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A Burrows: We will now call upon Cheryl Carolus, who will address us on the UDF and the struggle South Africans are currently engaged in.

C CAROLUS Good evening Ladies, gentlemen, friends, comrades and there might be a few enemies who might feel excluded if we don't welcome them too. We have confidence in our message and we are sure that, if there are any here, a bit of our message will sink through.

I think that the meeting we are at tonight is something that South Africans find particularly encouraging, especially people who live under extreme conditions of oppression and exploitation. I think that it bears living testimony to the fact that we are building a nation in this country.

We are maybe far from it but we are in the process of building a cohesive nation. We are building a non-racial South Africa, we are building a democratic South Africa, and with that kind of thing it is particularly encouraging. I find I felt a bit of sympathy with all of us here, all scribbling out our notes here at the last minute. But I think that what is important is that for the first time in many years, probably unprecedented in the history of South Africa, is what we see that white democrats are confident about the fact that they can actually play a role in the changing South Africa, that they can struggle side by side with the oppressed and exploited in South Africa.

In fact, they are as much victims of an oppressive vicious system of apartheid as blacks are. And I think that this kind of gathering is particularly encouraging because of that.) Particularly

CCarolus cont: Particularly at a time if we look at the context of this meeting . We see that probably since the white referendum, white South Africa has been shaken out of its lethargy and forced to confront a few issues.

We see that on the one hand, the president I think changes so fast in this country that we wake up in the morning and don't know what else they have in store for you and what fancy manoeuvres we have to engage in to outmanoeuvre them again.

The then president, the now state president and various other people associated with them, have over the past weekend made a few stunning revelations which have undoubtedly made us wonder again, for those of us who are not won over to the extra parliamentary politics in this country, it's probably made people think that maybe it's not such a bad idea, maybe it isn't.

But I think that the other part, the harsh reality of the context in which this meeting takes place is in fact the kinds of things we see happening around us, the kinds of things which the people of South Africa are being subjected to in the townships, the kinds of thing which in fact leaves no doubt in our minds that South Africa is a present a country at war with its own people.

And I think it's so clear that the battleground has shifted from some vague border up there, which you can dispel from your mind until you are eighteen years old and hopefully, well before Dad's army and all of that, you can forget about it for a comfortable sort of period.

CC Cont: But those battlegrounds have in fact shifted from those vague borders down into the townships at the moment. We witnessed it again this morning when the small township of Craddock was in fact besieged by the South African Defense Force, the South African Police and the South African security branch inside the country.

In fact, four commandos of soldiers on horseback surrounded every single access into Craddock. We find that accompanied with the four commandos of people on horseback there were tanks, that's apart from the normal paraphernalia used in the township under these conditions, like sleeve machines rubber bullets, R1 rifles and all of that, in fact gone further to tanks and commandos on horse back.

I think that we look at the fact that over the past few months, almost four hundred people, that is the official figures say that over four hundred people have died in the conflict in the townships.

We look at the past three weeks, where in fact in three weeks, four people have died in detention, despite Le Granges sort of undertakings over the weekend that the Biko situation will never ever occur. How does he explain the Raditsela(?) death for example?

And we find that it is very difficult particularly for people who don't live in the township, for people who live in the white areas the way the media works inside this country, the lack of access which progressive forces have in that area that it is understandable almost that at the very best, this constant barrage of disinformation, of one-sided reporting, it will at very best so confuse in people's minds and that is why we in the UDF are grateful for opportunities like this tonight where we are afforded the opportunity to put forward our case, albeit inadequately that most of our

*in this country  
(Given)*

CC Cont:

that most of our public people figures are at the moment facing treason charges with those conditions which are worse than banning orders and will effectively silence them for three years or however long the state desires the case to go on.

We have seen various tactics engaged like in the Sasol BCP(?) Trial, where the judge just gets mysteriously ill and then the case has to be reheard and whatever the case is. Other people like Carol Da Cota, and Popo Malife, who were chief spokesperson for the front found themselves in detention allegedly for the Vaal unrest.

Now this system knows that, the government and the people know, and even I know, that the time when the Vaal unrest rose, Carol da Cota and Popo Malefe were safely under lock and key in the very same jails where they have put them now.

But, be that as it may, they've used it as an explanation that these people were involved in terrible acts in the Vaal Triangle. That is why, I think it is particularly important that meetings of this kind should be arranged not necessarily where people like myself should come and address people, but I think that the conscious elements present in a gathering like this could begin to play that kind of role more and more.

