

ASSESSOR

V-26
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1983-08-20

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT CONFERENCE

SPEAKERS

VIRGIL BONHOMME ✓
ELLEN LAMBERT
REV. XUNDU
R.D. NAIDOO
MAHLANGU
POPO MOLEFE
PAUL DAVID (Acc. No. 8)
MR. MARKS
FRANK CHIKANE (Acc. No. 10)
MEWA RAMGOBIN (Acc. No. 1)
MR. KHAN
DR. MOTLANA
TERROR LEKOTA
CURTIS NKONDO (Acc. No. 6)
PADDY KEARNEY
IMAM SOLOMONS
M.J. NAIDOO (Acc. No. 3)
PIUS LANGA

IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED

SACTU (8, 87)
A.N.C. (24, 37)
REVOLUTION (8)
1955 PEOPLES CONFERENCE (24)
FREEDOM CHARTER (24, 64, 68)
UNITY IN ACTION (26, 43)
TAMBO (39, 49, 68)
SWAPO (61)
MANDELA (68, 86, 96)
LUTHULI (68, 96)
MARKS (68)
KATHRADA (68, 86)
PEOPLES LIBERATION MOVEMENT (72)
MONTY NAICKER (86)
DENNIS GOLDBERG (86)
GOVAN MBEKI (86)
RAYMOND MHLABA (86)
WALTER SISULU (86)
VUYISILI MINI (87)
MOBILIZE (94) (43)
POPULARIZE (94)
MATHEWS (96)

OPMERKINGS

1. Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die betrokke vergadering. Die transkripsie is so akkuraat as moontlik en is so ver as moontlik woordeliks korrek.
2. Verskillende sprekers kon van mekaar uitgeken word op die opnames en hulle word binne die transkripsie aangedui.
3. Woorde, sinsdele of sinne wat heeltemaal onverstaanbaar is, byvoorbeeld weens swak opname, geraas of waar sprekers gelyk praat, word aangedui met stippellyne, die woorde "inaudible" en "indistinct".
4. Agtergrond geluide en enige ander moontlike kommentaar, word tussen hakies aangedui, indien dit baie opvallend is.
5. 'n Vraagteken in hakies na 'n naam en/of 'n woord in hakies, dui 'n mate van onsekerheid aan.
6. Die transkripsies is van heropnames van die oorspronklike bande gemaak.
7. Tellernommers word aan die kantlyn aangebring om die opsporing van spesifieke gedeeltes te vergemaklik. Die nommers stem nie noodwendig presies ooreen nie maar is 'n genoegsame hulpmiddel.
8. Vertalings deur amptelike hof tolke word aan die agterkant aangebring met die nodige bladsy en tellernommers om vergelyking te vergemaklik.

TAPE 1 - SIDE 1.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

001. That even in the so-called Bantustans, the people who are buying the lands in the areas are really not owning the piece of ground, because the ground still belongs to the Trust Co-operation and this Co-operation is controlled by White Management, therefore, even those who are buying land in these Bantustans area, are eh are really being fooled, Mr. Chairman. This eh conference should declare itself a total opposition and I feel that why should the majority of the people, the back, Black people cannot own the piece of land, Mr. Chairman.

I can own a land and have ^{Title Deed} ~~time to it~~. But not some of my colleagues. I cannot see them. I think this is one of the most serious problems that face our African Community, and that this conference, we should demand, that land, the question of 99 years should be completely overlooked and that the land should be open to the peoples of South Africa.

Thank you. Thank you. (The people in the Conference are clapping their hands).

CHAIRMAN : Mr. VIRGIL BONHOMME.

019) V. BONHOMME : (Inaudible)

It is clear that the New Housing Policy is, is part of the New Constitution. The New Housing Policy decided that, the Government decided that within a year, they will sell 500,000 houses, and in selling 500,000 houses they believe that they going to create a Middle Class, which is one of terms
(The speech is interrupted by someone who is coughing)

You know the New Housing Constitution is not designed, it includes a third of the people (inaudible) in order to create the Middle-Class will be that this Middle Class to this New Constitution
to serve your people into the New Constitution will bring about division within the Community. The New Constitution is designed

in about seven divisions. So far further (inaudible).

The New Housing Policy is designed in that way. The New Housing Policy is designed to create a Middle Class is designed to create a Middle Class what will be attracted to the New Constitution. The New Con the New Housing Policy is also designed in order that the Government may now - eh forfeit their or throw away their responsibility of Housing and decide to the house only people who earn under R150-00 a month. At the same time the people what, support apartheid, the big business homes, the Banks, the Estate Agents.

This gives them the opportunity to make money out of this New Housing Policy. It gives them the opportunity to put money into the Housing into housing in order to make money. We know these big businesses, big House, Big Business houses have got a lot of money stored away during the Boom Years, th-through the later 70's and early eighties, and this money is laying idle and they want to be able to spend it, and and because of the support of apartheid the dominance creates this opportunity for them to spend it.

Vendor making

We've got to ask ourselves, what happened to people who can't afford to buy houses, and it's very clear it's very clear that the Govern-ment, the Government says that they will spend their their money on only service sites, and it means that people who can't afford to buy houses, will then have to go pay (inaudible). WILL BE FORCED TO TAKE THE SERVICE ^{SITE}

The differences before when allocated a house you were forced to take it. You have no alternative now you have got no alternative you've got to take that service site sites. If you don't take that site, you have to become a sub-stand and overcrowding will will will take place.

If you don't become a tenant, you take that, you take the service sites. Because of your because of your low income, because you can't afford a house, you will erect a sub, a sub-standard structure. A sub-standard structure will then lead to a, to a slum, it will lead to a bad house and bad house will lead to a bad education.

Those systems are designed to bring us down a peg or two. Those

61. systems are designed to dehumanise us. Those systems designed that one day on a very near future in about four or five years time when the country, we will then say to the Government. We have to move on, you have to improve on your New Constitution. You have to allow these people some more rights, then the Government will be able to say to them, Look at those people, look at their living conditions, look at their (interruption) look at their health status. Do you expect those people to share power with us or become part of the power or the decision making of this country.

That's how it's designed and Housing Policy is part of the New Constitution. We also know that the Government believe clearly that it must create this middle-class, it must create a class of people who what, what will be attracted to the Constitution, and the Government believe very, very clearly that the Black people owned their own houses owned their own properties that it will call the Militancy in the areas. It will kill the the struggles that take place, the Housing struggles, the Rent struggles and they also believe that us Black people if we own land that we will believe that we own a stake in the land. And they believe that if we believe that we own a stake in the land we will be prepared to defend the stake in the land and when they talk about defend the state in the land, they talk about defending the borders that is the New Housing Policy.

Thank you MR. BONHOMME (Clapping).

APPARENTLY
CHAIRMAN : (Unknown).

^
Because of restrictions of time, eh, I would like to move on and as people who work, as people who need to maintain families, we are affected both by wages and rising costs. We have seen in the past few years continued struggles against increased Bus-fares, against increased Bread prices and against increased costs of living on the whole.

We are also aware that all around us workers are organising themselves and workers are taking decisive action for wage increases.

4/.. ..

We would like brief discussion on workers and the cost of living.

90. (Long pause between).

Transvaal, I don't know the name can we

ELLEN LAMBERT.

My name is ELLEN LAMBERT. I am from RYGER PARK, BOKSBURG in the TRANSVAAL. Eh, Mr. Chairman, when one talks of the rising costs of living, the increase in inflation, eh, one wonders that over the years costs have gone up and the costs go up but wages go up much slower, and when wages do go up, you find that the inflation is increased in such a way that it is always the big monopoly's that benefit from these and the masses in the townships suffer.

Here I speak particularly for the old age pensioner who have to battle on the meagre pension of R88-00 a month, that's for Blacks and in uh, Coloureds and Indians. The Black pensioner gets R88-00 every second month and the White pensioner gets about a R156-00 a month.

Now I say who pays more? For bread, milk, sugar, the essential commodities, the Cabinet Minister pays the same price for bread and sugar and low and behold the M.P. gets an increase of R600-00 in salary. The Honourable members of the PRESIDENT-COUNCIL are earning R3100-00 a month and total increase of R600-00, that a lot of our people do not even earn. Why would this money not put into the kitty and give it to the old age pen. pensioners. To make their lives more liveable, to help the children who get onto wealthy ground. To enable them a better standard of living, a better education because it is the children in our townships, in our slum areas, in the Squatters Camps, who are going to be our leaders of tomorrow.

It is these children who have to grovel around for their piece of bread, while their parents, the majority of them today, are suffering from the disease of alcoholism and dagga dependence. It is these children that the Government fears so much, that the Government accuses of being Communism because communists, because they are creating this thing to these children to become eh, to

5/.. ..

become militant as a result of their very existence because they want to this. Because they want more and because they are demanding better education and a better standard of living. I thank God for U.D.F. I thank God for this platform and I appeal that the U.D.F. Executive will stand up and particularly make it a special appeal that Pension will now become uh equal to make the life of those eh, a little better.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

17/11/1964
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CHAIRMAN.

Thank you MRS. LAMBERT. (Applause).

We call REV. XUNDU.

136. REV. XUNDU.

First and foremost, eh, Mr. chairman, I would like to say that the question of Costs of Living arises from bad stewardship or irresponsible stewardship of the present Government.

Money is made for man, and not man for money, and it's because of this reason, the Government is pushing people to a situation where people appear as if they are made for money. This Government has had very poor and irresponsible stewardship in that, in the very structure of this Government it has entrenched unjust wages, unjust working conditions. The whole issue arises from the fact that they have no stewardship which is fair and just. It must be understood also that, eh, the costs of living arises from the fact that, the Government continues on the Policy in which they wages of a person is determined on the work of that person and not to take into cognisance the other responsibilities that the worker has, or each worker has a responsible to clothe to educate, to to pay for the health of the children and so on.

And yet the Government of South Africa by their policy of Homelands create a situation where men are taken to stay in Hostels and they are paid in those Hostels without the Government taking its responsibility over the Health, the education and so forth of the Community, therefore, a non just wage. Here is is is one which

which operate. Money is spendly responsibly, the so-called inflation in South Africa is, is, a man, is, is, is a man invented thing, for if money was not spent on the Defence Force, if money was not spent on propaganda, if we didn't have the MOULDER GATE GAME, and the RHOODIE GAME, there would be enough money to share amongst all of us. The fact that rents are raised to an irresponsible rent heights, is because South Africa believed that they will not subsidise Black Housings.

We say that rent should be distributed at tariffs which people can afford, but this Government in order to keep itself in power, is prepared to spend millions of rands on Defence, millions of rands on propaganda, and those people who work and produce the wealth of this country are the least paid.

An ounce of gold in South Africa costs about four thousand, four hundred and fifty five cents, and yet those people who shall work that gold get a peacant. The cost of living therefore is a farce in South Africa. And it should be our endeavour therefore to come together in a United Front to fight this issue.

Also I want to say that, eh, the work the load which has been placed on people as a result of cost of living, is placed in such a way that the cent is going to become very high for those people who stay in the suburbs of South Africa called, Townships, and transport becomes high. Therefore forcing people in a shrewd manner to voluntarily choose to go to homelands, where they will be told that the rents are lower and so forth, therefore, the people at all stages, I believe U.D.F. should implement their programme in which we try to make the strongest protest to the unfair escalations of living conditions in South Africa.

We ought to address ourselves to those who are wealthy, to be so taxed, that they are able to look after the needs of those who don't have, industries must be so taxed that the flow of profits should benefit those who are poorter, and we should take a conscious resolution here that for those of us here who are in business we should make a programme. "SENZE UHLELO OLUTSHA". (MAKE A NEW PROGRAMME).

7/.. ..

"ELUTHI SIBAKHUKHELE KAHLE ABANTU ESIBAQHASHILESO" (LET'S PAY BETTER OUR EMPLOYEES).

Because even among us, you find people who have been blessed with wealth, who pay poorly, if least discount, or there should be a conscious, a conscious decision here, among the members here to relieve the cost of living in order that each, even those of us who are blessed to be having business, to be in professional business, should be able to relieve the costs of living by paying at least, a good wage, to those who work under them. (Applause).

I therefore say therefore that eh the whole issue of the, eh ra, of the, of the, of the, of the costs of living is a farce and a programmes and ways and means can be found of how best to distribute the wealth of this country, such that, everybody benefits and benefits well.

Thank you very much.

(Clapping).

210. CHAIRMAN : Thank you, REV. XUNDU.

MR. R.D. NAIDOO.

MR. R.D. NAIDOO.

Western area and Natal. Mr. Chairman, if we look at the history of the working class - struggle, in this country, right from the early days, we found that the workers participated in the struggles for only one thing.

For decent living and decent living conditions so that they may enjoy the full spell of life in this country. Unfortunately in our country, starting right back from the 1938 to now, and I was involved in the Trade-Unions Movement.

We were unable to organise the unorganised workers in this country. Primarily for the reason the Pass Laws were ba, a great obstacle in bringing about unity in the ranks of the working-class. As time

8/.. ..

went on, we found that the workers despite the many many difficulties, were able to rally around the banners of their own Trade Unions and conducted illegal strikes according to the pa, Laws of the Land. Right up to the time of the 1955, when the SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS came out very clearly under the banner of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, where able to give a direct lead a direct lead to the working class and point out. (Applause).

And pointed out to the working class of South Africa that do not unite now, we will lose our every Birth-right in this country and we will use, even lose, our Trade-Unions rights. The Government of this country foresaw there is a raising tension, that is coming against the White united front, the white united front, so therefore, they introduced the WIEHAN and the RIECKETT-COMMISSION to bring about some laws, where the Black Trade Unions can now organise themselves. What did these WIEHAN and RIECKETT COMMISSION meant to the working class, a further division in the ranks of the working class as are, as a result, the militant SACTU was banned, and all of us went to lick our wounds, and we went back and we re-assessed our situation and we realised now that our struggle lies, everyone of you, are present here, must
240. realise now that our struggle lies in the hands of the working class. (Applause).

(19)
19/8/87

As long as

No (19) As long as we the working class will man the machinery, who handles the tools, we are going to lie low.

19/8/87

(20) 6/10/87

And going to wait for something to fall from heaven, then I am sorry to say, the facist machinery will come into oppression. They will destroy the entire Trade Union structure to the machinery that the Government has now created, and we need support from the opportunists in our ranks.

250. Therefore comrades to now say, time has come, the revolution is now beginning under the banner of the UNITED FRONT.

(Shouting, whistling and clapping).

9/.. . . .

20

6/1/87

We the working class, we the working class, wherever you are, whether you are domestic servants or a mine worker, white collar worker, must now rally our organisation and march behind the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, and work for the system where the exploitation of man by man will be done away with and (shouting, whistling and clapping).

And we must, and we must relentlessly work until the means of production is in the hands of the working class.

(Shouting, whistling, screaming and using the slogan of) "AMANDLA - NGAWETHU, AMANDLA - NGAWETHU, NGAWETHU".

CHAIRMAN :

Thank you, thank you very much, R.D.

We ask for a further contribution and I am sure everybody else will be in the shade now.

(Applause).

MAMA ZSHLANGU.

(The speech is in XHOSA and interpreted to ENGLISH:

NDIYANIBULISA WAM KULENJKALANGA

INT.

268. I greet you all this afternoon.

NDIZAWUTHETHA PHANTSI KWALAMAXABISO OHYUKILEYO NAM NDIVA NDIVUKELWE.

INT.

I'll also speak on behalf of these fact, of high cost of living.

274. SONG IN ZULU. (9(a)).

10/.. ..

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2.

274 SONG:-

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Yikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Manyanani

Manyanani Makhosikazi

Ikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano i- U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano i - U.D.F.

/.....

MANYANANI, MAKHOSIKAZI (X2)
MANYANANI, MAKHOSIKAZI
IKHONA LENHLANGANO - I U.D.F. (X4)

SLOGAN.

AMANDLA, NGAWETHU.
AMANDLA, NGAWETHU.
INKULULEKO, EYETHU.
NIYABASABA NA, HAYI ASIBASABI SIYABAFUNA.

SLOGAN.

INJURY TO ONE
INJURY TO ALL

ARE YOU AFRAID OF THEM, NO.
WE ARE NOT AFRAID, WE NEED THEM.

NAM NDIYANIBULISA BANTAKWETHU
EMVA KWEMINI NJE.

INT.

I ALSO GREET YOU COMRADES THIS AFTERNOON.

PHANTSI KWALAMAZWI AMNANDI KANGAKA ENDIWAFUNYANESO.

INT.

On behalf of these words, that we heard today.

ENDI, NAPHANTSI KWAM, KWALOMBANDELA ENDIWUTHETHA KANGE.

INT.

And also on which I am going to speak about.

MKHONTO ISENAKALISE KAKHULU THINA BANTU BANGAMAKHOSIKAZI, KWIZI
NJO EZINGAMAXABISO APHAKAMILE QKUTSHA.

INT.

304. This has been an attack to us, as women, the cost of living.

KWAQGIBA KWANYUKA NEXABISO LOKUKHWELA.

INT.

And also the transport fares has, has gone up.

PHANTSI KWAMAXABISO ONYUKILEYO, KUNZIMA NOKONDLA ABANTWANA BETHU.

INT.

It's very difficult to feed our children from this cost of living.

ABANTWANA BETHU BANEZIFO, NGEZIFO, NGOBA ABANANTO ZOKUTYA.

INT.

Our children are having lots of diseases because, they don't have enough food.

URULUMENI AKABONI INDAWO, ANOKUTHI ANCEDISANE KUYO, KUNYE NABANTU.

INT.

Government has not subsidised at all.

KUNOKUBA ANCEDISANE NABANTU, UFUNA EZAKHE IZINTO EZINOKUBA ZIMNIKE IPOLOFITHI, APHA KITHI ABANTU ABALAMBILEYO.

INT.

Instead of footing subsidy as such

(Applause).

UKUYE KUTHI KULABANTU, ABALAMBILEYO, ANGABANIKI NENDAWO ZOKUHLALA.

INT.

And also these starving people, does not give them a place to stay.

KANYE INJONGO ZAKHE UKUCIKICANA NABA.BANTU, ABALUSIZANA ABANGAFUMANI NEMALI 'ZONELEYO.

INT.

He is oppressing the already oppressed people.

URULUMENI INTO OBUKUFANELE ANGABE, USAYENZA EBANTWINI, EBKUFANELE
UKUBA AZONGE, NOBAKANYE ONYUSE AMAXABISO OTYWALA EZIBHARINI

INT.

What you are supposed to be increasing the prices of, of Brandy's
at the Beer-Halls.

UHULUMENI EBENOKUKWENZA UKUBA ENYUSE. EZINTO ZOKUZITABULISA NGE-
WEEKEND EBENOKUYENZA.

INT.

He was supposed to be increasing the price of travelling costs.

KODWA EYONA INTO ATIJONGILEYO KUKUCIKISANA NABANTU ABALUSIZI
ABAHLELI NDAWONYE, ABONDLA INTSAPHO ZABO.

INT.

But he is suppressing the people who are feeding their families.

AKAGE KANGA URULUMENI ONGANALUSIZI BANTAKWETHU.

INT.

This Government is a merciless Government.

