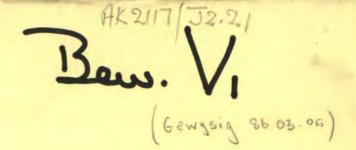
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1983-08-20 NATIONAL LAUNCH OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ROCKLANDS, MITCHELLS PLAIN, CAPE TOWN

SPEAKERS:

MARKS
REV. FRANK CHIKANE (Acc. No. 10)
ARCHIE GUMEDE (Acc. No. 7)
FRANCIS BAARD
SAMSON NDOU
HELEN JOSEPH
GEORGE SEWPERSHAD (Acc. No. 2)
SHAIK HABIL
ALLAN BOESAK
PIUS LANGA
POPO MOLEFE

IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED.

KLIPTOWN / 1955 (2, 44) FREEDOM CHARTER (2, 22, 28, 32, 44) A.N.C. (2) SACTU (2, 20, 27, 33, 64) TAMBO (7, 21, 23, 31, 31(a), 31(c), 60) MANDELA (10, 16, 21, 28, 32, 63, 70) RONALD MHLABA (10, 64) WALTER SISULU (10, 21, 28, 64) GOVAN MBEKI (10, 21, 28, 64) MONTY NAICKER (13, 63) DENNIS GOLDBERG (13, 21, 28, 63) **SWAPO (16)** WILSON NKWAYI (21, 28) DORA TAMANA (22) **REVOLUTIONARY (38)** EXILES (41) **GUERILLA (41)** UNITE IN ACTION (57) KATHRADA (59, 64) VUYISILI MINI (64) LUTHULI (70) MATHEWS (70) JOE SLOVO (31, 60) GUNS (31(b), 60(a) MOBILIZE (69)

POPULARIZE (69)

Page	2	Line	16	Change	"National Government" to "Nationalist Government"
Page	3	Line	23	Change	"that one" to "that are"
Page	3	Line	25	Change	"already" to "actually"
Page	4	Line	24	Change	"Constitutional" to "Constitution"
Page	9	Line	24	Change	"fatiful" to "fatal"
Page	10	Line	10	Change	"buying" to "Daring" and "that funeral" to "their burial"
Page	13	Line	39	Change	"home" to "whole"
Page	16	Line	7	Change	"We pledge for" to "We pledge support for"
Page	16	Line	15	Change	"Danish South" to "Danish Youth"
Page	31	Line	31	Change	"with intent" to "we can see"
Page	31	Line	33	Change	"The products" to "The profits"
Page	33	Line	35	Change	"To win" to "to win basic"
Page	35	Line	18	Change	"other not" to "other so that they should co-operate not"
Page	37	Line	5	Change	"Aubrey" to "Aubrey Mokoena"
Page	37	Line	34	Change	"service" to "churches"
Page	39	Line	33	Change	"training" to "trying"
Page	40	Line	34	Change	"seen" to "preached"
Page	41	Line	24	Change	"inaudible" to "Litany"
Page	44	Line	11	Change	"inaudible" to "Mrs. Rose"
Page	44	Line	28	Change	"people" to "future"
Page	45	Line	20 -	Change	"Baard" to "Boesak"
Page	48	Line	6	Change	"here to" to "here not to beg for those rights but to"
Page	48	Line	16	Change	"total" to "total itarian"
Page	48	Line	25	Change	"forces" to "laws"

		4		
Page	48	Line	33	Change "of" to "on"
Page	49	Line	35	Change "precious" to "basis"
Page	50	Line	8	Change "lie" to "be"
Page	50	Line	14	Change "lie" to "be"
Page	51	Line	16	Change "plices" to "polities"
Page	51	Line	28	Change "evaded" to "eroded"
Page	54	Line	9	Change "neat" to "real"
Page	54	Line	23	Change "lower" to "cover"
Page	55	Line	10	Change "meant" to "want"
Page	56	Line	24	Change "all" to "we"
Page	56	Line	32	Change "sick" to "rich"
Page	57	Line	4	Change "gathering" to "glittering"
Page	57	Line	6	Change "emprove" to "embrace"
Page	62	Line	3	Change "inaudible" to "returning"
Page	62	Line	21	Change "paper" to "patrons"
Page	62	Line	32	Change "paper" to "patrons"
Page	62	Line	38	Change "This" to "The"
Page	63	Line	2	Change "menas" to "means"

· CORRECTIONS :

I, ABIE ABRAM MAHLANGU, am a Senior Interpreter in the Department of Justice, and I am stationed at the Magistrates' Courts in Johannesburg.

I was requested by the Attorney-General for the Transvaal to check the transcript of this recording against the tape/cassette and bring about any corrections, if any.

I did this to the best of my ability and found this trans= cript to be just and correct.



NATIONAL LAUNCH OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT ROCKLANDS, MITCHELLS PLEIN, CAPE TOWN.

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (LAUNCH).

SPEAKERS.

MARKS.

REV. FRANK CHIKANE (Acc. No. 10).

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WALTER SISULU (10, 21, 28, 64).

GOVAN MBEKI (10, 21, 28, 64).

MONTY NAICKER (13, 63).

DENNIS GOLDBERG (13, 21, 28, 63).

SWAPO (16).

WILSON NKWAYI (21, 28).

DORA TAMANA (22).

REVOLUTIONARY (38).

EXILES (41).

GUERILLA (41).

