

BEW.

V4 PAR.33

INAUGURATION OF ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS ALEXANDRA - 1983-~~10-29~~

- 9 - 25

REMARKS:

1. THE SOUND AND VISUAL QUALITY IS POOR AND ONLY THE SPEECH OF **FRANK CHIKANE** COULD BE TRANSCRIBED CORRECTLY.
2. DESPITE THE QUALITY IT WAS ATTEMPTED TO TRANSCRIBE THE WHOLE RECORDING BECAUSE THE WORDS OF SONGS AND SPEECHES COULD BE HEARD OCCASIONALLY.

SPEAKERS

1. UNKNOWN (NGOYE YOUTH MOVEMENT)
2. CHAIRMAN - UNKNOWN
3. DAN MONTSITSI
4. FRANK CHIKANE
5. MZWAKHE ISRAEL MBULI (SOYCO)
6. UNKNOWN (COSAS)
7. UNKNOWN (AZASO)
8. UNKNOWN (GAWU)
9. ANDREW MOGOTSI @ JINGLES
10. FEMALE TINA (PHONETIC)

IMPORTANT EVENTS, PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED

1. MANDELA
2. OLIVER TAMBO
3. YUSUF DADOO
4. MSIZI DUBE
5. MOSES KOTANE
6. UDF
7. ANC
8. ANC YOUTH LEAGUE
9. SISULU
10. STEVE BANTU BIKO
11. HECTOR (PETERSEN)
12. SOLOMON MAHLANGU

ASSESSOR

C O R R E C T I O N S

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

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

I did this to the best of my ability and consequently additions are now being made of the following pages :-

After page 8, pages 8(a) - 8(14).


A.A. MAHLANGU

O P M E R K I N G S

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

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

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

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

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INAUGURATION OF ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS

1.

Youths/adults can be seen entering the hall carrying a banner "SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS

FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME".

They sing as they enter. Wording of song distorted. It sounds as if they are singing about soldiers.

Song No 1

Singamasosha ka-Mandela Sosha Sosha

Singamasosha Ka-Mandela Sosha Sosha (X 2)

Lapho Lapho Lapho Siya khona

Thine silindela ukufa kwethu (X 2)

Translation:

We are Mandela's Soldiers.

Wherever we go we are waiting for our death.

} (20)
1/10/87

One of them can be seen carrying a placard of DR YUSUF DADOO. The delegates attire, consists of:

- (1) FREE MANDELA 'T' shirts
- (2) AZASO 'T' shirts (Black, green and yellow)
- (3) UDF 'T' shirts.

Although the wording/songs throughout the duration of this meeting is distorted one can still comprehend certain words and songs.

2.

The slogan OLIVER and the reply by the audience TAMBO can be heard.

} 20
1/10

3.

A - Siphwe THUSI (SOYCO - ~~JABAVU BRANCH~~)
(Wears a Khaki-Green uniform and dark glasses)

- B - Audience
 C - Person on stage in front of microphone.

4.

A placard of YUSUF DADOO can also be seen on a wall in the hall.

5.

- A - Amandla
 B - Awethu (X 2)
- A - Mayibuye
 B - I'Afrika (X 2)
- A - Oliver
 B - Tambo (X 15)
- A - Amandla
 B - Awethu (X 2)
- A - Mayibuye
 B - I'Afrika (X 2)
- A - Injury to one
 B - Injury to all (X 3)



6.

Some of the audience can also be seen wearing ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS 'T' shirts.

7.

Audience can be heard singing about a Bazooka.



Song No 2

Pshesheya komfula SoBabamba
 Nezingane ZaBo SoBaBamba (X 2)

O Ihtshe Lika-Tambo

Lingonqothiwe Lovulwa Ngubani
 Lingonqothiwe (X 2)

Translation:

We'll catch them across the River with their children
Tambo's Rock is strong
Who will open it.

Some members of the audience can be seen saluting. A ^{PERSON} delegate can also be seen wearing a black, green and yellow scarf. Some members of the audience can also be seen marching in a circle while singing. The exact words of the song cannot be heard and it has not been transcribed. It is about TAMBO being in the bush and training ~~terrorists~~ soldiers.

8.

A - Amandla
 B - Awethu (X 2)

A - Power
 B - Is ours.

9.

A delegate can also be seen wearing a MZIZI DUBE 'T' shirt.

Brian,
 UNKNOWN BLACK MALE ADDRESSES AUDIENCE:

"On behalf of the NGOYE YOUTH MOVEMENT, ^{and} the dedicated young organisers of the youth ^{Student committee} (inaudible). I wish to greet you all, saluting all the leaders of the movement ^{unite} (inaudible) and all the people giving their lives to the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

Although we have nothing that we have prepared to give or to enter this gathering (inaudible) the NGOYE ^{youth} MOVEMENT has asked me to deliver a short message to all who are gathered here.

The first message I will first refer or repeat the words which we were given by our uncle MOSES KOTANE when he was addressing the youth and I want each and everyone of us present in this house to listen carefully to those words, take them into his head and implement them in practice.

MOSES KOTANE has said to the youth: 'In this hour of destiny, your country and your people need you. South Africa is yours and it will what you make it to be'.

Repeats above in Zulu.

C - Amandla (Raises right clenched fist)

B - Awethu

(inaudible)

Which in practice mean that each and everyone here, each and everyone of us, the youth, have got to go out and organise his friends, relatives, his school mates, eh playmates into a viable organisation (indistinct) (distorted) we do not organise around our areas. There are many issues which confront the people in our communities and it is us the young people who have to show ^{the world community} (inaudible). These are the issues and here are the solutions and you should be practical in solving those solutions which must be done - - - the struggle (inaudible) Chant slogans (inaudible) we are saying but we don't see.

You not just ^{sing} see revolution, the people in Vietnam never sang revolution, the people in Nicaragua never sang revolution and the people in Cuba never just sang revolution, they entered first the revolution. (Inaudible) go out and organise all those who are around us, our friends, our school mates, our brothers, our sisters".

C - Amandla

B - Awethu.

APP Chairman: Thank you.

Audience sings in Zulu (distorted) (Song) (~~Repetition of the previous song~~). *new song sung for first time "Yimbi Landawo" (This Ance is Baw).*

SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS banner visible (crossed assegais - colours black, green and yellow). While the singing occurs someone can be heard shouting "BAZOOKA" repeatedly.

A - Amandla

B - Awethu.

BLACK MALE ADDRESSES AUDIENCE (POSSIBLY CHAIRMAN): *MC*

"Is in our hands, unity is our weapon, we are going to achieve what we want with unity, through unity. The exploitation suppression and oppression is going to be removed because of the united force and many forces in South Africa. All those are going to be removed.

Comrades, what we are going to have (inaudible) eh poetry from Comrade TINA" (phonetical)

BLACK WOMAN (TINA) ADDRESSES AUDIENCE:

Address in the form of a cabaret. Audience is emotional in participation.

Speech distorted - sounds like a poem.

(Applause)

Audience sings SIYAYA in Zulu

Song No 4

Nansi ... ivuthumLilo Siyaya

ABafane Bayishayizolo

Oyaya

Siyaya Siyaya (X 6)

Translation:

Here is on fire

The Boys hit it yesterday

We are going.

(Video interruption)

DAN MONTSITSI ADDRESSES DELEGATES.

(Speech distorted and partly transcribed)

(Inaudible) you friends here. Our friends, our neighbours, colleagues, comrades, Islamic people, (inaudible) progressives and democrats.

AMANDLA (Gives clenched fist salute with right hand).

Audience: AWETHU

DAN MONTSITSI:

(Distorted and spoken in Sotho). (Not transcribed).

(In English the following):

Please just bear with me. Now even, the whole thing has been explained you see. I just ^{going to try and} (inaudible) talk on the mobilisation and consolidation of youth. So that now eh, I believe that they also go into other areas, but now the problem is I may not be able in fact to reach, ^{ah} to to, to, to ^{I mean to} talk that loud (inaudible) some of the people behind there. There are seats here, I think some of those (inaudible) can come up here. Please comrades, please man those who are behind there I think they can come here. No problem, No problem (sounds of moving) (inaudible) Comrades, as I have said, here we are simply having a (inaudible) paper on the mobilisation and consolidation of youth. That is now in South Africa, because definitely we are (inaudible) in the South African But now each (inaudible) we are actually going to (inaudible).

