

V4: INAUGURATION OF ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS, ALEXANDRA

29 October 1983

NO ACCUSED PRESENT

GENERAL COMMENT

1. The quality of this transcript is generally poor and the official transcriber states that the sound and visual quality is poor and only the speech of Frank Chikane could be transcribed correctly. Despite the quality it was attempted to transcribe the whole recording because the words of songs and speeches could be heard occasionally.
2. The main speech was given by Dan Montsitsi. There was nothing particularly controversial about his speech. He emphasised the necessity for the youth to organise, unite, mobilise and congregate themselves p8(1). He also stated that acceptance of the Freedom Charter was necessary for participation in the Alexandra Youth Congress (p6). He stated further that the youth must fight for their rights and demand to know the rights of the student within their own campus' and that they should meet and discuss issues which affect them (p12).
3. Frank Chikane was introduced as the Vice President of the UDF in the Transvaal and as a person who was going to deal

with the significance of the UDF. According to the transcript, when Chikane mounted the podium the audience were shouting 'Oliver Tambo' and Chikane could be seen saying 'Tambo' (p10).

4. Chikane did not say a great deal about the UDF. He stated that before he could talk about the UDF it was necessary to put the UDF into perspective by looking at 'our history of struggle up to 1906' (p10).
5. Chikane referred to the question of local authorities as follows:

'The second point I want to emphasise on the rejection of the system is the Koornhof Bills for instance, the Black Local Authorities Act, which has been approved. Why do we reject that law, it is going to substitute the community councils, we reject it firstly, as well because it issues also (inaudible) apartheid.'

p14

He stated further that the councils were to be rejected because they were based upon ethnicity and racial superiority.

p15

Finally, he stated:

'And we want to pledge that once the elections of the upgraded community councils, called the local authorities pact, we are going to make sure that the people register their protest. Out of this network, that we are going to create nationally, the people at the end are going to decide to break that system and that will be the day.'

p16

THE ANC CONSPIRACY

6. An unknown speaker referred to 'our recognised leaders Mandela, Tambo and others'.

p19

He called upon the audience to draw from the experiences of the African National Congress Youth League.

p19

He described the youth of the clenched fist as a symbol of unit which has been used throughout the history of the struggle and particularly the ANC Youth League. He stated that the ANC adopted that symbol in about 1949 or 50.

pp 19 - 20

7. That same speaker said that 'we have got to work hand in hand for example with the United Democratic Front.

p21

8. An unknown speaker who appeared to open the proceedings quoted Moses Kotane (although the quotation was entirely uncontraversial). That same speaker, however, stated:

'You not just see revolution, the people in Vietnam never sang revolution, the people in Nicaragua never sang revolution and the people in Cuba never just sang revolution, they entered first the revolution. (Inaudible) go out and organise all those who are around us, our friends, our school mates, our brothers, our sisters.'

p6

9. The songs and slogans were characterised by references to Oliver Tambo. One song had the words 'we will catch them across the river with their children' (p5) another song states, 'we don't want people from the west, we will follow Tambo' (p9).

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment vol 3, para 33 pp 152 - 154

10. It is not stated by whom this meeting was allegedly organised. It is simply averred that 'a mass meeting was held on 29 October 1983 at Alexandra on the occasion of the formation of the Alexandra Youth Congress which organisation affiliated to UDF'. It is alleged that Frank Chikane as the Vice President of the UDF and an unknown member of AZASO, an organisation affiliated to the UDF took part.
11. The unknown member of AZASO originally delivered an address which popularised the ANC and conditioned those at the meeting to accept the ANC as their organisation. Past and

present ANC leaders were popularised and those at the meeting conditioned to recognise them as the true leaders. The history of the ANC its youth movements was popularised.

26 November 1984

NO ACCUSED PRESENT

1. The two main speakers at this meeting were Reverend Frank Chikane and Doctor Alan Boesak. There does not appear to have been any singing of songs.
2. Frank Chikane delivered a militant speech. On a number of occasions he described the South African Defence force as 'the enemy':

To be more precise, the war declared against the people in the last few months proved beyond doubt that the SAP and SADF are actually an enemy army. They are actually mobilised and trained to attack the people, the legitimate people of this country. The enemy army has in actual fact ... '

p3

These comments were made in the context of operation Palmiet.

