

ASSESSOR

V. 21

TRANSVAAL ANTI-SAIC CONGRESS : SELBORNE HALL, JOHANNESBURG FROM 83-01-22 TO 83-01-23

SPEAKERS:

DR. ISMAIL CACHALIA
HELEN JOSEPH
THOZAMILE GQWETA (Acc. No. 13)
DR. ALLAN BOESAK
DR. R A M SALOOJEE
SAMSON NDOU
DR. ISMAIL MOHAMMED (Acc. No. 12)
DR. ESSOP JASSAT (Acc. No. 4)
JERRY COOVADIA
CASSIM SALOOJEE (Acc. No. 11)
N G PATEL
HOOSEIN BISMILLA
SHIBANGU
RAMASAR
PARAK
MOTALA
PAUL DAVID
MOHAMMED BHANJEE
ZAC YACOOB
DAWOOD
SIPHIWE

IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED:

CONGRESS (4, 5, 6, 112, 127)
CONGRESS MOVEMENT (4, 53, 55, 64)
LILIAN NGOYI (4)
CONGRESS ALLIANCE (5, 10, 11, 115)
A.N.C. (5, 38, 111)
FREEDOM CHARTER (6, 10, 39, 52, 65, 91, 92, 133, 143, 145, 146)
BLOOD RIVER (8)
NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE (9)
1955 (10, 39)
MONTY NAICKER (27)
YUSEF DADOO (27, 38)
ARMED STRUGGLE (33)
DOCTOR NAICKER (38)
DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN (38, 52, 96, 97, 105, 120, 123, 126, 131)
MOBILISE (50)
R.M.C. (53)
NELSON MANDELA (53)
PEOPLES ORGANISATION (115, 145)
NATIONAL COVENTION (136, 145)
EXILES (137, 145)

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 oornames 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, sui '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 soesifieke gedeeltes te vergemaklik. Die nommers stem nie noodwendig presies ooreen nie maar is 'n genoegsame hulpmiddel.

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DR. ISMAIL CACHALIA :-

DR. ALAN BOESAK, THOZAMILE GQUETA, the reverend DENNIS BECBIE on behalf of the Anti SAIC Committee, I welcome all delegates and representatives for the various organisations. I will now make a few brief introductory comments in the hope of reflecting here (dash). Sorry. I will now make a few, make a few brief introductory comments in the hope of reflecting here as accurately as possible the sentiments of the Anti- SAIC Committee now clear and definitive after long hours of intensive study and delibe-ration on the vital questions affecting the Indian Community and the oppressed ^{people} ~~propir~~ in general. (inaudible) This congress is truely a watershed. It's conculsions will undoubtedly shape our future in important ways. It comes at the end of perhaps the most important political campaign in the Indian areas since the glorious Defiance CAmpaign against unjust laws of 1952. Almost 20 years indefinate after almost 20 years in the political wilderness during which time isolated individuals in the absence of legitimate leadership that had emerged in the 50's ^{co} ~~co~~laborated with the Government through apartheid institutions.

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The SAIC; we have once again demonstrated the strenght of the non-racial democratic congress political tradition amongst the masses of our people. The result could not have been more conclusive.

We dealt a decisive blow to the devisive politics of the Nasionalist Government. But now with the memory of victory still fresh we are faced with a new co-optive inisiative from the state in the form of the P.C. proposals. It is therefor crucial to respond effectively and in united fashion to the now familiar devide and rule policies of those who presently wheel absolute power. Through this congress we must re-group and organise ourselves to lay the basis for purposeful conscious co-ordinated and single minded action but there is another equally important reason for holding this congress. The Anti-SAIC Committee has always believed that a legitimate leadership is one that is accountable to its people. We cannot lead responsibly through manipulation of patronage and behind scenes consultation with our current rulers. We must always act at the behest of our people and in their interest by involving them (inaudible) suffering today for the will of the people if their past behaviour is anything to go by. This is why we cannot and we must not leave the political field open to the portray of self centred individuals of the South African Indian Council. Let us ponder briefly why we consider the P.C. proposals a fraud*. We are now being asked to feel it soft on the belly. As soft in the belly in more ways than one. An ideology of reform and renewal increasingly prevailes Government prenouncements.

The State ideology is carefully being re-constructed to appeal to a wide audience. The Governement no longer speaks of "Baasskap" rather we are incesently lectured to on the right of nations to self determination and the principle of co-responsibility. We are urged to support this government because it is the only possible and rational one and to believe (inaudible) MR. BOTHA because his an eninently enlightened man and in the same vein we are asked to participate in the institutions. In the institutions that will be set up in terms of the P, P.C. proposals for our own good and because as they say its a step in the right direction. Yet, what are the fact of the matter? The much trumped down fact that were all here so much about our days and was infact an attempt to curtial the importance of Parliament was transferring real power into the hands of an executive President who will be white and a Nasionalist. In the name of reconciliation and

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negotiation the so called (verligte) Nationalist are touching still liberties with renewed vigour, And whilst claiming to defend freedom and civilized standards, the Government is diverting an increasing proportion of the social product from the fear of collective consumption example as housing and education to strengthen the already bloated war machine. Finally what are we to make of the so called good intentions and sincerity of a Government. We just said a commitment to racial harmony on the one hand whilst on the other and quite inconsistently it loudly proclaims that its continuing commitment to the right of the so-called white nation to self-determination as its intellectual and moral foundations in the persons of Nationalist forebears. Malan and Verwoerd. But one, when one examines the actual policies of the Nationalist regime then this contradiction in the States ideology disappears and the logic of apartheid emerges unmistakably.

The P.C. Proposals based on the principle of consociationalism modifies the racial exclusivity of Parliament whilst at the same time reversing the segregationist and racist form of the South African State. Botha's proposals offered the Coloured and Indian communities a strictly sub-ordinate status within a three chamber multi-colour, technicolour Parliament with diluted powers and built and built a white domination. Under these conditions we will not have the right. We will not have the right to repeal the Group Areas Act and the other laws which oppress us. Furthermore the strengthening of influx control, the massive re-locations and re-settlement of the African population. The dumping of astonishing large numbers of unemployed people in thebantustans and the continuing exclusion of the African people from, from the central state is the other side of the coin. We fight all that we stand to lose whatever way it falls. We see then that the new State ideology is a continuation of the existing, continuing reality of apartheid. We do not deny that there is change but it is a change designed to stabilize White minority rule not genuine transformation. The Government may wish to negotiate but that apartheid, that evil which has kept us from living in peace, must be negotiable. The South African State has always been based on the concept of the White population and the coercion of the majority of South Africans. Now the Government under the increasing pressure from the oppressed people inside the country and from the international community is making adaptations to the structure of apartheid in an attempt to broaden the basis of its support amongst the Coloured and Indian people in the hope that we will abandon the struggle for genuine democracy in the face of these rather transparent attempts to divide us we must re-affirm our commitment to the principles of one non racialism and secondly a democracy based on universal adult suffrage within a unitary state.

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316 We must not leap to the Government attempt to buy us for unlike the West Indian Cricketers. We should know better because we were born in this country because we live in this country and because we've experienced oppression that has prevailed and we must take responsibility for its future. Our long term interest can only be served in (inaudible) making common cause of the African people. Not out of political expediency. But because it is the correct thing to do, history has an(inaudible) logic all oppressive regimes loose power in the end but this does not relief us of the responsibility to struggle on the contrary we must redouble our efforts to bring the achievement of our final goal closer, in this spirit, I call for your fullest participation in the deliberations that follow. I thank you (Clapping of hands)

Ladies and Gentlemen, ah, Molvi SALOOJEE, a stalwart of the Congress who was supposed to be a guest speaker this afternoon. Unfortunately he has taken ill and he cannot be with us here this afternoon. Mrs. HELEN JOSEPH has kindly agreed to fill his place. She is another (inaudible) MRS. HELEN JOSEPH symbolises a proud tradition, MRS HELEN JOSEPH symbolises a proud tradition of a struggle for a free and a democratic South Africa. For years she has stood firm in her commitment in the face of bannings and detentions HELEN has been an active member of the congress movement. She was a Treason Trialist and played a leading role in the Federation of South African Women. This is where she left her mark together with women such as Lilian Ngoyi, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela. Today we will now continue, continue, continue in this tradition by organising around the special disabilities facing them as (inaudible) as workers and as part of the oppressed masses in our country. The struggle for the equality of women is part of our struggle for a free and democratic South Africa. We can never be free whilst our women are in chains. Helen's involvement, her commitment and her sacrifice is our inspiration. I have great pleasure in calling MRS. HELEN JOSEPH to say a few words to you. Thank you very much. (Clapping of hands)

MAYIBUYI ! (Shouted by someone in the audience)
I'AFRICA ! (responce from audience)
AMANDAL ! (Shouted by someone in the audience)
AMETHU ! (responce from audience)
AMANDLA ! (Shouted someone in the audience)
AMETHU ! (Responce from audience)

379 HELEN JOSEPH :- started of by chanting. AMANDLA !
AMETHU ! (Responce from audience) Mr. Chairperson,
Members of the Anti-South African Indian Congress Committee
and friends. I am greatly honoured to be invited to
open your congress. Indeed I wish it could have
been Melvi SALOOJEE and not me but he is ill

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and cannot be with us today, yet his heart is with us, that we know. The heart of that greatly respected and beloved President of the Transvaal Indian Congress of the old days. What a great tradition of resistance to oppression the South African Indian people have, for it is almost 90 years since the Transvaal Indian Congress was founded. The oldest political organisation in South Africa today for it is not dead, the Indian Congress was never banned and I believe it will never die. Now I wish that I could bring to you as I used to in the 1950's the greetings of my organisation, but that has been banned for 20 years. Now and so, I must come to you as an individual for I myself am not allowed to belong to any political organisation. I am indeed very glad that I am here. Firstly because I feel that this congress and its panel of speakers, it does reflect the spirit of the old Congress Alliance of the 1950's. We are also proud to be a part of that alliance as I am proud today to be upon this platform. I am glad also because I know that this congress is convinced (no reception) that's what this wireless thinks of me. I'm glad also (Pause). Can you hear me? Because I know that this congress is convinced that the road ahead must be a shared road. The road of united resistance and opposition to the present system of injustice of legalised racial discrimination and exploitation. And there's a third reason why I am glad to be here today. Believe you me, I'd rather be here than sitting watching sell-out cricket on the TV (Applause)

We have been invited today to the congress called by the Anti-South African Indian Council Committee. By the way, don't expect me to say S.A.I.C. because that for me will always remain the South African Indian Congress (applause) The congress which stood side by side with the African NATIONAL Congress for so many years in the Congress Alliance I don't mind calling it SAIC but I will not call it the S.A.I.C. For I remember so well the Indian conference of the past just when just as you will do now. The political situation will be reviewed. The state of the nation I knew particular the State of the Indian people before deciding on future policy and action. What I remember too, is the amount of hard work that went into the preparation of those great congress agendas. I wonder where they all are now? I think I know where some of them are, don't you? And I just hope they are being properly looked after because we want them back one day. I'm sure that some of you who are

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here now but young men used to work at night, all night at the old Indian Congress offices down in the basement at the corner of Market street and West Street. Remember! No photocopying machines then. We had to cut the stencils by hand and run them off, but somehow it all got done. Today and tomorrow you will once again review the situation clearly facing the enemy again. The same old enemy of racist oppression but now cunningly disguised as the Presidents Council, that Masterpiece of window dressing intended to fool the nations, abroad and intending to fool the Indian and Coloured people of South Africa and to some extent it has already done that, hasn't it ?

The Labour Party has already fallen into the trap daggled by promises of constitutional change of shared responsibility. Only we know who will get the lions share of Government, don't we ? And it won't be the Coloureds or Indians. You can be sure of that. And of course, the South African Indian Council is there already welcoming the Labour Party in but I don't believe that the majority of the Indian people can be fooled in this way for the South African Indian Council is not and never has been representative of the Indian people, anymore then the Labour Party represents the Coloured people. What I do believe is that this congress will give an important lead. Not only to the Indian people but to all South Africans on this critical issue. I believe that it will expose the Presidents Council for what it really is. After all we have a goal, our own goal accepted at the Congress of the people 28 years ago. The goal that was set firmly on the principles of the Freedom Charter. We pledged ourselves then, didn't we ? To strive together sparing nothing of our strength or courage until our liberty has been won. Some of you who were there then, took that pledge with me and it is binding upon us to this day and beyond and I am sure that it is just as binding upon the new generation for there can be no other peaceful future for South Africa. It is the responsibility of this congress (not only) to expose the Presidents Council and the South African Indian Council once and for all but also to work out our own guidelines for that long walk ahead which will bring us in the end to the freedom for which we had struggled for so long (inaudible) The great Russian writer said : "Each of us is responsible for everything" and to every human being, that is an enormous responsibility but I know that you will shoulder it courageously just as you have done in the past even at the cost of great sacrifice. So it is my pride, it is my privilege to declare this congress open. (Applause).

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DR. ISMAIL CACHALIA:- "Thank you very much for your inspiring words, Mrs, JOSEPH. Our next speaker will be MR. THOMAZILE GQWETA. The majority of our countries people do not have the vote. This means whether we are workers professional or business people, we are unable to make decisions which directly affect our lives in addition to this national oppression. The Black Workers of our country have for many years and continued to be economically- economically exploited among all classes of people. It is the workers who have undoubtedly suffered most and today it is they who lead our struggle. It was only after a long struggle that the State was willing to grant Black workers limited Trade Union rights after after the recommendations of the WIEHAN COMMISSION. Today the progressive Trade Union Movement is growing, growing from strength to sterength but workers and the leaders continue continue to be harassed through detentions, bannings and ongoing intimidation. Ongoing intimidation from the State and management. Last year DR. NEIL AGGETT, a leading figure in the Progressive Trade Union Movement, died in detention. Despite the setbacks the workers continue to organise themselves. The leading figure in the Trade Union Movement is THOZAMILE GQWETA from the South African Allied workers Union.

He has been detained no fewer than eight times in the past, three years by both the South African and brutal Ciskeian authorities. On each occasion he has emerged from detention more committed and more determined than ever. Close members of his family have been killed in the Ciskei Despite this he remains undaunted. GQWETA is not only an inspiration to the workers of our country but to all those who cherish the ideals (inaudible) truely free and a non-racial democratic South Africa. I think we are greatly honoured to have him here with us and ask him to say a few words to you" (Applause).

CHANTER : MAYIBUYE !
AUDIENCE : I'AFRIKA !
CHANTER : MAYIBUYE !
AUDIENCE : I'AFRIKA !
CHANTER : INJURY TO ONE !
AUDIENCE : INJURY TO ALL !
CHANTER : INJURY TO ONE !
AUDIENCE : INJURY TO ALL!
CHANTER : AMANDAL !
AUDIENCE : AWETHU !
CHANTER : AMANDLA !
AUDIENCE : AWETHU !
CHANTER : AMANDLA !
AUDIENCE : AWETHU !
CHARTER : ALUTA !
AUDIENCE : CONTINU A

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CHANTER : ALUTA !
AUDIENCE : CONTINUA
CHANTER : I'AFRIKA !
AUDIENCE : MAYIBUYE !
CHARTER : I'AFRIKA !
AUDIENCE : MAYIBUYE

TAPE 12
SIDE 2

End of tape
12 side 1

THOZAMILE GQWETA :- ah "Comredes, friends, Sympathisers and spectators eh I am standing here today, this afternoon in my person ah capacity as THOZAMILE GQWETA. Although I am well known by many of ourselves as the president of the South African Allied Workers Union eh. First and foremost ah it is a very difficult task which I have been given in this meeting to speak on the question of eh the national struggle in South Africa but never-the-less I think I will try my level best to try and portray in this meeting as to what our national struggle is all about. I'll start by saying that the arrival of the white settlers in this country in the year 1652 eh marked the beginning of a permanent national struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation, ever since e South Africa became the corner stone of the British economic machinery. We shall remember, Comrades, that the frontier wars which intensified during the 17th and 18th century were wars of resistance against colonialism eh. We highly regret that our forefathers were defeated in major wars like the battle of the Blood river in 1836 because that defeat is as a result of our being here today. It is exactly on the basis of that defeat the South African racist Government has capitalised and tried its level best to divide our people as it is trying to do presently by introducing e the President Council.

In 1910 the British imperials handed over e its colonial powers to the forerunners of the present South African White minorities racists regime Government. However from the very beginning the South African Government never rested seeing that the African people were in the majority and it started introducing racism as the cornerstone of White domination e. The national liberation struggle which is waged by our people is an omnibus of our struggle. We fully understand that at the present moment, we are waging such a struggle in accordance with the structures to which we have been subjected socially by the South African Government as Indians, Coloureds, whites, you name them, but we know that somewhere along the line many of us are going to drop in various busstops but we have got one bus terminus where all of us are going to end at the ultimate end. e Ours is colonialism of a special type where the coloniser and the colonised are occupying the same country and where e the question of race and colour has been used to determine as to who must be oppressed and exploited more than the other.

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It so happens therefore that the Black people against whom all this was intended happen to be in the majority as well as being the most affected by all the horrors of colonialism, oppression and exploitation. In order to weaken our strength the South African Government further divided our people according to races. It is those very same oppressed races who e seeing their common oppression gathered themselves together and formed themselves into organisations e like the Anti SAIC and many others that exist in the country. We must be quite aware of the fact that our struggle is twofold on the other leg. On one leg we are standing on what you call our national liberation struggle which is intended to liberate the oppressed masses of our country politically and on the other hand we are standing on this other leg on what you call our economic liberation struggle.

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As eh, many people has said in the past that you can never hope to achieve political independence without econ economic independence and at the same time we can never hope to achieve economic independence without political independence. Eh, we can say presently that e on the part of our economic liberation struggle many Trade Unions have emerged in the country ah and steps have been taken up until now and are still being taken towards the formation of a national organisation or a national body which is for the prupose of consolidating our economic struggle in South Africa. When we look around to the other leg because we cannot stand the whole day on one leg, we have got to find the other leg on which we have to stand. There is a non existance of political organisations in South Africa e even if there are some but it seems that e the are moving very slowly towards the formation of a national political organisation with which we shall have to rub shoulders in order to get where we want to get to. I have read in the newspapers about eh the T.I.C. well personally I feel that if such steps are to be taken, in fact they are long overdue, such steps should have been taken long ago e it is a fact that e we are living in South Africa. I mean socially as segregated races it is not to our liking that we shall have to form an organisation or whatever we cal it. We shall have to be called eh Indian something or Coloured something or Black something or White something, whatever you call it e (applause). We have every reason to be ~ racist if we were to adhere to the wishes of the Government which had deployed us throughout the country on the basis of race and colour but we say in this incident principle we are fighting for total non racialism in South Africa.

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86 We are going to go back for instance to the early fifties when the Congress Alliance set down in 1955 and adopted the Freedom Charter as a basis on which we are going to fight for our liberation. It was never a dogma at any event it is the most compromise document (incoherent) in South African which accomodates Blacks, Whites, Colourds and Indians but most unfortunately e that document has been banned at present in South Africa and I have never heard of any other document which has been able to emerge and lay down the principles which have been laid down by the Freedom Charter. Eh, we are presently calling upon all South Africans or we can say it is these organisations which forms the Congress Alliance in 1955 that are not among our midst today, but we can never say we are going to stop there and do nothing about it. It is our duty, it is our task as we as we are doing now to try and revive our political organisations to try and form some new political organisation in order to accomadate and in order to erub shoulders with other struggles which are being waged by other organisations in the country Comrades, the pregressive and Freedom conscious commitment of the oppressed and exploited masses of our people has epitomised by the memberships of our various organisations is our invincible weapon against e exploitations and oppression e. We must remember that it is this very same consciousness that has enabled many nations throughout the world and even here in the African continent e to achieve their liberation and we must never have any doubt in our minds that this very same consciousness shall also enable us to withstand the South African Government oppressed laws e with those few words I would love to say thank you to everybody who has so patiently listened to my short and inexperienced speech.
"AMANDLA ! (applause).

119 DR. ISMAIL CACHALIA:- Thank you very much GQWETA. Our next speaker today will be DR. ALAN BOESAK who probably needs no introduction from me at all. Like many other aspects of our lives in this country, religion has been given diff, different levels. Those who rule us say that politics and religion must not be mixed within our communities as well as some religious some, some religious institution choose to remain neutral in our battle. In our battle for social justice but, but can anyone be neutral in our society ? Surely to be neutral, it would tacitly give support to the forces of oppression and domination. We believe, that our churches. We believe that our mosques and

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136 our temples and our MANDIERS must be involved in the struggle of our people. We think with love of father Trevor MUDDLESTON an active member of the Congress Alliance who was forced to leave this country. We remember with sadness IMAM HAROON who we were told fell down a flight of steps while in detention and was killed. The Reverend Beyers NAUDE continues to give us inspiration even though he has been isolated from us through arbitrary actions of the state. Today we are more than honoured to have one of the leading theologians in South Africa. DR. ALLAN BOESAK. DR. BOESAK was one of the people who was last year responsible for having apartheid declared a heresy by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. He was subsequently elected President of the body. He recently condemned the Labour Party for selling out by accepting the P.C. proposals. It is a very special privilege to welcome DR. ALLAN BOESAK" (applause)

162 DR. ALLAN BOESAK : "Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen. I thank you very much for the invitation to be with you today, and to be able to speak to you from this platform. I'm proud to be associated with this organisation and with your history and with your courage and with your commitment. I thank you also for your kind and generous introductions like that the way MARTIN LUTHER KING felt one evening when he said he felt like the lady who was wanting to get married for a very long time. I suppose these days I must say the man who wanted to get married for a long time and he couldn't get anybody interested in him and one day a friend called up and said I hear you're getting married and he said no it's not true, no it is a pity but it is only a rumour but thank God for the rumour. (Laughter) So when I hear people say nice things about me, I think all those who are close to me don't believe them really because they know me too well and it may be only a rumour but thank God for the rumour. Your letter that went out advertising this meeting talked about the crisis in Apartheid and it is true Apartheid is in a crisis this grand eloquent ideal brought into the world and held before the eyes of White South Africa as an all encompassing. So theologically loaded policy of racial separation through which all the problems of this country could be solved is beginning to disintegrate. The pseudo religious nature of the ideology of Apartheid has been unmercifully unmasked and the Churches in South Africa as well as the ecumenical church have branded Apartheid a heresy and has stated quite, unequivocally that a church which defends this policy cannot be regarded as an authentic member of the body of Christ. Internally the courageous resistance to Apartheid and determination of Black South Africans to be free, have made it clear to White

149 South Africans in no uncertain terms, that there can be no peaceful existence for them in this land unless it is also peaceful co-existence with Blacks.

Little by little the international community has come to understand the danger. This policy poses to the stability of the region and to international peace. The total rejection by Black people of the policies of the present Government has put the lie to the Governments claim that apartheid is the solution to our problems. The shame of racism and the brutal violence which is needed to sustain this system. The naked greed and the breathtaking hypocrisy. The sheer dishonesty in the so called changes that are taking place. All of this now stands exposed, for all who have eyes to see the South African Government's way of tackling this crisis, is to change the constitution and to revise the political system. The Government and it's supporters insist that Apartheid has failed only partially, namely in providing political space for the so-called Coloureds and Indians. It is succeeding however because the Homeland policy makes provision for the political and human needs of the countries almost 25 million African people. And yet Black people are not impressed. We are not impressed because we have seen what has happened in the homelands. We know that the independence of those four bush republics is a shame and that the homelands are no more than dumping grounds for the discarded people of this land and that there are places where our old people die of misery and want, and where our children are stalked day and night by hunger, ill health and that peculiar death which sits on the shoulder of hopelessness, These homelands are places where the apartheid signs have been taken away only to be replaced by the relentless grip of Black dictatorship. The fact that the Government knows that these impoverished patches of land will never gain in economic independence. That there will always be more Africans in so called White South Africa than in the homelands and that the very way in which these homelands were born is the greatest stumbling block to democratic rule there.

That this policy of the homelands mainly is beyond description in it's immorality does not stop them. For them to quote a delegate of the White Dutch Reformed Church the World Alliance of Reformed Church meeting in Ottawa. The homeland policy is the ultimate final solution to the problems of

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239 South Africa. And so for them the real vexing problem that remains, is what to do with the people classified as Coloured and Indian, and the solution to this problem is the new constitutional proposals. Now these so called Coloureds and Indians may join with Whites in a three chamber Parliament divided on an ethnic basis and with Whites in the majority remaining firmly in control with some economic benefits as the inevitable incentive and with relative control over separate so called Coloured and Indian affairs and joint consultation when it comes to what is called common affairs. And now all of a sudden, brothers and sisters, the Government's problems have become our problems, and apartheid's crisis has become our crisis. Decisions that we now make will determine not only our immediate future but also the future of our children and they will determine the nature of the struggle for freedom and human dignity that will surely continue whatever happens to these proposals. And all of a sudden, we are being told that we are no longer lepers. That we too are people with dignity. That we belong with the Whites. We are told that Africans have their political rights in the homelands and that it is unjust for Coloureds and Indians not to have the same rights, but I want you to remember something. The people who are now talking this way, are the people who came to power in 1948 on a blatantly racist platform that these are the people who took British segregationist policies and made them into a system terrifying in its totality and its effectiveness.

267 These are the people who spent years trying to get the last few Black off the voters roll finally succeeding by packing the Senate and twisting justice in the courts. They were the ones who passed law after law of raw racism, racial classifications, group areas, mixed marriages, separate education and the homeland policy which ends up by stripping Africans of their South African citizenship. They desired the land and they took it. They saw our homes and they claimed them. They built their palaces and their economic kingdoms on the blood and the sweat and the tears of our people. And when we were hounded, and jailed and exiled and detained without trial and tortured and killed. Our peaceful demonstrations were turned into massacre, Sharpeville, Soweto and Cape Town and all this they want us simply to forget and join them right now. They must be joking or they must be crazy (applause). And then when they thought that they had broken our spirit, they gave us dummy institutions humiliating us with puppet leadership whom they themselves would never have accepted, were they in our place. And this failed

289 only because of the refusal of the vast majority of the population to accept anything less than their full democratic rights. Now we are faced with a new situation. The steadfast determination of Black people to fight for their human dignity and the successful employment of the politics of refusal

The growing realisation in the world in spite of the present U.S. administration that apartheid is a cancer in the body politics in the world and the subsequent pressures of this coun on this country's Government though all this it has finally dawned on the Government that something should be done, and now the Government says financial

it cannot work. That is his basic point of departure because you see the Westminster system works on the basis of the winner takes all in the election and it becomes the majority in Parliament. In our turn we may ask "Why will it not work"?

There was nothing wrong with the Westminster system when it gave the Nationalist a winner take all majority in the White Parliament. There was nothing wrong with it when it gave them the right to make laws for all of this nation, even though they were elected by only a small white minority.

There was nothing wrong with this system when it gave them an excuse to use the word democracy when they knew they were oppressing Black people and excluding us from all meaningful political participation. But now, now, that the pressures for change are becoming hard to resist and now that real majority rule is staring them in the face, now they discover that the Westminster system will not work. But there is something else it is probably because the Nationalists themselves have set such a bad example within this system using Westminster style democracy as a cover for totalitarian rule using Parliament to make into law acts that would have been labelled criminal if we in this country had, had an independant judician. Using the system to cover up for shameful acts of dishonesty as we saw in the Information scandal and now they are afraid that Blacks will do the same to them if the system remains. And because they are religious people, they believe what the Sible says in this regard "you shall reap what you've Sown" (laughter and applause). You know not so many years ago I was invited by a certain university whose name I shall not mention because it is close to Cape Town and is not English speaking to talk about Black resistance in South Africa today, and during question time a student got up and said: "Dr. BOESAK, what would you do should you become Prime Minister tomorrow"? And I looked at him and I smiled and I said:- "Oh! Well the first thing that I would do is not to change anything. I think that I will let all the laws remain on the Statute Book. Where there is White I will scratch it out and put Black and where there is Black I will scratch it out and put White

342 (laughter and applause) and then after the elections where of course in which you will not have to participate because we will look very well after your interests (laughter). I will, I will set up a commission of enquiry to look into the possibility of a Homeland for white people (laughter) and we will visit the Orange River complex and we will visit Mamasqualand and we will visit the Kalahari Desert since you are people who love to walk in the wilderness (laughter) and uh we will ask your opinion on, oh! be sure about that and we will go on television and on radio everyday to explain to you people what it is that we mean to do with you and we hope that you will understand because we really have your good interest at heart. And uh, Oh! yes I said to him "you must remember my door is always open and we will consult regularly with the leaders that we will choose for you and when we have established the Department of Afrikaner Affairs I will then appoint the people who will represent you". I thought I was making a joke you see and I was just enjoying myself and this young man couldn't keep it in any longer and he stood up and said: "You see, that's exactly what I thought would happen." (Laughter and applause). Well I looked at him and I said: Well! I don't really want to do that but if you, you're giving us such good examples and having grown up in apartheid, who am I not to follow the examples of the good white people who have done everything for us". But, but the system they are proposing now harbours within its bosom the same danger. If one day we get into power and we take over the Parliament and a Black Electoral Colleague elects a Black Executive President with such sweeping almost dictatorial powers as now in their system and he sends the white Parliament home because they don't agree with him. What then? Shall we then hear the same crocodile lament that we are hearing about Zimbabwe, where they are using MR. SMITH'S laws to keep MR. SMITH in check and now MR. SMITH is angry. But brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen, there must be no doubt whatsoever in our minds. These proposals cannot be accepted and there can be no co-operation with the Government on this basis. We must reject this for clear reasons:- First of all, it is clear that these proposals are an entrenchment of Apartheid and white domination. Secondly, they accept as basic premise to quote the Presidents Council report that the Homeland Policy of the South African Government is irreversible. Thirdly, the basic tenants of Apartheid those laws that are the life blood of the system remain intact racial classification, group areas, separate education, the so-called security laws, etc.