I can say now the presence of so many youths actually shows and at the same time signifies that the youth now throughout the Country, throughout South Africa is very much prepared to stand up and fight, what it means is that, the youth is not the only sector that is prepared to fight. Presently, we know that we have different sectors in our Community in our Society that is also prepared to fight, but now the most important thing is, what we have actually come to perceive is that the valiance of the Youth Organisations not only in Johannesburg, but in Durban, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg and many other places - So that now, this actually shows how the youth at this particular stage and time in South Africa is also prepared to do something concerning the objective conditions which exist. So that now what it means is that the people have reached a breaking point irrespective of the fact that people are organised, what it means eh is that now the youth is actually saying we have had enough, be "Utlwile Joale". Now what we are going to do is, we are going to organise ourselves, what we are going to do is form our own structures. So now, the presence of each and every youth at this Hall actually means a lot to our Liberation Struggle (Raise fist and say "Amandla'

Now what we are going to do here, is briefly
As I have mentioned already on the Mobilisation and Consolidation of the youth, now what we have here is that, eh the very repressive conditions which actually gave rise to the emergence of the movements in the whole of South Africa. What it means is, eh there are reasons why we actually eh, have the youth Organisations emerging, they do not just emerge you know from the air, the whole thing is not being initiated by a holy spirit somewhere in heaven you know. Neither is it initiated here, you know by eh you know abstract concepts or things, neither is it
..... that is not beliefs, there are pressing conditions at this period which actually makes the youth come together

8(1)/ which

I can say now the presence of so many youths actually shows and at the same time signifies that the youth now throughout the Country, the youth throughout South Africa is very much prepared to stand up and fight, what it means is that, is that now the youth is not the only sector which is prepared to fight. Presently, we know that now we have also different sectors in our Community in our Society that is also prepared to fight, but now the most important thing is, what we have actually come to perceive is that the valiance of the youth Organisations not only in Johannesburg, but in Durban, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg and many other places - So that now, this actually shows that now the youth at this particular stage and time in South Africa is also prepared to do something concerning the objective conditions which exist. So that now what it means , what it means is that the what it means people have actually reached a breaking point irrespective of the fact that people are organised, what it means is that now the youth is actually saying we have had enough, be "Utlwile Joale". Now what we are going to do is, we are going to organise ourselves, what we are going to do is form our own structures. So that now, the presence of each and every youth at this Hall actually means a lot to our Liberation Struggle (Raise fist and say "Amandla"

Now what we are going to do here, is just to look briefly
 As I have mentioned already on the Mobilisation and Consolidation of the youth, now what we have here is that, eh the very repressive conditions which actually gave rise to the emergence of the *broad youth* movements in the whole of South Africa. What it means, eh there are reasons why we actually eh, have the youth Organisations emerging, they do not just emerge you know from the air, the whole thing is not being initiated by the holy spirit somewhere in heaven you know. Neither is it initiated here, you know by eh you know abstract concepts or things, neither is it a move of political structures to entilectulise that is not the case, there are actually pressing conditions at this period which actually makes the youth to come together which actually makes the youth to organise unite, mobilise and congregate themselves, now let us look briefly at these reasons which actually makes the youth to come together and unite.

which actually makes the youth to organise and congregate themselves, now let us look briefly at these reasons which actually makes the youth come together and unite.

Now we have here amongst them the unemployment rate. Now unemployment is a concrete thing, it is practical, it is something that affects each and everyone of us, what happens when you drop out of school. The next thing is you will try to go and look for work, and unfortunately you won't be able to find work, simply because some of the very jobs, I mean some of the very laws which in the Country have been made specifically to give the Blacks So what we find are Job Reservation Acts, Acts that should make actually sure now that the Whites are solely going to have the monopoly of the Industries, the factories, the mines and whatever. So what we get is we are going to find a lot of youths which are going to run amuck in the streets. The only thing that they could get under those conditions is to get into the Shebeens, to get into disco's and so on. So that now what we are trying to do here, is actually to say to that youth in the streets, walking with his hands in his pockets, what we are saying, is you must come and be with us. This is where we think the future will be. That is now what we think in fact we can create, a home which we can be able in fact use in order to create a future for you.

Now another of these reasons which gave emergence of this Youth Organisation is the expulsion in Technical Colleges, Universities and State Schools of students. Now what you shall observe is the very administration which is prevalent in our own schools, you find that this authorities, what they do is to expel a lot of students. We have a recent case where students all were expelled and the students did something about that, and we have another of eight students who were expelled at the Mabopane Technicon and the students' aid, something concerning that. There is a number of expulsions that takes place in this Country in these Colleges, so what it means in essence is that the youth or these students who have been expelled from school, who can no longer be accommodated anywhere, they actually

8(2)/ have

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So what we find are Job Reservation Acts, Acts that should make actually sure now that the Whites are solely going to have the monopoly of the Industries, the factories, the mines and whatever. So what we get is we are going to find a lots of youths which are going to run amuck in the streets.

The only thing that the youth could get under those conditions is simply to get into the Shebeens, to get into disco's you know. So that now what we are trying to do here, is actually to say to that youth on the streets, (a pokotetsi a sa tsebe hore o a kae) walking with his hands in his pockets, translation, what we are saying, is you must come and be with us, this is your home. This is where we think the future will be. That is now this is what we think in fact ah we can create, a home which we can be able in fact use in order to create a future for you.

Now another of these reasons which gave the emergence of this Youth Organisation is now the expulsion in Technical Colleges, Universities and State Schools of students. Now what you shall observe is the very administration which is prevalent in our own schools, so you find that now this authorities, what they do is to expel a lot of students. We have a Duduza case where students all were expelled and the students did something about that, and we have another case of eight students who were expelled at the Mabopane Technicon and the students' aid, something concerning that. And we also have a number of expulsions that takes place through out this country in these Colleges, so what it means in essence is that now this youth or these students who have been expelled from school, who can no longer be accommodated anywhere, they actually have to be accommodated in these organisations.

3/.....

have to be accommodated in these organisations. This is one of the essential reasons, which also gave rise you know to the Grassroots Base Organisation. So what we are saying here is even that youth that you were not able in fact to for, or you were able to restore back to the Technical College or university or whatever the case may be, they also have a home here - This is the Youth Organisation.

Now let us look at other reasons in fact which strengthen the case for the emergence of the Youth Organisation. The irrelevant Educational System which does not promote you know, concern itself with the talents and skills of the student, now it also help this Educational System. I will not go into details concerning that, because we know the long history of our people who have been protesting since the Act..... in 1953. People started coming up say protests, staging demonstrations against Bantu Education simply because of what Verwoerd had in fact in his mind, where in we devised this system of Bantu Education, it was quite clear to play any role whatsoever. Simply also because of the syllabus which they are also going to try and many other reasons and therefore does not mean under this present educational system So what we know is fair enough. Our Comrades in COSAS and AZASO are presently working on the Education Tact, now let us

We shall actually embrace all the youth in South Africa, but now we know that presently the Educational System, that is the training and what do they call it Department of Training and Education, but here is a case in the very same thing. So that very same educational system is also to blame for the very high rate of dropouts. Now granted that now to another reason ... now political, social and economic conditions in the Country are affecting the youth as well as the parents, politically not audible That club will cater for the youth, and

8(3)/

This is one of the essential reasons, which also gave rise you know to the Grassroots Base Youth Organisation. So what we are saying here is that now even that youth which you were not able in fact to fight for for, but you were able to restore back to the Technical College or university or whatever the case may be, they also have a home here - This is the Youth Organisation.

