

**UDF DON'T VOTE RALLY : LYRIC BIOSCOPE HALL
KIMBERLEY : 1984-07-28**

SPEAKERS:

1. Unknown male
2. Rev. Peter Melvyn WITBOOI
3. Albertina SISULU
4. Gordon AFRICA
5. Unknown Moslem Imam
6. Professor Ismael MOHAMED
7. Terror LEKOTA
8. Mewa RAMGOBIN

BEW

V16 PAR.45

IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS MENTIONED

1. ANC
2. 1960 (Banning of ANC)
3. Robert SOBUKWE
4. COMMITTEE OF CONCERN
5. RIVONIA TRIAL
6. Clifford BROWN
7. January 8th, 1912
8. AFRICAN CONVENTION
9. MANDELA
10. SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS
11. COLOURED PEOPLES CONGRESS
12. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS
13. SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS
14. CONGRESS MOVEMENT
15. Albert LUTHULI
16. UMKHONTO

ASSESSOR

UDF DON'T VOTE RALLY: LYRIC BIOSCOPE HALL. KIMBERLEY.
1984/07/28

Page 8 Line 5 Change "not reast" to "not rest"

Page 41 Line 23 Change "of the B factor" to "of the big fat dog"

Page 41 Line 24 Change both inaudible) to "jackall"

CORRECTIONS :

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

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

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


A.A. MAHLANGU.

O P M E R K I N G S

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

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

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

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

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Poster against wall photographed reading LET THE VOICE OF FREEDOM, GROW LOUDER AND STRONGER with at the bottom UNTIL WE WIN OUR DEMANDS and below that a calendar. Whilst the aforementioned is being photographed, a news bulletin is being read, presumably over a radio in close to the video camera.

(Video interruption)

Seated on stage to the right of the speaker Mewa RAMBOBIN and can be seen.

UDF DON'T VOTE RALLY : 1984-07-28

Jomo Khagu
UNKNOWN MALE

"It won't be long, they are in Kimberley but as they have not arrived here, yet, so that we would like to appeal to the youth
 (interruption)

REVEREND PETER MELVYN WITBOOI:

"When we read about Saul, Saul was the man chosen by God and apointed by Samuel, God's prophet. To lead the people and Sal's instruction was to obey the Commandments of the Lord. But when we read about Saul towards the end of the first book of Samuel, we read these words that Saul himself said: "I was a fool and I have erred exceedingly because I did not obey the Commandments of the Lord. It would have, it will be a great tragedy, it would be suicide for this community, for South Africa, when it will be written in the history of this country some days in the future, that we were fools because we did not obey the Commandments of the Lord (applause). I do have to tell you brothers and sisters, comrades that apartheid cannot

find justification in the Bible (applause). When you read the Bible you will find that God created" (applause).

Appearance of Albertina SISULU and Prof Ismael MOHAMED on the stage with shouts of UDE UDE by the audience.

(Video interruption).

ALBERTINA SISULU: Amandla Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu (X 2)

ALBERTINA: Awethu

"Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters of Africa, I greet you in the name of all the loving, all the freedom loving people of South Africa.

ALBERTINA: Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu

I bring you a special message from your loving mothers, the women of South Africa and again from your loving UDF that is the organisation that is so afraid by the Government. We are gathered here today, to say whether we agree or not with the new constitution. We are gathered here today to be honest to ourselves and know exactly what we want and what we do not want. Starting with the new constitution, I would definitely say' "We say no to the new constitution because it's based on apartheid, because its undemocratic, because it divides the people instead of uniting the people. We say no to the toy Parliament. (Laughter and applause by audience).

..... that is being introduced to the Coloureds and Indians. We are not children. We are grown ups. We cannot afford to be fooled just because this Government thinks that the time has expired. It's running around the whole world selling this new constitution. Selling the fraudulent way in which it seems there's change in South Africa. We can't be bluffed. There is no change in

South Africa. All this Government is trying to do, is to entrench apartheid by using our own children, by using us to help this Government because it can see that the forces of ^{the oppressed} people are pressing forward and that fire is burning ^{the government should} (inaudible). That is why it has got this fraudulent way of deceiving the people and say there's change in this country. There is no change in South Africa. We know for certain that the Indians and Coloureds are not going to be bluffed because this is clear, this Parliament is divided in three. That, itself, tells me that it is an apartheid Parliament. Why should we help the Government in its predicament. It's confused. It doesn't know where to turn. The Government knows that in unity of the oppressed people we forced it to get back to its senses and tell the truth to the people. But unfortunately because it wants to preserve the White supremacy, it has to tell lies to the people.

We say to Botha: His forefathers tried it and they failed because when it became hot, they dropped it. He's still going to do it. If we are united, if we say no to this new constitution because it doesn't give us anything. This new constitution is for us to oppress ourselves. This new constitution is based on apartheid. Can you tell me why is the Government so kind at sunset to say that Coloureds and Indians must be given a chance to be in Parliament which, which parliament. The toy Parliament of apartheid?

(Applause from audience.)

Should we say YES to that class? I would say (inaudible) ... to those who are with this Government like Alan HENDRICKSE for instance and RAJBANSI, I would ask them one question or two and say: Have they told the people the truth when they asked them to vote for this constitution? Did the people know that they are voting for apartheid? Did the people, did the people know that they are voting for their own oppression? Did the people know that they are going to vote for their call-up to the army? If they vote, whom are they going to fight? Are they going to fight their brothers? Are they

going to fight their fathers and mother of this country? Whom are they going to fight? Because now it means that if they are going to be called up as Soldiers, they are going to fight a war. Which war? The war of the oppressed people of this country, because the struggle continues and we shall not stop until we get our freedom. We shall not stop fighting until we get our birthright and that is a right to us. Now it means our children are going to fight us. They are going to fight their brothers. Are they aware of that? I want to warn, them, that this Government is trying to be clever to let our children fight us so that it must go on with its dirty ^{work} ~~war~~. The apartheid ^{work} ~~war~~.

(Applause by audience).

We say no, we are not going to vote. We don't vote for this constitution, rather (inaudible) this constitution here, because they know what it means to us. Don't we know that today GST that has been increased. Where does that money go to? It goes to this new Parliament. It goes to the army who are killing our children in detention. Don't we know that, we know that. Should we then co-operate with a murderer? Should we then say yes to the laws that are going to hang us? Should we then say, that can be said, we are going to the Parliament because we want to change this laws ^{within} (inaudible) that ^{is a deliberate lie} ~~has (restricted) lives.~~

(Applause)

He knows that it's a lie but because he is ^{tricky} ~~pretty~~ and selfish. He is doing all this because he wants to cover himself. He is just like an ostrich that when it is being chased by dogs, it gets to the sand and buries its head. Meanwhile the whole body is outside there.

(Applause by audience).

We say no, we are not going to vote for the new constitution, because it has got all. ^{This} No laws of this country, it will encounter with, will every be changed because the Coloureds and Indians are in Parliament We will still have a Group Areas act. We will still have forced removals, influx controls, pass laws. We'll still have all these laws that are being passed in Parliament, day in and day out that are oppressing the people of this country. But we must warn the Government and its satellites, that the struggle is on and we shall not rest until we get our birthright. The struggle is on and we shall not rest until this Government release our leaders and have a conference with them so that this country is ruled by the Government that will be elected by the people and a just Government for the people of this country.

(Applause by audience)

We will not vote for apartheid that is entrenching, that is being entrenched by the Government. We are not going to do it. We are not going to vote for the laws that are oppressing our people in this country. We know, I wonder why HENDRICKSE and RAJBANSI don't know that there have been a pattern that was given to MATANZIMA and MANGOPES.

(Laughter)

Didn't they see that it has failed? Why should they bluff the people? Isn't this Parliament going to fail? The same as (inaudible) it's going to fail because we the people of this country are going to fight for our birthrights until this Government (inaudible). *Gets back to its senses* (inaudible). Coming then to our UDF we have our own organisation. We have our own organisations that is uniting the people. The Government is busy dividing the people. We have our own organisation that today is a frightened, you know (inaudible) a Government (inaudible). We, we know that it started with the Communist Party that was a frightened eh eh object, that 'if your eh fighting for your right you are a Communist. It went round to the

ANC that was banned in 1960. Can you any, can you imagine a snake that has been killed so many years ago and yet the Government is so afraid of that snake that it could still ^{bite} (inaudible)

(Applause by audience).

Now its our UDF. The Government is busy with the UDF. Why is the Government busy with the UDF? Because the UDF is uniting the people and the Government knows that unity is strength, if we're united we can topple this Government tomorrow but if we are divided then the struggle will carry on for years. Meanwhile the Government is busy making laws one after the other, meanwhile the Government is busy you know feeding its people comfortably that thats ^{got an end} what (inaudible). Our UDF has come here to stay. Our UDF is going to do its work until its achieved what it wants to achieve.

(Applause by audience)

We are not afraid of this Government because this Government is a Government of selfish and ^{GREEDY MURKERS} crazy fascists.

(Applause by audience).

That will not stop that will stop at nothing, because they are preserving their White supremacy that time has come to an end the truth must be spoken. The Government must release our leaders.

(Applause by audience)

We are not afraid of this Government because this Government is a Government of selfish and crazy fascists.

(Applause by audience).

That will not stop that will stop at nothing, because they are preserving their White supremacy that time has come to an end the truth must be spoken. The Government must release our leaders.

(Applause by audience).

The Government must know that we will not rest and our new leaders is not going to rest until it arrests BOTHA and its regime.

(Applause by audience).