UNITE IN ACTION (57).

KATHRADA (59, 64).

VUYISILI MINI (64).

LUTHULI (70).

MATHEWS (70).

JOE SLOVO (31, 60).

GUNS (31(b), 60(a).

MOBILIZE (69).

POPULARIZE (69).

OPMERKINGS

- Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die betrokke vergadering. Die transkripsie is so akkuraat as moontlik en is so ver as moontlik woordeliks korrek.
- Verskillende sprekers kon van mekaar uitgeken word op die opnames en hulle word binne die transkripsie aan= gedui.
- 3. Woorde, sinsdele of sinne wat heeltemaal onverstaanbaar is, byvoorbeeld weens swak opname, geraas of waar sprekers gelyk praat, word aangedui met stippellyne, die woorde "inaudible" en "indistinct".
- 4. Agtergrond geluide en enige ander moontlike kommentaar, word tussen hakies aangedui, indien dit baie opvallend is.
- 'n Vraagteken in hakies na 'n naam en/of 'n woord in hakies, dui 'n mate van onsekerheid aan.
- Die transkripsies is van heropnames van die oorspronklike bande gemaak.
- 7. Tellernommers word aan die kantlyn aangebring om die opsporing van spesifieke gedeeltes te vergemaklik. Die nommers stem nie noodwendig presies ooreen nie maar is 'n genoegsame hulpmiddel.
- 8. Vertalings deur amptelike hoftolke word aan die agterkant aangebring met die nodige bladsy en tellernommers om vergelyking te vergemaklik.

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

019 <u>SONG:</u>- Siyaya Siyaya Noba Kunzima

LEADER: - Kubi Kulo

AUD-:- Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya Noma Ku

O23 Inaudible
Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya
Noma Ku

024 Inaudible

O25 Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya Noma Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya Noma Ku NATIONAL LAUNCH OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT : 20/8/1983

TAPE 1 - SIDE 1

003 Music

.004 Opening National launching of the U.D.F. - August 20th, 1983

005 MARKS banished, killed and hung on behalf of these people, I want to welcome all the delegates from the different provinces and I hope that this afternoon on this historical occasion that we, the people, who are united will never be defeated - Amandla

Audience : Awethu Marks : Amandla Audience : Awethu

(clapping)

ono MC: Thank you Mr. Marks, I think that we are all gathered here, it is indeed a historic occasion. I think that there's probably quite a bit of significance in the name of the township where we are gathered, it is Rocklands. There is some or very strong links between the rock and the klip - eh, We are here and we will, we will establish the unity within the UDF on the solid foundation of the rock at Rocklands today. I'd like to hand over to Mr. Frank Chikane from the Transvaal to give the opening address. (clapping)

019 (Zulu song - as per attached)

028 Slogan - Amandla

Awethu

Amandla

Awethu

Mayibuye X3

I Afrika

An injury to one

Is an injury to all

O32 REV. FRANK CHIKANE: - Comrades and friends, this day today is a culmination of seven months work to see the launching of the National United Democratic Front which is sure going to go into the records of history as an important event bolstering the tide of the struggle, speeding up the day, when the people shall say, "We are free, justice is here". When the people shall live together as

brothers and sisters, without the exploitation and oppression of the other, but although this is a unique day, it falls within the spectrum of the history of struggle in South Africa. first time when this nature of gathering took place, it was in 1936 for instance when the all African Convention was called to resist the removals, the - the removal of Africans from the franchise and the enforcement of the 1936 Bills which stripped the majority of the oppressed South Africans of the land of their birbirth, and the second event of the same nature happened in 1955 the people, the peoples congress was held and, and the Coloured Peoples Organisation was there, the Congress of Democrats was there. the South African National Congress was there and the South African Congress of Trade Unions were there, these adopted the Freedom Chata - Charter in that occasion as the minimum demand of the struggle of the people. The unity then, there then was necessitated by the onslaught by the MATINARILIT Government which came out strongly to entrench apartheid by putting up the Group Areas Act, the Suppression of Communist - Communism Act, which in effect in interpretation and meant that every opposition against the system will therefore be declared communism, and Population Registration Act, the Bantu Education Act and all these Acts necessitated the coming together of the people to fight together as the oppressed. Now in our age, we meeting once more again in a different situation where the people have created a crisis in apartheid. struggle of our people have put so much pressure on the system that it could not take it anymore, apartheid could not contain the resistance of the people and as a result the State, the oppressive State, had to think of a new way of continuing to oppress the masses of our people in South Africa and the best way was to take first an alliance with the military, and create a military sick States in South Africa and calling the alliance of what I want to call 'supercapitalists' to work out the system that would actually contain the .. the .. the pressure that came from the people. These constitutional proposals, the reformed proposals, Koornhof's Bills came up as an attempt therefore, to reach a climax of apartheid instead of leaving it to collapse. Although these were already been discussed amongst people in various centres in our country. It happened that the Labour Party made a decision last ... last year of accepting the proposal, the proposal and that decision

