

**NIC MEETING: LADYSMITH INDIAN CIVIC CENTRE  
LADYSMITH : 1984-08-01  
(ORGANISED BY NIC REGIONAL COMMITTEE)**

**SPEAKERS**

1. DR. A. H. SADER
2. IQBAL KHAN (Master of Ceremonies)
3. PROF. FATIMA MEER
4. ADV. EBRAHIM BAWA (ICSA)
5. MEWA RAMGOBIN (NIC) (UDF)
6. PATRICK alias TERROR LEKOTA (UDF)
7. DR. ALAN BOESAK (UDF)

**BEW.**

**V17 PAR.46**

**IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED:**

1. ISLAMIC COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA (ICSA)
2. NIC
3. MAHATMA GHANDI
4. 1912 (FORMATION OF "BLACK BROTHER CONGRESS")
5. TIC
6. GOLD, BLACK, RED (Colours of UDF)
7. SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC)
8. CONGRESS MOVEMENT
9. DADOO/XUMA/NAICKER PACT (Doctors PACT)
10. DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN
11. NAZI GERMANY
12. 1976 SOWETO UNREST
13. NATIONAL CONVENTION
14. BEYERS NAUDÉ
15. HELEN JOSEPH
16. LUTHULI
17. MANDELA
18. SISIJLU
19. UDF
20. 1980 CAPE SCHOOLS UNREST

**BANNERS DISPLAYED IN HALL**

1. SCRAP IMMORALITY
2. VOTE NO
3. 1 + 2 = 4
4. DON'T VOTE FOR APARTHEID — SIGN THE MILLION SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN
5. APARTHEID IS HARAAM\* (\*SINFU

**ASSESSOR**

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Page 35 Line 21: Change "unaudible" to "we have a receipt for it"

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Page 43 Line 27 Change "about that" to "about them"

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Page 47 Line 18 Change "the mess" to "the <sup>N</sup>Rats"

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Page 47 Line 23 Change "our democratic" to "our philosoph<sup>cal</sup>ed"

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Page 49 Line 3 Change "we meant" to "we managed"

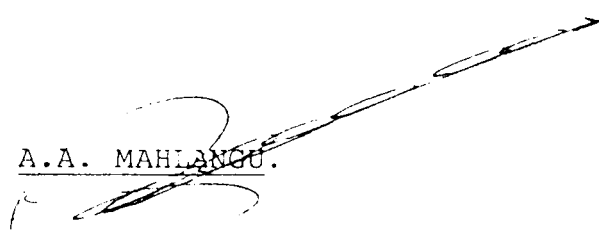
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CORRECTIONS :

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

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

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

  
A.A. MAHLANGU.

BANNERS DISPLAYED IN HALL

1. SCRAP IMMORALITY
2. VOTE NO
3.  $1 + 2 = 4?$
4. DONT VOTE FOR APARTHEID - SIGN THE MILLION  
SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN
5. APARTHEID IS HARAAM\* (\*SINFUL)

## O P M E R K I N G S

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

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

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

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

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N.I.C. MEETING : LADYSMITH INDIAN CIVIC CENTRE : 1984-08-01DR A H SADER:

(INAUDIBLE) pay homage to these, to the lady and the gentlemen who sit on the platform. Ladies and gentlemen I would like to extend to them a very warm and cordial welcome please. (APPLAUSE)

We have with us Professor Fatima Meer, a gracious and a dedicated lady, whose name is a household word not only in our country but in all parts of the world. As you know, she is both a dedicated and a convinced fighter for human rights for all the peoples of our country. (APPLAUSE)

In welcoming Dr Alan Boesak, I would like to say, in him, we have a giant amongst men, a man of God, who has taken on himself to fight on behalf of all the oppressed people everywhere and including his own people, in his own country, our dear South Africa. Sir, we are honoured that you have come from so far to speak to us tonight.

You will soon be meeting Patrick Let... Letoka ... Lekota who will be here with us, he is travelling by road from Johannesburg to be here at this meeting.

We also have with us advocate Ismail ... Ebrahim BAWA and (VIDEO INTERRUPTION)

IQBAL KHAN (I/MALE):

Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the regional committee of the Natal Indian Congress and the UDF I wish to extend a very wa... very very warm welcome to you all at tonight's function.

We are grateful that you responded to our invitations, our posters, our handbills; admittedly we expected more to come tonight but we are

pleased that you all are here tonight.

I also wish to take this opportunity in extending a hand of friendship and a welcome to members of the Security Branch. (APPLAUSE)

Gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen ours is a democratic organisation and your house is our house, our house is your house. Gentlemen of the Security if you run out of paper don't hesitate to ask us, we have enough. (APPLAUSE)

And need I remind you sir, please ensure that your tape recorders are on. Right ladies and gentlemen, down to business.

Our first speaker tonight needs very, very little introduction. They say ladies first, we believe in that.

Professor Fatima Meer, she's a professor in sociology at the University of Natal. She has just returned from a tour of the United States of America.

Ladies and gentlemen they say dynamite comes in little packages. Professor Meer is small, I have great pleasure in handing you over to Professor Fatima Meer. (APPLAUSE).

FATIMA MEER:

Mister chairman, friends, it's alright coming in a small package but it is not pleasant at all, to be overshadowed by this kind of paraphernalia. I sort of feel I can hardly see you and talk to you. He's very kind.

I thought that we had reached a time when we didn't sort of

discriminate, even between sexes. So I am rather surprised that I have been discriminated against and put first because I am a lady.

(LAUGHTER)

Often one finds that because you are a lady or a woman you are really put a bit behind things; because that is another battle that is being fought right now in many parts of the world and that is a battle of equality of the sexes but that is not what we have come to talk about today.

This evening we've come to talk about the constitution, we've come to talk about our attitude, our approach to this constitution that is being thrust down our throats. We never asked for it, we have been asking for a constitution, for a new constitution and we have been asking for a new constitution for a very long time now. But the constitution we are asking for, that constitution is not coming our way. Instead, what we are being offered is no constitution or no new constitution at all. And that is the reason why we are saying keep away from those polls. Don't go out there on election day and give credibility to something that is, as far as the Indian and Coloured people are concerned, a fraud. It is more than that, it is a very dangerous weapon, and actually what is happening, we can imagine ourselves, Indian and Coloured people, being impaled on the sword of apartheid. Because that is exactly what is going to happen to us, or that is the design, the plan that should happen to us. That we should be impaled on this apartheid sword, against our own people, against our own selves, against our own interest.

We don't want this constitution and we can identify or summarise our reasons for not wanting it in terms of two categories. We don't want it for ideological reasons, and we don't want it for practical reasons.



Ideologically we do not want this constitution, because it is a constitution which is straight-jacketed within the framework of apartheid. It is a racist constitution. We are being asked to vote as a race, as Indians; we are being asked to vote for Indians and then we are asked to sit in an Indian house and talk about Indian things.

We are being asked to do this after hundreds of years of struggling against racism. We are being now asked again to think and act in terms of race. So this is the ideological reasons for, on which, on grounds of which we reject this constitution.

We look at the constitution in terms of its practical implications. Does it offer us anything as Indian and Coloured people? We find that we are to confine ourselves to talking about our own affairs, and one might ask, well what is wrong with that, shouldn't we be concerned about our own affairs? Immediately the question of who are we; and what is this, own affairs? We are South Africans, we are not simply Indians, we are not simply Coloureds; we are also a black people, part and parcel of the disenfranchised oppressed black maj ... majority of this country.

This is where we take our position. We are being asked to trade that honourable position, and take our positions together with the white oppressors, to become part and parcel of an oppressive minority and to join that minority which has a horrible history. An infamous history, a history which is totally made up of immoral acts and immoral deeds; a history which is made up of cruelty to one's fellow citizens, one's fellow human beings, one's fellow brothers and sisters. We are now being asked to become part and parcel of this horror-making machinery. Now we have far too much self-respect to join that kind of a band-wagon.

We cannot go into these places, these new chambers, we cannot call them parliaments at all, because they are not that. We cannot go into these things by ourselves without ourselves, because to go there, we need to go there as the people that we are. We need to go there as the peoples of South Africa, and when 72% of the people of South Africa are African and we go there without them, then what kind of a going is this, and what kind of a constitution are we talking about? And what kind of a people do we become?

Nobody who respects the history of the Indian people, respects the integrity of the Coloured people, respects all that has gone into our making, our consolidation as the black oppressed majority of South Africa; nobody who understands what this means would be prepared to go out there and stand stand for a seat in that kind of a chamber. Those two brown chambers, delegates or representatives or whatever they may call these chambers. It is fundamentally a question of identity.

Who are we, where are we today in South Africa, today in the community of the world, when the whole world has turned its back on racism. Are we now at this point in our history, after all the struggling that has gone on behind us. Are we now going to become part and parcel of a racist structure.

If anybody believes for half a second that there is anything that any of these representatives want to go and participate and make this thing work, can get for us as, as Indians and Coloured people, then we are deluding ourselves. The whole structure has been so fashioned as to make it totally impossible for us to move even an iota out of the framework of apartheid, to move an inch away from racism. We would become party to all the laws that we have struggled against and all the laws that we hate, we reject. We would become party to the Group Areas Act. We would become party to Influx Control. We would become party to

the system of migrant labour. We would become party to the whole tradition of black workers, African workers in terms of which African family life is broken and reduced into fragments. We would become party to all these things, and if we are going to save our reputation, if we are going to conserve our dignity, then we cannot go into this constitution and we cannot be seen on the day that election occurs to be electing or casting a vote for anybody who feels that he wants to go and work the system together with his nationalist masters.

*She turns away to sit down*

(APPLAUSE) (VIDEO INTERRUPTION)

IQBAL KHAN: (INAUDIBLE) Fatima Meer. Thank you very much madam.

Ladies and gentlemen, our next speaker was to have been Patrick Lekota. You would have noticed that on our handbills we had him, Mr Lekota as "Terror" Lekota. Now it is possible that he has been met by a reception committee on his way here, I'm not sure. But we have our fingers crossed that he will make it to our function tonight.

I have great pleasure in now calling upon Mr Ebrahim Bawa, advocate Ebrahim Bawa. (APPLAUSE) Advocate Bawa belongs to the Islamic Council of South Africa, he is indeed a respected attorney who hails from Durban, some of you may have seen him appear on television last Sunday. He needs very little introduction to you, ladies and gentlemen, advocate Ebrahim Bawa. (APPLAUSE)

EBRAHIM BAWA:

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I hope I don't owe my introduction to what's the name, Cliff Saunders is it, the man who interviewed me on the TV.

My presence here tonight is really to indicate our support, of the Islamic Council of South Africa, to the campaign that is being waged by the Natal Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front. (APPLAUSE) We maybe take credit that to some extent that perhaps we were, in relation to the UDF at least, first in the field to analyse the constitution, show its drawbacks, draw its implications and then to reject the whole thing in toto. We did this February last year. And since then we have from time to time, issued statements on the same subject matter dealing with different aspects and still arriving at the same conclusion, that the constitution cannot be accepted.

We, naturally in the Islamic Council of South Africa, viewed the question mainly from moral and ethical grounds and eh gave our reasons for the rejection of the constitution on those grounds.

One may say that these moral and ethical grounds should not really form the basis of any political eh ... eh dogma or political question. Now we (INDISTINCT) we will for a moment share that thought, although this kind of view has been expressed. Some (INAUDIBLE) that if our actions are not going to be based on sound ethical and moral principles, then we are not going to achieve peace and security in any part of the world.

Our problems arise, when I say our problems, problems of eh government control and eh legislation and State, is simply because they don't stand on morality upon which all the people are agreed, that apply in the administration of justice and in the administration of the policy of the State. We all have our different morals, different ideas and so on, and therefore we end up in quagmire and all that really comes up with, is self-interest. All our actions are determined with our self-interest eh how they are affected and how they are eh protected.

