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VERDEDIGING

Bew. V10

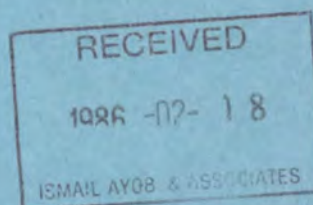
16TH JUNE COMMEMORATION : REGINA MUNDI 1984

IMPORTANT PEOPLE MENTIONED

1. Oliver TAMBO
2. Hector PETERSON (1st killed 1976 unrest)
3. Emma SITHEBE?
4. Simon MOEGOERANE (ANC terrorist)
5. TSOTSOBE (ANC terrorist)
6. Naftali MANANA
7. BIKO

SPEAKERS

1. Biskop Manas BUTHELEZI
2. Eerwaarde Lebamang SEDIBI (Chairman)
3. Ishmael MKHABELA
4. Frank CHIKANE
5. Mobomotsi MATJANE
6. Siphon RADEBE
7. Dan MONTSITSI
8. (Recital of Poem)



Page 11 Line 24 Change "our people" to "our peacefull"

Page 11 Line 27 Change "inaudible" to "Sekano Ntoane"

Page 11 Line 30 Change "inaudible" to "were quite ready with"

Page 14 Line 16 Change "inaudible" to "Quarter loaf of bread with "Achaar")"

Page 14 Line 25 Change "inaudible" to "of this country"

Page 14 Line 28 Change "of the reservation" to "of the job reservation"

Page 15 Line 22 Change "the other blacks" to "the urban black"

CORRECTIONS :

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

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

I did this to the best of my ability and found this transcript to be just and correct.

A.A. MAHLANGU.



O P M E R K I N G S

1. Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die klank vanaf die video bandopnames soos ontvang. Die transkripsie is so akkuraat as moontlik en is so ver as moontlik woordeliks korrek.
2. Verskillende sprekers kon van mekaar uitgeken word op die opnames en hulle word direk aangedui binne die transkripsie. Die akkuraatheid van die aangeduide sprekers is nagegaan in oorleg met die beeld op die video opnames.

NB Die transkripsie van enigiets wat deur die aangeduide spreker gesê word, begin altyd aan die linkerkant van die bladsy. Op verskeie plekke is daar uitings vanaf 'n enkele ander onbekende persoon, of vanaf 'n aantal persone uit die gehoor. Sulke opmerkings of ander uitings word op een van die volgende maniere aangedui:

- (1) Uitinge van 'n enkele ander onbekende persoon, begin nie aan die linkerkant nie, maar 'n aantal spasies na regs.
 - (2) Gesamentlike uitings van 'n aantal mense uit die gehoor, is ingeskuif na regs en word in vet letters uitgedruk.
 - (3) In sommige gevalle word slegs 'n beskrywing gegee van die geluide wat gehoor word, en dit word dan in hakies aangedui.
3. Enige teks tussen hakies is kommentaar en is nie die direkte geluide vanaf die bandopname nie. So byvoorbeeld word agtergrondgeluide en ander opvallende klanke tussen hakies aangedui. Enige ander moontlike kommentaar soos byvoorbeeld "Interruption in the recording" word ook in hakies binne die transkripsie aangedui.

4. 'n Vraagteken in hakies na 'n woord of 'n sin, dui op 'n mate van onsekerheid oor die korrektheid daarvan.
5. Woorde, sinsdele of sinne wat heeltemaal onverstaanbaar is, byvoorbeeld weens swak opname, geraas of waar sprekers gelyk praat, word aangedui met stippellyne, byvoorbeeld "I know ...".
6. Waar woorde of sinne onderbreek word, word dit aangedui deur 'n koppelteken na die woord of gedeelte daarvan, byvoorbeeld "Ek het gist- nee eergister vir hom gesien".
7. 'n Heropname van die video band is gemaak vanaf die oorspronklike video band, en is beskikbaar om in die hof voorgespeel te word. Hierdie heropnames bly die eiendom van die SAP en sal normaalweg nie in die hof ingedien word nie.

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REGINA MUNDI COMMEMORATION : JUNE 16TH

(View inside hall)

(Police vehicles) (Singing)

(GAWU banner)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT banner

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN banner

Slogans and singing

UDF banner "MAKE YOUR MARK AGAINST APARTHEID"

COSAS banner "FOR THE PEOPLES EDUCATION"

GAWU and UDF June 16 Posters

(Marching in hall).

(Outside hall Banner "1 MILLION SIGN NOW!)

Chanting of Oliver TAMBO

Inside hall singing and dancing

Black, green and gold flag tied to the barrel of AK47 carried
by unknown Black male dressed in Khaki

Interruption of video

GAWU banner

SONG 1:

Ayangena Ayaphuma

Ayadidizela Ayesaba' magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

(This song is repeated approximately 10 times, accompanied by
the interruption of the video)

TRANSLATION:

They go in, they come out

They are shivering the cowards

They are scared the cowards (X4)

Dancing and singing

AK47 displayed

UDF banner "MAKE YOUR MARK AGAINST APARTHEID"

People walk across the floor with a black, green and yellow flag.

Man with black, green and yellow scarf walks past. AK47 held up in background. Continuous chanting and singing.

BISHOP MANAS BUTHELEZI:

"Anything out of disunity, there is no victor in a battle occasioned by disunity. Instead disunity saps your strength and saps your energy. If you refuse to be committed to unity then you may just as well forget because there is no future based on disunity. Let us pray

(Video interruption)

This we ask and pray in Christs name, Amen

(Audience Amen)

MASTER OF CEREMONIES: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

"Eh, We thank Bishop MANAS BUTHELEZI for opening this great occasion this meeting with a prayer. Can you all sit down please. Pamphlets ^{have been thrown} (inaudible) all over Soweto. Now, before this causes any confusion, I will ask Ishmael MKHABELA come and speak two or three words.

