

FORDSBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL. From this school came some of our finest educationists, our finest professionals, our leaders.

We have an attachment to this school and we believe that we are going to fight to see that this school is saved and it's a question that arouses the feelings of all the people in this area for that reason

75. we've asked MRS. ESAKJEE who was a member of the STEERING COMMITTEE to pass, move a motion, on the JOHANNESBURG INDIAN SCHOOL.
(Applause).

77. Singing of unknown song. (17(a)).

Chanter : "AMANDLA."
Audience : "NGAWETHU."
Chanter : "AMANDLA."
Audience : "NGAWETHU."
Chanter : "MAYIBUYE."
Audience : I'AFRIKA."
Chanter : "MAYIBUYE."
Audience : "I'AFRIKA."

MRS. ESAKJEE.

99. Good evening everybody uh (inaudible) propose a resolution that I'm going to present to you now.

We gathered here on the 18th July 1984 Selbourne Hall in Johannesburg at the meeting of the T.I.C. noting that:-

1. The S.A.I., S.A.I.C. and the Director of Indian Education intend to close down the JOHANNESBURG SECONDARY SCHOOL at the end of the year.
2. That our children will be forced to go to Marlborough to attend the High School.
3. In 1967 our people opposed the closure of JOHANNESBURG INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL and resisted sending our children to school in Lenasia.
4. In 1981 we forced the Government to re-open a High School in Johannesburg.
5. Under the new education policy the Government intends to abolish

77. SONG -

CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : THINA MASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : SIMGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : MANDELA
CHANTER : SINGAMASOSHA KAMANDELA
AUDIENCE : YA THINA MASOSHA
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHO
CHANTER : LAPHO LAPHO
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SIYAKHONA
CHANTER : THINA SILINDELE UKUFA KHONA
AUDIENCE : LAPHO SEYAKHONA

free education by forcing parents to pay for their children's education and believing that education is the responsibility of the State, that education should be free, relevant, non-racial and democratic, that the S.A.I.C. and BROEDERBOND KLOG have no right to interfere with the education of our children. Therefore

117. resolves:-

119.

(1) To oppose and resist the Governments attempts to close down the JOHANNESBURG SECONDARY SCHOOL.

(2) To continue to fight for a free non-racial, relevant and democratic education - thank you.

124. (Applause by audience and singing of song). (18(a)).

JASSAT.

132. Thank you friends. Uh you have that resolution before you. I will now ask you to raise your hands.

All those in favour of that resolutions please indicate by lifting your hand - Thank you.

Any oppose anybody opposed to that resolution?

The resolution is carried unanimously.

I, I, I have an announcement to make that at the end of the meeting as you file out of this hall you will have the opportunity to join and become members of the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE.

There are people at the tables who will sign you up as members. So all those interested please uh, as you go out join the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE.

Now our next speaker is MR. DAVID WEBSTER, who is the, who is a member of the DETAINEES SUPPORT COMMITTEE, he's also a member of JODAC and at the moment he is a Lecturer in the DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY at the UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND.

148. DAVID has done an indepth study on Militarisation and Conscription in this country as he (inaudible) speak on the events that have taken

149. place in Parys so (inaudible) a short speech from DAVID WEBSTER

150. (Applause and singing of song). (18(b)).

DAVID WEBSTER.

"Ladies and gentlemen, friends, it's a, a sad occasion for us to work in the sphere of detainee work who monitor the actions of the SECURITY

SONG -

124. CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : HAYI
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO

150. SONG -

CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
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AUDIENCE : SONGENA NGOMNYAMA NGOMNYAMA SONGENA NGOMNYAMA
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : OLIVER
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO
CHANTER : HAYI
AUDIENCE : UTAMBO

POLICE in their handling of detainees. Those of us who care about democracy and freedom and non-racialism in our country. We note with particular sadness tonight and with anger too, the death in Police custody of yet another person, JOHANNES NGALO. We extend condolences to his family and friends. I just wish to briefly remind the public of the events that took place in the township of TUMAHOLE near Parys over this last few days and over the weekend. It's a community where if you're lucky enough to have a job at all, the average wage is about one hundred rands a month. Rents in that township were increased by R14. As CASSIM SALOOJEE said, it's one of the first fruits of the new Constitutional bills, of the Constitution Bills, new KOORNHOF BILLS, which are the Blackman's portion of the new constitution. At the same time that community, who was struggling to pay their food bills as well as their rents, also protested against the rise from seven to ten percent of G.S.T. And the people led by the TUMAHOLE CIVIC ASSOCIATION and the TUMAHOLE STUDENTS ORGANISATION, led an orderly protest in, in which they were trying

179. to protest against these increase. We all know the story that took place after that. The Police intervened and turned a peaceful demonstration into a violent confrontation. We believe in the DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE and DESCOM, that there was no need for Police intervention on that day. Police intervention historically has shown us that it escalates violence and it inflames people's passions. The Police also have the temerity to blame outside agitators. That was much closer to home than they thought perhaps, but on the other hand, if you look at who they have now been detaining, we discover no outside agitators have been detained in Parys. They are the community leaders who are languishing at this moment in the Police cells of Parys.

Over fifty three people have been de, uh detained or imprisoned. Some have appeared in court, others will still do so. Just briefly I want to say, that this is not an isolated incident in monitoring the way that detentions have been operating in the country. We of the D.P.S.C. have been able to see that this is a similar thing occurring in a number of communities now.

In Cradock in the Eastern Cape for example there was also a protest over the increase of rents. The community tried to negotiate with the Eas, EASTERN CAPE ADMINISTRATION BOARD and again Police intervention stopped any possibility of negotiation. Their leaders were detained and at this very moment, two of their leaders are sitting in Diepkloof jail.

