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No. 19 / 18787

V1 PAR. 30 ✓

1983-08-20

**NATIONAL LAUNCH OF THE  
UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ROCKLANDS,  
MITCHELLS PLAIN, CAPE TOWN**

**SPEAKERS:**

MARKS

REV. FRANK CHIKANE (Acc. No. 10) ✓

ARCHIE GUMEDE (Acc. No. 7)

15- 16, 18, 19, 19, 20

FRANCIS BAARD

SAMSON NDOU

HELEN JOSEPH

GEORGE SEWPERSHAD (Acc. No. 2)

SHAIK HABIL

ALLAN BOESAK

PIUS LANGA

POPO MOLEFE 68

**IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED**

KLIPTOWN / 1955 (2, 44)

FREEDOM CHARTER (2, 22, 28, 32, 44)

Antony Mokoena p. 37 of 38, 39  
41

A.N.C. (2)

SACTU (2, 20, 27, 33, 64)

TAMBO (7, 21, 23, 31, 31(a), 31(c), 60)

MANDELA (10, 16, 21, 28, 32, 63, 70)

RONALD MHLABA (10, 64)

WALTER SISULU (10, 21, 28, 64)

GOVAN MBEKI (10, 21, 28, 64)

MONTY NAICKER (13, 63)

DENNIS GOLDBERG (13, 21, 28, 63)

SWAPO (16)

WILSON NKWAYI (21, 28)

DORA TAMANA (22)

REVOLUTIONARY (38)

EXILES (41)

GUERRILLA (41)

UNITE IN ACTION (57)

KATHRADA (59, 64)

VUYISILI MINI (64)

LUTHULI (70)

MATHEWS (70)

JOE SLOVO (31, 60)

GUNS (31(b), 60(a))

MOBILIZE (69)

POPULARIZE (69)

**ASSESSOR**

Page 2	Line 16	Change "National Goverment" to "Nationalist Government"
Page 3	Line 23	Change "that one" to "that are"
Page 3	Line 25	Change "already" to "actually"
Page 4	Line 24	Change "Constitutional" to "Constitution"
Page 9	Line 24	Change "fatiful" to "fatal"
Page 10	Line 10	Change "buying" to "Daring" and "that funeral" to "their burial"
Page 13	Line 39	Change "home" to "whole"
Page 16	Line 7	Change "We pledge for" to "We pledge support for"
Page 16	Line 15	Change "Danish South" to "Danish Youth"
Page 31	Line 31	Change "with intent" to "we can see"
Page 31	Line 33	Change "The products" to "The profits"
Page 33	Line 35	Change "To win" to "to win basic"
Page 35	Line 18	Change "other not" to "other so that they should co-operate not"
Page 37	Line 5	Change "Aubrey" to "Aubrey Mokoena"
Page 37	Line 34	Change "service" to "churches"
Page 39	Line 33	Change "training" to "trying"
Page 40	Line 34	Change "seen" to "preached"
Page 41	Line 24	Change "inaudible" to "Litany"
Page 44	Line 11	Change "inaudible" to "Mrs. Rose"
Page 44	Line 28	Change "people" to "future"
Page 45	Line 20	Change "Baard" to "Boesak"
Page 48	Line 6	Change "here to" to "here not to beg for those rights but to"
Page 48	Line 16	Change "total" to "totalitarian"
Page 48	Line 25	Change "forces" to "laws"

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Page 48 Line 33 Change "of" to "on"

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Page 49 Line 35 Change "precious" to "basis"

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Page 50 Line 8 Change "lie" to "be"

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Page 50 Line 14 Change "lie" to "be"

---

Page 51 Line 16 Change "plices" to "polities"

---

Page 51 Line 28 Change "evaded" to "eroded"

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Page 54 Line 9 Change "neat" to "real"

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Page 54 Line 23 Change "lower" to "cover"

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Page 55 Line 10 Change "meant" to "want"

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Page 56 Line 24 Change "all" to "we"

---

Page 56 Line 32 Change "sick" to "rich"

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Page 57 Line 4 Change "gathering" to "glittering"

---

Page 57 Line 6 Change "emprove" to "embrace"

---

Page 62 Line 3 Change "inaudible" to "returning"

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Page 62 Line 21 Change "paper" to "patrons"

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Page 62 Line 32 Change "paper" to "patrons"

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Page 62 Line 38 Change "This" to "The"

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Page 63 Line 2 Change "menas" to "means"

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· CORRECTIONS :

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.



1983-08-20.

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ROCKLANDS, MITCHELLS PLEIN, CAPE TOWN.

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UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (LAUNCH).

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MOBILIZE (69).

## OPMERKINGS

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

NATIONAL LAUNCH OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT : 20/8/1983

TAPE 1 - SIDE 1

003 Music

004 Opening National launching of the U.D.F. - August 20th, 1983

005 MARKS ..... banished, killed and hung on behalf of these people, I want to welcome all the delegates from the different provinces and I hope that this afternoon on this historical occasion that we, the people, who are united will never be defeated - Amandla

Audience : Awethu

Marks : Amandla

Audience : Awethu

(clapping)

010 MC : Thank you Mr. Marks, I think that we are all gathered here, it is indeed a historic occasion. I think that there's probably quite a bit of significance in the name of the township where we are gathered, it is Rocklands. There is some or very strong links between the rock and the klip - eh, We are here and we will, we will establish the unity within the UDF on the solid foundation of the rock at Rocklands today. I'd like to hand over to Mr. Frank Chikane from the Transvaal to give the opening address.

(clapping)

019 (Zulu song - as per attached)

028 Slogan - Amandla

Awethu

Amandla

Awethu

Mayibuye } x3  
I Afrika }

An injury to one

Is an injury to all

032 REV. FRANK CHIKANE :- Comrades and friends, this day today is a culmination of seven months work to see the launching of the National United Democratic Front which is sure going to go into the records of history as an important event bolstering the tide of the struggle, speeding up the day, when the people shall say, "We are free, justice is here". When the people shall live together as

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*"state  
vroustem"*  
*↓*  
*Deurou  
Comfuum*  
*Voye*  
*V26p 23. et*



TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

- 019 SONG:- Siyaya Siyaya Noba  
Kunzima  
LEADER: - Kubi Kulo  
AUD-:- Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya  
Noma Ku
- 023 Inaudible  
Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya  
Noma Ku
- 024 Inaudible
- 025 Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya  
Noma  
Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya  
Noma Ku

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

- 019 SONG : WE GO WE GO WE GO EVEN IF  
IT IS DIFFICULT  
LEADER : IT IS BAD TO IT  
AUDIENCE : WE GO WE GO WE GO  
EVEN IF IT
- 023 INAUDIBLE
- WE GO WE GO WE GO  
EVEN IF IT
- 024 INAUDIBLE
- 025 WE GO WE GO WE GO  
EVEN IF  
WE GO WE GO WE GO  
EVEN IF IT

brothers and sisters, without the exploitation and oppression of the other, but although this is a unique day, it falls within the spectrum of the history of struggle in South Africa. The first time when this nature of gathering took place, it was in 1936 for instance when the all African Convention was called to resist the removals, the - the removal of Africans from the franchise and the enforcement of the 1936 Bills which stripped the majority of the oppressed South Africans of the land of their birth, and the second event of the same nature happened in 1955

the people, the peoples congress was held and, and the Coloured Peoples Organisation was there, the Congress of Democrats was there, the South African National Congress was there and the South African Congress of Trade Unions were there, these adopted the Freedom Chata - Charter in that occasion as the minimum demand of the struggle of the people. The unity then, there then was necessitated by the onslaught by the National Government which came out strongly to entrench apartheid by putting up the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communist - Communism Act, which in effect in interpretation and meant that every opposition against the system will therefore be declared communism, and Population Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act and all these Acts necessitated the coming together of the people to fight together as the oppressed. Now in our age, we meeting once more again in a different situation where the people have created a crisis in apartheid. The

064 'struggle of our people have put so much pressure on the system that it could not take it anymore, apartheid could not contain the resistance of the people and as a result the State, the oppressive State, had to think of a new way of continuing to oppress the masses of our people in South Africa and the best way was to take first an alliance with the military, and create a military sick States in South Africa and calling the alliance of what I want to call 'supercapitalists ' to work out the system that would actually contain the..the..the..the pressure that came from the people. These constitutional proposals, the reformed proposals, Koornhof's Bills came up as an attempt therefore, to reach a climax of apartheid instead of leaving it to collapse. Although these were already been discussed amongst people in various centres in our country. It happened that the Labour Party made a decision last ... last year of accepting the proposal, the proposal and that decision

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083

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on its own was exploited by the system to try to give an impression that all the Coloured people in this country accept these proposals and that the liberal press also played a game to give an impression that in actual fact that acceptance meant the acceptance of the people and they expected also the Indian Council follow suit and that all the people would therefore accept the proposals. People who are concerned with justice started talking among themselves and the Anti-SAIC conference came just on time when people were worried about the happenings in the country and then people put up a commission to discuss the question of unity to fight against this proposal, and I remember, I was there when Dr. Allan Boesak called for the broad front to oppose these proposals. This broad front therefore agreed on a declaration of principles on which they had to work on. We are going today to look into the final draft of those principles but those are minimum demands around which we can rally in opposing this reform proposals. The idea of the front therefore was a new concept in the struggle of the people for the last twenty years about and it was understood to be standing for unity in action accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences, there are, also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject the reform proposals - that <sup>are</sup> ~~one~~ proposed by the ~~Black~~ <sup>Koorn</sup> regime, and as a result they need a broad front to do that, that is, that is, that was <sup>actually</sup> already, that necessitated therefore the formation of this group not necessarily as a national political organisation, but as a United Front for the purpose, sole purpose of opposing the reform proposals and the Koornhof Bills. That although the liberal press since then, have tried to project it as a charter organisation, we still maintain our position that was a broad based, broad based front, based on the need for unity in struggle, where all organisations and people in South Africa can come together irrespective, regardless of race, religion and culture with the explicit exclusion of those who work within the system. This unique form of the front presents also its unique dynamic which we should contend with, we should learn also to be accommodative this type of a situation and learn to listen to each other and understand each other to be able to .. to .. to work for this unity to produce to, to put pressure on the system.

..... 4/

Now the formation therefore took a very unique format where people went back to their regions, started talking to their constituencies, consulting with their organisations, consulting with people in those areas and in some areas people went house to house to talk to the grassroots to actually be involved with them, to make this a reality. It resulted therefore in regional meetings held in various regions to discuss the formation of the UDF. These meetings culminated in the Natal, in Natal launching, launching their regional UDF in May 1983 and the Transvaal also in may, and the Western Cape in July, that the third regional formation went further to en- actually to elect their executive committees and the Eastern Cape is also, is also following on that regard. All those efforts.....

(clapping)

143 Song (AUDIENCE: ICAMA LIKA HELEN JOSEPH MALIBONGWE)

144 *APPEAL* NC:- Thank You, Thank you. *the name of Helen Joseph should be praised.*

145 *A* Chikane :- Thank you. All these efforts and the hard work of the local regional organisations is, is enriching the grassroots have put us where we are today and the, the common stand we have is that we reject the constitutional proposals and the Koorhof Bills in a national and representative voice of the masses because these will only serve to entrench the apartheid system that this South African Constitutional Bill will only create yet another undemocratic constitution, that these Koornhof Bills will only concretize the deprivation of African people of their birth rights, that all these bills put together will only serve to ensure White domination to continue to dominate over the people the co-option of the so-called Coloureds and Indians as junior partners in perpetrating the evils of apartheid. The unequal distribution of wealth and the exploitation of the people, that workers shall continue to be devided, keep low wages, poor working conditions, suppression of trade unionism and retention of the migratory labour system. That apartheid will still, eh will still be (inaudible) in the classrooms, their students in the class will still continue with unequal facilities and learn to be devided in class and not get progressive education. That the Group Areas Act will remain intact. They have said it, they will keep it, and they're are going to continue to keep it to facilitate this

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..... 5/

apartheid system. That the Bantustan policy will be vigorously implemented to justify the exclusion of Africans from the decision making machinery of the country. That to keep the Group Areas Act and the Bantustan policy actually guarantees that people will still be uprooted and people will have inadequate housing, and more so that rents will continue increasing whilst unemployment increases and standards of living will, will be dropping everyday. Women will still remain being oppressed. The non-racial, the non-racial sports will continue to suffer and I want to emphasize lastly that therefore to keep this system, you need a repressive apparatus that's going to destroy people, that's going to kill opposition, that's going to suppress and silence those who appose this type of a system and therefore you need a very strong repressive machinery and a military sick state to be able to deal with this situation. And I want to call upon you all peace loving people in South Africa to put hands together, to walk side by side, to fight against the implementation of these reformed proposals so that we can then destroy the system and put up a government by the people, where people shall govern according to their will. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(clapping)

192 Slogan: Mayibuye I Africa  
Amandla Awethu

194 Chairman:- Thank you very much Frank. I think that is a very, very encouraging note on which to start this conference. There are however a few announcements to be made at this point. Firstly we would appeal to the press to kindly leave at this, at this stage. There are a few official UDF photographers, one official UDF film crew and these will be the only people allowed to remain. So we would like to appeal for co-operation from the press.

(clapping)

204 Woman speaker:- Testing 1, 2, 3, Launching Rally of the United Democratic Front.

212 Speaker :- Appeal to ..... Mayibuye a song .....  
(mingling of the crowd)

215 Speaker:- We want your attention. These people that, who are sitting in the way we are pointing.....

20  
11/10/87  
Frank's  
speech is  
confusing  
"Slate"  
↓ Launch

217 Speaker:- Gentlemen we ask you to put the speaker (inaudible) on that side and kindly ask you to bring the speaker wire across to the amplifier (inaudible) could you come forward and show us where the wire is? Okay, you got that. We are looking for that speaker wire, some live wire, where's it  
Lights off.

Derrick Albrecht (phonetical) will you please attend to your combi outside, Derrick Albrecht (phonetical) there's a problem with your combi. *Opnemer was af/arrangement - outside hydrocorp.*

226 Slogan : Mayibuye I Afrika

228 Song:- Hlanganani Basebenzi (as attached)

229 Speaker:- Can we switch on the lights please, *Please CARETAKER.* can we switch on the lights please.

If these people are going to contin-, continue breaking lights we are going to (inaudible). Caretaker's lights please

238 Speaker:- Can one of the marshalls in the queue just go back and ask the caretaker to switch on the lights and come with the key to the front here, please.

Amandla Awethu

Speaker:- Caretaker

254 Standing underneath the UDF banner at the back, switch on the plug which has just been switched off, it supplies the power to the front here. Okay, listen people we cannot start this meeting until people sitting on that top beam get off, the caretaker's have put off the lights because those people are endangering the safety of other people sitting within the hall, so please people get off that beam, and that means everybody up there. (whistling)

261 ..... more songs less announcements please

TAMBO

Oliver Tambo (x 14)

I think that applies to these people around here, as well. If you fall off there you're going to kill people down below. So please everybody sitting on the beam up there, kindly move off. (shouting) Kindly move off or we won't be able to start this meeting, (shouting) (inaudible) (crowd mingling)

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*J (20) 1/1/77*

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

SONG:-

230 LEADER:- Manyanani Basebenzi

AUDIENCE:- Manyanani

LEADER:- Manyanani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Manyanani

LEADER:- Manyanani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Manyanani

Yiyona Inhlangano

Yiyoyenu

Yikhona Inhlangano

Yiyo Yenu

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

251 SLOGAN:-

Anandla !

AUD.:- Awethu !

Anandla !

AUD.:- Awethu !

(Chairman speaks inbetweenO)



TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

SONG:

230 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 THIS IS THE ORGANISATION  
 IT IS FOR YOU  
 THE ORGANISATION IS THERE  
 IT IS FOR YOU  
 THE ORGANISATION IS THERE  
 THE U.D.F.  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 THE ORGANISATION IS THERE  
 THE U.D.F.  
 THE ORGANISATION IS THERE  
 THE U.D.F.  
 THE ORGANISATION IS THERE  
 THE U.D.F.  
 THE ORGANISATION IS THERE  
 THE U.D.F.

251 SLOGAN:

AUDIENCE : POWER IS OURS  
 AUDIENCE : POWER IS OURS  
 (Chairman speaks in between)

- 277 (Audience start to sing "Siyaya" but stop again)  
Excuse me man can't these people get off please, please.  
(inaudible)
- 281 and these people on the beam up here  
(shouting) off, off  
You must get off please. Please clear the beam
- 285 (singing) (inaudible)  
These people aren't even making an effort to get off. Please  
people you must get off. You must get off. Can those people  
move down please.
- 294 (song) (inaudible)  
(shouting - Tambo (x7))
- 309 Those people behind the TV right there, you must move please.  
Excuse me, you must move please. You must move please.  
(song) (inaudible)
- 315 Please don't rush. Please don't rush.
- 317 (singing Dadoo)  
Can the marshalls form a chain across the door please.  
Can the marshalls form a chain across the door please.  
We call for reserve marshalls please.  
(song inaudible)  
And we ask these people coming in to sit down please.  
Could you please sit down there.
- 324 (singing Dadoo)  
And we're asking people to be quiet. Please comrades, please  
stop the singing. Please stop the singing. Now those people  
who have just come in, please remember that there is no more  
place in the hall. The people who are coming in from the tent,  
you are going to injure yourselves. There is no more place in  
the hall and we are asking you to remain where you are. Die  
mense wat daar van die tent afkom, ons vra vir julle asseblief  
om te bly waar julle is. Die saal is vol. Thank you for your  
co-operation. Please people, thank you. The caretakers have  
asked that people sitting on those beams on the top, we still  
have a problem there. Remember we cannot fight with our own  
people, we cannot fight with our own comrades. We are asking  
you to please, please be patient.  
Please be patient. Can ..... If you cannot get into the hall,  
please be patient.