BLACK MALE: ISHMAEL MKHABELA

(Inaudible) to make this day a success. We have used our minds to the extreme and our coming together under one roof has been that willingness of isolating an enemy and concentrate our eh, efforts against him. There has been many obstacles cast on our efforts. But the latest has been the pamphlets which have been distributed around Soweto. Which are purported

(video interruption)

I want to stand and refute here very categorically that we know what we are up to, we know what our enemy is, we are in no way going to fight for small things, trivial things, we are fighting for the recompense of our country, and on that we are all united. In this few words, master of ceremonies and my countrymen, consider this pamphlet a work of our enemy and let us celebrate that our coming together is a frustration of this job".

AMANDLA Audience : Awethu

(Video interruption)

UNKNOWN SPEAKER: (PRESUMABLY REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI)

"... that in public the AZAPO official has declared (inaudible) a fraudulent act, that this type of act is not going to succeed to divide the people of this country.

AMANDLA Audience : Awethu

Bishop MANAS BUTHELEZI has said - there are no victors, there are no victors when brothers and sisters are fighting one another, we endorse that statement, there are no victors"

(Video interruption).

M.C.: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

"We know who the enemy is"

Audience repeat after him: "We know who the enemy is".

M.C.: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

"We know who the enemy is"

Audience: "We know who the enemy is. Amandla Awethu". X2

M.C.: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

(inaudible) our program (inaudible)

(Video interruption)

(Audience clap hands) (Video interruption)

FRANK CHIKANE:

"... for liberation (Video interruption) this occasion. Before we actually pray I ^{wish} want to thank once more everybody who has contributed directly or indirectly to the unity amongst us which has been spoken about, and that we as a people will start working together as a United people. I wish to call upon this gathering to commence this unity with the blood of our fellow beloved children who died at June 16, so that whenever somebody raises differences for the sake and the sole reason of dividing us, we - remember the blood of those of our children who died as a covenant.

You can be rest assured that our common enemy controlled by Pretoria is, not happy at all with this achievement of this week of unity during our negotiations. For our unity is their downfall and our division is actually their victory. The pamphlets which have been distributed in the name of AZAPO has been accordingly denounced this morning and the system is bound to be disappointed and frustrated and Pretoria in particular Protea which is around the corner as an agent of Pretoria. Let us finish them up, by concluding this status with all the dignity and spirit for unity in action and reconciliation. I now propose that we all stand in prayer and remember the victims of June 16 and those who died, the hundreds of our children shall we be standing and remember those in silence (video interruption)

(Most of audience hold up right hand with fist clenched)

All the hundreds of children who follow him, into the hearts of our Mother Africa in a mercenary and bloody act of the South African government. We express our condolence to their families. We remember those (video interruption) We remember those who have been forced in actual fact to leave the country (video interruption) away from their families and their beloved country, we remember well those who decided to join the guerrilla warfare not out of their

own choice but out of pressure and compulsion to die for what they believe to be a just cause.

We extend our condolence to the families of those who have died in combat, or those who have been hanged or are serving long and life sentence or life imprisonment. All, above all I want us to remember people we never remember during this occasion, that there are mothers in our communities who have actually died of heart attack or have been crippled because of the death of their children. And it was only this week when it filtered through, two families where the parents have died because of the heartache at the death of their children. And I wish that we also remember them ^{and} ~~in~~ that we know they have made a contribution to the struggle for liberation. ?

Lets observe a moment of silence

(Audience sit down) (video interruption)

..... the coldest nights of the year, if God is really with us, let him go to the prisons and the police stations where our people are tortured and the fascist regime tortures them even to death those who are peace-loving in South Africa are rotting in jail and serving life sentences and if God is with us we need to see him in those cells with us. God came at the right time and that was the message that I want to communicate to you today. That God came at the right time to the children of Israel to answer this questions when he said" And now behold the cry of the people of Israel has come to Me and I have seen the oppression with which the Egyptians have oppressed them. Come I say and I will send you to Pharoah, and I mean you in this hall, I will send you to Pharoah, that you may bring forth My people out of Egypt, and you, listen to what he says, and you and the elders of Israel shall go to the king of Egypt and say to him, the Lord the God of Israel, the God of the Hebrews has med us and now we pray you let us

go three days journey into the wilderness that we may sacrifice to God, now this is important, I know, it is God who says this, I know that the king of Egypt will not let you go, I know this, I am saying go to the king of Egypt, (interruption) I say to you - Go to Botha, and tell him that these children of Israel have to be saved and in this particular instance, it is the oppressed people in the country we are saying to Botha let the children of God be liberated. Let them be free

(Audience : Amandla Awethu)

but we call that he be free, we know that he is deaf, he is not going to hear us, we know that he is not going to hear us, we know that he is not prepared to hear us, and listen to what God says, he says I know that, they, he won't unless he is compelled by a mighty hand if he is not compelled he is not going to move and I want us to understand that the reactionaries of this world, the oppressors - of this world are not going to let go without being put under pressure. So I will stretch, says God, out My hand and smite Egypt with all the wonders which I'll do in it After that he will let you go (ululating of women) let you go.

And I want to say to you this afternoon that God wants all of you here to go, and if he says, you must go, you must go, irrespective of the consequences, don't think you that you have no power, don't think that you have no guns, don't think that you have nothing that you can rely on

(Audience : Amandla Awethu)

You have God You have God, a commitment, that is the cause for which you are fighting and I want to challenge you to stand up, don't wait for another person, you must go and do what God wants you to do, He is on the side of those who are oppressed and we have to go. I want to conclude by saying that God has seen our suffering for many years. And he has seen now the brutality of the system and violence. And God has gone into action to free his people and I want you to be careful just

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

Amandla (cut short, video interruption)

(Slogans and singing)

SONG 2:

Hlanganani Basebenzi
 Hlanganani
 Hlanganani Basebenzi
 Hlanganani
 Hlanganani Basebenzi
 Hlanganani

CHORUS:

Iyona lenhlangano
 Iyenu
 Iyona lenhlangano
 Iyenu
 Iyona lenhlangano
 Iyenu

This song was repeated 5 times

Translation:

Workers Unite (X3)

Unite (X3)

CHORUS: This is your organisation (X3)

Scene changes

Audience: We know who the enemy is x4.

