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and consolidated, yah and the third....uh, third or fourth reason I forget.... the last reason, the fundamental criticism is that the new dispensation does not address itself to equalize it, all the social and economic inequalities we see present in this Government today. What do I mean by that ?

I mean education is unequally, uhm unequal land is unequally divided. Industry is unequally divided. Labour gets unequal salary. It makes no attempt to redress the social and economic inequalities in our system. So for those reasons which are our fundamental criticisms, we reject the P.C. proposals.

Then I'll go quickly through the major criticisms. Major criticisms are that they exclude the majority our people, the Africans and therefore cannot make any claims for democracy and the proposals lay the basis for the alienation of Indians and Coloureds from Africans and can lead to the creation and exacerbation of racial hostility. Now what those are fundamental criticisms and major criticisms.

Now I am coming to the structural issue, so if you are still awake here's the first transparency. This transparency tells you, I am now going through the mechanics, unless you want to break. Okay, uhm, I am going throught the technical aspect and you can forget everything else I've said. But you can't afford to forget what I am gonna say now, sorry well you can forget what I said all along, but you can't afford to forget what I'm going to show you now, because in order that we from here go back to the Cape Province, go through the Transvaal, go back to Natal and be very explicit, excuse me be very explicit, in our explanations, we really have to understand the technical details of the constitutional proposals. Now remember I am not a constitutional lawyer. I am not like Zac YACOOB. So you gonna get a readers digest version of these constitutional proposals but they are adquate to criticise because uou don't really need any intellec-

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tual uh to analyze this and you don't need any constitutional expert to reject it. Allright, what are these proposals. The first thing is that the proposals (remember my criticism are divided at three levels, uh that's not to be mixed with the three levels of Government. Right!) Now there, the proposals are divided into three levels of Government. Can you see from the back? or can you see from the back? No why can't you see, is the drawing too small or am I in the way or both? You can't see the uh diagrams, is it? I must know, otherwise I can't continue. Can you see? I can't hear you anyway. You can see. Well, if you can't see there's nothing I can do about it because you can't enlarge this uh diagram. It's constrained by the size of the screen. (Can you focus that (inaudible) can you focus that no alright I'll do that Okay, there are three levels of Government Okay and what this diagram shows you, is that there are three levels even if you can't see very clearly you can follow what I am going to say. Allright, there are three levels of Government. One is the central level. The central level and that's made up of the State President, the Cabinet, the Presidents Council and Parliament. Okay, that's the central level. And I am going to concern myself only with that because uh RAM SALOOJEE is going to do some of this and a little of the and much of the local uh dispensation. So what are the three levels? The three levels are the central level which includes the State President, Presidents Council, the Cabinet and Parliament.

The next level which I am not going to deal with as I told you. The next two levels are the Provincial Authorities or Provincial Councils, that's the second level and the third level are local authorities. So you gonna hear much more about this tomorrow, local authorities and Provincial authorities.

Allright, lets talk about that central level of Government the first thing you going to notice about that central level of Government is that there are three separate chambers. There are three

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separate chambers. One is for you can take your choice, I don't know what this is supposed to represent. (Reply from audience : Indians) Indians, alright, Indians, Coloureds and Whites. This is obviously whites. Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

Okay, so there's going to be three chambers, there right. We are talking only about the central level of Government. Okay there are three separate Parliaments. Right, now what I am gonna do is develope that argument further. Okay, and I'm gonna go throught a series of slides which explain this in much more easier terms. Let's start from the bottom. You start with 20 million roughly Africans, 20 million Africans. You will see they have no representation whatsoever. They have no representation whatsoever in that sturcture. So 20 million Africans you can's see that, can you see now ? Okay 20 million Africans of approximately, 20 million who condemned to starve to perish in the Homelands. 20 Million Africans condemned to ineffectual community councils, alright. No connection, no connection whatsoever with upstairs. I don't mean what BOESAK meant by upstairs. (Laughter)

