

**UDF RALLY ORIENT HALL DURBAN IN
OPPOSITION TO MR P.W. BOTHA'S MEETING WITH
INDIAN LEADERS IN DURBAN CITY HALL
14th NOVEMBER 1987**

SPEAKERS:

1. PAUL DAVID (CHAIRMAN)
2. AUBREY MOKOENA (RMS)
3. MCEBISI XUNDU
4. DR R.A.M. SALOOJEE (TIC)
5. PROF FATIMA MEER
6. BILLY (PATIDAR) (PHONETICAL)
7. GEORGE SEWPERSADH (NIC)
8. MEWA RAMGOBIN (NIC)
9. DR ALAN BOESAK

BEW.

V20 PAR.49

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS

1. OLIVER TAMBO
2. JOE SLOVO
3. MANDELA
4. HELEN JOSEPH
5. LENIN
6. MARX
7. GHANDI
8. DR DADOO
9. NAICKER
10. SISULU
11. MBEKI
12. BIKO
13. SOBUKWE
14. ANC
15. 1976
16. MUGABE, NKOMO
17. DENNIS HURLEY
18. ALL AFRICA CONVENTION
19. KATHRADA
20. FREEDOM CHARTER
21. LUTHULI

ASSESSOR

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Page 4 Line 3 Change "inaudible terrorist" to "here in various
categories"

Page 6 Line 10 Change "of savage rules" to "of servitudes"

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.

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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UDF RALLY ORIENT HALL DURBAN 14 NOVEMBER 1983

(Song 1)

Amandla - Ngawethu

There are people wearing the following:

Yellow ASASO T-shirts. A young B/man can be seen wearing a scarf with ~~ANC~~ ^{ANC} ~~flag~~ colours, and ^{Black Green Gold} UDF T-shirts.

And others can be seen with head dress with colours inclusively (black, yellow and green)

APDUSA T-shirt can be seen worn by one of the singers.

This song is very short and the pronunciation of all the words in this song are vague (we cannot make sense out of its words) also the interruption in the recording makes it difficult for us to understand the actual meaning of the song.

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

Will the following people please come up to the stage
Virgil BONHOMME. Virgil would you please come up
.... (Interruption in the recording).

(Applause)

The Orient Islamic trust has given us (interruption in the recording).

(All the people stand up and give the clenched fist salute Paul DAVID as well.)

Boesak, Boesak		(approximately 24 times)
Amandla	-	Ngawethu (2X)
Viva Mandela	-	Viva (2X)
Viva ANC	-	Viva
Viva African		
National Congress	-	Viva
Oliver	-	Tambo (10X)
Joe	-	Slovo (2X)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

All the newspaper advertisements, all the pamphlets, the statements that we have made to the press are clearly indicative of the purpose of this meeting. We want to make it clear with one loud voice exactly where we stand in respect of the Constitutional Proposals and we want to use this opportunity to tell this country that Rajbansi does not speak for us.

(Applause with shouting by audience)

We are proud to welcome our comrades from the Transvaal, Ram SALOOJEE is deputising for Essop JASSAT and the rest of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Please welcome them.

(Applause by audience)

And among that group of people from the Transvaal is Aubrey MOKOENA who is the secretary of the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal.

(Applause with shouting)

Amandla by someone in the audience and the audience shout (softly) Ngwethu

And comrade Aubrey is going to be our first speaker and without much ado I have great pleasure in calling upon him to address you.

(Applause by audience)

SPEAKER : AUBREY MOKOENA

Eh Thank you mister master of ceremonies, our fellow speakers, comrades, I greet you all in the most forceful name of liberation of the whole country. I bring you greetings from UDF. I bring you greetings from the Release Mandela Committee in the Transvaal. My theme for today, although indeed we don't have time, I had to condense my speech just to about 10 minutes. I want to speak on unity, involvement and hope. First it is fitting to thank the organisers of this meeting, the NIC and the TIC and everybody who has come here to make this occasion, possible. As the MC has (inaudible) we are here to demonstrate unequivocally in one big voice our vehement opposition to apartheid in all its disguised forms.

(Applause with shouting).

Mr M.C. at this stage I will ask us to stand just for a few seconds and pay tribute to many people who have suffered punishment for doing exactly what we are trying to do, to tonight. (Noise of people standing up). And as we do this I will beg us to hum one popular tune of the struggle: ^{Zenzeni na - what have we done} Tell tell me now what have we done. Very very softly and solemnly.

(Song) : Zenzeni Na - what have we done.

Let us hum it softly. (The humming continues during the prayer that follows). We pray for all those people whom I want to mention (inaudible) terrorist and I beseech you not to pray ~~with your eyes closed~~ as we are told by the usurpers of the land that we must raise our heads to heaven, close our eyes and pray, and when we said Amen, the land was pulled beneath our feet. But I want to urge you to pray with your eyes wide open, as revolutionaries. We are thanking God at this stage for all those people who are banned, those who are banished, those who are detained, those who are standing trial before the racist courts of the land, tried for their convictions. We are thinking of those who have been forced into exile. We are thinking of those who have been incarcerated years on Robben Island, Pollsmore Prison and all other institutions of incarceration. They are stigmatised as criminals, when in fact they are prisoners of war, of conscience. We are ultimately praying for those who, who dedicated their lives and paid the supreme price. ^{Through} During their lives they died in the struggle for liberation. Notably the lives that we, we lost in seventy six. We say the blood which was shed will irrigate the tree of freedom. And now recently our wounds are still fresh with the students that we lost a few days ago at Ngoye University. We are thinking of all those people and we see a goal to their efforts. Let their efforts not be in vain.

Audience hum the song as Aubrey MOKOENA constantly prays, whilst the audience are standing.

MOKOENA - leads humming

(Singing ends)

Thank you comrades. (People sitting down). Why are we here. Mr M.C.(?) we are here because we are engaged in a quest for a true humanity. Why are we here? We are here, we are engaged in an effort to restore our human dignity. Why are we here? We are here to determine our own destiny and shape it. We are here to identify our direction. We are here to clear the way, to pave the way for our liberation. We are here to consolidate our resources. We are here to galvanise ourselves as a bullwark against racism, exploitation and indeed apartheid as a monster that has been institutionalised in the country. The big thing that we are faced here, with here is conflicts. Conflicts in the form of apartheid. ~~Apartheid~~ is a multi-faceted monster. We can divide this conflict into two periods. There is the old dispensation of apartheid. We know the struggle was waged 301 years after the settlers arrived here and they took the land from the people. They introduced all forms of exploitation. The people resisted, resisted them in many forms. Those frontier wars, were the beginning of the struggle indeed, the struggles doesn't come to - doesn't start today, but it dates back 301 years of oppression that was known. And we have had deprivation of the franchise of the people. We have had relocation, where people were unsettled and removed from wherever they chose to be and somebody had to decide that they are not supposed to be there but they should be seated at other places. Group Areas Act and many other forms of acute forms of apartheid, all those belong to the old dispensation. And now comes the new era. Apartheid is wearing a new mask. A new sophisticated mask. People are talking of the new dispensation that has been ushered into the country and this they - is a pseudo dispensation. Its a false mask that we must try

and pull down from the face of apartheid itself, that it must come in its true form and people must see it for what it is. It is a new form of slavery that is disguised. This has come through promulgations, for there is the Koornhof Bills, and all of these acts, the P.C. proposals, the Black Local Authorities Act, the referendum and all forms of co-optation. Mr M.C. and comrades, the system is engaged in a more determined effort, a greater determined effort of subjugating us to the fetter of ~~savage~~^{servitudes} rules. It has come up with a program of total strategy. And the pretext here is the red press. The government is using the red press as an excuse for oppressing the people and denying them of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly. We have seen how our brothers and sisters tried to assemble this afternoon, in fact they took precautionary measures, and keep distances between themselves to demonstrate and march against apartheid. But because the system doesn't want to approve(?) opposition, it went out of its way to muzzle them, to keep them in jail, even if it is just for a few hours until they're bailed. Because the system is denying the people of the basic human right, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly. You are told whom to mix with, you are told where to sit and who to walk with. You can not readily come out and walk and pray for or do anything on your own. You are not allowed to ventilate your grievances. Yes, this Botha strategy has as its pillar militarisation, ^{getting} (inaudible) of people, banning people, banishing people, jailing people, killing them and of course indulging in espionage. Planting informers amongst ourselves. ^{exposed provocateur} Yes (inaudible) people who will come on to the stage and speak like demagogues. And speak higher when in fact they are the plants of the system. The system tries to break the solidarity of the

people. It tries to encourage us to participate in our own oppression. Why should the system come up with this new deal all of a sudden and say people must come and participate. Coloureds and Indians come all of a sudden and come and (inaudible) and join us. We have got a new deal for you, I will invite you to dinner. We have got all the business to say that this overture, this offer is suspect, and we must scrutinise it. This is in (inaudible) always in order to prolong the status quo. The system is introducing all sort of diversionary tacticts, red herrings, that people must forget about the true cause, struggle which they are engaged in, but they must come up and indulge in a self killing excercise, excercise, in an excercise of suicide. How (inaudible) the system, how have we reacted to all this. We will say that we are utterly rejecting the P.C. proposals and in fact the whole pseudo dispensation unconditionally. And we are not going to collaborate with the system and participate in our own oppression. Mr M.C. (?), comrades, (applause) we must talk up clearly, once and for all, and say everybody, men and women of good will, regardless of their colour, race or creed, must stand up firmly and be counted tonight to say we say no to apartheid. We say (inaudible) no to all (inaudible) no to apartheid.

