

L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela

L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. ; - U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- U- Archie Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela

have already been done.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

311. Hallo, Mr. Chairman. On behalf of the Transvaal U.D.F. the two vice-presidents, as nominated by the executive of the Transvaal U.D.F. is MR. GEORGE DU PLESSIS. (Applause).

UNKNOWN PERSON. (SOMEBODY RECORDING THIS).

And REVEREND H LAPANE, GALERULA (?) sorry GALET LWA (?). Those are the two Transvaal vice-presidents. (Applause).

LANGA.

Declare them duly elected Western Cape?

UNKNOWN SPEAKER (FEMALE).

322. Uh hallo ha hallo uh Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN.

What is that - Yes I am listening

UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Mr. Chairman on behalf of the Western Cape region, there are two vice-presidents is MR. CHRISTMAS TINTO and MR. JOE MARKS (Applause).

LANGA.

330. Thank you Western Cape, Natal? two vice presidents.

UNKNOWN OBSERVER.

Mr. Chairman.

LANGA.

Have you sorted that out?

331. NATAL OBSERVER. This thing works, okay'

Mr. Chairman on behalf of the Natal delegation I would like to give you our two nominations. They are MR. VIRGIL BONHOMME (Applause) who is the secretary of the DURBAN HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE and MR. GEORGE SEWPERSHAD (Applause) who is the president of the NATAL IND- (Applause).

340. LANGA.

Thank you very much. Those are the six vice presidents who have been elected. Next item, Regional Secretaries. These are also regionals two per region. Transvaal?

TRANSVAAL OBSERVER.

344. The Transvaal regional secretaries is MR. MOHAMMED VALLY (Applause) and POPO sitting on the stage already. (Applause).

LANGA.

348. Thank you. Western Cape? Two regional secretaries.

UNKNOWN WESTER CAPE OBSERVER.

350. Mr. Chairman, we have uh nominated and accepted TREVOR MANUEL and CHERYL KAROLUS (?) as reg- (Applause).

355. LANGA.

Thank you. Natal two regional secretaries?

356. UNKNOWN NATAL OBSERVER.

Our two nominees are JOE PHAAHLA from AZASO (Applause) and MR. YUNUS MOHAMMED (Applause).

360. LANGA.

Thank you very much. Those are the regional secretaries who have been elected. Now the next position is that of executive member. Executive members. Two per region. Uh we start with the Transvaal.

UNKNOWN TRANSVAAL OBSERVER.

366. Uh, Mr. Chairman the nomination again from the Transvaal is DR. RAM SALOOJEE (Applause) and MR. AUBREY MAKOENA (Applause).

LANGA.

371. Thank you very much. The Western Cape?

UNKNOWN WESTERN CAPE OBSERVER.

Mr. Chairman we have elected and accepted MILDRED MOSEA (?), ANDREW BORAIN (Applause).

376. LANGA.

And Natal.

UNKNOWN NATAL OBSERVER.

I have pleasure in announcing PROFESSOR JERRY COOVADIA (Applause) and REVEREND XUNDU (Applause).

380. LANGA.

Thank you very much. Those are the elected executive members for each region. (Pause). Is there any question from Border?

389. UNKNOWN OBSERVER FROM THE FREE STATE.

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Now I feel that uh Free State must also be represented. I have somebody in mind presently of which can represent Free State by the name of M.K. MALEFANE (Applause).

UNKNOWN PERSON.

It's alright, it's alright.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

403. I am sorry. But as the constitution is presently drafted uhm unconstituted regions which are small regions uhm have co-options onto the Executive Committee, that's the constitution which we have accepted. The National Executive Committee will undoubtedly uh make some arrangements for co-option of people onto the Executive or make sure that the rep- requirements of these areas are properly represented. So I would ask, we are in a very flexible situation. Things are changing all the time. Organisations are in fact growing everywhere and in the constitution as we have planned it, and as has been accepted at this conference does not make any provision for uh Border to have that kind of nomination. I would suggest in these circumstances that the matter be left for the National Executive Committee to handle and I'm sure that the National Executive Committee as constituted will make a decision which will take into account all the circumstances and which hopefully all the parties will be happy with. (Applause).

LANGA.

Thank you very much, those are the Executive members. The next position is that of National Treasurers. These are National

Treasurers. We need two National Treasurers.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

426. Here again Mr. Electoral Officer, I think nominations have been
350. accepted by the various regions have they not?

CHAIRMAN.