Okay, what happens after that, you get the the Indian gentleman, the Coloured gentleman, and the White gentleman coming in and you will now notice that there are three chambers of Parliament. Here we've got just under about three quarter of a million Indians who elect their own chamber. Who elect their own chamber, just ignore that number thirteen. Alright, just for the present, I'll explain I'll explain that later. Indians elect their own Parliament. Coloureds, 2 1/2 million, that's an underestimate, I am sure more nearer 3 - 3 1/2 million. They elect their own chamber. Whites 4 1/2 million elect their own chamber. And you see the size of those squares. This square is much bigger than those two and it's drawn proportionately and if there's one ratio; you have to remember is that ratio which I've drawn up there that is 4-2-1 and there's just no

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way that the 2-1 is ever going to exceed 4. (Laughter)  
So we have to remember that 4-2-1 that is the central  
ratio almost like EINSTEIN'S uh  $E=MC^2$ , that's the  
central ratio in the new constitutional proposals. Alright,  
4-2-1. That means whatever number of uhm uh, members  
of Parliament here, for argument sake lets say there are  
200. There will be 200 here, that's 4 there'll be 100,  
there that's 2 and there'll be 50 Indians. Okay 4-2-1.

Right, so that's the Indian, Coloured and White Parliaments.  
Three separate Parliaments. Three separate voters roll.  
So if you want to vote for ESSOP JASSAT and you happen not  
to be Indian or you happen to be not an Indian, then you  
simply cannot vote for him. What happens next. I it's  
a bit difficult to put this whole thing on. Remember  
this, don't forget this uh 20 million Africans. I want  
to move it down but it's not intentional. (Laughter)

Okay, right so we got three chambers 4-2-1. What they do  
is the majority party here, majority party there elects the  
President and similarly in the other two chambers.  
Similarly in the other two chambers 4-2-1. So the  
majority party elects the President.

What does that mean? It means taht for example, if the  
PFP continues in the present way, they are going to be so  
ineffective. They wouldn't know what hit them; because  
they'll have no say. No say really in any of the chambers  
of Government because the Nationalists are going to be  
in the majority here. So the PFP can make a little noise  
here, but very little else. They are going to be ineffective  
and I am sure they are concerned about that too. So  
the majority of the Whites will be the Nats who will  
elect the President. The majority partly of the Coloureds  
will elect the President and similarly the Indians.  
Alright, remember this little structure okay. We move on.

Next remember that Parliament functions, because there are  
Ministers of Finance, Ministers of Defence

152 Ministers of Indian Affairs. You name it. There's ministers to do the actual work to be in charge and those ministers form part of the Cabinet.

Start off with Africans again, Indians, Coloureds, and Whites, three chambers of Parliament. They've elected their President. The President elects the Cabinet, the President elects the Cabinet, or appoints the Cabinet. He can appoint the Cabinet from these chambers but not necessarily. He can appoint them from those chambers, but not necessarily and once they form part of the Cabinet, then they resign their seats here. Alright! So the President now has got the major power to form the Cabinet, to appoint the Cabinet. Where does the President come from? He comes from the White Parliament. Remember, because the Whites have decided, because they are in the majority and there is nothing that the Indians and Coloureds can do about that. What's next?

Starting once again from the bottom. Africans out of the picture. Indians, Coloureds and Whites President. We've appointed our President. He appoints his Cabinet and then you have this new structure called the Presidents Council. We'll come to the functions of that in a minute. Now the Presidents Council, lets just pay attention how this is elected. You'll notice there are Whites which is made up of 60 people, 60 members, 20 of them are elected by the White Chamber and 25, look at that arrow coming from the President, .. This one here, are nominated by the President, okay. So 25 are nominated from by the President and 20 comes from the Whites, Indians 5, Coloureds 10. So 60, 45 are controlled by the Whites. 45. 25 by the President 20 by the White Chamber, okay. So therefore, whatever you decide, whatever you decide, the President Council is still dominated by the White Chamber and ultimately dominated by the President.

