

SPEECHES AT UDF MEETINGS AND BY UDF OFFICE-BEARERS AT OTHER MEETINGS.

The state tendered as proof of the speeches made at UDF meetings and speeches by office-bearers of the UDF made at other meetings certain videos and tapes which allegedly recorded them. Concerning the weight of this evidence the following considerations are relevant.

A video was made of the launch of the UDF by the UDF itself and was widely distributed. The Natal region made a video of the People's Rally and distributed it. Other videos were made with permission of the UDF by Afripix and by students of the Grahamstown University. We do not have these videos.

There were a number of videos found at Afrascope which videos were their property. This Afrascope where the videos were found has a very close relationship with the UDF. It participates in and supports its campaigns.

In a letter of recommendation under the letter-head of the Soweto Civic Association Committee of Ten [exh C.35(5)] accused No 19 wrote of Afrascope "We in the Soweto Civic Association fully endorse the bona fides of Afrascope as a community based film unit actively involved in community struggles:

1. Documenting current community struggles.
2. Providing resources for the association's needs.

We relate to the area of work that Afrascope is involved in, as media, for development (as a tool) to strive and build towards the attainment of a non-racial democratic South Africa."

A letter under the letter-head of the UDF and signed by M Vally secretary, found in Afrascope's offices inter alia states "the UDF wishes to place on record Afrascope's participation and support in the ongoing campaigns of the UDF. This closely knit relationship could best be expressed in the intensive coverage of UDF events and activities and in productions associated with the UDF".

The close relationship between Afrascope and the UDF and the fact that Afrascope stands squarely in the UDF camp in the liberation struggle makes it highly improbable that Afrascope would make films and videos which are detrimental to the UDF cause or would tamper with material to the detriment of the UDF. One can say without doubt that film material emanating from Afrascope would depict events correctly in so far as it accords with and advances the propaganda campaigns of the UDF.

In conjunction with the above an important fact is that the defence has not challenged the correctness of the videos and tapes placed before court. By this we mean that though the admissibility was disputed none of the persons depicted or taped testified that the videos and tapes were incorrect, though some of them gave evidence. (There was a dispute about the use of one word in exh V.25.)

In fact it was admitted by accused No 19 and accused No 20 that they made these speeches which were recorded and in evidence they never disputed the correctness of the transcripts.

Moreover all the videos and tapes found by the state were made available to the defence and had there been any evidence that they had been tampered with the defence would no doubt have placed that before court.

In view of the above we find that the videos and tapes before court are trustworthy to the extent that they can assist the court in reaching a conclusion. This does not mean that one may close one's eyes to the possibility that interruptions, stoppages, selective taking of shots and even editing may create a distorted picture. However, where one is concerned with speeches the pictorial matter is relatively less important and if one relies solely on portions of speeches where there are no interruptions in the

recording or where such interruption or fading cannot in the context affect the meaning, then there is no reason to discard as evidence that portion of the speech. One should always bear in mind and guard against the possibility that a different portion of a speech, of which portion there is not a true recording because of interruptions, fading or editing might alter the overall meaning of the speech and thereby affect the interpretation of the portion on which reliance is placed.

We will place reliance only on such portions of speeches about which we have certainty beyond reasonable doubt of their veracity and certainty that our interpretation thereof is the only reasonable one.

V.25

THE INAUGURATION OF THE SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS (SOYCO)

We have a video (exh 28, transcript V.25) of the launch of SOYCO which was attached by the police in the office of Afrascope. This inauguration took place on 31 July 1983 at Dube in Soweto and was attended by the highest hierarchy of the UDF Transvaal and the UDF Natal. The national launch was still to come. The video was identified by the witness ic.12 who attended the meeting.

The chairman was Khetla Shubane of AZASO.

Speakers were Eric Molobi, treasurer REC Transvaal, Dr Motlana chairman SCA, REC Transvaal, A Gumede president Natal UDF and RMC, after the launch president of the UDF, Dan Montsitsi ex-president SSRC 1976, later REC Transvaal UDF, Mewa Ramgobin after the launch National treasurer of the UDF, Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, Cassim Saloojee, Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), REC Transvaal, later national treasurer UDF, Oscar Mpetha, president Western Cape region, National president UDF after launch. Smangaliso Mkhatswa, Catholic priest and accused Nrs 13 and 19 attended as well as Curtis Nkondo vice-president, Transvaal.

The meeting was preceded by revolutionary songs and slogans inter alia the audience shouted "Mayibuye i Afrika" and "Oliver Tambo" repeatedly and sang that they would not be killed by the

V.25

boers and that they would follow Mandela, Tambo, Luthuli, SOYCO and the ANC even if it led to their arrest.

The chairman Khetla Shubane referred to the role the Youth League of the ANC had played, how it had lifted the struggle to a militant plain and stated that giants like Tambo, Sizulu, Mandela, Lembede and many others had been active in the Youth League.

He referred to the emergence of Youth congresses throughout South Africa and stated that they moved to channel all the energies of the youth in the proper direction.

Eric Molobi called it a process of harnessing the youth to play a major role in the struggle for emancipation. He introduced a Mr Mathews to the audience whose claim to fame was that he had served twelve and a half years on Robben Island "for his contribution to the struggle". He stood with raised fists while being warmly applauded by the audience. Mathews was also on the Transvaal UDF REC.

(To anyone conversant with the South African situation the mention of Robben Island and the length of the sentence could only convey that Mathews had been imprisoned for violent action against the State.)

V.25

Referring to the UDF Molobi stated that "it galvanises people, people of progressive thinking who are aimed at changing the status quo by organisation of the masses and not by speeches".

Dan Monsitsi was introduced as follows "'Dan was the president of the SSRC you remember some few years ago, when the youth in this country exploded in the face of the regime, the people who (inaudible) Mr Monsitsi was the president of that committee that amassed the student potential force and lent direction and for those activities he was arrested with some of his colleagues and he was given eight years, and he served effectively four years in the Island". During this introduction Monsitsi stood with raised fist.

Thereafter a song in support of inter alia Umkhonto we Sizwe and UDF was sung, led by Sipiwe Thusi wearing a scarf with the colours of the ANC black green and yellow.

Songs sung were Phesheya Komfula - Across the river we will catch them together with their children.

Tambo is a rock

Tambo is in the bush - teaching soldiers

and shouts of Amandla ngawethu and Mayibuye i Afrika, viva ANC

Umkhonto we Sizwe interspersed the meeting - the hierarchy of the UDF participating.

V.25

Dr Motlana traced the origin and history of the ANC Youth League stating that its immediate task was to mobilise and consolidate the youth to fight the passiveness of the ANC, of the older generation. He stated that the ANC youth league saw no way out except to adopt a militant programme of action to challenge all the apartheid laws and the brutal state policies. He glorified the leaders of the Youth League inter alia Sobukwe, Mandela, Tambo and Sizulu. Glaringly absent during this speech is an expression of disapproval of their later path of violence.

He stated that the presence of the youth in all the campaigns of the ANC in the front line position were decisive in the militarisation of the ANC both organisationally and ideologically.

When he testified Dr Motlana denied that he had used the word "militarisation". This denial was false as the sound-track proves.

Dr Motlana, it must be stated, did not in his speech encourage the youth to violence.

The chairman, Khetla Shubane, thereupon praised Bram Fisher "the stalwart in our revolution, whose contribution to the struggle to this day has not been equaled ..."

It is common knowledge and we take judicial cognizance of the fact that Bram Fisher was convicted in this court of high treason, of plotting revolution against the state, and sentenced to life imprisonment. S v Fisher Case 409/66 (T) unreported.

The chairman further praised Sizulu, Nelson Mandela, O R Tambo and Duma Nokwe as "the giants and the stalwarts for revolution". Of these the first two fall in the same category as Bram Fisher and the last-mentioned two were at all relevant times external leaders of a revolutionary organization, the ANC.

Archie Gumede and Curtis Nkondo inter alia approved of this speech.

Archie Gumede in his speech stated that Mandela and Sizulu were imprisoned because they had been captured by the "enemy" after having acted in the interests of the audience. He asked the audience what they were going to do about it and how long Mandela and Sizulu must stay in the hands of "your oppressors". "Let us, when we shout our slogans, when we sing our freedom songs, bear in mind those people who are not in a position to shout those slogans, those people who are not in a position so sing those freedom songs.." He further exhorted the audience to speak with one voice and to "ask for the leaders who are in exile. Oliver Tambo, you sing about him, Oh my, we wish you would do more than sing about

V.25

him. The more and at least if you join and go and revisit others and conscientize others you will have done something that may result in one day the voice of the African people in South Africa in Soweto first rising with a roar which Pretoria cannot ignore and say bring our leaders back, call a convention, a national convention where our leaders are going to speak for us".

A little later he told his audience "we shall defy the unjust laws because these laws are not just..."

His speech ended with Mayibuye - i Afrika and Amandla Ngawethu. It was followed by shouts of Oliver Tambo shouted ten times, and by the songs Phesheya Komfula and Tambo's rock.

The chairman told the audience that their struggle was just and legitimate, stating "and it is not us who are terrorists as the apartheid system is trying to do, instead it is them who are terrorising our people out of KTC, the Chicken Farm and ever so many places. It is the apartheid regime that refuses to release our leaders in spite of world demand for their release".

Dan Monsitsi inter alia told the audience: "So that now, what we actually realise, is that now, the people are actually up in arms against the very racist regime. But now the public has in

V.25

fact pointed out quite clearly, that it is time in fact for all peace-loving people to concern themselves with the liberation of the most exploited and the oppressed people. That is now the majority of the Black people. So we realise that now, they are actually forming these organisations simply because of the problems which are inherent. There is this thing that now people are actually being incited, that now people are actually being instigated in order to engage themselves in terrorist activity or activity of whatever source. But now what we know for a fact is the very existing material conditions are the ones in which we inspire people to stand up and form organisations."

Monsitsi told the audience that Nelson Mandela even in his state of imprisonment was still regarded as the leader of the liberation movement. He stated that the people were actually tired of oppression, that they were actually sick and tired of the exploitation which has been taking place. "This is the time for us to organise and mobilise the youth so that now the youth will actually have to see that now, they will actually play a rôle in the liberation struggle of our people."

In a rather garbled way the speaker referred to young people who have to arise, who have to keep the banner of liberation within themselves and to the blood of the victims of June the 16th (The Soweto uprising) and the fighting spirit. They had survived the

V.25

onslaught by the boers he said, but now they were not doing anything about it.

Mewa Ramgobin spoke on behalf of the NIC and read a message from the UDF. He called Hector Petersen (who died in Soweto in 1976) "the symbol of a time of resistance of which we are proud. The Natal Indian Congress on the basis of the life of the Hector Petersen and our heroes in the gaol at Robben Island, we can identify ourselves with the kind of struggle that we all seek for a common South Africa". He called for "Unity in action." The latter call was also contained in the message of the UDF.

Zinzi Mandela (daughter of Nelson Mandela) read a letter from COSAS national executive committee to the meeting: "We salute the birth of Soweto Youth Congress. At this point in time our country is in a tremendous stage of reforms that are aimed at forestalling the entire process of the national liberation struggle and social emancipation. The future is in the hands of the youth. On the foundation laid 72 years ago, also laid in 1955 at the freedom square. It is on the basis of our demands as enshrined in the Freedom Charter that the correct definition of the class and national enemy against whom the youth side by side with the workers who bear the brunt of the fascist racist Botha/Malan regime. It is only the success of the national democratic revolution, which destroying the existing social and economic relationship, will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices, perpetrated

V.25

against the majority and thus lay the basis for a new and deeper internationalist approach. Until then, the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed. Long live Youth Congress. Yours in student workers solidarity. National Vice President."

Oscar Mpetha told the meeting that from discussions he had had in gaol he and others who were serving long gaol terms had come to the conclusion that South Africa would only be liberated when the youth and the students and the workers come together and form a strong resistance to the government. This group in gaol he said expected the youth to carry on the burden and follow them and that should the audience be afraid of gaol there would be no liberation in South Africa. His speech was interrupted by a song about Tambo training soldiers in the forest - joined in by inter alia Archie Gumede and Mewa Ramgobin. The speaker concluded his speech with "viva ANC" and "Umkhonto we Sizwe".

Later a poem containing the line "the boys of Umkhonto struck yesterday, we are going" was recited. While Archie Gumede, Curtis Nkondo and Oscar Mpetha raised their right fists in the air a man recited in praise of inter alia Oliver Tambo, Solomon Mahlangu, Tabu Motaung and Simon Mogoerane. These are all ANC and Umkhonto members. The latter three were sentenced to death and executed in South Africa for deeds of terrorism and murder.

V.25

The following facts can be found on the basis of this video of the inauguration of SOYCO on 31 July 1983:

1. The proceedings were held with the full participation and concurrence of the leaders of the UDF.
2. The speeches, songs and slogans were pro ANC and often revolutionary.
3. At no stage did any leader of the UDF repudiate any of the revolutionary talk or songs - on the contrary they participated whole-heartedly.
4. The sophistic attempts in argument of the defence to water down the meanings of the strong and revolutionary talk fail when viewed against the circumstances in which the words were spoken and as no such explanation was given to the excitable youth gathered at the meeting itself.
5. This was not just a mere meeting. It was regarded of prime importance to the UDF. It was the launch in Soweto, an important target area of a new Youth Organisation which would affiliate to the UDF and would assist the SCA in its task.