(mingling crowd)

Excuse me please people. Excuse me please people. The care-takers have asked that everybody sitting on top, remove themselves before we get lights in this place.

One, two, three

One, two, three, working?

352 that is holding up, that is holding up the total meeting, so please people. One, two.

One, two, three.

Asseblief mense klim van daardie platform af, ons sal nie die vergadering kan begin tensy julle afklim nie, asseblief mense, regom die saal.

People on that beam over there, people on that beam over there must please get down.

(shouting)

People I think that you will all understand that it is impossible to go, proceed with our activities if we do not have lights, the lights are not only for the television cameras but also for our own security. We must appeal to you to please get off from where you are seated. There is no question about it. Thank you comrades, thank you.

(mingling of crowd)

People I am now handing you over, I am now handing you over to one of the new elected Presidents, Mr. Archie Gumede.

(cheering)

374 ARCHIE GUMEDE :- It is very, very important that we should get the co-operation of each and every person in this hall so that we may be able to achieve at least one object. Now by acting in the way some of you seem to be acting, you are frustrating everything that has been done up to now and infact you are creating unnecessary problems for yourselves. Now I'm surprised to find that among the people who are sitting along that wall are people who have worked hard to make this occassion the success that it is and that at the end when we are now engaged in the task of finalising what has been done today in order to make this launch the success that it deserves are now not willing to co-operate. Now friends, one of the essentials of this exercise is discipline, that is the people who are engaged in this exercise must be pre-

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pared to make sacrifices. Now the sacrifice we are asking you to make on this occasion is nothing like the sacrifice that you are likely to be asked to make in the future, and I appeal to you again to come forward otherwise I am not going to be prepared to accept that you are willing to make any form of sacrifice for the success of the United Democratic Front.

(whistling and clapping - distortion)

419 Yehlani madoda , yehlani bantabami kade sicela ngoku ixesha lemukile isibambezele lento please, yehlani. Thank you for coming down, thank you for co-operation. Can the people on this side here please just pass this line back, we need to get a speaker out the back there. Could you please pass this back there. Hello Tony, Tony do you read me.

(inaudible)

I've got Mr. Parker here

(inaudible)

He wants to know if the speakers are working outside.

We want to, we want to thank the friends for their co-operation but now, but now there are still, there are still two groups of people that have to co-operate in the same way, there are still two groups of people that have to co-operate in the same way. Those people who are near those lights, please remember that those, those lights are dangerous. If you touch those things it could be <sup>fatal</sup> ~~fateful~~. Thank you comrades.

(clapping, cheering)

Slogan: Mayibuye I'Afrika, I'Afrika Mayibuye

457 Song: Nansi Supreme Court (as attached)

Slogan : Mayibuye Audience - I'Afrika  
I'Africa Audience - Mayibuye

469 Speaker: Comrades we are going to start now, things have come back to normal. Now the chairperson will be Mr. Tinto and Mr. Coovadia, both of them are going to chair this meeting. I thank you very much comrades for your co-operation. You know we can't do otherwise. You know we have got not places which can accommodate us all. Let us accept what we got now and continue.

(distortion) What does he think.

478 Speaker: Comrades, I'm appealing you now so that you must get off. We need lights. The caretaker says he can't put on lights not unless all of us come down as it has been done on this side. Ncedani bantabami. Lehlanapho phezulu. Khanehle madoda aqhuba ixheshe alisivumelapha. Please, hanihle bantabami.

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

SONG:-

460 LEADER:- Nansi iSupreme Court ivuthumlilo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Onono  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Ololo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Onono  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Ololo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Nank 'umuz 'kaGas 'uvuthumlilo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Abafan 'bazoth 'bawushayizolo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.:- Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya

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1/10/87

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

460 SONG:

LEADER : HERE IS THE SUPREME COURT SPITTING FIRE  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : ONONO  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : OLOLO  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : ONONO  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : OLOLO  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : HERE IS GASA'S HOUSE ABLASE  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : THE BOYS WILL SAY THEY ATTACKED IT YESTERDAY  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING  
LEADER : WE ARE GOING WE ARE GOING WE ARE GOING

You know now, O.K. I want to call my first speaker. I can't in such a darker situation. Ja, please comrades, come down. Ja that's right comrades. (inaudible) I'm afraid.

Yehlani madoda yehleni lapha yehleni phansi.

Yehlani bantabami nqepha madoda. Please comrades, please.

Sesulinde ninake kulelocala kugala. We are waiting for you comrades on that side.

510

~~Male~~ speaker: One, two, three, four *M/Aan andubeking*

Francis Baard: Then this unity is here (inaudible) we are <sup>during</sup> ~~buying~~ them today and they can just prepare <sup>their</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>burial</sup> ~~funeral~~ here's one, any one. Amandla.

I appreciate the honours given unto me to open this wonderful rally. And I'm welcoming all delegates as they were welcomed as it were, and all members and everybody who's here. It reminds me of a song to sing at school which says 'Lands of hope and glory mother of the free!' That means South Africa is our motherland now and South Africa is going to be free, even they don't want it or not. (cheering)

During the 60's I remember when Mr. McMillan past here, I mean through the continent of Africa, he said 'There's a wind of change which is sweeping the whole continent of Africa. I say if they can't those people, if they can't those people, if they can't today see the change in this country, then, politicians who cannot read the change, then they can smell the freedom air which is among which is sweeping the whole South Africa. Eh, the freedom breath is going, is going throughout the con....., the whole of South Africa and we are going to be free. Now I want to call upon our leaders, since now we are here they are only next door being locked up. So I want to, to go out of my way for I'm going to steal this opportunity and say to them, "Rolihlahla Mandela come out, Ronald Mhlaba come out, Walter Sisulu come out, Govan Mbeki come out, and all the rest of the political prisoners we say, we demand your release today because we want to take you home with us tomorrow.

(cheering)

We say open the gates, we say unlock those gates for them to come and see the work of their making. Let them come out because what they wanted, what they, what they went to jail for, it is for this unity they wanted. We say in South Africa we want a parliament which will be chosen among you people here. We want a government of the people and the people are you here. And our government has to be elected among you people here.

(cheers)

593 When I look at you, you look like a beautiful garden of flowers.  
The flowers in South Africa. The flowers of our motherland.

(cheering)

Unlike the click behind me there, who are just white lilies, a click of white lilies who are keeping themselves in a place where as we have got a lot of people here who can fill up that parliament. So we are telling them to move. They must move out and give way for you people because you are the right people to be in that parliament, not them. This people have been eating the meat for so long that they're now clinging on the bone, the bone has no meat anymore.

(cheering)

I say Mr. Chairman, with all the blessings, I bless you all you people here and I'm asking the blessing to lead us all to our different towns, villages and homes and the same blessings. I say the people of Cape Town who have kept us here, I'm giving them the blessings to remain with them. Now with these few remarks, Mr. Chairman, I declare, I say, I declare this rally opened. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

Baard : Amandla

Audience: Awethu

(clapping)

634 Speaker : Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I am not sure if the people outside this hall can hear me. But we are getting messages through that if people who are not within the four walls or under a roof, are going to be subjected to some sort of Police action. So those of you who can hear me outside this hall, would you try to get into the marquee to the left of me on the other side of the hall. So those of you who are outside this hall, in order to prevent any Police action, would you please, would you please go to the marquee which is on the other side of these doors or You'll have to disperse. The police have threatened to take action if people remain outside of a hall outside of four walls. So please assist us.

(shouting)

657 Right, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to continue, I am going to continue with the rest of the programme. We have, ladies and

..... 12/



gentlemen, we have elected an executive of the New National United Democratic Front and the president of the United Democratic Front is made up or the presidency is made up of three people. The presidency is made up of three people. I will give you their names. Firstly it's Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, (cheering, clapping) okay the second is Oscar Mpetha, (cheering, clapping) and the third President is Archie Gumede (cheering, clapping). Now ladies and gentlemen, Oscar Mpetha cannot be with us here today. He is very ill. Albertina Sisulu cannot be here today because she is in detention. She cannot give her message to us but her heart is with us. Oscar, however, has taped a message which we are going to try very hard to take back to you to record back to you. Now, if stay silent for the duration of this tape, you will be able to hear what Oscar has to say from his hospital bed. So if you'll just be patient for a few minutes and listen to the tape of Oscar Mpetha (inaudible) ..... that they must keep calm and listen to the marshalls whilst we're putting on the tape.

TAPE 1 - SIDE 2

001 that even in the so-called bantustans that people  
 002 (break in recording) <sup>NEW SPARKER</sup> putting on the tape.

Will people who are outside the hall please pay attention to what the marshalls say, it will avoid any problems. So there are marshalls outside, will you please pay attention to what they say and assist us in managing to progress with with the rest of the proceedings. We've got this tape which lasts for about six minutes. (inaudible) Can you hear?

Audience: No. (inaudible)

O.K. I think we continue. If you'll let me do that. I think is we replay the tape you won't be able to hear it, what we'll do is we'll get this typed out and included in the next news letter which we will pass around. That is the tape from Oscar Mpetha, (clapping). Ladies and, ladies and gentlemen. I am going to read to you the rest of the executive. Can you put that tape off. Right, Okay. I'm going to read to you the remainder of the Executive of the United Democratic Front of South Africa. There are patrons first of all and then there are executive members. Start

021

of the patrons. The first patron is Nelson Mandela. (whistling, clapping, cheering) The second patron whose on the platform with us is the wife of the late Dr. Monty Maicker, Mrs. Monty Maicker on my left. (clapping) The third patron from Cape Town is Johnny Issel (clapping) The fourth patron whom you have already heard is Mrs. Francis Baard (clapping.) The fifth patron who you will listen to soon is Helen Joseph who is on the platform with us. Sixth patron is Shaik Mzi Mohammed (clapping). Seventh patron is Mrs. Florence Mkhize. (clapping) The eighth patron is Dr. Essop Jassat from Johannesburg. (clapping) Nineth patron is Dennis Goldberg (clapping) Tenth patron is Dorothy Nyembe. (clapping) Eleventh patron is Hassim Howa who is on the stage with us. (clapping) The twelveth patron is Mrs. Martha Mahlangu. (clapping) The thirteenth patron is Paster Smanguliso Mkhathshwa, (clapping) and the fourteenth patron is Dr. Allen Boesak. (cheering, clapping) Now ladies and gentlemen, I will go through very rapidly. Right, sorry I forgot one more patron. I apologize. <sup>AF/raungshwa</sup> (tape distortion) I will very rapidly go through the Vice-President and there are six Vice-Presidents from the different Provinces. From the Transvaal there is Reverend Hlaalethwa, there's George Du Plessis from Natal, there's Geurge Sewpersahd and there's Virgil Bonhomme from the Western Cape, Christmas Tinto and Joe Marks (inaudible). Ladies and gentlemen, the one President who can be here, Archie Gumede, will now address you for a brief speech. (clapping)

057

ARCHIE GUMEDE : Eh, Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa. We meet on a very rare occasion. A very unique occasion and shortly after an honour has been bestowed on me which I do not feel I deserve, but which will need the support of all the people who were party to my election to that eh, position. That is of being one of the three Presidents of the United Democratic Front. I wish to offer my sincere thanks to those. But at the same time I will appeal to them not merely to support by electing, but by paying attention to the needs of membership in this occasion and in this exercise . We all appreciate that this is a historical occasion. It is not often that people who are gathered here do ever come together. There are people from the Transvaal, people from Natal, people from the Free State, people from the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape the home of the Union demonstrating for

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all to see that South Africa is one country and it is not a collection of many nations. We believe that South Africa is one nation and we are willing to demonstrate this belief in our nationhood. (clapping)

Today's happenings is a true demonstration of the Unity of the oppressed people in South Africa. Being such an occasion it is important that the most forceful show of the determination not to accept oppression but to fight that oppression until we overcome, (clapping) and given the determination which I see among you, I have not the least doubt that we shall overcome. (clapping)

111 This being an inaugural meeting, there is no report to be read to you, nor is it possible to make a policy statement. All we can say is what our goal is and how we are going to reach that goal. That goal we can reach only if we remain united and we are willing to work to join and link others who do not happen to be among us today. You all understand that the United Democratic Front is all about. You can see the banner here behind you, UDF. It is a front. It is not an organization, it is front and it is composed of different organisations which do not agree necessarily in all respects with each other's point of view, but we are all agreed that apartheid must be banished from the face of South Africa. (clapping) It is a front at this stage which is established for the sole purpose of struggling against the constitutional bills and the Koornhof Act which are intended to entrench apartheid in our society. The individual organisations of this front retain their identification, their identity in toto but they are determined to co-operate one with another in the specific issue of fighting and struggling against the constitutional Bills, the Constitutional Bills and the Koornhof Bill. Well, you know the expression that is used in one of the Bills, is orderly movement. That is movement under the control of pass laws (laughing). Now how many people here are feeling that they ought to co-operate in moving in terms under the restrictions of the pass laws. I think today's meeting is a demonstration of the fact that it is only superior force that will obtain movement in terms of that orderly movement Bill and that when people are unsettled, that is uprooted from the places in which they are already settled, that is called resettlement. How many of those people have asked to be resettled?, and how many are being resettled merely in order to satisfy an ideology with which they have absolutely no sympathy.

151 However having this situation, co-operation and dicipline are absolutely essential. Today our task are difficult and they they are a challenge but I feel that the people here are willing to face that challenge. We shall face this challenge by organising our people wherever they are. We have one advantage. We are able to move among our people with ease and we are able to communicate with them at will and organise them and show them the road to freedom. Moses led the children of Isreal out of Egypt, there is simply no reason why the people of South Africa cannot move out of the eh, apartheid State into a State in which all shall be free and the people shall govern. (clapping)

172 However I wish make this quite clear that slogans are helpful but they are not the end of the road. To those slogans must be added sweat, to those slogans must be added labour and careful, thought and careful action. You must be aware that the system has many ways of provoking people into rash actions and that is one of the things that all of you must guard against. Whatever

175 action you take must be action that has been fully considered and applied with determination. When you go back home, please go to your neighbours and tell them about what you found at Cape Town today. Tell them the experiences that you had. The joy of living, not in isolation but in association with people of various races and not as groups, but as individuals as I see you, as individuals living and breathing the same air, with one another who are I dont think anyone has had any ill effect as a result of that, has anyone suffered. (clapping) Please be aware of acting in isolation. Some organisations feel that they are powerful and they can act on their own. Some of the labour organisations seem to be suffering from that illness at present. They may not be, but it is simple fact that we are all inter-dependant. There is no one who is independant and in these circumstances it is important that we should learn to co-operate with one another. We must avoid adventurism and we must act conscientiously and with determination until we overcome. Thank you Mr. Chairman. (clapping)

*Quite reasonable type of approach*

*Arch*  
 MC: Thank you very much Arch.. Archie for these stirring words. Ladies and gentlemen, for those people who think we are alone, who think that we are fighting the struggle on our own and that

we ranged against the powerful enemy, you will be pleased to know and we will be heartened by the fact that the whole world outside supports us and to show some evidence of that I am going to read from time to time a very large numbers of messages we have. I am going to read about four or five messages now. The first message is from the Swiss Anti Apartheid Movement. It says that "We pledge <sup>support</sup> for your fight for justice and liberation. (clapping)

214 The next message is from the Danish Association of International Co-operation, and they send cordial greetings to us and congratulate us on the establishment of UDF and wish us all success and drawing up an implementing a programme of action. (clapping) We've got support from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers who gave us their congratulations and support us. We've got similar messages of support from the Danish South Youth Council in Copenhagen (clapping). Very importantly we've got support from SWAPO of Namibia (clapping, whistling, shouting), I'd like to read the message for you. It says: "We the oppressed people of Namibia express our active support and solidarity with the people of South Africa in the struggle for liberation. We face the common racist enemy, the Pretoria regime. Be rest assured that your struggle for liberation in South Africa, is also our struggle. Your victory is our victory. Our victory is your victory. Aluta continue. (clapping, cheers)

238 Slogan: Hello Mandella, Mandella wethu (X2)

Archie Gumede Umhilo wethu (X2)

Kwathi enqihlenye ngilwe, kwathi enqihlanye uma mangiboni mpimpi (X2)

I UDF inhlenganiso (X2)

Mayibuye

Audience: I Africa

Freedom Yes, Apartheid No

Freedom Yes, Apartheid No

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250 Thank you comrade, You know comrade. Once there was an announcement that the Police are harrassing people outside there. I thought that the speaker might have said that the military wing of the Nationalist Party is harrassing the people outside there. (laughing, clapping)

Eh, Comrades here I am going to call the Trade Unionist who was detained, Simon Ndou. Samson Ndou to come forward. (clapping)

260 SAMSON NDOU

An injury to one

Audience: Is injury to all

~~Samson Ndou~~  
~~and~~

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

SLOGAN:-

238 LEADER :- Hella Mandela  
AUDIENCE:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Mandela Wethu  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Hella Mandela  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Mandela Wethu  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Archie Gumede  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Umholi Wethu  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Archie Gumede  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Umholi Wethu  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Kwath'ang'hlanye  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Ngilwe  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Kwath'ang'hlanye  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Ngiboni - Mpimpi  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Kwath'ang'hlanye  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Ngilwe  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- i U.D.F.  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Umhlanganiso  
AUD.:- Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- i U.D.F.  
AUD.:- Hayi  
LEADER:- Umhlanganiso

SLOGAN:

238 LEADER : HELLA MANDELA  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : OUR MANDELA  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI  
 LEADER : HELLA MANDELA  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : OUR MANDELA  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI  
 LEADER : ARCHIE GUMEDE  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : OUR LEADER  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI  
 LEADER : I FEEL LIKE GOING MAD  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : I SEE AN INFORMER  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI  
 LEADER : I FEEL LIKE GOING MAD  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : THAT I FIGHT  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI  
 LEADER : THE U.D.F.  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : UMHLANGANISO  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI  
 LEADER : THE U.D.F.  
 AUDIENCE : HAYI  
 LEADER : UMHLANGANISO

A dismissal to one

Audience: Is a dismissal to all.