428. The the two nominations received for Treasu- treasurers were,
MEWA RAMGOBIN from Natal and CASSIM SALOOJEE from Transvaal (Applause).

433. LANGA.

Thank you very much. My task is now accomplished. I congratulate those who have been elected to these honourous positions and I wish them well. Thank you. (Applause).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

437. Thank you PIUS uh congratulations to everybody who has been elected. Eh, we have to rush off rush on again. We have got our last part of our agenda as the working programme. I'm gonna ask POPO to read the last half of it.

444. Uh, there's there's two positions what haven't been filled, yet, can we just go back to that.

445. CHAIRMAN.

The two positions are:-

The two positions are, firstly the National Secretary and again the secretariat has received a nomination that of POPO MOLEFE (Applause). For publicity secretary again there is a single nomination, MR. TERROR LEKOTA from Natal. (Applause).

456. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Thanks again. Uh the last part of our agenda of the working programme. I am gonna asking POPO MOLEFE to read the last half of it. It has been recommended by the secretariat for acceptance and implementation by regions.

461. POPO MOLEFE.

It is my wish that eh, in reading this programme of action, I do not raise any controversy's. We actually here moving against time that is why I am going to choose to read the last two parts which is the objectives of the campaign and the tasks. The objectives of the campaign:-

To oppose the constitutional Bill and any election emerging therefrom.

To oppose the KOORNHOF BILLS and any election emerging therefrom.

To mobilise every section of our people into the Front.

To educate people about dangers of the proposals and the need for unity and action.

To promote democratic consultation and participation throughout the campaign.

475. To encourage co-operation and united action between all sections against co-option.

TASKS:-

- (1) To establish the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT as the only representative Front representing all sections of our people.
- (2) To popularise the U, U.D.F. within and outside the country.
- (3) Mobilize all organisations and communities into the U.D.F.
- (4) Establish U.D.F. branches throughout the country.
- (5) Implement door to door campaigns throughout the country.
- (6) Encourage the strengthening of all grassroots democratic organisations, community and other barriers. Sorry, Sorry, Sorry I jumped one line.
- (6) Encourage the strengthening of all grassroots democratic organisations.

(7) Promote meaningful co-operation and united action across all communities and other barriers.

(8) Ensure democratic participation and consultation in all aspects of the campaign.

494. UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

Can we have, can we have a show of hands for acceptance for this programme? Thank you. Uh the purpose of it is not just to accept it but implement it. And I think that that's the most important part of it. That everybody leaves here with a commitment to go back and implement this this programme, this working programme that
401. we just accepted. The importance of it, that's the most important part of it to go back into the field and start doing it. We now come to the end of our, of this office's part of our of our of our of our historical day. And in order to close it, I call upon our our president, our one of our presidents MR. ARCHIE GUMEDE to
509. close it on behalf of of of the presidency MR. ARCH. (Applause).

UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mr.

CHAIRMAN.

Right, one minute, while ARCH- ARCHIE GUMEDE is coming up, (inaudible) while ARCHIE GUMEDE is coming up, I just want to say and all Marshalls and all people who who wish to assist or want to assist in handing the handling of of clearing up of the hall and the handling of of of the income or whe- whe- of comes into the hall, please report to the back of the hall as soon as soon as the closing address is over.

517. UNKNOWN FEMALE.

Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman. (Yes, yes said in between). Thank you very much. Ah, at the moment that we've been given a draft in fact a a programme of action and we accept it. I I (inaudible) accepted nationally it has been accepted but, eh, propose that if to be taken to various regions and the regions to look at this programme of action and uh used bring about a concrete kind
525. of a programme of action and I move that a maximum of ten delegates

from each uh region, to come to a joint meeting and come with a clear concrete programme of action and I also propose that immediate call of action should be accompany those kinds of uhm decisions.

(Applause).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

535. Just before we close, just before ARCHIE takes - there's one more message what we feel that should be read out now.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER (FREE STATE OBSERVER).

I have a message here from M.K. MALEFANE. It reads thus. Besides being here as part of the Free State U.D.F., I'm also representing the MANDELA family and would like to announce that NELSON ROCIHLAHLA MANDELA and his cell mates give their blessings to this gathering and they want you to know that right at this moment they are with you even though not physically). (Whistling).

