's were accompanied by new forms of mass organisation such as street and area committees.

These democratic committees of people's power sprang up all over the country. Pioneered in the Eastern Cape, they proved tremendously successful in creating a highly democratic, accountable and dignified form of political organisation. The voteless majority were able to elect their own representatives in the streets, yards and zones.

These democratic committees took control of many aspects of township life. Apartheid rule had created an extremely dangerous and unhealthy environment for our people. It created the conditions under which crime thrives - squalid conditions, high unemployment, bad lighting, frustration etc. On a street to street basis, these townships committees began to collectively attempt to find solutions to these problems.

These committees allowed for the fullest participation and control by the people over campaigns. Campaigns such as the consumer boycott were enabled to be waged with a minimum of coercion.

Unprecedented community unity was achieved through these structures since by definition they involve the entire community in collective decision making. In places like Atteridgeville and Alexandra stay aways could be alled overnight as a result of strong street committees.

The formation of such structures has also led to undisciplined elements being brought under the control of the people and their organisations. And it is only through such structures that people have been able to defend each other against vigilante attacks or evictions.

The crime rate has plummeted where these committees have been strong. [ The opening and closing of shebeens were regulated, knives confiscated etc. Previously where people were attacked even during the day, they could now walk around freely. ]

In some situations, exacerbated often by detentions of leaders, undisciplined and even criminal elements, could abuse the situation in the name of the struggle. One such problem were the so-called "kangaroo courts" which imposed excessive punishment.

However this development was not only condemned by the democratic movement, but was brought under control as the process of people's power advanced.

These democratic committees have put power in the hands of the people in a number of areas including justice, education and politics. Such organs of democracy represented a glimpse, an embryo of a future SA.

(more on people's parks, courts etc?)

Pic: people's parks.

**29 November 1985:** The launch of Cosatu is actively supported by the UDF.

Graphic: Copy of the leaflet that the UDF issued at the launch.

**28/29 Dec 1985:** The Soweto Parents Crisis Committee hosts a National Consultative Conference to discuss the education crisis. Over 300 parent, teacher and student organisations, the majority UDF affiliates, decide that students should return to school and give the government until March 31st to meet their demands.

Their demands include the lifting of the emergency, the unbanning of Cosas and numerous demands relating to the improvement of school conditions.

The National Education Crisis Committee was formed at the conference. In the next few months, the NECC tried repeatedly to negotiate with the educational authorities. It also set up commissions to investigate "people's education".

The conference also called on teachers to unite in a single national progressive body.

Pics: of the conference, general education pics.

**2 Jan 1986:** 20 000 mourners from townships throughout the Eastern Cape congregate in PE to bury Molly Blackburn, who was killed in a car accident. Black Sash leader and PFP MPC, Molly Blackburn, would take up and expose case after case of police brutality. Despite constant harassment, charges against her and death threats she persevered winning the title "Comrade Molly" in the eyes of hundreds and thousands of township residents.

**14 Feb 1986:** As some 13 000 mourners in Alexandra return to their homes after a funeral, they are attacked by police. When youths retaliate, police and troops invade Alex by force - starting Alex's "six day war". For the next five days, the entire township stayed away from work with the death toll rising every hour. By the end of the week the official death toll was close to two dozen.

Alexandra organisations were to pay for the militancy of their community (??). Alex has borne the brunt of the state counter offensive. It was one of first areas to be targeted by a mini-JMC with a R95 million upgrading project as well as massive detentions, harassment, assassinations and the putting on trial of UDF activists.

**Feb 1986:** Northern Transvaal Region of UDF is launched. Add about placard demonstration

**30 Mar 1986:** The NECC holds a second national conference in Durban, despite Inkatha violence. Only some of the demands made at the December conference have been met and so the conference decides on national united action by all sectors of the community.

A call is made for May Day to be observed as a public holiday and for a three day national stay away on June 16, 17 and 18. Students return to school and begin to implement programmes of people's education from within the classrooms.

