

1984-07-18
TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (T.I.C.)
MASS MEETING

SPEAKERS:

DR. JASSAT (Acc. No. 4)
CASSIM SALOOJEE (Acc. No. 11)
MRS. ESAKJEE
DAVID WEBSTER *Stat*
DAVID MONTSITSI *Daw*
FATIMA MEER
ANDREW MOGOTSI alias JINGLES
DR. R.A.M. SALOOJEE
ROY PADAYACHEE
TERROR LEKOTA *p 36*
POPO MOLEFE *p 51*
N.G. PATEL

BEW.

7/8/86

V14 PAR.43

IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED.

OLIVER TAMBO (1)
SWAPO (8, 23)
A.N.C. (8, 9, 45, 47)
S.A.R.P. (9)
KLIPTOWN (15, 43)
ALLIANCE (15)
YUSUF DADOO (15, 24, 52)
J. NEHRU (15)
R.M.C. (18)
DAVID MONTSITSI (22)
NUJOMO (23)
FREEDOM CHARTER (24, 44, 51)
UNITY IN ACTION (24)
NAICKER (24)
CONGRESS MOVEMENT (25, 38, 41, 46)
BAZOOKA (31)
REVOLUTION (32)
PARIS MALATJI (32)
BLACK, GREEN GOLD (32, 33)
BOMB BLAST (34)
MOBILISE AND ORGANISE (34, 46)
NATIONAL CONVENTION (44, 52)
DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN (45, 49)
MANDELA (46, 47, 49, 51, 52)
KATHRADA (46, 47, 49, 51)
SISULU (46, 47, 49, 51)
LUTHULI (46, 49)
GOLDBERG (49, 51)
EXILES (51)
YEAR OF THE WOMEN (53)

ASSESSOR

Page 5 Line 24 Change "confused in us" to "confused enough"

Page 7 Line 11
and 12 Change "than that countless (inaudible) a fundamental
moral attachments?" to "than that congress will always
have a fundamental moral objections"

Page 7 Line 16 Change "existence. Then there" to "existence and that
there"

Page 8 Line 9 Change "While South Africans" to "White South Africans"

Page 8 Line 11 Change "sərvices paliastrated" to "services para-state"

Page 8 Line 17 Change "not in vain" to "not invaders"

Page 8 Line 30 Change "to shake" to "to shame"

Page 9 Line 30 Change "keep vote" to "keep Bop"

Page 10 Line 2 Change "and staff" to "and cars"

Page 13 Line 39 Change "or declaration" to "or deprivation"

Page 16 Line 37 Change "three seeded" to "three feeder"

Page 16 Line 38 Change "three seeded to "three feeder"

Page 31 Lines 13/18 Change "Good evening Amandla"
"Audience: Ngawethu
"Mogotsi: Amandla
"Audience: Ngawethu
"Moyotsi: Uzipoc phonetu)
"Audience: Siya bong e (phonetic)
to
"Good evening: Amandla = Power"

"Audience : Ngawethu = is Ours"
"Mogotsi : Amandla = Power"
"Audience : Ngawethu = is Ours"
"Mogotsi : I Hippo = the Hippo"
"Audience : Eyabo = is Theirs".

Page 31 Line 22 Change "the peace" to "the bees"

Page 21 Line 33 Change "For their" to "For there"

Page 33 Line 29 Change "had lies" to "had life"

Page 37 Line 11 Change "So he is taking for granted) that"
to "So his statement should have read"

Page 37 Line 26 Change "keeping as" to "keeping us"

Page 49 Line 34 Change "to the system" to "to resist"

Page 7 Line 29 Change "and faction" to "and an attacking"

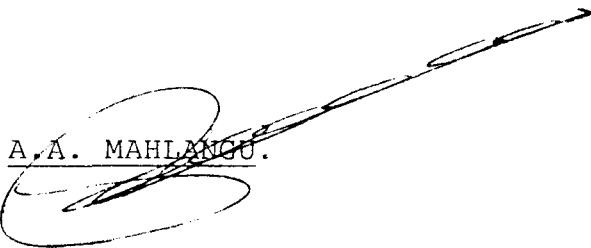
Page 10 Line 12 Change "(inaudible)" to "platitudes"

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.

1984-07-18.

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (T.I.C.) MASS MEETING.

IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED.

NATIONAL CONVENTION (44, 52).

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN (45, 49).

MANDELA (46, 47, 49, 51, 52).

KATHRADA (46, 47, 49, 51).

SISULU (46, 47, 49, 51).

LUTHULI (46, 49).

GOLDBERG (49, 51).

EXILES (51).

YEAR OF THE WOMEN (53).

OPMERKINGS

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

TAPE 1 - SIDE 1.

SONG. (1(a)).

Chanter : "AMANDLA."

Audience : "NGAWETHU. "

Chanter : "AMANDLA."

Audience : "NGAWETHU."

Chanter : "An injury to one."

Audience : "Is an injury to all."

Chanter : "AMANDLA."

Unknown female chanter : "Conscription to one."

Singing of unknown song. (1(b)).

Unknown female chanter : "AMANDLA."

Audience : "NGAWETHU."

Chanter : "AMANDLA."

Audience : "NGAWETHU."

Chanter : "One South Africa."

Audience : "One Nation."

Song and audience shouting. OLIVER TAMBO? CHANTED - ZULU. (1(c)).

74. DR. JASSAT.

Yes I think we should start now. Good evening friends. On behalf of the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, I would like to welcome the people of PAGEVIEW, FORDSBURG, NEWTOWN, CENTRAL JOHANNESBURG, JEPPE, DENVER, OPHIRTON, WYNBERG, ALBERTON, GERMISTON, in fact those who reside in the so-called midrand constituency. I would also like to welcome those of our friends who live outside of this area and also those members of the SECURITY POLICE who have come along (applause). I forgot to mention that EXTENTION 9, 10 and 11 are al, also included in this constituency and you are welcomed to this meeting (applause). A special and warmed welcome to our guest of honour especially one individual who has travelled all the way from DURBAN to be present with us here this evening. I'm now referring to PROFESSOR FATIMA MEER (applause). Friends, as you are aware our tasks this evening is to discuss the new constitution and the forthcoming elections. And for that purpose we have four speakers here this evening. We will have a few resolutions and this will be followed by questions and comments from the floor. After which we will sing the National Anthem. Our chief objective or objection to the new constitution,

1(a):/.. ..

000. SONG - : "SOMLANDELA"

CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : UNHLANHLA WETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : UNHLANHLA WETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : U WETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : U WETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : U WETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : T.I.C. YETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : T.I.C. YETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHWA
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : T.I.C. YETHU
 AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
 CHANTER : T.I.C. YETHU

SONG : "SOMLANDELA" (CONTINUED).

AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHA
AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA
CHANTER : NOMA SINGABOSHA
AUDIENCE : SOMLANDELA SOMLANDELA

025. SONG -

CHANTER : IYO ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : IYE
AUDIENCE : ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : SOLALAPHI NA
AUDIENCE : ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : SOLALAPHI NA
AUDIENCE ; ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : IYOYO
AUDIENCE : ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : IYOYO
AUDIENCE : ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : SOLALAPHI NA
AUDIENCE : ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI
CHANTER : SOLALAPHI NA
AUDIENCE : ILANGA LISHONILE SOLALAPHI

SONG.

(Indistinct from 035 to 054).

053. CHANTER ; OLIVER TAMBO
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI BO
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI BO
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI BO
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI BO
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : FUSEKI, FUSEKI FUSEKI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER :
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : NELSON MANDELA
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI BO
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : AMED KATHRADA
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : WALTER SISULU
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : UMHOLI
 AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
 CHANTER : NO TAMBO LONA
 AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI HAYI

20
 5/10/87
 (I have explained before)
 re F/S

SONG : (CONTINUED).

CHANTER : UMHOLI
AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
CHANTER :
AUDIENCE : HAYI, HAYI HAYI
CHANTER :
AUDIENCE : HAYI HAYI

104. is that it is undemocratic in its formulation and in its eventual implementation.

The new constitution does not arise out of the consensus (phonetic) of the people of this land and does not express the will of the people of this land. It is in fact the tortuous and mangled creation of the NATIONALIST PARTY which was created through the 1977 proposals of the party followed by the SCHLEBUSH COMMISSION of inquiry of 1980 and finally the PRESIDENTS COUNCILS proposals of 1982. The draft of the new constitution was rectified by the various NATIONALIST PARTY caucusses and given the final ^{seal} ~~sale~~ of approval by the White only referendum on the 2nd of November last year. It is the feeling of many people that this constitution is in fact the NATIONALIST PARTY policy dressed up and presented to the Coloured and Indian people as the new reformed constitution. In its implementation, the authors

127. have made certain that there is ^{no vestige} (inaudible) of democrat, democratic principle within it. The majority of our people and I am now referring to the 28 million Africans of this country who constitute seventy three percent of the total population have been totally excluded from even a sham appearance of power sharing with its with its well contrived 4.2.1 ratio in parliament and its various appenditures, the Coloured and Indian people are being asked to participate in a process of law-making which makes them mere rubberstamps for the

140. immoral unjust and repressive state. The whole ^{ediphis} (inaudible) of apartheid has been constructed and finalised. Over 8 million Black South Africans have been denationalised since October 1976. Today they are foreigners in the land of their birth. The GROUP AREAS ACT has uprooted thousands of our people from their homes and have thrown them into the stark ghetto's of this land. Since its incipient 80 thousand Coloured families 40 thousand Indian families and 2 thousand White families have been moved. The tread of removal even today hangs over something like 5 thousand Coloured families and 4 thousand Indian families. The GROUP AREAS ACT ACT has been responsible for the removal of 2,500 Indian traders, 180 Coloured traders and 54 White traders. In the wake of the GROUP AREAS ACT have come the chronic housing shortage and by its own admission the Government states that for the period 1982 to 1990 there will be a need for one million seven hundred and ninety two thousand homes for Africans. One hundred and eighty thousand homes for our Coloured people and eighty thousand homes for Africans. That true figure is

far greater. Our educational system has been compartmentalised into
168. one for White, one for Black, one for Coloured and one for Indian
children. The Government White paper has rejected the DE LANGE report
calling for unitary form of education for all the children of our
land. The above laws together with the Pass Laws, the Security
legislations, the mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and the
Population Legislation Act still remain on our Statute Books. Those
who participate in the tri-cameral Parliament do this within the
confines of these obnoxious laws. We are being invited to enter the
apartheid dungeon with little hope of demolishing that formidable
182. structure from within or even as came in from its portals. All those
prepared to collaborate like the HENDRICKSE'S, the POOVALINGAMS, the
RAJBANSI'S and the ISMAIL MAYET'S have openly admitted that the new
187. constitution is terribly flawed but they want to give it a try or as
some say they want to put a foot in the door.

To me the constitution is like an old broken down delapidated
car which has been salvaged from a dump heap. The driver of the
car happens to be MR. P.W. BOTHA and he has panel-beaten the car, sprayed
it with a glossy paint and added a number of trimmings to the outside.
But the engine is faulty. The brakes do not work. The hooter is
missing and the (appliance) and the steering rod is jammed.
MR. BOTHA wearing a crash helmet and protective clothing, is asking
these Black collaborators to step into his car as he makes his
206. precipitous decent down a steep hill.

I am certain that those same person who would ride in BOTHA'S car
because a certain tragedy and disaster that awaits all the travellers
as they go down the road or even before they reach the end of the
street. Unfortunately these very same people who are offering them-
selves as candidates and who would not be prepared to risk their personal
lives in their jallopy are now merrily prepared to risk the political
lives of our people in this tri-cameral Parliament. They are prepared
to sacrifice our people on the alter of apartheid in the return for
handsome pay packets. Two days ago at a meeting in Laudium,
MR. RAJBANSI had the audacity to state that he intended to bring the
Black majority into the system. I would like to ask MR. RAJBANSI if
he has a mandate from the millions of disenfranchised people of
this land. He like his master, MR. P.W. BOTHA is being opportunistic.
Our people say : "NO," to you MR. RAJBANSI. One of the candi-
dates in this constituency, MR. I.F. MAYET, who has been rejected by

our community, has surfaced after three years of hibernation. He conveniently got himself photographed with the member in charge of hospital services in Lenasia a few months ago, at the announcement of the building of the new hospital in Lenasia. He is now attempting to convey to our people that he has been in the forefront in the fight for the hospital in Lenasia. This I think is a slap in the face for all the community based organisations that have waged an electoral war and a campaign over the past years to see that some form of medical service is brought to this ghetto. A few weeks ago another candidate from Germiston said that he was very concerned about the education of the people, Indian people of Johannesburg and that he was concerned that the High School was going to be moved to Marlborough and he made numerous suggestions. That you know a school which was previously White school in Mayfair should now be handed over to the Indians. Now where have these people have been for all these years? All of a sudden they have the interests of our young people at heart and they have now come to save our people. This MR. MAYET again last week

258. blatantly lied when he said that he was instrumental in getting the JOHANNESBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL back to the Indian pupils. I make bold to say that it played your part in getting the school. It was the people of FORDSBURG and JOHANNESBURG who through their memorandum and their signatures got back the school. And I say to MR. MAYET that please do not use this to get onto the into the Parliament because you are discredited. He in a leaflet he issued a few weeks ago says that those who oppose him have double standards. I make bold to say that he has no standards (applause). He was the one individual who resigned because the Government did not heed

276. the PRESIDENT COUNCILS proposals that PAGEVIEW be handed back to its original inhabitants. PAGEVIEW was given to the Whites. The situation has not altered. PAGEVIEW is still in the possession of the Whites. What has changed is MR. MAYET, because after appealing to his creator to give him guidance the voice came down from heaven and told MAYET : "Do not participate", seems that the voice has rescinded its previous decision and has told MR. MAYET not to go in and sell his people. We in the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS call upon all our people who will be participating both on the 22nd of July and on the 28th of, sorry 22nd of August and the 28th of August. We ask, appeal to them to stay away from the polling booths. By seeing that the polls are low we will be demonstrating our total rejection of apartheid and all that it stands for. We will be showing

our solidarity with the millions in this land who have joined in the fight against the tri-cameral Parliament under the banner of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. We by rejecting the PRESIDENT the proposals and the Parliament will show that we stand for a unitary, a free a democratic and a equitable South Africa. This is what we strive for and this is what we're gonna to fight for and we're certain that we will win in the end. Thank you. (Applause).

