

Box V19-b
(GENESIG)

ASSESSOR

UDF PEOPLES WEEK-END : 29/30 OCTOBER 1983 LENASIA (TAPE TWO)

SPEAKERS

1. AUBREY MOKOENA (RMC)
2. REV FRANK CHIKANE (UDF)
3. CASSIM SALOOJEE (TIC)

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND DATES MENTIONED

1. 1912 ANC
2. 1955
3. FREEDOM CHARTER
4. ZANLA, ZIPRA, ZANFRA
5. MANDELA (ANC)
6. MSIZI DUBE (ANC)
7. OLIVER TAMBO
8. UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID
9. ZWELAKHE SISULU

29/1/87 No 10 169
Dr Mokoena 24/6/88

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- 3 Line 6 Change "struggle of" to "struggle and"
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- 3 Line 7 Change "encroaching our" to "encrouching into our"
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- 3 Line 10 Change "inaudible" to "and they said no, we would like you to come and accommodate you but please not in the land."
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- 3 Line 9 Change "were armed" to "were only armed"
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- 3 Line 9 Change "perhaps little" to "perhaps with a little"
-
- 6 Line 16 Change "officials" This" to "officials, No, this"
-
- 6 Line 29 Change "liberation We" to "liberation and we"
-
- 7 Line 23 Change "war and if" to "war but if"
-
- 9 Line 10 Change "Cape Town, Bloemfontein " To "Cape Town (inaudible) Bloemfontein."

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.

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UDF PEOPLES WEEKEND : 29/30 OCTOBER 1983 : LENASIA

AUBREY MOKOENA :

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For these people that (inaudible) terrorists but then ... We do not pray with our eyes closed as we are taught ... But as we pray with our eyes wide open as revolutionaries ... and as we do that we hum one popular eh tune in the struggle Senzeni NA - What have we done (singing by audience led by MOKOENA). (Let us hum it solemnly). We pray for those who are banned, those who are banished, those who are detained, those who are standing trial before the courts of the racist minority regime ^{which} ~~has --- itself from all --- and in crimes that we pray for those who are banished ... which ... in fact ... standing trial itself for all the crimes ...~~ family ... We pray for those who are forced into exile ... we are thinking of those who are been incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor prison and all other institutions that are ^{making} ~~making~~ out punitive measures against our people and finally we are praying for those who pay the supreme price through their lives and laid down their life ... and they died for the struggle for liberation.

Prior from the inception of the struggle for liberation in 1652 coming through the 80's up to now and we particularly think of the events of 1976 ... Yes, we say the blood that was shed from the men ... and women and children who were resisting this oppression. ^{That} ~~The~~ blood is going to irrigate the tree of freedom.

(Singing of Senzeni na continues accompanied by clenched fist salutes).

Thank you comrades, let us resume our seating positions. (Noise of people sitting down).

Comrades, the struggle did not start today, the struggle started 331 years ... we have known 331 years of oppression ... our predecessors witnessed and watched the struggle ^{AND} of the people resisted ~~and~~ ^{AS} the usurpers were encroaching ^{INTO} our land. We all have heard of the Frontier wars when those men and women were ^{ONLY} armed with the truth and justice and perhaps little spear on the side. ^{AND THEY SAID NO WE SHOULD LIKE} (Inaudible). The ^{YOU TO COME AND ACCOMMODATE YOU BUT PLEASE NOT IN THE LAND.} struggle was waged and went through to 1912 on the big occasion when the ANC was formed. The struggle went through to 1955 when the great masses 3 000, delegates throughout the country came together at a humble place like Kliptown, and they drew up the Freedom Charter, in which they spelt out the minimum demands. Yes, we say that the Freedom Charter is not outdated, not outmoded because none of those requirements have been met by the minority racist regime. And the struggle came through to the 19, to the early sixties ^{when we had} with the trials that took place and it went on to the early 70's when Black Consciousness was formed, not as an end to itself but as a means to an end. Black Consciousness envisaged an open egalitarian society in which a man is not going to be judged by the colour of his skin but on merit and that is the genuine one that we know. (Audience applaud). How had the system reacted to this program of resistance. The system has banned, the system has detained, the system has killed our people. The system has devised a sophisticated program of weakening (inaudible) our people. It has come up with Koornhof Bills, PC proposals, Black Local Authorities Act and the referendum in order to buy time for itself and to