V.25

S Mkhathwa, a catholic priest, spoke against capitalism and warned the assembled youth against their role in society being ineffective and counter revolutionary. He quoted Amilcal Cabral: "If you want to neutralise the delayed actions carried out by our enemies and their lackeys, we must strengthen the methods of action and the vigilance of the African revolution. Let us be precise, for us African revolution means the transformation of our present life in the direction of progress".

He also read a poem by Neto of Angola. The title is "We shall not mourn the dead". It states that the liberation of our country calls for blood on the earth, for sacrifice, and that of necessity people fall during the struggle. It recalls the last cry of the fallen comrade who attacked and destroyed the enemy barracks.

Mkuseli Jack of PEYCO (Port Elizabeth Youth Congress) an affiliate of the UDF brought greetings from that organisation, which he called the fighting forces for freedom. His speech he called a revolutionary sermon. The government he called the vicious racist minority Botha regime and the ANC a popular people's organisation. Mandela, Sizulu, Mhlaba, Gwala and Mbeki he called leaders and he quoted the alleged last words of Solomon Mahlangu whom he called a freedom fighter.

V.26

Mewa Ramgobin stated: " ... we through the United Democratic Front today are saying enough is enough, and we will take it no more"; "our leaders have chosen to be on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor prison".

A person (described in the transcript as Mr Khan, but not identified) speaking on the Group Areas Act stated "we and other races, the Coloureds and Indians must be ready to go into action and stop the removals. Even if we go to gaol."

The chairman introduced Mrs Mahlangu, a patron, as "the mother of the great Solomon Mahlangu". It is common knowledge that this Solomon Mahlangu was an ANC terrorist convicted of murder and sentenced to death.

The Rev Xundu of REC Natal and elected to the NEC UDF, led a song about the supreme court being on fire having been hit by the boys of Umkhonto we Sizwe yesterday. This was followed by him leading shouted slogans of Mayibuye - i Afrika and Oliver Tambo.

A little later a song was sung calling on soldiers to support each other. It was followed by the reading of the draft declaration of the UDF and its draft Working Principles. The latter by accused No 20.

V.25

In arriving at the above conclusions we have given due consideration to the evidence of Dr Motlana. It is dealt with in Annexure Z to this judgment.

It is further important to bear in mind that phrases used by or in the presence of a person at one meeting and intended and understood in a revolutionary sense by speaker and audience, would when repeated at other meetings again be intended and understood in the same sense, unless otherwise qualified.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND LAUNCH OF THE UDF 20 AUGUST 1983

There are tape recordings available of the conference and the public meeting held afterwards, called a rally, held on 20 August 1983 at Mitchells Plain, Cape Town where the UDF was launched nationally.

The tapes were found on 19 February 1985 in the flat of Yunus Mohammed, an attorney of Durban, regional secretary for Natal and on the National Executive Committee of the UDF.

The voices were identified by the witness ic.12, and accused No 20 who attended the launch, when cross-examined thereon, did not dispute the correctness, though he did not vouch for it either.

Accused No 19 attended and spoke at the launch but did not dispute the correctness of these tapes.

The fact that they were found in possession of Mohammed indicates that they are probably genuine.

The transcripts V.26 and V.1 are to a certain extent mixed up and care has to be taken to place the speakers correctly at either conference or rally. This partial confusion emanates from the tapes which do not record the proceedings in proper sequence. The tapes are exh 1 before court and the transcripts V.26 and V.1.

V 26

The conference was opened by Frank Chikane vice-president, Transvaal UDF who sketched the history of the idea of a United Democratic Front and stated that the common stand of the front was the rejection of the constitutional proposals and the Koornhof bills in a national and representative voice of the masses.

The proposed constitutional proposals would merely serve to ensure white domination and not ameliorate the existing grievances. He called upon all peace-loving people in South Africa to unite, to fight against the implementation of the government's reform proposals "so that we can then destroy the system and put up a government by the people".

At this stage the press was barred from the proceedings and only an official UDF film crew was allowed to remain.

A message from Florence Mkhize, Durban was read which ran inter alia "not even bullets can stop us. Forward to the people's government".

The chairman proceeded to call for discussion and resolutions on the grievances like removals, group areas, housing, cost of living, education, workers, Ciskei, Black local authorities (called dummy bodies) Bantustans, the SADF and the constitution and Koornhof bills. Discussions and resolutions on a wide range of subjects followed.

To enliven the luncheon adjournment the chairman called for songs. As he put it "it would help the spirit".

The session started off with the slogans Mayibuye i Afrika and Wena Mandela followed by songs about Mandela, about Tambo teaching the soldiers in the forest, Hlanganani Basebenzi, about Ghatsha (Buthelezi) and Matanzima being impimpi's (traitors) and in praise of Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Slovo and of soldiers shooting a bazuka.

In support of a resolution on the Ciskei a delegate referred to "Harassment from the Sebe gangsters" (meaning the Ciskei government) and proposed a resolution "that Ciskei is a shock-absorber body intended to police and persecute the oppressed people in that part of the country in the interests of the racist Botha, Malan, Koornhof clique". This was applauded, the chairman calling for a big hand for "our heroic delegate from the Ciskei".

A female delegate proposed a resolution against militarisation, conscription and the SADF and stated in support that there was a civil war in South Africa and that more and more youth were giving up any hope of a peaceful solution in South Africa and were crossing the borders to take up arms. In the civil war in South Africa the SADF was playing the role of defending apartheid and of crossing the borders to destabilize "our brothers and sisters who are trying to build a democratic nation over the borders". (At the

V.1

NATIONAL LAUNCH RALLY - 20 AUGUST 1983

The rally opened with a few directions by Archie Gumede newly elected president, to the audience for good order.

This was followed by the slogan Mayibuye i Afrika and the song "The supreme court is on fire".

Mrs Francis Baard opened the rally. She called for Mandela, Mhlaba, Sizulu, Mbeki and the other political prisoners whom she called "our leaders" to be released from prison.

Archie Gumede told the rally that the UDF was not an organisation but a front composed of different organisations. He said "it is a front at this stage, which is established for the sole purpose of struggling against the constitutional bills and the Koornhoff act which are intended to entrench apartheid in our society". He further admonished the rally not to be provoked into rash actions. Whatever action was to be taken was to be fully considered and applied with determination.

The Master of Ceremonies stated that they were not alone in their fight against the powerful enemy - the whole outside world supported them, inter alia he read a message of support from SWAPO of Namibia which stated "we face the common racist enemy, the

V.26

time the cross border raids were into Mozambique - a Marxist country. This indicates what is meant by democratic in UDF circles).

A delegate referred to the government as "the terrorist government of South Africa" and stated that "the brutal killings of the people of Palestine" by the Israeli government were "similar to the ones happening in South Africa" perpetrated by "the racist Botha regime".

A delegate from the youth organisation stated that they "should anticipate all acts of malevolence from this apartheid regime".

A message, apparently from Fatima Meer, was read. It contained greetings "that resound the spirit of our heroes Mandela, Luthuli, Tambo, Biko, Marks, Kathrada, Aggett and Emma Maroon".

A delegate proposed an amendment to a draft resolution adding a claim for the return of all political exiles and a national convention.

When a new chairman took over he immediately called for a song. Hlanganane Basebensi and another song followed.

V.26

The speech of accused No 20 was preceded by shouts of Amandla Awethu and freedom is ours and a song Sakhalel'u Tambo.

Accused No 20 requested that they make progress so that "we can have a better opportunity to sing at a later stage".

Dr Motlana felt unhappy that the aims and objects of the UDF should be limited to opposition to the constitution and the Koornhof bills and proposed an addition that the UDF will continue the fight for democratic rights in South Africa until complete equality has been achieved.

Accused No 20 explained that the UDF was a front of a number of organisations specifically coming together to challenge the proposed legislation.

It was after discussion resolved that this matter of the extension of the objects be deferred to the regions for discussions.

The chairman called for a song and the delegates sang "How it will be when we see the boers running, when we are sitting with Tambo".

V.26

A message from Mandela and his cell mates was delivered announcing their blessings on the gathering. This was followed by a song "We will follow Mandela".

The conference was followed by a rally.

V.1

Pretoria regime". Aluta continua. This message was read to the accompaniment of clapping, whistling and shouting and followed by a slogan about Mandela and Archie Cumede "our leaders" and Mayibuye i Afrika.

Samson Ndou, trade unionist, in his address to the rally stated: "In 1976 our children took the lead and shook the system with 18 months of continuous action against apartheid domination. Saying they would rather die fighting for freedom than live passively as slaves. They stood unflinching in the face of police guns, batons, dogs and tear-gas. This is then marked a point of no return and left a memory in the minds of freedom loving people which could never be rubbed. With the suffering of their children in mind, workers threw themselves into the task of organising to smash this brutal system". He added "But the struggle of the working class will have to go beyond the factory gates. The responsibility for the defences of racial capitalism lies not with individual capitalists but with their organised arm, the state. To defeat the apartheid state we need powerful mass based national political organisation capable of waging a political struggle on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited. Women, students and workers must come together to build this political movement and in doing so we must work together as progressive and as democrats and to bury secondary organisational and ideological differences in the interests of a broader movement. Forward to the united democratic

V.1

front, forward to the workers' struggle, forward to the people's democracy. Amandla."

When Helen Joseph was introduced her speech was preceded by a song and then the slogans Mayibuye i Afrika and Oliver Tambo often repeated.

Helen Joseph referred to the Freedom Charter and to the leaders Mandela, Goldberg, Sizulu, Mbeki and others who were in gaol banned or banished. She stated that the people of this land cannot be silenced by this evil government which would be exposed and defeated by them.

Her speech was followed by a song in praise of Helen Joseph and repeated shouts of Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo, Botha is a terrorist, numerous Amandla Aweto's, a song about Tambo who is in the bush teaching the soldiers, a song of the gun in Angola bring the gun, repeated mayibuye's and a song We shall get them and their children across the river - the rock of Tambo is formidable.

George Sewpersath president of the Natal Indian Congress on the REC of the Natal UDF and on the NEC of the UDF stated that this rally made it clear that the people of South Africa were not merely asking for a change but they, by their activities and their struggle, were actually changing South Africa and would bring about a South Africa in which power would be transferred to the people.

V.1

The ideals of the Freedom Charter will be pursued by the UDF and they would never rest, they would continue with the struggle until their leaders like Nelson Mandela are freed to govern this country.

Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee and on the NEC of the UDF delivered an impassioned speech for the release of Mandela and others. He stated in the course thereof that Black people are keen to have liberation. Black people will stop at nothing to be free. He referred to "our leaders on Robben Island" and called on the audience to pray as revolutionaries with their eyes wide open. The same phrase he used when calling upon the audience to pray for "the exiles". He called for prayers "for the people who died in the struggle of liberation, for the blood that was shed from the inception of the conflict in 1652". This he said culminated in 1976 when the youth said "enough was enough" - that blood which was shed is surely going to irrigate the tree of freedom. South Africa's buffer states, Portuguese Mozambique and Angola and Southern Rhodesia had collapsed and "the truth is now emerging and the morale of the people are coming up, is being boosted and nothing is going to stop us from being freed. Amandla Ngawethu (3 x)". He spoke against fragmentation of the forces of resistance and in favour of action. Branches of the UDF throughout South Africa had to be formed, the UDF had to be popularised, meaningful community development projects had to be set up and the resolutions taken had to be implemented.

V.1

Soon the gates of Robben Island and Pollsmoor prison would be flung wide open, the gates at the border would collapse and those forced into exile would come back and they would govern the country. The people shall govern.

He was followed by a male who recited a poem about a guerilla containing phrases like "I am the voice of anger"; "Peace drowns in the blood of vengeance"; "Mangope, Mathanzima, Mphephu are massacring my land".

A next speaker said that slogans do not bring freedom, they should build up their organisation for freedom.

Dr Alan Boesak delivered a lengthy speech. It was preceded by chants Boesak and slogans of Amandla and Mayibuye.

The speech was hard-hitting around the theme that apartheid and its supporters now "find a people ready at every level of society to fight this evil system". He referred to the banning of "our organisations", "the torture and death of so many in detention" and "the merciless killing of our children on the streets of the nation". He stated they would never give up. He stated those in power in South Africa were a totalitarian regime which depended not on the loyalty of the people but on the power of the gun. The regime had forgotten that the fear of the gun is always overcome by

V.1

the longing for freedom. You can kill the body but you can never kill the spirit and the determination of a people.

He stated that those in power killed "our children in order to safeguard their overprivileged position". He stated the reasons for their rejection of the constitutional proposals.

His speech also had a conciliatory note as follows:

"We must not allow our anger which is legitimate for apartheid to become the basis of a blind hatred for all White people. Let us not build our struggle upon hatred and let us not seek to quench our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness. Let us even now seek to lay the foundations for reconciliation between White and Black in this country by working together, by praying together and by struggling together for justice and if we cannot do it now we will not be able to do it one day."

