

This is the voice of anger
(cheering)

This is the voice of anger
(cheering)

This is the voice of anger set to roast opposition alliance
afflame like iron into the acid of time
Fire is ferociously necessary to to mutilate the bones of
hypocrisy and paralyse (inaudible) aggravated by the notions
of Western barbarism

This is the voice of anger.
(shouting)

This is the international voice of anger

This is the international voice of the people

Humanistically based on merit, Accelerating judgement,
Years to emerge so as to hoist the crown of victory
and (inaudible) the implimentation of arcism

For redemption is life in the valley of death.

Neutrals are a danger in the road

Neutrals are a danger in the road

Onlookers are like (inaudible) on the journey to freedom

Onlookers are like (inaudible) on the journey to freedom

That was national voice of anger and that elected defective
man to the vote of hell

That was the national voice of anger

That elected vote that defected man to the vote of hell

Ah tripple M you are massacre-ing my land

Ah tripple M you are massacre-ing my land

Tripple M you are massacre-ing my land

When I cry for anger, anger is the reaction

One man is universally admired, another is condemned

When I appeal for, for our food, our anger is the reaction

I am not that you thing I am

I place the hook to feed the fish

I place the worm to catch the fish

Give the fish what it wants, to get it out of the river

And give me what I want in order to have me next to you

Maybe antagonism shall end

...../

and co-operation shall rise

(shouting and clapping)

For I am not what you think I am (noise)

Why know the truth tripple M

Why distort the truth eh tripple M

You are massacre-ing my land

Mangope, Matanzima, Mphephu

You are massacre-ing my land (noise)

Black male : Amandla

Crowd : Awethu

421 Unknown speaker : I am going to call upon (Mrs Rose to come forward a, a, short message anyway.

Unknown speaker : The chairman and the house, the first place I want to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome each and everyone to the peoples parliament. This is the peoples parliament United to the Democratic Front. I wish to call it one day United Democratic Peoples Parliament. Mr. Chairman I know that we are pressed for time at the same time I wish to say this (inaudible) for a manifestation for the brotherhood of mankind which was stated and relayed to us this day. I am supposed to speak to you about organisations but as I stand here today I have stood twenty seven years ago as a young man in Kliptown and there the flame of freedom was lit in the form of the Freedom Charter, and people came from the farms and from everywhere and we know that today we have before us in this parliament of the White regime, a constitution which are being proposed for people. What I want to say here that 27 years ago that our leaders have forseen the need for a constitution for the FUTURE and there they have drawn up the Freedom Charter. (clapping)

Mr. Chairman and the house, I have heard many slogans being shouted here today but I dare wish to say, that slogans will not bring us freedom. I want to thank my comrades which have just said that we have come here to be charged as batteries to go back to our organisations to build our organisations, to strengthen our organisations and to build up the formation right through the country. The flame of freedom has been lit 27 years ago and the fruits of that flame is here today our organisers who have been banned in the past. The banning couldn't flicker out the flame of freedom. It's alive and well.

Crowd : Yes!!

Meneer die voorsitter, danes en here, ek wil graag 'n beroep doen op ons mense. Ek wil graag een punt aanhaal voor ek afsluit in verband met hierdie voorstelle van die regering. In 1936 het die regering gekom met wetgewing om die sogenaamde Bantu van die stemlys af te haal. To remove his freehold property rights, en het vir ons mense die Kleurlinge gesê, "Your vote is entrenched". En onse leiers van destyds, of sekere van hulle het saam gestem en saam gegaan soos wat 'n David Curry en Allen Hendrikse saamgaan.

Gehoor : Ja.

En 'n paar jaar - today toe kom hulle na ons toe terug en toe vat ons eiendom weg toe vat hulle onse stenreg weg.

Laat ons nie weer dieselfde fout begaan nie wat ons in die verlede begaan het nie mense. Laat ons kom soos wat ons vandag gedoen het, reg deur die land van onse geboorte en laat ons gaan en organiseer vir vryheid in ons organisasies, onse skole en onse kerke. Ek is dankbaar om te kan sien dit is waarlik 'n historiese geleentheid omdat dit groot kerkmanne wat vandag hierdie verhoog met my deel is Allen ~~Boesak~~ en in die (inaudible) en vele wat in die gehoor is vandag. Dit tyd is beperk en ek wil graag nogtans een beroep op ons mense doen in verband met die "constitutional proposals". U weet ons het tot Dr. No, Dr. Treurnicht wat ons 'n "homeland" wil gee en dan het ons weer op die anderkant Mr. Chris Heuningnes (laughter) eh, wat vir ons 'n kombuis parlement wil gee (laughter). Nou dit was alreeds gesê deur die ander sprekers en ek wil nie myself herhaal nie, maar daars een ding wat ons moet nie uit die oog uit verloor nie. Daars van ons mense wat sê ons wil nie Dr. No se homelands hê nie maar daars ander wat wil sê Mr. Heuningnes se kombuis parlement hê. Nou laat ek net sê voor ek afsluit dat die kombuis parlement is alreeds 'n homeland want groepsgebiede bly en daardie kombuis parlement gaan die regering wees oor die kombuis parlement. Ons sien wat gebeur in die Ciskei met sekere van dis wat David Curry en Alan Hendrikse met julle sal maak, so gaan terug mense en organiseer teen die kombuis parlement. (clapping)

Power, Power to you Mr. Chairman. Power to the people.