(Applause and shouting)

We are not going to participate in our own demise. We are not going to take a very big blade and slit our throats so that the system must stand up there and say, we invited them and they came voluntarily. Comrades, let us quickly characterise the system, what does the system look like? The system is a modifying

organisation, a dying organisation. It is completely on the brink of catastrophe. The system has planted within itself a seed of death and it is just about to die. It is engaged in a desperate bid to ask us to co-operate in order to sustain its life. P.W. Botha, Mr Chairman made a statement - a press statement and he said the people must not be discouraged because the Nationalists are now coming up with a new deal, asking the Coloureds and Indians to join them and that does not mean that the African is left out. And he went on and spoke a lot of nonsense at the end of which (laughter) he was asked one question, but Mr P.W. Botha you are aware of the campaign that has been waged to release Mandela and all the prisons, the prisoners. What have you got to say to that, you and the Government? And P.W. Botha was taken aback. He was caught with his pants down by that question (laughter and clapping (soft)) and he said two pertinent things. He said number one, the Government is going to ignore the call and he said number two, the courts have taken their decision to imprison Mandela and his comrades. The judiciary is independent and we are not going to interfere with the judicial process. (Laughter (soft)). And we'll say to Mr Botha with all those pious and sanctimonious statements that on the first leg of his argument that the Government is going to ignore the call to release Mandela. We say that he is going to do that, at his own peril. We say Mandela is a pivot of the struggle, he is a pivotal factor in the struggle. There can never be any political solution in the country unless they release Mandela.

(Applause)

We are saying P.W. B, you must not have such a short memory to forget that 10 years ago this government was so effervescently enthusiastic about solving the problems of Zimbabwe, that this government encouraged Smith, it advised Smith to release Mugabe, Nkomo and all other prisoners. That they must come out and engage in meaningful dialogue. And when Smith was still shivering and dithering, they went out of their way to say no, don't say you don't have resources. We are your neighbours, we want to assist you. And they they brought along a train and lots of coaches from Johannesburg here, which ran right up to the Salisbury and it straddled the two countries. Half of it was in the then Rhodesia and the other half was in Zimbabwe, was in, in Zambia. And the boys they came out of the bush in their, in their overalls, and their gumboots. They came out, they got into the train and talks were held. We say now. What is good for the goose is good for the gander.

(Applause)

We are saying P.W. and your Government, why is the advice no longer suitable to the advisor. Circumstances are the same.

(Applause)

We are saying in one voice, we reject apartheid and we we refuse to collaborate with apartheid. Apartheid is there as standing as a thesis and UDF is coming up as an antithesis to work against the thesis.

(Applause)

Mr Chairman, in conclusion I would just like to characterise quickly what the UDF stands for as far as I can see. The U in UDF stands for unity, it stands for solidarity, bringing us together, co-operation which is what is happening here. Regardless of race, colour or cree- or creed. As long as people avow(?) in a deal of true liberation and democracy in the country, it says come you are welcome. And the D stands for democracy. We envisage a truly egalitarian society where in all men and women are not only judged by the colour of their skins, but on merit. A society that we are going to obtain, when all the doors of prejudice and hatred will be flung wide open and people are going to become the children of God.

(Applause)

And the F represents that big front, that big force, that phalanx that moves forward. We, under the banner of UDF are (inaudible) forward towards the goal of liberation. And we are not compromising. The UDF is standing before us like a big glacier. You know, to use a geographic, geographic metaphor, we the men of (inaudible) are like the snowflakes that keep on precipitating on the mountain of apartheid. Everyone of us we are like those flakes that are floating and ultimately precipitate and collect on the mountain of apartheid. And because of our large numbers, the flakes will harden and congeal and they'll form a huge mass that we call a glacier of UDF. And UDF as a glacier goes down the mountain of apartheid. And it erodes it and it erodes it into a plateau of justice.

(Applause)

Comrades, we are saying this with all the confidence, for we know that Africa is shaped like a question mark and it is on this southern tip that the true meaning and solution to the problems of the world will come. We are confident comrades, because we are visualising that day, when all the the doors of the prisons are going to move out, are going to be flung wide open. And I can imagine, and I would like you to imagine that day, when the true leaders of the people are going to come out of jail, we are saying we do not want substitutes or third rate leaders. Because we know the rich true leaders of the people are there. And they are going to come out and move around. I could imagine that day when Nelson MANDELA is going to take his first step and move out of Pollsmoor prison as he walks the the floors, the the streets of Cape Town. And he moves, he walks the streets of Durban. He walks the streets of Cape Town. He walks the streets of Pietermaritzburg. He walks the streets of Johannesburg. And the people are going to be free. We know that for certain.

(Applause)

We know that day is coming, we know that day is coming and it is coming very soon when the border gates are going to be flung wide open and the fence is going to collapse and all these homeland boundaries are going to - the fences going to be wound and thrown away and all our brothers and sisters who were forced into exile are going to come marching into the country. And the country will have a true democracy and true liberation and a truly egalitarian society. And the people shall govern.

(Applause)

MOKOENA walks back to his seat with behind him Paul DAVID smiling and applauding and lastly they shake hands.

Unknown person shouting : Nhjwabe (kill)

Audience : AK 47 X10

(Applause)

Four Blacks in audience stand up and start chanting (inaudible) and audience reply : Hayi! Hayi!

One in striped shirt chants:

WOZA MASOTSHA (come soldiers) X4

WOZA MANDELA (come Mandela) X2

WOZA GUMEDE (come Gumede) X2

U TATE BO (you are our father) X2

WOZA MASOTSHA (come soldiers) X 2

PAUL DAVID : Amandla

Audience : Ngawethu

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

Ladies and gentlemen would you please welcome the President of the UDF from Natal, Archie GUMEDE.

(Applause. Shouts of UDF, UDF) (Dr BOESAK raises Archie GUMEDE'S right hand)

We ask you, assure you, that the two TV crews that you see here eh don't belong to the SABC. (Applause) I'm sure you realise that because you don't see any of the speaker with supercilious grins on their faces. (Laughter). Comrades the next speaker brings a message from the UDF. Mcebisi XUNDU from Lamontville and he surely must be one of the most promising leaders we are producing in our community today. For he epitomises the ground swell of opposition that is building against homeland leaders. Mr XUNDU.

(Applause)

KUBI JO KUBI JO NOMA KUBI SIYAYA SIYAYA
 (ALAS THINGS ARE BAD NEVERTHELESS WE ARE GOING WE ARE GOING)

(Interrupt on in the recording)

SPEAKER: MCEBISI XUNDU

- comrades all of you, I bring you greetings this evening from the United Democratic Front and also I bring you greetings in the name of the Johannesburg rent action committee and the ^{Joint} ~~(inaudible)~~ Commuters Committee. We are proud to be here to identify with this rally because the NIC is an affiliate of the United Democratic Front. Just like Mokoena I want to say that the UDF condemns the arrest of the NIC members who were demonstrating outside the city hall. The system as you are aware, should have released these men in their own recognisance because they are comrades of honour and not just plain criminals. The UDF's formation is the expression of the contempt and protest, to the constitutional proposals and Koornhof Bills. No constitutional proposal, dispensation, however (inaudible) the process, will eh, will be accepted unless it includes the black people of African origin, who constitutes the majority of South Africans.