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We shall actually embrace all the youth in South Africa, but now we know presently the Educational System, that is the training and what do they call it Department of Education and Training, but here is a case in the very same thing. So that very same educational system is also to blame for the very high rate of dropouts. Now granted that now to another reason the political, social and economic conditions in the Country are affecting the youth as well as the parents, politically definately, we are definately, now we can play unless he he joins ah our enemy, our police who then try, you now, to open a certain new club, they say now, that new club is going to try to cater for the youth and it is also going to try to eh I mean a lot of clubs in which the youth are going to be involved you know.

it is also going to try to eh I mean a lot of clubs in which the youth are going to be involved you know. Then they also having some games and so on, but now unfortunately in a paper this article actually appear whereby one parent was questioning the validity of some of these organisations which were opened you know by mysterious people. So that now when we discovered, was that now, this youth clubs now, will actually take most of the youth to some of the camps, and in those camps they were actually visited by some members of the Defence Force. Now those members of the Defence Force actually taught them you know, that is now trying to get among the youth at that stage, that spirit of belonging to South Africa, and that spirit of trying to defend South Africa. So that now what we realise is those youth clubs were actually meant to be a recruiting centre for the South African Defence Force. So they were actually exposed for the intentions they had. Now we are able presently to come up with a relevant youth organisation. I am not going to say anybody must not join those youth clubs which are actually suppose to defend South Africa, or get those youth clubs which are actually trying to make the youth appreciate the value of apartheid, you know, and at the same time get ready to defend one's Country, you know, if anybody feels he can join that kind of a club he is at liberty to do so, but what we are having now is this type of youth clubs, that we are talking about at present. Now another reason we have in fact is the age limit. Because of the age limit we have a lot of dropouts, so this is another which makes us to be able in fact to say to those youth who are walking on the streets that they also want you. This is your home, come together with us, then we can build a future.

Now another reason is if mentioning reasons, all those out of employment and so forth. We feel now that the conditions are actually ripe for the emergence of this youth organisations, because when we have this youth

8(4)/ organisations.....

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I am not going to say that here anybody must not join those youth clubs which are actually suppose to ah defend South Africa, or get those youth clubs which are actually trying to make the youth to appreciate the value of apartheid, you know, and at the same time get ready to defend one's Country, you know, if anybody feels in fact that now he can join that type of a club he is at liberty to do so, but what we are having now is this type of youth clubs, that we are talking about at present. Now another reason that we have in fact is the age limit, in our own schools. Because of the age limit we have a lot of dropouts, so this is another which makes us to be able in fact to say to those youth who are walking on the streets that they also want you. This is your home, come together with us, then we shall build a future.

Now another ----- reason is if you will be interesting about mentioning ah reasons, all those out of employment and so forth. We feel that now the conditions inside the country then are actually ripe for the emergence of this youth organisations, because when we have this youth organisations, we actually feel that now we shall be able to channel the youth under a correct perspective.

organisations, we actually feel that now we shall be able to channel the youth under the correct perspective. We shall be able in fact to educate the youth on the importance of understanding the Country, that he stays the country in which he lives in. So that now the importance of youth organisations should not be seen in terms of narrow approaches only in terms of playing football only in terms of getting ourselves interested you know in things like those, but there are also basic. Those are the things that we have to play when we want the youth to be together with us. So as to make them understand what we are going to thrive and do is to make sure that we are going to engage the youth in those activities which are of interest to them. So by that way, it means we shall be able to be with the youth. It does not mean that we have to adopt certain attitudes, and at the same time it does not mean we have to, you know to have sectarian tendencies where when we are exposed to adult years you know among our own groups as a youth. There you get into obstacles not audible or even of the individual within their own organisations. So what we are going to do is to try and be as tolerant and be as patient as we can, because we that in fact that even ourselves we actually had to start at rock bottom and ascend the ladder in order to reach the stage of understanding.

That is why we have to be patient with some of us who are starting now to ascent the ladder. Now another point is this. The COSAS Report on their Congress in Cape Town organisational work is constantly hindered as experienced. People are frequently detained forced to leave the Country or disappear as was the case with Port Elizabeth COSAS leader Sphiwe Mthimkhulu. Short periods of detention and harassment are often used against the rank and file members to be intimidated. This only shows the extent to which the security will clamp down or in fact the machinery of the State will clamp down when we try and

8(5)/ organise

We shall be able in fact to educate the youth on the importance in fact of understanding the Country, that he stays the country in which he lives in. So that now the importance of youth organisations must not only be seen in terms of you know narrow approaches only in terms of playing football only in terms of ah getting ourselves interested you know in a ~~innocent~~ ^{Tennis} things like those, but there are also basic. Those are some of the things which we have got to play because when we want the youth to be together with us. So as to make them understand what we are going to thrive and do is to make sure that now we are going to engage the youth in those activities which are of interest to them. So by that way, it means we shall be able to be with the youth. It does not mean that we have got to adopt certain attitudes, and at the same time it does not mean we have to you know to have sectarian tendencies where when we are exposed to ~~adult~~ ^{OTHER} ~~years~~ ^{IDEAS} you know among our own groups as a youth. There were can get hostiles to other groups that will not deter the result of the banning of all the youth movements you know or even of the individual within their own organisations. So what we are going to do is to try and be as tolerant you know and be as patient as we can, because we know that even in ourselves we actually had to start from rock bottom and ascend the ladder in order to reach the stage of understanding.

That is why we have got to be patient, some of us who are starting now to ascent the ladder. Now anotherpoint is this. The COSAS Report on their Congress in Cape Town COSAS organisational work is constantly hindered as wide spread / People are frequently detained forced to leave the Country or disappear as was the case with Port Elizabeth COSAS leader Sphiwe Mthimkhulu. Short periods of detention and harassment are often used against the rank and file members to be intimidated them now. This only shows the extent to which the security will clamp down or in fact the machinery of the State will clamp down when we try and organise ourselves as oppressed and exploited people. So in essence I am trying just to show you an example of Siphwe Mthimkhulu you know, because what we know is people who really die in detention, but what has happened presently you know is that a very young person you know a student, a youth has actually dis-appeared.

organise ourselves as oppressed and exploited people. In essence I am trying to show you an example of Siphwe Mthimkulu you know, when people just die in detention you know, but what has happened presently is that a very young person you know a student, a youth has actually disappeared. I wonder if there is anyone of us who in fact does now know of this COSAS President you know there at the Cape, but what happened is that he went to the Hospital and later he walked out with a friend, you know as they put it, and later he disappeared. So that now what they is the repressive machinery of the State is actually going to be exercised whenever striking. So that now even ourselves, what we have to do in fact is to try and continue despite the setbacks which we are going to face. Now here we also have SAAWU was been banned, well apparently by the Ciskeiens, and at the same time we have the Mandela Campaigns which are actually being banned. We are also having the Dadoo Rally, the Memorial Service which has been banned. We are also having you know the Pass Campaign and the Defiance Campaign, what we had during that time was a situation whereby our people felt that now, they had to organise themselves, they had to against the Pass Laws. That was a stage in fact where they felt they can no longer accept the Pass Laws. Now what they did was to organise campaigns against the Pass Laws, but we know definitely what actually happened. What actually transpired, because what the State does is always brutal force. Any State which is not in the interest and aspirations of the people will always maintain itself in power by using brutal force. So now even this present Government which is here is not in fact representing anyone of us here. Neither are we to have our rights you know in this same type of a government that is existing. So that now when we are saying to this Government is, we are saying away with you. We do not recognise you, and there are the people who say they want the Charter. So that most of the people have been chanting, Charter, Charter, Charter.

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I wonder if there is anyone of us who in fact does now know of this COSAS President you know there at the Cape, but what happened was that he went to the Hospital and later he walked out with a friend, as they put it you know and later he disappeared. So that now what it means is the repressive machinery of the State is actually going to be exercised whenever you go striking. So that now even ourselves, what we have to do in fact is to try to continue despite the setbacks which we are going to face.

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What actually transpired, because what the State does is always use brutal force. Any State which is not in the interest and aspirations of the people will always maintain itself in power by actually using brutal force. So that now even this present Government which is seated here is not in fact representing anyone of us here. Neither are we allowed ^{live} in fact to have our rights you know in this very same type of a government which is existing. So that now when we are saying to this Government is, we are saying away with you. We do not recognise you, and that then the people say they want the Charter. So that now most of the people have been chanting, Charter, Charter, Charter.

When we are talking of the Charter, we are talking of a document which actually emanated from the, you know, it isn't actually a document that came out of abstract conditions, but even up to the present moment, up to the present stage which is still relevant, simply because of what is actually expressed, what is actually embodied in the Charter itself.