Friends at the back of the hall there are some seats in front. Please occupy these seats. Our next speaker for this evening is MR. CASSIM SALOJEE who is well-known in Johannesburg for his work for those who are thrown out of their homes. He is the chairman of the committee that fought to see that people who had taken up res, residence in the white areas would not be moved, CASSIM SALOJEE is the publicity Secretary of the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS and he together with MEWA RAMGOBIN is also the National Treasurer of the U.D.F. I will now ask CASSIM to address you. (Applause).

CASSIM SALOJEE.

Thank you Mr. Chairman and friends. I am going to attempt to give the CONGRESS a view of why we want to reject the constitution.

On August twenty eighth we are called upon to make a historic choice, to either play our place in the Freedom struggle or to hand over ourselves to the apartheid state to use us as it sees fit in its suppression of the people of this land.

There are those who are weak and confused ^{enough} ~~in us~~, to believe the New Constitution should be given a try. To them we say "You cannot experiment in betrayal". There will be no going back after August twenty eighth and if you've acted as a traitor on that day, you will forever bear that label.

We believe that betrayal is not a fast side conscription for joining a parliamentary jigsaw that is nothing.

More than a constitutionalised form of NATIONALIST PARTY Policies.

All the basic principles of segregation that MALAN and his henchmen brought with them to power in 1948 are ^{alive and well} ~~relying on wealth~~ in the so-called reformed deal.

359. Black South Africans are still imaginally sealed in separate racial political systems, over which the white ruling group has unshaken control. Whether these are the ethnic chambers of the tri-cameral system or Bantustan Governments of the Independent or non-independent variety.

Pretoria pulls the strings, ei, either by direct political means or by financial control.

The Pass Laws, the Constitutional Act of ten Bantustans states. The Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act.

These are the unjust laws upon which the enlarged Parliament is founded. When the NATIONALISTS began imposing these obscene laws on us in the 1950's thousands of our people went to jail in defiance of them. Now, though it is painful to admit it, we've bowed to those laws. We automatically take racial labels at birth. Our African brothers and sisters carry passes or Bantustan passports through their lives, and as for ourselves the Governments task of marching and shifting us into racial ghettos is 90% complete. Is our integrity so shattered that we will take second class votes, founded on this humiliation. Will we accept this as the final defeat, forgetting the determined struggles of our forefathers and neglecting our own strength to fight on for something infinitely better. Are we going to allow BOTHA to believe we are unable to see the profound contradiction in his scheme of things, namely that it uses racial principles in the pretence of achieving non-racial goals. Just as we know evil cannot beget good we see that racism cannot result in equality and justice. More obscene still, is the constitution's treatment of the African majority of this land. The people who are truly indigenous it simply writes off the political future in one single clause in this constitution. Needless to say that clause is a masterly exercise in understatement and disguise. The new constitution says nothing of landlessness, joblessness, starvation but by confirming the present Laws under the State President, this constitution condemns Africans to the Bantustans. Offers no possibility of justly sharing the land that their forefathers trod and declares them foreigners in the country of their birth.

The outrage of the GROUP AREAS ACT is still close enough to
001. our community for us to know what removal means. We should remember that everyday and in every province, Africans are being uprooted and forced out, hounded as squatters. Think of Crossroads and Nyanga bush where the officials (END OF TAPE 1 - SIDE 1)

(TAPE 1 - SIDE 2) smash down homes, confiscate even the meanest plastic covering in a ruthless campaign, waged night after night, winter after winter in the bitter Cape cold.

Perhaps we cannot figure what keeps people clinging to the Cape Flats under this onslaught. But the people who have fled starvation in the Transkei will tell you, "The Bantustans" they would say are

truly the final solution and they cannot bow to death in apartheid's
11. concentration camps. Mostly you and I see the sense, mostly you and
I never see the senseless prisons. And that is all part of the
grand design to remove the poor from the City to shake off responsi-
14. bility for their basic welfare and to strive for inevitable
discontent by bolstering an undemocratic alliance of Bantustan
politicians and tribal authorities. If this is the faith of South
Africa's majority, it is clear that the BOTHA'S scheme is light years
from what we understand as constitutional democracy. Our belief still
hints on the pure and simple idea of government by the people for the
people. To anything less than that ^{Congress will always have} ~~countless~~ (inaudible)
a fundamental moral ^{objections} ~~attachments~~?, and we would like to say for the
benefit of our so-called pragmatic critics that we are not ashamed of
admitting that we are moved by ideals such as justice, freedom and
equality. These are the things that ^{and that} make us human that set us apart
from an empty animal like existence. ~~Then~~ there is evidence all
around us that millions share our approach to the world. In the
success of the emerging trade unions and in the growth of non non-
racial democratic movements such as the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. We
suggest that our pragmatic opponents take account of the bitter
divide between those who will defend these principles and those who
undermine them. It is a blind and arrogant ignorance of this
polarisation, that brings us to the brink of civil war of an engulfing
conflict and violence. We cannot be persuaded as the sell-outs can,
that the BOTHA CONSTITUTION and the NKOMATI ACCORD can stave off the
conflict. Indeed, we cannot afford to forget that the NKOMATI itself
was no peace initiative. It is a trophy that a bullying government
has exacted from a neighbouring state reeling under poverty, draught
and ^{an attacking} ~~faction~~ rebel movement.

(Applause).

We know that peace is not within sight. The recent bomb blast in
Durban was just one indication. Other signals have come from the
Government itself. Remember how sheepishly it increased its Defence
budget by twenty-three percent (interruption) its explana-
44. tion was that it would take time for the accord to become effective.
But that does not but this does not explain why its continuous into
47. the effect, internal (interruption) it seems that the only
people who are persuaded they dealing in evolutionary change, rather
than fueling conflict, are the MAYETS, the HENDRICKSE'S, the REDDY'S
and the RAJBANSI'S of this world.

But be warned the misguidedness is you know is enough to put your sons into uniform, in defence of apartheid and should you confirm their follies by voting on August twenty-eighth . MAGNUS MALAN will indeed have the right to expect loyalty from your children. You know there are those who argue, that conscription is not a clear part of the BOTHA'S reform package, while there has been a lot of evation on the issue. P.W. BOTHA stated categorically at a press conference in November that Coloured and Indians youths would do military service.

The arithmetic of apartheid is support of this. ^{White} While South Africans can supply only eight hundred thousand men to manage and ^{parastate} ~~parastate~~ bodies. 61. train, defend and police the country and run civil services ^{parastate} ~~parastate~~ bodies. If they want to maintain a racially based capitalistic economy and defend it from political and to an arm challenge, they would clearly have no option but to try and pull some of us in. They would pretend to give us a stake in the system and then will ask us to fight for it. This could mean civil war. Make no mistake the young men and women of SWAPO and the A.N.C. are not ^{invaders} ~~in vain~~. They are the exiled children of of the apartheid (Applause).

One has only to look as far as KOEVOET in Namibia to understand how vicious and degrading the fight between brothers can be. Our sons will be asked to put on uniforms to police the lives of their fellow civilians and conceivably to take up arms against the defenceless. This happened in Soweto and elsewhere in 1976 and 1980. Use of army in breaking strikes is also part of the ruling classes shameful history of this land. We are convinced conflict and escalating violence are inevitable until fundamental changes in the power structure occur. The choice before us on August twenty-eighth is on which

No
19
21/8/87

side will we range ourselves if we go and vote. Pretoria has the right to answer both these questions for us. If on the other hand we help achieve a boycott, large enough to ^{shame} ~~shake~~ BOTHA, his generals 86. will have to face up to the possibility of mass ^f ~~defection~~. We will have have spelt out clearly that we have no loyalty to the apartheid system, that we certainly would not want to die for it. If we must die then let it be in defence of a just and democratic South Africa. (Applause).

If therefore we can clearly demonstrate that we uh, we owe apartheid no allegiance. We will have forced the government to think again before recruiting obviously reluctant soldiers into their ranks. We must also remember that the recruits whom the sell-out voters would be 96. offering up to the S.A.D.F. are the children of the 1976 and the 1980

school yard and street battles. We suspect that they will, we suspect that these children will dig into the hills of you know, know Conscription and will spit in the faces of a generation that helps them

101. get enlisted. The pression of conscription, important though it is, is really only the constitution's most flagrant attack on the unity of the oppressed. Infact a whole programme of internal destabilisation has accompanied the reform package, the base and bid to separate Indian and Coloureds from their African brothers and sisters has been highlighted often enough. But the process of divide and rule has been running like wild fire through every level of society. Within the Indian and Coloured communities, the NATIONALIST inspired elections has sparked off vicious attacks on the boycott promo, you

110. know on the boycott of proponents. Just two weeks ago in ACTONVILLE the attempt by the LABOUR PARTY to, you know to throw out its Indian opponents led to violence against some of our activists. Mystery pamphlets has sought to create HINDU/MUSLIM friction around the election issue, that cowards don't even put their names on those leaflets. By selective pre- pre-election concessions such as the C.B.D.'s to all traders or declaring MAYFAIR and Indian group areas the Government has tried to win over the middle-class voters. The effect has again been to sow division in our ranks for working-class people the concessions are meaningless and they bitterly suspect the economic selfishness with promp. Wealthier people to sell out politically. In the Free State the Coloured worker has been set against the African worker. In fourteen towns it has been declared Coloured labour preference areas as the consequences of this constitution. Many Africans will suffer the the twin blows of joblessness as a result. And within the Bantustans the poisoness weed of ethnic,

125. purica, in a purification has truly taken route. MANGOPE is presently conducting a vigourous keep ^{Bop} ~~vote~~ for the Tswanas campaign. Harassing non-Tswanas to so-called squatter crackdowns. Internal destabilisation cuts across every racial and class group efforts to counter it, as the intiatives of the broadly based UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT have only evoked further attempts at this organisa- tion. There have been right wing and Government attempts to link the U.D.F. to the SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY and the A.N.C. attempts clearly designed to frighten people away from this vital voice of peaceful opposition which is the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, and attacks on popular movements don't end with political name calling. Union

135. organisers U.D.F. ^{ff} ~~statist~~ and activists of affiliated organisation

19
21/8/87
20
14/9/87

have been subjected to constant harassment. Police detentions, searches of homes, offices and ^{Cars} ~~staff~~ are, routine events in the life of those seriously committed to building this task of to to building a free and a just society. This task of forged steel hard alternative organisations is the real long term activity of those who who you know advocate a boycotts, boycott of apartheids instruments of Government. Our critics are in the habit of throwing the accusation

145. of negativism at us. They simply say we boycotters, but they clearly do not understand that we are determined to find a place among successful people's struggles all over the world. We are determined

149. that the voice of the masses will be raised in unison to drown the ^{platitudes} ~~(inaudible)~~ of bureaucrats and parliamentarians. Our demand of each and every CONGRESS supporter is that he or she helps to build the organisations of our community. There is no section of our society or area of life which should be which we should write off as unconnected or irrelevant to our democratic rights. The greater CONGRESSES support of trade unions, cultural groups, welfare and education bodies, residence association, religious communities the

157. clearly ? will be its own position. Not only will we gain an insight into the finer workings of apartheid. On a wide variety of fronts, but we will also get the measure of our own strength, as we become involved in real battles for a rightful share of the worlds goods. At the time that people were battling for a way out of THOMSVILLE in LENASIA and way into MAYFAIR, HILLBROW, CENTRAL JOHANNESBURG, CONGRESS had not yet been reconstituted, but the involvement of many men and women who are subsequently to join the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS revival has convinced us of the viability of the grassroots approach. The same can be said of the educational vote of 1980. Candidates for the August Poll were nowhere to be seen in a in 1979 to 1980 when Black breadwinners were dragged to court in the hundreds to face the GROUP AREAS ACT charges, and eviction from the CENTRAL JOHANNESBURG homes. It was people whom CONGRESS now considers as its own who marshalled lawyers and organised tenants in a determine defence of the basic right of people to live in the area of their choice. It was the willingness of tenants to inform themselves and stand their ground in some cases with extraordinary courage that gave the organisation substance and permanence. The result is that after hundreds of prosecution and the abandonment of almost as many cases, more Black tenants than ever are living in

(19)
21/87 87

the central areas of Johannesburg. The Government, despite its threat to introduce new laws to bypass the court through the courts in the GROUP AREAS cases has been unable to force us out. What it did instead was to attempt to turn a people's victory into an act of NATIONAL PARTY charity by declaring a part of MAYFAIR INDIAN GROUP AREA. Just as the Government's official response to non-racial housing demands has fallen far short of the level of popular demands, so it has been with education and the only notable change in recent years. Pay-parity for Indian, Whites and Coloured teachers, also came about through mass action. In this case by school children. One hopes that teachers will remember that they have nothing to say the Government or candidates on August 28th that, that is to a younger 195. more militant and it would seem a more effective generation.

(Applause).

Perhaps the most obvious success of mass action, in recent years is that which has placed us right now at the cross roads of political life. The ANTI-S.A.I.C. campaign. The solidarity we showed in rejecting the S.A.I.C. made the Government realise that it had to offer us more convincing form of political representation. Many of the present candidates were of course members of the S.A.I.C. at the time. You know at the time it was soundly, you it was soundly saying by the public. Surely it is a front tree and pure opportunism that they again put themselves forward as leaders when they have already displayed remarkable backwardness in reading the political climate. (Applause).