Now ladies and gentlemen, this constitution has created a lot of

interest in people, those who are anxious and keen to take part in it. And we have heard all of them from time to time, and particularly in recent weeks. And it's amazing, the amount of rubbish that they have been putting out. And what lets one feel either they have not, or most of them, haven't read the constitution because if they had read the constitution I doubt if they would be able to say, most of the things they have been saying in the public when they are posing eh their acceptance of the constitution. If they have read it, then I am sure they haven't studied it, because if they had studied it they'll be still not in a position to make any commendable reference to it. So one is left with the impression that the vast majority of those who are supporting this constitution have not really been told what the constitution is about. And those who pretend to know, have not really studied or understood it.

As Professor Meer has said, there is practically nothing, that is being offered to the Indians and the Coloureds in terms of the new constitution. This new constitution divides the function into two categories, into your own affairs and into general affairs.

And I want to look at the definition of own affairs, these are matters that relates to your particular group. You will be handling your own schools, you will be handling your own social welfare departments, you will be handling your own eh social services, your own educational schools and so on. All these things, aren't we already handling it? We are in fact administering all these departments at the moment. Coloureds and Indians are in these various departments, taking care of their schools, taking care of their hospitals, taking care of all the institutions that have been devised and are eh being through which we are working in respect of our own groups and so on. So, the house of delegates sitting in its own affairs, will have very little business to do. And I can't imagine that they will be sitting there for six months,

at least that is the duration of the parliament, six months, and debate on us, on culture, on eh ... training of eh ... boy scouts I think it is called. (LAUGHTER) Matters like this. The only important day there, is education and eh ... social welfare and so on. But how much time they'll be devoting to those aspects from a legislative point of view, because after all that is what the houses of parliament are supposed to be doing. In effect, in effect therefore, there is very little extension of power in regard to own affairs in this particular area. They might as well, could have as well, given extra powers to the South African Indian Council and it would have done the same job equally well, as the House of Delegates is expected to do in dealing with Indians own affairs.

So we are not being given anything extensive or anything new. Admittedly it will make for some mobility, some quicker decision and so on. But no fundamental changes can take place or can eh can, can, can, take place in that particular area.

And what is more, even in your own affairs, when you are dealing with questions, like education, you are not in a position to take any decision that will affect the other race groups. Not long ago Mr Rajbansi for example said, that we will open our schools to Coloureds and Indian and African children, to all the race groups. Immediately in parliament, the next day, when the bill was being discussed or the act was being discussed in the Select Committee, the Minister of Education was asked whether this is possible. He said no, this will come under general affairs. So even in your own affairs, general laws subscribe, what you can do and what you cannot do. Immediately you step beyond the boundary of your own affairs, that specifically affects you only then you come under general affairs. And when you come under general affairs, you have no final say, you haven't got a full say at all as I will explain to you in a moment. Mr Chairman, you will allow me to deal

with this constitutional aspect a little more fully.

On the general affairs we are a permanent minority so are the Coloureds, the two put together will still be permanent minority. Now in terms of numbers we are not complaining about that. But when the dominant group, the white group, retains that power, one must understand that no fundamental changes can take place that the Coloureds or Indians desire or want, unless the whites are prepared to agree to those changes. And one cannot expect the whites to agree to changes which are going to affect their interest, as long as possible for them to hold on to their own interest, they will do so. More particularly when we come to deal with the black affairs, or our relationship between ourselves and the black, this will then become very clear.

In the general affairs where 99,9% of the business of the parliament will take place, we will in the first instance <sup>INHERIT</sup> ~~and take~~ all the laws that are there on the statute book already, we'll then become co-participant of the system that is already in existence. We will in addition become co-administrator and co-responsible for all that is there already.

Now up ..., up to now we have had our hands clear, we had nothing to do with any laws that were oppressive or repressive against any group. We had no legislative power, we had no control of any kind. And we have always resisted, we have always resisted segregation, separation and so on. We were forced into these separate institutions, separate areas and separate arrangements and so on.

<sup>Against our will morally therefore.</sup>  
~~(INAUDIBLE)~~ ... we can say that we had nothing to do with the system in which we are living. We are not guilty of anything that is wrong. We are being forced into a situation over which we have no control at all. What we are now asked to do, and in fact those who are going in, are

going to do; is to accept this system willingly. You are now accepting a system which you have, you have bawled all over, all along, which you have rejected all along. Now you are going to accept it with both arms and say yes, now I am prepared to be co-administrator of an apartheid system. You are going to administer the apartheid laws against yourselves. You needed an enemy to do it before but now you're gonna do it yourself by being virtually inside the deal. (APPLAUSE)

Now we come to the exclusion of the blacks. We, in the Islamic Council of South Africa have even said, that even if the blacks were given a fourth chamber, it will still not solve the problem of this country. As long as this country is divided on racial lines, functions on racial lines on separate lands and so on, friction will remain and will be created, division will remain and instead of getting united and coming together, we will be permanently separated and the calls of, ... scenes of disruption and disunity will always prevail.

There cannot be further <sup>HARMONY.</sup> (~~INAUDIBLE~~) there cannot be justice in a situation such as that.

If it was possible for us to wish away or wash away, 72% of the population, and say South Africa only consists of Whites, Coloureds and Indians; one might be even tempted to say alright, for a time being we'll go into this kind of arrangement. We will show to the whites, who are afraid of us at the moment, that we are not really out to eh, suppress or oppress them or take anything away from them. That we are sharing the same values, sharing the same requirements and our policy and ..., and ..., and our desire for the future is one and the same; so we are sailing in the same boat.

Not so, when you have 72% of the people left outside. Now these 72% of the people, the government tells us repeatedly, over and over again,



they have made that clear; that the policy as far as black are concerned, is separate developments, homelands, independent states if they want to have it, and their policy definitely defined, fixed and has been operative along that line for a long 100 years.

Now we're getting our Indian would be aspirant to parliament to say that, we're going to, we are not abandoning our black ... our friends. I don't want to mention a name of a gentleman who said to me, we are not abandoning our friends. What are you doing then, if you are not abandoning your friends?

When you go into parliament, you are inheriting all those massive, unjust laws which are on the statute book, which have been operating against the black for the last 150 years and will still operate against the blacks and will continue to operate; and you're going to be but a party to that. (APPLAUSE)

And you still have the damn audacity, to say, that you are not abandoning blacks. You still have the audacity and the courage to say that you are their friends, what kind of friends are we, when we are administering that oppressive system against them, when we are going to be co-participant in all that. And still we call ourselves that we are their friends.

The blacks have every right to look upon us (STUTTERS) as their enemy.

And I say this gentlemen that, history will not repeat itself in this country. What happened in East Africa to the Indians, I believe in a moral law of operation, what happened there to us was well deserved. Was well deserved by the Indian, because they are, in the context of their situation there, they never played a constructive role; and when vengeance and revenge comes there's always a cause for that.

And what we are going to do here, we're telling the Africans we are not deserting you, we are still your friends. What on earth are you going to do for them in parliament? In the House of Delegates when you are dealing with your own affairs, you cannot discuss black affairs, so you are completely out there.

When you are in your general affairs with (STUTTERING) the executive arm of the government, the government there are 20 or 25 ministers, cabinet ministers of whom 20, 22 will be whites, majority in any case will be whites, what are you going to do there for the blacks? Because the moment, even if you were to raise something in favour of the blacks, you will be told, now Mr So-and-so this is the policy of the government you know; we have set our course along that line the last 100 years, we have partly succeeded creating independent states we are in the process creating more independent states, this is our solution there is nothing we can do about this. And so you are made to shut-up.

Whatever decision; isn't that important to try and remember, constitutional convention, that in cabinet when a decision is taken, while the debate is going on you can differ, argue and so on, share your points of view. And there may be ministers who disagree with that particular policy, for once a decision is taken in a cabinet; have you ever heard any cabinet minister outside criticising the decision that was taken in the cabinet. It's the constitutional convention, that the decision of a cabinet is binding on all members and no cabinet minister is allowed to open his mouth outside of the cabinet to say that he disagreed with the decision that was taken in the cabinet. He in fact supports, has to support the decision. You look into the history of political decisions, no cabinet minister has ever said, I stood for something else, I said this in the cabinet but I was overruled. No way, he cannot, that's the constitutional convention binding on all cabinet

ministers. So the Rajbansi's and the J N Reddy's and all that crowd, if they happen to be in cabinet there, will have to shut their mouths, not even the world will know what they said inside. (APPLAUSE)

They cannot be heard outside. They cannot even say to the public, look we took up a different point of view in the cabinet and therefore we are morally not guilty of it. You can't take it that way, once you are in it, in that system, even if you are against it, when your decision is taken I say you are bound by it; then you are morally responsible for that decision, you are constitutionally responsible for that decision, you are legally responsible for that decision. There's no two ways about it.

Another thing that we must remember, the South African government doesn't require any more laws as far as the blacks are concerned. Every conceivable piece of legislation necessary to keep the blacks in their position, in the position they have been, is there in the armoury of the State. They don't require any more new laws. They don't require any Group Areas or Population Registration Act and so on. They all are there. You're going into a parliament, into a system where all these laws are intact. And I can assure you gentlemen for the next five years, while this parliament is in o ... (STUTTERS) in session, not a single piece of legislation will come forward via the general cabinet against the blacks. (INAUDIBLE) so that Mr Rajbansi the J N Reddy's and others will have an opportunity of saying well we had this, we are opposing this. It won't come for there is no need for any more legislation, all the legislation is there, in terms of which the policy of the government has been carried out consistently. Right now there are 620 000 people waiting in Natal to be shifted from their present township areas into locations, to be decided. There are over 300 000 blacks in the Western Cape in the process or about to be shifted into the wasteland, what do they call it, Khayelitsha, what a beautiful name,

New Light, whatever it may be.

These mass movements of people, uprooting of the people, destruction of life, social life, destruction of their; everything that isn't civil, their dignity their self respect, treating them as cattle, inhuman. All this will go on. No number of Rajbansi's or J N Reddy's or anybody else are going to be able to stop that process. Are we then not being seen by the blacks in this country as their co-oppressors.

If ever a day comes when they come to power, gentlemen I can tell you that I will be the first one to say, you have every right to ... to take your revenge.

Morally, ethically we have no defence at all. And gentlemen history will tell you too, we cannot ignore the black people, they have 72% already. Of the 31 million ... 28 million, 22 million are blacks, 23 million black in the white South Africa, not counting the independent so-called independent states.

And their own <sup>STATISTICIANS</sup> ~~statisticians~~ are saying in another thirty years time the total population of white South Africa will be about 55 to 60 million of which 45 million will be blacks. You can build ramparts of iron, concrete walls, they will all break in terms of those numbers. Gentlemen there is no way you can keep the blacks 45, 50 million blacks in their homelands or in <sup>SHALLOW</sup> (INAUDIBLE) little areas and so on. No amount of power, of military pressure will be able to keep that up. That is an inexorable situation (INAUDIBLE) The blacks are a growing power, they're growing in numbers, they're growing in (STUTTERS) as a consumer unit you know as (STUTTERS) majority (STUTTERS) of our buyers are blacks and they are buying more and more, the more they earn the more they buy; they are growing in education they are becoming more and more educated or

education is getting (STUTTERS) more freely available they'll become more and more educated; there is a vast number of them becoming middle-class, sophisticated well-educated people. They are growing in every respect and then in terms of labour they are organising themselves into trade unions, into labour organisations and you know labour is really the basis of all power.

They are going to will an enormous power in this country, an irresistible power in another 10, 15, 20 years time, the will South Africa will have to reckon with. There is no way in which these ramparts can be maintained.

And I dread the day when we will be seeing, with our enemies (STUTTER) by their enemies.

