

**BEW.**

**V18-PAR.47**

**UDF ONE-YEAR RALLY : SELBOURNE HALL  
JOHANNESBURG : 19 AUGUST 1984**

**TAPE ONE**

1. Cassim SALOOJEE (TIC) Chairman
2. Tsepo MBANE
3. Smangaliso MKATSHWA
4. Frank CHIKANE
5. Mzwakhe Israeil MBULI (SOYCO)
6. Dorothy NYEMBE
7. Jessica SHERMAN
8. Albertina SISULU
9. Laloo CHIBA
10. Aubrey MOKOENA (RMC)
11. Ebrahim PATEL (SARU)
12. Andrew MOGOTSI alias Jingles (AYCO)
13. Jerry EKANDJO (SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUE)

**IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED**

1. Nelson MANDELA
2. Oliver TAMBO
3. Walter SISULU
4. Dennis GOLDBERG
5. Ahmed KATHRADA
6. Raymond MHLABA
7. Gordon NKWAYI
8. Phineas MOTSOLEDI
9. Andrew MLANGENI
10. Brian Mbulelo MAZIBUKO
11. Benedict Martins DIKOBE
12. Joe SLOVO
13. Griffiths MXENGE
14. Ruth FIRST
15. Martha SCHOON
16. Msizi DUBE
17. Congress of the People
18. Freedom Charter
19. ANC
20. Sam NUJOMA
21. SWAPO
22. SWAPO POLITBURO
23. Nathaniel MAKWIRIRI
24. Pastor Hendrik WITBOOI
25. Haindimba TOIVA-YA-TOIVO

**ASSESSOR**

BEW. V. 18(a)'

ASSESSOR.

UDF ONE YEAR RALLY 1984/08/19

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Page 3	Line 7	Change "sign" to "sight"
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Page 16	Line 35	Change "AI" to "hire"
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Page 17	Line 31	Change "Kumbani" to "Kumkani"
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Page 19	Line 4	Change "cannons of criticism" to "cannons and of criticism"
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Page 19	Line 4	Change "struggle" to "dragon"
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Page 20	Line 26	Change "through ourselves" to "our shells"
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Page 23	Line 34	Change "through ourselves" to "our shells"
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On page 23 between lines 15 and 16 add : "Audience sings:  
Malibongwe igama Lamakhosikazi"

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C O R R E C T I O N S :

I, ABIE ABRAM MAHLANGU, am a Senior Interpreter in the Department of Justice, and I am stationed at the Magistrates Courts in Johannesburg.

I was requested by the Attorney-General for the Transvaal to check the transcript of this recording against the tape/~~cassette~~ and bring about any corrections, if any.

I did this to the best of my ability and found this transcript to be just and correct.



A.A. MAHLANGU.

## O P M E R K I N G S

1. Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die klank vanaf die video bandopnames soos ontvang. 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 direk aangedui binne die transkripsie. Die akkuraatheid van die aangeduide sprekers is nagegaan in oorleg met die beeld op die video opnames.

NB Die transkripsie van enigiets wat deur die aangeduide spreker gesê word, begin altyd aan die linkerkant van die bladsy. Op verskeie plekke is daar uitings vanaf 'n enkele ander onbekende persoon, of vanaf 'n aantal persone uit die gehoor. Sulke opmerkings of ander uitings word op een van die volgende maniere aangedui:

- (1) Uitinge van 'n enkele ander onbekende persoon, begin nie aan die linkerkant nie, maar 'n aantal spasies na regs.
  - (2) Gesamentlike uitings van 'n aantal mense uit die gehoor, is ingeskuif na regs en word in vet letters uitgedruk.
  - (3) In sommige gevalle word slegs 'n beskrywing gegee van die geluide wat gehoor word, en dit word dan in hakies aangedui.
3. Enige teks tussen hakies is kommentaar en is nie die direkte geluide vanaf die bandopname nie. So byvoorbeeld word agtergrondgeluide en ander opvallende klanke tussen hakies aangedui. Enige ander moontlike kommentaar soos byvoorbeeld "Interruption in the recording" word ook in hakies binne die transkripsie aangedui.

4. 'n Vraagteken in hakies na 'n woord of 'n sin, dui op 'n mate van onsekerheid oor die korrektheid daarvan.
5. Woorde, sinsdele of sinne wat heeltemaal onverstaanbaar is, byvoorbeeld weens swak opname, geraas of waar sprekers gelyk praat, word aangedui met stippellyne, byvoorbeeld "I know ...".
6. Waar woorde of sinne onderbreek word, word dit aangedui deur 'n koppelteken na die woord of gedeelte daarvan, byvoorbeeld "Ek het gist- nee eergister vir hom gesien".
7. 'n Heropname van die video band is gemaak vanaf die oorspronklike video band, en is beskikbaar om in die hof voorgespeel te word. Hierdie heropnames bly die eiendom van die SAP en sal normaalweg nie in die hof ingedien word nie.

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UDF-ONE YEAR RALLY : SELBOURNE HALL, JOHANNESBURG : 19TH AUGUST 1984

(INSIDE HALL)

(The audience sing and stamp their feet) TAMBO (17X)

AMANDLA AWETHU (2X) (POWER IS OURS)

SONGENA NGOMNYAMA (WE'LL COME DURING DARKNESS)

SONGENA NGOMNYAMA (WE'LL COME DURING DARKNESS)

SONGENA NGOMNYAMA (WE'LL COME DURING DARKNESS)

SONGENA NGOMNYAMA (WE'LL COME DURING DARKNESS)

SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA (WE'LL COME DURING DARKNESS,  
DURING DARKNESS)

O'THINA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA (OH WE'LL COME DURING DARKNESS)

(COSAS BANNER DISPLAYED) .(INAUDIBLE SOUNDS LIKE VIVA TAMBO)

ULULLATING OF WOMEN

AMANDLA AWETHU (POWER IS OURS)

I'AFRIKA IZWE LETHU (AFRICA IS OUR COUNTRY)

INAUDIBLE SONG

AMANDLA AWETHU (POWER IS OURS)

(INAUDIBLE SONG)

(SCENE CHANGES TO OUTSIDE OF BUILDING) (STREET NOISES) (PEOPLE ALIGHTING FROM A BUS WITH UDF SHIRTS - STREET INTERVIEW WITH AN UNKNOWN INDIAN MALE): Well, I think it is a fantastic moment for the UDF. I think the last one year the UDF has ah-ah grown in strength. We can see the mas of cars are turning up here this afternoon. I think it is a <sup>truely</sup> ~~really~~ wonderful event.

REV Frank CHIKANE: Why do you jump on me like that?

UNKNOWN PERSON: We're just trying to get something spontaneous off the street (laughing).

REV CHIKANE: Ja.

UNKNOWN PERSON: Ja.

CHIKANE: I think I'll ... (one word) ...

(STREET SCENE OF POLICE VEHICLES)

CHANTING UDF. <sup>sight</sup>  
~~Sign~~ of Selbourne Hall.

(STREET SCENE WITH PEOPLE ENTERING THE HALL AND POLICE VEHICLES)

Video interruption

(Inside Hall - banner with RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN).

Crowd of people dancing on stage. Chanting: Tambo X20

Singing: Bamba Isandla Sami Tambo (Tambo hold my hand)

Video interruption

(CASSIM SALOJEE - INAUDIBLE)

TRADITIONAL DANCE AND MUSIC BY A GROUP OF WOMEN IN TRADITIONAL DRESS (*according to Prof. Ismail Mohammed it is a group from Northern Transvaal.*)

AUDIENCE APPLAUDS

CASSIM SALOJEE: United Democratic Front told the nation it was on the March in that year masses have (inaudible) to swell our movement and we speak now with one tremendous voice from the Cape Peninsula to the Northern Transvaal and from our eastern shores to Kimberley. Indeed we speak beyond Kimberley to the barren ~~coast~~ coast of Namibia and its wartorn Northern regions for we have pledged with SWAPO leaders Herman Toivo Ya Toivo and Hendrick Witbooi that your struggle is our struggle and your victory will be our victory. We

march under the proud banner of unity and democracy. The northern boundaries have no place in our ... comradeship ... The frontiers of apartheid are swept aside by the tide of our movement. We operate beyond the pass laws, in the cities, in rural towns, in homeland settlements alike. We have thrown away the barriers of group areas and have found democrats in every corner of our racial ghettos. And the UDF will never be subject to physical removal. Wherever ... (inaudible) ... our people the struggle will find them and the uphill battle for peace and justice will continue. In this year we have witnessed a phenomenal growth in organisations ... <sup>and activities of</sup> (inaudible) ... The youth, AZASO has consolidated into position. On many campuses, and youth congresses, organisations have sprung up in township after township at the moment the collaborators and the system ... (inaudible) ... of our young people we warned them that if they continue they will face the wrath of our people. We have seen response from adults who bear the joint burdens of fighting and home-making. It is they who have spearheaded the civic associations in new areas, the rent committees, the revitalized womens groups, a spirit of defiance remains resolute, is alive in the land, we have shown that the people have only been in retreat these last two decades. They were not defeated by the destruction of our organisation in 1960. And the jailing and silencing of the leaders in the years that followed the massive resistance to the maneuverings of apartheid was convincingly shown by the massive boycott of the new-style community councils.

People saw straight through the ... <sup>bright label</sup> (inaudible) ... of the new local authorities to their sinister operations. Sub-financed puppet rule will cost the townships bitterly as predicted, and they turned their backs on the ballot boxes perhaps then, perhaps nobody knew then, quite quite how bitterly and how soon we would have to pay for this new system. Within months of the imposition of TSHABALALA and his shadows, bread prices, to balance the books of these hopeless councils, <sup>Craddock, Ratananda</sup> have sent councillors reeling (inaudible). In Tumahole, Langa and Sharpeville to name but a few. Tumahole's evidence has shown

in no uncertain terms that democratic protest against the workings of the councils, would not be tolerated. The heavy hands of the police was the only solution to follow by the authorities in this civic dispute.

A call from the police has also been the answer to children who refused to tolerate the poor education of the ... (inaudible) ... without even a sincere show of negotiation with students, education authorities were calling the men with the teargas, the dogs, the sticks and the guns.

In the last three weeks, in the last three weeks of our children have been shot dead, education upheavals ... and several more have ended up in hospitals, still in the passes of apartheid, education (inaudible) will not see or sit down and talk to consider grievances instead of looking up instigators in order to show responsibility for the bloodshed. With the townships gripped by tensions and teargas and here we cannot fail to think of Crossroads and KTC. We face elections for the tricameral system with the hardline stay-away call to our Coloured and Indian followers. Almost half a million people have given us (inaudible) of the opposition to this new parliament by supporting our signature campaign. And it is an inspiration to us that the nations of the world have heard our outcry at Botha's cheating plan for continuing white minority rule.

On Friday the United Nations took the unprecedented step of declaring this constitution null void and (audience clap hands) ... (inaudible) ... as a basis for government. Not a single national voice was raised against the motion which was proposed and promoted by our comrades in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Only Reagan's United States and Thatcher's United Kingdom sat on the fence muttering disapproval but abstaining from the vote. It is reassuring that the British people have



more sense than their present government as we sit here  
(inaudible) (audience clap hands).

Audience: AMANDLA AWETHU.