Speaker: Thank you very much.

577 (whisper) there's no volume. Why?
 Whisper (x6)
 (inaudible) it seems to be messing up
 Ear to mike ... Ear (X3)
 Mike (X2)
 Hallo
 (whistle)
 (inaudible) carry on
 (inaudible)
 I think (inaudible)
 carry on recording till end. Sorry (inaudible)
 Right now (inaudible)
 (whistling)
 How do you spell 'Khayalitsha'
 K-H-A-Y-...(inaudible)
 Nice in the sun, Eh.
 It's lovely
 (inaudible)
 Yes ...
 (truck passing)
 (truck passing)
 (laughing)
 "I thought about it but I can't place... "

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*Look for
 interruption
 in here.
 in ABC, pg.
 J. Clarins that this
 was possibly nothing
 to do with the
 Main Show*

END OF TAPE 2 SIDE 2 (PART 4)

TAPE 3 - SIDE 1

001 (Audience chants) BOESAK, BOESAK, BOESAK. (repeatedly)

Song in Zulu (as attached)

(One person from the audience shouted) "Amandla"

Audience: Awethu!

Amandla: }
Awethu: } X3

Mayibuye

Audience: I' Afrika

Mayibuye

Audience: I' Afrika

014 Allan Boesak : Mr. Chairman, before I begin, I have a message from the South African Council of Churches which sends its support and its solidarity with United Democratic Front and a message from Bishop Desmond Tutu.

(cheering, clapping)

Speaker: The United ^{Interruption ***} (break in recording) (Song inaudible)

021 Boesak : Okay, Okay. Thank you.

(Shouts of Amandla Awethu)

Can I start now.

032 Mr. Chairman, distinguished platform guests, Ladies and Gentlemen; We have arrived at a historic moment and we have brought together today under the aegis of the United Democratic Front, the broadest and most significant coalition of groups in organisations struggling against apartheid racism and injustice since the early 1950's.

040 We have been able to create a unity amongst freedom loving people in this country that we have not seen for many a year and I am particularly happy to note that this meeting is not merely a gathering of loose individuals. No we represent organisations deeply rooted in the struggle for justice, deeply rooted in the heart of our people.

(Person from audience shouts 'Give him a hand') (clapping)

Indeed I believe, I believe we are standing at the birth of what could become the greatest and most significant peoples movement in more than a quarter of a century. We are here to say that the government's constitutional proposals are inadequate and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South Africa's people, (shouts) but more than that we are here to say that what we are working for, is one undivided South Africa which shall be-

TAPE 3 : SIDE 1

SONG:- 3

LEADER:- Somlandela
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Inaudible
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Noma Ngaboshwa
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela
LEADER:- Umbeki Wethu
AUD.:- Somlandela Somlandela

056 long to all of its people. An open democracy from which no
single South African shall be excluded & society in which the human
dignity of all its people shall be respected. We are neither con-
ferred by nor derived from the state to discover their origin you
have to move back beyond the dim mist of eternity. They are God
given and so we are here ^{NOT TO BEG FOR THOSE RIGHTS BUT TO} claim them, (shouts) in a sense the
formation of the United Democratic Front both highlights and sym-
bolizes the crisis apartheid and its supporters have created for
themselves, for after a century, a history of some three hundred
and thirty one (331) years of slavery, or racial discrimination,
of dehumanisation, of economic exploitation what they expected
what acceptance of the status quo docility and subservience
but instead they are finding a people refusing to accept racial
injustice and ready to face the challenges of the moment.
(shouting) After more than three decades of apartheid, they ex-
pected humble submission to the harsh rule of totalitarian
and racial supremacy, but instead they find a people ready at
every level of society to fight this evil system. After more
than 20 years of apartheid, education they expected to see brain-
washed perfect little hotnotjies and kaffertjies who knew
079 their place in the world. (clapping) Instead there is the
most politically conscious generation of young people determined
to struggle for a better future. (clapping) After the draconian
measures of the 1960's, and the other harsher oppression of the
so-called security ^{LAW} they expected a people immobilised by
the tranquilising drugs of apartheid and fear, instead they find
the rising tide of political and humanconsciousness that swept
away all complacency and shook South Africa to its very foundation.
(shouting and clapping)
089 After the tragic happenings of the 1970's, the banning of our or-
ganisations, the banning of so many of those who struggle for jus-
tice. The torture and death of so many in detention and after
the merciless killing of our children ^{ON} streets of the Nation
they expected surrender. Instead here we are at this historic
occasion telling South Africa, and all the world we are struggling
(shouting). We are struggling for our human dignity and we are

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struggling for the future of our children, we shall never give up. (cheer) In all this brothers and sisters, those in power in this country have made the fundamental mistake all totalitarian regimes who do not depend on the loyalty of the people, but on the power of the gun make. They have not reckoned with the determination of the people to be free because they depend on propaganda on deceit and co-action. They have forgotten that no lie can live for ever, and that the fear of the gun is always overcome by the longing for freedom. (shouting "Dis die waarheid".) They have forgotten that it remains true; You can kill the body but you can never kill the spirit and the determination of a people. (shouting) The most immediate reason for our coming together here today is the continuation of the governments apartheid policies as seen in the constitutional proposals and in recent weeks some people have asked me in the newspapers with more urgency than before and I am sure this question has been put to you as well. Why don't you see the positive side of apartheid. (shouting) Now, Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters, when you are White and when your children's education is guaranteed and paid for by the State, when your job is secured and Blacks are prevented from being too much competition, when your home has never been taken away and your citizenship of the country of your birth is not in danger, and when your children don't have to die of hunger and malnutrition, and when your over privileged position is guaranteed by security laws and the best equipped army on the continent; Then I can understand why some people believe that apartheid has its positive sides. (shouting) But for those of us who are Black and for those of us who suffer under the system, there is no positive side. (shouts) How can we see something positive in a system which is built on oppression, injustice and exploitation.