BLACK MALE: MOBOMOTSI MATJANE
relevantly brutal

"Only Black (inaudible) students movement in this country.

Amandla Audience : Awethu

Amandla Audience : Awethu

One Azania Audience : One Nation

One Nation Audience : One Azania

(video interruption)

June 15th 1976 I want to stress that we are not here to mourn[?]
 but to intensify - our struggle and double our speed against
 the racist education of this country.

In 1976 when a young innocent Hector PETERSON was brutally
 murdered by the most reactionary South African Police, we
 gave one cheek. Again in 1984 when Emma SITHEBE was killed
 by a police van during the class boycott, we also gave
 another cheek, thats how they (inaudible) and christianity we
 are - What should we do because we gave the two cheeks, we
 have: should we mourn or entertain this unbecoming state of
 affairs. Comrades, 1984 our academic year is characterised
 by general unrest in most black educational institutions the
 Saulsville/Atteridgeville schools ^{UNITRA} ~~(inaudible)~~ and other
 educational institutions bears testimony to it. It is
 significant to know that the problem is deeply rooted in the
 education system which is inextricably bound to social,
 economical and political conditions in this country. Let us
 (inaudible)

..... Laid down their lives for me and you

(Inaudible) Comrades...(inaudible) (video interruption) of group cohesent
 The ranks of the oppressed and the recognition of blacks as
 the only criterion of their own liberation, Black
 Consciousness believe in the exclusion of Whites from our own
 front. There can be no viability in the union of the

oppressor and the oppressed since their interests are direct
opposite of one another

(video interruption) (inaudible)

Wage a truthfull and a genuine

..... ~~Useful in~~ struggle (inaudible)

In conclusion I want to say in no uncertain terms that AZASM
shall not twist its language because if we twist our language
we shall be having a twisted liberation, and a twisted minded
people. ^(interruption) Comrades, I wish to emphasize this, that in AZASM we
shall not twist our language because we believe and we
consider the historical peculiarities and the role ..."

(video interruption)

SONG 3:

Songena Ngomnyama

Songena Ngomnyama

Songena Ngomnyama

Songena Ngomnyama

Ngomnyama Songena Ngomayana

Oliver

u-Tambo

(Video interruption)

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

accompanied by dancing

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

Amandla: Awethu X2

Songena Ngomnyama

• E sile sa diragala ke hore BA RINTSHA MALAPENG arona ra fihlela ke gore a re kgone go fumana dilo tsohle mo re ka robalang teng, feela re aitsi jaanong hore ja batsadi barona ba o bane ba re tlokometsi kanako eo..... bare le ha mapolisi a ka re kereya mo ntlung tsa bona (Inaudible).

TRANSLATION

What happened is, they took us out of our houses, and we found we could not get everything, where we could sleep, but now we know that Our Parents who have been taking care of us at all that time They said event if the Police found us in their houses (Inaudible).

Songena Ngomnyama
Songena Ngomnyama
Songena Ngomnyama
Ngomnyama Songena Ngomayana

TRANSLATION: We will enter in the dark

Oliver
u-Tambo
Oliver
u-Tambo
Oliver
u-Tambo
Oliver
u-Tambo
Oliver
u-Tambo
Oliver
u-Tambo

(Singing OLIVER TAMBO)

SPEAKER IN SOTHO AND ENGLISH: (inaudible). SIPHO RADEBE. X

BANTU MALE DAN MONTSITSI WEARING GLASSES:

"Now, what they did was to decide that now on the 14th and the 15th we shall get to our own respective schools and inform our own fellow students to prepare placards so that on June the 16th we must actually proceed with our ^{peaceful} ~~peoples~~ demonstration. The message was well received comrades and we decided that now on the 16th we are actually going to have a march. Now I remember in fact in my own school ^{SEKANO NTOANE} (inaudible) what we did was to address our own students on the 15th June after we have addressed our students, our students ¹⁶ ~~(inaudible)~~ placards, what we did was to move over from the

WERE QUIET READY

?

one school to the other collecting all students who had expecting us in order to demonstrate peacefully against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. And at the same time, the very system of Bantu Education. Now what we did, in fact was to move over to Senoane Secondary School. Now the whole process of the demonstration was quite peaceful disciplined and well conducted. What we did before we entered the gates of Senoane Secondary School. What we did was to let the students wait outside the gate and we went inside in order to talk to the Principal (video interruption)
(inaudible)

Now there in Phefeni we actually find that now in our own side, when we were charged with sedition, when we were charged with terrorism, riotous Assembly and Public Violence, there was a sergeant, in fact who gave evidence in our trial, now the name of that sergeant was Sergeant THOTELA (phonetical), I won't forget the name of that sergeant, because what he said on that day during our trial was true, the sergeant said in his evidence-in-chief, when we arrived, the students were happy, the students were singing, the students were chanting slogans, the students were dancing, this was the mood which Sergeant THOTELA (phonetical) observed, this was the mood that prevailed on June the 16th at about 12 o'clock, this was the mood that actually prevailed simply because the students had no violent intentions, they had actually meant to show in a symbolic way how they reject Bantu Education and how they reject Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. What happened and what followed.