(Applause by audience)

For any grouping to assume the right to do this, is to insult God who created all men in his image. Any politics of convenience, like the Bantustan policies, whether accepted by a few mercenary functionaries of

Pretoria, cannot be acceptable because it is immoral and irreconcilable to the mind of God, the author and father of all life. Ad we say to (inaudible) we therefore ask this government to repent and change its hell-bound course, or else all of us will be burned by the fire of barbaric revolution. They say: "Ons is hier om te bly" (laughter). But we say it is us who are here to stay. Not them. And therefore it is our business, together with them to stay here peacefully. UDF is setting a favourable climate, for a long overdue National Convention. But events like that can show them as this (inaudible) the life of Mandela and Helen JOSEPH is an indication that UDF sees it as a must that the release of Mandela and the comrades who are in jail, together with those in exile, so that they can participate as equal partners in that National Convention. Such a National Convention, if held without these noble sons of the soil would have adverse consequential effects on the acceptability and credibility of the results of such a convention. None of the present functionaries of the system like the Sebes and the Mangopes and their likes would be permitted to soil the possible venture. UDF is also (inaudible) for the mustered Christian Conference which is proposed for 1986 by archbishop Dennis HURLEY, president of the South African Catholic bishops conference. He said, I quote: Unless some large scale attempt of this nature is made to involve great numbers, and that means thousands and even hundreds of thousands of Christians, to work out how they can make a Christian contribution to the solution of the South African problem, we shall have to admit that as churches we do not know the things that make for peace. So that all the religious groupings beyond the Christian faith who acknowledge God by whatever name or title, as the

apostle, as the author, as the father of all, should come together to participate for a free and democratic South Africa. And of all, and all of such, and all of us under him, enjoying the status of being sons and daughters, equal in every respect. When it will be a total sin for a brother to discriminate against a brother or sister. UDF believes that it is, this is long overdue. The churches must cease to put their heads in the sand. Why should it only be the ^{HURRY} (inaudible) to ^{the Boyen Daudes who must witness to publicly to the RHP ma of Human Right} (inaudible) of human rights. Why so few one well may ask. Why play such a noble white(?). Is the cross a noble white(?), one may ask. In Russia the churches did nothing while the Tsars and themselves as land owners treated unjustly their workers. The blame for the philosophy of Lenin and Marx will be at the doorsteps of the great bishops of the churches who turned a deaf ear to the cry of the workers until they told, they chose the philosophy of Lenin and Marx because they had no other choice. UDF says when these two conventions have been summoned, then a mass participatory agenda, for governing this land, will be on. ^{WHEN} When the people shall govern. ^{WHEN} When housing shall be provided for all. ^{WHEN} When the wealth of the country shall be distributed among those who work it. ^{WHEN} When the land shall be distributed justly. ^{WHEN} When the doors of land shall be open to all. With all this, I want to say may God bless this effort and may God bless Africa. Mayibuye I'Africa - Come back Africa.

(Applause by audience)

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

We welcome at this stage M.J. NAIDOO, Vice President of the Natal Indian Congress.

(Applause)

(Can't see who)

someone in audience)	- Audience
Amandla	- Ngawethu (2X)
Viva Mandela	- Viva (3X)
Viva Sisulu	- Viva
Viva	- Viva
Viva	- Viva
Amandla	- Ngawethu

Paul DAVID and D.K. sing and (inaudible) as well.

(Applause)

The next speaker is the representative from the Transvaal Indian Congress. Please welcome Ram SALOOJEE.

(Applause)

SPEAKER : RAM SOLOOJEE

(Ram SALOOJEE has a paper arm band around his left arm with the words "Equal rights for all" printed on it.)

Sons and daughters of our beloved land, deeply wounded and bloodied by the scars of political subjugation, economic exploitation and racial dehumanisation. This land calls upon the conscience of all freedom loving people to oppose the continued process to entrap certain segments of our people into an alliance of accepting co-responsibility for the evil of apartheid. And to this -

(Applause)

A land already polarised by the selective differentiation at different levels of discriminatory legislations and opportunities between the various groups, the system now moves into a new phase. And it is a phase of manipulated co-optation which the Nationalist Party, so deviously adept at twisting English terminology, gives a veneer of respectability to its rigid intention to maintain power, privilege and authority. And now propagandistically disguises (inaudible) an expression such as self determination over own affairs, participation in decision making and co-responsibility for general matters. Ladies and gentlemen, shorn of all its dubious definitions, plain and simple it is apartheid, and apartheid we reject with all the vehemence at our power.

(Applause)

Now we from the Transvaal bring our fraternal greetings of peace and blessings from the teeming ghettos of the Transvaal, from the steaming heart of the exploitative industrial heart of South Africa, the Sowetos, the Lenasias, the Eldorado Parks and also from the far-flung, dust covered, human wastelands of areas such as Huhudi, Vryburg and Tzaneen. The vast expanse of the Transvaal which constitutes the constituency of the affiliates of the UDF such as the TIC which are linked to the interlocking phalanxes of the ever growing and unifying umbrella of the UDF. The spirit of hope and the compass of direction is once again functional, vibrant and alive and your presence here tonight is ample evidence of that vibrancy. The meeting tonight is a symbol of revival

that was sparked off by the real successors of all those who supported us in graphically registering, the massive failure of the Government's attempts to give credibility to the now dying SAIC. An 8 percenter who now takes upon the mantle of speaking for the people. Once more we are being called upon to mobilise our resources in the face of the overt and covert intimidatory and repressive machinery of the state, and its appendages. And we are duty bound to respond, to defend and oppose an attack that is on our dignity, our character and our spiritual freedom. Let us not be fooled into believing that the present constitutional act is a departure point from its present policies of race privilege, a demonic white power base and a patronage of selective economic concessions to those who are prepared to sell their souls for a mess of apartheid potage. The fact that the state system is stretched to the limit and is incapable of holding out against the mounting internal and external pressures against its abhorrent policies, needs colaborationists, opportunists and unprincipled individuals to give its ostrich policies the kiss of life, for a first further (fitfull) survival. And here ladies and gentlemen we have to say with a resounding No, that there are not be any more spasms for apartheid, there just has to be death to apartheid. I as a Moslem and all those who have drunk from the fountains of the various spiritual truths and directions cannot but agree with the following verse of the Koran which states "Oh ye who believe, believe staunch in justice. Witnesses to Allah, even though it's against yourself or your parents or your kindred, whether the case be of a rich man or a poor man. For Allah is nearer unto both than ye are". Thus for no reason of selfish benefits or concessionary privileges, has anyone of us the right to agree, support or

perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of even a single human being. And when we know, that by our participation in the varnished system of apartheid, we agree to surrender the rights, the opportunities and the dignity of nearly twenty six million people of our land. Then a crime such as this, is beyond redemption. Our only position can be one of rejection and must critically look this constitutional gift horse in the mouth with its diabolical death wish it holds for all of us.

(Applause)

We must be clearly aware that there is no hidden agenda in the Broederbond cupboard to dismantle or kill apartheid. The houses of assembly, delegates and representatives, is an unholy trinity to hold fast to the iniquities that exist in our present social, political and economic system. The theme that we propose to destroy from within and change from within, has outlived its usefulness and its completely dated and threadbare. Thus the position of the Transvaal Indian Congress and its pivotal role in the United Democratic Front is uncompromising against the Constitutional Act and its terrible twin the Koornhof bills. We cannot find in them any rate of compassion or saving graces that hold out hope, for any meaningful reform of moving away from apartheid. Consequently the chariot of opposition and resistance must converge on the flame of unity to outflank, immobilise and destroy this hydra-headed monster of exploitation and discrimination. The promised South Africa of tomorrow, reminds me of tragic comedy. I wish to at this say state that any names that appear here are incidental and does not refer to any

individual alive or even dead. (Soft laughter). With a cast of characters which will neatly fill in to the columns of the cities talk of the bizarre (inaudible) or the (gyristic ringuisted)(?) opportunism of (inaudible).

(Applause and laughter).