CASSIM SALOJEE: As we sit here we have messages of support from the British Council of Churches, from the Anti-Apartheid Movement in that country and most significantly, the British Labour Party. The political house of the unbreakable British coalminers and other working classes would know what a fake Hendrickses so-called Labour Party is. The truth is that HENDRICKSE, like RAJBANSI and all the other collaborators are an enemy of the very people of this land. Pursuing privilege is the name of their game. They couldn't care less how many are shut away from jobs in the Bantustans left unemployed by the very democratic country with its unbearable defence burden. Abandoned without pensions by the beurocracy so large that it leaves crumbs from the (inaudible) after feeding itself. These collaborators are our enemies and our oppressors, every bit as much as Botha, Malan, Le Grange, Koornhof, Heunis and their lackeys (applause).

On the SABC, last week it was the collaborators who stated bluntly that the UDF was a front for the ANC, without even considering our claim that we are an open functioning movement.

It is these men who are begging for the votes of our Indian and Coloured brothers and sisters (inaudible), who are prepared to  
 \_\_\_ and the \_\_\_ security laws of the Nats, to (strengthen) their  
 voice who, who \_\_\_ to use the \_\_\_ Then They, \_\_\_ (-distorted)  
 The tricameral parliament means nothing more or less than  
 oppressing three times over. Botha's constitutional invention  
 is just a few months older than the UDF but already the world  
 has relegated it to (inaudible) it as <sup>the museums</sup> ~~yet~~ <sup>Just</sup> another muddle  
 (inaudible). <sup>model of</sup>

(audience applauds)

Cassim SALOJEE: Outrageous, unacceptable government. The front on the other hand has come to be seen as hope from abroad as the voice of the future. Our success has hurt the Nats and we may expect to feel the blows of their anger at any time. It will probably hold true here as it has elsewhere that bitterness of the struggle grows as liberty grows bit by bit nearer.

We have always believed that our suffering and sacrifice are worse because, <sup>its worthy</sup> because our cause is a just cause our battle is a moral one. Unlike so many national battles ours is not to seize the land of others, it is not to carry out the wrath of neighbours, <sup>ov</sup> ~~not~~ to dominate other people. We are fighting to create a free world on the southern tip of Africa. We are fighting for rule by human respect and mutual responsibility. It is in this spirit that we walk forward together and we say onward to victory in an undivided, <sup>non</sup> non-racial democratic South Africa. Amandla.

AUDIENCE: AWETHU (clapping of hands)

CASSIM SALOJEE: <sup>speeches</sup> Our speakers are going to be short because we are here to celebrate a great peoples fight, we are here to celebrate the great anniversary of the UDF. And the next speaker that we have on our list here is Tsepo Mbane. She is a tremendous community organiser from Tzaneen, in this Year of the Woman. (audience respond and clap hands) In this year of the woman she <sup>is seen</sup> ~~is~~ responsible for setting up large numbers of woman organisations to carry on the struggle for justice. Tshepo.

- Audience: Amandla/Awethu.

Applause

Traditional dancing and singing, as well as clapping from audience.

TSEPO MBANE: I'm greeting everybody, <sup>and</sup> it is a pleasure for me to come and stand in front of a crowd like this to say a few words about the life in the homelands, and the struggle that us women are waging. The women you see in front of you who have been dancing the traditional dance, are the women from the so-called homeland ... (inaudible) ... they have never had a chance of going to a class like you and me. They have never had a chance to stay in a city like you. They have never been exposed to the type of life you know. They've got a different version of the life-style which is purely bunduland style.

(A very loud applause by the audience). When I say Bunduland, I draw back tear, a painful tear because the life there is intolerable. These women are living in torture, these women are destined to lead a frustrated (time) which they have got to hand over to their children and to the generations coming if something is not done now.

(A very loud applause by audience). My friends should I tell you that, they are so scared when you see them standing here, scared because there are talks and threats from left and right, by whoever wishes to make those threats, and they shrink back into their skins and yet, and yet the problem still stands, even if they can shrink back, the problem stands that the homelands are what they are and something must be done and that something has got to be done by the people in pain. And the people in pain are these women, their husbands and sons.

AUDIENCE: AMANDLA AWETHU. The so-called homeland governments are nothing else than the people who only look after <sup>their</sup> own comfort and care. (Clapping of hands). Promises come like flowing, come like flood and those promises are never

fulfilled, those promises come when elections have got to be made, do they? (Inaudible). (Clapping of hands) Now is time and with your support, and we are happy that at last the Northern Transvaal has had a chance like the other homelands to bring the wonderful message to all those ... Women, to all the desperate Mothers, to all (inaudible) fathers to all the children (inaudible) country (clapping of hands).

(Inaudible) It is time that they stand for the future of their children ... (clapping of hands) ... They have got to stand (inaudible) your hands are wide open to give them support therefore (demonstrates as if she's holding a fire-arm). Dubula Dubula we're fighting them as it is the last Seshego fight (clapping of hands by audience). The suffering of men.

(Tsepo speaks about the homelands poverty, unemployment and migrant workers away from the microphone and moving around making the sound intermittent, ~~not transcribed~~).

Amandla Awethu by audience (Power is ours)

Amandla (audience awethu). Clapping of hands and audience give speaker a standing ovation).

(Audience sing inaudible song and calmed by CASSIM SALOJEE)

UNKNOWN CHANTER: VIVA MANDELA AUDIENCE: VIVA  
 VIVA KATHRADA AUDIENCE: VIVA  
 VIVA ALBERTINA SISULU AUDIENCE: VIVA  
 VIVA AUDIENCE: VIVA

Traditional song by group of women on stage in traditional dress accompanied by horn blowing.

are dry and it is barren ..... this women particularly have been living of a few ..... here a few cattle they use to milk those few cattle to feed their babies. but they are (no more because they are packed like sardines. They are no more because they are been taken from .pillar.... to .post..... ~~removed~~ with removals

And therefore what ..... everybody has got ..... (applause).

..... by is plot 15 residential plot, where do they have to live with their dogs ..... and everything ..... everything and (freight) and from that (<sup>plots</sup> props) they have to make a living, because they cannot find work anywhere, even in ..... what kind of work it is. It is just likking, likking the left overs just for, for nothing else but, just to get a. a. a. a piece of pap, daily, not for tomorrow, but for a day. So life is hectic. Some of us who have send a ..... also we have ..... out of food to have ..... the family ..... Some of ..... are here, with you<sup>d</sup>, as migrant workers, and most of them are kept here. We only see them after <sup>12 months</sup> ~~Christmas~~, when they come to re-new their contract, The style of life that is what it is. No <sup>exaggerating matters</sup> ~~vigilating~~ (mother) it is what it is <sup>fiction</sup>..... I am not just a ~~vigilating~~ (mother) it is what it is and some of them have got, have got to serve for that 12 months, with the hope that when you come you'll come back with some few pennies to help, but alast no. The opposite happen.

It is not the <sup>fault</sup> (~~will~~) of that man, I am sure the (Urban) people can tell us much better, they now that is part of the struggle, that the life we lead the frustrating life and we are trying therefore to organise this women, to think together to forget, about saying ah Ja Baas. I have seen that they, you must not say "Ja Baas" all the time, don't say "Ja Baas" all the time (peoples applause).

Because in the rural areas "Ja Baas" is not only, is not only

to the māster whom you serve, it is to the chief, it is to the  
 Indoena, it is to the elite, the mistress the <sup>nurse</sup>..... the  
 teacher, the <sup>everything</sup> "Ja Baas" because I am ..... (Applause  
 The are purely leading an appollp.... appologetting tipe of  
 life, they are as appologetting at every corner, to have, to  
 exist, to live, which means it is a privelege for them to live.

<sup>It is not a right</sup>  
 (some one in audience: Amandla)

(Audience: Ngawethu)

(Someone: Amandla)

Audience: Ngawethu)

(Applause).

Banner (FORWARD WITH DEMOCRATIC SRC COSAS ATTERIDGEVILLE, SAULSVILLE)

Banner (SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS MEADOWLANDS BRANCH. EVERYTHING AND EVERY EFFORT) (in black, green, yellow)

(Applause)

Cassim SALOJEE: ... are wanted outside. Now comrades, we go on to the next speaker. The next speaker is Father SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA. (Audience clap hands)

Some one Amandla x2 I' Africa  
Audience Ngawethu x2 Izwe lethu.

SMANGALISO MKHATSHWA: (inaudible)

"Comrades and patriots, on the 20th of August 1983 at Mitchells Plain, Cape Town we witnessed a scene that introduced a new era into the politics of this country. It was a scene of Euphoria and (video interruption). It didn't take long for the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and it's supporters to realise that there was tremendous work ahead of it. The declaration of the UDF was a (video interruption).

It didn't take long for the UDF to learn the full implications of rejecting the new so-called constitutional dispensation and the Koornhof Bill (video interruption).

They have decided that it is urgent that the ranks of the oppressed should be split and that the ruling social classes need more allies, than was presently the case. Later during the year, it must have dawned upon the UDF that the task of resisting apartheid would go beyond the lifespan of the UDF. It is up to our general council which will be meeting in a few months time, to decide the fate of the UDF. But I think it is important for us to realise, Comrades, and patriots, that when

the UDF declared war against the new constitution, it was declaring war against apartheid. (Audience clap hands).

Today is not a day for long speeches, it is a day for rededication and commitment. We are not even concerned about the farcical bogus elections that are due to take place because that is a fait accompli, we know they are going ahead whether the percentage poll is 2% or 3%, the whole exercise is going ahead anyway. So that is not really our primary concern this afternoon, we are here to say the UDF is here to stay, it is kicking, it is <sup>of</sup> alive, it is pulling, it is drawing people from all sectors ~~of~~ the community.

(Audience clap hands)

We are here to declare our preparedness, our readiness to do everything that is necessary to ensure freedom. Brothers and Sisters, I was very, not only sad, but disappointed when yet another life was wasted, wasted because nobody has a right to shoot and kill an innocent person, HENDRIK NKUNA (phonetical) had gone to the technical, Mabopane Technical College, in order to prepare himself for the future. His parents expected him to join the ranks of other patriots in the struggle to bring about freedom in this country and now he is no more. What really saddens me, and we must decide this afternoon whether we want this sort of thing to go on or to put a stop to it. What disappoints me is the fact that over the past four weeks... we have buried comrades, we have been singing freedom songs, waving fists, some of us were weeping and yet we keep on going back to do the same thing over and over again. On Saturday, when HENDRICK NKUNA is laid to rest, we shall be doing the same thing. Do we want this to go on and if so for how long?

(Audience shout "NO")

Do you want this to go on. You, and you, and you



Audience: No, no, no

Comrades, you have committed yourself this afternoon. We are saying it is high time this kind of thing, wastage of human life were brought to a stop. Finally, we are now looking ahead to a new era, its a new ball game that we are now involved in, especially after the so-called Nkomati accord. After these bogus elections that are coming, we are inevitably involved in a new ball game (inaudible) is in jeopardy. The frontline states, are taking, some of them are taking positions which give us reason for uneasiness. Countries, many countries around the world especially those with which we have close contacts for a long time. I think, some of them are taking a position which does not encourage us very much. So what I am saying therefore comrades, is that the challenge, the full wrath of the challenge is upon us now. There's no point in looking across the borders, let us look at ourselves, let us stand together, united, to consolidate the gains that the UDF has already made. Let us go back right down to the grassroots, as you have heard, the comrade who spoke before me, speaking on behalf and in the name of people that very often we over (video interruption).