UKWAZILE UKUTHI SINGENAWO NAMAXABISO OKUBA MASI KWAZI UKUBHATALA
EZINTO ZAKHE ZONYUKA MIHLA LE AKWAZI NOKUNGASINIKI NENDAWO ZOKUHLALA.

INT.

As he increasing the prices, he doesn't even give us the places
to stay.

AKAKHATHALI NOBA UVUKA PHANTSI KWEKHELO, KODWA UFUNA UKUKU CICIDA NOBA
UVUKA PHANTSI KWEKHELO.

INT.

He doesn't care whether you are coming from the bushes, but he's
also oppressing you from that bush.

(Clapping and shouting).

KWISICELO SETHU NEZIKHALAZO ZETHU, NEZIMFUNKO ZETHU, EBESIZENZA UNYAKANA WONKE SIJIKELAZANA NAYE, AKAKHATHALI U-RULUMENI, NGOKU USUKE WASITHATHA WAYOSILAHLA EKHAYA - ELITSHA.

INT.

In all the demand that we have formulating right across this year he didn't care about them, what he did he wants to throw us at KHAYA -ELITSHA.

APHO ~~KWELO-KHAYA-~~ ELITSHA KU-MBANA NICIKIDANA, NGOKUBA ABANTU ABANAZIMALI ZOKUYABELA I IKHIN POEZE APHA EIDUSEBENZINI, APHO SISEBENZA, KHONA, NGOBA IKHAYA ELITSHA LIKUDE NENDAWO OKU SETSHEZWA KUZO.

INT.

344. Also at KHAYA-ELITSHA, he is oppressing people further because the people are suffering from high prices from ~~KHAYA-ELITSHA~~, They don't have things to travel, they don't have money to pay their fares.

UYOBABEKA KUDE ABANTU, ENZELE KUBA AZONYUSA I-TRAIN LE, KUYO AZOFUMANA IMALI LE, AKAKHATHALI UKUTHI WHAT IS WHAT.

INT.

He is putting people very far away from one another and increasing the train fares as well.

NAM LEYONTO EMVA KWEMINI NESE NDIBONA UKUTHI KUMELE NDIYIZISE NGAPHANTSI KWALOMBUTHO OMKHULU KANGA-KA NAMHLANJE, WAFUMANISA SIWUVUSE-LASO OKUBA YENGE INYAKI EZISI-CIKIDAYO THINA BANTU BALOMTHUNZI WE-AFRICA, NGAMAXABISO APHAKAMILIYO.

INT.

That is why I am so glad to come and bring this grievances to this big organisation, when when the people all of us are going to hear to our grievances, because we've got grievances against this Government, so we are appealing to this UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

UKUNQATSHELWA ZINDAWO 'ZSKUHLALA MA-AFRICA.

INT.

We have no places to stay Comrades.

ENKOSI KAKHULU.

INT.

Thank you very much.

359. (Clapping).

AP Moseley
CHAIRMAN.

Thank you very much, MAMA ZSHLANGU, I am sure that there are many people who'd like to contribute to this discussion, however, we are running against time. I'd like to read a message we've received from the FOOD CANNING WORKERS UNION.

We would like to express our support for your conference, and our shared commitment to ONE UNITED NON RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.

Although we have not joined the U.D.F. we have pledged to fight alongside all organisations which reject the New Constitution. The orderly movement and settlement of Black persons Bill, and Black local Authorities Laws. As we see eh, as we it these laws are aimed first and foremost at the working class, and we will do all within our power to see that they do not succeed. AMANDLA.

AUDIENCE.

NGAWETHU.

AP Moseley
CHAIRMAN.

We would also just like to put together the work, or the resolutions committee up until now. We have had discussion on removals, and the GROUP AREAS, on Housing, On cost of living, and position of workers. We have a Draft Resolutions which will be put to the House for acceptance.

I will ask POPO MOLEFE to read the resolutions.

382. POPO MOLEFE.

Thank you chairperson and the House. Eh, removals and Group Areas

the forced removals and cruel uprooting and removals of our people from our land, and homes as evidence at Crossroads and KHAYA-LITSHA, has been the backbone of this Government's rigid apartheid scheme.

Bulldozers and trucks remove our people daily and dump them in areas far from the working places. Children are hurt, our leaders killed, families have been torn apart and communities destroyed.

We have over the years been robbed of our land, shelter and livelihood. Our protests are met with teargas, batons, and bullets. We are divided, urban from rural, community from community.

398. We demand the return of our land and homes. We demand the right to live where we please. In the land of our birth.

Now therefore this first NATIONAL CONFERENCE of the U.D.F. held at ROCKLANDS MICHELS PLACE, eh MITCHELLS PLAIN, CAPE TOWN on 20TH AUGUST 1983 salutes all communities who struggled against the GROUP AREAS and removals. Demand that the Government must repeal this GROUP AREAS ACT, and stop inhuman removals now, and return the land to the people.

Urges communities faced with removals to organise their people to, to resist removals.

Further urges all communities,

to joint with the affected communities to fight removals.

APP
CHAIRMAN.

^ We have heard the resolution on removals and on GROUP AREAS, eh, can we have acceptance or amendments if any? (Person from audience speaks). (Inaudible).

APP
CHAIRMAN.

^ Thank you, we have amendment is the amendments accepted too?

AUDIENCE.

Ja.

Handwritten notes:
A
A
A

CHAIRMAN.

Can we have acceptance of this resolution - Sorry, what didn't you hear? (Inaudible from the audience).

Handwritten notes:
A
A
A

CHAIRMAN.

I ask the sentence reads : forced and cruel, uprooting and removals of our people from our land, and homes as evidence Crossroads and Khaya-Elisha has been the backbone of this Government's scheme.

It used to read of this government's rigid apartheid scheme, is the amendment.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

My reason for the amendment was that apartheid is apartheid, whatever form it takes rigid or not. We oppose, apa, apartheid in all response. *ITS FORMS*

Handwritten notes:
A
A
A

CHAIRMAN.

Is the Amendment - Is the Amendment accepted? Is the resolution accepted. Can we have a formal acceptance?

(Clapping).

Can we have a show of hands please?

Yes the next amendment is on Housing, and again we'll ask POPO to read it.

443. POPO MOLEFE.

Uh chairperson and the House it would appear I'm going to get a bit of problems in reading this resolution, eh, somewhere it, it would appear that it is not written in a very very clear way but I am going to try my best to read it so that you understand its contents.

"Noting housing is a basic, human need, decent shelter, healthy 17/.. . . ."

living Constitutions and House's Costs - No, No, No, No, No.

Noting housing is a basic human need.

Handwritten signature
CHAIRMAN.

^ Perhaps we can ask somebody from the Resolutions Committee to try and uh, decipher their own handwriting.

457. PAUL DAVID.

We've got a struggle against a bad handwriting here. The resolution on Housing Policy, reads as this follows:-

Noting housing is a basic human need, decent shelter, healthy living conditions and housing at costs that people can afford, designed to produce security and comfortable rights which all citizens must enjoy.

Our need is to be housed ~~closed~~, ~~closed~~ to our places of work. Our need is for rents we can afford. We must have some guarantee that our houses will not be bulldozed, that we will not be forced to move either to other areas or homelands, and that we will be allowed to live in the areas of our choice. We must know that our children will grow up in safety and health.

We want more Government subsidised Housing. Further noting, that there is a housing crisis prevalent in our country today as a result of the cruel policy of removals, the GROUP AREAS ACT, the system of low wages.

474. Further noting, that the New Housing Policy introduced by the Government is part of the New Constitutional Plan to create a Black Middle Class, resistant to democratic change.

But the Government does not hear us, we need security, but the government bulldozes our homes and forces us elsewhere to homelands.

We need Government subsidies but the Government has almost stopped them. We need to live close to our places of home, but the Government builds townships far away. We demand housing but the Government spends the money on the Army, Police and bulldozers.

Now, therefore, this first NATIONAL CONFERENCE of the U.D.F. held at
.18/.. ..

ROCKLANDS MITCHELL PLAIN, CAPE TOWN, on 20th of August 1983, resolves:-

- (1) That the Government scraps its New Housing Policy.
- (2) That the Government must not force people to buy their homes.
- (3) That rents must be subsidised and fixed at prices people can afford.
- (4) That the Government must not introduce site and service schemes as a substitute for decent houses.
- (5) That more Government subsidised housing must be provided.
- (6) That the Government should provide good quality housing and should maintain houses at no extra cost to people.
- (7) That communities throughout South Africa, organised themselves to oppose this new Housing Policy.

499. (Applause).

Approved
CHAIRMAN.

You have heard the Resolution read. Are there any amendments?
If not, can we have acceptance. I think, the show of hands would be adequate at this stage. Yes, thank you.

The next resolution is one on Workers and Cost of Living.

(Laughing).

515. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

This NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT noting:-

1. That workers are the producers of the wealth of this country, yet they do not enjoy the benefits of their work. They produce of the wealth they produce.

2. That workers do not enjoy security in their job and evidence by rising unemployment and increasing threat of retrenchment.
 3. Workers continued to be harassed, intimidated and jailed in their term to organise against these exploitative and oppressive conditions through the building of genuine democratic Trade Unions.
 4. That State manoeuvres such as the PRESIDENT'S COUNCILS PROPOSALS and the KOORNHOF BILLS are designed to destroy the unity that, workers are striving to build, and are aimed at denying workers genuine political rights and, and believing:
533. 1. That workers must fully share in the benefits of the wealth they produce.
2. That workers are entitled to security in their jobs and freedom from unemployment.
 3. That workers have the right to organise themselves into Trade Unions of their choice without State repression.
 4. That workers must enjoy full democratic rights in leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle for freedom.

Therefore resolves:-

- (1) To work for a South Africa in which the oppression and exploitation of workers will cease to exist.
- (2) To encourage the building of genuine Democratic Trade Unions.
- (3) To strengthen the unity between genuine Democratic Trade Unions and all Patriotic and Freedom loving people in the struggle for political rights, for all.

Handwritten signature
CHAIRMAN.

^ We have heard the resolutions on workers and their positions in South Africa read, uh, are there any amendments, if not, can we have accep-

tance by a show of hands please.

(Clapping).

There is a switch on the side. No it's higher up.

(Inaudible - speaker from the audience).

I'm sorry, uh, can we try and arrange for a mike please, I don't think that, the other delegates can hear.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Hallo, eh hallo.

I would like, I would like to indicate uh some form of amendment that the migrant labour system that drives down the wages, uh, workers and, and no forces them to live in single sex hostels, can that be accepted. The migrant labour system that drives down the wages of workers (okay) and who forces them to live in single sex hostels.

Chairman
CHAIRMAN.

Okay, uh, I think that it would now read something like this, that State manoeuvres such as the PRESIDENT'S COUNCILS PROPOSALS, eh, and the KOORNHOF BILLS and WIEHAN and RIECKETT COMMISSIONS are designed to destroy the unity that workers are striving to build, and are aimed at denying workers genuine political rights, that the migrant labour system that drives down the the workers and forces them to live in single sex and hostels.

Uu, oh, that would fall under noting, right. Noting that the migrant labour system drives down workers and forces them to live in single sex hostels.

602. Is that acceptable as an amendment?

Can we have acceptance by a show of hands, of the re, resolution as amended okay.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Eh, and the, and that uh, believing that migrant labour and influx control was a fundamental

21/.. ..

denial of the rights of workers to work where they choose.

17/1/1974
CHAIRMAN.

Okay, there's a further amendment uh, amendment and believing eh, can I try and read the whole resolution as it is now?

This National Conference of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT noting:-

1. That workers are the producers of wealth of this country, yet they do not enjoy the benefits of the wealth they produce.
2. That workers do not enjoy securing their jobs, as evidence by the rising unemployment and increasing threat of retrenchment.
3. Workers continue to be harassed, intimidated and jailed in their attempts to organise these exploitative and oppressive conditions through the building of genuine democratic Trade Unions.
4. That State manoeuvres such as the PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL PROPOSALS and KOORNHOF BILLS, WIEHAN AND RIEKETT COMMISSIONS are designed to destroy the unity that workers are striving to build and are aimed at denying workers genuine political rights.
5. The migrant labour system drives down workers and forces them to live in sc, single sex hostels.

And believing:

1. That workers must fully share in the benefits of the wealth they produce.
2. That workers are entitled to security in their jobs and freedom from unemployment.
3. That workers have the right to organise themselves into Trade Unions of their choice, without State repression.

22/.. ..

4. That the migrant labour and influx controls are of fundamental denial of the rights of workers, to work where they choose.
5. That workers must enjoy democratic rights in the leadership of the working class in the democratic struggle, struggle for freedom.

Therefore resolves:-

1. To work for a South Africa in which the oppression and exploitation of workers will cease to exist.
2. To encourage the building of genuine democratic Trade Unions.
3. To oppose the migrant labour system and to fight for the right of workers to permanent urban residence.
4. To strengthen the unity between genuine democratic trade unions and all patriotic and freedom-loving people in the struggle for political rights for all. Is that accepted?

A further amendment:-

The Eastern Cape would like uh, an amendment on the situation of worker organisations in the, in the Ciskei, sorry an addition uhm, noting uh, the critical situation of worker organisations in the Ciskei. Is that accepted? Right. So can we have a brief show of hands.

At this point uh, the delegates from the Free State has arrived and earlier asked the Tran, the Natal delegates on, on the left, uh, to clear space for the Free State, uh, also if the marshalls could change the name-tag to Free State. These people have registered. They have been severely harassed by the Police. But one bus arrived. Can we ask the Free, Free State delegates to take their place please.

683. (Clapping).

THE END OF SIDE 1 - A.

23/.. ..

TAPE 1 - SIDE B.

007. (Guitar sound).

UNKNOWN WOMAN.

Opening National Launching of U.D.F., August the 20th 1983.

"Slate"

MR. MARKS

And banished. Killed and hung.

*1 copy over
Launch V 1
vamp bel
to be 5.*

On behalf of these people I want to welcome all the delegates from the different provinces and I hope that this afternoon in this historical occasion that, we the people who are united will never be defeated.

AMANDLA.

AUDIENCE : NGAWETHU.

AMANDLA.

AUDIENCE : NGAWETHU.

CHAIRMAN.

Handwritten scribble

Thank you MR. MARKS, I think that we are all gathered here, it is indeed a historical occasion, I think that there's probably quite a bit of significance in the name of the township where we are gathered. It is ROCKLANDS. There is some, uh or very strong link between the Rock and the Klip, uh, we are here and we will, we will establish the unity within the U.D.F. on the solid foundation of the rock at ROCKLANDS, Today. I'd like to hand over to MR. FRANK CHIKANE from the Transvaal, to give the opening address.

(Clapping).

22 - 32 SONG (23(a)) (AS ATTACHED).

AMANDLA. AWETHU (X2)

24/.. . . .

23 SONG:-

LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya noma ku
LEADER :- Kubi Kubi Bo
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya Noma Kunzima
LEADER :- Inaudible
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya Noma Ku
LEADER :- Inaudible
AUD. :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya Noma Ku
LEADER :- Inaudible
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya
LEADER :- Siyaya
AUD. :- Siyaya Noma Ku

MAYIBUYE. I'AFRIKA (X2).

I'AFRIKA. MAZIBUYE.

ISWE LETHU I'AFRIKA.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL.

FRANK CHIKANE.

036. Comrades and friends, this day, today is a culmination of seven months work to see the launching of the NATIONAL UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT which is sure going to go into the records of history, as an important event bolstering the tide of the struggle speeding up that day when the people shall say we are free, justice is here, when the people shall live together as brothers and sisters.

Without the exploitation and oppression of the other. But although this is a unique day, it falls within the spectrum of the history of struggle in South Africa.

The first time when this nature of gathering took place, it was in 1936, for instance when the all Africa Convention was called to resist, the removals, the, the removals of Africans from the franchise and enforcement of the 1936 BILLS, which stripped, the majority of the oppressed South Africans of their land of their, their birth, and the second event of the same nature happened in 1955. The people the peop, the PEOPLE'S CONGRESS was held and and the Coloureds People Organisation was there, the CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS was there, the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS was there, the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS was there and the SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS were there.

These adopted the FREEDOM CHARTER, CHARTER in that occasion at the minimum demand of the struggle of the people. The unity then, then was necessitated by the onslaught by the NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT which came out strongly to entrench apartheid by putting up the GROUP AREAS act, the suppression of the communists, COMMUNISM ACT, which in infact interpretation meant that every opposition against the system would therefore be declared Communism and the population's registration act the BANTU EDUCATION ACT and all those Acts necessitated the coming together of the people to fight together as the oppressed.

Now in our age we are meeting once more again in a different situation where the people have created a crisis in apartheid. The struggle's of our people have put so much pressure on the system that it could not take it anymore. Apartheid could not contain the resistance of the people and as a result the state, the oppressive State had to think of a new way of continuing to oppress the masses of our people in South Africa and the best way was to take first and alliance with the Military and create a Military sick State in South Africa and call in the Alliance of what I want to call Super Capitalists to work out a system that would actually contain the, the, the, the, the pressure. That comes from the people.

These CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS, the REFORM PROPOSALS, KOORNHOF'S BILLS came up as an attempt therefore to reach a climax of apartheid instead of leaving it to collapse. Although these were already discussed amongst people in various centres in our country it happened that the LABOUR PARTY made a decision last last year of accepting the proposals uh pro-proposals and that decision on its own was exploited by the system to try to give an impression that all the Coloured people in this country accept those proposals and that the LIBERAL PRE, PRESS also played a game to give an impression that in actual fact that acceptance meant the acceptance of the people and that they expected also the INDIAN COUNCIL to follow suit and that all the people would therefore accept the proposals.

People who are concerned with justice, started talking amongst themselves and the ANTI-~~STATE~~^{SALIC} CONFERENCE came just on time when people were worried about the happenings in the country and then people put up a Commission to discuss the question of unity to fight against these proposals and I remember I was there when DR. ALLEN BOESAK called for the Broad Front to oppose these proposals.

This Broad Front therefore agreed on ^g ~~of~~ declaration of principles on which they had to work on. We are going today to look into the Final Draft of those principles but those are minimum demands around which we can rally in opposing this REFORM PROPOSALS.

The idea of a FRONT therefore was a NEW CONCEPT in the struggle of

the people for the last twenty years about and it was understood to be standing for unity in action accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences. There are also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject it the REFORM PROPOSALS that are proposed by the BOTHA REGIME and as a result they need a broad front to do that. That is, that, that is that was actually, well, that, that necessitated, therefore the formation of this group not necessarily as a NATIONAL POLITICAL ORGANISATION but as a UNITED FRONT for the purpose, sole purpose of opposing the REFORM PROPOSALS and the KOORNHOF BILLS that although the LIBERAL PRESS since then have tried to project it as a CHARTER ORGANISATION.

We still maintain our position that this was a Broad, based. Broad based Front, based on the need for unity in struggle where all organisations and people in South African can come together irrespective regardless of Race, Religion and Culture with the explicit exclusion of those who work within the system.

This unique form of the Front presents, also its unique dynamics, which we should contend with we should learn also to uh, be accommodative in this type of a situation and learn to listen to each other and understand each other to be able to, to, to, to work, for this unity to produce to, to, put pressure on the system.