What is positive about a system which destroys systematically and by design. The human dignity of people which makes as irrelevant and unimportant a thing as the colour of one's skin the ^{basis} ~~precious~~ of society and the key to the understanding of human relationship, politically participation and economic justice. How can apartheid be positive when in the name of Christianity it forms policies which causes little children to die of hunger

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and which break up Black family life and which spell out the continuous hopelessness of millions of Black people. (shouting) No one should be positive when it comes to South Africa's children mangled in the chains of unfreedom and the part in the chains of fear and even so the time has come for White people in this country to realise that their destiny is inextricably bound with our destiny, (shouting and clapping) and that they shall never be free until we are free and I, (shouts) and I am so happy that so many of our White brothers and sisters are saying this today by their presence here among us. (shouts)

For it is true Mr. Chairman, people who think that their security and peace lie in the perpetuation of intimidation, dehumanisation and violence are not free, and they will never be free as long as they have to kill our children in order to safeguard their over privileged position (shouts) and they shall never be free as long as they have to lie awake at night worrying whether a Black government will one day do the same to them as they are doing to us. (shouts) But I must also go on to ask the question, What is positive about the government's constitutional proposals? (Shouts of 'nothing')

164 In order, in order that there should be no misunderstanding, let me as clearly and as briefly as possible repeat the reasons why we reject these proposals. Racism so firmly embedded in South African Society is once again written into the constitution.

All over the world people are beginning to recognise that racism is politically untenable sociologically unsound and morally unacceptable, but in this country the doctrine of racial supremacy although condemned by most churches in South Africa as and idolatry is once again enshrined in the constitution as the basis upon which to build a further development of our society and the naturing of human relationships. (shouts)

172 Secondly all the basic apartheid laws, those laws which are the very pillars of the system, indeed those laws without which apartheid cannot survive. Mixed marriages, group areas, racial classification, separate non-equal education to name but a few, remains untouched and unchanged.

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180 Now I have heard that Minister Piko Bokwe has said that the mixed marriages act will be changed. (laughing) I do not know how you can change a law like that, you either abolish it or it remains on the statute books, (shouts) unless, unless of course brothers and sisters, the minister meant that now that we are prohibited Black and White from marrying one another. The new law that will be changed, will maybe mean we can hug and kiss a little bit, (laughs) and even so the minister knows that he is fooling nobody, but another reason why we reject these proposals is that the homeland policy which is surely the most immoral and in-objectable aspect of the apartheid policies of the government forms the basis of the wilfull exclusion of 80% of our nation from the new political deal. Indeed in the words of the proposals of the President Council the homeland policy is to be regarded as irreversable. I am sure our African brothers and sisters will be driven even further into the wilderness of homeland ^{Politics} millions will have to find their political rights in the independence of those bush republics and millions more will continue to lose their South African citizenship and millions more will be forcibly removed from their homes into the dessolution of resettlements camps.

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204 Clearly the oppression will continue. The brutal break up of Black family life will not end. The apartheid line is not at all abolished, it is simply shifted so as to include those so-called Coloureds and Indians who are willing to co-operate with the government and not only is the present system of the apartheid given more elasticity making fundamental change even harder than before, but in the new proposals the dream of democracy to which we strive, is further ^{eroded} and so while the proposals may mean something for those middle class Blacks who think that the improvement of their own economic position is the highest good, it will not bring any significant change to the life of those who have no rights at all. Who must languish in the poverty and destitution of the homelands and who are forbidden by law to live together as families and in what is called White South Africa, and it cannot be repeated often enough that all South Africans who love this country and who care for its future Black and White, Jew and Gentile Christian and Muslim have no option but to reject

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222 these proposals. (shouting + clapping) We must say as clearly and
as unequivocally as we can. Apartheid is a cancer in the body,
politic of the world, a scourge in our society and a never lasting
shame to the church of Jesus Christ in this world and in this
country. (shouts) Apartheid exists only because of economic
greed, of cultural chauvinism of political oppression maintained
by both estem^c and physical violence and false sense of racial
superiority and therefore we must resist it. We must resist it
because it is in fundamental opposition to the nobles principles
of our Judea Christian heritage and of the Muslim faith. We must
resist it because it is the fundamental denial of all that is
236 worthwhile and human in our society. It is the opposition to
the will of God for this country, and we must resist it because
it is claimed to be Christian apartheid, is a blasphemy, ideola-
tory and a heresy. (shouting and clapping)