Why should our UDF be ^{under five} (inaudible) from the Government, its because the Government is frightened, all what is happening now is because the Government is frightened because of your struggle, because of your determination because of your unity, and that unity is going to come from your UDF. Support you UDF its with you because unity is strength. We will be with you up to the end. We will be with you the UDF will be with you up until this Government gives up and its not going to take long.

(Applause by audience).

Brothers and sisters I am not going to be long. But as I said I've got this message from your mothers as the people the, the loving people the freedom loving people of this country and your UDF. We know for a fact that nothing will (inaudible). We know for certain that not unless we are honest to ourself, that not unless we are disciplined, that not unless we are prepared, nothing will ever come right. Are we prepared to say today to this Government of ^{the UDF} fascists it's enough. Are we prepared to say that?

AUDIENCE: Yea Yea

We still only be prepared to say that when we have got these three things. Determination to be punished and be disciplined. Without discipline we cannot go further than that we can land up in the

hands of the system. Without discipline we will end up being used by the system because we are not disciplined. We will not listen to people who are leading us, we will not listen to people who are supposed to give us that is right. If you are not prepared, please don't deceive the people. Say right out that I am not prepared yet then we'll pass onto the next person who is prepared. If your mind is not clear, ask for help, you would be helped.

These are the most important items one should really ask himself or herself that: 'Am I prepared to do the work for freedom, am I honest to myself and to my people, am I disciplined, am I prepared to listen to the leaders'. I know our leaders are not with us, but those who have taken over, really should be respected and be listened to. Your UDF cannot do anything without you showing that you are prepared to work with the UDF because it wants to unite you. Unity is strength that you know (inaudible). Brothers and sisters, all I am saying here today, is that we say no. We are not going to vote for the toy Parliament of the frightened Government of Botha. We are not going to vote, we boycott this constitution.

Amandla "

GORDON AFRICA:

"(Inaudible) mense ek wil net sê ons is nie bang vir mense wat hierso is nie. So if you feel like saying something, if you feel like shouting a slogan, do so with the greatest of pleasure. There is nobody ^{to beat you} (inaudible) because it is your democratic right to do so (inaudible)".

UNKNOWN MEMBER FROM AUDIENCE: "(Inaudible) slavery".

SPEAKER: Power to you, Comrade. ^{Clenched fist} (Black Power salute).
 Unknown man in audience in Thosa, Ammanzi siwase layo siwaphiwa
 nguwe tata—even the water we drink you give us Father
 That is the only way that you can do

UNKNOWN MEMBER FROM AUDIENCE: (Inaudible)

SPEAKER: Power to you Comradel ^{clenched fist} (~~Black Power~~ salute)

SPEAKER:

"Power to you, Comrade ^{clenched fist} (~~Black Power~~ salute). .. Uhm, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to welcome each and everyone of you here. I am a representative of, from the COMMITTEE OF CONCERN which have organised this rally in conjunction with the Northern Cape UDF.

(Faulty mike drown voice of speaker)

..... of resistance (inaudible) past years everyhting has just gone. I do not know whether it is due to the passing away of (inaudible). Whether it is due to the passing away of Robert SOBUKWE, but something happened in Kimberley. What it is we will have to sort that out. This committee got together to sort of see what we can do in order to revive that consciousness that we had once upon a time. The fact that we have to say it was once upon a time. The COMMITTEE OF CONCERN is a peoples organisations. So therefore, I would like to make a very, very fervent request for the people to come forward and help us to help ourselves. Let us not just sit back and wait for the LABOUR PARTY stooges to overrun us.

(Shout of 'BLY STIL' from somebody in audience).

To go into Europe and put up posters in the peoples windows and tell everybody who removes that poster before the 22nd of August will be handed over R50,00 fine.

(Laughter from audience).

Let us not fall and fight against those people because they are there only for the R75,000 that they will be getting, on top of that, that will be our tax money.

(Applause by audience).

So it is about time that we take the bull by the horn. That we come forward and show ourself that we are here to tell Kimberley that we are here to tell the world, that we are here to tell the rest of the oppressed people, that we are willing to stand up and fight. And in order to do that we need what I would term a peoples unity. And we must say it most deliberate, deliberately, to hell with the 'Kombuis' parliament for that is what they are offering us at this moment.

(Applause by audience).

I wish to address myself to what I have termed collaboration or non-collaboration, that is the question. At this juncture in time the liberatory movement faces its biggest and most comprehensive challenge yet. Yoare all aware I'm sure of that. The ruling class hopes that the combination of repression, Presidents Council and the Koornhof Bill is, can completely achieve a breakthrough in the battle against this rising tide of liberation. These measures have been particularly designed to deny full citizenship to the oppressed people and to secure the uninterrupted exploitation of the Labour reserve which they are forced to call the homeland. The labour of these quisling councils whether it be your Management Committees, whether it be the Local Affairs Committees, whether it be the Bantu Administration Board, the Police, the Army, the Law Courts, even the tribal schooling system that you do have are but a few of the principle means by which the State wishes to oppress and to oppress the people and to maintain the status quo as what we know it.

Since the 1960's, and that brings me to a very important point. At this point in time, I would like to, to dedicate this particular meeting to what happened 20 years ago, the Rivonia Trial, when our leaders were banned. When they were thrown into jail for things they feel they were doing at the time so that we could have an easier life in our Azania.

(Applause by audience).

Clenched Fist

SPEAKER: Power to the People (Black Power salute).

And once again Ma SISULU, I welcome you back, for she has gone (inaudible) ... in the past twenty years. Since the 1960's, the national liberatory movement has taken immeasurable strides in the struggle against Colonialism in South Africa. The (inaudible) ... of the political struggle has, has been, has been (inaudible) with great effort and sacrifice and even with the help of political understanding based upon the concept that we are to apply and to clarify in our day to day struggle against Herrenfolk indoctrination. We have to struggle against what I would call sun specialists, who are continuously performing political summersaults to secure their deliverance from their future serfdom. It cannot be denied that to the ^{VICTORY} (inaudible) of the oppressed over the (inaudible) system. These changes parade of the Dummy Councils that have to set up the collaborators like the Labour Party that one of the principal factors involved has been the use of the boycott weapon and even the application on non-collaboration. The rulers have up till now not been able to find a solution to this powerful spirit of non-collaboration that has reared its head within our community, within our schools, within our workers organisation (inaudible).

It is clearly, it is clear therefore that the (inaudible) of this very important and life preserving principle of non-collaboration can be considered and can be considered as a ruling class priority. Because they will go out of their ways to see that they co-opt these political stooges to come and serve them. In order to prevent strikes and boycotts and even to prevent the collapse of this Dummy Councils that we are sitting with, it will use every means at its disposal. The State survival depends on these collaborators. It cannot make apartheid succeed unless it gets the masses to collaborate with it.

The Presidents Council cannot work without the State's elaborate network of collaborationist councils. Collaboration of apartheid (inaudible) is for the rulers an absolute political necessity. Homelands, labour reserves it other words, cannot work without the quisling Governments like P W MPHEPHU, P W NYATSI in Kimberley to oppress.

(Applause by audience).

To oppress as I've told the suppliers of cheap labour, labour which these homelands reserve for us. The system of our local Affairs Committee for I am sure cannot work without as I've said earlier the P W NYATSI and the likes to maintain the Government.

(Applause by audience).

Management Committee are indispensable to the running of the group areas in the so-called White homeland.

Quislings are needed to operate them. From this stream of quislings of Botha and referring to the famous P W RAJBANSI, P W HENDRICKSE and so forth. From this stream of quisling a special stream of quislings will be drafted into the three tier of main Parliament as what they put it earlier. The State needs these quislings to oppose the non-racial sports policy. That's why I'm sure to heaven that even ABE WILLIAMS will be our future Ministers of Sports.

(Laughter and applause by audience)

... and even Errol TOBIAS is swerving around within (inaudible comment by member of audience) ... Thank you very much, comrade (with ^{Clerical fist} ~~Black Power~~ salute). .. And even Errol TOBIAS is serving around with the (Mahala) (inaudible)

(Laughter and applause by audience)

.... The Government cannot do without the services of these people. The result (inaudible) are endless. In at every insitution of the oppressed the State wishes to impose its ideologies quislings are needed to operate them.

Therefore for the oppressed (inaudible) for a united struggle for the establishment of the South African (inaudible) laws. Non-collaboration is a political necessity upon which the struggle must be based absolutely further. We will not be able to do without that very, very important building block in our liberating stru.., struggle. With the deepening crisis in South Africa, with a ruling class desperately, desperate to create fresh structures, to maintain apartheid it is to be expected that no stone will be left unturned, to corrupt and seduce the liberatory movement. To (inaudible) all the difficulties advances and even to go as far as to keep our leaders in prison and we know without our leaders amongst us, there can be absolutely no negotiations. There can be absolutely none, no collaboration. Therefore they will have to release MANDELA. They will have to release SISULU. They will have to re... release all other comrades that (inaudible).

(Applause by audience).

They will go out of their way to smash the workers in their struggle. They will go out of their way to smash students in their struggle. They will go out of their way to smash communities in their struggle for what we know is 100% right. So within the context of this crises, it is all the more to be expected that all such opportunists like the P W RAJBANSI etcetera (inaudible) the ranks of the oppressed and turn all our hard won victories into R75,000. The le-... legitimate political movement must shut the door tightly against these collaborators. They must shu- shut the door tightly against all forms of collaboration. The choice is either a national unity based upon non-negotiable demands for our full democratic rights or disunity, loss of direction and the return of the entire struggle into the hands of these political

(machineries). It is a simple truth ladies and gentlemen, non-
~~non-cola-~~ colaboration is a simple truth. Reality and realisation
 must underline political duty of both in this united struggle of
 both a single democratic South Africa, a single democratic nation
 rid of all these demonic laws. We want all of our rights. We want
 it right here.