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Fourthly within the system as proposed there will not really be an opportunity to change these laws as these laws will fall under the jurisdiction of the so-called White Parliament and the new system is specifically designed to prevent **coalitions** with other groups, walkouts and boycotts as André DU TOIT has argued. **Five** despite attempts to create the illusion of an independent Presidents Council with independent contribution. It is clear that these proposals were devised to give shape to the P.W. BOTHA brand of National policy geared to the needs of a streamlined Apartheid. We had no part whatsoever in their making and in their interpretation and they were designed to suit the needs of the Nationalist Party congresses who debated and accepted them. And quite apart from the fact that we are sick and tired of being done for by other people and spoken down to from Nationalist platform. There is no reason in the world why we should place our trust and our future in the hands of people who for so many decades now have shown with (inaudible) clarity that they do not have our interest at heart. **Six** the proposals quite unashamedly accept ethnicity as an indispensable basis for doing politics in South Africa. All democratic minded people in South Africa have rejected this premise because we know that ethnicity does not solve differences. It entrenches them. It tends to emphasise group interests and keeps alive tendencies towards tribalism White or Black and narrow ethnic Nationalism which cannot but aggravate an already volatile situation. Ethnic separable from racism however subtle and the insidious nature of it is a warning that societies like ours have enough problems as it is without (inaudible) **racism** by making of ethnicity a basic politically dividing factor. **Seven** these proposals exclude the majority of the South African nation and as such they constitute a recipe for violent confrontation and disaster. **Eight** these proposals are not only politically untenable. **They are** also morally wrong and unacceptable and as a Christian I cannot and will not accept responsibility for the continuation of Apartheid. A system which in the words of Bishop Desmond TUTU, is the greatest evil since Nazism. It is morally wrong and unacceptable. To accept for myself rights and privileges whilst such rights and privileges are denied others who are fellow South Africans. (applause) We must say once again and clearly that justice denied, **ONE IS JUSTICE DENIED** one is justice all and even with these proposals the injustices of South Africa and of Apartheid shall not be removed. Justice still lies prostrate on the streets of our nation.

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And peace shall find no refuge in this land until all of Gods children in South Africa have the simple and indispensable dignity of full Human Rights. And this is what we are saying and we hope that the people of this country and the world are listening to what we are saying. In 1977 when the Government first came with Constitutional Proposals, it was ironically the Labour Party executive who rejected them for the following reasons '

- (1) They entrenched Apartheid.
- (2) They were devised exclusively by the Government and South Africa's people had no part in their formulation.
- (3) They would need inclusion of the so-called Coloureds and Indians and the exclusion of the Africans and
- (4) The proposals entrenched White domination.

I ask you what is the difference between these proposals form 1977 and the proposals by the Presidents Council in term of the recent (inaudible) ? And yet the Labour Party has accepted them and the South African Indian Council would probably do too. It is clear that once again the voice of Mammon has spoken louder than the voice of principle and commitment but there must be no doubt. These people in the Labour Party who have accepted these proposals, they are the new partners of the Government. These are the junior partners in Apartheid.

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From now on they will share the responsibility for Apartheid and for the creation of yet more Homelands for the resettlement of Black people and for the ongoing rape of our human dignity. They will have to accept responsibility for the deaths of those who will resist the system. They will be co-responsible for the continuation, yes the enhancement of the civil war in which South Africa is already engaged. From now on, in terms of active planning and legislation. Apartheid no longer has only a white face. There is a great sadness in all of this and a persistent measure of inevitability. One ought not to play around with evil. Working within the system for whatever reason contaminates you. It wears down your defences. It makes easier those rationalizations for staying in. It makes you susceptible to the hidden and not so hidden persuasions that are at work within every system. It wets your appetite for power and the system may even allow you some petty victories so that you believe that you can actually beat it. And all the while it draws you closer blunting your judgement and finally exposing your powerlessness by joining the system to fight the system. And what you call compromise for the sake of politics is in actual fact selling out your principles, your ideals and the future of your children. And the Labour Party in doing this should have remembered Mrs. JANSEN, who is Mrs. JANSEN ? Where is Mrs. JANSEN today, in this situation calls for vigilance. We must not

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- 508 compromise the struggle we have been engaged in for well nigh a century and more than that. We shall not betray the ideals we have. We shall not betray the belief in a truly democratic South Africa. We must not betray the blood of our children. And today we are saying to South Africa, we shall not do it. The dream of justice and of a free nation and of a humanised society did not die in Eshowe. The people who made those decisions in Eshowe never really understood this dream, have never really been part of this struggle. And our response to the crisis facing us today, is a dialectical one. It is what I call the politics of refusal which has within it both the yes and the no. And we must continue to struggle for liberation for freedom and human dignity of all people in South Africa. And so, while we say yes to this struggle we say no to Apartheid, racial segregation and economic exploitation of the oppressed masses in South Africa. (Applause)
- 533 We must continue to show South Africa and the world that there are Black people who refuse to be intimidated by the violence of Apartheid or tempted by the sugar coated fruits of apartheid. And so while we say no to hollow solutions built on personal gain and petty self group interests we say yes to integrity and to commitment. We must continue to work for a safe and secure future for our children and for a society where they will no longer be infected by the poison of racism. And so while we say yes to a future built on genuine peace and justice. We say no to building that future on the participation in greed, exploitation and a narrow little nationalism that carry within themselves the seeds of their destruction. We must refuse to let our children die in a war which is being waged for the protection of Apartheid and South Africa's new colonialist design in Namibia and for frustrating the hopes of the Namibian people (applause for freedom and democracy inaudible).
- 558 This is the politics of refusal and it is the only dignified response Black people can give this situation. And in order to do this Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters, we need a United Front. Most of the Christian churches and all of the democratic minded organisations in our community have unequivocally rejected the proposals of the Presidents Council and our participation in them. We are all committed to a struggle for a non racial open democratic South Africa. A unitary State with one nation in which all the people will have the rights accorded them not by Government but by ordination of Almighty God Himself; and this we will fight for. And there is no reason therefore why Christians and civic associations and Trade Unions, student organisations, sport bodies should not unite on this issue, (inaudible - applause) ^{POOL OUR RESOURCES} have informed the people of the fraud that is about

578 to be perpetuated in their name and on the day of the election expose these plans for what they are. i know we can do it. You have shown that we can do it and we shall do it again. (Applause). Now I must move on to something else because you see there must be a little intellect in this thing as well. There are those, those who have opted to join have argued that it is necessary. They must do that in order to quote help. MR. BOTHA against DR. TREURNICHT unquote or to quote help. MR. BOTHA to fight against the right in his own party because Mr. BOTHA is quote on the right road unquote. This argument is as incongruous as it is in comprehensible. Apart from the fact that nobody including the Nationalist Party leadership is exactly sure where this road that MR. BOTHA is supposed to be on is exactly leading. The fact is what business do Black people have in trying to alleviate the problems caused by tensions within the National Party or within Afrikanerdom.

TAPE To be sure, it seems to me the [turmoil within
13 Afrikanerdom and the split in the National Party
SIDE have been the most hopeful signs for many years in
1 White politics. This is in fact exactly what we need.
613 More turmoil means more creative tension means under-
mining the self confidence and the arrogance that have
become the hallmark of people in power for far too long
It means opening up possibilities for realignment in
White politics, maybe even for detribalisation and for
more effective opposition. Why would any Black
person in his right mind want to stop this process ?
(Applause). In fact it would be a blessing if this
END OF Government would fall tomorrow. It would help to
TAPE bring about the] real fundamental changes this
12 Government is so effectively obstructing.
SIDE 2 More over don't these joiners know, that there is
no real fundamental difference between Mr. BOTHA
and Dr. TREURNICHT because remeber the argument
between these two gentlemen is not about the ideology
of Apartheid. It is not about whether Apartheid
ought to be removed or not. It is not about whether
South Africa is to become an open democratic society
or whether Africans should retain their citizenship
of this country. They are not arguing about the
necessity of White domination nor are they disagreeing
on the issue of White control over the economy. The
dispute is not about removing the racist laws from
the Statute books nor is it about universal franchise.
The dispute is not about ways towards the
redistribution of wealth the issue, the real issue and
the only issue is the most effective way in which white
control of the economy and white political domination
can survive in South Africa taking into account
the pressures (inaudible - applause). In other words
the argument between Mr. BOTHA AND DR. TREURNICHT
is how about to do the same thing differently in order
for it to

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26 remain the same. Now Dr. TREURNICHT believes that white domination in politics as well as the economy can be maintained by unchanged and unbashed racial separation with all the trappings that goes with it. Indian Homeland, Coloured Homeland and what have you, overt oppression and a call upon the romantic notion of the beleaguered Afrikaner risking isolation but clinging tenaciously to his beliefs depending only on his history the knowledge of his righteousness, his gun and his God. Mr. BOTHA however, having a ~~leather~~ ^{deeper} understanding of the world, today believes there is another way. His solution is a streamlining of Apartheid, permits and mixed sports and so on Newlands on Saturday, while we are sitting here. Limited participation by so-called Coloureds and Asians in politics and in the economy under strict White control which equals power sharing and the illusion of challenge to the old Afrikaner romanticism. Basically nothing has changed the oppression is still there and in fact may become more because those of us who will not co-operate can now be persecuted with more excuse than yesterday. By doing this MR. BOTHA has succeeded in creating a distance between himself and Dr. TREURNICHT which is mostly imaginary. He succeeded in causing confusion in the ranks of English speakers who now feel that MR. BOTHA is indeed moving somewhere and, who cannot understand why the opposition party is so negative. After all I mean Coloureds are now playing for Western Province and soon they will be in Parliament. What more do they want? (Laughter). He has succeeded in luring some coloureds and Indians into this trap and he has hope of more middle class Coloureds and Indians joining up, and he has succeeded in creating the illusion of change so that conservative Western Governments can now openly support his Government with good reason. This is what has happened and what really matters as we have shown has no change at all, but the Government

54 has created a warm cosy middle ground where everyone who comes in may have his little share of the ethnic pie as long as no fundamental questions are being asked. And many including, even some of the media are coming in hoping that somewhere there will be a reward for them and that miraculously the agony caused by Apartheid will disappear. And those who refuse to participate are branded leftists and radicals and politically naive but that does not matter. Brothers and sisters, the situation is only temporary. Truth crashed to earth shall rise again and no lie can live forever (applause). And this Government shall soon find that out.

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In this regard, it will be particularly interesting to see what the official white hope opposition is going to do. They must be commended for their stand in this issue but if the system begins to operate and there is no effective role for opposition anymore, what will they do? I hope that they will receive the wisdom to make the right decision and so establish themselves squarely within the broad movement toward democracy in this country. In other words, to join us. (Applause). We want, we want to remind those Western Governments who are now so satisfied with this Government that they should not be misled. The Black people of this country know what they want and it is certainly not this and, they also know who their leaders are. And these leaders are not the sell outs who need the Nationalist press to protect them against the wrath of their own people. We shall not be satisfied until we have our full Human Rights. Why is it that Britain can go to war in the words of MRS. THATCHER quote? So that the people of the Falklands may have the right to live freely under the Government of their choice unquote. But we are denied that right. Why can Americans stand on a system that must guarantee the equality of all under the law and justice for all but we are denied that right the test of a good South African Government will ultimately not be made in Washington or London or Moscow. It will be made right here in this land by the suffering and struggling oppressed whose determination to be free shall not be undermined by the violence of Pretoria nor by the thinly veiled sinecism of Washington. I want to conclude (applause) Mr. Chairman, let me conclude by reminding you of three little words. Brothers and sisters, three little words that we must cling to that express so eloquently our seriousness in the struggle and the first little word is all. We want all of our rights, not just some and not just those which the Government sees fit to give. We want all of our rights, and we want all of our people to have their rights not just a selected few not just so-called Coloureds and Indians after they had been made nonourary Whites but rights for all South Africans including those whose citizenship has already been stripped away by this Government. The second little word is, the word. ^{HERE} We want all of our rights here in South Africa. In a united South Africa. We do not want them in impoverished Homelands, and we do not want them in our separate little Group areas. We want them here in this land which one day, we shall once again call our own. And the third little word is the word, now. We want all of our rights, right here and we want them right now. We have been waiting for too long. (Applause).

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We have been struggling for so long, we have pleaded and petitioned. We have cried and we have marched. We have been jailed and exiled. We have been killed for it too long. Now is the time and there are some in this country and abroad Governments as well as newspapers who are saying to us: Now you have an opportunity to move along with the Government. Now is not the time to put pressure on the Government. You ought to cool off a little bit. I'm afraid that if we cool off some more, we will end up in a deep freeze and we cannot do that. And so, as we struggle, let us remember that change never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes in by the tireless efforts of men and women who are willing to be co-workers but, let us continue to believe that freedom shall come and that justice shall one day no longer stumble in our streets. That violence shall cease and peace shall reign. Let us believe that racism and Apartheid shall one day merely be a bad dream not remembered nor mourned and that hatred will have made place for love and true humanity. And let us believe the word of the prophet and work for the day when babies will no longer die in infancy, and old people will live out their life-span and people will build their houses and live in them. They will not be used by someone else. They will plant their vineyards and enjoy the wine and will not be drunk by others. The work they will do shall be successful and their children shall not meet with disaster and as I go back to Cape Town, I say to you, let us continue the struggle. Let us keep the faith.

Walk together children.
Walk together children.
Don't you get weary.
There are songs to be sung. There's work to be done. There's a victory to be won. Thank you very much. (Standing Ovation).
Chanter: Mayibuye!
Audience: i'Afrika,
Chanter: Mayibuye!
Audience: i'Afrika!
Chanter: Amandla!
Audience: Awethu!

Dr. I. CACHALIA: Dr. BOESAK, we are truly grateful for your presence here this afternoon. We would like to thank you for your very inspiring words. We'd like to thank you for the stand that you have taken side by side with us in our struggle for our liberation in this country.
I call upon DR. SALOOJEE who has an announcement to make. (Applause).

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DR. R.A.M. SALOOJEE : Ladies and gentlemen, it is not a message of ovation but a message of sadness that the great son in the liberation struggle of this country has just passed away. May I ask all of you to stand in silence for the late Molana SALOOJEE (pause) Thank you ladies and gentlemen. I think this message will for us be a greater inspiration that in life he may not have seen the victory of his struggle but nevertheless in death that spirit will definitely carry us to the day of freedom, thank you.

DR. I. C'ACHALIA : Ladies and gentlemen, with that announcement we've come to the end of this session. The next session will be chaired by Mr. Samson Ndou who is the President of the General and Allied Workers Union. I hand over the chair to Mr. Samson Samson NDOU. Thank you very much.
Chanter : Mayibuye !
Audience : i'Afrika !

Mr. Samson NDOU (Chairman)

Amandla !

Audience: Awethu !

Chairman: Amandla!

Audience: Awethu !

Chairman: Mayibuye !

Audience: i' Africa !

Chairman: Mayibuye !

Audience: i' Afrika !

Chairman: Comrades, friends e do not mistaken me as eh, one of the speakers. I'm not a speaker ehm I've got some e news for you from the Coloured People Information desk. They have just told me that on the 4th of January this year some friends met at Eshowe to endorse President Councils proposals in the name of the Coloured people and the Coloured people are saying this does not represent their aspirations and that is true everybody knows. We will now prove that. Em, Comrades and friends we will call upon DR. MOHAMED a member of Ad hoc Committee Anti-President Council Committee which was formed e from civic organisations to. This body has been formed to prove that the Labour Party do not enjoy the support of the Coloured people that is throughout the country e. We can prove now here now and then that they don't represent the Coloured people. After their conference they haven't even planned to call you know the Coloured people to a sort of e-e-e-e mass meeting because they know that the endorsement that took place at Eshowe do not represent the Coloured people. So will welcome Dr. e. MOHAMED to come forward and from him you will know exactly that the Coloured people are not represented by the Labour Party. The Labour Party represents certain people. I think from the Union Buildings. Amandla !

Audience : Awethu !

I call upon you DR. MOHAMED. (applause).

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205 Dr. Ismail MOHAMED :- As Samson NDOU has said, I have merely come to bring you a message by people who've been angered at the attempt of co-opting us into the oppressive regime. People who want to make us party as Dr. BOESAK had said to the oppressive Apartheid system. Now many people have been angered that we are being attempted to be co-opted like that and that our children ultimately will have to go and defend this oppressive and repressive system that we live under on the borders. We refuse to do that and we know that throughout our country our people are opposed to that. And in house meetings and small meetings people are getting together to rally their forces as DR. BOESAK has said that there is a battle to be fought, there is a victory to be won, And so a few people have got together but they are one of many such groups, and the message of support I bring from community organisations that established themselves into an Ad hoc Anti President Council Committee reads as follows to you: We the Ad hoc Anti Presidents Council Committee salute the Anti S.A.I.C. on its overwhelming success in exposing the S.A.I.C. and other bureaucratic structures of the Apartheid regime.

The Transvaal Anti- S.A.I.C. Committee has played a magnificent role in deepening the consciousness of the oppressed people and increasing our commitment to work towards change.

We wish you every success in the congress and we reaffirm our commitment to struggle towards achieving our common ideals for a truly free, non racial and democratic South Africa.

That is the message from the Ad hoc Anti Presidents Council Committee. Can I just add a word of my own when DR. BOESAK says that there is a battle to be fought and there is a victory to be won, that we remember those who are on Robben Island. Remember those who are banished. Remember those who are behind our borders and we therefore say that we stand with you and we will go out into the shops, into the factories, into the churches, into the schools and the universities and will organise our people to show that the voice that spoke at Eshowe is not the voice of the oppressed (Applause) that is the message from the Ad hoc Anti Republican Committee. Thank you (applause).

Samson NDOU : Thank you eh Dr. MOHAMED. e I will now call upon e Dr. JASSAT, a gallant fighter against tribalism, racism and imperialism. And I feel it is equally important to appeal to you all today to follow his steps and I believe he will never fail you. Amandla !
Audience : Awethu !:

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- 254 (applause) Dr. Essop JASSAT : Mr. Chairman, Helen JOSEPH, Dr. BOESAK, Mr. Thomazile QWETA, delegates from the Transvaal and our fraternal delegates from Cape Town. The Cape Province and Natal I would like to welcome you to this the first congress of the Transvaal Anti S.A.I.C. Committee. The news you heard a little while ago has upset many of us. It has stunned me. Molvi SALOOJEE was my mentor, my guide and has inspired me. On Wednesday after he had come out of the intensive care unit, I went to see him and he was not concerned about his own health. He wanted to know how the plans for the conference were progressing. He asked me to convey his best wishes to this meeting. He said laughingly that eh forces greater than him have confined him to a bed and that he would not be able to attend this meeting at the Selborne Hall. He joked about it. He looked well and we thought, and I thought there, he is well on the way to progress unfortunately he has been taken away from us.
- 283 The tragedy of the situation is that many gallant men like Molvi SALOOJEE and others have been taken away from us, some by God, others by forces that dominate and run this country. It is a tragedy that they have not seen the liberation, of our people. We here at this meeting must dedicate ourselves to those who have passed away. To the noble and high ideals for which where they strived and they died for, then only can we claim to be the true sons and daughters of this land that has given birth to us. Mr. Chairman this his, congress is historic and significant. The presence of people from all over the country and from all sections of the oppressed community makes for a statement so profound and true as to strike at the very heart of rather all three hearts of that contraption, the proposed tricameral Parliament. At the time when the concept of democracy is being re-interpreted and ethnic and cultural differences are being force falsely emphasised by the Botha Government.
- TAPE 5 The conference [reflects and (inaudable) clear statement
SIDE 2 of true democracy, non-racialism and unity. It
(b) reflects in direct contrast to what MR. BOTHA proposes. Our ideal of a democratic South Africa based on the document of the people; the Freedom Charter (Applause) That document which incidentally is not banned. I want to focus essentially on how that three chambered structure emerged through the President Councils report and BOTHA'S guidelines as the culmination of the State general reform strategy. I would also like to make a few points on the emergence of the Transvaal Anti S.A.I.C. Committee and its very short history before looking at the road that lies ahead of us.

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But first I think it is important to consider briefly the deep roots of the Indians in South Africa and to catalogue factually the incessant disenfranchisement of the Indian the Coloured and the African people. The point must be made that we are fully integral to South African soil. And soil that is not binded will produce no growth and it must be shown how the soil has been deliberately prevented from binding by some people in this land. The majority of South Africans are the descendants of indentured workers brought to Natal between the years 1860 and 1891 to develop the countries sugar belt. White coloners despaired of exploiting the colonies agricultural resources due to the refusal of the Zulu, relatively secure in his tribal economy, to market his labour. In 1860 the Zulu Kingdom was still intact and (inaudible) that HLATSWAYO'S warriors would wash the spears in the blood of one and a half thousand British soldiers still 19 years ahead. Only the destitute, the Amakwala's the so-called Christian blacks were prepared to demean themselves and work for white people, but India conquered and convulsed by the British occupation offered a solution peasants and craftsmen often deluded by unscrupulous recruiting agents bound themselves for five years or more to unknown masters under little known conditions to fill the vacancies created by the emancipated slaves in the worlds tropical plantations. A new form of slavery thereby arose in 1834 on the ashes of the old. Indian manpower loaded into the holds of ships alongside with consignment of raw materials was despatched to British, Dutch and French, Guinea, GONDILLOPE, Trinidad, Ceylon, Fiji, Sincroy, Surinam, South America and also Natal. The system sank sanctioned it by Britain continued for sixty years after the abolition of slavery and ended only in 1920 following popular Indian agitation when the British law made it illegal and set all those, still under indenture free. India prohibited the indenturing of labour to Natal 9 years earlier because of the disgust with the treatment of Indian South Africans. In turn in South Africa interested only in Indian slaves and fearing Indian citizens passed a law in 1913 which placed a ban on virtually all Indian immigration to this country. The result of this is that today with few exceptions Indian South Africans are South African citizens by birth. We are told that the first Indians to arrive on the shores of South Africa came in 1860 as indentured labourers aboard the ships Truerod and Bellvedere. History however records that the first Indians to come to South Africa were slaves brought by VAN RIEBEECK

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58 in the 1650's over 50% of all Cape slaves during the 17th and 18th century were Indians from Bangore and Southern India. A stream of free or so called passenger Indians accompanied indentured workers. Some of the traders began to move into the hinter land the interior of this country, where they opened store employees of the sugar estates who had completed their indenture began to work as Market gardeners fishermen, waiters and Artisans in other capacities. A minority of them began to move away from the province of Natal. in 1900 and 1896 Natal withdrew franchise rights from people who originated from countries which then lacked representative Government institutions Indians were in consequent debarred from qualifying to vote. In 1946 the Asiatic land tenure and Indian representation act, the so called pegging Act was passed provided amongst other things for limited representation of Indians by Whites of course in the House of Assembly and in the Senate and by Indians or Whites in the Natal Provincial Council. The passive resistance struggle under the joint ~~LAUNCH~~ leadership of Monty NAICKER and Yusuf DADOO was lodged and hundreds courted imprisonment against this act, because of the massive massive opposition and and rejection part of the act dealing representation was never implemented and was consequently repealed in 1948.

84 In 1964 the South African Indian Council was established with 21 nominated members. It became a statutory body 4 years later with an enlarged membership. In 1974 the eh S.A.I.C. came to consist of 30 members, half of them nominated by the Government and half elected by electoral colleges arising out of local Affairs Committees, Management Committees and Consultative Committees. The S.A.I.C., I refuse to call it the South S.A.I.C. like Helen here. S.A.I.C. had no legislative powers and the S.A.I.C. act of 1968 which was amended in 1972 and again in 1974 was again amended in 1978 to make provision for the election of 40 members and an additional 5 members would be nominated. The official election only took place on November the 4th 1981 as you are all aware. In the Cape province the ordinance of 1928 afforded to the Hottentots and other free persons of colour in the colony the same civil, legal and political rights as po, possessed by the white colonists. After the slaves had been emancipated, the 50th ordinance of the following year granted the equivalent rights and abolished previously existing restrictive laws. The qualifications required by Coloured men were raised from time to time and in 1990¹⁹⁸⁹ the po, position was that all male citizens of the Cape who were literate and earned R100 a year or owned fixed property to the value of R150 should qualify for the franchise on the common role.

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A similar situation prevailed in Na, Natal however a franchise, the franchise rights were not granted to the Coloured people in the two Northern provinces, that is the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The influence of the Coloured vote in the Cape and in the Natal was considerably diminished in 1930 and the following year when white women were enfranchised in the income and property qualifications for white men in the Cape and Natal were removed. At the national convention of 1908/9 after prolonged debate between those who participated. It was agreed that all non-whites in the Cape and Coloureds in Natal should retain the common qualified franchise but would no longer be politically suited to sit in Parliament. They might still stand for election to Provincial Councils. The non-whites, No non-whites would be enfranchised in the two Northern Provinces and these arrangements were embodied in the South Africa Act of 1909 passed by the British Parliament. This decision could only be altered by a two third majority of both houses of Parliament in a joint session.

SMUTS in 1943 set up the Coloured advisory council and set the ball rolling to exclude the Coloureds completely from parliament. Immediately resistance developed in the form of the Anti-CAD Movement. And in January 1950 the Coloured Advisory Council resigned in protest against the Apartheid legislation.

In 1956 the Coloureds were removed from the common voters roll and given a separate voters roll. The participation in Parliament was restricted to a few white representatives in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council. The nine year 1968 saw the formation of the Coloured Representatives Council and the limited Parliamentary representation was completely removed. Coloured representation in the Cape Municipal Council was also removed in 1972 and Management Committees were established. The C.R.C. you are aware, was then finally resolved in April 1980. As far as the African people are concerned those who were legally resident within the colony, that is the Cape colony were issued with certificates of citizenship which gave the holders full civil and legal equality with whites and Coloureds but whenever they were confronted they had to produce this little paper so it was equivalent to a pass. African whose principle chief lived beyond the borders were required to carry genuine passes in territories owned by the Whites. When Natal was first granted responsible Government in 1900 in 1856 the law franchise qualification decided upon took no account of colour but a few years later exactly a highly restrictive procedure was introduced for Africans and in fact only three Africans were ever granted the vote in Natal.

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The representations of Native Acts of 1936, placed African voters of the Cape on a separate roll. And they had to elect three White representatives to the House of Assembly and two to the Cape Provincial Council, four additional White Senators would be elected by Africans throughout the country by the indirect system of voting through electoral colleges and advisory body culminative representative council was created consisting of the secretary of native affairs as Chairman, the five chief native commissioners, four nominated African members and twelve elected Africans. In 1946 the N.R.C. adjourned sine-die in protest against the Government's failure to (inaudible) prolong and repeated objections to various laws. One of the members of the N.R.C. said that they were (inaudible) telephone because speaker at the one hand and no one hearing at the other end that was the N.R.C. Now forgive me for this little historical diversion and digression. It was meant to be brief but these facts as regarded the disenfranchisement of our people was necessary to place in perspective the present dispensations. There is a feeling both here and abroad and especially in the Western Countries that under MR. P.W. BOTHA'S leadership the Nationalist Party is taking very real decisions to reform the system of Apartheid. They argue that Black Trade Unions had been ^{RECOGNISED} organised, that job reservation had been substantially removed, that progress had been made towards permitting anyone to establish commercial enterprises in industrial areas that advances had been made in the removal of statutory provisions concerning the mobility of labour and that a number of regulations on petty Apartheid had been abolished. In fact the belief is that the State is now moving towards adopting a more liberal attitude of greater democratisation of state structure and broader participation and power sharing for all its people. The above assessment, I believe is shared by many in the South African business, mining and industrial community, also because of this its acceptance of the above scenario the REAGAN Administration in particular is defending in (inaudible) up the South African regime. In fact a former United States Secretary Henry KISSINGER, two months ago told the South African Institute of Foreign Affairs international (inaudible) conference in Pretoria that South Africa's move to ease petty Apartheid to broaden the political rights of Coloureds and Indians and to improve the economic position and conditions of Blacks had been noted and appreciated in the United States of America and that America gave the Nationalist Party a pat on the back for that. The Verkramptes amongst the Afrikaners have severed their ties with the Nationalist Party and hide themselves off into the H.N.P. the Conservative Party, the Kappie Kommando, the Aksie eie Toekomst and other

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195 weird groupings. Because of the mistaken belief that the Prime Minister and his followers are hell bent on destroying white agonomy and replacing it with a multi-racial and multi-coloured democracy. I would like to show that any change that has taken place in the recent past or is envisaged for the future is geared in
TAPÉ 13 favour of a small minority and is 200 overlops [opposed to
SIDE 2B bringing about any meaningful concessions, privilages or rights to the mass majority of the South African people. We in the Black community have not been particularly overjoyed and in (inaudible) by the to form strategy of the present Government for we perceive it as a ruse to maintain the status quo albeit in a different shape and form. In the face of mounting oppositions both locally and internationally to Apartheid and all that is stands for. Those outside the Nationalsit Party sight the example of the WIEHAHNN - RIEKERT - and DE LANGE- Commissions of enquiry and the President Councils proposals to strengthen their argument that meaningful substantial and real change is being envisaged for the Black voiceless and voteless people of South Africa. From the vain point of view the majority of this country the setting up of these commissions and the recommendations counts in liberal progressive and even democratic (inaudible) are a lot of bluff and eye-wash. It is a old discredited despised hated man called racial discrimination, seperate development, apartheid and self determination or even segmental autonomy who was washed shaved and fitted out in new clothes and presented to us now.