241 To be sure the new proposals will make apartheid less blatant in
some ways. It will be modernised and it will be streamlined and
in its new multicoloured cloak, it will be less conspicuous and
less offensive to some, but nonetheless it will be there and we
must remember apartheid is a thoroughly evil system and as such
it cannot be modified, modernised or streamlined. It has to be
irrevocably eradicated, (clapping) and we must continue the strug-
gle until that day shall dawn when apartheid shall exist no more,
and so to those who ask the question, "Why we are not satisfied?",
and when we shall be satisfied?. We must say in clear patient
terms, we shall not be satisfied as long as injustice reigns su-
preme on the throne of our land. We shall not be satisfied as
257 long as those who rule us are not inspired by justice but dicta-
ted to by fear, greed and racialism. We shall not be satisfied
until South Africa is one undevided country, a land where there
shall be meaningful participation in a democratic process in a govern-
ment for all its people. (shouts) (clapping)

We shall not be satisfied until the wealth and riches of this
country are shared by all. We shall not be satisfied until jus-
tice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty
stream. (clapping)

267 Now we must turn to one other important question namely the question of Whites and Blacks working together. This has been mentioned that the reason why the United Democratic Front has been so severely attacked by some and feared by other and why some have refused to give us their co-operation.

274 They are saying to us that White people cannot play a meaningful role in the struggle for justice in this country because they are always by definition the oppressor, because the oppression of our people wears a white face, because the laws are made by a White government, because we are suffering so much unresistant created and maintained by White people. They say there can be no
282 co-operation between White and Black until all of this is changed. I would like to say to those who think this way that I and we all understand the way they feel, we have seen with our own eyes the brutalisation of our people at the hands of Whites. We have seen and experienced Police brutallity. We have experienced the viciousness and the violence of apartheid, we have been trampled on for so long, but we must also say that is is not true that apartheid has the support of all Whites people. There are those who have struggled with us, who have gone to jail, who have been tortured and banned and there are those who have died in the struggle for justice and one of them has spoken to us today and we must not allow our anger which is legitimite for apartheid to become the basis for a blind hatred for all White people.

Audience : Yes (clapping)

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 is even now seek to lay the foundations for reconcilliation between White and Black in this country by working together, by praying together and by struggling together for justice, and if we cannot do it now, we will not be able to do it one day.

(cheering, clapping)

Now the nature and the quality of our struggle for liberation cannot be determined by the colour of one's skin, but rather by the quality of our commitment to justice, peace and human liberation and the final analysis judgement will be given not in terms of Whiteness or Blackness, whatever the ideological contents of those

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words may be today, but in terms of the persistent faithfulness we are called to in the struggle besides the very fact that we are talking about the Constitutional proposals - already reveal the paradox in this argument. The government have been pushing ahead with the proposals precisely because they have been supported and accepted by some people from the Black community who think that the short term economic gains and the assemblance of political power are more important than the total liberation of all South African's people, and so in the ~~Real~~ sense of our struggle is not only against the White government and their plans but also against those in the Black community who through their collaboration seek to give credibility to these plans and self perpetuate our oppressor. (shouts) There is something else that I want to say, this is that South Africa indeed belongs to all its people. There is a basic truth that we must cling tenaciously for now and for the future. This country is our country and its future is not safe in the hands of people whether they be White or Black, who despise democracy and who trample on the rights of the people. Its future is not safe in the hands of people Black or White who depend upon economic exploitation and human degradation to build their empires. (clapping) Its future is not safe in the hands of people Black or White who need the flimsy and deceitful cloak of ethnic superiority to ~~COVER~~ the nakedness of their racialism. Its future is not safe in the hands of people White or Black who seek to secure the unjustly required privileged position by violent repression of the weak, the exploited and the needy. Its future is not safe in the hands of people White or Black who put their faith simply in the madness of going militarism and so for the sake of our country and for the sake of our children whether you be Black or White, resist those people whether they be Black or White. (clapping).

And so let us not be fearful of those who sit in the seats of power, their lips dripping with the words of interposition and multification. Let us not be intimidated by those who so arrogantly and frighteningly echo their master's voice.

We are doing what we are doing not because we are White or Black in the first place, but we are doing what we are going because it is

right and we shall continue to do so until justice and peace and grace and South Africa becomes a country it was meant to be.

(shouts) In the meantime brothers and sisters, let me - as I have done before remind you of three little words that I think we ought to hold on to as we continue the struggle. And these are three little words that express do eloquently our seriousness in the struggle. You do not need to have a vast vocabulary to understand them. You do not need a philosophical (inaudible) to grasp
371 them. They are just three little words and the first word is the word, "ALL" We ~~meant~~^{want} all of our rights. Not just some rights, we want not just a few token hand out here and there that the government sees fit to give. We want all of our rights. We want all of South Africa's people to have their rights not just a selected few, not just a few so called Coloureds and Indians, after they have been made honourary Whites. (laughing and clapping)

382 We want all of our rights for all South Africa's people including those whose citizenship has already been shipped away by this government.

The second word is the word "Here". We want all of our rights and we want them here in a united and undivided South Africa. (shouts) I can hear the government saying that some of us must find our rights with Mr. Mphephu and Mr. Mathanzima and Mr. Mangope in the homelands,

Audience: No!

and there was the time when we could hear voices telling us "You cannot be free" in South Africa, so emigrate to Canada and the United States and England and Australia but in this country we are saying something else now. We are saying that we want our
396 rights in this country which is the country of our birth, and we do not want them in the impoverished homelands, we do not want them in our seperate little group areas, we want them here in this land which one day we shall once again call our own.

(Interruption. Women's voice - Testing, testing, testing.)