We have this sinister spectacle of Botha's blunt and boorish gang of suitors having already seduced a number of hairy chested, non-virgin damsels of doubtful virtues into accepting marriage of convenience (laughter) for favours of hodge-podge of non viable, humanly starved barren estates, which they now lorded over as thoroughbred Tudor tyrants. The leering eyes of these milky white suitors have now focused on the two remaining damsels of equal unvirtue, the one Eraji BANSI and the other Henry(?) LICKSTER (laughter). And the pied piper of he and us have successfully - I don't mean Dennis, successfully lured his discoloured bride, without the engagement rings of referenda onto the derec-, onto the deck of the derelict ship - apartheid. Welcomed on board by Captain Botha (laughter) and his ever grasping crew and to see that he is paying the dowry in Kruger Rands and promise him lots of heavenly ecstasies to follow. The brides, excited by the pleasure of this amoral alliance, are quickly swept into the bossom of the galley's hold. (Laughter). And willingly and compliantly become chained to the worn out oars of irresponsibility, inforcing the stranded galley ship apartheid to be rowed across the tempestuous waves of an angry sea. And with it, I don't know how many, but a few thousand blinded mice have already followed suit.

(Applause and laughter)

This viciously turbu- turbulent voyage separa- separating the amorous brides and their tyrant pirate lovers meeting across the corridors of tri-cameral shame with interludes of passion in smoke filled and closed cabins, defined a excercises in concensus, merely satisfies the lust of the stronger partner. But it will in no way help to stem the anger of the sea and of final disintegration of the rotted vessel with its foul and punch drunk passengers. Finally sinking to the fathomless bottom of the ocean to be forgotten in the depths of in- antiquity. I am certain that no one with a sense of morality, intellect and common decency, would like to be part of this clandestine, immoral misadventure. The tide of destiny and a vision of a progressive deathbone beckons us to steer clear of this avoidable calamity. We do not need laws to protect and promote our own affairs. This we have been doing for well over 3-1/2 centureis in this country, without the aid and support of laws and governments in power. In fact we reject the regimentation of these affairs to the dictate of central government policies and an all powerful and an unaccountable President. We refuse to be junior partners in anything as ineffective decision making which will lynch not link us and chain us into accepting responsibility for state policies which under write and implement the laws that denationalise our fellow citizens, promote infidelity, crime, malnutrition, influx control, injustice under the name of justice, dismemberment of the sanctity of family life. In effect radically denying the vitality and the saintliness of the human personality. We have no choice but to oppose, mobilise and resist until there is no tumult and oppression in our land, so that we can peaceably gather our strengths, develop our potentials, share our labour,

offer our ability and extend our hearts and hands in pursuit of health, happiness and security. For all the peoples of South Africa that have a stake in a non-racial, non-discriminatory and just society. And that Mr RAJBANSI, is democracy and not where one meets under the umbrella of an Indian Council - invitation and - (laughter and remarks) cannot here (what). So from the Transvaal we say; that we lock our hands with your hands in this common pursuit of a common goal and not too long in the future we will see a free and a non-, a democratic, non-racial and a free South Africa. Thank you.

(Applause)

By someone in audience	-	Audience
Freedom (inaudible) Yes	-	(2X)
Apartheid No.	-	(2X)

SPEAKER : PAUL DAVID

Terror LEKOTA taking the stage ladies and gentlemen.

(Applause by audience)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

I've been rapped on my knack, knuckles for failing to thank the orient people for the use of their sauna up here on the stage. (laughter). Ladies and gentlemen the next speaker after RAM's lovely eh resitation of prose, is a speaker who has been denied to us for many, many years. Professor Fatima MEER.

(Applause)

SPEAKER : PROFESSOR FATIMA MEER

All the people stand up, clap hands.

Amandla (speaker) - Ngawethu (audience)

(She gives a salute with clenched right fist and thumb extended.)

This is a salute which we will continue to honour, because this was the salute that was given by Mandela when he was driven off for his last ride to that prison on that island. We were very honoured today actually, because there were forty four of us, who had that honour of taking a brief ride in a very similar kind of van, got rocked around like coconuts but it was all great fun.

(Laughter). Why do we say no. Many people have come along and said that this is just behaving in some sort of a childish way, we are saying no because we have got used to this idea of saying no. But when we say no, we know why we say no. We say no because we have looked at that constitution. We have looked at that, at those proposals. We have studied every point of that constitution and the sum total effect is that it tells us that that constitution is nothing more than the celebration of apartheid itself.

(Applause)

It is not our intention to celebrate apartheid, because this is a challenge which, which specifically faces the Indian and the Coloured people. I'm going to talk a little bit about the history of one of those two peoples, and that is the Indian people. I want to point out to you, that way back, towards the end of the last century and towards the beginning of the present century, under

Ghandi we battled, we fought, we died, we faced the guns. Why? Not so that now after eighty years later we should get up and accept an apartheid constitution. We would be renegating on our forefathers if we did this today. We would be negating their sacrifices, if we settled for this kind of constitution today. And then we go back to that struggle of 1946 which was led, led by Doctor's DADOO and Doctor's NAICKER. In that struggle thousands went to prison. And why did they go to prison? At that point in our history we were being offered something which was far more meaningful than what is being offered today. We were not being offered a totally apartheid constitution. We were not then being offered separate houses to sit in. We were then being offered representation on the basis that Africans had in the ~~simple~~ ^{central} parliament, bad as it was, communion as was the franchise which led us to that kind of representation. Bad as it was in the context that we ~~(inaudible)~~ ^{OURSELVES DOUBT NOT IN THAT} still stood and sit in their parliament. That we were required to vote for white people to do so. It was still better and it was better also in this respect that that constitution gave us personal access to the provincial council. But we rejected it. Our forefathers, some of us ourselves, our brothers, elder brothers, our sisters, went to prison because that was not what we wanted. Are we now at this point in our history 32 years later, going to go back on the struggles of those people and our own struggles, 30 years, 32 years ago and settle for this kind of a constitution. I just want to draw your attention to some of the points of that constitution. That constitution very cleverly divides things into two areas. It talks about General Affairs and who handles these general affairs, the executive. And who nominates this executives, the President, all the

Cabinets. And so this executive which may be compounded of the Cabinet, we don't even know what the racial composition of this Cabinet is going to be, this Cabinet - in this Cabinet will originate all laws which refer to what is called general affairs. So in other words, those racial parliaments that are provided for in terms of this constitution, do not have any right to pass any laws which refer to what is defined as general affairs. And none of us can determine what General Affairs are. It remains entirely the prerogative of that Cabinet, what general affairs are. So anything that that Cabinet does not like, it is free to say, this is general affairs, this is none of your concern, you don't discuss it.

(Applause)

In fact, when we get down to looking at this racial Cabinet, we find that it is constituted not of free men at all. We will be asked to engage in an election at which we will vote in these people, eighty - the coloureds will vote in their little bit of house there and 40 of the Indians will vote in for their little bit of a house there. But the people whom we send there will not belong to us at all. They won't represent us, they will be in terms of this constitution - robots. Totally programmed, we are living in the age of the computer, so the computer (laughter) which is a Cabinet will take over and the Cabinet, the President, will have to pass a certificate everytime anything has to be discussed and taken on in this racial house. Anything that is discussed or brought up for discussion can only be brought up for discussion if it has a certificate from the Cabinet, more specifically from the President, allowing such discussions to go on.

- It is not our policy. General policy and general laws is general policy and general laws of apartheid. (Laughter). So the whole thing is programmed.

(Applause)

And then it goes on to say - part of the programming - that all decisions taken, must be in conformity with existing laws and standards that regulate financial disposition, running and capital cost, salaries and conditions of appointment. In other words, you can't sit there and try and dismantle the whole segregatory policy of paying out, welfare grants, educational grants etc, etc. It means in other words that this is a very clever constitution which preserves, consolidates and secures apartheid in the interest of white domination. And didn't the Prime Minister Mr Botha, ~~or~~ is he general Botha, I forgot.

(Laughter and applause)

Did he not say that white self-determination is white domination. I wasn't there when he said it, but it was reported and I read it, and I think that the report was correct. Now, why do you think there has been this tremendous yes vote from the white community? Simply because, the white community knows that this new constitution preserves the self-determination of the white people. Which means, it preserves the domination of the white people. They have implicit faith in the Nationalist Party and they must. Verlig - as they may be called, for us they read: Verkramp is Verkramp is Verkramp.

