



INAUGURATION : SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS
~~BOBSONVILLE~~ : 1983-07-31

DUBE

SPEAKERS

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. UNKNOWN (CHAIRMAN) <i>(Kehla Shubane)</i> | 9. ZINZI MANDELA |
| 2. GURNICK NDLOVU <i>ERIC M LOBE</i> | 10. CASSIM SALOOJEE |
| 3. OUPA MONARENG | 11. UNKNOWN (B/MAN) |
| 4. DR NTATHO MOTLANA | 12. OSCAR MPETHA |
| 5. ARCHIE GUMEDE | 13. UNKNOWN (B/MAN) |
| 6. UNKNOWN (I/MALE) | 14. UNKNOWN (B/MAN) |
| 7. DAN MONTSITSI <i>p. 29 is.</i> | 15. ZOLILE NTSHELWANE (SAAWU) |
| 8. MEWA RAMGOBIN | 16. <i>M. Kosele Kade</i> (PEYCO)
<i>J. N. Kade</i> |

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. OLIVER TAMBO | 19. RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN |
| 2. MANDELA | 20. SSRC |
| 3. LUTHULI | 21. HECTOR PETERSON |
| 4. ANC | 22. BARNEY PITYANA |
| 5. UNKHONTO (WE SIZWE) | 23. SOLOMON MAHLANGU |
| 6. ANDREW MBELE | 24. TABU MOTAUNG |
| 7. DUMA NOKWE | 25. SIMON MOEGOERANE |
| 8. WALTER SISULU | 26. JOSEPH MDLULI |
| 9. MBATHA | 27. NEIL AGGETT |
| 10. ANC YOUTH LEAGUE | 28. AMILCAL CABRAL |
| 11. MOSES KOTANE | 29. HELDA NETO |
| 12. DILIZA MJI | 30. MHLABA (RAYMOND) |
| 13. SOBUKWE | 31. GWALA (HARRY) |
| 14. DR MOROKA | 32. MBEKI (GOVAN) |
| 15. DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN | 33. FREEDOM CHARTER |
| 16. JOE MOLEFE | 34. CONGRESS ALLIANCE |
| 17. PAC | 35. LEMBEDE |
| 18. BRAM FISCHER | 36. SATHS COOPER |

(13)
(19)
(20)
25/7/83
19/8/83
5/10/87

J. Mollan 14/6/81

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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TRANSCRIPTION OF VIDEOTAPE NO 113 : SOYCO : DOBSONVILLE : 31 JULY 1983

1. Song 1: Hand clapping, moving around -
 Sise Basha Sise Basha
 Sise Basha Sise Basha

Chorus x2 Asoze Sibulawe Yilambabhunu
 Sise Basha

Thina Siwulusha Lwala E'Afrika
 Thina Siwulusha Lwala E'Afrika
 Chorusx2 Asoze Sibulawe Yilamabhunu
 Sise Basha

3rd Verse : 2nd Verse Repeated

REMARK: Seated on stage are DR MOTLANA, MR GUMEDE, MR NKONDO
 and MR MATHEWS.

2. Mayibuyē)
 I-Afrika (2x))
 Oliver Tambo . (10X))
 Amandla) Fist up
 Ngawethu)
 Mayibuye I'Afrika (X 2)
 Izwe Elethu

Translation

1ste Verse We are young, we are young
 We are young, we are young
 Chorus x2 We will not be killed by the boers
 We are the youth
 2nd verse We are the youth of Africa
 We are the youth of Africa

Chorus x2 We will not be killed by the boers
 We are the youth

Song 3

U Mandela wethu
Somlandela Somlandela
U Mandela wethu
Somlandela Somlandela

Chorus x2 Noma singaboshwa
 Somlandela Somlandela

Remark: Song is sung three times replacing the name of
Mandela with Tambo and Luthuli and continuous clapping and
dancing. European TV crew can be seen moving:

I Soyco Yethu
Soyilandela Soyilandela
I Soyco Yethu
Soyilandela Soyilandela

Chorus x2 Noma Singaboshwa
 Soyilandela Soyilandela

Remark: Song is sung three times replacing Soyco with ANC and
then returning Soyco during the third time.

(Scene outside hall appears taking a camera shot of SOYCO
Poster and vehicles).

Translation:

Our Mandela/Tambo/Luthuli
We will follow him, we will follow him
Our Mandela/Tambo/Luthuli
We will follow him, we will follow him

Chorus x2 Even if we are arrested

*Don 11/10/88
14/6/88*

We will follow him, we will follow him

Our Soyco/ANC/Soyco

We will follow it, we will follow it

Our Soyco/ANC/Soyco

We will follow it, we will follow it

Chorus x2 Even if we are arrested

We will follow it, we will follow it

4. Oliver Tambo, Oliver Tambo, Oliver Tambo - clapping of hands

Pamphlets/placards:

- (1) SOYCO UNITY ACTION
- (2) MNDawe STRUGGLE
- (3) UDF T-shirts worn

Placards (visible)

- (1) SOYCO on the wall of hall;
- (2) SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS; and
- (3) SOYCO UNITY ACTION FREEDOM on the fence surrounding the venue.

Kelula Shubane
~~UNKNOWN SPEAKER~~ (could be chairman): Some people come as far as P.E., Cape Town and so forth and we have quite a number of course come from the Transvaal and so on, and I think we must start now. I thought we would start at 10 but due to some problems we couldn't. Now as I think we all know. We have here come to launch the SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS today July 31, 1983. Of course we should remember this day (inaudible) as so many days that we observe in the struggle. I am not ^{therefore} trying to argue that we wasted effort to observe these days (inaudible) in the years to come. (Long section inaudible due to moving of furniture). Remember the role Youth League played. The

program of action which lifted our struggle to a militant plain was as a direct result of the campaign (inaudible) and so on done by the Youth League. The Defiance Campaign which to date, is not equalled was as a result of the program of action that was introduced by the Youth League. I am citing this to show the importance youth can play in the bitter struggle so that as we form these youth organisations today, I think we have to keep these in mind. We have to think back to men like TAMBO, SISULU, MANDELA, LEMBEDE and many others, who were active in the Youth League and see the quality of their developing into the giants they are today. We hope that with the formation of the SOWETO YOUTH LEAGUE, rather YOUTH CONGRESS, as has happened in other centres.

We know that PEYCO has just been formed a few months ago. SAYCO in Atteridgeville as well as the YOUTH CONGRESS has come up, we are hoping in other centres of the country as well something of this nature will come up and we're hoping that these Youth Congresses that are coming up throughout the country are going to (inaudible) our struggle and put it on a much higher plain than it has been up to now.

We hope to ^{ANNEX} (inaudible) all the energies ^{AND STAMINA} (inaudible) of youth and ^{it} are channeled to the proper direction. Now by way of kicking off. I will call upon CURNICK NDLOVU who is going to speak on behalf of LARS GANU (phonetical) (inaudible) unfortunately she isn't here. We are expecting her to come later on.

Eric Moleleke

~~CURNICK NDLOVU~~ SPEAKS: As ... said I am to introduce the speakers here something that was to be done by mrs (inaudible) was around here she will be joining us here soon.

It is a historic moment because here as the MC has already said, we are seeing a process of harnessing the youth in this country, in Soweto, eh to play a major role in the struggle for emancipation. We know that their, the youth, no

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(inaudible) struggles the youth has always played a very, very important, role but the youth cannot play this role if the youth is not organised. Therefore today the central theme today, the very important thing (inaudible) ^{that we are witnessing} is a process of organisation. I will now introduce to you the people who are, who will be leading us this eh, today.

(Introduction taking place)

To my extreme left we have Mr MATHEWS. Mr MATHEWS served, I think, 12½ years in the Island, eh, for his contribution, into eh the struggle. Will you stand up, please. (MATHEWS stands and raises his right clenched fist while audience clap hands and CURTIS NKONDO raises right arm with fingers closed and thumb outstretched). Eh, I must say that knowing him has always been a (inaudible) because he does not spare a punch, every time he injects you with some sort of eh enthusiasm.

VIDEO CHANGES.

SAME SPEAKER CONTINUES: CURTIS NKONDO, so you know NKONDO, a lot of you, he used to be ex-president of eh AZAPO (inaudible) (audience laughter) (inaudible) Eh, Mr NKONDO will be with us today. He served a banning order eh 3 years, (Mr NKONDO nods his head in agreement) and eh he has just been released (inaudible) prison (audience laughter)

What we are seeing is an ever more determinate (inaudible) that is banning order like Mr NATHEWS (inaudible) did not break him, to take up the reigns of the struggle and show us the way.

Mr ARCHIE GUMEDE comes from Durban. He is the eh, he is the eh chairman, president) chairman, chairman of the UDF of Durban. I'm sure we have heard, and read about this huge process that is exploding inside the country. The United

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Democratic Front. This thing is, is of importance and emerges all over the country and it galvanises people, people of progressive thinking who are aimed at changing the status quo by organisation of the masses and not by speeches. I mean the UDF it's attempt, its an attempt to bring organisations into a broad alliance, a broad alliance that will sweep the regime out of this, eh, eh (audience claps hands) (inaudible) (ARCHIE GUMEDE stands and CURTIS NKONDO raises right hand - fingers closed, thumb outstretched)

Next to Mr GUMEDE we have Dr MOTLANA. You all know dr MOTLANA, he is the chairman eh of the SCA, SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION and he used to be ^{very} active in the Youth League, eh he played a role in the, in the Youth of the mother organisation in this country and he has ^{valuable} ~~further~~ experience that he will share this morning, eh, Dr MOTLANA (Dr MOTLANA stands up while audience claps)

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Next to Dr MOTLANA, we have eh DAN MONTSITSI. Dan was the president of the SSRC. You remember some few years ago, when the youth in this country exploded in the face of the regime, the people who (inaudible) Mr MONTSITSI was the president of that committee that amassed the student potential force and lent direction and for those activities he was arrested with some of his colleagues and he was given 8 years, and he served effectively 4 years in the Island. He comes back, he is not broken as we can see (inaudible) (audience laughs) those who intended to break him are very disappointed this morning. Mr MONTSITSI. (MONTSITSI stands and raises a right clenched fist).

Some of the dignataries will be joining us as the program unfolds, thank you, mr Chairman.

(Song in Zulu led by Black male Siphwe THUSI wearing a scarf of black, green and yellow)

Abazondi Charter
 Sizobathola
 Abazondi 'Umkhonto
 Sizobathola

Chorus x2 Amagama Abhaliwe
 Abazondi 'Mkhonto
 Sizobathola
 Abazondi 'UDF
 Sizobathola

Chorus x2 Amagama Abhaliwe
 Abazondi 'Soyco
 Sizobathola
 Abazondi Soyco
 Sizobathola
 Chorus Amagama Abhaliwe

Translation

Those who ^{hate} ~~trouble~~ the Charter/Umkonto/Umkhonto/UDF/Soyco x2
 We will get them
 Those who ^{hate} ~~trouble~~ the charter etc
 We will get them

Chorus x2 The names are written

Remark: The song is repeated replacing the name/organisation as shown in the first line of this translation.