402 The third word is the word "Now". (shouts)

We want all of our rights and we want them here and we want them now. (shouts)

We, we have been waiting for too long. We have been struggling for too long and now I hear people admonishing us saying, "You are in too much of a hurry", can't you see that the government is making progress. There are changes on the way and they are say-

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ing that we must be a little patient and that we must cool off,
but I fear that if we keep on cooling off we may end up in a
418 deep freeze (shouts) and the world knows, the world knows that
we have been patient, we have waited for many years, we have
pleaded, we have tried, we have petitioned for so long, we have
been jailed and exiled and killed for so long now, but we are
saying today, "Now is the time"(shouts) and as we struggle re-
member the change does not roll on the wheels of never inevita-
bility. It comes through the tireless efforts of those who are
willing to work hard and those who are willing to be co-workers
with God, and those who are willing to take the risk of fighting
431 for freedom, democracy and human dignity and as we struggle on
let us continue to sing that wonderful hymn of freedom, that hymn
that has sustained us through all those years and shall sustain
us for the years to come, let us continue to sing, "Nkosi Sikelela
I Africa" (shouts) (God bless Africa)
438 I know, I know that today we are still singing that hymn with tears
in our eyes, we are singing it while we are bowed down by the
weight of oppression and while we are battered by the winds of in-
justice, we are singing it while our old people languish in reset-
tlement camps, and our children are dying of hunger, we are singing
it now while we suffer under the brutallity of apartheid and while the
blood of our children are calling us, calling to God from the
streets of our nation, but ~~we~~ must work for that day when we shall
sing this hymn when we are free. We shall sing it on that day
when our children shall no longer be judged by the colour of their
skin but by the humanness of their character. We shall sing it on that
day when here in the country in Johannesburg and Cape Town and Port
Elizabeth and Durban. The sanctity of marriage and family life
456 shall be respected and no law shall require of man to put asunder
what God has joined together. We shall sing it on that day when
in this ^{rich} sick land no child shall die of hunger and no infant shall
die untimely and our elderly 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

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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 ^{GLITTERING} daylight or our future, with this faith we shall be able to speed up the day when all of South Africa's children will ^{EMBRACE} with each other and sing with new meaning, "Nkosi Sikeleli I Africa" (God bless Africa). Guide her rulers, bless her children, Give her peace, God bless you.

479 Audience chant : Boesak, Boesak, Boesak (repeatedly)
(clapping hands and whistling)

Person shouts : "Amandla" and the audience responded shouting, "Awethu"

Amandla - Power

Awethu - is ours

Person made a request :- Ake nime kancaneke, kanime njalo.

Just hold there!

Will you wait a bit

Keep waiting.

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

498 Allan Boesak.

(shouting)

Audience chant : Boesak, Boesak, Boesak, (repeatedly)

Boesak :

Brothers and sisters the declaration of the United Democratic Front -

507 We the Freedom loving people of South Africa say with one voice to the whole world that we cherish the vision of the United Democratic South Africa based on the will of the people. We will strive for the unity of all our people through united action against the evils of apartheid, economic and all other forms of exploitations, and in our march to a free and just South Africa. We are guided by these noble ideals. We stand for the creation

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of a true democracy in which all South Africans will participate in the government of our country.

522 We stand for a single non-racial unfragmented South Africa. A South Africa free of Bantustan's and group areas. We say all forms of oppression and exploitation must end. In accordance with these noble ideals and on this 20th day of August, 1983 at Rocklands Civic Centre, Mitchells Plain, we join hands as community, women's, students, religions, sporting and other organisations and trade unions to say 'No' to apartheid. We say 'No' to the Republic of South Africa constitution bill. A bill which would create yet another undemocratic constitution in the country of our birth. We say 'No' to the Koornhof's bills which will deprive more and more African people of their birthrights. We say 'Yes' to the birth of the United Democratic Front on this historic day. We know that the government is determined to break the unity of our people. We commit ourselves to uniting all our people wherever they may be.

548 In the cities and country-sides, the factories and the mines, schools and colleges, universities, housing and sports fields, churches and mosques and temples to fight for our freedom. We therefore resolve to stand shoulder to shoulder in our common struggle and commit ourselves to work together to organise and mobilise all community works, students, women, religious, sporting and other organisations under the banner of the United Democratic Front. To consult our people regularly and honestly and bravely and to strive to represent their views and aspirations to educate all about the coming dangers and the needs for unity. To build and strengthen all organisations of the people. To unite in action against these bills and other day to day problems affecting our people, and this last section, I would like you to read with me if you have it or repeat after me if you do not have it. (audience repeat words)

571 "And now therefore we pledge to come together in this United Democratic Front and fight side by side against the government's constitutional proposals and the Koornhof's bills."