Gentlemen the whole thing is immoral. I can't see any decent person sitting in the cabinet there, and seeing all this misery here, being inflicted <sup>upon</sup> ~~on~~ the black people. I can't see how you can participate and continue to remain there and (STUTTERS) feel not responsible for it.

And let these gentlemen who are going in remember that they are going with their eyes open, they know what they are going in for. They are therefore willingly accepting this role, they are willingly accepting this role of co-oppressor and in the process they are going to drag the whole of the Coloured and Indian community.

What we are trying to show here, we know this parliament is going to come into being, you need only (<sup>three</sup> ~~INAUDIBLE~~) people in a constituency to elect a person. One to stand for election, the son or mother or daughter to propose that person as a candidate and someone in the family to support the proposal and you have your member of parliament, House of

Delegates (LAUGHTER).

We know that is going to happen, there is more than three. But what we want to show, that at least we can hold our heads up as Indians and Coloureds that we haven't sold our soul for the pittance that we will be getting there, if anything at all.

By showing that we have not even looked at the ballot box or gone anywhere near it. So our call is keep away from all this voting, keep your dignity to yourself, keep your self-respect to yourself, maintain some understanding of the human problem, some understanding of the problem of this country and remember the future, future doesn't lie in this kind of structure, in this kind of petty "power" chambers that have been arranged for us.

We are being put in the same boat that whites have been ... in it, we are now becoming (STUTTERING - INAUDIBLE) Indians and Coloureds we are sailing in dangerous waters and we are going to wreck ourselves in the long process, unless fundamental changes are brought about. And not ... this is not the way these changes are going to work (INAUDIBLE).

Gentlemen our plea therefore is that on moral grounds, on ethical grounds, on religious grounds you'll see from pamphlets being distributed, prepared by the Islamic Council of South Africa, we have stated our grounds repeatedly. On moral grounds, practical grounds, every conceivable political grounds there is no way in which we can participate in this constitution.

And I hope <sup>that</sup> everyone who is here, is here because he is concerned about the future of this country, is concerned about what (STUTTERING) that we are at a very dangerous crossroad in the history of this country. And let us at least keep our, be in a position to keep our heads high and

say that we were not party to this. Thank you. (APPLAUSE)

(UDF POSTER APPEARS ON SCREEN)

IQBAL KHAN: I'm sure, when you came into this hall tonight you had many doubts in your mind, I hope by now some of those doubts have been erased. We do expect you to still have some doubts at the end of the meeting. You are welcome to ask questions after Dr Boesak has spoken. We will have Mr Mewa Ramgobin to speak next, he will be followed by Dr Boesak and thereafter the floor will be yours. Ladies and gentlemen, the speakers will try to answer your questions to the best of their ability. So if you have any questions don't hesitate, please ask them.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is interesting to note in the Natal Mercury that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has called on the Indian and the Coloured people not to vote in the forthcoming elections.

The apartheid system has been discredited and the whole package needs to be changed. In the light of this, the so-called new constitutional proposals were introduced, to present the <sup>OLD</sup> ~~whole~~ system in a new format. The new constitution tabled by the white government and approved by the white electorate, remember the last so-called referendum. This new constitution allows for the pseudo participation of only a select section of the South African community and I take it that very few of you will allow your conscience, will let your conscience allow you to participate in the 22nd August or 28th August elections.

Ladies and gentlemen, our next speaker unfortunately Mr Patrick Lekota is still being entertained elsewhere, he hasn't arrived yet, but we hope to have him in our presence at our next public meeting. Yes, gentlemen of the Security Branch keep yourselves available. We will be having another public meeting that makes more work for you. You have my

sympathy some of you worked till 2 o'clock this morning. We saw you, next time we will discuss matters of common importance, common interest over a cup of tea.

(UDF ONE MILLION SIGNATURE POSTERS ATTACHED TO THE TABLES ON STAGE APPEAR IN VIEW.)

We do have some more posters, so don't bother ripping our posters (LAUGHTER).

Ladies and gentlemen our next speaker Mr Mewa Ramgobin. Mr Mewa Ramgobin is one of the national treasurers of the United Democratic Front, he is also an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress. Mr Ramgobin was banned for only 17 years. (LAUGHTER) During the 17 years he was, he had the privilege of being placed under house-arrest for 12 years. In 1971 he was set free, so being typical Ramgobin he upon receiving his freedom, so-called freedom, he revived the Natal Indian Congress. This very Natal Indian Congress under whose banner we sit today and which banners you'll see today. However, after this revival of the NIC he was re-banned and they placed another house-arrest on him. So in other words he was only free for 9 months and he cleared a lot of eh lot of work <sup>in</sup> the 9 months, so they thought it was best in his own interest that he be placed under house arrest, and he served that house arrest for 12 years.

During the 1983 July relaxation of the house-arrest Mr Ramgobin and many others were unbanned, for how long I don't know ladies and gentlemen because it was, they were released in July last year which is about 12 months now. So we have our fingers crossed that they will be around by August 28th. (LAUGHTER)

Mr Ramgobin, sir, whilst you are here please make hay while the sun



shines. (LAUGHTER) I shouldn't say that they gave him a lot of sun on Robben Island. (LAUGHTER) Some of us have visions of spending our retirement on some South-Sea island (LAUGHTER). Really that is very easy going to one that is not very far off Cape Town. (LAUGHTER). What do you want sun, sea, salt

Ladies and gentlemen Mr Mewa Ramgobin (APPLAUSE)

Mewa RAMGOBIN:

Thank you Mister chairman,

Ladies and gentlemen I guess it is my duty on behalf of the cong... organisation that I represent; to identify the organisation fully with the sentiments expressed both by Professor Meer and Mr Bawa.

Most of us do know that, in the expression of such sentiments we have also taken a position; like the Islamic Council of South Africa. And we have called on the people of South Africa, the Indian and Coloured people of South Africa not to vote on August 22 and 28.

We also do know that having taken this position, some people have increased their vocabulary considerably. And they increase in their vocabulary about two words. They take delight in calling the Natal Indian Congress and its supporters, boycotters on the one hand and radical or radicals on the other.

If ... the realisation of the ideals as Mr Bawa has stated in terms of our dignity, in terms of our ~~activity~~<sup>ATTEMPT</sup> to fight poverty and disease, in terms of building bridges between human being and human being, between groups and groups in this country. If, to create a South Africa which,

which is going to be rid of apartheid is being radical, then ladies and gentlemen with the Islamic Council of South Africa, let us all go back to our mosques our temples and our churches and pray to God, kneel in humility and beseech him to make us better radicals. (APPLAUSE)

Ladies and gentlemen, with those introductory remarks about our solidarity with our support groupings in the country, we want to make it very clear from the Natal Indian Congress, that these constitutional proposals, which I call a vulgarity, was not sucked out of the thumbs of some people sitting in ... Cape Town.

We believe implicitly, that it was the circumstances surrounding South Africa and affecting South Africa, circumstances internally and circumstances brought to beam on South Africa from abroad, that caused South Africa to sit up. When Angola and Mocambique fell in 1974 South Africa was no longer insular. When Soweto burned South Africa realised its weaknesses, and the strength of the people. In 1977, when this very P W Botha who runs this country today, led the first bloodless coup in this country by deposing Vorster and his grouping after the Info scandal, South Africa sat up.

In sitting up it demonstrated to the world and to us as an oppressed people in particular, that it was not going to take the challenges facing it, lying low. And if anyone of us had followed the history of this; sad and beautiful country, you must come to the conclusion ladies and gentlemen, that as early as 1977 this non-representative government introduced what I call, and what the Natal Indian Congress calls, the process of militarisation.

This process of militarisation on all levels; militarisation for us does not mean just the Army the Navy and the Air Force. When you reflect on the Carlton Centre and Good Hope meetings between the South

African Government, the business sector and the military. One would realise and come to the conclusion that the concept called, total strategy, was devised together by all these three sectors in order that the contained, the militancy and the upsurge of the oppressed peoples of this country representing to this beautiful land of ours. And if we disbelieve, or if we have not read, that this obnoxious constitutional proposals were an integral part of the process of militarisation, and let's go back to our source material.

In 1977, on your behalf, the Natal Indian Congress challenges the South African government and the South African Defence Force to deny a report in the Evening Post of Port Elizabeth which read.

That all the SADF generals were in favour of extending the call-up of Coloureds and Indians and for this reason, they are believed to have put considerable pressure on the nationalist party leadership to extend the franchise. And if this is not enough, then let us pick up a copy of that magazine called Paratus, the propaganda arm of the SADF, and see if one Mr Steenkamp has not said this, that and I open quotes, the current constitutional proposals came from the SADF-planning over five years ago.

Ladies and gentlemen, if this is not enough, then let us find out from the words of an unrepresentative prime minister, Mr Botha himself, when at the Cape congress of the Nationalist Party last year, sorry, the year 1977. When he asked his people, do you want Indians and Coloureds to fight on the borders? And when the reply came back yes! He replied in turn then give them the vote.

This constitutional proposal makes it possible for us as a people, to get fake votes in order that we get real bullets to carry on to the borders and kill our own brothers and sisters. (APPLAUSE)

And if this is not sufficient evidence, ladies and gentlemen, then the Natal Indian Congress again defies the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to deny that he said in Bryanston whilst he was canvassing during the time of the referendum, and when he said that the same rules and regulations will apply to Indians and Coloureds as they apply to whites to this day, to this present time in respect of conscription. And if that is not enough, the Congress again defies one called De Klerk, to deny that he did not say in Umdloti Beach last year, that the same rules and regulations will apply to Indians and Coloureds in respect of conscription as they apply to whites at this moment. And the sadness of it all is this, that Mr Rajbansi, Mr Pat Poovalingam and party, the people who seek to go into this tri-cameral system, deny, that conscription is going to be a logical consequence of acceptance of this tri-cameral system.

And at this juncture I want to warn them, on behalf of the Indian community, on behalf of those little lads, who cannot at this day or on this day discriminate between what a constitution is and what Mr Rajbansi's writing is. (LAUGHTER)

That, even in terms of what he calls own affairs; let it be known, that conscription ... of Indian youth, of Coloured youth, falls in fact within the category of own affairs. And that Mr Rajbansi or Mr Pat Poovalingam, who happens to be a clever lawyer, does not understand this; then on behalf of the community I think they have an obligation to re-read the terms of references of the constitution. And the surprising thing is this ladies and gentlemen, that education falls into own affairs, and under the section of education comes cadet training at schools. Cadet training in schools which logically leads, explicit in that document which has now become law, the cadet training must take place in respect of and in relation to and subject to the existing

Defence Act of 1975 which makes conscription compulsory for all people above the age of 21, who happen to have the vote. And if Mr Rajbansi and the clever lawyers in Solidarity cannot comprehend this, how in the name of heaven can they comprehend the difference between subjection and freedom? (APPLAUSE)

How then, ladies and gentlemen, does this state come to a situation, when they seek to divide us, and manipulate us. Our previous speakers have already talked about Bantustans and removals. I just want to make one addition to the concept of Bantustans, removals, relocations; which I call dislocation of communities, dumping grounds, the policies of dispossession and what have you. We can call them all these names, and many more. But we make bold to say, with tremendous shame on our shoulders, that these Bantustans are the (~~harbours~~<sup>houses</sup>) of poverty, disease, loneliness and shame.

That there can never be dignity in this kind of disease and loneliness, that there can never be dignity when brother fights brother, that there can never be dignity and self-respect when brother Sebe puts in brother Sebe in order to keep, puts in brother Sebe in jail in order and in keeping with the policies of apartheid. (APPLAUSE)

I would, with the permission of the chairman ladies and gentlemen, like to welcome our publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota (INAUDIBLE)  
(APPLAUSE) (Lekota enters).

