

BEW.

V8 PAR.37

UDF ONE YEAR RALLY : PORT ELIZABETH : 1984-08-25~~0~~

SPEAKERS:

1. Patrick LEKOTA
2. Alan BOESAK

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED

1. UDF
2. MANDELA
3. SISULU
4. Govan MBEKI
5. Oliver TAMBO
6. Joe MODISE

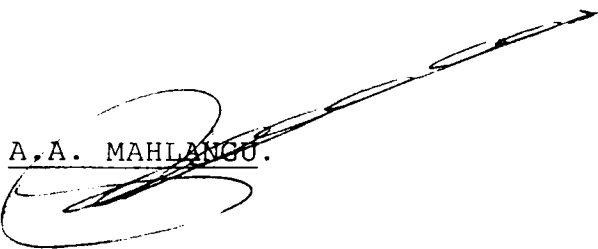
ASSESSOR

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---

The tape starts with the word "Inkululeko" written in broad letters, and the National Anthem being sung in Southern Sotho, then the audience starts to appear on the screen standing with clenched right fists singing the National Anthem, then the slogan "Amandla" is shouted, the audience responds "Ngawethu" then follows the shouting of slogans as transcribed and translated at the end of this transcript.

N.B. This part of the tape is actually the end of the tape.

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iAfrika MAYIBUYE

Come back Africa

Amandla Ngawethu

Power is ours

Flags, black, green and yellow are being waved by singers.

Displayed against the walls of the hall were banners of the UDF "DON'T VOTE", "SACOS", "NO NORMAL SPORT IN AN ABNORMAL SOCIETY", "UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT UDF UNITES".

(Video interruption)

Unknown male acting as chairman introduces Patrick LEKOTA by saying:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my pleasure to introduce mr Patrick LEKOTA, who is the national publicity secretary of the UDF. (The audience responds by shouting "UDF".)

Patrick LEKOTA: AMANDLA
 Audience: NGAWETHU
 Patrick LEKOTA: AMANDLA
 Audience: NGAWETHU

Both instances with right fist raised.

Patrick LEKOTA:

(20) Comrade chairman,^{ah} comrades and friends it is appropriate that on the occasion of the first anniversary of the United Democratic Front, we should^{ah} be meeting here together with other progressive organisations, resisting and expressing our total opposition to the new constitution.

11/9/87
 14/9/87 It is also appropriate that at this moment our thoughts should stretch across the vastness of our country, to the island of freedom, to Polsmoor prison, to prisons like Diepkloof where political prisoners of our country are locked up and are suffering for freedom. It is proper

also that our thoughts should stretch across the borders of our country to the exiles. To those men and women who have died ~~(being)~~ ^{of} ~~(being)~~ ^{of} audience) to those men and women who have died, away from their country, who remain an obligation for us to bring their bones back home tomorrow and bury them within this country (cheering of audience) so that they may take their rightful place within the borders of our country. If we have said that we reject the new constitution because it excludes African people, let it not be understood to mean that if it included African people we would accept it, because even if it did we would still reject it. ^(applause) We would reject that constitution because it is a constitution of the Afrikaners, it is a constitution of the NATS; they drew it up themselves, they took decisions about it, it is their constitution. We demand a constitution of the people of South Africa, Black and White (applause by audience). But we also reject the new constitution because as we have said it retains the fundamental principle of apartheid, the adoption of the tri-cameral formation in which there are three houses of Parliament, it is intended to preserve that element of white superiority of white untouchableness that even though Hendrickse, Rajbansi and so on are being drawn next to the Afrikaners, so we are told, the Afrikaners are still saying that I as Piet Koornhoff or I as PW Botha, cannot sit next to the monkey like P W, P W Hendrickse, I can not sit next to Rajbansi. It still says that ^(applause)

And for those of us who have grown up in this country, for those of us who grew up hunting, we understand their mentality very well. We understand about how hunters always have their dogs, they love their dogs, they give them food and so on, but when it comes to sleeping time, they build a kennel there, a place for the dog and the dog must sleep outside, they must sleep alone in the house. (cheering of audience)