126. Now the formation therefore took a very unique format where people went back to their Regions, started talking to their Constituencies, consulting with their Organisations, consulting with people in those areas and in some areas people went house to house to talk to the grass-roots to actually be involved with them to make this a reality. It resulted therefore in Regional meetings held in various Regions to discuss the formation of the U.D.F.

These meetings culminated in the Natal in Natal launching launching their Regional U.D.F. in MAY 1983, and the Transvaal also in MAY, and the WESTERN CAPE in JULY. That the third Regional Formation went further to eh actually elect their Executive Committees and the Eastern Cape its all, it's also following on that regard. ALL these efforts. (Applause).

144. SONG (27(a)) AS ATTACHED.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Thank you. (1st Person).

Mr. M. M. M. M. M.
CHAIRMAN.

4 Thank you. (2nd Person).

FRANK CHIKANE.

Thank you, ALL these efforts and the hard work of local Regional Organisations in is in reaching the Grass-Roots have put us where we are today, and the the common stands we have is that we reject the CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS and the KOORNHOF BILLS in a NATIONAL and REPRESENTATIVE VOICE of the masses because these will only serve to entrench the apartheid system, that this South African Constitution Bill will only create yet another UNDEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION THAT THESE KOORNHOF BILLS will only concretise the deprivation of African people of their birth right.

That all these Bills put together will only serve to ensure white domination to continue to dominate over the people. The Co-option of the so-called Coloureds and Indians as junior partners in perpetrating the evils of apartheid.

The unequal distribution of wealth and the exploitation of the people that workers shall continue to be divided keep low wages, poor working conditions, suppression of Trade Unionism and retention of the the migratory labour system, that apartheid will still uh, uh, will still be, the hardened in the classrooms where students, in the class will still continue with unequal facilities and learn to be divided in class and not get progressive education. That the GROUP AREAS ACT will remain intact. They have said it, they will keep it and they are go, going to continue to keep it to facilitate this apartheid system that the Bantu Stand Policy will be vigorously implemented to justify the exclusion of Africans from the decision making machinery of the country. That to keep the GROUP AREAS ACT and the BANTU STAND POLICY actually guarantees that people will still be uprooted and people will have inadequate housing and more so, that rents will continue increasing whilst unemployment increases

TAPE 1 : SIDE B

145 SONG:-

Igama LikaHellen Joseph
Malibongwe

28 /

and standards of living will will be dropping everyday.

Women will still remain being oppressed. The non-racial, non-racial sports will continue to suffer and I want to emphasize lastly that therefore to keep this system you need a repressive apparatus that's going to destroy people, that's going to kill opposition, that's going to suppress and silence those who oppose this type of a system and therefore you need a very strong repressive machinery and a military sick State to be able to deal with this situation and I want to call upon you all people, lov, peace-loving people in South Africa,

To put hands together, to walk side by side, to fight against the implementation of these REFORM PROPOSALS so that we can then destroy the system and put up a Government by the people, where people shall govern according to their will.

20
6/10/81
see also
p 5 of VI

(Applause).

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

SLOGAN.

MAYIBUYE I'AFRIKA.

MAYIBUYE I'AFRIKA.

AMANDLA. NGAWETHU.

CHAIRMAN.

M. Masenya
1

196. Thank you very much, FRANK I think that that is a very very encouraging note on which to start this conference. There are, however, a few announcements to be made at this point. Firstly we would appeal to the Press to kindly leave at this, at this stage, eh, there are a few official U.D.F. photographers, eh, one official U.D.F. film crew and these will be the only people allowed to remain.

*ooble
weesefer
wi
Kamuel
P. R. C.
VI. p. 1-*

So we'd like to appeal for co-operation from the Press.

(Applause).

Secondly eh, I would like to make an appeal to delegates from Natal to reserve space for the Free State. The buses, or the bus has arrived despite the harassment, despite the fact that people were arrested eh, dropped off by the Police at different points and everything made as difficult as possible.

The Free State has endeavoured, they have arrived and they will be taking up their seats shortly.

(Applause).

Then we have a message here from one who unfortunately cannot be with us today. It reads:-

"The system has prevented me from attending the U.D.F. CONFERENCE. I am nevertheless with you the whole day. In this day of the people of South Africa.

Not even bullets can stop us. Forward to the peoples government.

FLORENCE MKHIZE, DURBAN."

(APPLAUSE).

We have another message here from someone who also cannot be with us today.

It reads:-

"Because of the restrictions imposed upon me I am debarred from attending and-participating in the National Launching of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT on 20TH AUGUST 1983. I feel urged, however to convey to you my feelings of solidarity and support in what I regard to be an event of great historic significance in the struggle of the people of South Africa, for justice and liberation, in laying strong foundations for a truly democratic straight,State.

NKOSI SIKELEL-I-AFRICA.

BEYERS NAUDE"

(Applause).

234. From this point eh, there will or we hope to have as much participation from delegates as possible. However we have to make a plea to delegates to be as brief as possible uh, we have to make a plea to delegates to make their points as crisply and clearly as possible and we have to make a plea for observers to be as co-operative as possible we are working against very difficult conditions, eh, the rain is against us, the general difficulties of transporting this mass of people to this central place is proving to be a mammoth task, we have started late because of difficulties with registration and so on. Also we would like to complete our Conference at 3.30, to allow for whatever preparations are necessary for the Rally so we would,, we appeal for eh maximum co-operation. To assist in this the Inter-Regional secretariat is putting to this House a set of standing rules to guide discussion and we are putting this for the approval of the House.

The standing rules are as follows:-

Each organisation shall be allowed only one delegate to speak on each subject.

257. No Region shall be allowed more than ten minutes per subject, unless the quality of, or the intensity of discussion necessitates that and in such cases the Chairperson shall be allowed to use his or her discretion.

The Chairperson shall have the sole discretion to decide whether he or she will allow points or order information or procedure.

Further each constituted Region shall be entitled to an equal number of votes. Now this is extremely difficult because of the differences of structuring from Region to Region.

But we have a system whereby we could equalise the voting. Eh, and this will facilitate that every Region has an equal say in the decision-making here.

For unconstituted Regions like the Eastern Cape, the West Coast, South Western Districts and the Free State they will have a minimum of ten votes and one additional vote for each Organisation in that Region beyond five.

So if there are eight Organisations for instance they would be allowed ten plus three which would give them thirteen votes.

278. I would like to ask for the approval of the House on those standing rules. Transvaal moves acceptance, supported Natal supported Western Cape, Eastern Cape, West Coast, South Western Districts, thank you. Can we have a song please.

290-

296 Song (31(a)) (Applause).

11/1/1961
CHAIRMAN.

Thank you. Hopefully for the next hour and a half we will be discussing matters related to the policy of the U.D.F. Within the address which FRANK CHIKANE delivered this morning, we had heard a number of aspects of our lives which will be affected by the new constitution and the KOORNHOFF BILLS. The direction of the U.D.F. was to be decided in relation to how exactly these proposals will affect our lives. Then are for instance aspects which FRANK CHIKANE did pick up on eh in his talk. Matters like removals and GROUP AREAS and we appeal delegates to please note these removals and group areas, housing, cost of living, education, workers, the Ciskei Dummy bodies, Bantu Stands, the Military, and needless to say the constitution and KOORNHOFF BILLS. There will of course be other points which will be clarified later within discussion. What we would like to suggest as a form of discussion is that we allow approximately 15 minutes to discuss each of these matters, like housing, cost of living, etcetera. After which uh, we are setting up a resolutions committee comprising of people from all regions and once we've uh, gone through this discussion we will then put resolutions for acceptance of the house. I'd just like to refer to the standing rules again. Two minutes per organisation and a maximum of ten minutes per region, per subject. I think I'd leave it over at this stage. I think the uh, the first point that that FRANK had picked up on, was removals and group areas. Can we have participation on that please.

344- (Pause).

359.

Can we have somebody from uh, one of the regions to lead discussion please.

32/.. ..

TAPE 1 : SIDE B

290. SONG:- (Accompanied by clapping)

Joyna Joyna
Joyna Joyna i- U.D.F.
Joyna Joyna
Joyna Joyna i- U.D.F.
Joyna Joyna
Joyna Joyna i- U.D.F.
Joyna Joyna
Joyna Joyna i- U.D.F.
Joyna Joyna
Joyna Joyna i- U.D.F.
Inaudible

32/.....

UNKNOWN PERSON.

(Talking in the background).

One, two, three.

MEWA RAMGOBIN.

Become the Foundation. The foundations^a on which this racist regime finds its life blood. We believe that the group areas act is a foundation on which apartheid legalised as it is, is based. Added to that is a new dimension of the presence of our African brethren in areas in which the State has not need them whilst they are needed on the one hand by the multi-various forces of economy and so on. Their and their preference on mainland South Africa poses a threat to the maintenance of a racist society. Whilst the group areas act, is the foundation of apartheid. The new dimension of removals, read in conjunction with the KOORNHOF BILLS is an added dimension which makes the entire spectrum of apartheid that much more easier for the regime to realise. It is indifference to these facts that we as a UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, have got to make a catogoric stand and say that we are not blind to the designs and the devices of a regime that has become the outcast in the entire world of civilised peoples. It is indifference to this fact that we through the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT today are saying, enough is enough, and we will take it no more. It is indifference to these facts that our leaders have chosen and I repeat our leaders have chosen to be, not so very far away from here, called Robben Island on the one hand and Pollsmoor prison on the other hand. It is indifference to these facts that we have said no, that our people are going to demonstrate through the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and say, no once more. Thank you.

APD Ramgoobin
CHAIRMAN.

1
Thank you. (Applause).

APD Ramgoobin
CHAIRMAN.

1
Thank you, I am told that we also have uh, delegates here from H-Uhudi uh, we have somebody from Huhudi just to give us a brief account of the situation there. And then if people from the Western Cape could just comment on Kaya-litsha in the context of group areas and removals please.

(Applause).

427- (Pause).

431

431. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Uh, thank you Mr. Chairperson. Uh, the conference of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Eh, we are here believing that this conference is just a follow-up of the people's conference in 1955, in Kliptown.

(Applause).

Eh, and on this basis we give our support to this conference, and to whatever structure that will come up, after the conference. Uh, in situ, in, in areas where removals are being perpetrated by the NATIONALIST PARTY, uh shocking facts are being revealed. Uh, these facts are ~~mourned~~^{meant} to discourage the people from living in areas of their birth right. In Huhudi for example, we've got rent hikes uh, which are definitely meant to keep us out of Huhudi. And what is shocking about this thing is that, the rent monies are used to develop an area where the apartheid regime wants us to live. Uh, and these areas is a, an area which has been designed again by the apartheid re, regime. Uh somewhere in, I don't know MATURA TSHWANA, I don't know what they call it, but it's something like that Bophuthatswana, Bophut. I don't know. Uh, anyway they know it, then they know it better. So that uh, recently facts have been revealed that something like one and half million rand has been given to ~~(inaudible)~~^{PHATIMONY}. It's a place where they want to go, to, to, to move us to. So, eh, to velop, to develop that area. And immediately after the announcement by the President, one and a half million has been given to that area, uh, the administration board uh, revealed it to me personally that, that there's a shortage in the Northern Cape Administration Board for us because of rent ~~areas~~^{ARRRRR}. And they say something like six thousand rand. So that surprisingly enough, they can afford to give one and half million rand to ~~(inaudible)~~^{1/4M/MONEY} and still have a shortage of six thousand rand. Uh, another shocking thing is that people have been stopped from building and this is uh, strategically and conventionally executed. Uh, in that, uh, houses are being build in areas where they be, entised to run to. Uh, one

34/.. . . .

Audimany
 (inaudible) itself. In 1980 sixty families were moved out of Vryburg, out of Huhudi, to (inaudible) ^{*Audimany*} 55 Kilometres from Vryburg, their working place, and they are supposed to travel every day to Vryburg to their working place. And imagine Vryburg has got no proper working conditions, and it has got no employment enough to cater for the people. So that now people have been dumped there so as to be brought only where there is enough work for them. And when shall that be- We don't know. Uh, another shocking thing is that uh, we've got a system which is being uh, perpetrated by our own people, through the form of a Community Council. Uh, this Community Council, uh, goes about taking thing in our behalf.

APD ready
 1

CHAIRMAN.

Sorry, sorry comrade. Can you confine yourself to group areas and removals at this stage please. We will come to the Community Councils.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER CONTINUES.

Ja, so that the Community Council is directly involved in this removal thing. Uh, they pretend. (Applause).

Eh, unfortunately, Mr. Chairperson, our Community Council directly involved so that is why I mentioned it. Uh, in that, they distribute pamphlets which ^{*EXPANS*} ~~has found~~ the con, the good conditions as seen ^{*on*} in (Putumong)? Where they tell people that they shall have electricity, they shall have toilets in their, in their houses. And they shall have title dee, title deeds rights and the like. So that and uh, unfortunately now, we are far from everything to can voice our, our, our, grievances. Uh, anyway fortunately the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT is there, to channel our grievances through. So that this racist strategy of removal of the people deny them their birthright, uh, can be brought to an end. And we, we hope that the people stand up and act to that situation, we I'm not becoming, I, I, I'm not going to become personal but, I would like the people to focus their attention also in Huhudi, so as to avoid the shooting of some of the people resisting removals, as it has been the case in Driefontein, as it has been the case in other areas also. Thank you.

APD ready
 1

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you.
 (Applause).

Can we have an input on Kaya-litsha please. (Inaudible). Uhm, that was a very brief input, thank you Western Cape.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Uh, Mr. chairman and to the house uhm, the Group Areas Act and the removal of people in the Western Cape, as one of the the greatest wounds that we feel, that must be healed uh, in this, uh, in the whole of South Africa. Because we do believe that the Group Areas and removal of people have divided our community to such a extent that we cannot find each other. But we are so happy to know today that uh, via the U.D.F. we as a community will be closer and closer drawn together. Uh, Kaya-litsha I understand it's the interpretation thereof, is a new home. We as the people in the Western Cape, we don't need a no, a new home. We have a home in South Africa. The whole of South Africa belongs to us.

(Applause).

And therefore in the Western Cape, that we feel that, this is another threat and another devisive means whereby they want to divide the so-called uh, Coloured and so-called Indian and so-called African people from uh, make a greater division. We also know that through this uh, a lot of people will be moved from Langa and Guguletto, to the so-called new home. But we reject this ne, this new home, and we believe that all people must decide where they want to be, to live and not be decided by the State where they must live. Kaya-litsha is a threat and we won't accept it. Uh, the Group Areas Act, at this point in time we know that a lot of families has been divided by it, one is in the north end and one is in the west end, and we believe that there must be a community, where people must live as a community and not be divided into separate little groups. Kaya-litsha is a threat and we will fight it and with, the assistance of U.D.F., we, I'm sure, we will overcome. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

599. Thank you Mr. (inaudible). I think it's abundantly clear at this

point that eh the new constitution, that the KOORNHOFF BILLS uh, definitely threaten our people, threaten our existence. The retention of the Group Areas Act and continued removals, are but a part of this. Are there any further brief comments on Group Areas and removals please.

611. MR. KHAN.

Uh, Mr. Chairman and comrades. AMANDLA.)
) X3
)
AUDIENCE AWETHU.)

CHAIRMAN.

615. Can we keep it brief please MR. KHAN?

MR. KHAN.

Uh, In supporting the previous speakers against Group Areas Act, I'm just going to speak on Kaya-litsha. The removals of our Black brothers from Langa and Nyanga. But I do not hold the Government responsible for removing, but I hold all of us responsible, if we look at removal of people from District Six and other parts of the country, what have we done? We stood and look at it. And I'm going to just in brief appeal to everyone this is a very historic occasion today for all of us. And when the time comes that they want to remove our brothers from Langa and Nyanga, against their will. We and other races, the Coloured and Indians must be ready to go in action and stop the removals. Even if we go to jail. By sitting here and watching our people being removed, what will we achieve. Thank you. (Applause).

(20)

8/10/87

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you MR. KHAN, Transvaal.

636. DR. MOTLANA.

I, I think it is, it is instructive to go back and pick up one of the remarks made by our opening speaker, REVEREND CHIKANE. In discussing dumping. In discussing removals it is necessary to view the whole thing in historical perspective. And it has everything to do with the new constitutional proposals. Namely the final denial of 72 percent

of the population of its rights to citizenship. If you understand that and you understand the policy of this Government as being to turn the whole African population into a nation of migrants and commuters. Then you understand it all. I think we do understand that, that need of this Government, if you tour the so-called homelands of the Transvaal, the Kwa-Ndebeles, the Kwa, Ciskei, the Kwa-Mashus, the Kwa-rubbish (laughter), you will realise how determined this Government is to, to deny us finally the cit, citizenship I referred to already. I think we have spoken about the evils of the system. I think in a group like this one, we fully understand the evils attendant upon that evil, eh that system. We need therefore Mr. Chairman to waste a little more time, instead of 683. describing those indescribable evils. In describing (inaudible) I hope that when we leave this meeting this afternoon, this evening, we shall have Mr. Chairman, come up with proposals. With a time table to finally bring this apartheid system to its knees. Thank you.

(Applause).


CHAIRMAN.

1
Thank you MR. MOTLANA. I'd like to use my discretion to close discussion on group areas, at this point, with the approval of the house, I think that our gathering here in MITCHELLS PLAIN, which is the brainchild of the Group Areas Act. It is the place to which people from District Six and other parts of Cape Town were moved. Is a very very strong indication that we are saying no. The next uh, matter which did come up in uh the address this morning is one, where there has been considerable resistance throughout the country. We in fact have the establishment of civic organis.

END OF TAPE 1.

TAPE 2 - SIDE A.

MAA
A

CHAIRMAN.

001. OK can we have the Marshalls to organise another table please.
Where are they, Free State (inaudible), (laughing).

No, we were expecting this dramatic arrival, where are they now
While the Free State delegates are coming in, it was pointed out to
me that I've been a very very naughty boy this morning that I haven't
introduced our important guests to the house and starting on my left
is MR. HASSIN HOWA one of our patrons and the former President of
SACOS. (Applause).

Mr. CHRISTMAS TINTO who's one of the Vice-Presidents of the
Western Cape Region and also a patron. (Applause).

MRS. MAHLANGU who is the mother of the great SOLOMON MAHLANGU also
a patron. (Shouting).

And finally one who needs even less introduction, HELEN JOSEPH.
(Applause).

19. SONG. (38(a))

MAA
A

CHAIRMAN: NKOSI.

XUNDU : AMANDLA.

MAA
A

CHAIRMAN: NGAWETHU.

XUNDU : I'AFRIKA. MAYIBUYE. AUDIENCE : I'AFRIKA.

43. The Free State besides the one delegate, are there any others?

OK, while, while we, while they are coming, eh, can we ask POPO to
read the Resolution on the Cost Of Living please.

47. POPO MOLEFE.

Now, more than ever before we face a serious attack on our Living
standards, millions in our country are jobless, and homeless.

TAPE : SIDE

19 SONG:-

L. :- Noma Kukubi Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Kubi Kubi Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Deda Hendrickse Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Deda Rajbans Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Awu Dede Sebe Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Deda Mathanzima
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi

38(a)/..... Cont.