UNKNOWN MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: Now..

And we have waited long enough. So we want it now.

Amandla " *Clenched Fist*
 (Black Power salute).

(Applause by audience).

UNKNOWN MOSLEM MALE CLOTHED IN ARABIC ATTIRE:

First portion of speech in Arabic (most probably a prayer).

"I seek refuge in Almighty God and from the rejected ^{SATAN} ~~(inaudible)~~
 and I became in the name of God, most precious, most merciful. To
 you dear lady and to all brothers and sisters, I am grateful for the
 opportunity to address you. There is no place in Islam, there is no
 place in life for apartheid. Almighty God in the Quran says' 'We
 are born of Adam and Eve' ^{PEACE BE UPON THEM.} ~~(inaudible)~~ .. so you and I are brothers
 and sisters.

(Applause by audience).

Remark by unknown voice in audience: What did he say?

(Tape interrupted).

..... Almighty God, Prophet Mohamed has taught us that
 no Arab was superior to a non-Arab, no White is superior to a Black,
 no Black is superior to a White.

(Somebody shouts: Amandla)

AUDIENCE reply: Ngawethu.

(Applause by audience)

The world is with you, Almighty God is with you, but you have to work. Your leaders, many of them are in prison and you miss them. But I am surprised one man who has his freedom is not here to explain the constitution and this P W Botha (inaudible).

(Applause by audience).

(Inaudible) Mr Chairman, should have made apologies for him (inaudible, tape interrupted, inaudible) when I am hungry, I need food, I need accommodation, I need love, I need a place to live and that is human dignity and that is what we believe in. We believe in the dignity of man.

Any man who subjects another man and pushes him out and moves him from place to place, and subjects him to live a miserable life because of this colour is ~~God (inaudible)~~ ~~God~~. *1 GODLESS ABSOLUTELY GODLESS*

(Applause by audience).

Ngawethu .

You have a moral, you have moral functions of your own and you have to decide whether you will vote or not vote. I can only speak for myself. I cannot speak for thousand million Muslims, but I can only speak for myself. If I had the right to vote, I would not vote for apartheid".

(Applause by audience).

PROFESSOR ISMAEL MOHAMED:

"The (inaudible) ... They have decreed that no meeting shall take place in that area. They have attempted to silence that voice. The voice of our people who've spoken over a long period of time in that region. And because they've attempted to silence that voice I can say to you here today what I had intended to say in East London tomorrow.

(Applause by audience)

But first of all of course, I bring you greethings. Brought to you from the TRANSVAAL ANTI PC of which I'm chairman. From the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT in the Transvaal and all its affiliates.

(Applause by audience).

We all wish you a tremendous campaign to demonstrate who are the traitors to our struggle. But first of all, let me say what I was going to say to the people of East London, of the Border region that I cannot now say to them in East London. We are proud of you for the tremendous sacrifices you have made and for the hardships you had to bear to mobilise and organise our people against exploitation and oppression. You have mobilised our people on the factory shop floor, in the schools, in the churches and in the community. We recognise all that. We salute you for the struggle you have waged so that all our people can one day take their place in the ranks of the free nations of the world. The day that we're all looking forward to. That we are not harlots ^{helots} in the land of birth.

But we particularly salute you, the people of East London and SAAWU, in the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT today and in all the many organisations with the proud tradition of struggle and with the courage and determination that you have brought to our movement for liberation. That movement which wants to liberate us from racism, oppression and exploitation. Your sacrifices in the struggle have lit the flames of freedom in the hearts of more and more of our people. Those are some of the words I wanted to say to the people

of East London who have waged a magnificent struggle and that is not to say that the people in this region did not do the same, for I was supposed to speak in East London. And therefore from this platform I'm saying that to them. We are saying in fact that our voice will not be silenced. We will this day (inaudible) ... of course arise, a rise in tides of anger and determination to break the chains of slavery, of racism and of oppression and exploitation as I've said. There is a growing unity and a growing struggle amongst all our people. It is sweeping throughout all of our country. I will name just a few places for you. One of them East London, Mdantsane, Lamontville, Kwa Mashu on our Eastern borders right to Vryburg and Kuruman and Zeerust on our borders to Botswana. From Mitchells Plain and Crossroads and KTC and Langa, Nyanga and our most Southern Coast. That mood is sweeping right to the Witwatersrand up to Pietersburg and Tzaneen to our most Northern borders with Zimbabwe.

Albertina SISULU has already spoken about the determination. I am just telling you that in fact that flame, those flames are spreading throughout our country. Those flames are burning daily more brightly in the hearts and minds of all our people. You know, we see in fact the anger of our youth in the schools in Cradock. ~~That anger is reflected in the anger of our youth in the schools in Cradock.~~ That anger is reflected in the anger of our youth in Atteridgeville, in Mamelodi and Tembisa, who are protesting against the same racist and inferior education. You know that anger of course is also ^{Reflecting} reflected in the universities. Turfloop University of the North, Ingoye and elsewhere. In fact that is reflected a growing crises of education facing our country. And of the anger of our people whose plastic shelters are ripped apart or bulldozed at places like Crossroads and KTC or the corrugated shelters which attempt to shelter little babies at Kathlehong and so many other places.

Those things have been mercilessly broken down and bulldozed. The anger of our people in those areas is also reflected in the anger of our people whether it is at Leandra and Magopq and so many other

places Kangwane, in fact that is reflecting the determination, that we demand this land of ours. That cry of the people of Crossroads reflected in the North and all over the place. There is of course also, as you have seen in the last few weeks, the growing anger against the escalating prices and as Albertina SISULU had said, those prices are exalating GST, increasing in order to pay for our own oppression. The people of Mitchells Plain and of Tumahole and Parys and of Western Township in Johannesburg has marched against those prices. They have demanded a decent livelihood for all our people. That anger of course is also being reflected in the mood of the workers in the motorcar plants on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria. It has been reflected in the miners who've gone on strike in Natal in the face of Police with their stenguns, their machine guns and their dogs. Our people are determined and they have said, that we are tired to earn the wealth of this country and to feed the oppressor while our children are starving in the ghettos in the places like Langa, Nyanga.

(Applause by audience).

All the protesting voices whether it is now at Mitchells Plain or at Tiervlei or in Natal, those voices are saying that we are no longer prepared to be robbed of the sweat and the labour to fatten the few in our country. You know, you've also seen the anger of our people in so many other ways and I want to say to you particularly as I would have said to the people of East London. You know we've read in Rapport a disgusting banner headline which read: MA BEGRAWE SELF TERRORIS.

(Laughter from audience).

That of course refers to Clifford BROWN. But the people of East London did not see him as a terrorist. The people of East London gave him a heroes funeral, and our people came from far, because our people had said, this is our son. That mood of defiance.

(Applause by audience).

That mood of defiance that we have seen at so many funerals, that the regime that described and decreed how we shall bury our dead, at what hour and who shall attend. Today of course they are burying another comrade in Tumahole, Parys and that regime have again prescribed and have said in East London our people have indicated that these are our sons and we will bury them the way we choose. But that mood of course is also being reflected in many other ways. You know when June the 16th came, our churches in Soweto and Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and so many other places were encircled with guns and dogs, and all the horrible machinery of an oppressive regime. But our people braved those machines and they went into the churches.

That is a defiant mood to say that we are no longer prepared to be trodden down. We are no longer going to be denied by your brutal weapons to achieve our freedom. The mood that I have expressed in the burial of Clifford BROWN is in fact the same mood as we've seen there in Atteridgeville and Soweto and elsewhere. You know our people are growing more and more restless. They are growing tired of a situation that we live under. And you must not for a moment hesitate because there are a few seats which are vacant here. That we are gathered here in some numbers, but throughout our country all of the place our people are gathered. Sometimes they gather in homes, sometimes they gather in churches, sometimes they gather in the Mosque and the temples or they gather on the factory shop floor. But all the time there is a rise, the heaving and swelling like the mighty sea. And all it is expressing the anger of our people. That circles of the heaving and sighing is spreading of the evermore widely, it's involving all the oppressed and democrats in our country.

As I have said in the schools, in the colleges, in the universities and the factory shop floor, and in so many other places. For those who want to see, for those who are not going to pretend that our

country is not in turmoil, there are unmistakable signs of those waves of anger and determination. You know, like the mighty sea is going to roll more and more in unity and it is going to break into a raging storm to smash racialism and oppression. It is going to spread, it is going to smash those things on the rocks of our united people. I must repeat again the words that have been said by Albertina, that if we are a united people then this regime will not last another day.

(Applause by audience).

And for that reason, I'm saying to you, in fact that this regime will find it will be shattered on the rocks of our united people. Your (inaudible) in the rising mood of our people, there is something else also taking place in our country. There is a growing economic crisis. And of course Albertina has already alluded to that in a sense that you have seen of the GST and so on. You know what we are seeing happening is in fact that there is a decline in the economy. There is a slow down in the rate of growth. I don't want to become an academic you see, but what it is really saying is that the rulers in our country cannot maintain the privileged kind of position that White South Africa has enjoyed for such a long time at our expense.

(Applause by audience).