3. On the question of the use of violence, Chikane was ambiguous:

'Now I want to take this opportunity to warn South Africa at this stage, that those people who are actually, acted against through an army, those

people who do not have guns, in those townships in the Vaal, in Soweto, in Tembisa, in Katlehong, are very soon or they may have started already looking for an alternative army and it is not going to be very difficult. It is not going to be very difficult to identify a friendly army. It is not going to be very difficult for them and if they do so, noone in South Africa must blame those defenceless people in the Vaal.'

p4

He also indicated that peaceful protests were illegal:

'That in actual fact in South Africa all the peaceful methods have become illegal and I would like to prove to you, that because the peaceful methods are illegal you are bound to produce violence and that the violence is produced by the police and that the police have no alternative but to create that violent situation.'

p5

The above comment was made in the context of police being forced to take action against an unlawful though peaceful gathering.

4. Chikane ended his speech with these words:

'Let us make it impossible for them to administer us. Let us let this message become clear, that even if we died all of us we are prepared to die for a sake of a just order.'

p10

5. The very beginning of this speech is not reproduced in the transcript. It is thus not clear in what capacity Chikane was speaking. He does not deal with the UDF in his speech. Furthermore, the meeting took place on 26 November 1984, after the uprisings in the Vaal. With regard to the violence in the Vaal, Chikane stated that the violence was the result of councillors opening fire on people.

p7

6. Doctor Boesak was introduced as a patron of the UDF.
7. Boesak said that the UDF embodies the aspirations of the people towards a free and just society. He said the following:

'The demands are there and are clear: release the political prisoners, unban the organisations, scrap all of these laws that have made South Africa a hell for so many people to live in, stop killing our children and our people on the streets will stop. Let us participate in an open democratic society and then there will be peace in South Africa. Before that there will be no peace in this country.'

p3

8. He ended his speech with a vision for a new South Africa:

'Let us fight for that land. I have seen a land with those of us who fight for freedom and for justice and for the self respect of this country will no longer be sent to prison, will no longer be

tortured, will no longer be sentenced, will no longer be shot on the streets of our nation, but will be rewarded with honour and with the presence of justice. Let us fight for that land and I have seen a land where we together will build something that is worthwhile and that is faithful to what we believe and let us not give that up, but tonight, make tonight a new dedication.'

9. Although the meeting is described on the cover as a UDF meeting, this does not appear from the document itself.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment vol 3, para 35 pp 154 - 157

10. It was alleged that the UDF arranged this meeting in furtherance of the conspiracies and it was addressed by UDF activists (excluding Marie Phillips). The government was maligned and brought into disrepute and the message was conveyed that the existing government was dishonest, undemocratic and illegal. UDF campaigns were furthered and the masses indoctrinated and incite to take part in the freedom struggle to make the country ungovernable. The SADF was to be regarded as an enemy and the masses to identify with ANC terrorists who are popularised as the so called 'friendly army'.
11. The masses were conditioned to accept the violence which broke out in the Vaal Triangle as having been unleashed by the State and in particular by members of Black local authorities.

5 February 1984

NO ACCUSED PRESENT

1. It is not clear under whose auspices this particular meeting was held but it appears to have been dominated by the Natal Indian Congress. Archie Gumede made a speech and was introduced as the president of the UDF. In the course of a non-controversial speech he stated:

'One thing that we have always said, and that is without our toil, without our sweat, this situation will remain. We are compelled. We are compelled under the circumstances. We are compelled by time, now to do all that is in our power, through organisations, through recruiting, through mobilisation through all meaningful acts leading to united mass action, so that our demand will be met.'

p42

He then went on to state that the vehicle to bring about unity is the United Democratic Front.