The conciliatory thoughts were however not directed at the White government and at Blacks who participated in governmental structures. The latter were accused of collaboration and both of oppression, economic exploitation and human degradation, of seeking to secure an unjustly acquired privileged position by violent

V.1

repression of the weak, the exploited and the needy. He told his audience not to be afraid of the government and its supporters and that they (meaning the UDF) would continue on the road they had taken. They had waited too long.

It was a stirring impassioned speech but it did not call for violence.

The declaration of the UDF was read.

It was announced that it was the birthday of Kathrada - serving life imprisonment in Pollsmoor.

The meeting ended officially with Nkosi Sikelel - i Afrika but those present in the hall were asked to remain where they were for ten minutes to enable the crowd gathered outside to disperse. During this period the Master of Ceremonies asked them to sing a song about Mandela and "There is the gun in Angola come with it" followed. Oliver Tambo's name was chanted over and over as was Boesak's. Joe Slovo was shouted to a lesser extent.

COMMENT ON THE CONFERENCE AND RALLY

We have dealt rather extensively with the conference and rally of the UDF launch as it evidences a pattern which is found in virtually all UDF meetings. There may be a shift of emphasis depending on the audience. The younger it is the more radical the utterances become.

The following features are strikingly evident:

1. The meeting is fiercely anti-government and the language unbridled.
2. The songs, which are often called for by the Chair, and which are never even frowned upon, let alone condemned, are revolutionary and in praise of revolutionary leaders.
3. The revolutionary Oliver Tambo's name is repeatedly used as a slogan.
4. Mandela and others in prison for acts of violence against the state are throughout glorified and called "our leaders" and their deeds are never disapproved of or disclaimed.

V.26, V.1

5. The ANC is glorified, and not only as it was before it was banned but without a disclaimer of its present course of violence.
6. The ANC slogan "Mayibuye i Afrika" is openly shouted at the meeting.
7. Often the language is couched in such a form that the meek may understand it that non-violent action is propagated while the aggressive, especially the excitable youth, could understand it as a call to violence or a condonation thereof. Phrases like "fight", "destroy the system", "not even bullets can stop us", "go into action ... even if we go to gaol", "smash this brutal system", "stop at nothing to be free", "the fear of the gun is always overcome by the longing for freedom" spring to mind.

Apart from the above there is language which in the context of the revolutionary songs and slogans would by the ordinary unsophisticated listener with average knowledge of South African history and conditions and its situation be understood to be unequivocally that of revolution. Phrases like "pray as revolutionaries", "shook the system with 18 months of continuous action against apartheid domination" "die fighting for free-

V.26, V.1

dom" "stood unflinching in the face of police guns" and the message from SWAPO (which would be interpreted as from the external wing), spring to mind.

8. A convicted murderer Solomon Mahlangu is called "great"
9. Emphasis is throughout placed on oppression and ^{or} prosecution of the people by the government.
10. The government is called the "enemy", "the Pretoria regime" and "evil".
11. The Soweto riots of 1976 and their participants are glorified and the unbridled violence thereof is never disapproved of. The riots are called "a fight for freedom".
12. Some speeches have a socialist/marxist tendency.

V.2

MEETING IN SOLIDARITY WITH SAAWU AND THE PEOPLE OF THE CISKEI
22 SEPTEMBER 1983

Of this meeting a video (exh 2 with transcript V.2) exists. The video was found by the police at Afrascope on 9 October 1984. It was identified by constable Naidoo who attended the meeting. He was not cross-examined. The meeting was, according to accused No 19, organised by an ad hoc committee of the UDF and Trade Unions.

The chairman of this meeting was accused No 19.

Scarcely one month after the launch of the UDF with its alleged limited objective its general secretary, accused No 19, urges this meeting:

" ... let us all unite and fight for the destruction of apartheid in this country. Let us unite to bring an end to this system of separate development, let us unite to challenge Botha's reform initiative, let our struggle go beyond the question of the referendum, let us challenge the local authorities in this country ... let us say in one voice today that the workers are in the forefront of the struggle, but for the workers to win they must be in alliance with all other classes and

V.2

" those freedom-loving people who are committed to a true and democratic non-racial South Africa. "

After a speaker had spoken, Hlanganani Basebensi had been sung, and slogans Amandla Ngawethu and Mayibuye i Afrika shouted, accused No. 19 stated: "Can we have one of our greatest songs please before I call on the new speaker". Then followed "Where are the guns, bring the guns, they are in Africa" and "We are going to catch them with their children beyond the river" and "Our fathers are in gaol, tell Sebe and Vorster we are coming".

The first song was followed by the usual shouts of "Amandla Ngawethu" and "Mayibuye i Afrika".

Accused No 19 explained in court that he had called for a song but did not know what would follow. This explanation carries no weight as he added that he knew that it would be a freedom song and there was nothing unusual about the song which was sung. He made no excuses for the song and justified freedom songs as part of township culture.

Frank Chikane, vice-president of the Transvaal UDF, referred to their brothers being killed in the Ciskei, some having disappeared without trace, some languishing in prison and the prisons are full of people who fight for a just

V.2

society. Chikane then expounded the theme "Don't just agonise about the plight of the workers in the Ciskei and in South Africa, take action", as follows:

" Don't you see that this is the sign of the times. It happened in 1976 and people realised that it was a sign of times, but nevertheless they tended to forget that now it is the time. Can't you read the time that it is just right for people to take action against the system that kills people every-day? Apartheid kills in its multi-facets, apartheid destroys life and therefore cannot be allowed to continue on and on like that. Do you want to die before you realise that you have to do something yourself? Do you want in actual fact a member of your family to be a victim before you take action? Don't you see that that which is happening is sufficient to call us all into action to fight against the system in South Africa? Don't you see that organisations are ready, there is a network that is ready to act against the system today. The labour movement is becoming more organised than ever before, community organisations are ready to get into action and the United Democratic Front has linked all the existing

V.2

" organisations to have a national network that will be ready when it is called into action to break the system. Don't you want to be part and parcel of this whole mobilisation to fight against the system that is costing so much life? I want to say today for us to win against the system we need power. No powerful oppressors have ever gone out of office without being removed, because people have power and therefore we need people's power to bring a change in South Africa. We need workers' power to bring about change in South Africa and it is now the time for all the workers to come together and speak in one voice. It is now the time for all the organisations in South Africa to work for a joint action together to break the system. The UDF has undertaken a two months' programme of action, which programme of action will produce the necessary network in the country that will be called into action and when it is ready the people are going to call that we take action and I believe that we are not going to continue talking and talking and agonising about our pain. But we should start and act and remove the system and create a peaceful South Africa. Thank you."

V.2

His speech was followed by shouts of Amandla Ngawethu and Mayibuye i Afrika.

The chairman accused No 19 then exhorted the meeting as follows:

" Comrades let us unite in action to destroy apartheid, let us unite in action to take freedom into our own hands, take our own destinies in our own hands. "

This was followed by a song "My country it is mine I shall fight for it".

After the next speaker accused No 19 announced to the meeting that "one of the stalwarts of the struggle in South Africa Yusuf Dadoo had passed away in exile". He stated that Dadoo was forced to leave South Africa by the laws of the country and was forced to go and seek desperate solutions to the problems of this country. He called upon the house to rise and observe a moment of silence in his memory.

After people had risen with clenched fists accused No 19 called for a song and there followed a song "We are going, Sasol 2, the Ciskei and the supreme court all are on fire, set alight by the young men". This was followed by the slogans

V.2

Amandla, Mayibuye and the Trade Union slogan "An injury to one is an injury to all".

One Thobile Mseleni addressed the audience "in the name of the international working class struggle, in the name of the toiling masses of our country" and referred to the South African government as "the racist and fascist regime using the leaders of the homelands as junior partners in the exploitation and oppression of our people". The UDF and the SAAWU constitution declare that the workers and other progressives must take their destiny in their own hands and combat poverty, unemployment, insecurity and racial hatred.

The meeting ended with a call by accused No 19 for support for the campaign on the Ciskei - particulars of which he had previously mentioned - ranging from publicity to donations to pressure on the South African and Ciskei governments through international connections.

After Nkosi Sikelel -i Afrika the slogans Amandla, an injury to one, Mayibuye and Oliver Tambo resounded.

We have the following comments on the speeches at this meeting:

V.2

1. It is clear that at least accused No 19 and Frank Chikane did not have in mind the limited purpose for which the United Democratic Front was allegedly formed. Accused No 19 called for the struggle to go beyond the question of the referendum and called for a challenge of the local authorities and a fight for the destruction of the system of separate development. Frank Chikane's words were ominous. The United Democratic Front has linked all the existing organisations into a national network that will be ready when it is called into action to break the system; and also that peoples power was needed to bring about a change in South Africa. This is clearly not merely protest politics.
2. The songs are revolutionary and are called for by accused No 19 chairman of the meeting.
3. Yusuf Dadoo a noted communist and ANC leader is praised and sympathy is expressed that he was forced to go and seek desperate solutions to the problems of South Africa. This is of course the path of violence.

V.4

THE INAUGURATION OF ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS (AYCO)25 SEPTEMBER 1983

Of this meeting a video was found by the police at Afrascope on 9 October 1984. It was identified by the witness ic.15 who attended the launch. It is exh 4 before court and the transcript is exh V.4.

The video is of poor quality and only a few remarks suffice.

The meeting was much on the pattern of those already dealt with.

Youths holding a banner of SOYCO with the slogan "Freedom in our lifetime" sing "We are Mandela's soldiers, wherever we go we are waiting for our death". The slogans Amandla, Oliver Tambo, Mayibuye i Afrika are shouted. A song about the supreme court which is on fire is sung and a song about a Bazuka and "We will catch them across the river with their children Tambo's rock is strong". A song about Tambo is in the bush training the soldiers was also sung.

One Brian (of SOYCO) speaking on behalf of the NGOYE Youth Movement saluted all the leaders "and all the people giving their lives to the struggle for a non-racial democratic

V.4

South Africa". He ended his speech with "You not just sing 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".

Dan Montsitsi spoke on the mobilisation and consolidation of youth. He stated that the youth throughout South Africa is very much prepared to stand up and fight. People have actually reached a breaking point, the youth is saying we have had enough - we are going to organise ourselves and form our own structures in which the unemployed and those expelled from or who have dropped out of school can be accommodated. He mentioned the defiance against the government that existed within the whole spectrum of our society with different organisations emerging and referred to student organisation on White campuses. He told the meeting about the youth in the Soviet Union during the Second World War which helped fight the invading Germans by pamphletering and building barricades for the soldiers; saying the only difference between our youth and those youths was that the former were free and our youth not. He referred to school protests and boycotts and called for the consolidation of the student movement.

An Alexandra Youth Congress banner in colours black, green and yellow was displayed.

V.4

After the chairman had stated that change would only be brought about through the working class working hand in hand with all progressive movements a song was sung: We don't want people from the West, we will follow Tambo.

The next speaker was introduced as comrade Frank Chikane vice-president of the UDF, Transvaal.

He joined in singing "We are Mandela's soldiers" and the shouting "Tambo" thereafter.

His address on the topic of UDF commenced with a reference to the Bambatha rebellion of 1906 an armed uprising, as part of "our history of struggling". He stated "throughout 250 years people took up whatever they could get to fight against the invaders and unfortunately because of superior arms they were defeated by 1906 and thereafter our people were completely disarmed".

He further inter alia remarked that if the rulers "are not going to accept any form of peaceful change, then they must be prepared to face the consequences of what the people shall do about their liberation".

V.4

He referred to the 1976 Soweto uprisings blaming "the system" for clamping down on children who stood up against the apartheid system by peaceful methods.

In a capitalist system the poor would remain poor even if all racial laws had been abolished.

He stated:

" We must be careful not to enter fighting around revolution on top of another revolution. And forget about capital because then you are going to have another revolution on top of another."

He explained why he rejected the new constitution and the Koornhoff bills.

He stated that the UDF went house to house and at the end of October it would call for a mass of provincial rallies. If they were banned the methods would be changed and the UDF would go back to the houses. He ended with:

" 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."

V.4

Another speaker held up as an example to the youth of Alexandra, the experiences of the youth of Nicaragua and the youth league of the ANC in the 40's and 50's under "our recognised leaders Mandela, Tambo and others". He explained the meaning of the slogan "Mayibuye i Afrika" that had been shouted and the raised clenched fist with thumb up which was adopted in 1949 or 1950 as the sign of the ANC.

"The youth were very instrumental in designing the ANC to be what it was up to where it was forced underground."

People like Mandela, Tambo and Sizulu

" directed the peoples movement to be whatever it is. Even now when the peoples' organisations have been forced underground, we the youth must meet our responsibility but we inject life into the peoples movement I mean we have to work hand in hand for example with the United Democratic Front, those of the peoples' organisations."

His speech concluded with a call on the youth to crush apartheid and come to liberation.

V.4

" The Black youth must march and advance with all the power forward to be the golden sons of the dawn of liberation. "

He ended with Mayibuye with clenched fist and thumb outstretched.