Another two are sitting in Pollsmoor prison in the Cape. They have been detained on SECTION 28 of the INTERNAL SECURITY ACT and they will be detained for a full year. They have committed no crime whatsoever. They are the democratic leaders of their community.

And now, a man has died. Yes again, in the Police cells. One has to say, our leaders have courage. In this hot and dangerous situation.

TERROR LEKOTA who was in Parys at the time of these events, recently went back there to try and find out the truth. And we know now that TERROR on that Sunday night, when the young JOHANNES NGALO was, was detained, TERROR actually appears to have witnessed some of the events which led to the dreadful fate that this man now suffered. And

perhaps of course, if you've read your paper this evening, you would have seen for yourself some of those details. The full truth of it of course we will have to wait for the inquest and the the details from the families lawyers once they we had their their own uhm pathologists report. After tomorrows post mortem by the pathologist. Then, in

general, before I close I'd like to note by, on behalf of the DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE a massive increase in repression in our country at this moment. At the very time BOTHA and his regime are promising us reform. There's been a dramatic increase in the

detention of community leaders. In the first quarter of this year, ladies and gentlemen, seventy percent of all detentions were of community leaders and activists. In 1983 only thirty percent of, of of detained people were drawn from that category of people. What's

226. more, our our figures shows us that there are many more detainees at

this time of the year than there was last year. Repression is on the increase. And while we sit here tonight and while we share in the excitement of our common cause and the euphoria of being in this wonderful meeting together, hearing wonderful speakers like CASSIM

SALOOJEE and those I'm sure that will follow. Let's pause for a moment and think of our detainees. Let's think for example of RITA MDZANGA and AMOS MASONDO. Both of them an, ah, U.D.F. activists who are also in G.A.W.U., the the, uh, GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION, who are in detention at this moment. Our concern deepens for

everybody in detention. Those people perhaps in particular. When we who, in the DETAINEES PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE do a serious research on who is in detention and why, and so on. We thought there were 30 people in detention in the in the month of June. The

Minister of Law and Order told Parliament in answer to a question, there were seventy. Where did those forty people that we didn't know about come from? Families come and tell us : "Our son is detained.

Our daughter is in detention." But no one came forward to tell us of those forty people. People are disappearing off the streets of our land like they do in Argentine, ladies and gentlemen. We in a terrible state and what's more we fear for the safety of those people in particular when we remember people like SIPIWE MTIMKULU and TOPSIE MDAKA.

Young people who belong to C.O.S.A.S., who disappeared from our land a couple of years ago. Nobody to this day knows where they are. What we do know is that they had been detained previously and SIPIWE MTIMKULU was suing the Minister of Police and the Minister of Law and Order and the Police Force for a hundred and fifty thousand rands at the time of his disappearance. Further only last week, we noted 258. with fear and strategation (phonetic) that one detainee had made an escape from Police custody. The Police said he was moving in a car with SECURITY POLICEMEN but he overpowered those Policemen, took their guns, threw them out of the car at a busy interchange and escaped in that car (laughter). People who knows things about detention, know Security detainees generally move with handcuffs and leg irons. We worry about them and their safety. And last week too, we noted that only that repression was increasing but that with the se, secrecy, the increasing secrecy the Police are now moving. We fear that another death in detention like PARIS MALATJE could take place. We now ask : "Was JOHANNES NGALO the the latest in that long line of people who've died mysteriously". Sometimes not so mysterialy in the hands of the Police. The Police said NGALO was drunk. The family dispute this. In fact TERROR himself believes that the man was not drunk.

276. The Police will say : "This is not a Security detainee so why is the DETAINEE PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE taking interest in the case?" We reply : "That the Criminal Procedure Act under which most people are now being held, is actually the new weapon of the SECURITY POLICE." I believe that on high, there has been an instruction saying : "In this time of reform when the world is watching us, detain less people. Use the SECURITY LAWS less, to give us a better image." So they use the CRIMINAL PROCEDURE ACT which allows them to hold people for 48 hours after which they have to bring them to court or perhaps put them on to Security detention. And we've noticed the SECURITY POLICE using that more and more. And if the man was drunk, why was he being interrogated, handled by RIOT SQUAD POLICE in camourflage uniforms in the presence of SECURITY POLICEMEN? That's not how you treat a drunk man.

And finally, about those forty people we know nothing about, who are they?

We want to know. We demand from the Minister of Law and Order the names of those people. We demand that their families get told that they are in detention because their families don't know. In fact the young man who allegedly escaped from Police custody, MR. NGIDI, his family did not know that he was even in the country. He left the country in 1976. He ended up in Police hands and the family didn't know he was back. So we demand the names of those unknown forty people. We demand their release and we warn those people going into the new constitution, it is the new tri-cameral Parliament, that they are collaborators. They are benefitting from these kinds of detentions. The Police are acting on their behalf as well as of this Government's behalf, and we hold (applause) and we now hold them jointly responsible with this Government for the fate of those detainees. Thank you."

(Applause).

309. DR. ESSOP JASSAT.

"There's uh people who are moving into the hall. Ah, ah, ah, a person who walked in and uh he was questioned who he was and he said that he was a member of the BLACK SASH. That just shows the type of informers these Police uses. As we look down his pants would know that he is not a member of the BLACK SASH. And uh, this is the sort of trickery that they employ to get into our meetings. Now you will recall that uh in Pretoria, a few days ago when MR. RAJBANSI spoke you know there were Police dogs. You know with ah, and uh Policemen with you know batons and gas-cylinders and the works there. They had the whole might of the the Police there. And uh, yet when we have a meeting here, we don't resort to such things. So it shows on whose side the State is and shows where the collaborators stand in their struggle. Friends ah, our deputy (applause).

Uhm, I'm going to ask a young man to make a very short statement.

