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**SOLIDARITY WITH SAAWU AND THE PEOPLE OF  
CISKEI 1983-09-22 KHOTSO HOUSE**

**SPEAKERS:**

1. Popo MOLEFE (UDF) (CHAIRMAN)
2. Joe MOKOENA (CCAWUSA)
3. Piroshaw CAMAY (CUSA)
4. Frank CHIKANE (UDF)
5. Herbert BARNABAS (SAAWU)
6. UNKNOWN BLACK MALE (SAAWU) — EAST LONDON)
7. Thobile MSELENI (PHONETICAL)

**IMPORTANT PERSONS, ORGANISATIONS AND EVENTS MENTIONED**

1. SAAWU ANNUAL CONGRESS
2. UDF
3. YUSUF DADOO
4. GQWETA
5. SACTU
6. FREEDOM CHARTER
7. CONGRESS ALLIANCE
8. OLIVER TAMBO

**NB:**

The actual meeting follows as indicated in transcript after a training session in the use of a video camera to a group of unknown people at an unknown venue was recorded.

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**ASSESSOR**

Page 14 Line 11 Change "inaudible" to "planners".

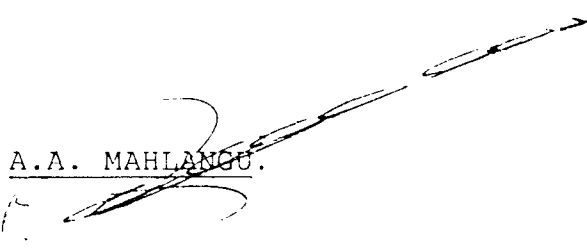
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CORRECTIONS :

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.

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

1. Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die klank vanaf die video bandopnames soos ontvang. Die transkripsie is so akkuraat as moontlik en is so ver as moontlik woordeliks korrek.
2. Verskillende sprekers kon van mekaar uitgeken word op die opnames en hulle word direk aangedui binne die transkripsie. Die akkuraatheid van die aangeduide sprekers is nagegaan in oorleg met die beeld op die video opnames.

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

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

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

---oOo---

An unknown black person appears in view whereafter a white male appears in view.

The wall clock now reads 14h47.

Instruction carries on.

(Video interruption)

Instruction carries on according to voice record (Video Interruption)

Instruction carries on according to voice record.

Another white male operating a machine appears in view.

(Video interruption).

According to the voices the people present intend presenting a short act as part of the instruction and a male and female appear on screen and thereafter another two males, obviously ad-libbing an act.

(Video interruption)

Another black actor appears breathing deeply.

(Video interruption)

Another ad-lib act appears in view.

(Video interruption)

Black male walks towards camera, slight laughter in background, and he returns to sit behind a piano like instrument and then walks from the scene.

### Scene change

A person is photographed in front of a glass partition marked SOUND STUDIO.

Wall clock reading 15h40.

(Video interruption)

More obviously training shots, taken with the camera of various people and objects in the vicinity of the camera. Pupils leave after saying goodbye and an unknown white male requests that item be put away (Video interruption)(approximately 10 minutes)

NB : Remark: Nothing was transcribed in preceding part of the video film, as it was obviously a training session in the operation of a video camera.

Solidarity with the banning of SAAWU and the people of Ciskei Meeting starts.

The following posters are photographed inside the hall.

- POSTER: 1. "SOLIDARITY WITH SAAWU AND THE PEOPLE OF CISKEI"
2. "CONDEMN CISKEI REPRESSION" SAAWU BANNED
3. UDF UNITES - APARTHEID DIVIDES
4. RESIST BANTUSTAN VIOLENCE. SOLIDARITY WITH SAAWU AND BORDER REGION. UDF UNITES APARTHEID DIVIDES.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE BANNING OF SAAWU IN CISKEI: KHOTSO HOUSE

POPO MOLEFE:

