

" BAN OR NO BAN ,
THE STRUGGLE TO FREE
OUR PEOPLE FROM
OPPRESSION AND
EXPLOITATION SHALL
CONTINUE.

WE WILL FIGHT
APARTHEID UNTIL IT
VANISHES FROM THE FACE
OF THE EARTH "

Ma Sisulu before she
was silenced on
24 february.



SOUTH AFRICA
1988



ANALYSIS OF THE RECENT CLAMPDOWN

The banning of 17 organisations and the restrictions on Cosatu's activities as well as threats of financial clampdowns are a culmination of the state's attack on the mass democratic movement and the people of South Africa.

The clampdowns pose new strategic and tactical challenges to all democrats. We cannot allow these moves to demoralise and defeat us. We should use this opportunity to evaluate, re-strategise and rethink the way we have been operating as activists and in our organisations. Perhaps it is appropriate for us to think seriously about introducing our own "glasnost" and "perestroika"

The effects of the Emergency

To understand the effects of the emergency, we need to have a sober and scientific analysis of the objective conditions. This is necessary if we are going to accurately chart our way forward.

If we look at the effects of the emergency, generally it has not brought positive results for the state. However this does not mean that the emergency has not weakened us.

Firstly, there are areas where the state has managed to crush progressive structures, reinstall puppet bodies and has regained the political initiative.

Secondly, there are areas where there is a stalemate - where the state has weakened our structures but has not managed to re-establish their own structures.

Thirdly, there are areas where the initiative remains in the hands of the people. These include areas where the rent boycott continues or where people can call off the rent boycott on their own terms. In Cradock, recently, the rent boycott was called off after the puppet structures agreed to wipe off rent arrears.

In Soweto, Tembisa, the Vaal, several Eastern Transvaal and Eastern Cape townships the rent boycott continues despite the detention of local leadership and large scale evictions.

Why the bannings?

1. While the state has managed to introduce JMC's, vigilantes, mass detentions and terrorisation of local population by municipal police, these strategies have not managed to pacify, divide and win our people away from the mass democratic movement.

The state may have introduced schemes such as upgrading and building of more houses but this has not brought them and their local lackeys the political support of the people.

Instead we have seen ongoing militancy and the resilience of our organisations under very trying conditions. This has frustrated the state and thus they had to resort to more direct and desperate repressive measures.

The regime hopes that its latest onslaught, will crush once and for all the rent boycotts, stay aways and all visible opposition. They hope that this will enable them to reinstall puppet structures and implement their reform programmes, particularly the National Statutory Council.

2. If we look at organisations and individuals most affected, we realise that they come from those areas where the initiative is still in the hands of the people - where our structures were fighting and winning against the forces of reaction and where we have the moral high ground.

For example in Pietermaritzburg, the initiative around the talks was largely in the hands of the progressives. Because of the way in which the democratic movement was conducting itself, we were gaining support. The state was therefore forced to intervene on behalf of Inkatha - hence the bannings and detentions of the people and organisations involved in the talks.

3. It is also widely acknowledged that the state banned our organisations to pave way for the October municipal elections. The success of the elections is crucial for the state's attempts to reinstall puppet structures in the townships and gain credibility for their constitutional dispensation. By holding white, coloured, Indian and African elections on one day, the state hopes to convince the world about "separate but equal" participation in the affairs of the country.

4. The state of emergency is costly in terms the regime's international image and financial resources. For these reasons the state is forced to consider lifting the state of emergency but can only do so, if opposition has been completely wiped out.

5. The imperialists are putting a lot of pressure on the regime to negotiate even with the progressive movement. The state is not prepared to negotiate with a united, strong and coherent democratic movement. Before it will entertain entering into serious negotiations, the government is determined to wipe out the democratic movement inside and outside the country. The war in Angola, support for Renamo, destabilisation of Zimbabwe and attempts to force the frontline state to stop their support for the ANC, should be seen within this context.

6. The state has banned our organisations also because they want to pacify the white right wing. If we look at the timing of the attacks on us, we can conclude that they were attempting to influence the election results in the Standerton and Schweitzer-Reineke by -elections.

The Way Forward

There is a short and long term response to the situation. In the short term, we need to show our anger and disgust at the ban-

nings. We need to respond in ways which are appropriate to the local conditions and circumstances in our areas and sectors. Where the mood of the masses dictates a particular response, we must not hesitate to call for an appropriate action. Interim structures may be needed for immediate requirements.

In the long term the tasks of the democratic movement remain the same. We must look into how different areas, organisations and sectors can most effectively take the struggle forward at this point.

1. Rebuilding of mass structures remains the priority. This can often be most successfully achieved by taking up local issues rather than depending on national initiative. Thus we need to continue to concentrate on building local structures and leadership.

Our struggle has always moved forward when we have taken up campaigns. That tradition must continue.

We need to direct resources and personpower to those organisations and areas that have been hard hit by repression.

Continous repression has had a debilitating effect on a number of activists. However we should draw inspiration from the fact that the masses have not shifted their support from the progressive movement.

2. We must continue to build the broadest possible unity against apartheid. This involves working in alliances with groups which are anti-apartheid but do not necessarily accept the Freedom Charter.

In the townships and villages this means that we should extend and deepen our co-operation with the churches, traders associations, taxi-drivers, burial societies and other grassroots structures. We need to fuse very easily within these structures - we must become part of them. In times of heavy repression, like now, these structures might offer alternative routes for progressive work.

In the white areas we should not hesitate to engage with some elements within big business as well as groups operating in parliament like NDM. These groups and individuals might not agree with everything we stand for but in so far as they realise that the government can't solve the crisis in this country, they can be mobilised into anti-apartheid fronts.

3. In times of crisis our usual way of working is put to severe test. We need to adapt to the conditions and still ensure that democratic practices are adhered to.



FOUR FIGHTING YEARS



The UDF celebrated its 4th anniversary on 20 August 1987. It was a tribute to the people's fearless determined resistance that the UDF has not only survived the most severe state repression but had

mass movement. They would have to gag a whole nation to crush the UDF today. The launch of the UDF on August 20 1983 marked a dramatic leap in the national liberation struggle. It brought 500 grassroots

organisations together in a broad front against apartheid. When the UDF was launched its aims were:
* To campaign for the massive rejection of the tricameral parliament
* To build an

DON'T VOTE FOR PUPPET COUNCILS

amongst the oppressed.
* To set up organisations where non existed and build existing organisations into more powerful weapons in the struggle. These goals have been carried out with a measure of success few have envisaged a few years ago.

DEFEATING THE NEW DEAL

In its first year of its existence the UDF and its affiliates campaigned tirelessly against the black local authorities and tricameral elections. The result - 90% of eligible voters boycotted the black local authorities elections. The following year 84% of Indian and Coloured voters boycotted the Tricameral elections.

THE COLLAPSE OF PUPPET BODIES

The seeds of the downfall of the black local authorities system were sown when the government gave these puppet bodies the power to increase rents and service charges. These hirelings of the government did nothing to improve the living conditions, despite their election promises.