2. Although she had said nothing about the UDF in her speech, Victoria Mxenge ended her speech with the slogan, 'UDF unites! Apartheid divides!'

p38

ANC CONSPIRACY

3. M J Naidoo was introduced as a representative from the Natal Indian Congress. In his speech, he said a number of things concerning the ANC. He first of all traced important events in South African history and referred to 1912 as an important date being the birth of the ANC - 'it is important because the ANC is still alive and well. Maybe not in this country! Maybe not.'

p23

He went on to state that the day will come when Whites, for their own survival, will have to speak to the ANC.

p23

He went on to state:

'But I want to say that those who are on the other side of the border are fighting for the freedom of this country, they are fighting for our freedom, and you have got to make that choice, whether you are going to fight for the people who are making the laws in this country and to preserve the racist system in this country to keep the Black people oppressed or whether you are going to fight for those people who are fighting for freedom and justice.'

p26

4. The meeting was characterised by extensive singing of freedom songs of a militant nature, including:

- a) 'We are Mandela's soldiers'
- b) 'We will hit them with mortar and AK'
- c) 'We will shoot them, the boers'
- d) 'We are going, we are going, carrying bazookas'

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment vol 3, para 36 pp 157 - 163

5. It is alleged that this meeting was arranged by the UDF and which was addressed by UDF activists. The government and White minority were alleged to have been maligned and brought into disrepute. UDF campaigns were furthered and the ANC was popularised. The masses were conditioned to support and accept the ANC as their organisation which strives for the so called liberation of the masses and as the probably alternative government in the RSA. ANC leaders were popularised as the true leaders of the masses who must lead them to freedom. Terrorists trained by the ANC who had committed violence or subversion in South Africa and were found guilty of acts of terror were popularised as heroes of the masses whose examples must be followed.

6. Political refugees were popularised and the masses conditioned to believe that these refugees who had planned acts of terror, murder, sabotage and subversion under the banner of the ANC are the true and real freedom fighters.
7. The freedom charter was popularised and the masses indoctrinated to adopt the charter as the basis for the so called freedom struggle and democratic government of the masses.
8. The history of the ANC was popularised and the masses were organised to take part in the freedom struggle and to destroy the existing order in South Africa and even if necessary to be prepared to die in the struggle.
9. The masses were incited to condemn the defence by the SADF on the motola base of the ANC and to identify with the ANC terrorists who were there.
10. Organisers or those in control of the meeting cultivated a feeling of solidarity between the masses and the ANC terrorists and ANC terrorist leaders. They also honoured fallen ANC terrorists by displaying their names.

ACCUSED PRESENT: PATRICK LEKOTA

1. This meeting took place at the time of the elections to the tricameral parliament. Lekota gave a very short speech. Probably his speech was interrupted, as is reflected on page five of the transcript. Lekota was introduced as the National Publicity Secretary of the UDF. He stated that the purpose of the meeting was to express total opposition to the new constitution:

'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. 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.'

p3

Later he stated:

'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 for the people of South Africa.'

p4

After his speech there is a video interruption and a song which says, inter alia, 'Mandela, Sisulu, Govan, Mbeki save our country' (p5).

2. Doctor Boesak delivered a lengthy speech, in English and Afrikaans in which he called upon those present to boycott the election and in which he gave reasons for rejecting the constitution. These reasons included the fact that the constitution will not change the violent nature of apartheid (p6) that the preamble to the constitution which professes to uphold christian principles is wrong because apartheid is not christian, it is a denial of the gospel of Jesus Christ (p7). The new constitution will result in conscription (p7).

3. Boesak stated that rather than supporting the government we should pray for its downfall 'as soon as God will grant it'. He went on to say that Minister Le Grange had accused him of asking for violence in his prayer for the downfall of the government. Boesak said that God could cause the downfall of any government and that it was high time that people in ministerial position learnt that religion gives them strength and that he cannot prescribe the nature of prayer (p9).

4. With regard to the UDF, Boesak stated:

'The task of the United Democratic Front, and it is the taks 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.'

pll

5. At the end of Doctor Boesak's speech an unknown person read out the following resolution:

'This meeting therefore resolves its total rejection of the so called new dispensation and the tricameral parliament and this meeting therefore resolves:

- i) To call upon all responsible voters to boycott the elections on the 22nd and 28th August.
- ii) To struggle for one united non racial democratic South Africa in which everyone has equal rights to share in the wealth of the country. Everyone earns a living wage and have access to free trade unions.
- iii) There is one universal system of education.
- iv) True equality before the law.
- v) Their undisputed right to freedom of speech, movement and assembly.
- vi) To form peoples organisations like Civic, Trade Unions and Parent Teacher Associations.
- vii) (Inaudible)... of the oppressed and exploited in this country.'

pp 16 - 17

6. The meeting closed with Nkosi Sikelele and thereafter there appears to have been a freedom song with the words,

inter alia, 'guerillas! hayi! hayi!', 'Hendrikse is an informer' and 'MK'.