L. :- Noma Besdubula Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noma Kubi
L. :- Noma Besibopha Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noma Kubi
L. :- Inaudible Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Oba Sebe Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi
L. :- Deda Savimbi Bo
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya
L. :- Siyaya
AUD:- Siyaya Noba Kubi

Government subsidies are shrinking the prices of bread, milk and other commodities are rising. We face crippling price increases. Many are starving in our country of gold. The load is pressing on our shoulders. A few enjoy privileges while most of us live a life of poverty and misery. Our people have a basic right to cheap and nutritious food. We also believe that only in our country in which we have control over the riches, will we enjoy these rights.

Now, therefore, this first National Conference of the U.D.F. held at ROCKLANDS, MITCHELLS PLAIN, CAPE TOWN on the 20th August 1983, resolves:-

1. To continue to struggle for our basic rights, cheap nutritious food and other essentials.
2. To create and join democratic organisations through which we will fight for these rights.

MPA

CHAIRMAN.

^

Just before, eh, I, I'm told there is an addition on the way - Resolutions Committee?

64. SONG LED BY REV. XUNDU (39(a))

20

XUNDU : MAYIBUYE..

AUDIENCE : I'AFRIKA.

XUNDU : I'AFRIKA .

AUDIENCE : MAYIBUYE.

CHANTER : OLIVER.

AUDIENCE : TAMBO (X3). - Accompanied by clapping.

MPA
^

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you, thank you.

27/10/87

TAPE 2 : SIDE 1

62 SONG:-

L. :- Nansi i-Supreme Court
L. :- ivuth'umlilo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Abafana Bomkhonto Bayishay'izolo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Jelous Down
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Jelous Down
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Jelous Down
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Jelous Down
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Nansi Rondebosch ibhek'ezansi Bo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Abafana Bomkhonto Bayishay'izolo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Momomo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Momomo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Ho-Ho-Ho
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Hololo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Nansi Supreme Court ivuth'umlilo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Abafana Bomkhonto bayishay'izolo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Ho-yo-yo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Ho-yo-yo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Ho-yo-yo
AUD.:- Siyaya
L. :- Ho-yo-yo
AUD.:- Siyaya

AUDIENCE : TAMBO.

PAUL DAVID.

Uh, we just want to, to change eh, er add to the uh, noting section of the Resolution. We note now, more than ever before.

We face a serious attack on our living standards. Millions in our country are jobless and homeless. A few privileges while most of us live a life of poverty and misery.

Government subsidies are shrinking the prices of bread, milk and other necessary commodities are rising. We face crippling prices, price increases. Many are starving in our country of gold. The load is pressing on our shoulders this is caused by the Government's Policy of preferentials allocating funds to the Defence, Police and Propaganda. Eh, we further note the unequal and totally inadequate social security benefits in the form of pensions, unemployment insurance and other State grants and the rest of the Resolution is the same.

1. To continue to struggle for our basic rights. To cheap nutritious food and other essentials.
2. To create enjoy democratic organisations through which we will fight for these rights.

CHAIRMAN.

I would like to put the resolution on the Cost of Living to the house for acceptance. Can we accept it?

Yes, thank you.

Now there are yet a few more matters to be discussed. The question of the Ciskei, the question of Bantu-Stans on the whole. Education the constitution and KOORNHOF BILLS, the Military and many others. But because of the pressing time problems at this stage, eh, we are going to introduce another element uhm, of the programme. We are going to read both the declaration and the working principles.

Eh, after lunch these will be put to the house for discussion. So this will give delegates some time together. Over lunch to try and share ideas and eh, develop any amendments. Eh, there will also be an Amendments Committee within each Region, which will try and collate the various amendments which do appear. Uh, these will then be consolidated for the final declaration and working principle, principles later.

We'd like to ask MRS. ELLEN LAMBERT to come up and also MR. TERROR LEKOTA.

SONG. (41(a))

OK, we will ask MRS. ELLEN LAMBERT to read the draft declaration. Delegates and observers will remember that a declaration as adopted at the SELBORNE HALL in JOHANNESBURG, on the 24TH of JANUARY since then this draft has been discussed within each Region, eh, within that period too, the Western Cape Region has come up with another eh, draft declaration. what we are presenting here, is a pooling together of all the ideas that have emerged in discussion of the declaration up until now. MRS. LAMBERT.

ELLEN LAMBERT.

120. It gives me great pleasure to table today the draft resolution of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

We the FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world. We cherish the dream of building a UNITED DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA, based on the will of the people, will strive for unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid and in our march to a free and just South Africa, we are guided by these noble ideals.

We stand for the creation of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate. In the Government of our country.

We stand for a single non-racial South Africa. A South Africa free of Bantu-Stands and Group Areas, we say, all forms of oppression and exploitation, must end, in accordance with these noble ideals and on this 20TH DAY of AUGUST 1983 at ROCKLANDS CIVIC CENTRE, MITCHELLS

TAPE 2 : SIDE 1

106 SLOGAN:-

L. :- Savumelana
AUD.:- Hayi
L. :- Masosha
AUD.:- Hayi - Hayi
L. :- Savumelana
AUD.:- Hayi
L. :- Ne U.D.F.
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- i- U.D.F.
AUD.:- Hayi
L. :- Iyahlanganisa
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Joshua Nkomo
AUD.:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Oscar Mpetha
AUD.:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Msizi Dube
AUD.:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi

(20)
6/10/87

PLAIN. We join hands as community, women, students, religious, sporting organisations and trade unions to say NO to apartheid.

Hence the Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill, a Bill which will create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth. NO to the KOORNHOF BILLS which will deprive more and more African people of their birth right.

YES to the birth of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT on this historic day we know that this Government is determined to break the unity of our people. That our communities will face greater hardships, that Africans, Coloured and Indian areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities.

151. That rent and other basic charges will increase and our living standards will fall. That working people will be divided. African from Coloured and Indians, urban from rural, employed from unemployed, men from women, low wages, poor working conditions, attacks on our trade unions will continue. Students will continue to suffer under unequal education. Ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms. The religious and cultural life of our people will be harmed. The sins of apartheid will continue to be stamped on the culture and religion of our people. The oppression of women will continue. Racial discrimination against women, women will not end. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass laws. Women will be divided from their children. Poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried by our women. Non-racial sport will suffer. There will be less money for the building of sport facilities and forced separation will deal non-racial sport a further blow. We know that apartheid will continue. That white domination will rule the lives of many. That forced removals, the group areas and the Bantustans will remain. We know that there will be, there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of land. That the migratory labour system will live on to destroy family life. We know that the Government will always use false leaders to become its junior partners and to control us. Our lives will still be filled with fears and harassment, banning, detention and death. We commit

ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be, in the cities and country sides, the factories and mines, schools, colleges, universities, houses and sportsfields, churches, mosques and temples to fight for our freedom. We therefore, resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to, work together, to mobilise all community worker, student, women, religious and other organisation under the banner of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Consult our people regularly and honestly and brave, bravely represent their views and aspirations. Educate all about the coming dangers and the need for unity. Build and strengthen their, strengthen all organisations of the people. Unite in action against these bills and other day to day problem, affecting our people, and note and now therefore, we pledge to come together in this UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and fight side by side against, side by side against the Government's constitutional proposals and the KOORNHOF BILLS.

M. M. M. M.
209. CHAIRMAN.

1 Thank you MRS. LAMBERT, uhm, that document will be discussed by delegations and as I pointed out earlier, amendments handed to the various amendment committees set up uh, within each region. Uh, it will be, the document will be adopted after lunch. Then too we have a set of working principles and I'll ask TERROR LEKOTA to uh, read the draft.

215. TERROR LEKOTA.

Uh, good afternoon. My task is to read to you the working principles of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Uh, this document is in fact intended to be the constitution of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. But because of the nature of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT as an alliance of a number of organisations, we have chosen to use the phrase "working principles". But before I start reading the document, may I make a number of points. First of all, you will find that it is a very simple relatively short and easy to read, document. This is of course because it is meant for a wide spectrum of people.

Secondly, and because of that fact, you will also find that, there
229. may be a number of technical points which may be missing. Thirdly, uh, because the, of the nature of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, which is now not an organisation, eh, that is like say, a political party. It became important to draft a kind of document that would allow for

flexibility. Especially because we have got such a wide spectrum of organisations. The drafters of the document were also conscious of the fact that the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, is in a process of growth. In other words its condition is not one that is static. Hence this flexibility had to be built into the working principles. You will find, therefore, that it does not provide for instance for voting. You will also find that it does not, it does not have a strict definition of regions. These of course will be determined
245. from time to time. This is because of the process that this is something that is really in its formative stages. Finally the drafters of the document, hope that this working uh, principles will not be under, at least will not be read apart or perhaps in isolation from the, from the uh, from the declaration and from other document, documents of the uh, front itself. I now proceed to read the working principles. Working principles:-

1. Name. The name of this front is the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.
2. Composition. The U.D.F. shall consist in the first instance of regional formation. The boundaries of which are to be determined by the National Executive Committee, in consultation with regional councils or by the National General Council, from time to time.
3. Aims and Objectives.
 - 3.1. To oppose the constitution and KOORNHOF BILLS, as the, as decided at the first national conference held in Cape Town on the 20th AUGUST 1983, and any future conference.
 - 3.2. To develop the maximum possible participation in the front.
 - 3.3. To encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the U.D.F.
4. Powers.
 - 4.1. The U.D.F. shall have all the powers necessary and desirable to achieve its aims and objectives. These will include the power to (A) collect subscriptions from memberships, from membership, from members, I'm sorry. (B) Receive money from any person and to undertake to perform any work or do anything in return

for such payment provided. (C) Issue publications.
(D) Establish such branches as may be necessary from time to time. (E) Approach such organisations as it deems desirable for support or affiliation.

5. Membership.

5.1. All organisations present at the first national conference otherwise than as observers, shall be members of the U.D.F. subjected to:-

1. Their right of withdrawal.

5.1.2. Review by the national executive committee in consultation with regional councils, or by the national general council from time to time.

5.2. All organisations which are prepared to commit themselves to the declaration policy and to the programme of action, will be eligible to make an application for affiliation through the regional councils.

5.3. The terms of membership of national organisations which are not members of regional committees shall be decided from time to time by a national executive committee in consultation with regional councils.

6. Rights of members.

6.1. All regional formations and member organisations shall have complete independence within the umbrella of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, provided that actions and policies of members are not inconsistent with the policy of the U.D.F.

6.2. The national executive committee in consultation with regional councils, will decide whether or not any inconsistencies exist.

7. Structure.

The front shall comprise:-

7.1. Patrons. The number to be determined by a national general council.

7.2. Regional Formations consisting of:-

7.2.1. An executive committee and 7.2.3. A general council.

7.3. National general council N.G.C.

7.4. National executive committee N.E.C.

8. National general council, N.G.C.

8.1. The N.G.C. will comprise all affiliated organisations and regions.

8.2. The N.G.C. shall meet as and when necessary. But at least once a year.

8.3. Voting rights and representation at any conference or meeting of the N.G.C. shall be determined by the National executive committee in consulta, in consul, in consultation with the regional councils before the meeting or conference.

8.4. The N.G.C. will be the supreme body of the U.D.F.

9. National executive committee.

9.1. The N.E.C. shall comprise:-

9.1.1. The presidency consisting of three presidents.

9.1.2. An executive chairperson appointed by the N.E.C. from time to time.

9.1.3. Two Vice-Presidents appointed by each duly constituted region.

9.1.4. The two secretaries of each constituted region.

9.1.5. Two executive members elected by each constituent region by each constituent region.

9.1.6. Two national treasure, treasurers.

9.2. The N.E.C. will have the power to co-opt persons in its discretion from regions which are not yet duly constituted. Or any other person likely to make a significant contribution to its functions.

9.3. The N.E.C. shall carry out the policy and programme of the U.D.F. as determined by the N.G.C. from time to time.

9.4. The decisions of the N.E.C. shall be carried out by the secretariat which will comprise two secretaries from each region.

10. Finance.

10.1. The U.D.F. shall be empowered to open a banking a, account at a bank or building society.

10.2. All cheques shall be signed by either of the treasurers and one of two other members of the, of the executive committee appointed by the N.E.C. from time to time.

11. Officers.

11.1. The U.D.F. shall employ :-

11.1.1. A general secretary.

11.1.2. A publicity secretary.

11.2. The general secretary and publicity secretary shall be members of the national executive committee.

Thank you.

(Applause).

371. CHAIRMAN.

Thank you. Uh. Thank you TERROR. Now copies of these uh, of

the declaration and working principles will be available to delegations over lunchtime. At this point we have an important announcement to make. And that is that attempts by all those who try to sabotage this gathering of people today, have failed. There are bus loads of people arriving outside wanting to come into this hall.

(Applause).

However, the enthusiasm with which the national launching of the U.D.F. is greeted, is presenting us with some problems as well. We have mouths to feed and we have to work out a system for it. So we applying, we are appealing for maximum co-operation. And it seems as though the only system that can work is if people who are in the hall at the moment, remain in the hall and eat here. We are also making a very special appeal to observers from the Western Cape uh, to try and find themselves uh, and make the sacrifice, for the other regions present uh, we are going to appeal to observers from the Western Cape to leave the hall over lunchtime, and we will allow them back in afterwards. (Laughing). And I'm sure that other delegates and observers present, will give the Western Cape observers a big hand for their sacrifice.

(Applause).

401. Now, we are going to have to feed ourselves very systematically. Uh, the kitchen is. The kitchen is over on that end, and the method suggested is that if we clear a path, uh, which will mean moving that T.V. camera from there, and say start with the Transvaal uh, delegation uh, or form a queue and collect their lunch move onto Natal and Free State and around uh, to the Western Cape. Once the delegates have had their food and are back at their places, uh we would then like to start a similar system for observers. And I think while, while all of that is happening, if we can have a few people, music, if they come to the front and uh lead the singing, while people are collecting their lunch. It would help the spirit.

419. SONG. (48(a)).

MAYIBUYE.

AUDIENCE : I'AFRIKA.

49/.. ..

419. SLOGAN!:-

L. :- Wena Mandela
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Wena Mandela
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Wena Mxe—nge
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Wena Mxe—nge
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Wena Mxe—nge
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngishayimpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngibonimpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngibonimpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Mayibuye
AUD:- I-Afrika

431. SONG. (49(a)) - Chanting OLIVER TAMBO.

465. SONG. (49(b)).

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Hello, hello, just a moment please. Uh, could a lawyer please come to the table for one moment please, if possible. Could a lawyer come to the table please. Uh, we have some people who have been detained.

APP
^

CHAIRMAN.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Okay GEORGE.

(Singing of crowd).

APP
^

CHAIRMAN.

Cape Town observers please, we appeal for co-operation.
(Interruption). ✓

(20)

6/10/87

508. SONG. (49(c)).

534. SONG. (49(d)).

548. SONG. (49(e)).

615. SONG. (49(f)).

TAPE 2 : SIDE 1

431 SONG:-

Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo
Hayi
Yoyoyo Noma Sebekulandela
Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo
Hayi
Yoyoyo Noma Sebekulandela
Sodibana
Noma Sebekulandela
e-South Africa
Noma Sebekulandela
Sesiyodibana
Noma Sebekulandela
e-South Africa
Noma Sebekulandela
Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo
Hayi Yoyoyo
Noma Sebekulandela
Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo
Hayi Yoyoyo
Noma Sebekulandela
Sesiyodibana
Noma Sebekulandela
e-South Africa
Noma Sebekulandela
Sesiyodibana
Noma Sebekulandela
e-South Africa
Noma Sebekulandela
UMandela Hayayaya
Hayayaya
Noma Sebekulandela
UMandela Hayayaya
Hayayaya

Transcribed by 10.

20
6/10/17

49(a) Cont.

Noma Sebekulandela
Sesiyodibana
Noma Sebekulandela
e-South Africa
Noma Sebekulandela
Sesiyodibana
Noma Sebekulandela

49(b) /

465 SONG:-

Hayaya WeThambo
Hayaya Wenzanina
Usafundisamajoni
Hayaya uThambo
UThambo Usehlathini Mama
Hayaya Wenzanina
Usafundisamajoni
Hayi UThambo
UThamb'usehlathini Mama
Hayi Wenzanina
Usafundisamajoni
Hayi UThambo
UThamb'usehlathini Mama

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49(c)/....

TAPE 2 - SIDE 1.

508. SONG.

HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
 HLANGANANI
 HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
 HLANGANANI
 HO IKHONA LENHLANGANO
 HO I U.D.F.
 IKHONA LENHLANGANO
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 HO IKHONA LENHLANGANO
 HO I U.D.F.
 IKHONA LENHLANGANO
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 MANYANANI BASEBENZI
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 HO IKHONA LENHLANGANO
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 IKHONA LENHLANGANO
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MAYIBUYE	AUDIENCE - I'AFRIKA
I'AFRIKA	AUDIENCE - MAYIBUYE
FREEDOM	AUDIENCE - YES
FREEDOM	AUDIENCE - YES
APARTHEID	AUDIENCE - NO
APARTHEID	AUDIENCE - NO
U.D.F.	AUDIENCE - YES
U.D.F.	AUDIENCE - YES
APARTHEID	AUDIENCE - NO
APARTHEID	AUDIENCE - NO

548 SLOGAN:-

L. :- Savumelana
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Masosha
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Savumelana
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Masosha
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Wena Mandela
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Wena Mandela
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Umxenge Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UMsizi Dube
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UMsizi Dube
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Oscar Mpetha
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Archie Gumede
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi

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20

L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngilwe
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngilwe
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Obaba Bethu
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Basemajele
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Omama Bethu
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Basemajele
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- O Barbara Laba
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Basemajele
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UGeli Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Udadewethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UGeli Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Udadewethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngiboni Mpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngiboni Mpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- USebe Lona
AUD:- Hayi

L. :- Impimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- USebe Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Impimpi
AUD:- Voetsek Voetsek
L. :- UGatsha Lona
AUD:- Voetsek
L. :- Impimpi
AUD:- Voetsek Voetsek
L. :- UGatsha Lona
AUD:- Voetsek
L. :- Impimpi
AUD:- Voetsek Voetsek
L. :- Mathanzima Lona
AUD:- Voetsek
L. :- Impimpi
AUD:- Voetsek Voetsek
L. :- Mathanzima Lona
AUD:- Voetsek
L. :- Impimpi
AUD:- Voetsek Voetsek
L. :- Wena Mandela
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Mandela
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Oliver Thambo
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- USlovo Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- USlovo Lona
AUD:- Hayi

49(e)Cont.

L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngiboni mpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngiboni Mpimpi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngilwe
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Kwathangihlanye
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ngilwe
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UXundu Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UXundu Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Archie Gumede
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Oscar Mpetha
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Ubaba Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi

49(e) / Cont.