And as I was saying we find ourselves now in this situation where there is this incredible conflict in our society and in our country right on our doorsteps where a white woman gets killed and suddenly the point gets driven home to white South Africans. The army gets called out and door to door searches and we find in a place like ~~Idouza~~ <sup>Duduza</sup>, in Transvaal - there is a township on the East rand that is called Dudouza, where this white woman was stoned on the Heidelberg Road(?)

C C Cont: Now, we regret every single death which occurs inside this country be that person white or black. We feel that the deaths which are occurring inside the townships are the cause of the conflict in those townships we regret every single one of them. We don't make any exceptions or glorify be that person black or white.

It is a tragic occurrence and we feel that whatever we can do to in fact insure that this kind of situation does not in fact continue.

But, we also find ourselves that given the disadvantage at which the Front and progressive organisations are placed. We find the State is trying and in some respects is succeeding to portray the UDF and democratic organisations as the perpetrators of this violence. Now we are angered by this kind of thing because we know and the State knows exactly where we stand in regard to the question of violence and what we are seeking.

They throw up all kinds of things about what is happening in the rest of Africa, look how these people are killing each other and is this what you want and they sort of put that to white South Africans and to South Africans at large, generally say this is the alternative now; you want to go back to Africa and see all these examples. And that we think is the worst kind of political blackmail that one can think of.

Because (I want to reiterate) in the UDF, the very base of the formation of UDF was in fact because we seek peace in this country of ours. But we also know that we will never have peace unless there is justice inside this country.

CC Cont: Unless the most basic of human rights are recognised for our people inside this country.

And we rejected—the UDF consists of grouping of organisations, all kinds of organisations, **religious**, cultural, sporting, political whatever. And they came together because they had one thing in common that they rejected apartheid, that they seek a non-racial democratic movement in South Africa, and they felt this new constitution was not going to address the most fundamental needs and demands which the people in South Africa are articulating.

In **fact**, in April 1984, we wrote an open letter, to the Prime Minister, well then he was the Prime Minister, P.W. Botha, where we called on the Government to stop, to not implement the new constitution because we said that it was a recipe for disaster; that in fact once those structures are going to be implemented, it's going to lead our country to the brink of disaster.

Today it is a known fact that P W Botha did not respond to our letter and also did not heed the warning which we signed in that letter for him. And we wonder today, what more we in fact have to do to prove that we are genuinely interested in change and in peace in this country.

Do we have to wait for more people to disappear? As happened right on our doorstep in Port Elizabeth where three prominent leadership people in the UDF disappeared? Last week another leadership person was found in a hole, the body was still warm a bullethole in his heart. And is that what we want?

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CC cont: Now, contrary to popular belief or the kind of myth which are expounded by people ranging from the minister in every single ministerial portfolio debate they had in the White Parliament, right down to Cliff Saunders and the SABC, we are being portrayed in a particular kind of way .

And it is that kind of thing that we feel particularly for white South Africans, because of the kind of society in which you are being cushioned from the realities out there, that it is important that we should speak to people.

Now, many people ask, those who may be in doubt to the credibility of the Government, cannot understand why it is that under these harrowing conditions and circumstances, of death, the army becoming a daily reality in the township, of banning, of treason trials, why is it that every single day you hear of new pockets of resistance - why is it that we hear of new organisations springing up?

The growth of the UDF over the past few months has been phenomenal. And if people pay a little bit of attention, even to the .....

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CC cont: for a long time have our people united and stood up and we believe that it is because of a grouping, of the formation of a group like the UDF, that after all these decades our people are beginning to rise again, our people are confident enough again to say No More.

And in fact the reason why people are beginning to stand up again is because we question the legitimacy of this government, we question their right

CC Cont: question their right to rule over us. W<sup>LD</sup> are saying that we never had any say in the drawing up of any of the laws; they came with the constitution, they said there it is - they never asked anybody in the black community whether they approved of it or not, they said there it is, fait accompli, you vote for the lesser of two evils and anybody who does not vote either in the community councils or in the tricameral elections, you are seeking violent change.

Now, that again is political blackmail of the worst kind. To come and present people with something that is hopelessly inadequate and then say, it's a bit like the Nkomati Accord was.

Just back onto the question of where the state is moving to I don't think I'll speak too much on the role of opposition politics. I think Andre has very clearly covered that, which warms one's heart also that there's so many other people that the UDF doesn't have a monopoly over extra-parliamentary politics.

I think that something else which we also need to stress and look at in the particular context of today, is just all those new reforms which we see the Government coming with. They obviously very confusing for a lot of people as I said at the beginning and for some people it looks as if there are some vestiges of hope within the tri-cameral parliament.