And I say, we are not speaking for ourselves, we are speaking as a generation that (inaudible) ^{the} experience of the people that has consistently been betrayed. If we are saying today that we do not want to give even this constitution a chance, it is because of this number of broken promises. It is because we have in fact given them a chance before. We cannot give them another chance anymore and we will not give

them a chance. (Applause). The only reason ~~that Hendrickse is saying~~
~~that he wants to give them another chance.~~ The only reason that
 Hendrickse is saying that he wants to give the new constitution a chance
 for five years, he says after five years if it does not work, I leave
 it. But ask yourself how much money shall he have earned by then
 (applause) how much money shall he have earned by then. If you add,
 taken the present figures, OK add some increment. Every year he will
 get an increment how much money shall he have made, ^{so} he wants to make a chance
 to make a bit of a little fortune for himself, ^{that is what he is asking us to do to give him that} and of course we must refuse to do this, we
 are refusing to do this. In doing so, in asking for a chance, they are
 saying that African people are enemies of the Indian people and Coloured
 people, or vice versa, they are saying to white people, that you must be
 careful of the "swart gevaar". Those people There will come and kill
 you. But I must make the point, as I have already said, indeed, we are
 not looking, and I make this point without apology, we are not looking
 for a black Government, we are not demanding a black Government, no
 ways. We are asking for a Government of the people of South Africa
 (applause). Let me repeat, that we are not looking for a Black prime
 minister, we are not looking for an African prime minister, experience
 has taught us that among African people as well, there are rascals and
 scoundrels, that among African people there are Bantustan leaders, there
 are men who are committed to apartheid, so we are not looking for an
 African prime minister (applause) (video interruption), because we have
 discovered that even amongst them there are Hendrickse, so we do not
 want a Coloured prime minister. But also we do not want an Indian prime
 minister, we don't want ^{one} ~~one~~. Give that such a prime minister should be
 an African, or White or Indian, that will just be coincidental. The
 primary condition for him to lead our country must be that he accept the
 humanity of the people of our country, all of them. (not discernable)
 Let us march together towards freedom. The price is heavy but our
 people have already paid the greater part of the installments. The
 instalment. The instalment to be made is a smaller one. We are saying
 the march towards our freedom cannot be stopped. We are saying that
 these men who are saying that we must go into this parliament are
 mistaken.

Written on the screen - Patrick Terror LEKOTA detained the following day.

(Video interruption)

Song: We shall never go to America (To the rhythm of Jamaican
Our country is South Africa Farewell)
its our country and we shall never ...
MANDELA, SISULU, Govan MBEKI, save our country
that was once away (x2)

~~Shows Patrick LEKOTA clapping hands.~~

Amandla Ngawethu
Amandla Ngawethu
Freedom in our life-time
~~Freedom in our life-time~~
Amandla Ngawethu
Each one Teach one
Each one Teach one
Amandla Ngawethu
Mayibuye iAfrika

(Video interruption)

Audience jumps around with raised fists and shouts: OLIVER TAMBO,
OLIVER TAMBO.

(20) 1/10/87

Displaying of flags, black, yellow and green, ~~similar to that of the~~
~~ANC.~~ Displaying of an UDF "DON'T VOTE" banner. "DON'T VOTE IN
APARTHEID ELECTION".

Alan BOESAK:

O, it's a night such as this, a night of co-operation, such as this;
that makes the Government of this country so scared of what we can do.

(applause)