Person : Amandla! (Power

Audience: Awethu! is ours)

Audience shouts repeatedly: Boesak, Boesak, Amandla Awethu
(Power is ours)

...../

Speaker: Thank you, Thank you comrades. Thank you friends.
We are asking you now to just bear with us as we explained to
you the procedures from now onwards. Now we have one more
item left from the agenda and that is the closing of this great
meeting with our National Anthem, but before we do that we want
to ensure the safety of everyone here. You know that we have
showed a tremendous sign of discipline today. You know that
today we have with us all people, mothers with their children,
young children who had come to be with us today and I think that
we would like to make it safe for them on their way home, as it
has been safe for them to be with us today. And therefore we
are going to appeal to you to please observe the following rules
that we are going to leave. After the anthem is sung, the people
in the hall must remain in the hall. You do not know but there
are many, many thousands of people outside of this hall and in
the tent behind us. We are going to allow ten minutes for those
people to disperse and we will then give you the signal when you
should leave. But then also we want you to note that when the
people who are seated here on the higher part will leave first,
and once they have cleared the hall, we are going to ask the com-
rades who are seated here in the middle to leave. In that way
and with your co-operation we can ensure the safety of every per-
son here, and now ladies and gentlemen, we have come to the end
of this great day and before we sing the National Anthem, we are
going to have a few announcements.

Speaker: The first announcement is that this historic day is the
birthday of Mr. Kathrada. (cheering)

Mr. Kathrada is serving life imprisonment in Polsmoor at the
moment and what greater birthday present than this show of Unity
of the people.

(shouting) For member's then,

Speaker: Secondly for members of the press and executive, a press
conference will be held in the hall across the road, half an hour
after the people have dispersed.

National Anthem (As attached)

...../

TAPE 3 - SIDE 2

- 001 Song: (last part of Inkosi Bikel'el'i-Africa)
Amandla!
Audience: Awethu!
Amandla!
Audience: Awethu!
Mayibuye
Audience: I'Africa
Mayibuye!
Audience: I'Africa
Chanting of - Oliver Tambo (approx. X8)
 Joe Slovo (Approx. X2)
 Boesak (Approx. X3)
Speaker: We remind you, we remind you that we will inform the
people when you can leave. We ask you to sing. We ask you to
sing for our freedom.
- 019 Song: (about Mandela - as attached)
- 035 Amandla! (approx. x5)
Audience: Awethu
- 037 Song: (as attached) (whistling and laughing inbetween)
- 058 Amandla Awethu shouted inbetween song
- 084 Song: (as attached)
(shouting Amandla Awethu and other slogans)
- 090 Song: (as attached)
- 118 Chanting: Oliver Tambo (x10)
 Boesak (x6)
Speaker: Now thank you comrades
(shouting - UDF repeatedly)
- 131 Speaker: Thank you, Thank you. We do appreciate, we do apprecia-
te your co-operation. And now going to ask you, thank you com-
rades, we are now going to ask people to move.
Now remember, remember the people inside here, you can sing but
the other people you must sing but you must also walk out towards
the doors. (laughing)
We will give you a farewell song, a farewell song for them.
(shouts and whistling). Okay, please move out now.
- 139 Song: (inaudible)

...../

19 SONG:- Mandela :(inaudible) Freedom
(Song in english but very inaudible)

84 SONG:- (accompanied with clapping)

Siphi isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Siphi isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Siphi isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

Naso isibham e-Angola

Awuze Naso

642 SONG:-

Nkosi Sikelel'i-Afrika
Maluphakanyis'uDumo Lwayo
Yizwa Imithandazo Yethu
Nkosi Sikelela
Thina Lusapho Lwayo
Nkosi Sikelel'i-Afrika
Maluphakanyis'uDumo Lwayo
Yizwa Imithandazo Yethu
Nkosi Sikelela
Thina Lusapho Lwayo
Woza Moya
Sikelela
Nkosi Sikelela
Woza Moya
Sikelela
Nkosi Sikelela
Woza Moya Oyingcwele
Nkosi Sikelela
Thina Lusapho Lwayo

Morena Boloka Setjhaba Sa Heso
O Fedise Dintwa Le Matshwenyeho
Morena Boloka Setjhaba Sa Heso
O Fedise Dintwa Le Matshwenyeho
O Se Boloke O Se Boloke
O Se Boloke Morena, O Se Boloke
Setjhaba Sa Heso
Setjhaba Sa Heso
O Se Boloke Morena
O Se Boloke Morena
O Se Boloke, Setjhaba Sa Heso
Setjhaba Sa Heso

90 SONG:- (Inaudible)
Yimbi Lendawo Ngakumbi
Lendawo Yimbi Lendawo

(Accompanied by clapping and the ululating of women).

Wo Molo Molo Sabatha
Yimbi Lendawo
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo

Wo Ngiyamfun 'uMandela
Yimbi Lendawo
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo

Wo Sesiphethwe
Ngamagxagxa
Yimbi Lendawo
Yeyi Maqabane
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo

Yeyi Sesiphethwe (inaudible)
Yimbi Lendawo
Yeyi Maqabane
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo
(Inaudible)
Yimbi Lendawo
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo

Siyabafun 'oJoe Slovo
Yimbi Lendawo
We Maqabane
Ngakumbi Lendawo
Yimbi Lendawo
(inaudible)
Yimbi Lendawo

90 cont: Ngakumbi Lendawo
 Yimbi Lendawo
 (Inaudible)
 Yimbi Lendawo
 Ngakumbi Lendawo
 Yimbi Lendawo

 Siyabafuna Baringi
 Yimbi Lendawo
 Ngakumbi Lendawo
 Yimbi Lendawo

 Siyabafun'abaholi
 Yimbi Lendawo
 Ngakumbi Lendawo
 Yimbi Lendawo.

Please we are asking the people to please move.

Those people who are on the side and the people behind me must also move.

(Song)

We are saying that somebody has left a camera light. Somebody has taken a camera light by mistake. If you have it in your possession please bring it forward.