Now we see that they say on the one hand, we are overcoming, we are scrapping the immorality act, we are amending a few things here and there on the influx control, but the other side of the coin before I respond in detail to these new proposals, I think that we cannot lose sight of the fact that the longer this oppression over this reform,

CC Cont: over this reform, there's always been the most severe repression and it is no coincidence that at the same time the new constitution was introduced the Koorhhof Bills were introduced as well which tightened up and in fact made much harsher many aspects of the Bantustans and influx control in this country.

The constitution cannot function unless the Bantu-stans actually work. Also at the same time that the constitution was being ushered in through the hallowed portals of the then white parliament we found at the same time a super duper, new security legislation being ushered in and in fact a security legislation which has made it possible for them to say when you stand up in a mass meeting that I stand for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, that it is possible to say that you are furthering the aims of a banned organisation.

In fact just to point out how ridiculous it is, probably indicated in the treason trial which is currently being conducted and in which 16 UDF leadership people are being charged, we all thought that when the indictment comes out, it will contain some, it will reveal some dark sides of our leadership. Like a few devious dealings here and there and fired guns and maybe a few petrol bombs.

But, the content of that indictment is absolutely ludicrous on the one hand, but on the other hand, it had very serious implications for opposition in this country.

CC cont: The basic tenets of this thing is that you people were instrumental in organising campaigns around the release of political prisoners, instrumental in setting up organisations which support the freedom charter. They were instrumental if forming organisations which set their goal as dismantling apartheid.

And it those kinds of things that are becoming treasonable in this country. What is all this talk about reform? If somebody can purely for the kinds of things I am saying today be charged with treason, well then I want to say I'd be quite happy to stand up and make myself treasonable.

But I think it is impossible for this Government to stop the will of the people to be free inside this country.

I was just pointing out what was happening inside the present context and I think which will probably apply to a lot of people tonight. It's just the scrapping of a lot of these laws now.

Now, we in the UDF are saying that they are not enough. It might sound like old hat to people - you're always saying this, you're always saying that, you're always boycotting that, you refuse to cooperate on that etc, etc.

But I think that we actually want people to understand how the UDF works, because it's a very difficult a very cumbersome structure, it seems almost alien, particularly when it's an extra-parliamentary force, and one is always portrayed as something that's not quite kosher.

CC cont: And particularly in a community like the community in white South Africa, where politics is generally conducted through some kind of formal structure, and the UDF seems like this amorphous rampaging mob out in the townships bent on death and destruction,

In fact I hope by now people have a slightly different view. But I think that we should just explain to people when we speak about democracy and consultations amongst our people, when we say that the people shall govern, that is what we want in this country, what do we mean by that?

I can just use a simple example to illustrate that. When the UDF was launched in August 1983, after months, the first call was made in January 1983, and after that there was discussion, upon discussion upon discussion.

Now from that call in Johannesburg when that call was made for a United Front, down to the last detail of the name of UDF, people went back from there to their organisations, their organisations in turn took it to their branches which they would have in different areas, their branches in these areas would take it out to their street committees, then it had to come back to the street committee to their branch to their organisation and eventually to the sort of conference.

At the moment, the structures I think Simon will probably speak about those, about how the UDF works. But we of the UDF National - maybe I should simplify it and speak about a regional structure.

The highest decision making body within the UDF is the general council. Now, the General Council consists of all the organisations which make up the Front. At that General Council, before it

CC cont: before it takes its decisions, if there is anything which the people do not agree on, or do not have a mandate, it has to go back to their organisation for a report. From there, once again it is down to your area level, and from your area level to your civic level. It seems like a very cumbersome process,

But for us it is important that ordinary people in the streets of South Africa are part of the decisions we make. It seems like a cumbersome process. We cannot respond now if you come with a fancy idea. We can't just say whether we are going to approve of it or not, we actually have to consult.

Now, that for us is important inasmuch as what having a non-racial character to our struggle now, is important for afterwards. We can't sort of reach a certain point and then say Now, after this we become non-racial and we become democratic.

It is important that the people in our country should learn now, when we speak about democracy what do we mean?

P.W Botha and Pik Botha over the weekend also spoke at great length about democracy. I mean his style of democracy we have very different ideas about democracy. The concept of democracy and that has been our strength, the fact that it takes us months to resolve a particular issue.

But we know that when the UDF emerges after three months of discussion around a small point, we are confident that we have the backing of people who understand what the issues are. People who would be able to go out to an area and explain and in fact justify a particular position adopted by the UDF.