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

I greet you in the name of the struggle for National Liberation and Social Justice. I am speaking as a Trade Unionist and a worker. I'm speaking in the place of Thozamile Gqweta. (clapping) Ja, Trade Union leader. He is unable to be here today as the South African and Ciskei Security Police are making it difficult for him. His fellow unionist Uré Mdgojo, Onile Nohushe, Manganzi Sifingo and David Thandani were detained on Wednesday. These detentions and the situation in the Eastern Cape shows us clearly that the reforms spoken about do not mean that repression will stop. Shootings, bannings and imprisonment carry on while the government try to makes us believe that things are really changing. We as workers know that nothing is changing and we cannot remain aloof from any attempts that shows what the people believe has changed, really changed. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

We feel that ....., we feel that the people should defend themselves.

Member of audience: Ja, exactly

(laughing)

Workers are part of society, part of the community and they form the largest section of the society. Therefore changing society is a responsibility of workers because we have that power.

(clapping)

As workers we experience problems in the factories. Low wages, unhealthy and dangerous working conditions, lack of representation, this is the reality of our working day, and we in trade unions are fighting to change this. But when the factory gates closes, we go back to our common communities, our townships and we have experience problems there as well. With our poor wages we have to pay high rents, unrealistic electricity bills, expensive transport, we live in overcrowded houses because there are not enough houses for us and we as part of the community are fighting to change ..... (sound problem) ..... sabotage .... (laughing) You can't sabotage the



325 working class. (laughing) If you try to do so, you are committing a suicide. In our schools our children do not have proper facilities and are given a racist education, are taught in a way that hides the real history. The proud history of our people from them. SRC's and the students in schools are fighting to change this. Women are treated as third class citizens, are stuck at home looking after children. Women's organisations are trying to change this. All these organisations have very different tasks in facing them and different problems to fight but they are fighting a whole system which is responsible for each and every problem that we face. Although trade unions and the workers struggle is the major struggle as it is a fight between workers and bosses. Unless we unite all the organisations us working in different areas, we cannot hope to change the system as a whole. Exploitation and low wages in the factories cannot exist without influx controls, pass laws, Group Areas, the education system. Our people are oppressed wherever they are, they must fight to change that exploitation and oppression. Amandla

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

349 Although change is a word used by Ministers of parliament and liberal bosses, we know that these changes are not based on the will of the people, because we do not have political rights and because whatever changes are spoken about by those who decide for us, are not in the interest of the workers, but in the interest of the bosses. We have to resist the proposed so-called reformed constitutional proposals and Koornhof bills. I don't know whether you call this bills. (shouting) These racist bills and constitutional proposals may have been dominating the headline but they are not the first acts of oppressive regime. They are not even the work. They are simply part of an ongoing process of domination and exploitation, but by one class over another. This is the history of our country, this is why we are fighting for freedom. The current set of Government proposals cannot be seen in isolation from this ongoing process of domination and exploitation of the majority of our people. (clapping) The government and the bosses have tried all the means at their disposal to obstruct the organisations of workers. In 1974, a frightened Nationalist regime responding to the wave of strikes

376 which swept through Natal and the Witwatersrand amended the Industrial Conciliation Act in an attempt to offer workers, works committee in place of trade unions. Workers however, refused to have anything to do with these toothless bodies and continued to organise themselves. Within months twenty new Independent Black Trade Unions have been formed. In 1976 our children took the lead and shook the system with eighteen months of continuous action against apartheid domination. Saying that they will rather die fighting for freedom than live passively as slaves. (clapping) They stood unflinching in the face of Police guns, batons, dogs and teargas. This is then marked a point of no return, and left a memory in the minds of freedom loving people which could never be rubbed. With the suffering of their children in mind, workers threw themselves into the task of organising to smash this brutal system. A terrified nationalist government working hand in hand with the bosses, appointed a Wiehan Commission to look into new ways of controlling the organisations of the working class. When it reported, the commission made a lot of noise about the registration of Trade Unions, some liberals and racist circles, herald this as a breakthrough. After some sixty years of steady (inaudible) refusing to (inaudible) up the leader of Black Trade Union, a government had finally considered and agreed to recognise them.

406 Those of us who had been hardened in the years of struggle, show this proposals for what they were and attempt to impose new and stricter controls on the working class. Workers stood firm, they were not fooled since when were the government and the bosses keen to promote workers organisations. How could they expect us to trust them when everyday they force us to work long hours for little pay under dangerous conditions. When we have to travel long distances by train and by buses from the ghettos to their shiny cities, to come and minister to their need for greater profits. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

An injury to one

Audience: is an injury to all } x2

Through our united refusal to accept this so-called new dispensation we reduced Wiehan proposals to a parliamentary side show which convinced no-one. Within a year of their introduction, Fanie Botha, Is another guy I don't know, I never met him before, his name is Fanie Botha , was already urging bosses to deal with

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unregistered Trade Unions, despite this challenge we were able to maintain our independancy and democracy and to grow as organisations of the working class. At this point in the struggle of workers against domination and exploitation, we face severe challenges from the bosses. Taking the advantage of the economic depression they have been firing and retrenching hundreds and thousands of workers in an attempt to break Trade Union Organisations. The threat of retrenchment is used to intimidate those likely enough to have jobs into joining trade unions. Anyone determined enough to demand higher wages or better working conditions is immediately threatened with dismissal. The government meanwhile has taken a back seat and is leaving it up to the bosses to smash the unions. In unity, however, there is strength. To counter this threat, the unions have been trying to form a federation to meet the combined attack on the bosses. Such a federation will be the most powerful alliance of Trade Unions to emerge since the South African Congress of Trade Unions was forced underground by the weight state repression in the early sixties. I would like to use this platform today to call on all democratic Trade Unions to unite and work together in defence of the interests of the working class. (clapping) But the struggle of thr working class will have to go beyond the factory gates. The responsibility for the defences of racial capitalism lies not with individual capitalists but with their organised arm, the State. To defeat the apartheid State we need powerful mass based national political organisation capable of waging a political struggle on behalf of all the oppresses and exploited. Women, students and workers must come together to build this political movement and in doing so, we must work together as progressive and as democrats and to bury secondary organisational and ideological differences in the interest of a broader movement. (clapping) Forward to the United United Democratic Front, forward to the worker's struggle, forward to the peoples democracy. Amandla

Audience: Awethu

An injury to one

Audience: An injury to all (X2)

An insult to one

Audience: An insult to all

I'Africa

Audience: Mayibuye (clapping)

..... 21/

SONG:

506 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 THIS IS THE ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.  
 OH THIS IS THE ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.  
 OH IT IS THE ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.  
 OH IT IS THIS ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
 AUDIENCE : UNITE  
 OH THIS IS THE ORGANISATION  
 OH THE U.D.F.  
 OH IT IS THE ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.  
 OH IT IS THE ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.  
 OH IT IS THE ORGANISATION  
 THE U.D.F.

487 Thank you very much comrades.

Speaker: Eh, Comrades, there is an announcement here. There are three comrades who must go outside immediately. Siphon Madonsela, Robert Nongoumla, Uhm, Si .. Sibongisile Ngatshana. It is said that they are urgently wanted next to the supermarket entrance. Please comrades, just go and see what is taking place there.

Now I am going to call the mother of the struggle. Helen Joseph (cheering, clapping)

504 Zulu song(as attached)

505 Mayibuye Africa, I' Africa Mayibuye  
I' Africa Mayibuye

528 Slogan : Oliver Tambo (X11)

Helen Joseph :

534 It is my pride and it is my privilege to be here with you today. Thank you for asking me. Thank you for bringing me. (clapping= Thank you for electing me as one of your patrons. Twenty seven years ago, a door was opened. It was opened by three thousand delegates on a football field outside Johannesburg. The delegates came from all over South Africa to the congress of the people. Just as we today (clapping) Just as we today have come from all corners of our land. Then it was the Freedom Charter which opened the door for the people of South Africa to go forward. Today in our thousands we prove that the door which opened onto the road to freedom has never been closed. (cheering, clapping) We proclaim that thousands have marched through that door. Some have marched to jail, some have marched to death, some have  
566 marched to bans and bannishment, some have marched to exile in far off lands and thousands today have marched to Mitchell's Flein (cheering, clapping) There is a long march still ahead of us. A long (inaudible) road. And to tread that road will need all our courage and all our commitments. I don't know what we may have to face on the way but do know what we shall find at the end of that road. (clapping) We shall find a free democratic South Africa. A South Africa which shall belong to all who live in it, Black and White. All the sons and daughters of our land. (clapping) Today I remember the leaders who cannot be with us, yet their voices must be heard. I think of Nelson Mandela, of Dennis Goldberg, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Wilson Nkwayi, Gibson (inaudible)

..... 22/

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

506

SONG:-

LEADER :- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUDIENCE:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

Yiyona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Oh Yiyona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano

i U.D.F.

Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano

i U.D.F.

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

SONG:

585 LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
AUDIENCE : UNITE  
LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
AUDIENCE : UNITE  
LEADER : UNITE WORKERS  
AUDIENCE : UNITE  
OH THIS ORGANISATION IS THERE  
OH THE U.D.F.

(ABOVE REPEATED TWO MORE TIMES)

and hundreds of others lying in South African jails. I think of Albertina Sisulu and among Amanda Mawadi (phonetical) for they too lie in the jails, but we must speak with their voices so that the silence of the jails shall become a mighty shout throughout South Africa. (clapping)

606 I think of the banned and the banished. I think of Winnie Mandela of Beyers Naude, of Florence Mkhize, who cannot join us but we speak for them. It may be that some of us here today will be banned, but our cry is and always will be "you can ban us but you cannot break us". (clapping, cheering)

620 Chanting : UDF

I speak also for the women of the past. I speak for such women as Lillian Ngoye and Dora Tamana (clapping). Their spirit call to the men of the present for you are our daughters, you are the young and the future of this land belongs to you. We opened the doors but you must go forward. (clapping) The people of this land cannot be silenced by this evil government nor can we be deceived by empty promises. Its talks of Constitutional Reform of three parliaments. But this great gathering after a quarter of a century of silence, this shows that we shall expose and we shall defeat this government (clapping, cheering). Here we are again Black and White from all over South Africa to proclaim our will once and for all times that South Africa shall be free. (cheering) That the United Democratic Front it represents millions of people, shall free our land and we shall go forward together, side by side. (clapping) And I will end with the words of the Freedom Charter, "Shoulder to shoulder, sparing nothing of our strength and courage until we have won our liberty". Long live the United Demo .....

Crowd:(clapping and shouting)

UDF..... UDF..... UDF (several times)

Mayibuye I'Afrika ( come back Africa)

UDF .... UDF ..... UDF (repeatedly)

Mayibuye I'Africa (come back Africa)

Song: Hlanganani Basebenzi (worker's unite) As attached

Ichona Lenhancano I'UDF (UDF is the organisation)

Speaker: Freedom

Crowd, : Yes

*Handwritten notes:*  
Koe Pau  
Ossilloscoop  
foto 10p bls 4  
ABD 5  
..... 23/

*Handwritten signature:* Vye p 29



TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

685 SONG:-

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUDIENCE:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

Oh Ikhona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano

i U.D.F.

Oh Ikhona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano

i U.D.F.

SPEAKER : FREEDOM

CROWD : YES

SPEAKER : APARTHEID

CROWD : NO

SPEAKER : APARTHEID

CROWD : NO

POWER IS OURS OLIVER (X2)

705 SONG: THE NAME OF HELEN

JOSEPH SHOULD BE PRAISED  
THE NAME OF HELEN

END OF TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

008 IN ENGLISH.

SAMSON NDOU: ENGLISH

AUDIENCE : DO.

AUDIENCE : IN ENGLISH

AUDIENCE : POWER IS OURS

AUDIENCE : POWER OURS

AUDIENCE : OURS POWER

Speaker: Freedom

Crowd : Yes!

Speaker: Apartheid!

Crowd : No!

Speaker: Apartheid

Crowd : No!

Amandla Awethu Oliver (X2)

705 Song : Igama Lika Helen  
Joseph Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Helen

*Kyph bl 16*

END OF TAPE 1 SIDE 2

TAPE 2 - SIDE 1

008 Eh, Comrades here I am going to call the Trade Unionist who was  
detained, Simon Ndou. Samson Ndou to come forward. (clapping)

*Aff/ran  
1 audist*

SAMSON NDOU : An injury to one

Audience : Is injury to all  
A dismissal to one

Audience : Is a dismissal to all.  
Amandla

Audience : Awethu  
Amandla

Audience : Awethu  
Awethu

Audience : Amandla

*dupl  
p 17*

I greet you in the name of the struggle for National Liberation and Social Justice. I am speaking as a Trade Unionist and a worker. I'm speaking in the place of Thozamile Gqweta. (clapping) Ja, Trade Union leader: He is unable to be here today as the South African and Ciskei Security Police are making it difficult for him. His fellow unionist: Uré Mdgojo, Onile Nohushe, Manganzi Sifingo and David Thandani were detained on Wednesday. These detentions and the situation in the Eastern Cape shows us clearly that the reforms spoken about do not mean that repression will stop. Shootings, bannings and imprisonment carry on while the government try to makes us believe that things are really changing. We as workers know that nothing is changing and we cannot remain aloof from any attempts that shows what the people believe has changed, really changed. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

We feel that ....., we feel that the people should defend themselves.

Member of audience: Ja, exactly

(laughing)

Workers are part of society, part of the community and they form the largest section of the society. Therefore changing society is a responsibility of workers because we have that power.

(clapping)

As workers we experience problems in the factories. Low wages, unhealthy and dangerous working conditions, lack of representation, this is the reality of our working day, and we in trade unions are fighting to change this. But when the factory gates closes, we go back to our common communities, our townships and we have experience problems there as well. With our poor wages we have to pay high rents, unrealistic electricity bills, expensive transport, we live in overcrowded houses because there are not enough houses for us and we as part of the community are fighting to change ..... (sound problem) ..... sabotage .... (laughing) You can't sabotage the

..... 18/

Dupl of p. 18

062

working class. (laughing) If you try to do so, you are committing a suicide. In our schools our children do not have proper facilities and are given a racist education, are taught in a way that hides the real history. The proud history of our people from them. SRC's and the students in schools are fighting to change this. Women are treated as third class citizens, are stuck at home looking after children. Women's organisations are trying to change this. All these organisations have very different tasks in facing them and different problems to fight but they are fighting a whole system which is responsible for each and every problem that we face. Although trade unions and the workers struggle is the major struggle as it is a fight between workers and bosses. Unless we unite all the organisations us working in different areas, we cannot hope to change the system as a whole. Exploitation and low wages in the factories cannot exist without influx controls, pass laws, Group Areas, the education system. Our people are oppressed wherever they are, they must fight to change that exploitation and oppression. Amandla

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

079

Although change is a word used by Ministers of parliament and liberal bosses, we know that these changes are not based on the will of the people, because we do not have political rights and because whatever changes are spoken about by those who decide for us, are not in the interest of the workers, but in the interest of the bosses. We have to resist the proposed so-called reformed constitutional proposals and Koornhof bills. I don't know whether you call this bills. (shouting) These racist bills and constitutional proposals may have been dominating the headline but they are not the first acts of oppressive regime. They are not even the work. They are simply part of an ongoing process of domination and exploitation, but by one class over another. This is the history of our country, this is why we are fighting for freedom. The current set of Government proposals cannot be seen in isolation from this ongoing process of domination and exploitation of the majority of our people. (clapping) The government and the bosses have tried all the means at their disposal to obstruct the organisations of workers. In 1974, a frightened Nationalist regime responding to the wave of strikes

Dupe of p 20 19

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which swept through Natal and the Witwatersrand amended the Industrial Conciliation Act in an attempt to offer workers, works committee in place of trade unions. Workers however, refused to have anything to do with these toothless bodies and continued to organise themselves. Within months twenty new Independent Black Trade Unions have been formed. In 1976 our children took the lead and shook the system with eighteen months of continuous action against apartheid domination. Saying that they will rather die fighting for freedom than live passively as slaves. (clapping) They stood unflinching in the face of Police guns, batons, dogs and teargas. This is then marked a point of no return, and left a memory in the minds of freedom loving people which could never be rubbed. With the suffering of their children in mind, workers threw themselves into the task of organising to smash this brutal system. A terrified nationalist government working hand in hand with the bosses, appointed a Wiehan Commission to look into new ways of controlling the organisations of the working class. When it reported, the commission made a lot of noise about the registration of Trade Unions, some liberals and racist circles, herald this as a breakthrough. After some sixty years of steady (inaudible) refusing to (inaudible) up the leader of Black Trade Union, a government had finally considered and agreed to recognise them.