19 We are aware that the WIEHANN Commission was appointed as the responce to the increased worker organisations and activity. Its recommendations seeks to ensure control of the membership and leadership of Trade Unions and represents an attempt to control worker militancy on the factory floor. Similarly the RIEKERT Commission represents a tight ening of the influx control. People from the Bantustans the so called migrant workers are forced to seek work through labour bureaus. At the same time people with certain qualifications in the urban areas are promised increasingly stable better quality life styles. RIEKERT is an attempt to divide and rule our people. In a similar fashion and in a similar way that is, that we view the main report of the Human Sciences research council investigation into education popularly known as the DE LANGE Commission. It is generally conceded that the persistent and powerfully expressed dissatisfaction displayed by Black communities and particularly our students since 1976 is a reason for the Cabinets request for the investigation. The term, terms of reference were laid down to ensure that the education policy be designed to quote, promote economic growth in the Republic of South Africa unquote.

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36 And the education struc, structure be designed (to quote again) provide for the manpower requirements of the Republic of South African (unquote) The most significant feature of the DE LANGE report (inaudible) emphasis on non formal or career education. That is technical or vocational training and its failure to move away from Apartheid education. Another important feature feature is the eroation of a singal ministry of education and at, and at the same time retaining separate educational system for the separate communities under the false guise of separate but equal. Similarly the first and second report of the constitutional commitee of the Presidents Council the so called Presidents Council proposals published in May and November la... last year and Mr. P.W. BOTHA's speeches at the (inaudible) National Party congress and more especially at the Federal Party congress in Bloemfontein, referred to impurely formal constitutional terms as a post as socio economic change. But even in these terms the proposals are fundamentally flawed for the represent strictly controlled and unequal group group representation. The proposals will in fact entrench White domination but under changed circumstances and in new forms. Does the main proposal (inaudible) construct to conditions of domination in the attire of power sharing. This feeling was expressed even by Mr. Robert MACNAMARA, who was a former president of the world bank speaking at the Seventh Chancellor's lecture at the University of Witwatersrand last year when he said that "Unless there was real movement towards sharing political power in South Africa and a new constituion proposals do not provide for such power sharing, the country could become as great a threat to world peace as the Middle East". unquote. We have no choice but to reject both the BOTHA and Presidents Councils proposals. Not only because they represent a Nationalist initiative but more fundamentally because of their content. Briefly the proposals are intended to create division and confusion in the ranks of those struggling for genuine change as opposed to strictly limited and partial adaptions and the attempt also to defuse the growing condemnation of the racist policies of the Nationalists. The apparently neutral neutral and acad, academic terms in which the proposals are presented obscures the fact that the National, that the Nationalists will be the new President forever and that the President Council will be completely dominated by the Na, Nationalists 45 out of the six, 60 members will be Nationalists supporters. Further more the focus of power will shift from Parliament to a cabinet and

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74 Executive President not subject to adequate constitutional checks or popular control. All this will ensure that the vote to Parliament will not effect the dominance of the Nationalist party. Sensitive issues that the Coloured and Indian chambers may feel strongly about, like the scrapping of the Pass laws, the Group Areas Act, release of political prisoners greater spending on housing and education, will still be blocked either through the White Parliament or ultimately through the Nationalist dominated Presidents Council with token Coloured and Indian representation.

The proposals have been pub, publicly presented as the only possible way of achieving democracy. Now the Government knows that this term embodies the aspirations of the majority of South Africans. They now usurp this term its meaning and its symbolism in order to give it a new racially defined and extremely low narrow interpretation. Democracy no longer involves and extention of franchise and citizenship rights, but is a form of conso, concessional democracy based on six strictly controlled and equal representations. African people are very conveniently and be by legal fiat defined either as citizens of some barren backwater that is this homelands or as urban Africans without homelands and therefore excluded from the new dispensation. Indians and Coloureds on the other hand are now included within the formal parliamentary institutions of that despised Apartheid state. The principle of racial seperation will still exist. Parliament will be divided into three separate chambers, thus reinforcing these artificial seperation of our country along racial lines; tomorrow will still be today. The Government has given notice of its intention to decentralise authority over certain important matters to the local level of Government. This will be discussed tomorrow in a paper by DR. CALOOJEE. According to the President Councils

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proposals on local Government which MR. BOTHA has heartily endorsed I would like to quote:
 "The intention is to place decision making and ultimate responsibility for their own welfare in the hands of local committees." Unquote.

This is clearly an attempt by the Government to reduce its responsibility providing for the welfare of its citizens. The effect will be that although we are in no way responsible for say this Group Areas act but, but rather its victims, we will still still increasingly have to show the the cost burden or the problems created by racial separation.

Further more our attentions will be deflected away from the central authorities who bring about these laws to the local level so that they as they seek their to redress their legitimate grievances. So we will now be fighting our little RAJABANSI'S, our CURRY'S and our HENDRICKS'.

P.W. BOTHA has also clearly indicated that participation in the new constitutional dispensation has a corollary. The defence of his borders and its unjust system by Indians and Coloureds against those of our countrymen who have mounted an armed struggle against Apartheid. In other words our children will have to defend this unjust and immoral regime if need be with their blood.

It is our contention that the Nationalist Government is faced with a crisis so deep that the very basis of its roots and its rule is being threatened. South Africa is faced with serious economic, political and military problems. The present economic recession experienced in the advance industrial countries of the Western world is deeper and more ravaging in South Africa because of the role, the racist policies pursued by the present Government.

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These symptoms of the economic crises have the potential to fuel an already explosive situation in this country. In the last decade, the Government has had to cope with a resurgence of the struggle of the dominated classes. The massive workers strike in 1973, the boycotts against inferior education in 1976 and in 1980. The overwhelming popular rejection of Government created institutions like the C.R.C. and the SAIC. The community councils and the Homeland Governments and community actions against high rents inadequate and high transport costs and high food prices. Clearly this is not a healthy situation from the point of view of the dominant politically economic forces in this country, for it threatens the wealth, their privileges and power. Furthermore the White establishment is now having to pay a heavy price for its intransigence. White males up to the age of 55 are now in an extended call up. Grandfathers have to look after Post Offices and other installations. This must in the long term have a detrimental effect on the economy and White society. Something drastic has to be done, to discuss, to defuse, the time bomb in order to secure the long term interest of the ruling block. It must either adapt or die. The presidents Council proposals are rather feeble and transparent response to this crisis. These so called reforms cannot be isolated from the increased repression which is the other side of the coin. The recent barrage of security legislations. The incredible high budget; we are told that 3,600 million rands was spent on defence on the Defence Force, the Police and the Intelligence Services last year, and this is compared to 350 million rands in 1972, a tenfold increase. The recent bannings and re-bannings, detentions

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and deaths in police custody, the Steyn Commission and the new press controls all revive the big stick behind the rotten dangling belt of reform.

To ensure peace and stability in South Africa we need a political system that will not be dominated by the present ruling class, but will reflect the aspirations of all the people of South Africa, including those who directly produce the wealth of this wonderful, rich and beautiful land. This will only be possible if all, irrespective of racial origin, have a democratic say in the political system and society as a whole. We do not believe that this can be achieved through any form of ethnic representation. On the contrary only a (inaudible) state organised on the basis of universal suffrage can ensure an end to all forms of discrimination.

Furthermore fundamental changes must encompass all areas of human activity, social, educational, economic and political. Then, and then only can it be stated that genuine reform is taking place in South Africa.

Some people have allowed themselves to believe that the constitutional changes are meaningful and represent a more move towards fulfilling the, to some extent the aspirations of the oppressed. BOTHA was in fact congratulated on this initiative by the leader of the Labour Party at its Eshowe congress. The Labour Party rationalises its decision to participate in the tri-cameral arrangement by opportunistically referring to it as a strategy and not as a policy, a principle. They fail however to recognise that it has been the boycott tactic used under conditions were its conditions for its success; that has in fact brought the Government to the point where it thinks the destiny of the Indian and Coloured people lie with them.

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190 We refuse to participate in any component and institution of the new dispensation and make apartheid function because then in the essence we are participating in the means of apartheid. Only a misguided fool or an opportunist will believe that scope exists in participation for advancing our struggle. No scope really exists. We genuinely believe that the Labour Party has no right to commit the Coloured people to the course they have taken. This was shown by the stance taken throughout the country and by what Dr. ISMAIL MOHAMED said this afternoon. We see their decision to participate as apportunistic and against the mainstream of democratic thinking, and we call upon all progressives in this country to form a united front against the new constitutional guidelines.

This call....(applause) this call was initially made by DR. BOESAK and I subscribe to that call. There are other people from outside who believe that because of financial motivations that genuine changes are taking place in South Africa, and their form of participation can be through such things as sport. We however call upon people like those Carabian Cricketers present, presently touring South Africa to abandon their tour immediately and return home in order to avoide the wrath of their Government and their people, the warth of the international community and our utter contempt.

There is no change in South Africa until South Africa is a path of social justice and democracy. We call upon all artists and sportsmen to fro - stay away from our borders, including the Bantustans and the Sun Cities. We in the Transvaal Anti- SAIC Committee are still in our infancy having come into existance in June 1981.

The terms of the mandate given to us at the inaugural meeting we campaign throughout the

224 length and breadth of the Transvaal mobilising the Indian people to keep out of the polling booths on November the 4th of last year. Our, our campaigning was linked with that of the struggle and the campaigning of the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Anti SAIC Committee, and also with that of the friends who fought for pa, against participation in the Cape. On that day that is November the 4th, ninety percent of the registered voters stayed away. Many thousands in spite of of threats, had not even bothered to register. The ten percenters that is the members of the Council without any feeling of shame and the face of the massive opposition of the Indian peoples rejection of the dummy institutions constituted themselves into the South African Indian Council with a blessing of the masters MR. HEUNIS and MR. BOTHA. Forty five inane men claiming to speak for 3/4 million people, but we were not deceived and the world was not deceived. During the campaign and the period immediately following the election many gains were made and the single most important of one of which is the expression of the unity of the people in this province. That is a gain upon which we must consolidate, for we are called upon to express even greater unity in the times that lies ahead.

The present situation in the country today demands that we unite and organise ourselves, seriously consider the Government's tragedy strategy and its implications, and map out a future course for ourselves, and this we can do only on a united basis; not as Indians, not as Coloureds, not as Africans, but as the Black Democratic Forces in this land.

There is a feeling that the hu, that the time has arrived for the transformation of these political games into a political organisation. That an organisation which will take upon it such broad

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257 issues and represent and ache the aspirations, hopes and desires of the Indian people, should now emerge.

There is also a general feeling in the organisation and amongst its activists that if a political organisation has to emerge, then the correct procedure would be to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress which enjoyed a proud and honourable and h historical roll in the lives of the peoples of this province (applause).

We are proud that the greatest amount of genuine gene participation of all groups of democrats took place during the hey-day of the T.I.C. and its sister organisation, the N.I.C. The host - historical linkage and org organisation lacks passion of our unity should be continued.

Ever since the arrival of the first indentured labourers on the shores of South Africa, the community has gone through several critical periods; at each stage the important question has been where the communities relationship with the Government on the one hand and with our fellow fellow oppre-ssed on the other. At each stage the community has made the choice wise wisely. In the early nineties, our people under the leadership of MAHATMA GANDHI strenuously resisted various unjust laws such as the £3 tax and the two successful passive resistance and satyagra campaigns are now legends in the history of our people.

287 During the 1940's under the dynamic leadership of DR'S NAICKER AND na, DADOO the community rejected the Governments White representatives for Indians in Parliament. At the same time the communities established a strong bond with African and Coloured people which culminated in that historic Defiance campaign of 1952, led by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. The mass struggles of the early 1960's and 50's

293 led to the most democratic convention our country has ever seen. The congress of the people on June 26th, 1955 in Kliptown where the demands of our people, both Black and White, were drawn up in the Freedom Charter. It remains still our blueprint for the future non-racial and democratic South Africa.

The final decision as to whether we should continue to exist as the Transvaal Anti- SAIC Committee or whether we should form a new organisation or resuscitate an old one, will rest with you, the delegates who have gathered at this conference. Tomorrow you will take that vital decision. Whatever our decision, and however we move forward, our guiding slogan should be that we should not be divided in our struggle towards a non racial, democratic society, free from oppression and exploitation.

311 I would like to conclude with the words from GITANJALI by RAVITNA TAGOR :

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
Where knowledge is free,
Where the world has been broken up into fragments
in the narrow, narrow domestic wall,
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards
perfection,
Where words come out from the depth of truth,
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
the dreary desert sand of dead abbot, Where the mind is
led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action,
Into that heaven of freedom,
My father let my country awake.

(applause)

Chanter : - MAYIBUYE !

Audience: - i'AFRIKA

END OF
TAPE 13
SIDE 2 (b)

LUNCH BREAK

TAPE 8
SIDE 1
(a)

DR. JASSAT: Please come and take their seats, thank you. We are running out of time, please be seated. uhm..where's Jerry ? (inaudible) will the people at the back of the hall please come in and take your seats unknown person (inaudible) okay, okay ja (inaudible) Jerry where's Jerry Jassat (inaudible) see they can move (inaudible) see they can move (inaudible) testing one, two three (inaudible) fellow delegates, will you kindly be seated. Friends, we will be starting now. It is my pleasure to welcome you back to the second session of the, of the conference. Just one announcement. We are awaiting a call from Lenasia to tell us when the funeral of uh, Molana SALOOJEE takes place. As soon as the phone call arrives we'll announce the time of his funeral.

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Now, you have I hope all the delegates are seated. You you each will have a brochure and some scribbling pad. I hope you've got that in front of you and if you need ballpoints, pencils, just raise your hand and eh, I will see to, and you know supply you with writing material. Now we have come to the most important session of this conference. This session which deals with the Presidents Councils proposals at a National level. A number of the speakers earlier this afternoon eluded to the Presidents Councils proposals, but you know they just made reference to the proposals in a sort of passing fashion. This evening we will have someone to lead a discussion on the proposals in a more detailed and uh, a more didactic fashion, and since its going to be a sort of a teaching session, who better would we find but a teacher who has been teaching students, and we have with us this evening PROFESSOR HOOSEIN COOVADIA who is affectionately known as Jerry and who has been teaching the medical students in (incoherent). He will talk to you and try to explain to you that intricacies of the Presidents Council's proposals.

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Someone mentioned a few weeks ago that it is quite simple, the Government wants to retain power it wants to retain white domination, why have they gone to this elaborate you know, eh, uh, and finally come to the to the conclusion that they will rule the land. Now this is eh, the answer to that is that of course you know, the more you try and bluff, perhaps you might be able to get away. And I think eh, what Jerry will try and show us this evening is that the whole you know, uh, Presidents Councils proposals must be guidelines from people like P.W. BOTHA are an attempt to bluff the people of this country and the people overseas. Now since we have eh, due uh, we've been delayed because of the food coming late I'm not going to spend much more time. I think I'm going to hand you over to Jerry whose got some lovely slides and then uh, he will even speak for something like three quarters of an hour. After that uh, you know you are all entitled to participate in a discussion

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Now the procedure will be that uh, you who ever wants to speak (inaudible) we'll try and pass our microphone or you can come up to this one and when you come up here, please announce your name and the organisation you belong and area from which you come. If you do that it will mean uh, it will be, make things easier so that is all we ask of you is that you can speak and say whatever you like, but when you come up to the stage, you know to, to the front, all you do is speak into the microphone. Please announce your name, the different centre from which you come and the organisation you represent. Over to Jerry

(Applause)

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JERRY COOVADIA Thank you Essop uh, ladies and gentleman and friends because I'm a simple teacher they've given me a difficult task to speak to you in family uh, didactic fashion but you, have heard uh, um excellent speech by a number, uh, excellent speeches actually by a number of different individuals. You have heard.....

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You have heard a speech which has a very fire of uh resistance in it from ALLAN BOESAK and there is nothing that one can say that can possibly even begin to equal that sort of speech. As I understand it the purpose of tonight's meeting really is to serve as a starting point for very meaningful discussions between and amongst people who are already committed to the cause of freedom. That is, I am speaking to people who are already converted and who are activists in the cause and therefore my speech is really an attempt to set the ball rolling in terms of more discussions amongst and between us, and it is in that sort of context that I will speak.

Before I actually start, I am going to speak for a period and I've got a prepared speech, but it is by far too long and I am not going to go through all of it. I am going to read part of it which I think is relevant and I am going to skip through other parts which have already been covered.

But before I actually begin that, there's been a lot of confusion generated by eh nothing short of mischief making on the part of some individuals to create the impression that the Natal Indian Congress is undecided about a certain approach to the Presidents Council's proposals. Now, I want to state here quite clearly and in quite simple English, so that nobody misunderstands our position, that we reject the constitutional proposals unambiguously, unequivocally, in total and without rejection and there is no qualification to that and there is no discussion for that we reject it entirely as do our friends in the Transvaal Anti SAIC. That is the starting point (applause). That is the starting point of our discussion and is about the only emotional thing I have to say.

Allright ladies and gentlemen, what I am going to do is try and put the constitutional proposals in some sort of context. Now it is, you'll agree,

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121 impossible to analyse the proposals which is my task, to analyse these proposals, without giving you some sort of back-ground. Now the back-ground I am going to give you is going to be the back-ground of the whole Indian congress movement of the current TASC, NIC position and therefore necessarily not by choice but necessarily in the first instance restricted to some of the particular problems that Indian South Africans faced. And then I'm going to try and answer some of the criticisms that people continually direct at us about our rejectionist stand. Our stand of boycotting continuously and repeatedly some of the Government imposed institutions. So that's my sort of level or that's my eh, scope of my discussion.

As an introduction, you will all be aware that with the current proposals the Government is now entering a new phase where they want to create a much more sophisticated approach to White domination and economic exploitation, so that we are in a new ball game. We are facing a new type of enemy which has refined its language, which has modified its approach and which has changed the raw language of apartheid to a different type of language. We also recognise that we are at the cross-roads of a broad range of historical movements. That if we don't seize this moment...If we don't seize the moment at this point in time, we may very well loose out. We may loose out in such a bad way that progressive forces may be damaged and reactionary pe, reactionary people may take over the control of the movements of Black people and progressive White people, so that our struggle is set back many decades. So we are at a crucial point in time and this is going to be a crucial conference and 1983 is going to be a crucial year. So the impo, decisions we make are going to be important ones.

Now as I said 1983 is a crucial year and is going to be the target especially among eh, among Indian and Coloured

149 South Africans of a vicious attack by the Government and the purpose of that attack is to separate the Indian and Coloured communities from the broad range of progressive people and that's the main purpose, or one of the main purposes of the current proposals. Our challenge therefore is to see that we maintain our unity amongst ourselves with Africans, Coloureds and Indians and progressive White people and to espouse causes which enhance that eh unity and not to let it collapse in the welter of constitutional proposals, in the welter of Government propaganda, in the welter of arguments which we are going to hear about for the next at least ten months or so.

Now, historically eh, the Natal Indian Congress in Natal and the T.I.C. here have been associated with leading eh...., (Interjection by Dr.Cachalia: There is just an announcement i'm sorry)

DR. CACHALIA: Ladies and gentlemen. Sorry for the interjection, but eh the Transvaal Anti S.A.I.C. had made a decision that these sessions would be closed and we see that the Press are present. We have said that the Press may sit but that they will not be able to report and we will not allow any reporters on these closed sessions. But if the Press want to make report, then we would ask them to kindly leave so that the proceedings could then continue. The Press now have a choice that they either sit without reporting or they be kind enough to leave. Thank you.

JERRY COOVADIA: Okay I'll I'll continue. I was saying that the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress have been historically associated with the movements towards progressive change in this country and that we believe that it is our duty and responsibility to help the community to formulate new..eh, to formulate its response to the new constitutional proposals. This we believe must be done on a clear understanding of a whole lot of facts which I'm gonna go into now and that Indians and Coloureds must beware of the perils because these perils are very dangerous, the arguments are very

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seductive and the propoganda is very ^{ALLURING} daring. We must beware of those threats it being drawn into the politics of expediency. Very briefly uh, why are the proposals being introduced at this stage and at, at this point in time. Now those of you who've been attending similar sorts of meetings, meetings in the past and those who of you are less (inaudible) uh, uh have been attending for example the de, Descom meetings, recognize that we've analised the situation in very clear terms and I'm not going to repeat all that. We believe there are a number of historical reasons why these changes are being brought into the constitution now. Now ESSOP aluded to a lot of historical reason and just to summarise them, what we believe is that after the disposition of uh, ^{LAND} and resources by a white minority, historically there's been a change in the type of uh, economic control in this country. And especially in the past 40 years or so, uh, since the second world war ther's been more and more concentration of money into fewer and fewer and fewer hands, so that those of you who remember fu, further back, will remember that Barlow Rand was'nt such a big name so long ago, Anglo American was, Barlow Rand was'nt and similar examples illustrated the fact that money is being concentrated more and more into fewer hands So now we are re, reaching a situation where uh, big industry is making very serious demands on the Government to change it's standard of apartheid. So on the one hand you've got industry making certain demands on the Government and on the other hand you've got a whole lot of uh, activity going on in the progressive movement and it is the ^{CLASH} ~~dash~~ of these forces which has decided the Government to change it's stand.

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Now what are the clash of these forces ? We need to understand this in a little more detail where the Government can rule by repression as long as all of us keep quite. As long as there is no significant opposition and as long as the system runs. For example, if they were to maintain apartheid in schools, if they were to have separate Indian, Coloured, White and African Schools, as long as there is no objection nobody opposes it, nobody raises his or her voice, they can run those schools. But there are often periods when people object. People are always striving for freedom. They are always striving for eh betterment of their standards of living, of their quality, of their education.

The moment people object, the moment peoples objections take on a more concrete form, certain tensions are created in education and when these tensions are acute the at sometimes the Government can cope with them. They can send in the Police. They can send in some of the head masters, head masters who are sympathetic. They can bring in a whole range of people. So they can contain them and sometimes they can't, so that when a type of acute situation arises, which we can call a crisis and similar situations can arise in different fields of life. And what has happened in the past with the demands of big industry on the Government to change its stand. There's been a concomitant and associated increase in tensions within different aspects of our lives.

And you've seen this in the student boycotts. You've seen this in increased Trade Union activity. You've seen this in community organisations. You've seen this in the field of sport. So what I am saying, is that if you take life and break it up into different parts. All these different parts have got increasing tensions and these tensions are so acute that the Government is unable to cope with

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them Soweto, Soweto in the mid seventies was as a major crisis. A major crisis which threw all this together so that there was almost chaos in this country, and the you Government was unable to cope. That the Government is unable to cope there may be a change. A radical change and they may be overthrown and excuse me and therefore they will try and alter the situation so that they retain control. And it is because of these contradictions within different aspects of our lives. Acute contradictions, reinforcing one another, from education to Trade Unions, to schools, to the political world outside, to Angola, to Mozambique, to Zimbabwe. All of them getting freedom.

When these tensions all react, this Government is unable, unable to control it and therefore has to change its viewpoint. And we think that is the basis. that this acute crisis, this ongoing crisis has forced this Government to change its mind to adopt a new stand, and that is why you've got these new constitutional proposals.

So that is how we understand the development of these new constitutional proposals. It is not come about because they've got a change of heart, not at all. It's come about because of certain very coherent reasons. Okay, that's the first section I want to deal with. I want to deal with the reasons for the formation of this new set of proposals.

Alright, the next part of my talk is more concerned with Indian South Africans and I want to make one point only in this talk, but I have to develop the talk. And the point I want to make is that in the history of Indian people in this country there have been certain forces which have had a negative influence in the development of Indian people; that has kept Indian people back into the Indianness, and has not allowed them to intergrate into the new countries, into the middle of the last century, into

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the country of their adoption, then into the country of their birth now.

So there's certain forces which keep Indians apart and I just want to develop the argument to illustrate that. So, I am only making one point, but it's gonna take me ten minutes to make that point. So if you just bear with me. What I was saying, is that the most serious danger facing Indian South Africans, is that they may be seen as a group. Not as individuals, as a group to lend credence to the Presidents Council's proposals by the collaborationist role of a minority Vis-A-Vis, Labour Party and Coloureds. The sections, or the section of Indian who are most vulnerable to the high talk of consociational democracy which is a contradiction in terms, but never mind that and therefore are most likely to participate are those whose economic position is favourable.

I am talking about a middle class of Indians who are in peril. They can be seduced into accepting the new proposals which they construe as meaning security and benefits for themselves. And they can then translate this misconception into a belief that what is good for them is good for the masses. But this is not true of the majority of Indians because the majority of Indians are not well off. They are working class and many recent surveys in fact have shown about that 80% of Indians are largely working class.

Our talk, our task sorry is to dissuade the professionals like myself and business interests from being sucked into the apartheid machinery for what they perceive is immediate benefits, and our duty is to make all Indians of whatever class aware of the very real dangers of participation. If the middle class is compromised there are possibilities that they can drag in a significant proportion of Indian South Africans with them and thereby put our struggle back many many decades.

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This is not the first time we are faced with these sorts of class tension. This is not the first time that the middle class option or the middle class effect has played a significant role in our history. If you remember ESSOP'S talk once again, you'll remember the two different types of Indians immigrated to South Africa and to cut that story very short..... In the middle of the last century British capitalism created the conditions for both the supply and the demand for labour. What do I mean by that ? I mean they created the supply. That is they created the large number of impoverished Indians in India, because of a whole range of facts which ESSOP has been through of colonial rule in India. So there were lot of Indians who were thrown out of work in India, especially in South India were thrown out of work. So, they created the supply of labour and they also created expansion of class of farmers, of large scale farming in Natal mostly White. I am sorry exclusively White, which needed labour. So therefore they created the demand. So they created the supply and the demand and therefore Indians came here, but not only over here but in other parts of the world such as Fiji. Those were the indentured Indians and then once again you'll remember that there was another class of Indians that came. They came towards the latter part of the last century and they were the indentured Indians. Now those were labouring Indians and they came here to labour in the sugar cane fields, and once their period of indenture was over, then they expanded into market gardening, into domestics, as mechanics, into lots of other professions.

So you have two groups of Indians are largely working class group of Indian and a middle class group of Indian. The working class origins displaced labour in India. Middle class land owning peasants, like our forefathers, most, in fact, of them came to the Transvaal. Land owning peasants, land owners,

middle class Indians from India. So you are these two opposing groups.

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Now the Indians no doubt had a different culture, they had a different language, they had different religions from Africans. So they were reasonable objective groups by which they were separated from Africans in the first instance, but in addition the middle class Indian had a class difference. They, they saw themselves more as a part of the White minority rather than the working class majority. So there was a class difference between the middle class Indians and working class Indians and Africans.

Now there were in addition to these differences which kept Indians apart from Africans, external influences also which embittered the development of unity among Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Indians for example had more international contacts. They have been told when they came here from India that they would be given equal rights with the Whites. They were in fact not, but they were led to believe they would be given equal rights. You will remember that India was not independent. It's not free yet, but it was not independent then. So it was not independent. It was ruled by fairly conservative people and those conservative Indians in fact sent equally conservative Indian agents to South Africa.

So we had Indian agents over here whose prime interest was not African upliftment, or Coloured upliftment but was simply Indian upliftment and India was not free. So this also militated against unity between Coloureds, Indians and Africans. Accordingly Indians in this country, despite many disabilities suffered here, saw their problems arising simply from racial prejudice and not economic exploitation, and they fought for the rights of their own group. The history of the Natal Indian Congress in fact mirrored this pre-occupation with minority rights.