One Andrew Mogotsi (also known as Jingles) recited a gory poem about freedom, rockets, bullets, blood, Soweto, Biko, Solomon Mahlangu, agonising fears and guns. Not necessarily in that order. The message seems to be contained in the line "our struggle is the liberation struggle of bloodshed".

This recital was followed with a song "Come with the guns".

It is in our view a significant indication of the direction of the UDF at an early stage that this affiliate of the UDF, at its launch in the presence of and with the approval of the vice-president of the UDF Transvaal is actively pro-ANC and pro-revolution. It is further significant that Frank Chikane again expounds the theme he dealt with on 22 September 1983 namely that the UDF is set to create a national network and when that is ready it will be used to break the system. It is also significant that the vice-president of the

UDF Transvaal gives the acknowledged ANC salute shouting
Mayibuye i Afrika.

V.19

UDF PEOPLES WEEK-END LENASIA - 29-30 OCTOBER 1983

A video of this UDF function was found at Afrascope on 9 October 1984 by the police. It was identified by the witness ic.13 who attended the proceedings on the second day. He could not say if the camera had been selective. In fact the sequence on the video is not correct. Chikane's speech is partly duplicated. The video is exh 19(1) and (2) and the transcript exh V.19(a) and (b).

The meeting was a UDF meeting and the big guns were present. Accused No 19 was there, though he did not speak.

The audience marched around as if drilling, singing "we are Mandela's soldiers - we will be waiting for our death" with clenched fists raised and thumbs extended. The slogans Amandla, Mayibuye and Oliver Tambo were shouted.

Further songs were "We shall fight for ourselves and follow Tambo", "We will catch them with their children across the river", "Here is the supreme court on fire, the boys hit it yesterday - we are going", "They are crying in Namibia, they are crying in South Africa", "There are rifles in Africa - come with the rifles", "Workers unite", "Even if we are arrested we will follow". These songs were led by Siphwe Thusi of SOYCO on the stage.

V.19

The chairman was Frank Chikane vice-president of the UDF Transvaal who before calling on the first speaker took a swipe at "the American Internationalist terrorism that is being permitted against the world especially GRANADA".

Bishop Tutu opened the meeting, referring to rich oppressors, the distressed who have no protector and stated that the system was violent and, to applause, that in order to defend a violent system you must use violence. The system was totally evil and used immoral methods. The system was fundamentally illegal and its laws were illegal.

Dr N Motlana of the REC UDF Transvaal spoke against co-operation by the oppressed with government institutions. The struggle was going to be long and costly.

Then the song about the supreme court on fire was sung.

Professor I Mohammed of the REC UDF Transvaal spoke of the growing fact of unity of struggle sweeping the country.

" The signs are clear for those who want to see it, like the heaving and swelling mighty ocean, that the oppressed are rising. When those waves roll more and more in unison they will amplify each other into a raging storm. The signs are

V.19

" clear for those who want to see that that storm shall sweep away the racialism and oppression exploitation under which we have suffered so long. "

The speaker stated -

" We have also had the lessons of Angola - the guns, the sarazens and the mirages are not enough to contain us. They will have to look for collaborators, traitors of our land, so that the vast majority of our people will live and sell their cheap labour to produce the wealth to make the guns with and to give them the power to throttle us. "

He concluded his speech as follows:

" Go forward from this day, let this meeting and the meetings elsewhere of our people whether it be in large areas or small, let them aspire with a new determination to fight for our liberty. In our day to day struggle let those of our people who are in oppressor's prisons, Mandela, Sizulu, Mbeki, Mlangeni, Kathrada, Goldberg and so many others let them serve as a constant reminder that we are

" helots in the land of our birth. Let those who in their many thousands had to flee our borders and who are now hounded from their place of refuge, let them serve as constant reminders that they yet have to win our freedom. Let those who were so cruelly robbed of life and I want to mention just a few Mahlangu, Mogoerane, Motsoaledi, Motaung and those thousands who were massacred and murdered at Cassinga, at Matola and Maseru and in so many other places, let them inspire us with new courage, with strength and determination to grasp our freedom and we shall see the new dawn of a South Africa come shining through. Until then Amandla. "

(It should be borne in mind that the persons mentioned and with whom the speaker sides were all convicted in a court of law for acts of violence against the state and the last-mentioned four were executed for murder).

Mbuli of SOYCO recited a poem, "The spear has fallen, pick it up, fight side by side. This is the voice of anger like the blood of vengeance".

V.19

David Webster, to applause, told the audience that the enemies of South Africa were incorrectly portrayed by this country as foreigners and as terrorists. They were exiles from 1976 who are now returning to fight for their homeland. He called the government "this illegal, illegitimate regime". At the end of his speech the audience stood with raised clenched fists with thumbs outstretched.

Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee and of the UDF NEC called on the audience to pray as revolutionaries with their eyes wide open and led them in "Senzeni na" praying for the banned, banished, detained, those standing trial before the courts of the racists minority regime, exiles, those incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor prison and all other institutions meeting out punitive measures against our people and for those who paid the supreme price through their lives and laid down their life and they died for the struggle for liberation.

The liberation struggle started in 1652 and the blood shed by men, women and children who were resisting this oppression is going to irrigate the tree of freedom.

In his speech that followed he discussed the usurpers who had taken the land of the people in 331 years of oppression and how the system had banned, detained and "killed our people".

V.19

He stated that time, God, the truth, justice and numbers were against the system. There was only one struggle, the popular struggle of liberation of the people. He warned against fragmentation and pleaded that all should come under the banner of the UDF. He stated that the UDF "does not purport to be a substitute of the peoples popular liberation movement". The UDF had come to oppose apartheid in toto but at the moment they were tackling just a few programmes of apartheid, the Koornhoff bills, etc.

They were a people who want to liberate the country. Everybody must spread the gospel of liberation. Mandela and his comrades must be released. Very soon that would happen and the exiles would return and all the people shall govern.

The reference by Aubrey Mokoena to the peoples popular liberation movement can in the context only be a reference to the ANC.

Siphiwe Thusi of SOYCO then from the stage led the song "Mandela, Dube, Tambo are our fathers".

The meeting closed with a call by Frank Chikane, the chairman, to the audience to form task forces in their areas to work against the system to bring about liberation. He

V.19

called on them to work for unity in action "Your key for UDF therefore is unity in action".

We find therefore that the same pattern as in the previous meetings is repeated. Revolutionary freedom songs are sung. There is close identification with the ANC and with men of violence. Never is there a clear stand against violence which in the circumstances would be expected had that been the policy. Again speakers stressed that the UDF does not have a limited objective but the total liberation of the country.

We have set out the proceedings at various meetings in some detail. As freedom songs of the type already mentioned and the slogans Amandla, Mayibuye and Tambo are normal features of these meetings we will henceforth not give detail thereof. As has been seen the meetings are fiercely anti-government and pro-ANC. We will likewise omit further reference to this type of speech and merely highlight certain other relevant aspects of the following meetings.

V.3

THE JOINT UDF/AZASO PROTEST MEETING ON NGOYA ON 3 NOVEMBER
1983

This meeting was a protest meeting held jointly by the above-mentioned bodies at Khotso house, Johannesburg about students killed at the NGOYA university.

This video was found at Afrascope on 9 October 1984 and was identified by the witness ic.15. Its correctness was not disputed by accused No 19 who attended this meeting and played a leading role. The video is exh 3 before court and the transcript thereof V.3.

Oupa Monareng of SOYCO referred to the government as the enemy which was trying its level best to cause division between the oppressed and exploited masses. He called for a lively, dynamic and energetic song to show that the people inside the country are still with the comrades who have fallen. He called on the comrades for freedom songs to rededicate themselves. "We are following Tambo" followed and the slogans and another song about Mandela, Tambo, guerillas and soldiers.

Frank Chikane said that Inkatha killed "our people" and that that was a time that they were on the side of the oppressors. There would be no reconciliation in South Africa as long

as apartheid was there. There would be more and more conflict until people faced the truth and dismantled the system.

Accused No 19 read a message which blamed the KwaZulu government and "the South Africa Botha-Malan regime" for the killings and referred to them as "our enemies".

Oupa Monareng also referred to the government as the enemy and stated "our revolution, Cadres and comrades are prepared to chase, attack and destroy the enemy from all areas, levels and corners of the world".

He called for an attack on Inkatha members. The youth had no option but to take drastic action against government created bodies, puppets and stooges (referring to homeland governments and Inkatha). He stated "this is a period of actually escalating our struggle".

Accused No 19 read a message blaming Inkatha as it had "dedicated itself to the maintenance of the vicious system of free enterprise which is keeping our people in the bonds of exploitation and oppression".

Tiego Moseneke President of AZASO stated that they were not only butchered and killed by the white racist minority regime but by men of their own kind. Of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

V.3

he said:

"This man is part of the system and when we all go out and destroy this system he shall be part of the enemy and we shall destroy the system together with him."

A message from CUSA (the Council of Unions of South Africa) was read stating that Gatsha had murdered the students on instructions of P W Botha.

Sipho Radebe of AZAPO stated all Whites in South Africa wanted to oppress them. Gatsha, Sebe and Mathanzima were reactionaries whose hands were dripping with blood. The murder of our people was begun in 1652.

" The enemy is challenging us, we should therefore mobilise all our liberatory efforts so as to conquer once and for all. "

He called on the workers to continue the struggle for a liberated socialist Azanian Republic.

Revolutionary songs were sung and slogans shouted.

V.3

Accused No 19 testified that he approached Moseneki about Monareng's call for violence against Inkatha members. It is true that Moseneki did tell the meeting that the ordinary Inkatha members had been misled by Chief Buthelezi. The following is however equally true: neither accused No 19 nor anybody else disavowed violence as such; nobody disapproved of the use of the term "enemy" for the government or spoke out against the unfounded accusation that the government had instructed the killings; nobody qualified the statement that they would go out and destroy the system. And all this in the context of the violent deaths of five students and the revolutionary freedom songs.

V.20

Aubrey Mokoena of the RMC Transvaal offered his usual revolutionary prayer accompanied by *senzeni na* which he called a popular tune of the struggle. He beseeched his audience not to pray with their eyes closed as they had been told by the usurpers of the land to enable them to pull the land from beneath the feet of the Blacks. He urged them to pray as revolutionaries with their eyes wide open. He thanked God for all those people who are banned, banished, detained, standing trial before the racist courts of the land tried for their convictions. He remembered those forced into exile, those incarcerated on Robben Island, etc. He said:

" They are stigmatised as criminals when in fact they are prisoners of war, of conscience. We are ultimately praying for those who dedicated their lives and paid the supreme price. Through their lives they died in the struggle for liberation. Notably the lives we lost in '76. We say the blood which was shed will irrigate the tree of freedom. "

This prayer was followed by a speech on the theme "Why are we here?". The answer was "We are here to clear the way, to pave the way for our liberation". According to him the settlers 301 years ago took the land from the people and there followed 301 years of oppression. Now was a new era,

V.20

UDF RALLY ORIENT HALL DURBAN - 14 NOVEMBER 1983

This video was found in possession of Kiren Satgoor in Newcastle in 1984. Satgoor was organiser of the Natal Indian Congress in Newcastle, Dundee and Glencoe. The video is exh 20 and the transcript V.20.

There is no evidence of whether Satgoor or previous possessors tampered with it or not.

The video was identified by Peter John who incorrectly gave the date as 1984 instead of 1983 (which date is given by accused No 20).

At this meeting inter alia were present M Xundu of the NEC of the UDF, George Sewpersath of the NIC and REC Natal and vice-president of the NEC, Mewa Ramgobin national treasurer of the NEC and accused No 20 who did not speak but who sat on the stage. He testified that he arrived late. Dr Alan Boesak, Archie Gumede, professor Fatima Meer and Paul David who was chairman were also speakers.

The songs were sung mainly by a small group of about 20 African singers but the chairman made no attempt to stop them. It was an Indian meeting.

V.20

apartheid wore a new mask - the new political dispensation - but the Botha strategy was still militarisation, banning and banishing people, jailing them, killing them and indulging in espionage - "planting informers amongst ourselves", agent provocateurs.

Mandela was a pivot of the struggle, there can never be a political solution in South Africa unless Mandela was released.

UDF stands for a truly egalitarian society where people would be judged on merit. The two leaders of the people were in gaol and will come out. Very soon the border gates will be flung open and "all our brothers and sisters who were forced into exile will come marching into the country". "The country will have a true democracy and true liberation and a true egalitarian society. And the people shall govern".

This concluded his speech and led part of the audience to shout "AK.47" ten times followed by "come soldiers, come Mandela".

Mcebisi Xundu of the UDF NEC and of Johannesburg Rent Action Committee and Joint Commuter Committee spoke against the constitutional dispensation and the Koornhoff bills.

V.20

After her speech there was an interruption for adjustment of loud-speakers and a portion of the audience sang:

" The spear is available to do away with the crooked,
this spear, we don't want Gatsha. "

This reference to a spear is a reference to Umkhonto we Sizwe. Some participants wore clothes in black, green and yellow.