He is DAVID MONTSITSI who was the PRESIDENT of the STUDENTS REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL during the 1976 upheaval of students in this country.

335. He was jailed for eight years, four of them on ROBBEN ISLAND and recently visited Namibia. He's going to have three minutes to address you."

(Applause).

336. Singing of song. (23(a)).

Chanter : AMANDLA
Audience : NGAWETHU
Chanter : AMANDLA
Audience : NGAWETHU

368. DAVID MONTSITSI (Possibly DANIEL MONTSITSI).

Eh, evening to all comrades. Well comrades I don't have much to say except that now to show also in a symbolic way how the strategy of dividing the people in South Africa is being going on, now there in Namibia what they have been doing so far particularly with the multi-party state conference of theirs. What they have been doing is to have some of those different parties which are actually coming up to oppose SWAPO, now they are being projected as the authentic eh organisations and some of the leaders there are actually being presented as the authentic leadership of the people there. But now what you have actually realised is that now, one of the organisations there in
380 Namibia, mainly ZWANE? (phonetic) has actually decided in fact that now particularly some of the people within ZWANE have decided that they are actually going to pledge solidarity with SWAPO and they are actually going to support SWAPO in the struggle. Now this has become a major break through for the liberation struggle in Namibia because the multi-party conference itself has actually come up in tatters. People in Namibia mostly speak about SWAPO. People in Namibia mostly speak about NUJOMA and mostly speak about TOIVO. Now another interesting factor is the way they are actually trying the best that they can in order to systematically sow the division which they have also been actually been doing also in South
396. Africa. Now there in one township in KATUTURA (phonetic) what they are doing is actually to have on the number of the homes, you know, there is the address of the home and in front of the address they actually have some letters attached 'H' for HERARO 'O' for OVAMBO and 'D' for DAMARA. Now the young people who are actually growing up, you know, they grow up with the type of ideas embraced you know embraced in their minds that in that house the people there are DAMARAS, in that house the people there are HEREROS but fortunately members of the SWAPO YOUTH LEAGUE and even members of the NAMIBIAN STUDENT eh, NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANISATIONS. Those are some of the young people who are actually prepared to do the political work amongst their own

336. SONG - . : "HLANGANANI BASEBENZI".

CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : NGOBA
AUDIENCE IYOMA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
CHANTER : OH!
AUDIENCE : IYONA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
CHANTER + } : IYONA LANHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
AUDIENCE }
CHANTER + } : IYONA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI
AUDIENCE }
CHANTER : NGOBA
AUDIENCE : IYONA LENHLANGANO YABASEBENZI.
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
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AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI
CHANTER : HLANGANANI BASEBENZI
AUDIENCE : HLANGANANI

communities in order to be able to stand once and for all the type of division which the South African Government is also sowing, right inside Namibia.

417. Here in South Africa we are saying we are one, we are actually denied
001. of the political, economic and many other rights. We are not able to exercise our rights, but now what they have been doing so far was first to co-opt the white workers and later what they are trying to do is to co-opt the Indians and the Coloureds, but we know that now our own communities will definitely not be having any (END TAPE 2 - SIDE 1) (TAPE 2 SIDE 2) powers whatsoever and that is why we say in one voice we have got to shout unity, in one voice have got to actually say that now the aspirations and interests of the people are actually enshrined in the FREEDOM CHARTER. That is why we say that ultimately we shall have to fight united and in action together and move for a non-racial and democratic future South Africa. I remember the words of one of the comrades in Namibia who was accompanying me to the airport. What he said was comrade, if I could have taken you to the Northern border of Namibia you could have been able to see how many the South African soldiers are there. In fact I've been wondering my brother what is it that they eat there, what clothes do they put on and where do they stay. I am not surprised that there is G.S.T., G.S.T. in South Africa, all the money the South African people are paying is actually going there. AMANDLA, comrades. (Applause).

019. DR. JASSAT.

Friends, it's my pleasure to call upon our guest of honour this evening, PROFESSOR FATIMA MEER who has kindly consented to address us (applause). FATIMA needs no introduction because she is a household name in this country. Might be aware that she is a professor of Sociology at the UNIVERSITY OF NATAL. She's the author of numerous books. One that comes to mind is the one on GHANDI called "THE APPRENTICESHIP OF MAHATMA". She has written numerous papers on Social Science and she has been actively involved in the Liberation Struggle of this country. The MEER family has played a prominent role since the days of DADOO, NAICKER. Her husband, ISMAIL, was the joint secretary of the passive resistance council and was responsible for organising the passive resistance struggle of 1946. FATIMA too has been in the forefront of the struggle for liberation in this country, and not only herself but her total family has been involved.

Her son was detained from some time and had to leave this country, so have daughters been detained. So FATIMA was banned for many years and only recently her banning order was withdrawn. She was recently arrested for participating in a demonstration against the Prime Minister when he addressed the RAJBANSI'S group in the City Hall in Durban.

45. To those who have, who know the of the history of the CONGRESS MOVEMENT in this country, the MEER'S name is synonymous with the CONGRESS name and it, it is a great pleasure to have us to have her with us here this evening - FATIMA. (Applause).