Ladies and gentlemen, having said what I have said, yet we see in our midst something like two hundred; I use the word something, something like two hundred candidates standing for elections to contest forty seats in the Indian community. The question that we have already asked, why? And today in Ladysmith we are going to repeat the question. Is it because of a particular kind of status that the tri-cameral system

offers? Is it because of ... a kind of particular pride that the tri-cameral system offers? Mr Bawa and Professor Meer have said, none of this exists.

The question arises, is it R50 000,00 p.a.? (AUDIENCE: APPLAUSE). We believe yes, but the Natal Indian Congress again poses the question this time, to those Indians and Coloureds who are seeking seats in the tri-cameral system to answer, now, whether they will be so willing to stand for seats if the R50 000,00 was today withdrawn. (APPLAUSE).

Therefore ladies and gentlemen, I do not ... I do not know how to quote the Bible correctly, but is it because of thirty pieces of silver that human beings sometimes lose their souls? (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE)

But what boggles the mind most, is a non-recognition of a fact, that you and I are going to pay them their salaries. That you and I, and the poverty-stricken person out in the bundus in Kwam... Kwazulu or in the Ciskei who pay the same amount of money for a litre of milk as you and I do here; and therefore pay, perhaps there is no GST on that; but in terms of basic commodities they will pay the same amount in GST as you and I. And what is it designed for - designed for, to pay the salaries of people, who in my opinion are beginning to lose their souls. Our taxes are going to be used to pay people, who are going to be the instruments of our own oppression.

The Natal Indian Congress declares, that this is in keeping with the policies of the government. That, it is going to use Indians to oppress Indians, it is going to use Coloureds to oppress Coloureds, as it is doing in the Ciskei at the moment. It is using the Sebe's to keep the Ciskeians down. (APPLAUSE).

We believe, again in the Natal Indian Congress, that South Africa in which this kind of constitutional dispensation is designed to fit in, has a war economy; and this might shock some of us, particularly those of us who are undecided whether they should vote or not vote. We want to draw your attention in particular, that this country has two thousand firms, in full-time operation, at the best of times, 24 hours of the day with our labour, manufacturing war-goods. And in the manufacture of these war-goods, it might surprise some of us to learn that South Africa now is an exporter of arms and armaments, that South Africa has a shop window or has had a shop window, in a place called Athens to sell its products. That this country which can pay R50 000,00 p.a. to people who do not know the difference between a constitution and a dictionary, (LAUGHTER). That if this government can manufacture arms and sell, have two thousand firms involved in the manufacture of arms and armaments; if this government can spend three million rand per day on the defence of apartheid; we demand to know, now, as to why has the allocation in housing, for us as an oppressed people, fallen.

With the allocation in the Defence budget in 1970, was 11,5% of the Gross Domestic Product, and which rose to 17,3% in 1980, why? And we demand to know, why, did the allocation in respect of housing in that same period fell from 2,68% to 2,3%. (APPLAUSE)

A question we ask in Congress, we are tired of asking of this ... questions of this nature. Only because we are convinced that this government, is a tottering one, tottering to such an extent that it has now come to the realisation, that it has only 750 000 skilled whites in this country. And of these 750 000 skilled whites, one third of them are in the civil service as bureaucrats. (LAUGHTER).

A very large percent of them are in the army already, and ask any economist in this country as to what the state of the economy is. That

economically active people are engaged in the defence of this country, which does not produce an income, and therefore it has now become abundantly clear that Indians and Coloureds are to be cconscribed into an army and placed on the borders as canon-fodder; so that, these economically active white people can come back into economic life.

I thought I was going to take the time of Terror Lekota as I was asked to do, but I think I want to jump a little bit here and talk about the year 2000. With Terror's permission (LAUGHTER)

Ladies and gentlemen, do we know of those people who want to go to the polls on the 22nd and the 28th? Do you know that in 16 years from today, in the year 2000, of every 4 skilled and every 4 matriculants in South Africa, three of them will be blacks. Do you know that in terms of the laws of economics, what this means in terms of the purchasing power, the economic power, the bargaining power of people? It means, that by year 2000 this 75% of economically active people who happen to be blacks; can hold this country to ransom. Had it not been for this, let us stop a while and find out, as to why the Gavin Relly's of Anglo American, the Christopher Sanders's of Tongaat group, the Barlow Rand group, the Rembrandt Grouping; why are these people pushing for these so-called reforms.

They were pushing in this, on the one hand, they were members of the advisory council of the Defence Force on the basis of economics on the other hand. What were their role or roles? Their roles with the government, and the Army, was to contain the possibility of (INAUDIBLE) of the year 2000; in that, if we as blacks without political rights can hold the country to ransom, it is therefore in their interest; once having divided the African Sector, to contain the Indian and the Coloured and draw them into their laager.



Ladies and gentlemen, Mr Bawa has given you the details of the constitution itself. I just want to say, that Congress on your behalf will do nothing on the one hand, to give respectability to this dispensation which we call vulgar, and we on the other hand will do everything within our power to see to it, that we keep the polls as low as we possibly can. And in wanting to keep the low ... the polls as low as we possibly can, we would like to reiterate over and over again - that we will not vote, and we beseech our people not to vote, because we do not want to help the system or the government to create new systems of administration and leave the fundamentals of oppression intact.

That we do not want to give it any moral or national respectability. That we refuse to look at our problems from the government's point of view. But above all, we believe that this constitution is not only vulgar, but it is violence personified, it attacks our dignity as human beings, it breaks our unity which we have built over the years and as Professor Meer has said, which has lent itself to be a proud tradition. That we will not give respectability to detention without trials, deaths in jails, banning orders and above all will not give any respectability to the continued existence of Robben Island and Pollsmoor Prison which house our political leaders. (APPLAUSE).

On a note for Mr P W Botha himself, some of us remember when he went on his mission abroad, perhaps on his knees to his Holiness the Pope, (LAUGHTER) trying to sell the constitution to him and to Mrs Thatcher and to the German Chancellor.

One is ... one is boggled, when one understands that he has had the audacity to desecrate the Vatican. I do not understand how in the name of heaven or all that's good can a prime minister of a country, go and sell such a package, with a preamble starting - we in the name of God Almighty etc. etc.; can in fact have included in that document

everything that's un-Godly. (APPLAUSE)

And we with a word for Mr Botha himself now, from the Natal Indian Congress want to declare. But before declaring our own stand, let us quote Mr Botha himself. When Mr Botha was in Lisbon, this is what he had to say about Southern Africa, and as a super-salesman selling the constitutional proposals to the outside world. And these are his words. Said Mr Botha, "we are tired of conflict in Southern Africa, and that, Southern Africa should not be turned into a battlefield". Close quotes.

We the Natal Indian Congress, ladies and gentlemen declared, and if Mr Botha you are not here today to listen, we hope you have some means of listening to us. When we say to you, and to your government that we the oppressed people of South Africa are tired of apartheid (APPLAUSE) which is the basis of all conflict. (APPLAUSE)

That, Mr Botha, we are tired of telling you and your allies whether they are here or in the western world, that apartheid is the cause of all conflict!

That, Mr Botha, we are tired of telling you, that yes we are engaged in battle, the battle is between apartheid and human dignity. (APPLAUSE)

That, Mr Botha no number of public relations visits abroad, no number of Nkomati accords can resolve the problems that we face in this country. That until you have had the sense and the humility, to say, that we have been wronged thus far, we will not and never be able to solve the problems of this country together. That your government, in its lawlessness, has negated all the moral principles as Mr Bawa has already said. ~~And that~~ until you realise this, we will never, never and never stop to engage apartheid in battle. (APPLAUSE)

And therefore ladies and gentlemen in asking you not to vote, and in (declaiming) that the Natal Indian Congress will do everything within its power to urge people not to vote. We say this to you because after being listened to our previous speakers and hopefully to what I have had to say, that our choice today is between abject, abject submission to the power of the State, spiritual degradation, the denial of truth and our moral prosecution for reasons that we consider base and vulgar; or opposition to the constitution with all the consequences thereof or therein no matter what the price, no matter what the sacrifice.

It is on that basis ladies and gentlemen, that the Natal Indian Congress has called and will call over and over again until August 28 upon you and the rest of you who are outside, not to vote.

Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE)

(VIDEO INTERRUPTION)

IQBAL KHAN: Now we know why, within 9 months Mr Ramgobin was re-banned and placed under house-arrest.

Ladies and gentlemen another point of interest, you heard that a carrot in the form of R50 000,00 p.a. has been dangled and some 200 have fallen for it (LAUGHTER) a few will succeed.

You know it is interesting to note that one of our candidates eh, I'm mentioning no names, so far, ehm has belonged to almost every local, provincial, national political party (LAUGHTER) and failed to find a permanent home (LAUGHTER) at the expense of the South African rate payer. I'm talking of Cape Town ladies and gentlemen. Did you know that eh together with these houses, there will be three sets of dining

rooms, one for the Indians, one for the Coloureds and one for the Whites. Makes you think doesn't it (LAUGHTER). If they do not eat together then is this indeed a new constitution, are we indeed moving away from discrimination?

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr Patrick (whispers: TERROR) Lekota. He is the national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front. Mr Lekota also had the privilege of spending 5 years on Robben Island. (APPLAUSE)

Ladies and gentlemen Mr Lekota. (APPLAUSE)

PATRICK alias "TERROR" LEKOTA:

Good evening friends and fellow South Africans. It is proper that tonight at the time that the apartheid <sup>masters</sup> masses of our country are introducing what they call a new constitution, we should meet under the banner of the Natal Indian Congress. It is ninety years, this year, since the Natal Indian Congress was first founded by Mahatma Gandhi to champion the struggle for equal rights. It is ninety years since the beginning therefore of the Congress movement. The formation of the Natal Indian Congress went on to inspire as we will recall from our history, the formation in 1912 of <sup>yet another</sup> ~~the Black Brother~~ Congress and by that the history of our country was given the basis and foundation, and resistance must be seen in that context. Those who look at the period of today who look at the constitutional amendment of our time, must also understand that the foundations of apartheid were already laid after 1902 at the peace talks between ~~the~~ Boers and Britain, where they actually decided to make peace together. In the long run, and especially in 1909, they actually formed alliance, their conspiracy against the rest of the population of the country. What they call the National Convention of 1909 was nothing else but a conspiracy between the remainder of the population of the country. We are seeing now the

logical outcome of that conspiracy today ... (APPLAUSE) ... But before I go on maybe I should make and draw your attention to an important development of late, and that is the fact that Mr Rajbansi has promised the African people, that he is going to Parliament and will go there to represent the African people and fight their struggle; to fight it on their behalf ... (LAUGHTER) ... I don't contest Mr Rajbansi's capacity to pretend to represent anybody, but I would still want to know from Mr Rajbansi as to when the African people withdrew their mandate to their leaders, who are imprisoned, to their organisations, etc. etc. and gave it to him ... (LAUGHTER and APPLAUSE) ... I would like to know when ... (LAUGHTER and APPLAUSE) ... As far as I am concerned, as far as I am concerned, Mr Rajbansi <sup>does not even</sup> ~~is not to~~ represent the Indian people in the country. (LAUGHTER) And I think that in terms of the formation of the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and subsequently the formation of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the undying determination and loyalty to Congress by the Indian community over the years, they have, and they continue to maintain their loyalty and they have given their mandate. I don't know of a single meeting in this country when they have withdrawn that mandate and given it to him. Similarly with the African people, I think in some ways the introduction of the new constitution provides an opportunity for all of us, not only to critically look at the new constitution but I think the crucial question is that we must take this opportunity to review the situation; to look back at the history of resistance, the foundation of which was laid by our forefathers to find our place and build on the effort of the past. The United Democratic Front in selecting its national colours, made it a point that it would include gold as one of the colours representing the wealth of the country, ... (APPLAUSE) ... and went on to include the black colour, I think generally because everywhere Africa is talked about as a Black continent. But it is crucial also that the third colour that the Front included was the Red colour. Now because I know as you often read in the papers, you will be told that, that is now Soviet Russia, you will

be told that we are communists. You will be told all kinds of things. You will be reading those things in the papers. But I think that at some point in time and perhaps this is a proper moment for us, to begin to answer some of the questions which are hanging and pending in the minds of the people.