George Sewpersath of the Natal Indian Congress and vice-president of the UDF called on the audience to reject "this vicious and monstrous constitution". He said the road to peace in South Africa can only be achieved through a united struggle that includes all the oppressed people of South Africa and democrats.

Mewa Ramgobin, national treasurer of the UDF and member of the NIC, spoke against the new constitution. The government he called oppressors and the constitutional proposals designed for mass oppression and for furthering White domination. Their struggle was to break apartheid, to create a non-racial democratic society for all based on the Freedom Charter.

He stated that they would do everything in their power to destroy apartheid.

V.20

He asked "this government to repent and change its hell bound course, or else all of us will be burnt by the fire of barbaric revolution".

He called for a national convention at which the political prisoners and exiles would participate but none of the homeland leaders. He also supported a call for a christian conference. When the two conventions have been summoned a mass participatory agenda will be on for governing South Africa on the basis of the Freedom Charter.

Ram Saloojee of the Transvaal Indian Congress, member of the REC Transvaal and of the NEC of the UDF spoke against the new constitutional dispensation calling those who participated collaborators, opportunists, unprincipled individuals. With a "no" there "has to be death with apartheid".

V.20

In flowery language he, inter alia, said:

" The chariot of opposition and resistance must converge on the flame of unity to outflank, immobilise and destroy this hydra-headed monster of exploitation and discrimination. "

After he had spoken accused No 20 mounted the stage.

Prof Fatima Meer spoke. She started with the Amandla salute saying:

" This is a salute which we will continue to honour because this was the salute that was given by Mandela when he was driven off for his last ride to that prison on that island. "

She spoke on why the constitutional proposals had to be rejected. She called for a national convention where the peoples of South Africa would decide upon a constitution. If the government did not call it, they would and they will be in very good company in calling for such a convention because Nelson Mandela called the all African convention in reaction to the 1961 constitution and it was as a result of that call that he now faces life imprisonment. He was arrested as a result of that call, she said. Not to vote "No" would be to be untrue and disloyal to Dr Dadoo, Dr Naiker, Ghandi, Mandela, Sizulu, Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Biko and Sobukwe.

V.20

Those who participated in the new constitution he called selfish, greedy, opportunists exploiting and riding on the backs of the oppressed masses of the people. Long after Botha, Rajbansi and the likes were thrown on the dung heap of history, the oppressed peoples of South Africa will be standing with pride.

Dr Alan Boesak spoke against the new constitution which he said was a continuation of violence inherent in the system.

He dealt with the inequities of the system as he saw it, which would continue.

The price South Africa must pay for the continued exploitation and oppression of its Black people is the price of its own destruction and "we must not be party to that destruction".

He stood for a free society where Whites and Blacks would live together in harmony, which would be a democratic society.

They would work hard to become even more a united opposition. They wanted all their rights here and now. He concluded "Do not give up the dream for freedom for democracy. Too many have been jailed, tortured, banned, exiled, killed for this dream. One day we shall stand free at last".

V.10

The chairman, reverend Lebamang Sebidi, repeatedly led the chant "We know who the enemy is".

Frank Chikane, vice-president UDF Transvaal, referred to "Our common enemy controlled by Pretoria" and prayed for the hundreds of children victims of June 16 through the mercenary and bloody act of the South African government; he remembered the exiles forced to leave the country; he remembered well those who decided to join the guerilla warfare not out of their own choice but out of pressure and compulsion to die for what they believe to be a just cause.

He extended condolences to the families of those who have died in combat, or those who have been hanged or are serving long and life imprisonment.

He stated:

" Our people are tortured and the facist regime tortures them even to death. Those who are peace-loving in South Africa are rotting in jail and serving life sentences. God came at the right time to save the children of Israel from the oppression of the Egyptians and now we are saying to Botha let the oppressed children of God be liberated. But he is not going to listen, he won't unless he is compelled by a mighty hand. The reactionaries of this world, the

V.20

Thereafter the meeting was opened for participation by members of the audience.

The chairman then summarised the feeling of the meeting as a "No" to Rajbansi and a "Yes" to a democratic South Africa in terms of the Freedom Charter and "Yes" to the UDF.

The meeting did not call for violence. It did side with revolutionaries and some of the speakers indicated that the government's course led to revolution. The speeches were virulent, anti-government and derogatory. The meeting was clearly pro-Freedom Charter.

V.9

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS MEETING, LENASIA, 8 FEBRUARY 1984

A video of this meeting was found in the UDF offices on 19 February 1985 and it was identified by M W Simelane who attended the meeting. It is before us as exh 9 and the transcript is V.9.

At this meeting accused No 20 spoke on the UDF, against the new constitution and in favour of the Freedom Charter. He stated that the UDF organised the people around problems, galvanising and mobilising them towards non-racial democracy. The UDF pulled every sector of the population together into one forceful force that must in fact bring down apartheid. He called for support for the TIC and for the million signature campaign.

Accused Nos 19 and 21 attended this meeting.

The video is not complete but there is apart from one Mayibuye and a number of Amandla's no evidence of the usual slogans or freedom songs. The meeting is not pro-ANC or so vehemently anti-government as the others. No violence was advocated. It is significant that this is an Indian audience.

V.10

16th JUNE COMMEMORATION SERVICE 1984, REGINA MUNDI

A video of this commemoration service was found at Afrascope on 9 October 1984 and identified by the witness ic.15. Accused No 20 who attended this meeting did not dispute the correctness of the video. The video is exh 10 and the transcript V.10.

This meeting was organised by a group of ministers but both UDF and AZAPO played important roles.

Accused No 20 addressed the meeting but his speech is not on the video. The video is not complete.

There were banners of the UDF, inter alia, and a UDF poster advertising the meeting.

At the meeting a youth had an AK.47 replica and someone had a flag of black, green and gold - which would in the circumstances be interpreted as an ANC flag.

Revolutionary freedom songs were sung and slogans shouted.

Ishmael Mkhabela of AZAPO referred to the government as "the enemy" and told the meeting that they were "fighting for the recompense of our country".

V.10

" oppressors of this world are not going to let go without being put under pressure. So I will stretch, says God, out my hand and smite Egypt with all the wonders which I'll do in it ... After that he will let you go. "

Chikane concluded:

" And I want to say to you this afternoon that God wants all of you here to go, and if he says, you must go, you must go, irrespective of the consequences, don't think you that you have no power, don't think that you have no guns, don't think that you have nothing that you can rely on. You have God. You have got a commitment. That is the cause for which you are fighting and I want to challenge you to stand up, don't wait for another person. You must go and do what God wants you to do. He is on the side of those who are oppressed and we have to go. I want to conclude by saying that God has seen our suffering for many years and he has seen now the brutality of the system and violence 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 conspiracy within the matter of faith.

V.10

" 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. "

One can say the following of this speech:

It is most unconciliatory and can be interpreted as advocating coercion of the government by force. The call to the audience to go, irrespective of the consequences, and follow the cause for which they are fighting and the statement that faith is conspiratorial is, to say the least, ominous.

One seeks in vain a call for reconciliation and a condemnation of violence in the speech of the reverend F Chikane, vice-president of the UDF Transvaal.

In our view the circumstances loudly called for such condemnation from the leader of an organisation which claims to be non-violent.

V.12

At this meeting there were the normal slogans.

Accused No 20 attempted to explain away the barbs in his speech. He was not successful.

To address a meeting of youths with such fighting talk is like putting a match to dry grass.

To dwell on a history of bloody conflict and then advocate that the war should start afresh is in the context of this meeting a revolutionary call. The fact that the call was not for an immediate commencement of violence is immaterial. To create a revolutionary climate is a slow process.

V.12

HUHUDI YOUTH ORGANISATION MEETING, VRYBURG, 1 JULY 1984

This meeting was taped by the police and the voices were identified by the witness ic.12. Accused No 20 in cross-examination admitted the identity of the speakers. He did not dispute the correctness of the tape. The tape is before us as exh 12 and the transcript is V.12.

HUYO (Huhudi Youth Organisation) was an affiliate of the UDF.

Oupa Monareng of SOYCO addressed the meeting, which was held on the anniversary of the Freedom Charter, on the history of the ANC and the new direction it took led by Mandela and Sizulu and the drafting and acceptance of the Freedom Charter. He stated "Freedom is what we are prepared to die for. People should fight for their rights."

Hofman Galeng, chairman and former member of the REC of Transvaal UDF, said that the time for freedom is now.

Tsidiso of SOYCO spoke on clause 8 of the Freedom Charter and called the government oppressors and praised the dynamic ideas of Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko.

Hofman Galeng called for a song which he was not sure the youth had heard already. The song was: "Tambo liberate us with Bazuka,

V.12

mortar and AK." (It was sung in Zulu whereas the proceedings were in Tswana).

Aubrey Mokoena of the RMC gave his usual prayer performance to the tune of *senzeni na*. He said the struggle had not started with the Freedom Charter but in 1652 with Jan van Riebeeck. Since then it had been war. The struggle was like a relay-race. Nelson Mandela was still participating. "We who are his brothers know he will come. We are not ANC or communists and we have no quarrel with the ANC. Mandela will be free. Victory is certain."

Accused No 20 who was the main speaker was very popular with the youthful audience. He commenced with the declaration that it was late in the afternoon, the sun was setting for the boers (meaning thereby the Afrikaners). Tomorrow would be the peoples day. Today the battle for freedom fought with the boers since we met has reached the third stage, it has reached a stage where today we pay with life and blood.

To our colours of black and yellow should be added red, the colour of the blood of our people spilt as the price of freedom.

The conflict started in 1400. The land was taken from the Blacks by war. When our forefathers said *Mayibuye* they meant the land must be returned to the Blacks.

V.12

Accused No 20 sketched a history of oppression and this brought him to Kliptown and the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter says the people will govern, that is not Mangope, that is not P W Botha. Are they people or dogs? We are the people. The people will govern. The people are all those who are opposed to apartheid, who help us to kill apartheid.

People like Mangope are the enemies of the people, the big enemies of South Africa. P W Botha is a big tsotsie. This government must disappear and we want a government of the people. These tsotsies must be brought together and asked what are you doing to the people.

Accused No 20 quoted Mandela on why Umkhonto we Sizwe had been founded in 1961. They wanted by this name to remind the boers that the war was not a new one. That is why December 16 had been chosen as the day of Umkhonto we Sizwe. In 1838 on this day the boers spilt the blood of many people in Blood River as if it were Pharaoh's war. The river was full of blood and then the people said the war is not over.

Accused No 20 testified that he quoted Mandela's words for effect, using the first person plural. That may be, but after the quotation he added in his speech "This war has to start anew".

V.12

Accused No 20 discussed the effects of apartheid and added "In 1966 when Botha sent Mandela and company to jail Botha said the tree of terrorism has been removed, roots and all, it is dead. But he forgot an important fact. The tree of the liberation struggle is like a prickly pear, when you throw it away it grows again.

The seed of freedom grows within us. We are waiting for the rain. The tree of freedom you can't get. It is made of blood and blood is strong. We have paid the price of freedom. We have paid more than we were owing. We have paid 90%. When we have paid 100% which is not far we will defeat them."

Thereupon a song was started. The transcript says by the speaker. Accused No 20 denies that he started it. As there was a hidden microphone which recorded the proceedings it is possible that somebody else, equidistant from it, could have started singing.

The song in the certified transcript was: "Maburu siwabulala" (p.57 translation p.53). This was amended in court to "Aluta washu u Tambo" - by agreement between counsel. Upon listening to the tape it appeared to us that the typed transcript was correct.

Nothing turns on this.

V.12

After the song accused No 20 recommenced his speech. He told the audience that the UDF was an organisation which fought apartheid and which had founded organisations like Huhudi Civic Association, hostel committees and rent committees. That was common knowledge, but what did not appear in the newspapers was most important, namely the power of Nelson Mandela, the power of our leaders, is the power they get from us. This is the power that strengthens them in prison.

We will help our people. If we are united the boers will do nothing to us. We must organise parents, children, the schools, the youth, the unemployed, everyone. We must organise.

Hofman Galeng, the chairman of HUCA (Huhudi Civic Association), stated "When the last day comes Botha would crawl like Nebuchadnezzar and eat grass like a beast". He added that HUCA was established because of local problems. UDF could help them. The newspapers alleged that UDF originated from the ANC. We have no connection with the ANC and know nothing of politics. We don't want apartheid.

It appears from the tape (and its transcript) that Galeng was aware of the possible presence of police. This might have prompted the statement on his part after accused No 20 had spoken.

V.11

AZASO ANNUAL CONGRESS, 4 - 8 JULY 1984

AZASO, an affiliate of UDF, held its annual congress in Soweto from 4 - 8 July 1984. The theme was "Organising for a peoples education". According to the programme the speakers on the first day were Oscar Mpetha, Prof Mohammed and accused No 20. Accused No 19 spoke on the third day.

We have only a video of the proceedings on the second day, 5 July 1984, the women's meeting.

The transcript is incorrectly dated.

Speakers were, inter alia, Dorothy Nyembe and Albertina Sizulu.

The video was found by the police at Afrascope on 9 October 1984 and identified by the witness ic.12. It is before court as exh 11 and the transcript is V.11.

