

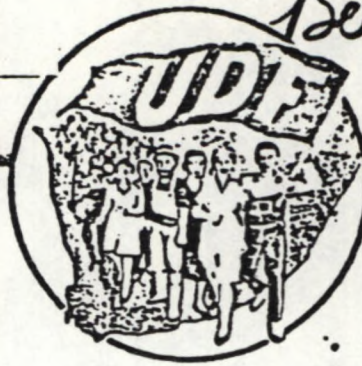
AK 2117/J2.3

C41



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITESI APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOLOFANE  
42 DE VILLIERS  
JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 10366  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

12 February 1985

ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

Dear Comrades

Please find enclosed the following:

1. Nelson Mandela's statement
2. Minutes of the National Treasury meeting
3. Letter on Treason Trialists
4. Letter on International Youth Year

Please translate the statement referred in point, print more copies and circulate it broadly. In the case of the Eastern Cape, Border and Western Cape please translate into Xhosa and Afrikaans.

Thank you.

Yours in struggle

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY



MAND1  
850208

sp2

MR NELSON MANDELA'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT P W  
BOTHA'S OFFER MADE IN PARLIAMENT

ADDRESS GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE AT JABULANI AMPHITHEATRE BY  
ZINDZI MANDELA ON SUNDAY THE 10th FEBRUARY 1985

ON FRIDAY MY MOTHER AND OUR ATTORNEY SAW MY FATHER AT POLLSMOOR PRISON TO OBTAIN HIS ANSWER TO BOTHA'S OFFER OF CONDITIONAL RELEASE.

THE PRISON AUTHORITIES ATTEMPTED TO STOP THIS STATEMENT BEING MADE BUT HE WOULD HAVE NONE OF THIS AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD MAKE THE STATEMENT TO YOU, THE PEOPLE.

STRANGERS LIKE BETHELL FROM ENGLAND AND PROFESSOR DASH FROM THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN RECENT WEEKS BEEN AUTHORISED BY PRETORIA TO SEE MY FATHER WITHOUT RESTRICTION YET PRETORIA CANNOT ALLOW YOU, THE PEOPLE, TO HEAR WHAT HE HAS TO SAY DIRECTLY. HE SHOULD BE HERE HIMSELF TO TELL YOU WHAT HE THINKS OF THIS STATEMENT BY BOTHA. HE IS NOT ALLOWED TO DO SO. MY MOTHER WHO ALSO HEARD HIS WORDS IS ALSO NOT ALLOWED TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON SEND THEIR GREETINGS TO YOU THE FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE OF THIS OUR TRAGIC LAND IN THE FULL CONFIDENCE THAT YOU WILL CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

HE, WITH HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON SEND THEIR VERY WARMEST GREETINGS TO BISHOP TUTU. BISHOP TUTU HAS MADE IT CLEAR TO THE WORLD THAT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE BELONGS TO YOU WHO ARE THE PEOPLE. WE SALUTE HIM.

X MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON ARE GRATEFUL TO THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT WHO WITHOUT HESITATION MADE THIS VENUE AVAILABLE TO THEM SO THAT THEY COULD SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

MY FATHER AND HIS COMRADES WISH TO MAKE THIS STATEMENT TO YOU, THE PEOPLE, FIRST. THEY ARE CLEAR THAT THEY ARE ACCOUNTABLE TO YOU AND TO YOU ALONE. AND THAT YOU SHOULD HEAR THEIR VIEWS



DIRECTLY AND NOT THROUGH OTHERS.

MY FATHER SPEAKS NOT ONLY FOR HIMSELF AND FOR HIS COMRADES AT POLLSMOOR PRISON BUT HE HOPES HE ALSO SPEAKS FOR ALL THOSE IN JAIL FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE BANISHED, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE IN EXILE, FOR ALL THOSE WHO SUFFER UNDER APARTHEID, FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID AND FOR ALL THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED.