7. This meeting seems to be relatively free of freedom songs and the speeches by Lekota and Boesak are generally helpful.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment, vol 3, para 37 pp 163 - 167

8. In furtherance of the conspiracy it was alleged that Lekota and Boesak 'maligned and brought into disrepute the existing government' by conveying to the masses that the government and the White minority were dishonest, undemocratic, and unchristian. UDF campaigns regarding conscription, the constitutional proposals and the referendum etc were furthered, political refugees were popularised and the masses conditioned to believe that refugees who had planned deeds of terror, murder, sabotage and subversion from outside the borders are the true and real freedom fighters of the masses. The masses were conditioned to be prepared to take part in the so called freedom struggle and to be prepared even to die in this struggle.

9. The organisers or those in control of the meeting cultivated a feeling of solidarity between the masses and ANC terrorists by honouring fallen ANC terrorists by means of displaying their names and popularised the colours of the ANC by allowing the display of flags at the meeting showing the colours of the ANC.

ACCUSED PRESENT: PATRICK LEKOTA, POPO MOLEFE, MOSS CHIKANE

(Molefe and Chikane were present - see pl3 - but only Lekota spoke)

1. This meeting was held under the auspices of the Transvaal Indian Congress. The principle topic of discussion were the proposed changes to the constitution as recommended by the President's council. The meeting was characterised by a complete absence of freedom songs.
2. Doctor Jassat, who chaired the meeting, stated that the TIC abided by the call of the United Democratic Front for a non-racial referendum.
3. Lekota repeated what he had said at the UDF one year rally, namely, that even if a new constitution included African people, the UDF would reject it because the UDF wants a constitution drafted by the people of South Africa for themselves.

pp 7 - 8

With regard to the UDF, Lekota said the following:

'The United Democratic Front pulls together our people, not only on the basis of their particular

class or social structure interests, but it is pulling these people together today on the basis of primarily a commitment to oppose, opposition to apartheid. I will submit that the amount of differences which exist between the different affiliates like you could say that there is ninety percent difference, between the constituents of the United Democratic Front. Our interest is in the ten percent agreement, that the new constitution and legislation is unacceptable to the people of South Africa. That is what constitutes this front. The United Democratic Front is therefore, is united, pulling together students, workers, peasants, pulling together every sector of the population of our country.'

p11

4. Mewa Ramgobin made a speech. He was introduced as the Joint Treasurer of the UDF. He began his speech by saying, inter alia, that -

'We are grateful to God the creator of all things and all peoples, that we from the Transvaal have had the gifts to the human race in the lives of our Nelson Mandela's, Walter Sisulu's, the late Valiama, the late Ahmed Timol and the late Neill Aggett.'

p34

5. He also stated that the TIC and the NIC 'in alliance with other democratic organisations, are committed with the people, for all the people to unite in action. This unity in action is for us to demand that we must with the hands and minds of steel build our organisational strength that must ultimately shatter apartheid.' (pp 43

6. Doctor Ram Saloojee also spoke. The first sentence of his speech on page 44 is incomplete. In its incomplete form it reads as follows:

'... of the United Democratic Front which has given the liberation movement the strength and the vigour to overcome.'

In the absence of the complete sentence, no sinister inference may be drawn from this comment.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment vol 3 para 38 pp 167 - 169.

7. In pursuance of the conspiracies it is alleged that Lekota and Saloojee incited etc the masses to participate in deeds or violence which would render the country ungovernable and which would develop into a violent revolution by the masses. The government and White minority were typified as racist, undemocratic, brutal and unlawful and animosity towards the government and the White minority were cultivated and fanned.
8. UDF campaigns in respect of the constitution, housing, the cost of living, the freedom charter etc were furthered and which incited the masses to animosity and hatred towards the State and encouraged the masses to participate in the so called freedom struggle and united action.

9. Leaders and past leaders of the ANC and SACP were popularised.

10. The freedom charter was popularised and masses at the meeting were persuaded to adopt the freedom charter and to recognise it as the basis of the so called freedom struggle and the so called democratic government by the masses.

NO ACCUSED PRESENT

1. It is not clear under whose auspices this meeting was arranged although it is alleged in the indictment that the UDF and affiliates of the UDF organised this meeting.