Now we are here to affirm as clearly and unequivocally as we possibly can, why we will not go and vote on Wednesday 22nd and on the 28th. And I would like to specifically make it clear that all we must understand why is it this call is going out and why it is so very important in this city for us not to take that fatal step to whatever calling group is provided, and to do something else on Wednesday. I would like to remind you that we are asking you not to vote for the sake of your conscience. You know that this new constitution in no ways it even attempts to address the issue of apartheid. You know that this new constitution, rather than changing this evil system under which so many of our people have to suffer, will entrench it even more. ^{and} You know that this new constitution, rather than moving away from racism, which has become the scourge of the South African society, will make racism the very basis upon which everything will be built in this country. You know that this new constitution will not change the violent nature of apartheid, but make the violence of apartheid even more part of the day that we live in. (applause) So we are saying to you not to vote on Wednesday. Do not give with your vote any respectability to this government of this country, which is not representative of you, which is not legitimate, which does not deserve your support and neither must we give any respectability or support to those people from our community who would like to give the government that respectability. Daar is natuurlik ook nog 'n ander ding wat ons moet sê, en ek sal maar Afrikaans praat, want ek wil hê almal moet my verstaan, ook PW Botha en ook die regering. (applous) Daar is natuurlik nog 'n ander saak. Hier word vir ons nadruklik 'n grondwet aangebied, lieve broeders en susters, waarvan daar gesê word, dat dit 'n grondwet is wat in ooreenstemming is met die Christelike beginsels waarvoor so baie van ons staan. Daardie grondwet begin deur te sê, In erkenning van die wyse Alhoë, almagtige God en ter beskerming en bestendiging van ons Christelike standarde, maar ons moet baie duidelik en baie nadruklik vir die regering sê, jy kan nie iets wat vloek met die Evangelie van Jesus Christus, iets wat die naam van God skade en kwaad aandoen, ooit, ooit deurvoer nie. ^(applause) Ons moet ook vir die regering en die mense wat hom wil steun en ook mense wat skuil agter die kleed van die Christelike kerk nadruklik sê, wat is Christelik aan apartheid? Is die Christelike standarde wat beskerm moet word, miskien

die wette wat sorg dat die mense sonder aanhouding, sonder verhoor aangehou word, in tronke gesmyt word, waar hulle van hul lewe nie seker is nie, ^(onhoorbare) terwyl hulle gemartel word, om wie tevrede te stel? Is dit Christelik? [^] Is dit reg dat een groepie vir homself vat, meer as wat hy kan hanteer en aan die meerderheid wat stukkie, stukkie land uitgedeel word, is dit Christelik? Asook Crossroads in Kaapstad, die plastiek skuilinkies van mense bo hul koppe afgebreek word, self as Mev Lamani daar sit met haar twee kinders en die reën val. ^(applous) That has nothing to do with Christianity and the Christian churches were clear about this issue. There is no way in which this system, even in it's new cloak, that will be provided after August 22nd, can ever be called Christian, for us. Apartheid is not Christian, it is a denial of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it is the denial for every single thing the church stands for. It is a denial of every demand of the Kingdom of God, in fact it is a blasphemy. (applause) We shall be asking you not to vote for the sake of your children. For as we have heard so eloquently before tonight, we must vote, we must take a stand in such a way that the vote, that will be given, will be for ever branded as a vote that was a betrayal of all that we have worked for, and of the future that we have wanted to save for our children. We must be clear that 20 years from now we will be able to look forthcoming generations in the eye and stand firm and say tall and ~~for~~, when I ^{got} had the choice, I knew what I wanted and I was firm in terms of demanding a clear South Africa, a democratic society where all the people will be represented in the government of their choice. Not in a separate legislative assembly. (Applause).

We shall not vote for a system in which our children [^] will be conscripted into an army, that will take them away and put them on the borders where they would die for the sake of apartheid. My kind, my kind, mag nie môre vir my sê, dat ek hom verraaï het deur te staan, of stil te bly, op 'n moment waar ek duidelik moes gesê het, hieraan sal ek nie meewerk nie. En ek reken dat ons dit aan die komende generasies in hierdie land verskuldig is. We will ask you also not to vote for the sake of your selfrespect. We must remember, the government who is asking you to vote Wednesday, the government who is asking you to give respectability to

the people from these communities who are going to sit in those Houses of Parliament, where no proper decision can be taken that can really affect some change in your life. This government who are asking you to do this, these are the very people who have made racism a way of life in this country. These are the people who took away whatever pitiful political rights we have had in the past and stripped us of all of that. These are the people who made law upon law, upon law to take away your human dignity. Dit is die mense wat jou menslike waardigheid weggenem het en wat van jou in hierdie land van jou geboorte, niks anders as 'n kaffer en 'n hotnot gemaak het nie. (applous)