THROUGHOUT OUR STRUGGLE THERE HAVE BEEN PUPPETS WHO HAVE CLAIMED TO SPEAK FOR YOU. THEY HAVE MADE THIS CLAIM, BOTH HERE AND ABROAD. THEY ARE OF NO CONSEQUENCE. MY FATHER AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL NOT BE LIKE THEM.

MY FATHER SAYS I AM A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND I WILL REMAIN A MEMBER OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS UNTIL THE DAY I DIE. OLIVER TAMBO IS MUCH MORE THAN A BROTHER TO ME. HE IS MY GREATEST FRIEND AND COMRADE FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS. IF THERE IS ANY ONE AMONGST YOU WHO CHERISHES MY FREEDOM OLIVER TAMBO CHERISHES IT MORE AND I KNOW THAT HE WOULD GIVE HIS LIFE TO SEE ME FREE. THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS VIEWS AND MINE.

MY FATHER SAYS I AM SURPRISED AT THE CONDITIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO IMPOSE ON ME. I AM NOT A VIOLENT MAN: MY COLLEAGUES AND I WROTE IN 1952 TO MALAN ASKING FOR A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF OUR COUNTRY BUT THAT WAS IGNORED.

WHEN STRIJDOM WAS IN POWER, WE MADE THE SAME OFFER. AGAIN IT WAS IGNORED.

WHEN VERWOERD WAS IN POWER WE ASKED FOR A NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA TO DECIDE ON THEIR FUTURE. THIS TOO, WAS IN VAIN.

IT WAS ONLY THEN WHEN ALL OTHER FORMS OF RESISTANCE WERE NO LONGER OPEN TO US THAT WE TURNED TO ARMED STRUGGLE.

LET BOTHA SHOW THAT HE IS DIFFERENT TO MALAN, STRIJDOM AND VERWOERD.

LET HIM RENOUNCE VIOLENCE.

LET HIM SAY THAT HE WILL DISMANTLE APARTHEID.



LET HIM UNBAN THE PEOPLES ORGANISATION, THE  
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

LET HIM FREE ALL WHO HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED  
BANISHED OR EXILED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO  
APARTHEID.

LET HIM GUARANTEE FREE POLITICAL ACTIVITY SO  
THAT THE PEOPLE MAY DECIDE WHO WILL GOVERN THEM.

I CHERISH MY OWN FREEDOM DEARLY BUT I CARE EVEN  
MORE FOR YOUR FREEDOM. TOO MANY HAVE DIED SINCE  
I WENT TO PRISON. TOO MANY HAVE SUFFERED FOR THE  
LOVE OF FREEDOM. I OWE IT TO THEIR WIDOWS, TO  
THEIR ORPHANS, TO THEIR MOTHERS AND TO THEIR  
FATHERS WHO HAVE GRIEVED AND WEPT FOR THEM. NOT  
ONLY I HAVE SUFFERED DURING THESE LONG LONELY  
WASTED YEARS. I AM NOT LESS LIFE LOVING THAN YOU  
ARE. BUT I CANNOT SELL MY BIRTHRIGHT NOR AM I  
PREPARED TO SELL THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO  
BE FREE. I AM IN PRISON AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF  
THE PEOPLE AND OF YOUR ORGANISATION THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS WHICH WAS BANNED. WHAT FREEDOM  
AM I BEING OFFERED WHILST THE ORGANISATION OF  
THE PEOPLE REMAINS BANNED. WHAT FREEDOM AM I  
BEING OFFERED WHEN I MAY BE ARRESTED ON A PASS  
OFFENCE. WHAT FREEDOM AM I BEING OFFERED TO LIVE  
MY LIFE AS A FAMILY WITH MY DEAR WIFE WHO  
REMAINS IN BANISHMENT IN BRANDFORT. WHAT FREEDOM  
AM I BEING OFFERED WHEN I MUST ASK FOR  
PERMISSION TO LIVE IN AN URBAN AREA. WHAT  
FREEDOM AM I BEING OFFERED WHEN I NEED A STAMP  
IN MY PASS TO SEEK WORK. WHAT FREEDOM AM I BEING  
OFFERED WHEN MY VERY SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP  
IS NOT RESPECTED.