Chairman of meeting: The speaker from the African Food and Canning. I haven't been able to confirm who is actually going to speak for the African Food and Canning. If he is around may he please come to the fore. Then we have the other two speakers here the speaker from SAAWU is

coming from East London, he has not yet arrived uh he will be arriving in due course probably around quarter past twenty past one. Uh we think uh we thought it would be proper for us to have a speaker from East London to project clearly what is happening in that region a person who is in the thick of things. So that the speaker from SAAWU will arrive in due course. Of the United Democratic Front and all the Unions that have been involved in the planning of this meeting namely CCAWUSA" GAWU" the Scooter Drivers Association of South Africa, the General sorry the South African Chemical Workers Union, the African Food and Canning Workers Union, SAAWU and MAWU. I want to welcome you all into this meeting, and I want to say that this meeting came precisely as a response to the crisis that we see developing not only in the so-called white South Africa, but even worse still in the so-called homelands particularly in the Ciskei. Over the last few months we over the last few weeks we have seen brutalities and repression in Ciskei increasing by the day. We have seen many of our people facing the heavy hand of the police of Sebe, we have seen many of our people uh detained by the South African Government and, and sent to the Ciskei, handed to the Ciskei police. We have also seen three years ago how people in Vendaland faced similar brutalities and ever since SAAWU existed in Ciskei, we know, all of us know that it has never had the moment of rest it has always had to get in serious battles with the armed forces of Sebe. Now we say here that the last three weeks have seen the Trade Union Movement in Ciskei facing the ever increasing brutality which culminated in the banning of SAAWU in that region, and we of the United Democratic Front together with all the Unions involved SAAWU also involved African Food and Canning Transport and Allied Workers which is an affiliate of CUSA decided that we cannot leave this thing to go unchal-

langed. We could not leave it to pass unchallenged. We have seen that in this region uhm many people have been detained in Ciskei and we've got a fact sheet here that shows that more than 800 people up until now have been detained in Ciskei. And it also shows that about 1500 Trade Unionists have been detained in that region. So that uh I'm not going to mention the names this leaflet has got the names uh you will be able to read this names. Now we think that it is in keeping with our total rejection of the Bantustan and un-democratic structures that flow out of the un-democratic system of South Africa. That it is a challenge to us, as the United Democratic Front, in alliance with all these Unions today to challenge this issue, to oppose eh the banning of SAAWU, to oppose the entire system of Bantustans and in the same way to say no to this Bantustan system and to say no to the banning of SAAWU, and to say no to undemo uhm uhm level of democracy in South Africa and to reject in South Africa the reform proposal of Botha because in our opinion these reform proposals can only serve to entrench the already brutal system of oppression as seen in the Bantustans in this country. And we are here, this afternoon to say to the world at large, that let us all unite and fight for the destruction of apartheid in this country. Let us unite to bring an end to the system of separate development, let us unite to challenge Botha's reform initiative, let our struggle go beyond the question of the referendum, let us challenge the local authorities in this country, let us challenge brutalization of the workers on farms in uhm domestic areas uhm where domestic workers are not uhm protected by uhm the laws, the labour laws of this country, let us unite to fight taxes on food as workers ~~in~~ *and* the community. Let us say in one voice today that the workers are in the forefront of the struggle, but for the workers to win they must be in alliance with all other



classes and those freedom loving people who are committed to a true and democratic non-racial South Africa. It is on the basis of these principles that we have called upon the people to pledge solidarity with the people of Ciskei and SAAWU. Uhm ladies and gentlemen I'm not a speaker I think I must give way, I must give way to people who are actually supposed to speak here. I'm going to, is the speaker from CCAWUSA here. I'm going to, speak, to call the speaker from CCAWUSA uhm Joe MOKOENA.

Joe MOKOENA: AMANDLA! (crowd answers) AWETHU.

Friends, comrades and sympathisers on behalf of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union. I'd like to make this clear to everybody that we of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union abhor what is happening in the Ciskei. We of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union are not surprised by what the Sebe and his gang are doing at the Ciskei. So then on behalf of all the workers and all the working class Movements who are detained in Sebe's jail we are saying you are not alone we are with you, let alone that we are up here but we feel the pains that you are feeling down there. So with those few words I'd like to make it clear to everyone that we are not just saying this in words. I think when the time come we'll be able to say this in deeds. AMANDLA (crowd answers) AWETHU.