How can you vote for people who have made you less than God had intended for you. ^{to be} How can you vote for people (applause) who want to play God in the lives of people. Hulle dink dat omdat hulle mag het en omdat hulle gewere het en omdat hulle geld het en omdat hulle skatte besit en sommige omdat hulle in bewind is, dat hulle kan God speel in die lewe van mense en ons rondjaag in die land van ons geboorte. (applous)

I will not vote for a people who have banned us, who have tortured us in their jails, who have locked us up without even the decency of a trial. I will not vote for people, these people who want you to vote for them are the very people who in 1976 in cold blood murdered our children. (applause). These are the people who in 1980 on the streets of Cape Town killed our children, their blood has still not thickened (applause) How can you vote for them? (applause).

No, I want to say to you as clearly as I can, I shall not and you must not allow this government to be able to go out into the world to be able to continue these policies, to be able to continue the practises of apartheid, to be able to continue the undermining of our human dignity and to be able to say to the world the black people of this country have given us a mandate, we must not do that. We must rather, as I have called for before, say to this government, rather than supporting you, we shall pray for the downfall of the South African government, as soon as God will grant it.

Nou, liewe broeders en susters, ek hoor vanmiddag by 'n koerantman dat mnr Louis le Grange sê dat hy my gaan antwoord omdat ek gesê het dat ons moet bid vir die val van die regering. ^(laughing) Want hy sê, hy sê as ek sê ons moet bid vir die val van die regering dan vra ek eintlik vir geweld. Ek wil vir mnr Louis le Grange sê, mnr le Grange God kan enige regering laat val as mense daarvoor bid, en jy kan kyk (applous), en dit is hoog tyd dat mense wat in ministeriële posisies sit leer, dat wanneer ons met ons godsdiens besig is, dan is ons nie vir hulle bang nie. Hy kan nie vir my sê wat ek moet bid nie. Ek sal bid hy moet val. (applous) I would also like to say to you that as we enter this important phase in the life of our country, let us remember, that we have a tradition to respect. (Displaying of flag - black, yellow and green). Now your tradition is not the tradition of the LABOUR PARTY, it is not a tradition of meekly accepting apartheid and all its laws. Your tradition is not a tradition of collaboration with a racist government. Your tradition is not a tradition of accepting laws and ^{that have} ~~undermining~~ ^{-ed} your human dignity. Your tradition is a tradition of resistance, it is a tradition of pride, it is a tradition of struggle. Let us not betray that tradition. Let us be sure that we will hold that tradition, as purely as we can, not only for ourselves, but for those who will come after us. We want not a system where white superiority and white minority rule will still be entrenched, but we shall continue our struggle for an open, non-racial democratic society, for full and meaningful participation for every single South African. We must work for the day when you, all of you, will have the right to vote for any person of your choice, where you shall have the participation in the decision-making processes at the highest level of government, in the government of your choice in this country. Till we have that day and till we have shared control over the economic resources of our land, and control over the wealth of our country and control over the methods of production of this country, that the workers are talking about, we shall struggle until we have that day and we shall not be satisfied with less. (applause)

You know of course that things that we should remember as we go along, is that this government thinks that it is very clever and that we are

not so clever. So what they do is they give you television. (laughter)
 So, I mean There are a lot of people who said we must be grateful for this government, for they gave us television. You know why they gave you television? They did not give you television so that you will know what is happening in the world, they did not give you television so that you will understand the nature of politics in this society. They did not give you television so that we can learn what we are all about and what this country is all about and what Mr Reagan really said, because every, every other word on South African television is not true, you know that. Een van die redes waarom die TV so laat in die middag aangaan, is omdat daar nie genoeg leuens is om van die oggend af te begin nie. Wat moet jy kyk op die televisie, jy moet vir Dallas kyk, die hele dag moet jy kyk vir die mense soos Dallas, JR en Sue (onduidelik) (applous) en gee gee vir jou "stickers" I hate this - - - I hate apartheid.