And then we are saying to the people from Port Elizabeth, the people from Port Elizabeth, we are saying that when everybody has left, you must please assemble here in the middle when everybody has left, you must remain in the middle. I do not hear any song?

154 Song: (inaudible, mingling of crowd, song about Mandela)

(break in recording) *Interuptm xxx*

(sounds can be heard in the background)

(end of recording)

TAPE 4 - SIDE 1

CASSETTE MARKED "UDF LAUNCH 6 - LAST"

Chairman: Half hour to forty five minutes the thousands of people standing outside who want to come into this hall. We are going into elections and we have decided by the standing rules from Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape are constituted regions and it means that the regions what are not here are unconstituted. It means that South West Districts, Eastern Cape and Orange Free State are unconstituted. It has also decided by the secretary that the constituted regions, they will be allowed hundred, hundred votes and has also decided that the unconstituted regions will be allowed (inaudible) from one to five organisations will be allowed ten votes and after every five, they will be allowed one vote. So according to (inaudible) what we have got, Easter Cape has got nine, nine organisations so far under the umbrella which means that they are entitled to fourteen votes.

012 Orange Free State has got two organisations which means they are entitled to ten votes. One minute, three organisations are still entitled for ten votes. From one to five is ten votes and South West districts have got seven organisations under the umbrella and they are entitled to twelve votes.

...../

This, this is why, I've been, this is the suggestion of the secretariat. can I get somebody to accept this? Okay, thank you. It has also been suggested that the electoral (RETURNING officer be Pius Langa. Can I ask him to take up the election please.

023 (inaudible)

Speaker: There are regions which has more than hundred delegates here. What will happen is that we will equalise at a hundred, right, and whatever number the delegators those organisations have, will be taken relative to a hundred.

So in all organisations they say the Western Cape has a hundred delegates and some has hundred and twenty delegates or Transvaal has hundred and twenty delegates.

Every Transvaal vote will then amount to 5/6 of the Cape Town vote otherwise we are going to have a situation whereby eh, different regions because they are structured differently, will be allowed different powers in terms of decision making.

It's one of the things that the delegates should (inaudible) and lets apply it here as well.

034 Langa: According to the programme of working principles, the structure of the front is as follows :-

The structure shall comprise PATRONS the number to be determined by the National General Council and then to skip the formations, then we go one to the National Executive committee.

The National Executive Committee shall comprise the presidency which consists of three Presidents, an executive chairperson appointed by the National Executive Committee from time to time.

That will not be our concern today. Two Vice-presidents appointed by each dually constituted region. We have heard which are the dually constituted regions. The two secretaries of each constituted region. Two executive members elected by each constituted regions. Two National Treasurers.

050 Now we are going to start with the PATRONS I know that most of us are not voters. We have never voted in our lives (laughing) but eh, I think the short explanation of how we are going to vote. This may sound complicated procedure but infact it is very simple. I am going to call for nominations for patrons. I am going to start with the dually constituted regions and then I will go on to the other delegates. THE procedure I propose to follow, is this. The delegates will nominate, I will ask for a secondant, and I will ask if there is amendment to that nomination.

...../

If there is an amendment, I will ask the seconder for that amendment. An amendment ^{MEANS} that you are unhappy about the person proposed for nomination and you wish to substitute someone for him. We are going to nominate or elect a number of patrons. I do not have a specific number in mind. The executive committee has not been dually elected, so we do not have a body which has determined how many patrons we need. So I'll start with the Western Cape. May I have your nominations for a patron?

(inaudible) Right, sorry (inaudible)

Speaker: Mr. Electing officer, on a point of order, sorry to disturb you but the regions that are properly constituted bodies that have to be hundred votes as I explained by Trevor just now? The constituted regions have had extensive discussions with regard to the patrons and I think that those regions had authorised the secretaries to, to in actual fact take back to the secretarial the names of those people. Now would it not then, it not be possible perhaps to take that as a starting point and give the names of those that have already been nominated and accepted by those various regions and then call for the further nominations. It will save us a lot of time and also a lot of problems from that point. (inaudible)

(clapping)

086

Speaker: The first of the patrons which has been unanimously agreed to by all the regions, is Nelson Mandela. (clapping)

Thank you, thank you. The others are Archbishop Dennis Hurley.

(clapping) Mrs. Helen Joseph. (clapping) Just, just a correction, eh, we have a message from Archbishop Hurley, he has been unable to accept patronage. Mrs. Mahlangu (clapping), Mr. Hassin Howa, (clapping) recently been joined by Mrs. Naicker who is the wife of the now deceased Monty Naicker (clapping). Other patrons include Johnny Issel, (clapping) Francis Beard, (clapping) Shaik Nazim Mohamed, (clapping) Beyers Naudé, (clapping) Mrs. Mkhize, (clapping) Mrs. Florence Mkhize, that is, there has also been eh, a name which has come in quite late, Dorothy Nyembe, (clapping) Dennis Goldberg (clapping). That is the list of names which has to be forwarded to the secretaries, Mr. election officer.

ABDS
Bks 8
Pic 1

...../

Langa: Thank you. We have heard a list of nominations I haven't closed. I am going to ask for a further nominations.