The uprising in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 signalled the beginning of the end of the black local authorities throughout the country. By the end of 1985 few town councils remained intact.

FIGHTING BANTUSTAN

UDF has become involved in the struggles of the rural people in the Bantustans. In fact, the most phenomenal development of the UDF has been in the rural areas. Progressive youth congresses or village councils under the UDF have been set up in many of the villages. One of the UDF's key calls has been for the dismantling of undemocratic tribal

The formation of the UDF spurred the development of organisations in a way that had never been seen before.

Numerous adhoc committees established to fight the new deal grew and transformed themselves into civic and other structures. National contact enabled organisations to share experiences and resources and to lay the basis for national campaigns.

The UDF's Million Signature campaign in 1984 spread the message of the UDF far and wide and helped encourage those who wanted to fight against apartheid, to unite and form organisations. Today the UDF has grown to 700 affiliates ranging



The people at the People's Weekend rally in the Transvaal said NO to the Koornhof Bills

structures and the setting up of democratic village councils.

BUILDING ORGANISATION

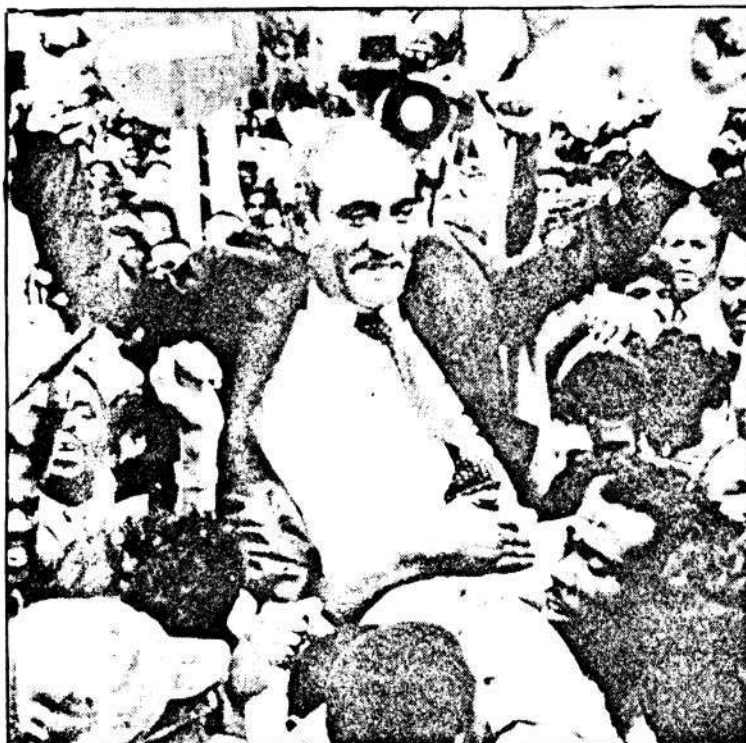
from civic organisations and youth organisations to womens organisations.

FROM UNGOVERNABILITY TO PEOPLE'S POWER

In many areas, apartheid
functionaries like
bantustan chiefs and
town councillors have
resigned. In their
place civic, youth
and student Congresses
have formed organs of
people's power to take
control of local
administration.
In the rural areas
tribal authorities are
being replaced by
democratically elected
village councils
while the collapse of
the black local
authorities has been
accompanied by new
forms of mass
organisation such as
street and area
committees.
These structures have
involved entire
communities in
collective decision
making and in this
way unity has been
built as never
before. Stayaways
could be called
overnight at one point
as a result of strong
street, area and block
committees. It is
through these
structures that people
have been able to
defend themselves and
their organisations
against vigilante
attacks.

International solidarity

Apartheid repression
and the states
intransigence
mobilised
unprecedented
international support
against apartheid. The
British Consulate
sit-in by six Natal
UDF leaders seeking
refuge from detention
made a contribution



Billy Nair after the British Consulate sit-in which focussed attention on detention without trial. The government's new strategy now is detention with trial - through treason charges



Albertina Sisulu, the UDF's Transvaal president, and Aman Kwadi, the UDF's Transvaal women's organiser, protest against the SA raids and Britain's weak response outside the British Consulate in Johannesburg.

to the international
campaign to isolate
the apartheid regime,
making it more
difficult for Margaret
Thatcher and other

friends of the
government to openly
assist the SA regime .

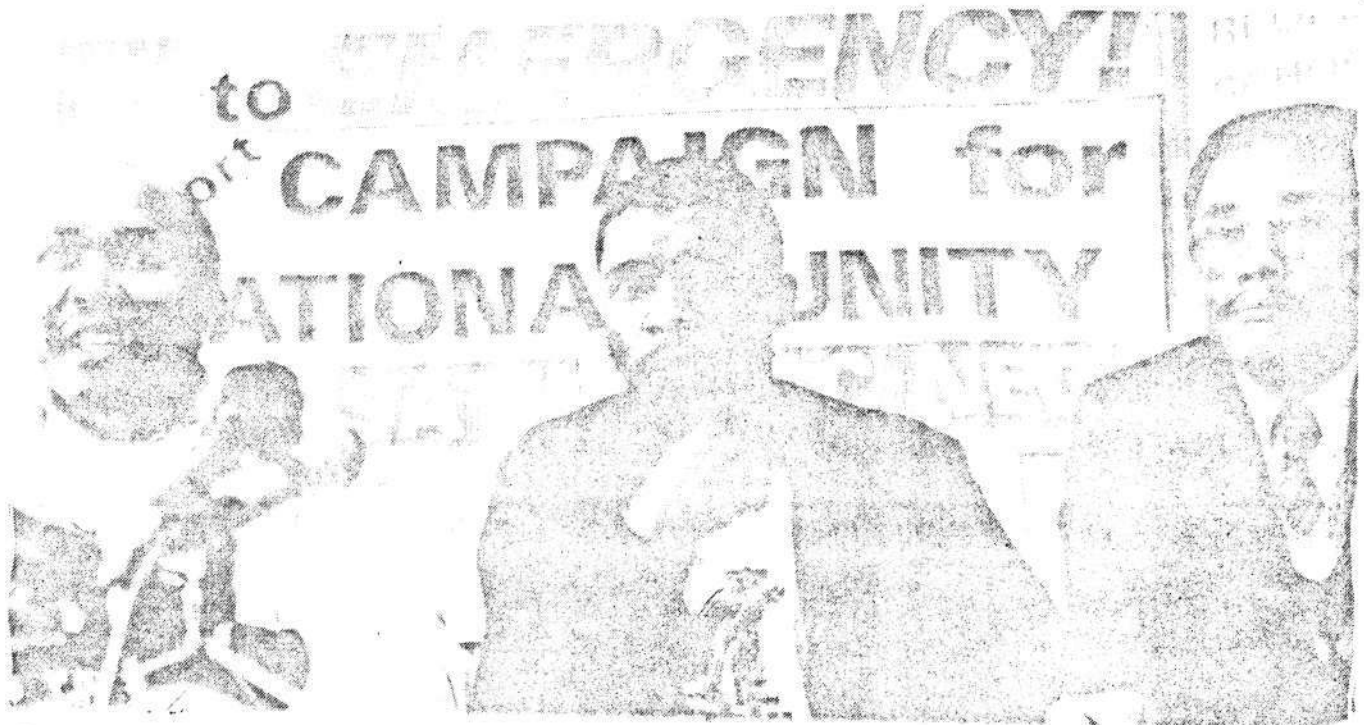
BUILDING UNITY

The launch of the UDF made possible large scale nationally co-ordinated opposition to apartheid. The UDF succeed in initiating national days of actions and spearheaded national campaigns.

