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V11 PAR. 40

**AZASO '84 ANNUAL CONGRESS
(WOMENS MEETING) ORLANDO YMCA HALL
SOWETO 28-29 JUNE 1984**

SPEAKERS:

1. KATE MBOWENI
2. BENEDICTA MONAMA
3. ALBERTINA SISULU
4. AMANDA KWADI
5. UNKNOWN
6. UNKNOWN
7. UNKNOWN
8. DOROTHY NYEMBE

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND DATES MENTIONED

1. NELSON MANDELA
2. OLIVER TAMBO
3. FREEDOM CHARTER
4. ANTI-SAIC
5. THANDI MODISE, LYDIA AGIDE, MATLAGALA (PHONETICAL)
6. FRANCIS BAARD
7. LILIAN NGOYI
8. ANC
9. IDA MKHWANA (PHONETICAL)
10. FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN 1954-04-17
11. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS
12. COLOURED PEOPLES CONGRESS
13. SONJA BUNTING
14. ANC WOMENS LEAGUE
15. FLORENCE MKHIZE
16. BAMBATHA
17. SOLOMON MAHLANGO, MOSOLOLI, MOEGOERANE, MOTAUNG
18. HECTOR PETERSON
19. MIRIAM MAKEBA

ASSESSOR

Page 22 Line 12 Change "inaudible" to "MARABI"

Page 22 Line 18 Change "inaudible" to "annals"

Page 34 Line 3 Change "intlangano, yi ANC" to "intlangano yi
Eyethu"

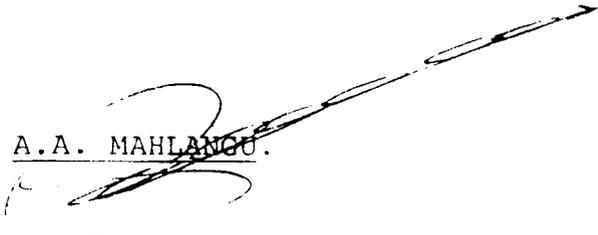
Page 34 Line 5 Change "organisation, is the ANC" to "organisation
is Ours"

CORRECTIONS :

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

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

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


A.A. MAHLANGU.

O P M E R K I N G S

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

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

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

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

---oOo---

Song 1 (Zulu) while marching around the hall.....Sikhokhele Tambo! Sokhokhele!.....(other words inaudible) Thina! Sikhokhele! Sikhokhele Tambo!.....!

..... lead us, Tambo! lead us! We! lead us! Lead us Tambo!

(Poster Release Mandela Campaign can be seen.)

Song 2

"Sangena e Pitoli! Thina Sengena, thina sangena, thina sangene kwakhala umfaze we Bhunu! Sangena (inaudible)."

We entered Pretoria! We entered, and there cried a boer woman Amandla Wethu X2

Oliver Tambo X4 *Stop no (7) any words.*

Song 3

..... Nelson MandelaHayi, hayi, hayi!.....

Song 4

Sobabamba! Nezingane zabo! Ilitye, lika - Tambo! liqonqothiwe! - Lovulwa Ngubani? Liqonqothiwe! Bazooka.

We will catch them! with their children! Tambo's stone has been made hard and made hard! (repeatedly).

Song 5

U phu Tambo! U Tambo usehlatini, bafana! Wenzani na! U Tambo - usehlatini banfana!.....!

Where is Tambo! Tambo is in the forest boys! What is he doing! He is training soldiers! (repeatedly).

Song 6

"Songena ngomnyama!.....!"

Song 7

Bambisandla sam! Bambisandla sam! We Tambo bam bisandla sam, fambisandla sam! Sibambungasiyeki!

Take my hand - Tambo! don't let it go! Take my hand!

Song 8

(4 AK 47's appear in the crowd as they march around the hall)

Imbi lendawo, ngakumbi lendawo! Imbi lendawo!.....(inaudible)

This place is bad!

Song 9

Ziwelele! Ziwelele! Kula, mathafase-Angola! Ziwelele! Zwelele!e Angola!

They have crossed - they have crossed the plains of Angola!....."

U (Video interruption)

KATE MBOWENI

....the pain and suffering in the struggle.
 U...And let me give an illustration, by birth I like giving this illustration, that in every birth, there is blood, but the end result of this blood and this suffering is joy. It's life. That's how the struggle is. The struggle needs our sacrifice needs our, needs our blood. So that the end result of that will be freedom. Eh, comrades I feel I want to introduce to you, the mothers we have here. We have eh mama Dorothy Nyembe, she's the veteran in our struggle. She has suffered along a sentence among women political prisoners. She joined the struggle at the age of twenty (20), and I wish some of us here, have joined at that stage to continue being in a struggle and for actively participating until the end until the old age and until we die. You must die in the struggle if (inaudible ..) liberation has not yet come.

(Audience applause and giving clenched fist salutes with thumb extended.)

(Video interruption)

Benedicta MONAMA:

"AMANDLA"

(Audience: AWETHU -) X2

"Comrades, friends, brothers and sisters, our mothers ma Nyembe, Ma SISULU, our guest speaker. Uh, ladies and gentleman I greet you all in the name of our leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter SISULU, Ahmed KATHRADA and, and all the others.

Uh, tonight at this fourth annual conference of the Azanian Students Organisation, we find ourselves a long

way since the historic 1976 uprising during which students actively rejected the racist and inferior bantu education. 1976 provided a radical break with the past. Our struggle was changed qualitatively. In a short time the peace that the apartheid regime had (inaudible) was gone. Hopefully not to come back. Among others the major problem being that students started thinking of themselves as the vanguard of the struggle. This feeling was engendered by the (inaudible) had become in the words of Jimmy Kruger, heartburn of police(inaudible) However the ring-leaders of the democratic movement, through the establishment of various community organisations. Through this, students came to learn, that even though they might play a most important role, or even a militant role in the struggle, they are not in the vanguard of the struggle. This is the face of the National democratic struggle. That is characterised and (inaudible) and broadly based alliance, at the head of which is the African working class.