The, the Lieutenant in charge actually released a dog, after that dog had bitten one of the students, the students decided that he should disappear amongst the students and he did disappear indeed

(Audience : Amandla - cut short)

When we were trying to disperse, when we were moving in different directions overcome by the gas, they started shooting, when they started shooting obviously students at that time were quite surprised, we were all shocked we did not believe our eyes, we did not believe this was actually happening, now what we actually saw was that now one of the lady students actually fell down, when we looked at her there was a gaping wound in the chest, there was blood flowing from her dress, there was blood flowing in her mouth and so on. Now, a lot of these atrocities continued when we started dispersing, running in all directions they started shooting, shooting and shooting. What happened was that now some of the students realised that now they cannot be running forever, what they did in fact as we can learn later from the experiences of people like SIMON MOEGOERANE (phonetical) of people like Bobby TSOTSOBE (phonetical) and so on, they actually say themselves during their trial, SIMON MOEGOERANE (phonetical) says: 'My experience in 1976 has an effect of re-inforcing the hatred I already have for the government. I thought the war had started and that freedom was here. We decided that it was pointless making placards because one would get shot while doing so, I decided to go out of this country to go and get myself a gun to fight this people'.

This is what SIMON MOEGOERANE (phonetical) said in his trial when he was sentenced to death. Now, Comrades, what we realise here is another statement which was made by this three comrades, while they were actually tried ^{aled} now here they are saying, all three also told the court that the ANC had given them a choice of military training or to further their own education, but what they did was to opt for military training (video interruption).. to undergo military training, these are the words of people who were demonstrating peacefully, these are the words of students who were students to their teachers, these are the words of people who were

loving children to their own parents, but later we were actually led to believe that these people are actually terrorists, these people are actually instigators, these people are actually communists, Comrades (whistle blows).

Comrades, at the same time in order to show in fact how close we were to these people who are allegedly terrorists, I remember an instance in my school. We also use to have a student by the name of NAFTALI MANANA. (phonetical) NANHLALI MANANA (phonetical) was an ordinary student in our school, there was nothing terroristic about him until such time that he went into the street to demonstrate against the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (video interruption)

An agitator ^{an} ~~or~~ instigator and so on. I know that I used to sit with him at Komati (phonetical), where we used to eat ^{QUARTER} ~~(inaudible)~~ at lunchtime, I know that I used to eat fatcakes with him, I know that I used to eat in fact -eh- apples, you know, sweets and Mashangane wors ^{with} MANANA (phonetical) now today we are actually being told that those people are terrorists. I also remember comrades, an instance of a person in fact I was intimated, partially incidentally she happened to be my girlfriend, who was also arrested, what happened (video interruption)

South African economy more skilled labour power is required to mend the highly advanced industry ^{OF THIS COUNTRY} ~~(inaudible)~~. The white workers are too few to cope with the rapid technological development of the South African economy therefore the only option left for the government is to relax some of the reservation laws in order to co-opt the African workers. It is not true, in fact, to the change of heart or consent with the lot of the African people, it is in fact in perpetuation of the exploitation of our own parents in the factories. JOB

Secondly comrades, the other change which the government is supposed to have initiated was to open doors to private companies to build expensive houses in Soweto and other African townships, we are very much aware that this is meant to bring division among the people. Those who are in the upper class and those who are in the lower class, some of those who are in the new beautiful houses sometimes they think they have made it, they think that they are different from those who live in matchboxes, some of them however, they are quite innocent and they are quite honest, they actually say it quite clearly that they have inherited an economic burden for the rest of their lives.

Now comrades, what we are saying is these manoeuvres won't fool us, because what we want in fact is housing and security for the rest of the South African people. Now, we know that now in fact, when the Union of South Africa was declared in 1910, the majority of the South African people were not consulted when the Republic of South Africa Constitution was adopted in 1961, again no consultation took place, now we have a new tri-cameral parliament, the Presidents Council and again the majority was not consulted. Through the Black local authorities act, the ^{URBAN} other blacks are expected to be content with the new co-, with the new community-council parliament, whose final course lie in the hands of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

If the blacks reject the present community council, he says they are free to exercise their political, their economic and other rights in their respective homelands, this is what the Minister says (video interruption) (inaudible) .. congress, as the anti-, as the Anti-SAIC CONGRESS, in fact" (video interruption)

(Shouting) (inaudible)

Singing (inaudible)

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE:

"When the dam of my church is dry
 And the last of the outlaws is confined
 Tell me how can I to the world explain
 Oh bury me before dawn
 Let the cries of my soul be saved from the flow of the river
 yonder
 You'll need some when you rejoice
 With tears of happiness the flow of joy
 Though laughter is the language for all those of the world
 race
 We shall declare this world their home
 While man creates machinery to suppress
 Azania's child I live apart from home
 I sang repeatedly the song that reached my ears
 Yes, I was afraid and became a dove that fled away from home
 to fend for peace in the wilderness
 But how could I live away from home
 It was the frustrating dilemma that ever reached my mind
 (Audience shout)
 I could have been a brave traitor
 blowing winds to shake the tree
 Whatever fell would be my victims
 While I pretend to be with you my people of light
 Oh you, who determines my daily bread
 Whilst I try to cope with life
 Exploring days that offer my offer resources for my sweat
 Though at night I sleep not
 Because I am hounded by the knock of prison wardens
 Back again to propose a deed

Africa what have you done to SHAKA's spear
 What have you done Africa to the understanding brains that

BIKO had

Africa where were you when combat weapons inflicted pain on
the leaders of tomorrow

Africa you must (Audience shout) (video interruption)

Africa I refuse to remain on my knees when the family of man
drowns in the presence of my witnessing eye

Africa I detest to stay ^{too} ~~two~~ shadowsed .