L. :- Umxenge Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- UMsizi Lona
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umholi Wethu
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Inaudible
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Masosha
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Inaudible
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Masosha
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Shayibazuka)
AUD:- Vru-u-u-u- Vru-u-u- Vru-u-u-u-) (x2)
L. :- Qhumisibhomu
AUD:- Phahla Phahla Phahla
L. :- Qhumisibhomu
AUD:- Phahla Phahla Phahla
L. :- Qhumisibhomu
AUD:- Phahla Phahla Phahla
L. :- i U.D.F.
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umhlanganisi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- i U.D.F.
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Umhlanganisi
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Inaudible
AUD:- Hayi
L. :- Masosha
AUD:- Hayi Hayi
L. :- Inaudible

AUD.	HAYI	
L.	MASOSHA	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	JOSHUA NKOMO	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	UBABA WETHU	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	JOSHUA NKOMO	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	UBABA WETHU	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KWATHANGIHLANYO	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	NGILWE	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KWATHANGIHLANYE	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	NGIBONIMPIMPI	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KWATHANGIHLANYE	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	NGIBONIMPIMPI	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KUKHON'IMPIMPI LA	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	KUKHON'IMPIMPI LA	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KUKHON'IMPIMPI LA	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	KUKHON'IMPIMPI	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KWATHANGIHLANYE	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	NGIBON'IMPIMPI	
AUD.	HAYI HAYI	
L.	KWATHANGIHLANYE	
AUD.	HAYI	
L.	NGIBON'IMPIMPI	
	MAYIBUYE	AUDIENCE - I'AFRIKA
	I'AFRIKA	AUDIENCE - MAYIBUYE

TAPE 2 - SIDE 1.

615. SONG.

L. SIKHALA NGOGASA
AUD. SIKHALA NGOGASA
L. SIKHALA NGOGASA
AUD. SIKHALA NGOGASA
L. NGOGASA
L. UGAS 'UPHEHLAMANZAMNYAMA
AUD. UPHEHLAMANZAMNYAMA
L. UPHEHLAMANZAMNYAMA
L. UPHEHLAMANZAMNYAMA
AUD. UPHEHLAMANZAMNYAMA
L. UGASA U
L. SIKHALA NGOSEBE
AUD. SIKHALA NGOSEBE
L. SIKHALA NGOSEBE
AUD. SIKHALA NGOSEBE
L. NGOSE
L. USEBE UPHE
L. HO UPHEHLAMANZAMNYA
AUD. UPHEHLAMANZAMNYAMA
L. UPHEHLAMANZAMNYA
L. NZAMNYA
L. USEBE UPHEHLA
AMANDLA AUDIENCE - AWETHU

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you. Thank you.

TAPE 2 - SIDE B.

AAA
A
008. CHAIRMAN.

Amended and then adopted. We call for a resolution on education.
We call for a resolution on education.

SPEAKER.

One two, one two.

27. CURTIS NKONDO.

Mr. Chairperson, comrades, um I would like to make, some uh amendments to the resolution on education here.

AAA
A
CHAIRMAN.

Would you like to read it first please uh.

NKONDO.

Yes.

AAA
A
CHAIRMAN.

MR. NKONDO.

NKONDO.

Uh, noting:-

- (1) That a separate an interior - an inferior system of education for the majority of the people of South Africa eh promotes inferior and undemocratic ideas, now instead of promotes, I have entrenched.
- (2) That this education system is designed to promote the interests of apartheid, the change is, that this education system is designed to entrench apartheid.

AAA
A
CHAIRMAN.

Excuse me excuse me MR. NKONDO, could you read the resolution first and then amend.

NKONDO.

Alright, alright.

- (3) The courageous struggles being waged by our students across the length and breadth of our country.
- (4) The continued harassment of democratic student organisations in our schools, technikon colleges and Universities and believing that:-

- (1) Our student struggle rises out of genuine, genuine grievances.

- (2) Education should be free, equal, relevant and compulsory in a united South Africa.

- (3) The education system in South Africa should be based on the needs of the people.

- (4) Unequal access to the wealth and resources of our country means that, eh, very few of the oppressed people have access to higher education.

- (5) Overcrowded classrooms and unqualified teachers have the same root causes as high rents or housing shortages.

Hereby resolve under the banner of the U.D. - U.D.F.

- (1) To fully support the struggles being waged by our students.
- (2) To continue the fight and demand for the single non-racial and democratic system of education for all in a democratic South Africa.

CHAIRMAN.

You have heard the resolution would you like to propose your amendments please.

NKONDO.

Yes, Mr. Chairperson. Eh. In the, in noting that:-

- (1) That, the separate and inferior systems of education for the majority of the people of South Africa, entrenches inferiority and undemocratic ideas.

MP
^
CHAIRMAN.

Could we have a copy of that eh, proposed, could we have a copy of that education resolution on the table here please. Please proceed - eh.

MP
NKONDO.

- (2) That this education system is designed to entrench apartheid.

MP
^
56. CHAIRMAN.

MP
^
Proceed.

NKONDO.

Thank you, uhm (3) and (4) No alterations, and believing that (1) (2) and (3) No alterations. (4) Unequal access to the wealth and resources of our country means that - um - means that um I don't see wha-education of equality and the- primary and secondary level. I can't see this very well Mr. Chairman. Unequal access to the wealth and resources of our country means that very few people of the oppressed people, very few of the oppressed people have access to higher education for that matter to education of quality at the primary and secondary level and then, hereby resolve (3) should have (3) instead of (2) that students, that student, teacher and community organisations should unite in order to fight for democratic education three resolutions instead of (2), (3), thanks.

MP
^
CHAIRMAN.

You have heard the resolution as amended, would you like it re-read or can we accept it? Ja, what? Could you read it in its final form please.

081. CURTIS NKONDO.

"Uhm, noting:

- (1) That the separate inferior edu, system of education for the

majority of the people of South Africa entrenches inferiority and undemocratic ideas.

- (2) That this system, this education system is designed to entrench apartheid.
- (3) The courageous struggles being waged by our students across the length and breadth of our country.
- (4) The continued harassment of democratic student organisations in our schools, technikon colleges and Universities and believing that:-

- (1) Our students struggles rises out of genuine grievances.
- (2) Education should be free equal, relevant and compulsory in a united South Africa.
- (3) The education system in South Africa should be based on the needs of the people.
- (4) Unequal access to the wealth and resources of our country means that, means that very few of the oppressed people have access to high education or for that matter, to education of quality at the primary and secondary level.

(5) Overcrowded classrooms, and unqualified teachers have the same root causes, as high rents or housing shortages. Hereby resolve under the banner of the U.D.F.

- (1) To fully support the struggles being waged by students.
- (2) To continue the fight and demand for a single non-racial and democratic system of education for all in a democratic South Africa.
- (3) That student, teacher and community organisations should unite in order to fight for democratic education

CHAIRMAN.

108. You have heard the resolution as amended. Can we have acceptance please? Yes, thank you. We would like to call for a resolution on bantustans. (Coughing). Also while that is happening, delegates and observers who have not had food yet. The food has arrived and the people could just indicate by raising their hands. Bantustands?

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Behind you.

CHAIRMAN.

Could you take the microphone please. On eh no, that mike works SQUIRE that mike works.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

You, you have on eh, we have hereby resolved under the banner of the U.D.F.

(1) To fully support the struggle being waged by our students.
I'd like to add one thing especially the idea of the education charter. Just that sentence.

CHAIRMAN.

There was a further amendment, especially the idea of the education charter. Is that acceptable. Yes? I'm not hearing a yes.

AUDIENCE.

Yes.

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you. We call for a resolution on Bantustands. No? The Ciskei?

133. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

One, Comrade Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. It's not working nê?

Comrade chairman eh, we, we have escaped somehow from eh, the present Ciskei, to be here today.

(Applause).

We did our level best, that under, any circumstances, we cannot fail to be present at this historic meeting. And of course in our drive to be here, we're inspired by other events, that had happened in the course of the liberation struggle in our country here. And we knew perfectly well, that eh, what is being done, by the administrators in the Ciskei, is not something which has no precedent in our struggle for liberation, and eh, freedom in our country. We are supposed to have arrived here in a number of buses but eh, last night at the last minute, eh, the CCIS in the Ciskei, approached the owners of the buses and told them that, it's either that they allow a delegation from the Border region to come to this conference in their buses or they lose their licences to carry on businesses anywhere else in the Transkei, in, in the Ciskei. (Whistling). Now at the present, present moment, eh, there is a, a state of emergency that is operating, and it is no figure of speech to say that we are under a seige in that part of our country. A number of trade unionists have been locked up and eh, the President of the SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKER'S UNION MR. Comrade THOZAMILE GQWETA was supposed to have been part of this delegation. His presently in hiding somewhere in that region. Because he's being sought by both the SEBE boys and eh, the, the PIK BOTHA boys.

(Applause).

At the same time one eh lawyer who has been handling cases in the 173. troubled area, eh, Comrade eh, JINTSA SOUISA (?), has been picked up and locked up by the Ciskei Government. So that it is quite clear that they did everything in their power to see to it that, we did not pitch up at this conference at all. Now in that sort of 178. situation, particularly in one area MDANTSANE, where when you get out in the morning, leaving your kids behind, going to work. They are not sure that their mother or their father is going to come back alive. The possibility is either that they will be told by somebody to go and identify a body in the mortuary at CAMBRIDGE in the so, in the Republic, which resembles perhaps, anyone of their parents. That

has resulted in the students in the various townships there, staging
185. walk-outs from schools. They are pointing that, they cannot go to
work when their parents are being shot at, at all stations in and
187. around MDANTSANE. Now this emanates from the bus boycott which is
184. going on at the present moment, and eh, the determination of the
people to go on with the bu, with the bus-boycott has not been abated
by all forms of harassment from the SEBE gangsters in the Ciskei.

(Applause).

So that in the circumstances we want to come up with a resolution
which eh will be of course, an umbrella resolution, covering all
aspects of life in the Ciskei. From the workers point of view, from
the students point of view, from eh, the people's point of view.
It's a resolution that covers every aspect of our life, we have not
deemed it fit to eh, to at accept aspects of life in the Ciskei in
this resolution. Noting that Ciskei is a shock absorber body intended
to police and persecute the oppressed people in that part of the
country in the interest of the racist BOTHA, MALAN, KOORNHOF click.
And noting further that the ruthless harassment and denial of
fundamental, democratic rights to our people in that part of the
country is not an accident. But a general expression of the
tyranny under which, of, of the tyranny which grinds our people
throughout, throughout the system of divisive separate development.
We resolve that the struggle of our people in that part called
Ciskei is indeed the struggle of the assembled democrats here and
democrats throughout the length and breadth of our country. Thank
you Comrade Chairman.

(Applause).


CHAIRMAN.

Thank you. Can we give our heroic delegate from the Ciskei a big hand.

214. (Applause).

UNKNOWN PERSON.

AMANDLA.

RRA
A

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you.

AUDIENCE.

AWETHU.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Uh, Mr. Chairman uh, and eh, honoured people round here, we just want to correct one big mistake which keeps on recurring. From, we are not a delegation from the Ciskei. We are a delegation from the Border region.

CHAIRMAN.

My apologies.

(Applause and laughter).

We call for a resolution on dummy bodies.

224. UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Eh, thank you Mr. Chairman. Uh, Mr. Chairman and I'm getting up here in support of the (inaudible) for Ciskei. Eh, hello? Uh, I'm, I'm getting up in support of the Ciskei, Uh, Mr. Chairman, I feel.

OBSERVERS.

Border.

FEMALE (CONT).

Border region. Eh, I'm getting up on a resolution from people of the urban areas in support of the Border regions. Eh, because we in the bor, in the, in the, in the, in the urban areas are supporting the SEBES Government. When they come into the towns, we give them money to buy the arms. We, we give them moneys to, to build bigger prisoners. On those basis Mr. Chairman, I will appeal to all of us, nationally under the banner of U.D.F. to reject any Government, homeland government that comes into the towns. And we must have a campaign to go along to our peoples in our areas, not to support them with finance. Those monies are buying arms and guns to kill

our people I remember last year when SEBE came to Cape Town.

250. Nineteen thousand fifty (cents) was raised, right in the Western Cape to support SEBE. So on this basis Mr. Chairman, I'll move, I'll, I, I'll resolution for the urban areas to reject any financially and support for homelands to come and have meetings in urban areas. Thank you.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

250. Thank you. Are there any further resolutions from the floor?

UNKNOWN FEMALE.

- It's on - I think that it's really important that, gathered here today, we take a resolution on the issue of the increasing militarisation in our society and in relation to the role that the S.A.D.F. is playing. People here are surely aware that while our people in South Africa are without jobs, are homeless, there's a huge housing backlog and people are starving in the homelands. The S.A.D.F. is spending one million rand a day on the war in Namibia. And the people of Namibia have rejected the role that the S.A.D.F. is playing, and see the S.A.D.F. as an army of occupation. At the same time, we have a civil war in our own country. We have after incidents like Soweto
266. '76 of (inaudible) KTC, Driefontein, Lamontville and what's going on in the Ciskei at the moment. More and more of the, of South Africa's youth giving up any hope of a peaceful solution in South Africa, and crossing our borders to take up arms. There's a civil war in South Africa and the S.A.D.F. is playing the role of defending apartheid. At the same time, the S.A.D.F. is going across the borders and destabilising our brothers and sisters who are trying to build a eh democratic nation over the borders. And the S.A.D.F. is trying to destabilise that, increaingly, the military is playing a role in decision making in South Africa as well. Let us not fool ourselves that these new constitutional, these new constitutional proposals, do not have the hand of the military in them. They do. Military can see that in order to maintain apartheid in South Africa, maintain white domination, it's necessary to win the hearts and minds of a greater constituency of South Africa's people and simply the white one. And that's one of the reasons behind the constitutional
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proposals, an attempt to co-opt people from the Coloured and Indian population specifically. And it's for this, for these reasons, uhm, that more and more young white South Africans who are called up to serve in the Defence Force had thought that they simply cannot do so, that it is in a sense that, that the S.A.D.F. is the defender of apartheid and 3000 approximately 3000 young white South Africans, leave the country every year to evade serving in the military and at the same time, more and more young white South Africans are prepared to go to jail, rather than serve in the S.A.D.F.

(Applause).

291. The HENDRICKSE'S and CURRY'S have been hinting along with P.W. BOTHA that one of the implications of the new constitution of the new constitution will be that um, the youth from the so-called Coloured and Indian populations, will be expected to fight to defend apartheid. And this is one of the implications of the new constitution that we cannot ignore. And it's for this reason that I want to put this motion forward, to call on all of us here to unite in call in in, in calling for an end to conscription in South Africa and saying that um and calling for, for, for conscription not to be introduced in those groupings who had at not at present. I'd just like to read the motion. Noting:-

- (1) The increased militarisation and massive defence budget of our country. While our people are deprived of the basic necessities for living.
- (2) The continued acts of aggression perpetrated by the S.A.D.F. against our neighbouring states.
- (3) The growing instances of young people resisting conscription into the South African Army.
- (4) That the S.A.D.F. is involved in a campaign to win the hearts and minds of young children and communities through the organisation of youth camps. And believing:-

(1) That the S.A.D.F. is being used by the South African regime to uphold white domination.

(2) That the government intends through its constitutional bill to compel Indians and Coloureds to join the army to defend apartheid. Thereby resolves:-

(1) To resist all forms of militarisation.

(2) To demand an end to compulsory conscription.

(3) To demand that the S.A.D.F. ceases its campaign to destabilise our neighbouring states.

318. (Applause).

AP
CHAIRMAN.

Thank you. Do we take that. Is there a amendment? Another resolution? Is there an amendment? I, uh, I think that we're just going to have to I'm sorry are you a delegate or an observer. I'm sorry. Should we allow it or not.

AUDIENCE.

Yes.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

I'd just like to, I'd just like to add under um, resolves, to add in um, the resolving clause - to support those people in whatever way possible, who have chosen not to go uh, to the S.A.D.F.

AP
AUDIENCE.

Applause.

AP
336. CHAIRMAN.

Is that accepted. There was a further resolution. Natal.

PADDY KEARNEY.

PADDY KEARNEY.

I want to propose a resolution about Namibia. May I read it? I'd like to propose a resolution concerning Namibia. For many years the people of Namibia-like us in South Africa, have been subjected to the tyranny of racist rule. Increasingly allegations are being made of S.A.D.F. brutality in that country. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally, despite fierce resistance from the Namibian people and condemnation from the international community. We believe that the struggle of Namibia's people against South African rule, is a just one. That the Namibian struggle is our struggle. We therefore:-

- (1) Demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia.
- (2) Reject with contempt, the attempt by the United States in particular, to link the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia, with that of the Cubans, from Angola. And
- (3) Pledge our full and unqualified support to the her, heroic struggle of the Namibian people under the gallant leadership of SWAPO.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you, are there any amendments to that?

363. UNKNOWN PERSON.

No, there can't be. (Laughing).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

(Inaudible). Is that we further demand that the South African Defence Force cease all extramural activity in Angola.

CHAIRMAN.

I think that, that's out of order. Namibia is not Angola.

62/.. . . .

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

(Inaudible). Activities of the S.A.D.F. in Angola, actually stems from the Namibian situation.

FAD
CHAIRMAN.

^ Is that okay with the mover. (okay). Any further amendments?

There's a further amendment uh, from the resolutions committee. We therefore demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia and this is the addition. And the unconditional release of all Namibians in South African jails. Yes.

(Applause).

FAD
CHAIRMAN.

^ Further resolutions? IMAM SOLOMONS?

IMAM SOLOMONS?

One two - oh . one . one.two.one Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, the uh, resolution on Bantustands. I don't think we have resolved that matter here yet. We have not resolved it. And uh, I wish to add to it maybe we, can finally uh, draft a resolution on bantustands. That first of all, we reject the bantustand policy and bantustands unqualifiedly. We note that the bantustan policy and the group areas, is the half-mark of apartheid. It's a known fact that the bantustands, and this is even known by those who advocate
406. this policy, that is economically (not viable). But we say even though, this racist regime can supply the technology to make it economically viable, we reject it because we believe that the country, the land of South Africa, belongs to the South Africans. Secondly we note that we reject the situations in this country where 13 percent of the land belong, is occupied by more than 75 percent of the population. We also note that in the so-called bantustands, we find that the people, themselves are showing complete rejection of the bantustand policy. We also note that the official pay perpetrators of the policy of separate development in the so-called bantustands, they are today are doing their masters(?) against the resistance of the people in the so-called bantustands.

63/.. ..

417. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you IMAM SOLOMONS. Are there further resolutions. Okay.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Uh, chairperson I uh, still on the question of bantustand and I want to convey this, to the masses.

(Zulu). (63(a)).

We got very few Red Indians, because of the similar policy. And in Australia the Aboriginees of Australia (Zulu). (63(b)). Thank you Mr. Chairman.

450. CHAIRMAN.

(Inaudible). Sue?

SUE.

Uh, I doubt very much uh to say is any need of further motivation. People could see that women were given uh, this kind of, let (inaudible) speak.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

I want to read the, re, resolution on women. This conference notes that, that the extent that which women are organised, is a barometer of the level of the struggle as a whole. That many of our finest and bravest wo, uh, of women have been forced into exile, by the apartheid system. That this system thrives on division. One of which the divisions between man and women, created by unequal wages and conditions of employment. In equality before the law and the vicious application of removals and pass laws against women. We believe that the ^{goal} goal of full recognition of all women of freedom, happiness and reunity for our children, cannot be achieved in the present political and economic situation. That oppression in South Africa cannot be wholly removed, without the removal of oppression women. We therefore call on all women to bring their organisation into the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, so that we can make real, our commitment to

63(a) /.. ..