Unknown person : MAYIBUYE audience I'AFRIKA.

Song (Zulu): "Hlanganani basebenzi! (audience chanted Hlanganani! Hlanganani basebenzi! audience Hlanganani! Yiyole inhlango, yabasebenzi! (together) Yiyole inhlango, yabasebenzi! (repeatedly) AMANDLA! AWETHU!

Translation Song 1: "Workers unite! (Audience Unite! audience Unite! this is a meeting of the workers! This

is a meeting of the workers! (repeatedly). AMANDLA!  
NGAWETHU!

POPO MOLEFE

Comrades we want to thank comrade Joe MOKOENA, he has just confirmed what I've said. That the struggle in South Africa is the struggle of all the freedom loving people and all those who are committed to the liberation and uh the freedom of uh uh uh organisation <sup>or</sup> ~~or~~ association of the workers in this country, and it is precisely for that reason that we still repeat uh what we said before. That it is important that all those who call themselves free - uh freedom and peace-loving people and those who call themselves progressive unite - eh around this issue of Ciskei with the people of Ciskei and SAAWU. We want to thank comrade Joe MOKOENA. Can we have one of our greatest songs please before I call on the new speaker.

Crowd sings song

Song 2 (Zulu): "Ziphi izibham! Ziphi izibham .....  
(last word inaudible) audience chanted Hawuzena zizibham!  
Ziphi izibham! Hawuzenazizi - bham! Zihleli e-Afrika!  
Zihleli e-Afrika! Naazi zibham! Naazi Zibham e-Afrika!  
Hauzenasi sibham e-Afrika! (Audience shouted AMANDLA!  
AWETHU! MAYIBUYE, I-AFRIKA!

Song 2: "Where are the guns where are the guns .....  
(last word inaudible) audience chanted Bring the guns!  
Where are the guns! Bring the guns! They are in  
Africa! They are in Africa! They are in Africa!  
(Audience shouted AMANDLA! AWETHU! X2.  
Mayibuye I'Afrika

Song 3: (Zulu) "Sobabamba nezingane zabo! Sobabamba!  
Ilitye liketata! Lingqonqothiwe! Lovulwa ubani?

Obaba Bethu Basemajele x2

Hayi Hayi x2

Not Audible

Tshelani Usebe Siyeza x2

Hayi Hayi x2

Not Audible

Tshelani u Vorster Siyeza x2

Hayi Hayi x2

Obaba Bethu Basemajele x2

Hayi Hayi x2

Then Applause and Ululating

TRANSLATION

Our fathers are in jail x2

Hayi Hayi x2

Not audible

Tell Sebe we are coming x2

Hayi Hayi x2

Not audible

Tell Vorster we are coming x2

Our fathers are in jails x2

Linqonqothiwe! Ndithi Phesheya komfula! Sobabamba  
 nezingane zabo! Sobabamba Ilitye le-SAAWU?  
 Linqonqothiwe! Lovulwa ubani? Linqonqothiwe

Song 3: (English) "We are going to <sup>catch</sup>~~fetch~~ them with  
 their children! The stone of our father! It's  
 sealed! Who is going to open it? It's sealed! I  
 say beyond the river! We are going to <sup>catch</sup>~~fetch~~ them, with  
 their children, we are going to <sup>catch</sup>~~fetch~~ them! The stone of  
 SAAWU! Is sealed! Who is going to open it? It's  
 sealed!

Hayi-Hayi - ululating of women.