When my soul, spirit and blood is known to be one with you

And once more Africa I demand you must explain (Audience
shout)

Africa tell me what is my religion since I've tasted the
drink of understanding from the bowl of the river trust

And like a man I measured the weight of the struggle with the
strength of my shoulders

Africa, reveal to me what I do not know

Like what is my ancestral language

For without it I cannot claim solutions against mine enemies

Afrika, is Uganda's famine - the flag of your making

Cosmetised (phonetical) in tax of eight

While we die -eh- children so young

Clinging and sucking from futile breasts of hopeless mothers

Africa how do I pardon colonizers out of (inaudible)

Did I know of peace in my lifetime

Nor did I pray to the Gods of evil to deserve this

I murmered the old freedom song

Tears rolling down my cheeks

Absorbed by the dung plastered earth of exiled soil where
clouds never rose

Winds never sang, there was no rain to soften the ^{straw} strain of
freedom road

There was only BIKO's blood

And this fist for our flag Afr- (video interruption) speed of
time when the power of my knowledge is beyond my reach

Courage this is my wish

Courage take me there

Let me swallow the shame of my blackness and drag me out of
this, out of yesterday with MAKHEBA's (phonetical) vibrant
song of Unity

We the cursed (Audience repeat)

Are the most " "

We the most " "

Are the strong " "

We the cursed " "

Are the most " "

We the most " "

We the most " "

Are the strong " "

We the most are the strong (ululating of women)

We the cursed are the most

We the most are the strong

We the cursed are the most

We the most are the strong

Singing

Pambili Macwedeni

Sizobabona (X3)

Amagama Abhaliwe (X3)

TRANSLATION:

Forward young men

We will see them (X3)

The names are written (X3)

MENTIONED

PARA 39

J&J(V10)

V10

10

16TH JUNE COMMEMORATION : REGINA MUNDI 1984

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164-102

OPMERKINGS

1. Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die klank vanaf die video bandopnames soos ontvang. Die transkripsie is so akkuraat as moontlik en is so ver as moontlik woordeliks korrek.

2. Verskillende sprekers kon van mekaar uitgeken word op die opnames en hulle word direk aangedui binne die transkripsie. Die akkuraatheid van die aangeduide sprekers is nagegaan in oorleg met die beeld op die video opnames.

NB Die transkripsie van enigiets wat deur die aangeduide spreker gesê word, begin altyd aan die linkerkant van die bladsy. Op verskeie plekke is daar uitings vanaf 'n enkele ander onbekende persoon, of vanaf 'n aantal persone uit die gehoor. Sulke opmerkings of ander uitings word op een van die volgende maniere aangedui:

- (1) Uitinge van 'n enkele ander onbekende persoon, begin nie aan die linkerkant nie, maar 'n aantal spasies na regs.
- (2) Gesamentlike uitings van 'n aantal mense uit die gehoor, is ingeskuif na regs en word in vet letters uitgedruk.
- (3) In sommige gevalle word slegs 'n beskrywing gegee van die geluide wat gehoor word, en dit word dan in hakies aangedui.

3. Enige teks tussen hakies is kommentaar en is nie die direkte geluide vanaf die bandopname nie. So byvoorbeeld word agtergrondgeluide en ander opvallende klanke tussen hakies aangedui. Enige ander moontlike kommentaar soos byvoorbeeld "Interruption in the recording" word ook in hakies binne die transkripsie aangedui.

4. 'n Vraagteken in hakies na 'n woord of 'n sin, dui op 'n mate van onsekerheid oor die korrektheid daarvan.
5. Woorde, sinsdele of sinne wat heeltemaal onverstaanbaar is, byvoorbeeld weens swak opname, geraas of waar sprekers gelyk praat, word aangedui met stipellyne, byvoorbeeld "I know ...".
6. Waar woorde of sinne onderbreek word, word dit aangedui deur 'n koppelteken na die woord of gedeelte daarvan, byvoorbeeld "Ek het gist- nee eergister vir hom gesien".
7. 'n Heropname van die video band is gemaak vanaf die oorspronklike video band, en is beskikbaar om in die hof voorgespeel te word. Hierdie heropnames bly die eiendom van die SAP en sal normaalweg nie in die hof ingedien word nie.

REGINA MUNDI COMMEMORATION : JUNE 16TH

(View inside hall)

(Police vehicles) (Singing)

(GAWU banner)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT banner

RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN banner

Slogans and singing

UDF banner "MAKE YOUR MARK AGAINST APARTHEID"

COSAS banner "FOR THE PEOPLES EDUCATION"

GAWU and UDF June 16 Posters

(Marching in hall).

(Outside hall Banner "1 MILLION SIGN NOW!")

Chanting of Oliver TAMBO

Inside hall singing and dancing

Black, green and gold flag tied to the barrel of AK47 carried
by unknown Black male dressed in Khaki

Interruption of video

GAWU banner

SONG 1:

Ayangena Ayaphuma

Ayadidizela Ayesaba' magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

Ayesaba'magwala

(This song is repeated approximately 10 times, accompanied by
the interruption of the video)

TRANSLATION:

They go in, they come out

They are shivering the cowards

They are scared the cowards (X4)

Dancing and singing

AK47 displayed

UDF banner "MAKE YOUR MARK AGAINST APARTHEID"

People walk across the floor with a black, green and yellow flag.

Man with black, green and yellow scarf walks past. AK47 held up in background. Continuous chanting and singing.

BISHOP MANAS BUTHELEZI:

"Anything out of disunity, there is no victor in a battle occasioned by disunity. Instead disunity saps your strength and saps your energy. If you refuse to be committed to unity then you may just as well forget because there is no future based on disunity. Let us pray

(Video interruption)

This we ask and pray in Christs name, Amen

(Audience Amen)

MASTER OF CEREMONIES: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

"Eh, We thank Bishop MANAS BUTHELEZI for opening this great occasion this meeting with a prayer. Can you all sit down please. Pamphlets (inaudible) all over Soweto. Now, before this causes any confusion, I will ask Ishmael MKHABELA come and speak two or three words.