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Lustly, what does the complete picture look like. Africans out of the picture. Indians, Coloureds and Afri .... Uh Indians, Coloureds and Whites, and there, they have elected the President. He's appointed his Cabinet. They have elected the Presidents Council and how do they function? They appoint these standing committees. These permanent standing committees. Alright, you see that the permanent standing committees, is this block over here, comes from all three chambers but the ration in that permanent standing committee, excuse me, is 4-2-1. So that in that standing committee too the ratio is 4-2-1. So the Whites have the dominant influence.

Okay, so that's the complete story. Now, what are the functions? I am not gonna go into the details of the functions. What are our structural criticisms? We've got a number of structural criticisms. But I am not going to bore you with the details. But let me give you an example of some of the things that can happen. Now if the functions of the Indians, Coloureds and Whites is to look after their so-called segmental concerns. Segmental means a small part of our bigger whole. Bigger whole. Segmental concern, the only community concern, so Whites can only look after a White. A Coloured, Coloured Affairs and Indians. Indian Affairs. It cannot transgress that. Now what are they going to acutally do. We don't know the details, but there is a long a lengthy document of about 90 pages, the second report of the Presidents uh Council that uh spells out some of the things that the Indian Parlia-ment can debate and the Coloureds can debate.

For instance you can debate about cultural affairs. You can debate about religion. You can possibly debate about language. So if you want to teach your children in Cantonese you are quite free to do that. If you want to have uh jazz instead of classical music, you're free to do that. Uh you can do all those sorts of things. You can even fiddle around with some education at a preferable level, at a preferable

207 level. So there are certain defined segmental concerns, but the big things, the high things, like defence, external affairs, the raids into MASERU, the destabilization of MAPUTO. But more important than all of that for South Africans the budget dele, determined by all three Cabinets. Meeting to ah all three chambers meeting together. All three chambers meeting together and remember the ratio then 4-2-1. So there'll always be White dominance. So they see that okay! You have an argument there. You can't dissolve it. You refer it to this committee. But that committee is also 4-2-1. You can't dissolve it there, okay. You refer it to the P.C., Presidents Council of the President. So the Indians say no, you can't spend R10 million on uh raiding MAPUTO again for the tenth time, we ought to use it on education or something. Build a road or build a hospital in LENASIA. Or do something for SOWETO. So they will agrue about it and the Coloureds might uh disagree and then they'll say alright lets refer it to the Presidents Council. The Presidents Council will then decide. And you, you can guess with 45 members out of that 60, 45 who owe their allegiance in the final analyses to this body here and in the fi, ultimate analysis to the National Party, what the decision is going to be?

So what and I saying. I am saying that for all practical purposes there is no material change. These is no effective control of power. You can't do anything. You can have the best rectoric on education or on housing, on transport or whatever. You can have all the rectoric and you can argue about it, there is nothing you can do unless you have the money to but an extra bus or build an extra home. And that control is in the hands of this chamber. Now, you tell me what is the difference between this and the C.R.C. and the

235 SAIC? So basically those are our structural criticisms of the P.C. proposals. There is a very fancy diagram going but, well I'll put it up. This is being distributed by the Department I don't know of Information or something, oh there's it ... oh you can look at it over there. Oh! Anyway that's ah ... you've got copies of that. It's a fairly accurate diagram.

Alright, so we've got structural criticisms, which are major criticisms. Okay, I am going to now, I am going to now try and round off with certain practical suggestion (include) difficult. Ja, okay, what is the future South Africa that we believe in? What is the future that the congress movement believes in? Well, we believe in certain things. We believe that all our lives we've been we've been fearless opposition not on my, not by me but by by members of South Africans through the ages to injustice and human, inhuman laws. We believe firmly in democracy for all the people and we have an unshakeable determination to resist actively and militantly all discriminatory political systems and how have we expressed it? Well, you've heard how we've expressed it on the 25, 26th of June 1955. African, Indian, Coloured and White South Africans jointly declared their vision for a future South Africa. Now I am not going to repeat all of that, but you know what I am talking about when I refer to the Freedom Charter. I want to mention only the first two. The first two components of that are that the people shall govern. Not that Indians, Coloureds and Whites should govern, but the people should govern. All South Africans shall participate in all levels of Government and all dummy bodies like the SAIC and BANTUSTANS and community councils and L. L.A.C. should be scrapped. That is our fundamental commitment and if you and I go back of all our forefathers. And the second is that all national groups shall have equal rights.