And so on this television they give you programmes and they say, "dis Verslag" and they say it's discussion. Discussion about what, with who? You must ask yourself the question, those people who appear on television three times a week, to explain to you what it is they really mean, why are they doing that? Who are they representing, whose interests are they representing? It is not yours. It is not your childrens. It is their own and those people who pay them. So when you watch television, the reason why I am saying this to you, moenie dom wees nie mense, moenie dom wees nie. When you watch television, know what you are watching. Listen to what they are saying and make up your own mind. Don't let yourself be bamboozled. (applause) You know that there are more feelings at stake here, much deeper feelings, like your human dignity, like the ideal that people have fought for and struggled for in this country. Like the promises that we have made to those who have died on the streets of this nation, and like the ideal that we have prompted for so many years and these are the things that are at stake and it is up to you. It is totally dependent upon you, whether these ideals that we have kept alive in this country, and as well as on this Wednesday we shall be the participants at the burial of these ideals for which so many people have died. It is up to you, the choice is yours. And I would like to remind you, all the questions that must put to the United Democratic Front, they answer, look, what will you do after the

22nd, because then this new parliamentary system will be a fact. It might be a fact, but it will still be a joke I say, but after we accept that we must still say something else. The task of the United Democratic Front, and it is the task of every single progressive organisation, is not simply to tell people not to go and vote on the 22nd or on the 28th. Basically our task remains this: we must do everything in our power to equip our people for democracy, which means that we are not only concerned about keeping you away from the polls, we are really concerned about equipping you to govern this country, that is what we are all about.

This government is definitely afraid of what progressive causes can do, they are scared of us. And that is why they spend all their time on radio and on television and in the press, telling the people how communist we are, how ANC we are, ^{and} how violent we are, and how undemocratic we are. That is because they are afraid of you. And that is why again they have given you TV, ^{shows} so that every now and then how many times a week, what do you see, you see the army, and you see all those things that they have and all they've done. It is just to show how we can make new guns in this country, it is to scare you off. So that you will be too afraid to stand up and do what is right. ^{you must remember this} You must remember this South African government is afraid of people who are no longer afraid of intimidation, who are no longer afraid of threats, who are no longer afraid of dying, because they believe in their freedom. That is what they are afraid of. So, in the next year or so, you will see, on the one hand they will give you more concessions, while in the same time oppression will go. This is the way it has always been in this country. So Mr PW Botha goes around Europe telling people how things have changed and how things are changing, in the meantime there is a place called Cradock where there is a virtual raid of terror by the police in the township, where people cannot move freely, where they are under surveillance 24 hours a day, where little kids that have been locked up in jail, where children had been run off the pavements by police vehicles and sit at home with broken arms. They will have (inaudible).
 . . . watch this and don't be misled.

I think that what they would also do is they will try to give the new tri-cameral system credibility by building new libraries in your townships and they will fix the roofs of the schools and they will fix your pavements, because pavements, is eie sake, het julle dit nie geweet nie? They will fix your pavements. ^{and} They will ^{turn around and they will} tell you, those people who told us, you not to go into the system were wrong, look at what we are doing for you. Let me just remind you for you to have decent houses, where you can live comfortably with your family, it is not a favour this government must do you, it is your right. (applause) Listen now, for you to have a decent education, for your children, proper schools for them to go to, decent books from which to read, teachers that are well equipped and well trained, to give your children the kind of education that will put them to stand proud and on an equal ~~part~~ with every other child in this country and for that matter with every other child in the world. It is not a favour ^{it is your} ~~but a~~ right and you must claim that right. ^(applause) They will of course have to do something, for Mr Botha has promised Mrs Thatcher and has promised Mr ~~K~~ KOHL of Germany, and he has promised Pres Reagan that we will have to do something spectacular. This spectacular thing that they gonna do is, they gonna scrap the Immorality Act. Everybody talks about it. Now I do not know exactly how they are going to do that, but I think they are going to try to do something with that. Let me remind you of one or two things, first. The Immorality Act, whether it is there or not there, is not the beginning or the end of this struggle. The struggle is not about scrapping a little law there and a little law here and another little law on the other side. This struggle is about getting rid of the whole evil system of apartheid. We are not interested in little laws, we want the system to go. You cannot go into a system and affirm it and scrap a little law and then come back and say, look what we have done for you.