064

..... 3/

083

on its own was exploited by the system to try to give an impression that all the Coloured people in this country accept these proposals and that the liberal press also played a game to give an impression that in actual fact that acceptance meant the acceptance of the people and they expected also the Indian Council follow suit and that all the people would therefore accept the proposals. People who are concerned with justice started talking among themselves and the Anti-SAIC conference came just on time when people were worried about the happenings in the country and then people put up a commission to discuss the question of unity to fight against this proposal, and I remember, I was there when Dr. Allan Boesak called for the broad front to oppose these proposals. This broad front therefore agreed on a declaration of principles on which they had to work on. We are going today to look into the final draft of those principles but those are minimum demands around which we can rally in opposing this reform proposals. The idea of the front therefore was a new concept in the struggle of the people for the last twenty years about and it was understood to be standing for unity in action accepting the fact that all the organisations coming together have got differences, there are, also differences of class, differences of ideology, differences of intent, but all of them agree that they reject the reform proposals - that the proposed by the Black regime, and as a result they need a broad front to do that, that is, that is, that was for any that necessitated therefore the formation of this group not necessarily as a national political organisation, but as a United Front for the purpose, sole purpose of opposing the reform proposals and the Koornhof Bills. That although the liberal press since then, have tried to project it as a charter organisation, we still maintain our position that was a broad based, broad based front, based on the need for unity in struggle, where all organisations and people in South Africa can come together irrespective, regardless of race, religion and culture with the explicit exclusion of those who work within the This unique form of the front presents also its unique dynamic which we should contend with, we should learn also to be accommodative this type of a situation and learn to listen to each other and understand each other to be able to .. to .. to work for this unity to produce to, to put pressure on the system.

...... 4/

Now the formation therefore took a very unique format where people went back to their regions, started talking to their constituencies, consulting with their organisations, consulting with people in those areas and in some areas people went house to house to talk to the grassroots to actually be involved with them, to make this a reality. It resulted therefore in regional meetings held in various regions to discuss the formation of the UDF. These meetings culminated in the Natal, in Natal launching, launching their regional UDF in May 1983 and the Transvaal also in may, and the Western Cape in July, that the third regional formation went further to en- actually to elect their executive committees and the Eastern Cape is also, is also following on that regard. All those efforts.....

(clapping)

125

145

152

143 Song (AUDIENCE: ICAMA LIKA HELEN JOSEPH MALIBONGWE) MC :- Thank You, Thank you.

144

Chikane :- Thank you. All these efforts and the hard work of the local regional organisations is, is enriching the grassroots have put us where we are today and the, the common stand we have is that we reject the constitutional proposals and the Koorhof Bills in a national and representative voice of the masses because these will only serve to entrench the apartheid system that this South African Constitution Bill will only create yet another undemocratic constitution, that these Koornhof Bills will only concretize the deprivation of African people of their birth rights, that all these bills put together will only serve to ensure White domination to continue to dominate over the people the co-option of the so-called Coloureds and Indians as junior partners in perpetrating the evils of apartheid. The unequal distribution of wealth and the exploitation of the people, that workers shall continue to be devided, keep low wages, poor working conditions, suppression of trade unionism and retention of the migratory labour system. That apartheid will still, eh will still be (inaudible) in the classrooms, their students in the class will still continue with unequal facilities and learn to be devided in class and not get progressive education. That the Group Areas Act will remain intact. They have said it, they will keep it, and they're are going to continue to keep it to facilitate this

apartheid system. That the Bantustan policy will be vigorously implemented to justify the exclusion of Africans from the decision making machinery of the country. That to keep the Group Areas Act and the Bantustan policy actually guarantees that people will still be uprooted and people will have inadequate housing, and more so that rents will continue increasing whilst unemployment increases and standards of living will, will be dropping everyday. Women will still remain being oppressed. non-racial, the non-racial sports will continue to suffer and I want to emphasize lastly that therefore to keep this system, you need a repressive apparatus that's going to destroy people. thats going to kill opposition, thats going to suppress and silence those who appose this type of a system and therefore you need a very strong repressive machinery and a military sick state to be able to deal with this situation. And I want to call upon you all pe- peace loving people in South Africa to put hands together, to walk side by side, to fight against the implementation of these reformed proposals so that we can then destroy the system and put up a government by the people, where people shall govern according to their will. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(clapping)

.173

192 <u>Slogan</u>: Mayibuye I Africa Amandla Awethu

Ohairman: Thank you very much Frank. I think that is a very, very encouraging note on which to start this conference. There are however a few announcements to be made at this point. Firstly we would appeal to the press to kindly leave at this, at this stage. There are a few official UDF photographers, one official UDF film crew and these will be the only people allowed to remain. So we would like to appeal for co-operation from the press.

(clapping) Inleruption xxx

204 <u>Women speaker</u>:- Testing 1, 2, 3, Launching Rally of the United Democratic Front.

212 Speaker: - Appeal to Mayibuye a song (mingling of the crowd)

215 Speaker: - We want your attention. These people that, who are sitting in the way we are pointing.....

Con

V

Launch

217 Speaker: - Gentlemen we ask you to put the speaker (inaudible) on that side and kindly ask you to bring the speaker wire accross to the amplifier (inaudible) could you come forward and show us where the wire is? Okay, you got that. We are looking for that speaker wire, some live wire, where's it Lights off.

Derrick Albrecht (phonetical) will you please attend to your combi outside, Derrick Albrecht (phonetical) there's a problem with your combi. Intervaption ***

226 Slogan : Mayibuye I Afrika

228 Song: - Hlanganari Basebenzi (as attached)

229 Speaker: - Can we switch on the lights please, can we switch on the lights please.

If these people are going to contin-, continue breaking lights we are going to (inaudible). Caretaker's lights please

238 Speaker: - Can one of the marshalls in the queue just go back and ask the caretaker to switch on the lights and come with the key to the front here, please.