You know, we have seen that there is a drop in the price of gold. It will rise again but overall there is a decline. There are rising prices. And this country is going to find it more and more difficult to sustain that kind of life that they have given White South Africa. And that means of course really, that they are going to have it more and more difficult to attempt to resolve the serious problems that we face in this country. That our children are getting an inadequate education if at all or they are getting slave education or that they are facing rising rents or that we are without homes as it happens at Crossroads and elsewhere. Those

problems, this regime is not going to solve whether the HENDRICKSE's and the RAJBANSI's and others go into the tri-cameral Parliament, because in fact this country is entering an economic crisis. You know it is entering that crisis for another reason that it is waging a war on the people of Namibia who are crying out to be freed. It is trying to keep those people in bondage, and therefore it has to feed a war machine. And we have to be taxed on food and various items in order to keep that machine going. But this regime also has to keep intact the horrible monster of a Police Force, a Security Police Force with attempts to keep up the check, to stop us from demanding our freedom.

These are the things on which that regime has to spend the monies. But let me say to you, all this is spelling in fact, that there is bound to be a growing conflict in our country. And I've said before, that our people are determined to change. Now of course, our rulers are very well aware of the situation in this country. You know they are aware of the dark strong clouds of our peoples anger. Those who impose their will on us because they have guns, are fast realising that their prisons, their armoured cars, their machine guns and the Mirages and so on that they get from abroad are not going to keep us in subjugation forever.

(Applause by audience).

You know there was a time when we meekly submitted and we were moved from Sophitown^A and elsewhere and we voiced our anger in private. Those days are gone. You will long remember the days when we as an unorganised working class or as a divided community or often as disinterested students just interested in his own personal successes. Those days are gone. The days when in fact the regime could impose their will on us and to hell with the consequences. That same regime in spite of their Mirages and all the guns and weapons at their disposal are no longer sleeping peacefully. They are no longer sleeping comfortably because they have sensed the anger of our people. They understand that, that gathering storm

cannot be stopped. They understand very well that the arsenals of weapons that they let loose for example on the people of Namibia ^{was unable to} (~~inaudible~~) stop the people of Namibia from achieving their freedom. And it is not going to stop us also.

(Applause by audience).

And the reason why these murderous weapons cannot (~~inaudible~~) they, you know brandish and cannot stop us, is simply because the lifeline of this country cannot be produced by the Mirages. Cannot be produced by those guns. That lifeline ...

(Applause by audience)

..... is produced by people like me and you and the people of Crossroads and the people of Atteridgeville and the people who live in the slums. That lifeline consists of the gold and diamonds, of the meat and the maize and of the clothes and all other products that we produce. That lifeline is being produced by us. It is not true that the HENDRICKSE's have said that you must go into the tri-cameral Parliament to beg a few crumbs. Because we are weak and we cannot face this regime. In fact we are very powerful and I've said that we are the ones who produce that wealth. You know our workers are no longer as disorganised as they were. One sees today why they banned the meeting in East London or in the Border region, it is precisely because our workers there have united into a strong force. And it is precisely because our community and our students have come together. They know we have learned of course the lessons of Angola and of Mocambique and of Zimbabwe and of all the other people who were oppressed and in bondage like ourselves. We have learned from them that a united people, that the rulers who pretend to be so powerful are not so powerful and we are not as weak as they pretend we are.

UNKNOWN CHANTER: Amandla

(Applause by audience).

Of course like those people too, we will also achieve our liberation. But let me say again, you see our, our rulers of course understand that very well, make no mistake. And precisely because they understand that and they realise in fact that our determination to be free, means that it will bring to an end the ^{doable} ~~days~~ of cheap labour on which they have fattened all these years. And that they cannot face. They and their masters abroad are saying that you must find some sort of consensus with at least some section of the oppressed people. It is for that reason that the rulers are sharpening their efforts to look, you know in our ranks to find traitors and quislings,

(Unknown member from audience: DOWN WITH THEM)

..... in order to keep that regime in power. That regime realised it cannot continue on the narrow social base that it has created the few people that support it. It must look for supporters within our ranks and it means to get this supporters by foul means or otherwise and it is mentioned already to you that they would pay R45,00 and R75,000 to geth those traitors, Of course, I've said you see that is important for this regime to do this otherwise they cannot survive. But of course you know we know this regime is facing a dilemma. It cannot bring in just sections of the Black oppressed. It cannot just bring in sections of the privileged Coloured and Indian people to support their regime, because they also have to look over their shoulder at the rightwing Whites in their land. And for that reason their reforms cannot be meaningful reforms (inaudible) while they bring in the Coloured and Indian people to help to prop up their system at every stage of that tri-cameral Parliament we find that it is loaded in their favour. We know the ratio, you know of 1 Indian, 2 Coloured to 4 Whites. That ratio is there so that they can maintain power.

(Applause by audience).

You know even the electoral college that was ultimately determined and elected their president, that electoral college is also made up of that kind of ratio of 1 to 2 to 4 in other words the same."

(Tape interrupted - end of speech).

TERROR LEKOTA:

"It was subsequently formed in January 8th 1912. We are here, therefore to claim a proud tradition of struggle to divide and remind the Government of this country that the struggle which our forefathers began years ago, decades ago, centuries ago, continues.

(Applause by audience and chanting of AMANDLA MAYIBUYE AFRIKA)

We are here to remind them that the youth of our days both Africans and Whites, Indian and Coloured will not allow for the sacrifices of our forefathers to have been in vain. We are here to remind them that the crimes which they've committed against the people of South Africa have not ...

(Tape interrupted)

.. (inaudible) left them there Many of the people who have been marching in defiance in the Transvaal and shot them dead. The point which must be made and is as simple as that of oppression, is that oppression here has to do with oppression with the possession of the land the settlement of the people in the country. African people, Indian people and Coloured people may not settle anywhere and at anytime as they would like to do. White people have for themselves eighty seven percent of the land. The apartheid policies of our country are based and their foundations upon those laws of the land. And our people of course resisted. We were together at the end of the first war (inaudible) ^{at versailles} also the delegation of the African people and Indian people together.

We campaigned there and our people have campaigned and participated in the first world war. They ^{went to Versailles} (inaudible) demanded a fair share of the performance of the ^{contribution} constitution they have made. but of course RAJBANSI did not answer the question. Now people up to, until at the point in time, they made ^{the main thrust} (inaudible) to of the struggle of our people was to extend democratic right to allow for African people in the Transvaal and the Free State to include the Indian people into, to include the Coloured people into, in the voters roll in the participation of the Government of our country. But the purpose of this history of our country is disappointing. 1935 saw Hertzog introduce his infamous bills. The 1935 bills which sought to remove Africans who were in, in the Tran in the, in Natal and in the Cape, to remove them from the the voters roll instead of improving, instead of increasing and including more in the participation of the Government. They ^{diminished} re even the little the few who were already (participating). The 1935 laws came in, they removed them, at the same time they introduced the Native Affairs Council, the foundation of the Bantustan policies. Ah, the Bantustan system that you are seeing today.

And they went further of course they also introduced a bill that threatened to remove the Coloured people at that stage already from the voters roll. It was ^{thanks to the} (inaudible) the resistance of our people that they did not ^{remove them at the time} (inaudible). Because why? I know the cause of this. That in 1935 when they were introducing those laws, our forefathers did not sit back. They did not sit on the stadiums and watch football. They did not allow themselves to be created in to watching TV programmes when the men were talking. They organised. They sat down to call African Convention which campaigned and championed the struggle against those laws. And as a result of that campaign, they were able to stop the Nats at least, at that point in time stop (inaudible) .. like .. Afrikaner push them in there (inaudible) .. political power (inaudible) .. after they have ^{stop the three bills} given them the election. They were able to stop that they did not (inaudible) ... because Africans were removed from the voters roll (Africans

in the Cape and Natal were removed. The Native Affairs Council was set up and of course the Boer ^{boys said} ~~War started~~. I say the Boer ^{boys} War said

(Laughter by audience)

..... (inaudible) they said that to compensate you, we will increase the portion of land on which you may settle from eight per cent to thirteen per cent. That is how they our African people come today to be restricted to thirteen percent of the land

(inaudible) the 1936 act ^{created that} (inaudible) will only give you thirteen percent on which you can settle. But it still left African people unable to settle and we remained restricted to this day. And we can't settle on eighty seven, eighty seven per cent of the *Country* (inaudible). That situation remains even until the provisions of the new constitution Act.

There is no amendment, there is no change to the 19- 1936 Land Act, and the position remains as it is. But even at this stage, our people still demanded of course, they demanded always for inclusion in the Government of the country. And so even at the end of the Second World War (inaudible) of the Second World War, our people came together, they drew up the African Friend. And the African Friend made the big question and the big demand. We are demanding that democratic right be extended to cover African people as well. Now that our people have participated, some have gone to Egypt many of their lives were lost there, some died there, never came back. But when they came back here, instead of being included in participating Government, they were given bicycles.

(Laughter and applause from audience)

UNKNOWN CHANTER: Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu

They were given, they were given second-hand bicycles and rejects as compensation for the sacrifices which they had made in that war. We must remind them of this day that at this generation that kind of education, that type of history may not be taught. Those books which may contain those facts are not allowed and they are banned. They will not and you won't see them not even at schools. but the history of our people is told around those humble evening fires.

We sit on the knees of our grandfathers, we listen patiently and we listen very, very attentively. Today we are demanding and we are claiming that those (stories) of history are the very inspiration. It is upon them that our resistance is based. It is a just resistance to apartheid. It is based upon the genuine contributions which our fathers have made. We are not claiming South Africa for this section or that section of the population. A point which we have made, the one which MANDELA and others have made, the one which we are making and which generations of the future will continue to make, is that even though African people were the original inhabitants of this country but over a period of time our White compatriots, our Indians compatriots have combined together with us our Coloured compatriots. Together, on the road in the mines, in the factories in the educational institutions of our country. The people of South Africa have combined over the past centuries. They have built and shaped our country into what it is today. We are claiming South Africa for the people of South Africa. Not the White section, not for the Black section, not for the White section, not for Indian section, but for the people of South Africa.