Comrades and patriots, other people are placing their hope in you, in the UDF. Dare we sit on our laurels, dare we disappoint those people? I say, no, we have no right to disappoint them. We have no right to disappoint ourselves. We have no right to allow a chapter in history on which other people will spit because that chapter looks unattractive, because that chapter was a disappointed, <sup>because</sup> a disappointment and because that Chapter delayed the final solution. Comrades and patriots, I say to you, I want to challenge you as I finish here and I want to ask one question, and if at all you genuinely are not prepared to answer that question, remain seated or remain kneeling. The question is a very simple one (video interruption)

CASSIM SALOJEE

"to ... spoke .. it would be appropriate to convey to you some of the messages <sup>that</sup> we have received from the churches in the country and I would ask one of the Vice-Presidents of the UDF REVEREND FRANK CHIKANE to read that out to you. Frank.." (Audience chant UDF <sup>is</sup> and clap hands).

REVEREND FRANK CHIKANE:

"Thank you, thank  
(Audience: Awethu (Inaudible slogan))

Thank you, comrade chair, I've got a number of messages from churches and the first one, which, I'm not going to read the first two from the BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, which has been referred to and I've got a copy and the Episcopal church people for a free Southern Africa in New York. I've got a third message from the WORLD NATIONAL COMMITTEE of the LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION and it reads thus: "We are so inspired by the broad spectrum of your membership that it seems hard to believe this is only your first anniversary, may your second year testify further to the rich promise that awaits a unified and democratic South Africa" from the USA NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION.

(Audience clap hands)

I've got a message from BISHOP TUTU, General Secretary of the SACC and it reads thus, "We salute, its steps stalwarts who have worked so assiduously for justice, peace and reconciliation and exhort the UDF to go from strength to strength in its commitment to peaceful and fundamental change in South Africa. We pray for Gods blessing on all your endeavours, it is quite unbelievable that the UDF Is only one year old. It has made an indelible impression, an

unforgettable impact on the affairs of our beloved country".  
Thank you.

(Audience clap hands)

(Audience : Amandla)

CASSIM SALOJEE: Thank you, songs and dances have inspired us throughout the generations in our struggle and since we're celebrating the UDF anniversary we're going to have a group who'll do a gum-boot dance, if they would come up please. Can we just clear the stage a little.

Song TAMBO SKHULULE TAMBO (Free us TAMBO)

Gum-boot dance by a group of 5 Black males

CASSIM SALOJEE: "Comrades, please can I have your attention please, please comrades. The system, the police are arresting some of our people there at the back of the foyer. Let us not give them. Please keep calm, here comrades let us be calm. We are not provoking them. We are having a peaceful, peaceful gathering there we we are asking them to leave our people alone. That we are going to conduct ourselves peacefully. (Audience shout). Can I, can you be quiet, please, let us keep calm. We are not, comrades, let us have your attention. Sit down. (Audience shout) Right, halla They are out, sit down. Right, they are, they are out now. We will, please take your seats, please quiet (audience shout) please please please right right. Please carry on, please carry on. Audience chants OLIVER TAMBO, NIYABASABA NA, HAI ASIBASABI SIYABAFUNA (are you scared of them? No we are not scared of them, we want them).

Gumboot dance continues.

CASSIM SALOJEE: Justice in this land and one of the great fighters <sup>against</sup> of apartheid is Archbishop Trevor Huddleston of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and I think it will be right for us (audience clap hands) to hear what he has to say.

ARCHBISHOP HUDDLESTON says: "I send my warmest wishes to the UDF as you meet, to mark your first anniversary. I have followed your activities closely over the past year and have been excited and encouraged by your determined campaigns in particular against the so-called reforms and the Koornhof Laws. The birth of the UDF has proved to be a historic development in the history of the South African freedom struggle and helps me to record vividly that other great assembly, the Congress of the People where the Freedom Charter was adopted. I wish you all success in the future and appeal to all South Africans of goodwill to support your campaigns and in particular the boycott of the elections under the new apartheid constitution. (Audience clap hands)

Before we go on to the next speaker we, we will have the privilege of enjoying an item that was prepared by the Kuangano (phonetical) Drama Group. If they are ready will they come on (audience shout and clap hands)(chant slogan)

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE SPEAKER: Wearing RMC T-shirt.

Let, my tune sound a ~~revolutionary sound~~ in the ears of Africa. Let the change here that blow the chains of slavery for I blow the trumpets, I blow for Africa. Oh Africa (speaker shows salute with closed fingers and thumb outstretched).

Bright with the souls of our heroes beneath the shade.

We live and die under.

Red for the blood of the heroes in the fight.

Green for the precious valleys of our lands.

Linked with gold and minerals of inheritance that displays the riches of our continent.

We shall live and die for Africa.

Africa our land of hopes and ages to come.

Shout it aloud and say it OH Africa  
 Men shall break the chains  
 Men shall be free  
 From the fountain to the forest  
 And from the mountains to the mines  
 Your children dance with ancient love  
 This be our vow oh Africa to live as one in unity  
 And in your struggle to ... (inaudible) ... you fraternity  
 This be our destined destination  
 Under the sun in Africa  
 Under the sun raise in Africa  
 Shout it aloud and say it oh Africa  
 Men shall break the chains of slavery  
 Men shall be free some day  
 (Audience clap hands)

MZWAKHE ISRAEL MBULI (SOYCO) (wearing RMC T-shirt)

Comrades, let me remember a comrade who was there when we  
 launched the UDF. His name is Brian Mbulelo Mazibuko. He was  
 killed last year mysteriously. Now when I see myself in this  
 situation I remember him. And I feel I've got to dedicate  
 myself to him by saying something, at this meeting.

The spear has fallen.

The spear has fallen.

God has given a life unto man.

And a man has taken a life from man.

Let me say no unto slavery and mutilation.

Let me say yes unto victory and harmony

For the spear has fallen

God forgives I don't

For the heart of Africa is bleeding

Bleeding from the wounds, a knife to hollow

Brutally knifed alone in the night

The forces of inhumanity and subjugation

Have arisen <sup>h<sub>i</sub>ve</sup> against the forces of change

Criminals - ~~AI~~ - criminals to assassinate and butcher comrades

Knives and swords are also weapons of war  
 History demands that we succeed  
 Over atrocities and sadism  
 For the rays of freedom cannot be - BR - daunted  
 Brian disrupted the barbaric march of the people unto  
 catastrophe and re-directed peace loving mankind unto freedom.  
 Yester year it was Griffiths Mxenge and Ruth First and  
 Yesterday it was Msizi Dube and Martha Schoon  
 And today it is Brian Mbuleleo Mazibuko  
 And tomorrow it is you and I  
 And tomorrow it is you and I  
 Africa the spear has fallen  
 More than cruelty overwhelmed Brian  
 His stubborn, his fall was stubborn and bloody like a warrior  
 he died  
 Africa the spear has fallen  
 Pick it up and forward to the battle  
 Pick it up fight side by side  
 For these freedoms (audience cheer and clap hands)  
 Pick it up  
 Fight for a democratic South Africa  
 The last struggle in Africa  
 The last struggle in Africa  
 Time has changed my home into anguish  
 My land became a home of hunger  
 In lovers of humanity scavenged and scattered all over for  
 survival  
 Like autumn leaves blown astray  
 The pride of God became an abomination before the eyes of man  
 And I became a curse under the regime of man  
 And now the Almighty <sup>Kumkani</sup> ~~Kumbani~~ (Almighty God) is in anger before  
 the seater of this demonic power  
 By volcanic waves of liberty  
 The oppressor shall listen to the inner sound of reason in  
 remembrance of agony years

Man is tossed to and fro a last time before justice prevails  
over my land.

Mao Tse Tung triumphs the upper eye upon the adjectives of  
Japanese imperialism

Until the oppressor was conquered and healed

What are my tears to you when .. sympathy.. of that highest  
degree is no more

Do not pity to me

Come to me

Do it like you face Nazi bullets

In the past chronic years of human extention from Columbo to  
Zanzibar

Diplomatic talks and non-aggression pacts became tricks before  
the eyes of man

The people are like flowers robbed their colours  
(audience clap hands)

However man is a creator of his own true destiny

Let my mind interpret my dreams of Mt. Kilimandjaro

Let my dream, let my brain power interpret the last struggle  
in Africa

Unless human rights are embound in the statute books

Love shall mean hatred

Loyalty shall mean vengeance

Obedience shall mean rebellion happiness a sign of danger and  
(audience clap hands)

Conformity a bluff and Africa shall know no peace until we in  
the South are free from Cape Peninsula to Caïro

Apartheid <sup>heresy</sup> here shall cease

A sovereign state shall be a sovereign state

At last the people in Africa shall be free and the people  
shall sing a song

A song to dry tears of long toiling years

At last the people in Africa shall sing

The day shall dawn

The day shall dawn

The day shall dawn

A new man is born  
 Full of strength and agility to demonstrate conventional  
 wisdom in defence of the Fatherland  
 Through cannons <sup>and</sup> of criticism  
 His <sup>dragon</sup> ~~struggle~~ force and enthusiasm shall perform a daring  
 combat against fascism  
 Man shall initiate a campaign against genocidal crimes  
 Committed and perpetrated against beloved humanity  
 Today housing is another means of exploitation and before the  
 spirit of Hitler destroys man  
 Wake me up to join you in the march to a peoples kingdom  
 (man is sold by limit pleasures of time)  
 Man is forsaken like a memory lost, however, say it aloud, say  
 it aloud  
 Justice is absent and democracy is nil. Say it aloud  
 democracy is absent and justice is nil. Through our  
 collective bodies of young and old shall come to pass  
 institutionalised violence is a silent holocaust by design  
 However like a surprise the day shall dawn and the world shall  
 mourn, at the burial of fascism for a threat to world peace  
 shall be no more. The doors of hell are golden  
 Possessed and displayed by Western powers <sup>hidden worms</sup>  
 Self interest is a vehicle to the graveyard ... ~~heathen ones~~  
 ... shall come to exposure and collaborators like giant  
 spiders shall belong to the dustbin of history.  
 All this shall take root before dawn (audience clap hands)  
 Shalom, shalom is the language of world peace  
 Shalom is the language of world peace  
 North, east, south and west  
 The Nkomati Accord is not freedom but a deal, Africa (audience  
 cheer)  
 No state power shall legislate me not to love man  
 Do something to facilitate the change in Africa  
 Do something to flung the doors of Robben Island and Pollsmoor  
 Prison wide open  
 Do something for the exile to return back home in Africa.



Oh Africa let all this be done before dawn.

Oh Africa let all this be done before dawn.