During this period indentured Indians freed of

350 their contracts rapidly ended, entered and benefited from the expanding economy of this country. And what is very important and what is a crucial point, is that is was against this sort of background of the difference between Africans and Indians both for external and internal reasons which lasted for about a hundred years. That it was against this background that the Natal authorities were able to encourage anti-Indian feeling which ended tragically in the 1949 riots. The anti-Indian campaigns that's mounted by the Natal authorities, White authorities between 1939 and 1949 had seen four commissions of enquiries, all accom- excuse me accompanied by a whole propaganda directed against Indians. And these four commissions into alleged Indian mal practices were conducted amid a general racist climate intended by Natal's whites and the atmosphere was therefore ripe for exploitation. It is indeed surprising that more confrontations did not occur.

Now the conservatism of the Indians nurtured and promoted by the middle classes among them, gradually lost ground after the 2nd World War. Now, why did it loose ground after the 2nd World War?

There were a number of reasons, but especially in the Transvaal, you are familiar with many of them, because there was a rise of a radical and dynamic leadership MONTY NAICKER, YUSEF DADOO. There was experience of fighting against the worst form of facism, the worst form of Government. There was experience of fighting facism in Germany. There was experience if Indians who were no longer Indian really but were South Africans and it was all this these factors which lead to a change in the emphasis of Indians, so that the working class group now had a dominant role and the middle classes had a less dominant role.

It was this change over which now allow Indian to then relate at a more appropriate level with Coloureds and Africans and progressive Whites. This radicalisation of Indians in fact led to enduring alliances

387 with Africans, Coloureds and Whites, and we've been through some of these arguments before, we went through the passive resistance, we went through the Defiance Campaign and it culminated in the Freedom Charter. So all these were collective experiences. Remember this is the first time it occurred within a hundred years and Indians were suddenly drawn together into the broad Nationalist Democratic Movement for change.

So what had happened in a hundred years, was that whereas you had Sout African Indians before, now you had Indian South Africans. That's the back-ground. Now for the past quarter of a century one of the major thrusts of Nationalist Government policy has indeed been to fracture this Black unity. The apartheid doctrine initially placed all the oppressed in the same terrain, they said there were Whites and non-Whites. Once you say that, then you create a common ground for all so called non-whites or Blacks to, to mobilise, to organise, to form themselves into one coherent whole opposing apartheid, being white apartheid.

Well, they obviously saw through that and then they recognised that this was not an adequate response. So then apartheid gave way to a sustained policy of creating separations, divisions amongst the people, especially amongst Black people. You had separate development, Bantustans, C.R.C., S.A.I.C. political, economic and social fragmentation of Black people. All designed to keep Black in rigid compartments so that they become suspicious of one another. While it is impossible to overcome many of the concrete realities of our situation, I simply cannot overcome living in an Indian group area or overcoming my class distinction. In forced separate existances, entail it is possible to retain and enhance unity through common action and through political organisation. And that's a critical point. That's a function of common action of

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420 struggling action or struggle in unity and the importance of political organisations. As we all do into our own seperate ethnic existances.

The N.I.C. ever since its revival in the early 1970's has been at the forefront of this encouragement of Black unity. It has succeeded despite overwhelming odds. This success in peril today from BOTHA'S constitutional proposals which aim at destroying the unity of progressive forces and exposing minority groups like Indians and Coloureds to new and ongoing tensions between Africans and themselves, so that these vulnerable groups can be exploited in the future.

I've indicated that the most vulnerable group is the middle class. This new and expanded middle class may be enticed into sacrificing long term the long term future for ill defined immediate benefits. And it is our task to really expose the apartheid lie and remind Indian and Coloured South Africans that their security and destiny is in National liberation and not ethnic expediency. We must not allow the people to lapse into the conservation of the early Indians and jeopardize the unity between the Africans, Coloureds and democratic Whites, built up over decades of struggle.

It is important also to remember that while there were distinctions between middle class and working class Indians, they had many factors in common and I am not going to go into that now. Alright, that's
448 all I wanted to say on the background of the problem and this is relevant to the dangers that face us now, because the dangers of co-options as I said, are mainly directed to the group of professionals, to the group of business interests. But I'll come back to that in a minute.

Now, what has been the role of the Natal Indian Congress? Once again not to go into it in any detail. You'll remember I said that the Natal Indian Congress really reflected in a very concrete way and the Transvaal Indian Congress did the same

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for the Transvaal. They, they eh they expressed in a very real way the true aspirations of the people. When the middle class was dominated, they in fact represented Middle class interests. So you had this dominance of before, 20 years before 1940, the CAJEE group. The PATHER group largely arguing for middle class business interests. And therefore this middle class dominance, this middle class pre-eminence kept Indians even through the N.I.C. separate from Black unity, separate from unity with progressive Whites. And the N.I.C. changed and the T.I.C. changed after the Second World War for the factors I have already indicated. And when the working class influence became major then there was a close alliance. Remember defiance campaign, passive resistance, Freedom Charter etc. with Africans, Coloureds, progressive Whites.

And it is that danger which faces us again, And the Indian Congress really has reflected all these tensions in Indian society. Although the Indian Congress was not banned, it was effectively crushed because the leadership was banished, exiled whatever in the 1960's. But MEWA RAMGOBIN revived the Indian Congress in the 1970's. And ever since then in the 70's and 80's the N.I.C. has been increasingly identified with active supported and participated in local community struggles.

Now, what is the importance of our own historical experience ? The importance of our experience is the answer to the question what must we do ? What must we do if we do not participate? That is the internal question. What do we do ? I mean so RAJBANSI and CURRY are going to be there actually determining how much of power is going to be in Indian hands or Coloured hands. What are we going to do ? What are we democrats, what are we progressive people going to do ? And our experience suggest that we have been faced with the same arguments time and time again. What we have done is gone to the community. We have participated in local community

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495 struggles. We have argued with the City Council over the question of autonomy for PHOENIX. We worked with the Chatsworth Housing Action Committee on lowering the sale price of sub economic homes. We've initiated the formation of the Durban Housing Action Committee which has participated in the campaign against high rentals in Durban's housing schemes. We've supported the struggle for housing for all. We've worked for the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE for the release of NELSON MANDELA and we worked for the release of all other political prisoners. That is what we have done. We have worked and supported the people in St. Wendolines, we've supported the people in Inanda. We've supported the bus commuters in and around Durban. That is what we have done and we have negotiated on behalf of and in consultation with students during the 1980 boycotts and that is what we have done. So those are the sorts of thing we can do. There is nothing stopping us now as there was nothing stopping us then. We went through the same arguments when the S.A.I.C. was formed. And those were our responses and they have developed par-i-pass-u. They've developed in parallel with the development, or under development of the S.A.I.C. and under the development of the progressive front.

So in the last few years the N.I.C. has built strong fraternal relationships with Africans, Indians and Coloureds and progressive Whites. And today can justly claim to have a trusting reciprocal relationships with important sections of all these communities. And perhaps the most important contribution eh the Congress Movement has made, including the TASC, to the continued acceptance of Indian South Africans and Indian democrats by other sections of the oppressed community. As an integral part of the forces of change was the unequivocal refusal of token franchise and apartheid institutions during the 1981 SAIC elections. This successful campaign by the TASC and

NIC demonstrated the potential of Indian South Africans when working jointly with Coloureds, Whites and Africans for democracy.

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Allright, I am going to skip over. That's the role of Indian South Africans. That's the role of the N.I.C. and the two go hand in hand. I am going to skip over the representation that our people have had in the past because ESSOP has adequately covered it. I simply want to make one or two points.

The first point I want to make is that this dispensation is not new in our history. We have had the vote. We've had the vote in the past. This is the first point.

The second point I want to make is the dummy institutions have collapsed without exception. Now, we've all had the vote and ESSOP has given you the details of the vote. Indians lost the vote around the turn of the century, 1896 ja 1896, 1885. In the Transvaal we lost the vote. Africans lost their vote. Progressively after that in the Cape, Coloureds lost their vote 1951 - 1957, and we had the vote. So therefore this new dispensation is in fact one step back. We are not getting an open vote. We are not getting a vote on a common electoral system. We are getting a vote on a narrow franchise, so we had the vote and this is in fact taking us in a backward direction.

The second point I want to make is that eh the experience of the CRC, the SAIC, there was, remember, the Native Representative Council which then developed into Bantustans. All these suggest to us that these types of representations are ineffectual and do not satisfy the democratic demands of the people. ESSOP has already been through one of the major sources of struggle, when during the Second World War SMUTS tried to impose ah, ah fraudulent franchise on Indian South Africans and tried to trade that off by implimenting the apartheid, the bills which served as precocious to the apartheid legislation. Allright,

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so that's our history. Now what I am gonna do is explain eh the P.C. proposals. I am going to do that with a set of diagrams. Now we reject those proposals and we reject them on a number of grounds. We reject them on three grounds, and I think we should all be clear why we reject them. I don't reject them because the Africans are not there. I think we should get that clear. We reject We reject the proposals on three levels. We reject them because Africans are not there only at one level. We reject them for fundamental criticisms about what we are aiming for and what these proposals actually give us.

So there is a set of fundamental criticisms without which there is no question of negotiation. There is a second level of major criticisms and there's a third level of structural criticisms. I'll come to that. I'll explain it as I go along. By structural criticisms I mean when you come to the actual working of this Parliament. What are the dificiencies alright. So we have fundamental criticisms. We have[some major criticusms and we've got structural criticisms.

TAPE 8
SIDE 2
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What are our fundamental criticisms? You've heard many of them already. Let me reiterate them so that everyone is clear why the congress movement rejects the proposals. We reject them because as we understand decocracy as the rest of the civilized world experiences and understands democracy. It entails one of a couple of things. It e, en, entails the free will of the people expressed in the right to choose their own representatives. That's the first condition of democracy. That is that the people must be given the free will to decide who must represent them. Right, that is first. The only three components of democracy as we see them.

The second component of democracy is the democratic processes or the processes through which democracy is achieved or the country is Governed must be decided by the people. In other words if you want to have

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a tri-cameral parliament or what sort of Provincial Government, or what sort of local Government or how we want to elect our President. Those processes must be decided by us, by the people.

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tape 3
side 1

And thirdly, our understanding of democracy] is that the resources in the country must be divided amongst all the people, must be divided amongst all the people. Right by what do I mean by that ?

That if you produce ten million rands of gold and you want to divide it for education, you must divide it where it is most needed and amongst all the people.

Allright, so those are the three conditions of democracy as we see them. The free will of the people, the processes of Government must be determined by us and uh, thirdly that the resources must be equally distributed and the P.C. proposals don't meet any of those demands. So, therefore even without talking anything further we reject them. They don't meet our demands for democracy. The second is that in any arrangement, constitutional arrangement. You must take into account the will of the people and therefore you must consult with people and you must have people participating in those consultations that has not occurred on the P.C. proposals. And therefore we reject them because the people in this country have not participated and have not been consulted on the implementation of these propo, or creation of these proposals; the propose, thats the second; Fundamental reason, the third fundamental reason is that these proposals make race and ethnicity the major criterion for participation in this Government and in fact they deeply entrench and consolidate. What do I mean by that ? They entrench it because they make it harder for you to get rid of it. They they entrench ethnicity and uh, racism. Now what do I mean by consolidate ? They consolidate it by their base. It was White only up to now. Now it is White, Indian and Coloured. So in other words race and ethnicity are entrenched

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and consolidated, yah and the third....uh, third or fourth reason I forget.... the last reason, the fundamental criticism is that the new dispensation does not address itself to equalize it, all the social and economic inequalities we see present in this Government today. What do I mean by that ?

I mean education is unequally, uhm unequal land is unequally divided. Industry is unequally divided. Labour gets unequal salary. It makes no attempt to redress the social and economic inequalities in our system. So for those reasons which are our fundamental criticisms, we reject the P.C. proposals.

Then I'll go quickly through the major criticisms. Major criticisms are that they exclude the majority our people, the Africans and therefore cannot make any claims for democracy and the proposals lay the basis for the alienation of Indians and Coloureds from Africans and can lead to the creation and exacerbation of racial hostility. Now what those are fundamental criticisms and major criticisms.

Now I am coming to the structural issue, so if you are still awake here's the first transparency. This transparency tells you, I am now going through the mechanics, unless you want to break. Okay, uhm, I am going through the technical aspect and you can forget everything else I've said. But you can't afford to forget what I am gonna say now, sorry well you can forget what I said all along, but you can't afford to forget what I'm going to show you now, because in order that we from here go back to the Cape Province, go through the Transvaal, go back to Natal and be very explicit, excuse me be very explicit, in our explanations, we really have to understand the technical details of the constitutional proposals. Now remember I am not a constitutional lawyer. I am not like Zac YACOUB. So you gonna get a readers digest version of these constitutional proposals but they are adequate to criticise because uou don't really need any intellec-

61 tual uh to analyze this and you don't need any constitutional expert to reject it. Alright, what are these proposals The first thing is that the proposals (remember my criticism are divided at three levels, uh that's not to be mixed with the three levels of Government. Right!) Now there, the proposals are divided into three levels of Government. Can you see from the back ? or can you see from the back? No why can't you see, is the drawing too small or am I in the way or both ? You can't see the uh diagrams, is it ? I must know, otherwise I can't continue. Can you see ? I can't hear you anyway. You can see. Well, if you can't see there's nothing I can do about it because you can't enlarge this uh diagram. It's constrained by the size of the screen. (Can you focus that (inaudible) can you focus that no alright I'll do that Okay, there are three levels of Government Okay and what this diagram shows you, is that there are three levels even if you can't see very clearly you can follow what I am going to say. Alright, there are three levels of Government. One is the central level. The central level and that's made up of the State President, the Cabinet, the Presidents Council and Parliament. Okay, that's the central level. And I am going to concern myself only with that because uh RAM SALOOJEE is going to do some of this and a little of the and much of the local uh dispensation. So what are the three levels? The three levels are the central level which includes the State President, Presidents Council, the Cabinet and Parliament.

The next level which I am not going to deal with as I told you. The next two levels are the Provincial Authorities or Provincial Councils, that's the second level and the third level are local authorities. So you gonna hear much more about this tomorrow, local authorities and Provincial authorities.

Alright, lets talk about that central level of Government the first thing you going to notice about that central level of Government is that there are three separate chambers. There are three

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separate chambers. One is for you can take your choice, I don't know what this is supposed to represent. (Reply from audience : Indians) Indians, alright, Indians, Coloureds and Whites. This is obviously whites. Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

Okay, so there's going to be three chambers, there right. We are talking only about the central level of Government. Okay there are three separate Parliaments. Right, now what I am gonna do is develop that argument further. Okay, and I'm gonna go through a series of slides which explain this in much more easier terms. Let's start from the bottom. You start with 20 million roughly Africans, 20 million Africans. You will see they have no representation whatsoever. They have no representation whatsoever in that structure. So 20 million Africans you can't see that, can you see now? Okay 20 million Africans of approximately, 20 million who condemned to starve to perish in the Homelands. 20 Million Africans condemned to ineffectual community councils, alright. No connection, no connection whatsoever with upstairs. I don't mean what BOESAK meant by upstairs. (Laughter)

Okay, what happens after that, you get the the Indian gentleman, the Coloured gentleman, and the White gentleman coming in and you will now notice that there are three chambers of Parliament. Here we've got just under about three quarter of a million Indians who elect their own chamber. Who elect their own chamber, just ignore that number thirteen. Alright, just for the present, I'll explain I'll explain that later. Indians elect their own Parliament. Coloureds, 2 1/2 million, that's an underestimate, I am sure more nearer 3 - 3 1/2 million. They elect their own chamber. Whites 4 1/2 million elect their own chamber. And you see the size of those squares. This square is much bigger than those two and it's drawn proportionately and if there's one ratio; you have to remember is that ratio which I've drawn up there that is 4-2-1 and there's just no

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way that the 2-1 is ever going to exceed 4. (Laughter)
So we have to remember that 4-2-1 that is the central ratio almost like EINSTEIN'S uh $E=MC^2$, that's the central ratio in the new constitutional proposals. Alright, 4-2-1. That means whatever number of uhm uh, members of Parliament here, for argument sake lets say there are 200. There will be 200 here, that's 4 there'll be 100, there that's 2 and there'll be 50 Indians. Okay 4-2-1.

Right, so that's the Indian, Coloured and White Parliaments. Three separate Parliaments. Three separate voters roll. So if you want to vote for ESSOP JASSAT and you happen not to be Indian or you happen to be not an Indian, then you simply cannot vote for him. What happens next. I it's a bit difficult to put this whole thing on. Remember this, don't forget this uh 20 million Africans. I want to move it down but it's not intentional. (Laughter)

Okay, right so we got three chambers 4-2-1. What they do is the majority party here, majority party there elects the President and similarly in the other two chambers. Similarly in the other two chambers 4-2-1. So the majority party elects the President.

What does that mean? It means taht for example, if the PFP continues in the present way, they are going to be so ineffective. They wouldn't know what hit them; because they'll have no say. No say really in any of the chambers of Government because the Nationalists are going to be in the majority here. So the PFP can make a little noise here, but very little else. They are going to be ineffective and I am sure they are concerned about that too. So the majority of the Whites will be the Nats who will elect the President. The majority partly of the Coloureds will elect the President and similarly the Indians.

Alright, remember this little structure okay. We move on.

Next remember that Parliament functions, because there are Ministers of Finance, Ministers of Defence

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152 Ministers of Indian Affairs. You name it. There's ministers to do the actual work to be in charge and those ministers form part of the Cabinet.

Start off with Africans again, Indians, Coloureds, and Whites, three chambers of Parliament. They've elected their President. The President elects the Cabinet, the President elects the Cabinet, or appoints the Cabinet. He can appoint the Cabinet from these chambers but not necessarily. He can appoint them from those chambers, but not necessarily and once they form part of the Cabinet, then they resign their seats here. Alright! So the President now has got the major power to form the Cabinet, to appoint the Cabinet. Where does the President come from? He comes from the White Parliament. Remember, because the Whites have decided, because they are in the majority and there is nothing that the Indians and Coloureds can do about that. What's next?

Starting once again from the bottom. Africans out of the picture. Indians, Coloureds and Whites President. We've appointed our President. He appoints his Cabinet and then you have this new structure called the Presidents Council. We'll come to the functions of that in a minute. Now the Presidents Council, lets just pay attention how this is elected. You'll notice there are Whites which is made up of 60 people, 60 members, 20 of them are elected by the White Chamber and 25, look at that arrow coming from the President, .. This one here, are nominated by the President, okay. So 25 are nominated from by the President and 20 comes from the Whites, Indians 5, Coloureds 10. So 60, 45 are controlled by the Whites. 45. 25 by the President 20 by the White Chamber, okay. So therefore, whatever you decide, whatever you decide, the President Council is still dominated by the White Chamber and ultimately dominated by the President.

180 Lustly, what does the complete picture look like. Africans out of the picture. Indians, Coloureds and Afri Uh Indians, Coloureds and Whites, and there, they have elected the President. He's appointed his Cabinet. They have elected the Presidents Council and how do they function? They appoint these standing committees. These permanent standing committees. Alright, you see that the permanent standing committees, is this block over here, comes from all three chambers but the ratio in that permanent standing committee, excuse me, is 4-2-1. So that in that standing committee too the ratio is 4-2-1. So the Whites have the dominant influence.

Okay, so that's the complete story. Now, what are the functions? I am not gonna go into the details of the functions. What are our structural criticisms? We've got a number of structural criticisms. But I am not going to bore you with the details. But let me give you an example of some of the things that can happen. Now if the functions of the Indians, Coloureds and Whites is to look after their so-called segmental concerns. Segmental means a small part of our bigger whole. Bigger whole. Segmental concern, the only community concern, so Whites can only look after a White. A Coloured, Coloured Affairs and Indians. Indian Affairs. It cannot transgress that. Now what are they going to actually do. We don't know the details, but there is a long a lengthy document of about 90 pages, the second report of the Presidents uh Council that uh spells out some of the things that the Indian Parliament can debate and the Coloureds can debate.

For instance you can debate about cultural affairs. You can debate about religion. You can possibly debate about language. So if you want to teach your children in Cantonese you are quite free to do that. If you want to have uh jazz instead of classical music, you're free to do that. Uh you can do all those sorts of things. You can even fiddle around with some education at a preferable level, at a preferable

207 level. So there are certain defined segmental concerns, but the big things, the high things, like defence, external affairs, the raids into MASERU, the destabilization of MAPUTO. But more important than all of that for South Africans the budget dele, determined by all three Cabinets. Meeting to ah all three chambers meeting together. All three chambers meeting together and remember the ratio then 4-2-1. So there'll always be White dominance. So they see that okay! You have an argument there. You can't dissolve it. You refer it to this committee. But that committee is also 4-2-1. You can't dissolve it there, okay. You refer it to the P.C., Presidents Council of the President. So the Indians say no, you can't spend R10 million on uh raiding MAPUTO again for the tenth time, we ought to use it on education or something. Build a road or build a hospital in LENASIA. Or do something for SOWETO. So they will argue about it and the Coloureds might uh disagree and then they'll say alright lets refer it to the Presidents Council. The Presidents Council will then decide. And you, you can guess with 45 members out of that 60, 45 who owe their allegiance in the final analyses to this body here and in the fi, ultimate analysis to the National Party, what the decision is going to be?

So what and I saying. I am saying that for all practical purposes there is no material change. These is no effective control of power. You can't do anything. You can have the best rectoric on education or on housing, on transport or whatever. You can have all the rectoric and you can argue about it, there is nothing you can do unless you have the money to but an extra bus or build an extra home. And that control is in the hands of this chamber. Now, you tell me what is the difference between this and the C.R.C. and the

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235 SAIC? So basically those are our structural criticisms of the P.C. proposals. There is a very fancy diagram going but, well I'll put it up. This is being distributed by the Department I don't know of Information or something, oh there's it ... oh you can look at it over there. Oh! Anyway that's ah ... you've got copies of that. It's a fairly accurate diagram.

Alright, so we've got structural criticisms, which are major criticisms. Okay, I am going to now, I am going to now try and round off with certain practical suggestion (include) difficult. Ja, okay, what is the future South Africa that we believe in? What is the future that the congress movement believes in? Well, we believe in certain things. We believe that all our lives we've been we've been fearless opposition not on my, not by me but by by members of South Africans through the ages to injustice and human, inhuman laws. We believe firmly in democracy for all the people and we have an unshakeable determination to resist actively and militantly all discriminatory political systems and how have we expressed it? Well, you've heard how we've expressed it on the 25, 26th of June 1955. African, Indian, Coloured and White South Africans jointly declared their vision for a future South Africa. Now I am not going to repeat all of that, but you know what I am talking about when I refer to the Freedom Charter. I want to mention only the first two. The first two components of that are that the people shall govern. Not that Indians, Coloureds and Whites should govern, but the people should govern. All South Africans shall participate in all levels of Government and all dummy bodies like the SAIC and BANTUSTANS and community councils and L, L.A.C. should be scrapped. That is our fundamental commitment and if you and I go back of all our forefathers. And the second is that all national groups shall have equal rights.

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267 Not only Whites, Indians and Coloureds. Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites will be equal in all respects. And those are the two components of the Freedom Charter which I would like to remind you of. What is the alternative?

270 I would like to conclude as I said with some practical suggestions. What is the alternative? Well, the NIC and allied organisations and communities which reject the constitutional proposal and refuse to participate in them are not abdicating from their responsibilities to oppress South Africans. We believe that the acceptance of these proposals are not in our best interests and it will certainly not take us closer to the ideal of a unitary, democratic South Africa. We believe that only a highly organized people united in struggle and equipped with the profound understanding of the nature of our struggle and led by an experienced leadership, can guarantee the success of our struggle. This is what we will contribute towards and this we will contribute towards outside of this Government plans. It is what we will try to build daily in our work and our struggle. This does not mean that we will ignore the day to day problems of our people; we are committed to participating in every possible way in the daily struggles of our communities for lower rents, bus fares, higher wages, better living and working conditions. We believe in the establishment of a strong democratic community based organisation as well as worker, students, women and youth organisations. We believe that these organisations led by democratically elected leaders are best equipped to lead our people and to articulate their demands and improve their lives. And all those who obstruct this process or attempt to divert it, will be serving the interest of the enemy of our people.

So what I am saying, what I am making a plea for is a stronger community based organisations,

294 stronger worker organisations, stronger student organisations and organisations of the people. We think that we have to use this platform to reply so some of our critics.

What do our critics say? They say that we must co-operate with the Government proposals. There's several groups among them especially sections of the White press which call on democratic organisations to accept the so called good intentions of the Government and give the proposals a chance. Successive Governments have not had decades but they've had centuries. They've had centuries to prove their bona-fides and all they have produced are more and more ^{various} ~~various~~ forms of oppression and exploitation. At the same time they made it clear that White domination will not end nor will White control of political and economic power end.

Now we refuse to co-operate with schemes to perpetuate our subjugation. We cannot co-operate with the BANTUSTANS scheme, the migratory labour scheme, the Group Areas Act, and the detentions without trial, and the South African Defence Force raids into neighbouring countries. That's our answer to those critics.

The second set of critics accuse us of being boycotters. That we boycott everything and we have a negative approach. Now, we don't apologise for using the boycott tactic. We are not committed to it. We are not on principles committed to a boycott tactic but we don't apologise for it and we will use it when the conditions exists for the successful use of a boycott tactic.

We must point out however that this is but one of the many weapons at the disposal of a oppressive, commu, oppressed communities confronted by a ruthless and violent political system. This Government has consistently refused to be persuaded by logic persuasion or moral arguments. It concedes

nothing to us unless we struggle against it and it does not hesitate to unleash violence on a defenceless people. The boycott therefore remains one of the important weapons at our disposal.

Now, many of those who criticise us for this, are those who wish to see us collaborating with the Government and its evil schemes. This we refuse to do because we refuse to collaborate. Many friends and sympathisers there are very good, very many, sympathetic people who basically agree with our political philosophy but they also believe that we should participate to block the opportunists who claim to represent the community. Now to them we would answer that in the past 25 years we have seen that straight created political institutions are intrinsically, they are inherently, they are completely incapable of meeting the demands of the people and that those who have participated have been exposed, have been politically bankrupt and opportunistic, and that these people have enjoyed negligible popular support, instead, remember I said before that whilst the SAIC, CRC, BANTUSTAN'S have been created, we have seen the rise and the growth of strong community, student and worker based movements. So why should I be persuaded by those facile arguments to participate when I've seen the emergence, the rise of this inchoate democracy in front of my very eyes.

345 The other people who say that we must negotiate with the Government, negotiate with them, will get benefits for our people. I've shown, you can't get benefits for our people because nothing we can do can eliminate White domination and economic exploitation even within the current P C. proposals. Meaningful negotiations can only take place between equals with certain pre-requisites on a mora, mutually agreed basis and with clear objectives. The objective of any negotiation must be the creation of a non-racial united democratic South Africa. Free of exploitation.

Now, we are willing to negotiate. We are always

355 willing to negotiate, but the pre-requisites for negotiation are the dismantling of apartheid. The scrapping of all discriminatory and repressive legislation. The release of all political prisoners and the scrapping of banning orders and the creation of conditions so that exiles can return. those are the pre-requisites and we've been willing to negotiate historically and we are willing to negotiate now. And on this basis we can negotiate honourably. There can be no separate Indian or Coloured freedom, nor separate Indian or Coloured negotiation. The destiny of all South Africans is inextricably interlinked. Furthermore the major part of our history is of resistance, is in fact of persuading the White minority to be reasonable and humane in the treatment of Blacks and to engage in negotiations we haven't been fighting with them and to engage in negotiation over a whole range of issues. The Black communities were willing to engage in peaceful negotiations and the White Government invariably respond with violence and deceit. Even in the present community, student and worker organisations wanting to negotiate with the Government and other authorities are snubbed, forced to work through dummy organisations and are met with violence.

I must say I however that notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding the intransigence of the authorities over centuries and the ever decreasing rue, the ever decreasing rue for opposition. The N.I.C. certainly remains committed to the use of every legitimate means to continue the struggle for freedom.