evade the issue. The system has designed and indeed contrived a grandiose scheme. total strategy of militarization to ^a regiment everybody in the country, to militarize everybody, in the country, in order to support itself, because time is against the system, God is against the system, the truth is against the system, and justice is against the system the numbers are against the system, ~~and justice is against the system.~~ (Audience clap hands). Our reaction has been and is utter rejection of all the pseudo forms, and we reject the pseudo dispensation that has been ushered into the country because we know it is just aimed at weakening the people and buying time for the system. We warned against the diversionary measures that we witness amongst us. There is only one struggle, the struggle the popular struggle of the liberation of the people. We warn everybody who opens up an umbrella and says come under my struggle today and then in a fortnights time somebody comes and opens up his political umbrella and says come under my umbrella. We say there is only one struggle. We warn against all those fragmentary manifestations because we saw them not very far, next door here in Zimbabwe where there were so many liberation organisations there were ZIPRA, ZANLA, ZANFRA, so many existed like all the letters of the alphabet, (audience laughing). The reason why they did not form one organisation before independence they did not know what to call it. We are saying to those people who are divided in the struggle they are performing a magnificent function for the system. We are pleading to all to come under the banner of the UDF and by the way the UDF does not purport to be a substitute of the peoples popular liberation movement (applause clap hands). UDF has come to oppose apartheid in toto. At the

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tackling just a few programmes of
 moment we are just interested in a couple of little
~~apartheid~~
~~programs,~~ the Koornhof Bills etc. Apartheid is
 standing before us as a thesis, that which is there
 is given and UDF is coming as an anti-thesis to act
 against the thesis in order to produce a synthesis
 which is going to be an open ^{equalitarian} ~~totalitarian~~ society
 (clapping of hands) (and shouts) where man is not
 going to be judged by the colour of his skin but on
 merit. A society which is not going to be there
 just to (adopt) people into the very system that was
 already created by other people. Where people are
 just going to be adopted, No. But a society that is
 going to be democratic an open one wherein ^{the} people
 are going to participate in the ^{combination of the} very system of ^{FORMATION OF THE} ~~the~~ society. A society which is going to ... which is
^{the} going to attain and make possible where all doors of
 prejudice, racial discrimination and hatred are
 going to flung wide open and all become children of
 God and we recognize and respect ^{the brother the and respect the} brotherhood of men.
 Let me characterize the UDF. The "U" to me
 simbolizes solidarity, ^{we come} ~~a coming~~ together. This is
 what the "U" is saying, come together. Don't have
 your own separate struggle there, don't create a
 struggle within a struggle. Don't compartamentalise
 the struggle into concentric circles. Come under
 one big struggle, there is a ^{mainstream} of the
 struggle. The "D" stands for a ^{egalitarian} ~~totalitarian~~ open
 society of democracy. The "F" stands for the force,
 Yes, front, that big enormous phalanx that brings
~~everybody together, a big political equator~~
^(in Pretoria - - - -)
^(inaudible) that binds us together as true freedom
 fighters and the lovers of the liberation of the
 land. I want to use a glacier metaphor to
 characterize the UDF. Apartheid is a big mountain
 that is standing there and UDF is coming up with all
 of us as the flakes of the snow that are gradually