(Audience hear and clap)

CASSIM SALOJEE: Comrades, the next speaker is one of the great heroines of our struggle and there is nothing I can say that will do justice to this brave and courageous comrade Dorothy Nyembe (audience clap hands and cheer)

(The audience chant)

Dorothy Nyembe AL

Umama Wethu AL (20X)

(Dorothy Nyembe is our mother)

(Song led by Dorothy)

Wathintabafazi Wayithintimbokodwe

(When you touched the women)

(You touched a rock)

(You will die)

Uzokufa (3X)

Amandla Awethu (2X)

Comrades, we are here today, to celebrate the birth of the UDF. I always used to speak with my language because I hate some of the people does not understand me what I mean so I want that everybody must be clear. Only thing what I will only go one say sentence. As I am standing here, come from Natal, I have so many greetings to you from the various Womens organisation and also I'll call upon women. We women must come out <sup>of our shells</sup> ~~to through ourselves~~ so that we must help our sons and husbands. Nqishilo Ngathi - Ke sengiyekile la ngoba bathi angishaye ngezimfishane nqiye nqithande woku'muntu angimamele kungabikhona umuntu ongezwanga. Lapha I-organisation ezelwe namhlanje ene-birthday i-organisation yamakholwa, abefanele ukuba abaholi balelizwe ukuba siyasukuma sonke sibalandele ngoba abana-apartheid bafuna. Inkululeko yawo wonke umuntu and okunye, ukuthi, silapha namhlanje imizuzu yethu mincane yokukhuluma esinikwe yona, kodwa iqiniso ukuthi niyalizwa ini

izwi le UDF umalivunguza linibiza lithi nina bahluphekayo sondelani nanka amahlombakhe, izonithwali UDF. Umabonabulawe kodwa ayikhulundi luthu nge-politics kuphela inothando omuntu njengoba izithanda yona. Lombuso wanamhlanje <sup>wezidlova</sup> ~~wezidlova~~ awayifuni. UDF namhlanje <sup>n</sup> ~~wezeblova~~ bathe basusa, bafuna, <sup>ukuqhelisa</sup> ~~ukungehlisa~~ o-friends bethu ama-Indians nama-khaladi bafuna ukuyobabulala lawi-border bafuna ukubaxabanisa nathi.

(audience clap hands in approval)

Ngiyazi nje ngihleli ukuthi noma nje ngicimezile ukuthi ababafuni nokubabona inteno ekulu bafuna bafuna ukuthatha izingane zabo <sup>bazisindise</sup> ~~bazandise~~ bazibuyiseelemuva basunduze abangani bethu babase e-frontline thanini ninake lapha namhlanje nonke ma Coloured nama-Indian, <sup>Na</sup> ~~Na~~ Asivumi sizohlala njalo noma sihlupheka obaba benu <sup>bahlupheke</sup> ~~baphelala~~ iminyaka ngeminyaka bakhelwe i-border engaka e-Cape Town behlala knone. <sup>Ibaxakile lento</sup> ~~Namhlanje~~ kuthwe niyakhushulwa ngoba babona baxabane nento. <sup>Ibaxakile lento</sup> ~~Ibhaxa la~~ Lendoda esibhekene naye u-Botha indoda eyisidlova and indoda enamanga eguqula inkulumo ~~ngomlomo~~. ngezinkulumo.

(a loud applause by audience)

<sup>Akukho</sup> ~~Akukho~~ esingake siyenza kona ngoba inhlala ngale isithale kodwa thina ma Sisukuma sonke nabantwabethu ekhaya silandele i-youth ngemuva singo-mama wayo nama siyadengezela ngoba sesigugule as kwazi kwenza ~~Kodwa~~ ma sikhala nje ngemuva sithi qhubeka ndodana yana phambili ziyohamingane. inkululeko <sup>nezinge izinhlanganis</sup> siyayifuna thina khona manje. Abafazi nczinyizimhlanganis ezezavalwa balwe minyaka ngeminyaka bezama ngawo wonke amandla ukuba basikhulule kodwa umbuso walelizwe ozidlova wathatha abaholi bethu wabavalalela nga phakathi kwezndonga zejele bengabulalanga muntu bengenzanga lutho, bahlala khona ukuba baphelele khona emoyeni. Abanye bangale ngaphesheya kwa-manzi abanakubuya. Lomhlangano <sup>ntambama</sup> ~~ntambama~~ nawubabize <sup>abakwi</sup> ~~abalani~~ exile bakhulule ukhulume ngezwi <sup>elilodwa uthi khululani u Mandela</sup> ~~nabalandeli~~ bakhe e Robben Island babuye beze ekhaya. Namhlanje <sup>ngibekisa</sup> ~~ngibhelasa~~ <sup>kini</sup> ~~lani~~ makhosikazi amhlophe angiyikuthu angiyukushiya amakhosikazi ama-Indian,

nabamhlope nabamnyame <sup>magibambane</sup> ~~babambane~~ especially laba abathe  
 bavuleka <sup>amhelo</sup> ~~amhelo~~ babona <sup>ukuthi</sup> ~~ulanti~~ igodi <sup>lokufa</sup> ~~lolanja~~ <sup>laphanya</sup> ~~laphya~~ lumbuso  
 ka-Botha uma sibambene sinamandla soyinqoba lenkanyamba  
 engu-Botha <sup>sekusele into encane</sup> ~~selatele~~ <sup>inteneane</sup> ~~inteneane~~ siyikhabe ngomyawo.

(applause by the audience)

Ayikho into engiyizele lapha ngizele ukuzoletha <sup>izwi</sup> ~~izwe~~ elivela  
 ngale kumakhosikazi silindele silindele <sup>ukuba</sup> ~~ulaba~~ siholwe  
 ngabaholi amakholwa sengishilo ngathi amakholwa la ebe fanele  
 angabe yiwo azovotelwa azothatha ilizwe UDF kunoma siphathwe  
 lezidlova ngoba sihleli nje noma sihluphekile sisizwa yibo  
 noma senzeni bayasi-thanda basifanisa nabanthwana ngoba  
 basibizelaezindlini zesonto abathandazamanga. Ikhona into  
 ethi abafundiso bathadaza amanga kodwa abe fundisi abathandaza  
 amanga abathanbaza <sup>d</sup> amanga baselemwa abekho la kodwa bathe  
 ubufundisi <sup>abakhuluma iqiniso</sup> ~~abakhulumqiniso~~ balapha ngoba i-Bhayi bheli  
 bayifundisisile balwazu thando luka-nkulunkulu <sup>u</sup> ~~lu~~wuthando  
<sup>lokuthanda</sup> ~~lokuthanda~~ makhelwanu wakho njengobuzithanda wena. Bangani,  
 kuthiwa angisuke la angazi noma sekuyimjwayelo ngoba bayangazi  
<sup>ukuthi</sup> ~~wanti~~ ngikhulumela futhi <sup>ngo ke ngigqibe</sup> ~~njengenqibi~~ kodwa into ekhona, la,  
 ma-Indian nama-Coloureds, angeke athole lutho lapha e phala  
 mende azokwenzelwa yona ayonikwelwa lombutho ka-Matanzima noma  
 Mangope. Kuphele i-Bantustan, azonikelwa yona. Labo, ngisho  
 kulabo ma-Coloureds, nama-Indians afuna uku rula ~~la~~ abafowabo  
 no mama wabo babakhala kuthisele emgodini ongenamkhawulo wezi  
 ngonyama bethi abavote, bangavoti, bangavoti bangavoti  
 (amandla - one of the audience member). Bangani siyakiya  
 sonke ejele nome senjigigugile nje and ngizimisele ukuyajele.  
 Nginga kuphinda phinda kuphela boze bangidlise upoison kodwa  
 angisoze ngithule ukukuluma ngalelilizwe siyawuhlala phansi  
 sithendaze kodwa <sup>singathandazi</sup> ~~ngathandazi~~ bese siguqa sibheka pansi  
 okukuphela sithandaze sisukame senze. Ibhayibheli la yasi  
 vumela ithi thandaza, uguqe, ucele kunkulukulu bese wenza  
 unkulunkulu aziqhelise <sup>endaweni</sup> ~~endaweni~~ emnyama uhambe endaweni  
 emhlophe uyifumane into oyifunayo.

(audiende shout amandla awethu)

Abantwa bethu, izithshudeni nezinye isinhlanganiso, ziqalezahamba ujelele silwa nalobuklobolo sukwa jakiby-jgibixa, Ziwa nale nquba phambili elengqibeleni bahlangane ne-new constitution kodwa namhlanje abantwana bami ngezinyawo bathi we can't leave our brothers mababamba bayongena emgodini ongenamkhawulo, mina I'm standing by with Youth League. Ngime kubo nje, mabathi phambili bayikhombe indlela, abafundisi bethu be UDF bazothandaza, usathane siyamkhalela simphonse le nqegama lika nkulunkulu ayi ngokuthatnaza sihlale phansi siyakushishiliza iyashishiliza lenqola ngibabonile abafazi baphumile basilandela uMandela naba holi bakhe nabalandeli bakhe abuye eze sibize o-Oliver Tambo babuye bazothi take over isikathi sekungesabo manje iyagaladela mawundlu.

Amandla Awethu (2X)

Salani Kahle Sohlangana Ejele

Audience sings: Malibongwe igama Lamakhosikazi.

TRANSLATED ENGLISH VERSION OF DOROTHY NYEMBE'S SPEECH

the audience chants

DOROTHY NYEMBE AL

UMAMA WETHU AL AL (Dorothy Nyembe is our mother)

Dorothy leads a song:

You touch the women

You touch the rock

You'll die (3X)

Comrades, we are here today to celebrate the birth of the UDF. I always used to speak with my language because I hate some of the people does not understand me what I mean. So I want that everybody must be clear. Only thing what I will only go one say sentence. As I am standing here, came from Natal, I have so many greetings to you from the various women's organisations and also call upon women. We women, we must come out <sup>of our shells</sup> ~~through ourselves~~ so that we must help our sons and husbands.

I've said that I've gone past that, now more so, because I've been requested to be brief. However I like everybody to listen to me carefully so that nobody will say he didn't hear. The organisation that is celebrating its first anniversary, is a Christian organisation. The Christians who were actually supposed to be the leaders in this country and we would have been following because they don't have any apartheid. They only want freedom for everybody. And another thing is that as we are here today, the time is too short for our speeches. The truth is that you all feel the UDF's voice calling everybody, even the poor. The UDF says come nearer, with its shoulders it will lift you higher. In other words I'll say the UDF though it says nothing political, it is the most hated. It is only full of love, love for loving the fellowman. This ruthless government of today doesn't like the UDF. Today they want to remove our friends the Coloureds and Indians from us. They want them to quarrel with us by getting involved in the border skirmishes and be killed. (a loud applause by the audience). I know for how much they hate them (Coloureds and Indians). All what they want is to withdraw their sons from the border and substitute them with the Indians and Coloureds in the front line. All of you Indians and Coloureds say no. Don't agree. Stay with us. Your fathers were oppressed for years beyond the borders of Cape Town. Today they want to elevate you because they are in a dilemma. This man we are facing, Botha is ruthless, he's a liar and he's not a man of his words.

(A very loud applause by the audience). We can't do anything to him because he's in hiding. If we could stand up, follow and support our youth as mothers, even if because of old age, we can't act, we can give them moral support because we want freedom. The women and other organisations which have been banned fought for years to free us but this ruthless government sent them to prisons. These people were innocent, they didn't kill anyone. Others are across the oceans they

can not come back. This meeting, this afternoon must call them back from exile. They must be freed in unison. MANDELA and his followers in Robben Island must come back home. I'm referring this today to you White, Indian, Coloured and Black women, you must unite, especially the enlightened ones because you can see that Botha's regime is leading us to a disastrous situation. If we are united we'll conquer Botha the monster. It is just a matter of time and we'll kick it outside.

(A loud applause by the audience)

I only brought here the word from the women. We are in waiting. We are waiting to be led by leaders. Christians. I've already mentioned that these Christians are the real people whom we should be voting for to take up leadership, the UDF than to be governed by these bullies. Even at present, when we need help we get it. They treat us like their children. They call us to the churches and they don't pray lies. It is said there are priests who preach lies but here we don't have that kind of preachers. These only preach the truth because they teach us about the Bible and they know God's love and to love thy neighbour.