The video commences with shots of people marching inside the hall singing "Lead us Tambo". This was followed by "We entered Pretoria and there cried a boer woman". "Nelson Mandela Hayi Hayi". "We will catch them with their children - Tambo's stone has been made hard - Bazuka". "Tambo is in the forest training soldiers". "Take my hand, Tambo". "This place is bad". "They have crossed the plains of Angola".

V.11

While the crowd marched two AK.47's (or replicas thereof) were held up, casting two shadows on the wall.

Kate Mboweni of AZASO in her introductory remarks likened "The struggle" to a birth, stating that in every birth there is blood. "The struggle needs our sacrifice, needs our blood so that the end result of that will be freedom".

Benedicta Monama of AZASO greeted the audience "In the name of our leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sizulu, Ahmed Kathrada and all the others". She stated they had come a long way since the historic 1976 uprising during which students actively rejected the racist and inferior bantu education. The struggle had changed qualitatively. In a short time the peace that the apartheid regime had had was gone, hopefully not to come back.

But students had learnt they were not in the vanguard of the struggle. This is the face of the national democratic struggle. At the head of a broadly based alliance is the African working class.

She stated that "Our revolutionary program, the Freedom Charter" was the only qualification for membership of the progressive democratic movement.

V.11

She spoke on the role of the students. The students are able to explain to the masses that genuine change will be brought through revolution, through the total overthrow of the racist regime. Those emphasising book-learning should know that the final battle will be on the anvil of the grim ugly day-to-day struggles on the factory floor and in the communities.

Kate Mboweni introduced Albertina Sizulu as a person who had been banned for 22 years and whose husband, Walter Sizulu, was languishing in jail, but who had not become discouraged and who had actively continued in the struggle for liberation.

She asked the audience to raise Mrs Sizulu "by a good revolutionary song". Then followed "Come with the guns".

Albertina Sizulu, president of the UDF, then gave a clenched fist salute and the audience shouted "Oliver Tambo" 24 times while she smiled approvingly.

She spoke on the role of women in the struggle. South Africa had long been ruled by greedy vultures, by inhuman people who took this country from her forefathers. These thieves knew that one day the Blacks would arise again and say we want our country back. She exhorted her listeners to stand up and say "No" to the new constitution. There were reactionary forces aligned against them. She

V.11

continued: "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".

Defence witness Cachalia could not explain the quotation which we have underlined. It is clearly a reference to the ANC strategy of the four revolutionary pillars set out in its policy statement of 8 January 1984. It is indicative of a connection between the UDF and the ANC.

Amanda Kwadi of the Soweto Civic Association and in 1985 on the REC Transvaal UDF spoke of centuries of oppression of the oppressed masses. The racist minority regime was aware that the militancy and unity of the oppressed and exploited masses was going to crush apartheid and its manifestations.

Under the banner of Federation of South African women, spearheaded by the UDF, the women should frustrate the efforts, the ploys, the activities of the racist minority regime of South Africa.

A poem was recited praising Solomon Mahlango, Mosololi, Moegorane and Motaung. The blood of June 16th would not go unavenged. The

V.11

Bazuka will quench the thirst for freedom. The blood that will flow shall determine the destiny of future generations - meet me at the river.

This recital was applauded by Albertina Sizulu and Dorothy Nyembe amongst others.

Another person recited "I am the revolutionary". A poem in praise of revolution.

This was followed by the song in which everybody joined "take my hand, Tambo". Albertina Sizulu and Dorothy Nyembe sang along.

Dorothy Nyembe, who had been a member of the ANC before it was banned, had been imprisoned for many years, and was now a patron of the UDF, addressed the meeting on the history of women in the ANC, referring to the government as the enemy.

The usual slogans Mayibuye and Amandla were shouted.

The following remarks are apposite. It is probable that the tone of the whole congress was similar to that set out on the video we have. There is no reason to think that the men would be less militant than the women.

V.11

The speeches and songs at this meeting are revolutionary.

The top structure of the UDF - its patron and its president - approve of and participate in the revolutionary speeches and songs.

This was an important congress to the UDF as is evidenced by the presence and participation of Oscar Mpetha, Prof Mohammed, accused No 19, accused No 20 and the aforementioned ladies.

V.13

RMC MEETING, 8 JULY 1984, REGINA MUNDI, SOWETO

This meeting was addressed by Dorothy Nyembe, patron of the UDF, and Mewa Ramgobin, national treasurer of the UDF, amongst others.

A video of this meeting was found in the house of Mewa Ramgobin at Verulam on 21 August 1984 and identified by the witness ic.15.

This video is incomplete. It contains only a portion of Ramgobin's speech. The video is exh 13 before court and the transcript is V.13.

It was the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Rivonia. Ramgobin stated that Rivonia would remain a milestone in the history of South Africa and praised Mandela, Sizulu and Mbeki.

The government was the cause of violence in South Africa. It had caused "our people" to take up arms. One could ask whether the South African government should not have been tried for treason and sabotage. The South African government is guilty of sabotage and terrorism. Mandela, Tambo, Mbeki, Sizulu, Kathrada, Goldberg and Fisher were "our leaders". The human race must be proud of them.

He called for the release of the political prisoners stating that in "our vision" the Mandela's would one day rule this country.

V.15

UDF YOUTH RALLY, LENASIA, 28 JULY 1984

This rally was attended by UDF affiliated youth organisations like SAYO, MAYO and AYCO. It was chaired by Deacon Mate of AYCO and addressed by, inter alia, Amanda Kwadi, Mafison Morobe and Cedric Kekane.

A video of the proceedings was found by the police at Afrascope on 9 October 1984 and was identified by the witness ic.14 who attended the rally. It is before court as exh 15 and the transcript is V.15.

The video is not a complete picture of the proceedings and during the last part of Kekane's speech there is only sound, no picture.

The rally was preceded by the singing of revolutionary freedom songs, the participants marching around inside the hall and saluting. Songs like "We'll come back with socialism", "You must please lead us Tambo", were also sung. Other freedom songs were also sung during this meeting for example "We won't be killed by these boers while we are still young".

UDF, SAAWU, AYCO and SAYCO banners were hanging in the hall.

V.13

We have to struggle and then mobilise our people into organisations that are one day going to say enough is enough to apartheid.

At this meeting freedom songs were sung.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS MEETING, SELBOURNE HALL, JOHANNESBURG18 JULY 1984

This meeting was taped by the police. The tape is before court as exh 14 and the transcript is V.14.

The voices of most of the speakers were identified by captain Sons and later accused No 20 admitted the identities of other speakers.

TIC was one of the oldest affiliates of the UDF, being a founder member of the Transvaal region.

The meeting followed the normal pattern of slogans and freedom songs and anti-government speeches.

It was enlivened by a revolutionary poem recited by Andrew Mogotsi (also known as Jingles) of AYCO (Alexandra Youth Congress).

Cassim Saloojee, national treasurer of the UDF, referred to right wing and government attempts to link the UDF to the South African communist party and the ANC. He answered this by stating that these were "attempts clearly designed to frighten people away from this vital voice of peaceful opposition which is the United Democratic Front, and attacks on popular movements don't end with political name calling".

V.14

Accused No 20 spoke against the Tri-cameral constitution and on the history of the Indians in South Africa and South African political history in general.

He stated that Mandela and others resorted to armed methods as they had been provoked for a number of decades. There was no alternative. He continued:

" My point is we don't and we are not using armed methods of resistance today. 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 foundation 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.

V.14

" You know when there is a fight in the process in the presence of two fighting elephants the ground suffers and we can't be neutral. If two men are fighting you must either take sides or you must stop the fight. One way or the other. There is no way in which you can say look I or it doesn't really matter, let, let, let them go on. You can't do that type of thing. It cannot happen. You ask those people today we are going to buildings, we are not sure whether we will come around out alive. Sometimes you go in the train you don't know whether it will reach its destination without being derailed and so on. And then of course you must pronounce in the question of the politics of the country. You must say whether in fact apartheid is right or not. Because it is pushing other people to some methods of struggle which are very unpleasant. My point is, we are in the presence of a situation in which two giants are colliding. We have an obligation as South Africans, we can make contribution, we must make our choice. We must make our choice either that we are going to stamp with approval the apartheid measures that the Nats are taking or that we will say NO. Let them lock us in jail if they like, let them ban us. We must insist in our organisations, we must make the call that this country is not being governed according to our will. We must refuse to go to the polls on the 22nd and 28th August, we must not give approval to this type of thing. "

After stating that certain named Afrikaner organisations were a disgrace to South Africa, he continued:

" I must make that point because there is a kind of effort here that has been made to, that has ah been, ah, 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. Then they say now why do you say Mandela is the leader, is the patron of the front, you say no, no, no, no, we are us, actually we are not the (laughter) you must do that type of thing. But I want to make a simple and straightforward 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 Sizulu, 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. "

He continued:

V.14

" 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 20, 25, 22 years of cruel prison life continue to hold the flag of freedom high, refusing to let (applause). "

Accused No 20 blamed the Black councillors of Tumahole for squeezing the rent out of the people for their own remuneration.

He stated he was committed to the liberation of South Africa and called on the audience not to vote on 22 and 28 August 1984.

He asked:

" Are you turning your back on Mahatma Ghandi, are you turning your back on Luthuli, are you turning your back on Kathrada and Mandela and Sizulu and Goldberg? Are you joining the Nats against our people? I have made my choice, the price may be heavy. Our people in Parys have made their choice. Our people in Crossroads have made their choice. Our people in Cradock have made their choice. Our people made their choice in '46 around the Indian

V.14

" Ghetto Act. Our people made their choice around the defiance campaign. Our people in the United Democratic Front have made their choice. "

Accused No 19 participated in the meeting by reading a resolution.

The following comments are apposite:

It is significant that nobody objected to the revolutionary recital by Andrew Mogotsi.

There is a close bond between the speakers and the imprisoned leaders of the ANC. While their affinity to and sympathy with the latter are strongly expressed, there is no suggestion of disapproval of their violent methods or the fact that they took up arms against the state.

Both Saloojee and accused No 20 do not clearly and unequivocally disclaim any UDF - ANC connection.

The statement by accused No 20 that he and the UDF had made their choice like the people in Parys, Crossroads and Cradock and the people in 1946 and in the defiance campaign and that the price may be heavy, can only be understood if it means that the UDF is no longer solely committed to protest politics but will take action which in the light of some of the examples might involve violence.

The chairman, Deacon Mate of AYCO, called on the youth to join hands with other detachments of "our struggling people to stop the regime and its puppets from their attacks". "No rest to the enemy".

Comrade Mafison Morobe, co-ordinator of the UDF's million signature campaign in the Transvaal, said that the state had become more desperate and vicious as the struggle intensified. He called on the audience to resolve to actively engage the state at all levels when it seeks to co-opt them to its apartheid machinery, talk to the people to stay away from the coming elections. He called for unity and unswerving support for the UDF.

George Matime told the audience that the response after the banning of the ANC in 1960 showed "that the people are ANC and ANC is people". This the audience applauded.

Andrew Mogotsi (known as Jingles), known to the witness ic.14 (probably incorrectly) as Ingwapele Madingwane, recited his usual revolutionary poem.

Cedric Kekane of SAYO, who also attended the GCM (UDF Transvaal) at a stage, wearing a green uniform and military cap commenced with "Revolutionary greetings to you. Why are you afraid?" After the Amandla slogans and clenched fist he told the youth that they were now

" (inaudible) ... sustained unity of the masses under the banner of the popular United Democratic Front and the proud tradition of combat and resistance of the oppressed. "

He also stated:

" We have learnt from the history of our revolution and from the experiences and history of other liberated countries in the world that the time comes in the life of every nation when there remains only two choices, submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa, we shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in defence of our people, our future and our freedom. We shall under no circumstances allow the enemy to implement its apartheid based constitution as it pleases. As for the puppet purporting to divide the people and serve on the tri-racist parliament and all existing puppet bodies they undoubtedly shall face the wrath of the people. "

This was met with applause.

He encouraged his audience to escalate all possible resistance and to destroy the whole system of oppression and exploitation starting with the new constitution itself.

forced to move from the defensive to the offensive against the enemy. The Republic had been illegitimately formed and they would not negotiate with this enemy. They were determined to work towards the destruction of the apartheid based constitution and install the peoples power where the people shall form their own government based on their own will. This the audience applauded.

He continued:

" After the total destruction of this apartheid based constitution and its government, we shall install our own government where the people shall govern, and we are there to say that, and here as we are gathered here to fight for our own liberation and to work towards the total seizure of power. The present condition and development at this stage of our revolution dictate upon the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country to adapt our strategies and tactics to the prevailing material conditions presented by the enemy. To move from our own (inaudible) struggle, moving from the defensive on to the offensive. Young as we are, militant as we are, committed as we are, dedicated as we are and determined as we are, we shall through our organised militancy and organised resistance consolidate all the victories thus far scored by our struggling people

" We must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy organs of this government. We have to undermine and weaken its control over us, we should direct our collected might to render the enemy unworkable. We must create conditions in which the country must become increasingly ungovernable. "

He stated that at that time the spirit of revolution was hovering amongst young people in Atteridgeville where he came from.