So that now we are not saying in fact if you do not understand the Charter you should not be part of the Alexandra Youth Congress. We are not saying that now if you do not accept the Charter for instance you mustn't be part of the Alexandra Youth Congress. We

When we are talking of the Charter, we are talking of a document which actually emanated from the, you know, it isn't actually a document that came out of abstract conditions, but up to the present moment, up to the present stage which is relevant, simply because of what is actually expressed, what is actually embodied in the Charter itself. So that now we are not saying in fact if you do not understand the Charter you should not be part of the Alexandra Youth Congress. We are not saying that if you do not accept the Charter for instance you mustn't be part of the Alexandra Youth Congress. We do not expect you to know about the Charter simply because of the literature in our Country. We have the type of literature will need the type of literature which will be different for the rest of their lives. Some of us have actually died actually without knowing that there was a name called the "Freedom Charter". So that now the present stage, the present circumstances in our Country is symbolic of the Movement. The defiance that exist within the whole spectrum of our society. So we have different groups emerging in fact, Student Organisations, Workers' Organisations, Youth Organisations, Church Organisations and so on. All of them are actually spearheading their way because of the application of that force. So that now we must not misconstrue in fact the precondition for being in the Alexandra Youth Congress is the adoption of the Freedom Charter. We do not expect you to know that much at the same time. What happens also Comrades is this, organise and mobilise the students and youth and at the same time, eh. We have seen the Afrikaner, eh you know trying to organise and mobilise in the English Univesity Campuses, now let us just look briefly at what is happening here.

I want to here and now express a very strong warning to all right wing and conservative White student organisations. They are playing a supportive role in the entrenchment of Apartheid in this Country. For instance the two organisa=

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do not expect you to know about the Charter simply because
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We know that they have -..... literature which they got
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in the Alexandra Youth Congress is the adoption of the Freedom
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Now what happens also Comrades is this, when you are trying to or-
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I want here now to express a very strong warning to all white
right wing and conservative White youth and student organisations.
They are playing a supportive role to the entrenchment of Apartheid
in this Country. For instance the two organisations Students
Moderate Alliance, that is the SMA and the Afrikaanse Studente Bond
the ASB, have expressed the wish to forge closer links within the
Afrikaans and English Campuses. The Chairmen of these two organi-
sation, André Bartlett, André Bartlett and Russel Crystle, say in
their joint statement an alliance between the two organisations
would find a common aim, would find common aims, and with the
awareness that we face a common threat in the form of anti-South
African attitudes. In a motion tabled before the State President
on Conference in Pretoria, the 250 delegates voted unanimously,
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tions the Students Moderate Alliance, that is the SMA and the Afrikaanse Studente Bond, the ASB, have expressed the wish to forge closer links within the Afrikaans and English Campuses. The Chairmen of these two organisation, André Bartlett and Russel , say in their joint statement an alliance between the two organisations would find a common aim, would find common aims, and with the awareness that we face a common threat in the form of anti-South Africa attitudes. In a motion tabled before the State President on Conference in Pretoria, the 250 delegates voted unani- mously, that is the Afrikaanse Studente Bond Conference, I mean Congress.

Now these are some of the resolutions they passed. They passed a resolution on the continuation of the ASB as a cultural body not a political body, to project an united front and strive towards Afrikaner unity. Now we can see how narrow it is to steer clear of Party Politics. Now it means they say we are students and we are not going to involve ourselves in Politics. Now Comrades, I think you are quite aware that as the youth in South Africa much as we embrace non-racial outlook you know, much as we are open, much as we do not recognise the question of colour we orga- nise. That fact that eh a person actually has to be seen in terms of being White or Black, what we regarded ourselves simply as South Africans, but now we've reached a situation where we actually find another type of youth trying to organise within the Campuses, and trying to organise in terms of race.---That is actually what they are promoting. What they are actually trying to entrench is the very apart- heid machinery, so that now, when we study the very history of the Afrikaner themselves, we are able to se how they have been trying to indoctrinate us. They are still very much strong in the Afrikaner Sector. So that now what they are doing presently is that the ASB is actually trying to recruit in the English speaking Campuses, that is the English Universities. So they are trying to form structures

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Now these are some of the resolutions which they passed. They passed a resolution on the continuation of the ASB as a cultural body not a political body, and to project an united front and strive towards Afrikaner unity. Now we can see how narrow it is to steer clear of Party Politics. Now it means the say we are students and we are not going to involve ourselves with Politics. Now Comrades, I think you are quite aware that as the youth in South Africa ^C much as we embrace non-racial outlook you know, much as we are open, to you know much as we do not recognise the questin of colour, we not recognise. The fact that now eh a person actually has to be seen in terms of being White or Black, what we actually regarded ourselves to be are simply as South Africans, bur now we've reached a situation where we actually find another type of youth trying to organise you know within the Campuses, and trying to organise in terms of race. That is what they actually promoting. What actually trying to entrench is the very apartheid machinery, so that now, when we study the very history of the Afrikaner themselves, we are able to see how the calvinistic - doctrine are still very much strong within the very you know Afrikaner Sector. So that now what they are doing presently is that the ASB is actually trying to recruit even into the English speaking Campuses, that is the English Universities. So they are trying to form structures which they can be able to use in order to try to get rid of NUSAS in the Campuses. So this is not the period in fact where by you can be having problems like the Right Wing and the Conservatives trying to organise against the progressives. This is not the stage in die Liberation Struggle that we are ASB having presently where we can actually tolerate some of the youth actually moving outrightly in order to entrench, you know these racial outlooks. So that now what we are saying to them is, they may beware, then npw there can be a stage where by the ^{colour} you know (not audible) sweeping the whole Country. So that type of youth, which is still having those mentalities of ~~Getala~~ you know, entrenched in his mind, he may not succeed.

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What we are trying to build is a non-racial and democratic future. If we are still going to have that type of youth who will actually be entrenched you know, with his dirty ideas you know, with this (inaudible) outlook you know, what it means is we shall also be swept from the face of the earth together with those ideas that we embrace. It is not that we are now saying simply because of the way we look at things that they are also going to entertain. What we understand is that now presently it may have some racial connotations, not because we have decided so, but what we are saying, we are actually going to extend our hand, you know, to all sectors within the progressive White and we are also going to work hand in glove with them. But if they are still going to have problems like the right wing, actually trying to entrench apartheid, and actually trying to express those kind of ideas, that means we are actually going to have no room for them whatsoever and neither are we going to tolerate them to stand in our liberation struggle. So what other factor we should be acquainted with presently is that now that the 'ULTRAS' campus has actually been ousted, that is now the NUSAS membership at Rhodes University has actually been ousted. What it means is that this very (not audible) organisation.

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What we are trying to build is a non-racial and democratic future. So if we are still going to have that type of youth who will actually be entrenched you know, with his dirty ideas you know, with this calvinistic outlook you know, what it means is we shall also be swept from the face of the earth together with those ideas that we embrace. It is not that we are now saying simply because of the way we look at things that they are also going to entertain. What we understand in fact is that our struggle presently it may have some racial connotations not because of our own choosing, not because we have decided so, but now what we are saying is, we are actually going to extend our hand, you know, to all sectors within the progressive Whites and we are also going to work hand in glove with them. But if they are still going to have problems like the right wing, actually trying to entrench apartheid, and actually trying to express those kind of ideas, that it means we are not actually going to have any room for them whatsoever and neither are we going to tolerate them to stand in our liberation struggle. So what other factor we should be acquainted with presently is that now that the 'ULTRAS' campus has actually been ousted, you know that is now the NUSAS membership in Rhodes University has actually been ousted. So what it means is this very government regime, this very mobilisation (not audible) and consolidation of this Afrikaner Verkrampste and Belofte Boere is actually doing some work in some of these Campuses. So what we have got to try to do is to make sure that now (even) our Comrades who are in the NUSAS Campuses actually do a lot of spade work.

Now Comrades, in this I think I have to deal briefly with another point, because what we have agreed to do or what we have actually set ourselves here for is the formation of a Youth Organisation. A formation of a youth group, but now the most important thing is, it is very easy to form a youth organisation. You can get a lot of youth from outside. One to some of the problems we have mentioned, we can push them into the Hall here and then we can talk for the whole day and expect them to listen to you, but now the most important thing is this. Much as we have formed a youth organisation the most important aspect is involving the very youth that you have recruited. Getting them practically involved in the building up

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of the existing and other youth organisations. So it is only if the youth themselves are actually made you know, to feel they are actually part and parcel of that Youth Organisation, by giving them tasks.