Amandla Awethu

Speaker: - Caretaker

- Standing underneath the UDF banner at the back, switch on the plug which has just been switched off, it supplies the power to the front here. Okay, listen people we cannot start this meeting until people sitting on that top beam get off, the caretaker's have put off the lights because those people are endangering the safety of other people sitting within the hall, so please people get off that beam, and that means everybody up there. (whistling)
- 261 more songs less announcements please TAMBO

Oliver Tambo (x 14)

I think that applies to these people around here, as well. If you fall off there you're going to kill people down below. So please everybody sitting on the beam up there, kindly move off. (shouting) Kindly move off or we won't be able to start this meeting, (shouting) (inaudible) (crowd mingling)

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

SONG: -

230 LEADER:- Manyanani Basebenzi

AUDIENCE: - Manyanani

LEADER: - Manyanani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Manyanani

LEADER: - Manyanani Basebenzi

AUD .:- Manyanani

Yiyona Inhlangano

Yiyoyenu

Yikhona Inhlangano

Yiyo Yenu

Yikhona Imhlangano

i U.D.F.

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD .:- Hlanganani

LEADER:- Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD .:- Hlanganani

LEADER: - Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD.:- Hlanganani

LEADER: - Hlanganani Basebenzi

AUD .:- Hlanganani

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

Yikhona Inhlangano

i U.D.F.

251 SLOGAN:-

Amandla !

AUD .:- Awethu !

Amandla !

AUD .:- Awethu !

(Chairman speaks inbetween0)

- 277 (Audience start to sing "Siyaya" but stop again)
 Excuse me man can't these people get off please, please.
 (inaudible)
- 281 and these people on the beam up here
 (shouting) off, off
 You must get off please. Please clear the beam
- 285 (singing) (inaudible)

 These people aren't even making an effort to get off. Please people you must get off. You must get off. Can those people move down please.
- 294 (song) (inaudible) (shouting - Tambo (x7)
- Those people behind the TV right there, you must move please.

 Excuse me, you must move please. You must move please.

 (song) (inaudible)
- 315 Please don't rush. Please don't rush.
- 317 (singing Dadoo)
 Can the marshalls form a chain across the door please.
 Can the marshalls form a chain across the door please.
 We call for reserve marshalls please.
 (song inaudible)
 And we ask these people coming in to sit down please.
 Could you please sit down there.
- 324 (singing Dadoo)
 - And we're asking people to be quiet. Please comrades, please stop the singing. Please stop the singing. Now those people who have just come in, please remember that there is no more place in the hall. The people who are coming in from the tent, you are going to injure yourselves. There is no more place in the hall and we are asking you to remain where you are. Die mense wat daar van die tent afkom, ons vra vir julle asseblief om te bly waar julle is. Die saal is vol. Thank you for your co-operation. Please people, thank you. The caretakers have asked that people sitting on those beams on the top, we still have a problem there. Remember we cannot fight with our own people, we cannot fight with our own comrades. We are asking you to please, please be patient.

Please be patient. Can If you cannot get into the hall, please be patient.

(mingling crowd)

Excuse me please people. Excuse me please people. The caretakers have asked that everybody sitting on top, remove themselves before we get lights in this place.

One, two, three

One, two, three, working?

352 that is holding up, that is holding up the total meeting, so please people. One, two.

One, two, three.

Asseblief mense klim van daardie platform af, ons sal nie die vergadering kan begin tensy julle afklim nie, asseblief mense, regom die saal.

People on that beam over there, people on that beam over there must please get down.

(shouting)

People I think that you will all understand that it is impossible to go, proceed with our activities if we do not have lights, the lights are not only for the television cameras but also for our own security. We must appeal to you to please get off from where you are seated. There is no question about it. Thank you comrades, thank you.

(mingling of crowd)

People I am now handing you over, I am now handing you over to one of the new elected Presidents, Mr. Archie Gumede. (cheering)

ARCHIE GUMEDE: It is very, very important that we should get the co-operation of each and every person in this hall so that we may be able to achieve at least one object. Now by acting in the way some of you seem to be acting, you are frustrating everything that has been done up to now and infact you are creating unneccessary problems for yourselves. Now I'm surprised to find that among the people who are sitting along that wall are people who have worked hard to make this occassion the success that it is and that at the end when we are now engaged in the task of finalising what has been done today in order to make this launch the success that it deserves are now not willing to co-operate. Now friends, one of the essentials of this exercise is discipline, that is the people who are engaged in this exercise must be pre-

pared to make sacrifices. Now the sacrifice we are asking you to make on this occasion is nothing like the sacrifice that you are likely to be asked to make in the future, and I appeal to you again to come forward otherwise I am not going to be prepared to accept that you are willing to make any form of sacrifice for the success of the United Democratic Front.

(whistling and clapping - distortion)

Yehlani madoda , yehlani bantabami kade sicela ngoku ixesha lemukile isibambezele lento please, yehlani. Thank you for coming down, thank you for co-operation. Can the people on this side here please just pass this line back, we need to get a speaker out the back there. Could you please pass this back there. Hello Tony, Tony do you read me.