Since then the growing militancy of the people combined with heightened organisation and unity has dramatically increased the scope

Unity in action between the UDF and the trade union movement has been a major feature over the past three years. The November 1984 Transvaal stayaway brought together student, community and worker demands. The formation of COSATU and the NECC greatly enhanced the possibilities for national co-ordinated political

affiliate. This resulted in the growing involvement of teachers and parents and the setting up of joint teacher/parent/student committees in many parts of the country. UDF civic and student affiliates were the driving forces behind the attempts to bring the different sectors together. This eventually led to the formation of the NECC.



The call for national united action against the apartheid regime and the State of Emergency must reach every corner of the land. Morobe (UDF), Mafumadi (Cosatu) and Molobi (NECC) launch the joint Campaign for National United Action

for national action. Creative strategies such as consumer boycotts spread nationally in mid 1985. 1986 saw highly successful national stayaways on May 1 and June 16 which were organised by Cosatu and UDF.

and economic action. 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, the UDF's largest

CALL TO WHITES

The highly successful UDF Call to Whites Campaign formed an important part in our movements attempt to show the white people that there is a future beyond the Nationalist Party and minority rule.

NATIONAL UDF ACTION FOR PEOPLES POWER



Launched in October 1986, the Campaign for National United Action, spearheaded by the UDF, COSATU, NECC and SACC, was geared to uniting all forces opposed to the regime and enabled anti-apartheid organisations to regroup. The basis of this campaign was unity in action around the demands of an end to the emergency; the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners; unbanning the ANC; reopening of the schools; an end to rent evictions; and a living wage for workers and the right to strike.

The first major activity of this campaign was the Christmas against the Emergency Campaign.

On January 8, 1987 amongst other things, advertisements were placed in major newspapers calling for the Unbanning of the ANC on the occasion of its 75th anniversary.

In March UDF marked National Detainees Day.

Following the largest ever work stayaway spearheaded by Cosatu and backed by the UDF on May Day, the call went out for mass resistance to the whites only elections on May 5 and 6. In the biggest stayaway of



The mass struggles of our people have won international backing for our demands.

its kind, workers, residents, church-goers, traders stayed at home for the Two Days of National Protest against the Whites Only Elections.

In June the Front called for two weeks of national action and protest from 12 June to 26 June. June 16, despite a massive deployment of troops, was celebrated as a paid public holiday by hundreds of thousands of workers.

The Front announced the start of its massive campaign to popularise the Charter.



GROWTH OF ORGANISATIONS

In September an organisation to raise funds for the Front, Friends of the UDF was launched as part of an ongoing attempt to broaden support.

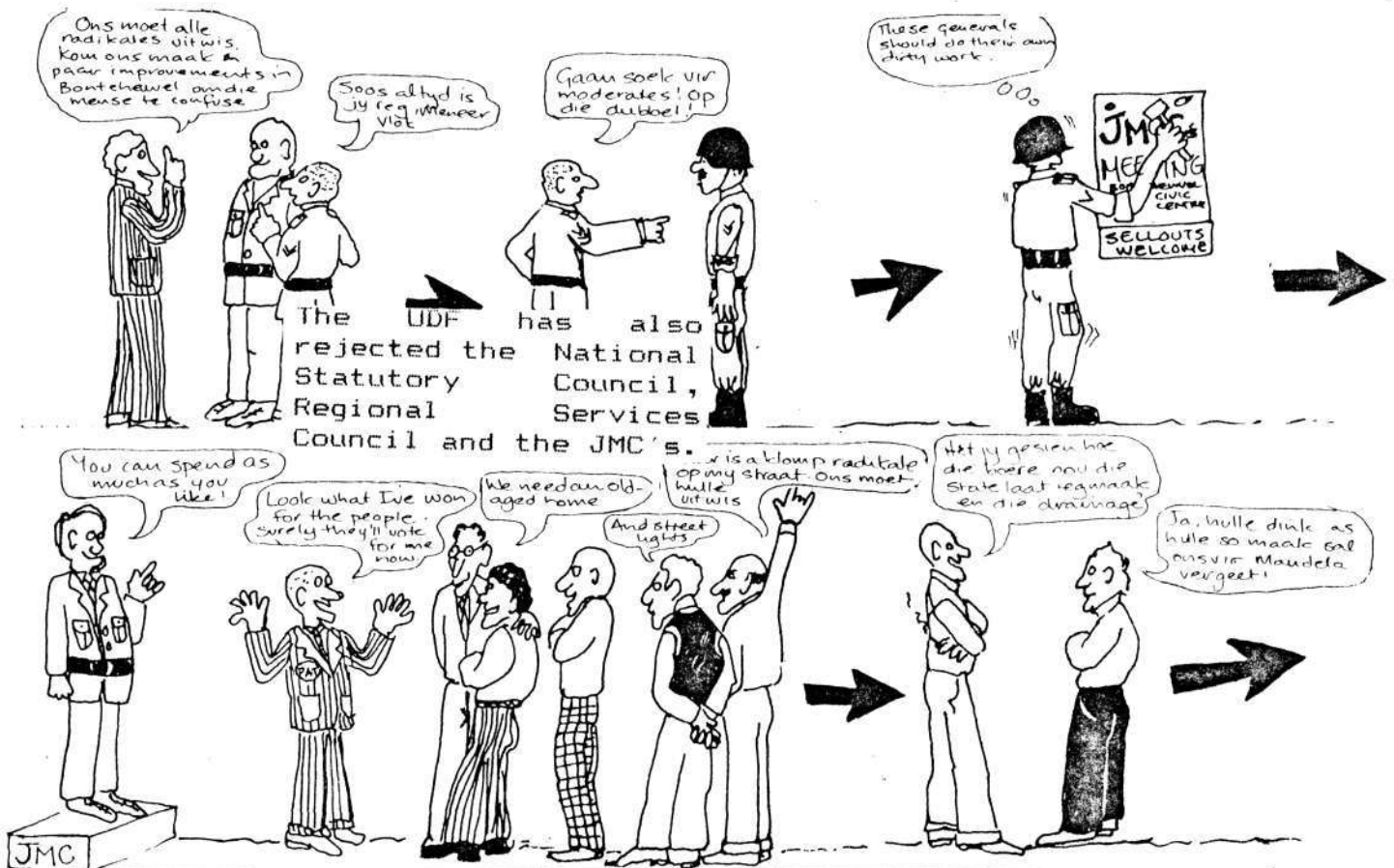
Also of much significance has been the launch of the giant SAYCO at the end

of March 1987 and the UDF's Womens Congress in April. Of much importance has been the growth of cultural organisations opposed to the regime, such as the South African Musicians Alliance and the Congress of South African Writers which have a close

relationship with the UDF.