It is not necessary for the Executive to go running around and sleeping at night at 2 o'clock and when you meet them in the street they say, come hey man, I have been working throughout, I'm so tired. There are lots of people who can be taken in you know and also be engaged in other activities, it is not necessary for the Executive, in fact to take the rest of the work and do it themselves. We actually have young and you know aspiring youth who actually are prepared to learn, who are actually prepared to work. So that now those we must actually try and bring closer to ourselves and make them actually express themselves you know. They must feel that now they actually belong to the organisation, they must not feel that now the organisation is something al^oof from them or that the Executive is not in fact even part and parcel of them. So that is now what we are trying to encourage. Here is a situation whereby where the youth we can be able to attract, we can be able to keep by initiating different projects, because the point of projects is also going to be a problem, but so long as we can be able to organise ourselves and so long as we shall be able to have committees that shall do their task honestly, then it means we shall be having a lot of these organisations throughout the Republic. We shall be prosperous, but as long as you are not going to adhere to those tactics, then it means we don't know what organisation is.

Now comrades ah the only other thing which I can say is just to give a very brief account you know of what the youth did in the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Now this is very interesting because what the Germans did was to actually to ah destroy a lot of the towns you know. They took one ah town after the other you know, advancing into what is being generally called Russia, but is the Soviet Union. So they got a lot of these provinces in their control and they also got a lot of towns in their control. Now in some of these town in some of these towns which were controlled, what we realise was the youth leaders in the Soviet Union organised itself.

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Now let us look at what those free youths actually did in order to try to fight for liberation of some of the provinces and towns which have been taken over by the Germans. Now what they did was to organise themselves and they started printing pamphlets you know, distributing those pamphlets house to house. Some of those messages printed on the pamphlets were to the effect that now the spirit of the Soviet people still lives, we are still here. So what they were trying to do was you know, was to encourage those people, that they should not lose any moral. They actually encouraged them, you know that is now they shouldn't feel now because part of their Country has been taken over,

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We must remember that the only difference between ourselves and the youth in the Soviet Union, was that the youth there was free and we presently are not free.

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Now this is another significant ah contribution of the youth, which we are presently still recognising(inaudible) now our choice here ... (noise in recording- speaker - inaudible). The youth there, in the Soviet Union were using their own contribution -..... (not audible) what is rightfully ours.

Now lastly, er comrades eh I will just deal briefly with the eh present crisis you know in our schools, because now what has happened we are having boycotts and protests in our school - Must never be regarded as an end in themselves. We can outline briefly the condition as follows : Since the State introduced a large number of white conservative and ^opressive Principals in our schools, it

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8(12)/ boycotting

is hard for students to organise their own meetings in their own school campuses where they pay fees for the maintenance of these facilities. Expulsions of students activists take place at the wink of an eye due to the strict and collaborator authority. Now another factor, security intimidation and harassment of students at schools. An (inaudible) political atmosphere is the result of intimidated and passive students. Now this is briefly the situation in our own Campuses. So that now this brings to (inaudible) the fact that organising within our schools is very difficult, simply because of the problems which I actually I mentioned. So that now what I've mentioned that's other difficulties like for instance the authority that I have already mentioned, so that now if we have students if we have students boycotting within this ah within this type of ah institution you know, if we have students protesting, students demonstrating when the conditions are as I've I mean mentioned you know. To the organisations of the students of that place in whose areas takes place what has got to be done in fact after a protest has taken place, its not for the student to regard those protests as(inaudible). You can't for instance after two students have been expelled and re-instated and say that you have won the victory and that is the end of it. What you have got to do is actually to also try to fight for our rights and demand you know the rights of the student within their own Campuses to meet and discuss issues that affects them. So what it means in essence is that now students in those Campuses which have been successful, in staging successful boycotts and protests have got not only to end up there but to at the same time establish existing structures. So what was to be done is for students to organise themselves and form their organisations in all those schools where there have been protests but now what we realise is in most cases they simply become content with their short term victory which they have achieved, and no longer think in terms of the future. Because if you have your own student organisation in your own school Campuses then that serves as a base for even challenging other issues in the future. So that now from now henceforth we have got to try and devise strategies, because if we are going to leave most of the schools unorganised, it means there shall never be able to play a contributory role you know in also trying to a considering the - the - the - the - the considering the formation different youth organisations but if we can be able to er, to form existing structures then that actually are also

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boycotting within this type of institution you know, if we have students boycotting, students demonstrating when the conditions are as I've mentioned you know. The organisations of the students of that place in whose areas takes place what has got to be done in fact after a protest has taken place, its not for the student to regard those protests as (inaudible). You can't for instance after two students have been expelled and re-instated that you have won the victory and that is the end of it. What you have got to do is actually also try to fight for our rights and demand you know the rights of the student within their own Campuses to meet and discuss issues that affects them. So what it means in essence is that students in those Campuses which have been successful, in staging successful boycotts and protests have got not only to end up there but to at the same time establish existing structures. So what was to be done is for students to organise themselves and form their organisations in all those schools where there have been protests, but now what we realise is that they simply become content with their short term victory which they have achieved, and no longer think in terms of the future. Because if you have your own student organisation in your own school Campuses then that serves as a base for even challenging other issues in the future. So that now from now henceforth we have got to try and devise strategies, because if we are going to leave most of the schools unorganised, it means there shall never be able to play a contributory role you know in trying to form different youth organisations but if we can be able to er, to form existing structures

The entrenchment, the consolidation of the student movement within our Campuses, because if we have been just able to boycott, when we are having this type of administration with the whole kind of administration taking place, it means those type of students have to be congratulated you know, because conditions are so harsh in our own schools, simply because of the reasons who have applied(inaudible).

8(13)/ Comrades

The entrenchment, the consolidation of the student movement within our Campuses, because if we have been just able to boycott, when we are having this type of administration with the whole you know kind of intimidation taking place, it means those type of students have to be congratulated you know, because conditions are so harsh in our own schools, simply because of the nearly conditions, I mean simply because of the reasons which have applied for(inaudible)

Now lastly Comrades oh nowah we have seen the situation in side the Country, that now the defying mood with in the people you find very much strong (noise inside the Hall, speaker's voice is drowned). For instance the ousting of our people in some of the residence, in sixth avenue and seventh avenue so that now what, what we expect from the youth is actually to see them to be doing something concerning the plight of the general people. Even the youth themselves become involved, er because when they are actually removed, you know you can imagine in fact, because what we have actually come to learn because of the situation here in Alexandra Township, is that they are actually been removed taken out of homes and put into busses or something like that. So can imagine in fact that type of a situation which the Community Councils and the entire administration is trying to build. What we are saying to the youth presently is to be aware of all these things, and actually see to it that they do something concerning these things. Comrades, the question of organising and the formation of the Alexandra Youth Congress we actually expect action. Theory has to be provided with practice.

Comrades, ~~Amandla~~ (Raises clenched fist). *Exit. Dan Mokoisi.*
 Now we have ~~actually~~ ^{Singing} find it also (ingoverment) organisation taking place not of the (harrasment you) but the student and so forth.
 Now if you will be in school the youth also, also it is our to try and organise themselves themselves in themselves like

Comrades you have seen the situation in the Country, the defying mood in the people is actually very much strong
..... (noise inside the Hall, speaker's voice is drowned). For instance the ousting of our people in some of the residence, in sixth and seventh avenue, what we expect from the youth is actually to see them to be doing something concerning the plight of the people in general. Even the youth themselves become involved, er because when they are removed, you can imagine in fact, what we have actually come to learn because of the situation here in Alexandra Township, is that they are actually taken out of homes and put into busses or something like that. So can imagine in fact that type of a situation which the Community Councils and the entire administration is trying to build. What we are saying to the youth presently is to be aware of these things, and actually see to it that they did something concerning these things. Comrades, the question of organising and the formation of the Alexandra Youth Congress we actually expect action. Theory has to be provided with practice.

Comrades, Amandla (Raises clenched fist).

REMARK: Further transcription virtually impossible due to background noise. No further transcription done.

ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS banner visible (black, green and yellow) UNITY UNDERSTANDING ACTION.

REV FRANK CHIKANE can be seen sitting amongst the audience.