**11 April 1986:** Peter Nchabeleng, Northern Transvaal UDF President, dies in police custody in Sekhuneland. His death comes after two months of intense conflict in the area including a campaign to isolate so called bantustan collaborators.

Page: on deaths in detention.

[13 people died in police custody in 1985, one in security detention. Siphso Musi, a Cosas activist from Odendaalsrus in the OFS, died in police custody on May 5, 1985.]

Pics: of the funeral - got

**1 May 1986:** Two million people join the largest ever May Day stay away in South Africa's history.

graphic: of posters - get from STP

**May 1986:** UDF runs a "Call to Whites to join UDF" campaign in Jhb. Whites receive a warm welcome from Alexandra residents during a flower laying ceremony in solidarity with the victims of police action.

The aim of the campaign was to address white fears of escalating violence, the inevitability of majority rule and their future in SA. It intended to urge whites that the only way they can contribute to genuine change is by joining the UDF and supporting its demands.

The following year, the UDF's "Call to Whites" went further, reflecting the seriousness with which UDF views the task of extending the political and moral influence of the UDF among whites.

The call at the UDF NWC to whites was threefold:

- \* To counteract state propaganda which holds whites in apartheid's grip.
- \* To break abandon apartheid at all levels - including to refuse to collaborate with the system.
- \* To join UDF affiliates and other democratic organisations which actively oppose apartheid and help build a nonracial democratic SA.

UDF has constantly called on whites to shed their prejudices and selfishness and be part of the struggle for the creation of a greater South Africanism where race or colour shall not be a criterion for judging a person's worth.

[At the time of the Whites only election in May 1987, the UDF made the following calls:

- \* To Nat Party supporters to realise that a break with outdated political loyalties must come. The future of you and your children will not be secured by turning the clock of history back, but rather of facing the future with courage and vision.

- \* To PFP supporters to abandon the myth of change

through parliament. The future does not lie in a futile bid for a few extra seats in parliament. The future lies in joining the majority of this country in building an anti-Nationalist Front that will isolate the Nats.

\* To white UDF supporters, to go into the homes, offices and study places of concerned white South African and introduce the aspirations and demands of the people.]

At the National Five Freedoms Forum Conference in September 1987 UDF speakers urged the audience to seek for ways of uniting the broadest number of white South Africans.

Increasing resistance under the banner of the UDF has sowed doubts in the minds of many whites about the ability of the state to resolve the present crisis. More and more whites are beginning to acknowledge the inevitability of majority rule.

Pic: of call to whites rally - got

**May 1986:** UDF campaigns against the proposed Public Safety Bill and amendments to the Internal Security Act. (need more.)

**23/24 May 1986:** (check dates) The UDF National Working Committee Conference is held in Johannesburg. Held in the middle of/ context of fierce infighting in Port Elizabeth, Soweto and the West Rand between so called UDF and Azapo groups, the conference took a resolution on policy towards Azapo. (need more on UDF/Azapo conflict - also motion on org and democracy?)

Much of the violence was fueled by smear pamphlets - a favourite tactic of attempting to undermine and discredit the UDF and its affiliates.

For example, in December 1986, pamphlets printed on UDF letterhead were distributed in Soweto calling for the killing of all Azapo members. "We must not rest until we have hunted down each and every member of Azapo from Sekhukhuneland through PE to Langa", it read.

Another pamphlet bearing the emblem of the UDF alleged that the emerging Azanian Youth Unity (Azanyu) were led by "phoneys who were police informers."

UDF position on black on black violence (maybe somewhere else)

"The conflict in SA is not simply a racial issue. We regard the enemy in SA to be the system of apartheid and not white individuals. By the same token, not all blacks are friends of the democratic movement. Black individuals have often ranged themselves with, and have actually supported the forces of apartheid.

There is a war being waged between the people and the enemies of the people. In such a situation, people strike back - irrespective of whether the enemies are black or white. But when the people strike out in anger and the victim happens to be the black puppet collaborator or informer, the government takes great pain in describing such a situation as "black on black violence".

And the media is equally guilty of such distortions.