A - Amandla
 B - Ngwethu Y(X 2)

A - Mayibuye
 B - I'Afrika (X 2)

CHAIRMAN: We call upon OUPA MONARENG who is the chairman of the COMMITTEE that has been organising the Youth congresses and all of the who will give us report of all the programmes (inaudible) management programmes - - - - - Oupa - - - - -

OUPA MONARENG: I thank the chairman for giving me this short opportunity of bringing you a very brief account of the origination, of the idea of the youth and the full background, and once more, I greet you all Comrades, in the name of the popular Youth Movement which is envisaged in this country, nationwide. We, when this idea originated, it was last year at the COSAS congress, the Congress of South African Students, which we all know that represents students at the secondary and high school level. At their annual congress last year May, the idea because of their frustrations and eh their confusions which they proved by themselves in, in our, our society it was wise and advisable, to form a broad mass based youth movement, which will cater for the interests of the Youth from all sectors of life having different and divergent interests. What I mean is that such interest would be of christian origin or religious (inaudible) origin, social origin, political origin, education and many other kinds of eh life interest. What we thought is that if we are a student organisation (inaudible) and we have people one hundred per cent participating in that organisation it is unfair. Because such people doesn't experience the problems (inaudible) of the outside student campuses practically (inaudible). So now in order to consolidate and to co-ordinate all such interest a youth movement was necessary. That is why, late November 1982 eh the Committee of Six which was formed (inaudible) at the congress which was given the task of making sure that all the youth are (pronged). All over the country, decided to form a regional committee, and this regional committee, decided to, to, to entrench or establish local structures. This local structures are ^{MANIFESTED} (inaudible) in the formation of what you call the Port Elizabeth YOUTH CONGRESS and after that the CAPE YOUTH CONGRESS, CAYCO and

PEYCO respectively and then last week there was a youth league formed at Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Mabopane. The, the, the youth will decide. So such eh activities or such movements formed already (inaudible) are eh as a result of the committee which was elected at a COSAS Congress last year 1982. So today, the interim committee which started working as, as late as November last year, managed to, you know try, call this kind of a meeting ^{AND THEY ARE RESORTING TO CONVENT} (inaudible). Organising the youth nowadays is not a child's play because it seems as if our interests are distorted, if not cockeyed, but I don't say the youth, those are the faults or eh and problems caused by the youth but we know the economic social structure, the social economic structure of our country allows such frustrations, allows such frustrations and we are hoping that if we got to work very hard we got to really put some kind of seriousness and discipline. And in the projects which we undertook during the process of organising this congress, the process, the projects like, eh study groups, work shops and the sports (inaudible) realises that people have got to be interested in the Youth. The youth are interested in sports, you know, sports activities, recreation, in cultural activities, in music, in drama, and all the other activities. That is why we negotiated for places of which we can cater for all such interest and the people must know that, when we formed this Youth, it was a follow-up on ^{what} (inaudible) COSAS, (inaudible) while we were trying to build up the idea so as to can accommodate everybody, who has the interest of the youth at heart. And at this point in time we are not going to perhaps, we are not going to perhaps engage ourselves in eh ideological ^{CONCERNING IDEOLOGY} conflicts or any other type of interest (inaudible) because at this stage this thing is not going to help us ^{at this stage} (inaudible). What we want is, we got to reach the grassroot level, got to reach the ordinary people in the street and in reaching all those people in various sectors of the community is not a child's play and that will be coupled with what the youth call responsibility and discipline so in that way (inaudible) we

are not going to even if we drafted a constitution today, the constitution will be read ^{and policy will be read} (inaudible) and many other things we hope that we shall help one kind of a spirit which will serve (inaudible) which will serve to unite us rather than to divide, divide us; if there are people who have far fetched ideas. We are not going to (inaudible) there are no ulterior motives whatsoever in forming the youth organisation. We realise there are social, economic problems in this country and in forming that organisation we shall cater and accommodate all the interests of the youth without any political type of organisation, although we know what kind of a struggle must we wage, because we know that all the struggles are waged in different kinds of the community. We can wage social activities and there are movements like civic issues who thereby have problems of rent, who have problems of electricity, who have problems of laws introduced by the government and this laws are a nuisance to the community as such, and if you got to solve such problems we got to unite. We got to understand them, ^{we} got to scrutinise them, got to study them ^{WE HAVE TO STRATEGISE} (inaudible). We got to ^{COUNTER} ~~count~~ alternatives, so as to eventually solve such problems. So in solving such problems we are not going to be emotional. We are not going to be unnecessary militant. But we are going to go deeply into that and push as a youth movement which will be formed nation wide. So without any waste of time I will just appeal ^{in good faith} to everybody here, that eh the idea of a youth is done [^] and anybody who joins the youth is not going to be forced to join the youth but that will be done through the interests of that individual and the interests of a nation as such, because our nation is at a crises and we realise the nations youth and needs the truth and the youth are the people mentioned here and generate activity.

Speaker: Amandla X3

Audience: Awethu X3

X "a

Let me begin by saying, this is not going to be a time of
(----- drag that one oftens get in ----- one of 74 vol.2
produced by ----- those four volumes there is
The last number of chapters in that book.

*. 11 (6)

The reason was professor Z.K. Mathews one of the most outstanding provincial ----- of the A.N.C. and a very outstanding member of the national executive, was banned (by ----- and this bus ----- ruled at the slightest sign of ----- the student body, at the slightest sign that there might be a strike over food over radiation over every cause he would invite us the SRC's to come home for dinner and it was at dinner that ----- remember we were out of food we ----- and he say ----- and we say to Z.K. Mathews we are fed of ----- . And on the matters he very quickly take it up with the administration and he feels for us, I think he said a lot to the then administrator. I think ----- we have a place like a Ngoya and a Turfloop ----- in a way that you and I have a problem solved)

Some person in the audience shouts MAYIBUYE, audience replies I'AFRIKA (2X).

Dr MOTLANA, with raised right arm, fingers closed, thumb outstretched: FREEDOM. Audience: IZWE ELETHU (ARCHIE GUMEDE and other persons on stage raise their right clenched fists). MAYIBUYE I'AFRICA.

Chairman, honoured guests, ^{SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF} (inaudible) Africa, I feel much, very honoured this morning to have been asked by this promising young men, to be delivered by all these midwives, to be the guest speaker, to open discussions and to introduce this idea of a youth congress in Soweto (inaudible). That in fact such a plant has already taken root in different areas of our country and in drawing your attention to the history of youth league. ~~Let me begin by saying, this is not going to be a time of (inaudible) devoted to the youth league, ours is to point at the relevance of this organisation. And it's influence on the mother body (and the very important role already referred to that it played (inaudible). The formation of the ANC Youth League was a climax unculminated (interruption).~~ ~~The reason was that Professor ZK MATHEWS our (inaudible) (video interruption) most outstanding, African educationist vice-president (inaudible), our outstanding president of ANC and the very outstanding member of the national executive, was then vice-president (inaudible). Professor MATHEWS would quickly take it up with the administration and (inaudible).~~ Easter Monday 1944 became a watershed in the history of the struggle of the people of SA. It was on this day, that the ANC Youth League was formed, a new generation of resistance emerged (inaudible) of form and direction, of the national liberation movement in South Africa. The Youth League was formed at a conference held at the old and now demolished ^{BANTU MEN'S} (inaudible) social centre in Johannesburg.

For the first time the youth of South Africa was organised in a much more serious manner, as a group in the liberation struggle. The youth league started in Transvaal but soon developed all over the entire Union of South Africa. These are some of the presidents who have become part of our liberation history. The first president and in fact the inspiration that led to the formation of the youth league was ANDREW MBELE around 1944. He was followed by the well known ^{CLODFREY PITJE} (inaudible) third president and NELSON MANDELA, around 1950 became fourth president. Also involved in Youth League were such names as DUMA NOKWE who for many, many years was secretary-general of the ANC. WALTER SISULU, now serving life imprisonment on Robben Island, OLIVER TAMBO, now the acting president of the ANC externally ^{WILLIAM NGOMA} (inaudible) who later joined ^{REARMAMENT} (inaudible) Comrade MBATHA and many many others.

THE MORAL

We must ask ourselves at this juncture, why the Youth League was formed, because it bears some relevance to today's events, and why today we feel the need to form a youth movement throughout the country.

The immediate task of the Youth League was to mobilise and consolidate the youth and to fight the passiveness of the ANC, of the older generation. You will remember that the ANC was formed around the year 1912 when the (inaudible) South African government, brought in that infamous piece of legislation namely the Land Act enacted in 1913. In 1910 when the Union of South Africa was formed, a delegation was formed ^{WHICH} with (inaudible) ^{WAS SENT TO GREAT BRITAIN} to protest firstly against the exclusion of blacks from decision making, the exclusion of Blacks from the Common Voters Roll, but mainly over the division of South Africa into 87% for the White population and 13% for black population, and we need to remind ourselves that indeed that 13% which is to be for Black population has not even in 1983 been acquired for Black population.

And the outlook of the ANC was seen by many young people throughout those years as one of passiveness, as one of moving on one's knees which became calloused by these (inaudible) need, by deputations and primarily somebody says ^{BECAUSE IT} the cause of ~~conceit~~ ^{CONSISTED OF} by so many priests of counsel (inaudible) of mission teachers, professional people ^{OF THE DAY} (inaudible), heroes of the day and so on. The ANC Youth League made a tremendous contribution in the struggle in South Africa. In 1948 the Nationalists, National party, came to power under the leadership of the then MALAN with its rampant Nationalism, Racialism, National Socialism based on the outdated theories of Hitler (audience laugh). The Youth League saw no way out, except to adopt a militant programme of action to challenge all the apartheid laws and the brutal State ~~taxes~~ practices.

(inaudible) In 1948 the Transvaal Congress of the Youth League adopted a very definite programme of action and through the help of people like MOSES KOTANE, prof Z K MATHEWS the same programme was adopted by the National Congress in 1949.

I must tell you, daughters and sons of Africa, that yours truly, attended that Congress ^{IN BLOEMFONTEIN} (inaudible) in 1949 and it was most intriguing to watch the machinations (inaudible).

You know of course what takes place in a hall like this that this (inaudible) is but a minor fraction of what really happens.

The work that went, that culminated at this conference went on as the chairman of the co-co committee already described, outside the confines of this hall.

And even one day in 1949 it was most interesting to see the likes of DILIZA MJI, of SOBUKWE ^{PITJE} (inaudible), MANDELA, TAMBO, SISULU, all those men trying to persuade the likes of the NKRUMAH's (phonetical), MOROKA's, the odl gaurd in other words

who had got used to the idea of protest, of deputation, of dinners ^{WITH THE BALLINGERS THE} (inaudible) few white men in parliament in those days.

And this is the kind of action ^{THEY HAD} we got used to and it was not easy for the ANC Youth League to impose its will on mother body and get it to adopt the programme of action, finally when it did force the mother body to adopt the programme of action. We in fact had to restructure and institute and install a whole new executive under a new president namely DR MOROKA.

That programme of action injected the ANC with new life and blood. Its ^{TRANSFORMATION} (inaudible) from the passive and more and mere (inaudible) into a true resistance movement of the 60's with a clear and ^{PURPOSEFUL} simple direction. This transformation did not express itself simply (inaudible) the revolutionary (flaws) (frayers), it clearly found expression and manifestation in the campaign empowered of the victors of the 50's up until the time of the banning of the ANC in 1960. The presence of the youth in all the campaigns of the ANC in the frontline position were decisive in the militarization of the ANC both organisationally and ideologically.

*Dr Moroka
14/5/88. ||*

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the baulk of the bantu education in 1954 were spearheaded by the Youth League. For instance, NELSON MANDELA was the president of the ANC Youth League in 1950, National organiser of the campaign in 1952, in fact he became known as the defier No 1. He carried a little memoir of his integrity, as volunteer No 1. The Youth League was organising both between the students ^{TO BOYCOTT} (inaudible) Bantu Education. The league produced the Bantu Education ^{boycott} Bulletin that popularised boycott, on the other hand they produced other publications such as AFRICA, THE LONE STAR, THE PIONEER which by and large pioneered the years of the congress, whereas the youth league seemed to have played a vanguard role (inaudible), their commitment to polarization of the ^{1 clear} years of congress are indicative of their loyalty to Congress, and the

importance attached to this broad mass movement. Most of the Youth leaders, viewed their struggle as part of the historical heritage ^{OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS} (inaudible) of that resistance movement in our country. They realised that the Youth League was part of a broad democratic movement which has only, which is the only hope, for the mass movement of the people of South Africa.

Although the Youth League played a significant role which had an impact on the condition of the struggle, of our country to this day, this role has not been disputed. Whereas the Youth League started as an exclusive organisation, which sought to unite the oppressed people around ideology of exclusive African nationalism, it was later forced into a broader view of the struggle.