The red colour is proper. It has to be there and we chose it deliberately. We chose it as a representation of the blood of our people ... (APPLAUSE) ... which has been spilt. The blood of our people which was spilt in the Natal sugar cane fields in the period subsequent to 1860, the blood of our people which was spilt on the banks of the Blood River, the blood which was spilt on the foot of Thaba Bosigo the blood of the masses of our people which were killed at Volksrust as Indian people marched in defiance into the Transvaal and Boer commandos met them at Volksrust. That is the blood of our people and we claim that that is the heritage a very rich heritage which our forefathers have left us. We are determined to make sure that the sacrifices of the past will not be in vain. Will win salvation, that blood. Hence that red colour be included there. I want you to understand that properly and I want you not to have any shame and not to apologise to anybody. It is our right to claim the blood of our people. That is the price of instalment which we have already paid for freedom. <sup>We have a receipt for it</sup> (INAUDIBLE) (APPLAUSE) ... Let me deal in brief terms because I don't know what amount of time we have left.

Let me deal in brief terms with the background to this constitutional amendment which we are seeing today. Let me say that 1910 introduced that Act which was called <sup>the</sup> Union Act of 1910, which excluded already sections of the African population from voting, from participation in the Government of our country. That in 1912 as a direct response to the 1910 Union Act, African people formed the African National Congress then of course called the South African Native National Congress to protest

their exclusion from Parliament side by side. And of course in doing so, they were taking their side next to the Natal Indian Congress to the Congress movement as a whole, next to the African peoples organisation.

The demands of our people beginning that time was always to say to the White population of our country "extend democratic rights to include those of the other populations, to include our groups as well". That was the call of the people. You will notice <sup>if you look at</sup> ~~in~~ the history of our country even in 1945 at the close of the second World War. The African claims of 1945 still called for inclusion, for the extension of democratic rights to Africans and therefore their inclusion in Government, mind you and by that time, that was already after 1935/36. That was after Africans in Natal and the Cape had already been deprived their qualified franchise status in those provinces. And still in 45 they were still asking, trying to persuade that they should be included in the democratic process of the Government. But 45 came and went, and the Government and successive Government remained absolutely insensitive and obstinate where Africans demands and indeed the demands of the rest of the population have been. So by 46 we find Indians and African people signing a pact of co-operation in their joint resistance against apartheid.

The DADOO/XUMA/NAICKER PACT or what otherwise is called the DOCTOR'S PACT was signed in 46 between our various peoples as a joint commitment to struggle and destroy apartheid once and for all.

So during the fifties and with the Defiance Campaign, Indian youth, African youth and Coloured youth joined together in defying those unacceptable laws which even up to this day continue to plague our country. But by 55, and this is a crucial point, by 55 when our people met at Klip Town represented by the various Congresses, they no longer asked to be included, they no longer asked to be included in the

Government of the day for the Government had already committed in their judgement, they had already committed too many crimes against the people of the country.

Our people were locked in hostels and compounds leading inhuman forms of life away from their families, away from their children. Our people have been shot and killed for protecting<sup>s</sup> at Windhoek against the shortage of land; our people have been shot and killed along the struggles surrounding the Indian Ghettoes Act in Durban. Many of our people had died in the course of life; our people had been sent to war in Egypt. They had come back and been given second-hand bicycles as a reward for them. (APPLAUSE) And so by 55, and so by 55, they found that this Government is too dirty in its hands, too bloody. Too bloody in its hands.

It's committed too many crimes. They could no longer ask to be included in it, for to be included is to assume responsibility for crimes which were committed without their agreement, without their complicity. They called for a new Government, one in which the people shall govern. (APPLAUSE) They called in 55 for a new government altogether. A government in which the people shall govern.

Those today like those Bantustan leaders who think with their stomachs, like Rajbansi who think with their salaries, like Hendrickses and so on. Those who are saying to our people today, whether they be Indian, Africans or White, those who are saying "accept the new constitution". They are saying to you and I that we must trample underfoot the proud tradition of struggle of our people; they say we must go against the findings of generations which were born before, but we cannot afford to do that. In doing that we will be betraying ourself, we will be betraying our people, and generations of the future can only have contempt for us. We will not go for those poisonous crumbs which will



fall from the tables of the Tri-cameral Parliament. We will not do that and we refuse to go in there. In calling upon our people today to say that they must not go and vote on the 22nd and 28th, we are not making that call in a vacuum, we are making that in the context of the history of the people, that has fought the struggle, that has laid all the foundations, and that has consistently been denied, and is still indeed being denied, because of what is called the new constitution today. Rajbansi is killing himself. He is talking about going into Parliament. He should be advised that he is not going into Parliament. He is going next to the Parliament. That is where he is going. (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE). He may not be aware of this. If he is not aware of this, he may well come here and we will let him know. He is going next to Parliament, because Parliament is that house in which for decades now, White members of Parliament sit there. That is where even the people who will be sitting in the White House are the only ones who will be called Members of Parliament.

Those who will be sitting in the House of Delegates and in the House of Representatives, are not members of Parliament; they are Delegates and they are Representatives. They are not members of Parliament.

The law will be made in the House of Parliament; while those fellows are sitting in those little shacks, and debating and passing jokes between each other; the law will be made there, it will then be passed onto them to put their signatures to it, and that is how they will be getting their salaries. They will be getting paid for doing that type of thing. The point is quite clear. I think we must just remind this man that the constitution is not changing, that apartheid is not going away. We've made the point that we reject the new constitution, first and foremost because the adoption of the Tri-cameral formation, three houses is actually adopted in order to preserve the fundamental principle of apartheid; namely that White people are superior and

untouchable.

You see they cannot even afford to go and sit next to Rajbansi even though he is their sellout. They can't go and sit next to Rajbansi and so on. (INAUDIBLE DUE TO APPLAUSE). And that, and that my dear friends, is the fundamental principle of apartheid that that should be so. That even in the provision of the new constitution, he will not, and he's not free to go to, he will not own a house next to, he will not be a neighbour of P W Botha. Even in the Blue train, the Minister of Transport has already assured them that even in the Blue train they will have their own coaches there. (LAUGHTER). They will not sit with them. We are saying that the new constitution does not represent an acceptance of the Indian and Coloured compatriots as human beings on the basis of equality. They have other reasons why they are extending this and we will deal with that in time. But let me go to the second point and say simply this; that in terms of their majority in the White House and leaving - and leaving the minority in the other two houses, it is clear that political power, the monopoly <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ political power remains entirely in the hands of the Whites. Because you see comrades, in terms of this new constitution, the majority will not be calculated in terms of those who oppose a measure in the White House, plus in the Indian House, plus in the Coloured House. <sup>That is not what the position is going to be</sup> (INAUDIBLE). Once an issue is debated in; the White House and the majority in that house, and you know who the majority are already; if the majority in that house says this is Act, that becomes law. And in terms of the new constitution everybody who sit in the White House, including Van Zyl Slabbert, including Vause Raw, and everybody else will be regarded as having voted for that measure. It will be the measure that is therefore now adopted by the whole house so the whole figure in the White House will be regarded as having adopted that measure, good. So you go into the Coloured House, you go into the Indian House. Say everybody in that house vote against it in both Houses vote against. You combine them. They have no way in which

they can defeat that phenomenal majority figure in the White House. So political power remains entirely in the hands of, of Whites. You can already say <sup>here</sup> that in everyone of the sub-committees that will follow, the majority will always be those Whites. Because it is always going to be proportionate and so on. Now then of course, we must simply say this; that in terms of the new constitution the political power remains in the hands of those people.

The fundamental principle of racial superiority remains enshrined in there and so on. Of course we can add other things ... no one is even talking about the peace accord and so on, and so on I think we shouldn't even talk about peace accords. There are no peace accords to talk about. In the context of what is happening today you can see clearly even the machinations of Hitler. And if we remember that you know the Afrikaner Nationalists have got well known and historically documented history of association with Nazi Germany. We understand the pattern very clearly.

You remember those nights of the thirties when Hitler would take the leaders of Austria and so on, into some conferences and so on, <sup>THREATEN</sup> ~~harassing~~ them with force, and the following day he would come out and say they have signed the pact of peace.

That's what these fellows are doing here. (APPLAUSE). Look at the racial policies, Look at the racial policies that were pursued by the Nazi's, look at the racial policies which are pursued by the Afrikaner Nationalists in our country today. Look at the final solutions of Hitler, Goebels and all those fellows in the Second World War. You will see that eh we are now at the final solution, and Jews, defenceless Jewish people were removed into some secret corners <sup>u</sup> ~~at~~ there and so on; and executions were being carried out and the world did not see, the world could not hear <sup>and so on</sup> ~~at all~~. Look at the pattern of the forced removal

problem that is going on in our country. See how African people are
 being removed from the centres of the towns, and put in remote and
desolate parts of the country, where tomorrow when these men walk on our
people the world, will not be able to see, it will not hear. This is a
preparation for a slaughter. This is the type of future that we are
 faced with. (APPLAUSE) <sup>UNWIS</sup> We are saying that in terms of the whole problem
 that is taking place, there is no change. We are looking at the new
 constitution, and I am talking about it; I am looking at it today from
 this side of the colour line. I am saying to you that's how it looks
 like. But at the same time I must make an important point. We, and I
 was saying last week to some people I was talking to, that I don't envy
 the position in which my Indian and Coloured compatriots find
 themselves. I am sure that today you are being asked a question which
 many of you may not realise; but the question (INAUDIBLE) you are being
 asked today is the question which will be asked tomorrow in different
 circumstances. You have to give an answer, today, which if you give it
 today, you must not be ashamed to give it tomorrow in different and new
 circumstances, (APPLAUSE) so if we are saying that today the enemies of
the people of South Africa are in power, they want you to give an
 answer, a certain answer that supports their diabolical schemes. But
 tomorrow the people of South Africa, Black and White, will come back to
 you and they will say, "did you vote or not?" When you do face up to the
 ballot box on the 22nd and 28th, remember that the people of our
 country, Black and White, Indian and Coloured will ask you at some point
 in the future, I don't know when, but they will ask you for sure; or
 even generations of the future, will ask "did that generation vote or
 not?" I am saying let the answer we give today be one that we will still
 be proud to give tomorrow. (APPLAUSE). Let it be an answer which will
 be in keeping with the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi. (APPLAUSE). Let it be
 an answer, let it be an answer that will be in keeping with the spirit
 of Mahatma Gandhi for he has made a crucial point. He is talking about
 a piece of cloth. He has said, that is the cloth of our people, whether

it was beautiful patterns or not. It is the cloth of our people, wear it with dignity. The townships in which we find ourselves are poor. The conditions in which we survive are ones which are humiliating, but we can still survive in those conditions today. Sacrifice whatever little comfort these fellows are tempting us with. Sacrifice them, stay there with dignity as a people, and tomorrow walk out - all of us without anything to look back and be ashamed of; and say at a crucial moment we paid the price, we made this sacrifice, we are proud to be a people, we paid ~~our~~ <sup>the</sup> price, we built our future, and generations of South Africans can live in mutual respect, can live in peace. That is what we want. The crucial question why this answer must be given, the crucial question why this answer must be given, is because the Nats are conscious today because it is the high noon for them. The afternoon of their Government has already come. Their days are really numbered. I am not talking like a prophet (LAUGHTER) because I am not a prophet.