Returning to the to the question of organisation building, we acknowledge we still have a long road to walk. We have still to achieve co-operation between organisations and to benefit from practical alliances which would strengthen us all without demanding complete uniformity. We have to dismantle the false racial barriers and conquer the geographic distances, that the NATIONALIST PARTY has sown between us. More important, we have to discover and make 217. widely known the links between the forms of oppression and discrimination that we suffer, and so we must fight for the rights of existence of umbrella organisations, such as the ~~reasonably~~ REGIONALLY. organised UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and TRADE UNION FEDERATIONS. These are our own instruments, created to broaden our visions beyond parochial concerns, designed instantly designed to instantly multiply the you know the numerical strength of any affiliate and to give our individual struggles directions to weld them into you

know into National Movements which cannot be ignored, because we stand four-square behind the barrier of non-racial democracy for the destruction of apartheid rule. We face a veritable arsenal of security legislation. The fact that our ~~masses~~^{METHODS} are entirely peaceful and that we function openly, might guarantee our right to exist in many other countries but not here. In South Africa where detention without trial, banishment by executive decree to remote areas and the outlawing of organisations have become part of the political climate. Our commitment to organisation must be all the greater. Isolated groups cannot indulge in empty rhetorical postury not if they and the leadership want to survive, our movements need to be massive. They need to be solid and they need to be highly visible. Time is on our side and the winds of change are behind our backs. Running alongside our programme of organisation must be consistent action to ensure the complete isolation of the Government collaborators. We must let it be known in the plainest terms, that when this desperately
247. created Parliament crumbles and crumble it must, the NATIONALIST PARTY will not get another chance, a divide and rule Government.

(Applause).

Candidates for this election might might try to present themselves as brokers as go between, between the black people and their oppressors. Let them get one thing clear. We see them as targets as direct agents of Pretoria and any reference we may have to them in our daily you know in our daily struggle for housing, health, welfare and educational services will be in that light. They will never be an opposition voice in Parliament because they will con., control one, one entire house and must willingly perform the executive functions of that house. So while a real opposition party has a luxury of washing its hands of offensive policies at the point of implementation, Indian and Coloured collaborators will not be able to do so. They will be obedient junior partners in the Pretoria government. This has been absolutely guaranteed. Firstly by centralising power in the hands of the State President to be chosen by a White dominated electoral college. Secondly, by the same white dominance into the PRESIDENTS COUNCIL and further packing it with the President's nominees. Thirdly by the PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL the final say over general affairs, that is anything that is not specially made an own affair of the separate groups by the (inaudible) State President. Fourthly by making funamental financing and budgeting a general affair controlled
275. by the white dominated PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL. The HOUSE OF DELEGATES

will therefore control health, welfare, housing and educational matters for instance within the constraints of budgetary laws framed by the white bosses. Members of the HOUSE OF DELEGATES will be powerless to derationalize any areas of life. As this will step beyond the bounds of own affairs, and into the realm of general affairs. Laws affecting general affairs will be debated separately by the three houses. If they come up with contradictory results, the PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL decides which one (inaudible) gets into this statute book as the general law, and the COUNCIL is not bound to select a most popular version of the law. If it is two houses for one version and one in support of an alternative, the single house can win the days through the through the PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL SUPPORT.

In the PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL, needless to say the four, two, one ratio of whites to Coloureds to Indian holds. This already insures that the white ruling group cannot be challenged. But just in case the racial bias somehow, somehow fails him, the State President has the privilege of nominating twenty-five of the sixty members of his
297. COUNCIL. So, if any starry eye eyed doncreotic (phonetic) contemplated, writing down the road to equality by participating in the
300. new Parliament. He'd find himself so hamstring by the President's men that he wouldn't get as far as his horse. The new constitution is truly a water tight plan for bolstering white minority rule. Don't fool yourself for a moment, that discrimination against Coloureds and Indians, let alone Africans, no let alone the African majority, will end with some tame member of our designated racial group. Take their seats on the parliamentary front benches. What is so insulting, is that is that the Government must have counted on our foolishness, self interests and greed in imagining we would touch the stated institution. It should have known, it was appealing to a people who have learnt with great pain, that freedom cannot be bought. Many of us have been financially successful in the face of enormous discrimination but our wealth did not protect us from the GROUP AREAS ACT. Indeed there is reason to think it made us targets for economic destruction. Money could not buy us entry into university or life-saving hospitals in the ghettos to which we were condemned. Money did not help to save the lives of our young men in detention. In some ways money has only served to high-light, what a vicious weapon, pure racism is. We predict that this realisation will bind the mass of black people, regardless of their wealth or ^{deprivation} ~~deprivation~~ in resisting the BOTHA package. Concessions like the C.B.D.

rights, we are confident. Will we are confident be seen as a convenient change for some, but inconsequential to the majority. Of course traders who plan to use the C.B.D. concession, are not, are not bound to sell the political independence to the NATS. They they know as well as we do, that they would never have been welcomed tenants, without the urgent need to revitalise the centre cities. Of course the real issue of urban areas was fervently introduced right at the end of the parliamentary session in a deliberate attempt to pass drastic legislation before public protests mount. Segregated too, local councils will be the order of the day, linked to so-called multi-racial regional regional authorities. Multi-racial, that is except for Africans. Representational regional bodies will be proportion to the wealth of the constituent local authorities. Surely we don't have to spell out the racial meaning of this. The phoney question of financing the ghetto council has not been worked out yet. With the PARYS LOCATION OF TUMAHOLE in flames, and a young man from the

350 Township dead in the Police cells today. The full scenicism (phonetic) of setting up bankrupt local authorities, hits us. The unrest that has hit TUMAHOLE was loudly predicted when black local authorities was set up last year. It was perfectly clear that the puppet councils would have to milk the people to survive. Rents and service charges have shot up everywhere in African Townships this year and in Parys where many bosses face starvation ruled wages while enjoying reef markets the burden grew beyond tolerance. A picket protest. Police Action, rioting, detentions and one cold young body. These have been the fruits of the first KOORNHOF BILLS in Parys. The outlook for local administrations for Indian and Coloured areas looks not much more promising than it is in many African areas. It is in full knowledge of the dark hours ahead, that our commitment to striving for peace and sufficiency for all must be renewed. It was our U.D.F. patron ALLAN BOESAK who told the recent NUSAS meeting at WITS UNIVERSITY "neutrality is the worst kind of partiality" CONGRESS could not agree more. Any vote for the new constitution is a damning contribution to oppressed and racial discord, but a careless failure to vote is also not good enough. It too will simply allow the present institutionalised violence to claim its victims unchallenged. CONGRESS is demanding your commitment. Boldly urging you that to enlist in a campaign to end racial hostility and to establish a just, social order on the soil that we've jointly inherited. As a minority we may be tempted to think of ourselves as

insignificant but ironically P.W. BOTHA has made us for the moment a
387. pivotal force in this lands destiny. The credibility of his new
look regime, rests on our response and that of our Coloured comrades
through this outrageous parliamentary ploy.

On August the 29th, the eyes of many Governments will be upon us.
More important, the eyes of our African brothers and sisters would be
upon us. We would like to think that generations are suffering on
this soil have made us a little different than other sons and grandsons
of India. Up the length and, up length of the African continent,
surely we have become blood brothers of the, of the truly indigeonous
peoples of this land. We have shared in the struggles of the 1950's
the DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN, the WOMEN'S MARCH, the early removals from
Western Johannesburg, we share leaders in jail and children in exile.
We also share the dream in the dust at Kliptown that: "The people
shall govern and the land shall be owned by those who work it, Black
and White". (Applause).

001. In a sense, in a sense the INDIAN CONGRESSES as the sole survivors,
survivors of the alliance in this country, have become special
guardians of that dream. We are also the heirs of MAHATMA GHANDI
and YUSUF DADOO, both leaders of world stature, though in different
ways (applause). We are children of GHANDI'S courageous army of
peace. We were raised on stories of the young girl VELLIAMAH who
died on the march (END OF TAPE 1 - SIDE 2).

(TAPE 2 - SIDE 1) for her freedom and on the unflinching Natal coal,
coal miners who risked their lives rather than submit to an unjust
tax.

On August 28th, we can turn our backs on all this forever or we can
look ahead with the determination of that great freedom fighter

013. JEHWARLAL (phonetic) NERU who said : "The future beckons us. Whither
do we go and what shall we, what shall we our endeavour. To bring
freedom and opportunity to the common man. To the peasants and
workers. To fight and end poverty, ignorance and disease. To
build up a prosperous democratic and progressive nation and to create
social economic and political institutions which will ensure justice
and fullness of life to every man and women. We have hard work
ahead. There is no resting for anyone of us, till we redeem our
pledge in full, till we make all till we make all people what destiny
intended them to be. On the 28th of August, we must rededicate our-
selves to the course of a peaceful and non-racial democratic South,
Africa. Thank you." (Applause).

28. Thank you CASSIM, for your inspiring words ah, the I have a resolution
16/.. ..

19 24/8

AVo(19)
24/8

- here on the high school in Fordsburg and it's going to be read by
31. MRS. ESAKJEE who is the member of the steering committee and now while, while she comes up here, I'll give you a look, quick background of, of this school as you are aware, the JOHANNESBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL was the only High School for Indians in Johannesburg. In the sixties when the GROUP AREAS ACT was enforced what the Government did was, they moved our schools to Lenasia in order to compel our people to move to Lenasia. Our children were being bust, at first there was opposition to the GROUP AREAS ACT, people refused to go to Lenasia, but when they saw that their children had to travel thirty kilometres everyday, a number of people moved to Lenasia and so a number of High Schools were established in, in that area. This JOHANNESBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL then became a teachers training college. Last year the Government in its wisdom saw, saw fit to establish a new training school for uh teachers in Laudium and ah, this property became vacant and a campaign was started in the Fordsburg area to have this school re-established as a Secondary School.
46. At a meeting which was attend by MR. KROG.? The community insisted that the school be re-established and a a committee was set up and a the committee was asked to motivate for the establishment of the school. A memorandum was drawn up with the assistance of numerous organisations and a petition was circulated in Johannesburg. And as a result of that, and as a result of the work of the steering committee, the FORDSBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL was, once again declared a school, for in, a high school for Indians in this area. MR. KROG
56. at that meeting stated that a high school would be established where an Indian area existed. Sometime last year Johannesburg was part of Fordsburg was Jo, declared a area for Indians and now he states that since his department had spent a lot of money in the school some 30, 40 kilometres away in a place called MARLBOROUGH.
60. He wants the school set down and all the childrens, children in Fordsburg to be bussed to Marlborough. Now, if they've made a mistake in the Department, we cannot let our children suffer. The population
63. of Fordsburg is in Central Johannesburg is increasing. Flats are going up and there is a urgent need for a high school in this area. The policy of the department is that you need three ^{feeder} ~~seeded~~ schools for a high school. We already have three ^{feeder} ~~seeded~~ schools and there will be three ^{feeder} ~~seeded~~ primary schools and then more will have to come up. And, now they want us to send our children to this area in Marlborough. We in this area have some very strong historical links with the

FORDSBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL. From this school came some of our finest educationists, our finest professionals, our leaders.

We have an attachment to this school and we believe that we are going to fight to see that this school is saved and it's a question that arouses the feelings of all the people in this area for that reason

75. we've asked MRS. ESAKJEE who was a member of the STEERING COMMITTEE to pass, move a motion, on the JOHANNESBURG INDIAN SCHOOL.
(Applause).

77. Singing of unknown song. (17(a)).

Chanter : "AMANDLA."
Audience : "NGAWETHU."
Chanter : "AMANDLA."
Audience : "NGAWETHU."
Chanter : "MAYIBUYE."
Audience : I'AFRIKA."
Chanter : "MAYIBUYE."
Audience : "I'AFRIKA."

MRS. ESAKJEE.

99 Good evening everybody uh (inaudible) propose a resolution that I'm going to present to you now.

We gathered here on the 18th July 1984 Selbourne Hall in Johannesburg at the meeting of the T.I.C. noting that:-

1. The S.A.I., S.A.I.C. and the Director of Indian Education intend to close down the JOHANNESBURG SECONDARY SCHOOL at the end of the year.
2. That our children will be forced to go to Marlborough to attend the High School.
3. In 1967 our people opposed the closure of JOHANNESBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL and resisted sending our children to school in Lenasia.
4. In 1981 we forced the Government to re-open a High School in Johannesburg.
5. Under the new education policy the Government intends to abolish

77. SONG -

CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHO
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SEYAKHONA

(20) 5/10787

free education by forcing parents to pay for their children's education and believing that education is the responsibility of the State, that education should be free, relevant, non-racial and democratic, that the S.A.I.C. and BROEDERBOND KLOG have no right to interfere with the education of our children. Therefore resolves:-

- (1) To oppose and resist the Governments attempts to close down the JOHANNESBURG SECONDARY SCHOOL.
- (2) To continue to fight for a free non-racial, relevant and democratic education - thank you.

124. (Applause by audience and singing of song). (18(a)).

JASSAT.

132. Thank you friends. Uh you have that resolution before you. I will now ask you to raise your hands.

All those in favour of that resolutions please indicate by lifting your hand - Thank you.

Any oppose anybody opposed to that resolution?

The resolution is carried unanimously.

I, I, I have an announcement to make that at the end of the meeting as you file out of this hall you will have the opportunity to join and become members of the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE.

There are people at the tables who will sign you up as members. So all those interested please uh, as you go out join the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE.

Now our next speaker is MR. DAVID WEBSTER, who is the, who is a member of the DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE, he's also a member of JODAC and at the moment he is a Lecturer in the DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY at the UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND.

148. DAVID has done an indepth study on Militarisation and Conscription in this country as he (inaudible) speak on the events that have taken

149. place in Parys so (inaudible) a short speech from DAVID WEBSTER

150. (Applause and singing of song). (18(b)).

DAVID WEBSTER.

"Ladies and gentlemen, friends, it's a, a sad occasion for us to work in the sphere of detainee work who monitor the actions of the SECURITY

SONG -

124. CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : HAYI
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO

150. SONG -

CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : HAYI
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO

POLICE in their handling of detainees. Those of us who care about democracy and freedom and non-racialism in our country. We note with particular sadness tonight and with anger too, the death in Police custody of yet another person, JOHANNES NGALO. We extend condolences to his family and friends. I just wish to briefly remind the public of the events that took place in the township of TUMAHOLE near Parys over this last few days and over the weekend. It's a community where if you're lucky enough to have a job at all, the average wage is about one hundred rands a month. Rents in that township were increased by R14. As CASSIM SALOOJEE said, it's one of the first fruits of the new Constitutional bills, of the Constitution Bills, new KOORNHOF BILLS, which are the Blackman's portion of the new constitution. At the same time that community, who was struggling to pay their food bills as well as their rents, also protested against the rise from seven to ten percent of G.S.T. And the people led by the TUMAHOLE CIVIC ASSOCIATION and the TUMAHOLE STUDENTS ORGANISATION, led an orderly protest in, in which they were trying

179. to protest against these increase. We all know the story that took place after that. The Police intervened and turned a peaceful demonstration into a violent confrontation. We believe in the DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE and DESCOM, that there was no need for Police intervention on that day. Police intervention historically has shown us that it escalates violence and it inflames people's passions. The Police also have the temerity to blame outside agitators. That was much closer to home than they thought perhaps, but on the other hand, if you look at who they have now been detaining, we discover no outside agitators have been detained in Parys. They are the community leaders who are languishing at this moment in the Police cells of Parys.