Ngifuna ningizwe kahle ukuba kungani iBantustan singayifuni. Lomthetho weBantustan ligama elithi Bantustan kodwa siyazi umthetho owenza abantu babuthelelwe ndawonye, kuyaziwa ukuthi lababantu nibaqhubelela lapho leso sizwe singeke sande sizokufa siphele. Uma ngenza kancane ikhophi yaleyoBantustan lapho yenziwa khona mandulo nje ngamaRed Indians. Aphela ngoba kwenziwa leyoBantustan noma yayingabizwa kanjalo. Kungako namhlanje

451 UNKNOWN PERSON:-

Abekho babulawa yilomthetho. Therefore thina la kufanele siwale lomthetho weBantustan ngoba uya uyawusiqeda uhlanga lwakithi luyawuphela uma siwuvuma, kungakho ngithi singawuthandi.

fight shoulder to shoulder, with our men-folk, the common struggle
478. against race, class and social discrimination. Mr. Chairman I can
further motivate that uhm we believe that the women are the barometer
of the struggle, the system that we live under, we need strong women
that is why we call all women, that, this, we believe that there
should be a special call to all women in whatever grouping that we
may, find themselves in. When the FREEDOM CHARTER was drafted, in
486. 1955, there was a clause that came from the WOMEN'S CHARTER. And that
was incorporated within the FREEDOM CHARTER. So we believe at that
time that all people of South Africa who have got together in the similar
manner that U.D.F. would have got itself together. That is why we also
believe that, a, a call to women must also be, be made here in the
U.D.F. as well. Thank you very much Mr. Chairman.

(Applause).

M. J. NAIDOO
492. CHAIRMAN.

Thank you, is there any amendments? Are there any further resolu-
tions on matters not covered? There is one M.J., M.J. NAIDOO.

497. M.J. NAIDOO.

(Mr. Chairman Natal resolution on) (very faint). Hello. Thank you
Mr. Chairman. This is a Natal resolution on imperialism. That's
a subject which speaks for itself and this resolution is fairly simple
and clear. It relates to the assistance and support, which the
South African Government gets from both the British Government and
the United States. And eh, just to add that these are the only remaining
friends that the South African Government can call upon, and strongly
enough, these are the governments, uh, that the South African govern-
ment will refer to as the civilised and western civilised nations.
And some of us have grave doubts about that as well. Without further
ado, (Applause), the resolution reads, we note with concern the
support of the THATCHER and REAGAN ADMINISTRATIONS for the South African
governments constitutional proposals. We know that the U.S. govern-
ment, through its policy of so-called constructive engagement, is really
only furthering its own economic interests in our country at the
expense of the well-being of our people. This unashamed greed and
callous support for this unpopular and undemocratic government by the

U.S. cannot stop us in our march towards freedom.

(Applause).

And cannot crush our resistance. We therefore believe:-

- (1) That all foreign governments must recognise the right of other people to live in a non-racial democratic country.
- (2) That those who claim to believe in the noble ideals of democracy, have the obligation to support the just struggles, of the South African people. Now therefore, this first national conference of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, held at ROCKLANDS, MITCHELL'S PLAIN, CAPE TOWN on the 20TH AUGUST 1983, resolves:-

- (1) To demand the immediate end to the U.S., British governments support for the South African government and finally
- (2) To reject the policy of the so-called constructive engagement and demand the immediate end to any support for the South African government. Thank you.

(Applause).

Amendment
 545. CHAIRMAN.
 1

Is there an amendment? Switch it on please. Okay where's the floating mike? (Blowing into microphone - whistling).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Okay. I, want to support eh the last speaker there, the resolution. I want to add that eh, there is another dangerous nation in the world, which is siding with the terrorist government of South Africa. That is the people, the, the BEGIN ADMINISTRATION, is working hand in glove and co-operates (Applause) and co-operates very strongly with the racist regime. More than anybody else, because, the SEBE boys are trained and if you remember and recall that eh, SEBE returned quickly from Israel, where he went to look for more arms to destroy the Ciskei. The people who are trained today by the South African Government, 571 Ciskeians. Therefore, the Israels are as sinful as the Americans.

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Therefore (applause).

One other reason of not excluding the Israelis, if you remember their brutal killings of the people of Palestine are similar to the ones which are happening in South Africa in, in, you know the racist minority.

(Applause).

592 The racist BOTHA regime is applying in fact the same, so they go on the same trend. So we can never exclude the Israelis from any way or the other. They are one and the same, with the Americans and we, are, you know, and the British in their imperialist purpose. Thank you, comrade chairperson.

(Applause).

RAA
↑
CHAIRMAN.

Is the amendment accepted, or the addition. Are there any further resolutions? Okay. There are one, two, three, and then I, I think that will be the last nê?

600. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Thank, thank you Mr. Chairman. I stand here unafraid on behalf of eh, MUSSAKANE (?) YOUTH ORGANISATION, because I think eh, young people eh, should not be forgotten on things concerning the liberation of, of an oppressed person. Eh, we fully support the initiative of the U.D.F. in putting the underdogs together as brothers and sisters, under one democratic umbrella. Uh, quoting from what eh Professor MATHEWS of the UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE once said, he said that it would be better if apartheid was based on whether people were dirty or clean. Because by now, we would all have gone to the shop to buy some soap.

(Applause).

In order to wash our bodies er we could all have gone to the pad where they wash their bodies to be white.

RAA
↑
CHAIRMAN.

Sorry, is is there a re, resolution coming up?

67/.. ..

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Yes.

APP
1

CHAIRMAN.

Okay.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Yes, but now it is dreadful to notice that eh, apartheid is based on the colour of the skin, something we cannot do anything about it. It is always said that whenever the days of any government are numbered, she immediately tightened the screws. By that I mean, we should anticipate all acts of malevolence from this apartheid regime. It has become clear to everybody that all government-created bodies, are there to perpetuate the status quo than the the (inaudible) 639. solely depends on us to create grass-roots organisation like U.D.F. which formed by ordinary people, so I say. All young people in my organisation as well as other organisation fully support UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Thank you.

APP
1

(Applause).

640. CHAIRMAN.

Okay, I saw a hand there.

END TAPE 2 - SIDE B.

TAPE 3 - SIDE A.

AAA
CHAIRMAN.

^ on whose achievements we build. This day marks another march forward for the oppressed democratic people on the long road to ridding our country of the scourge of racism, oppressors and exploitation. Let this gathering give us all new determination to send down more and more strong roots into the community on the factory shop floor and building sites in the townships and towns in the settlement camps and rural areas, in the churches and mosques and in the schools, colleges and universities. Let this gathering give us new strength to unite, mobilise and organise all our people and let us go forward sparing neither effort, nor courage to create a new South Africa based on the FREEDOM CHARTER of the oppressed people. PROFESSOR ISMAEL MOHAMMED, Chairman of the TRANSVAAL ANTI-P.C.

(Applause).

To this historic conference, the greetings, that resound the spirit of our heroes, MANDELA, LUTHULI, TAMBO, BIKO, MARKS, KATHRADA, AGGETT and EMMA MAROON. This is, this is one more even in the process that began with the the work of DUBE and SAEMA QALATHA (?) within the work of GHANDI who became MAHATMA and with the strength of freedom fighters of generations past and generations to come we dedicate ourselves once again to the FREEDOM CHARTER and the non-racial South Africa. And with that same strength we reject the constitutional proposals of the NATIONALIST PARTY as fraudulent. AMANDLA FATIMA MEER.

(Applause).

Then too we have received some disturbing news from the Transvaal. A comrade, comrade named NORMAN MONYAPOTI (?) was shot dead on Tuesday, NORMAN was to have been one of the delegates from the Transvaal. He was shot dead eh in Maledi Soweto and his body was pumped with six bullets. We will now proceed with the resolutions obviously we have lost a lot of time. There are still a number of im, important aspects to cover, we are having problems.

af/ran andubchun 69/... ..

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Mr. chairman person, friends in the struggle, this resolu, resolution relates to detentions and repression and it is as follows. This first national conven, conference of the U.D.F. condemns the South Africa gover, government for its policy of detaining opponents of apartheid under its draconian and undemocratic laws. We demand:-

- (1) The immediate release of all detained under security legislation.
- (2) The release of all political prisoners.
- (3) The repeal of all security legislation relating to the detention banning and banishment of people engaged in the freedom struggle.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you, are there any amendments, any amendments, if not, LIONEL, eh sorry.

SPEAKER.

Mr. Chairman, Hallo.

CHAIRMAN.

The mikes working.

SPEAKER.

Mr. chairperson what I would like to add on the question of uh political prisoners, detainees. One point I would like to add is that, apart from political prisoners and detainees, there should also be the unconditional retu, return of all political exiles. One other point is that it is the conference of this nature that can work along the lines of bringing to the notice of those who are in power, the need of a national convention consisting of all the people of this country with a view of shaping the future of this country. So these are the points I wanted to add on the release of all political prisoners, unconditionally so that is my addition, on top of that because the future of this country lies on the wishes of all the people of

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(20) G 107 87



this country irrespective of colour, creed or sex and I'm mindful of the fact that there are people in this country who still believe that people of a particular colour are the only people that are better than other people. So, the most important thing is that people of this country should unite on equal basis in all spheres of life and shape the future of this country. That is the addition.

AAH

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

Thank you, I, I have a very severe problem at this stage. There are people arriving for the rally and we cannot start late. There are number of changes to be made. We still have to adopt a set of 72. working principles. We still have to adopt a declaration, we also still have to uh elect the office bearers of the national U.D.F. I would appeal at this stage for resolutions to be held back and they could be submitted, with that too. I'd like to hand the chair over to VIRGIL BONHOMME.

(Applause).

77. [VIRGIL BONHOMME.]

79. Can we have a song meanwhile please.

SONG. (Inaudible).

SONG. (70(a)).

SONG. (70(b)).

SPEAKER.

Comrades, time is against us, comrades comrades, uhm, we know time is against us and at the same time we got a very very important discussion to take place. Uh the member committee have met during the recess. There are amend, amendments to the declaration which is not yet formulated. So at in the meantime we gonna we gonna present again the the working progress with the amendments. TERROR LEKO. TERROR LEKOTA will do that now.

100. SONG. (70(c)) One, two, hullo AMANDLA. AWETHU, AMANDLA, AWETU. FREEDOM IS OURS. FREEDOM IS OURS.

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

87 SONG:-

Hlanganani Basebenzi

Hlanganani

Hlanganani Basebenzi

Hlanganani

70(b) /

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

89 SONG:-

Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo
Inaudible
Yimbi Lendawo
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo

(Clapping and talking inbetween).

70(c) /

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

113 SONG:-

L. :- (Inaudible) Sikhalel 'uThambo
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
L. :- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)
AUD:- Sikhalel 'uThambo
L. :- (Inaudible)

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TERROR LEKOTA.

125. Uh comrades, I'm eh requested to ask that uh as much as possible we allow for progress, so that we can have a better opportunity to sing at a later stage. Now, just before we adjourn for lunch and read the working principles to these sitting here. It does appear from the report of the amendments committee there, that, there has not been any amendments moved unless there has been an oversight, is there anybody perhaps who did move an amendment to the working principles? If not I will read. Yes can you please, oh can, can.

135. SPEAKER.

We have moved it and submitted to the amendments committee on the working principles.

137. TERROR LEKOTA.

Was that towards the end of the working principles? One of the again can you perhaps uh formulate it.

138. SPEAKER.

Ja it comes under three aims and objects and we intended it to be three (four) (inaudible).

141. TERROR LEKOTA.

Oh It does appear that uh we have uh the amendment here only one amendment. Eh, that is clause three isn't it. Yes. It says that, uh, clause three as you will remember reads as follows:-

Aims and objectives:-

3(1) To oppose the constitution and KOORNHOF BILLS as decided at the first National Conference held in Cape Town on the 20th of August 1983 and any future conference.

3(2) To develop the maximum possible participation in the front.

3(3) To encourage and assist democratic and full participation in the U.D.F. The amendment is reads as follows in that clause. "We further resolve that the U.D.F. does not and will not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited peoples liberation movements. That is uh the proposed infact addition

164. I repeat it again, we further resolve that the d, U.D.F. does not and will not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited people's liberation movements. (Applause).
Alright I read it slowly so that you can copy it if you will copy it into your own copies. We further resolve we further resolve that the U.D.F. that the U.D.F. does not and will not purport does not and will not purport to be a substitute movement will not purport to be a substitute movement, to accredited peoples liberation movements, will and not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited peoples liberation movement. Everybody got it, eh if you have then that is the only addition to the working principles added to that section.
Uhm.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

182. Mr. Chairman I create the injunctions? uhm, that I did not submit uh the amendments earlier, but I feel a little unhappy that uhm the aims and objects of this August organisation should be limited to one to oppose the constitution and the KOORNHOF BILLS and almost ends there. With your permission I would like to propose that we extend then a little further and say the U.D.F. will in addition continue the fight for democratic rights in South Africa until complete equality has been achieved. You see uhm that that can be rephrased that as it is Mr. Chairman, this whole purpose of the whole organisation seems
196. to be almost entirely limited to the opposition to the constitutions constitutions as made by the P.C. and the KOORNHOF BILLS, period, I may be wrong but uh it seems to me that the interpretation.

TERROR LEKOTA.

199. Uhm May I perhaps eh draw your attention uh with regard to your submission quite evidently it is a, a noble submission I mean the the point which you are suggesting is so, but it does appear that in the thinking that lay behind or that lies behind the U.D.F. understood as specifically a front and an an alliance therefore of a number of organisations specifically coming together to challenge this legislation it seems that this the, the basic thing really, is that the U.D.F. set out specifically to fight this legislation. Now one of the important things which seem that uh to demand the careful consideration is the fact that the U.D.F. must not set for itself goals which are beyond

wh which, which whilst they are not really they don't really conflict with the general spirit of the fight for a democratic South Africa. But are somewhat beyond the confines of what it has set out at least proclaimed that it is setting out to do. Nevertheless I would like if eh unless ja will perhaps eh some people may want to make some contribution with regard to this eh, eh, eh, eh submission you have made. But on behalf of the uhm, uhm constitutions of of, of, of the drafting eh committee there, the thinking is that, the objectives must be in keeping with what the front is set out for.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

225. Can, can, can, we allow allow TERROR to continue to read this. We set up a procedure before lunch time that a a amendment committee will be set up from certain regions, they will meet at lunch time an amendment should have been handed through that cont. through that committee through the process what was set up, what everybody agreed up with. We running out of time we at, at a, at a crucial stage where where we gonna find ourselves jammed up here for another hour.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

If I may withdraw then Mr. Chairman, but I I'd like to say eh that
231. we should be given an opportunity then after this conference to eh, suggest further amendments.

TERROR LEKOTA.

235. Now, in view of the fact that there are no further amendments to the working principles.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

(inaudible) why, why, eh, I was in actually to make a follow up on the point raised by DR. MOTLANA and eh I feel that even if though it it's very important that you can put that into consideration even if the U.D.F. is specifically formed on the basis of the P.C. proposals
249. and the KOORNHOF BILLS. But the the aims and objectives of the U.D.F. needs to be on going in a way.

 CHAIRMAN. (2)

My friend, my friend you, you are out of order at this stage. The
250. point has been withdrawn.

SPEAKER.

He has withdrawn it but I am trying to emphasize you the relevance
251. and the significance of this point.

CHAIRMAN.

I think that has been explained eh, why why the front what set up
on what on what eh basis the front was set up and why it was in
important that we stick to that at this stage. I think that has been
explained already.

SPEAKER.

257. Ja, but that must be considered at a later stage.

LEKOTA.

Um.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Can yes eh PROF. COOVADIA (member from the audience there's a good
one - here, a a, good, me).

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Hallo Mr. Chairman with your permission I think this is a essential
point in our understanding of what a front organisation is and if you
allow me to I could explain eh about two minutes what I think uh the
issue is, and possibly clear up some of the misconception. Do I have
your permission Mr. Chairman.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Yes what is your (inaudible).

REV. XUNDU.

Mr. Chairman sir you have ruled that this matter to be held in
abeyance and that if there are any discussions of this matter it
should be at regional level and I suspect that you have already dis-
allowed two speakers from there another region it may look unfair
therefore for various. However, good intentions his submissions is to
allow the speakers at this stage. I think that you, your ruling be
sustained and that, we going on with, with, with this business. That
if there are any amendments which people participate on this they

should go to the regions at a later stage, possibly this can be given an opportunity, but after you have given the ruling. Mr. Chairman I think it is unfair that they should allow it discussion to go on in this matter in particular.

284. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Mr. Chairman I accept, I accept REV. XUNDU.

HP
CHAIRMAN.

Okay thanks. (Applause). Okay (inaudible) there was only one amendment it has been read out. I'm moving I'm asking for a for a acceptance of this, of this eh.

290. FEMALE SPEAKER.

Mr. Chairman, on the point of order please, eh I am sorry to interject at this stage Mr, Mr. Chairman people have come thousands of miles and we wouldn't like anybody to go away confused and disappointed, let us maintain the spirit of unity and democracy and the mo- most focal point (Applause) and the most focal point on which this UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT was formed is one of it, its principles and its aims and let our youth get clarity on this and go on happy and with the u- eh spirit of unity, resounding on the way as they move home. (Applause).

LEKOTA.

We don't have the time, we don't have the time.

HP
CHAIRMAN.

Um, friends, again I am saying that we haven't got, we haven't got the time, our programme is already over we've already overstepped the time what we have to step on it. We must decide now very very

306. clearly whether they were going for a hour discussion on this, there was only one amendment submitted the amendment has now been read out, whether we accept this at this stage and, and then eh, if you want to forward the resolutions through our regions to, to to come to, come to the executive at the later stage, to be discussed at the later stage on whether we gonna discuss this now and, and, and blow our programme out of proportion. We going to, we will I would suggest that the amendments be made at local level to be dealt with at a later stage.

314. FRANK CHIKANE.

Mr. Chairman could I propose, make a proposition on that matter?

CHAIRMAN.

Okay.

CHIKANE.

I, I would like Mr. Chairman to propose that the nature of the proposal is such that it would therefore I mean a change the dynamics of eh, the front itself and therefore I would prefer that we, we deffer back to the regions for discussions and then it could come later.

321. CHAIRMAN.

Okay, do people agree with this I got a motion, do we get a seconder do people agree with this can we show by raising hands. Okay, thank you. Can we just have a song in the meantime while the declaration is, is gets ready for, for pre-presentation.

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6/1/88

332. SONG. (76(a)).

Handwritten scribbles

CHAIRMAN.

Okay friends um in order to, to, to hurry up things we gonna get a member of the amendments committee to read the declaration now with the amendments in it. PAUL.

PAUL DAVID.

Thanks Mr. Chairman eh I just want to point out that eh we have been listening to the amendments suggested by a number of groups and we've tried to put together what we think is a compromise, the additions and the amendments are not very serious and heavy. Uhm I don't know you suggest, I read the whole thing again. Has everybody got a copy of this in front of them. Uh, uh, look if it's not gonna make too much of time, I'll just suggest to you some of the ideas that have been amended.