(Applause by audience).

We must make this point in a very strong way. We are claiming South Africa indeed. Even for the Afrikaners themselves. They have a share here.

(Applause by audience).

They have a share not only, not for themselves and not all the country. They have a share side by side with us. The future belongs to the people of South Africa. We will take this country. We will rule this country. We will rule it with them. We will rule it and what will happen, the difference is, they will participate in the government of the future. Not as superiors.

(Applause by audience).

They will, they will participate in the government of this country on the basis of equality with all of us.

(Applause by audience).

They will loose their privileges that they will loose.

(Applause by audience).

That they will loose their privileged status is a question we have decided and that will happen, they will loose their privileged status. They will have their language. They will speak Afrikaans and anything else, but Afrikaans if anybody is forced to learn Afrikaans in this country, the Afrikaners will be forced as well to learn the languages of *the others*.

(Applause by audience).

My point is that it (inaudible) it is not a new point. My point is that there is *it is simple and straight forward* (inaudible). It is simply this. That we demand *a living* (inaudible) for all. It is simply this, that we are not fighting Afrikaners. We are fighting the particular system of government which they have.

(Applause by audience).

I want to make it a point. I want to make it a point that after that point in time on which we will decide. The demand of our people remain one of asking for inclusion in the government of the country. But let us take a look ten years later from 45 when the Africans claims were brought up. Let us look back at 55. A little bit forward to 55, ten years later, and there African people, Indian people, Coloureds people and White people, there the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, the COLOURED PEOPLE'S CONGRESS.

UNKNOWN CHANTER: Amandla

And the CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS. Those four congresses together with the SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, of CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS meet at Kliptown. Now you have to ^{compare} (inaudible) for our people have made a number of demands. They say that they are no longer asking to be included in the government that is established. They say this government has committed so many crimes against the people. It has laws that our people in the homelands are trapped out there like cattle. Inhuman.

(Applause by audience).

It has lost our people in camps, in stinking and squalid townships. It has denied our people of opportunities of education. It is humiliating our people on a daily basis, making it impossible for them to buy food and sit in the same restaurants on the basis of equality and eat there with others. It has made our people carry Reference Books or Passes on them. It has unleashed the Police Force to enter their homes early at two in the morning, at one and two thirty waking them up and harassing them. They say this government has committed so many crimes, it has committed so many crimes. This government has shot and killed our people at Alexandra. It has shot and killed our people at (inaudible). It has shot and killed them at Witsieshoek. They said this government has committed so many crimes that we can no longer ask to

be included. Because to do so, is to take upon our shoulders the crimes of a government that has no, that is not worthy of human respect.

(Applause by audience).

Their demand is therefore loud and clear. They say we call, they say we the people of South Africa, Black and White, together, brothers, countrymen and compatriots, call for a government in which the people shall govern. They say only a government which is based upon the will of the people can govern justly in this country. Nothing else than that (inaudible).

(Applause by audience).

To call upon our people, to call upon our people and HENDRICKSE and RAJBANSI and the Bantustan, as Bantustan leaders are doing, to call upon them to, to go into this government, to go into this Parliament, is to call upon our people, not only to trample underfoot the proud and rich history of resistance of our people. But is is to call upon them to take upon themselves the crimes of this government. And we are not prepared to do such stuff. In demanding indeed, in urging the people of our country today. In urging you not to go and vote on the 22nd and the 28th. In calling upon you to make it a ^{pilgrimage} (inaudible) from now on to urge others not to go and vote.

We are asking you to become part and parcel of that call. That is jealously guarding that history of our resistance. We are asking you to continue demand (inaudible).

(Applause by audience).

I must also make a crucial point, before I didn't want to, but I want to talk a little bit on the new constitution. Before I do that, I want to make on little point. That in 61 South Africa

became a Republic. Throughout that period as you can clearly see, we have not been consulted. Even when South Africa became a Republic in 1961, we were not consulted. We were not asked whether we want a Republic. Indeed even today we have not been asked. We were not given the opportunity. None of us were given the opportunity to say whether we accept the new constitution or not. Its only the Whites deciding by themselves. So in 61, they say that South Africa should become a Republic but not only that.

In 1960 also, they banned the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS which is actually the CONGRESS MOVEMENT. Those organisations of the people at the time were banned, all of them were banned. My point in this regard is that over a period since 1912, 48 years of non-violent progressive struggle did not persuade, did not open our government to reason.

Instead in 61, they intensified, in 60 they intensified in terms of closing down completely any open public debate. Any open resistance of our people was clamped down. And when that happened, it was almost 50 years of non-violent resistance. Our people were at the crossroads. For in 52 already, the aging Albert LUTHULI and others (inaudible) the question who will deny for thirty years of our life, have been spent knocking moderately, modestly, patiently at a closed and barred door. What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation. Around the (inaudible) LUTHULI went down to his grave, a man fully honoured by the world. For in 60 and 61 he got the Nobel Peace prize. He went in the sixties, he died in the sixties and he died in 66. The big question about it is as Nelson MANDELA would tell the story, and he had told the story to some of us ^{within the confines of Robben Island} (inaudible). That as younger men nine years later, they had looked and they had to the question. But by 60 they had to respond to questions of (inaudible) already in 52. And they (inaudible). You shall (inaudible) make our decision. It was a difficult decision to make for our people had no arms. They were not trained in the art of warfare. But we had to take the decision, that either we are going to submit and die the

slaves of apartheid or were going to die fighting and resisting.
And so we took on the decision that we, were going to fight back.

(Applause by audience).

(Tape interrupted).

I am not a brave man, I haven't made the decision (inaudible)
which others have made. I am not in a position and I think in some
 ways I am a coward because I wouldn't be able. I would
 (inaudible) to muster that kind of courage but I have, I have
 certain sense of pride (inaudible) ... like this because it
 tells me that amongst our people that have been born also, men whom
 others have (inaudible).. I have met some of them years
 afterwards, after they (inaudible) years after believe,
 many years of a cruel prison live (inaudible). I have found
 them unbroken. They remained to me as symbol that, that we as a
people, in spite of the many years of humiliation of being down
trodden, of being despised and humiliated. That we too are people,
 that we too can stand and have produced have been brought among our
people men who can (put to shame) anybody. We are equal to all
 others. This is an essential point. But they (inaudible) ...
 must ~~take the crucial~~ question. That if the decision of 61 was not
 taken seriously by many, especially by the government of the
 country. Today they are taking it much more seriously. Today they
 understand very well that the changes that happen in Southern
 Africa, which makes it necessary for them to defend the border from
 the Atlantic up to the Indian Ocean which confronts them with the
 might of our own UMKHONTO. The army which MANDELA and others put
 into being. That, that army is the one which is forcing them to
 introduce this constitution. It is that army that is precisely the
^{behind}
 arise ~~of~~ the new constitution. The ^{divide and rule concept} whole question of the new
 constitution, is a preparation for the (inaudible).

The new constitution is about be getting young Indian and Coloured
 youth pulling the people of South African Defence Force. To go and
 defend with their lives a system of apartheid. A system which has

..... (inaudible) when they (inaudible). A system which has dehumanised them that continues to deny many of us the right to survive and live a full life in the country. One day (inaudible).

(Applause by audience).

But I must make the point that the system of apartheid which the young Indian and Coloured youth will be called upon tomorrow to go and defend, has already sacrificed very many lives of our White young compatriots. Young White youths have been taken from universities today. They've been taken from White schools, They've been taken from factories and so on, conscripted into an army to go and fight a war against the people who want life both for themselves and for the very Whites who are conscripted into the armed forces. We are concerned.

(Applause by audience).

We are not only concerned in ^{terms} (inaudible) resisting the new constitution. We are not only concerned for the (inaudible) for the Indian and Coloured people. We are concerned for our White compatriots.

(Applause by audience).

We are concerned for the White, for the young Afrikaners, for the young English youth that they ^{put} (inaudible) into the army but whose lives are (inaudible) .. wasted. That has been wasted. So many lives, it wasted to many lives. Today he is sitting there like a monkey.

(Laughter by audience).

But how many lives did SMITH combined with VORSTER HERE, HOW MANY LIVES DID THEY SACRIFICE BEFORE ^{Smith got to his senses} (inaudible), before he was

brought to the point where he is sitting now, peacefully he claimed peace (inaudible) these monkeys here at home want to do the same thing.

(Laughter and applause by audience).

We are saying that nonsense must be stopped. We are saying the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT must be strengthened, that the people of South Africa will have confidence in them. That the people of our country as they are increasingly informed as to why this constitution is wrong. As to what in fact the intentions of the government are. We are confident that Black and White will withhold their support from this government.

Our obligation therefore stretches far beyond this mobilizing for this election. Our obligation stretches towards also mobilizing, even amongst the Afrikaner lads themselves, to open their eyes to the gravity of the situation and they will not support this. Although they may not be leaving the country. Many are refusing to go into the armed forces. Some are pretty long years in jail for refusing to fight and unjust war. Our White compatriots are doing that I am asking, you many South African communities, together with other South African communities, that we must combine our efforts. We must intensify the mobilization. We must inform our people that they must not vote on the 22nd and the 28th for this, because we want peace in our country. But you see, we can only have peace if there is justice. Justice is a fact. Let everybody participate in the government. Let ^{everybody have houses} (inaudible) .. let everybody have education then there is nothing to fight about, see. Then you'll have peace. That's why that as long as you have one monkey sitting there, he takes everything for himself.