The second thing I want to say to you is this. They will not scrap the Immorality Act, simply because we have asked for that. They must scrap it because they must uphold their friend in the western world, something that will make them say, Ah changes are coming in South Africa. (laughter)

Ons is verby daai dom tyd wat hulle dink hierdie goedjies sal ons vir ons vang, daai tyd is verby. First thing I want to say to you, don't be misled by ~~this~~ ^{THE} way they use words. They say that it is immoral for two people to fall in love with one another simply because they are in the jargon of this country from different racial groups. It is not immoral to fall in love with someone. What is immoral? It is immoral to make laws that are out to destroy the human dignity of people who have been created in the image of the living God. That is immoral. It is immoral to have a situation in which the wealth of the country is being controlled by a small minority whilst the masses of our people suffer hungry and poverty. That is immoral. (applause) It is immoral that in this country, one of the richest countries on this continent, and one of the richest countries in the world, that there are places where little children die of hunger and sickness and inadequate medical facilities, while other children have every single thing that modern western society can offer. It is a shame and its immoral that there are people in this country, like in some places in the Northern Transvaal that I know of where mothers must be mix mealie maize with soil to make it more, so they can feed more of their children, while the tables of the rich stand with stacks of food which is to be thrown ^{away} to the dogs. In this country there are dogs that eat bet~~ter~~ than some of our people. (Applause).

And so we must not even waste our time talking about things and talking about words, and talking about definitions that had been turned around, we must know what we are talking about and we must be clear that when we say these things, we are certain what we want. They call you undemocratic. They say that we want to undermine the democratic process. Now let, I'll give you one good reason why this government have no right to call you undemocratic. One reason is, we have a government in this country who does not even know the meaning of the word democratic. (applause) And these are the people who have given the vote to a few people ^{for} all these years, excluding the vast majority of the people of the country, and they call that democratic. They have used the democratic system, the Westminster system to deprive you of your democratic rights. What do they know about democracy? They have used the democratic system to bring about laws on this statute books,

like the internal security laws that we have that are the denial of everything that very single democratic state has ever believed in. What do they know about democracy? And now they come and they give you a tri-cameral parliamentary system with a funny 4-2-1 formula and then they call that democratic. Oh by the way the other day when Miesies Botha gaan koop in Europa, en toe vra iemand vir haar, wat is nou die beste van die nuwe sisteem en toe sê sy, die nuwe waspoeier. The new washing powder that will be on the market as from August 22nd and has a wonderful formula, they call it a 4-2-1 formula ^{it works marvellous and} (laughter). The slogan is very clear, this new washing powder with a 4-2-1 punch power makes your whites whiter (applause), and makes your colours ^{-eds} brighter and it completely removes all the black spots. (laughter)

Seriously, brothers and sisters (x2), now those of you who watched the television debate the other evening have heard a candidate say when we have power, we shall deal with those people. We shall deal with those organisations, we shall deal with those teachers, we shall deal with those students, we shall deal with all of them. Now I want you to note that their language is not the language of people who love or understand democracy, it is the language of the oppressor, it is the language of hatred, it is a language of violence, it is a language of intimidation, it is a language of threat, it is not your voice that is speaking there, it is the voice of the oppressor.

They will do not you when they get into parliament when they have power, they will do to you what this government has done to you all the time. (Applause). And we must remind them that they do not understand what power is. Power is not when you have grabbed a gun and threaten someone else's life. Power is not when you have armies or police forces at your disposal, power is not when you can command time on radio and television and pop your propaganda and thinking that all the people will believe you. Power is not because another government has put you into a position and has made you into a leader even knowing your people have not accepted you. Power, power has something to do with authority, it has something to do with authenticity, it has something to do with integrity. Power has to do when your people, because they know you,

because they trust you, because they have confidence in you, because they support you, because they are loyal to you, because they respect you, because they have put you into a position of authority, now that is power. (applause).