But I am talking out of reality, we are looking at the reality in front of us. These men (INAUDIBLE) today these men have to defend the border from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Today they are faced with the rising tide of resistance. This afternoon Welkom was on fire, schools have closed down, shops are burning, our people are saying, "we will not take this". This morning they announced in Middelburg that the whole community council resigned because the people said, "you are introducing rent which are unacceptable to us". That is the rising tide of resistance of the people. It is that organisation that is resistance of our people which must bring them down. We don't know, eh you see I always say "They the men, they are like an old man of fifty or fifty four (LAUGHTER) who is most powerful and who is faced with a young fellow of about eleven or twelve. Today of course he is strong and when the young fellow challenges him he can push him and let him fall over and so on (LAUGHTER) but there is a certain direction about this whole thing. The young man is growing, he's becoming stronger than today, the

old man is going down, you see, <sup>he is getting older</sup> ~~he is very old~~, his reflexes are becoming weaker and weaker. When this young man reached twenty four, twenty five the old man will be seventy five, he will be needing a kierie to walk around, he won't be able to maintain his balance. The young man will walk over him. What is happening today is those men are in that positions you see, they are just that. You are the old man Vorster, he made the point in 66 after the banning of the organisations of the people closing them down. He said that no, he has uprooted the whole menace of terrorism, of communism and so on and what not. He said now he has taken it out with its roots, he said I have taken this tree out, I have completely <sup>uprooted</sup> ~~upended~~ it. But he made a mistake because the tree of freedom, the resistance of the people is not a <sup>pear</sup> ~~pea~~s tree, it is not a tomato plant. (LAUGHTER) It is something quite different. It is more like the prickly pear (LAUGHTER) if you take - if you take a branch of that plant and you throw it away, wherever it lands, a new plant grows there (LAUGHTER) <sup>my point is that you had</sup> ~~(INAUDIBLE)~~. When that new plant grows there, you have more plants than before you threw that branch away (LAUGHTER). So some of us and so it is the process that is going on and I think maybe we must advise them. We are going into Robben Island, we are coming back, better men with deeper understanding. We've seen the leaders of our people, we've seen our grandfathers. We've had years to sit on the knees of Kathrada, of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu to learn about the road which our people have travelled. To draw from them the quiet stories about Dadoo, about Luthuli, about Dube, about many of those of the leaders of our people, who made sacrifices. Who we will not be allowed to read about in school, we will not be given books which says anything about <sup>them</sup> ~~that~~. Around the home fires in the evenings we are learning anew, we are discovering a new "BUYA" we are finding our people, and a thousand million Mahatma Ghandi's, Luthuli's and so on and so on, are being born.

Let us forget about the new constitution, there is no new constitution.

There is here a cleansing of apartheid, refurbishing it, they are just polishing it, and dusting it here and so on and so on (INAUDIBLE) (LAUGHTER) and then I must talk about - I just want to talk in brief about the alternative. We have said in the United Democratic Front that the new constitution must be rejected. Many people are beginning to ask, and in fact they are right to do so. What alternative does the United Democratic Front offer? What is the alternative to the President's new constitution, we are told this is a new constitution, it's a peaceful means of solving problems. But you see I don't know what is peaceful about a constitution which is being imposed on the people without them being given the opportunity to decide whether they want it, or not. (LAUGHTER). I don't see how that can be peaceful, because that is false, it is coercion, it is false, and how can that be peaceful. And I don't see how peaceful it is to say <sup>to</sup> African people, you must go to that homeland whether they like it or not and buldoze their homes and take them by force and drop them there. I don't know what is peaceful about that, I don't see anything peaceful about it. That is systematic violence that is applied to our people. It is that systematic violence carrying on for decades, which led to 61, to the formation of the Armed Wing of the African National Congress, to the formation of those groups which felt that the time for persuading was over. When that decision came, it was almost fifty years of non-violent persuasion that had failed, and failed entirely. We are still saying at this point in time, that even though we may not be using the same methods. We understand perfectly well how it came to pass, that a, a certain section of the population of our country has tended to resort to arms. We understand very well how it is that an increasing number of young people today are getting arrested and locked up for carrying weapons against the system that has proved itself to be armed against them and not to protect them. Because in 76 they were protesting against Afrikaans saying, "We can't learn in Afrikaans because Afrikaans speaking children are not forced to learn in Zulu or Xhosa". They were

shot with bullets and killed for that. It is that type of systematic violence that in itself has created the reaction of violence from others.

We are saying in the United Democratic Front, if this new constitution is allowed to go on, we are allowing them then to create a worse situation. We are allowing them actually to deepen the amount of racial and violent conflict that is in the country. That is why we are taking the risks of mobilising the people of calling upon them not to go and vote.

We know we could be detained for this, we know we can go to <sup>jail</sup> ~~prison~~, we will lose our jobs, our families would be left starving, and so on, but it's a bit that we can do.

We can still say, that if this Government is stopped, if it is stopped now, if they are going to stop now, together with Matanzima's and so on, and Buthelezi's and so on - if you stop those <sup>vassals</sup> ~~rustlers~~ (LAUGHTER) our country, many lives of the people of our country can be saved. That is why we are taking this risk. We are asking you to join up, to join the <sup>Programme</sup> ~~(INAUDIBLE)~~. Refuse with your vote but join us as well, mobilise some more and more people to say with us, apartheid is unacceptable.

Let the world know that these men are taking on programmes which are unacceptable to the people of our country that is the nature of contribution that can be made. Because otherwise, if that doesn't happen, the scale of dissatisfaction must lead to a deepening amount of armed conflict. The country is already at war today. Durban is, burning, Bloemfontein is burning, Johannesburg is burning. Today we are uncertain (INAUDIBLE) whether we will come out alive. (INAUDIBLE). We don't want that situation to deepen. That is why we are saying this constitution must be stopped and it must be stopped now. So our



alternative is a call for a National Convention. We have confidence in the people of South Africa, Black and White. We are saying that this Government must forget about its new constitution etc. etc. It must call a National Convention in which South Africans, all of them, including the Afrikaners, indeed including Afrikaners. Our point is, that even though Afrikaners may have been foreigners in terms of arriving here but together with all and everybody they have also made a contribution side by side with us. We made a contribution, we mined our country, we built the roads, we built the buildings or whatever else we can think of. This country we have shaped to what it is today. It was a combined effort of the people of South Africa.

Let us claim South Africa for everybody, not for this section or that section (APPLAUSE) (INAUDIBLE). A National Convention therefore, in which all the people of South Africa will participate, in which they will hammer out a constitution that will be based on their will. Therefore a constitution that will be acceptable <sup>to all of them</sup> ~~for all of them~~. But that constitution in terms of that convention, let the millions of our people who are imprisoned arbitrarily, let them be released from prison (APPLAUSE) Let those, let those who are banned and restricted including Beyers Naude, including Helen Joseph, including all of those who are banned and restricted, whatever political affiliation there may be, let them be unbanned and be allowed to roam their country peacefully. Let the exiles, those who could not accept the condition of apartheid, let them be allowed to come back home without any restrictions. Let the people of our country, in an atmosphere devoid of suspicion, devoid of racism, let them sit down and work out, hammer out a constitution that will be acceptable to all. We have confidence that that can be done. And we have confidence that the people of South Africa given such an opportunity will not choose revolution, they will not choose bloodshed, they will sit down and work out those things. The fact that those who started to take up arms, took fifty years before they did so, shows

their commitment, they had tried, they had tried everything.

I may just remind you, in 52, although it is something like nine months before 61, Luthuli had a very significant question to ask; and there was a man of peace, but he had a question to ask, and he asked the country "Who will deny that thirty years of my life had been spent knocking patiently, moderately and modestly the closed and barred door. What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation. That was 1952. There was a man who was saying behind him lay 30 years of non-violent persuasion in desperation I asked a crucial question. In 61 a young Mandela, Sisulu and others, had no choice. As Mandela tells the story from the confines of Robben Island. He says it was a pitiful decision, but we had tried everything; we had used our lawyers, our priests, teachers, everybody, we couldn't move them. Now they were closing the final thing that remained for us, they closed even the organisation of the people. We had to respond, we chose to fight. Now we don't want to see fighting you see; fighting is not a pleasant thing. No-one goes into a fight and comes out without scars. We want to stop this constitution thing here. The system must be stopped, the <sup>Nato</sup> ~~mess~~ must be stopped - they must be stopped now.

And therefore in terms of that, we are asking you; we in the United Democratic Front have made a clear break with apartheid, we have made it quite clear. There is no point of compromise between us and apartheid. In terms of our Christian principles, in terms of our ~~democratic~~ <sup>philosophical</sup> understanding of things, apartheid is a wickedness, it is an evil, it is something that is wrong. We have <sup>made</sup> our choice. We are asking you to join us. The success of our position and effort relies also in the combination of ours and yours, we are saying withhold your vote, on the 22nd withhold it.

The time must come when we shall have an opportunity to vote honourably

without fear without shame ...

AMANDLA! (GIVES CLENCHED FIST SALUTE WITH RIGHT HAND)

AUDIENCE: AWETHU

(APPLAUSE)

(VIDEO INTERRUPTION)

IQBAL KHAN: Ehm, the driver of the yellow Mazda NKR 11738 please remove your vehicle it's in the way of another vehicle, thank you.

Right ladies and gentlemen, Ladysmith wherever that may be. Tonight we have ensured that Ladysmith appears on the political map. We are fortunate that we have amongst us under one umbrella, five of perhaps South Africa's leading speakers amidst us.

We are indeed very very grateful, we are very lucky. To me this is a historical occasion. During Patrick Terror Lekota's speech he mentioned Rajbansi quite a few times. I hope the guy is not having hiccups tonight (LAUGHTER).

Talking of Rajbansi, like him we have butchers, bakers and builders all purporting to represent us. I may forgive Rajbansi by eh for participating in this constitution, I say I may forgive him. But I'll never forgive him for presenting P W Botha with a copy of the Bawla Ghita (phonetical) as a token of appreciation for the services P W Botha has rendered to the Indian community. (APPLAUSE). If that is not selling out the people, then what is?

Ladies and gentlemen you must have seen our posters, the catch phrase, "Hear the truth". What better person than a man of the cloth, we have

present here tonight the Rev. Dr Alan Boesak. This is the only occasion that he is going to speak to any audience before the August elections. We are very very fortunate that we <sup>managed</sup> ~~meant~~ to get him to speak to us. Dr Boesak is the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and one can consider him as a father of the UDF. The UDF today has nearly 800 organisations affiliated to it.

I have great pleasure in now presenting to you the Rev. Dr Alan Boesak.  
(APPLAUSE)

ALAN BOESAK:

Thank you very much Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, you have been very patient tonight and you have been sitting here for a long ... evening. And I'm sure you are not wanting to be speeched to by me for too long. Everybody knows that I am a man of very few words (LAUGHTER)

All I want to do is simply to share with you a few of the things that I think might be important. And I am happy to do this here with you in Ladysmith tonight and I am happy that this is an opportunity that I have to speak because it is indeed true I may not be able to return to Natal before the August elections, whatever that may mean. And if I, if I must also have time to take my children on a picnic on the 22nd then I must make room for that also (LAUGHTER).

Although I hear that the Labour Party has said that, that call for me or from me to people that they should use that day as a day where they should have some picnic and enjoy the beauty of God's nature and take out ah sandwiches and eh whatever else it is one takes on a picnic, that that is a call for violence. I dunno what it is that the Labour Party packs in their picnic baskets. (LAUGHTER) I don't go on picnic with

guns, neither do I come to political meetings with iron bars and whips. I come with what I have to say; because I believe in what I have to say to people. Not because it's me but because it is the truth we have discovered out of the history and out of the struggle and out of the integrity of people who, for 331 years have been involved in a struggle for human rights and dignity in this country. It is a truth that we have carved out of the history of this land with sacrifices that we cannot even mention and with blood that we can never forget. It is a truth that has emerged out of the determination of people over years of struggle, over years of intimidation, over years of death. A truth that has emerged out of the determination of people in spite of all of that, that there will be a day in this country when our people shall walk tall. And our people shall claim proudly for themselves this land and their participation in the building of a future that will include the values that make of a people a people. And because this is so, we should not be afraid to say what we believe. And I am therefore so grateful and proud to be on this platform tonight with the people that you have heard.