The 1946 workers strike was highly decisive in the role of the Youth League. For the first time we came into contact with other groups, such as communists which played an very important role in the trade union movement in support of a strike and commitment to struggle of workers was unquestionable. It was at this point that MANDELA, SISULU and DUMA NOKWE, TAMBO and others began to accept that (inaudible) Youth can bring about changes, it must itself (inaudible) solution, two positions emerged. One of (inaudible) African Nationalism which advocated unity on the basis of racist consciousness, and the other a progressive outlook called for broad nationalism, uniting all the democratic movements in the country. I must add here another very personal touch to this dispute. I say that in fact, many of the discussions that took place in those early years took place in my consulting rooms, in Orlando-West. We had meetings with JOE MOLEFE, the SOBUKWE ^{La bor o Kos} (inaudible) who debated this question about our differences in ideology. And when the founding congress of the PAC finally took place in the ORLANDO COMMUNITY HALL, I regret to say, it was I who paid the money for that hall. Some of us in those early days campaigned on the basis, that

the little ideological differences that appear to divide (inaudible) were not enough to split the movement as it did in those days.

But there are those, there were those who felt firstly that the role, of whites and other (minorities) in the liberation struggle, only served to concert, confuse the black masses. There are those who objected as a means to seize (inaudible) to the leadership role that non-Africans often played in joint organisations, because of the privileged position they enjoyed as youngsters at school, at university and so on and so on.

That they therefore came to our joint organisations with certain advantages, that they exploit to the detriment of the black masses. And thirdly that non-Africans had to work within the black areas without making an impact on their own non-black communities and that therefore those who believe, who feel then part of liberation struggle, those non-Africans who are part of the liberation struggle, should go back to their own communities and activate them to come and join us blacks in the struggle and these were the major reasons used by those who broke away from the broad democratic struggle and formed what we known today as tribal organisations. And they no doubt that those schisms, those divisions contributed a great deal to the weakness particularly the external movement.

The weakness that we experienced in the 60's of our movement outside the country, were due in fact to those minor differences of opinion should never have made the splits in our organisations. I emphasize this, sons and daughters of the soil, because in 1983 there are in fact rumblings along the same lines and we need to be alive, to be aware, to be enlightened, to be informed about those minor little differences which tend to confuse the broad thrust of the struggle.

It is not my task to go into the history of the PAC or the ANC, my mission was simply to focus on the history of the Youth League, which I think I did. Perhaps what I need to do at this point in time, to attempt to draw some important lessons from the Youth League and show how it can be applied to our situation today. We have seen how the Youth League transformed, the passive ANC, into a broad and more progressive movement.

We have seen how the Youth League rejuvenated the mother body and also played a ^{vanguard} (inaudible) role, because there were no progressive organisations at the time. But over and above this, some of the lessons to be learnt are ^{THAT} ~~but~~ the struggle of the youth compliments the broad national liberations struggle fought by all the oppressed people and freedom loving, freedom lovers all over the country.

But the Youth organisations can effectively organise, teachers and students, on a concerted basis, that because the youth is energetic, tireless and above all enthusiastic. The one thing that is always necessary above all, is the enthusiasm of youth (inaudible) ^{CHANNELLED} ~~child~~ disciplined and trained, there is no doubt that, that enthusiasm can be used for the attainment of our aims. But that the youth cannot be the vanguard of the liberation movements. If the youth played the role of the vanguard, the role will be short-lived because, they need the experience and guidance of the tested stalwarts of the movement. In as much as the youth can decisively influence the vanguard, they must always submit to the influence and the discipline of events. The role of the youth today. In order to understand the role of youth today, we need to clear and place them in perspective. Where as we spoke of the vanguard, vanguard role of the youth and the Youth League, it's ideological differences and the subsequent split. We have to appreciate the fact that (inaudible) organisations emerged in a totally different milieu, in a situation unique with its own

problem. A situation characterized by (inaudible) organisation could not only constitute the democratic movement (inaudible) but also dominate the scene.

We are today witnesses to a phenomenal development, in our country. On the one hand, the state is engaged in a desperate campaign to co-opt the Indian and Coloured communities (inaudible), the creation of a so-called (inaudible) ^{middle class} trust (inaudible). We also face the Koornhof Bills, the Local Authorities Act and a Bill that's to come, that purports to convert the administration boards into development boards. Its one area we are going to have to look into very closely, because the development act has about fifty clauses and of the 50 clauses, the first three refer to development, the remaining 47 or so speak about control.

Control from the day you are born to the day you are buried (audience laugh). We spent a day, looking at that bill, the bill that purports to convert the administration boards, to development boards. And I left, after an hour convinced that the lessons of Nazism that our rulers learnt in 1933 have not been unlearned.

We need to organize the SOWETO YOUTH ORGANISATION or Youth Congress to make them sensitive, alive and aware of the role that other organisations in the community are playing, so that they can play a role in association with, together with such movements as the United Democratic Front, the Anti-Community Councils Committee, the Soweto Civic Association. We also see the SCA, which is a community organisation, as a first level grassroot organisation in Soweto, that has been struggling for the past two years, that now needs (inaudible) that now needs the committed input of the youth.

Yes, the SCA has always been seen as an adult organisation for the mothers and fathers that pay the rent, who buy the food,

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they cannot like the ANC of old, be very effective unless you, youth make your input into their activities.

AUDIENCE: MAYIBUYE I'AFRIKA.

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SPEAKER CONTINUES: (inaudible) of the youth we must be categorical that in the wide presence of democratic organisation of people, there is no, there is no way in which we can hope to play a definite role, your role can be seen as a complimentary one. You must try to fit into the scheme of things in Soweto. Amongst other things a senior role finding its expression in one, creating a bridge between the parents and youth by getting involved in the struggles of the SCA. Two, giving impetus to the anti-community councils committee, by joining and committing your proficiency to distributing pamphlets, house to house campaign and to attaining (inaudible) the Soweto Civic Association are looking forward to a close working relationship with you, and further hope that all discussions, resolutions adopted at this conference, will contribute maximally toward the unity of the oppressed people

I'AFRIKA

Audience: Amandla

Afrika

Audience: Izwelethu

Kehla
Kubani

(Audience clap hands)

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Chairman addresses audience: BRAM FISCHER a stalwart in our revolution, whose contribution to the struggle to this day has not been equalled regardless of the fact that BRAM FISCHER was the son of an Afrikaner aristocrat. His contribution to our struggle for liberation still remains, particularly by those who see him as nothing else but a liberal, unequalled. BRAM FISCHER left his all and gave his all, for my liberation and

yours. Those who have seen it fit to see BRAM FISCHER as a liberal, are themselves I think, like liberals. Another important thing Dr MOTLANA has mentioned, is the fact that the Youth League injected a lot of life into the ANC. The militancy that the ANC came up with the 50's was a direct result of the (inaudible) ^{pushing up by} the Youth League. The unlimited stamina and keenness to work of men like SISULU, O R TAMBO, NELSON MANDELA, DUMA NOKWE, stalwarts of our revolution, made it possible for us to go into campaigns like the 1952 Defiance Campaign. And many other campaigns have followed in the 50's, and it is of interest to note that, the young chaps of those days used to run around organising all those things are today the giants and the stalwarts for revolution, OR TAMBO, WALTER SISULU, NELSON MANDELA, DUMA NOKWE. We shouldn't forget the contributions as well that were made by the young people of those days, Friends of the Soviet Union, which then was the only workers country and in coming back to the Union of SA, he said something extremely important about the workers of this country that the Soviet Union is the heaven of poor people (audience claps hands, ARCHIE GUMEDE LAUGHS, SHAKE HANDS WITH NKONDO, NKONDO RAISES RIGHT HAND IN CLENCHED FIST).

Audience shouts AMANDLA AWETHU.

CHAIRMAN CONTINUES: ARCHIE GUMEDE is the Release Mandela Committee and he is head of the UDF as well. Now I think we have a lot to learn from ARCHIE GUMEDE, his experience in the struggle is quite long. Those days in the 50's (fifties) we are talking about, ARCHIE GUMEDE was there right in the front line with the men we have just mentioned now.

(ARCHIE GUMEDE STANDS UP).

Audience applauds

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ARCHIE GUMEDE: Africa Audience: Mayibuye. Thank you, Mr Chairman, and comrades. I use that word comrades in a special way, as a companion in suffering. Thats a comrade. A companion in joint action, thats a comrade, a companion in the struggle. You may ask how can an old man like me say he is a comrade of young people like you. But, what I want you to understand very clearly is that it is not the age of a person that matters, so much as the driving force in that persone now the fact that you have not chosen not to sit around and eh drinking booze or you have chosen not to go to the football field, but have chosen to come here, tells me that you are special people and therefore I am proud to call you comrades. Now, I have been hi-jacked into this situation by the youth. They ^{CAUGHT} called me when I came to eh Johannesburg in connection with preparation for the launching of the United Democratic Front, and they said now eh seeing that you are here you have to attend this conference, and I thought that I would just attend the conference and now I have been asked to speak (laughter) so you can see how much I am going to say comes from books and how much comes from personal experience, how much comes from knowledge and how much comes from time. A lot of what I am going to say has been given to me by time, (inaudible) to you today. Now you have a role to play in the present (inaudible) in the now and you have a role to play in the future. Our role, my role particularly, was largely in the past, very little ^{not chosen} remains for the future. But what remains, I would like to tell to surrender to anybody for anything. However I hope that you listened to each and every word that Dr MOTLANA addressed to you this morning, because what he said is relevant to your situation, and you need to know a lot of the things that are contained in his address in order that you may be able to avoid the pitfalls in which many of our young men have fallen.

And I earnestly ask and I sincerely plead with you, to try and keep in your mind to retain in your mind the views and

opinions and the statements that you have received just now from Dr MOTLANA, because they are of utmost value to people who, do not regard themselves as things, who do not regard themselves as slaves. They are of no value to people who think they are slaves and who believe they are slaves and who have accepted that they are slaves and that they are tools and things meant to be used by other people.

What Dr MOTLANA said is of no value to those people.

What Dr MOTLANA said is of relevance and of value only to people who refuse to bow down ^{BIND BY THEIR} ~~(bind)~~ them to the god of apartheid (audience clap hands, someone in audience shouts Amandla awethu).

Let those who wish to worship apartheid, worship apartheid.

^{To THEM} ~~Then~~ sentiments expressed by Dr MOTLANA are of no account but if, if you here will refuse even if it is said (inaudible) ^{win if ... seven}

James

because you do not bow down to the god of apartheid and you say to hell with apartheid. I'm not going to bow down to apartheid (audience shouts) then you are of relevance. Then what Dr MOTLANA has said will have a meaning for you and it will be of value to you in the future. Now please, Dr MOTLANA, mentioned enthusiasm, a very good quality and an essential quality in youth. But I would like to add this to you please, do think with your brains and don't think with your blood. Do not allow yourselves to be provoked into unpremeditated actions at any stage or at any place. You know that people make a habit of provoking other people into situations and in using them to react without proper calculations of the consequences of the actions that they are going to take. What I am saying to you is that, I'm not saying to you, you must not act, but I am saying to you, you must think before you act. I am saying to you, you must look before you leap, this is life, you live once, and in order to make the best use of it, do not allow your enthusiasm a very

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important quality and an essential quality, to lead you into traps which have been set for you, by those who wish to see your perpetual subjugation to their whims and to their wills. I ask you, brothers and friends, to try this remedy. Make friends with every person here in this township. In any area where you are, see that you cultivate comrade. You must cultivate comrades. It is your duty to cultivate comrades. You take the message to them and you make them grow. And you don't cultivate them by beating them with sticks or by stabbing them with knives. You cultivate them by talking to them and enlightening them as to what is best in any particular circumstance. All your comrades in the townships, suffer under the yoke imposed on them by this minority regime. However ~~(inaudible)~~ ^{"I know...." and "...."} let those who wish to be slaves, remain where they are, don't beat them out of their slavery. When you are free, they are going to be your slaves (audience laughs) Let's see to it that you do not facilitate the use of violence against yourselves, that is, you do not expose yourself to the system. The system likes you to expose yourselves so that it can destroy you and cause others to be afraid of taking the action you are taking. See to it that you use your brains don't use your blood. I want to repeat that because I want it to stick in your minds. Because very often I have found that people lose the struggle because they have been annoyed by something and they take ill-considered actions at the wrong time are with the wrong method. Now, I'm here today in connection with the UDF.