267 Not only Whites, Indians and Coloureds. Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites will be equal in all respects. And those are the two components of the Freedom Charter which I would like to remind you of. What is the alternative?

270 I would like to conclude as I said with some practical suggestions. What is the alternative? Well, the NIC and allied organisations and communities which reject the constitutional proposal and refuse to participate in them are not abdicating from their responsibilities to oppress South Africans. We believe that the acceptance of these proposals are not in our best interests and it will certainly not take us closer to the ideal of a unitary, democratic South Africa. We believe that only a highly organized people united in struggle and equipped with the profound understanding of the nature of our struggle and led by an experienced leadership, can guarantee the success of our struggle. This is what we will contribute towards and this we will contribute towards outside of this Government plans. It is what we will try to build daily in our work and our struggle. This does not mean that we will ignore the day to day problems of our people; we are committed to participating in every possible way in the daily struggles of our communities for lower rents, bus fares, higher wages, better living and working conditions. We believe in the establishment of a strong democratic community based organisation as well as worker, students, women and youth organisations. We believe that these organisations led by democratically elected leaders are best equipped to lead our people and to articulate their demands and improve their lives. And all those who obstruct this process or attempt to divert it, will be serving the interest of the enemy of our people.

So what I am saying, what I am making a plea for is a stronger community based organisations,

294 stronger worker organisations, stronger student organisations and organisations of the people. We think that we have to use this platform to reply so some of our critics.

What do our critics say? They say that we must co-operate with the Government proposals. There's several groups among them especially sections of the White press which call on democratic organisations to accept the so called good intentions of the Government and give the proposals a chance. Successive Governments have not had decades but they've had centuries. They've had centuries to prove their bona-fides and all they have produced are more and more <sup>vicious</sup> ~~various~~ forms of oppression and exploitation. At the same time they made it clear that White domination will not end nor will White control of political and economic power end.

Now we refuse to co-operate with schemes to perpetuate our subjugation. We cannot co-operate with the BANTUSTANS scheme, the migratory labour scheme, the Group Areas Act, and the detentions without trial, and the South African Defence Force raids into neighbouring countries. That's our answer to those critics.

The second set of critics accuse us of being boycotters. That we boycott everything and we have a negative approach. Now, we don't apologise for using the boycott tactic. We are not committed to it. We are not on principles committed to a boycott tactic but we don't apologise for it and we will use it when the conditions exists for the successful use of a boycott tactic.

We must point out however that this is but one of the many weapons at the disposal of a oppressive, commu, oppressed communities confronted by a ruthless and violent political system. This Government has consistently refused to be persuaded by logic persuasion or moral arguments. It concedes

nothing to us unless we struggle against it and it does not hesitate to unleash violence on a defenceless people. The boycott therefore remains one of the important weapons at our disposal.

Now, many of those who criticise us for this, are those who wish to see us collaborating with the Government and its evil schemes. This we refuse to do because we refuse to collaborate. Many friends and sympathisers there are very good, very many, sympathetic people who basically agree with our political philosophy but they also believe that we should participate to block the opportunists who claim to represent the community. Now to them we would answer that in the past 25 years we have seen that straight created political institutions are intrinsically, they are inherently, they are completely incapable of meeting the demands of the people and that those who have participated have been exposed, have been politically bankrupt and opportunistic, and that these people have enjoyed negligible popular support, instead, remember I said before that whilst the SAIC, CRC, BANTUSTAN'S have been created, we have seen the rise and the growth of strong community, student and worker based movements. So why should I be persuaded by those facile arguments to participate when I've seen the emergence, the rise of this inchoate democracy in front of my very eyes.

345 The other people who say that we must negotiate with the Government, negotiate with them, will get benefits for our people. I've shown, you can't get benefits for our people because nothing we can do can eliminate White domination and economic exploitation even within the current P C. proposals. Meaningful negotiations can only take place between equals with certain pre-requisites on a mora, mutually agreed basis and with clear objectives. The objective of any negotiation must be the creation of a non-racial united democratic South Africa. Free of exploitation.