A, In the preamble uh we originally suggested that we cherish the dream of building. What we are suggesting is that we cherish the vision of a united democratic South Africa based on the will of

76(a) /.. ..

TAPE ³ : SIDE 1

332. SONG:-

Hambani
Kobanjani
Kobanjani
Sesibona AmaBhunu Egijima
Oh Hambani
Hambani AmaQhawe
Hambani
Hambani Amagama MaQhawe
Kobanjani Sesihlezi NoThambo
Sesibona AmaBhunu Egijima
Oh Kobanjani Sesihlezi NoThambo
Sesibona AmaBhunu Egijima

(20)
6/1/87

Mayibuye

AUDIENCE - I' Afrika

77/.....

all the people. Okay and then the next part the uhm preamble we added to what we will strive for and against the evils of apartheid we adding economic and other forms of exploitation, and we've made further down in the uhm second part of the preamble that we stand for a single non-racial that was originally suggested we want to add and unfragmented South Africa. Okay then to the various uhm levels we joined hands as community women, students, religious sporting, commercial, we adding commercial organisations. And we slight amendments to the actual format, we say NO then a semi-colon to a apartheid. We say NO semi-colon to the Republic of South Africa, etcetera, etcetera - and then we say NO to the KOORNHOF BILLS etcetera, okay KOORNHOF BILLS are actually in the inverted commas as the Natal delegation are pointed out that one of the BILLS is now an act. We say YES, we adding the word, we say uh to YES, to the birth of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Then where we are saying what we

388. record we know that this government is determined to break the unity of our people, that our, instead of communities we are saying that our people will face greater hardships and instead of uh that African, Coloured and Indian areas will be cut off, we are saying there are people living in racial segregated and relocated areas will be cut off from the wealth they produce in the cities. Then that working people will be divided race from race instead of African from Coloured and Indian, we are saying race from race urban from rural, etc. etc. Students, no complaint, uh, religious and culture that is okay, uh about women we got some problem, the oppression we want to add and exploitation of women, we're removing the next sentence because that's a bit misleading. Racial discrimination against women will not end, suggests that the racial discrimination to men will end. Racial discrimination that will be out. Women will suffer greater hardships under the new pass-laws. Women will be divided from their children. We want to add, and families, poverty and malnutrition will continue to disrupt family life. The brunt of apartheid will still be carried out by our, instead of women it should be families.

403. Okay, then the next section we know that apartheid will continue uh that white domination instead of, will rule the lives as many, we are suggesting that white domination and exploitation will continue. Right. Then, there's small amendments to the next paragraph we know that there will not be an end to the unequal distribution of the land

we want to add wealth and resources of the country. Previously we just had land, we want to add to that wealth and resources and just before the paragraph where we commit ourselves, we are saying

Mindful of the fact, that the new constitutional proposals and KOORNHOF measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination we add a comma to that and then we say,

We commit ourselves to uniting okay, mindful of the fact that the new constitutional proposals and KOORNHOF measures will further entrench apartheid and white domination we commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be in the cities and country sides, the factories and mines, schools, colleges and universities, houses and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples to fight for our freedom. Then the actual commitment clause we work together. We want to add to mobilise, organise, organise and mobilise all community, worker, student uh commercial sector. We want to add and the sports sector we seem to have left that out. Okay and the next uh commitment to consult our people regularly and honestly and bravely and to strive, to represent. We want to add the word, before represent and strive to represent their views and aspirations. Uhm the next one we still
435. haven't really work this one out, what we have there, is educate all the coming dangers and the need for unity. In addition to the duties of organising and mobilising we want to add to those tasks that we set ourselves, the duty to tell people about what are contained in those proposals, what dangers they hold for our communities and the unity that we are struggling for so that is the meaning of the word educate. Some people thought that they had some problems about the actual word but I think with that clarification we should be okay.

447. Uhm, ja that's about all uh.

ADD amendments
CHAIRMAN.

Okay, is everybody happy with the amendments that have come in. No, is there any amen, amendments what was forwarded and not included. Yes (inaudible).

463. Is there any other points in the meantime. Yes.

SPEAKER.

Could we, could we perhaps get a bit of clarification on what on the commercial, uh, actually refers to (the what). There's an amendment about commercial bodies. Could we get an amendment as to, what it actually means? Classification?

474. CHAIRMAN.

CASSIM SALOJEE he was on that committee could you rectify that?
(Inaudible).

CASSIM SALOJEE.

One of the organisations was submitted that as an addition to the declaration there's no other explanation that we can be felt that 479. should be included, and it is for the, you know for the meeting to decide whether they want it there.

CHAIRMAN.

Is that clear the air then PAUL, No, No PAUL can you clear that up.

PAUL DAVID.

Ja I'll just explain there.

485. Uhm, Mr. Chairman and gentle and ladies and gentlemen um the Transvaal delegation under the item students, said students will continue to suffer under unequal education uhm I'll just tell you what we've got and what they want. The students will continue to 491. suffer under unequal education, ethnic control and unequal facilities will remain. Apartheid will still be felt in our classrooms. What Transvaal wants us to spell in very clear terms that education is for exploitation that's basically what we are talking about to rep the the classrooms are going to be used to reproduce cheap labour. Should we included that in ? Sorry I found your copy um that is what it will read. Students will continue to suffer under unequal education, created to supply a reservoir of cheap, labour. Okay Transvaal's happy about that, rest of us happy.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Comrade Chair, we'd still like some clarification on what commercial

means, please and could the people who moti, motivated that amendment
512. motivate what commercial actually stands for.

SPEAKER.

Who, who motivated that amendment? Could could you motivate on that
please.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

518. Mr. Chairman, I am sorry, that I have to get up there was a appeal,
there is no time, but I moved that amendment to the commercial,
Sorry we the business people, should also be included because
we are also oppressed people in this country. If we have got
other organisations trade unions this and that, then the business
people should also be included because they are also oppressed in the
country. We oppressed business people are also oppressed that was
the reason that we wanted the black businessman also included in
this.

Handwritten signature
CHAIRMAN.

534. Does that, clear, clear the air there No: there's somebody somebody
541. up to speak already.

SPEAKER.

Mr. Chairman when we say commercial organisations, are we going to
include NAFCO? Are we going to include our all exploited bodies
544. to me it's an nebulous thing. We are putting something in there,
that could be misinterpreted.

546. We are creating a document, that some of us have to go our and defend
outside of here. Do not give us something that's in-defenceable.
I think for the sake of clarity we should exclude the word "commercial".
We are not saying that the gentlemen, our honoured brother on the
other side is not oppressed. But there are other businessmen who
certainly are not oppressed.

(Applause).

Handwritten signature
CHAIRMAN.

Okay I take it that eh house feels that that word should be withdrawn.

Right, okay (applause). Yes one more (inaudible) No (inaudible) no - as long as it doesn't doesn't affect the amendments, has it got anything to do with the amendments. Okay (inaudible) No (background noises).

WOMAN SPEAKER

(Inaudible) uhm the amendment has to with the education that it is both exploitive and propagandist. Where white children are propagandized by the state, to eh to be part of, to to take part in the military struggle, against black our black compatriots. As the young lady there described it very well earlier.

CHAIRMAN.

578. Thank you, there's one more point what I want to make, there's been people what have said that the word commercial, they will agree that that word commercial comes out. But can't we include a a, a word like small traders like in the townships where there are small traders what are also oppressed, but, but, but stay in the townships and, and, and, and eh, eh fall under the same oppression what we all do.

REV. XUNDU.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman.

ADD
Mr. Chairman
CHAIRMAN.

Yes.

REV. XUNDU.

I would like to say that eh to improve this thing of commercial, probably should be said such commercial organisations as complied with the aims and objectives of the U.D.F. (Applause). Therefore this
595. excludes anybody else we don't want to include. The word such commercial organisations as complied with the aims and objectives of the U.D.F. would probably meet the case.

599. FRANK CHIKANE.

Uh Chairperson, as far as I am concerned I don't think we have a problem, because that sentence if I've got the right copy here, goes

on to say and other organisations under the banner of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. It will be to our discretion to decide which organisation and avoid the inclusion of that term. It will cause us problems. (Applause).

Handwritten initials
CHAIRMAN.

Okay, the people agree with that?

AUDIENCE.

Yes.

Handwritten initials
CHAIRMAN.

Right can can I move can we get somebody to move the adoption of this declaration? Uh all those in favour will you please show your hands. Okay thank you. We moving on to now. I move it on very quickly, these is in the matter of a half an hour to forty five minutes. There's thousands of people standing out that want to come into this hall. Uh, we are going on into elections and we have decided by the standing rules, that Natal and Transvaal and Western Cape are contributed regions and it means that the regions what are not here are um constituted. It means that South West Districts, Eastern Cape and Orange Free State are unconstituted. It's also been decided by the secretariat that the constituted re- regions we have will be allowed a hundred hundred votes. And it's also been decided that our unconstituted regions will be allowed from one, if they consist of one orgon from one to five organisations, they will be allowed ten votes, and after every five they will be allowed one vote. So according to the cre- cre- credentials what we have got, Eastern Cape has got nine, nine organisations so far, under the umbrella, which means that they entitled to fourteen votes. Orange Free State has got two organisations, which means they en, entitled to ten votes. Right, one minute, - there's three organisations, is still inviting entitled for then votes, from one to five is ten votes. And South West district have got seven organisations under the umbrella, and they entitled to twelve votes. This, this have been uh, this is the suggestion on the workings of of the secretariats. Um can I, can I get somebody to accept this? Okay thank you. Right - a - it's 653. also been suggested that the electoral determin electoral (inaudible)

officer be uh, PIUS uh LANGA. Can I ask him to please take take up
the elections please (inaudible) Can I, sa have PIUS please -
PIUS can't just make another point please there are

END OF TAPE 3 - SIDE A.

TAPE 3 - SIDE B.

*Herop name van
Tape 4 (1)
10/10/61 a.s.
van V1*

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

14. The thousands of people standing out what want to come into this hall uh we going on to into elections and we have decided by the standing rules that the Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape are constituted regions and it means that the regions what are not here are unconstituted it means that South West Districts, Eastern Cape and Orange Free State are unconstituted, it's also been decided by the secretariat that the constituted re regions will be allowed a hundred a hundred votes, and it's also been decided there are unconstituted regions will be allowed from one, if they consist of one or from one to five organisations they will be allowed ten votes and after every five they will be allowed one vote. So according to the scre- credentials what we've got, Eastern Cape has got nine, nine organisations, so for under the the umbrella, which means that they entitled to fourteen votes. Orange Free State has got two organisations which means they envi entitled to ten votes. Right, one minute, there's three organisations (inaudible) which still envi entitled to ten votes, from one to five is ten votes. And South South West Districts have got seven organisations under the umbrella and they entitled to twelve votes. This, this is why I've been this is the suggestion on the working of of the secretariats uh. Can I get somebody to accept this? Okay, thank you. Right, uh it's also been suggested that the electoral (inaudible) electoral (inaudible) officer be PIUS uh LANGA can I ask you to please take up the elections. Can I have PIUS please? PIUS.

37. CHAIRMAN.

There are uh regions which have more than a hundred delegates here. What will happen is that we will equalise at a hundred. Right, and eh what, whatever number of delegates these organisations have will be taken relative to a hundred. So if an organisation, let say the Western Cape has a hundred delegates and Natal has uh a hundred and twenty delegates or Transvaal has a hundred and twenty delegates. Every Transvaal vote will then count for five sixth of the Cape Town vote. Otherwise we going to have a situation whereby uh different regions because they are structured differently will be allowed different powers in terms of decisions making. It is one of the things that we delegates within the proposals and let's apply it here as well.

PIUS LANGA.

49. According to the programme of working principles the structure of the Front is as follows:-

The structure shall comprise patrons, the number to be determined by the NATIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL. I'm going to skip the other formations then we go on to the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. The NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE shall comprise:-

The presidency which consists of three presidents an Executive Chairperson, appointed by the NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE from time to time, that will not be our concern today. Two Vice-Presidents appointed by each duly con- constituted regions, we have
60. had which are the duly constituted regions. The two secretaries, of each constituted regions. Two Executive Members elected by each each con- constituted regions. Two National Treasurers. Now
65. we are going to start with the patrons. I know that most of us are not voters, we have never voted in our lives (laughing). But uh, I'll make a short explanation of how we are going to vote. This may sound a complicated procedure but in fact it is very simple. I am going to call for nominations for patrons. I am going to start with the duly constituted regions and then I will go on to the other delegates. The procedure I propose to follow is this a delegate will nominate, I'll ask for a seconder then I will ask if there is an amendment to that nomination, if there is an amendment I'll ask for a seconder for that amendment. An amendment means that you are unhappy about the person proposed, or nominated and you wish to substitute someone for him. We are going to nominate or elect a number of patrons. I do not have a specific number in mind. The Executive Committee has not been duly elected. So we do not have a body which has determined how many patrons we need. So I'll start with the Western Cape. May I have your nomination
91. for patrons. Right, Sorry (inaudible)

SPEAKER. (UNKNOWN)

The electoral officer on a point of order I'm sorry to disturb you but the regions that are properly constituted bodies that have the hundred votes as explained eh by TERROR just now, those regions have had extensive discussions with regard to the patrons and I think that those regions had authorised the secretary to in actual

95. fact take that to the secretariat. The names of those people. Now would not then be possible perhaps to take that as the starting point and if the names of those that have already been nominated and accepted by those various regions and then fall for the further nominations, it will save us a lot of time and also a lot of problems on that point. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

The first of the patrons which has been unanimously agreed to by all the regions thus far is NELSON MANDELA. (Applause).

*ABD 5-6-8
for 5.*

Thank you, The others are ARCHBISHOP DENIS HURLEY. (Applause), MRS. HELEN JOSEPH (Applause) just just a correction. We have a message from ARCHBISHOP HURLEY he has been unable to accept patronage, (Oh) MRS. MAHLANGU (Applause), MR. HASSIM HOWA. (Applause)

117. We've recently been joined by MRS. NAICKER who is the wife of the now deceased MONTY NAICKER. Other patrons includes JOHNNY ISSEL (Applause), FRANCIS BAARD (Applause), SHEIK NASSIM MOHAMED (Applause), BEYERS NAUDE (Applause), MRS. MKHIZE (Applause), MRS. MKHIZE, MRS. FLORENCE MKHIZE that is. There has also been uhm a name which has come in quite late, uh DOROTHY NYEMBE (Applause), DENNIS GOLDBERG (Applause). That is the list of names which has been forwarded to the secretariat MR. Electoral Officer.

PIUS LANGA.

Thank you, we have had the a list of nominations. I haven't closed I'm going to ask for further nominations Yes sir (inaudible) (Applause). any amendments? Okay

UNKNOWN WOMAN SPEAKER.

(AUDIENCE SHOUT : I can't hear. Mike, mike).

Mr. Chairman we got a proposal from the Cape when we include all the life sentence prisoners as patrons. GOVAN MBEKI, RAYMOND MHLABA, KATHRADA, all of them, WALTER SISULU. (Applause).

PIUS LANGA.

152. Any amendments to that? Any further nominations? I am calling for further nominations. Any further nomination? The name of

DR. ESSOP JASSAT has just been proposed, nominated (applause) (pause) right I am listening any proposal from the Western Cape.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

169. Not yet, not yet. Okay, uh Mr. Chairman. I would like to propose the name of VUYISILI MINI from SACTU, we should remember him. (Applause).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Uhm.

170. I am sorry, I am sorry, just on that point. The name of VUYISILI MINI has been proposed eh the question has arisen whether we propose or nominate people who are alive only or we can
176. uh get patrons from people who are already deceased. Mr. Chairman
179. There is a (inaudible) that eh deceased people, unfortunately can not be afforded patronage.

120. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Mr. Chairman, there was one other name which I don't know whether it has been approved, that is SMANGALISO MAKHATSHWA. Eh, I see, I have seen in here earlier. I don't know whether he he will accept uh. But over and above that, Mr. Chairman, people are
151. congregating in their thousands, the situation is becoming absolutely
185. impossible outside. We must please rush.

LANGA.

186. So, the gentleman who proposed VUYISILI MINI um what is the position?

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

189. Eh, Mr. Chairman, I think we shall look at at eh VUYISILI MINI as being the guy who was involved in the workers struggle and if we are here to to opt for the workers, then I think whether is dead or alive. But that makes history in our books.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

192. Could I ask that that matter be referred to the regional committees.

AUDIENCE : (Ja - Yes).

LANGA.

Let us refer that nominee. (Applause).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

196. For programme's sake, programme. I move the closure of nominations.
(Applause).

LANGA.

198. Right, nominations have been closed. The patrons who have been
200 proposed, who have been whose names have been mentioned. The last
one was ~~VUSI~~ sorry SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA. I, by virtue of the
powers vested in me, I declare that those are the patrons of the
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. (Applause). I am sorry to speed this
up. I know PIUS is a very responsible, phase of the programme.
We are, we have to move forward. We now have to elect three
presidents. May I have nominations from the Western Cape?

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

210. Uh, Mr. Chairman, sorry to disturb you again but of that. I think
that the regions had actually made nominations. *~ Af/Can outbrech*

212. Can't we, can't we just, you know, to speed up the procedure just
actually come up and say these were the names that have already
been nominated. If it is acceptable to the house, it means that it
cuts out any further discussion in the matter and the names are
then have accepted.

LANGA.

215. Yes, I am grateful for that. I am only an electoral officer, I
did not know that. So if anybody has got those nominations. Let
us have them read.

[Signature]
CHAIRMAN.

~ The three uh nominees for president.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

218. Sorry Mr. Chairman, can you please nominated because I feel that
(inaudible) Mr. Chairman, I feel that people have been nominated
in this house and I feel that we should also consider the Trade
Unions today and we should also consider that we also need Trade

Unions because they are the ones who are being approached with the struggle today. And I shall now Mr. Chairman, nominate someone who is working with Trade Unions today and someone who can even relate to us about the problems of Trade Unions. Therefore I shall propose REVEREND MARAWU as a patron.

LANGA.

230. I have a great deal of sympathy with the Trade Unions Movement, I have a great deal of sympathy with the whole liberation struggle. But in the interest of proverse we have closed nominations in respect of patrons. I would suggest that, that nomination be referred to your regional committee. Your regional organisation, so that the nomination will come through to the uh general U.D.F. The book is not closed as far as patrons are concerned. I have stated that there is no set number so you-your way is still cleared to nominating him.

(Applause).

241. Ladies and gentleman, I have been given a list of nominations for the three presidents. The names are:-

OSCAR MPETA (Applause), ALBERTINA SISULU (Applause), ARCHIE GUMEDE (Applause). Now I would like you to see your candidates or your nominees for president. OSCAR MPHETA is not here. ALBERTINA SISULU, wanted to be here, she is not here. I call upon ARCHIE GUMEDE to come forward so you'll see him. (Loud applause).

263. SONG. (89(a)).

269. (Shouting in between : NATAL, NATAL, RABBI, RABBI, ROY).