Now, now the last point, uh the critics direct towards us is this problem of uh domination, of ideologies. And there has been, you have heard two calls for a United Front. You've heard a call from DR BOESAK and you've heard a call from DR ESSOP JASSAT. Now what is our belief in this regard?. We believe that the relationships and particularly the

385 difference between groups that differ in political philosophy, have to be conducted such a struggle is always enhanced. The struggle must be enhanced and not hampered by these differences. Those who differ from many major or prevailing philosophy should ensure that their differences do not become antagonisms and that criticisms and attack, attacks do not reach a point of actually assisting the State in crushing and dividing the major forces. Diversity and debate are vital to democratic processes and we believe in that, provided that all groupings continue to strive for maximum common ground for opposition to apartheid. The definition of the oppo, oppressor must always be clear and the methods used to resist apartheid cannot and must not be used again those who differ. There's one last thing I would like to say before I conclude, and I would like to address certain members of our community in particular. We believe that certain dangers face the businessmen, the professionals and the students. To the businessmen we will say that there can be no long term security or economic benefit in a system which oppresses the majority of the people, that's instability goes with economic instability. The present proposals are recipe for instability and the polarization of communities. Now business circles must be careful in arriving at political deals on behalf of the community and to its detriment, to the detriment of the community and the pursuance of narrow economic interests. We believe the interests of the economic community lies in the interests of the majority of people. That the stability of the country, the peace of this country is commiserate with the peace and stability and the enhancement of the business community. To the professionals we'd say that the new constitutional proposals are expressly designed to co-opt professionals and middle classes

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416 into apartheid and to directly assist in the oppression of the majority of the people. We remind this group, we remind the group for demperacy in the past and urge them to stand resolute and to maintain the, this role in the interests not only of the country and not only of our community, but their very families and themselves.

To the students we'd say, that students are an important catalyst for change in modern society and must therefore join with the community in working for true democracy and in rejecting the (fraudulent) proposals. In particular for students we'd say that they must strengthen their own organisations and must strive for an equal and just system of education.

For workers, workers pose the least danger, so we have least to say to them. We say that workers interests and their long term security lies with the majority of South Africans. Their democratic future can best be secured through participation in ^{DEMOCRATIC} domestic worker and community organisations. And in conclusion what have what have I have been talking about. I have been talking about the grave dangers, we see besetting the Indian and Coloured communities in the coming months. Developments that have been manipulated in South Africa will determine where these sides are located. Are they located on the side of the oppression? Or are they located on our proud histroy of struggle and our identification for the cause of liberty. It was our unity will all oppresses people that weathered the storms which shreatened to engulf Indians and Coloureds. It is our unity in the struggle that in forcing change in our country today. And it is our duty to strengthen that unity. It Won't be easy. It won't be easy. Our enemies know that power of that unity all too well. They will

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448 be vigilant to attempt to destroy that unity. Our struggle for freedom is a long and bitter one. We feel at one with bundit JAWAL NERO when he wrote, I quote :- " There is no easy road to freedom" There is no easy road to freedom and while that freedom road is strewn with difficulties, we look forward to the peace that is at the end of the road. Thank you very much. (Applause).

459 DR. ESSOP JASSAT : Thank you Jerry for the wonderful exposition of the Presidents Council's proposals and why we reject them. It's often wondered how some of us who are duds get through at Medical School. The reason is very simple. You have very bright teachers at Medical School. Ah, I have got a few announcements to make. First of all, news has just come through that the funeral of MOLVI SALOOJEE will be taking place at 10.30 this evening, it, you know the funeral leaves his home in Granaat Avenue and will proceed to the Avalon Cemetary extension 8 at 10.30. uh. So I think if the house is agreeable, then uh we would like to adjourn and return here early tomorrow morning. You know, punctually at 9.00 we will continue with the discussion, Is that agreeable to the house? You know ah, that's one, the other thing is I've been asked to remind the delegates that if you have registered and given us your correct address, then you know, within a week or two, you know we will be posting to you the, you know the major deliveries uh given at the two day session here. So make sure that you have given us the correct address. You know when you leave tonight and tomorrow so the uh next week you will be receiving all the possible papers that have been delivered here this evening. Now uh is those of you who do not know Lenasia, can I just quickly give you the directions for Granaat Avenue. If you proceed from here to Lenasia and you get off, off the off-ramp, that's on the freeway to Potchefstroom, you will come to a T-junction, that's Nirvana Drive. Just opposite you is the there are two boards you know showing the development

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496 development of uh the Jiswa training centre and the other one saying that they are putting up a clinic. Now at the T-junction you turn right. As you proceed along the road, the first turn-off will be to your left and that is called Protea Avenue. If you go along Protea Avenue, you don't turn in at the first but you turn in at the second road left. So it's at the T-junction right, then left then you leave one street and the second street left. So you leave two streets, third is Granaat Avenue. Sorry, the address is 7600 Granaat Avenue. Do you want me to draw the diagram? ... Sorry it is Extension 8, that's important. Now I would like to, if, are you all in agreement that we continue with our discussion tomorrow morning? (Question put to Dr Jassat possibly by Cassim Saloojee)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Chairman, before you adjourn there's been some talk from speakers. Some suggestions from the speakers that we should consider the formation of the United Front. The problem is that we are going to be somewhat oh short of time and I was wondering whether I would like to make a suggestion. We would appoint some kind of commission here to look into uh the feasibility of forming such a United Front and that commission can report at tomorrow's meeting. We will leave it to the TACS executive to decide.

DR JASSAT:_ There's uh there's a suggestion that the TASC executive decide this evening to set up a commission which will then go into the pros and cons of starting a United Front. You know as we suggested by a number of speakers earlier this afternoon. And that this commission reports back. This in view of the fact that we are so pressed for time and because we have to, you know a lot of us would like to attend the funeral in Lenasia. Is the house in agreement with the, that the TASC executive appoint a commission of enquiry? It's agreed, anybody objects?. If not then what will happen, is while some of us are at

542 the funeral the orders would get together or remain behind in this hall. You know, those that will be appointed by the TASC executive and that they will go into uh uh in in consultation with other delegates from the various areas, uh present a report in the full house tomorrow at the preliminary session, hne So please uh you know I am asking you to be promptly here at 9.00 in the morning. If we start punctually, I think ah we will be, still be able to keep up with our you know our program. So thank you very much and we'll see you tomorrow morning.

UNKNOWN MAN: (Inaudible) Hullo hullo hullo will those delegates who have a problem with accomodation please come to the front (background noise)

(probleme word op hierdie stadium met die tegniese hulpsmiddels ondervind. Nadat die problem opgelos was, het die laaste gedeelte van Dr R.A.M.

SALOOJEE se toespraak soos volg daar uitgesien:-)

TAPE 11 DR R.A.M. SALLOJEE: are intrinsically ... bound to
SIDE 1 the central Government through your so-called Coloured chamber, through your Indian chamber, also through the nominated metropolitan councils which I will speak of later, and the rural areas. Already they have established the Minister of Constitutional Development which eventually will form into the Ministry of local Government and of course through the three chambers we heard. (inaudible). You have (inaudible) and the President Council. So in no way is there going to be any form of real decentralization of decision making at, the local level. Now when when MR BOTHA talks of local authorities should be established, he is saying that the present consultative committee or any nominated committees that may still exist will go through the various phases such as the Management Committees in the Transvaal, the nominated Transvaal Board of the Peri-Urban Development. They might, as they done on the Group Areas Board have a nominal representation to take care of what they call your own affairs.

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23 Then you have in the rural areas single purpose organisations such as ESCOM and other organisations which distribute certain services. They might even appoint individuals in the so called four, two, one (4-2-1) entrenchment a Indian or a Coloured on to those single purpose organisations. Then if you are fit enough to go through the rural stage, you would come to the next stage which are health committees, which are basically nominated. Then the Village Management Boards which are first nominated. Then Village Councils which become elected and then of course elected Municipal Councils. Then town councils, city councils. Then of course you have your Transvaal Provincial Council and then the present White Parliament.

Now this might seem on the outside as being the type of evolutionary process through which the Whites went through, but as I have said that you are to function within the framework of the racist laws of this country. The Group Areas Act and all the other acts and therefore regardless of which phase you are going to go through, you still are not going to be given the so called decision making power sharing, and co-responsibility in the future of a non-racial South Africa. And I think MR. BOTHA makes it very clear when he reacts to the recommendation made by the P.C. which is recommendation twenty. It suggests as an interim measure that the Chairman of Indian and Coloured Management local affairs and consultative committees be pre-represented with full full voting rights, on the White local authority concerned or on the White management com ... committee, where ever it exists. But MR. BOTHA says, but this is but only one possibility amongst at least eight others. I will ah, give you a diagram of this eight interim measures soon. Nowhere but nowhere is the question of direct representation on the parent White Body being even considered. Even where the question of the P.C. recommendation twenty, that there be

056 voting rights for the so-called chairmans of the Indian and Coloured management and consultative committees.

It is suggested that, that be in the region of those functions which they call common and those that are your own affairs, you don't even have the right to discuss. That will have to go through, mr, ah, RAJBANSI'S Indian chamber and mr HENDRICKSE'S ah Coloured chamber. (Pause) These are some of the eight interim measures they have suggested instead of direct representation. Members of the Council's chairman to have - first;- direct vote on a white authority which I have mentioned; Secondly:- that before a budget is considered, the budget represented to the so called Indian and Coloured Management Committee and local affairs committees, - three:- committee of both the Council and the Management Committee can liaise, - four:- joint meetings of both the committee, the White and the other groups, - five:- attendance at meetings of White and of ah, consultative committees ^{or} of the management committee of the White. Then joint discussion between the two committees. Then joint committees from both councils. Joint committees for all. Common matters or representation of Chairman of Management Committee.

Now, if we study the present arrangement, you will find that in various areas these interim measures have already been tried and tested. And in each case they have been total failures. So merely to legislate and institutionalise practise which exist does not turn an unworkable product into a positive product. So I cannot see how these interim measures will in any way change the present abyssmal situation at the local level. Also nowhere is this question of direct representation on the White, parent White body even considered, even interim measures of liaison, specifically restricts it to those aspects specified of common concern.

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097 Matters of own concern will of course have to be addressed to either the Indian Chamber or the Coloured Chamber. And I think whilst there might be some degree of expectations ^{if} through the smaller areas, that some benefits may have ^{ACCUM} grew. There might be minor crumbs coming from the mouldy table of apartheid. But can we envisage a White Council with White representatives responsible to a White constituency be prepared to give the so called Indian and Coloured areas a bigger slice of their privileges, their allocations or the subsidy's, because it is not we who are going to vote them into the Council Chambers the next time when an election takes place.

Thus, those that believe that the guidelines offer hope of and scope for negotiation a better deal towards an open society, are either simply moronically ignorant or merely responding to the limited benefits that we know accrued to the opportunist supporters of co-operative participation. And I think we can say it with safety, that in most of the areas such profits have played havoc at the needs of the masses of our people.

Now I would like to discuss in ^{some} ~~same~~ detail the matters to be delegated to the local authorities, under the so called guide of devolution decentralisation and deconcentration. (Pause) The items constitutional described as own matters, under the heading of segmental autonomy is centralized under the particular groups chamber. And during the interim phase will be controlled by the Minister of Constitutional Development with powers to delegate. The implication that there will be unfettered freedom of choice at the local level is absolutely false. Add to this the restricting elements of allocation of funds the whole question of the budget and the control of the budget under the Ministry of Finance at the central level, will show that whatever allocations on a pro-rata basis may will in no way really very much materially improve the situation that exist at the present moment.

144 Now the Nationalist Party has clearly spelt out these own matters as being non negotiables in the constitutional package offered. It says in one of its propoganda sheets to the National Party Congress and the grassroots supporters, it says, under the new ^{DISPENSATION} ~~disputation~~ each population group will continue to retain its own seperate schools residen-tail areas, community life and where practically possible also its own seperate amenities. And they tell us that the presence of the West Indies Cricketers here is proof of so-called multi-racialism (in their terms). But it says here its own seperate amenities. So within the framework of those (incoherent) amenities you are still going to have segregationist and racist attitudes permeating to the basic level of the communities. And then it says to the Group Areas concept therefore remains. I think just in that little phrase the Group areas concept remains, makes it untenable for us to accept any of the so called proposals at the local level. Then of course the P.C. dutifully ~~in~~numerates these details as follows:-

- (1) General cultural matters will include language but this will be subject here to the entrenched language provisions of the constitution act. So as Professor COOVADIA said, you can teach Cantanese to your children, you still will be bound to the official language policies of the country.
- (2) Education at the second and third tier level, pre-primary, primary and the secondary and all education related matters, but national education policy thould be treated as being of common interest. So you will have the supreme Minister of Education and below that you will have your Minister of Indian Education, your Minister of Coloured Education. So at no stage in the education field are you going to be moving away from the present segregationist concept.
- (3) Community planning and development. Here it

181 talk about housing and recreation community life in the residential area. To the point of housing I will come back later but here again our existing situation has shown us that even at that level, whatever legislative framework it may give to its policy it will in no way improve the situation. Community planning ... uh ... care of the aged, children and the handicapped, as well as health services provided on a community basis that already exist. Common services presently under the control by enlarge under local authorities to be placed under the control of metropolitan or regional councils joint services board, with others to still continue under under the council, provincial councils. What they propose to do is to divide the present functions into one under own affairs, the other one hard services or those that can be define (incoherent) services and these they say are soft service, services. They are soft items. They are so soft, that within the context of our racial society it is the essence of racism itself. They talk about service agencies for hard items, so when it comes to planning of areas on regional level, when it comes to the construction of roads, street programming, distribution of stormwater drainage, electrical distribution, water supply, transport, sewerage, toxic waste. I think they should have said the Group Areas Act are going to be taken out from present functions of the local authority. And therefore at the grass-roots level, our underdeveloped areas will in no way have a direct say in the provision, in the allocation, in the development of these services. You will have a nominated individual from the local authority, but there again I will come back when we discuss the question of the loaded vote at local authority level, then the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Board will still control the size and extant of the Group Areas itself. The development of that Group Area will depend on

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223 the budget allocation from the central Government. Then you have the separate school at the second and third tier. Here again your central constitutional act. The budget ... ah ... allocations and you have the all supreme Minister of Education which of course will be the Nationalist and a White. Then you have got your cultural mat ... ah ... matters. Here that talk about health, welfare recreation worship which to the to a large extent we ourselves have developed and will be forced to continue developing. Then community ~~planned~~^{PLANNING}, housing, just briefly to say that here again the Group Areas Act and the budget will be factors which have to be taken into consideration. (Pause) I think just a summary of the present failure of the present system. First of all, whether it be a nominated council or an elected one it still does not satisfy our vote which within the terms of democracy has been prostituted since these institutions have been established. The present system despite the interim measures or practices as still maintained, as a matter of fact entrenched racist^{reactionary} re ... ah ... policies from the White local authorities and no real relationship have been built^{up} between the so called Coloured and Indian Group Area and the White authority. In most towns, in most places, there has usually been indifference and arrogance on the part of the White authority. Then the Group Areas ^{is} addition to the fundamental flow of it being a racist, identity, it had a very poor financial base. Very poor because there is very little profitable, taxable income, because most of the taxable income of a local authority comes from rates, from home ownership and business producing products. Most of our areas because there have been resettlement areas, have sub-economic housing which brings forth little if any real profit to us. Then most of the group areas being dormitory towns, resettlement areas. It has barely on econo-

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272 mic and an industrial or even a basic functional administrative infrastructure. At no stage has there been real joint decision making. There has been no power sharing, then of course you had your Group Areas which in effect have been to small even as a dumping ground for the Government's so called unwanted Blacks ... ah ... Indians and Coloureds. At the local level no real leadership or genuine leadership of the people have come forth to participate in this institution. And there has been no real administrative motivation on the part of individuals to join at the civic level and so makes civic administration a success.

Now with this new proposal, how does it alter the situation. The P.C. has fumbled along ⁱⁿ to a most unimaginative fashion. It talks of broadening the tax base. It talks of transferring of these hard functions from the local authorities to the metropolitan authorities. So taking off the burden of provision of these services, but at the same time adding on the burden of giving profits to an additional tier of administration.

Then it must also be borne in mind that revenue accruing from soft services such as libraries art, galleries, parks, housing, street maintainance, cleaning and welfare services in terms of the economic viability of an area are really financial losses. They are provisions to the communities as an advantage but the local authority itself cannot recoup any of it in order to extend or improve these facilities. So the home owner with its poor base will be forced to add to it

Then it has also been suggested that there should be some sort of arrangement between the Government where subsidies are allowed. And that from the present C.B.D. and industrial areas, income derived from them, or taxable income should then become a neutral fund from which allocations will be made to the various areas. And of course this latter proposal

314 has been rejected outright by the Transvaal Municipal Association which is hard core Nationalist Party. The only other way in which local authority may be able to get funds is by floating loans and stocks from non-governmental sources. But because we will be in a competitive market and in an absence of viable infra-structure and port security. When you are buying in that type of market between Johannesburg and say Lenasia, you know who^{will} buy the stocks and where the stocks will be bought from. And it is very interesting to note that in defining standards of basic requirements, the P.C. comments, minimum standards must be in accordance with the ability of the communities concerned to pay. Implying that poorer and under developed communities must expect to do with less and unequal facilities. This merely will widen the gap between the privileged White areas and our poorer areas.

One more suggestion is that the G.S.T. be increased. This extra taxing of basic and essential commodities will make the poor poorer and hungry hungrier. Also strange is this way of racism that whilst White local authorities are willingly amalgamated for cost effective viability and rationalisation dots of Indian and Coloured areas are to be carved out of this mythical Nirvana of self determination. our ethnic is-lands? Will remain developmentally inferior infra structurally incomplete and State financial schemes based on the loaded rate-able property income, will mean that even the subsidies that will be coming to us will be on a very, very small basis. It has also been suggested that as an interim measure the local authority present, they bud ... the budget to management of the local affairs committee before it is accepted. But an allocation is made and the local affairs committee or the management committee is

358 able to juggle around with the figures within the allocated sum, and they cannot increase the allocations. So you take away a R1000 from a TB organisation and give to another welfare organisation or visa versa. But the total amount given to the community be increased within the present system. And I cannot see without add ... adding extra burden to the local residents that they will have to fork out more for the needs of their community.

Next ~~for~~ ^{THE} P.C. talks about the failure of the local level administrative machinery, because people like us have introduced radical politics. I think it must be made clear that we have shown widespread opposition to the present system at present. But this has always manifested itself in elections and nominations to office. Never have any real efforts been made to disrupt recruitment and training at administrative functions.

It is Government policies and attitudes of White civic councils which normally deters persons of calibre and motivation to seek jobs. I think most of these jobs are really dead end street. I think when you have some mogul part in some dusty Matieland Transvaal town with two streets, would any individual with any motivation be prepared to become a town clerk of a one horse town?

I am sure not.

So, the blame must be squarely laid at their own policies and their own intrinsic flawed racist philosophy. And I cannot see in the new arrangement this communication gap between the White hierarchy and the White and the dependant wards improving beyond the present classic Baas and Boy form. At the best of course it can be a patronizing parochial relationship, where we know our so called civic leaders, spend time our of number garlanding the so called White Ministers and the White Mayors. So even under the new dispensation except

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for a few large areas, this motivation will still not be improved. We have seen in the White community, that despite parity of political rights, the English and Afrikaner have not been able to find a proper relationship in the, at the bureaucracy level. So I cannot for once see how this will improve in our areas. And I think those that some from Durban and Natal know the present situation in Umzinto, North Verulam and Isipingo. Next, the P.C. talks about ^{DEPOLITISATION} depoliticisation of local government to say that when we talk of ^{DEPOLITISATION} depoliticisation simply means the entrenching recialism, ethnicity and I am sure that these policies do not deserve to be salvaged.

Now, I have already showed you the various interim measures taken. (pause) Just a few comments on each of these, some of these items in its broad context. They talk of local autonomous areas whether they be small or large. Already the (incoherent) means
440 of communication have failed miserably and therefore any joint meetings with the White Councils will basically be still unproductive and within the framework of the Group Areas Act. You still will have in order to extend the boundries of these areas to go through laborious and treacherous hearings and ^{COMMISSIONS AND} select committees. And it will still mean a struggle to sustain our social and spiritual sanity and dignity, if we look at a personal level beyond the framework of the administrative level, I think the Group Areas Act and these little group areas have really destroyed a very fundamental aspect of our social and spiritual commitment. It has created in most areas rampant corruption. It has created self exploitation. It has created internal dishonesty. It has created rent racketeering. It has created family disintergration, social insecurity, endemic poverty, a sense of insular existance,

466 inter group and even inter religious suspicions and a host of other soul shattering evils.

Just to give a little example that the critical housing situation has created and so demoralised our people that when I an exploited tenant is by some hook or crook measure able to get a house in the area, I then become the exploiter, because then I relet that to another individual.

So this whole internal corruption, social corruption, is a festering manifestation of these policies which will under no circumstances be eliminated by whatever local proposals they make.

Now we come to the so called freedom decentralisation and co-responsibility at the local level. Not only do they want to take away the present right ^{of} ~~to~~ election, as distasteful as it is, where each individual has at least an equal vote. Under the new system you are going to have a vote, a loaded voting system where material worth through rateable value of properties, directorship of companies and monitory status will be deciding factors. Here you will find, that they say, one of the methods should be, a person over the age of eighteen should have one vote. In addition to that if you have a fixed property or you have a fixed residence, you will have an additional vote. If you own a company or a corporate organisation then they would decide whether you should have one vote, two votes or three votes. As an alternative suggestion they have said that if you are a registered owner of a fixed property, you should have two votes. If you are an owner of fixed property, you must have one vote. If you are a fictitious owner, that is that same as the corporate vote, you should have two votes. And then another fictitious vote and the question of fixed property owning, another vote. Truly, this is an elitist hegemony with scant regard for grassroots, participation and democracy and human worth.

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524 This attempt to manage mass aspirations and strifle grassroots rights through a capitalistic overlordship, is even to the simplest, I think mind bogling. A (incoherent) responsibility they demand, they ask us for the enforcement of influx control, race entrenchment and the suppression of the popular will. So, any local community who may feel that there is hope in this, will see that democracy is to be totally sacrificed to the alter of greed and materialism.

When they talk about rights of decision making through parents committees at primary, secondary level, they state that this will be subject to a national character. It will be mother tongue related and must be Christian orientated. So to do a thing, Arabic, Urdu oriental studies no way will alter this requirement. So you might feel fine as a community, there will be more Arabic speaking. There will be more Hindi speaking, but there will be no democracy. In rural areas the present disadvantage of the one and two teacher primary schools and in the larger areas the present shortage of subject qualified staff will still prevail. And here again we have seen this machinery being implemented with RAJBANSI already deciding whom and who should deserve his favour. At this level again the social welfare security and health, MR RAJBANSI is waiting in the wings to take over these portfolios and under the new system this will become something which you own so called Indian Chamber will be responsible.

TAPE 11 So the question of allocation of post subsidisation
SIDE 2 and grants as it already has become a political play-
thing for the political opportunist. And of course
the fact that our social welfare organisations moving
in a direction of non racialism will now be re-
Indianised and in the process there will become
greater isolation between the group thereby using
the benefits of free exchange of ideas, resources

584 and personal. They talk about the right worship and religion. I would specifically address myself on this issue to the Indian Community because there is a feeling in some quarters that the present system in some way or other ~~down~~^{does} protect religion and freedom of worship. It is a sad thing that the Indian community basically composed of two prominent groups, the Muslims and the hindus have very few members of the other groups within those religions and as a result have not really looked into this question of freedom of worship and religion. First of all there are three fundamental flaws in this. We know the World Allience of Reformed Churches have defined apartheid as heresy and apartheid is the policy of the Nationalist Party Goverment. So they must be heretical of course. The three basic flaws again. We have the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marrages Act, which denies the right to matriomony between persons of same faith, but different races, let alone different faiths. It also is a blatant transgression of religious freedom and the race classification laws violates the principles of the unity of the human family and here again promotes race above worth and moral standards of performance. We must also not forget that whatever development in these fields have taken place, this stately Mosques and the Temples and Mandales and the Churches have not been through the Group Areas Act or through the support of the present system. It has been as a result of our own efforts, because we had these facilities (inaudible) times when (incoherent) lived in our group areas. SO it ... it is not the group areas which has facilitated, it has been our own resources and our determination which has established these facilities. Now when we come to the question of houeing which is the most vexing problem in the local areas. The Goverment had already by its guide ...

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END TAPE
11 SIDE 1

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038 by its revised guidelines abdicated its responsibility for the housing needs of the people. It has said that those earning below R150 will be the responsibility of the State and of course that allocation in the new system would come through the, the Ministry of Finance to your own Chamber. And then they will decide now to re-allocate that money to the various local areas. And here again it can become the plaything of political opportunists, to which areas to give, to which uh people to grant.

This privilege, to they can utilise as they have been utilising to exploit and to undermine the needs of our people in these areas. So our slum conditions are going to grow to overcrowding, is not going to be alleviated. Then growing needs of the national growth of the population and the dilemma of the disqualified tenants in the White areas, promoted by the State policy will still leave us into the laps of apartheid. And they want us to become captives of so called economic private enterprises, hard pressed community organisations and so called impoverished budding local municipalities. In order to extend the group areas, in order to accommodate extra housing you'll still go through the bureaucracy of the Group Areas Board on which of course the Indian (incoherent) have one representative. I think they have one at the present moment, the Coloured, I think two and up to now they have not been able to make any sort of impact even within the framework of those areas by improving any of these facilities within the areas. So the gap between the have's and the have not will merely widen. And you will have the ghettos of discontent continue to nestle side by side with the mink and manure suburbs in most areas, specially in the larger areas and this will is definitely a very chilly probability. I have said that at the local level in our areas we hardly have an economic infra-structure. In

070 terms of industries, in terms of your facilities. And I cannot under any circumstances see how this is going to be improved. Now the metropolitan and regional joint services councils as I have said, will have nominated individuals from the local councils to represent. So it will once again be a capitalistic hegemony which will decide the type of facilities and the extent of the facilities to be provided. The Government has said that it is negotiating but at the present moment it is already putting into effect part of its so called proposals.

Here (pause) I have already shown you that particular guideline but what has been added is that they have created a Department of Constitutional Development. They have established a working national committee on which management and local affairs committee are to be represented. Also Regional Committees where the administrator will consult with the so called Management Committees and in past we have seen that these have been a failure. In the future we cannot see how this is going to improve the situation. I think we must accept that some crumbs to alleviate the grievances will follow, but it will not satisfy the demands of our society based on non-racialism. There is no fundamental departure from apartheid. It is a constitutional consolidation of the system with Indians and Coloureds sharing the responsibility of making it work. The Government has added that carrot to the truncheon, co-optation of an elite ethnic leadership with Western material interest to supplement the dwindling White manpower at all levels of implementation.

So ladies and gentlemen, as far as your local proposals are concerned there is absolutely no change. And I don't think we must expect any changes at all.

Thank you (Applause)

103 CHAIRMAN

Thank you DR. SALOOJEE for that detailed analysis. I am now going to open the session to questions and perhaps some discussions, but now time is a limiting factor and I'd like any contributions, if they are going to come from the floor to be short and to the point. We'll take discussions on both Professor COOVADI'S paper and DR. SALOOJEE'S paper at one and the same time. So matters now over to you. If you will just raise your hand whoever wants to contribute or ask questions, please do so. This is to be no discussion. It seems the speakers have covered their topics pretty well and it has gone down well. I will now hand this session over to the next Chairman, MR CASSIM SALOOJEE. The only ^{ANNOUNCEMENT} ~~announcement~~ that I have to make other than that, is that there will be no tea because tea has already been had, I am told. Thank you (Pause)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Right friends, we go onto the next paper. Ah, I don't have to go into the detail of what has been said previously. Ah, we've had a number of speakers who have promptly demonstrated that the constitutional ^{PROPOSAL} ~~s~~ are just not acceptable. They (inaudible) demonstrated that we have no choice but not to become part of the oppressive group, not to collaborate in our very own oppression. We now have the important task of how we are going to express our opposition. ^{How} ~~Now~~ we are going to prepare ourselves organisationally to carry on this struggle. Now the one little thing that I want to do is that it is during this moment in time that we re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for realizing a truly non racial and (no reception) and for that reason I say that it would be appropriate for us to dedicate this particular session to MOLVI SALOOJEE who spent so many years of his life courageously providing leadership and courageously

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162 being part of the struggle for freedom and justice in this land. So I wish to dedicate this session to the memory of MOLVI SALOOJEE and we hope that it is in that spirit that we will continue to conduct that fight.

I also wish to make the point that we have already taken a historic decision and that decision is that we see our we see the place of our people side by side with all the other peoples of South Africa. This is the historic decision that we have taken and MR N.G. PATEL in his paper would give us some indication of the direction that we would have to take. With that we would also have to consider the decision that we took last night to establish a commission that would go into the question of the United Front. Now you must bear in mind the kind of organisational forms that we would have to develop and the extent to which we would take further the idea of the United Front. Now that is what we would be discussing and in view of the limitation of time I have no intention of carrying on. Further I am going to promptly ask MR PATEL to come and present his paper. You all know MR PATEL who is a very prominent member of the Anti SAIC Committee and who played a notable role in the political and social life of our people.
MR N.G. PATEL (applause)

186 MR N.G. PATEL:- Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. The subject of my paper is to attempt to see the road (inaudible) I would like to him initial (inaudible) that with all the different speakers that you have heard from yesterday afternoon (no reception). But also I succeed in throwing new light on the (no reception) different emphasis (no reception) that is the task in attempting to (no reception) surely as many speakers before me have pointed out, it is clear that our rulers find themselves in a situation that makes all

forms of domination impractical. They find themselves (inaudible) goals allies and institutions in order to continue (inaudible) domination in a new and improved form. But our rulers (no reception) that govern our society, but itself as well.