(inaudible)

I've got Mr. Parker here (inaudible)

He wants to know if the speakers are working outside. We wnat to, we want to thank the friends for their co-operation but now, but now there are still, there are still two groups of people that have to co-operate in the same way, there are still two groups of people that have to co-operate in the same way. Those people who are near those lights, please remember that those, those lights are dangerous. If you touch those things it could be Taral Thank you comrades.

(clapping, cheering)

Slogan: Mayibuye I'Afrika, I'Afrika Mayibuye

Song: Nansi Supreme Court (as attached)

Slogan : Mayibuye Audience - I'Afrika I'Africa Audience - Mayibuye

469 Speaker: Comrades we are going to start now, things have come back to normal. Now the chairperson will be Mr. Tinto and Mr. Coovadia, both of them are going to chair this meeting. I thank you very much comrades for your co-operation. You know we can't do otherwise. You know we have got not places which can accommodate us Let us accept what we got now and continue.

(distortion) What doen he think.

478 Speaker: Comrades, I'm appealing you now so that you must get We need lights. The caretaker say he can't put on lights not unless all of us come down as it has been done on this side. Ncedani bantabami. Lehlanapho phezulu. Khanehle madoda aghuba ixheshe alisivumelapha. Please, hanihle bantabami.

TAPE 1 : SIDE 1

SONG:-

460 LEADER:- Nansi iSupreme Court ivuthumlilo

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Inaudible

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Inaudible

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Onono

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Ololo

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Onono

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Ololo

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Nank'umuz'kaGas'uvuthumlilo

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Abafan 'bazoth 'bawushayizolo

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Inaudible

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Inaudible

AUD .:- Siyaya

LEADER: - Inaudible

AUD.: Siyaya Siyaya Siyaya

J. Claims Some one in the Southern Hall many he a water fresher Claims

ites!

You know now, O.K. I want to call my first speaker. I can't in such a darker situation. Ja, please comrades, come down. Ja that's right comrades. (inaudible) I'm afraid. Yehlani madoda yehleni lapha yehleni phansi. Yehlani bantabami nqepha madoda. Please comrades, please. Sesulinde ninake kulelocala kuqala. We are waiting for you comrades on that side.

Female speaker: One, two, three, four intumphw ***

Francis Baard: - Then this unity is here (inaudible) we are daring them today and they can just prepare THEIR BEIRIAL one, any one. Amandla.

I appreciate the honours given unto me to open this wonderful rally. And I'm welcoming all delegates as they were welcomed as it were, and all members and everybody who's here. It reminds me of a song to sing at school which says 'Lands of hope and glory mother of the free! That means South Africa is our motherland now and South Africa is going to be free, even they don't want it or not. (cheering)

During the 60's I remember when Mr. McMillan past here, I mean through the continent of Africa, he said 'There's a wind of change which is sweeping the whole continent of Africa. say if they can't those people, if they can't those people, if they can't today see the change in this country, then, politicians who cannot read the change, then they can smell the freedom air which is among which is sweeping the whole South Africa. Eh, the freedom breath is going, is going throughout the con....., the whole of South Africa and we are going to be free. Now I want to call upon our leaders, since now we are here they are only next door being locked up. So I want to, to go out of my way for I'm going to steal this opportunity and say to them, "Rolihlahla Mandela come out, Ronald Mhlaba come out, Walter Sisulu come out, Govan Mbeki come out, and all the rest of the political prisoners we say, we demand your release today because we want to take you home with us tomorrow. (cheering)

We say open the gates, we say unlock those gates for them to come and see the work of their making. Let them come out because what they wanted, what they, what they went to jail for, it is for this unity they wanted. We say in South Africa we want a parliament which will be chosen among you people here. We want a government of the people and the people are you here. And our government has to be elected among you people.

(cheers)

When I look at you, you look like a beautiful garden of flowers. 593 The flowers in South Africa. The flowers of our motherland. (cheering)

Unlike the click behind me there, who are just white lilies, a click of white lilies who are keeping themselves in a place where as we have got a lot of people here who can fill up that parliament. So we are telling them to move. They must move out and give way for you people because you are the right people to be in that parliament, not them. This people have been eating the meat for so long that they're now clinging on the bone, the bone has no meat anymore.

(cheering)

I say Mr. Chairman, with all the blessings, I bless you all you people here and I'm asking the blessing to lead us all to our different towns, villages and homes and the same blessings. I say the people of Cape Town who have kept us here, I'm giving them the blessings to remain with them. Now with these few remarks, Mr. Chairman, I declare, I say, I declare this rally opened. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu : Amandla Baard Audience: Awethu

(clapping)

634 Speaker: Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I am not sure if the people outside this hall can hear me. But we are getting messages through that if people who are not within the four walls or under a roof, are going to be subjected to some sort of Police action. So those of you who can hear me outside this hall, would you try to get into the marque to the left of me on the other side of the hall. So those of you who are outside this hall, in order to prevent any Police action, would you please, would you please go to the marque which is on the other side of these doors or You'll have to disperse. The police have threatened to take action if people remain outside of a hall outside of four walls. So please assist us. (shouting)

Right, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to continue, I am going to continue with the rest of the programme. We have, ladies and

gentlemen, we have elected an executive of the New National United Democratic Front and the president of the United Democratic Front is made up or the presidency is made up of three people. The presidency is made up of three people. I will give you their names. Firstly it's Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, (cheering, clapping) okay the second is Oscar Mpetha, (cheering, clapping) and the third President is Archie Gumede (cheering, clapping). Now ladies and gentlemen, Oscar Mpetha cannot be with us here today. He is very ill. Albertina Sisulu cannot be here today because she is in detention. She cannot give her message to us but her heart is with us. Oscar, however, has taped a message which we are going to try very hard to take back to you to record back to you. Now, if stay silent for the duration of this tape, you will be able to hear what Oscar has to say from his hospital bed. So if you'll just be patient for a few minutes and listen to the tape of Oscar Mpetha (inaudible) that they must keep calm and listen to the marshalls whilst we're putting on the tape.