Most of you do not know what that United Democratic Front is, but I've no time to explain it to you. You will get it explained to you from others, but what I am going to tell you this is a tool, now can any Xhosa speaking person tell me what a tool is in Xhosa (audience mumbles inaudibly) (GUMEDE laughs with them) ^{↑↑} That's Zulu now, now what I am trying to point out to you is that in Zulu there is no word for tool, who knows the word for tool in Zulu? Just one word Zulu tool there is

There is
a weapon
there.

no word for tool, there is no word for instrument. I am not surprised that it is so, because tools were not used there were knives well there were tools in the ordinary way in which they are understood were not used. However I want to tell you that the United Democratic Front is a tool to be used for your defence and being a tool, who will sharpen it? Who will, will your opponent sharpen it for you who will sharpen it (audience we ourselves) we. That is the duty that rests on you, that tool must be sharpened it must not be allowed to be thrown aside to become rusty and of no use. We know what a tool is, the United Democratic Front offers it to be your tool and not the tool of your oppressor. Whether that is going to be the case or not I cannot say, but the tool is there it is up to you to use it. It is up to you to ^{fetch} ~~fetch~~ it. It is up to you to sharpen it and it is up to you to see to it that it is used the way it ought to be.. You know a resident of Orlando and not only one, Mr MANDELA, who I met here in Orlando-West and Mr SISULU who I met in Orlando-East, are in Pollsmoor Prison. What are they doing there? Why are they there, do you know? I say they are there because you sent them there (laughter). It is because your suffering caused them to act in your interests. The enemy captured them. What are you doing about that? How long must they stay in the hands of your oppressors? Do you have no ability to think and find a way to rescue them? What are we doing to rescue those people from where they are? And who will rescue them if you don't rescue them? If Orlando-West is (inaudible) not interested in them (indistinct) who will bring them back? And I would like you to think of these things. Friends, and as you are here today I really appeal to you to see whether you cannot find a way in which you can galvanise into action, the sleeping martyrs of Soweto and the surrounding areas, here these are their neighbours, don't they miss them. Is it not time now, they've been away from us since 1962. That is NELSON has been away from us since 1962. Isn't that long enough? Almost a lifetime, oh friends. Let us, when we shout our slogans, when

we sing our freedom songs, bear in mind those people who are not in a position to shout those slogans, those people who are not able to sing those freedom songs, because the circumstances in which they are for your sake (interruption) because it is useless to give up his God given right to speak for his people and to speak in the interest of those who are eh not qualified to speak. Has the time not come, has the time not come friends when we all aught to speak with one voice (video interruption) to ask for the leaders who are in exile.

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OLIVER TAMBO, you sing about him, oh my, we wish you would do more than sing about him (laughter of audience) (clapping of hands). The more and at least if you join and go and recruit others and conscientize others you will have done something that may result in one day the voice of the African people in South Africa, in Soweto first rising with a roar which Pretoria cannot ignore and (clapping of hands) (inaudible) and say bring our leaders back, call a convention, a national convention where our leaders are going to speak for us. We do not want SATHS COOPER to speak for us (clapping of hands). We want ^{DR MALAN AND} (inaudible) others and told them what our sufferings were and put in jail instead of being given a reply, we want you to talk to them and answer those letters. We want you to bring them back here. (Video interruption). Peace, thereafter, because until you have spoken to the people who are our chosen spokesmen, not the MATANZIMAS, they are just chosen, they were chosen by the White people (unknown person in audience shouts AMANDLA) (laughter). Are putting each other in jail (laughter) for the MANGOPE's and the XUA's (indistinct), MPHEPHU (laughter indistinct), you can see that some of them are called clowns (laughter) (inaudible) and now. Those are not the people who were chosen by us, the people who went and knocked at your door to place our demands who said that to hell with these unjust laws, we are going to defy them. We shall defy the unjust laws because these laws are not just,

DO NOT

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the Group Areas Act is unjust, the pass laws are unjust, the curfew laws are unjust, we refuse to bow down to this God of apartheid, that is why we are (inaudible) and we want them to tell you that at the table when your chosen leaders will speak with our chosen leaders and peace will return to South Africa (audience shouts AMANDLA AWETHU). (Banner visible: SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS, FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME). Power is ours. Do you believe that or are you just saying it? Do you believe it? (Clapping of hands by audience) MAYIBUYE I'AFRIKA (2X) AMANDLA AWETHU (2X). NB: Chanter OLIVER/ Audience: TAMBO X10.

(Siphiwe THUSI in audience leading the shouting of slogans wearing a scarf of black, green and yellow - ZULU.

Amandla Awethu (X 2)
 Mayibuye I'afrika (X 2)
 Izwe Lethu (X 2)
 Long live Freedom Charter (X 2)
 FREEDOM IN OUR TIME X 2
 Song in Zulu

1. Pshesheya Komfula
 Sobabamba Nezingane Zabo
 SOBABAMBA X3

2. Ilitshe Lika Tambo
 Linqonqothiwe Lovulwa Ngubani
 Linqonqothiwe X2

Translation

1. Across the River
 We will catch them X3

2. Tambo's Rock

It has been hit/Knocked who will open it
We will catch them X3

Tambo's Rock
It has been hit/knocked x2

Amandla Ngawethu (X 2)
An injury to one is an injury to all (X 2)
Mayibuye InAfrika (X 2)
CHANTER: OLIVER
AUDIENCE: TAMBO (X 3)

CHAIRMAN ADDRESSES THE AUDIENCE: (Inaudible) to throw our all for our leaders with us here. It is the apartheid criminal system that stands condemned by mankind, as a criminal system that .is a threat to peace, (video interruption) through the international forum the United Nations Organisation, that has declared Apartheid a crime to humanity. Our struggle is just and legitimate and it is not us who are terrorists as the apartheid system is trying to do, instead it is them who are terrorising our people out of KTC, the chicken farm and ever so many places. It is the apartheid regime that refuses to release our leaders in spite of world demand for their release.

(videotape interruption) UNKNOWN ASIAN MALE ADDRESSES THE AUDIENCE:

"My dear friends, I want to say that it seems as if there are some people who thought I shouldn't be here with you today. Uhm on Friday, Popo MOLEFE popped into my office (inaudible) ^{I BRING..} a message of solidarity ^{TO YOU} (inaudible) ... I believe that ^{YOUTH ARE THE PRIME PART} (inaudible) :..... we all know the story of David and Goliath, ^{on 18 yr old who slayed} and David (inaudible) Joshua, who was called by God to lead Israel (inaudible) and it has become evident that, God promised freedom to Israel through the leadership of

Joshua .. (inaudible) ... continuing efforts, determination and courage, and to show us, and to show the rest of the country the new face of AZANIA, where all shall be free (inaudible) and understanding (inaudible) and it is my hope that the evil structures of society in which we live, will be further continue to be challenged by you. (Inaudible)

... that in challenging society, we will continue to challenge the church (inaudible) your voice needs to be heard, and I'm sure that it shall be heard more than ever before. Finally remember that the great leadership of Joshua, will always, will always (inaudible) ... the Almighty God. (inaudible) ... are not really and truly putting their trust (inaudible) ... It's my understanding of a God who, God cares for all creation, cares for each individual, and wants each individual to be free, not to be subject to the devices of injustice and oppression, which the new constitutional proposals might (inaudible) ... With those few words I want to just say that (inaudible) ...these words that were given to Joshua, determination and courage, I believe, with determination and courage I believe you and I, and the rest of South Africa, are standing, as Israel was standing at the promised land, on the threshold of freedom in our life-time. Thank you.

Audience applaude.

Chairman introduces DAN MONTSITSI. ~~(A member of the audience shouts AMANDLA the audience replies AWETHU).~~

Dan MONTSITSI: Comrades, our dear parents (missionary) people (inaudible) I greet you all in the name of the creed of our conscience. (Raises right hand in a fist and shouts AMANDLA (2X), audience replies AWETHU). Well, I must say now I am very much honoured in fact to be sharing a platform with people like Zinzi, eh people like Mr NKONDO, eh, people like, eh, Dr MOTLANA, here and others. So that now I also hope and

*Good
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the
person
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CHAIRMAN INTRODUCES DAN MONTSITSI:

Again I think I need to mention that it is no accident that we received this statement from the south African Council of Churches, The point here is that, the youth Congress in Soweto is intended to be a broad one, we intend organising where ever the youth is, whether the youth is going to be in church or is in church sports or where ever we intend having Soyco there, and without much ado, I think I will have Dan's here, Dan needs absolutely no introduction, you all know whysay something else.

trust that the number of Youth Organisations here will not actually ah ^{ACTUALLY MAKE US FEEL THAT WE ARE A LAUNCHING STEP} (inaudible) we only hope that now it will not bring some of us to think that now, because we have a youth organisation, then it means that the youth can think that they can have their own organisation at home and then after it has been launched we find that we are no longer mainly following it up, we are no longer actually participating actively to make it what it should be, because now we know that (inaudible) has this advantage of ^{PEOPLE BEING} improving content which in fact that organisations in existence without (inaudible) (coughing of audience).

But now the pointing of Soweto must actually be the hope of all the Youth in Soweto and the youth, it means that now this is the place where as comrade (inaudible) declared that now irrespective of whether you belong to the church or spiritual organisations, students and so forth they actually have to participate, they actually have to reign up (inaudible) to be effective so that now the hope that now I would just like to hear as a youth and as parents and all concerned with it we shall be able to reinforce our youth organisation and make it top. So that now there is one important aspect I would like to explain. We have the question of the relations that exist in society. Now what happens in society is that now you find people establishing certain relations. Now these relations which people establish in society they are not just simple relations, but you find that now they are a type of relations that are created or that arises simply because of necessity. Now in our present situation for instance we find that when we look at society within the relations which people form, we find the relations between working people and we find also the relations between the working people and their bosses, but now the most important relations which we have to talk about are the relations between the working people themselves. Now the fundamental struggle is the one between man and nature because now man has got to produce his basic needs. Now what man does

in fact do in order to produce food, in order to produce clothing, in order to produce shelter, what he does is to engage in what is to be engaged in labour in order to produce those things. Now what use is this, in getting himself involved in the production activity. What he does is to form these very important relations. Those of worker to worker so that now in our society we find that now the working people are actually the ones who are producing their basic need, who are producing in order for society to be maintained so then what we realise in fact is, man cannot be able as an individual to produce everything you know, he cannot be able in fact to produce food, to produce clothing, to produce shelter, that is building houses. Now what happens, there is a certain working relation which the workers actually form. You know, but now that is actually caused by the necessity, that has actually been caused by the fact that now man as an individual cannot be able to make it now even in this instance (silence audience rises), OSCAR MEPTHA, enters in his wheelchair,

audience sing to him.

Song in Zulu (Sung six times)

Umpetha Wethu

Somlandela Somlandela

Umpetha Wethu

Somlandela Somlandela

Chorus x2 Noma Singaboshwa

Somlandela Somlandela

Translation

Our Mpetha

We will follow him, we will follow him

Our Mpetha

We will follow him, we will follow him

Chorus x2 Even if we are arrested

We will follow him, we will follow him.

(20)
5/12/87
(Large number in audience displays closed right fist with thumb extended. OSCAR MEPTHA is helped on stage. ARCHIE GUMEDE stands clenched fist in air and sings along. A member of audience shouts OLIVER, audience replies TAMBO (+ 6 times)

Chairman welcomes and introduces MEWA RAMGOBIN. RAMGOBIN shouts AMANDLA, audience replies AWETHU. Chairman also welcomes and introduces two TIC members CASSIM SALOJEE and ISMAIL MOMONIAT.