Now that kind of power they will not have and that kind of power they will never get, because they will not have our respect, they will not have our support, they will not have our trust and they shall never have our confidence. And I must say something else. They know that they don't represent us, they know that they don't speak for us. There may have been a time when you can go on radio on TV or have some newspaper take your picture and call you leader and think that the people will call and make you a leader. That time is over, those days are gone. There may have been a time when you can come and you can press our people into silence and into submission and when you wave a gun you think we will run around a corner and hide ourselves. That time is over, those days are gone forever (applause). And I want as I did on Saturday again, very solemnly want to warn these people, we are sick and tired of this kind of thing. We are tired of being disregarded, we are tired of being lied to, we are tired of being threatened, we are tired of being used, we are tired of being exploited. If these people, whenever they get into their parliament, do what they have threatened to do, they can go ahead, but let them remember, if you threaten us, we shall resist you, if you throw us in jail, we shall resist you, go ahead and ban our organisations, but we shall resist you, go ahead and ban our leaders, but we shall resist you, go ahead and threaten our teachers, but we shall resist you, go and threaten our sports bodies and we shall resist you, but if you touch our children, we shall never forgive you. (Applause). We shall remind them that they shall find out that the biblical word is true, you shall reap what you sow. I want you tonight to say very clearly to the South African government and to all in the world who want to hear, we are a determined people, we are a people on the way to freedom, we shall have our freedom. ^{They can do what they want but we shall have our} (Inaudible). ^{freedom} They can take their propaganda machines and they can make it seem to the world that we are not fit for democracy, but we shall have our freedom. They can go ahead and set up their dummy bodies and make leaders from people

who we will never recognize, we will not give respectability to them and we shall have our freedom. You can take our children and you can fill their heads with the poison of gutter education, so that they will never understand what it is that their role must be for the sake of their own future, but we shall have our freedom. They can send their police with their dogs and with their guns and ^{with} their teargas and try to silence us and try to frighten us, but we shall have our freedom. And they can bring their people and they can kill us from the streets, but we shall have our freedom. ^{The day shall dawn} ~~They shall go~~ and we will work so hard to make of this country a country that we shall be proud of. We shall make of this land a land where we will stand tall and proud where our history will give a vindication of our future and we shall ^{make} this country a country in which our children shall be proud to be called South Africans but not like today. And we shall make of this land a land where our people shall participate in a democratic government of their own choice, and we shall make of ourselves a proud people. One nation, clear in what we want, certain of our victory, knowing that our freedom shall come. Because it shall come, our freedom shall come. Thank you. God bless you.

Audiende rises and whilst clapping hands, shouts "BOESAK, BOESAK "

Aan einde van BOESAK se toespraak word die volgende resolusies voorgeloes deur onbekende persoon:

This meeting therefore resolves its total rejection of the so-called new dispensation and the tri-cameral parliament and this meeting therefore resolves:

- (1) To call upon all responsible voters to boycott the elections on the 22nd and the 28th of August.
- (2) To struggle for one united non-racial democratic South African in which everyone has equal rights to share in the wealth of the country.
- (3)(2) Everyone earns a living wage and have access to free trade unions
- (4)(3) There is one universal system of education

- (5) True equality before the law.
- (6) Their undisputed right to freedom of speech, movement and assembly.

(5)(4) True equality before the law.

(6)(5) Their undisputed right to freedom of speech, movement and assembly.

(7)(6) To form peoples organisations like CIVIC, Trade Unions and Parent Teacher Associations.

(8)(7) Inaudible) of the oppressed and exploited in this Country.

Unknown male talks about resolution (not audible) ^{"with all those in favour of the} (there is ^{resolutions} whistling in the background, as the audience stands up.) ^{please----}

Ladies and Gentlemen this meeting has ^{now} come to an end.

Thank you."