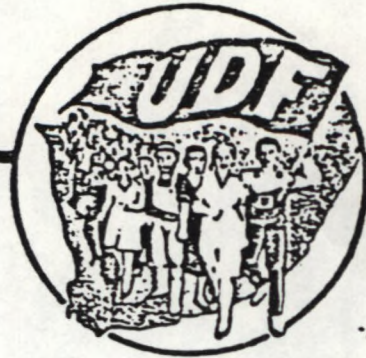
ONLY FREE MEN CAN NEGOTIATE. PRISONERS CANNOT  
ENTER INTO CONTRACTS. HERMAN TOIVO JA TOIVO,  
WHEN FREED, NEVER GAVE ANY UNDERTAKING, NOR WAS  
HE CALLED UPON TO DO SO. MY FATHER SAYS I CANNOT  
AND WILL NOT GIVE ANY UNDERTAKING AT A TIME WHEN  
I AND YOU THE PEOPLE ARE NOT FREE. YOUR FREEDOM  
AND MINE CANNOT BE SEPERATED. I WILL RETURN.



C-31-7

# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

**'DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!**



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE  
42 DE VILLIERS STREET  
JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 10366  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

12 February 1985

MINUTES OF THE JOINT TREASURER'S MEETING, HELD ON 12 JANUARY, 1985  
IN DURBAN.

Present: National Treasury, Transvaal, Border, Natal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape. Secretaries from Natal, W Cape and Tvl, as well as from National Office, attended part of the meeting.

1. NATIONAL TREASURER'S REPORT

a) The National Treasurer reported that the National audit could not be completed until Regional audits had been forwarded to the National Office. This was a matter of extreme urgency. Another problem was the fact that few Regions kept regular books, and that there was no standard National accountancy procedures.

b) Regional Allocations to date (December 1984)

Transvaal	R41 300
Eastern Cape	17 894
Western Cape	40 500
Natal	40 500
Border	17 200
Northern Cape	11 800
OFS	900
	<u>R170 094</u>
	=====

c) National Income R293 829

Expenditure	Audit	R1 500
Bank Charges		80
Depreciation		2 341
Grants to Regions (to Sept 1984)		156 390



Balance B/F	R160 311
Legal Expenses	130
Meetings	2 970
Motor & Travel	18 576
Publicity/Media	7 021
Salaries	21 740
Postage	852
Sundries	40
Telephone	6 973
T-shirts	9 248
	<hr/>
	R227 861
	<hr/>

- d) The National Treasurer requested that Regions supply quarterly income/expenditure statements as well as yearly audits.

The Western Cape reported that the Regional audit would be started immediately. The W Cape supported the recommendation for proper books and a voucher system.

The Eastern Cape reported that an auditor had been approved by the R.E.C, and that the books had been handed over in December, 1984.

The Transvaal reported that a Finance Committee had been established in October 1984 and a cash book had been opened. The audit would take some time because of insufficient records prior to October 1984. There were no treasurers operating in the Transvaal at the moment.

The National Treasurer urged that acting-treasurers be appointed immediately.

Border reported that an income/expenditure statement had been submitted to the auditors. The region did not foresee any problem with the audit.

Natal reported that the journal, cash book and ledger were up to date and that the audit would be ready within one week.

- 1) All regions stated that audits would be submitted within the shortest period possible. The maximum time for this was two months. All Regions agreed that no further allocations would be made until audits were submitted. As a temporary measure, the larger regions would be granted R4 000 and the smaller regions R2 000. Future allocations would be determined by existing formulas. Additional projects within each region could be motivated for.



- 2) Each Region would submit income/expenditure statements every three months.
- 3) A National Treasurers meeting, together with the UDF auditors, would be held on Saturday, February 2, in Johannesburg.

Here, a common set of books will be drawn up, using a common system. All Regions to begin looking for suitable treasurers and book-keepers in time for the forthcoming regional AGM's. The National Treasurers' Workshop would be paid for by the National Office.