The last quotation which we set out comes directly from the ANC's policy statement of 8 January 1984 (exh ABA.35 p.3/4) and his whole speech is in the language the ANC uses in its propaganda.

When accused No 20 was asked about this revolutionary speech he said it was in conflict with the policy of the UDF.

Yet SAYO was an affiliate of the UDF, it was a UDF youth rally, Amanda Kwadi and Mafison Morobe (both active UDF members and from March 1985 both on the REC UDF Transvaal) were present and there is no suggestion that Cedric Kekane was ever reprimanded or his speech repudiated by the UDF.

V.15

Actually one could not have expected any disapproval. His speech was but a more explicit manifestation of the road already taken by the UDF as appears from speeches we have discussed. He may have been slightly ahead of the pack but he was on the common route.

It should be borne in mind that before this meeting Tumahole had already erupted in riots.

He spoke of the growing unity and growing struggle and anger across the country reflecting "the determination that we demand this land of ours".

Clifford Brown, described as a terrorist in an Afrikaans newspaper, was to the speaker and the people of East London a hero.

There is a defiant mood. We are no longer prepared to be trodden down. Our people are growing more and more restless. "There are unmistakable signs of those waves of anger and determination. You know like the mighty sea is going to roll more and more in unity and it is going to break into a raging storm to smash racialism and oppression. It is going to spread. It is going to smash those things on the rocks of our united people. I must repeat again the words that have been said by Albertina, that if we are a united people then this regime will not last another day".

The regime was no longer sleeping peacefully. It could no more impose its will on them, he said. The regime understood that the gathering storm could not be stopped. The regime knew that "we have learnt of course the lessons of Angola and of Mozambique and of Zimbabwe and of all the other people who were oppressed and in bondage like ourselves. We have learnt from them that a united people, that the rulers who pretend to be so powerful are not so powerful and we are not as weak as they pretend we are".

V.16

UDF DON'T VOTE RALLY, KIMBERLEY, 28 JULY 1984

A video of this rally was found by the police in the house of Hofman Galeng on 19 February 1985. It was identified by S P Cloete who attended the meeting. He identified Mrs Sizulu, Prof Mohammed and accused No 20 as speakers. These and others were confirmed as speakers by accused No 20. He did not dispute that the video was correct in respect of what had been recorded.

The video is exh 16 and the transcript is V.16.

Albertina Sizulu, president of the UDF, told the meeting that if Indians and Coloureds voted they would be called up as soldiers to fight a war, the war of the oppressed people of this country because she said:

" The struggle continues and we shall not stop until we get our freedom. We shall not stop fighting until we get our birthright and that is a right to us. Now it means our children are going to fight us, they are going to fight their brothers."

She stated later:

V.16

" If we are united we can topple this government tomorrow but if we are divided then the struggle will carry on for years. "

She called the government "selfish and greedy vultures" and "selfish and crazy facists".

After several times demanding the release of "our leaders" Mrs Sizulu exclaimed "The government must know that we will not rest and our new leaders is (sic) not going to rest until it arrests Botha and its regime".

(Accused No 20 says that the word "arrests" must be read as "stops". We doubt whether the audience did understand it in that way, judging from the applause).

A speaker, Gordon Africa, said he would like to dedicate this meeting to the Rivonia trial "when our leaders were banned".

Prof Ismael Mohammed, a member of the executive of the UDF Transvaal, in his address said "We will arise in tides of anger and determination to break the chains of slavery of racism of oppression and exploitation".

V.16

Accused No 20, a good and fiery speaker, took the floor. He spoke about history which seems to be his forte.

He stated that they were not claiming South Africa for a particular section of the population. They were not fighting Afrikaners but the particular system of government which they have. They did not want to be included in the government - it had committed too many crimes against the people.

In 1960 with the banning of the ANC all open resistance was clamped down after almost 50 years of non-violent resistance. Nelson Mandela told him on Robben Island that it was a difficult decision to make as his people were not trained in warfare and had no weapons. "But we had to take the decision, that either we are going to submit and die the slaves of apartheid or we are going to die fighting and resisting. And so we took on the decision that we are going to fight back".

Accused No 20 said he was not a brave man, he had not made the decision, but he felt a sense of pride in those who had. They were to him a symbol. Though the government had not taken it seriously in 1961 they were doing so today as the changes in Southern Africa necessitated defence of the border from the Atlantic up to the Indian ocean "which confronts them with the might of our own Umkhonto. The army which Mandela and others put into being".

(Accused No 20 in his testimony tried to explain this reference to "our own Umkhonto" as merely meaning an Umkhonto, a product of South Africa. This is in our opinion pure sophistry. In the light of his previous obvious bias towards the founders of that violent organisation it would not have been so understood by his listeners.)

Accused No 20 told his audience that the UDF was concerned about the many wasted lives of Whites in the army. The obligation of the UDF stretched far beyond mobilising and the August elections. Everybody should participate in the government, have houses, have education. Then there would be peace.

To the Whites who warmed only themselves at the fire he issued a warning "Don't force us into a position where we have to push you into the fire". "We will have no alternative".

He concluded his speech with a call for a national convention to hammer out a constitution. There were, however, certain preconditions: "The unconditional release of the leaders of our people from prison, the unbanning of those banned and restricted and open borders so that the exiled should be allowed to march freely into our country."

Stop the constitution, stop P W Botha, stop Rajbansi, stop Hendrickse, stop the Bantustan leaders. "Let the people of our country be risen and be galvinised to those levels of resistance which must

V.16

crumble (inaudible) apartheid once and for all. Let us be a clenched fist of resistance, Amandla".

Mewa Ramgobin, national treasurer of the UDF, in his address inter alia stated as follows:

" As Terror has said to you, that from 1961, the mode of our resistance changed. It changed not because our people willed it changed, not because our people didn't have the will to fight. It changed because the South African government and its allies forced it to change and gave rise to Umkhonto. The South African government must take the blame for all the insurgency, for all the uprisings and for all the violence that have been committed by our people on the system of apartheid. When Sasolburg burnt recently and even the impregnable Koeberg was attacked and burnt, it was not because our people wanted violence but it was because our people have no ways other than violence to demonstrate their will and their aspirations. "

He later on referred to the government as the enemy.

V.16

The following can be said about this meeting.

Mewa Ramgobin surely did not understand the reference to "our own Umkhonto" in the way accused No 20 now says he intended it.

Violence is throughout accepted by the speakers as a justifiable alternative and even as the only option for some people.

Accused No 20 states that he has not taken the decision to take up arms. This does not mean he is against violence. He does not say so.

In the context the speeches of Albertina Sizulu and Prof Mohammed are highly inflammatory and the speeches of accused No 20 and Ramgobin did nothing to detract therefrom.

With the call for a national convention we will deal elsewhere.

This meeting should be assessed against the back-drop of the violence in Tumahole.

V.17

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS MEETING, LADYSMITH, 1 AUGUST 1984

This video was clandestinely obtained and reproduced by the police shortly after 1 August 1984. Exh 17 is a copy of the master which was obtained. The master was returned. The transcript is V.17.

The video was identified by warrant officer Singh who kept observation on the meeting and listened to the speeches - but from outside the hall in a room adjoining the stage.

It is clear that the organisers had wind of a possible police presence as the chairman in opening extended "a hand of friendship and a welcome to members of the security branch".

Accused No 20 who testified about this meeting did not dispute the correctness of this video.

This was a public meeting attended by members of the Indian community in the Ladysmith civic centre and its purpose was to dissuade them from voting. There is no evidence of freedom songs and slogans except that accused No 20 ended his speech with "Amandla". Accused No 20 even started his speech with "Good evening friends and fellow South Africans".

V.17

In the circumstances a call to revolution would have been totally out of place and counter-productive.

Accused No 20 spoke on South African political history and dwelled on years of Black attempts to be included in the democratic process and that by 1955 they relinquished the demand to be included in the government as it was too criminal and bloody. They called for a new government in which the people shall govern. He criticised the new constitution. He likened the government to the Nazi's and their final solution for the Jews and said that the government was preparing a slaughter of the African people.

The enemies of the people of South Africa were in power with diabolical schemes. The days of the government were really numbered. It had to defend the border from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean. "Today it was faced with the rising tide of resistance. This afternoon Welkom was on fire, schools have closed down, shops are burning, our people are saying 'We will not take this.' This morning they announced in Middelburg that the whole community council resigned because the people said 'You are introducing rent which are unacceptable to us.' That is the rising tide of resistance of the people. It is that organisation that is resistance of our people which must bring them down."

V.17

Accused No 20 again compared the resistance of the people, the tree of freedom, to a prickly pear. It multiplies when suppressed. "We are going into Robben Island, we are coming back, better men with deeper understanding. We have seen the leaders of our people, we have seen our grandfathers. We have had years to sit on the knees of Kathrada or Nelson Mandela, Walter Sizulu to learn about the road which our people have travelled."

He rejected the constitution and stated it was not a peaceful means of solving problems. Systematic violence applied to the Black people led in 1961 to the formation of the armed wing of the ANC. "Though we may not be using the same methods we understand perfectly how it came to pass that a section of the population took up arms. We understand very well how it is that an increasing number of young people today are getting arrested and locked up for carrying weapons against the system that has proved itself to be armed against them and not to protect them."

This systematic violence in 1976 created the reaction of violence. The UDF mobilises the people calling on them not to vote. This might lead to detention but that risk has to be taken as the constitution is going to deepen the racial and violent conflict in South Africa.

He called on his audience to let the world know that the government programmes were unacceptable to the people of South Africa. He continued:

" Because otherwise if that doesn't happen, the scale of dissatisfaction must lead to a deepening amount of armed conflict. The country is already at war today. Durban is burning, Bloemfontein is burning, Johannesburg is burning. Today we are uncertain (inaudible) whether we will come out alive (inaudible). We don't want that situation to deepen. That is why we are saying this constitution must be stopped and it must be stopped now. So our alternative is a call for a national convention."

He expounded on the preconditions for a national convention stating further that they had confidence that the people of South Africa given a national convention would not choose a revolution, they would not choose blood-shed, they would sit down and work out things. In 1961 Mandela, Sizulu and others had no choice but to take up arms.

The UDF did not want to see fighting, no one goes into a fight and comes out without scars. The constitution must be stopped. The system must be stopped. The Nats must be stopped. They must be stopped now.

His speech concluded with a call not to vote.

Dr Alan Boesak held a long speech against the new constitution. The system was inherently violent, evil, heretical, blasphemous, immoral, murderous. The systematic structural violence of the system

V.17

caused the violence in South Africa. It was not the UDF that was violent. To his detractors who called on him to denounce violence he replied:

" I just want to say this one thing I mean, not only is my stand on violence clear. My whole resistance to this government is based upon my convictions of peace and justice for all people and I resist this government, one of the main reasons why I resist this government is because of the violent nature of this government and the people who support them and I will not, I will not give them anything by responding to these charges. Why should I? "

He stated that the government shot innocent children in the streets in 1976 and 1980 and that those who participated in the new Tri-cameral parliament would be co-responsible.

The UDF would continue to resist the government. They would get their freedom from the oppressors.

V.17

We have the following observations on these two speeches.

Nowhere is there a clear-cut condemnation of violence - whatever its origin. In fact there is a justification of violence by the so-called oppressed because, according to the speakers, the government is structurally violent.

Accused No 20 sets only two alternatives to the government. Scrap the new constitution, abdicate, hold a national convention or revolution.

V.18

UDF ONE YEAR RALLY, SELBOURNE HALL, JOHANNESBURG, 19 AUGUST 1984

A video of this rally was found by the police at Afrascope on 9 October 1984. It was identified by sergeant Basdeo who attended the meeting. It is not a good video as it has interruptions. It is exh 18(1) and (2) before the court and the transcript is V.18(a) and (b).

The meeting inter alia was attended by the chairman C Saloojee (of the NEC of the UDF), Albertina Sizulu (president of the UDF), Dorothy Nyembe (patron of the UDF), Prof Ismael Mohammed (REC Transvaal), F Chikane (vice-president Transvaal), Aubrey Mokoena and Laloo Chiba.

The usual revolutionary freedom songs were sung and slogans shouted prior to and during the meeting.

Cassim Saloojee told the meeting that they had pledged that the SWAPO struggle was their struggle and the SWAPO victory their victory.

On the campuses in the townships youth congresses and organisations had sprung up and collaborators were warned that if they continued they would "face the wrath of our people". In new areas civic associations, rent committees and revitalised women's groups had been spearheaded by adults. A spirit of defiance was resolute and alive in the land. The people were not defeated "by the destruction of our organisation in 1960".

V.18

The new style community councils had been rejected in Tumahole, Cradock, Ratanda and Sharpeville inter alia.

In Tumahole democratic protest had been stopped by the police who also interfered in schools protests.

Saloojee stated: "Hendrickse, Rajbansi and all the other collaborators are an enemy of the very people of this land". "These collaborators are our enemies and our oppressors, every bit as much as Botha, Malan, Le Grange, Koornhoff, Heunis and their lackeys".