Friends, it is said I must now move away from here, I don't know whether it's because I'm known to be a talkative person. However, Indians and Coloureds will be given the Matanzima and Mangope kind of government. They'll be given the Bantustan. I'm refering this to those Indians and Coloureds who want to lead their fellow brothers to a catastrophic end by telling you to vote. Don't vote don't vote.

(Power - a member of the audience)

Friends, we'll all go to jail, old as I am, I'm still prepared to go to jail. They can poison one if they want to. I'll never stop talking about this country. We'll kneel down and pray but we'll not end up by kneeling down. We'll pray, rise up and act. The Bible says ask God, pray and act and you'll get what you want from God.

(Audience shout Amandla Awethu)

Our children the students and other organisations are busy with the campaign of fighting this corruption of the new so-called constitution. Our children are standing on their feet they say 'We can't leave our brothers to suffer and perish in an endless pit. I'm standing by with youth league, I want them to show the way. Our ministers in the UDF will pray and we'll kick the devil in the name of God not by praying only but by pushing forward with the struggle. I've seen the women in their campaign. Lets go and fetch MANDELA and his followers and OLIVER TAMBO, let them come back home to take over. The time is now theirs.

Power is ours (X2)

Goodbye we'll meet in jail.

(A very loud applause by the audience and they sing a song

'Let the name of the women be praised' (X3))

Power is ours (2X)

Good bye, we'll meet in jail.

(A very loud applause by the audience and they sing a song

"Let the name of the women be praised" (3X)

CASSIM SALOJEE: Right Comrades, I'll now ask Frank Chikane to read a few more messages of support on this occasion of the first anniversary. Frank.

FRANK CHIKANE: I've got three messages of support I'm going to read. The first one is from the Women's Federation. We send our warmest wishes to mark the first anniversary of the UDF. We heard when the UDF when it was an embryo, was at an embryo we saw and witnessed its birth, it's teething problems, it's, it overcame and even tried its baby-teeth at the racist regime. It was christened with many names, which it shook off. It started tottering on weak baby legs until it could stand up firmly and walk. We saw this baby grow to a giant which scares the apartheid men silly. Today its one year old

and internationally acclaimed happy <sup>first</sup> ~~fa~~-birthday and that sounds <sup>REALLY</sup> like mothers writing it (audience clap hands). I've got a message from the Irish Anti Apartheid Movement. The Irish apart Anti-Apartheid Movement sends its greetings to the United Democratic Front and its congratulations on the tremendous campaign you have led against the <sup>new</sup> racially divided <sup>give</sup> South African constitution. Your campaign for a boycott of the forthcoming elections strikes a particular chord in Ireland where the word boycott originated in our own struggle for freedom and self-determination. By your courageous actions you have won the support and admiration of the people all over Ireland, for the past months for example a dozen young workers at a central Dublin store have been on strike in support of one of their number, number suspended from a job for refusing to handle South African goods, their action (audience clap) .. Their action is a small one in comparison with yours yet it is a unique strike which is a measure of the solidarity which your cause aspires. We know that the cause will triumph, we salute the UDF for it's part in the struggle for a free South Africa in which apartheid will be abolished and all its people will be christened. And I want to take this opportunity lastly to read the message, eh, from the UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE (audience cheer and clap hands) AGAINST APARTHEID. On behalf of the United of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid we send congratulations on occasions of first anniversary of United Democratic Front and express our full support and solidarity to stop - solidarity, stop - special, special committee has followed with deepest interest UDF activities against new sham constitution and other apartheid measures and has been concerned over repression - repression inflicted upon UDF wish you speedy success in your efforts for democratic non-racial South Africa. Thank you. (audience clap hands)



CASSIM SALOJEE: Comrades we're now going to ask Jessica Sherman to sing songs about our struggle. Jessica.

(Audience clap hands)

JESSICA SHERMAN sings: (SHERMAN : ~~Well known student activist at Wits~~, member of JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC ACTION COMMITTEE)

It could've been me but instead it was you )  
 So I'll keep doing the things you were doing)  
 As if I were too )  
 I'll be a student of life )  
 A singer of songs )  
 A farmer of food and a <sup>writer</sup> righter of wrongs ) chorus  
 It could've been me but instead it was you )  
 And it may be me dear sisters and brothers )  
 Before we are through )  
 So if you can fight for freedom (4X) )  
 If you can fight for freedom I can too )  
 Students in Soweto not very far away  
 Shot down by nameless fire  
 One early day in June  
 Some people cried out angry  
 You should've shot more of them down  
 But you can't bury youth my friends  
 Youth grows the whole world round  
 (CHORUS REPEATED).

They've offered us Rajbansi and Allan Hendrickse

There's going to be elections (audience clap hands)

But two plus one doesn't equal four

Now GST is rising to pay their salaries

more soldiers to send to the border

(audience clap hands) but this army won't make us free (repeat chorus)

There's a woman who was silenced for seventeen years

Now she has been sentenced, four walls for four years

Albertina is our leader

Now she's to sit in jail  
 But still she's leading UDF while she's out with us on bail  
 (SHERMAN gives salute with clenched right fist) (audience cheer)

It could've been me but instead it was you (cut in recording)  
 The things you were doing as if I were too  
 So if you can fight for freedom (4X)  
 If you can fight for freedom we can too  
 (audience clap hands)

Somebody from the audience shouts ZIPRA

~~JESSICA SHERMAN plays guitar and sings songs of the Chimurenga about freedom in Zimbabwe, Angola, South West Africa and about the UDF (see AFRICA PERSPECTIVE No 16 Winter 1980 Pages 80-88).~~ ~~X~~

JESSICA SHERMAN: Amandla X2

AUDIENCE: Awethu X2 (clap hands)

Cassim SALOJEE: Can somebody just help me here (microphone problem) Comrades. Our next speaker is a person with incredible courage, a person who throughout her life has endured suffering, the kind of suffering that few human beings could endure for so long. She's a person who had to sacrifice and stay away from her husband. She's a person who's seen her children away from her, children incarcerated by the oppressive regime. She's a person who herself throughout her life has been harassed, imprisoned, banned and in spite of all this suffering she goes on with an indomitable will, to go on fighting for freedom and I'm referring to one of the presidents of the UDF, Comrade ALBERTINA SISULU

(audience stand and clap hands)

AUDIENCE: Mama Sisulu AL

Umama Wethu AL (approx 12X)

(MAMA SISULU IS OUR MOTHER)

SHONA SONG

Thino Tenda ZANU  
Yakati Sunungura Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thino Tenda ZANU  
Yakati Sunungura Muri Ezimbabwe  
ZAN ..... ZANLA  
Yakati Sunungura Muri Ezimbabwe  
ZAN ..... ZANLA  
Yakati Sunungura Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thine Rufaro ..... Faro )  
Nerusungunuko Muri Ezimbabwe ) X2.

Thino Tenda Vanyerere  
Norubatidzo Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thino Tenda Vanyerere  
Norubatidzo Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thino Tenda Najomo  
Norubatidzo Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thino Tenda Najomo  
Norubatidzo Muri Ezimbabwe  
SWAP ..... SWAPO  
Norubatidzo Muri Ezimbabwe  
SWAP ..... SWAPO  
Norubatidzo Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thine Rufaro ..... Faro )  
Nerusungunuko Muri Ezimbabwe ) X2.

Thino Tenda Vankomo  
Yakati Sunungura Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thino Tenda Vankomo  
Yakati Sunungura Muri Ezimbabwe  
ZIP ..... ZIPRA  
Nerusungunuko Muri Ezimbabwe  
ZIP ..... ZIPRA  
Nerusungunuko Muri Ezimbabwe  
Thine Rufaro ..... Faro )  
Nerusungunuko Muri Ezimbabwe ) X2

Thino Tenda UDF  
Nerusungunuko Muri E South Africa  
Thino Tenda UDF  
Yakati Sunungura Muri E South Africa  
U ..... UDF  
Nerusungunuko Muri E South Africa  
U ..... UDF  
Nerusungunuko Muri E South Africa  
Thine Rufaro ..... Faro )  
Nerusungunuko Muri E South Africa ) X2.

AMANDLA!!

TRANSLATION - SHONA SONG

We are grateful to ZANU  
It Liberated us in Zimbabwe  
We are grateful to ZANU  
It Liberated us in Zimbabwe  
ZAN ..... ZANLA  
It Liberated us in Zimbabwe  
ZAN ..... ZANLA  
It Liberated us in Zimbabwe  
We have Happiness and Liberation in Zimbabwe  
We have Happiness and Liberation in Zimbabwe.

We are grateful to Mr Nyerere  
With his assistance in Zimbabwe  
We are grateful to Mr Nyerere  
With his assistance in Zimbabwe  
We are grateful to Najomo  
With his assistance in Zimbabwe  
We are grateful to Najomo  
With his assistance in Zimbabwe  
SWAP ..... SWAPO  
With his assistance in Zimbabwe  
SWAP ..... SWAPO  
With his assistance in Zimbabwe  
We have Happiness and Liberation in Zimbabwe  
We have Happiness and Liberation in Zimbabwe.

We are grateful to Mr Nkomo  
He Liberated us in Zimbabwe  
We are grateful to Mr Nkomo  
He Liberated us in Zimbabwe  
ZIP ..... ZIPRA  
With Liberation in Zimbabwe  
ZIP ..... ZIPRA  
With Liberation in Zimbabwe  
We have Happiness and Liberation in Zimbabwe  
We have Happiness and Liberation in Zimbabwe.

We are grateful to UDF  
With Liberation in South Africa  
We are grateful to UDF  
It Liberated us in South Africa  
U ..... UDF  
With Liberation in South Africa  
U ..... UDF  
With Liberation in South Africa  
We have Happiness and Liberation in South Africa  
We have Happiness and Liberation in South Africa.

AMANDLA!!

AUDIENCE: AMANDLA AWETHU

ALBERTINA SISULU: AMANDLA (POWER) AUDIENCE: AWETHU

AMANDLA (POWER) AUDIENCE: AWETHU

AWETHU (IS OURS) AUDIENCE: AMANDLA

Sons and daughters of Africa  
 To me today I'm a big great mother  
 For today our multiracial baby is born  
 For today our baby that will rule this South Africa in future  
 is born  
 The multiracial baby the, the United Democratic fro-Front  
~~who~~ <sup>Which</sup> is uniting the people to speak with one voice  
 Which is uniting the people, to tell the truth  
 Which is uniting the people, to say no to the Koornhof Laws  
 Which is uniting the people to say away with the New  
 Constitution, because it doesn't give us freedom  
 We are here today to celebrate a baby that was born on this  
 date last year when one of their mothers was in <sup>jail</sup> ~~goal~~. I knew  
 I had a new baby in the crib although I was in <sup>jail</sup> ~~goal~~, I was  
 very happy to have this baby, but unfortunately for me I  
 didn't see it, it was just taken away from me before I could  
 see it. But I'm happy to say today, all those people have  
 come to witness that that baby was born and its kicking and  
 that baby was born and its marching the people to freedom.  
 It's a baby that is most frigtening to the government  
 It's a baby that will lead you people to freedom  
 It's a baby that will tell the people that the new  
 constitution is fraud  
 We are no longer to be deceived  
 We know the truth today  
 We are no longer going to say, yes, baas as the last speaker  
 has said, that time has gone  
 We want a democratic South Africa that will be ruled by the  
 people of this country irrespective of colour or creed.