Dan MCNTSITSI (continues) Comrade, (referring to chairman), I do not regard that as an interruption I actually regard it you know as a very dramatic welcome to a person like Comrade OSCAR MPETHA. So comrades, in fact (inaudible) you know from where I actually left. Now what I was actually trying to explain is that now the most important thing, or the most important things are the very relations which we have seen that are being established in our society. That now people actually come because of need they come together simply because of necessity in order to be able to produce that which is basic. Now, this relationship has been formed ^{WE ACTUALLY PERCEIVE THEM} (inaudible - audience coughing). We also have people working in a bakery where they are now actually baking bread and then we also have a situation where you find workers actually participating in another type of labour. You know that of producing clothes, you have a jersey on, there the other one has a shirt on, there the other one has a pair of trousers on, there so that now what we realise in fact is for these things to be produced, for these things to be there, it means the working people have to combine to produce these things. Now what significance does this relationship of these working people have on the, eh, inauguration of their youth congress. Now we find that now even here, there is a pressing need for the

students and former students and the unemployed people and also eh workers organisations to come to meet and establish, eh, a Youth organisation. So that now what we realise in fact is that now the conditions which have actually created the origin or the necessity to create a Youth Congress, are, they are conditions ^{LIKE FOR INSTANCE} that will withstand the very, eh, the very, eh, what they ^{CALL IT AGAIN} will (inaudible) this very order is it in order (inaudible) because this age limit problem that is the age system, that is the age limit system whereby now students in (inaudible) students in high school cannot be able to in fact complete ^{THEIR STUDIES} (inaudible). So that now you find that now those students who gradually complete their studies they cannot simply because of their particular ages set ^{THAT NOW} (inaudible) they cannot in fact be a student so that now these are some of the people who actually join the ranks of the unemployed. Now what happens is eh the very rejections in the country you know, creates a situation whereby most of the workers are in fact eh ^{THEY BECOME REDUNDANT} (inaudible) so that now what happens in the ^{FACTORY} first two situations ^{AND} ~~are~~ big industries. Most of the workers simply find themselves without work. So now what happens is all these people are actually moving down the streets who lack, who do not have any way in fact of contributing you know, in the struggle; that is through a particular organisation, you know. We are able now to organise to rally them, to mobilise them and then channel in fact, channel them through the youth and the organisation. So that now presently, the founding of SOYCO we hope and trust that now, it will actually cater for all those who are actually inspired, to contribute in the broad national liberation movement of the people of South Africa. Because we have different sectors in which our people can actually contribute. Now this other side we have ^{STUDENTS} ~~spiritual~~ organisations, the other side we have eh church organisations and then at the same time we have youth and then we also have eh ^Civic organisations. So that now, what we actually realize, is that now, the people are actually up in arms against the very racist regime. That now the public has

in fact pointed out quite clearly, that it is time in fact for all peace loving people, to concern themselves with the liberation of the most exploited and the oppressed people. That is now the majority of the black people. So we realize that now, they are actually forming these organisations simply because of the problems which are inherent. There is this thing that now people are actually being incited, that now people are actually being instigated in order to engage themselves in terrorist activity or activity of whatever source. But now what we know for a fact is the very existing material conditions are the one's in which we inspire people to stand up and form organisations. For instance, we have ^{PROBLEMS} ~~to~~ ^{WITH RENTS} ~~move them~~ (inaudible) these are some of the problems which made the residents to come together and form an organisation. You also have other campaigns like the RELEASE MANDELA CAMPAIGN. These are some of the serious campaigns which actually show the people, that now, that show us that now the leadership of the people has not yet been forgotten. That now NELSON MANDELA even after his imprisoned state, he still occupies that position of trust within the liberation movement and that the people still regard him as their leader. (Member of the audience shouts "Amandla" and the rest of the audience replies "Awethu"). So that now you realise that now people actually formed these campaigns and eventually form organisations specifically to deal with the release of the arrested and detained and eh the detained. You know, that is now most political prisoners who have been in confinement, you find people becoming concerned about them. So we see that now, these organisations, they are not formed, you know, they are not just abstract organisations, which only materialise or which only originate in the minds of the people. But what happens is, there are actually pressing situations, there are pressing conditions which makes it quite essential to sit down and start organizing and start rallying people and mobilizing them to form organisations. So we realise this now at this present stage in time, the situation is such that now, most of

the people, most of the activists and throughout the country, there are organisations within the very youth themselves which actually see themselves also as people who could be able to contribute in our national liberation struggle. Now what happens, is with that discrimination, with the discrimination in the country we see that now the majority of the people are actually under-privileged. So South Africa the way it operates, I mean the way the system operates, you find that now the Whites are actually being born you know, through this super exploitations which the people who (inaudible) actually extend you know, that is to the White electorate. So that now the problem (inaudible) the rest of the working eh black people, that now politically they don't have any rights, that economically, they are not able you know, to keep on sustaining themselves and to keep on, you know, having their basic needs. So what happens is the people inside the country, all nationalities inside the country, the Indians, the Coloureds and the African people they are able to organise themselves in fact, into different organisations. We have for instance the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS. We also have the Coloured eh Peoples Congress and then we also have the Progressive Forces within the African people who are actually mobilizing, who are actually organising. Now the origin of the Youth Movement, today, that is the inauguration of the Youth Movement today, is symbolic in fact of the defiance that exist with the people. This is just an indication that the people are actually tired of oppression, they are actually sick and tired of the exploitation which has been taking place. This is the time for us to organise and mobilise the youth (clapping of hands by audience). So that now the youth will actually have to see that now, they will actually play a role in the liberation struggle of our people. I remember, in fact during eh the early 70's there were organisations like TRYO, there were organisations like NAYO. Those are some of the youth organisations which used to deliberate, but now, because we also have to consider the question of development

in our struggle. Either as students or either as youth or either as people involved in the struggle. We know that now, those eh those eh youth organisations, like NAYO and TRYO the (inaudible) when we look at the present situation we see and observe that now the type of training which is actually been taught by the youth, students and other principal organisations, they are such that now they are actually paving the way towards the realization of the future South Africa. The one which is actually being established through the interests and aspirations of the people of South Africa, by the people themselves when they said in 1955 that now the Freedom Charter is now the document which actually embraces their interests and aspirations. So the Freedom Charter even up to this moment, it stands quite clearly and conspicuously as the document, which the people still see as being relevant and which the people still feel has to be implemented. So it is only through the implementation of the Freedom Charter that we shall be able to say, that we are free. So this actually becomes a step forward. Now the youth, the part which the youth has to play in fact is also that one of mobilizing and politicising the youth, in order for the youth to be able to see that now, our struggle shall only be safeguarded provided it is actually toeing the line which is going to lead us eventually to the establishment of the Charter. (Short interruption by the Chairman). Now, we find ourselves in a particular situation present. Now what we realise is, during 1976 eh we had eh the youth and we also had the students. Now we realise this now that the youth is South Africa ^{AMONG THEMSELVES WERE QUIET NORMAL AND WE REALISE NOW THAT} (inaudible). They were also quite concerned, about the, education (inaudible) they were also quite concerned about the, you know community programmes, which used to crop up. That is why, in fact, the students at that present stage in time, were able to organise themselves into organisations like the SSRC and later into other organisations which eventually emerged and developed you know particularly within the student's ranks. We see after the SSRC, the emergence of

COSAS, AZASO and others. Now this also signifies the development within the students ^{OUTLOOK} (inaudible). Now the most important thing the youth and students at that time said we are not going to succumb to the problems that exist. We are not going to shun our responsibilities as youth. We are also going to contribute towards the struggle. So they actually took it upon themselves in fact, to organise effectively all students in Soweto. So that now their problems could be, you know, expressed in a symbolic way, that is why in fact, during that time, demonstrations were quite necessary. That was another type of situation which warranted a particular type of action.

Now also when we have to get a certain activity (inaudible) we shall be able to observe and count the SSRC was not a politicising student organisation. It was actually a pressure group. It was actually the type of student organisation which concerned itself with a mass organisation and mass action. Now when we look at the present stage we actually see organisations you know, where students are members like COSAS, AZASO and the youth organisations, you know, which have been founded throughout the country. Like PEYO (inaudible) and the others what happens is we are able to observe a difference, you know, in trend and outlook. We are able to see that now the students have actually developed. So it shows that the students themselves are not still conservative in their outlook or they are not stagnant in politics. It shows a particular type of development which is actually taking place. We know that now there are still politics of the past, you know, but it does not necessarily mean that now we have to neglect the broad national liberation, eh, struggle we are fighting. Because when we talk of the blood conflict that takes place in society, (inaudible) we form in itself is based on reality, that is now the question of apartheid, it's something which is quite concrete, simply because of the fact that now politically, economically, socially and otherwise the

majority of the Black people in South Africa are actually denied those privileges and rights. So it doesn't necessarily displace (inaudible). So that is why in fact when we formed a youth organisation we feel that now the youth must also contribute towards the liberation. We can actually think, that now eh just an ordinary youth organisation won't be able to contribute. But now the most important thing becomes eh that now we get the youth together to play tennis, we get the youth together to play football, we get the youth together to play chess and then at the same time we get the youth together to discuss matters of common interests, by playing soccer together. We have got to understand first and foremost the conditions under which we play soccer, the conditions under which we play rugby, eh football, and tennis and so forth. So that now under this present circumstances it means that sports is free in a very abnormal situation.

So what it means is very much essential for us to be able to realise that now we shall only be able to play sports in eh, you know, I mean proper eh we shall only be able to engage ourselves in, eh, the sports which is properly conducted you know. Only if eh the doors of learning and culture are opened to all. But now, presently we know that now we experience a cultural difference in South Africa. It is very much difficult ^{FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT TO TAKE PLACE} (inaudible) simply because of the discrimination that takes place inside the country. Now if the discrimination is actually going to thwart the talents of the young people, then the young people themselves definitely have to arise. They actually have to keep the banner of liberation within themselves.

Now we also realise now, that during the unrest there were a lot of casualties, which were suffered, but the blood of those victims which we eh, that is the blood of eh the victims of June the 16th, ^{AND THE FACT THAT} (inaudible) and we still have people you know, like eh OSCAR PMETHA here. Much as he is in this condition he

is able to travel from Cape up to Johannesburg. This actually now is symbolic of the people, you know, who are still concerned and who still have that fighting spirit within them, that now they shall only rest when they are dead, simply because this is no time for resting so even the blood that has flowed during June the 16.

We must actually ask ourselves that now, what are we doing about it, because when we have lost such a number of people, who have been trying to better things for the general youth, who have actually been involved in order to improve the community, educational and other matters and who have been able in fact to take very serious political issues. It means now we ^{because} (inaudible) we who still have our lives, we have actually survived them. What are we doing with our lives. We can't just be happy and say that we have actually survived the onslaught by the Boers you know, but now we find that we are not doing anything about it. So it is up to us and it is up to each and everyone of us to ask himself what he is actually doing concerning the present situation because everywhere so many organisations have in fact have cropped up and so many activities you know, are actually participating.

Now, the most important thing is for us to find out as youth the type of role we can be able to play. AMANDLA! (audience shouts AWETHU, Audience clap hands).

Video(inaudible)

CHAIRMAN addresses delegates:

"(Inaudible) we are going to have somebody from the NIC, reading a message for, for us, ^{FROM THAT ORGANISATION} (inaudible) ... a message from the UDF, the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. CASSIM SALOJEE is

going to read to us a message from the TIC, and a few other people are going to (inaudible) .*Read For us messages from quite a number of organisations that send us.*
CHAIRMAN introduces MEWA RAMGOBIN:

"Comrade chair and Comrades, on behalf of the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS basically based in Natal, I bring you fraternal greetings to you on this occasion. The NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS has been a sister organisation of our historical Congresses. It has been a member of the alliance out here in Kliptown, it has been a signatory to the FREEDOM CHARTER to which we all align ourselves and swear by this day (audience clap hands). In bringing these greetings to you from the Natal Indian Congress. I am reminded about all your heroes particularly, that child called Hector Petersen. Hector Petersen will remain for us throughout. South Africa the symbol of a time of resistance, of which we are proud. And the Natal Indian Congress on the basis of the life of the Hector Petersens and our heroes on the jail at Robben Island, we can identify ourselves with the kind of struggle that we all seek for a common South Africa. You do know that the Freedom Charter was not only contrived by people, that the Freedom Charter was born out of the bowels of our people in struggle (audience claps hands).