It is this kind of witness that is necessary, it is this kind of witness that ought to be our own inspiration, not only to sit here and hear and listen and say to ourselves, yes indeed that is true but also, to inspire us to go out there and do what is right on the 22nd and the 28th. Because it is not so much, how much we applaud what we hear tonight in Ladysmith. It is not so much, how much we may even appreciate the fact that in this town tonight we may be together like this and we may have the opportunity to learn from one another and to help shape what it is that we are looking for, not only in terms of the immediate future but also for the future of our children.

What matters in the end, is what we will be willing to do in order to secure that what we believe is actually going to be the truth in this

country. And this is what I think is important.

And so what we are pleading for is indeed your attention, what we are pleading for is indeed your ear, and what we are pleading for is indeed your commitment. But we are pleading for more, we are pleading for your deeds of solidarity, we are pleading for your deeds of commitment, we are pleading for your act so that you will not only speak what you believe in history; but you will write and work into history through what you are doing. So that future generations can build upon what has been happening tonight in this hall; and what will happen subsequently after tonight on the 28th.

And if this is what we can achieve then it seems to me this evening will have been worthwhile. And I have confidence in the people of South Africa, I have confidence in the people of Ladysmith that this is indeed what is going to happen. You have heard so much tonight about the new constitution, about what it is and about what it does, about the consequences of all that for the future of South Africa.

It may be time for me tonight to all of what you have heard, to draw it together simply the most important things. The most explicit reasons, why it is right and just for us to call for a boycott of these elections on the 22nd and the 28th.

We have mentioned to you that this constitution will make its very basis upon which it stands, the racist philosophy that has made of this country the pharidah of the world. That has made of every single black person not a citizen, not a South African, not a human being but a victim.

This constitution is built as it is, upon the acceptance of white minority rule which will be a little embroidered by the presence of

those darker skinned people who also believe in apartheid, going in there so that they, not, will not give respectability because nothing can given respectability to apartheid. Not the participation of Mr Rajbansi or Mr Hendrickse or whoever else in the world, not the invitation from Germany or Britain or the support from Mr Reagan in the United States.

Nothing will give respectability to apartheid, not peace accord with Angola or Mocambique or not the awesome military power of South Africa that it uses to intimidate, not so much world but the black people of this country so that we will be too afraid to stand up for what is right. (APPLAUSE)

But nothing of that can ever give respectability to a system that is so thoroughly evil. That in every kind of language that we know and in terms of our faith whether the Muslim say it is Haraam whether the Christians say it is a heresy, it is a idolatory and a blasphemy that can never be given respectability by anybody, least of all by those people who will go in there and make as if they represent anybody. (LAUGHTER and APPLAUSE). And this ... it seems to me brothers and sisters, is what we need to say and remember.

These people will try and tie your name, your ideal, and your values, and your dreams for the future of this country to apartheid and its murderous intentions and what it does to people. That we ought not to allow.

It is based on the continuation of the homelands policy which for all of what apartheid is, must be lifted out as one of the most immoral and objectionable aspects of the whole apartheid system.

It is based on the continuation of the erosion of democracy that we have

seen in this country. What has this new three parliamentary system with its new executive president who can send parliament home at the drop of a hat, in order to do I don't know what. If I look at their record I fear what will happen. What has that to do with democracy. It is based on the apartheid laws that have become so indispensable to the system. It is based on the continuation of the violence that is so inherent to apartheid. And indeed one must talk of the violence of apartheid. I mean not only the military and police violence that is absolutely necessary to maintain the system and keep it intact. I also talk about the systemic, the structural violence which is part and parcel of the very life of apartheid, in spite of the death that it spells. Because it is violent not only when I take the gun and shoot someone, it is violent also when I make a law that will undermine the human dignity of another person. (APPLAUSE) It is violent ... It is violence when I create an educational system that will make of little children without any choice whatsoever, subservient people in the country of their birth. It is violence when I make the law which makes it impossible for a family to stay together as a family, just because they are black. And no amount of speeches about christianity and about using the Lord's name in vain and Mr Koornhof who can get up and make a speech two years ago with 21 biblical references, no matter how many speeches you make and how many times you quote the Bible, nothing will take away the blasphemous nature of what you are doing. And this is (APPLAUSE) ... and this is the kind of violence that will continue. And this is the kind of violence that people will ask you, to condone, to perpetrate, to exercise. And this is the basis upon which whatever benefits this system will give so-called Coloured and Indian people in this country, all of those benefits are based on this kind of situation. I shall not compromise whatever self-respect God has given me, by creating me in his image and in his likeness, by participating in something as this. And I shall not allow whatever self-respecting heritage I can leave my children to be tarnished by the fact that I will allow myself to be



bought to participate in a system such as this. And I think this is what you need to say as well.

In this regard. Now all of a sudden there is a new thing in the air. The violence is no longer perpetrated by the South African government. The violence is no longer perpetrated by people who cannot even present their case to the people in public meetings because they have no case and because the people do not trust them and because the people do not even want to hear what they have to say. The violence is now all of a sudden perpetrated by the UDF. We are the people who are violent and we break up their public meetings.

I wanna say one or two things about that (LAUGHTER) You remember, you remember a man by the name of Mr P W Botha, I don't know what his job is today but I remember the name. (LAUGHTER) He is the man who walked around not so very long ago, with a trumpet to go and break up the political meetings of the old United Party. (SLIGHT APPLAUSE) I have never even seen a trumpet in the United Democratic Front, let alone that we use one to break up other people's parties. Who are these people who have left us the legacy of breaking up political parties and political meetings, and by disrupting these meetings and by getting into fisticuffs with one another as they are used to do all these years. Who are they to come and be indignant at a time like this.

It is just the strangest thing in the world that the perpetrators of violence should sit back, caused the violence in the first place by their policies and by what they do and then sit back and say these are the people who are violent.

But you see it is necessary for them to do that. They must do that, they are hoping that by creating an image of the United Democratic Front and all its affiliate organisations that we are violent; we are

undemocratic, they don't even know the meaning of the word (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE) How can people who have taken away the voting rights of people without so much as a wink, turn around and talk about undemocratic methods of other people. How can people who have used little tricks in the senate in the early 1950's to rob the so-called Coloured people of whatever little political rights we had then, turn around and talk about undemocratic methods that we use. How can people who have created a white parliament that has made decisions for over 20 million people without their participation, how can they talk about undemocratic methods. (APPLAUSE)

The very least is that we should be required, whatever job it is, even if it is that of politician, is that we know what we are talking about. And it seems to me that what is required of us is that we should not be misled.

It is not the UDF that is a violent organisation. Our brother here has just explained to you where we stand. But it is so simple to portray us like this violent monster that will stop the peaceful forces of ah those in the Indian and Coloured communities who want to bring peace and prosperity and progress to South Africa.

The other day, <sup>there</sup> ~~it~~ was an item on the news, which you know South African news, everything that is important. (LAUGHTER) There was an item on the news that the university of Georgetown in the United States, Political Department's Institute for Strategic Studies has just published a report in which they say that Moscow has now lost all interest in the ANC, because they see it's really a flop. Moscow has now discovered that they should concentrate their efforts and their strength and their support in the UDF. (LAUGHTER) So all of a sudden we are a Soviet-backed, Moscow supported organisation. And they think, you see how clever they are, they think that when they say to you, you see

if if they say (Professor Ruko Koeke Moe) or whatever his name is, from Pretoria, then you'd say agh this Pretoria I'm not interested. But when they say to you it is Professor Kitchen, because that's the lady's name, Professor Kitchen of the Institute of Strategic Studies of Georgetown University in Washington DC then everyone will say, oh that must be true. (LAUGHTER)

But of course you see they have always made these mistakes about our intelligence (LAUGHTER). They think we believe them (APPLAUSE). When you're lying you're lying, whether you're lying in Postmasburg or whether you're lying in Welkom whether you're lying in Bloemfontein or whether you're lying in Washington. When you're lying you're lying (LAUGHTER) and everybody knows when you're lying and we will not believe that. Now we must not allow this kind of silly propoganda, it's really so ridiculous. You know any country in the world that has any interest in South Africa at all, whether it is the United States, because I saw a report of the CIA; we have, we also have friends you see, they think they have friends in Washington, we also have friends and they leaked this report. There was a report of the CIA about the ANC in this country, which of course could not be published in the newspapers in this country, you know, you don't know about that. (LAUGHTER). They don't want you to know about that. Must I now say that the ANC is a CIA backed organisation. (LAUGHTER) Of course Mr Reagan has a lot of interest. There is also a report on political organisations in South Africa that the US's Dr Crocker and these clever people must know about. And the UDF got by with maybe 15 pages of that 30 page report. Does that mean that the UDF is now also backed by Mr Reagan who also backs Mr Botha. (LAUGHTER) I am sure that somewhere in the Kremlin there is also a report on the Nationalist Party. (LAUGHTER and APPLAUSE). But who, who am I to say that therefore the Nationalist Party is a Soviet inspired organisation (LAUGHTER) although there is no more communist organisation in this country in terms of their tactics, in terms of what

they do, in terms of their philosophy, in terms of the acts that they perpetrate, than this government. (APPLAUSE) And if you want to get rid of communism, then you have got to go and get rid of that government then you know what we're talking about.

It seems to me, what I am trying to say to you is, let us not be misled. I was not even here, I was away, I was speaking to young people eh of the Lutheran World Federation in a place called Budapest, now of course that is a communist country. But I should not be saying this to you because then you know even in those countries there are churches and they don't want you to think that there are churches in those countries (LAUGHTER). I was there, I wasn't even here and I hear that on television, they were telling the people about bomb-blasts somewhere and right through that report in the corner of your television screen you could see my picture.

I threw that bomb from Budapest in Hungary right to wherever it landed here in South Africa, (LAUGHTER) that's why you must believe. And subsequently according to plan everybody Mr Hendrickse and Mr Jac Rabie and whoever else. Alan Boesak must now dissociate himself from this UDF fight. Who says it was the UDF, there is no proof that this was. If they had, had proof the UDF would have been banned long ago. If they had had proof I would not have been standing here. (APPLAUSE) But you must believe this that, that's the idea. And so for every little thing that happens from heart-attacks to constipation, I am responsible. (LAUGHTER) I just want to say this one thing I mean, not only is my stand on violence clear. My whole resistance to this government is based upon my convictions of peace and justice for all people. And I resist this government, one of the main reasons why I resist this government is because of the violent nature of this government and the people who support them. (APPLAUSE) And I will not, I will not give them anything by responding to these charges. Why should I. I mean

they won't have anything to say as long as I don't say anything to them. So I am talking to you, I am not even talking to them. (LAUGHTER) But there is another thing that I must say. You know they say I must respond because I am a patron of the United Democratic Front. That's right, I am. But the UDF has got 15 patrons. I mean I am not the only one, so let them go to those other patrons. For instance Mr Hendrickse must go to his government and say release Mandela and let him speak for himself and let him give a reaction to what is happening in our country. (APPLAUSE) And let them unban Beyers Naude and let them ask him what is his idea of what is happening in this country. (LAUGHTER)

It is, it is no use you see because not even, not even in their effort to present their case to the people can they do it without us. Even if they only need us to stand point. But we will not allow that. And so it is they, this government and those people who support them who are the perpetrators of violence and evil in this country. It is they, the UDF has never taken away the human dignity of another person. The government did and those people who will join them in August will do so with them. It is not the UDF that has gone into Soweto in 1976 and shot down innocent children, who were unarmed, and who did nothing more but to ask for a better future in the country of their birth. It is this government who did this and the people who join them in August will have to take responsibility for these kinds of violent acts that they will continue to perpetrate. It is not the UDF who went to Elsie's River and the areas of Cape Town in 1980 to shoot the children on the streets. It is this government who did so. And the people who will join them in August will be co-responsible for these acts of violence. The history of apartheid will become their history. The acts of apartheid will become their acts. The philosophy of apartheid will become their philosophy. The future of apartheid which is ~~there~~<sup>death</sup> will become their ~~future~~<sup>future</sup> because it cannot exist (INAUDIBLE) (APPLAUSE)

They are afraid of an organisation that can capture the imagination of people. They are afraid of an organisation that can stand on a tradition of struggle and human dignity in this country. They are afraid of an organisation that can bring people together, over 800 organisations as we have heard, who refuse to be brain-washed or who refuse to be bought. They are afraid of people who are so determined to be free.

