

**UDF RALLY ORIENT HALL DURBAN IN  
OPPOSITION TO MR P.W. BOTHA'S MEETING WITH  
INDIAN LEADERS IN DURBAN CITY HALL  
14th NOVEMBER 1985**

**SPEAKERS:**

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

**IMPORTANT PEOPLE, EVENTS AND ORGANISATIONS**

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

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

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

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CORRECTIONS

I, Abie Abram MAHLANGU, am a senior interpreter in the Department of Justice and I am stationed at the Magistrate 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 just and correct.

  
SIGNED A.A. MAHLANGU

## OPMERKINGS

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

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

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

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

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UDF RALLY ORIENT HALL DURBAN 14 NOVEMBER 1983

(Song 1)

Amandla - Ngawethu

There are people wearing the following:

Yellow ASASO T-shirts. A young B/man can be seen wearing a scarf with ANC flag colours and UDF T-shirts.

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

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

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

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Applause)

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

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

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

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Applause with shouting by audience)

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

(Applause by audience)

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

(Applause with shouting)

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

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

(Applause by audience)

SPEAKER : AUBREY MOKOENA

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

(Applause with shouting).

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

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

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

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

MOKOENA - leads humming

(Singing ends)

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

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

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

(Applause and shouting)

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

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

Unknown person shouting : Nhwabe (kill)

Audience : AK 47 X10

(Applause)

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

One in striped shirt chants:

WOZA MASOTSHA (come soldiers) X4

WOZA MANDELA (come Mandela) X2

WOZA GUMEDE (come Gumede) X2

U TATE BO (you are our father) X2

WOZA MASOTSHA (come soldiers) X 2

PAUL DAVID : Amandla

Audience : Ngawethu

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

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

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

(Applause)

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

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER: MCEBISI XUNDU

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

(Applause by audience)

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

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

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

(Applause by audience)

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Applause)

(Can't see who)

someone in audience)

Amandla

Viva Mandela

Viva Sisulu

Viva

Viva

Amandla

- Audience

- Ngawethu (2X)

- Viva (3X)

- Viva

- Viva

- Viva

- Ngawethu

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

SPEAKER : RAM SOLOOJEE

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

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

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

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

(Applause)

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

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

(Applause and laughter).

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

(Applause and laughter)

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

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

(Applause)

By someone in audience	-	Audience
Freedom (inaudible)	-	(2X)
Apartheid	-	(2X)

SPEAKER : PAUL DAVID

Terror LEKOTA taking the stage ladies and gentlemen.

(Applause by audience)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Applause)

SPEAKER : PROFESSOR FATIMA MEER

All the people stand up, clap hands.

Amandla (speaker) - Ngawethu (audience)

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

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

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

(Applause)

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

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

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

(Applause)

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

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

(Applause)

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

(Laughter and applause)

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

(Laughter and Applause)

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

(Applause by audience)

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

(Applause by audience)

(interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Interruption in the recording)

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

Song 5:

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

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

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

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : BILLY PATRIDAR(?)

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

(Applause)

It, it gives me .....

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

(Interruption in the recording)

(Applause)

As I stand before you

(Interruption in the recording)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

People in audience shout congress 10X.

(Applause. Shouting of come back)

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : GEORGE SEWPERSADH

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

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

(Applause)

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

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Applause)

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

(Interruption in the recording).

(Applause)

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

CHAIRMAN : PAUL DAVID

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

(Applause)

Song 6:

U RAMGOBIN somlandela  
Noma singaboshwa

We shall follow RAMGOBIN  
even if we are arrested

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

(Interruption in the recording)

SPEAKER : MEWA RAMGOBIN

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

(Applause) (very loud)  
(Interruption in the recording)

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

(Applause)  
(Interruption in the recording)

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

(Applause)

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

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

(Applause)

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

(Applause)

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