(Applause).

550. SONG. (96(a)).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER.

562. Comrades, comrades, comrades, before ARCHIE closes this meeting the entire executive what was justelectedis to meet ZAC YACOOB at the table here, and now then ARCHIE GUMEDE. (Applause).

569. ARCHIE GUMEDE.

Uh, thank you Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, sons and daughters of Africa. I greet you in the name of our departed heroes, the LUTHULI'S, the MATTHEW'S and many others whose names I cannot recall at this very historical moment. I greet you in the name of my fellow president who through certain circumstances beyond their control are not able to be with you here today. I only wish to say that, and I believe that this occasion will live in the memories of each and everyone of us, as an exceptional occasion when people of all races from all sections of the community have met and have had a discussion of problems that affect them in their daily lives. We are very grateful that we have come to an end of this

TAPE 3 : SIDE 2

550 SONG:- -

L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Nomangaboshwa
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela
L. :- Mandela Wethu
AUD:- Somlandela Somlandela

session without have meeting any insuperable problems and I must express my thanks to all the people who have contributed to the success of this occasion not forgetting the secretaries and the other people who have been involved in organising all that has been organised. I will not forget the people who provided the lunch that sustained us so that even at this hour we are still able to follow the proceedings with intelligence with sufficient uh, (Applause). With those few words, I wish to say. Thank you to one and all.

MARKER FOR AUDIENCE SHOUTS AMANDLA. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN.

619. Sorry I think we've reached a situation of desperation at this point. There are thousands of people gathered outside. Uh firstly we make an appeal to every attorney in the audience to come to the front and meet with ZAC YACOOB. The full National Executive is also to come to the front. While that is happening certain changes have to be made to accommodate everybody and we have to work out a plan to change the arrangements within the hall because there will be thousands of people in the Marquis outside, as well. There is an appeal those glass doors on the sides as well as the fire escapes will be opened to allow people within the hall to go outside. The hall has to be changed, so it's going to be impossible to do that
641. with with people and chairs and tables and things in the way. Uhm as soon as we are ready we'll allow people to come in from there first and later, through the front ex-eh entrance. There are marshalls and we appeal we appeal for maximum co-operation.

(Noise of crowd).

TAPE 1 : SIDE B

145 SONG:

The Name of Hellen Joseph
Praise

31 a

TAPE 1. SIDE

290

Join Join
Join Join the U.D.F.
REPEATED TEN TIMES.

-5-

TAPE 1: SIDE 2

274

SONG:

Unite women

Unite

REPEATED EIGHT TIMES.

This union exists - the U.D.F

REPEATED FOUR TIMES.

Unite women

Unite

REPEATED SEVEN TIMES

This union exists - the U.D.F.

REPEATED FOUR TIMES

-6-

TAPE : SIDE

19 SONG

L.: Even if it is bad

AUD: We go

L.: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad.

L: It is bad it is bad bo.

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD. We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Hendrickse Bo

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

(Xi) 23 SONG:-

LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go even if.....
 LEADER: It is bad it is bad ho
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go even if it is difficult.
 LEADER: Inaudible.
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go even if
 LEADER: Inaudible
 AUD: We go
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go
 AUD: We go even if....
 LEADER: Inaudible
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go
 LEADER: We go
 AUD: We go even if...

32 SLOGAN:

LEADER : Power 1
 AUD: Is ours
 LEADER: Power
 AUD: Is ours
 LEADER: Let it come back
 AUD: i Africa
 LEADER: Let it come back
 AUD: i Africa.

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Rajbans Bo

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Sebe BO (please)

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Give way Matanzima

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

-7-

L.: Even when they shoot Bo

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L: Indeed even when they arrest us.

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: Even if it is bad

L. Oba Sebe BO (makes no sense to me)

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go

L: We go

AUD: We go even if it is bad

L.: Give way Savimbi BO

AUD: We go

L.: We go
AUD: We go
L: We go
AUD: We go even if it is bad

TAPE 3: SIDE 1.