Smangaliso Mkhathshwa referred to the euphoria a year before at the launch and said it did not take long to realise the full implications of rejecting the new constitutional dispensation and Koornhoff Bills.

Later during the year it must have dawned on the UDF that the task of resisting apartheid would go beyond the life-span of the UDF. It was up to the general council that would be meeting in a few months time to decide the fate of the UDF. But it was important to realise that when the UDF declared war against the new constitution it was declaring war against apartheid.

Today they were not concerned with the elections which were a fait accompli "We are here to declare our preparedness, our readiness to do everything that is necessary to ensure freedom".

He stated another innocent student had been shot. What disappointed the speaker was that all that was done about these killings was burials and singing of freedom songs, waving of fists and weeping. He asked his audience whether they wanted this to go on and, if so, how long. Upon a negative reply he stated "Comrades you have committed yourself this afternoon. We are saying it is high time this kind of thing, waste of human life were brought to a stop." He said that a new era had started with the Nkomati accord, ".... the challenge, the full wrath of the challenge is upon us now. There is no point looking across the borders, let us look at ourselves, let us stand together united to consolidate the gains that the UDF has already made."

A message from bishop Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, was read, exhorting the UDF "to go from strength to strength in its commitment to peaceful and fundamental change in South Africa".

The chairman, Cassim Saloojee, saying "songs and dance have inspired us throughout the generations in our struggle" announced a group that did a gumboot dance to the song "Free us, Tambo".

An announcement that the police were arresting some people was met with a chant by the audience of "Oliver Tambo, we are not scared of them".

" women, you must unite, especially the enlightened ones because you can see that Botha's regime is leading us to a disastrous situation. If we are united we'll conquer Botha the monster. It is just a matter of time and we'll kick it outside. "

This was followed by loud applause.

She called on the Indians and Coloureds not to vote.

She stated they would all go to jail and she was still prepared to go to jail. They would pray. But then they would rise up and act.

She continued:

" Our children, the students and other organisations are busy with the campaign of fighting this corruption of the new so-called constitution. Our children are standing on their feet. They say: we can't leave our brothers to suffer and perish in an endless pit. I am standing by with youth league. I want them to show the way. Our ministers in the UDF will pray and we'll kick the devil in the name of God not by praying only but by pushing forward with the struggle. I have seen the women in their campaign. Let's go and fetch Mandela and his followers

V.18

The Kuangano drama group wearing RMC T-shirts and dressed in uniform with caps on gave a highly emotional recital of a revolutionary poem.

They were followed by Dorcthy Nyembe, patron of the UDF, who was announced as one of the great heroines of our struggle.

She led the audience in the song "You touch the women, you touch the rock, you will die".

She called on the Coloureds and Indians not to co-operate with the government and called the then prime minister a ruthless liar. She said because of old age they, the mothers, could not act themselves but they could support the youth because they wanted freedom.

She continued:

" The women and other organisations which have been banned fought for years to free us but this ruthless government sent them to prisons. These people were -innocent. They didn't kill anyone. Others are across the oceans, they cannot come back. This meeting this afternoon must call them back from exile. They must be freed in unison. Mandela and his followers in Robben Island must come back home. I am referring this today to you White, Indian, Coloured and Black

" and Oliver Tambo. Let them come back home to take over.
The time is now theirs. Power is ours, power is ours,
goodbye, we'll meet in jail. "

This was followed by very loud applause.

After messages had been read, the chairman asked Jessica Sherman to sing "songs about our struggle". There followed freedom songs from South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Albertina Sizulu, a president of the UDF, told the audience that if people are united nothing would stop them from marching to freedom and that no amount of intimidation, jail, banishment, house arrest, would stop the people from marching to freedom today. "The government must know from today that this democratic front that it is so afraid of is really a snake that is going to kill him".

She stated that the children of the Coloureds and Indians would be called up for the army. There was no external foe. Whoever the government was going to fight inside South Africa was not going to sit down and wait for the government to do it. (This was applauded). The government could have as many armies as it could but the patience of the people had now been exhausted.

She continued:

V.18

" Are we as mothers going to allow a government of thugs to plunge our country into a bloodbath? Where are we, for all what is happening now the government wants our children to fight each other, we as mothers of this country must stand up and say NO to that. We are not going to allow our children to be fighting each other. Why should we? If the government of this country wants peace it must release our leaders, all our exiled leaders and our children. It must have conference with our leaders to discuss matters that are confronting this country. We as the people of South Africa are not going to rest. The struggle continues until we get our freedom. UDF is here to lead you. "

On the relationship between the UDF and the ANC she had this to say:

" Yes, so they say that the United Democratic Front is the front of the ANC. We are used to such tactics, we are not children. The day before yesterday it was the communist party but if you are fighting for your rights you are a communist. Yesterday it was ANC, that if you are fighting for your rights it is because you belong to the ANC. Today it is the UDF. Why doesn't the government

" know that the people are no more going to be deceived that whenever there is an organisation that is fighting for the rights of the oppressed people of this country it must be termed communist party, ANC, UDF? We are not fools. It is because we are resisting against unjust laws. It is because we are resisting to get our freedom, our birthright in this country. Why should we be termed? Why should we be named? Why should we be given names? Why should we be? It is because the government is frightened. All we can say now is that we are here to stay and we shall fight until we get our freedom. "

Comrade Laloo Chiba, whose credentials were that he had spent 18 years on Robben Island (for which he was applauded), read a message of greetings to the heroes, the patrons of the UDF and true leaders of the people - the Rivonia trialists.

Aubrey Mokoena of the RMC and UDF NEC read a message of support.

" The UDF for the last twelve months has accumulated major gains and great victories which are indispensable to the peoples struggle against all forms of exploitation and injustices. We are hereby gathered today to take stock of these victories and further sharpen our strategies in preparation to change and to engage the state. At this

" time we are convinced that the racist government will not give in until we mobilise all our forces to strike weakening blows to South Africa and its international allies. "

His message ended with: "Mandela, Sizulu, Goldberg and others will be released by us and victory is certain."

Frank Chikane, vice-president of the UDF Transvaal, also touched upon the relationship between the ANC and UDF. He warned the Botha regime that the propaganda that the UDF is equal to the ANC will work against them.

There was no unequivocal denial.

Chikane stated that the people had an intention to destroy the foundation of the Bantustans and when they collapsed the Hendrickses were going to collapse a longer distance. They would fall right into the ground and crush themselves to death. He added:

" And I want to conclude by saying that in actual fact a meeting was held of civic associations in Soweto and these (the civic associations) made a resolution and put it very clearly that in actual fact when you accept this constitution you are declaring war against the

V.18

One of the cultural group made a veiled reference to the explosion in Roodepoort on 16 August 1984 saying he was happy about it and thanked the comrades who did it.

Jerry Ekandjo, secretary of SWAPO youth, member of the polit bureau of SWAPO, gave the meeting revolutionary greetings from its vice-president and secretary-general and saluted them in the name of its president.

Prof I Mohammed called those participating in the Tri-cameral parliament traitors and sell-outs and reminded them "that those sjamboks with which they have blooded our youth, those sjamboks will still haunt them in the years to come. Those sjamboks will haunt them like the blood of our youth that have been shattered by those who rule over us with the gun in places like Cassinga and Matola, Maseru and elsewhere, so many of our places that we can name".

He told the audience to go out and mobilise all communities and light the flames of freedom in their hearts "so that our leaders can return to our country. We also, when we go out, we know that we have lit those flames of freedom in many hearts. And you know we must be encouraged by those of our youth who have died in the places that I have named like Cassinga, Matola, Mbabane, Maseru and so many other places. Let them give us courage in fact to blow those flames into

" oppressed majority. You are actually saying we are getting co-opted into the system, we are going to fight for apartheid and you are going to be trained and go into the army, be conscripted to fight against the majority and therefore the lines will be clearly drawn as to who is the enemy of the people and who is not the enemy of the people. "

He concluded by saying he expected the Coloureds and Indians not to vote.

After the chairman had called for songs of freedom and Siyaya e Pitoli had been sung, the Khuletsa cultural group did an item starting with Viva Hlaba Umkhonto (Viva stab with the spear). A greeting in the name of the revolution of South Africa was followed by a revolutionary poem of Benedict Dikobe Martins who was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for a bomb blast and recruitment for the ANC - so the audience was told. This led to cheering on the part of the audience.

There followed a recital of other revolutionary poems in which Andrew Mogotsi (also known as Jingles) participated. Partly they were in praise of the ANC colours black, green and gold.

V.18

raging fires and we will be able to see in fact the dawn of a new South Africa come shining through. We hope that that will come not many birthdays ahead of the UDF. Amandla".

(Cassinga, Matola, Mbabane and Maseru are towns outside the Republic of South Africa and the reference was to raids by the SA Defence Force on ANC bases.)

The following comment is apposite:

Against the background of the revolutionary songs and recitals the content of the speeches not only leaves the door wide open for violence as one of the options of the UDF, but some speakers already passed the threshold.

It is also significant that nowhere is there an outright condemnation of the ANC or outright denial of an ANC connection. When the subject is touched upon there is a beating about the bush, a memorable feat of fence sitting.

It is clear that this video has been edited and great care has to be taken that a distorted picture is not created in the mind of the court.

A speech by Dr Alan Boesak is recorded. He stated that the government was scared of what the UDF could do. The theme of his speech was "Don't vote on the 22 and 28 August 1984".

He spoke against the new constitution which would entrench the violence of apartheid. Apartheid was unchristian, blasphemous, the government banned, tortured the people and in 1976 murdered our children in cold blood. In 1980 they killed our children on the streets of Cape Town. We shall pray for the downfall of the South African government as soon as God will grant it.

He stated that his audience had a tradition to respect - not a tradition of accepting laws that have undermined their human dignity but a tradition of resistance.

The government is scared of people who are no longer afraid of intimidation, afraid of dying, because they believe in their freedom.

In Cradock there is a virtual reign of terror by the police.

This struggle is about getting rid of the whole evil system of apartheid.

V.8

UDF ONE YEAR RALLY, PORT ELIZABETH, 20 AUGUST 1984

The master of the video of this one year rally was clandestinely received by the police in February 1985. They made a copy and returned the master.

It was identified in court by constable Hutchinson who attended this rally. Accused No 20 who spoke did not dispute the correctness of the recording during his testimony. He did testify that the speech of Dr Boesak is abridged. The video is exh 8 and the transcript V.8.

Accused No 20 testified that this was not a UDF meeting but a joint meeting of UDF and other organisations. It was a joint anti-election rally and also the first anniversary of the UDF.

The video is of only a portion of the meeting. The speeches of Kettle Das Marks and the person who spoke on behalf of Eastern Cape Teachers' Association are not recorded.

Of the flag with colours black, green and gold, which is clearly visible on the video, accused No 20 says he did not see it and they are in any event PEYCO's colours. (One wonders why PEYCO, the UDF affiliate youth organisation which was recently founded, should adopt the ANC colours).

This video was made by a green amateur. The sound is clear but the picture out of focus.

The usual slogans of Mayibuye and Amandla were shouted.

Accused No 20 commenced his speech with a reference to those imprisoned "suffering for freedom" and "the exiles".

He stated his opposition to the constitution and said it was a constitution of the Afrikaners and therefore even if Blacks were included he would still reject it.

He said they were not demanding a Black government. They were asking for a government of the people of South Africa. They were not necessarily demanding a Black prime minister.

He called on the audience to march together towards freedom. "The price is heavy but the greater part of the instalments had been paid. The march towards our freedom cannot be stopped".

The recording of the speech is discontinued here. It is clearly only a portion that is recorded. Then follows in writing "Patrick Terror Lekota detained the following day". Then follows a song about Mandela, Sizulu, Govan Mbeki and slogans. Then follows a display of flags in black, green and yellow. (One gets the impression that it is an ANC rally except for the UDF banners).

V.8

The wealth of our country is controlled by a small minority whilst the masses of our people suffer hunger and poverty. That is immoral.

Those participating in the Tri-cameral parliament are oppressors. He warned them "We are tired of being threatened, we are tired of being used, we are tired of being exploited". We warned them repeating over and over again "We shall resist you". He told the South African government "we are determined people, we are people on the way to freedom, we shall have our freedom. They can do what they want but we shall have our freedom." The phrase "we shall have our freedom" was repeated over and over stating "they can send their police with dogs and guns and tear-gas, they can kill us from the streets" and "certain of our victory knowing that our freedom shall come".

The meeting ended with the acceptance of resolutions against the elections and others against which no objection can be made (in so far as they are audible).

After the singing of Nkosi Sikelel - i Afrika the audience was led in slogan shouting about guerillas, that Hendrickse was an impimpi (informer) and about MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe). While this lasted accused No 20 and Boesak stood by, smiling about it.

V.8

The following comments are apposite.

Against the background of ANC slogans and ANC flags the defiant speech of Boesak may well be interpreted by the ordinary listener as a call for resistance to the laws of the land (in so far as they are unacceptable to the listener) and resistance to the lawful authority of the state.

It is a statement that is unqualified. It leaves the door open to active resistance and to violent resistance.

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985-1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

©2009

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- **AK2117-K2117-L7-4**

Document Title:- **Speeches 287-413**