(Laughter by audience).

And there must be progress no matter how. There is no way in which we can accept it. We have no houses. We would like to eat. Our

people are dying of starvation. No, we don't want those things. We are not saying that White people, White children must come and die. We are saying let all the children in our country, let everybody live in peace. That is what we are saying. Let everybody enjoy whatever there is in his power to share. You see in terms of building the wealth of our country, we are the people who combine White, Indian, African and Coloured? We did build a big beautiful fire right in the middle of winter when it was icy cold. And when the fire rather nice and bright and its warm and now we must now all sit there and get warm from it. That is why philosophy (video interrupted) they said that nobody else must laugh, must laugh, must laugh.

(Laughter and applause by audience).

There is a danger, there is a danger in this type of thing. The change of policies are (inaudible) protecting and hiding the fire from all of us, who made a contribution. And while you are not contributing, we might just push you into the fire to burn.

(Applause by audience).

We are very serious about that. Now we don't want to do that so. We are still now persuading, look, don't force us into a position where we have to push you into the fire. But now you have see you are covering the fire and we are sitting cold if you don't, it was only allowed for the situation in which you stand there and we stand on front of the basis of enjoying the fire together. We will have no alternative. In other words we are ^{dying} (damned). We have to push you into the fire.

(Applause and laughter by audience).

Let it be, let it be about why we reject the new constitution. We reject the new constitution of the people of South Africa. It is a constitution of the Afrikaner. It is a constitution of the

(inaudible). They drew it up themselves. They want it and decided upon it, and we had no share in it. We reject it primarily first and foremost for that reason. There are those of our Bantustan fellows thee, who are thinking with their stomachs. They are saying that if the new constitution included African people, that it would be acceptable (inaudible) ... those that is unfortunately not true because we want a constitution of the people of our country, it must be a constitution not drawn up for them, it must be a constitution drawn up by them.

(Applause by audience).

UNKNOWN CHANGER: Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu

But we reject the new constitution for a second and very important reason and that is because the new constitution in terms of its tri-cameral formation preserves that fundamental principle of apartheid which says the White people are superior. They are untouchables. It is the only reason why they adopted the three chambers because then they are still saying that the White man "Mr Piet Koornhof" ah cannot sit next to a Col uh, uh another In.. Indian and Coloured person. He cannot sit next to him. No, uh because he is a person (inaudible) ... council that also say if other people are not being taken into parliament, they have been brought next to parliament.

(Laughter and applause by audience).

So Indian and Coloured people must remain within their small little shacks. Those homes that have a shack of the Indian people. They have here of the Coloured majority and they have the parliament there. You see, that is the House of Assembly. Parliament is ehre Koornhof and others have always been sitting. That is where parliament is. This other things is a House of Representatives whatever that is. And the other thing is a House of Delegates.

(Laughter by audience).

And only Koornhof and others will be called MP's. All these others are not MP's. They are delegates and those are representatives.

(Laughter and applause by audience).

You see, we understand this thing very well. So we know what parliament is. Parliament is where MP's are sitting. There where the members of parliament are. That's what parliament is. All these other things are just separations there. I don't want to be there. And as I said (inaudible) we also reject the new constitution because as Prof MOHAMED has so ably demonstrated. The new constitution preserves the monopoly of political power in the hands of Whites. The White House, in the White House, you have for every 40 people you have there, you have 20 in the Coloured House. You have about 13 or 10 in the, in the In.. Indian House. If you combine the 20 in the Coloured House with the 10 or so in the In.. Indian House, you will have about 33 or something like that. And this idea if you take 33 and you contrast it with 40 for 33 is always less than 40. And you divide.

(Laughter by audience).

There is no other, no other new mathematics that (inaudible).

(Laughter by audience).

There is no way in which you can say, there is no way in which you can say that there is a sharing of political power there. No ways. And everyone of the sub-committees which are going to be formed whether it is the Presidents Council, whether in the cabinet or the cabinet or whatever it is. Everyone on those Committees which are going to be formed in that tri-cameral formation, Whites will always have a majority number, a number that would ^{be larger than} ... (inaudible) Indian and Coloured combined. Who is going to make the law? And in terms

of the new constitution act therefore. The new constitution gives the Indian and Coloured people the responsibility, it gives them the responsibility without giving them power to effect it.

Now, our Indian and Coloured compatriots must carry the responsibility for apartheid laws. But they have no way in terms of their position in that, in that Parliament to influence the law in the direction in which they want. There is no way in which they can do it. We are saying that is another reason why we reject it. That this constitution here is calculated in fact, what constitution are we under? What are we talking, we can also provide it with much more deeper material fact. Because at a Congress at the 82 Transvaal Congress of the National Party, you see when the Nats, when they think that we are not listening. The Nats have got a knack of saying a lot of things. When they think that we are not listening and we don't hear what they are saying. They say these things, you see, they forget that they have been forcing us to learn Afrikaans and we don't speak Afrikaans but we hear what they are saying.

(Laughter and applause by audience).

So when they are by themselves and they are speaking high Afrikaans and high Dutch.

(Laughter by audience).

They say things and when we, they think we are there in the township and we can't hear. They say these things. But then you see, we listen because we don't only go and buy Beeld to read.

(Laughter by audience).

We buy Vaderland and also we go and we open TV 1 and we listen to their own radio programme. And we hear what they are saying there. We hear all those reasons. We hear the reason that, that, tha, tha

Constitution

..... (inaudible) that apartheid is here to stay. They say ~~this~~ things
(inaudible).

(Laughter by the audience).

..... (inaudible) ... how is it that these people are saying that apartheid is gone. When they are there in the evenings quietly all by themselves, they say these things. So in the Congress of Transvaal 82 we should have say that, look, we must get these fellows to defend country. We must tell Indians and Coloureds to defend the country but they're not able to do so unless we, we trick them into some kind of belief that they are ruling the country. They say that, see, they claim thing. But at the Congress in 82 in October I was serving the last month of my prison term, you know, in ah, Victor Verster, I was on my way from Robben Island and so we were reading the papers and then they said: Oh is that the story, and then they say that. So we came out and we say: Look this is what is happening. This is exactly what these fellows are doing, they are not up to sharing power, they are up using us. We know (inaudible)..... this and now we must listen carefully. You see, they have power. You must listen to their news. You must read their newspapers. Not to get into that specially but know what they are doing, you see the White majority know what they are doing.

(Applause by audience).

We also reject the new constitution of course, because it does nothing in terms of changing the material conditions of life of the Indian and Coloured people. Indian and Coloured compatriots will still be restricted to these townships here, which are filthy, which are squalid and so on.

They'll still be there. They'll be kept in Mitchells Plain. They'll remain in Chatsworth. It is said they will have their own affairs in those filthy and dirty and whatever (inaudible).. townships. That where we belong if they are going remain exactly

there. How, what does this mean? What does the new constitution Act mean in terms of the ordinary Indian and Coloured person. How does it change his life? It does nothing in terms of that. He retains and keeps himself exactly like that. But there are two things I must say that the new constitution does change because you see, we must not think that it does not change anything. It does change two things: One it changes the salary of HENDRICKSE and RAJBANSI

(Laughter and applause by audience).

Their salary will increase. They will increase enormously. I think the figure which I was quoted today runs into thousand rands R75,000 etc etc etc. Now that is the first thing that they are going to change. The new constitution will change this. At the second level it changes the fact that whereas in the past, the sell-outs have always been sitting either in Durban or Johannesburg or so, today they have been moved nearer to Parliament (inaudible).

(Laughter which drowns speakers voice).

Those, those two things are changing. And we must also not forget to mention those things that they are changing.

(Laughter by audience).

And in this regard I want to tell you a new short little story about how eh, and where I think HENDRICKSE and RAJBANSI and the Bantustan fellows are. They represent a position of the B factor which met with the (inaudible) in the forest. One time so the (inaudible) ... was very hungry. You know he was hungry and he was looking for food. So he sees this dog and he says man you are so well fed and well kept. You know, and I mean you are fat (inaudible)

Where do you get food? You know and the dog says no you see (inaudible). I've got my boss. He looks after me and I get my three plates a day. You know every morning, I get my breakfast, and

big fat dog
jackal
jackal was quiet & slim

then I get my lunch and then I get my supper and then the
 (jackal) (inaudible) said: Man this is quite exciting man. You
 know, you lead a very, very comfortable life. Now how do you manage
 this type of thing. No, you see I met a (inaudible) fellow
 and then I stayed with my master there. You know and I stayed in
 the yard. Really, ya and then, then of course the (jackal) (inaudible)
 recognised that there is some kind of funny mark here you know. A
 ring around the, the neck.

(laughter by audience).

So then the (jackal) (inaudible) said (inaudible). You are
 staying in the yard (inaudible). You ~~must just~~ (inaudible) eh, eh, strap
 here. What happened to your hair on the neck? You know? So the dog
 said that's a small thing you know. Usually my misses
 (inaudible) my master, you know occasionally you know or most of the
 time actually he pulled the belt around my neck and he keep me in
 the yard so I mean I just stay there so. So the (jackal) (inaudible)
 said but does it mean that you are not free to go where you like to
 go and do what you want to do.

(Laughter by audience).

Then the dog says eh, and then the dog says no the big fat dog says
 no sometimes of course I'm allowed like today, to run around, run
 around.

(Laughter by audience).

But then I'm going back to be, to be tied again.

(Laughter by audience)

So the (jackal) (inaudible) says no man thank you, I'm better off
 hungry as I am than to be enslaved and tied up like you are. You
 just remain a dog that looks like others.