Piroshaw CAMAY: Amandla (Crowd answers) AWETHU

We've gathered here today to protest against the undemo-  
 cratic and immoral act by that illegitimate authority of a  
 puppet regime and we should not deter ourselves from that  
 conviction. We are conscious of the battles that our  
 grandfathers and our fathers have waged and we are con-  
 scious of the duty placed upon us to continue that battle  
 today. Nor can we pretend that the battle of the last  
 decade for recognition of workers rights has been won.  
 The truth is far from that, the truth is that the  
 struggle still goes on, the truth is that the puppet  
 regimes have been established by Pretoria to make sure  
 that brothers fight brothers and fathers fight sons and  
 mothers turn against their daughters. And in that, we  
must admit that the Pretoria regime has dug a snake-pit of  
venom and jealousy of mistrust and treachery. A Sebe has  
 detained a Sebe and continues to detain other members of  
 his family, formerly trusted family. Building workers  
 solidarity and giving root to the trees of freedom we have  
 cleared only a small patch of ground in that jungle called  
 apartheid. And we will not stop until we have the  
 strongest, the healthiest and most creative trade union

movement in this country. The banning of SAAWU in the Ciskei is a smack in the face of the masters in Pretoria. The banning is against the so-called smoke screen of the Pretoria regime to convince the Western world that they have some labour reform in this country. The banning is against every tenet of accepted international labour practice. It strikes against the very core of the freedom of workers to associate themselves in organizations of their choice to improve their conditions and also the quality of their lives. This attack on unionism is not a mistaken act by power-hungry and mad puppets, it is a deliberately orchestrated move against the growing awareness of workers of their collective power in the Ciskei. The homeland of all the peoples of South Africa is an undivided undemarcated common country and we will not move from that position. And all the attempts to wash away this knowledge in whatever form whether through a homeland system or through president councils or constitutional proposals, this will not deter the workers. The workers and their representatives gathered here today prove that we will assert our defence of the gains that we have made towards a free and just society. A Society in which there is freedom and justice, a society in which bannings and detentions and banishments will not take place. We will fight for organized labours rightful role in our society. This is therefore the hour more than ever before that workers have to stand together and be united to fight this scourge that has descended upon us. Our task after today is quite clear, we should act in solidarity because it is only when we react in solidarity that we shall overcome. We should make our message to the oppressors loud and clear and ambiguous. And to those amongst us who are uncommitted and frightened our intentions must be clear as well. We shall be heard we shall be heard to speak loudly and clearly for the

freedom of unions to operate unhindered and our society to become a free and just society, we shall not be silenced we shall be heard. Amandla! (crowd answers ) AWETHU.

Popo MOLEFE: We want to thank Mr Piroshaw CAMAY. I'm not going to say anything, anything that I'd be say would be an anti-climax, I mean I know what he said. And I think I must immediately move to next speaker. But before I call on the next speaker may I again call on the speaker from the African Food and Canning if he is here yet, to come to the fore and uh may I also call on the speaker from East London if he's arrived yet to come to the front here. And then in the meantime I want to introduce to you Frank CHIKANE who is the vice-president of the Transvaal UDF. Frank CHIKANE please. (applause).

Frank CHIKANE: Comrades, and all concerned South African's. Our brothers are being killed in the Ciskei, some have disappeared without a trace of their graves, some are languishing in prison and some are dumped in the stadiums of Sebe, because prisons cannot accommodate them anymore. Because prisons are full up to capacity for people consisting of people who fight for a just society, some have been maimed, some crippled, some are lying in hospitals and some are in exile, some are on the run, as we speak now. Do you want us or me to continue agonising about what is happening to our brothers, the plight of workers in the Ciskei which is a reflection of a move in a more callous form of the plight of the workers in South Africa including the Ciskei as well. Don't you see that this is the sign of times. It happened in 1976 and people realised that it was a sign of times, but nevertheless they tended to forget that now it is the time. Can't you read the time that it is just ripe for people to take action against the system that kills people every