Trans Equatorial Belt
 [Handwritten signature/initials]

precipitating on the mountain and they become so many and they harden and they become heavy and they congeal and at the right time the glacier begins to move down the mountain of apartheid. (clapping of hands). UDF is moving down as a majestic glacier down the mountain of apartheid, the slopes, and it is eroding ^{eroding as much} ~~this mountain~~ of apartheid into a plateau of justice (clapping of hands). We have not have to ^{(spend -} (video interruption) we need a definite program of action. What are we going to do as a people who want to liberate the country. We must discuss freely amongst ourselves as comrades, understand this concept internalise, ~~materialize~~ ^{INTERNALISE} them, make them our own. The struggle must belong to the people it must not be distant there, and belong to different people ^{OF} ~~of~~ officials ^{NO}. This is the popular struggle of the people ... a definite ... we must spread the gospel of UDF. Everybody must spread the gospel of liberation, this gospel must not be confined to a particular person, it moves out, it is a dynamic thing, it radiates, it goes out to people, ^{and} it gives them hope and says that even if its dark on this side that there is hope at the end of the tunnel. Go out and form UDF branches everywhere as we move out in the festive season. We muster ^{and} students, workers and everybody, go in the townships and form UDF branches everywhere without apology. We must be personally involved and convinced ^{of our} ~~for the~~ struggle for liberation. ^{AND} We must make and support the call to release MANDELA and all his comrades who have been incarcerated (they raise clenched fists) (clapping of hands) on Robben Island. MANDELA is a symbol ... which symbolizes the genuine liberation of our people, and in fact we know that without him, no meaningful political solution in South Africa can be possible (applause). When PW BOTHA ^{when he} was asked at

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a press conference by Zwelakhe SISULU, OK Mr PW, we have heard everything about the referendum. What is your response to the call to release MANDELA? And he said two things and he said number one the Government is going to ignore the call. And we say to him, if you, the government is going to ignore the call it is doing it at its own peril. We say PW surely your memory must not be so short to forget that ten years ago nobody else but this government advised IAN SMITH to free all the leaders NKOMO, MUGABE and all the leaders and engage in meaningful dialogue with them. South Africa was so effervescently enthusiastic about the solution ^{of} ~~in~~ the country. ^{there} ~~That~~ So when IAN SMITH said I don't have the facilities, ^{At the hardware in} Pretoria said no, ^{Salisbury} we shall supply a train. The train moves from here, and I can imagine the noise of the wheels, as it rushes to Salisbury (laughter) and it moved ^{and-and-and-and} and it was straddling the two countries, Zambia and Rhodesia. And the men were coming from the bush ⁱⁿ with their dirty overalls and boots and ^{they} jump on the train and told SMITH where to get off and they told him we are sick and tired of a war and ^{but} if you hold on to minority power we shall destroy you. We say PW (inaudible) of the government (inaudible) characterized by the Koornhof Bills and the constitutional dispensation are going to delay the struggle and cause unnecessary bloodshed. That is why there is a campaign to release MANDELA and all the political prisoners. The second leg of PW BOTHA'S statement was that the judiciary is independant, the courts have found those ^{men} people guilty and he piously and self-righteously said we are not going to interfere. And we say, ^{Ja!} but to prove to those ^{or some kind of justice in} we are going to prove, we are going to

court contest, the validity of all these bans. We are going to contest that

particular assertion. Not that we have so much faith in the system, but we are going to expose the system ^{which} and I can imagine the day, ^{when} the judge of the supreme court says I'm incompetent to pronounce sentence on these men here, the Internal Security Act is a big monster and I cannot touch it, it is sacrosanct. ^{Then he turn around and say here,} There is your independent judiciary. Comrades, we know that leadership is like a relay. I want to warn against those people who are trying to make themselves rival leaders of the true leaders of the people. I don't want to mention names. ^(although) Leadership is like a relay. You don't invent a struggle ^{of} on your own. You join the popular struggle of the people, leadership is like a ^(inaudible) ^(huge) racing metaphor. You take a baton and you run your course. When you run out of political stamina you hand over the baton to somebody else and ^{your comrade} he takes the baton and runs his course ^{and when he comes to his peak} ^(inaudible). He takes the baton and gives it ^{up} to you and ^{on you go back there until it come} you take the baton and ^{you} finish the race. You don't snatch that baton, and say I'm going to the beginning and say I'm going to run my own race. (Audience clap hands).