(Laughter and applause by audience).

We have said then of course that, even amongst our people and therefore you have some of those that scum. Some of those rascals. Some of those useless fellows like our Bantustan fellows like our RAJBANSI's and HENDRICKSE's. We have some of that scum.

There's something ah, ashamed... There's something to be ashamed of ah, unfortunately but it is a fact that we have to live with, they are there. But having said then of course you don't want this and of course (inaudible) was also saying. The struggle towards the democratic South Africa is still going to get a better (inaudible) it will be difficult. And so even along the path we're going to, maybe others will get tired. You remember the Egyptians I mean the Israelites, on their way to freedom.

That we're always those who worked for capital, worried about the fleshpot of Egypt and they said look now Moses you have taken out, taken us out of Egypt. Now we must fend for ourselves. We are hungry us all, but there in Egypt we were always full ... (inaudible) .. with a pot of meat. We were always ... (inaudible) ... fleshpot of Egypt and our stomachs were full and so on. And so Moses had to say to them. And of course we have to remind also our fellows you know, that the fleshpot of Egypt indeed you know. The fleshpot of apartheid do provide security, but to slaves, to slaves and we don't want to be slaves. We want to be free men. So we will not be content with those crimes that Prof. talked about (inaudible) we don't want that.

Our alternative there, what then, what alternative are we calling for. If we don't want the new constitution. What do we want? What do we say is necessary in this point in time. We have called for a national convention. We have said that we want a national convention in which the people of our country can be allowed to sit together, Black and White and hammer out a constitution that will be

acceptable to them. What does the meaning, what is the meaning of a call for a national convention?

What do we mean when we say we want a national convention? That national convention must be properly understood. Must it mean the unconditional release of the leaders of our people from Robben Island from Pollsmoor and other prisons. That national convention must mean the unbanning of those of our leaders who are banned and restricted. That national convention should mean that the borders of our country should be opened and south Africans who have been exiled by the unacceptable apartheid policies should be allowed to march freely into our country, and that

(Applause by audience).

Our people must live in peace and draft a new constitution. That is our demand. The meaning of (inaudible) constitution (inaudible) .. these are the basic demands we want those demands. The leaders of our people must be there, there is only that condition, without that conditions that there is no national convention. One national convention. One convention in which our people can be properly represented as they want to, and if that is the position that I must ask you finally. I have made my choice. We in the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT have made our choice. We will not, and we've made it clear (inaudible) apartheid. There is no way in which we can support it. We have made our choice. You'll be asked on the 22nd and the 28th to make your choice. Remember that our commitment is join the (inaudible) Remember and that we are asking you not to support the constitution that excludes us and therefore a constitution that lay the base for conflict, for mutual mutual suspicion, for seeds of a dangerous conflict in the future. We want the people of our country reconciled. We want them brought together. Join the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT in this effort. Join us. Say no to this constitution. Let us stop P W Botha, let us stop RAJBANSI, let us stop HENDRICKSE. Let us stop the Bantustan leaders. Let us stop these fellows completely. Let

the people of our country be ^rkisen and be galvanised to those levels
of resistance which must crumble (inaudible) apartheid once
and for all. Let us be a clenched fist of resistance. AMANDLA "

(LEKOTA gives a clenched fist salute).

SONG:

^S
WAHO, U BOTHA SIWELELE)
SIWELELE, SIWELELE AMATAFE WASE ANGOLA)
(SIWELELE) X6) X4
NANKA AMABHUNU, SIWELELE)
SIWELELE, (SIWELELE) X6)

Translated to English:

BOTHA SAID, LETS CROSS)
LETS CROSS, (LETS CROSS) THE PLAINS)
OF ANGOLA X6)) X4
LETS CROSS)
HERE ARE BOERS LETS CROSS)
LETS CROSS, (LETS CROSS) X6)

CHANTER: Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu

CHANTER: Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu

CHANTER: Amandla

AUDIENCE: Awethu

CHANTER: AN INJURY TO ONE

AUDIENCE: IS AN INJURY TO ALL

MEWA RAMGOBIN:

"Comrade chair, ladies and gentlemen. I would like to start off with the words let the HENDRICKSE's, the RAJBANSI's, the REDDY's and even the Sonny LEON's come out here this afternoon and see as to what the people of Kimberley and its environment say. That those people who have committed the Indian and Coloured communities to the new tri-cameral system without the mandate of the people, have an obligation and a duty to come out here this afternoon to find out as to what the people say to them. And this should be done in the full knowledge particularly since their boss Mr P W BOTHA, is in Kimberley as I am talking to you now.

(Laughter).

Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard Terror speak. You have heard Professor MOHAMED and Ma SISULU speak about several issues that relate to the new constitutional dispensation in this country. But we in the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT and the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, have no fear in saying once again to the panel of speakers here, that this new constitutional dispensation is not a constitutional dispensation but in fact a constitutional vulgarity which was given rise to by a military initiative.

(Applause by audience).

But I would like to trace the military initiative in giving rise to with this constitutional vulgarity. As you all know, that until 1974, South Africa boasted to be insulated to be separated from the rest of the world.

But in the fall of Mocambique and Angola on two different fronts, South Africa became pregnable, it no longer was impregnable, that South Africa realised, it was no longer isolated. And then Soweto burns and our students went out in rebellion. Following on the heels of our students, went their parents who downed tools after a very long, long time. And in 1977 on the ^{heels} (~~inaudible~~) of 1974 and 1976 what happened to the Nationalist Party itself? What happened

to Mr B J VORSTER who had said over and over again that I will not talk to that murderer and rapist called Sam NUJOMA or Robert MUGABE. What happened to him? He became the victim of South Africa's first bloodless coup in Parliament when P W BOTHA and company ousted them from power. But added to all these things ladies and gentlemen, what other things happened? As TERROR has said to you, that from 1961, the mode of our resistance changed. It changed not because our people (^{willed}inaudible) it changed not because our people didn't have the will to fight. It changed because the South African government and its allies forced it to change and gave rise to UMKHONTO. The South African government must take the blame for all the insurgency, for all the uprisings and for all the violence that have been committed by our people on the system of apartheid. When Sasolburg burnt recently and even the impregnable Koeberg was attacked and burnt. It was not because our people wanted violence. But it was because our people have no ways other than violence to demonstrate their will and their aspirations.

(Applause by audience).

And when this happened, what did the South African government come up with? It came up with a document called TOTAL STRATEGY. And what did TOTAL STRATEGY mean for us in South Africa. Then and what does it mean for us today? In fact and in one word, it means the militarization of South Africa. The militarization of South Africa to such an extent that every facet whether it was our schools, and find out from our Coloured brother and our African brother in the "bundu".

Was there a military (inaudible) not in there. Find out from my (inaudible) and commerce and industry. Whether the commerce and industry is today not protected aided and abetted by the military. Find out from the people who so-called protect the lives and destinies of our people. But is every aspect of our human conduct is not defended and protected by the military. And you want proof of this, then let us listen. In respect of the constitutional

proposals, ladies and gentlemen, it was Colonel VILJOEN who in 1970, 1976 of the Soweto violence said, that the problems of South African can only be solved not military but politically. There in lies the contradiction. While they are militarizing on the one hand they acknowledge, they are acknowlegding the fact that the problems of South Africa can only be resolved politically. In ^{fact} that he said the solution is 80% political and 20% military. Not withstanding that, one must take into consideration, as I said earlier, that the initiative for the new constitutional proposals came from the army and to substantiate and to prove that, lets find out what P W BOTHA himself said at the Cape National Congress 1977 when he asked his flock' Do you want the Indians and Coloureds to fight on the borders to defend South Africa?

And when the call came back: Yes then P W BOTHA said: Then give them that vote. It was hardly a few years later that his righthand man Pik BOTHA said in Bryanston that the same rules and regulations that apply to Whites today in respect of conscription, will apply to Indians and Coloureds once the constitutional proposals are implimented. And in the same year, a fellow called Chris HEUNIS, I believe he is the Minister of Constitutional Affairs

(Laughter)

said in the constituency of Berea in Durban. Do not be afraid my White voters during the referendum. I give you this assurance that there will always be White control in this country. And virtually two days before that, the chappy that TERROR talked about just now, DE KLERK. He said again with Pik BOTHA that the same rules and regulations that apply to Whites today in respect of conscription will apply to Indians and Coloureds the moment the constitutional proposals are implemented.

Ladies and gentlemen, we believe with the rest of the speakers in the UDF and the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS that the constitutional proposals are designed not only to divide people and create

antagonisms and weaknesses, but to manipulate them and control them and the question arises, how? Forgive me if I have got to repeat a few of the issues already mentioned. But I think it is worth our while particularly in the Indian and Coloured communities to bear in mind now and always, that they are living in South Africa, a country as SEBE has said which has been brought to the point of success and security on the blood, tear and sweat of all such South Africans.

(Applause by audience).

So this is the South Africa that we have created. The question arises, Why is this sunny South Africa become the ^{polecat and} (inaudible) of the world?

(Applause by audience).

And now it takes recent events to understand why South Africa is so characterised. It has the guts, in many ways vulgar guts, to carve a country into other countries. It has the vulgar guts to retribalise the people who are already been detribalised. It has the guts, vulgar as they are to say and do and relocate people while in fact they are delocating them.

(Applause by audience).

In the names of Bantustans which basically is division, manipulation and rule over them, this unrepresentative government and successive governments before them have already succeeded in removing three million of our Black brothers and sisters and dumping them into the Bantustans. And what is most shocking, that another two million people in the foreseeable future will be relocated, for me, delocated and dumped into these areas.