TAPE 1 - SIDE 2

- that even in the so-called bantustans that people 001 002
 - (break in recording) putting on the tape.
 - Will people who are outside the hall please pay attention to what the marshalls say, it will avoid any problems. So there are marshalls outside, will you please pay attention to what they say and assist us in managing to progress with with the rest of the proceedings. We've got this tape which lasts for about six minutes. (inaudible) Can you hear?
 - Audience: No. (inaudible)
 - O.K. I think we continue. If you'll let me do that. I think is we replay the tape you won't be able to hear it, what we'll do is we'll get this typed out and included in the next news letter which we will pass around. That is the tape from Oscar Mpetha, (clapping). Ladies and, ladies and gentlemen. I am going to read to you the rest of the executive. Can you put that tape off. Right, Okay. I'm going to read to you the remainder of the Executive of the United Democratic Front of South Africa. patrons first of all and then there are executive members.

of the patrons. The first patron is Nelson Mandela. (whistling, clapping, cheering) The second patron whose on the platform with us is the wife of the late Dr. Monty Naicker, Mrs. Monty Naicker on my left. (clapping) The third patron from Cape Town is Johnny Issel (clapping) The fourth patron whom you have already heard is Mrs. Francis Baard (clapping.) The fifth patron who you will listen to soon is Helen Joseph who is on the platform with us. Sixth patron is Shaik Mzi Mohammed (clapping). Seventh patron is Mrs. Florence Mkhize. (clapping) The eighth patron is Dr. Essop Jassat from Johannesburg. (clapping) Nineth patron is Dennis Goldberg (clapping) Tenth patron is Dorothy Nyembe. (clapping) Eleventh patron is Hassim Howa who is on the stage with us. (clapping) The twelveth patron is Mrs. Martha Mahlangu. (clapping) The thirteenth patron is Paster Smangoliso Mkhatshwa, (clapping) and the fourteenth patron is Dr. Allen Boesak. (cheering, clapping) Now ladies and gentlemen, I will go through very rapidly. Right, sorry I forgot one more patron. I apologize. (tape distortion) I will very rapidly go through the Vice-President and there are six Vice-Presidents from the different Provinces. From the Transvaal there is Reverend Hlalethwa, there's George Du Plessis from Natal, there's George Sewpersahd and there's Virgil Bonhomme from the Western Cape, Christmas Tinto and Joe Marks(inaudible). Ladies and gentlemen, the one President who can be here, Archie Gumede, will now address you for a brief speech. (clapping) ARCHIE GUMEDE : Eh, Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa. We meet on a very rare occasion. A very unique occasion and shortly after an honour has been bestowed on me which I do not

ARCHIE GUMEDE: Eh, Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa. We meet on a very rare occasion. A very unique occasion and shortly after an honour has been bestowed on me which I do not feel I deserve, but which will need the support of all the people who were party to my election to that eh, position. That is of being one of the three Presidents of the United Democratic Front. I wish to offer my sincere thanks to those. But at the same time I will appeal to them not merely to support by electing, but by paying attention to the needs of membership in this occasion and in this exercise. We all appreciate that this is a historical occasion. It is not often that people who are gathered here do ever come together. There are people from the Transvaal, people from Natal, people from the Free State, people from the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape the home of the Union demonstrating for

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all to see that South Africa is one country and it is not a collection of many nations. We believe that South Africa is one nation and we are willing to demonstrate this belief in our nationhood. (clapping)

Today's happenings is a true demonstration of the Unity of the oppressed people in South Africa. Being such an occasion it is important that the most forceful show of the determination not to accept oppression but to fight that oppression until we overcome, (clapping) and given the determination which I see among you, I have not the least doubt that we shall overcome. (clapping) This being an inaugural meeting, there is no report to be read to you, nor is it possible to make a policy statement. All we can say is what our goal is and how we are going to reach that goal. That goal we can reach only if we remain united and we are willing to work to join and link others who do not happen to be among us today. You all understand that the United Democratic Front is all about. You can see the banner here behind you, UDF. It is a front. It is not an organization, it is front and it is composed of different organisations which do not agree necessarily in all respects with each other's point of view, but we are all agreed that apartheid must be banished from the face of South Africa. (clapping) It is a front at this stage which is established for the sole purpose of struggling against the constitutional bills and the Koornhof Act which are intended to entrench apartheid in our society. The individual organisations of this front retain their identification, their identity in toto but they are determined to co-operate one with another in the specific issue of fighting and struggling against the constitutional Bills, the Constitutional Bills and the . Koornhof Bill. Well, you know the expression that is used in one of the Bills, is orderly movement. That is movement under the control of pass laws (laughing). Now how many people here are feeling that they ought to co-operate in moving in terms under the restrictions of the pass laws. I think today's meeting is a demonstration of the fact that it is only superior force that will obtain movement in terms of that orderly movement Bill and that when people are unsettled, that is uprooted from the places in which they are already settled, that is called resettlement. How many of those people have asked to be resettled?, and how many are being resettled merely in order to satisfy an ideology with which they have absolutely no sympathy.