The Presidents Council's proposals are based on a skillful use of half truths and innuendos logical fallacies, ^{FALSE} also assumptions and manipulation of facts and figures. Their aim is to confuse rather than clarify. ^{DEVIATE} ~~Divulge~~ rather than unify, deceive rather than enlighten and they have (inaudible) of their good intentions. The State has (inaudible) to convince (inaudible) the people of South Africa and abroad of its new resolve to undo past and present injustices by reforming first its constitutional ^{ARRANGEMENT} ~~agreement~~ as a prelude to inhering a society that would permit, and I hereby quote directly from the Presidents Council's reports:-

- (a) Individual and group freedom.
- (b) The equality of opportunity and justice.
- (c) The protection of identity and self respect.
- (d) Social and material welfare
- (e) Internal and external peace and security.

This constitutional arrangements it prefers, is a democratic system.

This is also stated in the report. It advocates the elimination of domination by a group as ~~itself~~.^{17 5 745} The President Council sees political development for all South Africans as a necessity and defines progress as the pursuit of the values of democracy, justice, prosperity, equality of opportunity, security, efficiency, self respect and the protection of culture and identity for all South Africans.

Now ladies and gentlemen, you will all agree that the most ardent supporter of the Freedom Charter would applaud the above descriptions of those values and intentions.

If history has taught us anything, it has taught

242 us that appearances should not be mistaken for reality. The constitutional committee of the Presidents Council skillfully parts company from the Freedom Charter by asserting the orthodox model of democracy is not a viable option for South Africa. And by insisting that a single political system in South Africa which included Blacks on an unqualified majoritarian basis could not function as a successful democracy, to quote in current and foreseeable circumstances. The reason it offers in support of this position acknowledge the difference in colour is of little significance. What is significant is according to the report:-

- (a) Difference in culture.
- (b) Relative numbers.
- (c) Conflicting interests.
- (d) Diverging political objectives.

However the report continues a single political system which includes Coloureds and Indians on an equal basis with Whites could function successfully as a con- conassociation of democracy. The report suggests this is due to the fact the coloureds share a common culture with the Whites, the population ratios are favourable. The legitimate interests of the communities are compactable and the political objectives converge.

Now, what does all this mean? The report sets an existence of the community sharing interests goals and values amongst groups, it has historically ascertained, do not form a community. What change in condition has changed historical views. What has changed to make our interests the same as the White' interests? The Coloureds and Indians historically are and see themselves as being part of the community of the oppressed. That is not all. These three communities, the Africans, Indians and Coloureds share experiences, interests, thoughts and ideas produced by the common subjection to institutions, procedures and policies that barely

276 acknowledge the value of humanity.

Now the report proclaims that the Coloureds and Indians should deny history, mistrusts severe experience, ignore the hard earned and difficult truths that only the oppressed adhere to and in turn embrace a view either to conceal truth that in reality they share common interests, goals and values (incoherent) oppressors and not with the oppressed. And some people say our rulers have changes, reformed and improved. Has the State asked the Coloureds, for its legitimate leaders if the Coloureds shares the State's rule but shared a common culture with the ruling group?. That excludes other fellow countrymen and fellow workers. Does favourable population ratios mean that the present ruling group could numerically continue to dominate the Coloured and Indians. Now the simple coercion is counter productive. All this of course has been shown to us by Professor COOVADAI when he spoke (incoherent) 4-2-1 and since we cannot dominate the Africans numerically coercion will have to continue, in relation to them, and the Coloureds and Indians would now be participant in such oppression. If so the State sadly misunderstands the oppressed.

What is crucial is the assertion of the constitutional committee of the Presidents Council, that so called segments (incoherent) to dis-enfranchise, share common interests with the rulers, the legitimate leaders, who are we speaking of? If the South African Indian Council elections are anything to go by, the Indians have overwhelmingly and unequivocally rejected this assertion.

The collective interest of the community minimumly must include:- Job security, trading rights, housing, education, security, equal opportunity, freedom to develop and grow.

But these cannot be at the expense of the majority of the population. Not only because such arrangement is unjust, but because such as arrangement is

308 not in the communities interest. I am stressing the whole idea about interest in my paper because the Presidents Council has this thread of interests running through it. What we are being told is what they are offering is in the interests of the Indian and the Coloured and I am trying to show that judged only on the basis of this thread of interest, it cannot be held. That it is in our interest. The ruling group has benefited in the short run with such tactics and such strategies only to be faced with ever deepening economic, political and social crises that compel it to extend its blunders to other groups. The report acknowledges that repression will continue by requiring a strong Government to ensure security. If all our interests are common, why do we require coercion. The State also insists that a limited Government is desirable. The economic, political and social inequalities that exist today and largely attributable to the economic, political and social arrangement presently in existence. It can hardly be claimed that such inequalities are natural. By claiming equality of opportunity as a goal, with doubt, existing the consequences of inequalities of condition produced by historical arrangements is to mock the goals, values and interests that are alleged to exist in common amongst the new community of Whites, Coloureds and Indians. What I am trying to say here is that we are all at different stages and unless the inequalities are first adjusted, just to start from where we are, we in no way enable the Indians and Coloureds to come up to the Whites. The claims made by the committee of the Presidents Council that is the interest of the Coloureds and Indians that the State seeks to further, is the best problematic and at worst a fraud. There is very little doubt that it is the ruling groups interests that are being furthered and they too only in the short run. If the Coloureds

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344 and Indians join the Whites, the crises will not disappear. At the moment it is their crises. Later it will become the crises of all three groups. We reject the Presidents Council's proposals and these have been numbered by different speakers differently, but I would number them in the way I see, firstly:-

It is the initiative of the minority of the population which attempts to maintain in fact entrenched the system of minority rule albeit in slightly changes form.

We reject the President Council's proposals because it is an attempt to further divide the people of South Africa.

We reject the proposals because it is an attempt to draw the Indians and Coloured people into ~~defining~~^{DEFENDING} a system which is indefensible.

We reject the proposals because it signifies a political change, a constitutional fraud without alleviating our basic problems related to Group Areas, housing, rents, poor facilities and such other items.

We reject the proposals because they attempt to make us partners in oppressing the mass of the people of South Africa.

We ~~regret~~^{REJECT} the proposals because our interests are best realized in a society in which every individual and group is free to participate.

The State in its short sighted pursuit of its sigmental interests will use every means available to it and these are considerable, to achieve its goals, it will use persuasion, perhaps even bargaining with a few oppressive measures and privilages and will eventually not hesitate to threats of force and force itself.

In its single minded pursuit of its goals it will not be too reluctant to use all ~~its~~^{THE} means

376 as its disposal.

In contrast we have extremely limited means at our disposal, but we are not ^{IMPOTENT} important. We must be able to use every legal and moral means at our disposal to combat the admittedly awesome force confronting us in the glorious tradition of combating oppression that we have inherited from the past. What then is to be done? Rejection of the proposals is necessary but not enough. The State will implement its proposals. It is clear that the ruling group is attempting to legitimize its domination by attempting to co-opt our support by appealing to what it contends ^{CASOLE} is our self interest. If it cannot ^{and} cor~~er~~ce our people and here we are sure to fail. They will attempt to give the appearance of support by being satisfied by co-opting non-representative groups ostensibly representing the community. This fraud must be exposed for what it is. Confident of our support amongst the people we may choose par- participate in these newly created institutions. Now ladies and gentlemen, of course that is out. Um. This was just an option which I was putting across and please don't misunderstand that I what I am saying, confident of our support amongst the people we may choose to participate in these newly created institutions if only to render them harmless. To many this would not do. The constitutional arrangements proposed by the State has effectively seen to that. I don't want this point to be misunderstood. I maintain that whichever there is just no possibility of participating because if you read the reports you cannot effectively bring it to a stand still. Aggregating and articulating the real interests of our people, mobilising the people in the achievements of these interests, co-ordinating the many local unco-ordinated struggles in the one cohesive and consistent National struggle, forming alliances with other groups with common interest,

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416 is clearly on the agenda. Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to read that because that in a way states the road ahead. Aggregating and articulating the real interests of our people, mobilising the people in the achievement of these interests, co-ordinating the many local unco-ordinated struggles into one cohesive and consistent national struggle, forming alliances with other groups with common interests, is clearly on the agenda.

The anti-SAIC Committee was constituted to expose SAIC as a body that would be totally inadequate in serving the real interests of the Indian people. In this task the committee succeeded brilliantly.

Its success is a stimulus to the character, courage, industry and perseverance of a dedicated group of workers. But its success also reveals that these qualities are found in ample measures amongst the people themselves and their understanding of the struggle is often under-rated by the ruling group and their allies. But as the P.C. proposals are implemented, SAIC will be no more. The organisation called anti-SAIC would be a victim of its own great victory, but the fraud that the SAIC was, will be reborn, in another perhaps (inaudible) new form. The problems confronting us will lead us to respond to this new challenge. In the past the anti-SAIC committee has responded to issues other than the issues to which it owes ^{its} ~~our~~ by birth. Can it continue to do so? Does it have the organisational structure that would allow it to adequately perform the tasks of aggregating and articulating community interests, mobilising the people in the achievement of these interests, converting the many local struggles into one national struggle, forming alliances with groups sharing similar interests and being periodically accountable to the people it represents? Or do you need a political party that has traditionally performed these functions? To

458 put it briefly converting interest and asperation into a program of action. If so does this mass based party be a new one, or should we true to our roots attempt to reactivate the Transvaal Indian Congress with its proud history of fighting oppression that is now sits in-active. These ladies and gentlemen, are questions you alone can answer. What is clear is that our work is cut out for us. A organisation belonging and responsible to ~~use~~^{us}, the the people articulating our interests, propagating our views and converting the new threats to our interests, is vital to our survival. I would like to clear up and give my views on the on the discussion and the call for a United Front that deals with slightly different problems than the problems I have dealt with in the paper. In this paper I have confined myself and linked up ah confined myself to the problem of Anti-SAIC and try to link it up with the problems of other organisations, but a United Front, is in my view a necessity for reasons which I see as follows:-

Twenty years of apartheid and oppression had in a way succeeded in dividing us into three groups, the Africans, Coloureds and Indians. And the P.C. proposals have been brought in at a time when they are confident that they have sufficient divided us, sufficiently isolated us from each other for them to come with these type of proposals which may have some chance of acceptance.

Now by a United Front. We would remove the struggle from a ground which they which have prepared and a ground on which we which they are ready to fight. If I deal with these proposals, the Coloureds seperatley, the Indians seperately and since the proposals in no major way touched the African people, they wouldn't really organise against it. We ould be falling into the trap the Government has prepared for us, rather let's change the rules of the game. If we form a United Front and if we widen our struggle on a basis

515 whereby we suggest that not only the P.C. proposals but the KOORNHOF Bills, taken together ^{from} ~~from~~ a part of the total strategy and that both the P.C. proposals and the KROONHOF Bills came from the same source; We would find that a United Front formed to fight the P.C. proposals and the KROONHOF Bills, would unite both would unite the total Black community and we would reach out to the Coloured and Indian sections. We would reject the fundamental promise of the P.C. proposals although we only dealt with the section which deals with the Indians and Coloureds clearly; as far as the Africans are concerned partition is what they have accepted and partition is clearly mentioned at strategic places in the report. So by this type of United Front we would be answering that to that we don't accept the homeland policy and it would enable us to reach out to the Africans to fight the grand strategy of the Government as a whole. The interest of the three different groups of the Black people would again coincide or we should in fact see all these proposals as part of the grand scheme which it is and by looking at it in this manner we may find that we may again start in a (incoherent) form on alliance which could grow from strength to strength as we explore the struggle. It would be - it would also have a genuine basis, because the KOORNHOF Bills are vicious and we are aware that they will come into force. Ah it would also show the basic strand which runs through the proposals that are meant for us and the community, ah and the legal ah, what is that act called again? (unknown voice from somebody in the audience whispering local authorities bill), local authorities bill which is meant for the Africans and we could be able to show that these bills are different aspects of the same problem and clearly sufficient, common interest has come about between the groups to fight all this as a single group. And for this reasoning it may it may be again a position

577 where we find the Government thinks it has divided us sufficiently successfully to deal with us separately. And we may find the grand strategy of the total strategy developed in a matter, manner where we would have to fight it as a whole.

So, but looking at the matter from the Transvaal anti-SAIC Committees point of view, whilst it is true that a United Front is desirable as I have stated, and while it is true we must accept it, and work towards, it and it would just not come about in existence in a month or two, in that sense that a strong United Front will take time, will take thinking out, will take a lot of interaction between the different groups. I think sufficient the, the immediate task facing the Anti-SAIC Committee is to call upon the old leaders of the TIC, few as they may be able to call for a general public meeting where the TIC can be reactivated. This also may take some time, but it will also provide us with a basis of going back to our people and although there is a general feeling that it should be revived at a general meeting. Well advertised, advertised long enough would generate sufficient discussion in the community for us to come to a correct decision, as regards the revival of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

TAPE 12 (So, as I foresee the position I see the two
SIDE 1 activities, the activity of re-activating the Transvaal Indian Congress and the forming of the united Front going hand in hand throughout the forthcoming period.

Thank you (Applause)

629 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Thank you Mr Patel. Certain very important suggestions have been made. Ah Mr Patel) has indicated that the anti-SAIC in its present form may be an inadequate vehicle to carry on with our struggle. He has suggested very clearly that a new political formation is required and he has suggested that that

13 new political formation might be the Transvaal Indian Congress. Now ah this would be a momentous decision that we would be taking. Now we are hoping that you would give this matter your deep thought and we are hoping that you would contribute to the discussion that has been triggered off by Mr Patel. So at this point I want to throw open the discussion on the paper that's been read by Mr Patel. I am sure there would be people who would like to respond to the things that he said.

Sorry, I think we would have a problem uh do we have the other mike? Would you like to come up in front. And would the speakers please identify themselves?

Members from the audience; My name is HOOSEIN BISMILLA and I don't represent anybody but myself. (Inaudible) to the last (inaudible), forgive me for my nervousness. Uh Mr Patel here talked about a United Front ah especially United Front, ah, as it would ah uh as it would effect the the the bringing of Coloureds and Indians as well as Blacks on both the P.C. proposals and the KROONHOF Bills ah would he regard or would the United Front, working with a group like the INKATHA ah ah be in line with its ah with its ah ~~THINKING~~ Thank you.

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Would someone like to respond to that? (question put to the audience who did not respond . SALOOJEE then asks one of the speakers to respond to that question).

UNKNOWN SPEAKER:- Thank you Mr Saloojee. Simply to respond to that question ah is actually the matter to ah to the ah to discussing the United Front, rather than talking about the revival of the TIC. But nevertheless, obviously this question has actually been considered. Nevertheless, this question has been considered. You know that a commis- sion was appointed yesterday to discuss the matter and

43 the decision uh which will be recommended to this conference is actually a very clear one and this is that at this stage some kind of of of Democratic Front. And those recommendation will come to, will be formed, if it is formed. Then at this stage it would be representative of the people who are here at the conference and so on. The question of whether INKATHA or other bodies will form part of that Front, is one which will have to be answered in good time, one which cannot be answered today; but simple answer we give is let us start slowly with the people who are here. Let us consolidate at our own kinds of levels. Be clear about what we want, in relation to Indians, Coloureds and Africans, as well as progressive White people. With the issue of whether INKARHA is uh to be uh allowed into the Alliance, one which will be differed for a number of reasons:-

(1) The question has not been has not arisen yet in practise in, the sense that INKATHA has not actually asked to be part of any such alliance. In the event that it does ask to be part of the alliance, the matter can actually be considered at the time that it arises with all the people going back to the various constitutive assemblies, raising the questions and sorting the matter out.

At this stage we do not see uh a decision in regard to the Alliance with INKATHA as a question of any great urgency. We have other work to do. We need to get together ourselves. We have uh inter-bodies which have clear African representation, Indian representation, Coloured representation and progressive White representation. Once that job (inaudible) application comes, we have to consult very very broadly at that level to see how (inaudible) if at all, a lot will depend of course on the basis of which such Alliance is raised as well.

A simple answer is firstly, the question has not
65 yet arisen. Secondly, it seems expedient and

desirable to have unity and get those who are amongst the people who are participating in this conference at this point in time and INKATHA is not yet as when uh, we consolidate our operations and at the request comes we'll have to consult very broadly and actually make that decision at that point in time. But at the moment uh, we do not see that question, as a question of any great urgency or as a question which is, which should in fact occupy us too much. (Applause).

SALOOJEE:- Are there further (inaudible) you come up.

UNKNWON SPEAKER:- Thank you Mr Saloojee uh, ladies and gentlemen from the discussions we had last night and from the discussions today, it is quite clear unequivocally that we cannot accept the Presidents Council's proposal. This is (inaudible) he agrees to that. However, there are certain things that have been discussed by Mr Patel I think it is very crucial the road ahead. It was pointed out to us last night by Dr Jassat and Mr Coovadia, Dr Coovadia that originally the Indian Community was divided within itself from the time the uh, indentured labourers came to this country. It was subsequently shown that ultimately in the 1940's an alliance was formed where now the interests of the Black, Indians, Coloureds and Black Africans ah was (inaudible) together and again in 20 years of apartheid the (inaudible) managed to destroy to a certain extent it's unity it has catagonsed the Black people into different compartments. The most important fundamental ^{THING} ~~think~~ that has to be realised for an Indian and Coloured community, is that this President Council's proposals is a naked attempt in joining us into the laager. Now I want to make one thing very clear. Even if everything was equal for the Indians, Coloureds and Whites if tomorrow everything is on par for the Coloureds, the Malians and the Whites we must refuse until (applause) we are fellow travellers with our African brothers and sisters we have been engaged in the struggle for liberation with all black people in this country and we must stand together. Now in order to fight these valiant attempts by the government, the first and fundermental thing that must be achieved

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is unity within our own ranks. We are talking about a United Front, I accept that the United Front is necessary,

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but I think what is important in than the United Front is the establishment of total unity in, in Indian Community in the Coloured and in the African community. The government will know (inaudible) and gives us uh it gives uh, an impression that these are the leaders of the Indian Community and the Coloured community and the Black communities. They have done this time and time again until sometimes it seem to be believable. We must destroy that myth. There has Dr Saloojee this morning pointed out that the grassroots, the crux of the matter begins at local level. Now I'm going to say something that may horrify the audience. We have had, take the history of the local affairs committees the management committees over the number of years that they have been in existence they've been in existence, they have been instrumental in ^{CREATING} lighting the greatest disunity in the Indian and the Coloured community. We must somehow find a way to destroy that (inaudible interruption) ladies and gentlemen (inaudible interruption)

MALE PERSON: Hier volg nou 'n heropname van band 11 kant
1 van die Transvaal Anti-SAIC Congress.

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TAPE 9 There is nothing we can do really

SIDE 1 at this stage. It is something that the Indian community and the Coloured community have to reject totally. But we know to be realistic that the Labour Party has accepted the proposals. That the South African Indian Council has accepted the proposals. That they are going to participate. The success of their participation will depend on the support at grassroots level that they will get. That is why I think the most important thing for us to do to decide perhaps is: it is possible is there a way that we can destroy this grassroots support that they will get. I am, I brought up the subject really as a starting point, perhaps a discussion.

My own feelings is this, that one of the ways that you can engage constructively in the politics of refusal is to get the local Affairs Committees under the wing of a central organisation, whatever the organisation may be. And it is possible that they can go to them and say we refuse to work with the system, we refuse to participate at all. The central proposals are linked to the local proposals and the local proposals in order to work must have Coloured and Indian members on these committees. When will ... that we can destroy that method, is by engaging constructively in that local committees with one aim in mind. Only one aim, and this is to enter on to the basis that we are now entering engaging in the politics of refusal. We refuse to budge. We refuse to engage in any further discussions with any other committees there are.

027 And we stop at that level ... ah ... ladies and gentlemen, this is one beginning of a discussion. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Ah ... before we go on ah ... if I just could make the point, that last night we have agreed to establish this commission to investigate ah possibility of establishing the United Front. Ah you know at a later stage ah someone from the group that sat last night would read out the document that has been prepared ah indicating the guidelines for our move to further on this one. So I would like to suggest that at this point, that we confine our remarks ah to the question of the establishment of a new political formation there is this definite you know I there is this definite suggestion that ever reactivate the Transvaal Indian congress. And ah I would like to suggest that we confine our remarks to that at the moment. Ah I would also like for you the people to ah we, we have limitations on time. The ah so if people could take that into account and confine their remarks to what we are really considering.

043 UNKNOWN SPEAKER:- Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I just to ah confine my discussion to the formation of the T.I.C. MR PATEL in his discussion says, he proposes that ah we discuss with the former leaders ah former leaders of the T.I.C. with the view to getting consensus from the public ah I just want to say to MR PATEL from the discussions and the input of the discussion yesterday, it was made clear, it was coming through that it is urgent that the T.I.C. be formed. And ah MR PATEL whatever your suggestion may be, I just want to make one suggestion that ah you may very well go to some of the leaders. You may probably get some divided new. Ah some may think it is alright, others may say it is not alright. And

054 in in in the process you may be caught up in a morass. And if you are going to go to the general public, this matter might go on for debate. It may take ten months and a lot of water will then pass under the bridge. I think, ah Mr Chairman and fellow delegates, ah I do not think that anybody has really responded to say that the formation of the TIC is not important and I gained the impression that, .. that there is a consensus of opinion or there is a large body of opinion that TIC be formed. I want to suggest Mr Chairman, that in order to give the matter momentum, in order to work with expediency and more especially in view of the fact that time is of the essence, mobilisation is very, very important.

Our community it .. itself is divided by all the tactics that is employed, played by the Press, the radio, the T.V. that we should at this meeting pass a resolution that the TIC be formed. We put it as a resolution and give the matter momentum and ask the leaders who have been in the movement to give it impetus. That will be able to that will avoid a lot of discussion, a lot of confusion because while we may very well be debating these things without any clear guidance, the other people will be gaining ground. And the (incoherent) in that, and if we are very clear and we have conviction and be strong enough. I think we are very well represented at this conference, there are not only the delegates but people from Transvaal. We should move straight ahead and I would like later on perhaps to put it as a resolution, that we, the people present over here, move and agree that the TIC be formed. (Applause).

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Come up! (Applause)

079 MR SHABANGU:- Mr Chairman, and my dear friends, I am sure I am not going to prolong the discussion

082 here, because from yesterday we have been listening very, very attentively to all the speakers. As such I feel so fit like a younger man and I want to say something now. Never mind I may be putting my talk as a general. I am motivated by what has been said by the speakers in connection with the United Front. And rejoining by ear brothers, classified as Coloureds and Indians in this country.

To the Presidents Council, I want to confine myself briefly to that. The talk here has said, and I am a part to that, we reject this dummy institutions. But this rejection should't be just the rejection, just because we are here, we must be positive. I want to remind this audience of the advise those (incoherent) going on in South Africa. For generation, generations we have been experiencing in this country. They are the people classified as Whites. And there are some more than 23 million people classified as Non-Whites. Let me advise you and remind you, these new proposals of dragging Indian and Coloureds to be a party, in fact status. It has been put into practice here for quite a long time. Any case, I want to be careful what I am saying. These thing of dragging them openly now to join White Parliment, it exists long ago here. If you go back to the place of employment, White, Coloured and Indians, they are classified together. Automatically that very classification at the place of employment has created that mental divison among the working class. Although is not exposed, but I sure from this conference the true disciples will go back and preach is, not on a hostile mannar. To preach this now among the working class. To gradually try to (incoherent) from this diabolically system of joining Whites at the place of employment and here in conference you (incoherent) you don't want to join them. I am not criticising anybody,

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129 I am very pleased today, to talk of this conference, said we are not going to be a party to oppression. Let those who are classified as Whites carry on their dirty work. (incoherent) that they are many people. Some of them knows history. Some of them are convinced that the final destruction of White domination is around the corner. And therefore they wanted to know this destruction by inviting our people to take part to their deliberation . Therefore I am sure we here, we even forgive our dear comrades who have been presently bribed to support this certain members of the Labour Party who are aware South Africa is a lot of bribery, they were bribed. (incoherent)

Sometimes certain fools among the labour Party have followed a certain statement of the late Labour Party leader, 1960 here at City Hall where he said when he was condemning, you know, in 1960 was this uprising, 1960 where he was condemning, that he criticise the Communist. I don't know who were Communist. But he said a leader of the Labour Party, Coloureds must remember or must know that they are a part of the Western civilization . Therefore when certain Coloureds were joining this, I said to myself I was there when so and so you are part of Western civilization. And I believe now if that is accepted, some new words in South Africa will be invented because there.. there are non- Whites and Whites. What will that now Coloured (incoherent) Indian, Coloureds and Whites, what will be, what will they call it now ? All whites or what ? (laughter from audience) I don't know.

I want to be brief now. I want to come to this point now, about the United Front. Yesterday it was mentioned here about the United Front (incoherent) to the working class. The people sit in the Church, I want to say this. Here (inaudible) we're on the road for liberation and we don't want hypocrites to waste our time. (Applause) Historically we have seen the people dying for freedom, Workers, I know what I

am saying, people workers and students nê but historically church as a body never side with the people fighting for liberation. It has never happened, I am saying church, always a church joining the struggle for liberation. When those want liberation, those suppressing liberation because they are (incoherent) church always (incoherent). They always try to side with the winning part because they are hypocrrites by nature. Please my friends, we are not going to bluff the people here because they are our bossom friends. But this is South Africa. They have been studying for too long. What does it stand for. If now 1983 church leaders have abandoned their hypocrisy and want to follow the struggle, they can come and tow in line, paved by the leadership of the libertory movement. We are not going to follow the chruch to lead us. No, because the doctrine of the church is a vague, false doctrine. (applause) We are not here to follow and listen and depend on imagination. I and not (incoherent). I want to say this, any coming together of all forces of this country, we will touch certain tribal organisation and we don't talk of tribal organisation like INKATHA. We are talking of all progressive forces. And this coming together many forces here have worked under a coming together of forces. And we have seen and we have reaped the fruits of working together. Thank you Mr Chairman. (Applause)

207 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Thank you Mr Shibangu. Ah, we we will adjourn at the time that they indicate to us that lunch is ready. So you know until they are ready for us at the other end, we will continue with the discussions. Ah, are there any other speakers, who wants to address themselves specifically on the formation of the Transvaal Indian Congress? Ah there has been a resolution. Would you like us to put the resolution to the house right now or would you like to continue with the discussion ah Mr,

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217 Ramesar would like the speakers please ah you know, identify themselves.

220 Speaker from the audience:- Ja ah RAMESAR (phonetic) is the name, secretary, Natal Indian Congress. Mr Chairman there are just two points that emanated from MR PATEL'S paper that I'd like to just dwell on. One is the question of the United Front. I think there should be no question about the for forming of the United Front as soon as possible. Now as far as the Transvaal Indian Congress is concerned, I would emphasize that it is absolutely imperative that this body be resuscitated as soon as possible. Now we had a problem. A few years ago, in Natal, where we were toying with idea of:

(a) ah either dropping the Indain tag ah

(b) ah forming a new body. You know we were toying with idea of possibly a body like the congress of the people. But no sooner, just before conference, no sooner we were toying with this idea, we found that MR RAJBANSI had issued a statement in the newspaper that he was a former member of the Natal Indian Congress. Thereby paving the way to take over ah if were you going, going to form another body then he was going to re-establish the Transvaal Indian, I mean the Natal Indian Congress. Here you have a similar problem in the Transvaal. There are members in the present SAIC who when we meet keep telling us that they are former members of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Now the people in the Tansvaal, in that camp haven't really got a vehicle where they can go to people. Any by the time we start toying with the idea here, you will find one of these guys re, resuscitating the Transvaal Indian Congress and going to the people on the platform. Now both the congresses, Transvaal and Natal have a long rich heritage and I want to plead to the people of the Transvaal to give this urgent attention and re-establish the Transvaal Indian Congress as urgent,

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251 as as quickly as possible. Thank you. (Applause)

253 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Are there any other comments on the formation of the TIC? Would you come up? I would like to appeal to speakers to please be brief in their comment, because we are going to run to serious problems with time.

260 Unknown speaker from audience:- Cassim, this is a question directly directed towards you. I just like to know as to whether after this discussion on the T I C you would be talking a little bit more or open, throw open discussions on the United Front as such.