An adherence to the principles in striving for the Freedom Charter will be the yardstick for us to change this country from what it is today, to what we want it to be for all of us. (Audience cheers). For this comrades, we have got to have unity and we have got to have action, we cannot have action without unity nor must we have unity without action. And the basis for this unity in action is a common destiny that we all share. But in sharing this common destiny comrades, we want to make it clear now that the destiny of our peoples, are not going to be decided on without our leaders like Mandela and Sisulu and the others from the Island. (Clapping). The words

that we have got to have, action and to start off for that kind of action. There is one ^{SCOPE} (~~inaudible~~) that the United Democratic Front unites and apartheid divides. (Clapping). The fraternal greetings from the United Democratic Front. I am sorry that, comrade Oscar did not read this writing. It would have been our honour if Comrade Oscar would have done it himself (RAMGOBIN reads a letter): Fraternal greetings from the National executive committee of the United Democratic Front which speaks for all democratic people throughout this country. The New Constitutional Proposals and Koornhof Bills are designed to divide the people in this land further. And our United Democratic Front unites us all in the fight for freedom and justice. We will unify workers, students, residents, women, youth and all the oppressed peoples and exploited peoples of this land. We salute the youth today here in South Africa. The oppressed youth, especially the young people in Soweto, here today on this historic occasion. This formation is a brave and important thrust, an advance in the strengthening of the democratic movement. Your participation in the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT will add a new dimension, to the forward march towards liberty and freedom. Act in unity. Unite in action. The UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT again unites and apartheid divides. Forward to freedom. Thank you. (audience clap hands)

ZINZI MANDELA reads a letter from COSAS National Executive Committee:

We salute the birth of Soweto Youth Congress. At this point in time our country is in a tremendous stage of reforms that are aimed at forestalling the entire process of the national liberation struggle and social emancipation. The future is in the hands of the youth. On the foundation laid 72 years ago, also laid in 1955 at the Freedom Square. It is on the basis of our demands as enshrined in the Freedom Charter that the

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5/12/68

correct definition of the class and national enemy against _ whom the youth side by side with the workers who bear the brunt of the facist racist BOTHA/MALAN regime. It is only the success of the national democratic revolution, which destroying the existing social and economic relationship, will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices, perpetrated against the majority and thus lay the basis for a new and deeper internationalist approach. Until then, the national sense of grievance, is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed. Long live Youth Congress. Yours in student workers. Solidarity. National Vice President.

Dr
M. M. G.
14/6/68

She also reads a letter from the Teachers Action Committee:

"The next one is from the Teachers Action Committee".

"Thank you for your letter inviting us to the launching of the Soweto Youth League. The struggle for liberation, demands that every sector of our community, should be organised, so as to make an effective valuable contribution, as an organised group, rather than attending to issues in an un-co-ordinated fashion. The organisers of the youth league should therefore be applauded. It, it, it therefore goes without saying, that the Teacher's Action Committee, fully support the existence of a democratic and progressive non-sectarian youth organisation. Yours in the struggle".

Audience applaude

"From the Alexandra Youth Congress. We, the youth of Alexandra, hereby acknowledge the initiatives taken by the youth of, Soweto, the need to form, the Soweto Youth Congress. We have realised that this is a step forward. It is of utmost importance, to the oppressed and exploited masses. Not only in Soweto, but to the country at large. We therefore support

the Soweto Youth Congress and fully commit ourselves into the national liberation struggle. To SOYCO we say, long live".

Audience applause.

(audience applauds someone in audience. Shouts MAYIBUYE, response inaudible). Chairman introduces CASSIM SALOJEE.

Cassim SALOJEE: Comrades, short message from the Transvaal Indian Congress. Those of us who are committed to the total liberation of our country are heartened by the fact of the formation of the Soweto Youth Congress. The State, has mounted a massive effort to divide our people and to oppress them. More strongly they have come out with things like constitutional proposals and the Koornhoff Bills and they think that in that way they are going to divide us and they are going to weaken our desire for freedom. But with all their efforts there is only one result that we have seen, that the desire for freedom and for liberation is undying in our hearts, and that is manifested in the hundreds of organisations and the mass mobilisation of our people and reviving the memories of our great leaders who ^{ARE IN THE DUNGEONS} (inaudible) those who have been killed and those who are in exile and it is in this context, that I bring greetings from the Transvaal Indian Congress - and the banner that we have up here to say freedom in our life time. It is with a major contribution that the youth of our land ^{SHOULD MAKE} (inaudible). That, that ideal and that dream of freedom in our lifetime will come. Amandla (audience: Awethu). (Audience applauds)

glen omesyle

An unknown Black male reads messages from ~~SAZASO~~ AZASO, CAYCO, Saulsville and Atteridgeville Youth Organisation, Federation of South African Women, Lenasia Youth League and the Benoni Students Movement, Anti-Community Councils Committee to audience. Audience clap hands.

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AZASO Commends the young peoples of Soweto for the amount of contribution they have shown by forming Soyco, they also commends Cosas from whose congress the whole idea of the Youth Congress is formed, Azaso holds very highly the Principles of the Freedom Charter and hopes that Soyco will consider espousing the peoples demands and be a member of the Broad Democratic Movement in South Africa. (Applause)

MESSAGE FROM CAYCO, that is the Cape Twon Youth Congress Greetings and Solidarity from the Cape Youth Congress Comrades, Cayco welcomes the news that a new Congress is to be formed in Soweto, we believe that the youth of our time has a fundamental role to play in strengthening the forces of democracy and Justice, their potential can only be fulfilled by developing discipline, discipline progressive organisations, these have to attract the broadest of our young community and should have programmes of activity which can maintain this mass support at the same time, we've to channel the youth league into action which positively contributes to the democratic struggle, this we believe is the challenge facing all democratic Organisations, Soyco hopes that it can work together with Soyco so as to learn from each other, Share skills and experiences so that we might meet these challengesThe struggle for liberation demands that the Patriotic Youth in Soweto, Eldorado Park, Lamontville, Elsie's River, Mitchells Plain throughout the land form and their youth Organisations, we the youth of South Africa have everything to live and fight for, the future is ours, with sound strategy and commitment let us march forward, United we can never be defeated. Amandla! A message of support.

FROM THE SAULSVILLE ATTERIDGEVILLE YOUTH ORGANISATION.

..... We the Saulsville Atteridgeville Youth Organisation Having realised the common problems of the youth nationally and the Community as a whole pledge Solidarity with the Soyco, we have realised the important role of the youth in Society. The youth being the important grouping in our struggle, which should be held responsible for the activities of total liberation, let us take this opportunity to clarify our stand which was distorted in the Rand Daily Mail yesterday alleging that we are Black consciousness adherents we hereby let it be known that we have adopted a non-racial democratic struggle (Applause) a message for from the Federation of South African Women,

The Federation of South African Woman Supports the move that has been made to establish this Organisation. The Power of the struggle as such eh needs a broad Cross Section and joined efforts with this move the struggle with certainty, will certainly gain momentum, and on Sunday don't forget that is on Sunday the 7th of August, will be the women's day infact, which means that eh eh 9th of August infact eh that is the day the on the 7th, because it will be during the week, then focus will be held on the 8th or the 11th of August.

(Amandla !! Awethu !!)

The Lenasia Youth League and the Benoni Student Movement, the I.Y.L. and the B.S.M. Salute the Formation of Soyco, which we see as a significant step forward which we see in organising the youth to play a rôle in the struggle for democracy forward together with Soyco and we'd like to pass our fraternal greetings to the youth of Soweto Amandla! Awethu! (Applause)

A MESSAGE FROM THE ANTI- THE ANTI- COMMUNITY COUNCIL, COMMITTEE,
The A.C.C.C. Salutes Soyco on this your founding day we are hopeful, we are hopeful the energies and stamina displayed by the A.N.C. Youth League in the days of its existence will be made a reality once more, we further hope, that you will lift, you will lift, You will lift our struggles to new and greater heights and bring nearer the day of freedom we are looking forward to you to providing the Soweto Civic Association with the much needed manpower (Amandla! Awethu!)

Chairman proposes to adjourn for lunch and introduces Oscar MPETHA, audience clap hands.

Audience sings in Zulu.

Umpetha Wethu
Somlandela, Somlandela
Umpetha Wethu
Somlandela, Somlandela

Chorus X2 Noma Singaboshwa Somlandela Somlandela X7

I Soyco Yethu
Soyilandela, Soyilandela
I Soyco Yethu
Soyilandela, Soyilandela.

Chorus X2 Noma Singaboshwa
Soyilandela Soyilandela

TRANSLATION

Our Mpetha
We will follow him x2
Chorus X2 Even if we are arrested
We will follow him, we will follow him

Our Soyco
We will follow it X2

Chorus X2 Even if we are arrested
We will follow it

Members seated on stage stand during singing and sing along.
Persons seen are ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ (Curtis Nkondo,) right first

raised with thumb extended, Archie Gumede, Dr Motlana, right first raised
with thumb extended Mewa Ramgobin and Cassim Salojee.
Audience: Amandla, Awethu (2X)

Oscar MPETHA speaks:

Comrade Chair and the members of this congress, it is a great pleasure to me to get this opportunity of saying few words, In such a congress I brought greetings from Oscar and 18 others that the work must carry on. That the youth must show itself to be the youth. This came from the discussions that we used to have in jail, trying to find out, how South Africa will be liberated. We came to the conclusion, that South Africa will only be liberated, when the youth and the students and the workers come together and form a strong resistance to the, to the (idiotic) government. It is through that - as I now address you. Looking all over the world, not only in Africa alone, but all over the liberated countries like the Uruguay, that those countries were liberated by the youth and not by the mothers and the fathers. This is the message (audience AMANDLA AWETHU and clap hands).

This is the message that I bring to you from the 18 youth and Oscar, that they are looking forward that one day with the 17 and 18 years they've got, they will be liberated. They looked, they are looking forward to the youth that the youth must carry on the burden and follow them, because it's obvious that if you are still afraid of being jailed, this is most important of it that if you are still afraid of going to jail that there will be no liberation in South Africa (audience applaud, MAYIBUYE I'AFRIKA).

When I see the youth gathered this way, I see the liberation of South Africa not far, it is near, nearer than anybody else would think. It is coming. (Applause). Many stipulations

*Dr Motlana
14/6/88*

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5/10/87

that have been made about the liberation of Africa. South Africa. It was said at first, that the liberation shall come at our lifetime. But now I say to the youth, that my lifetime is nearly ended and I don't wish to, to see my end, before I see the liberation of - Africa - (audience clap hands shout MAYIBUYE I'AFRIKA (2X), AMANDLA AWETHU (2X)). I have made a vow within myself that whatever they do to me, it is immaterial. I will never die before I see the freedom (audience applauds).

This is not come with my efforts, it is based on the efforts of the youth as I have said. And like an old man of Judea, I want to say when liberation comes that, the that you may take you, you, your you (audience AMANDLA AWETHU applauds)

Unknown Black man stands, right arm outstretched fingers, closed thumb, outstretched and starts singing. All persons on stage join in singing.

Song in Zulu + 6 times.

Ayi U'Tambo

U'Tambo Usehlathini

Ayi Wenzani na

Usa Fundisa Amajoni X2

Chorus X2 Ayi one line bo
 One time two time bafana
 Ayi wenzani na
 Usafundisa amajoni

Translation

Yes Tambo

Tambo is in the forest

Yes what is he doing there

He is teaching ~~terrorists~~ ^{SOLDIERS} X2

DM
12/16/88

Chorus x2 Yes one line
 One time two times boys
 Yes what is he doing there
 He is teaching ~~terrorists~~ ^{SOLDIERS}

Audience stand, members on stage stand and join in singing.
 Members seen on stage singing are Archie GUMEDE, Mewa RAMGOBIN.

I have now to come the end of my speech by saying you all read the Bible. You all know what the words of Isiah, Zacharia has said when he saw his son that take your 17, 17 beasts because his eyes has seen the ... You all read this in the Bible. (inaudible) Audience clap hands.

Oscar MPETHA shouts AMANDLA, audience: AWETHU.

Oscar: AMANDLA, audience: AWETHU.