Over fifty three people have been de, uh detained or imprisoned. Some have appeared in court, others will still do so. Just briefly I want to say, that this is not an isolated incident in monitoring the way that detentions have been operating in the country. We of the D.P.S.C. have been able to see that this is a similar thing occurring in a number of communities now.

In Cradock in the Eastern Cape for example there was also a protest over the increase of rents. The community tried to negotiate with the Eas, EASTERN CAPE ADMINISTRATION BOARD and again Police intervention stopped any possibility of negotiation. Their leaders were detained and at this very moment, two of their leaders are sitting in Diepkloof jail.

Another two are sitting in Pollsmoor prison in the Cape. They have been detained on SECTION 28 of the INTERNAL SECURITY ACT and they will be detained for a full year. They have committed no crime whatsoever. They are the democratic leaders of their community.

And now, a man has died. Yes again, in the Police cells. One has to say, our leaders have courage. In this hot and dangerous situation. TERROR LEKOTA who was in Parys at the time of these events, recently went back there to try and find out the truth. And we know now that TERROR on that Sunday night, when the young JOHANNES NGALO was, was detained, TERROR actually appears to have witnessed some of the events which led to the dreadful fate that this man now suffered. And perhaps of course, if you've read your paper this evening, you would have seen for yourself some of those details. The full truth of it of course we will have to wait for the inquest and the the details from the families lawyers once they we had their their own uhm pathologists report. After tomorrows post mortem by the pathologist. Then, in general, before I close I'd like to note by, on behalf of the DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE a massive increase in repression in our country at this moment. At the very time BOTHA and his regime are promising us reform. There's been a dramatic increase in the detention of community leaders. In the first quarter of this year, ladies and gentlemen, seventy percent of all detentions were of community leaders and activists. In 1983 only thirty percent of, of of detained people were drawn from that category of people. What's

226. more, our our figures shows us that there are many more detainees at this time of the year than there was last year. Repression is on the increase. And while we sit here tonight and while we share in the excitement of our common cause and the euphoria of being in this wonderful meeting together, hearing wonderful speakers like CASSIM SALOOJEE and those I'm sure that will follow. Let's pause for a moment and think of our detainees. Let's think for example of RITA ^NMOZANGA and AMOS MASONDO. Both of them an, ah, U.D.F. activists who are also in G.A.W.U., the the, uh, GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION, who are in detention at this moment. Our concern deepens for everybody in detention. Those people perhaps in particular. When we who, in the DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE do a serious research on who is in detention and why, and so on. We thought there were 30 people in detention in the in the month of June. The Minister of Law and Order told Parliament in answer to a question, there were seventy. Where did those forty people that we didn't know about come from? Families come and tell us : "Our son is detained.

Our daughter is in detention." But no one came forward to tell us of those forty people. People are disappearing off the streets of our land like they do in Argentine, ladies and gentlemen. We in a terrible state and what's more we fear for the safety of those people in particular when we remember people like SIPIWE MTIMKULU and TOPSIE MDAKA.

Young people who belong to C.O.S.A.S., who disappeared from our land a couple of years ago. Nobody to this day knows where they are. What we do know is that they had been detained previously and SIPIWE MTIMKULU was suing the Minister of Police and the Minister of Law and Order and the Police Force for a hundred and fifty thousand rands at the time of his disappearance. Further only last week, we noted 258. with fear and strategation (phonetic) that one detainee had made an escape from Police custody. The Police said he was moving in a car with SECURITY POLICEMEN but he overpowered those Policemen, took their guns, threw them out of the car at a busy interchange and escaped in that car (laughter). People who knows things about detention, know Security detainees generally move with handcuffs and leg irons. We worry about them and their safety. And last week too, we noted that only that repression was increasing but that with the se, secrecy, the increasing secrecy the Police are now moving. We fear that another death in detention like PARIS MALATJE could take place. We now ask : "Was JOHANNES NGALO the the latest in that long line of people who've died mysteriously". Sometimes not so mysterially in the hands of the Police. The Police said NGALO was drunk. The family dispute this. In fact TERROR himself believes that the man was not drunk.

276. The Police will say : "This is not a Security detainee so why is the DETAINEE PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE taking interest in the case?" We reply : "That the Criminal Procedure Act under which most people are now being held, is actually the new weapon of the SECURITY POLICE." I believe that on high, there has been an instruction saying : "In this time of reform when the world is watching us, detain less people. Use the SECURITY LAWS less, to give us a better image." So they use the CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT which allows them to hold people for 48 hours after which they have to bring them to court or perhaps put them on to Security detention. And we've noticed the SECURITY POLICE using that more and more. And if the man was drunk, why was he being interrogated, handled by RIOT SQUAD POLICE in camourflage uniforms in the presence of SECURITY POLICEMEN? That's not how you treat a drunk man.

And finally, about those forty people we know nothing about, who are they?

We want to know. We demand from the Minister of law and Order the names of those people. We demand that their families get told that they are in detention because their families don't know. In fact the young man who allegedly escaped from Police custody, MR. NGIDI, his his family did not know that he was even in the country. He left the country in 1976. He ended up in Police hands and the family didn't know he was back. So we demand the names of those unknown forty people. We demand their release and we warn those people going into the new constitution, it it's the new tri-cameral Parliament, that they are collaborators. They are benefitting from these kinds of detentions. The Police are acting on their behalf as well as of this Government's behalf, and we hold (applause) and we now hold them jointly responsible with this Government for for the fate of those detainees. Thank you."

(Applause).

309. DR. ESSOP JASSAT.

"There's uh people who are moving into the hall. Ah, ah, ah, a person who walked in and uh he was questioned who he was and he said that he was a member of the BLACK SASH. That just shows the type of informers these Police uses. As we look down his pants would know that he is not a member of the BLACK SASH. And uh, this is the sort of trickery that they employ to get into our meetings. Now you will recall that uh in Pretoria, a few days ago when MR. RAJBANSI spoke you know there were Police dogs. You know with ah, and uh Policemen with you know batons and gas-cylinders and the works there. They had the whole might of the the Police there. And uh, yet when we have a meeting here, we don't resort to such things. So it shows on whose side the State is and shows where the collaborators stand in their struggle. Friends ah, our deputy (applause).

Uhm, I'm going to ask a young man to make a very short statement. He is DAVID MONTSITSI who was the PRESIDENT of the STUDENTS REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL during the 1976 upheavel of students in this country.

335. He was jailed for eight years, four of them on ROBBEN ISLAND and recently visited Namibia. He's going to have three minutes to address you."

(Applause).

336. Singing of song. (23(a)).

Chanter : AMANDLA
 Audience : NGAWETHU
 Chanter : AMANDLA
 Audience : NGAWETHU

368. DAVID MONTSITSI (~~Possibly DANIEL MONTSITSI~~).

Eh, evening to all comrades. Well comrades I don't have much to say except that now to show also in a symbolic way how the strategy of dividing the people in South Africa is being going on, now there in Namibia what they have been doing so far particularly with the multi-party state conference of theirs. What they have been doing is to have some of those different parties which are actually coming up to oppose SWAPO, now they are being projected as the authentic eh organisations and some of the leaders there are actually being presented as the authentic leadership of the people there. But now what you have actually realised is that now, one of the organisations there in Namibia, mainly ZWANE? (phonetic) has actually decided in fact that now particularly some of the people within ZWANE have decided that they are actually going to pledge solidarity with SWAPO and they are actually going to support SWAPO in the struggle. Now this has become a major break through for the liberation struggle in Namibia because the multi-party conference itself has actually come up in tatters. People in Namibia mostly speak about SWAPO. People in Namibia mostly speak about NUJOMA and mostly speak about TOIVO. Now another interesting factor is the way they are actually trying the best that they can in order to systematically sow the division which they have also been actually been doing also in South Africa. Now there in one township in KATUTURA (phonetic) what they are doing is actually to have on the number of the homes, you know, there is the address of the home and in front of the address they actually have some letters attached 'H' for HERERO 'O' for OVAMBO and 'D' for DAMARA. Now the young people who are actually growing up, you know, they grow up with the type of ideas embraced you know embraced in their minds that in that house the people there are DAMARAS, in that house the people there are HEREROS but fortunately members of the SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUE and even members of the NAMIBIAN STUDENT eh, NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANISATIONS. Those are some of the young people who are actually prepared to do the political work amongst their own

336. SONG - . : "HLANGANANI BASEBENZI".

CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : NGOBA
AUDIENCE IYOMA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
CHANTER : OH!
AUDIENCE : IYONA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
CHANTER + } : IYONA LANHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
AUDIENCE)
CHANTER + } : IYONA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
AUDIENCE)
CHANTER : NGOBA
AUDIENCE : IYONA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI

communities in order to be able to stand once and for all the type of division which the South African Government is also sowing, right inside Namibia.

417. Here in South Africa we are saying we are one, we are actually denied
001. of the political, economic and many other rights. We are not able to exercise our rights, but now what they have been doing so far was first to co-opt the white workers and later what they are trying to do is to co-opt the Indians and the Coloureds, but we know that now our own communities will definitely not be having any (END TAPE 2 - SIDE 1) (TAPE 2 SIDE 2) powers whatsoever and that is why we say in one voice we have got to shout unity, in one voice we have got to actually say that now the aspirations and interests of the people are actually enshrined in the FREEDOM CHARTER. That is why we say that ultimately we shall have to fight united and in action together and move for a non-racial and democratic future South Africa. I remember the words of one of the comrades in Namibia who was accompanying me to the airport. What he said was comrade, if I could have taken you to the Northern border of Namibia you could have been able to see how many the South African soldiers are there. In fact I've been wondering my brother what is it that they eat there, what clothes do they put on and where do they stay. I am not surprised that there is G.S.T., G.S.T. in South Africa, all the money the South African people are paying is actually going there. AMANDLA, comrades. (Applause).

019. DR. JASSAT.

Friends, it's my pleasure to call upon our guest of honour this evening, PROFESSOR FATIMA MEER who has kindly consented to address us (applause). FATIMA needs no introduction because she is a household name in this country. Might be aware that she is a professor of Sociology at the UNIVERSITY OF NATAL. She's the author of numerous books. One that comes to mind is the one on GHANDI called "THE APPRENTICESHIP OF MAHATMA". She has written numerous papers on Social Science and she has been actively involved in the Liberation Struggle of this country. The MEER family has played a prominent role since the days of DADOO, NAICKER. Her husband, ISMAIL, was the joint secretary of the passive resistance council and was responsible for organising the passive resistance struggle of 1946. FATIMA too has been in the forefront of the struggle for liberation in this country, and not only herself but her total family has been involved.

Her son was detained from some time and had to leave this country, so have daughters been detained. So FATIMA was banned for many years and only recently her banning order was withdrawn. She was recently arrested for participating in a demonstration against the Prime Minister when he addressed the RAJBANSI'S group in the City Hall in Durban.

To those who have, who know the of the history of the CONGRESS MOVEMENT

45. in this country, the MEER'S name is synonymous with the CONGRESS name and it, it is a great pleasure to have us to have her with us here this evening - FATIMA. (Applause).

47. FATIMA MEER.

Friends, brothers, sisters, I have this disadvantage of being somewhat short (laughter from the audience) and people don't always appreciate it. (Laughter from the audience) and when they put you behind a leg turn like this, you can't really see. I can't really see you, then I can't really talk to you very nicely. But I'm hoping that I'm being heard. It is very good for me to be here with you.

It's taken a long time, I think too long altogether to get back to Johannesburg and to be able to speak to you. I'm sorry that the occasion is not a good one. When people are banned for a long time and put into prison for a long time, people hope that when they get out of it all, it will be an occasion to celebrate freedom, real democracy, the offering of a real new constitution. But we find that we are back again where we started before in fact we haven't moved at all. The same old thing continues to happen. You heard CASSIM SALOOJEE, he spent a lot of time and he dwelt on all the things that are happening in this country at the moment, and the picture he painted was a very very grim picture. When do you start having new constitutions? Why do you start having new constitutions? It's

when a new people or a new Government comes into power and now fears that there are new ideas that have to be implemented. A new kind of society has to be now put into effect, put into action, then you have a new constitution. But here we have had this Government sitting on top of us, breathing down our necks for the last, what is it, how many years, over thirty, I've lost count, and now suddenly
076. this Government, this old Government, this fossilized? Government, this Government (applause) which is totally out of step with the rest of the world. There's nothing very marvellous about the rest of the world either (laughter). But at least one thing is clear in the rest of the world, they've done away with racism. But this Government stands firm to racism up to this day. Why then does this Government come up with a new constitution? Why does it come up with this new

- constitution at this particular point in our history? The answers
084. to me can be various, but it seems to me that one of the answers is that this particular NATIONALIST PARTY has grown somewhat fearful that it might not continue to have the kind of power and authority that it has been enjoying for the last umpteen dozen years. It certainly
92. is feeling the pinch from within its own body and this is the pinch of the extreme so-called right wing herstigtes, very hard for us non-Afrikaners to say (laughter) (applause) but they feeling that pressure so the've got to deal with that pressure. They're also feeling a little bit, the pressure of the PROGS the sort of left wings of the whites.
97. And they're beginning to feel that if there is a combination of these two bodies, then maybe the white Parliament would not be able to give them the kindness they want. The NATS may conceivably get out of power.

So it's got to think of some new design, so its come up with this new design, and what is it going to do now, three houses, two of them given to those who will sit on it, will not be black people. They will be brown people, two of them handed over to brown people.