151 However having this situation, co-operation and dicipline are absolutely essential. Today our task are difficult and they they are a challenge but I feel that the people here are willing to face that challenge. We shall face this challenge by organising our people wherever they are. We have one advantage. We are able to move among our people with ease and we are able to communicate with them at will and organise them and show them the road to freedom. Moses led the children of Isreal out of Egypt, there is simply no reason why the people of South Africa cannot move out of the eh, apartheid State into a State in which all shall be free and the people shall govern. (clapping) 172 However I wish make this quite clear that slogans are helpful but they are not the end of the road. To those slogans must be added sweat, to those slogans must be added labour and careful thought and careful action. You must be aware that the system has many ways of provoking people into rash actions and that is one of the things that all of you must guard against. Whatever action you take must be action that has been fully considered and applied with determination. When you go back home, please go to your neighbours and tell them about what you found at Cape Town today. Tell them the experiences that you had. joy of living, not in isolation but in association with people of various races and not as groups, but as individuals as I see you, as individuals living and breathing the same air, with one another who are I dont think anyone has had any ill effect as a result of that, has anyone suffered. (clapping) Please be aware of acting in isolation. Some organisations feel that they are powerful and they can act on their own. Some of the labour organisations seem to be suffering from that illness at present. They may not be, but it is simple fact that we are all inter-dependant. There is no one who is independant and in these circumstances it is important that we should learn to co-operate with one enother. We must avoid adventurism and we must act conscientiously and with determination until we overcome. Thank you Mr. Chairman. (clapping)

MC: Thank you very much Arch. Archie for these stirring words. Ladies and gentlemen, for those people who think we are alone, who think that we are fighting the struggle on our own and that

we ranged against the powerful enemy, you will be pleased to know and we will be heartened by the fact that the whole world outside supports us and to show some evidence of that I am going to read from time to time a very large numbers of messages we have. I am going to read about four or five messages now. The first message is from the Swiss Anti Apartheid Movement. It says that "We pledge for your fight for justice and liberation. (clapping)

- The next message is from the Danish Association of International Co-operation, and they send cordial greetings to us and congratulate us on the establishment of UDF and wish us all success and drawing up an implementing a programme of action. (clapping) We've got support from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers who gave us their congratulations and support us.

 We've got similar messages of support from the Danish Council in Copenhagen (clapping). Very importantly we've got support from SWAPO of Namibia (clapping, whistling, shouting), I'd like to read the message for you. It says: "We the oppres-
 - I'd like to read the message for you. It says: "We the oppressed people of Namibia express our active support and solidarity with the people of South Africa in the struggle for liberation. We face the common racist enemy, the Pretoria regime. Be rest assured that your struggle for liberation in South Africa, is also our struggle. Your victory is our victory. Our victory is your victory. Aluta continue. (clapping, cheers)
- 238 Slogan: Hello Mandella, Mandella wethu (X2)
 Archie Gumede Umhilo wethu (X2)
 - Kwathi engihlenye ngilwe, kwathi engihlanye uma mangiboni mpimpi (X2) I UDF inhlenganiso (X2)

Mayibuye

Audience: I Africa

Freedom Yes, Apartheid No

Freedom Yes, Apartheid No

- Thank you comrade, You know comrade. Once there was an announcement that the Police are harrassing people outside there. I thought that the speaker might have said that the military wing of the Nationalist Party is harrassing the people outside there. (laughing, clapping)
 - Eh, Comrades here I am going to call the Trade Unionist who was detained, Simon Ndou. Samson Ndou to come forward. (clapping)

260 SAMSON NDOU

An injury to one

Audience: Is injury to all

TAPE 1 : SIDE 2

SLOGAN:-

238 LEADER :- Hella Mandela

AUDIENCE: - Hayi

LEADER: - Mandela Wethu

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - Hella Mandela

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Mandela Wethu

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER! - Archie Gumede

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Unholi Wethu

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - Archie Gumede

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Umholi Wethu

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - Kwath 'ang 'hlanye

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Ngilwe

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - Kwath'ang'hlanye

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Ngiboni - Mpimpi

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - Kwath 'ang 'hlanye

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Ngilwe

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - i U.D.F.

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Umhlanganiso

AUD .:- Hayi Hayi

LEADER: - i U.D.F.

AUD .:- Hayi

LEADER: - Umhlanganiso

A dismissal to one

Audience: Is a dismissal to all.

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

I greet you in the name of the struggle for National Liberation and Social Justice. I am speaking as a Trade Unionist and a worker. I'm speaking in the place of Thozamile Gqweta. (clapping) Ja, Trade Union leader. He is unable to be here today as the South African and Ciskei Security Police are making it difficult for him. His fellow unionist Uré Mdgojo, Onile Nohushe, Manganzi Sifingo and David Thandani were detained on Wednesday. These detentions and the situation in the Eastern Cape shows us clearly that the reforms spoken about do not mean that repression will stop. Shootings, bannings and imprisonment carry on while the government try to makes us believe that things are really changing. We as workers know that nothing is changing and we cannot remain aloof from any attempts that shows what the people believe has changed, really changed. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

Audience: Awethu

We feel that, we feel that the people should defend themselves.