Audience sings in Zulu (distorted)

Song No 5

Siphuma le Soviet Siphetha -
Ma-Bazooka Siyaya kHona lena (inaudible)

Translation:

We come from Soviet carrying
 Bazooka's. We are going there

*Remember this
 we are going to
 Gen Walter van Buzo*

Assist

CHAIRMAN ADDRESSES AUDIENCE:

"Comrades, we have had quite a good eh, analysis of our situation and the role which the youth has to play which the students have to play and it is true that we should try as much as we can to avoid petty divisions among ourselves and try to come together and forge the required unity and move forward in bringing about this qualitative change which this country and its peace loving people need. It is very much true that only through the working class working hand in hand with all progressive forces eh. ~~Is going to bring about the required change. So we are to have our next speaker a woman from AZASO~~ (inaudible) *were going to have the speaker from AZASO to talk with the role of the woman in the liberation struggle.*

Audience sings in Zulu (distorted)

Song No 6

Asiwafuna Ama vela shona
 Siyoyo, siyoyo landela u'Tambo (X 8)

Translation:

We Don't want people from the West
 We will follow TAMBO

CHAIRMAN: (Starts in Zulu/Xhosa (indistinct))

"We are going to have the next speaker, item ten, eh Comrade FRANK CHIKANE, who is going to deal with all the significance of the UDF and Comrade CHIKANE is the Vice-President (inaudible) Transvaal UDF" (inaudible)

We have a publication here and we are asking the people here to buy the publication later for a fund-raising.

Audience sings as FRANK CHIKANE mounts the platform, and he sings along:

Siwamasosha Ka MANDELA

(We are MANDELA's soldiers)

Lapho Lapho siya khona

(There, there where we are going)

FRANK CHIKANE ADDRESSES AUDIENCE:

FRANK CHIKANE mounts podium. Audience shouts.

A - Oliver

B - Tambo.

CHIKANE can be seen saying 'TAMBO'.

(Video interruption)

"Comrades, ladies and gentlemen, once more again we have met to (agonise) about our problems and I want to say right from the start by addressing myself to the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT that the 20th of August 1983 has become a ^{historic turn} ~~(inaudible)~~ ^{struggle in} point in the history of South Africa.

It has changed the minds of people to think differently, it has made those who are in the struggle to look into things differently than before. But before we talk about the UDF, I want to put the whole mystery of the UDF and the problem in perspective. I have therefore to go once more again through our history of struggle up to 1906 in the BAMBATHA (phonetical) rebellion people who were disarmed, they, they engaged themselves in an armed struggle to defend their country. And throughout about two-hundred and fifty years people took up whatever they could get to fight against the invaders and unfortunately because of superior of arms they were defeated by 1906 (inaudible) ~~and in 1909~~

~~the South African Whites, both the Boers and the English, came together and there after our people were completely disarmed. The South African whites, the whites in South Africa both the Boers and the English came together~~

united in a national convention, where they excluded the majority of the oppressed in South Africa and declared a union of South Africa in 1910, irrespective of all the representations that were made by the people. Even those who believed that Britain would listen to them, were completely disappointed and discovered that the oppressor is not just in South Africa, but it is an international problem that we are facing in South Africa.

(Video interruption)

and their meetings they shall be responsible for whatever will happen in South Africa (audience cheers) because if they are not going to accept any form of peaceful change, then they must be prepared to face the consequences of what the people shall do about their liberation (audience applauds) (inaudible)

The struggle at once of all organisations were banned and Everybody was silenced in the sixties, the system intensified its effort to implement the Apartheid Law, the Apartheid policy of Bantustans, normally they ^{suppress} ~~oppressed~~ and crushed people before they implement their policy and in the late sixties early seventies, there was a voice of protest heard from the Bush Universities in the form of the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT, to try ^{to} ~~and~~ protest against this system. And in 1973 workers came together and intensified their struggle and in this system and, and a crises was created in South Africa.

In 1976 children stood up to say they are not going to accept this Apartheid system and we are going to stand against it. They used peaceful methods and once more again the system clamped down on the children ~~then~~ ^{there}

(video interruption)

Started implimenting it and when the LABOUR PARTY decided that it was going to accept a new strategy, an implementation of the reform proposals, the people started negotiating amongst themselves, consultations were carried out with people and after that they ^{then} decided (inaudible) conference as

..... came as a blessing for people to meet together nationally and decide that they should go back and consult with their people as to what strategy has to be used to fight against this system that South Africa is putting before us.

Now let me state clearly, I want to repeat this because some of you may not have gone quite seriously into the constitutional proposals, why do we reject the constitutional proposals which are now an act which it means it is now a South African Constitution Act.

We reject this proposal in the first instance because it is not the constitution, ^{the} peoples constitution, but it is issued and I want you to take note that it is issued from the frame work and proceeds from Apartheid. It meant the constitutional proposals issued from the Apartheid system and from within that system, it is that system that appoints the people who are to come and sit in the Presidents Council to decide what constitution within the framework of Apartheid can be evolved to make those liberal (inaudible) international countries to believe that there is change in South Africa.

(Video interruption).

... that all the racist laws have been actually declared null and void. Suppose Botha wakes up and says that, immediately people will think that they are free but in actual fact they would not be free, because the results of oppression all over the years have declared them not free in the sense that they are poor and once you are poor in a capitalistic system, you remain poor.

There is no way in which you are going to think that you will be different after every (inaudible) racial law has been declared null and void. And that is why we are emphasising the fact that South Africa is based and the constitution is based on the history of oppression or the history of apartheid and it is based on different share ships of various people.

People are being confined in the Bantustans, are suffering there and the Ciskei is a typical example of what the system intends for (inaudible) ^{all of} us. Simply declare you eh consign you to a particular compartments, avoid your collaborators within that system to undertake the work the dirty work of the Apartheid system, and the Ciskei example is the clearest we have ever seen to (inaudible) ^{that is also} history (inaudible) racial superiority

(Video interruption)

For an intelligent person ... to understand that this going to entrench racial superiority, they still feel (inaudible)

What we want and how we have to go about it. And on that point I want to, to, to raise up before I raise the third point what will happen with this type of an ethnic differentiation and racial superiority, is that the Bantustans will remain intact and they'll not beat about the bush and the Group Areas Act will remain intact so that those two periods of Apartheid, means that there will still be people without their citizenship. In South Africa. Millions without their citizenship

(video interruption)

(inaudible) ... you cannot do it without influx control and there the other thing is that the sentiments and relocation uprootals of our people (inaudible) will still continue because it is based on the Apartheid system. So for us it will not make a difference except that a few eh eh opportunists shall have been co-opted into the system and will be benefiting out of the system.

The fifth point that I want to raise, is that there will be an unequal distribution of land, wealth and resources

(video interruption)

(inaudible) ... unless you do it at the expense of others. If you share you will remain equal if you remain unequal there is something going (inaudible) (audience laughter) I can no doubt (inaudible) .. importance of sharing together, it says those who are able to produce

more are so given so that they can share with those who cannot produce more (inaudible) among the people. Some people say you see Black people are going to take our wealth. And my next question is how did you accumulate the wealth in the first place, in spite of who did you accumulate the wealth? If you can answer the question then you will be able to explain and understand why you need to give that which you took from people unjustly and there is one God in the Bible who (inaudible) .. this type of thing (inaudible) ^{you are taking down from the} .. top of the tree and he went down into his house and when he reaches out there was a tax collectancy and seated there asking (inaudible) .. Jesus never asked him a question. But he felt there was revolutionary here who recognised that the chair on which he was sitting, was obtained at the expense of other peoples lives. He exploited other people to have his (inaudible) .. around him; and he jumped up and said Jesus if it has to happen, I am prepared to return that which I have taken from God to the people

(video interruption)

... because ^{the} White South Africans in actual fact have no right to decide in South Africa. Actually one of them came to be a church man leader in ^{that type} (inaudible) ^{of system} ... ^{Those who are not able because of the unfortunate} and ^{suppression} (inaudible) to produce equally as the others. And this type of promised poverty amongst ourselves and shall keep to continue. Evictions from houses will continue because there will be poor people even if they build houses here in Alexandra. You will have no rent to pay for it

(video interruption)

(inaudible) ... and that is why ^{we are saying} in the Black communities, we must be careful not to enter ^{fighting around} ~~political~~ revolution on top of another revolution. And forget about capital because then you are going to have another revolution on top of another.