Those of us who had been hardened in the years of struggle, show this proposals for what they were and attempt to impose new and stricter controls on the working class. Workers stood firm, they were not fooled since when were the government and the bosses keen to promote workers organisations. How could they expect us to trust them when everyday they force us to work long hours for little pay under dangerous conditions. When we have to travel long distances by train and by buses from the ghettos to their shiny cities, to come and minister to their need for greater profits. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

An injury to one

Audience: is an injury to all } X 2

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Through our united refusal to accept this so-called new dispensation we reduced Wiehan proposals to a parliamentary side show which convinced no-one. Within a year of their introduction, Fanie Botha, Is another guy I don't know, I never met him before, his name is Fanie Botha, was already urging bosses to deal with

date of p 20

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unregistered Trade Unions, despite this challenge we were able to maintain our independancy and democracy and to grow as organisations of the working class. At this point in the struggle of workers against domination and exploitation, we face severe challenges from the bosses. Taking the advantage of the economic depression they have been firing and retrenching hundreds and thousands of workers in an attempt to break Trade Union Organisations. The threat of retrenchment is used to intimidate those likely enough to have jobs into joining trade unions. Anyone determined enough to demand higher wages or better working conditions is immediately threatened with dismissal. The government meanwhile has taken a back seat and is leaving it up to the bosses to smash the unions. In unity, however, there is strength. To counter this threat, the unions have been trying to form a federation to meet the combined attack on the bosses. Such a federation will be the most powerful alliance of Trade Unions to emerge since the South African Congress of Trade Unions was forced underground by the weight state repression in the early sixties. I would like to use this platform today to call on all democratic Trade Unions to unite and work together in defence of the interests of the working class. (clapping) But the struggle of thr working class will have to go beyond the factory gates. The responsibility for the defences of racial capitalism lies not with individual capitalists but with their organised arm, the State. To defeat the apartheid State we need powerful mass based national political organisation capable of waging a political struggle on behalf of all the oppresses and exploited. Women, students and workers must come together to build this political movement and in doing so, we must work together as progressive and as democrats and to bury secondary organisational and ideological differences in the interest of a broader movement. (clapping) Forward to the United United Democratic Front, forward to the worker's struggle, forward to the peoples democracy. Amandla

Audience: Awethu

An injury to one

Audience: An injury to all (X2)

An insult to one

Audience: An insult to all

I'Africa

Audience: Mayibuye (clapping)

*Duplicate  
of 1/2/24*

Thank you very much comrades.

Speaker: Eh, Comrades, there is an announcement here. There are three comrades who must go outside immediately. Sipho Madonsela, Robert Nongoumla, Uhm, Si .. Sibongisile Mgatshana. It is said that they are urgently wanted next to the supermarket entrance. Please comrades, just go and see what is taking place there.

Now I am going to call the mother of the struggle. Helen Joseph (cheering, clapping)

Zulu song(as attached)

Mayibuye Africa, I' Africa Mayibuye  
I' Africa Mayibuye

Slogan : Oliver Tambo (X11)

219

Helen Joseph :

It is my pride and it is my privilege to be here with you today. Thank you for asking me. Thank you for bringing me. (clapping= Thank you for electing me as one of your patrons. Twenty seven years ago, a door was opened. It was opened by three thousand delegates on a football field outside Johannesburg. The delegates came from all over South Africa to the congress of the people. Just as we today (clapping) Just as we today have come from all corners of our land. Then it was the Freedom Charter which opened the door for the people of South Africa to go forward. Today in our thousands we prove that the door which opened onto the road to freedom has never been closed. (cheering, clapping) We proclaim that thousands have marched through that door. Some have marched to jail, some have marched to death, some have marched to bans and bannishment, some have marched to exile in far off lands and thousands today have marched to Mitchell's Plein (cheering, clapping) There is a long march still ahead of us. A long (inaudible) road. And to tread that road will need all our courage and all our commitments. I don't know what we may have to face on the way but do know what we shall find at the end of that road. (clapping) We shall find a free democratic South Africa. A South Africa which shall belong to all who live in it, Black and White. All the sons and daughters of our land. (clapping) Today I remember the leaders who cannot be with us, yet their voices must be heard. I think of Nelson Mandela, of Dennis Goldberg, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Wilson Nkwayi, Gibson (inaudible)



TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

SONG:-

LEADER :- Hlanganani Basebenzi  
AUDIENCE:- Hlanganani  
LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi  
AUD.:- Hlanganani  
Yiyona Inhlangano  
i U.D.F.  
Oh Yiyona Inhlangano  
i U.D.F.  
Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano  
i U.D.F.  
Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano  
i U.D.F.

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi  
AUD.:- Hlanganani  
LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi  
AUD.:- Hlanganani  
LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi  
AUD.:- Hlanganani  
LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi  
AUD.:- Hlanganani  
Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano  
Oh i U.D.F.  
Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano  
Oh i U.D.F.  
Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano  
Oh i U.D.F.  
Oh Yiyona Lenhlangano  
Oh i U.D.F.

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

SONG:

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

IT IS THE ORGANISATION

THE U.D.F.

(X3)

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

OH THIS IS THE ORGANISATION

OH THE U.D.F.

(X3)

*Dupl of 22*

and hundreds of others lying in South African jails. I think of Albertina Sisulu and among Amanda Quadi (phonetical) for they too lie in the jails, but we must speak with their voices so that the silence of the jails shall become a mighty shout throughout South Africa. (clapping)

268

I think of the banned and the banished. I think of Winnie Mandela of Beyers Naude, of Florence Mkhize, who cannot join us but we speak for them. It may be that some of us here today will be banned, but our cry is and always will be "you can ban us but you cannot break us". (clapping, cheering)

Chanting : UDF

I speak also for the women of the past. I speak for such women as Lillian Ngoye and Dora Tamana (clapping).

Their spirit call to the men of the present for you are our daughters; you are the young and the future of this land belongs to you. We opened the doors but you must go forward. (clapping)

The people of this land cannot be silenced by this evil government nor can we be deceived by empty promises. Its talks of Constitutional Reform of three parliaments. But this great gathering after a quarter of a century of silence, this shows that we shall expose and we shall defeat this government (clapping, cheering). Here we are again Black and White from all over South Africa to proclaim our will once and for all times that South Africa shall be free. (cheering) That the United Democratic Front it represents millions of people, shall free our land and we shall go forward together, side by side. (clapping) And I will end with the words of the Freedom Charter, "Shoulder to shoulder, sparing nothing of our strength and courage until we have won our liberty". Long live the United Demo

Crowd:(clapping and shouting)

*(we praise  
Oswald's job 2  
bls 29 ASD 5.*

UDF..... UDF..... UDF (several times)

Mayibuye I'Afrika ( come back Africa)

UDF .... UDF ..... UDF (repeatedly)

315

Mayibuye I'Africa (come back Africa)

Song: Hlanganani Basebenzi (worker's unite) As attached

Ichona Lenhancano I'UDF (UDF is the organisation)

Speaker: Freedom

Crowd, : Yes

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*Abrondalwa*

..... 231

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

SONG:-

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUDIENCE:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

Oh Ikhona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano

i U.D.F.

Oh Ikhona Lenhlangano

Oh i U.D.F.

Ikhona Lenhlangano

i U.D.F.

*Handwritten:*  
1/22/51

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

SONG :

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

LEADER : UNITE WORKERS

AUDIENCE : UNITE

OH THIS ORGANISATION IS THERE

OH THE U.D.F. (X4)

SPEAKER :

CROWD :

SPEAKER :

CROWD :

SPEAKER :

CROWD :

POWER IS OURS OLIVER (X2)

327 SONG:

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED (X5)

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED (X2)

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED (X5)

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED

THE NAME OF HELEN JOSEPH  
SHOULD BE PRAISED (X3)

Speaker : Freedom

Crowd : Yes!

Speaker : Apartheid!

Crowd : No!

Speaker : Apartheid

Crowd : No!

Amandla Awethu Oliver (K2)

327 Song :- Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Malibongwe Malibongwe  
Malibongwe Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Malibongwe Malibongwe  
Malibongwe Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Igama Lika Hellen Joseph  
Malibongwe  
Malibongwe Malibongwe

20  
1/19/87

Sweeping  
on  
towards  
the  
creation  
of  
a  
new  
South  
Africa

- 342 Crowd : Amandla!  
Awethu! (Interruption)
- 351 Speaker : Oliver!  
Crowd : Tambo! (approx. 19 times)  
Speaker : Comrade chair, we need more songs, the people .....  
(inaudible)  
Joe Slovo (X2)  
Crowd : Amandla!  
Awethu! (Power is ours!)  
chanting - Botha is a terrorist (approx. 18 times)
- 383 Song : (As attached about Tambo)  
Slogan : Amandla!  
Awethu! (X4) (Power is ours!)  
(Mingling of crowd)
- 405 Song : Isibhamu E-Angola (as attached)  
(The gun in Angola)  
Amandla, Awethu (X4) (~~sound of motorbike or machine gun inbetween~~)
- 492 Mayibuye I'Africa (X4) (Tambo song)  
Crowd : Amandla! Awethu! (X4)  
(Power is ours!)
- 534 Song : Phesheya kongula sobabamba (as attached)
- 542 (attached) (We will catch them across the river)
- 566 (attached) Nezingane zabo sobabamba  
(And their children, we will catch them)  
(as above, slightly changed)  
Amandla!. Awethu! (X2) (~~mingling of crowd~~)
- 592 (clapping of hands) (break in recording)
- 603 George Sewpersadh :- As the ideals for which the UDF has been  
formed. You see self does nothing, he sees nothing but the  
activity of human beings questioning its aims, and from this  
gathering and the spirit of gathering <sup>we can see</sup> with ~~inten~~ that the aim  
of the people of South Africa is to create a united democratic  
South Africa where there will be freedom for all. The <sup>profits</sup> products  
of this country its wealth and have been produces by the workers  
in the factoried, the farmers and the mine workers, and the mes-  
sage of the UDF is that these people who are responsible for the  
progress and development of this country, that they must have a  
share in the destiny of this country.

.....



383 cont: LEADER:- Ha-Ha Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Ha-Ha uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
LEADER:- Hayi-Hayi Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Ho-Ho uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini  
LEADER:- Ho Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni

383 SONG:

AUDIENCE : HE IS LEARNING SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HE--HE THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
 LEADER : HE IS TEACHING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HE--HE THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
 LEADER : HAYI HE TEACHES  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HAYEYE THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
 LEADER : HAYI HAYI WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING THE SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HEYI YO THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
 LEADER : HAYI WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING THE SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HEY WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : COME ENQUIRE BOYS  
 LEADER : HAYI HAYI WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING THE SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HAYI YOU COME  
 AUDIENCE : COME COME BOYS  
 LEADER : HAYI WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HAYI THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
 LEADER : HAHA WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HA HA THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
 LEADER : HAYI HAYI WHAT IS HE DOING  
 AUDIENCE : HE IS STILL TEACHING THE SOLDIERS  
 LEADER : HO HO THAMBO  
 AUDIENCE : THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH  
 LEADER : HE IS STILL TEACHING THE SOLDIERS

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405 cont. LET AFRICA COME BACK (X5)

TAPE 2 : SIDE 1

405 SONG:-

Isibham'e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibhamu  
Nas'isibham'e-Angola  
Awuze Nas'isibhamu  
Nas'isibhamu e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibhamu  
Nasisibham - e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nas'isibham - e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nas'isibham - e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nas'isibham - e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi - sibham - e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e-Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e-Angola  
Awuze Nas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuze Nas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola

405 cont: Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuze nas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuze Nas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibhamu  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuze Nas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola

405 cont: Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola

471 SLOGAN:- Inaudible - Awethu 1  
Awethu 1  
Awethu 1

474 SONG CONTINUES:-  
Isibham- ehlathini  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Hlathini  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Hlathini  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola  
Awuzenas'isibham  
Nasi-sibham-e- Angola

483 SLOGAN:- Amandla Awethu 1  
Amandla Awethu 1  
Amandla Awethu 1  
Amandla Awethu 1

405 cont:	Mayibuye	i-Afrika	1
	Mayibuye	i-Afrika	1
	Mayibuye	i-Afrika	1
	Mayiwe	i-Afrika	1
	Mayiwe	i-Afrika	1

TAPE 2 : SIDE 1

405 SONG:

THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
BRING THE GUN  
THERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
BRING THE GUN  
HERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
BRING THE GUN  
(X6)

405 CONT. SAME WORDS REPEATED AS ABOVE

471 SLOGAN: INAUDIBLE OURS OURS OURS

474 SONG CONTINUES:

THE GUN IN THE BUSH  
BRING THE GUN  
HERE IS THE GUN IN THE BUSH  
BRING THE GUN  
HERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
BRING THE GUN  
HERE IS THE GUN IN THE BUSH  
BRING THE GUN  
HERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
BRING THE GUN  
HERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA

483 SLOGAN: POWER IS OURS (X4)



492 SONG:-

Hayi-Hayi uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha-a Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha-a uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Hayaya Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Hayaya Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha-a Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Hayaya uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Hayi Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni

405 cont:

Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Ha uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Ha Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Hayi Wozani Bo  
Wozani Wozani Bafana  
Hayi Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Hayi Wozani Bo  
Wozani Wozani Bafana  
Hayi Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Hayi uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Hayi Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni  
Hayi uThambo  
UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
Hayi Wenzanina  
Usafundisamajoni

492 SONG:

HAYI HAYI THAMBO  
THAMBO IS IN THE BUSH MAMA  
HA A WHAT IS HE DOING  
HE IS TEACHING THE SOLDIERS  
REPEATED (X8)

530 SLOGAN:-

Anandla Awethu !

Anandla Awethu !

Anandla Awethu !

Anandla Awethu !

534 SONG:-

Sobabamba  
Nezingane Zabo Sobabamba  
Ho Ilitshe Likathambo  
Linqonqozile  
Inaudible

542 SLOGAN:-

LEADER:- Bayasdelela  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Bayasdelela  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Bayasdelela  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Bayasdelela  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Bayasdelela  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.: - Hayi Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi Hayi  
Inaudible  
Hayi Hayi Hayi

534 SONG:

WE SHALL GET THEM  
WITH THEIR CHILDREN WE SHALL GET THEM  
HO THAMBO'S ROCK IS FORMIDABLE  
INAUDIBLE

542 SLOGAN:

LEADER : THEY UNDERRATE US  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI  
LEADER : THEY UNDERRATE US  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI  
LEADER : THEY UNDERRATE US  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI  
LEADER : THEY UNDERRATE US  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI  
LEADER : THEY UNDERRATE US  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI  
LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI  
LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI

THE ABOVE EXCHANGE IS REPEATED (X8) TIMES

566 SONG:-

Phesheya Komfula  
Sobabamba  
Nezingane Zabo Sobabamba  
Phesheya Komfula  
Sobabamba  
Nezingane Zabo Sobabamba  
Ilitshe LikaThambo  
Linqonqozile Linqonqozile  
Ilitshe LikaThambo  
Linqonqoziwe (inaudible) Linqonqoziwe  
Phesheya Kwenifula  
Sobabamba  
Nezingane Zabo Sobabamba  
Phesheya Kwenifula  
Sobabamba  
Nezingane Zabo Sobabamba

581 SIOGAN:-

Amandla Awethu !  
Amandla Awethu !