NATIONAL ANTHEM	TRANSLATION
Nkosi Sikelela iAfrica	God save Africa
Maluphakanyiswe uphondo Lwayo	Let its horn be held high
Yizwa imithandazo yethu	Hear our Prayers
Nkosi Sikelela	God Bless
Thina Lusapho Lwayo x 2	We, its inhabitants
Yehla Moya oyincwele	Come Holy Spirit
Sikelela, Sikelela x 2	Bless, Bless
Yehla Moya oyincwele	Come Holy Spirit
Nkosi Sikelela x 2	God Bless
Thina Lusapho Lwayo	We its inhabitants
Morena Boloke Sechaba Saheso	God save our Nation
Ofedise dintoa le matsoenyeho x 2	Finish the wars and suffering
O se Boloke, o se Boloke	Save it, save it
Sechaba sa wesu	Our Nation
O se Boloke, Morena x 2	Save it, God
Sechaba sa wesu	Our Nation
Sechaba sa Africa	The Nation of Africa
AMANDLA!	= POWER (Leader)
NGAWETHU!	= IS OURS (Audience)

L = Leader and A = Audience

L. Magwerila!	Guerillas!
A. Hayi Hayi! x 2	Hayi Hayi!
L. Magwerila!	Guerillas!
A. Hayi Hayi! x 2	Hayi Hayi!
L. Hey!	Hey!
A. Hayi Hayi! x 2	Hayi Hayi!
L. Ha!	Ha!
A. Hayi Hayi! x 2	Hayi Hayi!
L. U Hendrikse Impimpi	Hendrikse is an Informer
A. Hayi Hayi! x 2	Hayi Hayi!
L. Inaudible	Inaudible
A. Hayi Hayi x 2	Hayi Hayi
L. Inaudible	Inaudible
A. Hayi Hayi x 2	Hayi Hayi
L. Inaudible	Inaudible
A. Impimpi he is an Informer
L. Voertsek Voertsek	Voertsek Voertsek
A. Impimpi he is an Informer
L. Voertsek Voertsek	Voertsek Voertsek
A. Voertsek Voertsek	Voertsek Voertsek
L. M.K.!	M.K.
A. M.K.!! M.K.!!	M.K. M.K.
L. M.K.!!	M.K.
A. M.K.!! M.K.!!	M.K. M.K.

L. M.K.!	M.K.
A. Vroo – Vroo	Vroo Vroo
L. M.K.!	M.K.
A. Vroo – Vroo	Vroo Vroo
L.
A. Hayi Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi Hayi
L.
A. Hayi Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi Hayi

A different Leader takes over :

L. Ufikile umkhonto	The spear arrived
A. Hayi Hayi!	Hayi Hayi
L. E Roodepoort	In Roodepoort
A. Hayi Hayi!	Hayi Hayi
L. E Roodepoort	In Roodepoort
A. Hayi Hayi!	Hayi Hayi
L. Umkhonto Hey Gija	The Spear hey Gija
A. Hayi Hayi!	Hayi Hayi
L. Gwerila	Guerilla
A. Hayi Hayi!	Hayi Hayi
L. Hey Gijima	Hey Run
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Gajima	Run
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Futhi	Again
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Gwerila	Guerilla
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Inaudible Inaudible
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Usehlathini is in the bush
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Usehlathini is in the bush
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Balehlathini x 3 they are in the bush
A. Masoja Masoja x 3	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Hayi Khomisara, yalehlathini	Here is the Bush Commissar
A. Masoja Masoja x 2	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Hayi Generali yalehlathini	Here is the Bush General
A. Masoja Masoja	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Hayi Commander in Chief yalehlathini	Here is the Bush Commander-in-Chief
L. Nezi Kapteini yalehlathini	Captains in the bush
A. Masoja Masoja	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Nezi Leftenanti yalehlathini	Luitenants in the bush
A. Masoja Masoja	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Joe Modise iGeneral	Joe Modise is a General
A. Masoja Masoja x 2	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Joe Modise iKomanise	Joe Modise is a Communist
A. Masoja Masoja x 2	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Thabo Mbeki iKomandant	Thabo Mbeki is a Commandant
A. Masoja Masoja	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Thabo Mbeki iKomanisi	Thabo Mbeki is a Communist
A. Masoja Masoja	Soldiers Soldiers
L. Oliver Thambo ubaba wethu	Oliver Thambo is our Father
A. Hayi Hayi x 2	Hayi Hayi
L. Oliver Thambo iKomanisi	Oliver Thambo is a Communist
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Hey Masayi Masayi	Hey Masayi Masayi
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi
L. Gwerila, Gwerila x 2	Guerilla Guerilla
A. Hayi Hayi	Hayi Hayi

THE TAPE ENDS.