(Laughter and Applause)

If through this constitution we could improve our positions, then we would give it very careful consideration. But we know there have been the homelands. They have been in existence for a very long time now and we find that the homelands are in a state of abject poverty. Not one of those homelands have any kind of economic viability. People starve there, people must get out of it, if they want jobs and if they want to live, if they want to exist and if they want to survive on this South African soil. And there has been no closing of the enormous gaps that exist between black and white. And I just like us to read some figures, just want us to look at the figures of social pensions, pensions. In 1980, 230,8 million which is 231 million Rand, was spent on white pensions. As opposed to that 86 million rand was spent on African pensions. Who is poor in this country, who is in need of these welfare pensions - the white people. (The audience shouts "No, nō"). Well then, if the homelands with all their so-called might and power, with all their apings(?) that they are able to run loose over us, over asking this, for all of that, they have not been able to, to to narrow that gap since the homelands are hopeless. How much more hopeless, must be the houses of deputies - that's what they call the coloured ones, oh no that's what they call the Indians ones. (Laughter) It is not even worth remembering what they call these houses. (Laughter) They are worth absolutely nothing. There's only one thing, it is I think a big tragedy that the Prime Minister so belatedly made up his mind that the Indian people were also people to talk to, but it is a tragedy that he didn't know where the Indian people were. (Laughter by audience). He doesn't know who the Indian people are.

(Applause by audience)

Even at this late stage, even at this late stage, if the Nationalists want to make amends, then there is only one thing that they can do and they can do it because they have the power, and they have the guns, and they have the police, the army and everything. And that is to convene a National Convention and let the peoples of South Africa decide what kind of constitution and what kind of country they want to live in. And if the Nationalists do not want to involve themselves in a reality of that dimension then allow us to do it. And allow us the freedom to do it. Don't banish us, don't gag us, don't ban our meetings, don't make it impossible for us to meet, to determine what it is that we wish should be done in respect of ourselves. So our call should be for a National Convention and if the government won't call it, we would and we will be in very good company in calling for such a convention, because I would like to remind you again that it was when Nelson MANDELA called the All African Convention in reaction to the new, the last new Constitution which constituted this country into a Republic, it was as a result of that call that he now faces life imprisonment. He was arrested as a result of that call. And since then he has never been out of prison. We would be untrue, disloyal, to all these people, to dr DADOO, to dr NAICKER, to GHANDI, to MANDELA, to SISULU, to KATHRADA, to Govan MBEKI, to BIKO, to all these people, to SOBUKWE, to all of them, if we did not with a resounding voice reject this constitution and we did not devote ourselves from now onwards, to speak to every one of our fellow-men, our brothers and sisters to join us in this rejection.

(Applause by audience)

(interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

- very serious problem and we are going to have to delay this meeting by at least 10 minutes. We have 3 000 people outside there on the lawn who can't hear a thing.

(Interruption in the recording)

People on stage stand around the stage greeting and talking to each other.

Song 5:

Helele, umkhonto ukhona
U zo sicetelela amasawane, lo mkhonto
asifuni u GATSHA X6

The spear is available to do away with the crooked, this spear we dont want GATSHA.

Remark: A Black female and various others can be seen wearing items of clothing in black, green and yellow colours.

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

- because it was in that year that a constitutional dispensation was offered to Indians. And you have heard her say how the Indian Congresses in the Transvaal and Natal mounted a campaign to get all Indian South Africans to reject those proposals. We have with us a memory from that period in the person of Billy PATIDAR(?) who was actually in jail in 1946. So its with a great sense of humility that we very proudly

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : BILLY PATRIDAR(?)

- as I stand before you it gives me heart trouble.

(Applause)

It, it gives me

An unknown person carries George SEWPERSADH towards the stage whilst SEWPERSADH gives a salute with the clenched right fist.

(Interruption in the recording)

(Applause)

As I stand before you

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

- of the Natal Indian Congress, and one of the Vice Presidents of the UDF, George SEWPERSADH, who will deliver.

People in audience shout congress 10X.

(Applause. Shouting of come back)

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : GEORGE SEWPERSADH

- speaking at a time when the oppressed people of South Africa are faced with a very great challenge. Our struggle in the past, our struggle for which so many sacrifices have been made. In the past our struggle has

always been based on the unity of our people. Now at this moment the government is trying to destroy this unity by coming out with the constitutional proposals which seeks to base the country on different parliaments. In order to break the unity of our people, the government is making use of people in separate development organisations, people like RAJBANSI who was nothing but (inaudible) of the government.

(Applause)

Today's meeting between RAJBANSI and P.W. BOTHA clearly shows what the calibre of these people in these separate development institutions are. This meeting was held between the Prime Minister and mister Botha and those people who are seeking, who are seeking favours from the government. The people who attended that meeting are not people who stand for freedom and who stand for democracy and who stand for the liberty of the oppressed people of this country. This meeting clearly showed, that a meeting held by people in separate development institutions, cannot be held in the normal democratic manner. The people who disapprove of this meeting and disapprove of mister RAJBANSI and the policies of P.W. Botha will not allow their democratic rights of ^{protest} ~~progress~~ and when they went to the City Hall to express their viewpoint, they were arrested as is normally done in South Africa, and sent to jail. This shows what sort of crisis we are faced with in this country. Mister RAJBANSI has said that the constitutional proposals offers us some hope of progress. Now let each one of us here at this meeting ask ourselves what can he achieve? What benefits can we as workers and ordinary people of

this country achieve through these constitutional proposals, that answer is nothing. Can we get better housing for our people? The answer is no. Can we get better wages for our people? The answer clearly, is no. On the other hand this new constitution will only make the position of our people worse. If we have autonomy in our local areas it will mean higher rent for our people, higher wages for our people and no benefits at all. The new constitution comes at a time when the Group Areas Act has robbed our people of large amounts of land. Will we, will we be able to get our land back through this new constitution? The answer is no. Can we repeal monstrous laws like the Pass Laws and the Internal Security Act? The answer is no. It is clear that if we want to advance our position in South Africa we have to reject this vicious and monstrous constitution and build our own organisations and struggle for a United Democratic South Africa. Above all, with regard to this question of dividing our people, it is essential that at this moment of crisis in our country we must stand united with all the people of South Africa. We as Indians and Coloureds, we can never be a party to any plan which seeks to strip the African people of their birthright in their own country.

(Applause)

Only if we, only ~~if~~ those people who are prepared to strip themselves of their dignity and their humanity, can ever conceive of doing something like that. No one with any feel what it is to be an Indian or a Coloured, can ever agree to dividing South Africa and agree to any plan which excludes the African people from political rights in their own country.

(Applause)

The road to peace in South Africa can only be achieved through a united struggle. A struggle that includes the - all the oppressed people of South Africa and and democrats. At this moment when the government is trying to perpetuate white domination through a policy of division and making a desperate bid to draw the Indians and Coloureds into its own laager and try to separate the African people from the Indian and Coloured people, it is better for us to remember our humanity and to forget the race. Thank you.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

Thank you comrade SEW. There are two things to announce at this stage. After Allan BOESAK has spoken at the end of this meeting, we will call upon the audience to participate, so that nobody can accuse us of hearing only the leadership or leading figures' voices.

(Applause)

Botha and his very juvenile partner RAJBANSI must be told by the people exactly what they think about him. The second point that I would like to mention at this stage is that arising from the arrests in front of the City Hall this morning and this afternoon, 44 people will be appearing in court for violations of the Internal Security Act. So they will be appearing in court tomorrow and each one of them is on bail of R200.

(Interruption in the recording).

(Applause)

5 Indian males walk onto the stage giving a clenched fist salute. Amongst them are Adv ZAC YACOOB and S.K. SINGH.

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

We are very fast approaching the high point in this meeting and the next speaker was silenced by this government for almost 17 consecutive years. Those people who have been coming to public meetings recently would have gathered the impression that he has certainly made up in the last few weeks. We call upon the Treasurer of the UDF, the person who was right at the centre of the revival of the Natal Indian Congress, Mewa RAMGOBIN.

(Applause)

Song 6:

U RAMGOBIN somlandela
Noma singaboshwa

We shall follow RAMGOBIN
even if we are arrested

Remark: While the audience sings RAMGOBIN puts both hands up in fists.

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : MEWA RAMGOBIN

-men and comrades. I hope the likes of the RAJBANSIS who are present here tonight, to find out and to see that we haven't spent a single cent of the taxpayer's money to get this crowd here today.

(Applause) (very loud)

(Interruption in the recording)

To understand that not one single human being present here tonight was blackmailed to come here.

(Applause)

(Interruption in the recording)

- anything about South Africa, has heard about apartheid. Almost all of us who live under it, condemn it. And those in the world who are busy making history alongside with us, have condemned it to be a crime against humanity. This crime against humanity, called apartheid. It is this apartheid that the government seeks to sell through the stupid salesmen in the person of Rajbansi and others (laughter) to the oppressed blacks of our country. The government having cut up our country into a dozen or so homeland's is now putting the finishing touches to apartheid by giving to Coloureds and Indians this so called separate parliaments. I want to say in clear distinct language and if mister Botha is still in Durban (laughter) let him hear this clearly, that we are not going to be fobbed because the new constitution is no more and no less than a grand design of divide and rule.