Well now you've got a totally new kind of structure it's a strange kind of structure. It is presuming to offer these brown people because it's not gonna offer it to us. We're not going to feature there at all. Make no mistake about that. Those forty people, who will sit, you are going to have, have this new Parliament because this Government is still very strong. We haven't yet mustered enough strength to wish it, to speak it, to will it out of the existence. So its going to be there but its going to have its new constitution and you're going to have these three chambers as they are calling them. That's going to come into effect whenever the date has been set for it to become to, to, to become into effect. Those who sit, I'm now talking about the brown people, they will represent themselves the forty Indians who will be elected because you're going to find at least forty Indians who will go there and vote, and all you need are forty Indians (laughter and applause). Now those forty Indians will only represent themselves and those eighty Coloureds will only represent themselves. They will not represent one single other Coloured person in this country. Whether the Coloured person we're thinking about, are rich or poor or middle class or whatever that makes no difference. And those forty Indians are not going to represent a single other Indian, in that so-called house of is it deputies, or whatever that thing is called.

That is why we're looking at it very pragmatically and not being led away by any emotions and that is why we are saying what's the point, of going there and entering, entering into this fiasco and casting a vote

133. which is totally meaningless. MR. SALOOJEE has already indicated to you what happens in this new Parliament that is being presented to us. There is no new Parliament, Parliament remains, that's the white Parliament. There are going to be two other things that are going to be happening there (laughter). Now, in terms of this new constitution there is a concentration of power in the President. The President is going to decide what will be discussed in the brown houses. Of course they will tell you that he also decides what's gonna happen in the white houses, in the white house, but really and truly speaking he does not decide what will happen in the white house because the white house knows it's an old house, it has a long history

149. and it does what white people want the white house to do. But as far as the two brown houses are concerned it is quite clear the President will decide what will be discussed in those two brown houses. Before any bills are introduced, the President will have to certify that these bills may be discussed. So where is anybody's self determination? Yours and mine doesn't feature at all. But even those brown people who sit in it, where is their self determination? Then of course you know this business about own affairs and general affairs which means immediately the people who sit in these brown houses will only be allowed to discuss brown affairs and again they will only be able to discuss Indian affairs if they are Indian and Coloured affairs if they are Coloured. And then what is it all about? Specifically when you look at the guidelines to this constitution, it is spelt out categorically that this new constitution has been so defined and so devised that there won't be any conflict, that there will be consensus that everything conceivably will be done to see to it that people agree, they shouldn't disagree, and what are we going to agree about, what are those brown people going to agree about? In other words even before they sit in those brown houses, they are being told that they will have to agree, they mustn't make problems, they mustn't start eh being intransigent

173. They mustn't for instance say we won't co-operate or we won't do that or we won't do this, they must agree with what the President, the Government, the NATIONALIST PARTY, the whole apartheid system intends and wants them to do. I'll just read out a few of these sentences' because they really are quite interesting, now consensus you see.

They say that we have to move away from the conflict style in Parliament, they don't like the conflict style in Parliament, you see, we must establish procedures to promote unity which means don't have any differences of opi, of opinion, which means if you are a brown person and you've got a lot of grievances because your people haven't got this and your people haven't got that. Don't bring it up because it's going to cause problems (laughter). Now they say every organ in the new dispensation will have to concentrate on achieving concess, consensus, opposition must be blocked. What are we going to, what are they not we, what are they going to achieve consensus about, it's only one consensus and that is the consensus of the white house, the consensus of the NATIONALIST PART, the consensus of the President. So this is what they are going to be there to do, to promote, to bolster this consensus. It goes on to say, clashes between chambers will be the exception rather than the rule.

202. How do they know in advance? (Laughter). It's because you see the whole thing has been so carefully straight jacketed and because they have the power, therefore they can know in advance. And also because they know what kind of people are going to get into those brown houses, therefore they can know in advance. Now then they go on, they say contraveal, controversial issues should not be brought to head in a way that strong emotions are aroused. Well, what else is there when people have problems but strong emotions? What kind of houses are these, when in advance we are told, don't in any way
215. stir up emotions. So what are we to go there as robots, but we're not going there at all and not none of you are going there in any case. Em. Ja. Then you see there won't be any mixing you can take that for granted, this is an apartheid society, that is an apartheid eh, eh, tri-cameral system that you have there. But there will be some mixing very carefully selected kind of mixing and about that mixing the guide lines have this to say, they say, they will people carefully selected these are peace loving and constructive citizens who will not follow the simplistic approach of rejecting everything everything out of hand, that's us. We're not wanted there you see, we have a simplistic approach of rejecting everything out of hand. We do, we reject everything about apartheid out of hand. If that is the (applause). If that is being simplistic then we are proud to be simplistic. Now then they say it will be moderate leaders who will arrive at an acceptable dispensation. Right with that we can imagine what's gonna happen there. We gonna have bills, which

are first of all vetoed by the president, he certifies this is right you can discuss this and you enter into, what kind of discussion will you enter into then at that stage? Because the President has already decided what you will decide. If he does not like anything in a bill then that bill is not going to be in that chamber in any case. That's the position as far as that goes. Now these I think are the practical reasons why we reject this constitution. We can now get onto our ideological reasons. Now many people say that well, ideology is, is, is, is not a practical thing. Ideology is not pragmatic and don't talk about ideology. Let's talk about what we can get through this kind of negotiating with top level people. I'm sure the people who are standing for election have these kind of granduous ideas that they will be hobnobbing with whites and Afrikaners right at the top and through this hobnobbing something will come their way, something might come their way I'm quite sure (laughter) fat salaries are going to come their way, the fringe benefits are going to come their way, a couple of license may also flow their way. These things have happened even through the sitting on the S.A.I.C. so why 265. shouldn't a little bit more happen for these deputies or whatever they will be called why should it not happen to even a little greater measure since now they are sitting in a brown house which has slightly more status in the estimation of the Government, certainly because they are going to be paid so much more money for sitting in it. So something will go their way, nothing comes our way (laughter). Ideologically, and we are proud of our ideology. When we talk about ideology we're talking about values, when we talk about ideology we are thinking about our morals, we are thinking about our beliefs, we are talking about our religion, we are talking about the things that make us into human beings, and therefore ideology is very important. Whatever that ideology may be, basically the ideology is a fundamental system of values and we black people, we Indian Black people, we Coloured Black people, we African Black people, we have always espoused the value, the concept of non-racialism. We have always espoused the value of a single South African Community, a single brotherhood, a single sisterhood of South Africans which could then merge into a single sisterhood and a single brotherhood of the world community. This is something which we have always held very precious in our hearts and this is something we will not loose today, not for a brown house. If the rewards were very much bigger we might get a little bit opportunistic we might make, have some gi give the thing some consideration but not for a mere brown, brown house. I would like to think that we would not loose our values for anything. This is a

racist Parliament or Parliaments. The very fact that you have them in three is indicative of the racism. The very fact that as Indian people you can only go to the polls as Indians. This is racism. The fact that you can only elect Indians, this is racism, the fact that you can only elect people to sit in an Indian house in a South African community, this is racism. So because we are anti-racists, 316. because racism goes against our very grain of our values as Muslims, as Hindus, as Christians. We reject this constitution. We can have no truck with it. Why else do we reject this constitution, we reject it because here we are presented with a racist tri-cameral system which excludes the people of South Africa. Who are we brown people without the black people and can we be people without being black people, this is the question that we have to ask ourselves (..... applause). Can we march into that thing which is now being concocted there in Cape Town as brown people without the people of this country, by what right can we do this, if we have any commitment, if we have any obligations, then it is to the people of South Africa, it is to the people of this soil, can we dare call ourselves as part and parcel of the 339. South African community, as people of this soil if we now in association with the white people who have sat there for the last sixty or seventy years. Are we now going to go there and are we going to now partners them in their segregation. Are we going to be partners to the horror acts of apartheid, are we going to bare responsibility for the poverty, for the disease, for the high infantile mortality rate, for the babies that are dying all the time in the reserves, are we going to be party to dividing husbands from wives and children from parents. Are we going to be party to influx control, to passes, to this whole system of migrant labour. These are the questions we have to ask ourselves. Can we as Muslims be partners to something like this, can we as Hindus be partners to something like this, can we as Christians be partners to something like this? It is quite obvious we cannot. And it is for these reasons that we will not go to the polls, not one of us sitting here today and it is for that reason that I would urge every one of you who is present at this meeting today to take it upon himself and upon herself to go out to speak to the people, to canvas, to reason, to prevent them from going to those polls. If there is going to be that Parliament, let that parliament be, but let us as the people not be a part of that Parliament.

(Applause).

386. DR. JASSAT.

"We will have a (interruption by singing). (31(a)).

(Singing of unknown song in a Black language with shouts of "AMANDLA".
"NGAWETHU").

Refer to 31(a)

416. JASSAT.

"Thank you. It has been a request that the member of A.Y.C.O. which
is the ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS read us a poem. Is he in the

421. audience? (Inaudible) prepared to read a poem?

001. (Applause).

END OF TAPE 2 - SIDE 2.

TAPE 3 - SIDE 1.

ANDREW MOGOTSI @ JINGLES, member of A.Y.C.O.

Good evening "AMANDLA" Power

Audience : "NGAWETHU" Is ours

MOGOTSI : "AMANDLA" Power

Audience : "NGAWETHU" Is ours

MOGOTSI : "UZIPO" (phonetic) Ihippo the Hippo.

Audience : "SIYABONGE" (phonetic) Eyabo Is theirs

20
5/10/87

(PLAYING OF FLUTE.)

(Poetry reading by ANDREW MOGOTSI.)

"If a man can swim, let him throw himself into the river.

Any attempt to stop the ^{bees} ~~peace~~ would be worstening them.

I got a newspaper sometimes.

I saw a picture of four men.

It was SAMORA MACHEL, and CHISSANO. It was PIK BOTHA and P.W. BOTHA.

Can you guess what I did to that paper?

I did shit on that paper (laughter and applause)

A man who deoderizes shit is a stupid man because even when shit is
deoderized, shit will remain stinking shit (laughter and applause
which drowns his words). So shit is shit deoderizing shit man shit.

025. Why men start barking, dogs become surprised for they cannot speak
in the language of man (laughter). It is now time to eat BAZOOKA
and shit bullets. For ^{there} ~~their~~ shall be time to vomit fire (laughter).

The day is cheating the night.

West winds blow to the south with the hope of fading away the sweat
for freedom.

The smoke penetrates the black glove and the black hands in a steam

31(a)/

386. SONG - : "MALIBONGWE IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI"

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

AUDIENCE : IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

AUDIENCE : MALIBONGWE MALIBONGWE

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

AUDIENCE : IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE, IGAMA LAMAKHO
SIKAZI MALIBONGWE

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

AUDIENCE : MALIBONGWE MALBONGWE

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

AUDIENCE : IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE, IGAMA LAMAKHO
SIKAZI MALIBONGWE

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

AUDIENCE : MALIBONGWE MALIBONGWE

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

(phonetic) search in vain for freedom.

Their mother protection.

There is a revolution.

32. A martyred person PARIS MALATJI.

Mozambique, Matola, Lesotho, Maseru.

Swaziland, rockets, bullets, innocent souls.

Soweto, Afrikaners plus bullets minus little HECTOR and others.

Gugulethu, Langa, Nyanga and Alexandra. Afrikaans,

37. dom passes plus peace and the bullets.

In Africa, bullets, blood melancholly

and agony. Today is the day of tears, yesterday was.

Blood flowed all over the streets of Africa.

The bloods that watered the tree of liberty and

shook the chains of slavery.

Blood flowed in Africa.

Always a gun is pointing at the Blackman.

Black and white fingers helped each other to pull the trigger.

A Blackman falls down to kiss mother earth for ever.

His face engorged with blood.

His voice still like a gass hole.

A bullet wound in his head.

A bullet wound at his back.

A bullet wound on his neck.

A bullet wound in his leg.

Bullets all over the body of the innocent African child.

I hate what is happening.

chocolate

46. I do not fear what is happening for no time is TGN? ~~alone~~-time.

47. There is no honey? struggle.

The struggle has been painful.

Our struggle is painful.

Our struggle happens to be an alternative struggle of bloodshed.

For we died yesterday and we are dying today but we shall live tomorrow and forever.

We shall live tomorrow and forever (Applause) Black,

Black, green and gold colour fly high.

52. The youth on the march hoist them high and how high to reach the firmaments of love, peace, freedom and justice for all.

There is the youth hoisting the flag high.

Thre'e colours speak to the masses in the language of hope.

There is the doctor preaching to his patient about hope.

22

5/9/87

56. There is the doctor talking about peace.

There is the poet.

Here is the poet preaching about unity and freedom.

Listen to the poet.

Hope is love.

Hope is peace.

Hope is freedom.

Hope is justice.

Hope is love.

Hope is peace.

Hope is freedom.

Hope is justice.

Hope is love.

Hope is peace.

Hope is freedom.

Hope is justice.

Listen to the cry of the child, crying his pain to prick your
conscious.

Conscious like the dead body.

Listen to the child.

Listen to the doctor that you'll get cured one day.

Listen to the Bishop that there be peace.

Listen to the poets that there be unity and freedom.

Listen to the voice of the oppressed.

There are the children.

Here are the children.

Children who knew what it is to be Black.

Children who experienced torture.

65. Children who grew up inhaling dust as though dust had ~~lies~~ life.

There, here are the children.

Children who ask for bread but are provided with bricks.

There are the children.

Children who because of oppression glue themselves to the flag Black,
green and gold like an infant on his mothers breast.

Here are the children (applause).

There are the children.

Here are the children.

There is the report.

Here is the report.

A man fell from the tenth floor.

(20)
5/10/87

A prisoner hanged himself with his pair of trousers.
 A policeman killed four heavily armed terrorists.
 The truth is yet to come.
 There is a bomb blast in Pretoria.
 There is a bomb blast in Bloemfontein. There is another bomb blast
 in Belfast.
 The truth is not yet known, but hope remains in our mind.
 For hope is love.
 Hope is peace.
 Hope is freedom.
 Hope is justice.
 Hope is love.
 Hope is peace,
 Hope is freedom.
 (Applause mingled with whistling and cat calls).

20
 5/10/87

DR. JASSAT.

81. We have received a message from the ANTI-PRESIDENTS COUNCIL and I will ask our vice-chairman, DR. RAM SALOOJEE to read the message. (Applause).