The Tricameral Parliament was another focus of the Front. UDF affiliates in white, Indian and coloured areas campaigned against the undemocratic and racist nature of the parliament.

THE WEB OF CONSPIRACY

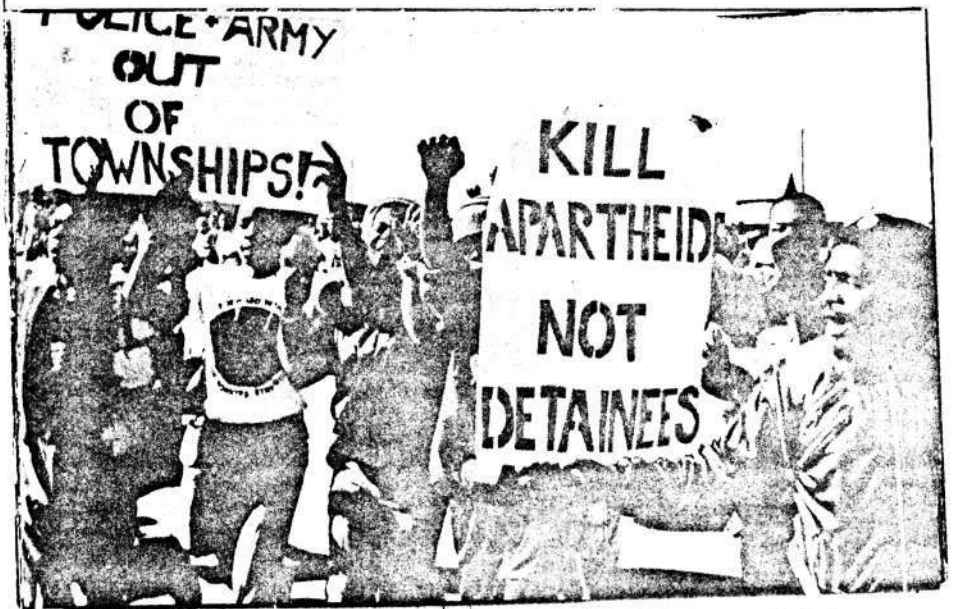


THE STATE RESPONDS

The Governments onslaught against the UDF has been thorough with clamps on mass forums, clamps on campaigns, censorship press curbs and fake pamphlets, detentions and trials. Today almost the entire executive of the UDF is in detention or on trial. Attacks from death squads and vigilantes have become the order of the day. The UDF was also declared an affected organisation last year. Subsequent court actions had this decision rescinded. However recent pronouncements on investigations into the funding of organisations have been made. Before the banning the UDF planned to work on campaigns around Mbeki's restrictions, the Municipal elections. Save the Patriots Campaign the 40th anniversary of Nationalist Party Hyrule.



Delmas treason trialists- 'crimes' against an unjust government, in the interests of the people.



BUT THE FIRES RAGE ON



LET
THE PEOPLE
SPEAK



**PETER MAKABA PRESIDENT OF
SAYCO CALLS ON THE YOUTH**

ROAR LIONS ROAR!

A giant was born in secret in March 87, when 115 delegates from 9 regions met to form the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). SAYCO unites all militant youth Congresses in a single organisation.

SAYCO's membership is estimated at 500 000 making it the largest affiliate of the UDF.

Born under the slogan **FREEDOM OR DEATH; VICTORY IS CERTAIN**, SAYCO struck a militant note from the beginning.

It called for the troops out of the townships, the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC. It declared war on vigilantes and called on youth to form defence units to "defend our people, our leadership and our activities." SAYCO's aims are:

- * 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 has also pledged to work closely with the UDF, COSATU and the NECC. SAYCO has recently pledged itself to the **SAVE THE PATRIOTS** campaign.



Campaign to save the lives of 31 people on death row: l-r: Hazy Siboyana (NUM); Eric Molobi (NECC); Sirron Ntombela (SAYCO); Dankie Sekonya (NUM).

SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS

SOYCO was launched on the 31st July 1983 after a resolution was passed at the COSAS National Congress in 1982, that a broad democratic youth organisation should be established throughout the country.

The launch was preceded by intensive consultation, discussions, seminars and mass meetings which culminated in the formation of a Soweto youth steering committee.

The launch came at a time when the racist minority regime was searching for collaborators among the oppressed community who would be used to implement its racist unpopular reform programme. The Black Local Authorities and the Tricameral Parliament. Soyco was therefore, compelled to engage

in a programme with other mass based democratic organisations in a campaign to oppose the tricameral system and the BLA's, and at the same time educate the people. This campaign strengthened not only Soyco but all progressive organisations.

Soyco was launched with the following aims and objectives:

1. To organise and unite the youth of Soweto irrespective of sex or religion into a cohesive, representative and effective vehicle.
2. To take up special problems affecting the youth.
3. To promote social and cultural activities among the youth.
4. To mobilise and conscientise the youth for involvement in the struggles of

their communities.

To mould the social and political outlook of the youth in accordance with National Democratic Principles.

Soyco during its operations met trying challenges from the Botha-Malan regime. The youth congress was highly infiltrated by agents of the system.

Comrades got detained, were attacked in the night and others became victims of brutal harassment of the fascist South African government and thus were forced to leave the country.

It is an undisputed fact that today Soyco an affiliate of SAYCO is the largest youth congress in the



SOYCO CONT.

country with more than 1 800 members, and demands a lot of support from the community of Soweto.

Today Soyco can proudly lift its banner high because it has won its major objectives of moulding the social and political outlook of the youth and encouraging their involvement in community struggles in accordance with non-racial democratic principles.

LATEST DETENTIONS

Soyco has seen mass detention of its leadership and members now of late. There are hundreds of them locked in the Apartheid prisons while others are being constantly raided at their work and homes, their families are continuously harassed

and furniture destroyed. SOYCO is firmly aligned to the UDF and endorses the Freedom Charter. Soyco worked closely with sister organisations - the Soweto Student Congress and Soweto Civic Association.

Soyco was prominent in most major political campaigns in Soweto and played a role in founding SAYCO.

Cayco was lauched in 1983, and is one of the oldest affiliates of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). It is a unitary structure consisting of 38 branches in Cape Town:

It is one of the strongest affiliates of the UDF in the Western Cape.

Cayco has conducted campaigns around unemployment, a living wage, unbanning the ANC and the Save the Patriots campaign. Joint action between the youth and students on the secondary and tertiary level has strengthened their unity and has allowed CAYCO to grow.