#### 4) Planning Ahead

All Regions to begin preparing budgets for their respective regions. The National budget would be re-examined at the forthcoming national treasurers meeting. Natal emphasised the need for proper political planning to go in conjunction with financial planning. Changing geographical and demographic considerations to be taken into considerations as well.

#### 5) Regional Debts

Transvaal. The Transvaal region reported that they owe a total of R23 000 and requested the National Treasury to assist them in meeting this debt. It was finally agreed that no debt would be met until audited statements were forthcoming. The Transvaal and the National Office are to meet and submit recommendations on repayment of debt to next N.E.C. (Natal proposed that the debt be repaid but taken from future allocations; Border proposed that 50% of the debt be repaid, and 50% be subtracted from future allocations).

Western Cape. It was agreed that the request from the W Cape for assistance in payment of debts would be treated sympathetically as the National Executive Committee had granted the W Cape a R16 000 allocation in March 1984 for the usual campaigns, which however had never been paid due to lack of funds at that particular time.

Transvaal also submitted a request for a loan of R12 000 to be used for fundraising purposes. Natal recommended that Transvaal should borrow from their proposed allocation for the time being. The question of loans was not ruled out completely, neither should they be dependent on audited statements. The National Treasurer would make the final decision.

#### 6) Fundraising.

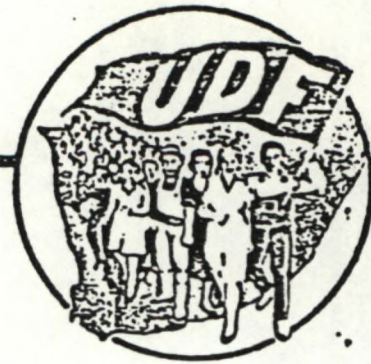
All Regions agreed that regional fundraising has a priority. The national treasurer proposed that regions raise 2/3 of their budgets. The Western Cape said that this could be done only if high-cost items such as media and national executive travel be met by the national treasury. It was agreed that all regions would have to be more realistic when planning campaigns and not assume that funds would always be available from the national treasury.

The meeting closed at 9.00 on Saturday evening.



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



Copy  
NATIONAL OFFICE  
KHOTSO HOLO  
42 DE VILLIERS  
JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 1036  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

## MEMORANDUM

TO : ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

FROM: HEAD OFFICE

DATE: 11 FEBRUARY, 1985

SUBJECT: TREASON TRIAL

Dear Comrades,

As you know the state has finally refused bail to our eight (8) comrades standing trial on charges of treason. This means that they will remain in jail for as long as their trial is in process.

Now, we of the UDF have been contending that the Apartheid regime is illegitimate and so is its pernicious system of detention and charges under its security legislation. It seems therefore that the opportunity has arisen for us to challenge the state to release our comrades.

The matter has been discussed with the comrades concerned. The view is that a campaign for their release must be launched and that this be linked with other matters. They have mandated the N.E.C to do all in its powers to launch and intensify the campaign.

We would like to appeal to all Secretaries to set in motion, as a matter of urgency a discussion on this matter, first at the level of affiliates and then that of regional General Councils. The N.E.C will also discuss the matter. But finally our campaign must be the synthesis of the recommendations of the regions.

We shall appreciate it if this matter will receive your urgent attention.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL

KHOTSO H  
42 DE VILLI  
JOHANNESB  
P.O. BOX 10  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

## MEMORANDUM

TO: ALL SECRETARIES

FROM: HEAD OFFICE

DATE: 13 FEBRUARY 1985

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL YOUTH YEAR

Dear Comrades

On January 12 and 13, 1985 a number of Youth organisations, affiliates and non-affiliates of the UDF met in Durban to discuss the I.Y.Y and the structure of the National Youth organisations and plan to launch the two.

The National Office discussed the report (verbal) of the said meeting with the co-ordinators of both the N.Y.O and the I.Y.Y. viz Dan Montsitsi and Deacon Mathe. After this discussion the National Office was left with the impression that firstly there was no strong motivation as to why the campaign should not be conducted under the banner of the UDF. Secondly that there was no clarity as to how they proposed to prepare for the campaign between then and the formation of the N.Y.O. Thirdly that meeting did not seem to recognize the urgency of the I.Y.Y. To that extent did not give a deadline for co-ordinating structures to be set up and the unrolling of the I.Y.Y. programme.