Now, we are willing to negotiate. We are always

355 willing to negotiate, but the pre-requisites for negotiation are the dismantling of apartheid. The scrapping of all discriminatory and repressive legislation. The release of all political prisoners and the scrapping of banning orders and the creation of conditions so that exiles can return. Those are the pre-requisites and we've been willing to negotiate historically and we are willing to negotiate now. And on this basis we can negotiate honourably. There can be no separate Indian or Coloured freedom, nor separate Indian or Coloured negotiation. The destiny of all South Africans is inextricably interlinked. Furthermore the major part of our history is of resistance, is in fact of persuading the White minority to be reasonable and humane in the treatment of Blacks and to engage in negotiations we haven't been fighting with them and to engage in negotiation over a whole range of issues. The Black communities were willing to engage in peaceful negotiations and the White Government invariably respond with violence and deceit. Even in the present community, student and worker organisations wanting to negotiate with the Government and other authorities are snubbed, forced to work through dummy organisations and are met with violence.

I must say I however that notwithstanding all this, notwithstanding the intransigence of the authorities over centuries and the ever decreasing rue, the ever decreasing rue for opposition. The N.I.C. certainly remains committed to the use of every legitimate means to continue the struggle for freedom.

Now, now the last point, uh the critics direct towards us is this problem of uh domination, of ideologies. And there has been, you have heard two calls for a United Front. You've heard a call from DR BOESAK and you've heard a call from DR ESSOP JASSAT. Now what is our belief in this regard?. We believe that the relationships and particularly the

385 difference between groups that differ in political philosophy, have to be conducted such a struggle is always enhanced. The struggle must be enhanced and not hampered by these differences. Those who differ from many major or prevailing philosophy should ensure that their differences do not become antagonisms and that criticisms and attack, attacks do not reach a point of actually assisting the State in crushing and dividing the major forces.

Diversity and debate are vital to democratic processes and we believe in that, provided that all groupings continue to strive for maximum common ground for opposition to apartheid. The definition of the oppo, oppressor must always be clear and the methods used to resist apartheid cannot and must not be used again those who differ.

There's one last thing I would like to say before I conclude, and I would like to address certain members of our community in particular. We believe that certain dangers face the businessmen, the professionals and the students. To the businessmen we will say that there can be no long term security or economic benefit in a system which oppresses the majority of the people, that's instability goes with economic instability. The present proposals are recipe for instability and the polarization of communities.

Now business circles must be careful in arriving at political deals on behalf of the community and to its detriment, to the detriment of the community and the pursuance of narrow economic interests.

We believe the interests of the economic community lies in the interests of the majority of people. That the stability of the country, the peace of this country is commiserate with the peace and stability and the enhancement of the business community. To the professionals we'd say that the new constitutional proposals are expressly designed to co-opt professionals and middle classes

416 into apartheid and to directly assist in the oppression of the majority of the people. We remind this group, we remind the group for democracy in the past and urge them to stand resolute and to maintain the, this role in the interests not only of the country and not only of our community, but their very families and themselves.

To the students we'd say, that students are an important catalyst for change in modern society and must therefore join with the community in working for true democracy and in rejecting the (fraudulent) proposals. In particular for students we'd say that they must strengthen their own organisations and must strive for an equal and just system of education.

For workers, workers pose the least danger, so we have least to say to them. We say that workers interests and their long term security lies with the majority of South Africans. Their democratic future can best be secured through participation in <sup>DEMOCRATIC</sup> ~~domestic~~ worker and community organisations.