Many Cadres of CAYCO have born the brunt and were victims of the "Witdoek War" in Crossroads. Many members of CAYCO have lost their lives in this conflict.

CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS



Many comrades have died in the conflict with Witdoeke

SANSCO

Formed in 1979 as the Azanian Student Organisation (AZASO) with a black consciousness orientation, Sanco is a national students organisation, organising students at a tertiary level of education. At the time of its formation the black conscious tradition was still a fairly strong one. However, within the organisations this position was debated against the position of the Freedom Charter and non racialism. During the debates it was eventually realised that while the BC movement played an important role in psychologically liberating black people, it was not and could never be a strategy which could be used for political and economic liberation. This finally led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter and acceptance of the strategy of National Democratic Struggle at the 1981 Congress. Thereafter the only reminder of the organisations BC

origins was its name (AZASO) and this was finally buried at the 1986 Congress when the

name was changed to South African Students Congress (SANSCO).

Since its formation the organisation has grown in leaps and bounds. Although it has been dealt some serious blows by the state of emergency, at its last Congress in December 1987 it was able to count 67 branches which includes branches in universities, colleges and technicons. SANSCO has over the past years emerged as the dominant organisation at a tertiary level. Its affiliation to the UDF is a result of its commitment to maintaining links with the community and towards ensuring that students are organised to play an active role in furthering the liberation struggle. SANSCO has also, since 1983, been involved in the Education Charter Campaign in an effort to develop



EDUCATION
TOWARDS
DEMOCRACY

alternative to the present educational system which it rejects. The organisation has argued that a mere rejection of apartheid education is insufficient - it is important to develop an alternative which must emanate from the people and which is found in the expression of "people's education"

Youth are
the
spinal cord
of the
Nation



**SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES -
FLASHPOINTS FOR
LIBERATION**

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

After the formation of the the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee in October 1985, a national meeting of parents, teachers and pupils was convened to evaluate the school boycotts. The 312 delegates and 300 observers all agreed that parents and teachers should play a greater role in educational struggles of children. The

meeting presented a list of demands to the government and educational authorities, and a larger gathering followed in 1986, in Durban. Here the NECC was officially constituted, and made a historic call for boycotting pupils to return to school. The NECC tried repeatedly to negotiate with the educational

authorities and set up commissions to investigate "people's education". The NECC became a living symbol and an organisational embodiment of the deep commitment on the part of the people, to find a lasting solution to the problems which have for decades propelled school-going generations out of the classrooms.



he task now to implement People's Education; to involve teachers students; academics and others in producing materials that can be used in any classroom.

NECC CONT.

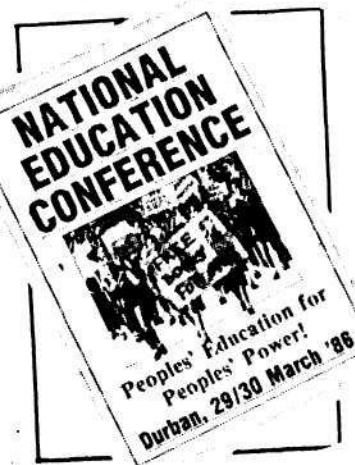
In the December 1986 crackdowns almost the entire NECC executive was detained, and a consultative conference at WITS to discuss the year ahead had to be abandoned.

After the March Conference the NECC declared a new aim: pupils should stay at school implement new, dynamic and relevant people's education. To turn this into a reality NECC established History and English subject commissions to be followed in 1987 by a maths commission. They were to take up the initiative to draw up new syllabi and textbooks for our schools.

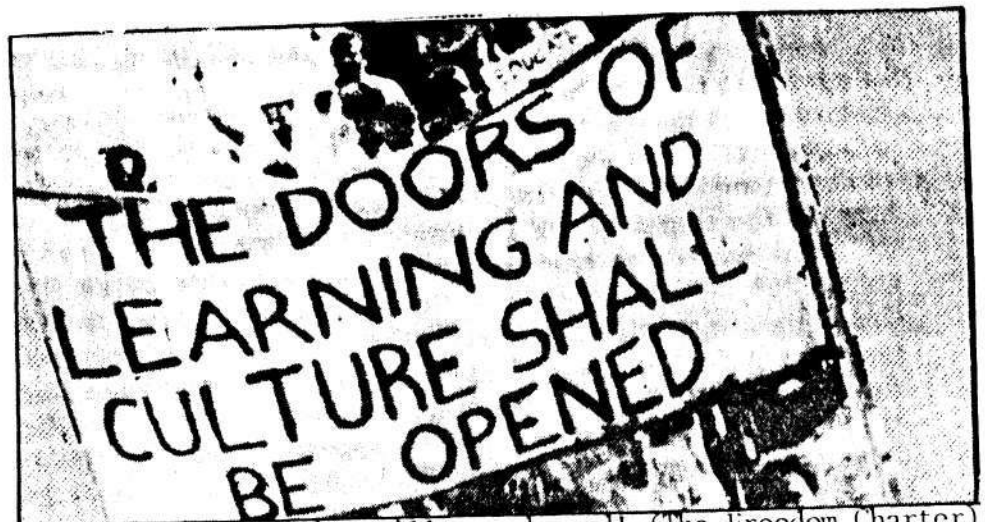
The NECC conference also declared that the education struggles could not be separated from the broad democratic struggles. The May Day and the June 16 stayaways showed the power of the student-worker alliance. The NECC joined with the UDF, Cosatu and the SACC to launch the National United Action Campaign. From the day of its inception, NECC members, have known no peace. They were hounded by the security police. The final blow came when all the executive members were detained and people's education declared illegal under the emergency regulations. In effect the NECC was banned last year already.



Another South African student - died for freedom ...



On the march against apartheid education



... is still our demand! (The Freedom Charter)

EDUCATING FOR DEMOCRACY



Neusa was formed in Johannesburg in 1980. Since then Neusa branches mushroomed in various parts of the country. The development of Neusa was hampered by two state of emergencies.

REASONS FOR FORMATION OF NEUSA.

The upheavals in the schools in 1976 and 1980 focused a great deal of attention on the education system in South Africa. Students expressed their dissatisfaction with the system, clearly identifying it as a means of maintaining and perpetuating the inequality of South African society. Parent bodies, both then and in the crisis of the present time, have supported students in their demands and have expressed a similar understanding of the system. However, the recognised teacher organisations in 1976, 1980 and at present have generally aloof from the issues which so vitally affect students and parents.

It was felt that teachers and educationists needed to organise together on a non-racial basis and work towards meaningful change in the education system and in society as a whole.

Neusa was formed not only to cross the racial barriers imposed by apartheid on the education system, but also to focus on the way education ensures

stricken, while whites are entrenched in positions of privilege, wealth and power.

Neusa is an affiliate of the UDF, it participates in UDF regional committees. UDF is particularly important in bringing Neusa together with progressive parent, student and community organisations, and building the student-parent-teacher alliance on which a progressive teacher organisation like Neusa depends.