UDF's position on necklace murders:

The UDF has condemned necklace murders, adding however: "The democratic movement has repeatedly warned the government against imposing undemocratic, corrupt and repressive structures on the people. The use of such an extreme method such as the necklace is an expression of the extreme anger and hatred for the people who man these structures. It is thus grossly mischievous of the state to attempt to besmirch the UDF as being behind this practice, when it is the state which is ultimately responsible." (check)

**5 June 1986:** UDF launches a campaign calling for the unbanning of the ANC with a mass meeting in central Johannesburg.

In motivating the campaign, the UDF argued that the dismantling of apartheid and the democratic transfer of power to the people has become a historical necessity.

Such a process can only be initiated through creating an appropriate climate for discussions and negotiations - a climate that would demonstrate the government's seriousness and sincerity to resolve South Africa's problems meaningfully. This in turn would entail the unbanning of the ANC and other banned organisations.

The UDF stressed that it has generally come to be accepted that there can be no solution to South Africa's problems without the involvement of the ANC. Unbanning the ANC would be seen as a first step in resolving the problems in this country.

Pic: of unban rally - got

**Jun 1986:** The Soweto Civic Association calls for a rent boycott to protest against high rents and to pressurise for the resignation of the town council. Already a number of townships had been on rent boycott and by the end of July, the number had increased to 39. By September 1986, 42 areas involving 3 million people were boycotting rents.

The rent boycott strategy was resorted to after many years of protest for better conditions. In 1984, 90 percent of people stayed away from the polls to show their rejection. Nevertheless the councillors defied popular opposition and took their seats. Within six months they did the only thing they were capable of and imposed rent increases. This was the last straw and since then rent boycotts have spread.

What people are saying through the boycott is that they are not prepared to pay for their own repression and subjugation. The rents are used to pay the exorbitant salaries of the corrupt and unpopular town councillors as well as for town council police forces, who are responsible for evictions.

Rent boycotts also demonstrated to the government that there can be no taxation without representation and that the people will accept nothing less than majority rule.

Finally, people boycott rents, simply because they are

unable to afford it.

UDF constantly challenged the Nats to stop the ruthless persecution, evictions, electricity cut-offs etc and start addressing residents demands. Large scale evictions will only fuel the anger of the people, the UDF warned and the government must take responsibility for any violence that may result.

Pics: Recent pics of evictions and marches.

**12 June 1986:** A national State of Emergency is declared. According to DPSC figures, over 12 000 people were detained by UDF hardest hit.

This state of emergency was far more severe than the previous one - severely curtailing the legal mass democratic activities of the UDF and its affiliates.

Restrictions were placed on making numerous calls, the media, funerals etc (need more)

For example in the education sector, harsh emergency regulations are introduced in the schools including forcing students to reregister and carry ID cards. Accompanied by widespread occupation of schools by "security forces".

In December the state introduced further regulations virtually banning People's Education.

These repressive measures aimed to reverse the gains made by students in the last few years, by crushing the SRC's and isolating students from their leadership. In addition harassment of ordinary students is designed to break their morale.

Focus: Detained UDF leaders eg Raymond, Trevor, Fazzie, Joyce - got

**16 June 1986:** Despite the declaration of the emergency, June 16th is observed as a public holiday. UDF youth and student affiliates commemorate under the slogan "Ten Fighting Years"

Pic: Of T-shirt/ sticker with 10 fighting years

**June 1986:** Witdoek attacks drive comrades out of crossroads - then attack and destroy KTC camp.

**12 Aug 1986:** Plans for KwaNdebele independence are cancelled by the KwaNdebele legislative assembly after a nine month anti-independence campaign in which the UDF played an active role. Over 100 people were killed in the struggle against vigilantes.  
Organisation in rural areas.

The bantustans did not remain unaffected by the tide of resistance that was sweeping the country. Rural organisation focused around:

- \* The imposed, repressive and undemocratic bantustan structures.
- \* The planned independence of KwaNdebele in December 1986 and the forced incorporation of some areas into this bantustan.
- \* Influx control and pass laws.
- \* Forced removal in all its disguises.
- \* Bantu education.