day. Apartheid kills in it's multi-facets, apartheid destroys life and therefore cannot be allowed to continue on and on like that. Do you want to die before you realize that you have to do something yourself do you want in actual fact a member of your family to be a victim before you take action. Don't you see that that which is happening is sufficient to call us all into action to fight against the system in South Africa. Don't you see that organizations are ready, there is a network that is ready to act against the system today. The labour movement is becoming more organized than ever before, community organizations are ready to get into action and the United Democratic Front has linked all the existing organizations to have a national network that will be ready when it is called into action to break the system. Don't you want to be part and parcel of this whole mobilization to fight against the system that is costing so much life. I want to say today for us to win against the system we need power. No powerful oppressors has ever gone out of office without being removed, because people have power. And therefore we need people's power to bring a change in South Africa. We need workers power to bring about change in South Africa and it is now the time for all the workers to come together and speak in one voice. It is now the time for all the organizations in South Africa to work for a joint action together to break the system. The UDF has undertaken a two months program of action, which program of action will produce the necessary network in the country that will be called into action. And when it is ready the people are going to call that we take action and I believe we're not going to continue talking and talking and agonising about our pain. But we should start and act and remove the system and create a peaceful South Africa thank you. (Applause).

(2a)

1/10/77

No.

24/8

Someone in crowd shouts AMANDLA AWETHU X2.  
Mayibuye I'Africa.

Popo MOLEFE: Comrades let us unite in action to destroy apartheid, let us unite in action to take freedom into our own hands, to take our own destinies in our own hands uhm. I'm going to call upon the national organizer of the South African Allied Workers Union. Herbert BARNABAS uh to speak on behalf of SAAWU while we are waiting for the speaker from East London. I think we need to have SAAWU in the Transvaal also saying something. Comrade BARNABAS please. } 11/11

(Applause) (Barnabas walks to the front with left fist slightly raised and thumb extended). (Crowd sings song).

Song 4: (Zulu)

Izwe Lami, Izwe Lami, Izwe Lami Elami X3  
Ndizolilwela Izwe Lami X3

Song 4: (English)

My country X3  
It's mine X3  
I shall fight for it. X3

Herbert BARNABAS: Amandla! Audience Awethu: (gives salute with clenched left fist and thumb extended)  
Comrades and friends in the name and on behalf of SAAWU I wish to thank all those organizations that made this meeting a great success. In times of difficulty it is generally hard for one to believe that beyond one circumstance there are people who are really considering to involve themselves in one's plight. It is a known fact that in terms of Section 78(1) of the Labour Relations Act any workers is free to join a trade union of his own



choice. The South African government is today contradicting the act promulgated <sup>with out</sup> ~~with~~ the involvement of the black workers. P.W. Botha is evading the issue by saying that all the governments are autonomous. The situation is tense in Ciskei, workers and their family's are being tortured, raped and massacred. The policy of SAAWU is that we do not recognize homeland governments and as such therefore we are bound by the principles to point finger, fingers at the central government. SAAWU has been banned in Ciskei, where it has always been alleged that our organization is an ANC front. To our knowledge this has never been proved, both by the South African government and Ciskei Banana government (laughter). In Ciskei our 2000 membership is subjected to such tragedy. To make things worse other trade unions like African Food and Canning, General Workers Union and Gawu are affected by the oppression applied on SAAWU. We see nothing wrong in workers taking part in the bus-boycott by virtue of them being residents in Mdantsane. We therefore see no grounds for the banning of our organization. Some time back 205 workers were detained in Ciskei only for singing freedom songs. African Food and Canning, and General Workers Union members had to suffer even though they had explained that they were not SAAWU members. It was explained to them that, that they fell under the same category as SAAWU. <sup>THIS MESS</sup> ~~Dismiss~~ that the government is against independent trade unions, unless something is done by progressive organizations to challenge this action then our future is bleak. We must not only sing the slogans without action in order to pull out our colleagues from the mess in which they are. At SAAWU Annual Congress held at Himilaya Hotel on Sunday the 18th September this year it was resolved that an action be taken against the Ciskeian government in this regard. It was also resolved that to make research regarding products manufactured by

the East London factories and explore the possibility of having these products boycotted in order that the employees down there could get feel, affected by what is done to the workers by the Sebe regime. Forward with the workers struggle an injury to one is an injury to all. The ideology behind apartheid was to unite the whites and divide other groups. Unfortunately their plan was, Tsafendassed before educating his followers about the pros and cons of it. It is therefore a shame to note that instead the same apartheid has united the majority population something contrary to the <sup>planners</sup> (inaudible) ideology Amandla Awethu.