Neusa feels that teacher unity is desirable but that such unity will only contribute to meaningful change if it is part and parcel of a broad-based movement for thorough change to the basis of South African society.



WE REJECT BANTU SLAVE EDUCATION

CIVICS ON THE MOVE

SCA

The SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION was formed in September 1979 as a successor to the Soweto Committee of Ten. By 1980 SCA had 33 branches in all parts of Soweto and spearheaded a campaign against proposed rent hikes.

After the 1984 AGM the SCA took one progressive step further and affiliated to the UDF.

It led a boycott of township council elections in 1983 and in June 1986 joined the countrywide rent boycott. A number of SCA officials got detained including, President Isaac Mogase, Publicity secretary Amos Masondo and Organiser Vusi Khanyile.

All of them have been in prison for over 18 months.

The SCA has said that there is only one way to achieve justice and peace in this country. For many years the people of this country had been ignored as they are ignored today.

The SCA also made it clear that it is not prepared to negotiate the "reform" of apartheid. South Africa has got a painful history of 300 years of white minority rule and domination over the black masses.

The SCA had been fighting side by side

with all the organisations under the banner of the democratic movement.

The SCA endorsed the slogan "Advance to People's Power" and participated fully in building organs of People's Power in the township.

The Soweto Civic Association fought bitterly against the government's rent increases and evictions of the people in the township.

WCCA

Western Cape Civic Association

WCCA is an organisation operating in areas like Guguletu, Langa, old KTC, Nyanga, new Crossroads and as far afield as Mbekweni in Paarl and Zwelethemba in Worcester.

One of its main campaigns was during 1984 and 1985 when it united thousands of township residents who refused to move to Kkayelitsha.



CRADORA

Craddock Residents Association (CRADORA) Cradora was formed on October 4 1983 to deal with high rents imposed on residents in the new section of Lingelihle and other civic matters.

Under Cradora, Craddock became one of the most tightly organised and unified community in the Eastern Cape. Through unified mass action, Cradora became a force to be reckoned with, that even the authorities were forced to negotiate with it.

Some of the campaigns undertaken by Cradora were:

- * a seven day Consumer Boycott of White shops in August 1984 to protest against the detention of Mathews Goniwe, Fort Calata and Mbulelo Goniwe.

- *the en-bloc resignation of the Lingelihle Village Council in January 1985. This was the first black local authority in the E Cape to resign. After their resignation the Councillors were welcomed back into the community.

- * The boycott of a privately owned beerhall led to its closure four months after its opening. Cradora condemned beerhalls and bottlestores as destructive amenities which bred crime. These actions took place against the 15 month school boycott, which probably was the longest in South Africa's history. The

initial demands of the students were that democratic SRC's be recognised, that sufficient textbooks and qualified teachers be provided, and that Mathew Goniwe, be reinstated at school. Goniwe was also the founding chairperson of Cradoya (Craddock Youth Association.) From the 2nd february 1985 almost all of the 7000 students from the seven schools in the area were on boycott.

officials were pressured to deny Cradora access to church halls for meetings and the association was not permitted to use the community hall. In July 1985, Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were found murdered, leaving Cradora without some its most seasoned leaders. But the protracted boycott and campaigns had

MURDERED



Matthew Goniwe: Former political prisoner. President and founding member of Craddock Residents Organisation (Cradora). Detained for eight months in 1984, but Cradora was strong enough to carry on with out him. He was UDF Eastern Cape organiser in 1985.

Fort Calata: Cradora executive member.



Sparrow Mkhonto: Cradora executive member and UDF activist.



Sicelo Mhlawuli: Teacher in Oudtshoorn.



From its inception, Cradora was harrassed by the state. Security police detained leaders for questioning and residents and youth were approached to act as informers. Church

thrown up many other people who were able to fill the vacuum, and continued th struggle against apartheid.

THE DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE

On the 21st of September 1981, about 60 people were detained under section 6 of the terrorism act. The families of these detainees which comprised of all different race groups, came together and decided to form DPSC to protest against the whole closed system of detention. Families couldn't get access to their detained people, only police had access to those people.

The families thought then that an organisation like DPSC was needed to cater for detainees. The DPSC also decided that its other main functions would be:

1. To oppose the whole system of apartheid.
2. To document repression and produce a monthly report on detainees, trials and keep a list of people in detention.
3. To highlight the ruthlessness of detention system locally and internationally.
4. To see to the needs of detainees, eg. food parcels, conditions etc.

Since its formation DPSC had focused on detentions. In 1983 it became quite clear that detention was not the only form of repression that the people suffered.

In 1934 - 1984 the DPSC in its survey found that the state found other methods of crushing progressive organisations and harassing and attacking comrades. They sabotaged cars

telephones, killed people and their pets, harassed families of activists and created vigilantes to instil fear in the people. DPSC then tried to expose this new wave of repression to the people.

During this period DPSC saw again the mass detention of children under the age of 18yrs, these children were maltreated and kept in so called "rehabilitation camps". DPSC played a major role in fighting for the rights of these children.

From the inception of its formation, the DPSC was subjected to a smear campaign by Le Grange and later Vlok. They did this in trying to hide the brutality of their repressive system from the eyes of the whole world. Eventually DPSC together with the other 16 organisations were banned on the 22nd Feb. 1988.



FREE THE CHILDREN

The spirit of UDF lives on: Son and wife of assassinated leader, Mathew Goniwe.



RELEASE

Nelson Mandela



The Release Mandela Committee was formed in Natal in 1983. The RMC campaigns for the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations and negotiations with legitimate leaders.

It recently launched a campaign for the release of life prisoner Harry Gwala, reportedly seriously ill and has also been involved in the campaign to save the Sharpville Six.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN

1. To challenge the legitimacy of the apartheid regime in a manner which the people will clearly understand and support.

2. To posit the people's alternatives - the Freedom Charter; our leaders; not other political or bantustan stooges.

3. The campaign for the release of Mandela i.e. inextricably linked to the release of other political prisoners.

4. Comrade Mandela

was imprisoned as an ANC leader. He has never renounced his commitment as a member of that organisation.

on the state's terms but on the people's.

5. As already outlined, people's support for Mandela is overwhelming.



**GOVAN
MBEKI**

The RMC has constantly called for the unbanning of the ANC, and all other banned people's organisations.



**WALTER
SISULU**

The Mandela campaign presents possibilities for deepening the unity of the oppressed and between all democratic organisations.