263 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Ah I have indicated that we are going to give the delegates a full opportunity to discuss the proposals of the United Front. And somebody will be reporting on the meeting that we had last night. So uh that will be a separate discussion altogether. So that at the moment. What we want to do is to confine our remarks to T I C . MR PARAK will you come up here. Ah MR PARAK is a long, was a long standing member of the former T I C (applause)

274 MR PARAK:- Mr Chairman and Friends. We have before us the proposition to unite and to get forward in this struggle, that we have contemplated. And in order to make that struggle a success, it is quite important that our organisations be streamlined, that we have a proper organisation that will put forward our viewpoint, not only to our people but to the Non-White community at large. We had, we had problems many years ago in 1940, 1939 and already had the Transvaal Indian Congress in power that accepted places like McKenzierville in Nigel and so on. That they already co-operated with the Government and at that time our leaders decided to form the (incoherent) group of the Transvaal Indian Congress. It was this group that eventually took reigns of the Transvaal Indian Congress and I can

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294 tell you from first hand information as the Secretary of the Congress in 1941, that we did tremendous work within the community. And it was this good work within the community that subsequently lead us to the formation of the Non-European United Front in which we had the Transvaal, we in which we had the Indian Congresses, the Coloured Congress, the I the the the National Congress of the Africans. At that time it was the formation of the African National Congress more or less.

Now on this basis, if we have not prepared the community, if we have not been powerful organisation, then we would not have been in that Non-European United Front. Not to touch on that at the moment, I think our pressing problem now at the moment is that we do not have sufficiently representative body, a political body of the Indians here in the Transvaal. It is imperative. It is very necessary. It is very urgent that such a body be formed immediately. It is there. One has to just resuscitate it. And I would say that we are all in agreement that we are opposed to the Presidents Council. We are opposed to anything that will divide our people and our total Black community at large. I would (applause), I would suggest, Mr Chairman, that this conference of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC request the T I C committee to contact the previous officials of the Transvaal Indian Congress with the view to calling a public meeting to resuscitate the Transvaal Indian Congress. We could set a time limit but I would say we should do this as soon as possible. Thank you. (Applause)

327 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Thank you MR PARAK. A note was sent up, sent up to me now to it says what stops the TAIC from you know immediately changing in name to

330 the T I C. That's what it says ah the Trans-vaal Indian Congress did exist ah through repression and intimidation, bannings and exile of some of our leaders, it just become dormant. So if we take a decision to revive you know the T I C, all we really have to do is to ask you know the surviving, you know the surviving officials uh of the T I C to call for a general meeting. You know, and from that point onwards we can go on. So ah we're just not in a position to say that today uh we bring the T I C into existence, but what we would have to do is to call a general meeting soon. And I think ah if we do take a decision ah you know if we accept the decision that we revive the T I C ah we would set a time limit that within five or six weeks at most uh we will call for a general meeting where we would re-activate the T I C and with a mandate from the people we would elect a whole new set of officials. So that is the procedure that we would have to follow ah you know I may also mention that the T I C constitution uh indicated that all South Africans of Indian origin over the age of eighteen, are automatically member of uh of the uh Congress. So in fact we don't really have a serious problem of re-activating it, if there is a clear if there if there is a clear decision that we form the T I C. We would really have no organisational hassles, you know, in to do that, now it appears that most of the speakers have come up ah to this ah ah to address the meeting at this stage have indicated you know, very clearly that that all in favour of the idea of re-activating the T I C could ah could I at this stage have a have a general sort of indication from the meeting whether we go ahead and re-activate the T I C or whether we still need to think this one our further.

Unknown speaker from audience:- (Inaudible)

 really suggest that T A S C

374 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Right MR PARAK, you have a

375 motion. Mr Parak would you then move for such a resolution?

MR PARAK:- Yes Mr Chairman and friends, the resolution I wish to make is this: that this conference of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC request the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee to contact the previous officials of the Transvaal Indian Congress with a view to calling a public meeting to resuscitate the Transvaal Indian Congress within the next two months. I hope I find a supporter to this.

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Would somebody second that resolution?

Unknown speaker from the audience:- (Inaudible)
..... in case we unable
to meet the mandate to continue
with thewithout

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- .. Ah ah I think the resolution what we would state very clearly is that we're asking the old officials to call for a general meeting within six weeks.

Unknown speaker from audience:- (Inaudible)
.....mandate.

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Ja Dr Saloojee. I think ..
ah ... we can be reasonably confident that such a meeting will be called.

Unknown speaker from the audience:- (Inaudible)

MR PARAK:- Sorry Mr Chairman, I just wish to .. ah .. say something, that uh yesterday and today we have not many members of the previous committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress. There are very few left. Many have passed along. But those that we have discussed this matter with, are willing. They are willing to form to come together and form this Congress again (Applause).

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- TO help?

MR PARAK:- Ja.

406 Unknown speaker from audience:- The problem (incoherent) could be faced, is that uh most of the T I C members are out of the country. It's going to take a bit of trouble to get them back. (Laughter)

TAPE 3 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Anyhow, well, insured for a situation that a general meeting is called within
SIDE 1 the next, would would we say within the next six weeks. Right, now do I have a seconder for that resolution?

Unknown speaker from the audience:- (Incoherent)

.....Is the resolution on the house, Mr Chairman? My name is Jairam Vallabh.

416 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- MR JAIRAM VALLABH seconds the resolution. May I also mention that he is a former member of the Transvaal Indian Congress. (Applause from audience) So there we already have the first indication that uh we will get this kind of support that we think from the old members of the T I C. Now, we are all in favour of the resolution asking for the re-activation of the Transvaal Indian Congress. If you are in favour, please indicate by standing up. (Applause from audience) Thank you. This really it is past my (incoherent) is past our (incoherent) I take it is a unanimous decision. I just can perform, if there is anybody who is opposed to the resolution would they indicate. One, right, yes. Take the mike please and please identify yourself. We may not be able to hear you. Please would the speaker identify himself first before he makes his remark.

444 Speaker from audience:- My name is (inaudible) MOTALA. Thank you. Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, out here to revive a separstist body. I object to Indian, I object to Coloured, I object to White, I object to Black. I am for people, I am for a United Front. I don't see the reason for reviving ah T I C. I don't know really what they stand for ah I don't see a reason ah if it is going to take that long as it

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453 has been suggested ah to revive this body.

I think it's going to take time as well to create a new body ah which is United. Then I I would opt for ah ah just going straight ahead for a United body. And I think it is a bit insulting to suggest just Indian ah when we are talking in terms of a United group. (Applause from audience)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Mr NDOU we have (applause from audience) mr NDOU.

466 MR SAMSON NDOU:- Ah comrade, chair thank you for giving me this you know, short time, you know, to express my views concerning the formation or the reviving of th T I C. And through Chairman, everybody here in the house provided beyond no reasonable doubt that they want the revival of the T I C. And uhm one man decided to come out against that. He say ah is not a sort of united, you know, the people in this country, if we revive the Transvaal Indian Congress because if so that Indians only. I think that is his reason, but I want to remind everybody here this afternoon that T I C ah is not a tribal organisation. (Applause). It is a peoples organisation everybody knows that. (Applause) Every organisation in this country which was a part of the Congress Alliance is a peoples organisation. (Applause) So the revival of the Transvaal Indian Council, is the revival of the peoples organisation (Applause). Do you still agree that it is a good thing to revive T I C? If so, stand up again to prove . (Applause) Thank you (incoherent).

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Thank you MR NDOU, for the inspiring words and thank you for putting the re-activation of the T I C into its proper perspective. I think from the indication that we have, I think we have had a loud and clear yes for the T I C and I don't see any further need to discuss this one. But in terms of our democratic practises, if some people

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514 feel that they still want to say something we would be willing to allow them, but I would like to suggest Paul, would you like to uh do you feel that (incoherent)

Speaker from audience: - (Incoherent).....
.....

MR. SAMSON NDOU: - Mr. Chairman (incoherent) make it perfectly clear that a name means nothing. Our aims and objectives, our lives means everything. And I will therefore suggest that everybody stands. (Applause)

MR. CASSIM SALOOJEE: After..after Samson, I think the question of the T I C I say the rest is silence and that we go ahead and form the T I C ah (inaudible) re-activate the T I C. Ah right, now since lunch is not ready, ah I think instead of right we could save time, and we would go on with the discussion on the United Front. I ah I would first have to ask someone who was on the commission last night to come to address us on what has happened and to read out the declaration that has been formulated. Paul, would you come and thereafter we will throw it open to discussion.

542 PAUL DAVID: Ah Mr. Chairman and comrades, I think ah the introductory remarks were spelt out by THUMBA when he chaired that session of this conference. When he talked about how much off hard work this commission put late into last night and early this morning. Yes the uh commission ah had a long protracted discussion and many very interesting ideas ah came up. Ah the first aspect that came up was ah the discussion by enumerating the factors that ah militate in favour of the formation of a United Front. And he categorised three reasons for the formation of the United Front.

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559 Firstly this was a purely in response to uh ALLAN BOESAK'S call for a United Front against the Presidents Council's proposals. The second reason was that there was a need felt by the Natal Indian Congress and the, and the TASC for broad consultation with all groups, Indians, Coloured, Africans and the progressive Whites. And the reason reason for this was that the constitutional reforms that are being proposed right now are all encompassing and they effect all oppressed racial groups. The community councils for example for urbaan Africans are very much part of the whole process of this so called constitutional dispensation ah that Jerry spoke of. Not only at the commission but here ah in his address. We need to speak with one co-ordinated voice.

The third reason that was isolated, was that the Labour Party's decision to participate, that is, was projected as a Coloured Communities decision. And more importantly having saved the Presidents Council's proposals now this suggested that the Nationalist Party was very defensive about its proposals. But they have now been ah encouraged and will push through the necessary legislation early in the new session of Parliament. There is a need therefore to co-ordinate the entire body of opinion against the Presidents Council's proposals, proposals and to present them in a uniform way. So as to appear in reality opinion of the vast majority of South Africans. In other words what we are saying is, that the State to some extent has taken the initiative and it is now up to us uh to respond in such a way that we are seen to be taking the initiative from the State.

Now ah after much deliberation we are pleased to make the following recommendations
That the United Democratic Front be formed comprising organisations and/or individuals;
Secondly, that a steering committee comprising

TAPE 9
SIDE 2

613 representatives of the three regions namely ah Natal, Transvaal [and a Cape ah Orange Free Stated, uh, we haven't done enough work here, (Laughter) uh, be formed, with the following three functions. Sorry

Let's juts go over that again. That a steering committee comprising representatives of the three regions, Natal, Transvaal and the Cape be formed with the following functions:-

TAPE 9
SIDE 1
ENDS

(1) Immediately to co-ordinate opposition uhm, of the United Democratic Front to the Presidents Council's pro]posals and other reform proposals.

(2) Secondly the steering committee will have the function of structuring the Front, that is the United Democratic Front to streamlike it, to streamline it and give it its form.

(3) The third function we see the uh, steering committee having is to rally the support ah nationwide against the proposals. Now we also recommend that the first members of the steering committee be the folloing contact person for the areas : Jerry, Archie, Virgil ah they come from Natal. From the Cape the contact person for the time being will be Salim BADAT, Verbin PILLAY. Transvaal will uh give us their names and uh the students organisation will give us their names during the course of the conference and we can adopt that in the resolution. And the, the last point is that we suggest that the steering committee has the power to increase that representation. In other words the representation from Natal, Transvaal and the Cape and individuals, the Steering committee has the power to bring into that committee ah more members.

So if we can just go through those recommendations again :-
Firstly uh that a United Democratic Front be formed. comprising organisations or individuals. There must be some debate about whether we should confine ourselves to uh organisations solely or individuals solely

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26 or to both. Then a steering committee comprising these three regions with the functions to co-ordinate opposition of the United Democratic Front to the P.C. proposals, and other reform-proposals.

Secondly, the second function to streamline, uh to structure the Front and streamline it and secondly to rally support against the proposals. Then we suggest those names and we suggest that the steering committee has the power to add to its own numbers ah Ladies and gentlemen, the commission uh asked a couple of people last night to draw a declaration which encompasses the feelings of that commission and to an extent the discussions that took place at that commission. And we printed it in a document ah and we just called it Statement, if you'll just excuse me. Statement by the commission of the feasibility of a United Front against the Constitutional Reform Proposals. Now a preamble reads as follows:-

Where as democracy is the means by which the free will of the poeple is expressed in electing their chosen representatives to govern in the processes through which they rule and in the allocation of resources of the benefit of all the people. And whereas these truths are cherished by the whole of the civilized world and are goals for which women and men have given up their lives and are willing to die. And whereas the Constitutional Reform Proposals devised by the minority White Government for South Africa avoid recognition of these fundamental needs of democracy. In that there has been imposed without genuine consultation with and active participation by the people of this country, that they make race and ethnicity the only criteria for the right to take part in Government. They do not begin to redress the intrinsic economic and social inequalities which has been the deliberate result of centuries of White domination. They in fact perpetuate and consolidate economic

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51 and racial exploitation and entrench the apartheid State. And now, therefore we democrats assembled on this the 23rd day of January 1983 at the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg, South Africa, do hereby unanimously reject in their totality and without qualification the constitutional and reform proposals. Form ourselves into a United Democratic Front, in short the U D F, to oppose the implementation of this devious scheme disguised to divide the people. We declare that the broad principles on which this U D F is constituted are: a belief in the tenets democracy referred to in the preamble above. An unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non racial unitary state in South Africa undiluted by racial or ethnic considerations as formulated in the BANTUSTAN policy. An adherence to the need for unity and struggle through which all democrats, regardless of race, religion or colour shall take part together. A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with, and reflect accurately the demands of democratic people wherever they need be in progressive worker community and student organisations.

We further undertake to work according to the following guidelines :-

- (1) The mobilization of our people for the rejection of these constitutional reform proposals, should compliment and re-inforce the on going day to day struggle on basic issues which face workers, communities and students.
- (2) A firm acceptance of the existance of dangers at the local council level in the proposals which include the retention of the Group Areas act, maintenance of racially exclusive local areas, concentration of control in favour of the rich and the excessivation of poverty.
- (3) An acknowledgement of the threat to the attainment of decent living standards by the African majority by

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77 these proposals which would facilitate forced removals, aggravating impoverishment in the Bantustans and allow the continued escalation in rents, transport costs and food prices.

(4) A clear understanding of the utter failure of these proposals to address the problems of rising unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions and weakened collective bargaining powers.

(5) A clear appreciation of the inability of the reform proposals to restructure and redirect education in this country, to conform to the demands of democracy. In fact they maintain and consolidate racially separated and unequal education. And now therefore we pledge to fight together side by side against the Government's Constitutional and Reform Proposals. (Applause).

And the last recommendation that the commission makes, is that this declaration be accepted by everybody here today. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

92 MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- The .. there you have .. ah some idea what the commission has done since last night and this morning. Now uh it is you know, it is going to be a very significant decision that we are going to take. Now what I want to know from you is whether you would like to adjourn now and uh, we have lunch and come back you know, for the discussion or whether you would like to go on with the discussion. My impression is that the discussion, I, I would like to recommend that we brake up now so that we could, would there be a problem? Shall we you know brake up for lunch and we will reconvene ourselves here ah. Right, could ah could I just have you attention for one moment. Those who have not registered as delegates, would you please register. By registering you would be able to get your meal ticket. Those who have not registered make quite sure that you go and register. Thank you.

TAPE 9
SIDE 2
ENDS

L U N C H

TAPE 10
SIDE 1

(Testing of microphone and singing of unknown song)
Hallo, Hallo (several times)

023 CHAIRMAN: - (probably N.G. Patel): Right, Jerry here's the mike for you.

Professor JERRY COOVADIA: Right, I'll stand here, okay. Can you hear me now ? Right, we were clarifying the basis on which the United Front should be formed. We said that there's many delegates here from different organisations who do not have the mandate to join the United Front, on behalf of their organisations. So therefore the United Front cannot be formed necessarily by people who do not have a mandate. How do we resolve that issue ?

Well, the first thing to do is we can have a steering committee, so we should form here and what we should discuss, the formation of, is a steering committee of this democratic front, United Front. And in the first instance, the steering committee can be comprised of a few organisations which can commit their organisations to the U.F., that is for example the TASC, RMC, that's Release Mandela Committee and NIC. So they can commit their organisations because they are open political organisations. They can commit their organisations to the United Front, but because it is a United Front, it should also allow for representaiton on an individual basis. That's over here and that we can form straightaway if you agree and that is on an individual basis plus an organisational basis. We accept the argument that there are many people from community based organisations. There are a number of them from Natal who we know personally, who simply don't have that mandate and we don't think they sould in fact join. This is a serious step and one needs to go through the discussions with one's own constituencies before one actually can participate. So our first suggestion rally is that we form that steering committee and

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048 that it can later on be enlarged by people who will join that steering committee, but who will subscribe through the principles which had been laid down in that declaration. And then the functions of the steering committee will be to consult with people for those of you who are here from different parts of the country, will go back with that declaration and on the basis of that discussed with the people whom you represent. And it's possible that you will come back at some time in the future, not too far away and then you can join one on an organisation basis.

One can also, as Paul had indicated, immediately respond to the very reactionary development in the country which suggests the Coloured people and many others are falling for the proposals. So we need an immediate response and that is a need for a response emanating from here and this point and time. But later on once again, we can develop the base of our support. We can mobilise public opinion against the proposals both constitutional and reform and get a greater degree of participation throughout the country. I just wanted to make that point clear so that people are not (inaudible).

A what (somebody speaking to speaker) ja, so as Cas reminds me, the mandate in fact for the formation of that U.F. came from this meeting here of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC. So that const...that commission was really a commission which emanated from you as delegates from here. I thought, I just needed to clarify that point.

Right, are there any issues, further comments?

Right, come.

(Somebody from audience coming to the stage)

SPEAKER FROM AUDIENCE: Friends, I must clarify that the form and contents of my comments must not be misconstrued, but understood rather in the context of the formation of the United Front, and the unification

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073 of the oppressed peoples of this country. I would like at the outset comment the initiative taken here today towards the formation of the United Front. However, I would like to pose a few relevant questions.

How do you see the role of groups such as the B C orientated groups on the Alliance such as the United Front. Would you suggest that the attempt to form or foster such an alliance should be done through dialogue with these groups, because I think first and foremost where we must identify who the enemy is. We must identify what forces we are fighting against and I think that the reason for us standing here together and deciding on a United Front, is to get our people united and working together against an oppressive system. Also whilst I do understand the basic difference between Anti-SAIC and groups such as the B C orientated groups in so far as participation on the United Front is concerned, I would humbly like to suggest, I would like to humbly suggest that as a initiative is being taken by the United Front or by the Anti-SAIC group here. Invitations ought to be extended by the people involved in convening these meetings, of this meeting to such groups that maybe able to participate in, in, in fact a greater unity amongst our people.

I would I would also like to reiterate to the Alliance of the oppressed groups is a realistic buffer that has to be exploited to the fullest and no stone must be left unturned to foster such a United Alliance. And that once again, the initiative to invite Black Alliance groups be taken by the, by the conveners at this meeting.

Another question I'd like to raise is, is would members of the other Black groups be eligible to the executive of the Transvaal Indian, the Trans specifically the Transvaal Indian Council. Maybe this is out of context.

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100 Mr. Chairman, please allow me to also raise, the Transvaal Indian Congress. Mr. Chairman, with your permission I'd like to move that a provision be made to invite groups that have not been invited or are not represented here today, to serve on the steering committee of the United Alliance.

Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN: I am going to ask a member of the commission that sat last night to respond to this one. Paul, could I, Paul could I..Jerry! Paul!

PROFESSOR JERRY COOVADIA : Thank you. Anybody else would, from the commission, would like to ? There are about 60 of us, so all of them are entitled to reply. In reply to the previous speaker ah, the basis of the formation of this alliance is that ah, it's a wish of the people who are gathered over here and they elected a commission and the commission has drawn up a declaration. Now, if that declaration is passed, if that declaration is passed and anyone who adheres to the principles of that declaration, is welcome to join. But that as we see it, is a trend or a necessity of the future.

What we need to do now is to respond to a crisis. We identify a crisis at this point in time. We identify a crisis in terms of the need for a response so that we take the emphasis away from people who are projecting participation in favour of people who are rejecting the fraudulent proposals. So we think we need to come out with that now.

Now, if that document is accepted, the document that PAul read out, then anyone over age here can align himself with that document, is welcome to join. Which will mean that it is in the first instance restricted to people who had been invited to this meeting and they had been invited by the TASC. And therefore they had been invited on the basis that they are recognised by TASC for certain

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122 adherence to similar principles or certain basis of a common working relationship or whatever. So, there's a need to first of all, say that we agree to the principles of that document and then from ourselves into an organisation.

Now what's going to happen about organisations who are not invited to this meeting here, of course this is going to be a front and if it's going to be a front which is the United Front, on the issue of the constitutional proposals, then we must try and get an alliance of people who will also fight against those proposals. But, that is something we'll have to work out together from the people who decide over here. And I certainly can't decide for the organisations which are present in Natal and the Cape town representatives can't tell me what organisation would like to join from Cape Town. And the Transvaal people can't similarly tell me what organisations might want to join from the Transvaal. But during our process after we have formed ourselves here as a steering committee, during that process of mobilisation, we'll name the organisations, all sorts of organisations, church organisations, other political groupings, homelands for example, don't know? - they might come to us and say, look we want to join you but that shouldn't (inaudible) us now. We should form it now. When that occasions arises, we must only speak to them from strength. That after we have mobilised our own support. Once we mobilise our own support, we've got our United grouping arising from the people with common purpose here. Then they must consult with our compatriots in the other parts of that United Front. For example, if X approaches us in Natal and wants to join, then we give him that document and say would..ah..you think you could see yourself clear? Do you see yourself, your way clear to subscribing to this? And he says

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156 "yes" and we'd like to work together and be part of the executive of the United Front, then we say you are..ah..welcome to the members of the United Front in the Transvaal and in the Cape and we need to consult with them. And the basis of that concentration which is going to be a small arduous and difficult process. We'll have to come to a much more broader alliance. But my argument is that we shouldn't and last night we were quite clear that we shouldn't let our determination to form that organisation now which is a, which is an imperative, for of the moment we should not allow us ah allow those arguments to deflect ah the formation of the organisation now. There's lots of problems in those sorts of associations and I can pin-point any number of organisations which might want to join and som people might raise objections to one other people might raise objections to the other. We have to resolve them in the organic process of development. That was the feeling of the commission. Will someone else in the commission would like to speak, they are welcome to do so.

MR. C. SALOOJEE : Any other person form the from the commission who wishes to say something ? If not, are there any other comments ?

(Somebody from audience coming to the stage)

Speaker from audience : Mr. Chairman, I think the question that the last speaker, that ah Jerry responded to, was what would be the attitude of the United Front with regards to working with the B.C. Now, the B.C. and Congress, I do have, ah they may fight towards a common struggle, but there's a very, there's a difference in their ideology. But in so far as the United Front is concerned the United Front is formed purely for the rejection of the constitutional proposals. And I for, almost certain certain in my mind that the B.C. does not support the constitutional

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184 proposals. So therefore the B.C. should have no difficulty in working with the United Front. I hope that answers your question. (Inaudible)

MR C SALOOJEE:- The last speaker reading during session, is not a member of the commission. Right, ah before we go on with the discussion I just go, ah we've got a message here which I think I should read out at this point. We we have a message of support from the Secretary General of the Centre against Apartheid in the United Nations. He says ah the message reads:- "Attention Anti SAIC Conference. Follows statement issued by His Excellency ALHAJI YUSSUFF MAAITAME SULE of Nigeria, Chairman of special Committee against Apartheid on 17 January stop. My attention has been drawn to the propaganda of of the racist regime of South Africa that with so called plans with racist regime of South Africa that with so called constitutional reforms have received support in Indian and Coloured communities in South Africa stop. These friends are welcomed by some friends of apartheid as steps in the right direction Further as a special committee has pointed it out depends on the apartheid regime, after set up sub-ordinate and segregated Parliaments for the Indian and Coloured minorities in order to entrench White domination stop. The African majority is not only excluded from these reforms in inverted commas but the regime is trying to exclude it from citizenship through its diabolic policies BANTUSTANS stop. It hopes to divide the oppressed people and to see world, world public opinion through so called reforms while proceeding its criminal policies of apartheid stop. They are they are not a move away from racial discrimination but manoeuvres which must be denounced by the International community stop.. Any support to these manoeuvres is a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, the special

216 committee notes its satisfaction that all the genuine leaders of the oppressed people of South Africa have totally rejected the proposed constitutional plans, the so called National Peoples Party in the South African Indian Council which is reported to us supported them, is rejected by the Indian communities stop. Over 90 percent of the Indian people have boycotted the elections to the Councils. Further I regret that the Labour Party, or organisation of colonial people has decided to co-operate with the regime in its plan to stop, this party .. this party had the claim support in the ColouredCommunity by promising to oppose and paralyse apartheid institutions stop. Its leaders have however been enticed by the racist regime and they were no doubt repudiated by the Coloured community which has stongly resisted apartheid in close co-operation with the African and Indian people". E.S. REDDY; Assistant Secretary-General : Centre against Apartheid" (Applause from audience)

This friends, is a indication that the decisions that we are taking are historic and it is, .. ah .. this what we are planning and with what we are proposing to do has come under the attention and the focus of the International community. And that is why we say that the decisions that we are taking here are mo, momentus and is historic. We will now continue with the discussion on the United Front. Are there any further comment? If not, then at this stage we would like to get a clear indication on whether this conference gives a mandate for the formation of that Steering Committee. And that Steering Committee would be entrusted with the task of finally establishing the National Democratic Front. Do we have the consent of this conference that such United United Democratic Front, U D F not the U D I (laughter). Do we have the consent of the conference to establshih the Steering Committee?

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251 (Ja, from audience) If you are in favour, would you please stand. (Applause) Thank you. That is a loud voice in favour of the unity of our peoples. Then, the next step that we have to take is to suggest the names of persons who would form the Steering Committee. Paul, would you like to read the names of the persons whom the Steering Committee would like to suggest as people who could play a valuable role in triggering off this Front.

MR PAUL DAVID:- Thank you, Cas. We suggest the following names from the Transvaal: ISMAIL MOHAMED, RASHID SALOOJEE, SAMSON NDOU, ISMAIL CACHALIA and ISMAIL MOMONIAT. From Natal: JERRY COOVADIA, ARCHIE GUMEDE and VIRGIL BONHOMME. And the contact persons from the Cape, SALIEM BADAT and VERBIN PILLAY. Are those names acceptable to you as persons who would constitute the Steering Committee? All in favour. (Ja, from audience)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Right then we .. we'd also like to have a clear indication of your support for the declaration. The declaration was read earlier. Would you like us to read it again? (Yes! from audience) Could we have the declaration please?. (Alright, the declaration: whereas democracy is the means by which the free will of the people is expressed in electing the chosen representatives to govern, to govern in the process through which they rule and in the allocation of resources for the benefit of all the people. And whereas these truths are cherished by the whole of the civilized world and are born through which women and men have given up their lives and are willing to die. And whereas the constitutional reform proposals devised by the minority White Government of South Africa avoid recognition of these fundamental needs of democracy. In that, they have been imposed without genuine consultation with and active participation by the people of this

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239 country. They make race and ethnicity the only criteria for the right to take part in Government. They do not begin to redress the intrinsic economic and social inequalities which have been the deliberate result of centuries of white demination. They in fact perpetuate and consolidate economic and racialist exploitation and entrench the apartheid state. And now therefore we democrats assembled on this 23 day of January 1983 at the Selborn Hall in Johannesburg, South Africa, do hereby unanimously reject in their totality and without qualification the constiution and reform proposals. Form ourselves into a United Democratic Front to oppose the implementation of this devious scheme disguised to divide the people. We declare that the broad principles on which this U.D.F. is constituted, are: A belief in the tenets of democracy referred to in at the pre-amble; An unshakeable conviction in the creation of a non-racial unitry state in South Africa undiluted by racial ethnic considerations as formulated in the BANTUSTANS policy. An adherence to the need for unity in struggles through which all democrats, regardless of race, raligion or colour shall take part together. A recognition of the necessity to work in consultation with and reflect accurately the demands of democratic people wherever they may be in progressive worker, community and student organisations. We further undertake to work according to the following guidelines : The mobilisation of our people for the rejection of this constitution..constitutional reform proposals, should compliment and re-inforce the ongoing day to day struggles on basic issues which face workdgers, communities and students. A firm acceptance of the existance of dangers at the local level in the proposals which entails the retention of the group areas atc maintainances maintainance of racial exclusive local areas, concertration of control in ^{FAVOUR OF} ~~FAVOUR~~ the rich and excessavation of poverty

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322 and acknowledgement of the threat to the attainment of decent living standards by the African majority by these proposals which would facilitate forced removals, aggravating in , you know impoverishment in the Bantustans. And you , allow continued escalating in rents, transport costs and food prices. A clear understanding of the utter failure of these proposals to address the problems of rising unemployment, low wages, poor working conditions and weakened collective bargaining powers. A true appreciation of the inability of the reform proposals to restructure and redirect education in this country to conform to the demands of democracy. In fact, they maintain and consolidate racially separated and unequal education. And now therefore we pledge to fight together side by side against the Government's constitutional reform proposals. That is the declaration.