Amandla - A (member of audience)

NGAWETHU - X1

.... "and (inaudible) acceptance of our revolutionary problem, the Freedom Charter, being the only qualification of membership into this progressive democratic movement. It is for this reason that students started relinquishing this leadership role to its legitimate heirs. This does not mean however, that students ceased to have a role to play, in the democratic struggle. But reflects only, the understanding of the context of the current phase of the struggle, that the liberation of the African Worker, who is the most oppressed and exploiter, eh, exploited is necessary; the liberation of all other oppressed people in this country. Students ^{played} ~~planned~~ a role by publicising the

boycott and pro, providing positive propaganda that will
 (inaudible). They have now distanced themselves from the
 (inaudible) always involved, and are still involved in
 political campaigns, like the Anti-SAIC Campaign, the
 anti-apartheid campaign, the anti-community council
 election last year. And presently they are still, eh,
 participating actively against the new constitution. It
 should remain ^{Doubtless} (inaudible) that students have first a role,
 a very vital role to play. (inaudible) with ideals, have
 access to the resources that provided them with skills and
 knowledge, making them the one section of the population,
 that can easily unravel the secrets ^{locked} ~~looked~~ up in big
 books. They are able to equip themselves with the
 necessary political content and understanding, making it
 easy for them to quickly identify and even isolate big
 problems from (inaudible) providing them thus with the
 ability to explain the nature of our society. This may
 be explained by this simple example. During the
 community council election, ^{to convincing} (inaudible) in order to change
 the (inaudible) our society, there is the need to
 participate in the structures provided by the
 government. So as to work from inside and bring change
 from within. It is only with the understanding that the
 students are able to expose the fraudulent nature of this
 governments structures. They are able to explain, that
 for as long as the racist apartheid system still remains,
 and the super exploitation of the African masses still
 tries, there should be no ^{move} (inaudible) for change. And
 that change, genuine change, ~~shall be brought~~ through
 revolutions. Through the total overthrow of the racist
 regime. This knowledge that the students so acquired,
 must be made available to the masses of our people.
 (inaudible) making a case for students to lock themselves
 into read big books. They should know that the final
 battle, it is on the anvil of the grim ugly day to day

struggles in the factory floor, and in the communities. (inaudible) It is actually, (video interruption) woman students must play an active role in building our organisations into a formidable and ferocious instrument of the struggle. For without our organisation, the struggle for freedom is meaning less. Women students must be able to respond to the call for action and throw their weight and might, behind the struggle for a democratic system of education. In order to find, in order to found a sound? basis for this valued contribution, the woman's students needs to be organized and is to organize within their own structures. This call ^{to women} (inaudible) to organise seperately, has repeatedly been made. It is not ^{because women for some reason form} ~~the (inaudible) from a force on~~ their own, but because of the ^{PECULIAR SPECIFIC} (inaudible) nature that woman experience as woman. The woman occupying for instance, in the society, a passive role or passive passive positions, and some extreme instances, a mixed role, role of (inaudible) ^{SUBMISSIVENESS} This is a single creation, simple creation of, socialisation. It is through the ideology of the ruling class, passed and disseminated through education, be it formal or informal, Religion, propaganda in the form of radio, TV and adverts, that a young woman is brought to believe that she should behave modestly, should be reticent, ^{men} submissive and not aggressive and assertive like (inaudible). She should ^{take} (inaudible) herself to occupy the, to occupy in future the position of a good loving wife and mother, who is always to take instructions. The woman who he will only ^{take instructions} (inaudible) are victims, of races and sexual harra, harrassment. She is nothing more than an object of love and sex. And as the capitalists have it, a commercial symbol. It is for these reasons that women students are unable to display the same amount of confidence, as the male students. It is this (inaudible) of us as women

students on campuses in universities and colleges to organise within women groups, in order to discover (inaudible). Such organised missions ^{Or structures} (~~inaudible~~) provide the students or the women students opportunities, to exercise to gain confidence and be able to be assertive. Through these structures, a woman will make her voice heard and all will take, and, and, and more than all, will take or occupy the rightful place in the struggle, towards democratic change in their education. As black woman students, we are also victims of apartheid laws, we are a subjects of racist education ^{we} ~~to~~ have to contend with insufficient and inadequate facilities, disparity in expenditure; capital between ourselves and our white counterparts, in fact inefficiently trained tutors, classroom repression and lack of academic freedom. It is this, it is in this light, that our womens organization need to be located within the broad students movement, that find place within the national democratic struggle, guided by the Freedom Charter. This important role of organising women, should thus not be seen as the sole responsibility of women students, but of men students as well. It is, as a result of this alliance, that courageous women and students of Nicaragua, emerged to form a part of the great enemy, of the army of the people, who love peace. And all responded to the call against corrupt Somoza-regime. Today the woman of Namibia and El Salvador are locked up in the bitter struggle against exploitation and oppression. This is the history of the struggle. This (ends)? behind students and women, among other, among others internationally. The young women of South African at schools and universities. The young women of South Africa at schools and universities owe it all to, who, who, to those who love peace and treasure prosperity in the world, to fight and to rid our country of racism, sexism and exploitation. In South Africa, our

talk of women and the struggle will definitely be far from complete, if the giants and heroins of our struggles, are not mentioned. We salute our young, vibrant energetic women, who have done so much for our struggles throughout the country. They are women who have forsaken the niceties of youth. These are part of the greatest and wealthiest of our people, whose mission in the destruction of apartheid, remains to be fulfilled. Thandi MODISE), Lydia ^{Keuqile} ~~Agide~~, Matlagaa (phonetical) and many others, represent to us, young women whose will to resist will be lauded and admired. Women in the figure of Simoli MACUNDU (phonetical) of Eastern Cape, who at the tender age of sixteen, 16, was detained and subsequently convicted to prison to serve a prison sentence for the gen, general contribution in the battle against racism and exploitation. We also salute our stalwarts, those steeled and tested heroins, whose record of the struggle is impeccable. That is our everlasting leadership, who in the dark days of the 1960s, would not break them. They have unselfishly and selflessly offered their all to the struggle. Those are in the name of Dorothy NYEMBE, Albertina SISULU who are fortunately here with us this afternoon and we should feel honoured, by their pre, by their presence. With amongst them Francis BAARD and Lilian NGOYI and all others. And with this I'd like to say thank you."

Audience applause.

KATE MBOWENI: "On this word comrades, I will call upon our mother, ALBERTINA SISULU, whose activity^{-ie6} in the struggle, dates back to the fifties. She was one of the prominent leaders in the FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN. She has been banned for 17 years and rebanned in 19 sev, 1977 for 5 years, and her husband is languishing

in jail as it is right now. He was sentenced together with MANDELA and other prominent leaders, but she has been never discouraged by all these harassments. She has continued to actively participate in the struggle for liberation and as we know now that she is one of the President's of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Could we raise her by a good revolutionary song comrades.