Member of audience: Ja, exactly

(laughing)

Workers are part of society, part of the community and they form the largest section of the society. Therefore changing society is a responsibility of workers because we have that power. (clapping)

As workers we experience problems in the factories. Low wages, unhealthy and dangerous working conditions, lack of representation, this is the reality of our working day, and we in trade unions are fighting to change this. But when the factory gates closes, we go back to our common communities, our townships and we have experience problems there as well. With our poor wages we have to pay high rents, unrealistic electricity bills, expensive transport, we live in overcrowded houses because there are not enough houses for us and we as part of the community are fighting to change (sound problem) sabotage (laughing) You can't sabotage the

working class. (laughing) If you try to do so, you are committing a suicide. In our schools our children do not have proper facilities and are given a racist education, are taught in a way that hides the real history. The proud history of our people from them. and the students in schools are fighting to change this. Women are treated as third class citizens, are stuck at home looking after children. Women's organisations are trying to change this. All these organisations have very different tasks in facing them and different problems to fight but they are fighting a whole system which is responsible for each and every problem that we face. Although trade unions and the workers struggle is the major struggle as it is a fight between workers and bosses. Unless we unite all the organisations us working in different areas, we cannot hope to change the system as a whole. Exploitation and low wages in the factories cannot exist without influx controls, pass laws, Group Areas, the education system. Our people are oppressed wherever they are, they must fight to change that exploitation and oppression. Amandla

Audience: Awethu

Amandla

.325

Audience: Awethu

Although change is a word used by Ministers of parliament and liberal bosses, we know that these changes are not based on the will of the people, because we do not have political rights and because whatever changes are spoken about by those who decide for us, are not in the ibterest of the workers, but in the interest of the bosses. We have to resist the proposed so-called reformed constitutional proposals and Koornhof bills. I don't know whether you call this bills. (shouting) These racist bills and constitutional proposals may have been dominating the headline but they are not the first acts of oppressive regime. They are not even the work. They are simply part of an ongoing process of domination and exploitation, but by one class over another. This is the history of our country, this is why we are fighting for freedom. The current set of Government proposals cannot be seen in isolation from this ongoing process of domination and exploitation of the majority of our people. (clapping) The government and the bosses have tried all the means at their disposal to obstruct the organisations of workers. In 1974, a frightened Nationalist regime responding to the wave of strikes

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which swept through Natal and the Witwatersrand amended the Industrial Conciliation Act in an attempt to offer workers, works committee in place of trade unions. Workers however, refused to have anything to do with these toothless bodies and continued to organise themselves. Within months twenty new Independent Black Trade Unions have been formed. In 1976 our children took the lead and shook the system with eighteen months of continuous action against apartheid domination. Saying that they will rather die fighting for freedom that live passively as slaves. (clapping) They stood unflinching in the face of Police guns, batons, dogs and teargas. 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. A terrified nationalist government working hand in hand with the bosses, appointed a Wiehan Commission to look into new ways of controlling the organisations of the working class. it reported, the commission made a lot of noise about the registration of Trade Unions, some liberals and racist circles, herald this as a breakthrough. After some sixty years of steady (inaudible) refusing to (inaudible) up the leader of Black Trade Union, a government had finally considered and agreed to recognise them.

Those of us who had been hardened in the years of struggle, show this proposals for what they were and attempt to impose new and stricter controls on the working class. Workers stood firm, they were not fooled since when were the government and the bosses keen to promote workers organisations. How could they expect us to trust them when everyday they force us to work long hours for little pay under dangerous comditions. When we have to travel long distances by train and by buses from the ghettoes to their shiny cities, to come and minister to their need for greater profits. Amandla.

Audience: Awethu

376

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An injury to one
Audience: is an injury to all x2

Through our united refusal to accept this so-called new dispensation we reduced Wiehan proposals to a parliamentary side show which convinced no-one. Within a year of their introduction, Fanie Botha, Is another guy I don't know, I never met him before, his name is Fanie Botha, was already urging bosses to deal with

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unregistered Trade Unions, despite this challenge we were able to maintain our independancy and democracy and to grow as organisations of the working class. At this point in the struggle of workers against domination and exploitation, we face severe challenges from the bosses. Taking the advantage of the economic depression they have been firing and retrenching hundreds and thousands of workers in an attempt to break Trade Union Organisations The threat of retrenchment is used to intimidate those likely enough to have jobs into joining trade unions. Anyone determined enough to demand higher wages or better working conditions is immediately threatened with dismissal. The government meanwhile has taken a back seat and is leaving it up to the bosses to smash the unions. In unity, however, there is strength. To counter this threat, the unions have been trying to form a federation to meet the combined attack on the bosses. Such a federation will be the most powerful alliance of Trade Unions to emerge since the South African Congress of Trade Unions was forced underground by the weight state repression in the early sixties. I would like to use this platform today to call on all democratic Trade Unions to unite and work together in defence of the interests of the working class. (clapping) But the struggle of thr 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 oppresses 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 interest of a broader movement. (clapping) Forward to the United United Democratic Front, forward to the worker's struggle, forward to the peoples democracy. Amandla

Audience: Awethu An injury to one

Audience: An injury to all (X2)

An insult to one

Audience: An insult to all

I'Africa

435

Audience: Mayibuye (clapping)

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