BLACK MALE: ISHMAEL MKHABELA

(Inaudible) to make this day a success. We have used our minds to the extreme and our coming together under one roof has been that willingness of isolating an enemy and concentrate our eh, efforts against him. There has been many obstacles cast on our efforts. But the latest has been the pamphlets which have been distributed around Soweto. Which are purported

(video interruption)

I want to stand and refute here very categorically that we know what we are up to, we know what our enemy is, we are in no way going to fight for small things, trivial things, we are fighting for the recompense of our country, and on that we are all united. In this few words, master of ceremonies and my countrymen, consider this pamphlet a work of our enemy and let us celebrate that our coming together is a frustration of this job".

AMANDLA

Audience : Awethu

(Video interruption)

UNKNOWN SPEAKER: (PRESUMABLY REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI)

"... that in public the AZAPO official has declared (inaudible) a fraudulent act, that this type of act is not going to succeed to divide the people of this country.

AMANDLA

Audience : Awethu

Bishop MANAS BUTHELEZI has said - there are no victors, there are no victors when brothers and sisters are fighting one another, we endorse that statement, there are no victors"

(Video interruption).

M.C.: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

"We know who the enemy is"

Audience repeat after him: "We know who the enemy is".

M.C.: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

"We know who the enemy is"

Audience: "We know who the enemy is. Amandla Awethu".

M.C.: REV LEBAMANG SEDIBI

(inaudible) our program (inaudible)

(Video interruption)

(Audience clap hands) (Video interruption)

FRANK CHIKANE:

"... for liberation (Video interruption) this occasion. Before we actually pray I want to thank once more everybody who has contributed directly or indirectly to the unity amongst us which has been spoken about, and that we as a people will start working together as a United people. I wish to call upon this gathering to commence this unity with the blood of our fellow beloved children who died at June 16, so that whenever somebody raises differences for the sake and the sole reason of dividing us, we - remember the blood of those of our children who died as a covenant.

You can be rest assured that our common enemy controlled by Pretoria is, not happy at all with this achievement of this week of unity during our negotiations. For our unity is their downfall and our division is actually their victory. The pamphlets which have been distributed in the name of AZAPO has been accordingly denounced this morning and the system is bound to be disappointed and frustrated and Pretoria in particular Protea which is around the corner as an agent of Pretoria. Let us finish them up, by concluding this status with all the dignity and spirit for unity in action and reconciliation. I now propose that we all stand in prayer and remember the victims of June 16 and those who died, the hundreds of our children shall we be standing and remember those in silence (video interruption)

(Most of audience hold up right hand with fist clenched)
 All the hundreds of children who follow him, into the hearts of our Mother Africa in a mercenary and bloody act of the South African government. We express our condolence to their families. We remember those (video interruption) We remember those who have been forced in actual fact to leave the country (video interruption) away from their families and their beloved country, we remember well those who decided to join the guerrilla warfare not out of their

own choice but out of pressure and compulsion to die for what they believe to be a just cause.

We extend our condolence to the families of those who have died in combat, or those who have been hanged or are serving long and life sentence or life imprisonment. All, above all I want us to remember people we never remember during this occasion, that there are mothers in our communities who have actually died of heart attack or have been crippled because of the death of their children. And it was only this week when it filtered through, two families where the parents have died because of the heartache at the death of their children. And I wish that we also remember them in that we know they have made a contribution to the struggle for liberation.

Lets observe a moment of silence
(Audience sit down) (video interruption)

..... the coldest nights of the year, if God is really with us, let him go to the prisons and the police stations where our people are tortured and the fascist regime tortures them even to death those who are peace-loving in South Africa are rotting in jail and serving life sentences and if God is with us we need to see him in those cells with us. God came at the right time and that was the message that I want to communicate to you today. That God came at the right time to the children of Israel to answer this questions when he said" And now behold the cry of the people of Israel has come to Me and I have seen the oppression with which the Egyptians have oppressed them. Come I say and I will send you to Pharoah, and I mean you in this hall, I will send you to Pharoah, that you may bring forth My people out of Egypt, and you, listen to what he says, and you and the elders of Israel shall go to the king of Egypt and say to him, the Lord the God of Israel, the God of the Hebrews has med us and now we pray you let us

go three days journey into the wilderness that we may sacrifice to God, now this is important, I know, it is God who says this, I know that the king of Egypt will not let you go, I know this, I am saying go to the king of Egypt, (interruption) I say to you - Go to Botha, and tell him that these children of Israel have to be saved and in this particular instance, it is the oppressed people in the country we are saying to Botha let the children of God be liberated. Let them be free

(Audience : Amandla Awethu)

but we call that he be free, we know that he is deaf, he is not going to hear us, we know that he is not going to hear us, we know that he is not prepared to hear us, and listen to what God says, he says I know that, they, he won't unless he is compelled by a mighty hand if he is not compelled he is not going to move and I want us to understand that the reactionaries of this world, the oppressors - of this world are not going to let go without being put under pressure. So I will stretch, says God, out My hand and smite Egypt with all the wonders which I'll do in it After that he will let you go (ululating of women) let you go.

And I want to say to you this afternoon that God wants all of you here to go, and if he says, you must go, you must go, irrespective of the consequences, don't think you that you have no power, don't think that you have no guns, don't think that you have nothing that you can rely on

(Audience : Amandla Awethu)

You have God, a commitment, that is the cause for which you are fighting and I want to challenge you to stand up, don't wait for another person, you must go and do what God wants you to do, He is on the side of those who are oppressed and we have to go. I want to conclude by saying that God has seen our suffering for many years. And he has seen now the brutality of the system and violence. And God has gone into action to free his people and I want you to be careful just

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

Amandla (cut short, video interruption)

(Slogans and singing)

SONG 2:

Hlanganani Basebenzi

Hlanganani

Hlanganani Basebenzi

Hlanganani

Hlanganani Basebenzi

Hlanganani

CHORUS:

Iyona lenhlangano

Iyenu

Iyona lenhlangano

Iyenu

Iyona lenhlangano

Iyenu

This song was repeated 5 times

Translation:

Workers Unite (X3)

Unite (X3)

CHORUS: This is your organisation (X3)

Scene changes

BLACK MALE: MOBOMOTSI MATJANE

"Only Black (inaudible) students movement in this country.