629 Yes sir, (inaudible) - (clapping)

Any amendment?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, we've a proposal from the Cape to include all the life sentenced prisoners as patrons. They are Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Kathrada, all of them, Walter Sisulu. (clapping)

Langa: Any amendment to that?

Any further nominations? I'm calling for further nominations.

Any further nominations?

Langa: The name of Dr. Essop Jassat has just been proposed, nominated. Right I'm listening. Any proposal from the Western Cape?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose the name of Vuyisile Mini from SACTU, we shall remember him. (clapping)

Langa: I'm sorry, I'm sorry. Just on that point. The name of Vuyisile Mini has been proposed, eh. The question has arisen whether we propose or nominate people who are alive only or we can get patrons from people who are, are already deceased. So there is, there is a full of thoughts that deceased people unfortunately cannot be afforded patronage.

Speaker: Mr. Chairman there is one other name which I don't know whether it has been approved. That is Smangaliso Mkhathshwa. I see, I had seen him here earlier. I don't know whether he will accept. But over and above that Mr. Chairman people are congregating in their thousands, the situation is becoming absolutely impossible outside.

Langa: The gentleman who proposed Vuyisili Mini, what is the position?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, I think we shall look at that guy Vuyisili Mini as being the guy who has been involved in the worker's struggle and if we are here to opt for the workers then I think whether he is dead or alive, but that makes history in our books.

Langa: Could I ask that this matter be referred to the regional committee. (inaudible) (clapping)

Right, nomination has been filled. The patrons who have been proposed whose names have been mentioned, the last was Vuyi, sorry, Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, I by virtue of the powers vested in me, I

...../

declare that those are the patrons of the United Democratic Front. (clapping) I'll try do speed this up. I know this is a very responsible phase of the program, we are, we have to move forward. We now have to elect three presidents. May I have nominations from the Western Cape? (Inaudible xxx)

194

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, sorry to disturb you again, but all that I think that all the regions had actually made nominations. Can't we just, you know, to speed up the procedure just actually come up and say that these are the names that have already been nominated. If it is acceptable to the house, it means that it will cut any further discussions in the matter and their names be nominated.

Langa: Yes, I'm grateful for that but I'm only the electing officer and I didn't know that. So anybody who have those nominations, let us have them then. (inaudible)

The three nominees for president.

Sorry Mr. Shange. (inaudible)

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, I feel that people have been nominated in this house and I feel that we should also consider the Trade Unions today, and we should also consider that we also need Trade Unions because they are the ones who are being approached with the struggle today, and I shall now, Mr. Chairman, nominate someone who is working with Trade Unions today and someone who can even relate to us about the problems of Trade Unions. Therefore I shall propose Rev. Marawu as a patron (noise)

Langa: I have a great deal of sympathy with the Trade Union movements, I have a great deal of sympathy with the whole liberation struggle, but in the interest of progress, we have closed nominations in respect of patrons. I would suggest that, that nomination be referred to your regional committee, your regional organisation so that their nomination will come through to the general UDF.

221

The book is not closed as far as patrons is concerned. I stated that there is no set number so your way is clear to nominating him. (clapping)

Ladies and gentleman, I have been given a list of nominations for the three presidents. The names are, Oscar Mpetha (applause), Albertina Sisulu, (applause) Archie Gumede (applause), (inaudible) now I would like you to see your candidates, or your nominees for presidency. Oscar Mpetha is not here, Albertina Sisulu wanted to be here, she is not here. I call upon Archie

...../

Gumede to come forward so you will see him. (applause)

249 Song: (as attached) ("Natal, Natal, Rabbi, Roy" shouted inbetween)

Langa: Order, order please, Okay. (somebody shouts "Amandla")
Hallo, hallo. Ladies and gentleman, the next item of course is the election of, sorry (cough) the next item is the election of vice-presidents. These come from the dually constituted regions. Each region elect or nominate two vice-presidents, I'm sorry, elects two vice-presidents. May I have those nominations if they have already been done?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Transvaal UDF, the two vice-presidents as nominated by the executive of the Transvaal UDF is Mr. George Du Plessis, (clapping) somebody recording this and Rev. Hlapane, I'm sorry, Hlaletshwa, (clapping)

300 Langa: Those are the two Transvaal Vice-presidents. Declare them dually elected. Western Cape? (cough)

Speaker: Eh, Hallo, hallo. Mr. Chairman.

Langa: What's that? Yes, I'm listening.

Speaker: On behalf of the Western Cape region there are two vice-presidents, it's Mr. Christmas Tinto and Joe Marks. (clapping)

Langa: Thank you Western Cape. Natal?

Two vice-presidents? Have you sorted that out?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Natal delegation, I would like to give you our two nominations. They are, Mr. Virgil Bonhomme, (clapping) who is the secretary of the Durban Housing Action Committee, and Mr. George Sewpershad, (clapping) who is the president of the Natal Indian Congress. (cheering and clapping)

Langa: Thank you very much. Those are the six vice-presidents who have been elected. Next item, Regional Secretaries. These are also regional. Two per region. Transvaal?

Speaker: The Transvaal Regional Secretaries is Mr. Mohamed Valli (?) and eh, (clapping) Popo sitting on the stage already (clapping).

Langa: Thank you. Western Cape? Two Regional Secretaries?

Speaker: Mr. Chairman, we have nominated and accepted Trevor Manuel and Sherryl Carolos (?) (clapping)

Langa: Thank you. Natal? Two Regional Secretaries?

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