Awuse naso isibhamu zabo
(come with the guns)

Naso isibhamu uwuze naso isibhamu isibhamu zabo
(There is a gun - come with their guns)
(repeatedly)
(DOROTHY NYEMBE joins in singing and clapping hands)

ALBERTINA SISULU gives a clenched fist salute
Audience chants Oliver TAMBO X24 and Albertina SISULU smiles as if approving.

ALBERTINA SISULU: Amandla! Audience: Awethu

"NIYANDIVA - Do you hear me. (inaudible) I thank you very much, for making us, ^{gallant} for making us to be here tonight, and then I say to our brothers and sons daughters and (inaudible).

Audience AMANDLA. It pains me (inaudible) and it makes me feel, that one day, the sweet South Africa, that we have been fighting for all of these years, is to come ^{no amount of harassment,} (inaudible) no jail, no banishment ^{will ever stop us} (inaudible). Of the role of women in this country it's a very short one, in the sense that all of these years, the AFRICAN WOMEN, have been kept in the kitchen. They haven't been allowed to have a chance of showing that they are capable of saying something that you (inaudible) in this country. The role

of women in African society, although being second to that of men, was nevertheless (inaudible) a dignified role? They cooked and ploughed the fields, whilst their husbands, were in the wars. Ask me, which wars? And for what? The wars of the Boers against the Boers for their interest. It was not for the interest of the Black man. They left their wives and children, to fight for the White man, who was fighting another White man, because of what? of greediness (applause).

I am not ashamed, to say from long, this country has been ruled by greedy vultures, by inhuman people, by people who did not know the dignity of a human being, by the people who came to this country for their own interests for their riches, for the people who came to this country, to take our country from our forefathers, because of its riches. I would say they were greedy, I would say they were greedy because, there was no need if at all they wanted to be rich, that they must come here and deprive the people of this country, their rights and deprive the people of this country their liberty. They had to do that, because they knew, that they have stolen somebody's property, because they knew that one day these people will arise again and say, we want our country back. They ploughed the fields and took care of everything while their men were at war. Prominent women in African history such as NANDI - mother of SHAKA played a decisive role in the future of what is today South Africa (applause).

Woman such as NONGQAWUSE without ^{heresy} although has now been distorted, played a prominent role as prophet. NONGQAWUSE's dream, must not be judged for its reported effects, it must be seen as a desperate attempt by an anguished black woman, who dreamt of a better secure future for her people. NONGQAWUSE and SHAKA had the same

dream, that of seeing the carnage that the exploiters would cause to the land and ~~when~~ the people of the sub-continent. The role of women changed with the coming of the industrial society, when black people were forced off their land and forced to work in the cities, for slave wages under slave conditions. You know, the land Act of 1933 that drove our people from their land, and sent them to the cities to work for a White man. The role of women, sorry, when the menfolk could no longer afford, to be the sole breadwinners at home, their wives, daughters and sisters were forced to join join them in this thing factories to make ends meet (inaudible) lead to the complete breakdown of the African communal way of living. It changed labour from a dignified engagement into a system that changed the African women, from a mother into a commodity, that could be brought over the counter. This is the fact, in which family life came to a violent end. Where greed and the idea of every man for himself, took root and educate that woman.

However, it is also this face of history that awakened the oppressed Black woman, into the realisation that there was a struggle to be fought. From exploita, exploited, domestic, to the most inhumilia, inhumiliated factory worker, the idea of organizing, started amongst the Black women. It was this fact that taught Black women, that the enemy were those people who exploited them on the factories, who break ^{up} their families. This is the time when Black women began to take part in trade unions and in resistance organisations. In organisations such as the ANC, eh Defiance campaign, the march to Pretoria of the FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN, the days leading up to Sharpeville and others. And (inaudible) of some of the outstanding women in the struggle.

I am starting now from the time I joined the FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN. We had women like IDA MKHWANA, who was our first president in the FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICA WOMEN in the Transvaal. The FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN, was formed on the 17th of April 1954. It was formed by four organisations - it was the CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS, THE COLOURED PEOPLES ORGANISATION, THE INDIAN CONGRESS and the WOMENS LEAGUE ANC. Our first President, was SONJA BUNTING of Cape Town, that was our first National President. In 1955 we elected LILIAN NGOYI to be our National President, that is the woman who led the women, the twenty thousand women in 1956, when the ~~parties~~^{passes} were introduced to the African women. Not forgetting that, before that, we had ANC WOMENS LEAGUE where IDA MKHWANA was again the President. 1956 when twenty thousand women went to Pretoria protesting against ~~apartheid~~^{passes for women} (inaudible), LILIAN NGOYI, was our President. We had a number of women, who were in the struggle. In Port Elizabeth, we had (inaudible) in Cape Town we had SONJA BUNTING, in Durban we had DOROTHY NYEMBE, FLORENCE MKIZE (audience cheer) and a lot of them - really. ^{I'm sorry} (Audience applause).

(inaudible) In 1958 I'm going to lead the second batch to no 4, I was in uniform at That morning I forgot that I was a nurse, I didn't even look at that uniform. I left a 8 in the morning to lead the second batch of women going to no 4. (audience applause). We stayed at no 4, for three weeks waiting for our trial. When our trial came, a young man those days, just came up and said, because we were divided in groups. Two thousand women, were divided amongst the three lawyers - our lawyer was NELSON MANDELA - (audience shouts and applauds her) - free (inaudible) from charged (audience applauds her).

From there there was a question of Bantu Education, the FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN took up the challenge. We closed the schools, we said no poison is going to be given to our children, so we closed the schools, the school the school boycotts. And unfortunately for ^{our} men, while we were closing the schools, they kept on getting to the beer halls to drink (audience laugh and applause). It didn't take us long, to notice that X2, so we decided to go and take them out of the beer hall and close the beer halls. (Audience applause) So the beer halls were closed until today we had no beer halls. Unfortunately in the question of the closing down of the schools, the government was a bit vicious on us. Our private schools were not registered, so we had to give-up the fight and let the children go back to the schools. All these years the women had been fighting side by side by men. We have been fighting with our men together and I dare say without women in every struggle, there is no progress. (Audience applause). Today we are being divided. Our own children, which are Indians and Coloureds, are taken away from us. Our own children, are going to be called up as soldiers to fight against their own brothers. We as women, are the only people who can stop that. The children are ours. They don't belong to the government. They belong, they belong to us, they belong to us, they belong to us, they don't belong to anybody but to the mothers of this country. (Audience applause).