DR. R.A.M. SALOOJEE.

85. This is a message from the TRANSVAAL ANTI-P.C. COMMITTEE to the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

We salute you for the determination with which you have waged the struggle against the racist and capitalist constitution which aims to entrench apartheid. We salute you for mobilising and organising the oppressed people to defeat the back yard Parliaments and all those who are betraying our struggle. We particularly salute you for the struggle you have waged over a long period for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Your meeting here on the 18th July 1984 Johannesburg will be remembered in helping to unmask those who want to behead our struggle for freedom and those who want to

97. plant traitors and (quislings) in the ranks of the oppressed people. Let those gathered here gain new strength to go our and mobilize, organise and unite our people in a determined struggle to defeat oppression and gain our freedom. Those of us who may not be here with you tonight are out waging that struggle. This is from the ANTI-P.C. which is an inseparable component of the freedom and liberation struggle in this country. Thank you.

(Applause).

104. DR. JASSAT.

One final message and this is a fraternal greeting from the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS which has been brought in person by ROY PADAYACHEE who is the member of the Executive of the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, ROY.

108. ROY PADAYACHEE.

Comrade chair and comrades, listening to the speakers here and when they speak of chambers and the poet who relevantly talked about shit, it seems as if that our major task is to develop a big constipation in this system that we have before us today (laughter from audience). I was going to say also that I bring you greetings in solidarity but I want to withdraw that because solidarity is also a word, a swear word, in our community today.

I think our main message in the course of this campaign to our people is to reject this apartheid constitution and in particular to say to our people that we call upon you not to vote in the elections.

But before we do that, I think it is important that we reflect now, and we say to our people, what it means if you go on that day and put your vote. For us if you vote it means we accept apartheid, if you vote it means you accept, to be a second class citizen now and a first class slave, slave forever. To vote it means we accept this stooge leadership that comes before us, if we vote it means

128. that we accept that the African people with whom we have fought for, equal rights, with whom we live next to, the people with whom we travel in the buses and in the trains, the people we slog and sweat with in the factories that produce the wealths, if we vote it means that we are going to join those privileged few and push the African people from pillar to post from the centres of wealth in the cities to the barren homelands. It means if we vote we accept to join these hands that are aiming to break the backs of the African people.

We in the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS AND YOU IN THE TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, are people as a whole in Natal, in Transvaal in the Cape and in every corner of this world, in every corner of this land, we say no, we say no to apartheid, we say no to the Bantustans, we say no to apartheid Parliaments, we say no to conscription, we say no, no, no, we say we will not vote in August (question to audience). Do you say that?

(Audience replies) no (laughter) yes you say the answer is yes, you should be saying no too, (laughter from

147. audience) but to say no is not enough and we have realised this, that

to say no is not enough. We have to take this message to our people and this indeed is what we are doing in Natal, and I believe also what our comrades in the Transvaal and our comrades everywhere in South Africa is doing today. We have to go to our people in Natal wherever they are in all the regions we are taking this message. Our people are working every night from Monday to Sunday knocking on the doors of people and are explaining to them the dangers of supporting this constitution. We are doing it through house visits, we are doing it through area blitzes and we are doing it through what we call provincial blitzes where we bring all our people together on the Sunday of every week and we choose our areas and we go out and we tell the people what we want them to do and we discuss with them the dangers of the constitution. We have to take this message not only to the homes, we have to take this message to the people as we meet them in the shopping centres, we have to take this message to the people that we ride with in the buses and trains and we have to take this message and indeed we are doing so, to the workers that we meet at 5 and 4 o'clock in the morning.

Comrades that is our task today and that is the message I bring, to our comrades in the Transvaal and as we say in our banners here, that the future belongs to us, comrades let us claim it now.

AMANDLA.

(Audience responds) NGAWETHU.

175. DR. JASSAT.

Our final speaker for this evening is TERROR LEKOTA, who is the National Publicity Secretary of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. TERROR has been travelling (END OF TAPE 3 - SIDE 1) (TAPE 4 - SIDE 1) round the country and as mentioned earlier

001. this evening TERROR was picked up in Bloemfontein, and ah, was an attempt was made to link him with the uprising in Parys. He was in Parys and for many hours he was interrogated and released. TERROR will now address us.

(Applause).

006. Singing of song. (Inaudible).

007. TERROR LEKOTA.

Good evening comrades and friends. Now I have eh, been told that ah, MR. RAJBANSI has ah made ah an offer to African people, and that

Heropmans

*Looping van
+ i...
Terror...
op...
ap...
op...*

he has said that once he is in parliament he intends to change South Africa (laughter). Now I don't know what the NATS are saying that they are, they have changed South Africa. He says that once he is in parliament he will change South Africa. That he is not abandoning the majority of Afr. of disenfranchised friends, or his disenfranchised friends., Now I think ah, at least there is a very dangerous assumption that is made here. I think MR. RAJBANSI have said that once elected to parliament, because he will move from Durban where there ah the S.A.I.C. was always been to move next to parliament. He is not going into Parliament (laughter). ^{So his statement should have read} (~~So he is taking for granted~~) that once next to Parliament he intends to do something whatever he has intends to do .

(Laughter). The arguments which have been advanced here tonight have made it quite clear that there is no question about it, but that Indian and Coloured people remain outside Parliament. That they are not going into Parliament. They will be given a room somewhere next to parliament. And that's where they are going to be. He is saying that he is not abandoning his disenfranchised friends. Now again I suspect that he is playing white. We must ask the question when was he or at least when were the Indian people of this country enfranchised (applause). Now I mean that is the first point simple point to make.

That is the fact that, that statement must not mislead South Africans of Indian origin into believing that in fact they are going into Parliament. Secondly though, I want to raise the question eh, and say MR. RAJBANSI is keeping ^{us} as one of his meetings he is keeping out of his meetings the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, he's included amongst other things other people Africans in those meetings. How can he, want us in parliament when he doesn't even want us in his own meetings. (Laughter).

Unknown person : "Tell him to" (Laughter).

40. The third of course, this is the (inaudible)speak at that level.

41. But my point the third point I want to (make) , and this is a crucial point. When did the the African people give MR. RAJBANSI the mandate to go into Parliament or to go into the tri-cameral formation on their behalf. As far as I know he does not even have the mandate of the Indian people (laughter) to go into (applause). But also I want to mention that if I read the history of our country

47. properly and if I have followed both recorded and oral eh oral o, o, o, at least oral eh, eh, eh, narrations, narrations of our history. It seems to me that our people gave the mandate for the representation of their aspirations to the CONGRESS MOVEMENT of this country, first. (Applause). I know that in terms of the formation of the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS In 1894 as the first liberation organisation of the Indian people in this country. They gave the mandate to the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS. Later on of course to become the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS leading up to the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS and so on. I want to know from MR. RAJBANSI when did they withdraw that mandate from CONGRESS and give it to him (laughter) (applause). I know that our people gave their mandate to the CONGRESS MOVEMENT. Because subsequently in 1912 the formation of the SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS, African people gave their mandate to the CONGRESS MOBEMENT to lead in and at that point in time at least to champion their aspirations. I want to ask MR. RAJBANSI today when did those people withdraw that mandate and pass it on to him. And until such time that he provides me with answers for those specific questions. I must say to you that you have no need to even heed or even waste your time reading what is written in the Star or any of the papers about what he has said. But and of course I want to ma-make this quite clear to you, we are democratic. I am prepared and we are prepared to give MR. RAJBANSI, if he things that he is competent enough, we are prepared to give an opportunity to go into Soweto to go into Kwa Mashu (Laughter) to go into Langa, into Batho township in Bloemfontein, into everyone of the African townships around the country, into everyone of the Indian and Coloured townships around the country without exclusive meetings guarded by SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, etc. (laughter), to go there and talk to the masses of our people in open public meetings and ask the people to withdraw their mandate to the CONGRESS people to the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, to the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, to the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, etc. and give it onto him. We are prepared to guarantee his safety (laughter and applause). That is all I'd like to say about MR. RAJBANSI. I wouldn't like to make monkeys famous (laughter) I wouldn't like to make monkeys famous I've got a very important task here tonight (laughter). There is a last point which I I want to add to all the arguments which were made tonight about why we reject the new constitution. That is the one point which I would like to make. I have been told that the new constitution for all

its shortcomings must be accepted because it gives Indians and eh Indian and Coloureds South Africans an opportunity to begin for the very first time to practice democracy. (Laughter).

47. Or that it gives them an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the democratic process of Government. And this is the argument which has been advanced in amongst others by some lecturer from the UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN, WEST, WESTVILLE, eh, DURBAN-WESTVILLE. But I'd like to respond to this type of argument. Many of our people may be tempted to accept this type of approach. To say this simple point that by the time that India in Asia was colonised. Indian people had behind them centuries of established government, indeed that the time of the
105. discovery, but not discovery, (inaudible) because India was there. India needed not be discovered (Laughter).

- By the time of the arrival of eh Europeans in India, Indian society
108. had developed a level of feudal organisation. Having gone through the initial primitive stages of tribal communes, having gone through ancient slave eh, societies of slave, slave organisations. At that level of advanced feudal order, that in fact feudalism was already crumbling and corrupt in the Indian con, continent itself. That quite easily place the Indian people at, in, in the Indian continent on par with European governs ah, ah least uh development in terms of Government and society development. What made it ah, possible at that stage to exclude them, from participating already at that stage, and came forward. Now even some of the records of history show that we actually have far more deeper records of eh, records of history concerning the Indian subcontinent that we have even of Europe. And
120. now you have a little boer boykie coming around and telling you that now. These people get their chance for the very first time to acquaint themselves with forms of Government. I think that's rubbish. And I think that those who will be misled by this argument will be people who are ignorant about the background history, history of Indian eh eh Indian people in India before even they were brought here as inden, indentured labourers. Then of course there is the question of that of course also the Coloured people will be given an opportunity for the first time to acquaint themselves with this form of government. I can assure you that I was born and bred in the Free State, I travelled around the country fairly well, I've been in prison for a period of time guarded by Afrikaners and so on who are entitled to vote. I have met some of the most stupidest of men amongst them (laughter).

But who have the right to exercise the vote and to come in not only my life, but the lives of all of us. And now at the same time I am satisfied in my mind that there are a large number of very very far more intelligent Indian people who could participate much more meaningfully in the Government of this country, and that first grouping is this one that's sitting in front of me here.

138. You are here as a democratic people here, committed to the advancement of the democratic ah, ah, establishment of the uh democratic eh, government in our country. That already indicates the very fact that you reject apartheid, the very fact that you are not taken in by HENDRICKS and so on, already indicates your capacity to see through the falsity of the present forms of Government which are far from democracy, completely far from democracy. And this is something which which we can say, that there a lot of people at that level the who are much more intelligent, and who can do it. And I think if the risks of allowing the stupid men to vote etc. who comes from the platteland and so on, if those men can vote and determine our fate, then I think we may as well be allowed to make the mistakes ourselves, about our own fate. Because these men, these are the men who are voting for this disasterous constitutions. These are the men who are today like TERBLANCH, like ah like TREURNICHT who are advancing

151. the most rabid racism ever, which can only lead to a disasterous future in our country. And I think we are competent already at this stage to take over and do that for ourselves, against the type of argument which must not be accepted. But I have chosen to talk to you tonight, not to tell you about the shortcomings of the new constitution. That has already been done. I would like to remind you both you and I, I'd like to tell those who don't know and remind those who know, about who we are and where we come from.

And about precisely the point that which our struggle today is. The first point I want to make and this is a significant point, I must make it in this meeting, this is a meeting that was organised by the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

That in 1859 in the Indian sub-continent a large number of Indian chiefs and what not rose up in 1859 there was a big rebellion in India, and ah battalions of British Colonial soldiers and so on were killed. Because people wanted to drive in a BM, British, British, the British side of India. That rebellion came and and passed. The British, the most powerful power at that point in time was able to come back and establish its (inaudible). The following year in

No 20
14/9/87
↓

Comment on why he has dwelt on history on pp 41/40 e.s.

1860 the all India Congress was formed to champion the struggle of the Indian people against Colonialism in India. In the same year our forefathers, our indentured forefathers came down to the coast of Natal to work in the sugar cane fields as indentured labourers. They brought with them the tradition of organised resistance. They brought with them the concept of CONGRESS, that was at that point in time. In 1894 the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, the first formation of organised resistance was set up in our country. It was just a matter of time and in 1912 the African population of 182. our country took the queue from their fellow sufferers in the country and organised yet another CONGRESS. So the CONGRESS MOVEMENT took shape. I have said sometimes that CONGRESS was the first movement to be organised in our country and by that very fact alone became our national political goal. Having been formed in that way we found that for, the type of problem that confronted both Indian and African people in particular and of course even like the Coloured people as well. In the question of land in 1930 the laws were passed which made it prescribed African movement in, in the country. Restricting it to 8% of the of, of, of the land of the country, and at the same time our Indian forefathers were also deprived of their freedom of movement through the breath, the length and breadth of the country. They were not allowed to settle in the Free State, they were not allowed to settle in the Transvaal or anywhere else, they were not even allowed to settle in some parts of Northern Natal, up to this day that remains. The formation, the very foundation of this new constitution that is being fought today were laid there. That laid type of legislation in relation for African people was talked of at the LAND ACT. In the case of the Indian people it was restriction from movement from point to point, but the common problem that confronted our people, the one that continues to confront us to this day, is the fact that we are denied full freedom to roam amongst other things freely within our country, to own land wherever we may want to own it, I may not own land in what is called the white areas. You may not own land in what is called the Free State, you may not own land indeed in some parts of Northern Natal today, You and I may not occupy certain coaches of the train, we may not sit in certain buildings, we may not and you may not even under the provisions of the new constitution you may not sit in the white Parliament so that the foundation of the present domination of the other groupings was laid there.

025. SONG-

CHANTER: IYO The sun has set where will we sleep

CHANTER: IYE

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep

CHANTER: Where will we sleep

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep

CHANTER: Where will we sleep

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep
chanter; iyoyo

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep

CHANTER: Where will we sleep

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep

CHANTER: Where will we sleep

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep

CHANTEL: Where will we sleep

AUDIENCE: The sun has set where will we sleep

I(c)/.....