(Applause)

Today in South Africa, the Indian community comprises just under a million people. With the forces of law most of our people, Indian, Coloured and African were dispossessed. The Group Areas Act separated our peoples into racial ghettos. We, over the past 30 odd years

have been isolated from each other. This isolation from each other has helped successive governments in South Africa to emphasise our differences rather than to use our similarities in the society. Our isolation in the ghettos was designed to break our unity as an oppressed people. The government tried and we believe it will try again and again to break not only our unity but our souls. They have recognised that they have failed. It is because they have failed to break our souls that they, the oppressors, are devising another tactic, and this tactic is the new so called constitutional dispensation. This time, they are seeking to co-opt the Indian and the Coloured communities into the White laager against the majority of our African brethren. The propaganda on today's SABC, TV and newspapers that flood our ears and eyes is designed to hoodwink the people into believing that they are separate and different nations in South Africa, when we are in fact one people, one nation and of one origin.

(Applause)

It was, and it is because of this belief that our leaders and organisations have as early as 1946 refused to accept, as professor Meer said, any privilege or right that was not made for the majority of the people. The Natal Indian Congress with the Transvaal Indian Congress rejected on behalf of the Indian people separate representation in parliament and direct representation in the Provincial Councils. Because it believed, and believes today that the future of the Indian community must and will be decided with all the peoples of the land.

(Applause)

Because it was of this belief that more than 90% of the so called Indian electorates rejected the SAIC and Rajbansi in 1981. Today the South Africa-, South African government in co-operation with the SAIC, which the community rejected, is pushing down our throats constitutional proposals that are rejected by us. It is not only pushing these proposals down our throats but it is also pushing that and those non-representative persons like the Rajbansis down our throats. Ladies and gentlemen, we want to declare, loud and clear, not only to this government, with the SAIC, but to the entire world, that a community that can give rise to a Mahatma GHANDI, that can give rise to a Yusuf DADOO, and that can give rise to a Monty NAICKER, will never allow itself the indignity of having a Rajbansi imposed on us.

(Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen do you or don't you agree that the likes of the Rajbansis do not only feed on conflict amongst us, but it feeds on our sweat and blood through our taxes.

(Applause. Shouts of yea)

Do you agree with me?

(Shouts of yea)

Do you agree with me that this is parasitic. (Shouts of yes). That this is parasitic and that this will and must be rejected from our society. Would you allow yourself the inig-, indignity to be present like you are present here tonight, to be addressed by mister Botha.

(Shouts of no)

Then I, with the Natal Indian Congress should say that we will never allow ourselves the indignity and dishonour to choose short term material gain for a few in the face of mass oppression. And the constitutional proposals are designed for mass oppression and for furthering white domination. These proposals will not remove the Group Areas Act, the Pass Laws, the Population Registration Act, the homelands and a host of other of other oppressive laws from the statute books. These laws that were designed to destroy our souls will remain alive and what is more they will gain the added respects of being supported by Indians, Coloureds and Africans. We must not forget that our constant struggles whether they, whether they be in Cato Manor or in Clairwood for our land. Our struggle for lower rents and adequate housing, whether they be in Phoenix or Chatswood^{ph} Our struggle for a democratic and edu- and democratic education, whether they be at UDW or at the Western Cape. Our struggle for fair wages and decent working conditions, whether they be in Port Elizabeth or Durban. Our struggle for equal rights for all, whether they be in Soweto or Chatswood^{ph} are the struggles to break apartheid and to create a non-racial democratic society for all in South Africa, based on the fundamental principles of the Freedom Charter.

(Applause)

It is, because of this kind of struggle that tonight, here, we, business persons, students, workers and religious leaders are gathered in solidarity to tell Mister P W Botha and his junior partners that we will not condone apartheid. That we will do everything within our power to destroy apartheid.

(Applause)

The solidarity and unity that we are demonstrating tonight under the leadership of the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress reinforces our beliefs that we are no longer a community that will allow fate to shape the future of our country. That we are going to be active in shaping the future of South Africa. That we are not going to stand aside and be mere observers whilst the Rajbansis lead us into the slaughterhouse to get butchered.

(Applause)

That, ladies and gentlemen, we are going to act now and we are going to involve ourselves now in shaping the future of our country and therefore we are going to stop Botha and Rajbansi now.

(Some comment from the audience, followed by laughter)

OK include it.

(Applause)

That we, every man, woman and child are going to grip ourselves to make the future what we desire it to be. A future that will guarantee human dignity for all, that will guarantee justice for all peoples based again on the principles of the Freedom Charter. Whilst we are gathered here in solidarity to demonstrate our will and hope to create a new future for all South Africans. Whilst we are saying that the Indian community can no longer allow itself to take a neutral position and whilst we are committing ourselves to a just social order, mister Rajbansi with his treachery to our ideals, is

meeting with mister Botha. He does this with no mandate whatsoever from the Indian community. And to add to that we can easily say that mister Rajbansi's treachery is fed and flamed by his superior partner mister Botha. Not only mister Rajbansi, but this kind of treachery must be stopped now. We must stand up now or else we will forsake the future of our children. We believe that Rajbansis of this world, with Botha's plans for the Indian and Coloured communities will forsake and destroy the future of our children. We believe Rajbansi will commit our children to civil war. The implementation of Botha's proposals through a fake ballot box, will make it easy for the government to give our children real bullets to kill our fellow South Africans. If we, as parents, work and build our lives for the comfort and well being of the generations that follow us, for dignity, freedom, justice and peace, then ladies and gentlemen, my fellow comrades, stand up now and stop Rajbansi now. Because we are not going to allow our children, our children the flowers of tomorrow, to be butchered, maimed and massacred by the greed and short-sightedness of Botha and his junior partners.

(Applause)

We will not allow our children to be drafted into an army that is going to defend the Group Areas Acts, the Pass Laws, Bantustans, economic exploitation, hunger and disease, inadequate housing, high rents and above all, white privilege. And let us be aware that if we accept the Botha's plans, the Botha plans, which Rajbansi is now selling to the community, we will be forced to send our children to the army. This afternoon's meeting between mister Botha and his junior partner mister Rajbansi at

the City Hall, does show that sections of the Indian community support the Nationalist Party. The government is warned that they who were present at the City Hall this afternoon, are not the representatives of the Indian community, you are.

(Applause)

We are aware that in all struggles for freedom and justice there are selfish and greedy people. Even in the oppressed sectors of any community. These are the opportunists who will not identify with the oppressed masses of people. They will ride the backs of the oppressed and exploit our people. Let them too be warned that the consequences of such opportunism is disasterous. Let them be warned that long after Botha, Rajbansi and they are thrown onto the dung heap of history, the oppressed peoples of our country will be standing with pride. ^{Saying} ~~Standing~~ and explaining that we have overcome.

(Applause)

That long after they have been thrown onto the dung heap of history our children will be saying, our parents did not submit and they did not die. That our parents rose above opportunism, that our parents took their rightful place in the making of history. That our parents, in the tradition of the Ghandi's, the Luthuli's and the Mandela's in not submitting, showed us that the price of freedom and justice is life itself. Thank you.

PAUL DAVID: (Inaudible)

(Interruption in the recording)

(Applause and repeated shouting of Boesak) X17
Unknown Person : Amandla - Audience : Ngawethu

SPEAKER : ALAN BOESAK

Mister chairman, my dear brothers and sisters two years ago I had a little argument with a academician, a learned man who thought he was an expert on South African affairs. And he said to me that I shall see that the majority of the so-called Indian community in South Africa will accept the new constitutional deal. He should have been here tonight to see. He -

(Applause)

When the radio announced this morning that mister Botha is expecting thousands (BOESAK smiles) (laughter), I wish he could have stayed for tonight's meeting, he would have seen thousands. I am absolutely thrilled and overjoyed to be here with you tonight. It is a great and a marvellous occasion to see that you have come up indeed in your thousands to make it as clear as we possibly can that we are willing to take up the challenge to face up to this government and their stooges and to tell them exactly what we think and what we are and where we are going to.

(Applause)

You are here tonight not because you are afraid to loose your job and you are here not because you have received an engraved invitation, (laughter) you are here not because your name is on the list for promotion next week.