A country that will be ruled by the people of South Africa because they feel its a right government that is just for everybody

The Democratic Front is here to stay

The Democratic Front is here to tell the Government that we have got this warning for the government of this country that it must work fast to bring about <sup>the</sup> real change in this country before the patience of the people of this country is exhausted (audience clap hands).

We shall not rest until freedom is won for everybody in this country, black and white, for all we are here to stay.

We are the citizens of this country.

We are getting nowhere, but the government of this country is trying to divide us, the government of this country is trying to, to torn our children, away from us.

Coloureds and Indians are not whites.

They're our children, they're classified as non-whites.

Since when are they whites? (audience clap hands)

Why are you taking our children away from us because it is frightened of the resistance of the people against unjust laws of this country.

Does it want our children to, to, to join apartheid, that has destroyed the image of this country. We know that, thank you, its frigtened, because it knows that if the people are united nothing will stop them <sup>from</sup> marching to freedom. Its doing this to entrench apartheid. Its doing this to have a number in parliament that will stand for apartheid.

Are we going to say yes to apartheid? (Audience: No)

Are we going to allow our children to join apartheid? (Audience: NO)

Are we going to allow our children to be called up for the army to fight against their brothers and sisters? (Audience: NO)

You say NO, I'm with you (audience: NO)

No amount of intimidation, <sup>goal</sup> banishment, house arrest will stop the people from marching to freedom today (audience clap

hands). What is this new constitution, of course it's there to divide us. It's there to take our children from us. We are not going to allow that. The government must know from today that this Democratic Front, that it is so, afraid of, its really a snake that is going to kill <sup>him</sup> ~~you~~. Whether this government wants to take our children so that they should help it with its dirty work of apartheid, its not going to be too long, it has failed. This dummy was given to our supposed leaders, that the Bantustan leaders, the Matanzimas, the Mangopes, and the Sebe's it has failed and even this parliament is going to fail, because it is false. Since when is the government so kind to the Indians and Coloureds (audience cheer and clap hands)

Yesterday they were forced to remove, to move from their homes here in Fordsburg.

Today, he takes them as his brothers and his sisters. (audience clap hands). I'm sorry to say, only the Rajbansi's and the Hendrickse will deceive the people (audience clap). I wonder if they've told the people the truth that their children are going to be called up for the army to fight for the government. Whom are they going to fight? (audience clap hands).

I haven't heard of a country that has declared war with South Africa? Is there any if you know? If there's any I'm sorry to say whoever the government is going to fight in this country is not going to sit down and wait for the government to do it. (Audience: Clap hands).

It can have as many armies, as many as it can, but the time is up, the patience of the people has been exhausted now. (audience clap hands). We have mothers here, black and white, mothers who know, what it means to bring a child into this world, mothers who know what hardships they have endured. Are we as mothers going to allow a government of thugs to ~~plant~~ <sup>e</sup> our county into a bloodbath. Audience: No.

Where are we, for all what is happening now the government wants our children to fight each other, we as mothers of this

country must stand up and say no to that we are not going to allow our children to be fighting each other. Why should we? If the government of this country wants peace, it must release our leaders (Audience clap hands). All our exiled leaders and our children. It must have conference with our leaders to discuss matters that are confronting this country. We as the people of South Africa are not going to rest, the struggle continues until we get our freedom. (Audience clap hands) (inaudible) UDF is here to lead you. UDF is here to unite you when the government is trying to divide you. All the affiliates of the UDF must know they've got work to do. To come together to work for the freedom of the people in this country. You'll be surprised its not only the Black people who are, you know, oppressed in this country. All of the freedom loving people <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ this country are oppressed (audience clap hands). Why I say so, its because if you are free, a freedom loving person, whether you are black or white when something wrong is being done to one of your members you feel it. An injury to one (audience' is an injury to all) that's what we say. With all these words I'm sorry to have been the last speaker because all has been said.

All what I could have said has been said. But I have one thing to say to you people, as a mother, unity is strength and thats what UDF stands for. I'm very happy to be one of those who are said to be in the UDF, because in all these seventeen years I've been banned it has been my wish that one day, I get to such a gathering, a multi-racial gathering, a gathering that gives me hope that this South Africa, one day, will be just South Africa for everybody. (audience clap hands) That is why, I say harassments, <sup>jails</sup> ~~goals~~, detention, without trial, the killing of our children in detention is not going to stop us from marching to freedom (audience clap hands). Yes, so they say, that the United Democratic Front is the front of the ANC, we are used to such tactics, we are not children. (audience clap hands).



The day before yesterday it was the Communist party but if you are fighting for your rights, you are a communist. Yesterday it was ANC, that if you are fighting for your rights its because you belong to the ANC. Today its the UDF why doesn't the Government know that the people are no more going to, going to be deceived that whenever there is an organisation that is fighting for the rights of the oppressed people of this country it must be termed, Communist Party, ANC, UDF. We are not fools, its because we are resisting (audience clap hands). Against unjust laws, it's because we are resisting to get our freedom, our birthright in this country. Why should we be termed? Why should we be named? Why should we be given names? Why should we be? It's because the government is frightened. Al we can say now is that we are here to stay and we shall fight until we get our freedom.

Amandla (audience: Awethu)

(inaudible song sung by the audience accompanied by clapping)

CASSIM SALOJEE: Comrades, I just want to make a few announcements before we go on.

Lindi Charlotte Nguni, your father wants to see you outside, and then very quickly, eh, Shadrack Bhungane from Virginia, please meet Tsidi at the main entrance, Joe Magosi wanted outside, report at the RMC table, eh, right that's all. After the speech by Comrade Albertina I think it would be appropriate at this point to call upon one of our people to send a message of greetings to many of our leaders in the many prisons of South Africa and I'm going to ask Comrade LALOO CHIBA who spent 18 years on Robben Island (audience clap and cheer).

LALOO CHIBA: Amandla X2 (audience: Awethu) Comrade Chair, supporters and friends of the United Democratic Front. We are gathered here today, to celebrate the first anniversary of the United Democratic Front but, in doing so we shall remember at

all times our heroes and heroines who have fought all their lives for the cause of freedom. More than 22 yrs ago Comrade Nelson Mandela was arrested and sentenced by the South African government to life imprisonment on the 7th November 1962 and more than 21 yrs ago our other leaders were sentenced, arrested at Rivonia and sentenced for life imprisonment. (audience clap hands). We remember this, at this moment of our joy and happiness. Now Comrades it is appropriate that this mass rally held on the 1st anniversary of the United Democratic Front at the city hall on the 19th August 1984 sends greetings to the patrons of the United Democratic Front and the true leaders of our people, comrades Nelson MANDELA, Walter SISULU, Ahmed KATHRADA, Govan MBEKI (audience clap hands) to Govan MBEKI, Raymond MTLABA, GORDON NKWAYI, PHINIAS MATSOLEDI, ANDREW MLANGENI AND DENNIS GOLDBERG. All of whom are being held by the government in the dungeons of apartheid throughout this country. We say this, on this the first anniversary of the United Democratic Front, the UDF, and all the freedom loving people of this country demands from you the immediate and unconditional release of our heroes and heroines. (Audience clap and cheer). The immediate and unconditional release of our heroes and heroines, as to enable them to guide our people to our dream of a united, just, non-racial and truly democratic society. And on this day too, this rally also sends birthday greetings to Comrade Kathrada for his birthday on the 21st August, that is the day after tomorrow and we wish him many happy returns of the day. Amandla. Audience - Awethu.

Cassim Salojee: Comrades it would be appropriate at this stage to ask Aubrey MOKOENA, of the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE, to read out his message of support for the UDF - AUBREY

(Audience sing an inaudible song)

Aubrey MOKOENA: Thank you comrades. Comrade chair and the house at large this is the message of support from the RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN, the RMC brings comradely greetings to everybody at this first anniversary rally of our umbrella body the UDF. The UDF for the last twelve months has accumulated major gains and great victories which are indispensable to the peoples struggle against all forms of exploitation and injustices. We are hereby gathered today, to take stock of these victories and further sharpen our strategies in preparation to change and to engage the state. At this time we are convinced that the racist government will not give in until we mobilise all our forces to strike weakening blows to South Africa and its international allies. We further have no doubt, that <sup>the</sup> tricameral system is a fraud and also an attempt to shift the balance of forces which are heavily weighted against the minority regime, thus today the RMC calls on all the people of South Africa from all corners of our country in the churches, the Mosques, taxi's, trains, buses, workers, peasants, professional peoples, students etc. to unite and erode apartheid with all its manifestations from our society. Mandela, Sisulu, Goldberg and others will, will be released by us and victory is certain. (Gives a clenched fist salute with his right hand) (Audience applaud)

Cassim Salojee: We now call upon the member of the Lenasia Youth League to do a skit on this farcical and obscene constitution (audience applaud).

Audience sings:

Bambisandla Sami Bambisandla Sami (Hold my hand TAMBO)

We Tambo Bambisandlasami (approx X12)

Ungasi Yeki

Persons on stage also take part in dancing.

(Speaker from Lenasia Youth League doing a skit on the new constitution and imitating PW Botha). ~~(Not transcribed)~~. He

Our people over the years have suffered many insults, but I want to take this opportunity and make it very clear to the ruling class that I am here to insult you, and if you don't catch up then it is not my problem.

(Audience applause)

Now oh the skit I want to do is called all the presidents men, it deals with the people who are the collaborators, I'll begin. Ladies and gentlemen, friends. comrades, South Africans, you are the jury. Now before the ruler makes his entry, allow me a brief history of this ~~.....~~ <sup>farce</sup> called. The P.C. you see the ruler of this fair land, really, have a massive problem with which to content. For their wonderous ~~plan~~ <sup>plan</sup> called total strategy, aimed at the hearts and minds of you and me, lay sadly in a heap of bull ~~manure~~ <sup>manure</sup> with a grimly reading total failure.

(Applause)

For the people have hearts and minds of their own, and rejected the nationalists part of the bone, the people demanded their own organisations, from little civic organisations to giant trade unions, the oppressor, was quite agast when the people said, shove it up your bleep bleep (ash) now you see he finds the situation more than a little disconcerting infact he finds it to be quite disturbing, for not only is he losing credibility, the truth is he is losing stability.

Crises, crises the oppressor cries hearing his inevitable ~~denies~~ <sup>mise</sup> come, let us see what next he tries.

(Applause)

(Laugther)

O my nasie, O my volk, o my mense dis n crises.

(Laughter)

Nee wat dis nie net n crises nie, dis n helse crises.

(Laughter).

Nee wat dis nie net n helse crises nie, dis n moerse crises.

(Laughter and applause)

2/...

Hene, dames en here, ladies and gentlemen, ons land, die land, my land.

(Laughter)

is in 'n crises, hene, terrorists are on the borders, and the blacks, the coloureds, the Indians and Africans, they're not white, they are black. Hoor julle mense they are planning the sistematic, the concerted, and premeditated distruction of apartheid

(applause)

Man dis nou 'n crises, hene, mens ons het 'n swart gevaar, ons het 'n rooi gevaar, ons het 'n pink gevaar en wat gebeur ons mens

(Applause)

Ons raak nou sommer colour blind, Jesus, dis 'n crises man ons, we gave them management committees, we even gave them SAIC ...