(Applause by audience).

When I ask why? Is it the fear of the ruling class of the emergence oppressed people? It perhaps might be so. There are lots of prestige, positions, entrenchment of greed and avarice but above that is one basic element. They want to use us for as long as they can use us and then dump us.

(Applause by audience).

They want to use the Bantustans as reservoirs of labour. Which one of us do not know whether you come from Kuruman or from Kwa Mashu or Ndwedwe in Natal, that today as we are met here this evening, that the South African government does not use its own bureaucracy, the Minister of the Police to govern and control the movement of people that it is now using employers to do the dirty work.

(Applause by audience).

For lots of people, these Bantustans are called states, and some have the nerve to go out into the international community and seek international status as they call it.

(Applause by the audience).

But for us in the UDF, these are ^{neither} ~~mere~~ Bantustans, nor are they states for us. They are the houses of poverty, of disease, of loneliness, of hunger and humiliation. Ladies and gentlemen, no matter what the MANGOPE's, the MATANZIMA's, the SEBE's, say, there can never be dignity where there is poverty.

(Applause by audience).

If this is the picture of Bantustans which I call the houses of poverty. It is also used as a system to repress and control people. It is a system used where Back man can keep Black man down. Who does not know that the vigilants has not the only consultants in the
 ↙

Ciskei. That the vigilants^s work and continue to work under the direct manipulation of P W BOTHA's servant called SEBE.

(Applause by audience).

Who does not know that this is designed to make father fight father. To It is designed to make brother fight brother. It is not only in MANGOPE's and the SEBE's that fight the MATANZIMA's and the MPHEPHU's but we are already seen the the SEBE's have begun fighting the SEBE's.

(Applause and laughter by audience).

And why, why should the SEBE's fight the SEBE's? Why should LENNOX, is that his name?

(Laughter)

SEBE put in or keep his Lieutenant General called CHARLES SEBE in jail.

(Laughter)

All this ladies and gentlemen, as the Bible say, for thirty pieces of silver.

(Applause by audience).

All this to have a sense of false pride and a sense of false status. Perhaps, even to have false jet planes and false airports and false what do they call seaports of the Ciskei and the Transkei.

(Applause by audience).

If all these falseties exist in these houses of poverty, who in the name of heaven, we may ask paid for it. And pick up any copy of

Hansard. Pick up any government announcement. Pick up any issue of the SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS PUBLICATIONS and thus find out who in the name of heaven (inaudible) who the hell paid for the Bantustans? It is you

(Applause by audience).

UNKNOWN CHANTER: Amandla

Those taxes in mainland South Africa is converted into what South African government calls grants.

(Laughter).

And what does SEBE do with it? Buy jet planes, and keep his brother in jail,

(laughter)

and call the vigilantes and of a total budget of three hundred and ninety million rand per annum, what does SEBE do with 10% of that budget?

He pays security forces to keep his own people down. The dirty work of Pretoria is now being done in Mdantsane Kwathebe (inaudible).

(Applause by audience).

Then are you going to declare with me today this afternoon to say that if we're not vigilant enough, in relationship to this new constitutional proposals and Bantustans as such, the (inaudible) ourselves into becoming the instruments of our own oppression. And I'm going to make bold to say: Yes, like the majority of the people who happened to be of African descent in this country, have said NO to Bantustans. In the same way it now is the

moral duty and the historical task of both the Coloured and Indian communities of South Africa to say NO

(Applause by audience).

We are going to say NO ladies and gentlemen, for as long as we breathe. For as long as there is blood running in our veins. We are going to say NO to apartheid. Notwithstanding the fact that the equivalent of the SEBE's and the MATANZIMA's in the Indian and Coloured community do exist in a way of RAJBANSI's and HENDRICKSE's. But we are going to unite, for what; is it a proposal? We in the UDF say NO we have a higher objective. But to understand that higher objective, let us find out the conditions now, confronting us today. Are we going to agree that the South African government had declared war on the democrates, democracy loving people of this land? I will say YES How then has this government declared war on us as a people? In the first instance, we do not hesitate to say for a single moment, that the South African economy is basically a war economy. You might not know this, most of us might do, but those of us who not, let it be made clear from every platform and wherever you are that there are 2,000 firms, industrial firms, commercial firms in South Africa that is involved in manufacturing army goods and requirements.

Let us forget this. Let us not forget that the manufacture of arms and armanents have gone on to such an extent that South Africa today has had, today has obtained the false pride of becoming an exporter of arms and armaments.

(Applause by audience).

And to substantiate if we want proof, and if the Nationalist Party wants proof. What was the shop window in Greece in Athens?

(Applause by audience).

..... (inaudible) a boutique of the latest fashions carved up by a Christian Dior or his equivalent in South Africa. They didn't take mealie products there to find out as to how much mealie rice we assigned and convert from mealies in South Africa. They didn't take South Africa's best wines there. They took arms and armaments to sell to the world, and you manufactured them. It is our blood, our toil, our sweat and our labour, that helps manufacture them. And if you do not believe that again, then at Kimberley this afternoon, we want to ask the ruling class in this country; Why is the need for the Defence Force to have the Managing Directors orders or their surrogates or the juniors in the Advisory Board of the Defence Force of people ranging from Gavin RELLY of Anglo American, Christopher SANDERS of the Tongaat group, the Directors of Barlow-Rand and the Directors of Rembrandt amongst others? These are the forces, these are the corporations that control not only the economic destiny on behalf of the people but decide on the political dispensation which we should have or should not have. Because we have not forgotten that when the dispensation, constitutional proposals were formulated and presented to Parliament, the first people who supported this, the people who went out of their way to support this were not only the (inaudible) SAAN group called Sunday Times or the SAAN newspaper called Sunday Times. It was the forces behind them and the forces behind them were the giants in finance whose vested interests have become threatened after the fall of Angola, Mocambique, after Soweto burned, after the riots, insurgency, sabotage and subversion in South Africa. And therefore, in order to have the continued economic control in South Africa, this constitutional dispensation was devised and shoved down the throats of us, as a people.

Another economic consideration particularly for those of us who have as SEBE had said: Make this country tick. We have got to now tell ourselves in categorical terms that as at this day, today, there are only seven hundred and fifty thousand economically active, skilled White workers in this country. And of these seven hundred and fifty and most, thousand more than seventy (inaudible) are in the civil service. A major part of them are on the borders defending

apartheid. The conomy is crumbling because of a shortage of skilled labour force. This is becoming so small, as Prof MOHAMED has said: That the system has within it the contradictions that want to eat it and destroy it. So what, like sharp shooting businessmen do, what does the State and the ruling class do in South Africa? In order that the economically active people can afford to come back economically in this country. In order that the civil service becomes smaller and be replaced by so-called Blacks. But the fight against the opposition, the opponents of apartheid are (inaudible) to go on. The controllers of commerce and industry on one hand and the government on the other hand, got together to devise this so-called constitutional dispensation.

But ladies and gentlemen, we do not for a single moment hesitate to tell you as we have told the world in the past, that the new constitutional dispensation is designed to give us fake votes in order that we may carry real bullets and go to border to kill our own brothers and sisters.

(Applause by audience).

I have said to you that the ^economy in this country and when I spoke of economy ladies and gentlemen, what am I talking about? I am talking about selling our labour basically. I'm talking of work. I'm talking of wages. I'm talking of our ability to buy food and buy clothing. I'm talking of our ability to ride a bus and not to ride a bus. I'm talking of our ability to pay higher bus fares in Mdantsane or not to pay. Our ability to export goods or import goods. This or the sum total of all these activities are now increasingly based, being based upon skilled our labour, Black labour, Indian, Coloured, African. If it is so, what does it mean to us? Can we say with the Nats under con, controls of economic forces in this country that some political rights be given to some sections of the labour force? We will agree with that, because the Indian and Coloured sectors form two sectors of the sum-total of the forces in this country who are oppressed. Perhaps in the wisdom

misguided as it is of the Nats and its allies economically, this is their desire, to alienate on the one hand Indian and Coloureds from Africans they're extending some political rights. I say to the UDF and the UDF says to me: There are no political rights. They are in fact the negation of every aspect, a denial of every aspect of what we consider to be right, based on human dignity. Having said that in respect to ourselves, let us find out what happens on a broader spectrum. Those of us who have just arrived from Kuruman and Vryburg and outlying areas. Those of us who have had experience in Kwa Masshu and those of us who are facing the experience in Lamontville and Kayelitsha. Be aware of the fact that we as a people are denied our own citizenship in our own country.

(Applause by audience).

And when this citizenship is lost and they become so-called Transkeian and Transkeians and (inaudible) I don't know.

What happens to us as a people? Are we going to have the same position as they have today? Perhaps not, perhaps not. But what we in the UDF make bold to say, that this is going to be the position in South Africa in the year two thousand which is only 16 years away from now. And the position is going to be this. That seventy five per cent of all skilled workers in this country, will be people who are not Whites.

(Applause by audience).

Therefore, lets know our enemy as a genius. The enemies of democracy. The enemies of human dignity. The enemies of liberty. The proponents of apartheid. Let them see this is, lets see them as geniusses now, so that we understand as to what the strategies and tactics are going to be tomorrow. If seventy five, seventy five per cent of all skilled worker in this country by the year two thousand, will be people who are not White.

If three out of every four matriculants, matriculants in South Africa will be people that are not Whites. Can you imagine what we as the people who are not Whites can do to this country economically and politically?

(Applause by audience).

I believe the forces are at our disposal then and we
(inaudible) have it now as Prof MOHAMED ha

(Tape interrupted - Ends).