SONG:- Inaudible

566 SONG:

ACROSS THE RIVER  
WE SHALL GET THEM  
WITH THEIR CHILDREN WE SHALL GET THEM  
ACROSS THE RIVER  
WE SHALL GET THEM  
WITH THEIR CHILDREN WE SHALL GET THEM  
THE ROCK OF THAMBO  
IS FORMIDABLE IS FORMIDABLE  
THE ROCK OF THAMBO  
IS FORMIDABLE (INAUDIBLE) IS FORMIDABLE  
ACROSS THE RIVERS  
WE SHALL GET THEM  
WITH THEIR CHILDREN WE SHALL GET THEM  
ACROSS THE RIVERS  
WE SHALL GET THEM  
WITH THEIR CHILDREN WE SHALL GET THEM

581 SLOGAN:

POWER IS OURS  
POWER IS OURS

SONG: INAUDIBLE



TAPE 2 : SIDE 1

383 SONG:-

AUDIENCE:- Usafundi 'amajoni  
LEADER:- He-e uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
LEADER:- Uyafundisa  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- He-he uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
LEADER:- Hayi Uyafundisa  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Hayeye uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
LEADER:- Hayi-Hayi Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Heyi We uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
LEADER:- Hayi Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Heyi uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama  
LEADER:- Hayi Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Hayi Wenzan'bo  
AUD.: - Wozani Buzani Bafana  
LEADER:- Hayi-Hayi Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Hayi Wozan'bo  
AUD.: - Wozani Wozani Bafana  
LEADER:- Hayi Wenzanina  
AUD.: - Usafundisa Majoni  
LEADER:- Hayi uThambo  
AUD.: - UThamb'usehlathini Mama

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The rulers of this land have tried to break the unity of the people by creating institutions like the President's Council, The South African Indian Council, they've tried to, to get people to accept these institutions, but the people have made it clear that they are not things, that they are human beings and that they are not for sale and no matter how much they're offered, they will not accept these institutions.

(clapping of hands)

This gathering makes it clear that the people of South Africa are not merely asking for a change but they, by their activities and their struggle, they are actually changing South Africa, and will bring about South Africa in which power will be transferred to the people.

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(clapping of hands)

The ideals of the Freedom Charter will be pursued by the United Democratic Front, and will we never rest, we will continue with the struggle until our leaders like Nelson Mandela are freed to govern this country. Thank you very much.

(clapping, cheering)

Hallo, hallo, can you hear, thank you very much.

Chairman:

Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen. I would like to make one comment now. That thousands of people who are outside this hall, and I have been told that because of the spirit of the occasion, they have been disciplined and they have behaving themselves in such a way that I think they deserve some consideration from those of us in the hall.

(clapping, cheering)

I think it shows that for anyone who didn't believe it, that we are capable of the highest forms of democracy, and they need all the support they can get.

(clapping)

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to take too much of your time, but I have to read you some other evidence. Tangible evidence of support we have, that UDF has from both within this country and without this country. I am not going to read the messages in details, but there is a message of support, you remember Samson Ndou. He spoke about the essential role of

.....

working people in the struggle, the control that working people have in the United Democratic Front. There is a message from the Food and Canning Workers Union. It says, "We would like to express our support for your conference and our shared commitment to one United non-racial and democratic South Africa".

(clapping - cheering)

There other messages of support, one from Arch-Bishop Dennis Hurley from Durban. There is another message of support from the communal inter-church Commission in Netherlands. There is another message of support from the Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance.

(clapping)

And I must read to you this support - this message. Its from the Workers Party in Ireland.

(clapping)

It says - It says, "An occasion like the funding of function of the UDF, the Irish Workers Party sends its warmest greetings and wishes you every success in your deliberation.

END OF TAPE 2 SIDE 1 PART 3

TAPE 2 - SIDE 2 - PART 4

001 Marked a major turning point in the struggle against brutal and degrading racial discrimination and we particularly wish you success in exposing the fraudulent nature of the South African Government Constitutional Proposals.

(clapping - cheering)

There is another message from Ireland. It's from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and it represents, my friend, six hundred and forty thousand organised workers throughout Ireland.

(clapping, shouting)

It says that the struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom and democracy strikes a cord on the hearts of the Irish Trade Unionism. Our movement has long campaigned against apartheid and the support of the South African Congress Trade Unions SACTU and trade unions in your country in the efforts to win Human Rights and Democratic Rights.

(clapping)

.....

13 Ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to ask you to bear with us for a few minutes. I've got a speaker, a most unusual speaker. She's a little girl called Lala and she is the daughter of Johnny Issel who is well known to you. I am going to ask her to stand on the table and say a few words.

(cheering)

Johnny can't be here but his daughter is going to tell you what he thinks.

21 "My daddy can't be here because he's banned. My daddy supports the UDF and he wants - and he wants to let us be free. He believes .... (clapping) He believes that freedom, eh - he believes (clapping)

My daddy, my daddy cannot be here because he's banned. My daddy supports the UDF because he wants to set - to see us free. He believes freedom will come in our lifetime.

Amandla!

Audience: Awethu!

(clapping, cheering, shouting)

35 Speaker: Eh, comrades, eh comrades. I'm call upon the next speaker now. Shaik Abdul Mahammed (inaudible)

Sorry ladies and gentlemen, that is Shake Habil, Shake Habil.

<sup>UNKNOWN SPEAKER</sup>  
~~Coloured man~~: Will the people who are behind the speakers please make it easier for them by restraining themselves and going a little backward.

**Shaik**: (Foreign language)

In the name of Allah, most Gracious, most Merciful. I testify there is no God worthy of worship but Allah and I testify that Mahomed is a messenger of Allah. Mr. Chairman, my brothers and sisters, I wish to convey to you the salutation and best wishes of the president of the Muslim Judicial Council, namely Mahomed Shaiz Mohamer. His travel to the north had been arranged a long time ago and could not be postponed. For me it is indeed a unique occasion in the history of South Africa, more so to the oppressed people of South Africa, that the formation of the UDF and its launching is like a dream come true.

(clapping of hands)

People, people of all walks of life have come together for the first time to stress their disapproval of the South African situation in which the people find themselves. In particular the

.....

Hoornhof Bills and the so-called New Dispensation for the so-called Coloured and Indians by introdu- introducing a Presidents Council. This gathering despite all the hardship and difficulties which we the oppressed face, shows the power of humanity, the noble creation of God, the children of Adam. Whom the Almighty Allah describes in the Holy Koran.

75 (reads verse 70 in foreign language)

We have honoured the sons of Adam, provided them with strength, food on land and sea. Given them for sustenance things good and pure and prepared and conferred on them special favours, special favours, thus.

What we- what is seen here today felt and expect is the answer to that built in instinct of honour and nobility which Allah has bestowed upon us. The verse makes it clear that this honour that was bestowed upon us. Oh! the children of Adam was no different between one nation and the other thus establishing the oneness of mankind, almighty Allah says that he has created nations and tribes so that they should know each other, <sup>so that they should co-operate</sup> ~~not that they should~~ hate and despise each other. And the most noble and honoured of Allah (inaudible) ... by Allah are those who had more piety who loved and feared Allah. Allah who is God. Who are adhering to all his teachings and who follow the traditions of Mohammed (inaudible). Allah (foreign language) ... but the reward - but for a reward on the day of judgement. Allah says "Oh! mankind they have created you from one single fair of male and female and made you into nations and tribes so that ye may know each other, not that ye may despise each other. Verily the most honoured of you by Allah is he who has more piety in Allah. As for as the prophet Mohammed he has said (foreign language)..... Adam is from sand and dust. There is no preference of an Arab above a non-Arab. That in his piety, piety to the Holly Allah. Here again the prophet Mahomed peace may - peace be upon him - expressive, the unity of mankind. Not one nation created from the head and the other created from the toe, as we were made to believe. It is also the right of the children of Adam, to demand justice and equality. The prophet was ordered in the Koran to ruel with justice. (inaudible) The great honour of the son of (inaudible) has said "How can you oppress and enslave people when

.....

their mothers has given birth to them and brought them into this world as free people.

121 (clapping of hands)

Shaik : Amandla! (Power)

Crowd : Awethu!(is ours)

Shaik : Amandla!

Awethu !

This .... this, on the basis of this we are committed religiously from an Islamic point of view to associate ourselves with the oppressed to assist in bringing about a just society. Let it be said here today clear and now as South Africans. We demand changes, not cosmetic changes.

Crowd : Yes! (clapping)

We demand the restorations of the rights with which we were born with and, the abolishment of the homelands. We demand freedom of movement and the abolishment of all the pass rules. We appose, we appose with all our means. Apartheid, segregation, seperate development and any other name for oppression - We appose apartheid in its total because it is anti-religious.

Crowd : Yes !!!! (clapping)

The establishing of a democratic government. We demand the establishing of a democratic govern-, government, representing all the people, by the people, anything short of this will be non-democratic and anti-democratic and as such will be unacceptable. We have been divided for too long, brothers and sisters.

(clapping of hands)

Our success and our survival depends on our unity. We owe this to our children and grandchildren.

Crowd : Yes!! (clapping)

So that our children and our grandchildren to come will be proud of what we have done, not only today but when we are called in the future to sacrifice for the freedom of South Africa.

Audience: Yes!! (clapping)

Shaik : Amandla!

Crowd : Awethu!

Shaik : Amandla!

Crowd : Awethu!

Male voice : Nayibuye!

Crowd : I'Africa (X5) (Africa come back)

.....

Male voice : An injury to one!

Crowd : An injury to all!

185 Song : (as attached)

Amandla Awethu

Speaker : Now I am calling upon comrade Aubrey Mokoena.

(clapping)

Aubrey : Thank you Mr. Chairman, comrades, I greet you all in the mighty name of liberation. I say to you all, Amandla!

Crowd : Awethu!

Crowd : Mayibuye I'Africa

Brothers and sisters we are gathered here the very great occasion. My speech was supposed to be very long but because I emphasized the fact you have been here the whole day being strained, I am going to try and be very, very brief without sacrificing my message to you. I think we are all gathered here this afternoon, late this afternoon to come and look at the struggle from a broad perspective. I am bringing you greetings from the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal. Incidentally on the fourth of this month, September. In September we will be launching an enormous campaign to shout and say that Mandela and all the comrades must be released. (crowd cheer) Eh, as I am talking to you this afternoon, this late evening, I am having a true feeling of Robert Mugabe when he was addressing large crowds (inaudible) in Zimbabwe and this is indicative, this is a foretaste of things to come. We can see that Black people are keen to have liberation. Black people will stop at nothing to be free and we must all congratulate the committee that has made this occasion very very successful. Because without them we'd never be here. (clapping - cheering)

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195 And this whole organisation is going to be a lesson to all the branches of UDF throughout the country to see what we mean by a efficient organisation. We are all gathered here as men and women coming from different walks of life, various organisations, community - eh - development organisations, civic bodies, <sup>churches</sup> ~~service~~, education, sporting, people from the sporting field, we are all forming enormous rally at this historic occasion, and we are not going to go back. Its far where we come from and its near where we are going to. (cheering) Comrades, comrades at this juncture I ask

TAPE 2 : SIDE 2

165 SONG:-

LEADER:- Hantse i U.D.F. Bo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Siyaya  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Siyaya  
AUD.:- Siyaya noma Kunjani  
LEADER:- Washo No Archie Bo  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Siyaya  
AUD.:- Siyaya  
LEADER:- Siyaya Noma Ku (inaudible)



TAPE 2 : SIDE 2

165 SONG:

LEADER : HERE IS THE U.D.F. HEY

AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING

LEADER : WE ARE GOING

AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING

LEADER : WE ARE GOING

AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING NO MATTER WHAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES ARE

LEADER : EVEN ACCORDING TO ARCHIE HEY

AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING

LEADER : WE ARE GOING

AUDIENCE : WE ARE GOING

LEADER : WE ARE GOING EVEN IF (INAUDIBLE)

215 you to be patient with me, just a few minutes, few seconds of your time. We all belong to different religious exposals of persuasions but we all agree that we are all children of God. We have been created in his image and likeness and God does not want to see what is heppening. God does not like what is happening and as we congregate here like a B-I-G avalanche like a big glazier which is going down the big mountain of apartheid to erode it inexorably. We must remember, (clapping) We must remember our leaders on Robben Island and we must pray, but when we pray, we mustn't do like the missionaries who said we must close our eyes and look up, in the mean-time they pull the land beneath our feet. (shouts and clapping). I would like to call upon you as you pray as revolutionaries with your eyes w= open, wide open because I believe we can never win the struggle unless God is amongst us.

(cheering)

And, the God I am talking about is not a God who, who, who, who, who is an accomplice to oppression, its not a God who just ignores things to happening. But the God of liberation as we have heard this afternoon and are, are still going to hear.

I would like us to pray for Nelson Mandela, I would like us to pray for all his comrades whose friends are the sharks and the whales of the Benguela current. I would like us to pray for all the people who have been detained. I would like us to pray for all the people who have been banished. I would like us to pray for all the people who are standing trial because of the unjust laws of this country, and who are being tried for their convictions. I would like us to pray for those people who are in exile and I beseech you to pray with your eyes wide open as revolutionaries. I would like us to pray for people who are being im-prisoned. I would like us to pray for the people who died for in the struggle of liberation for the blood that was shed from the insepction of the conflict three hundred and thirty one years ago.

Right coming through the ages culminating in 1976 when the youth said, "Enough was enough". The youth said enough was enough and that blood which was shed is surely going to irrigate the tree of freedom.

(cheering, clapping)

Why are we gathering here this afternoon this late evening? We are gathered, gathered here because of the conflict of dehumanisation of our people. We are gathered here because of, of the dis-possession and the bulkanisation of our land. We are gathered here because our people have been disenfranchised and Africa, Africa when you look at it, is geographically formed and shaped

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like a question mark (shouting) and, and it is from the Southern tip of this question mark that the whole salvation of mankind is going to come. Evidently, brothers and sisters, the whole globe is divided into two hemispheres. The Eastern block and the Western block and the biggest crate is justice. Here the Western power wants to grab their own justice. They want to subject us to perpetual servitude and the Eastern block, the Eastern hemisphere is saying no to human injustice.

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Crowd : No!!

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No to human injustice, brothers and sisters, the buffer State of South Africa has collapsed. There was a time when - eh - the racist regime here was saying that the status quo was going to continue for a long time because they had the Portugese Mozambique pushing them on the East and they had Ian Smith pushing them north and they had Angola pushing them on the other side but then all those buffer states have collapsed and the truth is now emerging and the moral of the people is coming up, is being boosted and nothing is going to stop us from being free. Amandla Awethu. Amandla Ngawethu! Amandla Ngawethu. We have a number of problems but the big problem is apartheid.

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What is apartheid? Apartheid is a like big cancer, Apartheid is like leprosy that is growing the human race and that is gnawing the human race. The, the, the regime is talking of total strategy and total onslaught, and we are here under the banner of UDF to galvanise our forces to move forward, like an enourmous force to say no to the Koornhof Bill, to say no to the constitutional laws and to say no to the pseudo dispensation, this is not a dispensation whatsoever, it is taking us back to the dark ages.

284

It is not a new dispensation but is the ushering of the dark ages brothers and sisters,

Crowd : Yes!

and there are not a reforms but pseudo reform, false reforms that the government is <sup>trying</sup> ~~training~~ to institute in order to poliate, in order to make us sleep. We shall not sleep. The big giant of Afrika is flexing its muscles, its rising in hope and is going ahead inexorably to the goal of, of eh liberation. We cannot have a struggle within a struggle. Everybody is invited to come under the big umbrella of UDF.

There are pepple who, who want to establish small principalities.

Time and again they raise their little umbrellas and say "come under my umbrella".

Next week someone is going to open an umbrella and say, "come under my umbrella".

We say No! We do not want to be fragmented.

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There is power in the struggle in any struggle. Don't forget that there is power, and even in our case we have this problem of apartheid and in this form of apartheid there is power.

The power is there to unite us, the power is there to unite us and we cannot allow ourselves to be fragmented further by indulging in (inaudible) squabbles. We cannot have a struggle within a struggle. Some people are trying to make a struggle to have concentric circles. We are not going to allow that, and UDF is opening its doors to welcome everybody, promote, persuasion to come and join the big march towards liberation.

Brothers and sisters the struggle is marching on, the struggle is moving on but it is not important to have demogogs, it is not important to have rhetoric. What is important is to have a definite program of action for the future.

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What are we going to do? What are we going to do? We must address ourselves to this whole question here. UDF, in order to be meaningful, must be action orientated. UDF must be action orientated. We must move from this place here. This is a whole battery that is charging us. We have come back here to come and energise ourselves and to charged as the terminals of this battery and then we go back to our places to form branches of UDF throughout the country. We go back to build the image of UDF. We go back to popularise UDF. We go back to set up meaningful community development projects that are going to improve the quality of the lives of the people. That are going to show the people that there is hope at the end of the tunnel. The resolutions that we have taken must be fully implemented with dedication and with genuineness and finally in order to exort you, I would like to say that the gospel of UDF must be <sup>preached</sup> seen to all the ends of the country and indeed go overseas, and we say we are united if we are united we are going to stand, if we are divided we are going to fall. And sooner, very soon, the gates of Robben Island are going to open, the gates of Pollsmoor are going to open.

(cheering)

.....

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1/10/87

The time is near, I cannot, I cannot quantify because time is a continuing, but the ideal deep down in my heart brothers and sisters, the day is near when the gates of Robben Island are going to be flung wide open, when the day, gates of all the jails, when the fence of the border, the gates of the borders are going to collapse and all our sisters and brothers who were forced into exile are going to come back and we are going to say "free at last". We are going to say we are free at last. And we move exorably, because only the truth shall set us free. Those men and women are one day going the streets of Cape Town, they are going to walk the streets of Durban, they are going to walk the streets of Bloemfontein, Durban, Pretoria and Johannesburg and govern the country. The people shall govern. (cheering and clapping)

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344 Unknown Black Male: Eh, I stand in remembrance of a guerilla.