All I have to say, is that we must stand up and say no to this New Constitution of the Government. (Audience applause). To you today, I say, your conscience comes at the time when you and I of reactionary forces align^d up against all genuine efforts by progressing, thinking people in our country. (Audience applause).

Now we become one of the standard pillars of the revolutionary efforts, it will be your task, to organise and mobilise, not only you, but all freedom loving people of this country. (Audience applause). It has become important, in our struggle, that all people of genuine consent, should have a firm organisational base. The time of individuals existing as political, and it is in themselves must come to an end, because it is only by organising ourselves into disciplined units, can we ever hope to achieve freedom. (Audience applause). We have (inaudible) of resistance, of adhering to correct principles, and throughout our history, collective actions have always brought results and you as a youth organisation must take a page from history. Why emphasizing, ^{while} why emphasise must lie on organizing and mobilising, we must realise that organising for the sake of organising is fruitless, and organising without a clear understanding of the existing conditions could in fact lead to us - assisting reactionary forces. With this few words, I thank you very much."

Audience applause

UDF X6 (shouted by audience)

AMANDA KWADI: (inaudible) the women workers. The women who are actually tilling the dry lands in the rural areas the so-called bantustans and the homelands. Toiling, trying to get something for their children, while their husbands are migrant workers, digging deep in the mines (audience applause). I will also like to salute, women who are domestic workers, who are working under (inaudible) I would like to salute all small business women, who (inaudible) and (applause). My speech today is actually going to concentrate on the GST, the income tax, the high rentals, eh the linkage with the con, the

present constitution. But we want to know, whether before that, eh, the oppressed masses haven't actually been suppressed or excluded in whatever form, of planning and consultation. For centuries, the oppressed masses have been forced into homelands, especially the African people. Through influx control, being forced from the areas, through mass removals. Being forced into the Bantustan settlements, the squatter camps. Being forced through group areas act, and what are we saying today? They have tried the racist minority regime, has tried all the means actually, for centuries to co-opt their so-called Coloured and Indians into their apartheid laager. To strengthen it. Because they were aware in their way, that the military and unity of the oppressed and exploited masses, it's going to crush apartheid and it's manifestation. And it is thus important that today we look into the linkage of the general sales tax, the income tax and the plan of the racist regime. I already said that they tried all the means, even the overt ... ones, like family planning. You all know that, and that is not in our womens charter, where we say that family planning protect the health and energy of women. They, through their ministers, the so-called minister of eh, he is now minister of internal affairs, he was eh, some time back minister of eh, pension and welfare. De Klerk. He was quoted last year in the (inaudible)..... that eh the Africans actually the oppressed masses, Coloured, Africans and Indians, should actually use family planning, and thousand and thousand of rands have to be spent, to ensure that this problem of family planning is actually instituted, and is being taken up (inaudible)..... the reason is that this people are finishing water and food for the white people in this country. (Audience applause). And indeed, this was endorsed, this was endorsed by the wife of the architect of apartheid Betsie

Verwoerd, when she addressed you know on behalf of eh, from eh, Vrou Kommando, eh when she was addressing the Afrikaner Kultuur (audience laugh) last year, you know organised by trainers. And eh, Bessie says that ask white women actually to have more babies, because they are going to be overtaken by uh, African and Coloured and Indian people. And I mean through all these thing we can see that the government have been trying, you know throughout centuries with all means to actually, eh, enlarge, the apartheid laager, and to decrease the oppressed and exploited majority in this country. But now, this are basic issues that we can rally women around. The constitution. The constitution is an (inaudible). The GST which is now increasing, they say is basic commodities, but things like foodstuff, the (inaudible) that you all know that at home in the rural areas, when they have no fridges, that they are actually using the (inaudible), because their parents are working as domestic workers, their fathers are working as migrant workers and they sell them this (inaudible) ^{tinned} stuff, so that they can survive. So this (inaudible) tax free. But where is the tax going to? They say that it's going to the farmers, but we know that it's going to the farmers and to the government. The income tax, which is quite a burden to a marr, to married women, and which we should rally women around too, is actually going straight to the central government. And it is important, at the present moment, as we are doing ^{our house to house} campaign, organising women from the ^{grassroots level} (inaudible) high sewage, I mean, uh, water tariffs. All goes to the council. And all these strengthen influx control. Because at the present moment, the administration board that has been actually controlling and eh, eh, actually, taking over, the, the influx control, raiding the houses, evicting the people, are doing it, under the guise of the community council, to

^{prove}
 (inaudible) a clean name. So it is important that as we rally people we should tell them that, you must reject this rental, you must reject this electricity, because (inaudible) house, when we are owing electricity, the house is getting closed. So we should tell them that you should know that all this money is, is actually strengthening influx control, is actually acceptance of the death of Sol MKIZE. Is actually the acceptance of the mass removal of the people of MAGOPA. Of the mass removal of people KWANDEMA. Of the mass removal of the people of MATOPISTAD and many, many others that have already been removed. And as we move, and actually organise women, we should also let them know, that this high electricity and high rentals, are paying the homeland system. Beside the community council, I mean the homeland leaders the Sebes, the Matanzimas, the Mpephu's and the Gatsha BUTHELEZIS. And that if they pu, pay more of this rent and electricity, they are paying for their own evictions. They are paying for more (inaudible) and they are paying for lesser houses. (Audience applause). We should also rally them around the influx control, around the GST and income tax, as I've already said the income tax, are quite (inaudible) we, the constitution (inaudible)(video interruption) and we should also tell than that, this income tax and GST, if you are paying it, you are actually paying the SADF to go and kill the civilians in Matola, to go and kill the civilians in Namibia, to go and kill the civilians in Maseru, to go and kill the civilians in Angola, like our comrade, Jeanette SCHOON (applause) and we should also, we should also tell them that, they must know that, our brothers, this is also going to kill our brothers and sisters in Namibia, who actually, have stood up and who are striving actually to bring ^{peace} freedom and democracy in Namibia, and actually are struggling for all of us in the continent of Africa,