47. FATIMA MEER.

Friends, brothers, sisters, I have this disadvantage of being somewhat short (laughter from the audience) and people don't always appreciate it. (Laughter from the audience) and when they put you behind a leg turn like this, you can't really see. I can't really see you, then I can't really talk to you very nicely. But I'm hoping that I'm being heard. It is very good for me to be here with you. It's taken a long time, I think too long altogether to get back to Johannesburg and to be able to speak to you. I'm sorry that the occasion is not a good one. When people are banned for a long time and put into prison for a long time, people hope that when they get out of it all, it will be an occasion to celebrate freedom, real democracy, the offering of a real new constitution. But we find that we are back again where we started before in fact we haven't moved at all. The same old thing continues to happen. You heard CASSIM SALOOJEE, he spent a lot of time and he dwelt on all the things that are happening in this country at the moment, and the picture he painted was a very very grim picture. When do you start having new constitutions? Why do you start having new constitutions? It's when a new people or a new Government comes into power and now fears that there are new ideas that have to be implemented. A new kind of society has to be now put into effect, put into action, then you have a new constitution. But here we have had this Government sitting on top of us, breathing down our necks for the last, what is it, how many years, over thirty, I've lost count, and now suddenly

076. this Government, this old Government, this fossilized? Government, this Government (applause) which is totally out of step with the rest of the world. There's nothing very marvellous about the rest of the world either (laughter). But at least one thing is clear in the rest of the world, they've done away with racism. But this Government stands firm to racism up to this day. Why then does this Government come up with a new constitution? Why does it come up with this new

constitution at this particular point in our history? The answers
084. to me can be various, but it seems to me that one of the answers is
that this particular NATIONALIST PARTY has grown somewhat fearful
that it might not continue to have the kind of power and authority that
it has been enjoying for the last umpteen dozen years. It certainly
92. is feeling the pinch from within its own body and this is the pinch
of the extreme so-called right wing herstigtes, very hard for us non-
Afrikaners to say (laughter) (applause) but they feeling that pressure
so the've got to deal with that pressure. They're also feeling a
little bit, the pressure of the PROGS the sort of left wings of
the whites.

97. And they're beginning to feel that if there is a combination of these
two bodies, then maybe the white Parliament would not be able to give
them the kindness they want. The NATS may conceivably get out of
power.

So it's got to think of some new design, so its come up with this new
design, and what is it going to do now, three houses, two of them
given to those who will sit on it, will not be black people. They
will be brown people, two of them handed over to brown people.
Well now you've got a totally new kind of structure it's a strange kind
of structure. It is presuming to offer these brown people because
it's not gonna offer it to us. We're not going to feature there at
all. Make no mistake about that. Those forty people, who will sit,
you are going to have, have this new Parliament because this Govern-
ment is still very strong. We haven't yet mustered enough strength to
wish it, to speak it, to will it out of the existence. So its going
to be there but its going to have its new constitution and you're going
to have these three chambers as they are calling them. That's going
to come into effect whenever the date has been set for it to become
to, to, to become into effect. Those who sit, I'm now talking about
the brown people, they will represent themselves the forty Indians
who will be elected because you're going to find at least forty Indians
who will go there and vote, and all you need are forty Indians (laughter
and applause). Now those forty Indians will only represent themselves
and those eighty Coloureds will only represent themselves. They
will not represent one single other Coloured person in this country.
Whether the Coloured person we're thinking about, are rich or poor
or middle class or whatever that makes no difference. And those forty
Indians are not going to represent a single other Indian, in that so-
called house of is it deputies, or whatever that thing is called.

- That is why we're looking at it very pragmatically and not being led away by any emotions and that is why we are saying what's the point, of going there and entering, entering into this fiasco and casting a vote
133. which is totally meaningless. MR. SALOOJEE has already indicated to you what happens in this new Parliament that is being presented to us. There is no new Parliament, Parliament remains, that's the white Parliament. There are going to be two other things that are going to be happening there (laughter). Now, in terms of this new constitution there is a concentration of power in the President. The President is going to decide what will be discussed in the brown houses. Of course they will tell you that he also decides what's gonna happen in the white houses, in the white house, but really and truly speaking he does not decide what will happen in the white house because the white house knows it's an old house, it has a long history
149. and it does what white people want the white house to do. But as far as the two brown houses are concerned it is quite clear the President will decide what will be discussed in those two brown houses. Before any bills are introduced, the President will have to certify that these bills may be discussed. So where is anybody's self determination? Yours and mine doesn't feature at all. But even those brown people who sit in it, where is their self determination? Then of course you know this business about own affairs and general affairs which means immediately the people who sit in these brown houses will only be allowed to discuss brown affairs and again they will only be able to discuss Indian affairs if they are Indian and Coloured affairs if they are Coloured. And then what is it all about? Specifically when you look at the guidelines to this constitution, it is spelt out categorically that this new constitution has been so defined and so devised that there won't be any conflict, that there will be consensus that everything conceivably will be done to see to it that people agree, they shouldn't disagree, and what are we going to agree about, what are those brown people going to agree about? In other words even before they sit in those brown houses, they are being told that they will have to agree, they mustn't make problems, they mustn't start eh being intransigent
173. They mustn't for instance say we won't co-operate or we won't do that or we won't do this, they must agree with what the President, the Government, the NATIONALIST PARTY, the whole apartheid system intends and wants them to do. I'll just read out a few of these sentences because they really are quite interesting, now consensus you see.

They say that we have to move away from the conflict style in Parliament, they don't like the conflict style in Parliament, you see, we must establish procedures to promote unity which means don't have any differences of opi, of opinion, which means if you are a brown person and you've got a lot of grievances because your people haven't got this and your people haven't got that. Don't bring it up because it's going to cause problems (laughter). Now they say every organ in the new dispensation will have to concentrate on achieving concess, consensus, opposition must be blocked. What are we going to, what are they not we, what are they going to achieve consensus about, it's only one consensus and that is the consensus of the white house, the consensus of the NATIONALIST PART, the consensus of the President. So this is what they are going to be there to do, to promote, to bolster this consensus. It goes on to say, clashes between chambers will be the exception rather than the rule.