A person who has laid down his life for no salary.

Now is the time

Now is the time to review the burden of soil of Nature ringed by the winds of time.

Now is the time

Now is the time to disentangle the vilification That have set the planets of humanity apart

Now is the time

Now is the time to commence the <sup>litany</sup> (~~inaudible~~) of hope

Now is the time to vomit back the remains of fascism to the bucket of imperialism

Now is the time (shouting)

Now is the time to give me roses, keep them not for my grave, to come give them time

While my heart beats

Give them to me whilst my heart yearns for jubilee

356 Now is the time

Now, now is the time to treasure the thorns of slavery, To keep them for my grave to come

Where my struggling body will struggle no more

Neither thorns nor roses will affect the rest

Now is the time

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Now is the time to ally the heroic action against the anarchic  
notions of injustice

Now is the time

Now is the time to blot out the pillars of Madison

Now is the time

Now is the time to vili.....

Now is the time to dismantle the vilification  
that set the fate of humanity apart

Now is the time

Now is the time to violate the eleventh commandment

For tomorrow is tomorrow's imminent conflict  
(shouting)

Now is the time

Oh, listen, I am the voice of anger

Listen to the voice of anger

I am the anger

There to monitor the art of violin

and never abandon chance-otic ideas at the expense

of others for compromise the song of rebels and circumlocution

is the locution of covenants in the galloping flash of colonialism

Now is the time

(clapping, cheering)

This, this is the lost voice of anger

Retrenched, unshamed, conflagration in the lazzos of Italiane

(phonetic)

Then the titles of dignities is restored

Conciliations tranquille the sounds of thunder

When hostilities dispersees brannities in tatters.

Hence drums in the blood of vengeance like drying waters  
in the rivers of time

This is the international voice of anger

Approaching to delete the world hallucination

Against the tragedies of Britirical trade

in their meetings of minds

Multitudes engulfed Americans stance of plunder,

The vicious symbols of World's massacre in Vietnam

...../

This is the voice of anger  
(cheering)

This is the voice of anger  
(cheering)

This is the voice of anger not to resist opposition all it see  
afflame like iron into the acid of time

Fire is consciously necessary to mutilate the bones of  
hypocrisy and paralyse (in audible) aggravated by the notions  
of Western barbarism

This is the voice of anger.  
(shouting)

This is the international voice of anger

This is the international voice of the people  
Humanistically based on merit, Accelerating judgement,  
Years to emerge so as to hoist the crown of victory  
and (in audible) the implication of arcism  
For redemption is life in the valley of death.

*Aansighing  
for  
9 wallers*

Neutrals are a danger in the road

Neutrals are a danger in the road

Onlookers are like (in audible) on the journey to freedom

Onlookers are like (in audible) on the journey to freedom

That was national voice of anger and that elected defective  
man to the vote of hell

That was the national voice of anger

That elected vote that defected man to the vote of hell

Ah tripple if you are massacre-ing my land

Ah tripple if you are massacre-in\_ my land

Tripple if you are massacre-ing my land

When I cry for anger, anger is the reaction

One man is universally admired, another is condemned

When I appeal for, for our fool, our anger is the reaction

I am not what you thing I am

I place the hook to feel the fish

I place the worm to catch the fish

Give the fish what it wants, to get it out of the river

And give me what I want in order to have me next to you

Maybe antagonism shall end

...../

and co-operation shall rise

(shouting and clapping)

For I am not what you think I am (noise)

Why know the truth tripple M

Why distort the truth eh tripple M

You are massacre-ing my land

Mangope, Matanzima, Mphephu

You are massacre-ing my land (noise)

Black male : Amandla

Crowd : Awethu

*Teen*

421

Unknown speaker : I am going to call upon <sup>Mrs. Rose</sup> (~~inaudible~~) to come forward a, a, short message anyway.

Unknown speaker : The chairman and the house, the first place I want to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome each and everyone to the peoples parliament. This is the peoples parliament United to the Democratic Front. I wish to call it one day United Democratic Peoples Parliament. Mr. Chairman I know that we are pressed for time at the same time I wish to say this (inaudible) for a manifestation for the brotherhood of mankind which was stated and relayed to us this day. I am supposed to speak to you about organisations but as I stand here today I have stood twenty seven years ago as a young man in Kliptown and there the flame of freedom was lit in the form of the Freedom Charter, and people came from the farms and from everywhere and we know that today we have before us in this parliament of the White regime, a constitution which are being proposed for people. What I want to say here that 27 years ago that our leaders have forseen the need for a constitution for the <sup>future</sup> people and there they have drawn up the Freedom Charter. (clapping)

Mr. Chairman and the house, I have heard many slogans being shouted here today but I dare wish to say, that slogans will not bring us freedom. I want to thank my comrades which have just said that we have come here to be charged as batteries to go back to our organisations to build our organisations, to strengthen our organisations and to build up the formation right through the country. The flame of freedom has been lit 27 years ago and the fruits of that flame is here today our organisers who have been banned in the past. The banning couldn't flicker out the flame of freedom. It's alive and well.

..... 45/



Crowd : Yes!!

Meneer die voorsitter, dames en here, ek wil graag 'n beroep doen op ons mense. Ek wil graag een punt aanhaal voor ek afsluit in verband met hierdie voorstelle van die regering. In 1936 het die regering gekom met wetgewing om die sogenaamde Bantu van die stemlys af te haal. To remove his freehold property rights, en het vir ons mense die Kleurlinge gesê, "Your vote is entrenched". En onse leiers van destyds, of sekere van hulle het saam gestem en saam gegaan soos wat 'n David Curry en Allen Hendrikse saangaan.

Gehoor : Ja.

En 'n paar jaar - today toe kom hulle na ons toe terug en toe vat ons eiendom weg toe vat hulle onse stemreg weg.

Laat ons nie weer dieselfde fout begaan nie wat ons in die verlede begaan het nie mense. Laat ons kom soos wat ons vandag gedoen het, reg deur die land van onse geboorte en laat ons gaan en organiseer vir vryheid in ons organisasies, onse skole en onse kerke. Ek is dankbaar om te kan sien dit is waarlik 'n historiese geleentheid omdat dit groot kerkmanne wat vandag hierdie verhoog met my deel is Allen <sup>Boesak</sup> ~~Baard~~ en in die (inaudible) en vele wat in die gehoor is vandag. Dit tyd is beperk en ek wil graag nogtans een beroep op ons mense doen in verband met die "constitutional proposals". U weet ons het tot Dr. No, Dr. Treurnicht wat ons 'n "homeland" wil gee en dan het ons weer op die anderkant Mr. Chris Heuningnes (laughter) eh, wat vir ons 'n kombuis parlement wil gee (laughter). Nou dit was alreeds gesê deur die ander sprekers en ek wil nie myself herhaal nie, maar daars een ding wat ons moet nie uit die oog uit verloor nie. Daars van ons mense wat sê ons wil nie Dr. No se homelands hê nie maar daars ander wat wil sê Mr. Heuningnes se kombuis parlement hê. Nou laat ek net sê voor ek afsluit dat die kombuis parlement is alreeds 'n homeland want groepsgebiede bly en daardie kombuis parlement gaan die regering wees oor die kombuis parlement. Ons sien wat gebeur in die Ciskei met sekere van dis wat David Curry en Alan Hendrikse met julle sal maak, so gaan terug mense en organiseer teen die kombuis parlement. (clapping)

Power, Power to you Mr. Chairman. Power to the people.

Speaker: Thank you very much.

577 (whisper) there's no volume. Why?

Whisper (x6)

(inaudible) it seems to be messing up

Ear to mike ... Ear (X3)

Mike (X2)

Hallo

(whistle)

(inaudible) carry on

(inaudible)

I think (inaudible)

carry on recording till end. Sorry (inaudible)

Right now (inaudible)

(whistling)

How do you spell 'Khayalitsha'

K-H-A-Y-...(inaudible)

Nice in the sun, Eh.

It's lovely

(inaudible)

Yes ...

(truck passing)

(truck passing)

(laughing)

"I thought about it but I can't place..."

} ±  
↓

Af/raan  
aandebrekung  
wat is' makke  
geplaat kom wra

↓

/Coe pausen

Hierdie deel hou  
blykbaar nie verband  
met die 'reparasie'  
nie ABD 6.1 p 3  
lees 590

END OF TAPE 2 SIDE 2 (PART 4)

PAGE 2 - SIDE 1

001 (Audience chants) BOESAK, BOESAK, BOESAK. (repeatedly)  
Song in Zulu (as attached)  
(One person from the audience shouted)"Amandla"

Audience: Awethu!

Amandla: }  
Awethu: } X3

Mayibuye

Audience: I'Afrika

Mayibuye

Audience: I'Afrika

014 Allan Boesak : Mr. Chairman, before I begin, I have a message from the South African Council of Churches which sends its support and its solidarity with United Democratic Front and a message from Bishop Desmond Tutu.

(cheering, clapping)

Speaker: The United ..... (break in recording) (Song inaudible)

021 Boesak : Okay, Okay. Thank you.

(Shouts of Amandla Awethu)

Can I start now.

032 Mr. Chairman, distinguished platform guests, Ladies and Gentlemen; We have arrived at a historic moment and we have brought together today under the aegis of the United Democratic Front, the broadest and most significant coalition of groups, organisations struggling against apartheid racism and injustice since the early 1950's.

040 We have been able to create a unity amongst freedom loving people in this country that we have not seen for many a year and I am particularly happy to note that this meeting is not merely a gathering of loose individuals. No we represent organisations deeply rooted in the struggle for justice, deeply rooted in the heart of our people.

(Person from audience shouts 'Give him a hand') (clapping)

Indeed, I believe, I believe we are standing at the birth of what could become the greatest and most significant peoples movement in more than a quarter of a century. We are here to say that the government's constitutional proposals are inadequate and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South Africa's people, (shouts) but more than that we are here to say that what we are calling for, is one undivided South Africa which shall be

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

SONG:- 3

LEADER:- Somlandela  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Inaudible  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela  
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu  
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

SONG:

LEADER : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : INAUDIBLE  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : OUR GUIDE  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : OUR GUIDE  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM (X3)  
 LEADER : OUR GUIDE  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM (X8)  
 LEADER : EVEN IF HE IS IMPRISONED  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : EVEN IF HE IS IMPRISONED  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : EVEN IF HE IS IMPRISONED  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : EVEN IF HE IS IMPRISONED  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : OUR GUIDE  
 AUDIENCE : WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM  
 LEADER : EXCHANGE REPEATED (X2)



struggling for the future of our children, we shall never give up. (cheer) In all this brothers and sisters, those in power in this country have made the fundamental mistake all totalitarian regimes who do not depend on the loyalty of the people, but on the power of the gun make. They have not reckoned with the determination of the people to be free because they depend on propaganda on deceit and ~~coercion~~ <sup>COERCION</sup>. They have forgotten that no lie can live for ever, and that the fear of the gun is always overcome by the longing for freedom. (shouting "Dis die waarheid".) They have forgotten that it remains true; You can kill the body but you can never kill the spirit and the determination of a people. (shouting) The most immediate reason for our coming together here today is the continuation of the governments apartheid policies as seen in the constitutional proposals and in recent weeks some people have asked me in the newspapers with more urgency than before and I am sure this question has been put to you as well. Why don't you see the positive side of apartheid. (shouting) Now, Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters, when you are White and when your children's education is guaranteed and paid for by the State, when your job is secured and Blacks are prevented from being too much competition, when your home has never been taken away and your citizenship of the country of your birth is not in danger, and when your children don't have to die of hunger and malnutrition, and when your over privileged position is guaranteed by security laws and the best equipped army on the continent; then I can understand why some people believe that apartheid has its positive sides. (shouting) But for those of us who are Black and for those of us who suffer under the system, there is no positive side. (shouts) How can we see something positive in a system which is built on oppression, injustice and exploitation.

What is positive about a system which destroys systematically and by design. The human dignity of people which makes as irrelevant and unimportant a thing as the colour of one's skin the precious of society and the key to the understanding of human relationship, political participation and economic justice. How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it enforces policies which causes little children to die of hunger

...../

and which break up Black family life and which spoil out the conditions of existence of millions of Black people. (shouting) We can't afford to go back to the old system of South African education designed for the chains of subordination and the part in the chains of fear and even so we think that some of our white people in this country to realize that their destiny is inextricably bound with us, (shouting and clapping) and that they shall never <sup>be</sup> free until we are free and I, (shouts) cannot be so happy that so many of our white brothers and sisters are saying that today by their presence here among us. (shouts)

For it is true Mr. Chairman, people who think that their security and peace lie in the perpetuation of intimidation, dehumanisation and violence are not free, and they will never <sup>be</sup> free as long as they have to kill our children in order to safeguard their over privileged position (shouts) and they shall never be free as long as they have to lie awake at night worrying whether a Black government will one day do the same to them as they are doing to us. (shouts) But I must also go on to ask the question, What is positive about the government's constitutional proposals? (Shouts of 'nothing')

164 In order, in order that there should be no misunderstanding, let me as clearly and as briefly as possible repeat the reasons why we reject these proposals. Racism so firmly embedded in South African Society is once again written into the constitution. All over the world people are beginning to recognise that racism is politically untenable sociologically unsound and morally un-  
 172 acceptable, but in this country the doctrine of racial supremacy although condemned by most churches in South Africa as and idolatry is once again enshrined in the constitution as the basis upon which to build a further development of our society and the maturing of human relationships. (shouts)  
 Secondly all the basic apartheid laws, those laws which are the very pillars of the system, indeed those laws without which apartheid cannot survive. Mixed marriages, group areas, racial classification, separate non-equal education to name but a few, remains untouched and unchanged.

...../



180 Now I don't know what Minister Piik Bokor has said about the kind of  
marriages that will be changed. (Laughing) I do not know how you  
can change a line like that, you either abolish it or it remains  
on the statute book, (laughs) unless, unless of course brothers  
and sisters, the Minister means that now that we are prohibited  
Black and White from marrying one another. The new law that will  
be changed, will maybe mean we can hug and kiss a little bit,  
(laughs) and even so the minister knows that he is fooling nobody,  
but another reason why we reject these proposals is that the home-  
192 land policy which is surely the most immoral and in-objectable  
aspect of the apartheid policies of the government forms the basis  
of the wilfull exclusion of 80% of our nation from the new politi-  
cal deal. Indeed in the words of the proposals of the President  
Council the homeland policy is to be regarded as irreversible. I  
am sure our African brothers and sisters will be driven even fur-  
ther into the wilderness of homeland <sup>politics</sup> policies, millions will have  
to find their political rights in the independence of those  
bush republics and millions more will continue to lose their  
South African citizenship and millions more will be forcibly re-  
moved from their homes into the dessolution of resettlements camps.  
204 Clearly the oppression will continue. The brutal break up of  
Black family life will not end. The apartheid line is not at all  
abolished, it is simply shifted so as to include those so-called  
Coloureds and Indians who are willing to co-operate with the go-  
vernment and not only is the present system of the apartheid  
given more elasticity making fundamental change even harder than  
before, but in the new proposals the dream of democracy to which  
211 we strive, is further <sup>eroded</sup> ~~eroded~~ and so while the proposals may mean  
something for those middle class Blacks who think that the im-  
provement of their own economic position is the highest good, it  
will not bring any significant change to the life of those who  
have no rights at all. Who must languish in the poverty and des-  
titution of the homelands and who are forbidden by law to live  
together as families and in what is called White South Africa,  
and it cannot be repeated often enough that all South Africans  
who love this country and who care for its future Black and White,  
Jew and Gentile Christian and Muslim have no option but to reject

...../

222 these proposals. (shouting + clapping) We must say as clearly and  
as unequivocally as we can. Apartheid is a cancer in the body,  
politic of the world, a scourge in our society and a never lasting  
shame to the church of Jesus Christ in this world and in this  
country. (shouts) Apartheid exists only because of economic  
greed, of cultural chauvinism of political oppression maintained  
by both estenic and physical violence and false sense of racial  
superiority and therefore we must resist it. We must resist it  
because it is in fundamental opposition to the nobles principles  
of our Judea Christian heritage and of the Muslim faith. We must  
resist it because it is the fundamental denial of all that is  
236 worthwhile and human in our society. It is the opposition to  
the will of God for this country, and we must resist it because  
it is claimed to be Christian apartheid, is a blasphemy, ideola-  
tory and a heresy. (shouting and clapping)

241 To be sure the new proposals will make apartheid less blatant in  
some ways. It will be modernised and it will be streamlined and  
in its new multicoloured cloak, it will be less conspicuous and  
less offensive to some, but nonetheless it will be there and we  
must remember apartheid is a thoroughly evil system and as such  
it cannot be modified, modernised or streamlined. It has to be  
irrevocably eradicated, (clapping) and we must continue the strug-  
gle until that day shall dawn when apartheid shall exist no more,  
and so to those who ask the question, "Why we are not satisfied?",  
and when we shall be satisfied?. We must say in clear patient  
terms, we shall not be satisfied as long as injustice reigns su-  
preme on the throne of our land. We shall not be satisfied as  
257 long as those who rule us are not inspired by justice but dicta-  
ted to by fear, greed and racialism. We shall not be satisfied  
until South Africa is one undivided country, a land where there  
shall be meaningful participation in a democratic process in a govern-  
ment for all its people. (shouts) (clapping)

We shall not be satisfied until the wealth and riches of this  
country are shared by all. We shall not be satisfied until jus-  
tice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty  
stream. (clapping)

267 Now we must turn to one other important question namely the question of Whites and Blacks working together. This has been mentioned that the reason why the United Democratic Front has been so severely attacked by some and feared by other and why some have refused to give us their co-operation.