Popo MOLEFE: Thank you comrades and friends. I have been asked to announce to you that one of the stalwarts the struggle in South Africa, Yusuf DADOO past away two days ago three days ago in exile. And uh many of us still remember him as a man who contributed to the rich and proud history of the struggle in this country. We still believe that he left the country not because he wanted the luxury <sup>outside</sup> of the other country, but he did so because he was forced by this laws of this country and he was forced to go and seek desperate solutions to the problems of this country. May I call upon this house to rise and observe a moment of silence in respect of Yusuf DADOO (people rising with clenched fists) thank you.

Amandla! Awethu! (Klamlar) (phonetical) is not here yet. Shall we have one song after that song it may be important to for this meeting to say precisely where we must go to from here. We cannot simply engage in calling meetings expressing our feelings, crying and complaining about what is happening in Ciskei but the time has come for us (video interruption).

Song: (Zulu) "Siyaya ho siyaya! (audience chanting)  
 Siyaya! Siyaya! Nantso i-Sasol-2 ivutha umlilo!  
 Siyaya! Siyaya! Oyaya ho siyaya! Siyaya! Nantso i-Sasol-2  
 ivutha umlilo! Siyaya! Nantso, i-Ciskei ivutha umlilo!  
 Siyaya! Abafana bashayizulu! Siyaya! Nantso Supreme Court  
 ivutha umlilo! Siyaya! Siyaya! Nantso i-Ciskei ivutha  
 umlilo! Siyaya! Siyaya! Nantso i-Supreme Court ivutha  
 umlilo! Siyaya Siyaya!

Song (English) "We are going! audience We are going  
 (twice). There is, SASOL 2 on fire! We are going  
 (twice). There is SASOL 2 on fire! We are going! We  
 are going! There is Ciskei on fire! We are going! We  
 are going! The young men lighted the fire! We are  
 going! There is the Supreme Court on fire! We are  
 going! We are going.

Audience Amandla Awethu X2

Mayibuye I'Afrika X3

I Africa - Izwe Lethu

Izwe Lethu - Africa

An injury to one is an injury to all X2

Mayibuye I-Afrika X

Unknown black speaker: (SAAWU East London) "Uh, Mr  
 Chairman workers and comrades, thank you for this oppor-  
 tunity I'd like to shed some light on the events in East  
 London. In fact I have been in East London eh some quite  
 some time during the boycott. Eh, the last time I was  
 there, eh I was, I had gone to a funeral and then I passed  
 by Union offices and that date of the day, (Yure MDYOGOLO)  
 (Phonetic) and other comrades were taken by South African  
 racist regime Police eh, in concert with the Ciskeian eh,  
 potato security eh, forces. What has been happening  
 there, the community organisation that was looking on and

was beheading the boycott issue, all the members were detained, and subsequently the worker organisations had to take up the issue, since the leadership was taken, behind bars. Uh, the East London Chamber of Commerce, and the East London Chamber of Industries was approached to comment on the issue. Uh, capitalists definitely are always in hegemony with the State. Uh, the East London Chamber of Commerce and the East London Chamber of Industries, refused to comment of the issue and then eh, distanced themselves from the worker depression by the Ciskeian security forces in concert with the South African Hegemony.

Uh, furthermore the Railway Police in fact, sort of eh, protected workers in August when about sixty workers were shot dead by the Ciskeian government, eh, soldiers and police. So I would say the East London Chamber of Commerce and East London Chamber of Industries, are equally guilty with what is happening in the Ciskei, since they do not want to raise a finger against the Ciskeian government, since they are keeping quiet in the matter and they only wanting to get profits from the labour of the workers from the so-called Ciskeian dairy. And therefore any action taken against the, is definitely eh, suited because they are part and parcel of the whole repression in the Ciskei. They have kept quiet, they have distanced themselves they didn't even raise a voice on the gross violation of the basic principles of the community. Furthermore GQWETA the time I had to run through was in hiding because they just wanted to take me. GQWETA tried to eh, I mean eh, to call these people so that can eh, negotiate on the issue, but they still stood back, so they are not concerned in what is happening in the Ciskei, they only, they are concerned, that the workers should come and sell their labour to them and then they get profits. So I think eh, any action in boycott of the products from

the East London area would be quite appropriate at this point in time."