trying to bring the total independence of the whole of Africa. (Audience applause). I have already said that (inaudible) that (inaudible) and is always there, between all those that I've mentioned and the present constitution. And as African women, as Coloured women since 1912, we have been together. (inaudible) has given it to you today. You know that the Indian congress women, that there were White democrats, the Coloured congress women, have been with us, under the banner of Federation of South African women since, it started. And we should remind them, and we should also have them organising house to house and encourage them, to reject this present constitution, which is apartheid (inaudible) (audience applause). That as we are doing that, as we are doing that, we should (inaudible) the demands of women. We should demand that the foodstuff should be at a prices which everybody can afford (audience applause)(inaudible) we should also demand, put a demand, as we move around organising the house to house, both all women of all races, that we demand houses, jobs, for all. And we should also tell the people, that we demand the release of our leaders, Nelson Mandela, Dennis Goldberg, Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Mlangeni (inaudible) and many, many others. But, eh, which group are we going to rally these woman around. The banner of the people in the Federation of South African Women, spearheaded by the United Democratic Front. We should actually under this banner frustrate the efforts, the ploys, the activities of the racist minority regime of this country. (Audience applause). That, but with that we are not going to do it alone, with (inaudible) progressive women's organisation, student organisations, small businessmen, professionals, church women and church men, and womens organisation in the international arena, because their prestige and their role in the international

community, it's quite important and very much basic. Before I conclude I will like to read you a poem written by one woman who actually struggled ^{through} (inaudible) their country had already eh get independence. But ^{with her poem} (inaudible) she is dedicating it (inaudible)(video interruption).

Mayibuye

I-Afrika - B X1

(Audience applause).

Singing follows (inaudible due to echo)(not transcribed)(something about Lucy MVUBECO and other leaders)

Two unknown Black males recite a poem titled "DON'T ASK ME WHY". Written to you all comrades this evening my poem is a entitled "Don't ask me why".

"That African son becasted those race that brought light to the hippo's of June 16th, never to this continent shall they return, for they brought light to miserable years that are unforgettable. Day's unsure of next day's sorrow, grief and pain - to wounds unhealed suffer into (inaudible). Don't ask me why. Don't ask me why AZASO, Don't ask me why.

Sotho: (I'm a man, I've heard, I've seen and I'm coming from far). Don't ask me why. The last breath of SOLOMON MAHLANGO that men now will be men that I am brought into this world in flesh forms is my courage. MOSOLOLI, MOEGORANE and you MOTAUNG history shall see that my descendants, don't (inaudible) inherit names 'n this ABC class. Don't ask me why, I'm in AZASO. Don't ask me why (repeats X3).

Sotho: (I'm a man, I've seen, I've heard.) From Shaka to Cetshwayo from Cetshwayo to Bambatha from Bambatha to June 16th, these droplets of blood shall not go unavenged. Don't ask me why for my dignity shall be restored from Cairo to Cape Town to Africa in its breadth length and width to Africa in its whole. Don't ask me why X2. I'm in AZASO, don't ask me why. The Bazooka is my Calabash, that will quench my thirst for freedom. That gallant son of Africa MAHLANGO, shall rise to taste the sweetness of the waters from the wells of freedom, don't ask me how, for nature shall boldly sails its course. Don't ask me why I'm in AZASO (2X)". Sotho? (Don't ask me why), (audience applause).

Another Black male (unknown)

"This is the faith which fights for the implementation of our demands as written in black and white in the FREEDOM CHARTER. The faith that gradually changes the physiology and anatomy of the apartheid regime. (Applause). The faith that says we create events because events do make the solid heart of the man to soften.

The faith that says (ZULU: When we enter Pretoria). Somebody will be picking his belongings. (Audience applause). MAHLANGO, MOSOLOLI, I'm angry, I say, meet me at the river (2X). Here I stand at the highest point of Mount Drakensberg and I say meet, me at the river. My voice is echoing at all borders of the land. Meet me at the river. The blood that will flow, shall determine the destiny of future generations (applause). Meet me at the river. My blood that you'll spill when I'm asleep in Maseru and Matola. We shall follow the tracks of our blood. We shall follow them to the land where human dignity shall be the highest law. The blood of little

HECTOR PETERSON that you spilled, is the sign of cowardice, the sign of repressive education that demosticates and indoctrinates. The blood, that you shall spill in the river, shall bring about the peoples education. Thank you".

(Audience applause)

ALBERTINA SISULU AND DOROTHY NYEMBE applaud.

(Video interruption)

Another unknown Black male:

"Those of you who listen to the music of MICHAEL JACKSON will be, will be forced to listen to the beautiful voice of MIRIAM MAKEBA and dance to the ^{Marabi} (~~inaudible~~) dance when the revolution comes (4X) (applause). Those of you who read William Shakespeare will be forced to read the FREEDOM CHARTER. (Applause). Those of you who watch the treacherous Dallas will be forced to watch the video on guerilla warfare. ^{annals} (Applause). I'm the soul that emerged from the (~~inaudible~~) of ghettoland naked I come from out of my mother's womb into this world of Masipa I am, I am, I'm the revolutionary, I am the preacher, teacher that shall be matched from the ranks of (~~inaudible~~). I sing revolution, I shit revolution, I (~~inaudible~~) revolution. Oh yes, I am, I am, I'm the revolutionary X2. I've had enough I had enough of this super dumpy beer. I've had enough of this mumble, jumble business. I had enough of this Castle philosophy. I am, I am, I'm the revolutionary (3X), (aud). My brother once said this the time to dance and dance (5X) and sing, a black theology (5X). Black theology calls on me to redefine my religion and ideology to go progressive, black theology tells me that the revolution shall never be

televised. (Applause). I am I am the revolutionary (inaudible) (audience applause). As I emerge from the anus of ghettoland (inaudible) time has now change. I, the revolutionary, I wish of the blue eye (inaudible) in the dusty streets of Okandangi, I came, I the revolutionary and I was no more. I stood a'top the mountain and casted my forecast, to the deeps of with Africa and end myself a revolutionary welcome. And that was the time when MANDELA (^{take th}inaudible) South Africa and I was no more. (Audience applause).

Song 10:

Bamba isandla sami we TAMBO - Bamba isandla sami - sibambe ungasiyeki.

(Take my hand TAMBO - Don't let it go).

(Song is sung repeatedly).

ALBERTINA SISULU AND DOROTHY NYEMBE sing along - everybody holds hands above their heads and do a rhythmic dance.

Amandla

Ngawethu

DOROTHY NYEMBE:

"I'm very thankful, to be one of the guests in this meeting".

Unknown man: "She is one of the guests of the (inaudible) AZASO ANC".