LANGA.

Order, order, please okay, hallo, hallo.

302. Ladies and gentlemen the next item of course is the election of sorry. (Tapping on mike). The next item is the election of vice-presidents. These come from the duly constituted regions. Each region elects or nominates two vice-presidents. I am sorry. Elects two vice presidents. May I have those nominations if they

L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela,
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
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have already been done.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

311. Hallo, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of the Transvaal U.D.F. the two vice-presidents, as nominated by the executive of the Transvaal U.D.F. is MR. GEORGE DU PLESSIS. (Applause).

UNKNOWN PERSON. (SOMEBODY RECORDING THIS).

And REVEREND H LAPANE, GALERULA (?) sorry GALETLWA (?). Those are the two Transvaal vice-presidents. (Applause).

LANGA.

Declare them duly elected Western Cape?

UNKNOWN SPEAKER (FEMALE).

322. Uh hallo ha hallo uh Mr. Chairman.

Apparently
CHAIRMAN.

^ What is that - Yes I am listening

UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Mr. Chairman on behalf of the Western Cape region, there are two vice-presidents is MR. CHRISTMAS TINTO and MR. JOE MARKS (Applause).

LANGA.

330. Thank you Western Cape, Natal? two vice presidents.

UNKNOWN OBSERVER.

Mr. Chairman.

LANGA.

Have you sorted that out?

DELEGATE
NATAL OBSERVER.

331. This thing works, okay

Mr. Chairman on behalf of the Natal delegation I would like to give you our two nominations. They are MR. VIRGIL BONHOMME (Applause) who is the secretary of the DURBAN HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE and MR. GEORGE SEWPERSHAD (Applause) who is the president of the NATAL IND- (Applause).

340. LANGA.

Thank you very much. Those are the six vice presidents who have been elected. Next item, Regional Secretaries. These are also regionals two per region. Transvaal?

TRANSVAAL OBSERVER.

344. The Transvaal regional secretaries is MR. MOHAMMED VALLY (Applause) and POPO sitting on the stage already. (Applause).

LANGA.

348. Thank you. Western Cape? Two regional secretaries.

UNKNOWN WESTER CAPE OBSERVER.

350. Mr. Chairman, we have uh nominated and accepted TREVOR MANUEL and CHERYL KAROLUS (?) as reg- (Applause).

355. LANGA.

Thank you. Natal two regional secretaries?

356. UNKNOWN NATAL OBSERVER.

Our two nominees are JOE PHAAHLA from AZASO (Applause) and MR. YUNUS MOHAMMED (Applause).

360. LANGA.

Thank you very much. Those are the regional secretaries who have been elected. Now the next position is that of executive member. Executive members. Two per region. Uh we start with the Transvaal.

UNKNOWN TRANSVAAL OBSERVER.

366. Uh, Mr. Chairman the nomination again from the Transvaal is DR. RAM SALOOJEE (Applause) and MR. AUBREY MAKOENA (Applause).

LANGA.

371. Thank you very much. The Western Cape?

UNKNOWN WESTERN CAPE OBSERVER.

Mr. Chairman we have elected and accepted MILDRED MOSEA (?), ANDREW BORAIN (Applause).

376. LANGA.
And Natal.

UNKNOWN NATAL OBSERVER.

I have pleasure in announcing PROFESSOR JERRY COOVADIA (Applause)
and REVEREND XUNDU (Applause).

380. LANGA.

Thank you very much. Those are the elected executive members
for each region. (Pause). Is there any question from Border?

389. UNKNOWN OBSERVER FROM THE FREE STATE.

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Now I feel that uh Free State must also
be represented. I have somebody in mind presently of which can
represent Free State by the name of M.K. MALEFANE (Applause).

UNKNOWN PERSON.

It's alright, it's alright.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

403. I am sorry. But as the constitution is presently drafted uhm
unconstituted regions which are small regions uhm have co-options
onto the Executive Committee, that's the constitution which we have
accepted. The National Executive Committee will undoubtedly uh make
some arrangements for co-option of people onto the Executive or make
sure that the rep- requirements of these areas are properly repre-
sented. So I would ask, we are in a very flexible situation.
Things are changing all the time. Organisations are in fact growing
everywhere and in the constitution as we have planned it, and as has
been accepted at this conference does not make any provision for
uh Border to have that kind of nomination. I would suggest in these
circumstances that the matter be left for the National Executive
Committee to handle and I'm sure that the National Executive Committee
as constituted will make a decision which will take into account all
the circumstances and which hopefully all the parties will be happy
with. (Applause).

LANGA.

Thank you very much, those are the Executive members. The next
position is that of National Treasurers. These are National

Treasurers. We need two National Treasurers.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

426. Here again Mr. Electoral Officer, I think nominations have been
350. accepted by the various regions have they not?

CHAIRMAN.

428. The the two nominations received for Treasu- treasurers were,
MEWA RAMGOBIN from Natal and CASSIM SALOOJEE from Transvaal (Applause).

433. LANGA.

Thank you very much. My task is now accomplished. I congratulate those who have been elected to these honourous positions and I wish them well. Thank you. (Applause).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

437. Thank you PIUS uh congratulations to everybody who has been elected. Eh, we have to rush off rush on again. We have got our last part of our agenda as the working programme. I'm gonna ask POPO to read the last half of it.

444. Uh, there's there's two positions what haven't been filled, yet, can we just go back to that.

445. CHAIRMAN.

The two positions are:-

The two positions are, firstly the National Secretary and again the secretariat has received a nomination that of POPO MOLEFE (Applause). For publicity secretary again there is a single nomination, MR. TERROR LEKOTA from Natal. (Applause).

456. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Thanks again. Uh the last part of our agenda of the working programme. I am gonna asking POPO MOLEFE to read the last half of it. It has been recommended by the secretariat for acceptance and implementation by regions.

461. POPO MOLEFE.

It is my wish that eh, in reading this programme of action, I do not raise any controversy's. We actually here moving against time that is why I am going to choose to read the last two parts which is the objectives of the campaign and the tasks. The objectives of the campaign:-

To oppose the constitutional Bill and any election emerging therefrom.

To oppose the KOORNHOF BILLS and any election emerging therefrom.

To mobilise every section of our people into the Front.

To educate people about dangers of the proposals and the need for unity and action.

To promote democratic consultation and participation throughout the campaign.

475. To encourage co-operation and united action between all sections against co-option.

TASKS:-

(1) To establish the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT as the only representative Front representing all sections of our people.

(2) To popularise the U, U.D.F. within and outside the country.

(3) Mobilize all organisations and communities into the U.D.F.

(4) Establish U.D.F. branches throughout the country.

(5) Implement door to door campaigns throughout the country.

(6) Encourage the strengthening of all grassroots democratic organisations, community and other barriers. Sorry, Sorry, Sorry I jumped one line.

(6) Encourage the strengthening of all grassroots democratic organisations.

- (7) Promote meaningful co-operation and united action across all communities and other barriers.
- (8) Ensure democratic participation and consultation in all aspects of the campaign.

494. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Can we have, can we have a show of hands for acceptance for this programme? Thank you. Uh the purpose of it is not just to accept it but implement it. And I think that that's the most important part of it. That everybody leaves here with a commitment to go back and implement this this programme, this working programme that 401. we just accepted. The importance of it, that's the most important part of it to go back into the field and start doing it. We now come to the end of our, of this office's part of our of our of our of our historical day. And in order to close it, I call upon our our president, our one of our presidents MR. ARCHIE GUMEDE to 509. close it on behalf of of of the presidency MR. ARCH. (Applause).

UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mr.

AP
CHAIRMAN.

Right, one minute, while ARCH- ARCHIE GUMEDE is coming up, (inaudible) while ARCHIE GUMEDE is coming up, I just want to say and all Marshalls and all people who who wish to assist or want to assist in handing the handling of of clearing up of the hall and the handling of of of the income or whe- whe- of comes into the hall, please report to the back of the hall as soon as soon as the closing address is over.

517. UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman. (Yes, yes said in between). Thank you very much. Ah, at the moment that we've been given a draft in fact a a programme of action and we accept it. I I (inaudible) accepted nationally it has been accepted but, eh, propose that if to be taken to various regions and the regions to look at this programme of action and uh used bring about a concrete kind 525. of a programme of action and I move that a maximum of ten delegates

from each uh region, to come to a joint meeting and come with a clear concrete programme of action and I also propose that immediate call of action should be accompany those kinds of uhm decisions.

(Applause).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

535. Just before we close, just before ARCHIE takes - there's one more message what we feel that should be read out now.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER (~~FREE STATE OBSERVER~~).

I have a message here from M.K. MALEFANE. It reads thus. Besides being here as part of the Free State U.D.F., I'm also representing the MANDELA family and would like to announce that NELSON ROCIHLAHLA MANDELA and his cell mates give their blessings to this gathering and they want you to know that right at this moment they are with you even though not physically). (Whistling).

(Applause).

550. SONG. (96(a)).

(20) 6/10/87

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

562. Comrades, comrades, comrades, before ARCHIE closes this meeting the entire executive what was justelectedis to meet ZAC YACOOB at the table here, and now then ARCHIE GUMEDE. (Applause).

569. ARCHIE GUMEDE.

Uh, thank you Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, sons and daughters of Africa. I greet you in the name of our departed heroes, the LUTHULI'S, the MATTHEW'S and many others whose names I cannot recall at this very historical moment. I greet you in the name. of my fellow president who through certain circumstances beyond their control are not able to be with you here today. I only wish to say that, and I believe that this occasion will live in the memories of each and everyone of us, as an exceptional occasion when people of all races from all sections of the community have met and have had a discussion of problems that affect them in their daily lives. We are very grateful that we have come to an end of this

96(a) /.. ..

TAPE 3 : SIDE 2

550 SONG:-

L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela

(20)
8/10/87

session without have meeting any insuperable problems and I must express my thanks to all the people who have contributed to the success of this occasion not forgetting the secretaries and the other people who have been involved in organising all that has been organised. I will not forget the people who provided the lunch that sustained us so that even at this hour we are still able to follow the proceedings with intelligence with sufficient uh, (Applause). With those few words, I wish to say. Thank you to one and all.

MARKER FOR AUDIENCE SHOUTS AMANDLA. (Applause).

Handwritten: MPP
CHAIRMAN.

619. Sorry I think we've reached a situation of desperation at this point. There are thousands of people gathered outside. Uh firstly we make an appeal to every attorney in the audience to come to the front and meet with ZAC YACOOB. The full National Executive is also to come to the front. While that is happening certain changes have to be made to accommodate everybody and we have to work out a plan to change the arrangements within the hall because there will be thousands of people in the Marquis outside, as well. There is an appeal those glass doors on the sides as well as the fire escapes will be opened to allow people within the hall to go outside. The hall has to be changed, so it's going to be impossible to do that
641. with with people and chairs and tables and things in the way. Uhm as soon as we are ready we'll allow people to come in from there first and later, through the front ex-eh entrance. There are marshalls and we appeal we appeal for maximum co-operation.

(Noise of crowd).

Handwritten: ↑ Affaan outbreking

END OF TAPE 3 - SIDE B.

TAPE 1 : SIDE B

145 SONG:

The Name of Hellen Joseph
Praise

31 a

TAPE 1. SIDE

290

Join Join
Join Join the U.D.F.
REPEATED TEN TIMES.

-5-

TAPE 1: SIDE 2

274

SONG:

Unite women

Unite

REPEATED EIGHT TIMES.

This union exists - the U.D.F

REPEATED FOUR TIMES.

Unite women

Unite

REPEATED SEVEN TIMES

This union exists - the U.D.F.

REPEATED FOUR TIMES

-6-

TAPE : SIDE

19 SONG

L.: Even if it is bad

AUD: We go

L.: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad.

L: It is bad it is bad bo.

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD. We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Hendrickse Bo

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

(Xi) 23 SONG:-

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go even if.....

LEADER: It is bad it is bad ho

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go even if it is difficult.

LEADER: Inaudible.

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go even if

LEADER: Inaudible

AUD: We go

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go

AUD: We go even if....

LEADER: Inaudible

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go

LEADER: We go

AUD: We go even if...

32 SLOGAN:

LEADER : Power 1

AUD: Is ours

LEADER: Power

AUD: Is ours

LEADER: Let it come back

AUD: i Africa

LEADER: Let it come back

AUD: i Africa.

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Rajbans Bo

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L : We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Sebe BO (please)

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Matanzima

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

-7-

L.: Even when they shoot Bo

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L : Indeed even when they arrest us.

AUD: We go

L : We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: Even if it is bad

L. Oba Sebe BO (makes no sense to me)

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L.: Give way Savimbi BO

AUD: We go

L.: We go
AUD: We go
L: We go
AUD: We go even if it is bad

TAPE 3: SIDE 1.

62 SONG :

L. Here is the Supreme Court
L. it is on fire
AUD: We go
L: The spear boys hit it yesterday
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
L: Here is Rondebosch facing down Bo
AUD. The spear boys hit it yesterday
AUD: We go
L: Momomo (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L: Momomo
AUD: We go
L: Hohoho (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L. Hololo (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L: Here is the Supreme Court on fire
AUD: We go
L: The spear boys hit it yesterday
AUD: We go
L: Ho-yo-yo (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L. Ho-yo-yo
AUD: We go
L: Ho-yo-yo
AUD: We go
L: Ho-yo-yo
AUD: We go

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1
106 SLOGAN:

L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L: and U.D.F.
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : the U.D.F.
AUD: Hayi
L. : It joins
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : Joshua Nkomo
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : Oscar Mpetha
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : Msizi Dube
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD: Hayi hayi

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1
431 SONG:

Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo

Hayi

Yoyoyo even if they follow you

Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo

Hayi

Yoyoyo even if they follow you

We shall meet

Even if they follow you

in South Africa

Even if they follow you

Rolihlahla Hayi Yo Yo Yo

Hayi yoyoyo

Even if they follow you

We are going to meet

Even if they follow you in South Africa

Even if they follow you

We are going to meet

Even if they are following you

in South Africa

Even if they follow you

Mandela Hayayaya

Hayayaya

Even if they follow you

Mandela Hayayaya

Hayayaya

-11-

Even if they follow you (or even when they follow you

We are going to meet (or we shall meet)

Even when they follow you

in South Africa

Even when they follow you

We shall meet

Even when they follow you

465 SONG:

Hayaya Tambo
Hayaya what is he doing
He is still teaching the soldiers
Hayaya Tambo
Tambo is in the bush mother
Hayaya what is he doing
He is still teaching the soldiers
Hayi Tambo
Tambo is in the bush mother
Hayi what is he doing
He is still teaching the soldiers
Hayi Tambo
Tambo is in the bush mother

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

508 SONG:

Unite workers
Unite
Unite workers
Unite
Ho this union exists
Ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.
Ho this union exists
ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.
Unite workers
Unite
Unite workers Bo
Unite
Unite workers
Unite
Unite workers Bo
Unite
Ho this union exists
Ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.
Ho this union exists
Ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.

N.B. INHLANGANO also means ORGANISATION. (Translator)

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

534 SLOGAN:

L. : Bad is the neighbour who joins
 Inkatha because he wants a tear room
 Bad is the neighbour

AUD: Bad is the neighbour who joins
 Inkatha because he wants a tea room
 Bad is the neighbour

L; : Bad is the neighbour who joins
 Inkatha because he wants a tea room
 Bad is the neighbour

AUD: Bad is the neighbour who joins
 Inkatha because he wants a tea room
 Bad is the neighbour

L.	:	A neighbour	AUD:	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour
L.	:	A neighbour	"	a neighbour

548

SLOGA N:

L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : You Mandela
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Mandela
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : You Mandela
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Mandela
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : This Mxenge
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD : Hayi hayi
L. : Msizi Dube
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Msizi Dube
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
L. : Oscar Mpetha
AUD : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : Archie Gumede
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD: Hayi hayi

L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Our fathers
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Are in prisons
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our mothers
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Are in prisons
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Barbara these
AUD. : Hayi
L. : They are in prisons
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Geli
AUD. : Hayi
L. : My sister
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Geli
AUD. : Hayi
L. : My sister
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Sebe
AUD. : Hayi

L. : An Informer
AUD. : Hayi Hayi
L. : This Sebe
AUD. : Hayi
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Gatsha
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Gatsha
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Mathanzima
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Mathanzima
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : You Mandela
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Mandela
AUD. : Hayi, hayi
L. : Oliver Tambo
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Slovo
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Slovo
AUD. : Hayi

L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Xundu
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Xundu
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Archie Gumede
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Oscar Mpetha
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi

L. : This Mxenge
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Msizi
AUD. : Hayi
LL. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Hit the Bazooka
AUD. : Vru-u-u-u Vru-u-u Vru-u-u-u-
L. : Explode the bomb
AUD. : Splosh Splosh Splosh
L. : Explode the bomb
AUD. : Splosh Splosh Splosh
L. : Explode the bomb
AUD. : Splosh Splosh Splosh
L. : The U.D.F.
AUD. : No
L. : The joiner
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : The U.D.F.
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Combiner
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible

AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD.: Hayi Hayi
L. : Joshua Nkomo
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : Joshua Nkomo
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD.: Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD.: Hayi
L. : I see an informer
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD.: Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : There is an Informer here
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : There is an Informer here
AUD. : Hayi
L. : There is an Informer
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD: Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD.: Hayi
L. : I see an Informer

615 SONG:

L. : We complain about Gasa
 AUD.: We complain about Gasa
 L. : We complain about Gasa
 AUD.: We complain about Gasa
 L. : About Gasa
 L. : Gasa is churning black water
 AUD.: He is churning black water
 L. : He is churning black water
 L. : He is churning black water
 AUD.: He is churning black water
 L. : Gasa is
 L. : We complain about Sebe
 AUD.: We complain about Sebe
 L. : We complain about Sebe
 AUD.: We complain about Sebe
 L. : about Sebe
 L. : Sebe churns
 L. : Ho he churns black water
 AUD. : He churns black water
 L. : He churns black water
 L. : Black
 L. : Sebe chur

TAPÉ 5 : SIDE

87 SONG:

Hlanganani basebenzi
 Workers unite
 Unite
 Unite workers
 Unite

TAPE 5 : SIDE 1

89 SONG:

Perhaps this place
This place is bad
Inaudible
This place is bad
Maybe this place
This place is bad

TA PE 5 : SIDE 1

113 SONG:

L. : (Inaudible) We cry for Tambo
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
L. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)
AUD. : We are crying for Tambo
L. : (Inaudible)

TAPE 5 : SIDE 1

328

SONG:

Go

How will it be

How will it be

When we see the Boers running

Oh go

Go Heroes

Go

Go Names Heroes

How will it be when we are sitting with

Tambo

Seeing the Boers running

Oh how will it be when we are sitting with

Tambo

Seeing the Boers running

TAPE 5 SIDE 2
263 SONG:

L. : Archie Gumede
AUD. : We will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested

AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We Will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L.. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him

L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : OUR Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We Will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him

L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him

TAPE 5 : SIDE

550 SONG

L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Mandela Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he were to be arrested
AUD. : Somlandela We will follow him we will follow
 : him
L. : Even if he were to be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow we will follow
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him

TRANSLATED BY : J.N. NKOSI
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