Sies

(laughter)

sodat hulle, so that they could participate in their own election of leaders. I had chosen.

In order for them to stand in line and uphold apartheids grand design, maar <sup>this they all</sup> ~~dis already~~ rejected, showing me something democratically adopted.

Dames en here, ladies and gentlemen, they said this we shall not (bater) they said long live the Freedom Charter. Jislaaik, long live the freedom charter, what happened to rugby man, jislaaik, man hulle seek democracy wil julle democracy hê, seek julle

democracy (Audience: Ja  
O, hel

(Laughter)

Weet julle wat dink ek van democracy, ek sê dat ons mens, ons volk, ons nasie, ons moet saamstaan ek sê dat ons moet 'n plan beraam, ek sê dat sowaar as ek is 'n boer, democracy, se moer.

(Laughter).

Nou dames en here, ladies and gentlemen, en wat nog, I want to

quite categorically (laughter) quite honestly, quite unequivocally  
(laughter) quite hypocritically (laughter) that no matter what the  
crises in this country, we will still maintain our sense of humor,  
and it is for that reason that I have come up with a <sup>plan</sup> blend.

Dames en here, ladies and gentlemen, ek het 'n plan, for all who  
want a place in the South African sun. A great and magical concoction,  
I bring to you the new constitution ah jammer ek bedoel  
constitution (Laughter).

Now regardless of the people's will, I give to you the president's  
council, man ek hoor ou Andries Treurnicht daarso, hy sê dis 'n new  
contraception (Laughter)

Hy hoor nie te goed nie hê, hy Andries.

Dames en Here, I want to expose - expose the Conservative Party Do  
you know, it is precisely because the Konserwatiewe Party did not  
use the contraceptive that we know have the labour party  
(Laughter and applause)

Man, this new constitution is a carrot in three parts, vir Hendrikse,  
Rasbansji en die ander .....

(Laughter)

Now colourds, and Indians, Kleurlinge en Indiërs, take note you are  
getting the vote, ek hoor ou Andries daar, haai Andries before you  
think I ..... we shout them into the army ha ha.

So once again they will stand in line and upholds apartheid's  
grand design. En julle anders, you Indians, you must remember we  
don't call you koelie anymore, (Laughter and applause).

Yes, now with the new constitution we call you Mr. Koelie (Laughter  
and applause).

Yes now with the new constitution we call you

Now mense, I want to state to all those who are at celebrating,  
the first anniversary of the United Democratic Front. I want to  
state quite categorically quite sincerely, quite honestly that I  
am "poep skrik" (Laughter)

(36)(4)

MAN wat wil jy met die UDF maak? Ons het die HNP, daarso man jislak. Man ek wil vir julle sê that this new constitution is the only cure to keep South Africa pure. Dankie, thank you.

(Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, if they don't catch the insult o boy, then they are in a bad shape.

But I want to ASK you, are we to accept this, are we to accept this without even our concensus. Are we to accept a sham constitution.

(Audience: No).

Aim<sup>ed</sup> at the exclusion of the majority of our population (Audience: No)

Is it, is it so easy to be devided, is it so easy to be devided by what the ruler has provided, is this to be our destination, this new constitution, is it all <sup>said</sup> set and done, is half a loaf better than none.

No never, because the devision of our people is three <sup>fold</sup> ~~folded~~ accepted if and you sell your sole.

It is very easy to see, this blatand and unholy tricery, our message is to those devilliss schemes we will resist with every fiver of our beans.

And to that clan of fools, the Rasbansjis, the Hendrikses, the Poovalinga's the sell outs, who ever they are, to you and to them we say, we will accept nothing less, no constitution less than one being based on the Freedom Charter Amandla, Amandla **x 2**

Audience: Ngawethu,  
Ngawethu.

ends by saying: "We will accept nothing less, no constitution less than one being based on the freedom charter"

Amandla Audience : Awethu

Amandla Audience : Awethu

Cassim Salojee : In Sweden and the workers of Sweden and the government of Sweden have consistently and strongly supported us, in fact one of the great events of this year for UDF was the winning of the Lat, Leva prize in Sweden. That prize was a prize given by the Swedish working people by the people of South Africa. So, it would be appropriate to read out some messages that we have from Sweden. And I'll ask Comrade Aubrey Mokoena to read out those messages.

Aubrey Mokoena : Comrades two messages from Sweden, the first one reads: Support to the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS and the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT hoping that the rally on the 19th of August will be successful and that your just struggle against a system of apartheid and racism. (Audience clap hands) (Recording is interrupted).

Cassim Salojee : Comrades, after that skit on Botha and what our friend from Lenasia was trying to suggest Botha is trying to tell us. We're going to ask Comrade CHIKANE to tell us a little about UDF's response to this constitution. Comrade CHIKANE.



REVEREND CHIKANE : Eh Comrades, Ladies and gentlemen, I think it is, you require the unfragmented South Africa where all people will participate, when you talk about the liberation of the people they actually see the ANC they cannot see all that, strange (audience clap hands). Even the Hendrickse's actually have joined that distorted school I mean the school of distorted vision, they actually also have joined the song to say that when you say this constitution it is an apartheid constitution, we do not want it, we don't want this apartheid tri-cameral system, they say that it must be associated with the ANC.

And I wish (and I wish) to warn the BOTHA regime at this moment and I believe there is still time, that the propaganda that the UDF is equal to the ANC will work against them, and I want to repeat, that the propaganda that the UDF is equal to the ANC will work against them, whoever (audience clap hands) whoever, whoever is (inaudible) <sup>the assassination</sup> that fights for our rights is equated to the ANC they bound to make a mathematical conclusion and they must take responsibility for it (Audience clap hands) ... through that action of confining the African majority to 13% of the land.

Now let me explain that, without having the bantustans the new constitution would not be there. The foundation of the new constitution is the bantustan. So that you must confine the African majority to 13% of the land.

When you have finished with that majority then you can talk like they were saying two, three days ago. Now we have a problem of minorities. We are dealing with minorities in this country, we have got the Venda's, the Tswana's, the Sotho's being free there, they've got their independence, now we have to deal with a Coloured and Indian minority problem, and I want (audience clap hands). I want to make it very clear that whoever is going to accept that constitution will be actually confirming the action of the white racist government of confining 80% of the people, into 13% of the country (audience clap hands). And I want to make it very clear that because the people are fighting against this system of apartheid, they have

an intention, to destroy this foundation of the bantustans the day their the bantustans collapse you realise they are busy collapsing. When the leaders start complaining about the UDF then I know something is happening there (audience clap hands). And therefore when it collapses, the Hendrickse's are going to collapse a longer distance, they are going to fall right into the ground and crush themselves to death and it will be their own responsibility (audience clap hands). And I want to conclude by saying that in actual fact a meeting was held of civic associations in Soweto and these the, the civic associations - made a resolution and put it very clearly that in actual fact when you accept this constitution you are declaring war against the oppressed majority. You are actually saying we are getting co-opted into the system we are going to fight for apartheid and you are going to be trained and go into the army, be conscripted to fight against the majority and therefore the lines will be clearly drawn as to who is the enemy of the people and who is not the enemy of the people. But I want to conclude by saying according to that statement that we have faith and we believe and have confidence in the Indian and Coloured communities, that they're not going to vote in these elections, and that they're going (audience applaud), and that they're going to say no to apartheid. No, to, to, to the whole tricameral system they're going say NO to conscription to an apartheid army so that they can come out of the whole struggle as victors. Thank you" (Audience applaud).

AUDIENCE : Amandla! Awethu!

CASSIM SALOOJEE : Awethu. After that, I think we, we, we will wait for a while before another speaker comes and we'll have our young children here to do another gumboot dance for us.

(AUDIENCE : Clap hands)

(8 youngsters appear on stage dressed in <sup>JEANS</sup> ~~black~~ <sup>BLUE</sup> trousers, <sup>WHITE</sup> yellow T-shirts and green head-dress with 3 exceptions. <sup>and one long sleeves LIGHT GREY T-SHIRT</sup> And Dance)

Mandela (X 4) (By group)

Mandela (X 4) (By group)

(Inaudible - audience applaud and clap in between).

Oliver uThambo (shouted by performers).

Audience applaud.

Izwe lethu (X 2)

I'Afrika.

CASSIM SALOJEE : Comrades, I just want to announce that our speaker from SWAPO his plane has just landed at the Airport and he would be here anytime (Audience applaud). We are now going to hear a voice from one of our sportsmen. We have with us here today EBRAHIM PATEL, who is the president of the SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY UNION. His union has been one of those many sports organisations in this country who have fought against Apartheid in sports. I call upon EBRAHIM to address us.

EBRAHIM PATEL : Patrons of the UDF, ladies and gentlemen, I greet thee in the name of God. I bring to you from the SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY UNION our sincere goodwill, our total support in the struggle for true freedom in this country and I want to confirm that the SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY UNION will stand shoulder to shoulder with all the progressive movements in this country, until true and just freedom is attained. From the sporting scene we have consistently rejected multi-national sport which to our mind has been the entrenchment of apartheid in sport. We equate that particular situation with the new tricameral situation, which is an ...entrenchment of politics, of politics, in apartheid in politics. We believe that the fundamental issue at stake is not the tri-cameral system as such, it is not the personalities as such, we believe that it is the evil of apartheid as an ideology that is at issue, and to which we take issue with (audience applaud). We believe together with the UDF that apartheid has been an evil ideology that has enslaved the black and the oppressed people of this country, for many, many years. We believe with UDF that there is no will on the part of the privileged whites, in in this country ..... to give up their position of privilege to share

equally and justly with the people of South Africa, that which is there to be shared. To that extent we believe with you that apartheid is an evil and - an evil it should be eradicated (Audience applaud).

AUDIENCE : Amandla

PATEL : We say

AUDIENCE : Awethu

EBRAHIM PATEL : We say ladies and gentlemen, we say brothers in the struggle that we will wage this, the effort, we will wage the struggle on the sporting arena and we will resist the temptation to play multinational sport and we offer you from the South African Rugby Union's point of view our sincere and total support that we will stand with the UDF and every other progressive organisation, until, apartheid is eradicated, not only from our minds, not only from our hearts, but till a just and free South Africa is born. That day we will demonstrate our willingness to participate in the creation of a free undivided democratic South Africa. Thankyou. (Audience applaud).

CASSIM SALOJEE : Comrades, before we go on to the next item on our agenda we would like to appeal to the comrades at the back to sing us a song at this stage. We've heard many speeches and I think it is time that we hear the songs of freedom.

AUDIENCE : SING

Siyaya e-Pitoli (repeatedly, dance carrying placards and march). (We are going to Pretoria).

Amandla (shouted in between repeatedly). (Sound intermittent).

CASSIM SALOJEE : Let us remain here to give a great welcome to our friend from SWAPO but while we're waiting, there is a request from the KHULETSA (phonetical) CULTURAL GROUP that they wish to do an item for us, so let us see and hear them.

Viva Hlaba Mkhonto - Viva (Viva - Stab with the Spear-Viva) (scene changes) (audience dance)

Ayi-Ayi

Amandla

Izwe

Amandla! (faint response Awethu!)

Unknown speaker : Izwe! (faint response Elethu!)

Comrades and fellow countrymen, I greet you in the name of the revolution of South Africa. This is the voice of our fellow comrade BENEDICT MARTINS DIKOBE.