The second point I want to emphasize on the rejection of the system is the Koornhof Bills for instance, the Black local authorities Act, which has been approved. Why do we reject that law, it is going to substitute the community councils, we reject it firstly, as well because it issues also (inaudible) apartheid.

Secondly, the people (inaudible) without participating deciding what type of a council do you need, at the local level. It applies only to the alien Africans not (inaudible) ^{and} the Whites, Indians and Coloureds. Therefore it is based on ethnicity (inaudible) racial superiority. It means that it is meant for Africans alone, not the others. The others have their own system that will work the way they want it to work. There is therefore differentiation, ethnic differentiation and racial eh eh superiority

(long video interruption)

... go to meetings ^{and talk to the other people} (inaudible). It is fine you can do it but what is important is to go house to house in Alexandra, is to go house to house in Soweto, is to go house to house in Kagiso, house to house in the East Rand, house to house in Guguletu house to house in Lenasia. Everywhere else we go house to house, to talk to the people, make them participate in the decision to reject this system and that's possible and some people said how do you do it in Soweto. I said because it's because you have not discovered the fantastic new method of reaching Soweto, if people in Kagiso (inaudible) .. example have for six hundred houses, thousand houses and I can reach them overnight. You can do it in Soweto but they say how do you do it. Soweto, Soweto is so big (inaudible) how do you reach them.

I said to them the number of people in Kagiso for the six hundred houses are the same in Alexandra, for the six hundred houses in Soweto.

People miss the point because they want to operate on top of Soweto, they don't want to go down. And you must never make a mistake and operate on top of Alexandra, you must go down. You must say this is a block of houses, we are going to activate the whole area one two three four and these are going to be responsible for the thousand houses that are next to us here, and they must report to us what they have done in reaching those thousand houses.

We are going to do it and we want before the end of October the greater part of South Africa to have been covered. And at the end of October, we are going to call for a mass of provincial rallies to take place. If they ban them, we change our methods and go back to the houses (audience applaud). That's no problem for the banning of our meetings is just actually having proved to the people to recognise this is a legitimate effort of the people for liberation. And when we go to them we will say we are banned, but we are here, we have come to talk to you and though we are prepared to talk to you because we know you (inaudible) legitimate person to represent the people against the system. That is the ^{method} (inaudible). We are going to follow. And we want to pledge that once the elections of the ^{upgraded} (inaudible) community councils, called the local authorities act, we are going to make sure that the people register their protest. Out of this network, that we are going to create nationally, the people at the end are going to decide to break that system and that will be the day. ~~fanned for revolution. Thank you~~. Thanks very much.

(AUDIENCE APPLAUD STANDING UP).

Possible CHAIRMAN ADDRESSES AUDIENCE:

"Every school going student has parents and many of those parents are workers, so it is quite clear that, that is going to be a very good method in achieving our unity. Problems". (Inaudible)

(Audience laughter)

MZWAKHE ISRAEL MBULI (SOYCO) RECITES POEM TO THE BEAT OF DRUMS - distorted.

(video interruption) Above performer continues (indistinct).

(Video interruption) (Poem not transcribed because it is generally too distorted to transcribe).

(Applause) Recital : Poem : THE VOICE OF ANGER (video interruption) Reciter gives clenched fist salute with both hands thumbs extended.

(Audience sings, extremely distorted)

Song No 8

Inaudible

(Video interruption)

(Audience continues singing)

(Marching in the hall and on the spot).

(The word MANDELA can be heard at times).

~~Some members of the audience gesture as if firing a fire arm~~

The words SOLDIERS and OLIVER TAMBO can also be heard at times).

1154

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE dressed in green uniform with a cap and a scarf of black, green and yellow around his middle, addresses audience and affirms COSAS support for AYCO. (Indistinct and not transcribed due to noise on sound track). (Applause).

(Video interruption)

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE reads message of support from AZASO then addresses audience.

"Because of unforeseen circumstances ...

1201

On behalf of the AZANIAN STUDENTS ORGANISATION that is AZASO, I bring a message of support and solidarity to the Alexandra Youth Congress.

Actually, we do congratulate you for this bold step, that you have taken in the right direction (inaudible) ... very important day, a historic day actually, in the life of the youth of Alexandra.

We hope that the youth of Alexandra will join the ranks of the youth and actively work on the strengthening the congresses, the youth congresses and the progressive movements ~~and such (inaudible) ... step~~ at large. Let this launching of AYCO not be an area in itself but a step

Towards the ultimate Goal, that is the total liberation of our country, South Africa. I find myself in a very en bad position because the problem with the last speaker, Quits^e a number of things have been said throughout the day and a lot of wisdom have been given to you advices have been ~~disued~~^{dished} out ... ~~bussussions~~^{discussions} on ... let me say advice have been given out to the people of Alexandra and for the woman that have been spoken here today there's quite a lot that you can do.

towards the ultimate goal, that is the total liberation of our country South Africa.

I find myself in a very eh bad position because the problem with the last speaker (inaudible)

A lot have been given to you our (inaudible) has been dished out there have been some sort of discussions eh on (inaudible)

The topic on which I was supposed to speak today, was the role of the student in the struggle, but because of the time (inaudible) and I find it a little bit difficult to get really going into the whole issue. But I hope that the little bit that we will share we will be able to share together this afternoon will really help. To start with, most of us see the youth movement just to be a movement, that will concentrate on removing the youth off the street.

That will help remove the youth eh will prevent the youth from (inaudible) or keep the youth away from political activities or we think that the youth movement or youth congresses are just here to replace the existing youth clubs. All the above can be catered for. Actually being involved in the youth congress means quite a lot more than that.

The youth are part and parcel of a community, they are part of a society in which they are living, they are like everybody else, they are the victims of oppressive and exploitative forces, poverty and malnutrition.

They are the victims of the violent (inaudible) which we see in our daily lives (inaudible) .. those of the lives of the majority of the South Africans.

The formalisation of the organisation of the youth should be seen and interpreted that the youth cannot contain with those forces and their effects as with the ^{further} (inaudible) effects for example the activities of informers, the activities of the police and leaders of provocation

And they cannot have
 (inaudible) .. victims of the escapism of the majority of us (inaudible)
 like maybe just concentrating on a nice home and dodging issues
 (inaudible).

Today we see that the youth in Alexandra want to or have started organising themselves. If we had expected anything less than that we would be like someone sitting on a hill ^{and} expecting the water to flow in his own direction. Actually it will be very foolish to expect the youth in Alexandra to do anything other than organising themselves, to take up their issues here. To understand the role of the youth in society. We must draw on the experiences of the youth from the world over; we must especially take the experiences of the youth in for example Nicaragua (inaudible) specific of particular importance is that we've got to draw of the rich experiences of the youth movement in the forties and the fifties. The activities of the youth of South Africa. To illustrate, let me point out our recognised leaders MANDELA, TAMBO and others were at a certain point, the youth like we are here now. They were the leaders of a youth movement. If (inaudible) ^{we remember} AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE was composed, it was catering for all the youth from the age of twelve to the age of forty. So the present leaders and the present recognised leadership were the leadership of the youth movement of their day.

(19)
 25/8/87
 There is experiences that we can draw from the youth league from the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, I mean the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE eh eh will be illustrated by the following.

I just give one ~~the~~ example. This afternoon, there have been shouting of the slogan MAYIBUYE I'AFIKA and people have shaken their fist with the thumb up. The majority of us that are here do not know the exact meaning or the origin of such clenched fist.

The **fist** clenched like this means **unity** and it has been used throughout the **history of the** struggle and in particular the branch, ^{the} forties branch of the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE, in the forties came eh let me say they are ^{the} people that resulted in us clenching the four fingers (speaker

7/10/19
25/7/87

demonstrates) the four fingers for us depicting unity, determination, solidarity and militancy, and the fifth finger representing the whole of Afrika, which signifies that we are part and parcel of the whole of Afrika. The finger that we have up signifies (speaker demonstrates), it shows that we take ourselves here in South Africa to be part and parcel of the struggle in Africa and part and parcel of the struggle at large.