2. In a short speech Frank Chikane commemorated those who had died on June 16 and also said a prayer. In this prayer he said:

'And God has gone into action to free his people and I want you to be careful just to listen carefully when you read the Bible. It says, let my people go and worship God in the wilderness. It is a matter of worship. It is a matter of faith. But the matter of faith produces liberation. There is a conspiracy within the matter of faith. If you go, you live forever, because you are liberated now. Once they leave you to go and pray you go and pray forever be free and if we actually know how conspiratory the Bible is, we will know that we can get our liberation, tomorrow.'

pp 7 - 8

3. At the beginning of the meeting it was alleged that the crowds are chanting Oliver Tambo and inside the hall a black, green and gold flag is tied to the barrel of an AK47. When this was shown in court, it was not clear whether this was an AK47 or not.

4. Ishmael Mkhabela stated-

'... we know what our enemy is, we are in no way going to fight for small things, trivial things, we are fighting for the recompense of our country, and on that we are all united.'

p4

Shortly after that the master of ceremonies shouted 'we know who the enemy is' and the audience repeat after him 'we know who the enemy is'.

p4

5. In his speech, Dan Montsitsi referred to various ANC members who had been executed:

'What happened was that now some of the students realised that now they cannot be running forever, what they did in fact as we can learn later from the experiences of people like Simon Moegoerane of people like Bobby Tsotsobe and so on, they actually say themselves during their trial, Simon Moegoerane says:

"My experience in 1976 has an effect of reinforcing the hatred I already have for the government. I thought the war had started and that freedom was here. We decided that it was pointless making placards because one would get shot while doing so, I decided to go out of this country to go out and get myself a gun to fight this people".

This is what Simon Moegoerane said in his trial when he was sentenced to death, now, comrades, what we realise here is another statement which was made by this three comrades, while they were actually tried now here they are saying, all three also told the court that the ANC had given them a choice of military training or to further their own education, but what they did was to opt for military training (video interruption) ... to undergo military training, these are the words of people who would demonstrate peacefully, these are the words of students who were students to their teachers, these are the words of people who were loving children to their own parents, but later we were actually led to believe that these people are actually terrorists, these people are actually instigators, these people are actually communists, comrades.'

pp 13 - 14

Read in its proper context, this cannot be construed as support for the armed struggle. Rather, it is a statement of the radicalising effect which the events of June 76 had upon the children.

6. Freedom songs were sung in which reference was made to Oliver Tambo.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment, vol 3, para 39 pp 169 - 172

7. It is alleged that UDF activists and active supporters of the UDF delivered speeches directed at inciting etc the masses at the meeting to participate in deeds and violence which would render South Africa ungovernable. The government was typified as cruel, undemocratic, unlawful and racist and the masses were incited to animosity and hatred of the government and the White minority.
8. Refugees who left in 1976 were praised and honoured as heroes and were presented as examples to be followed.
9. Convicted terrorists and murderers who had been found guilty and sentenced in competent courts of justice were popularised and the masses were indoctrinated to recognise and accept them as martyrs who must be honoured and whose examples must be followed.
10. The ANC and terrorism were popularised by the singing of freedom songs, the popularisation of the ANC flags and the free display of the ANC flag attached to an AK47 rifle.

28 - 29 June 1984

NO ACCUSED PRESENT

1. Although this meeting is described as taking place from 28 - 29 June 1984 the transcript is short obviously reflecting only a small portion of the meeting.
2. The meeting is described by one of the speakers, Benedicta Monama as the fourth annual conference of the Azanian Students Organisation.

p4

She began her speech by saying 'I greet you all in the name of our leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and, and all the others'.

3. The video begins with various freedom songs in which Tambo is mentioned and it is also stated that four AK47's appear in the crowd.

p3

4. Monama also stated:

'And that change, genuine change, shall be brought through revolutions. Through the total overthrow of

the racist regime. This knowledge that the students so acquired, must be made available to the masses of our people.'

p6

5. She stated that women should be located within a broad movement that finds its place with 'within the national democratic struggle guided by the freedom charter'. She went on to state:

'The young women of South Africa at schools and university owe it to all those who love peace and treasure prosperity in the world to fight and to rid our country of racism, sexism, and exploitation.'