We did not invent the struggle. ^A The struggle ^{does not get} was invented. It is like a wheel. ^{didn't} The wheel has already been invented and if you ~~do not~~ take part in the invention you must probe those who invented it and cut out your own ^{ego} boasting and say I want to re-invent my own wheel ^(inaudible) because the wheel is perfect. All that you have to do ^{to, is to} is use it. ^{Because if you try and invent your own wheel} ~~Don't want your own wheel because all you come up with is a square or triangle and not a wheel,~~ ^(applaud) because the wheel is already perfect. ^{have been} The popular struggle of the people ~~is perfect it is~~ standing there already. And I want to demonstrate that we are going to achieve our liberation because we know

Mr Chairman, comrades, that soon-^{ev} now and very soon indeed we can imagine the day when all the ^{days and all the} doors of Robben Island and Pollsmoor Prison are going to be flung wide open and when all the brothers and sisters (audience clap hands and shout) who have been sent into exile are going to come back. That day is coming and indeed it is very, very near. ^{When} I can imagine that day when NELSON MANDELA lifts up his leg on that historic occasion and he sets his foot on the pavement of Cape Town, ~~Transvaal~~ ^{and walks the (pavements)} Bloemfontein, of Port Elizabeth, of Durban of Johannesburg of Pretoria. And we all say the people shall govern and we shall truly be free. (Siphiwe THUSI (SOYCO) immediately approaches the microphone and shouts Amandla twice and leads the audience into singing the song:

Nelson MANDELA Hayi Hayi Ubaba Wethu X2

Msizi DUBE Hayi Hayi Ubaba Wethu X2
 Siphiwe: Amandla. Audience: Ngawethu.
 Mayibuye Audience: I Afrika X3

MANDELA is our father

Nsizi DUBE is our father

TAMBO is our father

The following banners were displayed at the meeting:

- UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT;
- TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS; and
- LONG LIVE CONGRESS.

Rev Frank CHIKANE: (Inaudible) "We must get seated as we are going to get a message from the United Nations and (---) is going to say one word and then we can close (inaudible). Can we get seated".

CASSIM SALOOJEE: ^{Friends} "this is the last message ^{I think it have to be read because} ~~read in support of the~~ it is the

international community for our cause. The message is from MICHAEL MASIMULA (phonetical) who is a chairman of SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID IN UNITED NATIONS.

"I am happy to send my warmest ^{greetings and} congratulations ~~and~~ ~~greetings~~ on the occasion of granting UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT your demonstration of unity of opposition of the so-called Constitution proposals of authorities in Pretoria and its support of non-racial democratic South Africa is welcomed by UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, and indeed by most of humanity.

The Constitutional proposals are designed to entrench racism and apartheid, they are part of the effort ^{b2} of the authorities to disposess and denaturalise ^{denaturalise} African majority behind their diversionary, propaganda about ¹ their reforms. They are not steps in right direction as some ^{APOLITICISTA} ~~authorities~~ of apartheid claim nor merely unsatisfactory, but are manouvered to divide the ^{the} people and prevent genuine democratic change. Africa and world cannot but denounce ^{and as in deed they denounce} the establishment of Whites only Republic in 1961 which began a generation of escalating ~~of~~ oppression and conflict. We are heartened that all African people totally reject Constitution proposals and that coloured and indian people have refused to become accomplices of racism.

UNITED NATIONS and international community have repeatedly made it clear that a just and lasting solution requires the release of NELSON MANDELA and all other political prisoners. Amnesty to those restricted in exile, end to all ^{ve-} oppression and discussions by genuine democratic representatives of people on the establishment of truly democratic State. They have offered all appropriate resistance in pursuit of such a solution. I hope that even at this late stage Pretoria authorities

will abandon their last resort of escalating repression,^{and (inaudible)} and seek a just solution. We cannot ^{prevail} relate against our opposition to the governing of the people of South Africa and the rest of the world. Whatever they have (inaudible). Whatever they hear (inaudible). All over the world (rejecting) of world peace. Whatever theme of South Africa ^{for} ~~of~~ democracy is not going to break the moral struggle but has tremendous international significance. You can count on sympathy and support of all humanity in your efforts to build even greater unity^{and} for justice and democracy". (Audience applause).