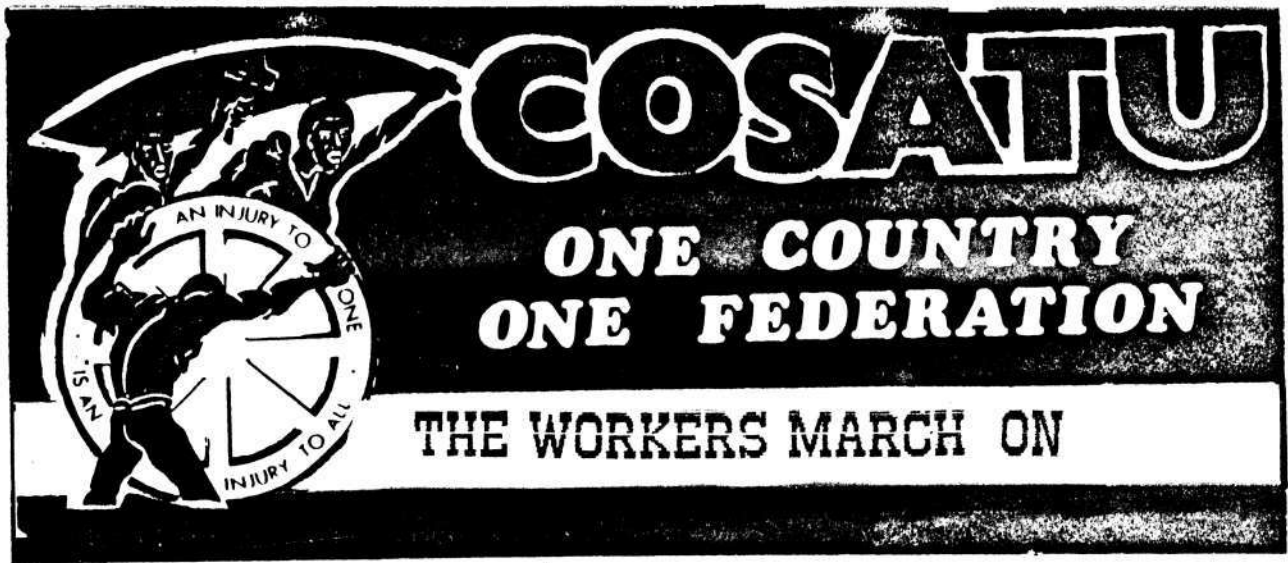
**AHMED
KATHRADA**



The release of Mandela must be combined with the intensification of the demand for the unbanning of the people's organisations - not



**ANDREW
MLANGENI**



COSATU

**ONE COUNTRY
ONE FEDERATION**

THE WORKERS MARCH ON

COSATU

The Congress of South African Trade Unions was formed in Durban 1985 during the first state of emergency. With a membership close to a million Cosatu is the largest ever trade union federation in South Africa. It also represents unions in almost all major economic sectors. Cosatu's biggest affiliate is the National Union of Mineworkers with a membership of 360 000.

ONE COUNTRY ONE FEDERATION

The idea of Cosatu's One Country One Federation has increased its mobilisation, organisational and fighting capacity.

CAMPAIGNS

Through its campaigns around May Day, the Fight for a Living Wage, the Num strike etc Cosatu has demonstrated the formidable power of the workers.

REPRESSION

However in the process Cosatu had to face detentions of its members, its offices were bombed, and members experienced a total onslaught from vigilante violence.

was demonstrated in the UDF/Cosatu campaigns for National United Action. The power of this unity was clearly echoed in the May 5/6 stayaways.

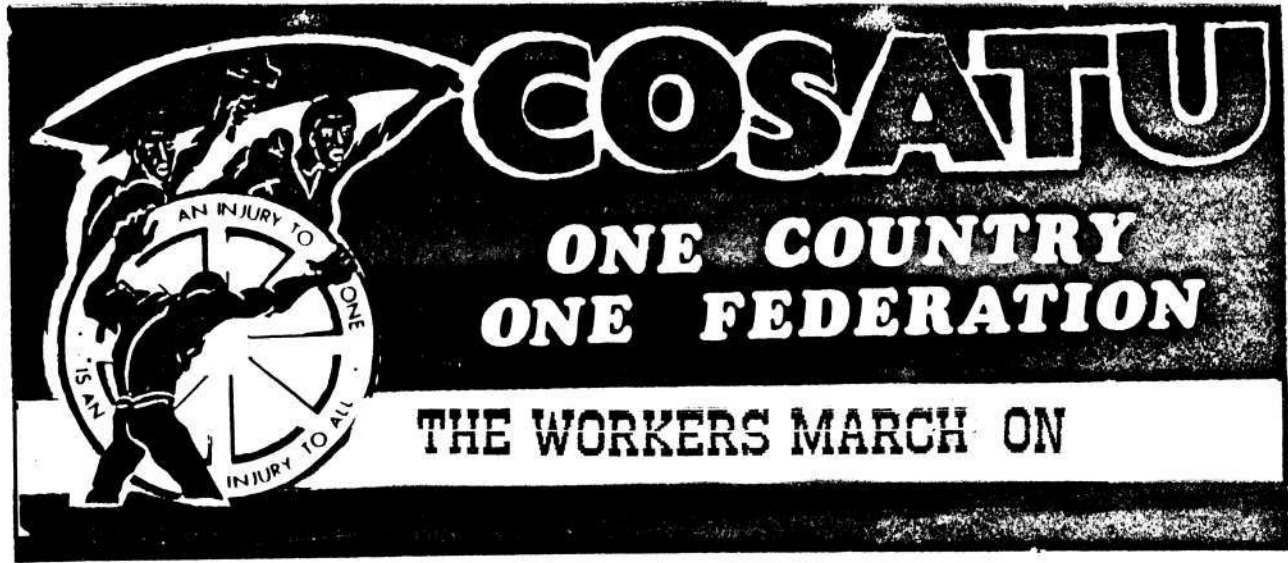


COSATU launch in the Western Cape early last year.

NATIONAL UNITY

Of great significance was the enormous political weight Cosatu carried which

The formation of Cosatu and the states reaction to it makes it clear that Cosatu faces a very serious challenge.



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BANNED!

ALBERTINA SISULU

MA SISULU

Albertina Sisulu 68, a UDF co-president, comes from a family which has been in the forefront of resistance. She has also been on the receiving end of repression and harassment for half a century.

She was an active participant in the Defiance Campaign against unjust laws and the introduction of passes for women in the 1950's.

In 1963 she became the first woman to be detained under the Sabotage Act's 90 days detention clause. From 1964 to 1981 she was restricted, detained and placed under house arrest. She was banned from 1982 to 1983.

In February 1984 Ma Sisulu was found guilty of furthering the aims of the ANC and sentenced to four years imprisonment.

Last year the sentence and conviction were set aside by the Bloemfontein Appeal Court. Wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu and mother of Zwelakhe Sisulu; detained editor of the New Nation, Ma Sisulu was the only woman among 16 UDF leaders in the 1984/5 Pietermaritzburg treason trial, which collapsed due to lack of evidence.

Ma Sisulu has two other children, one on Robben Island and one in exile.

ARCHIE GUMEDE

Archiebald Gumede

Archie Gumede, 74 years old is yet another UDF co-president. Gumede was assistant secretary of the ANC's Natal region from 1951 to 1960.

After attending the Congress of the people in Kliptown Gumede was arrested and charged in the 1956 trial, but was freed after the preparatory examination. He was also an accused in the 1984/5 Pietermaritzburg treason trial.