From anti-removals campaigns to the campaign against

the independence of KwaNdebele, the UDF became involved in the struggles of the rural people. Progressive youth congresses or village council were established in many villages especially in the Transvaal.

One of UDF's key calls was for the replacement of undemocratic tribal structures and the institution of democratic village councils.

Significant gains were made. Huhudi, KwaNgema and Driefontein communities won reprieves against forced removals.

As organisation intensified, so did repression especially in the form of vigilante activity. In ? the Pretoria Area Committee of the UDF organised a major press conference to focus on Bophuthatswana repression.

#### UDF policy on bantustans.

After the attempted coup in Bophutatswana in February 1988, the UDF called on all "our people trapped in side the bantustans to unite and participate actively to end the circus shows staged by the bantustan chiefs and their armed gangs.

"It is not far-fetched to believe that these puppet shows are staged, managed, manipulated and controlled by the apartheid masters. These shows are deliberately designed to confuse and distract our people from the miseries and oppression in the bantustans.

"The purported independence of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophutatswana has brought in its wake great misery, poverty and repression to our people.

"The puppets, like those in the tricameral parliament and town councils are totally discredited and rejected. They have further eroded the little credibility they might have had through their corruption.

"The banning of democratic organisations and unions in bantustans is a deliberate attempt to prevent you from struggling for legitimate demands.

**Sept/Oct 1986:** Campaign for National United Action launched jointly by UDF, NECC, Cosatu and the SACC, and was supported by the SACBC.

It was directed mainly at the lifting of the State of Emergency and the release of detainees. Additional demands were: An end to rent evictions, a living wage for workers, the reopening of the schools and the repeal of draconian controls imposed on students.

Pic: of press conference etc - got

(check date) **October 1986:** UDF is declared an affected organisation. However after a successful court application, the declaration was reversed.

**November 1986:** DPSC, a founding member of the UDF, celebrates its fifth birthday. The DPSC has been a dedicated affiliate of the Front, tirelessly fighting against, exposing and documenting

repression. Also been a "helping hand" ?? to thousands of detainees and their families.

It has been awarded numerous international human rights prizes.

Pic: press conference - got

(check date): In response to the increasing numbers of children in detention, the Free the Children's Alliance is formed. Consisting of UDF affiliates and non-affiliates, it played a major role in fighting for the rights of these children. (do we need?)

**Dec 1986:** The first major campaign under the Campaign for United Action was the "Christmas Against the Emergency" campaign called from 16th to 26th December. [There was an unprecedented breadth of support for the campaign - from organisations both inside and outside the Front as well as a great deal of mass support.

Many townships were in darkness from 7pm to 9pm each night in response to a lights - off call.]

Pic: Advert placed in newspapers at the time.

**Jan 1987:** The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) is launched in secret by 115 delegates representing 500 000 members from nine regions. Born under the slogan: "Freedom or death: victory is certain," its aims are to:

- \* To unite and politicise all sectors of the youth, unemployed and students, regardless of race, colour and sex.
- \* To encourage youth to join progressive trade unions.
- \* To strive together with women as equals for a non-sexist, free and democratic South Africa.

It also pledged to work closely with the UDF, Cosatu and the NECC.

The militancy and courage of the youth has often thrust them to the forefront of the struggle. They have thrown their weight behind the national campaigns of the UDF, community struggles such as rent boycotts and are active in the democratic street structures in the townships.

Sayco are building alliances with organised workers, focusing particularly on the question of the unemployed and have their own cultural and educational programmes.

Pics: Peter Mokaba -got

Graphic: Sayco logo.

**Jan 8 1987:** UDF places adverts in almost all the major papers to mark the 75th anniversary of the ANC and calling for the Unbanning of the ANC.

In a press release at the time, UDF stated: "We know that the state considers us to be a front for the ANC. But that is the problem of the state and not ours. Our recognition of this Anniversary is nothing more than a recognition of a milestone in our people's long history of resistance.

Pic: advert

**12 March 1987:** UDF called for National Detainees Day to be observed by a one day national fast, candle lighting, church services and visits to families of detainees. The fast was observed by many detainees in prisons throughout the country.