CC cont: And that has been our strength, that has been why our campaigns have been successful as what they are today. That is why in the bigger towns we can actually get ten thousand people to a meeting of the UDF. That's why in an area like Cape Town we once had a white meeting in a white area where there was in excess of three thousand people present.

Because we are confident that any decision we take is in fact a decision which is backed and understood by our people. If we go and speak on their behalf, as I speak in Grahamstown today, I am constantly confident that any single person who is associated with the organisations in the UDF in fact supports what I stand for.

But on the other side, it is also our safeguard against the leadership of the UDF ever taking the front in a direction which does not have the support of those people right down at the bottom.

This is how we view democracy. Democracy isn't merely a question of casting your vote every five years, and then cross your fingers and hope to high heaven that this person is going to be true to their sort of election speech that they made.

It actually involves real participation of our people. And until that kind of thing is met, because that is the only kind of process which allows for us to understand what the needs and the aspirations of our people actually are, and until that kind of process, is what will be the Government of South Africa, until that day when the people shall govern in this country, there will never be peace.

CCcont: Because there will always be a few people as things are going now, a few people whose sole occupation is to extend the privileges and the benefits which that minority grouping enjoys.

And it is in that kind of context that we see these new reforms being ushered in. Now, I don't think we should simplify or over simplify these reforms. I think that in Nationalist Party politics terms, they probably are, fairly traumatic. We are not going to deny that.

They're alienating the ~~right~~ wing, left, right and centre, or probably more to the right of the centre than the left, and they obviously have grappled quite a bit to come to terms with it. But we ask ourselves why do these things come now?

Why is it, what precipitated these changes? Is it the tri-cameral parliament? We are in fact confidently arguing that it is not that, because at the time of the white referendum PW Botha gave very serious undertakings about very definite things. Today they are saying they are going to change!

And we would argue that far from the tri-cameral parliament it is in fact the strength of the extra-parliamentary forces, it is the politics which is being conducted in the streets of New Brighton, it is the politics which is being conducted in the furthest flung rural areas of this country, that I've never even heard of it is that kind of politics that is dictating the pace for change inside South Africa.

We look at some of these things despite all the trauma to the Nationalist Party and all that, we not insensitive to these kinds of things.

CC cont: But we are still saying that those things are not going to bring about peace in our country!

Why do we say that? We look at the immorality act. Whilst on the one hand we absolutely support the scrapping of it, we said right from the beginning, ever since people started organising South Africa and the mixed marriages and all that came into being that it is a hurtful bit of legislation, that it is unnecessary and causes unnecessary pain.

But it affects a small percentage of the people inside this country. And besides that it is a fundamental human right to associate with whoever you want to.

We look at other questions like the scampering of the influx control laws which tampers with the section ten right. Now firstly we must understand that I think Andre has said, most South Africans, or most Africans, in South Africa, in fact do not enjoy section ten rights.

They do not have the right accorded to them to be in the cities of South Africa. So there's a very small percentage of people. They tamper with a few things about how more readily you can move around. But those important prerequisites for you to obtain section ten rights still remain. You still have to work for one employee for ten years or in one area for fifteen years.

That does not apply to any other South African inside this country. So, no amount of tampering with that is going to change fundamentally the lot of the majority of Africans.

CCcontE It is still based on the Bantustan idea the fact that Africans who have been pushed into the Bantustans can only come into the city with the consent of the particular Bantustan authority and the South African Government.

Something which no other racial group in South Africa is subjected to. That still remains. the Bantustan structures are very much still intact. And we know what the Bantustan structures mean for our people.

Look at the big thing that I can now become a member of the PFP! Something which has amused me endlessly yesterday when I was thinking of the kinds of possibilities that **it could open!** But as is always the case with the South African Government, one's mirth dissipates quite fast.

I think that this is something which people in the tri-cameral parliament have been going on about and the labour party said we will admit whites and we have Africans and all this that and the other.

Let's ask maybe, what is the significance of the dropping of the political interference Act? We see that the unrest in the country is largely linked to the people opposition, to the tri-cameral parliament and to all its other trappings like the black local authority and the Bantustans and all of those kinds of things.

It does not matter whether aI can now go and join the Bequidenhout branch of the PFP. The fact of the matter is, that I am only allowed to exercise my democratic rights in a coloured Kitchen Parliament. This dropping of the political interference **act** does not alter that. It does not alter the fact that political power is more concentrated in the hands of the Nationalist Party.

CCCCont: Even for a grouping like the PFP, even if five million were to join the PFP today, how does that alter the relationship of power between the PFP and the Nationalist party within the Tri-cameral parliament, with all its racial, and of course with all its wonderful consensus structures, like the Presidents council and its almighty president.