"Forces of victory, we sing death to your oppressor man, to you oppressor man Bengicela ukuthi ningathula kancane (I'd like you to keep quiet for a moment). We sing Death to you oppressorman We sing Death to you oppressorman. For we are the subdued multitude. We sit here in the night detained without trial, solitary in confinement with darkness, deep in every cell, our eyes reckless and dangerous in dark faces, starved your red handed butcher. Death in Detention Oppressorman in police cell.

Make peace dog, with an angel if an eagle in its stomach .... you peaceful deaths

Reveal (inaudible) decapitated herd in the quest of liberty.

We sing death to you oppressorman

For we the subdued multitude

We watch the road to freedom

From Robben Island through steel bars and the sunlight bends into the trees.

We watch the long entry road of committed struggle with fresh speak of blood and gleaming ebony face ..... teargas from what, dry dust clouds rise.

As Union building gates are ripped of their hinges

Revolved bars and spread

Like fire in an open air, a wind

We sing death to you oppressorman

We sing death to you oppressorman

For we are the subdued multitude

Amandla

AUDIENCE : Awethu

Izwe

AUDIENCE : Elethu.

SPEAKER B : ANDREW MOGOTSI @ JINGLES

This was a poem from the book of BENEDICT DIKOBE MARTINS - eh - who stays - eh - in Pietermaritzburg, he grew up in Alex. This is the man who was charged - eh - for bomb blast and for recruiting some youth to join the ANC in Lesotho and he was sentenced to 10 years and so this is his book (Speaker holds up a book to the audience) (Audience cheer, whistle and clap hands and start singing an inaudible song) Amandla.

(AUDIENCE : chant "SWAPO MKHONTO

INQABA YETHU (our fort) ai, ai" repeatedly)

EKANDJO comes on stage and is held up shoulder high.

SALAJEE is on stage and tries to stop people from tromping on the microphone wiring on stage).

Unknown young black male (C)

Humanity, I'm a child, thinking of you mother

Never did you tell me about mountains of evil

Let me open my mouth

Let me say river

Let me say ocean

Let me say grey is the colour of Africa

I do love you mother Africa (Audience applaud).

Unknown young black female (D)

Africa, Africa you are the lover of mankind

But I'm surprised to see you give birth to enemies of your people  
 Look at how your people die  
 Look at how these slaves (inaudible) survivors  
 Look at how their <sup>ω</sup> seat is sold for peanuts  
 Look at your people Africa  
 Re Kga tetse (Sotho)  
 Sikhathele (Zulu) (We are tired)  
 We are tired and sick and tired of the shit  
 Look at how your people die  
 We have crossed so many rivers  
 We have, we have climbed so many mountains  
 We have entered so many caves  
 Look at your children Africa  
 Look how, Look at your children  
 Wherever we go there is shit  
 In what we do there is shit  
 In the ghetto there is shit  
 In town there is shit  
 I mean stinking shit is all by you, Africa  
 But, How long will this shit keep on stinking  
 How long.

ANDREW MOGOTSI A JINGLES : speaks again (B)

How long, with this stinking shit keep stinking on  
 How long,

A man who deodorizes - shit is a stupid man because even when shit is deodorized

Shit will remain stinking shit

For there is no stinking shit (audience applaud)

There is no stinking shit, that is half-stinking shit

So shit, this shit deodorizing shit man, SHIT

A fly is brave to stretch its legs on the face of a child

The child resists

The child is still resisting even today

Unemployment get out of my country, get out of Africa, you silly  
 intruder

Oppression get out of my country, get out of Africa, you silly intruder

Here's a poem, The Race

I see man with the speed of Zola Budd, chasing dreams (audience laugh)

I see man with the speed of Zola Budd, chasing dreams like a marathon runner contemplating the race

I see man running

Man who cannot finish the race but yet keep going on in the manner of Mary Decker. I see them running

Running with their eyes closed, closed into a monstrous diabolic tri-cameral abyss

Like a fly trapped in a cup of milk I see man running I see them running

I see man who cannot run

running in circles like a whirlwind

I see man running

This a ambitious man Rajbansi, Alan Hendrickse

Man who deserves the wind like Nebucadneser (phonetical)

I see them running

Who are you? (Young black male joins in)

SPEAKER C (BANTU MALE):

"I'm who I am because of what I am"

SPEAKER B (MGOTSI):

"What are you prepared to do?"

SPEAKER C (BLACK MALE):

"I'm prepared to stand up and speak for my own people"

SPEAKER B (MOGOTSI): "What are you all prepared to do?"

We are prepared to oppose the existing system of government

We are prepared to oppose the existing system of government



PERSON FROM THE AUDIENCE: Amandla

Black, Green and Gold colours fly high

The youth on the march, hoisted them high and the upper high to reach  
the firmament

(Audience cheer) of love, peace

ANDREW MOGOTSI @ JINGLES (scene changes)

There is the youth, there is the youth

Hoisting the flag high

Three colours speak to the masses in the language of hope

(Audience clap hands and shout VIVA VIVA)

There is Poet preaching about unity and freedom

There is the bishop preaching about peace

There is the doctor telling his patient about hope

There is the doctor

Hope is love, Hope is peace, Hope is freedom

Hope is justice

Hope is love, Hope is peace, Hope is freedom

Hope is justice

Hope is love, Hope is peace, Hope is freedom

Hope is justice

Listen to the cry of the child crying his pain to prick your  
conscience

Conscience like a dead body, listen to the child

Listen to the poet that there be Unity and Freedom

Listen to a bishop that there be peace

Listen to the doctor that there be Unity and Freedom

Listen to the voice of the oppressed

There are the children, here are the children

Children who know what it is to be black

Children who grew up inhaling dust as though dust had life

Here are the children

Children who grew, who grew up asking for bread

But are provided with bricks

Here are the children

Children who because of oppression glue themselves to the flag  
Black, Green and Gold like an infant on his mothers breast, here are  
the Children

(Audience applaud)

Here are the children, Children who, who know who they are

Here are the children today

There is a report a man fell from the tenth floor, a prisoner hanged  
himself with his pair of trousers

A policeman killed four heavily armed terrorists

The truth is yet to come

There is a bomb blast in Pretoria

There is a bomb blast in Bloemfontein

There is a bomb blast in Belfast

The truth is not yet known (Audience cheer)

The truth is not yet known

But hope lingers in our mind

For hope is love, Hope is peace, Hope is freedom

Hope is justice

Hope is love, Hope is peace, Hope is freedom

Hope is justice

It is now time to eat Bazooka and shit bullets

For there shall be time to vomit fire (Audience cheer and clap)

(SPEAKER addresses audience in Venda)

SPEAKER C:

"I, African child was never taught to hate

But today I'm hated by man who defeated love and conquered hatred

There was no alternative and so I learned to hate

I, African child was

ANDREW (MOGOTSI) interrupts:

"was never taught to hate

I, African child was never taught to hate

(Audience member shouts: Amandla)

No matter how we look like (Audience laugh)  
 We may look like stinking donga's of Alex  
 We may look like debris in the garbage bin  
 We may look like fruitless fruit trees  
 But our hearts are as clean as untouched rainwater, because we all  
 believe in Black, Green and Gold. Let's all say Black, Green and  
 Gold, Black, Green and Gold  
 (Audience cheer and join in shouting)  
 Black, Black, Green and Gold  
 Can you all stand up and praise SHAKA and MANDELA, Can you all stand  
 up and praise SHAKA and MANDELA (Audience stand)  
 SHAKA was, was the king today  
 MANDELA is the king today  
 SHAKA was the king today  
 MANDELA is the king, MANDELA is the king today

SPEAKER plays the flute

Amandla	Audience : Awethu
Amandla	Audience : Awethu
I'Afrika	Audience : Izwelethu
Izwelethu	Audience : I'Afrika.

SPEAKER A:

"There is a new song that was released in Roodepoort by our comrades,  
 I feel happy about it, I feel happy about it. I say thanks to our  
 comrades who released this song in Roodepoort. If you do follow what  
 I'm saying, you'll say Amandla (Speaker smiles)  
 (Could be referring to bomb blast in Roodepoort : Week 12 - 19 August)

CASSIM SALOJEE: Announcement that FRANK CHIKANE has to make

REV FRANK CHIKANE:

"Comrades, just a few announcements. One is that -um all the  
 comrades in the Johannesburg area should please remain in this hall

at the end to help clear up the hall please don't all go home. The second announcement is very important that why we've chosen to make it at the particular moment AFTER OUR COMRADE FROM NAMIBIA WE ARE GOING TO HAVE PROFESSOR MOHAMED ACTUALLY HE WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE SPOKEN HERE BUT HE ARRIVED, just in the, when we started this meeting because he spent the whole night in Pretoria where they were harassed and he has to tell us that story, and they spent the night in a police station. Now once he has finished this is a very important announcement please. From now marshalls should help us, no one should move outside, it means you shouldn't leave the hall we are going to give you ..... instructions, as, exactly how to move out of this hall I think we are convinced - we are the only organisation that is protesting against this constitution that can keep order, all the other parties have failed to keep that order. When they hold a meeting there's chaos, ours is never chaotic and therefore we want to leave in such order that the police outside here should not get a single chance of interfering with anybody, please, henceforth henceforth, please henceforth just remain seated and you will be given instructions as to how to leave (scene changes)

CASSIM SALOJEE:

"The freedom struggle of the Namibian people and we've been saying that their struggle is our struggle. And they've been saying that our struggle is their struggle.

But today for the first time that unity, between us and the people of Namibia becomes visible, and it becomes visible in the person of JERRY EKANDJO. Jerry is the secretary of SWAPO Youth. I don't have, I don't have to talk about the heroism of the youth of Namibia, I don't have to talk about the heroism of the people of Namibia. We have heard enough. But I think I will just make one point that - Today the ruling group boast ..... the most powerful army in Africa, for every Namibian they have a white soldier, but in spite of that they're not able to crush the Namibian people and it is now a question of time and short time before the Namibian people will become free and independant and with those words I want to call upon Comrade EKANDJO to address us (Audience applaud).

EKANDJO:

Amandla (X3)                      Audience : Awethu (X3)

Comrade Chairman,

Comrades, National patrons of the UDF

Comrade Presidents of the UDF

Comrades, Members of the National Executive Committee of the UDF

Comrades, compatriot, ladies and gentlemen

Comrade students in the struggle

Comrade workers in the struggle

Comrade women in the struggle

I salute you in the name of our mighty SWAPO

POWER! Power to the People.

Comrades, first of all I want to introduce myself. My name is JERRY EKANDJO, SWAPO Secretary for Youth, and member of the POLITBURO of SWAPO (Audience clap).

I want to give you my comradely greeting from the acting vice-president of SWAPO, Comrade NATHANIEL MAKWIRIRI (phonetical) who is under house arrest in Walvis Bay. I also want to give you revolutionary greetings from the vice-president of SWAPO, Comrade PASTOR HENDRICK WITBOOI and also revolutionary greetings from the Secretary-General of SWAPO, Comrade ANDIMBA TOIVA-JA-TOIVA (Audience applaud and clap hands).

Comrade chairman on behalf of our mighty SWAPO the vanguard of the struggling Namibian masses, I salute you in the name of the President of SWAPO, Comrade DOCTOR SAM NUJOMA (audience applauds). We in SWAPO .."

(End of tape).