20
11/12/87

The youth were very happy when the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS we are talking about 1949 or 50 adopted that as a sign of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. For me I see the youth congresses providing (inaudible) and a platform of information because the youth all the youth are just like trees.

They are at a very tender stage and they are in a period of formation. It is through the youth congresses and even you have brought a proper direction but the youth can be formed into a relevant force and the speakers have already mentioned it here.

But the future is in our hands and there at the back it says that freedom will come in our lifetime. Our struggle is not against any race but against unjust laws which keep us in perpetual subjection (inaudible) eh. The youth throughout the world have played a very important role in the liberation movements of the countries, because in most cases you find that the youth are in a position to then question some of the things that are happening.

They've got a lot of energies but it is not to be misdirected and the ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS is such an organisation that can help channel such energies that are, such energies, that the youth have. If we know (inaudible) the relationship for example of the banning of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, the relationship between the ANC YOUTH LEAGUE and the ANC .. We find that the youth are very instrumental in designing the ANC to be what it was up to where it was forced underground. And I doubt it may be that the youth still determine what the ANC maybe if even now (inaudible) think.

100
257877
If we look back at a program of action of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, we find that the youth are primarily responsible for (problems) such as people like MANDELA, people like TAMBO and there were others then leadership, ⁺ people like SISULU. ^{under the guidance of}

Those are the people that directed the peoples movement to be whatever it is. Even now when the peoples organisations have been forced underground, we the youth must meet our responsibility but we inject life into the peoples movement, I mean we have got to work hand in hand for example with the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, those are the peoples organisations.

We've got to be part and parcel of the broader youth congress movement like we've got to build the SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS. It is part and parcel of us, the people in the Cape the CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS are part and parcel of us. And if we look at the youth under general or let me say we broadly look at the youth, we find that the students (inaudible) among the youth, we find the workers. Among the youth we find people that are unemployed.

Among the youth we find union, among the union we find the christians. So all these people must be organised in a particular directions.

The students as it has already been said of our comrades here, are organised by local organisations such as COSAS and AZASO workers the youth are members of the ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS. Even the workers they can see to it that they join for example workers organisations like SAAWU.

Those women that are in the youth can form the womens league or the youth organisations or even join the ederation of South African women. And those who are in the churches must see to it that they bring relevance into such, such churches.

So what I must say is that the youth must make an analysis and clarity of thought (¹inaudible) and all that action must meet our emblems. Until that we must crush apartheid and come to liberation.

The Black youth must march and advance with all the power forward with determination through this green land of ours Through this rugged country of the struggle, to be the golden sons of the dawn of the day of liberation".

Mayibuye (thumb Outstretched, clenched right hand ^bweld above his head) audience; Africa.

(Video Interruption)

Unknown Black male reads message of support from GAWU it's from Sydney Mavuma (foneties). This message of support is from Sydney Mavuma, the General Secretary of GAWU, General Allied Workers Union and the message reads thus: On behalf of GAWU of S.A. I wish to welcome the Alexandra Youth Congress into the ranks of the struggling masses. I further wish to place on record my apology for failing to honour your invitation to speak at the launching of the Youth Congress, However this failure serves to underline the multi dimensional nature of our struggle for racial liberation and social justice. One is thinking were of the A.N.C. Youth ^{league} ~~league~~ which produced patriots like Duma ^{Nelson} ~~Helion~~ Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo who did a lot to be in the frontline of the liberation struggle, this launch should be serve as an air-lock incentive and a conscience to produce a format looking youth who is not in^csensitive to the reality of our country.

Forward to the people's republic.

Amandla Awethu

(Video Interruption)

"V 4" _____

page 22.6a

Audience sings in Zulu - distorted

Chairman Addresses Audience (Inaudible)

..... Thanks you comrades

(Video interruption) We are going to wave the Khauletsa

(Phonetic)

Unknown black male plays African drums.

Andrew Mogotsi @ Jingles address audience

A - Mogotsi

B - Audience

A - Freedom

B - Freedom x 3

A - Is the law of nature

B - Is the law of nature

*pls 22 is verward, 22
not 22 + 22(a)*

So what I say is that the youth must make an analysis and clarity of thought (inaudible) and all that action must meet our emblems. Until that we must crush apartheid and come to liberation.

The Black youth must march and advance with all the power forward with determination through this green land of ours. through this ^{vugged country} (inaudible) of the struggle, to be the golden sons of the dawn of the day of liberation".

MAYIBUYE (thumb outstretched, clenched right hand held above his head)
Audience : I'Afrika.

(Video interruption)

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE reads message of support from GAWU. (Distorted).

(Video interruption)

Audience sings in Zulu - distorted.

Possible

CHAIRMAN ADDRESSES AUDIENCE (inaudible)

Thank you comrades

(~~video interruption~~) we are going to have the Khauletsa. (Phonetical).

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE plays African drums.

ANDREW MOGOTSI @ JINGLES addresses audience.

A - MOGOTSI

B - AUDIENCE

A - FREEDOM

B - FREEDOM (X 3)

A - IS THE LAW OF NATURE

B - IS THE LAW OF NATURE (X 2)

(Inaudible)

A - FREEDOM
B - FREEDOM (X 3)

A - IS THE LAW OF NATURE
B - IS THE LAW OF NATURE (X 2)

A - THAT THE MAN WHO LOVES ME
B - THAT THE MAN WHO LOVES ME

A - COME TO ME
B - COME TO ME

(inaudible)

A - FOR FREEDOM
B - FOR FREEDOM

A - IS THE LAW OF NATURE
B - IS THE LAW OF NATURE

A - JUSTICE
B - JUSTICE

A - (Inaudible)
B - IS THE RULE OF THINGS

A - (Speaks in Sotho/Zulu) (distorted) (inaudible)

Mocambique Matola

A - Rockets bullets innocent souls
Soweto Afrikaans blood bullets
Mandla little Hector and others, Guguletu (inaudible) *Alexandra, Sharpsville*
Bullets in Africa
Bullet blood (inaudible) and agony
Today is the day of tears
As always is

Blood flows all over Africa
 The blood that watered the tree of liberty and shook
 the chains of slavery

Blood flows all over the streets of Africa
 The blood that watered the tree of liberty
 and shook the chains of slavery

Blood flows in Africa
 For where is the gun
 That is pointing at the black man
 And the black and white fingers
 Help each other to pull the trigger

A Black man falls down to kiss mother earth forever

His face engorged with blood

His body still like an earth pole

A bullet wound in his head

A bullet wound on his neck

Another bullet wound in his leg

Bullets all over the body of the innocent African child

Today is the day of tears

Yesterday was

I fear what is happening

I know I hate what is happening

I don't fear what is happening (inaudible)

The struggle has been painful

Our struggle is painful

Our struggle is the ^{liberation} (inaudible) struggle of bloodshed

Without yesterday we are dying today

But we shall live tomorrow and forever

We shall live tomorrow)

And forever) (X 3)
 (plays flute)

I heard a cry

I heard a cry up high in the

Mountain

Deep down the sea

Steve Bantu Biko
 Little Hector, Solomon Mahlangu and others
 (inaudible) struggle
 I heard voices
 I heard the vision of my ancestors (inaudible)

Speak the language that was spoken in Zimbabwe
 Speak Brother (inaudible)
 Speak the language of the people
 Speak power (inaudible) ^{not} negotiations
 Up and down (inaudible)
 Speak Brother it is your turn to speak
 I hear a cry

(Video interruption)
 (Audience applauds)

We don't deserve hands
 We are not entertainers
 We also people
 You know when we say
 Azania others they become hot
 They become hot
 I speak of Azania Africa and
 That is why (inaudible)

SONG: Woza Nazo izibhanmu (Come with the Guns)

MZWAKHE ISRAEL MBULI (SOYCO) recites poem - distorted - 'WITH LOVE' and
 'NOW IS THE TIME'

(video interruption)

(applause)

1368 Audience sings in Zulu something about TAMBO X 3

Song No 10

All that is audible is:

Siyaya siyaya Ama-Bazooka

Translation:

We are going Bazookas

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE addresses audience:

"Dear Comrades (inaudible) fellow country men in the name of Alexandra

(Video interruption)

(shall be over to) a no person organisation shall"

Choosing of Committee

(Inaudible and badly recorded)

Meeting closed singing Nkosi Sikelele I'Afrika.