(Applause and laughter)(Loud)

You are here to show your determination, to say no to every form of co-optation, to say no to the continuation of apartheid, to say no to junior partnership in this evil system, to say no to every form of collaboration with a government that is the architect of so much evil, so much wrong and so much injustice. And you are here to say that we will not give up the struggle for what is rightfully ours. The new constitution's most important aim is the co-optation of the so-called Coloureds and Indians into the hierarchy of white oppression. People who say yes to this collaboration will become co-responsible for apartheid and all that system stands for in our country. Those two million who have voted YES in that referendum the other day, have said yes to the entrenchment of racism and apartheid. Yes to the continuation of violence inherent in the system. Yes to the continuation of the erosion of the human dignity of South Africa's black people. They have said yes to the continuation of their own enslavement; for they do not get to understand that no matter how many times they say Yes, they will never be free until we are free. And they will

(Applause)

And even after they have said yes to mister P.W. Botha's plan, they will still have to find an answer for the questions that black people will pose to them. So also they have said yes to virtual dictatorship. The Nationalists, brothers and sisters, have done this country and its people irreparable harm, even under the Westminster system. Even with the checks and balances of that system. Under that system they have Balkanized our country in the name of democracy. They have

stripped the so-called Coloureds of their right to vote and denied the vote to millions others of South Africans people and then proceeded to strip them of their South African citizenship. Under this system they made laws which made of South Africa the most blatantly racist country in all the world. Under this system and in the name of democracy, they made security laws which placed South Africa squarely within that infamous row of totalitarian regimes. I shudder to think what will happen now that the restraints of the Westminster system have been taken away. That the restraints of democracy such as it was are taken away and the role of parliamentary opposition have been demolished into insignificance. It is clear that we will face a totally new struggle in the years to come. We must know that we will have a new constitution. A new constitution in which so-called Coloureds and Indians will be asked to accept this constitution and to participate in its implementation. But none of the ugly realities of apartheid will have been changed. In Crossroads in Cape Town, in Bekkersdal on the Witwatersrand, the government's men almost daily, demolish the pitiful shacks of the people who come together in those cities, simply because they have to find a way to keep body and soul together. They have nowhere else to go. They have been made criminals simply because they want to live together as families. And they, this desire have been fanned into a crime. This government with this new constitution wants the convenience of black labour without the inconvenience of black votes.

(Applause)

And these are realities the new constitution wants us to forget or to ignore. I find this utterly despicable and I want to ask you the question so that you will say clearly so that both mister Rajbansi and mister Botha will hear - do you really want this for yourself?

(Calls of no)

And yet there are people who are telling the government tonight while they are sitting down to dinner, in your behalf, that you want this. (Laughter) In Namibia the civil war will continue. It is a war designed to keep the people of Namibia from electing the government of their own choice. It is a war designed to allow the continueing exploitation of the rich resources of that land. It is a war that according to independent church sources and reports, is designed to terrorise the people of Namibia into humble submission and to acceptance of apartheid. It is a war that will become part of our lives. We will be asked to participate in that war. Our children will be called up to fight and die for apartheid and South Africa's neo-colonialism. Is this what we want?

(Calls of no)

And yet there are people who are sitting down with the government tonight in your name to tell them this is what you want. In the new constitution the so-called Security Laws will not be changed. They will remain firmly in place. And those who struggle for justice will still be detained without trial. They will still be incarcerated. They will still be intimidated by security police at four o'clock in the morning. They

will still be banned into virtual non-existence in your name. And the courts will still be bypassed and the rule of law will still be ignored. Is this what we want?

(Calls of no)

Yet there are people who are sitting down with the government tonight to tell them in your name that this is what you want.

(Call of never by someone in the audience)

We will have a new constitution and there are two thousand people who said today to mister Botha "Yes Baas, we want your constitution".

(Laughter, booing)

But the homelands will continue to be a established. Millions of our compatriots will continue to lose their citizenship. The utter destitution and poverty of the homelands will continue. The terror inflicted upon the millions of suffering and innocent and weak people by fearful unrepresentative stooge governments in those homelands, will continue. The hunger and malnutrition and the untimely death of hundreds of children will continue. All this will not end. Black people will continue to endure endless suffering and bitter humiliation in the land of their birth. Do we want this?

(Calls of no)

And yet there are people who are sitting down with the government tonight to sign pacts with them, to tell them

this is what we want, in our name. There is only one way to deal with this. We must expose this fraud that is being perpetrated in our name and we must expose those who are doing it in our name. And we must make it clear that the Rajbansis and the Allan Hendrikses are not speaking for us.

(Applause)

We must make it clear that the price that South Africa must pay for the continued elevation of puppets into positions of leadership, the price that South Africa must pay for the continued denial of the human dignity of its black people, the price that South Africa must pay for the continued exploitation and oppression of its black people, is the price of its own destruction. And we must not be party to that destruction. And there are those who want to say to us that we must support mister Botha's reform, because he will be forced to reform after the yes vote of the other day. They forget to begin with, that even though two million white people have said yes to mister Botha's plan, they must not make the mistake to think that they therefore have defined the realities of South Africa. There are 25 million black people and some of us are here tonight who are saying to them what you have done is you have merely expressed an opinion. A minority opinion and a bad one at that.

(Applause)

There are those who tell us that we must now continue with confidence because mister Botha has promised reform. To whom? You see what he has done is he has promised so much to almost everybody. (Laughter)

Mister Botha has promised reform to the business community and the English white voters who voted for him. He has promised the continuation of apartheid to the Afrikaans Nationalists who voted for him. He has promised power sharing to mister Rajbansi and to mister Allan Hendrikse, and who will vote for him. But who do you think, he will listen to when the time comes for him to deliver the goods.

(Applause and laughter)

There is only one man who can fulfil all of his promises to all the people all the time and that is Father Christmas and you know that he doesn't even exist.

(Applause and laughter) (Loud)

And mister Botha doesn't even look like Father Christmas. (Laughter) We must accept, they say these reforms because, our vote, our Coloured vote and our Indian vote, tell me what colour that is, that vote will help mister Botha against his right-wing. Now brothers and sisters I am only one of those slow thinking people (laughter) in the definition of one of those famous clever ministers who doesn't exist any more. But I don't even begin to understand how he can talk of a right-wing. Is the Nationalist government a left-wing. Maybe I, maybe I missed something while I was away. (Laughter) But you know the other day when they were announcing these white results of the white referendum on the white television (laughter), they had, they had that panel of clever people from the universities there. And when Bloemfontein's results came in the question was why is the no vote so high in

Bloemfontein, although Bloemfontein said Yes. And one of these clever experts said well you must understand Bloemfontein has always had a long history of left-wingism. (Laughter). Now if Bloemfontein has a long history of left-wing sympathies, I don't know where to look for you. (Laughter) But let me say this also about this right-wing business between mister Botha and dr Treurnicht. What is the difference between these two gentlemen. What is the fight, that they have amongst themselves. Is this trouble between dr Treurnicht and mister Botha about apartheid. It is not about apartheid. Their differences are not about whether black people ought to be given our full democratic rights. The differences are not about the dismantling of the system. The differences are not about the redistribution of the wealth of our country. The differences are not about the dismantling of the homeland policy. The differences are not about these other very important political issues that we are talking about. The differences are not about the ending of white minority rule and the beginning of black majority rule. That is not what they are argueing about. They agree on all these issues. (Laughter) The argument is about how to go about changing things in such a way that white minority rule and white privilege remain intact in South Africa. That is the problem. And therefore the argument is not about fundamental change, but about the best way to change things in such a way that they remain the same.

(Applause and laughter) (Loud)

So we are saying to those people who want to tell us about helping mister Botha against dr Treurnicht, I must

honestly say : Why should we help them, what black person in his right mind would want to help them? (Laughter) If they want to fight each other, we let them fight one another. But if they don't understand what it is that we have in mind, they have not yet begun to understand the country where they live.

(Applause)

I was told by a newspaper that mister Botha said the other day he knows what is in our hearts of hearts. And in our hearts of hearts we want separate areas which means we want apartheid, we want this new constitution, we want white baasskap, we want Hotnotskap and Koelieskap. (Laughter) That is what we want. (Laughter) Because he can see into our hearts. Now I don't even know how a government that doesn't even understand what we say when we say something to them, can read into our hearts what we think.