6. This was stated shortly after mentioning the role of women in Nicaragua, Namibia and El Salvador.

p8

7. Albertina Sisulu was described as one of the President's of the United Democratic Front. She was introduced by Kate Mboweni who, called for a 'good revolutionary song comrades' before Sisulu spoke. The song that was forthcoming contained the words 'come with the guns, there is a gun - come with the guns'. Sisulu gave a clenched fist salute and the audience chanted 'Oliver Tambo' 24 times and the transcript states that Sisulu 'smiles as if approving'.

8. In general terms, Sisulu's speech is not inflammatory although she traces the history of women in the liberating struggle and refers to the ANC's women's league. This reference, however, is in a purely historical context (see p13).

9. She stated that 'we must stand up and say no to this new constitution of the government' (p14). She also stated:

'Now we become one of the standard pillars of the revolutionary efforts, it will be your task to organise and mobilise, not only you, but all freedom loving people of this country. It has become important, in our struggle, that all people of genuine consent, should have a firm organisational base. The time of individuals existing as political, and it is in themselves must come to an end, because it is only by organising ourselves into disciplined units, can we ever hope to achieve freedom.'

p15

At the end of the speech the audience chants UDF six times.

10. Amanda Kwadi spoke generally about the necessity for organising women. With regard to community councils she said:

'And it is important at the present moment, as we are doing our house to house campaign, organising women from the (inaudible) high sewage, I mean,

water tariffs. All goes to the council. And all these strengthen influx control. Because at the present moment, the administration board, that has been actually controlling and actually taking over the influx control, raiding the houses, evicting the people, are doing it, under guys of the community council to (inaudible) a clean name. So it is important that as we rally people we should tell them that, you must reject this rental, you must reject this electricity, because (inaudible) house, when we are owing electricity, the house is getting closed.'

pp 17 - 18

11. She also stated:

'And we should also tell the people, that we demand the release of our leaders, Nelson Mandela, Dennis Scoldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Mlangeni (inaudible) and many, many others. But, which group are we going to rally these women around. The banner of the people in the federation of South African women, spearheaded by the United Democratic Front. We should actually under this banner frustrate the efforts, the ploys, the activities of the racist minority regime of this country.'

p19

12. Two 'unknown Black males' gave poetry readings. Both are in dramatic tones but are metaphorical and not easily comprehensible.

See pp 20 - 23

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment, vol 3, para 40 pp 172 - 178

13. It is alleged that UDF and its affiliate, AZASO organised this meeting which was addressed by UDF activists. The government was maligned and brought into disrepute and the masses were incited and indoctrinated that the existing government and the White minority are dishonest, undemocratic and illegal. UDF campaigns regarding military policy, the Koornhof laws etc were furthered.
14. The ANC was popularised as the organisation which strives for the liberation of the masses and as a probable alternative government and ANC leaders are popularised as the true leaders. ANC terrorists who had committed acts of violence, murder and subversion and who were found guilty by competent courts of justice were popularised as heroes of the masses whose examples must be followed. Political refugees who had planned deeds of terror under the banner of the ANC from outside the borders are popularised as freedom fighters and heroes of the masses whose examples must be followed.
15. The freedom charter was popularised as the basis of the so called freedom struggle. The history of the ANC was popularised.

16. The masses were incited to take part in a violent revolution and women students were called upon to contribute to UDF organisations to transform them into a mighty and ferocious instrument or weapon in the so called freedom struggle.

17. Activists of the UDF, namely the organisers or parties in control of the meeting allowed the singing of freedom songs which popularised ANC leaders and terrorists and also allowed the use of ANC slogans to be shouted. A speaker was allowed to popularise the colours of the ANC.

NO ACCUSED PRESENT

1. Although this is described as an RMC meeting the transcript contains the speech, in incomplete form, of Mewa Ramgobin only.
2. The occasion appears to be the 20th anniversary of the Rivonia trial (p2) and Ramgobin appears to have been speaking in his capacity as a member of the Natal Indian Congress (p6).
3. The speech is essentially a eulogy of the Rivonia trialists and a plea for their release. The Rivonia trialists are spoken about in glowing terms:

'On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Rivonia, I want to make bold and say in clear language that the human race must remain grateful, that the human race must go down on the knees or its knees and say thank you to the gifts that it has been endowed with in the lives of the Nelson Mandela's of our country. We must say thank you for this kind of gifts that we have been endowed with. Why does one say that the human race is endowed with the gifts of the Mandela's, and the Sisulu's and the Mbeki's? We believe that the human race must remain grateful because the Mandela's and the Mbeki's and the Sisulu's and the Cathrada's have symbolised not only

the vision for a future, but the agony of the present has symbolised a passion for a new social order.'

p2

4. With regard to the ANC's policy of violence, it is stated:

'When the politics of negotiations, when the politics of protest were virtually made impossible by the actions of this government, with the banning of the African National Congress and the implementations of many more oppressive laws, then the Mandela's believe that perhaps the only answer or the only language that this regime understands or is going to understand is the language which they themselves taught other people ... comrades, is it so easily forgotten by those who are in power today in South Africa that they were the pioneers, that they were the fathers of sabotage, of subversion and of terrorism from as early as 1892.'

pp 3 - 4

5. Ramgobin then goes on to state that Leibrandt and others were given early reprieves and that members of the National Party like B J Voster and Van Den Berg were active in the Ossewa Brandwag.
6. At the very beginning of the speech the audience is apparently singing a song but this has not been transcribed. No other songs are mentioned in the transcript.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment, vol 3, para 42 pp 183 - 185

7. It is alleged that the UDF and its affiliate, the RMC organised this meeting. It is also alleged that an activist of the UDF and its National Treasurer, addressed the meeting. This does not appear from the transcript itself.
8. It is alleged that the ANC was popularised as an organisation which strives for the liberation of the masses and as the probable alternative of the government. Past and present ANC and SACP leaders are popularised and the masses are conditioned to accept and recognise them as the true leaders.
9. ANC history is popularised as well as the freedom struggle and violence as proclaimed and conducted by the SACP and ANC.
10. The freedom charter is popularised as the basis of a democratic government of the masses.
11. The masses at the meeting are indoctrinated to accept that different White governments in power from 1948 were terrorists and saboteurs and were guilty of high treason.

V14: TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS MASS MEETING, SELBOURNE HALL,
JOHANNESBURG, 18 July, 1984

ACCUSED PRESENT: PATRICK LEKOTA AND POPO MOLEFE

1. This was a mass meeting of the Transvaal Indian Congress primarily to protest against the constitutional proposals and to urge a boycott of the forthcoming elections. Doctor Jassat in his opening speech said:

'We in the Transvaal Indian Congress call upon all our people who will be participating both on the ... 22nd of August and the 28th of August. We ask, appeal to them to stay away from the polling booths. By seeing that the polls are low we will be demonstrating our total rejection of apartheid and all that it stands for. We will be showing our solidarity with the millions in this land who have joined in the fight against the tricameral parliament under the banner of the United Democratic Front.'

pp 4 - 5

2. In the addresses of Cassim Saloojee and Lekota important statements were made distancing the UDF from the ANC. Saloojee said the following:

'Internal destabilisation cuts across every racial and class group efforts to counter it, as the initiatives of the broadly based United Democratic Front have only evoked further attempts at this organisation. There have been right wing and

government attempts to link the UDF to the South African Communist party and the ANC, attempts clearly designed to frighten people away from this vital voice of peaceful opposition which is the United Democratic Front and a tax on popular movements don't end with political name calling.'

p9

Lekota stated:

'Under the banner of the United Democratic Front we are arguing that we can persuade, we can mobilise opposition in resistance. At least we can say to our people they must not endorse what the Nats are doing. But we must also say and I make bold to say it this evening, that if we are not engaging and we are not carrying arms today. It is not because we don't understand how and what persuaded some of our fellows and what continues to persuade them to this day, to resort to those methods. We understand very well what pushed our people to that point. And today in terms of the formation of the United Democratic Front we are reminding the rulers of our country, we are reminding the masses of our people that if the Nats are allowed to continue with the type of legislation that they are proposing today, they can only deepen the scale of racial and violent conflict in the country. In that the disaster will engulf all of us.'