Amandla Audience : Awethu

Amandla Audience : Awethu

One Azania Audience : One Nation

One Nation Audience : One Azania

(video interruption)

June 15th 1976 I want to stress that we are not here to mourn but to intensify - our struggle and double our speed against the racist education of this country.

In 1976 when a young innocent Hector PETERSON was brutally murdered by the most reactionary South African Police, we gave one cheek. Again in 1984 when Emma SITHEBE was killed by a police van during the class boycott, we also gave another cheek, thats how they (inaudible) and christianity we are - What should we do because we gave the two cheeks, we have: should we mourn or entertain this unbecoming state of affairs. Comrades, 1984 our academic year is characterised by general unrest in most black educational institutions the Saulsville/Atteridgeville schools (inaudible) and other educational institutions bears testimony to it. It is significant to know that the problem is deeply rooted in the education system which is inextricably bound to social, economical and political conditions in this country. Let us (inaudible)

..... Laid down their lives for me and you

(Inaudible) Comrades...(inaudible) (video interruption)

The ranks of the oppressed and the recognition of blacks as the only criterion of their own liberation, Black Consciousness believe in the exclusion of Whites from our own front. There can be no viability in the union of the

oppressor and the oppressed since their interests are direct
opposite of one another
(video interruption) (inaudible)

..... Useful in struggle (inaudible)

In conclusion I want to say in no uncertain terms that AZASM
shall not twist its language because if we twist our language
we shall be having a twisted liberation, and a twisted minded
people. Comrades, I wish to emphasize this, that in AZASM we
shall not twist our language because we believe and we
consider the historical peculiarities and the role ..."
(video interruption)

SONG 3:

Songena Ngomnyama
Songena Ngomnyama
Songena Ngomnyama
Songena Ngomnyama
Ngomnyama Songena Ngomayana

Oliver

u-Tambo

(Video interruption)

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

Oliver)

u-Tambo) accompanied by dancing

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

Oliver)

u-Tambo)

Amandla: Awethu X2

Songena Ngomnyama

Songena Ngomnyama

Songena Ngomnyama

Songena Ngomnyama

Ngomnyama Songena Ngomayana

TRANSLATION: We will enter in the dark

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver

u-Tambo

Oliver

u-Tambo

(Singing OLIVER TAMBO)

SPEAKER IN SOTHO AND ENGLISH: (inaudible). SIPHO RADEBE.

BANTU MALE DAN MONTSITSI WEARING GLASSES:

"Now, what they did was to decide that now on the 14th and the 15th we shall get to our own respective schools and inform our own fellow students to prepare placards so that on June the 16th we must actually proceed with our peoples demonstration. The message was well received comrades and we decided that now on the 16th we are actually going to have a march. Now I remember in fact in my own school (inaudible) what we did was to address our own students on the 15th June after we have addressed our students, our students (inaudible) placards, what we did was to move over from the

one school to the other collecting all students who had expecting us in order to demonstrate peacefully against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. And at the same time, the very system of Bantu Education. Now what we did, in fact was to move over to Senoane Secondary School. Now the whole process of the demonstration was quite peaceful disciplined and well conducted. What we did before we entered the gates of Senoane Secondary School. What we did was to let the students wait outside the gate and we went inside in order to talk to the Principal (video interruption)
(inaudible)

Now there in Phefeni we actually find that now in our own side, when we were charged with sedition, when we were charged with terrorism, riotous Assembly and Public Violence, there was a sergeant, in fact who gave evidence in our trial, now the name of that sergeant was Sergeant THOTELA (phonetical), I won't forget the name of that sergeant, because what he said on that day during our trial was true, the sergeant said in his evidence-in-chief, when we arrived, the students were happy, the students were singing, the students were chanting slogans, the students were dancing, this was the mood which Sergeant THOTELA (phonetical) observed, this was the mood that prevailed on June the 16th at about 12 o'clock, this was the mood that actually prevailed simply because the students had no violent intentions, they had actually meant to show in a symbolic way how they reject Bantu Education and how they reject Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. What happened and what followed.

The, the Lieutenant in charge actually released a dog, after that dog had bitten one of the students, the students decided that he should disappear amongst the students and he did disappear indeed

(Audience : Amandla - cut short)

When we were trying to disperse, when we were moving in different directions overcome by the gas, they started shooting, when they started shooting obviously students at that time were quite surprised, we were all shocked we did not believe our eyes, we did not believe this was actually happening, now what we actually saw was that now one of the lady students actually fell down, when we looked at her there was a gaping wound in the chest, there was blood flowing from her dress, there was blood flowing in her mouth and so on. Now, a lot of these atrocities continued when we started dispersing, running in all directions they started shooting, and shooting. What happened was that now some of the students realised that now they cannot be running forever, what they did in fact as we can learn later from the experiences of people like SIMON MOEGOERANE (phonetical) of people like TSOTSOBE (phonetical) and so on, they actually say themselves during their trial, SIMON MOEGOERANE (phonetical) says: 'My experience in 1976 has an effect of re-inforcing the hatred I already have for the government. I thought the war had started and that freedom was here. We decided that it was pointless making placards because one would get shot while doing so, I decided to go out of this country to go and get myself a gun to fight this people'.