(Applause)

But I think brothers and sisters it is fair to say to mister Botha, please mister Botha don't try to think for us. (Laughter) Don't try to tell us what we want. But since he knows so much what we want, we will tell him what we want. We will tell him what is in our hearts of hearts. A South Africa free of apartheid, free of racial supremacy, free of racialism, free of humiliation, free of economic exploitation. That is what is in our hearts of hearts. A South Africa-

(Applause)

which will give a safe and secure future to our children. A society where our children shall not be infected by the poison of racism and where they shall be judged by the content of their character and not by the colour of our the, their skin. This is what is within our hearts of hearts. Within our heart is a refusal to be bought. A refusal to be co-opted or to be tempted by the tempters, by the seducers, by the perpetrators of injustice. This is what is within our hearts of hearts. In our hearts is a desire for democracy. A willingness to work for an open society in which there shall be meaningful participation for all of South Africa's children, not only for now, but for the future. This is what is within our hearts of hearts. A, desire for a government elected by the people, responsible to the people. Responsive to the needs of the people. A government for the people. This is what is within our hearts of hearts.

(Applause)

Within our hearts there is a desire to have and work for a South Africa where fear has disappeared. Where whites and blacks will be able to live together as brothers and sisters, where hatred will no longer have a place and we shall build together a society which will be a human society, which will be a free society, which will be a democratic society. This is what is within our hearts of hearts. But of course the Nationalist Party cannot even understand such language. (Laughter) This is what we pledge to work for. And as we struggle and as we continue there are a few things that we must do in order to realise this, we must not give up our determination to

resist apartheid. We must not give up our resolve to resist this new constitution and our resolve to resist those people in our communities who are willing to sell out the future of our children and the true security of our nation and the true peace of this country for what they can gain in the short term. We must work hard to become even more a united opposition. We must move away from selfish, small minded group self-interest. We must discard with all our might the fallacy of ethnic politics. We must not let ourselves be dictated to by the government, by taking over their way of doing things. Ethnic politics is the death of democracy. Ethnic politics is the death of our unity. Ethnic politics is the death of a free South Africa. We must remember this. There is no such thing as Coloured rights. There is no such thing as Indian rights. There is no such thing as African rights.

(Applause)

There are only human rights and this is what we are working for.

(Applause)(Loud)

So let us not be blinded by what happened today. Let us not be blinded by what we are being told almost all the time on radio and television and in the press. Let us remember that we must not perpetrate the stupidity of the devine rule policy pushed upon us, by this government, who is our oppressor. Let us move forward together and I cannot let this evening go by brothers and sisters without reminding you of the three little words that has become the watchwords of the United Democratic Front. The three little words that have become the words that

spell out the seriousness we have with this struggle. The three little words that have become the catchwords of where we are and where we are going to, and those are the words ALL, HERE and NOW. And we are saying again tonight to this government and to our people and to the world we want ALL of our rights, and we want ALL of our people to have their rights. Not only some Coloureds, not only some Indians who have been made honorary whites. (Laughter) Not only some choice Coolies and Hotnots who will have dinner with the Prime Minister. We want ALL of our people to have their rights. And we want ALL the rights, we want them HERE. In a united, undivided South Africa, a South Africa which will yield its fruits to all of its people. A South Africa where justice shall reign. A South Africa where we will all participate in a government that is democratically chosen by the people who make up this land. We want our rights right HERE. And we want our rights, all of our rights, HERE and we want them NOW.

(Applause. Shouts of Amandla)

And as I have said, As I have said to the meeting in Cape Town there are some people who are telling us that we must not be too much, in too much of a hurry right now because changes are on the way. (Laughter) The government is moving somewhere. And so we are being urged by people not to shoot down these proposals before they had a chance to work. We must cool of a little bit. But I want to say to you again tonight that I fear that we have cooled off for too long. (Applause while BOESAK talks). And if we keep cooling off we will end up in a deep freeze.

(Applause)

And so we want our rights, we do not want them a year from now. We do not want them next week, we want them right NOW, at this hour. This is what we say.

(Applause)

SPEAKER : ALLAN BOESAK

This is what we say

(Applause)

And the last thing that I want you to, to remind you of is we should not allow the dream for a new non-racial, democratic South Africa to die. There are people who are working very hard so that that dream will die in our hearts and in our lives and in this country. But we must not allow that to happen. We must not give up this dream for freedom. We must not give up this dream for democracy. Too many have struggled for this dream. Too many have been jailed, too many have been tortured, too many have been banned, too many have been exiled. Too many have been killed for this dream. We must continue to struggle for this dream. We must continue to be faithful. Do not let this dream die but let it live. Let it live for the sake of the millions who are still oppressed and who long for freedom. Let it live for the sake of our children who still die of hunger. Let it live for the sake of our elderly who even at the evening of their life, still have not tasted the sweet fruits of justice. Let it live for our women who even today must still carry a double burden. Let it live for the poor, bent low by the indignities of poverty, degradation and humiliation. Let it live for those,

even those who don't understand how inhuman the oppression of others have made them. Let it live for South Africa. Let it live for our country that one day, it shall take its place with pride among the free nations of the world. When justice and peace shall have their rightful place on the throne of our land. And when we do this and when we let the dream live, the day shall come that we shall rise up and we shall stand tall and proud and we shall know, free at last, free at last, thank God almighty we are free at last.

(Standing. Applause by audience, repeated shouting "BOESAK") 26X

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

That tells it all, doesn't it. It is very easy to see why Allan BOESAK is the president of the World Council of Reformed Churches .

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

.... speakers a lot has been said and secondly what you personally feel from your own understanding of the situation in your own words. I've been wrapped on my knuckles by the secretaries of the UDF and I gave you an outdated figure of the membership of the UDF. I gave you 3 months figures. The latest figure is 2.5 million at present.

(Applause)(Loud)

And I have also been asked to fill you in on some information which Fatima MEER didn't know. She was not quite sure what the Indian sector of the parliament was called. Well everybody knows what Rajbansi sits on. (Laughter) Yes so can we get some participation from the audience themselves. What is done is we have got a roving mic, here and one of the smallest fellows in our midst,..... will try and worm his way around the centre aisle, where is it by the way, and then those people who want to speak can come up the centre and can we just restrict - eh mr. Geti(?) - just just hold on and we will get the mic to you.

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER IN AUDIENCE

- and gentlemen

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : INDIAN WOMAN IN AUDIENCE

.... on behalf of the Indian community, we would like to extend a very warm welcome to one and all. I have been told Amichand RAJBANSI he was the He has to call in his butcher and sit and (inaudible) them and not us. We don't want him because he has done nothing for us. Nothing for (inaudible).

(Applause and shouting while the speaker is still talking on, and later she is shouting. Her speech is too indistinct to transcribe).

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

- condolences sorry, and asks you to continue the struggle. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

Just just a few more minutes.

(Interruption in the recording)

We have said no to a separate Indian chamber and we have said no to Rajbansi. On the other hand we have said yes to a democratic South Africa in terms of the Freedom Charter. We have said yes to strong community organisations. We have said yes to unity, we have said yes to the Congress and we have said a mighty yes to the UDF.

(Applause)

So if that is correct, they can we just repeat:

PAUL DAVID

What do we say to apartheid	(Audience: No)
What do we say to the Koornhof bills(?)	(Audience: No)
To the constitution	(Audience: No)
To the Indian Chamber	(Audience: No)
To Rajbansi	(Audience: No)

And what do we say to a Democratic South Africa in terms of the Freedom Charter	(Audience: Yes)
To strong community organisations	(Audience: Yes)

To Unity	(Audience: Yes)
To the Congress	(Audience: Yes)
And to the UDF	(Audience: Yes)

God bless you

Whilst singing people give clenched fist salute

(Song 7)

Nkosi Sikelele Africa

Maluphakamise uphondo lwayo

Izwa imithandazo yethu

Nkosi Sikaleli, thina usapho Lwayo

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

- behalf of the Natal Indian Congress, wish to thank and congratulate all those people who participated in the demonstration. He would like to thank all those young lawyers including D.K. SINGH who very valiantly rallied at the police station. And we want to especially welcome all those people who are experiencing this kind of meeting for the first time. Thank you and God bless you

Oliver Tambo - Oliver

Oliver Tambo, is my Father yes, yes.

Oliver Tambo, is my Father yes, yes.

Oliver Tambo, is my Father yes, yes.

Deel van die land met geen blank

Dele of land wat gemaak is van blanket om thugum soos of S.A.U.R. T.V. betoon.

(END OF THE VIDEO TAPE)