Lekota also stated:

'That the resistance of our people I have said has consistently being met with force by the government. There are those today and especially propaganda

agents of the government, who are accusing the United Democratic Front of being a front of the African National Congress. They argue that, they argue that the ANC is a non-racial organisation and therefore that is why every population group is involved in it, and that because we do so, we are a front of the ANC. It does appear that the government is arguing at this level that only members of the African National Congress are capable of being non-racial. I think it a credit to them (laughter and applause).'

p45

Lekota stated further:

'I must make that point because ... an impression that has been created in our country that the congress movement is something to be ashamed of. That is you, you know you say the UDF is a front of the ANC then we say no we are not a front of the ANC, we must apologise about.'

p47

3. These statements must be read with others made by the same speakers. Thus Saloojee also stated:

'They would pretend to give us a stake in the system and then will ask us to fight for it. This could mean civil war. Make no mistake the young men and women of SWAPO and the ANC are not in vain. They are the exiled children of the apartheid. One has only to look as far as Koevoet in Namibia to understand how vicious and degrading the fight between brothers can be. Our sons will be asked to put on uniforms to police the lives of their fellow civilians and

conceivably to take up arms against the defenceless. This happened in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 and 1980. Use of army in breaking strikes is also part of the ruling classes shameful history of this land. We are convinced conflict and escalating violence are inevitable until fundamental changes in the power structure occur.'

p8

Lekota also stated:

'But I want to make a simple and straight forward point today. The truth must be spoken at some point or the other. The price may have to be paid, for the truth must be spoken. Any man, any man including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Kathrada and others, any organisation, any organisation including the African National Congress that is today committed to the struggle against apartheid is a matter of pride to this country. It is something to be cherished, that even amongst the Afrikaaners, men such as Beyers Naude have been born. People like Helen Joseph amongst White people, those people are the pride of our country.... The time has come when we must make the point that we are no longer prepared to be ashamed to associate ourselves with the symbols of the genuine freedom of our people. I think the time has come when we must go down with the leaders of our people. Those men who today after twenty, twenty five, twenty two years of cruel prison life continues to hold the flag of freedom high, refusing to let.'

p48

4. Popo Molefe did not make a speech but was called upon to read a resolution. The resolution had various points noting defects and criticisms of the new constitution and there was therefore a resolution to refuse to vote on August 22 and 28, to refuse conscription 'to the White apartheid army', 'to strengthen our own organisations like the TIC and the UDF in order to fight for one undivided South Africa which shall belong to all of its people', to fight for the release of Mandela, Kathrada, Sisulu, Goldberg and all other political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the unbanning of all banned organisations, and, finally, 'to continue to demand a national convention representative of all the people of South Africa in order to draw up a new constitution for this country which is based on universal franchise to a single parliament.'

pp 51 - 53

5. One Andrew Mogotsi read a poem which is redolent with the violent images but which does not make a great deal of sense.

pp 31 - 34

After his poem the transcript reads 'applause mingled with whistling and cat calls'.

6. The meeting closed with Popo Molepe being asked to lead the singing of the National Anthem.

p54

7. There was considerable singing of freedom songs at this meeting including chants of Oliver Tambo and songs with the words 'we are Mandela's soldiers'.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment vol 3, para 43 pp 185 - 190

8. It is alleged that 'the UDF and its affiliate TIC' organised this meeting. This does not appear from the transcript itself in fact it appears to be a TIC meeting. This is stated by Dr Jassat in his opening address and is also stated by Lekota (p40). It is alleged that the meeting was in order to indoctrinate the masses to participate in deeds or violence which would render the country ungovernable and which would develop into a violent revolution by the masses.
9. The government was maligned and brought into disrepute and the government and White minority were labelled as dishonest, undemocratic and that the government is unlawful and immoral. UDF campaigns were furthered. The ANC was popularised as the organisation which strives for the liberation of the masses and as the probable alternative government of the masses in the country.

10. The freedom charter was popularised and the masses persuaded to accept it as the basis for the freedom struggle. The history of the ANC was popularised and the masses conditioned to organise and mobilise for participation in the liberation struggle. Past and present leaders of the ANC and SACP were popularised and held out as the true leaders of the masses. ANC leaders and political prisoners were popularised and the masses conditioned to fight for the release of such leaders and the unbanning of banned organisations such as the ANC, SACP and Unkhonto We Sizwe.

11. Activists of the UDF and the organisers or persons in control of the meeting popularised ANC terrorists and leaders and deeds of violence by allowing the singing of freedom songs and also by allowing the address of the said Andrew Mogotsi.

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