DOROTHY NYEMBE: "Amandla Awethu, Amandla Awethu Izwe Elethu. Sizohlangana Lapha ukuba sikhulume ngemisebenzi ebiyenziwe ngabesifazana nxa bedibana nombutho osowabhemwa. Ukuba sisotshela abantwana ukuth omama bahambe ibanga elingakanani kunamhlanje kunesikhathi esingaphambili. Andizukuchi tha isikhathi ke ngokuba

ndibendibala lezozinto kodwa ndizozibala ngoba kukutshaya amaHlamvu. Inhlanganiso ke zabesi fazana zimbini oho kulom butho osowabhenwa. Enye ke ibizwa kuthiwa yi WOMENS LEAGUE, iphiko labesifazana kule congress, enye ibizwa ngokuthi yi WOMENS FEDERATION SOUTH AFRICA. Kwakuyilo eqembu elihla ngamisa yonke imibutho esebenzisa zinhlanga ndawonye, kanye mazo zonke ke lezizinhlanga. Ndithe ke lapha ndizawuthi qazuqazu ngemisebenzi yazo. Njengoba sithatho i WOMENS LEAGUE kwaku khona izimhlamganiso ngaphambili ezazibizwa ngo DAUGHTERS OF AFRIKA nezinye nje eziningi. Ilezo uhlanganiso ezalwa nepasi lokuqala nya elingasaphathwa manje elelisumgulwe amadla gusha kuzo. Lelopasi lahluleka aliqhu bekanga, laphaya na enatali lalisetshenziswa umuhlala khona. And ngapha kulamazwe angase fuleyisitata laki khohlwa ngamajaji uqobo lwawo, amajaji nawo ayakhohlwa. Athi angabona amabhunu ikhefu lathi we asinakuwayeka amakhafula acabanga ikuthi eh, asimdile sizawuqala phansi.

Yabihlokoza ngapha indoda kuqala umfokaluthuli ithi ohlalaphansi yintando yakhe. Abafazi bephuma zonke inkalo bethumgatha ububesisa lokuzunge lenlini inyama zana. Ukuqala kwethu nje saxabana nama poyisa ase Cato Manor nase Cato Manor kwaku yindawo e hold kabi. Abanye ngekebayazi i Cato Manor ikuthi ilelilokishi eliphuma kulo lamalokishi amasha omashu nomlazi baphuma kulo. Amapoyisa akhona abe ngema ubusuku nemini evulela abantu ezindlini egqekeza izivale woma ezevulela ngeyimsimbi, athathe izingubo ko azilahle lapha pahndle mayoyonke into bathurhwe bagcwalise amaveni ngaphandle kwecala kuthiwe babotshelwa utshwala babotshelwa ukungasebenzi babotshelwa ukungabi nama pasi.

Sikubona bekwenza lokho sabona uku thi ke kufunekala ziyaluzitihoyi nkho ke zapenazi, ziyo chithisikhathi ngoba

zihlale emini. Thina eyethi i constitution ethi NON VIOLENCE thina bafazi. Wabona futhi ubaba uLUTHULI ukuthi ngeke asasidinga ngoba sesiphokophele sawuqala umsebenzi ubasi thathe njengendoda. Okokuqala salandiphukuphuku I'm sorry ukuza ngibize abayeni bethu nonyama ba. Sababiza imi gwaqo ngemigwaqo kusihlwa sibatshela ukuthi nxabeya ematsheni bazayithola into abayifunayo. Ngalamazwi emgoqa kanti mayengazi qeleli endleleni ebeyibeke umgoqo sengiyaweqa. Abazwanga ukuthi kwaqhumaphi babona sebengaphandle sebe bovu. Utshawala babugeleza kuwo wonke amabhiye hall njengoba niwazi kukhona o Calton City, Point, Rockstreet, Salton nase Clairwood same time. Emva kwalokho sayobu za yena umnumzana bhoquini obehle li obehleli laphana eyimenenja yakwamhle ukuba akakemeliswa ke ukuthi siya qhubeka naye uma naye eqhumbeka nabantu bakihti na? Salala seven days siwuzungezile umuzi wakwamuhle sifuma ukwazi ukuthi lamapolisa la uyawakhipha lapha ugawavala na. Wathi ke masibuyele emva e Cato Manor uzofika azo khuluma nathi, wayangazi ukuthi urhini ngoba wayeseya ebhotweni lapho umfazi wayekhona e Cato Manor.. Mayefika e Cato Manor akafikanga yema wathumela impelesi yakhe ukuba iye, 120 khuluma nabafazi, yafike yathi kubafazi, niyabona la e Cato manor le Beer Hall ayi soze yavalwa. Amapoyisa awathunywa umfayela athunywa umphathi wa mapoyisa.

Abafazi bathi heyi bhokweni DAYS ARE NUMBERED. Wayeseyibonile into eyayenzeka kanti akaka yiboni ke kusazokwenzeka engaphezu kwa leyo. Abafazi bangena emini kwaha amapoyi sa ekhona onke athola izingozi aphuma ngale kunye nabantu. Ngokutshetsha wabiza amapoyisa amanye ukuba azokwela-kelela akuphi makuphi abonakala sikungena i army ngalesosikhathi la ebafazini bathi abafazi impi yabafazi impi imbokodwe leyo. Kodwa ngoba intsha yayingazange isalele emva ko mama uyakwazi ukuyifaka sabona yonke into isaqala ukukhuphuka ukuthi sekulungile.

Indaba yethu yokuhlala e Cato Manor yenzakwafa abantu kwadutshulwana kwaphuma izidumbu amapoyisa nabantu kwanqunywa abantu. Avalwa ke lama beer hall ase Cato Manor ngalelo Lango ngoba atsha konke nama Hall, kanye nezitolo zama rivayizi bhoda. Bangcwatsha abafileyo abafazi bathi abenelanga. Bebefuna yonke into emjengo hulumeni ayakhile eya khela ukugqilaza umntu omwyama amadideke aziswa akhonkreyithwa kusukela enatali kuze kuyophuma eHarding. Kakuhlangenwe esebhajiwe uyabazi ke abafazi ukuthi bathi ntombi yakithi bavalelisa ukuzula. Ngibuye ke bantwana ngize emuva ngithi ngiqeqeshe ngaphansi kombutho ovaliweyo obuqeqesha izingqondo obungakhethi bala lamntwana hamfazi neqeqeshe ngoxyfanayo ngibute mgozokhuluma ngokuthi yona ifile kodwa ongaphambili emgakafi wyebathshe lile ethi onyama bami kanye nabazukulu bayo khahlela mdoda ndini.