And it doesn't matter what they say or what they do. We shall continue to resist this government and all of the people who support them. We shall continue to reject whatever they give us within the framework of this abominable system until all of South Africa's people are represented in a government of our own choice (APPLAUSE).

People, people who join this government are doing that in a futile attempt to give credibility to a system that is doomed to die.

There are some arguments that these people use. They say we must eh go in there, in this new system. You people who boycott you, you, you will not achieve anything, we will achieve something because we want to change that from within. <sup>Now you've</sup> ~~I have~~ heard from many speakers tonight why that is impossible.

That is to say as long as the centre of power and the decision making in terms of power is in the hands of the white parliament, as Terror Lekota has so clearly explained to us, and as long as we have own affairs that includes pavements and stuff like that, then you cannot talk about change from within.

As long as you accept a system which not only in its framework but in its very core, in its very foundations is evil, you cannot change that system from within, because the very evil of that system will not only

contaminate you but will paralyse you; so that you, yourself become as evil as the system that you now have to defend.

And there is no way in which you can distance yourself from what apartheid has done and will continue to do to people by claiming that you can change it from within.

There is a second thing that they say. They say we must go into that system so that we can force Mr Botha to keep his promises.

Now, people I always ask for eh, eh tolerance and forgiveness of people. I am not a person who thinks too well and especially this time of night and I have a little difficulty with my brain but I do not know what promises they are talking about.

Did Mr Botha promise to a ... scrap the <sup>racist basis</sup> race relations upon which this country's system is built? Did Mr Botha promise to take away those laws that are so offensive to our human dignity? Did Mr Botha promise to take away the homelands policy? Did Mr Botha promise to make South Africa one whole united, undivided country again? Did Mr Botha promise that detention without trial will cease? Did he promise that our children will no longer be detained and tortured in the jail so that they die and get beaten up by the police like that young man from Parys not longer than a week ago? Did he promise that? Did he promise us equality? Did he promise us justice? Did he promise us equal education? Did he promise us a future that we can be proud of? He did none of that. What promises are they going to make him keep when they are in there?

It seems to me, that Mr Botha made so many promises to so many people (LAUGHTER). He promised the people of the Northern Transvaal while they were campaigning up there. He promised the English liberal

establishment while he was talking to them. He promised the business establishment while he was talking to them. I don't know what he promised the Pope or Mrs Thatcher or the Germans. And I don't know, and I don't know what he promised Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi, I don't know what he did. All I know, all I know is there is only one man in the world who can make a thousand promises at the same time and keep them all, and that's Father Christmas and we know that he doesn't even exist. (LAUGHTER). So what are we talking about promises that he has made. They also say we must go in there so that we can force them to change the laws. What laws? The only laws that they can change are Coloured laws and Indian laws and I don't know what those are. (LAUGHTER). And then someone said no, no, no. But you'll see, we will, we will make them change the immorality act. Now that's nice, (LAUGHTER) except that eh Mr Reagan has already said to Mr Botha, you know (INAUDIBLE) that when I come back in November that is one thing that has to go. (LAUGHTER). Mr Botha has already promised the western world that he will have to get rid of that thing. Only I don't know how he is gonna do it, but somehow he is gonna make it as if he somehow, you know, (INAUDIBLE) Nasionale Party (INAUDIBLE). The magicians they have in that party (LAUGHTER). They make you believe something is dead when it's alive, and they make you believe that something is alive when it's dead (LAUGHTER). They make you believe that they will actually change the law, when you look again they change the names but the laws remain the same (LAUGHTER).

They can change people in this country. I, I mean when I was a kid I loved those stories where that, that, that princess comes and kissed a frog and it turned into a prince and then everybody is happy. And I often said I would like to be that frog but, but they do that, they really do that in this country. I mean make of ... Didn't you know? (LAUGHTER). It seems to me that we, we must talk to the people of Ladysmith. They don't know their South African history. Let me tell



you something, let me tell you they, they can change people in this country. (APPLAUSE). First, you remember the time when we used to talk about kaffers and then it was bantus (LAUGHTER) and then it was, what, plurals and now we're just blacks. One day they will discover that they are South Africans, and maybe, maybe one day they will discover that they are human beings. (APPLAUSE). But, they also, they also change other people for I mean there was a time when, I remember very well that I was called a hotnot and there were coollies. Remember the times, the days when there were still coollies (LAUGHTER) and the other day I, I, I, was going shopping with my family and there was a little white boy who said to me "Middag oom". He actually called me uncle and my wife said to me, no don't be surprised after all this, she said we are all going to be uncles. (APPLAUSE).

So they can change people, like they change the laws. So they can change the Immorality Act and they're going to change the Mixed Marriages Act, I don't know how you change laws like that, either you scrap them all off the book or they remain there. There is no middle road here. But to be serious brothers and sisters I, I think we ought to be clear about this. We must not be misled. What, what about it if they do something with the Immorality Act? The problem that we have with this country is not this or that or the other law that can be isolated and lifted up as if that law is the culprit.

The problem that we have with this country is the whole system of apartheid which spells death to us, which spells dehumanisation to us, which spells poverty to us, which spells homelands to us, which spells a futureless South Africa to us. That is our problem and whether they take away one little law here or there or wherever it will not change the problem. What we need is for this whole system to disappear into the heart of the sea and not ever, ever, ever to arise again. And they will not do it, you have got to do it. (APPLAUSE).

And so they mix us up and they confuse us and they talk about the Immorality Act. What is immorality? I'll tell you what it is, it is immoral to make people subject to laws that dehumanise them every single day of their lives. It is immorality when you create laws like the Pass Laws and the Influx Control Laws and you create political powers first and then you exploit the powerlessness of the people for the sake of economic gain. It is immoral to divide the country of our birth and then to give 13% to almost 80% of the population. It is immoral to send old women and children to those concentration camps that they call resettlement areas, to let them die of hunger and hopelessness and despair. It is immoral to move into Crossroads every day to allow it to exist the way that it is and take away the <sup>pity hell!</sup> ~~bitumen~~ shelters of people. Even when they are sick like they did last week. Old women in Crossroads who crawled under those plastic shelters and who had their medical certificates with them under their pillows to show to the Administration Board officials that they would need to stay in bed. They were not allowed to. That is immorality. So they mustn't come and talk to us about we will take away the Immorality Act and confuse us and make us grateful that one little thing is going to be removed. It is immoral to send a man to jail because his wife tries to live with him, because then in the words of the law he had been harbouring an illegal black. It is immoral also to join a government which is doing that. It is immoral to vote for participation in such a ~~legal~~ <sup>Evil</sup> system and it is immoral to betray the proud history of resistance of our people in this country. It is immoral to betray the memory of (INAUDIBLE) Albert Luthuli and of Mahatma Gandhi. Your responsibility is clear. The system can only work if we make it work.

Mr Botha can only make promises to Mrs Thatcher and to the Germans and to whoever else in the Western world in terms of this new constitution as long as he believes that you will make it work.

We are not going to let him get away with it. We must not allow him to get away with it. And you can stop him if you want to. And this is why your responsibility is so important. And therefore, we know that there may be difficult days ahead. If already in Parys it went the way it did. If already in Welkom things are going the way they do. We do not know what will happen in the immediate future. We do not know how the situation will develop.

You will be overwhelmed by propaganda during the next few weeks on radio and television and in the press. They will lie to you and they will continue to lie to you, partly because there is nothing else that they can do. When you try to defend the indefensible you have to lie. And when you have to defend a lie you can only defend a lie by another lie. There is no other way the truth can come into it so they have to lie. For instance in the Government Gazette of not so very long ago you will read that in Belhar which is just next to where I live in Bellville and it stands there, it actually is printed by the government itself. There are a potential voter number of some 15 008 people who are eligible to vote in Belhar. But the people who have registered already number more than 16 000 (APPLAUSE). I mean what is that? It is the same kind of arithmetic that you have in those chambers about 4 and 2 and 1, which makes equal or something like that. But that's the kind of thing that will happen, because the more they lie to you about how many people have registered the more they think that you will say oh since so many people have registered I might as well go and vote too. That's what they think you're gonna do. But again, they must still learn that we are intelligent enough to see through these things. And I hope that you will. But then there may be other things that may become difficult.

There may be detentions between now and when people have to vote. The harassment that already is there will maybe grow. The government will

become more and more exasperated and more and more afraid, and their supporters will become more and more panicky as the time comes closer.

We must be clear in terms of what we want and in terms of our own goals. And we must tell ourselves and we must tell the South African government, do to us what you will, but we shall have our freedom. You can try to intimidate us, and you can try to brainwash us so that we will not believe in the possibility of our freedom any more, but we shall have our freedom. You can go out there and you can create double the institutions that will in the end eat away our dignity and make us satisfied with less than we have, entitled to in the country of our birth, but we shall have our freedom.

We must tell them, that you can take our children and you can poison their minds on gutter education, but we shall have our freedom.

You can try to frighten us with your laws and you can detain us without trial and you can even torture us in your jails, but we shall have our freedom. We must tell them that, you can do your utmost to try and persuade us even through death that we have no other option, that we have to subject ourselves to the lie that apartheid is, but we must tell them that we shall have our freedom. And in the end we shall be able to walk tall. And in the end we shall be able to show that our determination has not been in vain. And in the end this country will be transformed and we shall turn it around and we shall make of it a land of which will be proud because we shall participate in a country where democracy will be in place and will be something that we can help to build and something that we can cherish, not an empty ideal that has lost all meaning as it has in this country.

And in the end our freedom will mean not only freedom for ourselves as victims, but freedom for those who are the oppressors. So that they

shall learn in the end what human dignity is. And this country shall take its place with pride in the row of nations. And we shall make it so. And we shall make it happen. Because our determination to be free will not be stopped. Not now, not tomorrow and not ever until that moment comes. God bless you. Thank you. (APPLAUSE)

IQBAC KHAN:

Ladies and gentlemen you'll agree with me, it was indeed worth waiting so long. I am sure many of you are tired, but tonight we heard something that you don't usually hear. And it will take us a long long time before we hear speakers of the calibre of Dr Alan Boesak again.

Ladies and gentlemen our appeal to you is quite simple. Stay away from the polling booths on August 22nd and August 28. Whether you vote or not, the butchers and the lawyers and the bakers and the builders will still get to Cape Town. But a high poll will signify an acceptance of the so-called new deal. We want a low poll because we want the powers that be to know that we all reject this new deal. That the majority of us do not approve of this so-called new deal. So our appeal to you is quite simple, don't vote and I want to remind you all you will not break any law if you do not vote. You will not break any law if you don't vote. So stay away from those polling booths ladies and gentlemen.

Ahm, we now come to question time. Questions from the floor. Ladies and gentlemen if you have a question please be brief.

VIDEO ENDS.