Audience applause.

Popo MOLEFE: "Thank you comrades I think we need to move faster towards the closing of this meeting, because some people have got to go back to, to their work. Eh, I have got these two leaflets here comrades. This one is eh, eh, eh a factsheet of what is actually happening in Ciskei and it will be available, people can take a few, of these pamphlets and distribute them at bus stops and so on so as to popularize eh, this campaign against Ciskei. And I also have this one which is actually an advertising pamphlet, which is inviting us to a mass rally which is being organised in Lenasia on Saturday on the 24th September at three pm at Patidar Hall. Eh, it is written: "Tribute to the people's leader." This is a rally to commemorate the death of Yusuf DADOO. And also comrades may I point out that eh, quite a number of things have been happening just before this meeting. That at a meeting that was held between the United Democratic Front and a number of Unions whose names appear in this, this, this paper here, eh, a committee of five was formed. Eh, that committee was eh, formed in order co-ordinate the activities of these unions. Firstly it was agreed that all the trade unions and organisations that are opposed to Ciskei Bantustan and also opposed to the repression in Ciskei, must make some donations eh, towards aiding the people who are in Ciskei. Well, most of these people as we have said are staying in the stadium, they've got no blankets, no clothes and we think we can be helpful in terms of providing them with some tracksuits. Descom is no longer in a position to help those people because numbers are increasing by the day. So we have this committee and eh, a

box is going to be circulated in this meeting. We are asking those who have something eh, to give, to donate eh in this meeting. We also want to point out that eh, in that meeting we agreed that the publicity campaign must mount against Ciskei. And we feel that it is important for us to establish links with the international media to expose what is happening in Bantustans and also that all progressive organisations through their publications must project the situation in Ciskei. This fact sheet may be, may be used by those organisations which may not be having the facts, of what is happening in Ciskei. We also call upon individual organisations to call a series of solidarity meetings with the people of Ciskei. Um, that is as far as this campaign is concerned, eh publicity campaign. We also are seeking support of the International Labour Organisations and all support groups in an attempt to make pressure bear on South Africa and the Bantustan of Ciskei. These are, the things that we want to see, eh, manifested, eh, reflected as this campaign eh of the Ciskei unfolds. Comrades at this point in time I want to have the pleasure of introducing to you this speaker from East London (applause). Sorry, his name is Thobile MSELENI, you know I have been waiting for so long for him I even forgot that I didn't take his name. Sorry. Shall we give him a big hand please." Audience applause.

Thobile MSELENI: (Phonetic) "Amandla! audience  
'Ngawethu' (speaker gives clenched right fist salute)

"eh, Comrades eh, I should have, eh, arrived earlier but eh, due to the problems we have down in East London and eh also we had a problem here, Jan Smuts eh airport. So eh, we heard about this meeting, eh we tried all eh, our best eh to get a speaker eh, but due to the problems we all know that eh we have <sup>done</sup> ~~done~~ there. Uh, the speaker eh couldn't eh, come eh, eh so I'm going to, to take his

position or eh his place. So eh, I have eh prepared eh, a very short statement that I'm going to just going to read. Eh, comrades compatriots and friends, in the name of the international working class struggle, in the name of the toiling masses of our country, in the eh, (inaudible) ..... and on behalf of the tried and tested of the South African Allied Workers Union, I Greet you all today. "Amandla!. Ngawethu.