Wagijima izwe lonke efuna ukuqoqa zinkulungwane zabafazi ukuba zingene emgangathwini wokuba ziyazi into eyenziwa ngumfazi phansi kwempi yenkululeko. Sisuke e Natali saye sama ngeHarding, sasuke Harding saye sama ngeHlobane, ekholimenisini ikusho ukuthike kuseMahlabathi eBHengwela. Angimangali nxa namHlantje ababusi aba busa anaZulu betyi mina ngiHamba lonke izwe ngibulala izwe ngona izwe kodwa kubHenwe amazambane umama walemdda nguye owayeLida abafazi Bethuthela ama amazambane bewachitHa emfuleni umama ka Bhamja. Ibhulu masiphinde silibize ngoku thi yiBhulu. Alizanga lacabanga ngokuFane leyo, licabanga nje into egcina lapHa beje limgadluli ngale.

Bengikade ngibatshela ngithi bheka imamba emnyama iyakuzungeza, njengoba uLokHu upHethe isogqoko esikhulu nje isize yakusinda ebusweni manje nazi ingane zami sikHona kubona. NamHlanhje abafundi beteziyazami bafuna amalungelo, ngoba bavulekile emanHlanHla ucabanga ukuthi

yema bazipHukupHuku. UHulumeni wana mhlanje okokuqala uye wakHipha amapHandle ngoba efuma ukuqela eceleni atHathe upHoyizini womntu onmyama awufake kumntu onmyama. NamHlamje bazodivayida phakatHi kwetHu kweHlukaniswa amakHala di, NamaNdiya, naBantu nabelungu laba abatHande inkuleleko, laba abaqinisa aba Khuluma iqiniso ikuthi abantu; APARTHEID lapha e SOUTH AFRICA i OPPRESSOR noba ubani. Sonke isikHathi bama lana bepHoxama megama lombuso obhekiweyo bekhuluma amapropaganda ngabantu ababuya ngalena naba fileyo, bacabanga ukuthi sizipHukupHuku siyazazi zona lesinto abazikhuluma kwi Radio ukuthi ama propaganda izinto ngempela abazikhulumi.

Bacabanga ukuthi amalidazi etHu ayevale amehlo akavalanga amehlo, that is why bewa valele laphaya ngaphakathi. Lawaya aziHambela akazange axoshwe uHulumeni ngoba eyoFuna indlela, ayobuya ngelinye ilanga uyazi ke wena. Ngicela ukuHi kubantwana abakhona kumahlelo ngamaHlelo, umangibabiza ngamaHlelo ngisHo ukuthi njengo ba nilapHa nje niHlangene nizinHlobo ngenHlo bo miHlangene ngothando masiqaphele into yinye yokuba sibambane ngesandla singaye kani. Ziningi indlela zikhulumeni wase SOUTH AFRICA adivayida ngazo abantu abathandanayo.

Okokuqala utHe e adopt ekHetHa amaNdiya nanaKHaladi ewabuyisela ngakuye ngoba uqalile ukubona ukuthi izinto zisaHamba nge MOVEMENT ehlangene bebambisene. Ikuba lendoda ayinama mloni ibonwa ngabantu bonke awuzange ubone enye indoda ithi Ihleli Ihlezi esiHlaLweni sayo bona abantwana bayo ibatshele ukuthi wrong kodwa yena akafuni ikutsHelwa ukuthi ukubona ukuthi uWRONG. KengipHinde nginitsHele indaba ngiyi thanda kabi lentsHa ngoba isidale izitha. Uya ngihlekisa ngoba phela ilokhu ehleli esiHlalwe ni ayizange ihlale ephalamende iHamba ikHokHoba wonke amazwe ngamazwe.

Izwe lase SOUTH AFRICA balikHipe kudala balinikiza bafunani kulona owazimela memmema baHla ngane la bazosebenza kanjani maloHlulumeni wase SOUTH AFRICA. UkHoHliswa u MARGARET lapho eBritani.

TRANSLATION OF DOROTHY NYEMBE'S SPEECH

He asked us to go back to Cato Manor, that is to our location, eh, and he promised that he he was going to address in our location.

Whilst we were still in Cato Manor, the police killed many people,

We gathered here to recall the activities of eh, women activists of the past who belonged to (inaudible) banned organisations. We shall tell younger generation, the younger activists how the women of the fifties and before, have involved themselves and have engaged in struggle for the liberation, of our country. Though I'm not going to waste too much time in eh, discussing the (inaudible) details of the struggles, but I have to, audience laugh. There were two women organisations in the in our banned organisation. One was the WOMENS LEAGUE, the women's section of the African National Congress of South Africa, the other one was the WOMEN'S FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN. That was the umbrella body that that, that have many womens grouping, eh participating eh in often different national group in this country. I have promised that I'll touch here and there in as far as eh the movement of these organisations. There were organisations eh such as daughters of Afrika that were the women's wing of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, and others. Those organisations played a special fight of eh reference book which was first introduced in 1923 by the

imperialist regime of this country. There was that special card reference book was used in Natal by the municipal authorities. In the Orange Free State the central government was responsible for the harassment of people (inaudible). The authorities of the regime have abandoned the idea even though (inaudible) the masses were not in fact believed to this type of eh, harassment living. Chief LUTHULI on the otherside, was busy with the struggle of the oppressed masses, all women were in the fore front fighting against this kind of oppression and liberation. Women were all in all in all our provinces scattered around, mobilising to organising themselves special kind of eh reference book against this eh. Now with the inaudible early of my involvement in the struggle I was involved in Cato Manor near Durban which then Cato Manor was where we used to clash with the police. Cato Manor was an old eh was a location in the Durban (inaudible) area where these new locations like Kwamashu and Umlazi came after. Residents of this location were scattered to Umlazi and Kwamashu. Police raids were a common feature. They used to burgle our our doors with iron bars and would take away blankets from women and from children and those stick around everything that looks like a beer and eh under the and law and order. We were not thinking about this developing (inaudible) as a result, we made a point to come to group in the (inaudible) vote in the city hall and look the Bantu Affairs against Administration offices where, we used it for tackle to put around. The weakness of the WOMEN'S AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (inaudible) non-violence and we organised ourselves (inaudible) by embodying ourselves in such counting against the enemy. Chief LUTHULI saw that he could no longer control the anger and the advance of the women section of eh the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. Firstly we went to fetch the stupid

men, I'm sorry to call our husbands and our sons like that but we collected them, from road to road telling them that if they continue going to beer halls, they will be in trouble. He informed the Advisory Board that if it was a stumbling block we were going to be compelled to remove it upon our way. Unexpectedly we went to beer halls, to the major beer halls in the Durban areas, Albert Street eh Dalton, inaudible and the surrounding (inaudible) areas, where we, were, were taking everything that looks like, eh a beer drum. Because we (inaudible) were not happy about the situation that was prevailing then.