274 They are saying to us that White people cannot play a meaningful role in the struggle for justice in this country because they are allways by definition the oppressor, because the oppression of our people wears a white face, because the laws are made by a White government, because we are suffering so much unresistant created and maintained by White people. They say there can be no

282 co-operation between White and Black until all of this is changed. I would like to say to those who think this way that I and we all understand the way they feel, we have seen with our own eyes the brutalisation of our people at the hands of Whites. We have seen and experienced Police brutallity. We have experienced the viciousness and the violence of apartheid, we have been trampled on for so long, but we must also say that is is not true that apartheid has the support of all Whites people. There are those who have struggled with us, who have gone to jail, who have been tortured and banned and there are those who have died in the struggle for justice and one of them has spoken to us today and we must not allow our anger which is legitimite for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred for all White people.

Audience : Yes (clapping)

Let us not build our struggle upon hatred and let us not seek to quench our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness. Let us even now seek to lay the foundations for reconcilliation between White and Black in this country by working together, by praying together and by struggling together for justice, and if we cannot do it now, we will not be able to do it one day.

(cheering, clapping)

Now the nature and the quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin, but rather by the quality of our commitment to justice, peace and human liberation and the final analysis judgement will be given not in terms of Whiteness or Blackness, whatever the ideological contents of those

right and we shall continue to do so until justice and peace and grace and South Africa becomes a country it was meant to be.

(shouts) In the meantime brothers and sisters, let me - as I have done before remind you of three little words that I think we ought to hold on to as we continue the struggle. And these are three little words that express do eloquently our seriousness in the struggle. You do not need to have a vast vocabulary to understand them. You do not need a philosophical (inaudible) to grasp

371

them. They are just three little words and the first word is the word, "ALL" We ~~meant~~<sup>want</sup> all of our rights. Not just some rights, we want not just a few token hand out here and there that the government sees fit to give. We want all of our rights. We want all of South Africa's people to have their rights not just a selected few, not just a few so called Coloureds and Indians, after they have been made honorary Whites. (laughing and clapping)

382

We want all of our rights for all South Africa's people including those whose citizenship has already been shipped away by this government.

The second word is the word "Here". We want all of our rights and we want them here in a united and undivided South Africa. (shouts) I can hear the government saying that some of us must find our rights with Mr. Mphahlele and Mr. Mathanzima and Mr. Mangope in the homelands,

Audience: No!

and there was the time when we could hear voices telling us "You cannot be free" in South Africa, so emigrate to Canada and the United States and England and Australia but in this country we are saying something else now. We are saying that we want our rights in this country which is the country of our birth, and we do not want them in the impoverished homelands, we do not want them in our separate little group areas, we want them here in this land which one day we shall once again call our own.

396

(Interruption. Women's voice - Testing, testing, testing.)

402

The third word is the word "Now". (shouts)

We want all of our rights and we want them here and we want them now. (shouts)

We, we have been waiting for too long. We have been struggling for too long and now I hear people admonishing us saying, "You are in too much of a hurry", can't you see that the government is making progress. There are changes on the way and they are say-

*state government selfe now  
wat "state  
gedan lek*

ing that we must be a little patient and that we must cool off,  
but I fear that if we keep on cooling off we may end up in a  
418 deep freeze (shouts) and the world knows, the world knows that  
we have been patient, we have waited for many years, we have  
pleaded, we have tried, we have petitioned for so long, we have  
been jailed and exiled and killed for so long now, but we are  
saying today, "Now is the time"(shouts) and as we struggle re-  
member the change does not roll on the wheels of never inevita-  
bility. It comes through the tireless efforts of those who are  
willing to work hard and those who are willing to be co-workers  
with God, and those who are willing to take the risk of fighting  
431 for freedom, democracy and human dignity and as we struggle on  
let us continue to sing that wonderful hymn of freedom, that hymn  
that has sustained us through all those years and shall sustain  
us for the years to come, let us continue to sing, "Nkosi Sikelela  
I Africa" (shouts) (God bless Africa)

438 I know, I know that today we are still singing that hymn with tears  
in our eyes, we are singing it while we are bowed down by the  
weight of oppression and while we are battered by the winds of in-  
justice, we are singing it while our old people languish in reset-  
tlement camps, and our children are dying of hunger, we are singing  
it now while we suffer under the brutallity of apartheid and while the  
blood of our children are calling us, calling to God from the  
streets of our nation, but <sup>we</sup> ~~all~~ must work for that day when we shall  
sing this hymn when we are free. We shall sing it on that day  
when our children shall no longer be judged by the colour of their  
skin but by the humanness of their character. We shall sing it on that  
day when here in the country in Johannesburg and Cape Town and Port  
Elizabeth and Durban. The sanctity of marriage and family life  
456 shall be respected and no law shall require of man to put asunder  
what God has joined together. We shall sing it on that day when  
in this <sup>rich</sup> ~~sick~~ land no child shall die of hunger and no infant shall  
die untimely and our elderly shall close their eyes in peace and  
the wrinkled stomachs of our children shall be filled with food  
just as their life shall be filled with meaning and we shall sing  
it on that day when we here in South Africa White and Black will  
have learned to love one another and work together in building a

...../

(19)  
24/8

truly good and beautiful land and so with this faith we shall  
yet be able to give justice and peace on the throne of our land  
with this faith we shall yet be able to see beyond the darkness  
of our present into the bright <sup>glittering</sup> gathering daylight or our future,  
with this faith we shall be able to speed up the day when all of  
South Africa's children will <sup>embrace</sup> ~~embrace~~ with each other and sing  
with new meaning, "Ekosi Sikeleli I Africa" (God bless Africa).  
Guide her rulers, bless her children,  
Give her peace,  
God bless you.

479 Audience chant : Boesak, Boesak, Boesak (repeatedly)  
(clapping hands and whistling)

Person shouts : "Amandla" and the audience responded shouting,  
"Awethu"

Amandla - Power  
Awethu - is ours

Person made a request :- Ake nime kancaneke, kanime njalo.  
Just hold there!  
Will you wait a bit  
Keep waiting.

Speaker : Ladies and gentlemen, you remember the United Democratic  
Front started off by a stirring call by Allan Boesak, so I think  
it's fitting that he should end tonight's proceedings by reading the  
declaration of the United Democratic Front and by which people ad-  
here to the principle and join the UDF.

498 Allan Boesak.  
(shouting)

Audience chant : Boesak, Boesak, Boesak, (repeatedly)

Boesak :

Brothers and sisters the declaration of the United Democratic  
Front -

507 We the freedom loving people of South Africa say with one voice  
to the whole world that we cherish the vision of the United Demo-  
cratic South Africa based on the will of the people. We will  
strive for the unity of all our people through united action  
against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of  
exploitations, and in our march to a free and just South Africa.  
We are guided by these noble ideals. We stand for the creation

...../

of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country.

522 We stand for a single non-racial unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of Bantustan's and group areas. We say all forms of oppression and exploitation must end. In accordance with these noble ideals and on this 20th day of August, 1983 at Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchells Plein, we join hands as community, women's, students, religions, sporting and other organisations and trade unions to say 'No' to apartheid. We say 'No' to the Republic of South Africa constitution bill. A bill which would create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth. We say 'No' to the Koornhof's bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthrights. We say 'Yes' to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day. We know that the government is determined to break the unity of our people. We commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be.

548 In the cities and country-sides, the factories and the mines, schools and colleges, universities, housing and sports fields, churches and mosques and temples to fight for our freedom. We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to work together to organise and mobilise all community works, students, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front. To consult our people regularly and honestly and bravely and to strive to represent their views and aspirations to educate all about the coming dangers and the needs for unity. To build and strengthen all organisations of the people. To unite in action against these bills and other day to day problems affecting our people, and this last section, I would like you to read with me if you have it or repeat after me if you do not have it. (audience repeat words)

571 "And now therefore we pledge to come together in this United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof's bills."

Person : Amandla! (Power

Audience: Awethu! is ours)

Audience shouts repeatedly: Boesak, Boesak, Amandla Awethu  
(Power is ours)

...../

Speaker: Thank you, Thank you comrades. Thank you friends. We are asking you now to just bear with us as we explained to you the procedures from now onwards. Now we have one more item left from the agenda and that is the closing of this great meeting with our National Anthem, but before we do that we want to ensure the safety of everyone here. You know that we have showed a tremendous sign of discipline today. You know that today we have with us all people, mothers with their children, young children who had come to be with us today and I think that we would like to make it safe for them on their way home, as it has been safe for them to be with us today. And therefore we are going to appeal to you to please observe the following rules that we are going to leave. After the anthem is sung, the people in the hall must remain in the hall. You do not know but there are many, many thousands of people outside of this hall and in the tent behind us. We are going to allow ten minutes for those people to disperse and we will then give you the signal when you should leave. But then also we want you to note that when the people who are seated here on the higher part will leave first, and once they have cleared the hall, we are going to ask the comrades who are seated here in the middle to leave. In that way and with your co-operation we can ensure the safety of every person here, and now ladies and gentlemen, we have come to the end of this great day and before we sing the National Anthem, we are going to have a few announcements.

Speaker: The first announcement is that this historic day is the birthday of Mr. Kathrada. (cheering)

Mr. Kathrada is serving life imprisonment in Polsmoor at the moment and what greater birthday present than this show of Unity of the people.

(shouting) For member's then,

Speaker: Secondly for members of the press and executive, a press conference will be held in the hall across the road, half an hour after the people have dispersed.

National Anthem (As attached)

...../



642 SONG:-

Nkosi Sikelel 'i-Afrika  
Maluphakanyis 'uDumo Lwayo  
Yizwa Imithandazo Yethu  
Nkosi Sikelela  
Thina Lusapho Lwayo  
Nkosi Sikelel 'i-Afrika  
Maluphakanyis 'uDumo Lwayo  
Yizwa Imithandazo Yethu  
Nkosi Sikelela  
Thina Lusapho Lwayo  
Woza Moya  
Sikelela  
Nkosi Sikelela  
Woza Moya  
Sikelela  
Nkosi Sikelela  
Woza Moya Oyingwele  
Nkosi Sikelela  
Thina Lusapho Iwayo

Morena Boloka Setjhaba Sa Heso  
O Fedise Dintwa Le Matshwenyeho  
Morena Boloka Setjhaba Sa Heso  
O Fedise Dintwa Le Matshwenyeho  
O Se Boloke O Se Boloke  
O Se Boloke Morena, O Se Boloke  
Setjhaba Sa Heso  
Setjhaba Sa Heso  
O Se Bolokè Morena  
O Se Boloke Morena  
O Se Boloke, Setjhaba Sa Heso  
Setjhaba Sa Heso

642 SONG:

(THEY SING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM IN ZULU AND SOTHO.  
THIS FALLS OUTSIDE THE AMBIT OF TRANSLATION)

Translation.

God bless Africa  
Let its fame be held high.  
Hear our prayers  
God bless  
We its inhabitants  
God bless Africa  
Let its fame be held high  
Hear our prayers  
God bless  
we its inhabitants  
Come spirit come  
Bless.  
God bless  
Come holy spirit  
God bless  
We its inhabitants.

God bless our nation,  
Finish the wars and suffering,  
God bless our nation,  
Finish the wars and suffering,  
Save it, save it,  
Save it God, save it  
Our nation  
Our nation  
Save it God  
save it God  
save it, our nation  
our nation.

TAPE 3 - SIDE 2

001 Song: (last part of Skosi Likelele'i-Africa)  
Amandla!  
Audience: Awethu!  
Amandla!  
Audience: Awethu!  
Mayibuye  
Audience: I'Africa  
Mayibuye!  
Audience: I'Africa  
Chanting of - Oliver Tambo ( approx. X8)  
                  Joe Slovo (Approx. X2)  
                  Boesak (Approx. X3)  
Speaker: We remind you, we remind you that we will inform the  
people when you can leave. We ask you to sing. We ask you to  
sing for our freedom.

019 Song: (about Mandela - as attached)  
035 Amandla! (approx. x5)  
Audience: Awethu

037 Song: (as attached) (whistling and laughing inbetween)  
058 Amandla Awethu shouted inbetween song  
084 Song: (as attached)  
(shouting Amandla Awethu and other slogans )

090 Song: (as attached)  
118 Chanting: Oliver Tambo (x10)  
                  Boesak (x6)  
Speaker: Now thank you comrades  
(shouting - UDF repeatedly)

131 Speaker: Thank you, Thank you. We do appreciate, we do apprecia-  
te your co-operation. And now going to ask you, thank you com-  
rades, we are now going to ask people to move.  
Now remember, remember the people inside here, you can sing but  
the other people you must sing but you must also walk out towards  
the doors. (laughing)  
We will give you a farewell song, a farewell song for them.  
(shouts and whistling). Okay, please move out now.

139 Song: (inaudible)

...../

19 SONG:- Mandela : (inaudible) Freedom  
(Song in english but very inaudible)

34 SONG:- (accompanied with clapping)

Siphi isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Siphi isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Siphi isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
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Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso

84 cont: Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso isibham  
Naso isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
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Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham

84 cont: Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
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Naso Isibham e-Angola  
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Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham  
Naso Isibham e-Angola  
Awuze Naso Isibham

90 SONG:- (Inaudible)  
Yimbi Lendawo Ngakumbi  
Lendawo Yimbi Lendawo

(Accompanied by clapping and the ululating of women).

Wo Holo Holo Sabatha  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo

Wo Ngiyamfun'uMandela  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo

Wo Sesiphethwe  
Ngamagxagxa  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Yeyi Maqabane  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo

Yeyi Sesiphethwe (inaudible)  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Yeyi Maqabane  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo  
(Inaudible)  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo

Siyabafun'oJoe Slovo  
Yimbi Lendawo  
We Maqabane  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo  
(inaudible)  
Yimbi Lendawo

90 cont: Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo  
(Inaudible)  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo  
  
Siyabafuna Baniangi  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo  
  
Siyabafun'abaholi  
Yimbi Lendawo  
Ngakumbi Lendawo  
Yimbi Lendawo.



SONG:

MANDELA: (INAUDIBLE) FREEDOM  
(SONG IN ENGLISH BUT VERY INAUDIBLE)

84 SONG: (ACCOMPANIED WITH CLAPPING)

WHERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
COME WITH IT (X3)  
THERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
COME WITH IT (X11)

84 cont. THERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
COME WITH IT (X16)

84 cont. THERE IS THE GUN IN ANGOLA  
COME WITH IT (X10)

TAPE 3 : SIDE 2

90 SONG:

THIS IS PARTICULARLY BAD (X2)  
WO MOLO MOLO SABATHA  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
PARTICULARLY THIS PLACE  
IS BAD THIS PLACE  
WO I WANT MANDELA  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
THIS PLACE IN PARTICULAR  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
  
WO WE ARE NOW CONTROLLED  
BY POOR WHITES  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
HEY MAQABANE  
PARTICULARLY THIS PLACE  
IS BAD THIS PLACE  
  
HEY WE ARE NOT CONTROLLED  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
HEY MAQABANE  
PARTICULARLY THIS PLACE  
THIS PLACE IS BAD

WE WANT THE JOE SLOVOS  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
HEY MAQABANE  
PARTICULARLY THIS PLACE  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
(INAUDIBLE)  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
  
THIS PLACE IN PARTICULAR  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
(INAUDIBLE) REPEATED (X2)  
  
WE WANT THEM THEY ARE MANY  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
PARTICULARLY THIS PLACE  
IS BAD THIS PLACE  
  
WE WANT THE LEADERS  
THIS PLACE IS BAD  
PARTICULARLY THIS PLACE  
IS BAD THIS PLACE

TRANSLATED BY: B.W. SIKHAKANE

COURT INTERPRETER

DURBAN

1985-05-21

Please we are asking the people to please move.

Those people who are on the side and the people behind me must also move.

(Song)

We are saying that somebody has left a camera light. Somebody has taken a camera light by mistake. If you have it in your possession please bring it forward.

And then we are saying to the people from Port Elizabeth, the people from Port Elizabeth, we are saying that when everybody has left, you must please assemble here in the middle when everybody has left, you must remain in the middle. I do not hear any song?