62 SONG :

L. Here is the Supreme Court
L. it is on fire
AUD: We go
L: The spear boys hit it yesterday
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
AUD: We go
L: Here is Rondebosch facing down Bo
AUD: The spear boys hit it yesterday
AUD: We go
L: Momomo (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L: Momomo
AUD: We go
L: Hohoho (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L. Hololo (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L: Here is the Supreme Court on fire
AUD: We go
L: The spear boys hit it yesterday
AUD: We go
L: Ho-yo-yo (Don't know what this means)
AUD: We go
L. Ho-yo-yo
AUD: We go
L: Ho-yo-yo
AUD: We go
L: Ho-yo-yo
AUD: We go

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1
106 SLOGAN:

L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L: and U.D.F.
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : the U.D.F.
AUD: Hayi
L. : It joins
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : Joshua Nkomo
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : Oscar Mpetha
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : Msizi Dube
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD: Hayi hayi

465 SONG:

Hayaya Tambo
Hayaya what is he doing
He is still teaching the soldiers
Hayaya Tambo
Thambo is in the bush mother
Hayaya what is he doing
He is still teaching the soldiers
Hayi Tambo
Tambo is in the bush mother
Hayi what is he doing
He is still teaching the soldiers
Hayi Tambo
Tambo is in the bush mother

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

508 SONG:

Unite workers
Unite
Unite workers
Unite
Ho this union exists
Ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.
Ho this union exists
ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.
Unite workers
Unite
Unite workers Bo
Unite
Unite workers
Unite
Unite workers Bo
Unite
Ho this union exists
Ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.
Ho this union exists
Ho the U.D.F.
This union exists
the U.D.F.

N.B. INHLANGANO also means ORGANISATION. (Translator)

548

SLOGA N:

L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : We have agreed
AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : You Mandela
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Mandela
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : You Mandela
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Mandela
AUD: Hayi hayi
L. : This Mxenge
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD : Hayi hayi
L. : Msizi Dube
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Msizi Dube
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
L. : Oscar Mpetha
AUD : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : Archie Gumede
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD: Hayi hayi

L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Our fathers
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Are in prisons
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our mothers
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Are in prisons
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Barbara these
AUD. : Hayi
L. : They are in prisons
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Geli
AUD. : Hayi
L. : My sister
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Geli
AUD. : Hayi
L. : My sister
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Sebe
AUD. : Hayi

L. : An Informer
AUD. : Hayi Hayi
L. : This Sebe
AUD. : Hayi
L. : an Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Gatsha
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Gatsha
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Mathanzima
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : This Mathanzima
AUD. : Voetsek
L. : An Informer
AUD. : Voetsek Voetsek
L. : You Mandela
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Mandela .
AUD. : Hayi, hayi
L. : Oliver Tambo
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Havi hayi
L. : This Slovo
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Slovo
AUD. : Hayi

L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD. : Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Kundu
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Kundu
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Archie Gumede
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Oscar Mpetha
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD. : Hayi hayi

L. : This Nxenge
AUD: Hayi
L. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : This Msizi
AUD. : Hayi
LL. : Our Leader
AUD. : Hayi hayi⁶
L. : Inaudible
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Hit the Bazooka
AUD. : Vru-u-u-u Vru-u-u Vru-u-u-u-
L. : Explode the bomb
AUD. : Splosh Splosh Splosh
L. : Explode the bomb
AUD. : Splosh Splosh Splosh
L. : Explode the bomb
AUD. : Splosh Splosh Splosh
L. : The U.D.F.
AUD. : No
L. : The joiner
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : The U.D.F.
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Combiner
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible
AUD. : Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : Inaudible

AUD: Hayi
L. : Soldiers
AUD.: Hayi Hayi
L. : Joshua Nkomo
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : Joshua Nkomo
AUD.: Hayi
L. : Our father
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD.: Hayi
L. : That I fight
AUD. : Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD.: Hayi
L. : I see an informer
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD.: Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : There is an Informer here
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : There is an Informer here
AUD. : Hayi
L. : There is an Informer
AUD.: Hayi hayi
L. : I feel like going mad
AUD: Hayi
L. : I see an Informer
AUD.: Hayi
L. : I see an Informer

615 SONG:

L. : We complain about Gasa
 AUD: We complain about Gasa
 L. : We complain about Gasa
 AUD.: We complain about Gasa
 L. : About Gasa
 L. : Gasa is churning black water
 AUD.: He is churning black water
 L. : He is churning black water
 L. : He is churning black water
 AUD: He is churning black water
 L. : Gasa is
 L. : We complain about Sebe
 AUD.: We complain about Sebe
 L. : We complain about Sebe
 AUD.: We complain about Sebe
 L. : about Sebe
 L. : Sebe churns
 L. : Ho he churns black water
 AUD. : He churns black water
 L. : He churns black water
 L. : Black
 L. : Sebe chur