Oscar: INKULULEKU, audience: Inaudible

Oscar: INKULULEKU, audience: Inaudible

Oscar: VIVA, audience: ANC.

Oscar speaks in Xhosa (listen to what I am going to say)

Oscar: Viva.

Audience: ANC

Oscar: UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

Audience and MEWA RAMGOBIN laugh

Audience sings in Zulu led by SIPHO @ BRIDGE LETLALA (SCA)

Abazondi'Charter

Sizobabona

Mhla Sathathi'Lizwe

Amagama Abhaliwe

Mhla Sathathi'Lizwe

Amagama Abhaliwe

Abazond'uMpetha

Sizoba Bona

Abazondu'Mpetha
Sizoba Bona

Song interrupted by the starting of a new song

Bayakhale' South Africa
Thina Siyabuza
Uthini maku nje nje nje
(Rest in audible)

Translation:

Those who ^{HATE} ~~trouble~~ the Charter
We will see them
Those who took our country)
Their names are written .) x2

Those who ^{HATE} ~~trouble~~ Mphetha)
We will see them) 2x

They are crying in South Africa
We are asking
~~WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO SAY SO, SO, SO?~~
^{WHAT DO YOU SAY WHEN IT IS SO?}
(Rest inaudible)

Unknown Black recites poem - video interruption

Let me see thou eye
Let me see thee with the hide of an African ox (inaudible)
Wish my wish and still it is my wish
Deliver me, deliver me to the ancestral village
Cast no flowers on my soil I am an African for its beauty
I never had a chance to admire its courses

Africa, Africa, Africa was not free and I will go and I will
go

I will join the masses that went before me and when I come
back

When I come back I shall be fighting the ancestral law until
its dark

Wish my wish and still it is my wish

(audience applauds)

Azania, Azania, where, where are you Azania

(Unknown Black male wearing spectacles continues)

Azania, Azania, here I come

Calling the sons, the sons and daughters of Azania (inaudible)

How long, how long should the sons suffer, how long

Video recording interruption

Abafana Bamk~~h~~onto

Bashaye I'zolo

Siya ya Siya Ya (We are going) (Rest inaudible)

(The boys of Mkonto struck yesterday)

(We are going we are going)

Video interruption

Persons on/off stage stand with raised right hand, closed
fist. Persons seen on stage: Archie GUMEDE, Curtis NKONDO.
Off stage: Oscar MPETHA. This occurs while unknown Black
says the following:

Oliver TAMBO and Barney PITYANA representing those in exile.
Solomon MAHLANGU, Tabu MOTAUNG, Simon MOGOERANE representing
those who were sentenced to death and executed. (Audience

AMANDLA AWETHU) Joseph MDLULI and Neil AGGETT who died under mysterious circumstances (video interruption) who symbolise the banned people. Oscar MPETHA, Albertina SISULU and Francis BAARD who symbolise the valiant veterans in the liberation struggle. Thank you.

(Member of audience MAYIBUYE) (audience I'AFRIKA) Video interruption)

~~Frank Umhane~~ *Frank M. Mkhatswa*
~~Previous speaker~~ continues - ~~Unknown Black male with beard and spectacles:~~

One, to mobilise and conscientise the youth for their involvement in the struggle of their communities. Secondly, to mould the social and political outlook, of the youth in accordance with the non-racial democratic principles. You will agree with me, that the main focus of our attention this afternoon, will centre around the reality and the concept of the struggle. Now I would like to say a few words about struggle. Some men and women are disillusioned with the struggle. Some went into it without a sound political education. They thought it was fashionable and respectable to be in the struggle and to be seen to keep the company of the so-called strugglers. (I don't) think that the struggle was a special prerogative of a small number of people who could speak English very well.

Now the topic seeks to define your role in the struggle. What is this thing called struggle? If, you are ^{DESTINED} ~~prepared~~ to play a meaningful role in the process for total liberation. I thought you should share with me some thoughts on the concept of struggle. In fact, if you are going to be involved in the struggle for total liberation, it is imperative that you should know something about the concept as well as the reality of practice of struggle. The Zulu word "umzabalazo" describes my understanding of struggle very aptly. Some of the

connotations of "umzabalazo" are the following: the connotation of sweat something that makes you sweat. Something that is heavy, something that is difficult. Something that is dangerous. You require patience. It's something that is painful. It has consistency, tenacity, it requires discipline. It is something desirable but very difficult to attain. "Umzabalazo" is something that you do out of conviction

and because of a desire and a hope to achieve your goals. The crucial question that is what is it that we are struggling against? Who is it that denies us that which we think is rightfully ours? Who is the Pharaoh, who is determined to keep us in the bondage of Egypt? Is it a thing or person? It is common cause that we are struggling against apartheid and against economic exploitation. In 1977, at the height of the students uprising, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference issued a statement amongst other things, they said the following and I am quoting: The disturbances represent a wider frustration of Black youth, unwilling to grow into a society in which they can have no say, as to the manner in which they are governed. They cannot even have ordinary workers organisations to defend their right to a living wage. They cannot be sure of having the right to a house and home near where they must work and marry. Realising that South Africa has entered a critical phase in the rejection by the majority of its people of a social and political system of oppression. We add our comrade voice as leaders of the churches in the country to the cry for a radical division of the system. People starve for freedom deprived of their just rights and humiliated in their personal and corporate dignity. We will not rest until a proper balance of justice is achieved. It is clear that Black people of the Republic have passed the stage of no return.

AND NO TEMPORARY
(Inaudible). Suppression by violence, only a just sharing of citizenship can give hope of any safety for the children Black

or white, now growing up in the Republic, and prevent the horrors of civil war in the future - unquote. The students were struggling against the socio political system of which the educational system was but a part. The young people fought a great struggle because they believed in something they regarded as very important. Now, (inaudible)

I shall make a brief analysis of the society in which we live because you are not going to struggle intelligently, unless, you understand the system, because it is the system that is the number one problem. Now to analyse something, is to break it down into its component parts in order to understand how it is structured and how it works. Social analysis therefore tries to uncover the structure or dynamics of the society, in which we live. Now I shall only restrict myself to two facets of the dominant ideology, namely the South African brand of capitalism and the ideology of the national security state. Now because time is against us, I am going to skip a lot of what I have written. I will only eh refer to a few portions of my text. The capitalist ideology divides society as you know in two basic classes, the middle class, bourgeoisie and the working class the proletariat. The basis of the division is not ancestry or race, but money and ownership. This division is therefore not fixed. People can move from one class to another. The middleclass owner and employer unlike the feudal lord has no responsibility for his employees except to pay them a wage. The new white sectors were soon divided into these two classes of owners and workers. The basic motivation in capitalism is the desire for money and its aim is the maximisation of profits. One of the main interests of the capitalist, then is cheap labour. The white workers from Europe were not cheap labour, they were accustomed to a bright trade union and good wages. They were skilled workers and the mine magnates needed their skills, but they also needed many unskilled workers who would not be able to demand higher wages. The racial ideology deprived Blacks of all rights and especially the right to vote and in general it enabled the

Blacks to be treated differently. This meant that hundreds of thousands of them, could be employed as cheap labour without any danger of their organising trade unions, strikes and an election campaign against the capitalists. The only problem was how to entice - Black people to come and work on the mines. They were on the land, either farming it themselves or as serfs to white farmers, they managed to subsist this way and therefore had no desire to go and work for wages in the mines. How they came into the mines and into the towns is a matter of history that you all know and I am going to skip that part.

Racialism then, is capitalism in another way. It divided the working class, it prevented Black and White workers from getting together, to demand equal right or a better deal for all the workers. Closely linked to the capitalist ideology, is what has come to be known as the ideology of a national security state. Now I'm going to skip all that I'm going to read - the main characteristics of-eh-a national security state. It has a strong army, security police, strong riot police, its inherent detention without trial, the banning of people and organisations, the tapping of telephones and opening of the mail, roadblocks and searching of persons and homes, the use of spies, beating up of people, attacking them with teargas or even to have them shot. When are the circumstances, what are the circumstances that have given rise to this way of thinking and acting. It should first be noted that this ideology of the national security state, was developed not so much in the First world but in the Third World. It seems to arise in the somewhat more developed Third world countries, in which the ruling classes want to remain capitalists, while the majority of people want changes, that would tend towards socialism. In other words, in countries where there is a relatively small wealthy, or middle class, elite and very large numbers of poor peasants, workers unemployed (inaudible) people.

When the majority of the people in a country are dissatisfied with dictatorial methods, and totalitarian ideologies have to be used to maintain the status quo. Level of democracy is a luxury which these Third world states feel they cannot afford if the capitalist status quo is to be maintained. I hope that these observations have given you an insight into what we are up against. The struggle is not a joke. It is not something you do when you happen to find time. Struggle is life, is death. Now you, as young people understand that the church has to make an option for the poor, for the suffering masses, the oppressed, the dehumanized, the workers, the wretches of the earth and those who are economically exploited. Can you afford to stand aloof from the struggle or be dumb spectators, when others are initiating the course of history? Can you afford the luxury of sitting on the fence waiting for the days of sunshine? How you wage your struggle, is your decision. A program of action is your own responsibility. The only contribution I can make at this stage, is only to suggest a few elements without which your role in the society will be ineffective or even positively counter-revolutionary. These are, one, organisation, that unless you are well organised, you are not going to be effective. Unless you have a democratic structure, you are not going to succeed, you're not going to succeed in the setting up of a United Democratic and non-racial South Africa. There should be constant vigilance. Amilcal CABRAL (phonetical) once said, I quote him:

"If you want to neutralize the delayed actions carried out by our enemies and their lackeys, we must strengthen the methods of action and the vigilance of the African revolution. Let us be precise, for us African Revolution means the transformation of our present life in the direction of progress. The prerequisite for this is the elimination of foreign economic domination on which every other type of domination is dependant. Our vigilance means the vigorous selection of friends, a constant watch and struggle against enemies and the

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utilization of all factors that oppose progress. There should be commitment and dedication and we've got to wage our struggle in a professional way, in a scientific way. We can no longer afford the luxury of doing things in a sort of happy-go-lucky type, there should be solidarity. An injury to one of the members of SOYCO, should be an injury to all young people in Soweto". (audience applaud)

Comrades, you've got to learn, to protect and to defend, that which we hold most dear, that which is important to us and this requires courage and solidarity. In a part determination but also, you must have hope that we will achieve our objectives. Finally I would like, now I'm skipping all that I've written, I would like to read very briefly, a poem that was written by a man called HELDA NETO (phonetical) of Angola, the title of the poem is WE SHALL NOT MOURN THE DEAD:

I shall not speak of those who of necessity fell during the struggle

On the earth that covers you comrade

We shall leave neither tears nor flowers

The liberation of our country calls for blood on the earth that covers you comrade

We shall let children play with their wooden guns

The liberation of our country calls for sacrifice

The sacrifice of his finest son

We shall let children play

We shall let feet hardened by hard journeys without end

Walk on the earth that covers you comrade

And follow the paths to the field where grows the maize and the maniok

On the earth that covers you comrade

I shall not speak of those who of necessity fall during the struggle

I shall not speak comrade but on the earth that covers you

Great with the immense granger (phonetical) of the liberation
of ANGOLA

Each hour, each moment I shall hear the cry, the cry your
last cry, that echoed in the hearts of the comrades who
attacked with you the last enemy barracks which you destroyed
The cry your last cry that echoed in the fear of those who
thought they had killed you
The cry, your last cry that echoed through the vastness of the
land and raised thousands of other cries like yours
Each hour, each moment I shall hear the cry, that cry
Your last cry. Advance. Thank you".