DOROTHY NYEMBE is wearing a green and black dress, with a yellow scarf)

"Then we went to Mr Bouquin who was the Chief (inaudible) Commissioner the, and eh, we informed him that we were not happy about the situation and we also told him that eh, we were prepared to stop this eh, this, this, this beer practise. Then we gave him the freedom so that he can continue, with his, with his beer business, but we were determined that (inaudible). We surrounded the (inaudible) offices where Mr Bouquin had his office for eh, a period of seven (7) days, eh, a continuous period of seven days. We demanded that the police, that is the (inaudible) be removed from this beer halls and this beer hall must be closed. He asked us to go back to Cato Manor, that is to our location eh, and he promised that he, he was, he as going to come address us in our location. He didn't realise that the black woman was on the March. He didn't go there, that is to Cato Manor, but he sent his eh assistant, who went to Cato Manor and informed women, that the police (inaudible) sent by the municipality guard, by the commanding officer of the region. The women told eh Mr Bouquin or his assistant

that eh Mr Bouquin his days are numbered. He was not aware that great things were still going to come. Women went to this beer hall and broke (inaudible) police were (attacked)? by women, some were, got injured in the process and then ran away together with some of the (inaudible), eh, (inaudible) was, was, was, was, was, was, in Durban from as far as Ladysmith to Northern Natal and other areas in Natal. Then (inaudible) the women folk told him, that eh (inaudible). The youth was always by the wayside of eh, of the young mothers (inaudible) marching we (inaudible) younger generation saying that, everything is OK now. While we were still in Cato Manor, The Police killed many people, and some policeman were also killed in the process. This beer halls had to be closed because of eh, this (inaudible) together with eh (inaudible) shops, that were owned by the advisory board of the municipality. Eh, women folk were not happy after, the after (inaudible) women (inaudible) by the government, by the municipality to be destroyed starting from Durban down to the South Coast near the Transkei (inaudible). You (inaudible) such eh, unnatural powers to (inaudible) coming back eh my children to, to the way we were shocked. We were, we got our political training through the now-banned organisation (inaudible) organisations banned now, but we've got our trai, our political training and eh schooling, eh through our organisation and the salwarts also were training us, in eh, also were training us politically in our banned organisation eh, told us, eh in no un, told the enemy in no uncertain terms, that eh the younger generation is coming. We went over the country mobilising and organising the women of South Africa eh, urging them to join the women's the women's movement. eh, mobilising and organising them, on women issues, on particular women's issues. We in Natal moved across the length and

breadth of the (inaudible) starting from the (inaudible) border moving to Vryheid and (inaudible) next to Swaziland, mobilising women in all these areas. I don't, eh I don't get shocked when the leader of the Kwa Zulu homeland say today that eh, I am moving around confusing people, through in eh, (inaudible) when there was a struggle, around the (inaudible) potato issues eh, this mother, eh (inaudible) MAGOGO? is the one who was eh, who was who, who praised my political culture. The typical Afrikaner is short sighted. I wish to tell them using an old Zulu proverb that eh, they must careful of a snake eh, the of a, of a, of a, of a ma, of a black mamba. Because the black mamba, as he surrounds one's leg (inaudible) then this black mamba, this black mamba I was referring to is the end of you. Today students are taking, are fighting for their rights, they are claim their objectives. They is moving around, saying confusing the black man and eh poisoning the struggle of our people. We also see that blacks been, being divided eh, along of (inaudible) and eh, white democrats who are prepared to fight alongside their black compatriots and eh (inaudible) they are harrassed because they are prepared to fight against apartheid (inaudible) against our banned organisation, eh, it's a (inaudible) exile, who, who have come back. They think that we are fools. They don't realise that we know the, true story (inaudible) the true story about our (struggle or brothers?) They fail to realise that eh, those leaders (inaudible) who are in exile, we want them back and those also are in prison, we are not fools. (inaudible) we mustn't mobilise and organise (inaudible). I want to ask you my children to maintain (inaudible) at all cost, as we are coming from different regions from different eh background class background and from different tribal background, then I ask us all that we maintain unity at all costs. Eh,

South Africa, South African government is using many methods of dividing the oppressed masses also are hand together by the bond of love, that is love for freedom. He too started to divide us by, to divide (inaudible) by taking the, the coloured compatriots and the Indian compatriots (inaudible) because the regime realises that eh, the, youth students are, are (inaudible) (inaudible) to this union leader we refer to, eh he (inaudible) so he doesn't even realise that uh, (inaudible) his own children, in his own constituency there (inaudible). Eh, I would like to refer to this new Prime Minister P.W. Botha. Eh, ever since he took office, he has been moving all over the place, trying to sell apartheid. He is eh (inaudible). Why we move to other countries whereas in 1961 South Africa, moved out of the British commonwealth of nations (inaudible) to accept this policy of apartheid. Margaret THATCHER is misleading you. Margaret THATCHER is only interest in (inaudible) in the South African political setup, and (inaudible) Botha is cheating himself when he thinks that eh, he can take Britain. He is only pretending that (inaudible) South Africa (inaudible) because Margaret THATCHER is there (inaudible).

Eh, a special message to our, to our women who are (inaudible) congregated here. Is that, they should remember, they should remember the old story of Jesus Christ when he was dead (inaudible) and eh, then, our, our women should fight alongside the men who (inaudible) to freedom and not having, and not have (inaudible) that they are women, they cannot do this (inaudible) and they must fight with their (inaudible) and march to freedom.

Mayibuye

Audience applause.

Audience sing and clap hands.

Singing a song: Zulu

1. Hlanganani Basebenzi! Hlanganani iyona
 intlangano, yi-~~ANC~~ Eyethu.....

1. "Be united! Be united! the
 organisation, is ~~the ANC~~ ..Ouv.S.

Chanter: MAYIBUYE
 OLIVER

Audience : I'AFRIKA X2
 TAMBO

(Long video interruption)

Audience sings Nkosi Sikelele I'Afrika