X  
It is the view of the National Office that the decision taken is incorrect and may affect the effectiveness of the campaign. The UDF has already won a great amount of legitimacy both nationally and internationally. Many people and organisations on these planes will support anything that is associated with the Front. To give the I.Y.Y. campaign publicity and to win even greater support for it we need to encourage our affiliates to conduct it under the banner of the UDF. This will also provide a measure of protection from state harassment to activists for they will be projected as UDF activists in the event of detention and arrest. And the state does not want negative publicity at this stage. They may therefore avoid unnecessary arrests.

X  
But important is the fact that we have already started building the UDF as a vehicle to advance our struggle. The youth organisations in their campaigns, especially the I.Y.Y must be seen to be part of this broad movement. The I.Y.Y provides the scenario.

2/.....



Another factor which every Region must take into account is that it is the UDF which is ultimately responsible for everything done by our affiliates locally and abroad. There must therefore be a close co-operation and common discipline to our approach to issues. Now the UDF having gained experience during the past campaigns stands a better chance of assisting and ensuring that the campaign becomes a success.

X We are not suggesting that the UDF will lead the campaign itself but simply saying that the youth must do so using the UDF name and guided by it. This suggestion does not conflict with the objective of strengthening affiliates in effect it achieves two goals; It simultaneously strengthens the youth organisations and project the UDF.

We would like to appeal to the R.E.C and R.G.C's to discuss this matter urgently with a view to persuading the youth affiliates to change the position taken in Natal as stated above.

Please forward your response to the H/Q as soon as possible.

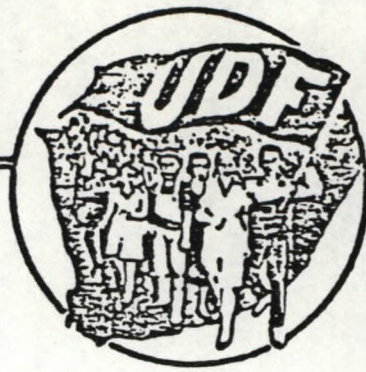
Yours in struggle

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY



# UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

DF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



NATIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE  
42 DE VILLIERS STR  
JOHANNESBURG  
P.O. BOX 10366  
TEL: 29-1916  
29-1917

MEMORANDUM

TO : ALL REGIONAL SECRETARIES

FROM: HEAD OFFICE

DATE: 11 FEBRUARY, 1985

SUBJECT: TREASON TRIAL

Dear Comrades

As you know the state has finally refused bail to our eight (8) comrades standing trial on charges of treason. This means that they will remain in jail for as long as their trial is in process.

Now, we of the UDF have been contending that the Apartheid regime is illegitimate and so is its pernicious system of detention and charges under its security legislation. It seems therefore that the opportunity has arisen for us to challenge the state to release our comrades.

The matter has been discussed with the comrades concerned. The view is that a campaign for their release must be launched and that this be linked with other matters. They have mandated the N.E.C to do all in its powers to launch and intensify the campaign.

We would like to appeal to all Secretaries to set in motion, as a matter of urgency a discussion on this matter, first at the level of affiliates and then that of regional General Councils. The N.E.C will also discuss the matter. But finally our campaign must be the synthesis of the recommendations of the regions.

We shall appreciate it if this matter will receive your urgent attention.

Yours in struggle,

POPO MOLEFE  
GENERAL SECRETARY

Presidents: Oscar Mpetha, Albertina Sisulu, Archie Gumede  
Eastern Cape President: Edgar Ngoyi  
Border President: Steve Tshwete

National Treasurers: Cassim Saloojee, Mewa Ramgobin  
National Publicity Secretary: Mosiuoa 'Terror' Lekota  
National Secretary: Popo Molefe



**Collection Number: AK2117**

**DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

**©2012**

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.