Thank you
 FRANK CHIKANE: "One announcement the people from the Vaal the people from, the Vaal please there is a bus that goes to Sebokeng. ^{The Vaal} ~~They~~ should come to that corner of this hall when we finish, the bus will take them to the other hall and collect the others. Those who are going to Soweto there is a bus which came being not full so it can be used and we are going to check ^{whether} ~~if there~~ is a standby bus ^{is there} for those who have problems. And then I want to request the executive committee after this rally to move to the board room.

Now one last message that I want to give you before they help you after closing as to how you are going to leave this hall. Please after singing the national anthem, stay put until you are told exactly how you are going to leave this room.

All - We are going to call upon all organizations, grassroots organizations, community organizations, all the worker organizations to start in a new spirit when they reach home after this rally. That our effort should not only end up in a rally and speaking, but we should go into action ^{and} ~~but~~ I want to warn you that the system will never care about people who talk and go and sit down at home

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and then affiliates

and we are going to leave here with a determined spirit all those who belong to one area different organizations of the with UDF must meet together, form task forces to work within their area jointly to work against the system. It is your assignment when you leave here to make sure that your area is covered, don't worry about other people worry about where you are and if you do something where you are, everybody shall have done something everywhere (audience applause). This is a call ~~that we are forcing you which you are going~~ to undertake henceforth and our determination is that we bring our liberation closer. We cannot have more people dying whilst we are playing, we cannot have our leaders languishing in jail. They are waiting for us to bring liberation, it is our task to make sure that they are liberated and freed from those jails and if we are not going to take serious, we are not going to achieve anything and I call upon you, all of you to be dedicated, everyday it should be your assignment. You are going to produce the results for the liberation of the people. Secondly we are calling you to work for unity in action. Whether you have differences ^{or form organisations for different purposes} ~~(inaudible) organizations~~ that is not the issue.

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Q the year of unity in action.

The issue here is the liberation of the people, it is the suffering of the people, it is the people who are feeling the oppression, (audience applause) and they are waiting for us to come together with them in the struggle for liberation. Your key for UDF ~~is~~ therefore is unity in action. Bring everybody here whoever says whatever, ^{say} ~~(inaudible)~~ our slogan is to liberate our people in unity and that ^{we} therefore all come together for the sake of the unity of the people. May you be strengthened as you go back home and may we see ^{may} results and ~~hear~~ our leaders in prison be happy ~~(inaudible)~~. And freed out of that prison.

do

Shall we stand up and sing the National Anthem".

Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica

People can be seen as the "National Anthem is sung: Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians raising clenched fists and extended thumbs. (After Nkose Sikelele iAfrica).

SOMEONE	:	AMANDLA	x 2
AUDIENCE	:	NGAWETHU	x 2
SOMEONE	:	MAYIBUE	x 2
AUDIENCE	:	iAFRICA	x 2
AUDIENCE	:	UDF	x 28
SOMEONE	:	OLIVER	x 2
AUDIENCE	:	TAMBO	x 2

CASSIM SALOJEE:

We have come together for the meeting and we want to ^{disperse in} ~~discuss or~~ - an orderly way we must not give the system a chance to do anything.

Now this is the way in that we are going to do. All those who are, we are going to close the doors at the back, and there will be just one entrance ah - exit, so you just (would) be patient with us and we want to do this quietly and in a way that help us all.

Now all those people who are in the foyer, they will be the first to move out. Thereafter the people who are on the left hand side of the rope that we have here, they will then go out, and thereafter people on the right hand side and finally people who are right at the back.

So we first ask those people who are in the foyer to clear out quietly and then people here on the right hand (video interruption).

(Scenes of people outside, going to motor cars and the picture focuss also on various busses, some with UDF banners on it and in the windows as well as a yellow light delivery van. (No actual commentary). (People visible wearing-UDF-T shirts). There are also scenes from inside a bus but with no definite commentary.

Shall we stand up and sing the National Anthem".

Nkosi Sikele I Afrika ...

People can be seen as the "National Anthem" is sung
Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians raising clenched
fists and extended thumbs.