**March 1987:** In response to a wave of terror unleashed by apartheid death squads - vigilantes - the UDF sends a memorandum on vigilantes to the United Nations calling on its international allies to join the campaign to expose and isolate these forces of reaction. The memorandum details the extent and severity of vigilante action across the length and breadth of the country: from Mpumalanga to Uitenhage, from KwaNdebele to Crossroads.

Delegates to the UDF NWC also gave high priority to the waging of a anti-death squads campaign. The conference identified that apartheid provided the recruiting ground for these death squads: "Social problems and unemployment, tribalism, gangsterism, and bantustan poverty have enabled the forces of apartheid to recruit people. Thus the need was identified to reach out more effectively to those sections of the people and deny the state recruits.

Delegates also stressed that the ability to defeat death squads depended on the degree of organisation and community unity. Differences with other organisations often provided a smokescreen for the enemy's death squads.

Pic: of vigilantes at chief mayiso's funeral

**March 1987:** The UDF Women's Congress is launched.

The idea of forming a Women's Congress came out of a recognition that although many women are active in the street committees or as members of organisations, there is not enough representation of women in the UDF as a whole and there is an absence of women leaders at national and regional levels.

The UDF Women's Congress is made up of all women's organisations which are affiliated to the Front. It sees its tasks as encouraging the organisation of women, educating men and women in UDF affiliates about the oppression of women, eradicating sexist discrimination in its ranks and training and increasing women's skills and confidence.

The UDF Women's Congress hopes to raise women's issues and promoting women's leadership so that the struggle of women becomes part of parcel of the political struggle as a whole. It is also active in the revival of Fed saw, a broad based body embracing all anti-apartheid women.

The UDF has also vowed to raise women's issues in all its forums and to take UDF campaigns and demands into women's organisation.

Pic: women -got

**May 5 - 6 1987:** UDF and its allies declare May 5 and 6 as two days of protest against the whites-only elections.

it was declared as a result of insensitive killings of black persons during Sarwu strike, continued detentions espe-

cially of children, persistent banning of meetings and the high handed manner in which the state was dealing with rent, education and labour issues.

Among other things, the UDF demanded the unconditional reinstatement of the 22 000 railway workers dismissed by SATS.

**29 May:** UDF holds National Working Committee Attended by 200 people from eight regions of the UDF. A new direction for the Front encapsulated by the theme: "Defend, Consolidate and Advance" emerged from the conference. The UDF explains the theme:

"The state has embarked on an all out offensive to crush the democratic movement. If we advance without defending and consolidating we will be crushed by the state onslaught. If we only defend without consolidating and advancing, we will lose the strategic initiative to the state and progress will be disturbed.

Although sometimes, UDF activists have been forced to defend themselves physically, the defence the UDF spoke about is a political one. Where the UDF has broadened into a true people's front and where the apartheid forces have been most isolated, the defence of the Front has been most effective. Organisations which is deeply rooted in the masses is difficult to crush.

To consolidate, the Front has had to continue building organisations but under very difficult new conditions. To defend its mass legal character it has had been forced to use clandestine methods. For example, Sayco and the UDF Women's Congress had to be launched in secret.

The UDF see its task as ensuring that no section of the people remains outside the ranks of the democratic movement. The broad masses of our people are taking up the cudgels for freedom. They are looking to the Front to provide political leadership.

The UDF's task is to act as a national political centre which can co-ordinate all the activities of our people whether in the schools, factories, bantustans etc.

Wherever the mass of our people are to be found, the UDF must be uniting our people, drawing them together in co-ordinated national, regional and local action.

The only promise of survival, lies in united and democratic mass based organisation that will endure repression. Linked to this is the need for mass political education and building the organisational skills of democracy and participation.

The Front sees it as crucial not to allow the Emergency to hinder the democratic practice such as elected leadership, mandates, reporting back and constant assessments. It recognises the need for both tighter and closer co-ordination and decentralization to allow local initiatives to take place in the context of the overall strategy.