154 Song: (inaudible, mingling of crowd, song about Mandela)

(break in recording)

(sounds can be heard in the background)

(end of recording)

*AF / AAN*

TAPE 4 - SIDE 1

CASSETTE MARKED "UDF LAUNCH 6 - LAST"

*Heider's sand bank  
is happening of  
Tape 3 side B.  
P 8 4 es  
V 26*

Chairman: Half hour to forty five minutes the thousands of people standing outside who want to come into this hall. We are going into elections and we have decided by the standing rules from Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape are constituted regions and it means that the regions what are not here are unconstituted. It means that South West Districts, Eastern Cape and Orange Free State are unconstituted. It has also decided by the secretary that the constituted regions, they will be allowed hundred, hundred votes and has also decided that the unconstituted regions will be allowed (inaudible) from one to five organisations will be allowed ten votes and after every five, they will be allowed one vote. So according to (inaudible) what we have got, Easter Cape has got nine, nine organisations so far under the umbrella which means that they are entitled to fourteen votes.

012 Orange Free State has got two organisations which means they are entitled to ten votes. One minute, three organisations are still entitled for ten votes. From one to five is ten votes and South West districts have got seven organisations under the umbrella and they are entitled to twelve votes.

This, this is why, I've been, this is the suggestion of the secretariat. can I get somebody to accept this? Okay, thank you. It has also been suggested that the electoral (<sup>returning</sup>inaudible) officer be Pius Langa. Can I ask him to take up the election please.

023 (inaudible)

Speaker: There are regions which has more than hundred delegates here. What will happen is that we will equalise at a hundred, right, and whatever number the delegators those organisations have, will be taken relative to a hundred.

So in all organisations they say the Western Cape has a hundred delegates and some has hundred and twenty delegates or Transvaal has hundred and twenty delegates.

Every Transvaal vote will then amount to 5/6 of the Cape Town vote otherwise we are going to have a situation whereby eh, different regions because they are structured differently, will be allowed different powers in terms of decision making.

It's one of the things that the delegates should (inaudible) and lets apply it here as well.

034 Langa: According to the programme of working principles, the structure of the front is as follows :-

The structure shall comprise <sup>patrons</sup>paper, the number to be determined by the National General Council and then to skip the <sup>other</sup>formations, then we go one to the National Executive committee.

The National Executive Committee shall comprise the presidency which consists of three Presidents, an executive chairperson appointed by the National Executive Committee from time to time. That will not be our concern today. Two Vice-presidents appointed by each dually constituted region. We have heard which are the dually constituted regions. The two secretaries of each constituted region. Two executive members elected by each constituted regions. Two National Treasurers.

050 Now we are going to start with the <sup>patrons</sup>paper. I know that most of us are not voters. We have never voted in our lives (laughing) but eh, I think the short explanation of how we are going to vote.

This may sound complicated procedure but infact it is very simple.

I am going to call for nominations for patrons. I am going to start with the dually constituted regions and then I will go on to the other delegates. <sup>The</sup>~~This~~ procedure I propose to follow, is this. The delegates will nominate, I will ask for a secondant, and I will ask if there is amendment to that nomination.

If there is an amendment, I will ask the seconder for that amendment. An amendment <sup>means</sup> ~~means~~ that you are unhappy about the person proposed for nomination and you wish to substitute someone for him. We are going to nominate or elect a number of patrons. I do not have a specific number in mind. The executive committee has not been dually elected, so we do not have a body which has determined how many patrons we need. So I'll start with the Western Cape. May I have your nominations for a patron?

(inaudible) Right, sorry (inaudible)

Speaker: Mr. Electing officer, on a point of order, sorry to disturb you but the regions that are properly constituted bodies that have to be hundred votes as I explained by Trevor just now? The constituted regions have had extensive discussions with regard to the patrons and I think that those regions had authorised the secretaries to, to in actual fact take back to the secretarial the names of those people. Now would it not then, it not be possible perhaps to take that as a starting point and give the names of those that have already been nominated and accepted by those various regions and then call for the further nominations. It will save us a lot of time and also a lot of problems from that point. (inaudible)

(clapping)

086 Speaker: The first of the patrons which has been unanimously agreed to by all the regions, is Nelson Mandela. (clapping) Thank you, thank you. The others are Archbishop Dennis Hurley. (clapping) Mrs. Helen Joseph. (clapping) Just, just a correction, eh, we have a message from Archbishop Hurley, he has been unable to accept patronage. Mrs. Mahlangu (clapping), Mr. Hassin Howa, (clapping) recently been joined by Mrs. Naicker who is the wife of the now deceased Monty Naicker (clapping). Other patrons include Johnny Issel, (clapping) Francis Baard, (clapping) Shaik Nazim Mohamed, (clapping) Beyers Naudé, (clapping) Mrs. Mkhize, (clapping) Mrs. Florence Mkhize, that is, there has also been eh, a name which has come in quite late, Dorothy Nyembe, (clapping) Dennis Goldberg (clapping). That is the list of names which has to be forwarded to the secretaries, Mr. election officer.

...../

Langa: Thank you. We have heard a list of nominations I haven't closed. I am going to ask for a further nominations.

629 Yes sir, (inaudible) - (clapping)

Any amendment?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, we've a proposal from the Cape to include all the life sentenced prisoners as patrons. They are Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Kathrada, all of them, Walter Sisulu. (clapping)

Langa: Any amendment to that?

Any further nominations? I'm calling for further nominations.

Any further nominations?

Langa: The name of Dr. Essop Jassat has just been proposed, nominated. Right I'm listening. Any proposal from the Western Cape?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose the name of Vuyisile Mini from SACTU, we shall remember him. (clapping)

Langa: I'm sorry, I'm sorry. Just on that point. The name of Vuyisile Mini has been proposed, eh. The question has arisen whether we propose or nominate people who are alive only or we can get patrons from people who are, are already deceased. So there is, there is a full of thoughts that deceased people unfortunately cannot be afforded patronage.

Speaker: Mr. Chairman there is one other name which I don't know whether it has been approved. That is Smangaliso Mkhathshwa. I see, I had seen him here earlier. I don't know whether he will accept. But over and above that Mr. Chairman people are congregating in their thousands, the situation is becoming absolutely impossible outside.

Langa: The gentleman who proposed Vuyisili Mini, what is the position?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, I think we shall look at that guy Vuyisili Mini as being the guy who has been involved in the worker's struggle and if we are here to opt for the workers then I think whether he is dead or alive, but that makes history in our books.

Langa: Could I ask that this matter be referred to the regional committee. (inaudible) (clapping)

Right, nomination has been filled. The patrons who have been proposed whose names have been mentioned, the last was Vuyi, sorry, Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, I by virtue of the powers vested in me, I

...../

declare that those are the patrons of the United Democratic Front. (clapping) I'll try do speed this up. I know this is a very responsible phase of the program, we are, we have to move forward. We now have to elect three presidents. May I have nominations from the Western Cape? *Aff/Can outbreking*

194

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, sorry to disturb you again, but all that I think that all the regions had actually made nominations. Can't we just, you know, to speed up the procedure just actually come up and say that these are the names that have already been nominated. If it is acceptable to the house, it means that it will cut any further discussions in the matter and their names be nominated.

Langa: Yes, I'm grateful for that but I'm only the electing officer and I didn't know that. So anybody who have those nominations, let us have them then. (inaudible)

The three nominees for president.

Sorry Mr. Shange. (inaudible)

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, I feel that people have been nominated in this house and I feel that we should also consider the Trade Unions today, and we should also consider that we also need Trade Unions because they are the ones who are being approached with the struggle today, and I shall now, Mr. Chairman, nominate someone who is working with Trade Unions today and someone who can even relate to us about the problems of Trade Unions. Therefore I shall propose Rev. Marawu as a patron (noise)

Langa: I have a great deal of sympathy with the Trade Union movements, I have a great deal of sympathy with the whole liberation struggle, but in the interest of progress, we have closed nominations in respect of patrons. I would suggest that, that nomination be referred to your regional committee, your regional organisation so that their nomination will come through to the general UDF.

221

The book is not closed as far as patrons is concerned. I stated that there is no set number so your way is clear to nominating him. (clapping)

Ladies and gentleman, I have been given a list of nominations for the three presidents. The names are, Oscar Mpetha (applause), Albertina Sisulu, (applause) Archie Gumede (applause), (inaudible) now I would like you to see your candidates, or your nominees for presidency. Oscar Mpetha is not here, Albertina Sisulu wanted to be here, she is not here. I call upon Archie

Gumede to come forward so you will see him. (applause)

249 Song: (as attached) ("Natal, Natal, Rabbi, Roy" shouted in-between)

Langa: Order, order please, Okay. (somebody shouts "Amandla")  
Hallo, hallo. Ladies and gentleman, the next item of course is the election of, sorry (cough) the next item is the election of vice-presidents. These come from the dually constituted regions. Each region elect or nominate two vice-presidents, I'm sorry, elects two vice-presidents. May I have those nominations if they have already been done?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Transvaal UDF, the two vice-presidents as nominated by the executive of the Transvaal UDF is Mr. George Du Plessis, (clapping) somebody recording this and Rev. Hlapane, I'm sorry, Hlaletshwa, (clapping)

300 Langa: Those are the two Transvaal Vice-presidents. Declare them dually elected. Western Cape? (cough)

Speaker: Eh, Hallo, hallo. Mr. Chairman.

Langa: What's that? Yes, I'm listening.

Speaker: On behalf of the Western Cape region there are two vice-presidents, it's Mr. Christmas Tinto and Joe Marks. (clapping)

Langa: Thank you Western Cape. Natal?

Two vice-presidents? Have you sorted that out?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Natal delegation, I would like to give you our two nominations. They are, Mr. Virgil Bonhomme, (clapping) who is the secretary of the Durban Housing Action Committee, and Mr. George Sewpershad, (clapping) who is the president of the Natal Indian Congress. (cheering and clapping)

Langa: Thank you very much. Those are the six vice-presidents who have been elected. Next item, Regional Secretaries. These are also regional. Two per region. Transvaal?

Speaker: The Transvaal Regional Secretaries is Mr. Mohamed Valli (?) and eh, (clapping) Popo sitting on the stage already (clapping).

Langa: Thank you. Western Cape? Two Regional Secretaries?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, we have nominated and accepted Trevor Manuel and Sherryl Carolos (?) (clapping)

Langa: Thank you. Natal? Two Regional Secretaries?

...../



339 Speaker: Our two nominees are Joe Phahla from AZASO and (clapping) Mr. Yunus Mohamed (clapping).

Langa: Thank you very much those are the regional secretaries who have been elected. Now the next position is that of executive members, executive members, two per region. We start with the Transvaal.

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, the nominations again from the Transvaal is Dr. Ram Saloojee (clapping) and Mr. Aubrey Makoena (clapping)

Langa: Thank you very much. The Western Cape?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, we have elected and accepted Moverad Mosiah (?), Andrew Borrairie (clapping).

Langa: And Natal?

Speaker: I have pleasure in announcing Prof. Jerry Coovadia and (clapping) Rev. Xundu (clapping).

Langa: Thank you very much, those are the elected executive members for each region. (inaudible) question from order.

372 Speaker: Thank you Mr. Chairman. Now I think that Free State must also be represented. I have somebody in mind presently of which can represent Free State by the name of M.K. Malefane (clapping).

Speaker: Its all right, its all right. Ja, I am sorry but as a constitution is presently drafted, unconstituted regions which are small regions are high co-options onto the executive committees, that the constitution which we have accepted. The National Executive Committee will undoubtedly, eh make some arrangements for co-option of people onto the executive or make sure that repre- that the requirements of these areas are properly represented. So I would ask, we are in a very restrictive situation, things are changing all the time, organisations are infact growing everywhere and in the constitution as we have planned it and as it has been accepted at this conference, does not make any provision for voters to have that kind of nominatin. I will suggest in these circumstances that the matter we left to the National Executive Committee to handle and I'm sure that the National Executive Committee as constituted will make a decision which will take into all the circumstances and which hopefully all the parties will be happy with (clapping).

...../

Langa: Thank you very much. Those were the Executive Members. The next position is that of National Treasurers. These are National Treasurers. We need two National Treasurers.

Speaker: Here again Mr. Electoral Officer, I think nominations have been accepted by various regions have they not?

Speaker: The two nominations received for treasurers were Mewa Ramgobin from Natal, and Cassim Saloojee from Transvaal.

(clapping)

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

Speaker: Thank you Pius. Congratulations to everybody who has been elected. Eh, we have to rush off, rush on again. We got the last part of our agenda, the working program. I'll ask Popo to read the last part of it (inaudible). There is two positions which haven't been filled and lets go back to that.

Speaker: The two positions are, the two positions are, firstly the National Secretary and again the Secretariat has received a nomination. That of Popo Molefe (clapping). For publicity secretary again there is a single nomination, Mr. Terror Lekota from Natal (clapping)

Speaker: Thanks again, eh, the last part of our agenda, the working programme. I'm asking Popo to read the last half of it I has been recommended by the secretariat for acceptance and implementation by regions.

440 P. Molefe: It is my wish that eh, in bringing these programme of action, I do not raise any controveries. We actually here moving against time, that is why I am going to choose to read the last two parts which is the objectives of the campaign and the tasks. The objectives of the campaign;

To oppose the constitutional bills and any election emerging therefrom.

To oppose the Koornhof bills and any election emerging therefrom.

To mobilize every section of our people into the front.

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

To promote democratic consultation and participation throughout the campaign.

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

...../

TASKS:

1. To establish the United Democratic Front as the only representative front representing all sections of our people.
2. To popularise the U-UDF within and outside the country.
3. Mobilise all organisations and communities into the UDF.
4. Establish UDF branches throughout the country.
5. Implement door to door campaigns throughout the country.
6. Encourage the strengthening of all grass roots democratic organisations, community and other barriers, sorry, sorry, sorry I jumped one line.
6. Encourage the strengthening of the grass roots democratic organisations.
7. Promote meaningful co-operation and united action across all communities and other barriers.
8. Ensure democratic participation and consultation in all aspects of the campaign.

Speaker: Can we have, can we have show of hands for acceptance for the program. Thank You, eh. The purpose of this is not necessary to accept it but to implement it and I think it is the most important part it and everybody leaves here with a commitment to go back and implement this, this program or this working program we just accepted. The importance of it, that the most important part of it, to go back into the field and start doing it.

We now come to the end of this part of our, of our, of our historical day and you know how to close. I would like to call upon our president, or one of our presidents Mr. Archie Gumede, to close on behalf of, of the presidency. Mr. Archie (clapping)

...../

Woman Speaker: Mr. Chairman,

Speaker: One minute while Archie Gumede is coming up, I just want to say that all marshalls and all people who wish to assist or want to assist in the handling, in the handling or clearing up of the hall or in the handling of the income, incapable to come into the hall, please report to the back of the hall as soon as the closing is over.

Woman Speaker: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. Ah! At the moment that we've been given a draft infact a program of action and we accept it, (inaudible) nationally its been accepted but I propose that this be taken to various regions and the regions to look at the program of action and, and bring about a concrete kind of a program of action and I move that the national delegates of each region to come to a joint meeting and come with a clear concrete plan of action and I also propose that an immediate call of action should accompanying those kinds of um, decisions. (clapping)

Speaker: Just before we close, just before Archie come up, one more message we feel should be read out now.

519 Speaker: I have a message here from M.K. Malefane. It reads thus: "Besides being here as part of the free state UDF, I am also representing the Mandela family and would like to announce that Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela and his cell mates give their blessings to this gathering and we want you to know that right at this moment they are with you even though not physically. (clapping)

532 Song: as attached.

Speaker: Comrades, comrades, comrades, before Archie closed this meeting the entire executive just elected is to meet Zac Yacoob at the table here. I now present Archie Gumede. (clapping)

550 A. Gumede: Thank you Mr. Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen, sons and daughters of Africa, I greet you in the name of our departed heroes, the Luthuli's, the Mathews' and many others whose names I cannot recall at this very historical moment. I greet you in the name of my fellow presidents who through circumstances be-

yond their control are not able to be with you here today. I only wish to say that and I believe that this occasion will live in the memories of each and everyone of us as an exceptional occasion when people of all races from all sections of the community have met and have had a discussion of problems that affect them in their daily lives. We are very grateful that we have come to an end of this session without meeting any insuperable problems. And I must express my thanks to all the people who have contributed to the success of this occasion, not forgetting the secretaries and the other people who have been involved in organising all that has been organised. I will not forget the people who provided the lunch that sustained us so that at even this hour we are still able to follow the proceedings with intelligence, with sufficient eh, support. (clapping) With those few words I wish to say thank you to one and all. (clapping)

Audience: Amandla

Speaker: Sorry, I think we've reached the situation of desperation at this point. There are thousands of people gathered outside. Firstly, we make an appeal to every attorney in the audience to come to the front and meet with Zac Yacoob. The full national executive is also to come to the front. While that is happening certain changes have to be made to accommodate everybody and we have to work out a plan to change the arrangements within the hall because there will be thousands of people in the marquee outside as well.

613 Speaker: There is an appeal, those glass doors on the side as well as the fire-escapes will be opened to allow people within the hall to go outside. The hall has to be changed so it is going to be impossible to do that with people and chairs and tables and things in the way. Eh. As soon as we are ready we will allow people to come in from there first and later through the front entrance. There are marshalls and we appeal, we appeal for maximum co-operation.

(Noise)

(Interruption)

END OF TAPE 4 SIDE 1