TAPE 5 : SIDE

87 SONG:

Hlanganani basebenzi
 Workers unite
 Unite
 Unite workers
 Unite

TAPE 5 : SIDE 1

89 SONG:

Perhaps this place
This place is bad
Inaudible
This place is bad
Maybe this place
This place is bad

TAPE 5 : SIDE 1

328

SONG:

Go
How will it be
How will it be
When we see the Boers running
Oh go
Go Heroes
Go
Go Names Heroes
How will it be when we are sitting with
Tambo
Seeing the Boers running
Oh how will it be when we are sitting with
Tambo
Seeing the Boers running

TAPE 5 SIDE 2
263 SONG:

L. : Archie Gumedé
AUD. : We will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he may be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L.. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him

L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : OUR Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We Will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Archie
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him

TAPE 5 : SIDE

550 SONG

L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Mandela Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he were to be arrested
AUD. : Somlandela We will follow him we will follow
 him
L. : Even if he were to be arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Even if he is arrested
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow we will follow
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We Will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him we will follow him
L. : Our Mandela
AUD. : We will follow him

TRANSLATED BY : J.N. NKOSI
 MAGISTRATES OFFICE
 DURBAN
 85/05/23

V1: NATIONAL LAUNCH OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, ROCKLANDS,
MITCHELLS PLAIN, CAPE TOWN - 20 August 1983

ACCUSED PRESENT: Popo Molefe

FORMATION AND PURPOSE OF THE UDF

1. The opening address was made by Reverend Frank Chikane who said the following in the course of his speech:
 - a) '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 Doctor Alan 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 proposal.'
p3
 - b) '... 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 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 system.'

p3

2. Archie Gumede stated:

'It is not an organisation, it is a front and it is composed of different organisations which do not agree necessarily in all respects with each others point of view, but we are all agreed that apartheid must be banished from the face of South Africa. 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 cooperate one with another in the specific issue of fighting and struggling against the constitutional bills, the constitutional bills and the Koornhof Bill.'

p14

3. Aubrey Mokoena stated:

'We have come back here to come and energise ourselves and to be charged as terminals of this battery and then we go back to our places to form branches of UDF throughout the country. We go back to build the image of UDF. We go back to popularise UDF. We go back to set meaningful community development projects that are going to improve the quality of the lives of the people. That are going to show the people that there is hope at the end of the tunnel.'

p40

4. Doctor Alan Boesak stated:

'The most immediate reason for our coming together here today is the continuation of the Government's apartheid policies as seen in the constitutional proposals ... '

p49

Immediately after Doctor Boesak's speech an unknown speaker stated:

'Ladies and Gentlemen, you remember the United Democratic Front started off by a stirring call by Alan Boesak, so I think it is fitting that he should end tonight's proceedings by reading the declaration of the United Democratic Front and by which people adhere to the principles and join the UDF.'

p57

Doctor Boesak then reads out the UDF declaration.

5. After being elected National Secretary, Popo Molefe read out the objectives and tasks of the UDF campaigns:

'The objectives of the campaign-
To oppose the constitutional bills and any election emerging therefrom
To oppose the Koornhof bills and any election emerging therefrom
To mobilise every section of our people into the fronts
To educate people about dangers of the proposals and the need for unity in action

To promote democratic consultation and participation throughout the campaign

To encourage cooperation and united action between all sections against cooption

Tasks

1. To establish the United Democratic Front as the only representative front representing all sections of our people.
2. To popularise the UDF within and outside the country.
3. Mobilise all organisations and communities into the UDF.
4. Establish UDF branches throughout the country.
5. Implement door to door campaigns throughout the country.
6. Encourage the strengthening of the grassroots democratic organisations.
7. Promote meaningful cooperation and united action across all communities and other barriers.
8. Ensure democratic participation and consultation in all aspects of the campaign.'