A great deal of attention was also paid to the relationship between the UDF and Cosatu. A resolution at the NWC states: "The friendship and co-operation between Cosatu and the Front has grown into a true fighting alliance. This has been the result of our united action. More and more, the rank and file members of Cosatu and the affiliates of the Front have united in action around common issues and

campaigns such as rent evictions, living wage etc.

The conference resolved to strengthen this alliance, called for active participation of workers in all people's organisations and structured relationships at a local level with Cosatu.

The NWC also:

- \* Called on the PFP to quit parliament and join the democratic movement and urged coloured and Indian members of the House of Delegates and Representatives to resign and stop the shameless treachery of our people.

- \* Set strict guidelines on the acceptance of foreign funding. No funds would be accepted if they were used by the imperialists to gain influence in opposition organisations, to justify undercutting the sanctions campaign or if they were provided by agencies which supply funds to puppet structures, death squads or counter-revolutionary groupings.

- \* Decided to popularise and explain the meaning of the Freedom Charter in anticipation of adopting it.

- \* Decided to support the international struggle for nuclear disarmament.

- \* Called for international aid to the Frontline states to counter South African destabilisation. It pledged to campaign in solidarity with the Frontline states.

- \* Resolved to campaign to compel the government to sign and observe the Geneva Convention in regard to captured guerillas.

Pic: of banner at 4th anniversary.

**12 Jun 1987:** Some UDF activists released, many more redetained with the renewal of the emergency.

**26 June 1987:** UDF adopts the Freedom Charter as its political programme. The Charter is printed in newspapers throughout the country as a UDF advertisement.

The UDF did not adopt the FC at its outset because it wanted to bring the maximum number of organisations together on a broad platform against the tricameral parliament and Koornhof bills.

Since 1983, the UDF has grown to the largest legal anti-apartheid movement in the country, opposing the government on a whole range of issues.

This transformation demanded of the UDF that it adopt a comprehensive political programme which clearly set out its vision of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. It decided to adopt the FC as such a programme since it has the overwhelming support of the voteless majority and growing support among sections of the white community.

The majority of the Front's affiliates and key organisations outside the UDF had adopted the Charter eg NUM. In addition growing numbers of individuals and religious, business, sporting and other bodies have either endorsed the Charter or acknowledged it as the authentic and legitimate expression of the demands of the majority.

The decision by the UDF to adopt the Charter represented the moving of mass democratic struggle to a higher level of political unity and direction.

Pic: Reproduction of advert.

**July 1987:** Ashley Kriel is shot dead.

**17 July 1987:** The second national conference of Cosatu also adopts the Freedom Charter and resolved as political policy "to develop permanent structures at local, regional and national levels with other sectors of the democratic movement which will strengthen our relationship and interaction with these forces and promote the leading role of the working class in a united front alliance."

In a speech to the second national conference of Cosatu, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Murobe praised the achievements of the federation: "Through your organised formations in Cosatu, history demands that you increase your capacity to assert your authority in shaping a new South Africa where the interests of the workers shall be of paramount importance.

He called for the unity between Cosatu and UDF to be strengthened at every level. Rank and file members of Cosatu and UDF affiliates have united in action around common issues and campaigns such as rent evictions, living wage, unfair dismissals, detentions etc. Now, he said, "we are going to work towards a more structured relationship with the trade union movement. Zonal and area committee structures of the UDF must be transformed into true united front structures in which all sectors are represented, especially workers, youth, women, students and civics."

"The task at hand is that of developing political centres at every level. At the local level this political centre must become the heart and engine of the united front of organisations.

"It is these organisational collectives that are capable of providing political leadership, that are able to evolve effective strategies. They do not simply react to one crisis after another. They must be able to plan ahead.

These centres, to be effective must be premised on the principle that "active dynamic, political leadership should not be opposed to mass democracy.

The consolidation of political centres and the broadening of the front are two complementary processes. Without the broad front the political centre will have no links with the masses, its leadership will just be up in the air. On the other hand, without consolidating strong political leadership centres at every level, the broad front will lose direction, weaken and eventually break up.