053.

CHANTER: Oliver Tambo
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: A leader indeed
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER:
AUDIENCE : No no no
CHANTER: A leader indeed
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER:
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: A leader indeed
CHANTER:.....
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER:.....
AUDIENCE: Voetsek
CHANTER:
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER:
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER.....
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: Nelson Mandela
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: A leader indeed
AUDIENCE : No no no
CHANTER: AMED KATHRADA
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: A leader
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: WALTER SISULU
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: A leader
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER: And this Tambo
AUDIENCE: No no no

I(c)(.....)

CHANTER: A leader
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER:
AUDIENCE: No no no
CHANTER:
AUDIENCE: No no

CHANTER: Power!

AUDIENCE: Is ours!

CHANTER: Power!

AUDIENCE: Is ours!

chanter; Let it come back!

AUDIENCE: AFRICA!

CHANTER: Let it come back!

AUDIENCE: Africa!

CHANTER: We Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Mandela

CHANTER: We Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Ya We soldiers

CHANTER: We Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Mandela

CHANTER: We Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Ya we Mandela's soldiers

CHANTER: There there

AUDIENCE : There we are going

CHANTER: We expect to die there

AUDIENCE: Ya we Mandela's soldiers

CHANTER: We are Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Ya we soldiers

CHANTER: We are Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Mandela

CHANTER: we are Mandela's soldiers

AUDIENCE: Ya we soldiers

CHANTER: There there

AUDIENCE: There we are going

CHANTER: We expect to die there

AUDIENCE: There we are going

CHANTER: There there

AUDIENCE: There we are going

CHANTER: We expect to die there

AUDIENCE: There we are going

I8/.....

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness, darkness, we will enter
in darkness

CHANTER: we will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness, in darkness, we will
enter in darkness

CHANTER: Oliver

AUDIENCE: Tambo

CHANTER: Oliver

AUDIENCE: Tambo

CHANTER: Hayi

AUDIENCE : Tambo

I8(b)/.....

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness, in darkness, we will enter
in darkness

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness

CHANTER: We will enter in darkness

AUDIENCE: We will enter in darkness, in darkness, we will enter
in darkness

CHANTER: Oliver

AUDIENCE: Tambo

CHANTER: Oliver

AUDIENCE: Tambo

CHANTER: Hayi

AUDIENCE: Tambo

I9/.....

CHANTER: Power!
AUDIENCE: Is ours!
CHANTER: Power!
AUDIENCE: Is ours!

23(a)/....

336. SONG: - UNITE WORKERS.

CHANTER: Unite workers

AUDIENCE: Unite

CHANTER: Unite workers

AUDIENCE: Unite

CHANTER: Unite workers

AUDIENCE: Unite

CHANTER: Unite workers

CHANTER: Because

AUDIENCE: This is the union of workers

CHANTER: OH!

AUDIENCE: This is the union of workers

CHANTER:) This is the union for workers
AUDIENCE:)

CHANTER) This is the union for workers
AUDIENCE)

CHANTER: Because

AUDIENCE: This is the union for workers

CHANTER: Unite workers

AUDIENCE: Unite

CHANTER: Unite workers

AUDIENCE: Unite

CHANTER: Unite workers

AUDIENCE: Unite

2-/.....

Power! Is ours!

Good evening: Power!

Audience: Is ours!

Mogotsi: Power!

Audience: Is ours!

Mogotsi: "UZIPO" (phonetic)

Audience: Thank you

3I(a)/.....

386. SONG: PRAISE THE NAME OF WOMEN.

CHANTER: Praise

AUDIENCE: The name of womwn be praised

CHANTER: Praise

AUDIENCE: Praise praise

CHANTER: Praise

AUDIENCE: The name of women be praised the name of women be
praised

CHANTER: Praise

AUDIENCE: Praise praise

CHANTER: Praise

Translated from Zulu to English by
E.T.Zuma, Chief Court Interpreter,
Durban.

- Deprivation of land of all of our people in this country remains.
217. There are those who are saying like the RAJBANSI that that thing is (inaudible) pass and so on. Why is it that our Indian compatriots are not allowed to settle in the Free State? Why is it that our Indian compatriots are not allowed to settle in the in some parts of Northern Natal? And why is it that our African compatriots are not allowed to settle anywhere they may want to settle in this country? The foundation that was laid around the turn of the century remains. in even this new constitution, continues to enshrine it and to preserve it as is. But let us look at what our forefathers did. We see, we are confronted with the turn of the century with
226. a situation in which they organised to resist, as Indian people struggle and march in defiance into the Transvaal and Afrikaner Kommandos meet them in points like Volksrust and shoot them dead. So too African people begin their resistance against the LAND ACT, sending delegations abroad, and going on to refuse to move from places like Bulhoek. Where in 1922 eh, a large number of our people were mowed
235. down by SMUTS armed forces. And similarly we (inaudible) in the case of of the Namibian people. My point is those struggles are generally not seen in the proper context of being struggles for the right to enjoy or at least to settle anywhere, to own land anywhere I would like to own land in our country. They are not seen as the foundation the general foundation that, eh of, of the discrimination that confronts all of us. But in fact, they are. They remain that foundation. And this is why, you may not own, or you may not stay in town or all of us may not stay in town, even in this new formation I, I am hoping that sometime RAJBANSI may blunder, because he is just blundering all the way and so on. But he seems to blunder always in areas which favour him and so on, he never really blunders in areas which threaten the white man. I wish he could just do that type of thing. I am looking forward to a situation where he, we should be saying to him. Can you now, if you say that you've got full rights in this country, can you now decide and demand that white must move from here and go and stay in Lenasia some 50 kilometres from town. And travel from there everyday to come ot work and back. Can you do that thing? That you may come into town, stay next to your place of employment and only move around the corner to go eh, work and come back and so on. Can you do that thing? The very fact that we can't do that thing continues to say the simple thing that we still have the foundation of this eh constitution remains, being

the constitution of the, the, the foundation of discrimination on the basis of what in the area of land would they occupy and who and whatever else rights we may have flow and depend upon that thing. You have rights in Lenasia that's where you have your own affairs. You don't have rights in Johannesburg. I have rights in Soweto. I don't have rights in Johannesburg. And other people have rights in Eldorado park etc. they don't have rights here. But this is a

266. simple straight forward thing we are saying the foundation of that (inaudible). Having resisted along those lines, we moved and we see and if we look carefully at the history of our country, will find that the demand of both Africans, Indians and Coloureds is at this point in time in the history of our country, demanded to be included I say, in the Government of the country.

272. There is still a whole lot of room, there is still a lot a patience and people still feel they can persuade as much as possible the NATS they persuade the white rulers of our country, to allow them to participate jointly with them. In the Government of the country. And one of the leading documents that gives us a clear indication of this type of situation is the African claims of 1945. Which is drawn and which start of-f clearly by calling for the inclusion of Africans in the Government of the day. That is 1945. And I think in general terms this is the common trend up to that point in time. Then of course instead of including them eh, in denying them, the NATS went on of course to go on in the case of Natal with

283. the PEGGING ACTS, with the mine workers strikes and so on. And our people were hammered all the way. Must say that each time we have resisted a piece of legislation our resistance has been met with force. I will come to this point at, ja some later point and stage, but I just want to leave it there at this stage. We moved into the fifties and the NATS intensified their racis, their racist legislation to the extent that our people reached a point where they had to say we are no longer asking and in fact we can no longer justify our inclusion in the Government of this country. Why? Because this Government has committed so many crimes, that it no longer deserves any pu pardon on the part of the people. Now in 55 we go into Kliptown and now they no longer say we would like to be included in the Government of this country, as RAJBANSI wants to be included with the NATS. They are no longer saying that. They say we want a Government in which the people shall govern. They are saying that this Government has no legitimacy,

it is no longer a Government that deserves our respect. It is no longer a Government that we aspired to have been included. They say we want a Government which is completely new, one which would be based on the will, of the people of South Africa, Black and White. We want a Government in which the people shall govern (applause). Let those who have doubts take a look at the historic document of our country. The FREEDOM CHARTER. The first demand is said there we want a Government in which the people of our country black and white shall govern. Since 55 the situation has changed, we are not asking to be included, we are not asking to be part and parcel of what the NATS are doing.

(20)
14/9/57

We, we are not prepared since 55 to become part and parcel of a Government that has committed so many crimes against humanity. That if we ourselves were to be involved in it would only be taking upon ourselves the sins of the past. We are asking for a new one. We are saying to this Government it must give way, a national

329. convention must be set-up on a completely new basis. And that the people of our country together equals, must hammer out a constitution that will be based on their will and therefore one that will be acceptable to them. MR. RAJBANSI is wrong, in calling upon our people to be involved in the new constitution. He's calling upon them to trample underfoot the proud tradition which was set by our forefathers.

337. He's saying we must renege (phonetically) he's saying we must sell out
339. on the proud and clear road that has been chartered out by the masses of our people.

We want a new Government we don't want the constitution of the NATS. I have said time and time again. Right, this homeland, this, ah, ah, ah, I mean ah Bantustan leaders are mistaken. They are saying that if the new constitution included African people, if the new constitution included African people that it will be acceptable. They are making a mistake. Even if the new constitution included African people, we would still reject it. We would reject it because it is the constitution of the NATS. It is a constitution which was drawn by the NATS, it is not a constitution that was drawn by us. We are not asking for a favour (applause). We are not asking for a favour, they drew up that constitution, they decided on its acceptability. They gave none of us an opportunity to, to say whether we want this constitution or not. It is their constitution. Now we want the constitution of the people of

South Africa. We want a new constitution. One which will be drafted not on our behalf, not for us, one which shall have been drafted by ourselves. We have a right, inalienable right to do this, it is our obligation. As mature and responsible citizens, we insist on this right. We want to draw a constitution ourselves, together with the white population of our country. Because our argument is, even though this people may have arrived here from abroad, even though they may have come here as settler population. Decades of joint interaction of combining, of combined effort have shaped our country so what it is today.

South Africa is what it is today as a result of the combined effort of all of the people, black and white, Indian and Coloured, etc. We are claiming South Africa not for one section of the population, this one or that, we are claiming South Africa for the population, o, the entire population of our country, all the people of our country. This country is vast enough, it has sufficient resources to house all. We reject the new constitution, because it continues to preserve 87% of the land as a monopoly property of this minority eh, population section of the population. 87% Remain, in the hands of whites and we can't accept that type of thing. But then of course having made that thing I must also say, make this point. That the resistance of our people I have said has consistantly been met with force by the Government. There are those today and especially propaganda agents of the Government, who are accusing the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT of being a front of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. They argue that, they argue that the A.N.C. wa, is a non-racial organisation and therefore that's why every population group is involved in it, and that because we do so, we are a front of the A.N.C. It does appear that the Government is arguing at this level that only members of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS are capable of being non-racial. I think it a credit to them (laughter and applause). But also going beyond this we must make the point that even as the assault on our people, I have talked by Bulhoek, I have talked about the forties, I have talked and some of the people have talked here about the DEFIANCE CAMPAIGNS of the fifties, the Bantu education system that all of those campaigns the assault on our people, right up to Sharpeville in 1960. That if you look at the spectrum for African people that was by 1960 when the A.N.C. was banned, that was (END OF TAPE 4 SIDE 1). (TAPE 4 - SIDE 2) 48 years of non-violent persuasion in which doctors, lawyers, teachers, priests,

all the brilliant minds had been employed and they could not move
003. the NATS. Chiefs and everybody. If you look at the Indian
community it is precisely a period of 60 years plus the six years
up to 1894 of organised persuasion which was ignored. And it pe,
pushed our people, places our people at the point at which they must
make a choice. Some people say that MANDELA and others resorted to
armed methods, because they were blood hounds, because they are
terrorists, because they are communists with KATHRADA and others
and so on. Well I wouldn't know whether they are not eh this or
that and so on. But I am quite clear about one thing in my mind,
that our people were provoked for a number of decades. That when
they finally took the decision, indeed as NELSON has told you the
strug, the story from the confines of ROB BEN ISLAND. When they
finally took the decision, it was as a defencive measure. There
was no way in which they could do it. They had reached a point in
which there was nothing and no alternative left for them whatsoever.
For of course as quite often will remind you, indeed SISULU will
constantly remind you that the tried and tested leader of our people
ALBERT LUTHULI had already asked the question in 52 as to what had
been the fruits of his moderation, if his attempt to persuade the
whites. For LUTHULI had said that who will deny that 30 years of
my life have been devoted to persuading to knocking patiently.
moderately and modestly at the closed and barred door.

What have been the fruit of my many years of moderation?

023. He says LUTHULI has asked that question in 52.

He says we younger men were challenged to respond to this question.
And if we had avoided it in 60 and 61 we had no choice.

We were confronted with circumstances which made it imperative, the
choice to respond in this way. My point is we don't and we are not
using armed methods of resistance today.

Under the banner of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT we are arguing that
we can persuade, we can mobilise opposition in resistance. At least
we can say to our people they must not endorse what the NATS are doing.

But we must also say and I make hold to say it this evening, that
if we are not engaging and we are not carrying arms today. It is
not because we don't understand how and what persuaded some of our
fellows and what continues to persuade them to this day, to resort
to those methods. We understand very well what pushed our people
to that point. And today in terms of the formation of the

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT we are reminding the rulers of our country,
we are reminding the masses of ~~our~~ people that if the NATS are
allowed to continue with the ~~type of~~ legislation that they are pro-

20
14/9/87

19
24/8/87

posing today, they can only deepen the scale of racial and violent conflict in the country. In that the disaster will engulf all of us.

20
14/9/87

You know when there's a fight in the process in the presence of two fighting elephants the ground suffers (laughter). The ground suffers. And we can't be neutral. If two men are fighting you must either take sides or you must stop the fight. One way or the other. There's no way in which you can say look, I, or it doesn't really matter, let, let, let them go on, you can't do that type of thing it cannot happen. You ask those people today we're going to buildings, we are not very sure whether we will come around out alive. Sometimes you go in the train you don't know whether it will reach its destination without being derailed and so on. And then of course you must pronounce in the question of the politics of the country. You must say whether in fact apartheid is right or not. Because it is pushing other people to some methods of of struggle which are very unpleasant. My point is, we are in the presence of a situation in which two giants are colliding.