pp 68 - 69

VISION FOR A FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA

6. Most of the speakers expressed a view about the South Africa of the future. Extracts from these speeches include the following:

a) Archie Gumede

'We believe that South Africa is one nation and we are willing to demonstrate this belief in our nationhood. Today's happenings is a true demonstration of the unity of the oppressed people of South Africa. Being such an occasion it is important that the most forceful show of our determination not to accept oppression but to fight that oppression until we overcome, and given the determination which I see among you, I have not the least doubt that we shall overcome.'

p14

'Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt, there is simply no reason why the people of South Africa cannot move out of the apartheid state into a state into which all shall be free and the people shall govern.'

p15

b) Helen Joseph

'We shall find a free democratic South Africa. A South Africa which shall belong to all who live in it, Black and White. All the sons and daughters of our land.'

p21

c) George Sewpersadh

'The ideals of the Freedom Charter will be pursued by the United Democratic Front, and will we never rest, we will continue with the struggle until our leaders like Nelson Mandela are freed to govern this country.'

p32

d) Doctor Alan Boesak

'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 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.'

p55

Doctor Boesak ended his speech as follows:

'We shall sing it (Nkosi Sikelele Africa) on that day when in this rich land no child shall die of hunger and no infant shall die untimely and our elderlies shall close their eyes in peace and the wrinkled stomachs of our children shall be filled with food just as their life shall be filled with meaning and we shall sing it on that day when we here in South Africa, White and Black will have learned to love one another and work together in building a truly good and beautiful land and so with this faith we shall yet be able to give justice and peace on the throne of our land with this faith we shall yet be able to see beyond the darkness of our present into the bright gathering daylight of our future, with this faith we shall be able to speed up the day when all of South Africa's children will improve with each other and sing with new meaning, Nkosi Sikelele Africa (God Bless Africa). Guide her rulers, bless her children, give her peace, God bless you.'

p56 - 57

VIOLENCE

7. In none of the speeches (in contra distinction to the songs) is violence sanctioned or endorsed. Indeed, there are contrary indications. The references to 'peace' in the speech of Doctor Boesak run counter to the notion of violence. Archie Gumede cautioned against taking 'rash 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.'

p15

8. There is only one reference to the ANC and that is in a purely historical context, in a reference to the congress of the people in 1955.

See p2

9. The slogan 'unity in action' (the slogan adopted by the ANC in 1982) is used by Frank Chikane in his opening address (p3) and forms part of the objectives of the UDF campaign read out by Popo Molefe (p68).
10. There are constant calls throughout for the release of political prisoners and especially Nelson Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists.

SONGS AND SLOGANS

11. A translation of the songs appears at the back of the transcript. They include songs with the words:

- a) 'Here is the Supreme Court splitting fire'
- b) 'Tambo is in the bush mama
He is teaching
He is teaching soldiers'
- c) 'The gun in Angola
Bring the gun!'
- d) 'Across the river
We shall get them
With their children we shall get them'

12. Slogans include 'Oliver Tambo', 'Joe Slover'.

See p60

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment, vol 3, para 30 pp 139 - 145

13. In furtherance of the conspiracies it was alleged that UDF leaders and activists delivered addresses to incite the masses at the meeting to participate in deeds and violence which would render South Africa ungovernable and which

would develop into a violent revolution. The government was brought into disrepute and conveyed to the masses as dishonest, unlawful and undemocratic and oppressive of the masses in its policies regarding education, military activities, etc.

14. The ANC was praised and popularised and held out as the probable alternative government of the country. Trained ANC terrorists were popularised and those who had been found guilty of murder, acts of terror and subversion by competent courts of justice were held out as heroes of the masses and martyrs whose examples must be followed. Such people are represented as the true so called freedom fighters and the heroes of the masses.
15. The freedom charter was popularised and the masses conditioned to accept the charter as the basis of the so called freedom struggle.
16. ANC history was popularised.
17. The masses were incited to organise and mobilise to destroy the present order and to take part in the freedom struggle and be prepared even to die in the struggle.
18. Activists of the UDF, namely the organisers and parties in control of the meeting popularised ANC terrorist leaders through the singing of freedom songs which praised and

exalted terrorists and terrorist leaders of the ANC. There was a recital which praised and propagandised a terrorist and there was copious use of ANC slogans and symbols during the meeting to promote solidarity with the ANC.

The 'recital' appears on pp 41 - 44 of the transcript. It begins with the words 'I stand in remembrance of a guerilla, a person who has laid down his life for no salary'. It is a vague and general poem and no literal meaning can be attached to it.