202. How do they know in advance? (Laughter). It's because you see the whole thing has been so carefully straight jacketed and because they have the power, therefore they can know in advance. And also because they know what kind of people are going to get into those brown houses, therefore they can know in advance. Now then they go on, they say contraveal, controversial issues should not be brought to head in a way that strong emotions are aroused. Well, what else is there when people have problems but strong emotions? What kind of houses are these, when in advance we are told, don't in any way

215. stir up emotions. So what are we to go there as robots, but we're not going there at all and not none of you are going there in any case. Em. Ja. Then you see there won't be any mixing you can take that for granted, this is an apartheid society, that is an apartheid eh, eh, tri-cameral system that you have there. But there will be some mixing very carefully selected kind of mixing and about that mixing the guide lines have this to say, they say, they will people carefully selected these are peace loving and constructive citizens who will not follow the simplistic approach of rejecting everything everything out of hand, that's us. We're not wanted there you see, we have a simplistic approach of rejecting everything out of hand. We do, we reject everything about apartheid out of hand. If that is the (applause). If that is being simplistic then we are proud to be simplistic. Now then they say it will be moderate leaders who will arrive at an acceptable dispensation. Right with that we can imagine what's gonna happen there. We gonna have bills, which

are first of all vetoed by the president, he certifies this is right you can discuss this and you enter into, what kind of discussion will you enter into then at that stage? Because the President has already decided what you will decide. If he does not like anything in a bill then that bill is not going to be in that chamber in any case. That's the position as far as that goes. Now these I think are the practical reasons why we reject this constitution. We can now get onto our ideological reasons. Now many people say that well, ideology is, is, is, is not a practical thing. Ideology is not pragmatic and don't talk about ideology. Let's talk about what we can get through this kind of negotiating with top level people. I'm sure the people who are standing for election have these kind of granduous ideas that they will be hobnobbing with whites and Afrikaners right at the top and through this hobnobbing something will come their way, something might come their way I'm quite sure (laughter) fat salaries are going to come their way, the fringe benefits are going to come their way, a couple of license may also flow their way. These things have happened even through the sitting on the S.A.I.C. so why 265. shouldn't a little bit more happen for these deputies or whatever they will be called why should it not happen to even a little greater measure since now they are sitting in a brown house which has slightly more status in the estimation of the Government, certainly because they are going to be paid so much more money for sitting in it. So something will go their way, nothing comes our way (laughter). Ideologically, and we are proud of our ideology. When we talk about ideology we're talking about values, when we talk about ideology we are thinking about our morals, we are thinking about our beliefs, we are talking about our religion, we are talking about the things that make us into human beings, and therefore ideology is very important. Whatever that ideology may be, basically the ideology is a fundamental system of values and we black people, we Indian Black people, we Coloured Black people, we African Black people, we have always espoused the value, the concept of non-racialism. We have always espoused the value of a single South African Community, a single brotherhood, a single sisterhood of South Africans which could then merge into a single sisterhood and a single brotherhood of the world community. This is something which we have always held very precious in our hearts and this is something we will not loose today, not for a brown house. If the rewards were very much bigger we might get a little bit opportunistic we might make, have some gi give the thing some consideration but not for a mere brown, brown house. I would like to think that we would not loose our values for anything. This is a

racist Parliament or Parliaments. The very fact that you have them in three is indicative of the racism. The very fact that as Indian people you can only go to the polls as Indians. This is racism. The fact that you can only elect Indians, this is racism, the fact that you can only elect people to sit in an Indian house in a South African community, this is racism. So because we are anti-racists,

316. because racism goes against our very grain of our values as Muslims, as Hindus, as Christians. We reject this constitution. We can have no truck with it. Why else do we reject this constitution, we reject it because here we are presented with a racist tri-cameral system which excludes the people of South Africa. Who are we brown people without the black people and can we be people without being black people, this is the question that we have to ask ourselves (..... applause). Can we march into that thing which is now being concocted there in Cape Town as brown people without the people of this country, by what right can we do this, if we have any commitment, if we have any obligations, then it is to the people of South Africa, it is to the people of this soil, can we dare call ourselves as part and parcel of the

339. South African community, as people of this soil if we now in association with the white people who have sat there for the last sixty or seventy years. Are we now going to go there and are we going to now partners them in their segregation. Are we going to be partners to the horror acts of apartheid, are we going to bare responsibility for the poverty, for the disease, for the high infantile mortality rate, for the babies that are dying all the time in the reserves, are we going to be party to dividing husbands from wives and children from parents. Are we going to be party to influx control, to passes, to this whole system of migrant labour. These are the questions we have to ask ourselves. Can we as Muslims be partners to something like this, can we as Hindus be partners to something like this, can we as Christians be partners to something like this? It is quite obvious we cannot. And it is for these reasons that we will not go to the polls, not one of us sitting here today and it is for that reason that I would urge every one of you who is present at this meeting today to take it upon himself and upon herself to go out to speak to the people, to canvas, to reason, to prevent them from going to those polls. If there is going to be that Parliament, let that parliament be, but let us as the people not be a part of that Parliament.

(Applause).

386. DR. JASSAT.

"We will have a (interruption by singing). (31(a)).

(Singing of unknown song in a Black language with shouts of "AMANDLA".
"NGAWETHU").

416. JASSAT.

"Thank you. It has been a request that the member of A.Y.C.O. which
is the ALEXANDRA YOUTH CONGRESS read us a poem. Is he in the

421. audience? (Inaudible) prepared to read a poem?

001. (Applause).

END OF TAPE 2 - SIDE 2.

TAPE 3 - SIDE 1.

ANDREW MOGOTSI @ JINGLES, member of A.Y.C.O.

Good evening "AMANDLA"

Audience : "NGAWETHU"

MOGOTSI : "AMANDLA"

Audience : "NGAWETHU"

MOGOTSI : "UZIPO" (phonetic)

Audience : "SIYABONGE" (phonetic)

(PLAYING OF FLUTE.)