I would like to know just how it changes that power ratio, because it just does not simply address that. So, the tricameral parliament with all its shortcomings still remains there. And we have to guard against falling for this kind of joke.

We know we very gullible we desperate to find solutions to what is happening in the country, but that gullible we cannot be.

One can say that no amount of alliance across any one of the camerals, will in fact change any of those things which the nationalist party has built into the tri-cameral parliament to ensure that their position will remain dominant inside the country.

It can perhaps frustrate and discredit the workings of that parliament if two houses are now going to solidly refuse to pass any of that legislation.

Now if those are the intentions of the people who are still kicking around and heralding this as a new era, and a new dawn inside South Africa, if their aim is to frustrate and discredit the workings of the tri-cameral parliament, then we want to say to those people if you have those noble intentions just get out of that parliament immediately.

If the labour party had not participated in the tri-cameral parliament, it would have been finished. The Nationalist Party would have been forced to go back to the drawing board with the people.

Their very presence in that parliament gives credibility and in fact a breathing space for the Nats to come up with some other diabolical plot in seven years time..

We suspect that they would have a whole big - I see a note here saying time, so I'll just finish off.

I think that we want to put it to all of those who are in parliament and who have in fact welcomed this move now to open it up, that they should get out of it now.

If we want to discredit the tri-cameral parliament our best method of doing that is by staying right out of it, refusing to participate in it, refusing to cooperate with a system which continues racial oppression inside our country.

In fact, I just want to touch on one last thing. The Nationalist Party in the form of Pik Botha have indicated their willingness to now talk to anybody who is interested in talking.

And they have said that the UDF is choosing to stay out of this because they are clearly interested in violence. Now as far as this chit chat show of the Nationalist Party goes, we in the UDF want to state that we are not interested in sitting down in a chit chat show with these people.

CCcont: The only time we feel that the people of South Africa will accept talking, is when that talking considers the immediate dismantling of apartheid.

But before that can take place, we want to say to the Government that there are certain realities which they must come to terms with, that we in the UDF have come to terms with.

Such talks cannot take place unless in those talks the people of South Africa, the people who participate are the genuine representatives and leaders of the people.

Now, for that to happen, firstly we want to demand that the South African Government must stop parading these sell-outs as the only people who are interested in peaceful change in South Africa, or peace in South Africa.

Secondly, we also want to say that a great number of people who are considered to be leaders in South Africa, are lounging around in jails at the moment.

People like Nelson Mandela, and that talks cannot take place inside this country unless in fact there's an unconditional release of all political prisoners. Similarly an unconditional return of exiles, people who have been forced out of South Africa, the country of their birth, because of persecution under security legislation.

Thirdly we want to say, that there is no ways as people can have open and honest political discussion as long as the draconian security laws continue inside this country.

CCcont: So we call for an unconditional suspension of those security legislation which makes it impossible for anybody to put forward a genuine view which represents the people as we have seen today in the treason trial for standing up and calling for non-racialism and democracy.

In addition to that, we also want to say that the South African Government must take into account, even what the Human Science Research Council survey has indicated, that banned organisations like the ANC have far more support and legitimacy with the majority of South Africans.

Now, it is unfortunate, that because of security legislation certain stigmas have been attached to it. We, are confident that once the treason trial is over, the chances are quite high that they will ban the UDF too.

And that people will hear about the UDF in ten, twenty years after that will view the UDF in much the same light as today an organisation like the ANC is viewed because of the stigma attached to a banned illegal organisation.

So, we feel that there is no way that talks can take place unless those very minimum preconditions are met. That if we want to work out the solution in this country, a solution cannot be found without the authentic leaders and we in the UDF are not arrogant enough to say now we are the true representatives of the people.

And that is in fact why we want to urge everybody present here tonight in all communities to throw their lot in with the extra parliamentaries. It is not such a fearful thing. We actually have public meetings like this. People actually merge and speak at meetings, people like myself, but I

CCcont: but I think that is important that you become part of this big wheel that's turning, this big wheel that's going inevitably towards our freedom.

Because the fact of the matter is that the tide is unstoppable. Our people will get freedom. It may not be in five years, ten, twenty years time, but it's certainly going to be helped along if there are a lot more people, particularly in the white area where the nationalist party seems to (claim to) that they (have a) base. And its (people like you) we (should all join in- we shouldn't think of ourselves in terms of what colour we are, what sex or whatever.

We should goin hands, close ranks and in fact isolate the oppressor and the collaborators inside this country!

Thank you.

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