And in conclusion what have what have I have been talking about. I have been talking about the grave dangers, we see besetting the Indian and Coloured communities in the coming months. Developments that have been manipulated in South Africa will determine where these sides are located. Are they located on the side of the oppression? Or are they located on our proud history of struggle and our identification for the cause of liberty. It was our unity will all oppresses people that weathered the storms which shreatened to engulf Indians and Coloureds. It is our unity in the struggle that in forcing change in our country today. And it is our duty to strengthen that unity. It Won't be easy. It won't be easy. Our enemies know that power of that unity all too well. They will

448 be vigilant to attempt to destroy that unity. Our struggle for freedom is a long and bitter one. We feel at one with bundit JAWAL NERO when he wrote, I quote :- " There is no easy road to freedom" There is no easy road to freedom and while that freedom road is strewn with difficulties, we look forward to the peace that is at the end of the road. Thank you very much. (Applause).

459 DR. ESSOP JASSAT : Thank you Jerry for the wonderful exposition of the Presidents Council's proposals and why we reject them. It's often wondered how some of us who are duds get through at Medical School. The reason is very simple. You have very bright teachers at Medical School. Ah, I have got a few announcements to make. First of all, news has just come through that the funeral of MOLVI SALOOJEE will be taking place at 10.30 this evening, it, you know the funeralor leaves his home in Granaat Avenue and will proceed to the Avalon Cemetary extension 8 at 10.30. uh. So I think if the house is agreeable, then uh we would like to adjourn and return here early tomorrow morning. You know, punctually at 9.00 we will continue with the discussion, Is that agreeable to the house? You know ah, that's one, the other thing is I've been asked to remind the delegates that if you have registered and given us your correct address, then you know, within a week or two, you know we will be posting to you the, you know the major deliveries uh given at the two day session here. So make sure that you have given us the correct address. You know when you leave tonight and tomorrow so the uh next week you will be receiving all the possible papers that have been delivered here this evening. Now uh is those of you who do not know Lenasia, can I just quickly give you the directions for Granaat Avenue. If you proceed from here to Lenasia and you get off, off the off-ramp, that's on the freeway to Potchefstroom, you will come to a T-junction, that's Nirvana Drive. Just opposite you is the there are two boards you know showing the development

496 development of uh the Jiswa training centre and the other one saying that they are putting up a clinic. Now at the T-junction you turn right. As you proceed along the road, the first turn-off will be to your left and that is called Protea Avenue. If you go along Protea Avenue, you don't turn in at the first but you turn in at the second road left. So it's at the T-junction right, then left then you leave one street and the second street left. So you leave two streets, third is Granaat Avenue. Sorry, the address is 7600 Granaat Avenue. Do you want me to draw the diagram? ... Sorry it is Extension 8, that's important.

Now I would like to, if, are you all in agreement that we continue with our discussion tomorrow morning? (Question put to Dr Jassat possibly by Cassim Saloojee)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Chairman, before you adjourn there's been some talk from speakers. Some suggestions from the speakers that we should consider the formation of the United Front. The problem is that we are going to be somewhat oh short of time and I was wondering whether I would like to make a suggestion. We would appoint some kind of commission here to look into uh the feasibility of forming such a United Front and that commission can report at tomorrow's meeting. We will leave it to the TACS executive to decide.

DR JASSAT:- There's uh there's a suggestion that the TASC executive decide this evening to set up a commission which will then go into the pros and cons of starting a United Front. You know as we suggested by a number of speakers earlier this afternoon. And that this commission reports back. This in view of the fact that we are so pressed for time and because we have to, you know a lot of us would like to attend the funeral in Lenasia. Is the house in agreement with the, that the TASC executive appoint a commission of enquiry? It's agreed, anybody objects?. If not then what will happen, is while some of us are at



542 the funeral the orders would get together or remain behind in this hall. You know, those that will be appointed by the TASC executive and that they will go into uh uh in in consultation with other delegates from the various areas, uh present a report in the full house tomorrow at the preliminary session, hne So please uh you know I am asking you to be promptly here at 9.00 in the morning. If we start punctually, I think ah we will be, still be able to keep up with our you know our program. So thank you very much and we'll see you tomorrow morning.

UNKNOWN MAN: (Inaudible) Hullo hullo hullo will those delegates who have a problem with accomodation please come to the front (background noise)

(probleme word op hierdie stadium met die tegniese hulpsmiddels ondervind. Nadat die problem opgelos was, het die laaste gedeelte van Dr R.A.M.