(Poetry reading by ANDREW MOGOTSI.)

"If a man can swim, let him throw himself into the river.

Any attempt to stop the peace would be worstening them.

I got a newspaper sometimes.

I saw a picture of four men.

It was SAMORA MACHEL, and CHISSANO. It was PIK BOTHA and P.W. BOTHA.

Can you guess what I did to that paper?

I did shit on that paper (laughter and applause)

A man who deoderizes shit is a stupid man because even when shit is
deoderized, shit will remain stinking shit (laughter and applause
which drowns his words). So shit is shit deoderizing shit man shit.

025. Why men start barking, dogs become surprised for they cannot speak
in the language of man (laughter). It is now time to eat BAZOOKA
and shit bullets. For their shall be time to vomit fire (laughter).
The day is cheating the night.
West winds blow to the south with the hope of fading away the sweat
for freedom.

The smoke penetrates the black glove and the black hands in a steam

386. SONG - : "MALIBONGWE IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI"

CHANTER : MALIBONGWE
AUDIENCE : IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE
CHANTER : MALIBONGWE
AUDIENCE : MALIBONGWE MALIBONGWE
CHANTER : MALIBONGWE
AUDIENCE : IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE, IGAMA LAMAKHO
SIKAZI MALIBONGWE
CHANTER : MALIBONGWE
AUDIENCE : MALIBONGWE MALBONGWE
CHANTER : MALIBONGWE
AUDIENCE : IGAMA LAMAKHOSIKAZI MALIBONGWE, IGAMA LAMAKHO
SIKAZI MALIBONGWE
CHANTER : MALIBONGWE
AUDIENCE : MALIBONGWE MALIBONGWE
CHANTER : MALIBONGWE

(phonetic) search in vain for freedom.

Their mother protection.

There is a revolution.

32. A martyred person PARIS MALATJI.

Mozambique, Matola, Lesotho, Maseru.

Swaziland, rockets, bullets, innocent souls.

Soweto, Afrikaners plus bullets minus little HECTOR and others.

Gugulethu, Langa, Nyanga and Alexandra. Afrikaans,

37. dom passes plus peace and the bullets.

In Africa, bullets, blood melancholly

and agony. Today is the day of tears, yesterday was.

Blood flowed all over the streets of Africa.

The bloods that watered the tree of liberty and
shook the chains of slavery.

Blood flowed in Africa.

Always a gun is pointing at the Blackman.

Black and white fingers helped each other to pull the trigger.

A Blackman falls down to kiss mother earth for ever.

His face engorged with blood.

His voice still like a gass hole.

A bullet wound in his head.

A bullet wound at his back.

A bullet wound on his neck.

A bullet wound in his leg.

Bullets all over the body of the innocent African child.

I hate what is happening.

46. I do not fear what is happening for no time is TON? alone time.

47. There is no honey? struggle.

The struggle has been painful.

Our struggle is painful.

Our struggle happens to be an alternative struggle of bloodshed.

For we died yesterday and we are dying today but we shall live
tomorrow and forever.

We shall live tomorrow and forever (Applause) Black,

Black, green and gold colour fly high.

52. The youth on the march hoist them high and how high to reach the
fermaments of love, peace, freedom and justice for all.

There is the youth hoisting the flag high.

Three colours speak to the masses in the language of hope.

There is the doctor preaching to his patient about hope.

56. There is the doctor talking about peace.
There is the poet.
Here is the poet preaching about unity and freedom.
Listen to the poet.
Hope is love.
Hope is peace.
Hope is freedom.
Hope is justice.
Hope is love.
Hope is peace.
Hope is freedom.
Hope is justice.
Hope is love.
Hope is peace.
Hope is freedom.
Hope is justice.
Listen to the cry of the child, crying his pain to prick your
conscious.
Conscious like the dead body.
Listen to the child.
Listen to the doctor that you'll get cured one day.
Listen to the Bishop that there be peace.
Listen to the poets that there be unity and freedom.
Listen to the voice of the oppressed.
There are the children.
Here are the children.
Children who knew what it is to be Black.
Children who experienced torture.
65. Children who grew up inhaling dust as though dust had lies.
There, here are the children.
Children who ask for bread but are provided with bricks.
There are the children.
Children who because of oppression glue themselves to the flag Black,
green and gold like an infant on his mothers breast.
Here are the children (applause).
There are the children.
Here are the children.
There is the report.
Here is the report.
A man fell from the tenth floor.

A prisoner hanged himself with his pair of trousers.

A policeman killed four heavily armed terrorists.

The truth is yet to come.

There is a bomb blast in Pretoria.

There is a bomb blast in Bloemfontein. There is another bomb blast in Belfast.

The truth is not yet known, but hope remains in our mind.

For hope is love.

Hope is peace.

Hope is freedom.

Hope is justice.

Hope is love.

Hope is peace,

Hope is freedom.

(Applause mingled with whistling and cat calls).

DR. JASSAT.

81. We have received a message from the ANTI-PRESIDENTS COUNCIL and I will ask our vice-chairman, DR. RAM SALOOJEE to read the message. (Applause).

DR. R.A.M. SALOOJEE.

85. This is a message from the TRANSVAAL ANTI-P.C. COMMITTEE to the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS.
- We salute you for the determination with which you have waged the struggle against the racist and capitalist constitution which aims to entrench apartheid. We salute you for mobilising and organising the oppressed people to defeat the back yard Parliaments and all those who are betraying our struggle. We particularly salute you for the struggle you have waged over a long period for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Your meeting here on the 18th July 1984 Johannesburg will be remembered in helping to unmask those who want to behead our struggle for freedom and those who want to
97. plant traitors and (quislings) in the ranks of the oppressed people. Let those gathered here gain new strength to go our and mobilize, organise and unite our people in a determined struggle to defeat oppression and gain our freedom. Those of us who may not be here with you tonight are out waging that struggle. This is from the ANTI-P.C. which is an inseparable component of the freedom and liberation struggle in this country. Thank you.