This is what SIMON MOEGOERANE (phonetical) said in his trial when he was sentenced to death. Now, Comrades, what we realise here is another statement which was made by this three comrades, while they were actually tried now here they are saying, all three also told the court that the ANC had given them a choice of military training or to further their own education, but what they did was to opt for military training (video interruption).. to undergo military training, these are the words of people who were demonstrating peacefully, these are the words of students who were students to their teachers, these are the words of people who were

loving children to their own parents, but later we were actually led to believe that these people are actually terrorists, these people are actually instigators, these people are actually communists, Comrades (whistle blows).

Comrades, at the same time in order to show in fact how close we were to these people who are allegedly terrorists, I remember an instance in my school. We also use to have a student by the name of NAFTALI MANANA. (phonetical) NANHLALI MANANA (phonetical) was an ordinary student in our school, there was nothing terroristic about him until such time that he went into the street to demonstrate against the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction (video interruption)

An agitator or instigator and so on. I know that I used to sit with him at Komati (phonetical), where we used to eat (inaudible) at lunchtime, I know that I used to eat fatcakes with him, I know that I used to eat in fact -eh- apples, you know, sweets and Mashangane wors MANANA (phonetical) now today we are actually being told that those people are terrorists. I also remember comrades, an instance of a person in fact I was intimated, partially incidentally she happened to be my girlfriend, who was also arrested, what happened (video interruption)

South African economy more skilled labour power is required to mend the highly advanced industry (inaudible). The white workers are too few to cope with the rapid technological development of the South African economy therefore the only option left for the government is to relax some of the reservation laws in order to co-opt the African workers. It is not true, in fact, to the change of heart or consent with the lot of the African people, it is in fact in perpetuation of the exploitation of our own parents in the factories.

Secondly comrades, the other change which the government is supposed to have initiated was to open doors to private companies to build expensive houses in Soweto and other African townships, we are very much aware that this is meant to bring division among the people. Those who are in the upper class and those who are in the lower class, some of those who are in the new beautiful houses sometimes they think they have made it, they think that they are different from those who live in matchboxes, some of them however, they are quite innocent and they are quite honest, they actually say it quite clearly that they have inherited an economic burden for the rest of their lives.

Now comrades, what we are saying is these manoeuvres won't fool us, because what we want in fact is housing and security for the rest of the South African people. Now, we know that now in fact, when the Union of South Africa was declared in 1910, the majority of the South African people were not consulted when the Republic of South Africa Constitution was adopted in 1961, again no consultation took place, now we have a new tri-cameral parliament, the Presidents Council and again the majority was not consulted. Through the Black local authorities act, the other blacks are expected to be content with the new co-, with the new community-council parliament, whose final course lie in the hands of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

If the blacks reject the present community council, he says they are free to exercise their political, their economic and other rights in their respective homelands, this is what the Minister says (video interruption) (inaudible) .. congress, as the anti-, as the Anti-SAIC CONGRESS, in fact" (video interruption)

(Shouting) (inaudible)

Singing (inaudible)

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE:

"When the dam of my church is dry
 And the last of the outlaws is confined
 Tell me how can I to the world explain
 Oh bury me before dawn
 Let the cries of my soul be saved from the flow of the river
 yonder
 You'll need some when you rejoice
 With tears of happiness the flow of joy
 Though laughter is the language for all those of the world
 race
 We shall declare this world their home
 While man creates machinery to suppress
 Azania's child I live apart from home
 I sang repeatedly the song that reached my ears
 Yes, I was afraid and became a dove that fled away from home
 to fend for peace in the wilderness
 But how could I live away from home
 It was the frustrating dilemma that ever reached my mind
 (Audience shout)
 I could have been a brave traitor
 blowing winds to shake the tree
 Whatever fell would be my victims
 While I pretend to be with you my people of light
 Oh you, who determines my daily bread
 Whilst I try to cope with life
 Exploring days that offer my offer resources for my sweat
 Though at night I sleep not
 Because I am hounded by the knock of prison wardens
 Back again to propose a deed

Africa what have you done to SHAKA's spear
 What have you done Africa to the understanding brains that

BIKO had

Africa where were you when combat weapons inflicted pain on
the leaders of tomorrow

Africa you must (Audience shout) (video interruption)

Africa I refuse to remain on my knees when the family of man
drowns in the presence of my witnessing eye

Africa I detest to stay two shadows

When my soul, spirit and blood is known to be one with you

And once more Africa I demand you must explain (Audience
shout)

Africa tell me what is my religion since I've tasted the
drink of understanding from the bowl of the river trust

And like a man I measured the weight of the struggle with the
strength of my shoulders

Africa, reveal to me what I do not know

Like what is my ancestral language

For without it I cannot claim solutions against mine enemies

Afrika, is Uganda's famine - the flag of your making

Cosmetised (phonetical) in tax of eight

While we die -eh- children so young

Clinging and sucking from futile breasts of hopeless mothers

Africa how do I pardon colonizers out of (inaudible)

Did I know of peace in my lifetime

Nor did I pray to the Gods of evil to deserve this

I murmured the old freedom song

Tears rolling down my cheeks

Absorbed by the dung plastered earth of exiled soil where
clouds never rose

Winds never sang, there was no rain to soften the strain of
freedom road

There was only BIKO's blood

And this fist for our flag Afr- (video interruption) speed of

time when the power of my knowledge is beyond my reach

Courage this is my wish

Courage take me there

Let me swallow the shame of my blackness and drag me out of
this, out of yesterday with MAKHEBA's (phonetical) vibrant
song of Unity

We the cursed (Audience repeat)

Are the most " "

We the most " "

Are the strong " "

We the cursed " "

Are the most " "

We the most " "

We the most " "

Are the strong " "

We the most are the strong (ululating of women)

We the cursed are the most

We the most are the strong

We the cursed are the most

We the most are the strong

Singing

Pambili Macwedeni

Sizobabona (X3)

Amagama Abhaliwe (X3)

TRANSLATION:

Forward young men

We will see them (X3)

The names are written (X3)

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