Those of us who are in favour of this declaration, please I would ask you once again to stand up.
(Applause)

342 CHANTER : - Amandla !

AUDIENCE: - Awethu !

CHANTER : - Mayibuye !

AUDIENCE: - I'afrika !

Cassim ! Divided and not disguised.

CASSIM: - Devise

SPEAKER:- Designed to divide and not disguised.

CASSIM: Right, okay

MR. CASSIM SALOOJEE: Right ah then that closes ah.. that closes the discussion on the United Front.

CHANTER : Mayibuye !

AUDIENCE: I'afrika !

CASSIM SALOOJEE: Sorry, you want to say something ?

Speaker from audience ' (incoherent)... all Government and organisations (incoherent)

CASSIM SALOOJEE: No, the Charter is not mentioned

362 at all.

Speaker from audience : (Incoherent)

CASSIM SALOOJEE :- So what you suggesting that eh,

Speaker from audience : (Incoherent) (Applause)

(inbetween talking), just give us a little bit of explanation.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER: Chaps, in the last row are complaining.

Ah, thank you. I just in respond to that remark by the speaker. Few people who read the declaration said that we should have included a clause showing my affiliation to the Freedom Charter, at least the demands contained in the Charter. And the large body of opinion iw well said that if we included direct reference to the Freedom Charter, it might tend to exclude certain people, certain groups of people. So what we did was as best as possible. We tried to summarise the demands of the Charter without saying so in so many words, but they are in fact the demands of the Charter. But if you look at it very carefully there is very little difference between those demands and demands of the Charter. (Applause)

C. SALOOJEE Thank you. We would now go on to the item on the agenda .. ah.. resolutions. If there are any resolutions, would you please bring that forward. You have a resolution ? (Somebody from audience coming to the stage.) Are you saluting the resolution (incoherent) ?

Speaker from audience; Thank you Mr. Chairman, Ladies and gentlemen, eh I shall throughout...throughout deliberations and discussions since yesterday. I think there's a point that's been missed which I think is highly inter-related with the, with our rejection of the P.C. proposals. And that is..ah..that KOORNHOF Bills which directly affect the African community of this country or brother which will subsequently affect the African community of this country. There are three bills as proposed by Dr. KOORNHOF. The first one

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is the Orderly Movement and settlement of Black persons. And there's another which is to do with Municipal Councils and things, promising them more powers in the local Governments. And there's another which deals with registration as Black persons and things of that nature. ah, the one I would like to make more emphasis, to make more emphasis on this, ah orderly movement and settlement of African People's bill it affects us directly. Then it fully appreciate fully appreciates the efforts that's been made to bring all the different racial groups into adopting the resolutions and the liveratio which has been going on since yesterday. Eh, I wish though I align fully align myself with those resolutions, but I also wish to show, how these bills well if they become Acts (incoherent) being done (incoherent). How they will effect he African community in particular. Ah, nevwr mind they've not been included in these cencessions, the Government concessions as propagated by the P.C. proposals. But I only sense a danger that eh, the Black community as such will be sure that they are also ostracised, the Homeland policy has been applied and it is (incoherent) but the Government feels strongly both internally and externally. But the majority, but hte, I mean the numbers as projected by the African community. For that reason they felt the peace, I mean the pinch of eh, using this strategy of the Homeland or Bantustans system, does not work properly. So they said they've got to introduce these bills to further restrict the political and social asperations of the African peoples of this country. And in doing, they are dividing them ever further.

Fourthly, eh the aim of the .. ah .. is to restrict the Blacks to Homelands regardless whether one is born there or not. Ah resulting in social, economic and political disadvantages. The social aspect of it is ah ah it brake, it ^{BREAKS}~~brakes~~ into

451 the family structure of the African person. In that..ah..the person any Black person may not work in, may we say a Black person is classified either a rural Black or an Urban Black. Resulting in that a rural Black has no chances if there are any, they are very mean that whoever works in ah the cities in urban places. Ah, if you get permission for doing that you get your ah, accomodation which is authorised by, ah whoever. And that accomodation you know of as hostels, which are unnatural and highly appalling sort of, I mean which are sometimes, which are very, very unnatural sort of kind of living places. And this is formulised this way, The union if ever they have given them the concessions to come and work in town. It means the African union will be determined to re-build it in the rural areas there. (Incoherent) this is the union and the family mainly once, twice every month, which is highly unnatural of course and this breaks down the morals of the Black people. Resulting in the ah high rate of, ah illegitimate children and eh, things of that nature which go hand in hand in that kind of set up as formulated by the Government.

So, so they are dividing the Black people and making the urban Blacks look down upon the rural Blacks. And so, after all we in the right position we can get jobs here in town, in Jo'burg, Durban, all over. Why should we worry about those other people who don't get jobs. So they're just trying to make us forget the other people living with us. They just trying to make us forget that they themselves, the people who ah live in rural areas are Africans themselves. And ah, eh, economically it creates a situation of permanent dependence on the Whites.

So regarding them as masters or semi-Gods which has, have supernatural powers, so social Black people

489 to permanent (incoherent) and submission and submissiveness. Ah if in the political sense it becomes the Black people of ever chasing what democracy is. In them it is because of Black Africans realise their self determination in their Homelands which from plus minus 13% of the whole country. And I would appeal to the house in the conjenction with the resolution that have been takent that ah total boycott of all the municipal elections to be held later this year be called and further I suggest that a call be made for a national day of prayer. ah The aim of it is to raise the outcry and obhorence decision taken by the Labour Party to join forces with the (incoherent), political awakeness and also as a proper, they should apply both national and international ^{ATTENTION} ~~as chosen~~ to these hypocracies. Thank you ladies and gentlemen. (Applause)

509 MR. CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Thank you. We support what has been said by the last speaker whole heartedly and we will summarise what has been said, and release a statement of support in terms of what has been said through the Press.

We would now go on to the other resolutions that we have here. The first one there is a motion on the Labour Party and the SAIC. The motion reads :-

"This congress nothing that the Government is attempting to gain allies from amongst the so called Coloureds and Indian people for its new constitutional dispensation, that the Labour Party has already sold out by deciding to participate in this scheme. That the SAIC has no mandate to make any decisions on the political future of the Indian community and believing

1. That no constitutional dispensation or schemes will be acceptalbe to us unless it flows from a national convention representatives of all the people of South Africa;

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2. And that the pre-conditions for a successful holding of such a convention are the release of all political prisoners, the return of all exiles and banished, the unbanning of all persons and organisations and the repeal of all unjust laws.

Therefore resolves to condemn the Labour Party's unpopular decision to accept the P.C. proposals and we call upon the Labour party to reverse its decisions to work with the forces of tyranny. If it wants to rejoin the ranks of democratic opposition against the P.C. proposals and we likewise warn the SAIC not to participate in this constitutional arrangement against the wishes of the broad masses of our people." That is the first resolution.

543 So all, you, those in favour, would you indicate by raising your hands. Ah right any against? This resolution is un-animously carried.

(Applause)

Then we have a Resolution which has been proposed by the Actonville Residents Action Committee. And also rejection by this congress of the P.C. proposals and also unequivocally reject participation at local affairs level because :-

1. The management committees are institutions created by the Government to sow division amongs the people.
2. They are toothless and dummy institutions created by the racist apartheid regime and not by the people.
3. Neither historically nor presently have they shown to have the interest and welfare of the people at heart.

We ARAC therefore reaffirm our commitment to build and strengthen our peoples organisations at the grassroots level and working together with all other progressive organisations in the creation of a truly non-racial democratic South Africa. The

569 executive committee Actoville rates, rates action
Committee. (APPLAUSE)

All those in favour of the resolution? Looks like
its again carried unanimously Ah..any person apposed
to it ? The resolution is unanimously accepted.

Then there is a resolution by the Transvaal Anti SAIC
Commettee. Motion on cultural and sports isolation
of South Africa. This congress ^{NOTHING} ~~nothing~~ that the
total isolation of South African sporting and cultural
field promotes the struggle for freedom. That the
South African Government and its racist allies are
ever persistent in the attempts to undermine the efforts
of freedom loving sportsman by organising sell out tours
and squandering millions of rands on throught the toil
of the oppressed and ^{EXPLOITED} ~~(incoherent)~~ masses. Strongly
condemn :

1. The racist who organise these tours; and
2. The mercenary sports persons in particular the
West Indies presently touring South Africa who show
selfish disregard for the concerns of our people.

We hereby call on all democratic and freedom loving
people to voice their disgust and to boycott
thses tours.

Right, all those in favour of this resolution ?
Those against ? This resolution is also unanimously
carried. (Applause)

The other (1) that we have is this congress ^{NOTHING} ~~nothing~~
that the Government has transfered certain powers
in relation to Indian education and is (considering the
transfer of power in relation to welfare to the SAIC.
(2) That the SAIC is unrepresentative and has been
rejected by the overwhelming majority of our people
concern. This manoeuvre by the Government as an attempt
to entrench the position of this fraudulent body in
the Indian community. We hereby

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side 2

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613 call upon the freedom loving South Africans into a rejection of this situation and to strongly protest against it.

All those in favour ? Surely, we don't want the SAIC to have any kind of control over these matters. May I have a clear indication of all those who are in favour of this resolution. Right, those against ? Non against ?

So these resolutions are all unanimously accepted.

Then all that that is left for me to do now is that, to call upon) do, do we have enough ? Sorry (incoherent) Ah. there is a resolution. The proposer is Mr. BASHIR LORGAT, reads :

END OF
TAPE 10
SIDE 1

015 "That the steering committee would make concerted efforts to invite and secure the co-operation of all, of all other groups that support the aims and objects of the UDF. Do all accept that ? Right, it is in the declaration and you can't...ah...can't see anybody having any discomfort with that one, but we'll put it to the meeting. All those in favour ? Right, anybody against ? Accepted ?

There's another resolution. The proposer is Mohamed BHAMJEE, - resolves that this meeting will work actively to isolate and exclude all collaborators from holding office in cultural, religious, sporting and all other organisations.

Did you hear ? Right, let me read it again.

"Resolves that this meeting will work actively to isolate and exclude all collaborators from holding office in cultural, religious, sporting and all other organisations (incoherent). Mohamed would you like to clarify this one or sort of formulate it a little more clearly ? Come to the mike.

MOHAMED BHAMJEE: Sorry, you know over years, we over the years have tolerated all these participation and these Government institutions you know to serve on various organisations, you know. And the idea

036 of the whole thing is that you might find some of our people on the Anti- SAIC and on the Indian Congress serving jointly with these collaborators on religious, welfare and sporting organisations. What we should now do, is resolve that we would actively participate in ostricising and excluding all these participants. You know, from these organisations, because somehow they've been given credibility because of the participation in these other organisations. So the resolution is really to exclude them and actively work towards their excluzion, (Applause) (Inaudible) from serving on these organisations. (Inaudible) but we as members of these organisations would do everything to exclude them, you know.

MR. CASSIM SALOOJEE: Allright okay all those in favour.. would you like to..Zac to speak to this one ?

Somebody from audience: (Probably Zac Yacoob) : I just want to motivate against that resolution. See at the moment there are various cultural, sporting bodies and so on, and son on. And I don't know whether we'd actually reached the stage where we can actually exclude all of them from the various cultural and sporting bodies that are there. Democratic forces are actually quite thin at the moment and excluding these people from these bodies would mean that for these bodies to be kept going in the first place, - assuming that we succeed in excluding them, for these bodies to kept going. Our thin democratic forces will have to participate in these bodies at the very fundamental day to day level of keeping things going. I think that we have a lot more important work to do in that connection. So in, as regard. I think that if if these things are to be kept going obviously we must have our presences in these organisations. We must have our influences in these organisations and through our influences and through our presence and through our contribution

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061 ensure that our position gain credibility rather than the position of other people within it. (incoherent) that we have reached the stage where we can actually take such resolution and carry it out. And if we can't effectively carry it out, we should rather not take it. The misery implication of it would be that if we participate in taking everyone else out, someone will have to do the work for these things who actually can't perform that kind of work at this point in time. As a better alternative might well be to work with those people in these organisations. Democratic people giving certain kinds of inputs which will help the organisations themselves to develop in a particular direction. I would suggest there, I now humbly request that the proposer of this resolution actually takes it back at this stage. It is not strictly necessary now, it may give rise to some difficulties.

(Applause)

(Unknown speaker from audience suggests an alternative resolution.) (Incoherent) Applause

Chairman...ah...Bashir, would you be happy with that one? Sorry Mohamed would you go along with that, that we recommend to all these sporting, cultural, other community organisations to exclude persons who are collaborating Government institutions from membership of those bodies. Right, do we accept that? Right all those who are in favour of the way it's just been said. Those against. That resolution is carried. That brings, ja ah Ismail would you just write it down, please? That this that this congress recommends to all sporting, cultural, religious and other community organisations to exclude persons who collaborate with Government created institutions.

Right, okay, so that brings us, do I have another resolution here? Right, this, this is a resolution which has been proposed by the Natal

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095 Indian Congress. This congress nothing the support by the USA and its Western lackeys of the minority Government in South Africa, as evidence not as evidenced more particularly in its recent support for the Labour Party's decision to participate in the proposed new constitution, condemns this collaboration with the racist regime and serves notice on the USA and all other collaborationist imperialist powers, that this trachery can serve only to obstruct the struggle ^{FOR} ~~of~~ democracy in South Africa, but will not deter us from our goal.

Those in favour of this resolution ? Those against? Unopposed carried due unanimously.
(Applause)

Ah, we there's only one more item that's vote of thanks. But before we go on to the vote of thanks, last year there was this very important conference at the South in Natal and from where they, they came out with the Natal Declaration. And we felt with the kind of gathering that we have here, you know, it may be an opportuae moment to read out the declaration. Could I ask Paul to read the declaration ?

PAUL DAVID: - Ah, no, hold on and ah right Mr. Chariman, yes we're not going to just read out the declaration. We'd try our best to make is a relevant as possible to this conference. So what we proposed, that a few minor alterations, particulary in the pre-ambule and we would like this to be a contribution of all those forces taht come together at that historic conference at the height of the Anti-SAIC campaign in this country, in Durban. And this is what we proposed :

"We South African democrats having unanimously adopted a declaration rejecting Government created institutions at Durban on the 10th and the 11th of October 1981 and recognising that the South African Government has had the temerity and insensitivity to

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127 introduce new constitutional schemes completely and consistence with the demands contained in that declaration. We hereby declare for all South African and the world to know that the struggles of the past twenty seven years have convinced us taht the only viable alternative to the present exploitative and repressive system is one based on the principles of the Freedom Charter. (Applause)

CHARTER: - Mayibuye !

AUDIENCE - I'Afrika.

Accordingly this national conference firmly believes that:

1. The people shall govern. True democracy must be based on the will of all the people of South Africans shall participate in the political process and institutions at every level of Government. The present Government, Bantustans, Presidents Councils, South African Indian Council and local advisory bodies re-inforced domination and exploitation by a minority and exclude the possibility of setablishing a people's democracy. The people shall govern. (Applause)

Number 2. The land shall be shared among those who work it. The land belongs to all the people whereas at present it's owned by a minority. The creation and consolidation of Bantustans and the implimentation of the Group Areas Act and similar legislation, continues to uproot and dispossess settled communities.

Number 3. The doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all. Separate education specifically used by the State to prepetuate apartheid. Protest in schools and universities in these past few years has demonstrated quite clearly that this education has failed to satisfy the needs of the majority of South Africans who demand a system whose objectives are consistent with the achievements of the free

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equal just and democratic society. Racist society distorts and destroys the culture of the people. The free expression of cultural values under the development of authentic national culture can only occur in a free and democratic society.

Number 4. There shall be houses, security and comfort. Decent housing at rents and prices people can afford. Comfort and security are accessible to the minority, are inaccessible to the majority of South Africans. The actions of these necessities inter-alia has resulted in the destruction of family life. Democratic control by the people will guarantee the provision of these essentials and eliminate mass removals of settled communities. The disabilities that our people suffer in health and welfare are directly due and exasperated (?) by the poverty, imposed on our people. These problems of the people can only be eliminated by a new social order which guarantees optimum health and welfare.

Number 5. All shall be equal before the law. The law as it exists is repressive, discriminatory and designed to entrench apartheid. The law must not only be just. This is only possible if it is based on the will of the people and accords with the, the people's concept of justice.

6. There shall be work and security. The majority of workers are still denied the right to free association and control over their own affairs, continuing and ever increasing worker action reveals national discontent of working people who will settle for nothing less than full participation in free and democratic Trade Unions.

7. The work shall be shared amongst all the people. The natural and human resources of this country are being exploited in the interest of privileged minority. Control of South African resources by the people will ensure its utilisation

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184 towards the benefit of the people as a whole.

If we believe in these demands, then can we all rise and hold our hands proudly in the air and listen to this. Can we all rise ? (Audience rises) In believing so we declare that in the absence of the democratic freedom outlined herein, no constitutional schemes or dispensations are acceptable to us and that we will not participate in any constitutional arrangement that does not so form a national convention representative of all the peoples of South Africa and that the pre-conditions for a successful holding of such conventions are the release of all political prisoners, the return of all exiles and bannished, the unbanning of all peoples and organisations and repeal...and the repeal of all unjust laws. And then you can prepeat after me.

PAUL DAVID: In the intervening period.

AUDIENCE: In the intervening period.

PAUL DAVID We hereby rededicate ourselves.

AUDIENCE: We hereby rededicate ourselves.

PAUL DAVID: To fight side by side.

AUDIENCE: To fight side by side.

PAUL DAVID: For these freedoms

AUDIENCE: For these freedoms

PAUL DAVID: Through genuine peoples organisations

AUDIENCE: Through genuine peoples organisations

PAUL DAVID: And we pledge

AUDIENCE: And we pledge

PAUL DAVID: That we will not rest.

AUDIENCE: That we will not rest.

PAUL DAVID: Until we have established

AUDIENCE: Until we have established

PAUL DAVID: A democratic South Africa

AUDIENCE: A democratic South Africa

PAUL DAVID: Based on the Freedom Charter

AUDIENCE: Based on the Freedom Charter

PAUL DAVID: Amandla !

AUDIENCE: Awethu !

PAUL DAVID : I'Afrika !

AUDIENCE : Mayibuye !

PAUL DAVID: Mayibuye !

AUDIENCE : I'Afrika !

PAUL DAVID : Thank you very much.

210 CHAIRMAN: Thank you Paul. (Audience singing unknown song. Words incoherent)

Unknown Chanter: Amandla !

AUDIENCE Awethu !

Unknown Chanter Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu !

Unknown Chanter: Mayibuye !

AUDIENCE : I'Afrika

Unknown Chanter: Mayibuye !

AUDIENCE : I'Afrika !

Somebody from audience : Long live the Freedom Charter !

CASSIM SALOOJEE : At his point I will hand over the Chairship of the meeting to the Chairman of the Anti-SAIC Committee, Dr. JASSAT. (Applause)

DR. JASSAT : Thank you, Cassim. I will now call upon Mr. Dawood who is a member of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee to pass a vote of thanks to all of you good people who have gathered here for the past two days. Mr. DAWOOD. (Applause)

233 MR. DAWOOD Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, just some short ten minutes ago our secretary, Ismail MOMONIAT, asked me to pass the vote of thanks. With his overload of work and all his colleagues involved in the organisation of this congress, I can understand such short short notice, but what I can't understand is how always the most incapable people are asked to portray the most difficult task. (laughter from audience) You know when I was asked to pass the vote of thanks, I tried to think and to me it appears, you know over the last two days we have some we had some of the greatest of Indians in our community coming forward and

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articulating our aspirations, explaining our response to this scheme or the P.C. proposals as they are called. And it has all been flowing so smoothly, so adequately it was done. And here I come and I've been asked, to me it's like you know, taking a tube of toothpaste or Colgate and pushing it all out and after having done it all so smoothly asking them to put it back in, in the very same manner. So please do not see me in the background of what you've seen over the last two days.

However, coming back to my task, the mere presence of so many people, so many democrats, committed individuals, organisations, coming out to be counted, to stand up and be counted for their democratic rights, for their commitments to social justice and freedom in this country. Isn't it a great source of inspiration to all of us? Today all South Africans face very complex and great problems. It's not only apartheid that is a crisis, but the apartheid institutions have sort of involved everybody or are at least trying to involve everybody in this crisis. This fact is even being conceded very openly and freely by some of the officials who are now going around selling this P.C. scheme to the various communities all over the country. And those of us who are not coming together to respond to this reform or to the proposals, face a great challenge. The deliberations and the decisions we make have far reaching consequences. Not only in our separate little communities as the Government sees us, but in fact throughout the country and wider consequences. Today I see millions of people are watching and awaiting the significant decision of this congress. The outcome, the final resolution of this congress and the decisions that have been taken here. We can all be proud of the generations to come, can look back and indeed be proud of, not only

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our own off-springs, but indeed of the people of this country can be proud of the decisions taken here, of the decisions taken here. Destiny somehow had placed a great responsibility on the shoulders of those of you that are present here over the last two days and you have carried out that responsibility. You have faced the challenge with indeed great courage, - You can really be proud of. And I have no doubt that the decisions taken were indeed the continuation of the historical stand of our people, our fore-fathers. We have been called upon time and time again to collaborate with the evils of the apartheid system and from the beginning, together with all the other democrats in South Africa, Indians have always stood out head and shoulder in their stand against oppression and injustice from the time of the great leader MAHATMA GHANDI, coming through to the late NANA SITA, the late MOLVI CACHALIA, and very, very many of our past great leaders. If we look back, this is indeed the continuation of that same struggle and our stand has been time and time again the same.

We reject collaboration with injustice. Coming to the conference and deliberations and the very significance papers delivered. If you had to look at the speakers, very many of us had seen the so called leaders appearing so often on our television sets, in the media, giving given significance or prominence out of total proportion to what they really are, and if you take the people who are now going around and selling these proposals, justifying their acceptance of these proposals and compare them with what you have seen with your own eyes and what you heard with your own ears over the last two days here. I don't think anyone of us has any doubt as to who the true leaders of our people are. The speakers over the few, last two days having been left an invaluable impact on our minds and if there were many doubts. they

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333 have left no doubts with us as to what is right and what is wrong. The other significant aspect of the speakers and the paper presented, was that they were not only done so ably but they are done without emotion. So objectively, so rationally and so intelligently. This is quite often so absent amongst the people who try and sell the product and I see, from experience, because I have seen many people trying to convince members of our community and motivate the acceptance of these proposals. We have had the unfortunate death of MOLVI SALOOJEE and CACHALIA during our congress.

AUDIENCE: Molvi Saloojee .

MR. DAWOOD: I'm sorry, Molvi Saloojee. I'm sorry gentlemen, there are so many doctors and we are so many Saloojee's here, I sometimes feel surrounded, totally surrounded by the SALOOJEE'S. (Laughter from audience) So, I tend to confuse.

The gallant soldier in the struggle has been taken away from us. Indeed a true leader of our people. I had the privilege of talking to him just a week ago, when he was invited to open this conference. And the manner in which he accepted the invitation and appreciated the gesture as if he was talking from a generation gone by. And so this was indeed a honour, but not only to himself but very many other people of his generation who had served the community and stood for social justice in this country, over the years. However, his ideals will live with us and the fact that his congress has decided to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress of which doctors and Molvi Saloojee was the last President. It self is the greatest indication that the ideals and the noble principle through which our forefathers and all democrats stood in this country, will be continued in the years to come. And it is our commitment, our tangible commitment over the weekend to their

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375 ideals by our decision to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress.

The other thing was, is our stand, I would comit you to stand the declaration of the October Conference held in Durban, which has been repeated before you just now and already been accepted.

Before I conclude, I wish to on behalf of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, thank the various speakers, the various organisations and individuals who contributed towards the success of this congress. Particularly the people who have travelled from far and wide at personal sacrifice to be present here and to make their contribution and to be counted amongst us. Your sacrifice is indeed a great contribution. Your very presence here is in fact, from so far away is a source of inspiration to all of us from this part of our country.

The various speakers, the chairpersons, if I may just briefly name HELEN JOSEPH, DR. ALLAN BOESAK, DR. COOVADIA, THOZAMILE GQWETA, CQWETA of course our local DR. JASSAT, DR. SALLOJEE, CASSIM SALOOJEE, DR. CACHALIA, SAMSON NDOU, THUMBA PILLAY, N.G. PATEL and all the other principals, participants, speakers, chair persons, your contribution has been outstanding. The total manner in which you presented an analysed and objective way in which you look at the proposals and the responce. Your presence here indeed was a great contribution to the decision of this Congress.

Gentlemen, last but not least, indeed the one greatest single factor that has contributed to the success of our congress here, is the presence of you all. Your commitment your courageous stand, your honest and firm participation and in the manner in which this congress was conducted was of course the presence of you all here, was the greatest contribution to the success of this congress.

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421 By your presence here, you have demonstrated that you are prepared to stand for your rights and be counted. You had expressed your total commitments, commitment to democracy and freedom in this country to see that there's social justice for all the people of this country. This commitment and this action in your presence here makes you really stand out amongst millions. You are special breed of people who we are all proud of, because it takes courage to stand up for your rights. And by your presence, all you have said is, and all you have decided is that our human dignity is not negotiable under these bogus schemes. This is indeed also in the true tradition of your fore-fathers and all great South Africans who have time and time again stood for their rights.

In conclusion I once again thank all these speakers. Those that have a great sacrifice and of time in effort to prepare their talks, splendend talks and papers representing them in such a able manner and their constructive contribution. All the other participants. I must pass a special vote of thanks to our young people who have worked selflessly, a great sacrifice in all the volunteers, young men and women who have spent time and energy in doing all the background works in preparing and making this congress a success it is.

In conclusion, we must not forget the caterers who gave ust two very delicious meals. With those few words I thank you one and all. Thank you.

(Applause)

DR. JASSAT: Thank you, Mr. Dawood. Now I come to the toughest part of the two day conference, and that is the attempt to close this conference. You know when we started off the conference, one can be neutral. You don't know whether its going to be a good conference or a bad conference. So

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468 you adopt a neutral stance, but now at the end of the conference, I'm in a schizophrenic position now. Schizophrenic, because I'm happy that the conference has gone on so well far beyond our expectations. So sad because we have to take part separate from those with whom we have been eating, sleeping, laughing and discussing for the past two days. Though this conference was called by the Transvaal Anti SAIC Committee, looking around we see that even in the conference we rejected racialism. We rejected admisity because this is not a fonference for the Indian people, it is a confernece of the people of South Africa.
(Applause)

Those other point we rejected was that of Provincialism. Though it is called by us in the Transvaal, we're happy and delighted that the delegates came from all over in the Transvaal, but more important they came from Natal and Cape. We are very happy to have you here with us for the past two days.

Finally I would like to thank personally my colleaguse from the Transvaal Anti SAIC Committee, who have spent many days and many sleepless nights trying to prepare this conference. Please forgive us for the little faults that you might have noticed, our handling of the Press, the food was a bit late, plus the eating was not so soft, the tables are a bit dented. Please forgive us for that. But of course you have to take into account that eh we are a very new organisation. We only came into existance in June '31 and that ah as far as political organisations is going in the Transvaal. You know, there was a vacuum for 20 odd years and eh to try and you know a heal of the year to passed was a bit difficult. But for the success, the very success of this conference. You must thank the activists in our youth group. These are the young men (applause) These are the Young men and women, the boys

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516 and girls who you do not see on this stage. They spent hours printing the posters, preparing the food, they are the ones in the kitchen and outside this hall who gave us the food who prepared the brochures and to them a special word of thank you.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not thank the one person who has been the pinnacle of this organisation around you which the whole conference involved. And that is our secretary. MR. ISMAIL MOMONIAT (Applause) Unfortunately when the history of the organisations is written, they have mentioned the Presidents and the Vice Presidents, often the Treasurers and the Secretaries do not get very much mentioned. And I would like to say a special word of thank you to Ismail. If this conference were a flop, he would take all the blame.

(Laughter from audience) Friends, we mentioned that if you have registered, we would post you all the papers in the coming weeks, if there's a bit of a delay, please bear with us.

Now on behalf of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, I wish to thank all the delegates who have come from all parts of the Transvaal. Thank you for having been present here. Thank you friends from the Cape and Natal for having travelled all this way to what we thought would be a very small conference. We wish you all a safe trip home. And now, we would like to end by singing the national anthem which appears on the back of the brochure. The singing will be led by Sipiwe. Come up here, please.

564 SIPHIWE: Can we all raise up our hands ?

SINGING OF NKOSI SIKELELE I'AFRIKA

552	CHANTER MAYIBUYE	AUDIENCE	I'AFRIKA
	CHANTER MAYIBUYE	AUDIENCE	I'AFRIKA
	CHANTER AMANDLA	AUDIENCE	AWETHU
	CHANTER AMANDLA	AUDIENCE	AWETHU