(Applause).

104. DR. JASSAT.

One final message and this is a fraternal greeting from the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS which has been brought in person by ROY PADAYACHEE who is the member of the Executive of the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, ROY.

108. ROY PADAYACHEE.

Comrade chair and comrades, listening to the speakers here and when they speak of chambers and the poet who relevantly talked about shit, it seems as if that our major task is to develop a big constipation in this system that we have before us today (laughter from audience). I was going to say also that I bring you greetings in solidarity but I want to withdraw that because solidarity is also a word, a swear word, in our community today.

I think our main message in the course of this campaign to our people is to reject this apartheid constitution and in particular to say to our people that we call upon you not to vote in the elections.

But before we do that, I think it is important that we reflect now, and we say to our people, what it means if you go on that day and put your vote. For us if you vote it means we accept apartheid, if you vote it means you accept, to be a second class citizen now and a first class slave, slave forever. To vote it means we accept this stooge leadership that comes before us, if we vote it means

128. that we accept that the African people with whom we have fought for, equal rights, with whom we live next to, the people with whom we travel in the buses and in the trains, the people we slog and sweat with in the factories that produce the wealths, if we vote it means that we are going to join those privileged few and push the African people from pillar to post from the centres of wealth in the cities to the barren homelands. It means if we vote we accept to join these hands that are aiming to break the backs of the African people.

We in the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS AND YOU IN THE TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, are people as a whole in Natal, in Transvaal in the Cape and in every corner of this world, in every corner of this land, we say no, we say no to apartheid, we say no to the Bantustans, we say no to apartheid Parliaments, we say no to conscription, we say no, no, no, we say we will not vote in August (question to audience). Do you say that?

(Audience replies) no (laughter) yes you say the answer is yes, you should be saying no too, (laughter from

147. audience) but to say no is not enough and we have realised this, that

to say no is not enough. We have to take this message to our people and this indeed is what we are doing in Natal, and I believe also what our comrades in the Transvaal and our comrades everywhere in South Africa is doing today. We have to go to our people in Natal wherever they are in all the regions we are taking this message. Our people are working every night from Monday to Sunday knocking on the doors of people and are explaining to them the dangers of supporting this constitution. We are doing it through house visits, we are doing it through area blitzes and we are doing it through what we call provincial blitzes where we bring all our people together on the Sunday of every week and we choose our areas and we go out and we tell the people what we want them to do and we discuss with them the dangers of the constitution. We have to take this message not only to the homes, we have to take this message to the people as we meet them in the shopping centres, we have to take this message to the people that we ride with in the buses and trains and we have to take this message and indeed we are doing so, to the workers that we meet at 5 and 4 o'clock in the morning.

Comrades that is our task today and that is the message I bring, to our comrades in the Transvaal and as we say in our banners here, that the future belongs to us, comrades let us claim it now.

AMANDLA.

(Audience responds) NGAWETHU.

175. DR. JASSAT.

Our final speaker for this evening is TERROR LEKOTA, who is the National Publicity Secretary of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

TERROR has been travelling (END OF TAPE 3 - SIDE 1)

(TAPE 4 - SIDE 1) round the country and as mentioned earlier

001. this evening TERROR was picked up in Bloemfontein, and ah, was an attempt was made to link him with the uprising in Parys. He was in Parys and for many hours he was interrogated and released.

TERROR will now address us.

(Applause).

006. Singing of song. (Inaudible).

007. TERROR LEKOTA.

Good evening comrades and friends. Now I have eh, been told that ah, MR. RAJBANSI has ah made ah an offer to African people, and that

he has said that once he is in parliament he intends to change South Africa (laughter). Now I don't know what the NATS are saying that they are, they have changed South Africa. He says that once he is in parliament he will change South Africa. That he is not abandoning the majority of Afr. of disenfranchised friends, or his disenfran, e, en, enfranchised friends., Now I think ah, at lease there is a very dangerous assumption that is made here. I think MR. RAJBANSI have said that once elected to parliament, because he will move from Durban where there ah the S.A.I.C. was always been to move next to parliament. He is not going into Parliament (laughter). (So he is taking for granted) that once next to Parlia-
19. ment he intends to do something whatever he has intends to do .

(Laughter). The arguments which have been advanced here tonight have made it quite clear that there is no question about it, but that Indian and Coloured people remain outside Parliament. That they are not going into Parliament. They will be given a room somewhere next to parliament. And that's where they are going to be. He is saying that he is not abandoning his disenfranchised friends. Now again I suspect that he is playing white. We must ask the question when was he or at least when were the Indian people of this country enfranchised (applause). Now I mean that is the first point simple point to make.

That is the fact that, that statement must not mislead South Africans of Indian origin into believing that in fact they are going into Parliament. Secondly though, I want to raise the question eh, and say MR. RAJBANSI is keeping as one of his meetings he is keeping out of his meetings the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, he's included amongst other things other people Africans in those meetings. How can he, want us in parliament when he doesn't even want us in his own meetings. (Laughter).

Unknown person : "Tell him to" (Laughter).