V2: SOLIDARITY WITH SAAWU AND THE PEOPLE OF CISKEI, KHOTSO

HOUSE, 22 September 1983

ACCUSED PRESENT: POPO MOLEFE

1. Popo Molefe appears to be the Chairman of this meeting. He gives an opening address, introduces various speakers and comments on what they have said.
2. The homeland system is attacked in biting terms. Nowhere, however, is the use of violence proposed.
3. Molefe says repeatedly that the banning cannot go unchallenged:

'Now we think that it is in keeping with our total rejection of the Bantustan and undemocratic structures that flow out of the undemocratic system of South Africa. That it is a challenge to us, as the United Democratic Front, in alliance with all these unions today to challenge this issue, to oppose the banning of SAAWU, to impose the entire system of Bantustans and in the same way to say no to this Bantustan system and to say no to the banning of SAAWU... let us all unite and fight for the destruction of apartheid in this country. Let us unite to bring an end to the 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 challenge brutalisation of the workers ...'

He says at a later stage that it is-

'... important that all those who call themselves freedom and peace loving people and those who call themselves progressive unite around this issue of Ciskei with the people of Ciskei and SAAWU.'

And later -

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

p12

4. Significantly, towards the end of the meeting, Molepe outlines the form and nature of the campaign against Ciskei. He in fact proposes five practical measures:
 - i) Donations towards aiding the people who are in Ciskei-
'most of these people as we have said are staying in the stadium, they've got no blankets, no clothes and we think we can be helpful in terms of providing them with some tracksuits'.
 - ii) A publicity campaign must be mounted against Ciskei.
 - iii) The establishing of links with the international media to expose what is happening in the homelands.

- iv) A call to individual organisations to arrange a series of solidarity meetings with the people of Ciskei.

- v) The international labour organisation and other support groups are to bring pressure to bear on South Africa and Ciskei.

pp 17 - 18

ANC CONSPIRACY

- 5. The ANC appears only to have been mentioned once at this meeting by Herbert Barnabas who implicitly distanced SAAWU from the ANC:

'SAAWU has been banned in Ciskei, where it has always been alleged that our organisation is an ANC front. To our knowledge this has never been proved, both by the South African Government and Ciskei Banana Government.'

p13

- 6. Thobile Mseleni made a reference to the 'National Liberation Movement' but the sentence does not really make sense:

'The workers of South Africa are lucky because even the National Liberation Movement is valuing above, or as the contribution of the labour movement.'

7. The songs which were sung at this meeting were suggestive of violence. They include the following:

a) 'Where are the guns! Bring the guns! They are in Africa!'

b) 'There is SASOL 2/ CISKEI/ SUPREME COURT on fire.'

c) The slogan 'Oliver Tambo' is shouted as well.

8. In contrast to the nature of the songs, both Molefe and Chikane made references to peace. Molefe stated:

'That it is important that all those who call themselves freedom and peace loving people and those who call themselves progressive unite around this issue of Ciskei with the people of Ciskei and SAAWU.'

p7

Frank Chikane stated:

'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.'

p11

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment, vol 3, para 31 pp 145 - 149

9. It is alleged that the UDF arranged this meeting. On page 4 of the transcript Molefe states 'of the United Democratic Front and all the unions that have been involved in the planning of this meeting ... I want to welcome you to this meeting ...'. The meeting was allegedly held in furtherance of the conspiracies and was addressed by UDF activists in order to incite and condition the masses to participate in deeds and violence which would render South Africa ungovernable and which would develop into a violent revolution. The government and White minority were represented as cruel, unlawful, undemocratic and racist and hatred and animosity towards the government and White minority were cultivated and fanned. UDF campaigns were furthered such as the campaigns regarding the Ciskei, oppression and harassment of the masses by the police, the constitutional proposals of the government, the so called Koornhof laws and the popularisation of the freedom charter.
10. A former leader of the SACP namely Yusuf Dadoo was popularised and the masses conditioned to accept Dadoo and to recognise him as a true leader of the masses. The masses were called upon to remain true to his ideals and the values expounded by him and to fight for them.