20
14/9/87

We have an obligation as South Africans, we can make a contribution, we must make our choice. We must make our choice either that we are going to stamp with approval the apartheid measures that the nats are taking or that we will say no. Let them lock us in jail if they like, let us ban us. We must insist in our organisations, we must make the call that this country is not being governed agai, ac, according to our will. We must refuse to go to the polls on the 22nd and 28th August, we must not give approval to this type of thing. Sometime I've said I've said, I was speaking to a the

59. also cong, CONGRESS the other day and I made the point with them, I think that any organisation including the NATIONALIST PARTY or perhaps even starting with the NATIONALIST PARTY including the N.G. KERK, the white N.G. KERK, including the SOUTH SOUTH AFRICAN BURO OF RACIAL AFFAIRS, including all of those Afrikaner organisations which today stand behind and are pushing and advising apartheid. Those organisations are a disgrace to our country. I must make that point because there is a kind of ah, ah effort here that has been made to, that has ah been, ah, an impression that has been created in our country that the CONGRESS MOVEMENT is something to be ashamed of. That is you, you know you say the U.D.F. is a front of the A.N.C. then we say no we are not a front of the A.N.C., we must apologise about. Then they say now why do you say MANDELA is the

20
14/9/87

leader, is the is the patron of the Front, you say no, no, no, no, we are us, actually we are not the (laughter) you must do that type of thing. But I want to make a simple and straightforward point today. The truth must be spoken at some point or the other. The price may have to be paid, for the truth must be spoken. Any man, any man, including NELSON MANDELA, WALTER SISULU, KATHRADA and others. Any organisation, any organisation including the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS that is today committed to the struggle against apartheid is a matter of pride to this country. (Applause). It is something to be cherished, that even amongst the Afrikaners men such as BEYERS NAUDE have been born. People like HELEN JOSEPH amongst white people, those people are the pride of our country. (Applause).

(20)
14/9/87

(20)
17/10/87

They are the people who , they are the people who carry the hope of the future of our country and we must make bold to say we will rally to them. In Parys the other day the SECURITY POLICE had me there, they found a paper I had written WINNIE there on the paper and they wanted to know who was this WINNIE. And obviously they knew who she was. So I said look this is MRS. MANDELA my dear friend. Then they says now, ah, why do you write her, I said no this is a very important person in our community you know. He wants to know why? I said because of her contribution to the struggle for freedom in our country. This is a simple and straight forward things. The

(20)
14/9/87

(20) 17/10/87

time has come when we must make the point that we are no longer prepared to be ashamed to associate ourselves with the symbols of the genuine freedom of our people. I think the time has come when we must go down with the leaders of our people. Those men who today after 20, 25, 22 years of cruel prison life continues to hold the flag of freedom high, refusing to let (applause). I must make the final point. I must make the final point in the form of a question. We are challenged today, you and I to respond either to turn our backs on the history of our forefathers and join the NATS in the tri-

101. cameral formation. We are challenged like the Israelites who whilst they were travelling for forty years in the wilderness, from time to time you found others who are always mindful about the fleshpots of Egypt.

104. Who were heard to spea, to be squeaking with faint voi, voices, about how they were happy next to the full pots of Egypt which were overflowing with meat, as slaves. And they were said look MOSES you have taken us into the wilderness, here we are starving here we don't have water and they wanted, they were threatening to overrun MOSES. They were mindful about those fleshpots, of Egypt. You can see our RAJBANSI'S they are so mindful about the fleshpots of 49/..

Egypt (laughter). You can see YOUR HENDRICKSE'S you know. They are considering the high salaries that they are going to get. By the way may I say to you, whilst it is true that the new constitution does not mean change for us, we must also really concede that there is at least one single thing that it is going to change. We must be very truthful. It is changing the salary of HENDRICKS and RAJBANSI (laughter and applause). I think in some ways that truth must not be hidden. We must not say that it has not changed anything. We must say that it has not changed a total things, but it does change one thing at least, if changes the salaries of these men. It increases them. That point must be made because it is only then that our people can understand how come, that those men are prepared to sacrifice their very lives for this new constitution.

UNKNOWN PERSON.

Yeah, but who is gonna pay their salary?

LEKOTA.

It is of course going to be squeezed out of our people. But then of course the point about it is that it is going to them. They are getting paid you see. It is going to be squeezed out of our people. And of course they are part and parcel today of the machinery that's going to squeeze that salary out of them. You can see them in TUMAHOLE today. Those Black local authorities fellows there who are squeezing, pushing the rent high and squeezing the least, the last
127. hundred rands ah, the last (inaudible) that people are getting from arrow, from Kentucky ther~~e~~ in parys and so on. The last few rands that they are getting, they are squeezing it out of them- Because those Black Local Authorities fellows must be paid out of those rents. There's no other resources in those townships. These men think with their stomachs. These men here are committed to this system because it is the full fleshpots, which are full of meat that's what they are concerned about. Now of course we must
135. be prepared, because the struggle towards freedom is a long one. Because the challenge to ^{vesist} ~~the system~~ is going to demand a number of sacrifices from us. Now I am saying to you we must make our choice
137. whether we will remain and follow the path which was chartered out for us by our forefathers, or whether we will be tempted like a man who sells out in a hunger strike, you know. Whether we will be tempted

to go to the fleshpots of Egypt. I have made my choice, I will not support the Government, I don't support the NATS. I don't care what many and how many guns they have I will not support the NATS. I will not upse, support apartheid. I have never supported apartheid. I will not do so. I am committed to the liberation of this country. I am committed to our people, all of them, black and white. I must ask you and when you go to vote or when you have to make your decision on the 22nd or the 28th to vote or not. Please consider I have asked you a question. I am asking you as com-patriot, I don't regard myself as better than you. I consider that a success of what I am committed to can only arise if you and I stick together. If you are challenged on the 22nd and the 28th, if you have to make a decision, remember the question. Are you turning your back on MAHATMA GHANDI?

Are you turning your back on LUTHULI? Are you turning your back on KATHRADA and MANDELA and SISULU and GOLDBERG? Are you joining the NATS against our people? I have made my choice, the prize may be heavy. Our people in Parys have made their choice. Our people in Crossroads have made their choice. Our people in Cradock have made their choice. Our people made their choice, in 46 around the Indian Ghetto Act. Our people made their choice around the DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN. Our people in the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, have made their choice. Please remember that question when you have to vote, when you are asked and even when you are threatened by the NATS and even if when some of those stooges like RAJBANSI'S and

164. so come and tempt you with money and things like that. Please remember, our fate is bound together. Are you prepared to join the NATS tomorrow to carry the weapon and when I resist you are given instructions to shoot me? Are you prepared to shoot with the bullets in my direction? Remember our commitment is to each other. The survival of our people depends upon you and I. Generations of the future, if we are to claim our rights on the records of history, history of our book. Because the history of our country has not as yet been written. It will be written someday. And when it is written it will be written in gold. And only the names of those who have earned it will go into it. I am asking you let's march together under the banner of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Let's march together on the footsteps of our forefathers. Let us say no to the NATS. Let us once and for all call the bluff of white superiority. Let us carry the battle for the final elimination of

No 19
21/8/87
24/8/87
No 20
9/10/88

19
24/8/87
No 20 5/10/88

178. white domination in the African continent, to the end. On the 22nd of August in this respect (applause).

19
24/8/87

187. DR. JASSAT.

Thank you TERROR for that most though provoking address to this gathering. It's getting on in time and uh we're only got two more items left. One is the resolution on the constitution, which I'll be honoured to call upon ah, ah which ah it will be, which will be read by MR. POPO MOLEFE who is the National Secretary of the U.D.F.. POPO (Applause).

193. POPO MOLEFE.

Good evening comrades. I have a very simple task here or mission to fulfil this evening. I am called upon to read a resolution or motion proposed for this meeting based on the new constitution and the coming elections. The motion reads as follows:-

We gathered here on the 18th July 1984 at the SELBOURNE HALL in JOHANNESBURG at the meeting of the T.I.C. noting that the coming elections and the new constitution:-

- (1) Deny the citizenship to the African people in the country of their birth.
- (2) Will intensify forced removals of the African communities to barren homelands.
- (3) Is designed to entrench white minority rule and apartheid and to break the long standing unity between the Indian, Coloured and African people.
- (4) That the four is to two is to one is to not ratio, means that the Coloured and Indian people would be in no position to abolish the unjust legislation like the GROUP AREAS ACT, PASS LAWS, SECURITY LAWS, INFLUX CONTROL, REMOVALS OF AFRICAN PEOPLE AND THE REPUBLICS, THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION ACT of 1983 itself, etc.
- (5) That repression and government cut-backs on housing, education, etc., will increase in order to make the new dispensation work.

(6) That the increasing prices of basic commodities like bread, milk, etc. and GENERAL SALEX TAX are a direct attack on the living standards of our people.

(7) Will heighten conflict in our country and force our fathers and our sons to fight on the borders against our fellow South Africans, in order to to defend this unjust system. And believing that:-

(1) The Governments constitutional proposals are inadequate, and that they do not express the will of the vast majority of South African people.

231. (2) That the new constitution is an attempt by the Government to use Indian and Coloured people to oppress and exploit the African people and to enforce the apartheid laws.

(3) That there can be no peace in South Africa unless all the people of South Africa have an equal say in the running of their country.

(4) That the FREEDOM CHARTER represents the aspirations and true wishes of the people.

(5) That RAJBANSI'S, REDDY'S, MAYET'S and HENDRICKSE'S have no mandate from the people to participate. We therefore resolve:-

(1) To refuse to vote on AUGUST 22nd and 28th. A massive stay away will demonstrate to the world that our people are not prepared to legitimise white minority rule and apartheid.

(2) To refuse to allow our people to be conscripted to the white apartheid army.

(3) To strengthen our own organisations like the T.I.C. and the U.D.F. in order to fight for one undivided South Africa which shall belong to all of its people.

(4) To fight for the release of MANDELA, KATHRADA, SISULU, GOLDBERG and all other political prisoners, the return of all exiles and the unbanning of all banned organisations.

19
24/8/87

(5) To continue to demand a National Convention representative of all the people of South Africa, in order to draw up a new constitution for this country which is based on universal franchise to a single Parliament. Thank you Mr. chairman. (Applause).

264. DR. JASSAT.

You've heard the resolution. All those in favour please indicate by raising your hand. Anybody opposed to the resolution? The resolution is carried unanimously. The final item is a vote of thanks which will be delivered by MR. N.G. PATEL, who is the, an executive member of the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS. (Applause).

273. N.G. PATEL.

Mr. Chairman, our honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen. The TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS wishes to thank our speakers for strengthening our resolve to remain faithful to our struggle for liberation. To remain faithful to the ideals and values which our leaders like GHANDI, MANDELA and DR. DADOO has handed down to us. We thank our speakers for shedding light, rekindling hope, stirring us from apathy and indifference and strengthening our resolve to reject what is wrong and to do what is right. Above all the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS thanks you all in coming in these numbers to this meeting and in this way showing our rejection of the constitution. The TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS hopes that our people will stay away on the 22nd and the 28th of July, with the same strength, it's AUGUST, sorry with the same strength and same
291. determination of purpose as it has shown in the past.

Thank you. (Applause).

299. DR. JASSAT.

Before we sing the National Anthem I have three announcements to make. First is that there will be a YOUTH RALLY which would be which has been organised for the 28th of July at 2 o'clock at the PATIDAR HALL. This is part of the U.D.F. programme of action and ah, we invite all youth and other people to come along to this rally. Second is that we have an appeal to make to those of you who have attended this meeting. We'd like your assistance in trying to spread the message to the other members of our community and the, this

you can do by signing on after the meeting at the table outside in the foyer. And a special appeal to our women this is the year of the women, and we would like them to get involved in this because 50% of our population consist, consists of women and number of them have the vote and you can not only refuse to exercise your vote but you can persuade your male counterparts not to go and vote on the 22nd and 28th of August. So that is a special appeal to our women folk, please assist us in this campaign. We can only get the message across and we will only succeed if each and everyone in our constituency gets this ho, message. We are proud that at the last election, Fordsburg, this, this constituency was known, had the lowest poll in the country. We managed to get one comma two (Applause). It's also on record that MR. MAYET who won the election that date had only ten people coming to the pollingbooth at that date to support him (laughter). The rest of the members who supported him had cast a special vote. So let's keep up the tradition of this area and we can only do that by getting the support of our community. And finally, you know there is the U.D.F. MILLIONS SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN and uh we would like you to assist us in getting the signatures first of all by signing yourself and secondly by taking these forms and taking them to other members and friends in the area where you live. I thank you, now we'll ask POPO to lead us in the singing of the National Anthem.

346. POPO leads in the singing of NKOSI SIKELELE I'AFRIKA.

Chanter : AMANDLA.

Audience : NGAWETHU.

Chanter : AMANDLA.

Audience : NGAWETHU.

POPO : Thank you.

SOMEONE IN AUDIENCE SHOUTS : 'Long live'.

SOMEONE IN AUDIENCE SAYS : That we need that we need to write down.
That one (inaudible).

TAPE 5 - SIDE 1.

(The same as the end of TAPE 4 - SIDE 2).

TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS(T.I.C.) MASS MEETING: 1984-07-18
20H00-05, SELBOURNE HALL, PRESIDENT STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

TAPE I - SIDE I.

SONG. (I(a)).

Chanter : Power!

Audience : Is ours!

Chanter: Power!

Audience : Is ours!

Chanter: An injury to one!

Audience: Is an injury to all!

Chanter: Power!

Chanter: Power!

Audience: Is ours!

Chanter: Power!

Audience: Is ours!

I(a) /

-I(a)-

000. SONG - WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM.

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him, we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: OUR NHLANHLA

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Our Nhlanhla

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: OUR.....

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Our.....

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Our.....

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Our T.I.C.

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Our T.I.C.

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Our T.I.C.

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: T.I.C.

I(a)/Cont.

-I(a) -

SONG: WE SHALL FOLLOW HIM(CONTINUED)

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

AUDIENCE: We shall follow him we shall follow him

CHANTER: Whether we are imprisoned

audience; We shall follow him we shall follow him

I(b)/.....