40. The third of course, this is the (inaudible)speak at that level.
41. But my point the third point I want to (make) , and this is a crucial point. When did the the African people give MR. RAJBANSI the mandate to go into Parliament or to go into the tri-cameral formation on their behalf. As far as I know he does not even have the mandate of the Indian people (laughter) to go into (applause). But also I want to mention that if I read the history of our country

47. properly and if I have followed both recorded and oral eh oral o, o, o, at least oral eh, eh, eh, narrations, narrations of our history. It seems to me that our people gave the mandate for the representation of their aspirations to the CONGRESS MOVEMENT of this country, first. (Applause). I know that in terms of the formation of the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS In 1894 as the first liberation organisation of the Indian people in this country. They gave the mandate to the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS. Later on of course to become the SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS leading up to the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS and so on. I want to know from MR. RAJBANSI when did they withdraw that mandate from CONGRESS and give it to him (laughter) (applause). I know that our people gave their mandate to the CONGRESS MOVEMENT. Because subsequently in 1912 the formation of the SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS, African people gave their mandate to the CONGRESS MOVEMENT to lead in and at that point in time at least to champion their aspirations. I want to ask MR. RAJBANSI today when did those people withdraw that mandate and pass it on to him. And until such time that he provides me with answers for those specific questions. I must say to you that you have no need to even heed or even waste your time reading what is written in the Star or any of the papers about what he has said. But and of course I want to make this quite clear to you, we are democratic. I am prepared and we are prepared to give MR. RAJBANSI, if he things that he is competent enough, we are prepared to give an opportunity to go into Soweto to go into Kwa Mashu (Laughter) to go into Langa, into Batho township in Bloemfontein, into everyone of the African townships around the country, into everyone of the Indian and Coloured townships around the country without exclusive meetings guarded by SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, etc. (laughter), to go there and talk to the masses of our people in open public meetings and ask the people to withdraw their mandate to the CONGRESS people to the NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, to the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS, to the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, etc. and give it onto him. We are prepared to guarantee his safety (laughter and applause). That is all I'd like to say about MR. RAJBANSI. I wouldn't like to make monkeys famous (laughter) I wouldn't like to make monkeys famous I've got a very important task here tonight (laughter). There is a last point which I I want to add to all the arguments which were made tonight about why we reject the new constitution. That is the one point which I would like to make. I have been told that the new constitution for all

its shortcomings must be accepted because it gives Indians and eh Indian and Coloureds South Africans an opportunity to begin for the very first time to practice democracy. (Laughter).

47. Or that it gives them an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the democratic process of Government. And this is the argument which has been advanced in amongst others by some lecturer from the UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN, WEST, WESTVILLE, eh, DURBAN-WESTVILLE. But I'd like to respond to this type of argument. Many of our people may be tempted to accept this type of approach. To say this simple point that by the time that India in Asia was colonised. Indian people had behind them centuries of established government, indeed that the time of the
105. discovery, but not discovery, (inaudible) because India was there. India needed not be discovered (Laughter).

- By the time of the arrival of eh Europeans in India, Indian society
108. had developed a level of feudal organisation. Having gone through the initial primitive stages of tribal communes, having gone through ancient slave eh, societies of slave, slave organisations. At that level of advanced feudal order, that in fact feudalism was already crumbling and corrupt in the Indian con, continent itself. That quite easily place the Indian people at, in, in the Indian continent on par with European governs ah, ah least uh development in terms of Government and society development. What made it ah, possible at that stage to exclude them, from participating already at that stage, and came forward. Now even some of the records of history show that we actually have far more deeper records of eh, records of history concerning the Indian subcontinent that we have even of Europe. And
120. now you have a little boer boykie coming around and telling you that now. These people get their chance for the very first time to acquaint themselves with forms of Government. I think that's rubbish. And I think that those who will be misled by this argument will be people who are ignorant about the background history, history of Indian eh eh Indian people in India before even they were brought here as inden, indentured labourers. Then of course there is the question of that of course also the Coloured people will be given an opportunity for the first time to acquaint themselves with this form of government. I can assure you that I was born and bred in the Free State, I travelled around the country fairly well, I've been in prison for a period of time guarded by Afrikaners and so on who are entitled to vote. I have met some of the most stupidest of men amongst them (laughter).

But who have the right to exercise the vote and to come in not only my life, but the lives of all of us. And now at the same time I am satisfied in my mind that there are a large number of very very far more intelligent Indian people who could participate much more meaningfully in the Government of this country, and that first grouping is this one that's sitting in front of me here.

138. You are here as a democratic people here, committed to the advancement of the democratic ah, ah, establishment of the uh democratic eh, government in our country. That already indicates the very fact that you reject apartheid, the very fact that you are not taken in by HENDRICKS and so on, already indicates your capacity to see through the falsity of the present forms of Government which are far from democracy, completely far from democracy. And this is something which which we can say, that there a lot of people at that level the who are much more intelligent, and who can do it. And I think if the risks of allowing the stupid men to vote etc. who comes from the platteland and so on, if those men can vote and determine our fate, then I think we may as well be allowed to make the mistakes ourselves, about our own fate. Because these men, these are the men who are voting for this disasterous constitutions. These are the men who are today like TERBLANCH, like ah like TREURNICHT who are advancing

151. the most rabid racism ever, which can only lead to a disasterous future in our country. And I think we are competent already at this stage to take over and do that for ourselves, against the type of argument which must not be accepted. But I have chosen to talk to you tonight, not to tell you about the shortcomings of the new constitution. That has already been done. I would like to remind you both you and I, I'd like to tell those who don't know and remind those who know, about who we are and where we come from.

And about precisely the point that which our struggle today is. The first point I want to make and this is a significant point, I must make it in this meeting, this is a meeting that was organised by the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

That in 1859 in the Indian sub-continent a large number of Indian chiefs and what not rose up in 1859 there was a big rebellion in India, and ah battalions of British Colonial soldiers and so on were killed. Because people wanted to drive in a BM, British, British, the British side of India. That rebellion came and and passed. The British, the most powerful power at that point in time was able to come back and establish its (inaudible). The following year in

Collection Number: AK2117

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

Location: **Johannesburg**

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