In his speech Molefe said the following about Dadoo:

'I have been asked to announce to you that one of the stalwarts of the struggle in South Africa, Yusuf Dadoo passed away two days ago three days ago in exile. And many of us still remember him as a man who contributed to the rich and proud history of the struggle in this country. We still believe that he left the country not because he wanted the luxury outside the country but he did so because he was forced by the laws of this country and he was forced to go and seek desperate solutions to the problems of this country. May I call upon this house to arise and observe a moment of silence in respect of Yusuf Dadoo.'

p14

11. The freedom charter was popularised and the masses called upon to recognise it as the basis for the so called freedom struggle and the so called democratic government of the masses.
12. The masses were asked to stop talking and to resort to action and to take an active part in the freedom struggle to 'break' and destroy the existing order.
13. Activists of the UDF who were in control of the meeting or who arranged the meeting popularised the ANC by incorporating as part of the meeting the singing of freedom songs which popularised the ANC, terror and violence and by the shouting of the name of the terrorist leader, Oliver Tambo.

V3: UDF/AZASO PROTEST MEETING IN RESPECT OF STUDENTS KILLED AT
NGOYA UNIVERSITY, KHOTSO HOUSE, 29 October 1983

ACCUSED PRESENT: POPO MOLEFE

1. Popo Molefe played a relatively minor part in this meeting. He read out three messages, from the Transvaal Indian Congress (p9) from the Health Workers Association (p20) and from an unknown organisation (p16). He made a very short speech which is reproduced in approximately half a page in which he condemned the killings at the university.

ANC CONSPIRACY

2. Many of the songs which were sung at that meeting were apparently in praise of Oliver Tambo. Another song which says that Warmbaths are on fire and that 'the boys of the spear' hit it.
3. One of the speakers who played a prominent role in the meeting was Oupa Monareng (who has since estreated bail after facing charges of subversion). At the beginning of the meeting Monareng says:

'So let us have comrades, a few of those songs and because there are young dynamic people here who are prepared to relentlessly and gallantly fight for their freedom which belongs to them, which is got (inaudible). Let us then comrades give us freedom songs so as to rededicate ourselves and ...'

There is then a video interruption and what follows is songs in praise of Tambo.

pp 3 - 4

4. Monareng describes Inkatha as 'anti-revolutionary'.

p5

5. At a later stage, Monareng appears to propagate violence:

'We shall attack them in their homes, hostels, places of employment and their offices (laughter) for we loathe them very much. This then taken, should not be seen as causing fights inbetween our people, but between freedom lovers and agents of oppression.'

p19

Immediately before making this statement, Monareng had suggested a perfectly peaceful alternative namely, that 'it is imperative for the peace loving Inkatha members to resign'.

p19

He had also said that:

'To those who are innocent within the tribal groups we make an urgent and special appeal to all, to resign and join our ranks.'

p18

6. Towards the end of the speech the master of ceremonies states:

'And we like to say to Gatcha Buthelezi that the unity that was initiated in 1912 when the African National Congress was formed, which were (inaudible) in 1950's until our move ..., the movement was banned in 1960 or 61 that unity which our people have so much striven for and eventually achieved cannot be crushed by him.'

It appears as if the speaker was about to describe the ANC as 'our movement' but seems to have checked himself in time. The same speaker a few lines later then goes on to proclaim Nelson Mandela as 'the peoples leader'.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

7. This meeting was obviously a very emotional one following upon the killing of a number of students at Ngoya University.

ALLEGATIONS IN THE INDICTMENT

Indictment vol 3, para 32 pp 149 - 152

8. It was alleged that UDF and its affiliates AZASO, arranged this meeting which was addressed by various UDF activists. The government was maligned and brought into dispute and labelled as dishonest, undemocratic and unlawful and responsible for the murder of students at Ngoya. UDF campaigns regarding the constitution proposals, the

referendum, Inkatha, detentions, etc were popularised and the masses indoctrinated to take part in the freedom struggle to destroy the existing order. The masses were conditioned to take part in the freedom struggle and be prepared even to die in the struggle. The masses were incited to fight for the formation of a so called 'Liberated Socialist Republic of Azania'.

9. Activists of the UDF, namely, the organisers or parties in control of the meeting promoted a feeling of solidarity between the masses and ANC terrorists by allowing the singing of freedom songs in which terrorists and terrorist leaders of the ANC were popularised and in which terror violence and the training of terrorists is encouraged, popularised or justified.

Collection Number: AK2117

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

Location: **Johannesburg**

©2012

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 the collection records 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.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.