"Eh, in South Africa, we are fighting a struggle which is relatively unique where the coloniser and the colonised occupy the same territory. Eh, both integrated in the same economy. Eh, in South Africa we get the workers of the oppressed nation and the workers of the oppressed nations. Hence one finds that the white workers are fed with false consciousness and ideologically corrupted. But because of their position in their relation to social means of production, they are still workers. This brings us to the question of the National democracy eh, in future I, going to, to (inaudible) ..... Eh, history has shown that, the participation of the South African Workers in the broader struggle is, is not manifesting itself for the first time. SACTU has been part and parcel of the Congress Alliance which formulated the Freedom Charter in 1955 and the demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter, are far from being eh, fulfilled until the national oppression is totally, eh eliminated. The racist and fascist regime of South Africa made us to witness the dismay the dissection of our country into homelands which has been (inaudible) .... the so-called black nations into (inaudible) .... and extremely poorly paid workers. The homelands in fact constitute the industrial military reserve of, of the pool of cheap labour. This <sup>MATTER</sup> ~~murder~~ should be fought relentlessly by all democrats. And the so-called leaders of the homelands are maintaining a junior partnerrole in the exploitation and oppression of our people. The South

*Too much fighting talk  
Revolution is instigated by*

African minority government is now trying to, to co-opt some of our political directionless Indian and Coloured leaders, into the ruling structure. Again we call upon the democrates, to vehemently oppose this as it would further divide the workers and, and still will entrench the national oppression. When the idea of the United Democratic Front was incepted the Progressive minded unions readily em, embraced in the idea, as it is aimed in uniting people against this regime. The United Democratic Front makes our constitution a reality, that is the SAAWU constitution. Eh, as it, as it explicitly declares that the workers in alliance with the, with their other, with other progressive minded section of the society, to take their destiny in their own hands and combat poverty, unemployment, insecurity and racial hatred. This realisation that the workers are not alone in the fighting for their democratic and non-racial South Africa, they have with their allies who are now actively embroiled in UDF, we call upon the labour movement to organise more than ever before, at the point of production. From their to move triumphantly to join the vanguard the struggle. The labour organisation should not be spectators in their own liberation and (inaudible) ... such lies. The workers of South Africa are lucky because even the national liberation movement is valueing above, or as the contribution of the labour movement. Eh, the ban of the South African Allied Workers Union came as no surprise to us. The heroic and determined stand taken by the Mdantsane and East London communities in the bus boycott, made the Sebe government to run beserk and impose a banning order on SAAWU. We feel that this unwarranted banning order will not deter us from our uncompromising struggle against exploitation, and oppression. Eh, comrades eh, I have already said that eh, eh, I have only come here to, to, to represent SAAWU in East London and at the same time, the

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person who was supposed to, to speak eh <sup>didn't eh</sup> came out, so we felt that eh somebody must try and eh take his position, and at the same time, eh, as we are fully aware that eh, eh, <sup>AA</sup> things done in East London are not eh, easy, and eh, some people might think, <sup>I AM</sup> ~~are~~ not going to take ~~over~~ <sup>lmcg</sup>

"AMANDLA" 'NGAWETHU'

Audience - applause - Speech ends.

Popo MOLEFE: 'AMANDLA'

NGAWETHU - AUDIENCE X2

"Just before move towards the closure of the meeting, may I just make this other announcement that eh, eh, because this campaign is, is unfolding us we said eh, it will be important for us to keep contact with organisations and union's that are interested to support this campaign in various ways. Now, I, I'm going to give, you the names of people you can contact, that is those organisations that want to make donations eh towards the relief of the families of those in East London. Here are the names: eh, we have the name of Maris or (inaudible)... from the African Food and Canning at this number 8345185, then we have Elijah MASSINGA at 9754611, then we have Popo MOLEFE at 218772, then we have Barbare CREASY at 3393356, then we have Prioshaw CAMAY from eh CUSA who can be contacted at 298031, so that all those people individuals and organisations who are interested in supporting this campaign can phone these people. Um, shall we rise and sing the national anthem".

Audience stand and sing NKOSI SIKELELE I'AFRIKA.

"AMANDLA - A X2 member of audience.

NGAWETHU - B - audience.

"An injury to one" A  
"Is an injury to all" X1 B

"Mayibuye" A  
I'Afrika X B

"Oliver" A  
"TAMBO" X B

END OF VIDEO

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