SALOOJEE se toespraak soos volg daar uitgesien:-)

TAPE 11  
SIDE 1

DR R.A.M. SALLOJEE: are intrinsically ... bound to the central Government through your so-called Coloured chamber, through your Indian chamber, also through the nominated metropolitan councils which I will speak of later, and the rural areas. Already they have established the Minister of Constitutional Development which eventually will form into the Ministry of local Government and of course through the three chambers we heard. (inaudible). You have (inaudible) and the President Council. So in no way is there going to be any form of real decentralization of decision making at, the local level. Now when when MR BOTHA talks of local authorities should be established, he is saying that the present consultative committee or any nominated committees that may still exist will go through the various phases such as the Management Committees in the Transvaal, the nominated Transvaal Board of the Peri-Urban Development. They might, as they done on the Group Areas Board have a nominal representation to take care of what they call your own affairs.

23 Then you have in the rural areas single purpose organisations such as ESCOM and other organisations which distribute certain services. They might even appoint individuals in the so called four, two, one (4-2-1) entrenchment a Indian or a Coloured on to those single purpose organisations. Then if you are fit enough to go through the rural stage, you would come to the next stage which are health committees, which are basically nominated. Then the Village Management Boards which are first nominated. Then Village Councils which become elected and then of course elected Municipal Councils. Then town councils, city councils. Then of course you have your Transvaal Provincial Council and then the present White Parliament.

Now this might seem on the outside as being the type of evolutionary process through which the Whites went through, but as I have said that you are to function within the framework of the racist laws of this country. The Group Areas Act and all the other acts and therefore regardless of which phase you are going to go through, you still are not going to be given the so called decision making power sharing, and co-responsibility in the future of a non-racial South Africa. And I think MR. BOTHA makes it very clear when he reacts to the recommendation made by the P.C. which is recommendation twenty. It suggests as an interim measure that the Chairman of Indian and Coloured Management local affairs and consultative committees be pre-represented with full .... full voting rights, on the White local authority concerned or on the White management com ... committee, where ever it exists. But MR. BOTHA says, but this is but only one possibility amongst at least eight others. I will ah, give you a diagram of this eight interim measures soon. Nowhere but nowhere is the question of direct representation on the parent White Body being even considered. Even where the question of the P.C. recommendation twenty, that there be

056 voting rights for the so-called chairmans of the Indian and Coloured management and consultative committees.

It is suggested that, that be in the region of those functions which they call common and those that are your own affairs, you don't even have the right to discuss. That will have to go through, mr, ah, RAJBANSI'S Indian chamber and mr HENDRICKSE'S ah Coloured chamber. (Pause) These are some of the eight interim measures they have suggested instead of direct representation. Members of the Council's chairman to have - first;- direct vote on a white authority which I have mentioned; Secondly:- that before a budget is considered, the budget represented to the so called Indian and Coloured Management Committee and local affairs committees, - three:- committee of both the Council and the Management Committee can liaise, - four:- joint meetings of both the committee, the White and the other groups, - five:- attendance at meetings of White and of ah, consultative committees <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ the management committee of the White. Then joint discussion between the two committees. Then joint committees from both councils. Joint committees for all. Common matters or representation of Chairman of Management Committee.

Now, if we study the present arrangement, you will find that in various areas these interim measures have already been tried and tested. And in each case they have been total failures. So merely to legislate and institutionalise practise which exist does not turn an unworkable product into a positive product. So I cannot see how these interim measures will in any way change the present abyssmal situation at the local level. Also nowhere is this question of direct representation on the White, parent White body even considered, even interim measures of liaison, specifically restricts it to those aspects specified of common concern.

097 Matters of own concern will of course have to be addressed to either the Indian Chamber or the Coloured Chamber. And I think whilst there might be some degree of expectations <sup>through</sup> the smaller areas, that some benefits may have <sup>ACRUE</sup> grew. There might be minor crumbs coming from the mouldy table of apartheid. But can we envisage a White Council with White representatives responsible to a White constituency be prepared to give the so called Indian and Coloured areas a bigger slice of their privileges, their allocations or the subsidy's, because it is not we who are going to vote them into the Council Chambers the next time when an election takes place.