**22 July 1987:** UDF national acting publicity and general secretaries, Murphy Morobe and Mohamed Valli detained while visiting PE. A total of 22 UDF NEC members now in detention.

Pics: Pictures of MM and VM

**July 1987:** Sayco launches a local and international campaign to save 32 patriots in death row for political offences. Later the name of the campaign changes to "Save the Condemned Patriots" campaign as the number increases to 45 by the end of 1987. Included amongst the con-

demned patriots are the "Sharpeville Six" who ??  
Pic: of press conference - got

**August 1987:** (check date) UDF launches "Friends of UDF" to raise money in South Africa for UDF projects and bring the UDF closer to self-sufficiency.

?**October 1987:** Samora Machel commemoration service held at spot where plane crashed. It is organised jointly by UDF and Mabuza.  
Pics: of the event, of Samora Machel. - to get

**October 1987:** Pietermaritzburg violence. UDF and Cosatu attempt to negotiate with Inkatha but with little success. Violence continues until ? (Add)

**20 August 1987:** Check - Launch of UDF cultural desk. The decision to form a UDF cultural desk was made at the NWC in May - need resolution. The aims of the desk are to:  
\* Help UDF affiliates develop cultural portfolios of their own, thereby widening the UDF's cultural base.  
\* Stimulate the development of cultural initiatives at grass roots level.  
\* Help implement the cultural boycott within the framework of the NWC resolution.

A decision was also made at the NWC to revive the sports desk. In an article in City Press in October 1987, the Front spelt out a number of issues which confront the democratic movement around the issue of sport.

"It is our view that non-racial sports organisations have not fully exploited the potential that exists. Far greater emphasis must be placed on organising ordinary people in the townships.

"Sport is a key interest for people, and possibly has the greatest potential for organising all those sportspersons who have no real access to the nonracial sports movement.

"In developing sports organisations, particularly Sacos, into mass movements, we believe that democratic organisations like the UDF and Cosatu have a significant role to play.

The article called for closer links between Sacos and UDF and Cosatu. The UDF is prepared to create links between Sacos and unorganised sports people in the townships through structures in the different areas.

It called for a review on the issue of coaching and asked whether or not the debate of inviting foreign coaches into SA should be reopened. "Would not allowing coaches to visit SA only on the invitation of Sacos help advance non-racial sport?"  
(shortened and other issues??)

**November 1987:** National Education Minister, De Klerk, lays down stringent conditions for universities and threatens their subsidies. A massive campaign is launched by Nusas, Sansco and some of the university administrations.

**5 November 1987:** Govan Archibald Mbeki, Robben Island prisoner and ex-ANC executive ?? is released. Mbeki remains listed and shortly after his release, "Welcome Home" rallies organised by UDF affiliates in Western Cape and Eastern Cape were banned. Then, just over a month after he is released, he is served with harsh restriction orders restricting him to PE and ??

By cutting Mbeki off from the legal outlets of expression, said the UDF, the regime is trying to force him into breaking its laws again. "Then it can say in its usual bullying fashion "we gave this man a chance and look what he does with it, and deal with the question of other political prisoners and detainees with renewed intransigence.

[While Mbeki's release must be seen as victory for people's determined campaigns for the release of political prisoners, the government also strove to achieve certain things. They hoped to defuse international pressure, to show they have things under control and to win acceptance for their National Councils.]

**February 1988:** KTC?

**24 February 1988:** UDF and 17 other organisations restricted including ?. 18 individuals including ? are also restricted and Cosatu is prevented from being involved in any political activity.

**21 Mar 1987:** Day of Action called by UDF affiliates that are not restricted.

**4 May 1988:** Cape Democrats launched in City Hall. Attended by 2 000 people, mostly whites. This is the latest organisation to be formed which is seeking affiliation to the UDF.

**6 - 8th June:** After a special congress, Cosatu calls for three days of National Peaceful Action in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and the restrictions on their political activity. The call is supported by the unrestricted UDF affiliates and by the churches at a special convocation held on the eve of the action.

??support