(audience clap hands)

Chairman: Yes comrades, we move on (inaudible), the South
African Allied Workers Union

Song in Zulu by audience (inaudible not transcribed)

Person in audience: A - Amandla

audience: B - NGAWETHU

Person in audience shouts: MAYIBUYE

Rest of audience: I'AFRICA

Person in audience: AN INJURY TO ONE

Rest of audience: IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Person in audience: AN INJURY TO ONE

Rest of audience: IS AN INJURY TO ALL

Zolile MTSHELWANE addresses audience. Wears SAAWU T-shirt:

(Inaudible). I would like to ^{GREET YOU} (inaudible) this afternoon
(inaudible). My point of departure ^{AS FAR AS THE} (inaudible) reforms
^{ARE MANIFESTED THROUGH THE COUNCIL} initiative (inaudible) housing. My point of departure here is
that all of us who are here today. No one amongst us can
boldly stand up and say that the present government, in power
we have voted for. And - this present government everyone

knows that it has just-imposed itself upon us as our rulers and secondly the laws that are made by this government are made for us, they are not made with us. We do not have any representation at the decision-making machinery of this our country. Right and then the power which this government is holding is the power, It is holding through the result of political oppression - it is inflicting upon the oppressed people day by day. And day by day we, we are reminded that we shall produce our number plates which the honourable Koornhof prefers to call Reference books (audience applaud). And everyday we are reminded that we the Africans can only exercise our political rights in the poverty stricken Bantustans and consequently the government under which we are living is the kind of government that does not regard us as people. It is a government that classifies us, and divides us into bits and pieces (inaudible). We are called Coloureds, Indians, Africans, Sothos and you know all those derogatory terms, we are not referred to as people. Not only is this government satisfied by calling us by these different names, they still continue and put this into practice by dividing and ruling us put us into tribally divided townships. In the township this section is for Zulu, this section is for Xhosa, and then the ethnicity is also being encouraged. They put the so-called Coloureds in Eldorado, and put the Africans in Soweto and furthermore, what this Government is doing, it is dividing and ^{decolonising} ~~vulgarising~~ our beautiful motherland into so-called homelands which are neglected - overcrowded, poverty stricken and useless ruthless dumping grounds for workers, who do not have any more of their labour power to sell to the big - capitalists. And they are also used as dumping grounds, for the so-called leaders who do'nt have any rights to remain in the urban areas. And it is the government that is tirelessly and vigorously exploiting the labour power of the majority of this population, which has been made industrial workers through the process of proletarianisation and this last section of the working class is the one - that keeps the

wheels of the country rolling. It is this class that makes this country beautiful and attractive like it is today. Yet this class is leading a life of underdogs for the labour power the working class sell to the factory owners. What is pay? What is wages? Is less than half the total capital produced through the workers toil. The rest is profit for the bosses who smile all the way to the bank every month (audience applauds). While the producer of this wealth lives under conditions, which are terrible. Where any human being is not supposed to be living under. And it is the government that is not concerned about the welfare of the young people of our country. It deliberately introduced muntu education to make us their fools (audience applauds) (inaudible) industrialists which goes hand in hand - with the political oppression outside of the factory. It purposefully introduced age limit restrictions to refuse us to pursue our right to gain knowledge. Furthermore it is the kind of government that has always tried to suppress the aspirations of the exploited and oppressed working class. It uses all kinds of methods to try and achieve this. They try to win our minds by telling us that we have no future in the so-called White South Africa. Instead we have brother MPHEPHU, MANGOPE, etc. etc. In the Bantustans, who are our leaders that is where they say we must exercise our political rights. It has emerged that the Bantustan-policy is bitterly hated and despised by the Black people of South Africa and it has failed dramatically to win any serious support either amongst the Black people of South Africa or internationally. When we don't believe what the government tries to tell us, they have never hesitated to use force to make us what they want us to be. This force is characterised by the use of the gun. An example of which is the 1976 (inaudible). Detention without trial and the harassment, and the disappearance of people right. So now after seeing that this government is an undemocratic one, which we did not vote for it does not represent us, instead it is bent vigorously on exploiting and oppressing us. Then we

should ask ourselves why the Presidents Council (initiated) or what is this Presidents Council (inaudible). The Presidents Council was established in 1980 as an official multi-racial advisory board, on political and economic affairs. It is made up of Whites, Coloureds and Indians (inaudible) and obviously it excludes the indigenous people of this country. The majority of its 54 members are White supporters of the Nationalist Party. The number include the (inaudible) politicians business men and stenographers. The Coloured and Indian minority is comprised largely of figures are from obscurity, for example ^{A PORT ELIZABETH} (inaudible) social work and a few reliable wheel horses from the established Coloured and Indian (inaudible). Other members included (inaudible) Hart (sic) from the new Republic Party, renegade ex-PFP. A Coloured trade unionist from the conservative Trade Union ^{Council} of South Africa and the right wing political scientist with curious overseas connections (audience applauds) And (inaudible) from, from the composure, composure of the membership of the Presidents Council. It is difficult to escape the impression that it had been set up to produce a political and intellectual rubber stamp to cover up the National Party's political desires. Right the contents of the proposals of the President's Council. The duty of the Presidents Council was to look at how can apartheid be made a little bit attractive uhm, putting on I mean, putting it on with dark glasses and a black suit and white shirt and a tie and well the, the proposals of this President's Council flows from, from this initial game of making apartheid more attractive. Right among the proposals this included the creation of a single legislature to, to represent Whites, Coloureds and Indians; with Africans still excluded and voteless, and another proposal was the transfer of the Government's authority to end, to end in directly elected President executive President with the power to appoint a multi-racial cabinet and they also all proposed the replacement of the four provincial governments with 8 multiracial regional authorities, which are short of

legislating power and parliament with separate chambers for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The White chamber will have more members than the other two chambers put together (audience laughs). Right, why, why the Presidents Council, why, why do the Government take such a step to introduce the Presidents Council even if it meant a split from, from the Nationalist Party which resulted in the formation of the Conservative Party. The, the some few political, social and economic changes that necessitated the formation of the Presidents Council. Number one, the present government saw and it is quite aware that it is in trouble. It is aware that it, its political future is insecure. This political, political insecurity is caused by a number of political changes. It includes number one. The growing politi, politisation of the African population and the resurgence political activity among other oppressed groups which is manifested by successful anti-SAIC campaign and secondly, the growing militancy and the organisation of the Black workers that um, the (inaudible), the militancy of, of, of the Black workers has contributed to the political insecurity of the government. OK, I leave it at that. Now, now with the growing politisation of the African population, the present Government has come to realise that it is no longer in a position to effectively carry through its apartheid policies which are the roots of the capitalist exploitation and political oppression suffered by the majority. This politi, politisation has entered a stage where the African, the Indian and the Coloured communities are reviving the tradition of the Congress Alliance which is the democratic and non-racial outlook. With the introduction of the PC the government is hoping to hook in the Indian and Coloured communities to be junior partners in the implementation of the exploitation and oppression. The government has hoped that by so doing the non-racial democratic struggle will be broken and the government wants to shift the responsibility from the central government to the local councils. By so doing the government

wants to shirk itself and exonerate itself completely from what is and or what is not happening in the townships. We all know or we are all quite aware that the Presidents Council's proposals are nothing else but a fraud. They are intended to postpone the democratisation of the South African society. They try to undermine the demands of the South African people as set out in that historical and revolutionary document we call the Freedom Charter.

Audience shouts: (inaudible) AMANDLA

The Charter demands one man, one vote for every South African. The Charter should be our guiding set of principles when we want to respond to these proposals. These proposals are not in line with the peoples belief that South Africa belongs to all who live in it ^{be they black or be they, white} (inaudible). The proposals still create a division according to race and ethnicity. Right and then if we we are going to want to have the response to the President's Council proposals, the Charter should be our guiding all. The Charter should be the one which directs us. Because number-one, the Charter says no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people. And we know now that this government that we didn't vote for and these proposals give the executive the President dictatorship powers. This President will not be up there because the will of the people. He will be up there to further make sure that hundreds of children die of malnutrition. He will make sure that hundreds of children will die of kwashiorkor and other related diseases every year, every month, every day. He will be there to see to it that the exploitation of the workers is carried out in a much more repressive manner. It is now up to us the democratic and progressive forces to mobilise our people, to fight against, to fight against the divisive and fraudulent proposals of the Presidents Council. It is our duty to rally our people round the slogan of our unshakeable conviction to the creation of a

non-racist, exploitation free united democratic South Africa. Our demands as set out in the Charter are to be fought for. This means we must join hands in youth organisations, in progressive trade unions, in student organisations, civic and church organisations, to be able to ensure the victory of the progressive forces over the forces of darkness, division and evil (audience applauds).

Comrades, because I, I, I, um, ah, note time is against us, so I think I shall stop here (inaudible) and what I would like to emphasize is, is about (inaudible). Since now we are facing the Presidents Council proposals and the Koornhof Bills which are obviously an assault on our dignity as human beings. It is not enough for only a single progressive organisation to mobilise its constituency against the evils facing the, the popular struggle of the people to free themselves from (inaudible) bondage. These evils are directed at all freedom loving and oppressed masses. The response now to this evils should be co-ordinated and have a clear direction. This means that the masses who are directly affected by these evils must be mobilised, they must be reached wherever they may be. The masses' participation in this fight, against these injustices, must be sure and be encouraged no matter how humble that participation might be (inaudible), it is crucial for preparing the rank and file to be able to act (inaudible). Participating in this whole struggle the rank and file needs to be sharpened. This can be done through our existing student, churches civic organisations, and workers (inaudible) organisations, by ensuring the maximum participation of the masses in this united struggle against the common enemy. And only when we are genuinely united and courageous enough to ensure mass participation, will we be able to see, here and now that one day we shall march from Pretoria to cape Town. There shall be houses, security and comfort for all, only when we are united in our struggle can we be in a position to popularise the demands of the South African people as

embraced in this genuine and undisputable document the Freedom Charter. Only then will we see and hear the footsteps of the working class together with its allies approaching and crushing the exploiting and oppressive capitalist machinery, in this our great endeavour. Let us herald this mission. Our people moving down in the Charter. Our people shall govern. Mayibuye.

Video interruption

SOYCO CONGRESS SOWETO

Chairman introduces Black male speaker from PEYCO "Because of the look of things the time otherwise I am asked (Inaudible) why must we organise the youth dear Comrades parents who are gathered here, the workers, the peasants, if there are any, the youth and students I greet you today from the shores of our country, fraternal greetings and progressive wishes from the fighting forces for freedom independence, social justice in the Eastern Cape.

AMANDLA

AUDIENCE : AWETHU X2

I want you comrades quickly to be used in this struggle I am going to say freedom and you are going to respond.

In our time

In our lifetime

You get it

FREEDOM

(Audience: In our lifetime). My revolutionary sermon is why must we organise the youth the South African Youth became clever when the vicious racist minority Botha Regime clamped

down up on the popular peoples organisations, particularly the African National Congress of South Africa (someone in audience: Amandla).

(Audience cheers and clap hands)

Clamped down upon the Communist party of South Africa. Some one in audience: Amandla (Audience cheers and clap hands) .

Clamped down upon the South African African National Youth Congress of South Africa.

The African National Youth Congress

The ANC Youth League

I am going to tell you something was - audience cheers - was the laboratory okay where leaders like MANDELA, SISULU, MHLABA, GWALA, MBEKI and many others were manufactured? - audience: Ho. The only difference between ourselves and these days and those days of our uncompromising resistance and that of our time, was that, the fact that these boys and girls those hey days were taught from childhood in the rural (inaudible) the basic of a young generation to the nation. That's what. Was to love a nation to love your people and to love your country. I want to salute young patriots of our country. We have set upon you, make an example to generations to come.

I will quote Solomon MAHLANGU the freedom fighter after whose name the ANC education centre is named after in MOROGORO in Tanzania has started this story (audience cheers and applaud) This so a solid example which in many cases leaves me asking myself a question, what can I do to serve a nation best. Because of MAHLANGU because of MAHLANGU. It is something MAHLANGU has left something that will never die that

will be a reminder to my conscience that hey what are you doing what can you do best to the suffering people and kids of Soweto; the poor of KTC; the victims of floods in Port Elizabeth. What can I do to serve them best. His last words as he marched to the gallows singing Nkosi Sikelele I'Africa gives a direct answer to the question why must we organise the youth. After the struggling massacre (video interruption) the oppressed South African Youth was successfully disorganised by the South African Defence Force what they termed South African double fools (Audience applaud).

END OF VIDEO TAPE