This is not Gumede's first banning order and he was detained several times in the past. He was also one of the UDF leaders who "sat in" at the British Consulate to protest against detentions without trial.

CHRISTMAS TINTO

Christmas Tinto

Christmas Fihla Tinto—more popularly known as Com 1 is vice president of the UDF (Western Cape)

Sentenced to two long spells in prison, and twice after some time on Robben Island—he got off on appeal.

Com 1 grew up in the Transkei and then worked as a contract labourer on the mines. After being involved in a strike he was blacklisted. He then moved to Cape town where he soon became involved in union organising. He went on to organise hospital and railway workers. Com 1 was detained for a long spell under the emergency regulations and was released with his banning orders.

RAM SALOOJEE

Dr Rashid Ram saloojee

Was chairperson of the management Committee in the 70's. He soon became disillusioned with participation politics and resigned.

He was elected vice president of the Anti SAIC Committee in 1981 and soon after became vice president of the Transvaal Indian Congress. He was elected vice president of the UDF in 1983. He was first detained in 1984 on the eve of the House

of Delegates elections and held for four months. Saloojee was detained and banned twice during the first and second emergencies. He has a medical practice and serves on various religious organisations.

JABU NGWENYA

Jabu Ngwenya

Treasurer of the Release Mandela Committee.

He was Transvaal co-ordinator of the consumer boycott of white businesses in 1985.

Jabu also helped form COSAS. He has been an active member of the Transvaal UDF since 1983. He was detained several times.

WILLIE HOFMEYER

Willie Hofmeyer

Hofmeyer, 33 is an executive member of the Western Cape UDF. He was banned for five years in 1976 while active in the National Union of South African Students Wages Commission at the university of Cape Town.

He was detained under the emergency regulations for two weeks soon after he was elected to the regional executive of the UDF last May.

SIMON GQUBULE

Simon Gqubule

Gqubule, 60, -former president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa- is the principal of John Wesley College of the Federal Theological Seminary.

He trained as a teacher before joining the ministry. It would appear that Gqubule has never been detained or banned. His banning came as a shock to his colleagues. He also the Vice chairperson of the UDF Midlands sub region. Gqubule played an important role in the Maritburg peace talks.

JOE MARKS

Joe marks

Marks 52, vice president of the UDF in Western Cape, is a fish and vegetable hawker.

One of his seven children have also been banned.

He joined the Coloured People's Congress in 1957 and subsequently became involved in community organisations, serving as a vice-chairperson of the Cape Areas Housing Action committee (CAHAC) in 1980-81.

JOEY MARKS

Joseph Marks

Joey 25, is secretary of the UDF in the Western cape. A second year social work student Marks was an active member of the since banned COSAS. He was also a member of the committee of 81 which co-ordinated the school boycotts of 1980. He is an active member of the Cape Youth Congress.

AS CHETTY

AS CHETTY

Chetty 58, is the chairman of the UDF's Natal Midlands branch, a vice president of the Natal Indian Congress and secretary of the Indian Child Welfare Society. He was detained for 98 days in 1960 and was banned and placed under house arrest from 1973 to 1978.

In 1980 he spent three months in Moderbee prison where he had a heart attack. He was placed under house arrest again from 1980 to 1983. In 1983 he spent three months in emergency detention.

AZAR CACHALIA

Azar Cachalia started his political involvement in student politics. In 1977 he was an executive member of the Benoni Students Movement. He was also involved in the Rent Action Committee in Actonville. Cachalia was a member of the Anti SAIC committee and Vice President of Black Student Society in 1981. That same year he was banned for 5 years under the Internal Security Act. When the banning was lifted he was elected an executive member of the TIC until he was elected to the Transvaal executive of the UDF in 1985. At the UDF's National General Council in Azaadville Azar was elected to the office of National Treasurer. Cachalia was first detained in 1981 for three weeks around the Anti-Republic campaign. In June 1986 he was detained for six weeks. On the 3 December he was restricted from participating in campaigns of the Front: Unban the ANC, Release of Political Prisoners, United Action campaigns. On the 26 February he was served with his restriction order.

ROSEBERRY SONTO

Roseberry Sonto, 35, Cape youth Congress leader was detained under the emergency regulations in March 1987 and was released and banned in February 1988. In 1983 and 1984 he worked as a literacy organiser for the Adult Learning Project. He helped found the Cape Youth Congress in 1983 and was elected its first president. He was detained twice in 85 and once in 86. At the time of his detention he was working as an organiser for Township News a community newspaper.

ZOLA MALINDI

Zoli Malindi, 64 former Western Cape UDF president was detained under the emergency regulations for 13 months. He was involved with the revival of community organisation in the Western Cape in the late 70's and played a central role in the formation of the UDF. In March 85 he was elected UDF Western Cape president and served on the national executive. His wife lost her baby while she and her husband were in detention in 1960. Zola was a member of the Communist party of South Africa. In the early 60's he was detained and listed. He was also detained under section 29 in 1985.

MA ZIHLANGU

Ma Zihlangu

Dorothy Zihlangu, 68, president of the Federation of South African Women in the Western Cape, was detained under the emergency regulations since October 1987. Mama Zihlangu has been involved in the anti-apartheid struggle for the past 40 years and was active in Fedsaw and the ANC in the fifties. For the past seven years she played a prominent role in the building of womens organisations in the Western Cape and was one of the leaders of the United Womens Congress. She has also been active in the UDF.

MBULELO GROOTBOOM

Mbulelo Grootboom 28,
Worked on the community newspaper
Saamstaan.

He was served with his banning orders on his release from emergency detention on 22 February. He was held since September. An executive member of the Bhongolethu youth organisations, Grootboom spent a year in detention after the state of emergency was declared in 1986.

DEREK JACKSON

Derek Jackson, 28, the newspapers organiser, served on the UDF local executive from 1984 to 1986. He was detained in 1985 and 1986. Jackson, is the former UDF secretary in the Southern Cape and ex secretary of the Oudshoorn Resource Advice Centre.

REGGIE OLIEFANT

Reggie Oliefant, 38, headed the Saamstaan project in 1986. Reggie is a regional president of the UDF. He taught for 13 years and quit soon after being released from detention in 1981.

A Z A P O

Azanian People's Organisation was formed in 1977, six months after the government's clampdown. To "fill the leadership gap" in extra-parliamentary resistance. Azapo is also the constituent of National Forum.

In 1982, Azapo engaged in one of its best known campaigns: The boycott of an international soccer tour.

Azapo took part in the drafting of Azanian Manifesto in 1983. It carried on with its black consciousness ideology until it was banned.

A Z A Y O

Azanian Youth Organisation was "relaunched" in 1987 as an umbrella structure for youth aligned to the National Forum and Azanian People's Organisation. The strength of the organisation was never reliably estimated. Azayo was aligned to the student wing of Azapo, Azasm.

Azayo subscribed to the Azanian People's Manifesto of 1983.