Thus, those that believe that the guidelines offer hope of and scope for negotiation a better deal towards an open society, are either simply moronically ignorant or merely responding to the limited benefits that we know accrued to the opportunist supporters of co-operative participation. And I think we can say it with safety, that in most of the areas such profits have played havoc at the needs of the masses of our people.

Now I would like to discuss in <sup>some</sup> ~~same~~ detail the matters to be delegated to the local authorities, under the so called guide of devolution decentralisation and deconcentration. (Pause) The items constitutional described as own matters, under the heading of segmental autonomy is centralized under the particular groups chamber. And during the interim phase will be controlled by the Minister of Constitutional Development with powers to delegate. The implication that there will be unfettered freedom of choice at the local level is absolutely false. Add to this the restricting elements of allocation of funds the whole question of the budget and the control of the budget under the Ministry of Finance at the central level, will show that whatever allocations on a pro-rata basis may will in no way really very much materially improve the situation that exist at the present moment.

144 Now the Nationalist Party has clearly spelt out these own matters as being non negotiables in the constitutional package offered. It says in one of its propaganda sheets to the National Party Congress and the grassroots supporters, it says, under the new <sup>DISPENSATION</sup> ~~disputation~~ each population group will continue to retain its own separate schools residential areas, community life and where practically possible also its own separate amenities. And they tell us that the presence of the West Indies Cricketers here is proof of so-called multi-racialism (in their terms). But it says here its own separate amenities. So within the framework of those (incoherent) amenities you are still going to have segregationist and racist attitudes permeating to the basic level of the communities. And then it says to the Group Areas concept therefore remains. I think just in that little phrase the Group areas concept remains, makes it untenable for us to accept any of the so called proposals at the local level. Then of course the P.C. dutifully ~~U~~enumerates these details as follows:-

- (1) General cultural matters will include language but this will be subject here to the entrenched language provisions of the constitution act. So as Professor COOVADIA said, you can teach Cantanese to your children, you still will be bound to the official language policies of the country.
- (2) Education at the second and third tier level, pre-primary, primary and the secondary and all education related matters, but national education policy should be treated as being of common interest. So you will have the supreme Minister of Education and below that you will have your Minister of Indian Education, your Minister of Coloured Education. So at no stage in the education field are you going to be moving away from the present segregationist concept.
- (3) Community planning and development. Here it

181 talk about housing and recreation community life in the residential area. To the point of housing I will come back later but here again our existing situation has shown us that even at that level, whatever legislative framework it may give to its policy it will in no way improve the situation. Community planning ... uh ... care of the aged, children and the handicapped, as well as health services provided on a community basis that already exist. Common services presently under the control by enlarge under local authorities to be placed under the control of metropolitan or regional councils joint services board, with others to still continue under under the council, provincial councils. What they propose to do is to divide the present functions into one under own affairs, the other one hard services or those that can be define (incoherent) services and these they say are soft service, services. They are soft items. They are so soft, that within the context of our racial society it is the essence of racism itself. They talk about service agencies for hard items, so when it comes to planning of areas on regional level, when it comes to the construction of roads, street programming, distribution of stormwater drainage, electrical distribution, water supply, transport, sewerage, toxic waste. I think they should have said the Group Areas Act are going to be taken out from present functions of the local authority. And therefore at the grass-roots level, our underdeveloped areas will in no way have a direct say in the provision, in the allocation, in the development of these services. You will have a nominated individual from the local authority, but there again I will come back when we discuss the question of the loaded vote at local authority level, then the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Board will still control the size and extant of the Group Areas itself. The development of that Group Area will depend on

223 the budget allocation from the central Government. Then you have the separate school at the second and third tier. Here again your central constitutional act. The budget ... ah ... allocations and you have the all supreme Minister of Education which of course will be the Nationalist and a White. Then you have got your cultural mat ... ah ... matters. Here that talk about health, welfare recreation worship which to the to a large extent, we ourselves have developed and will be forced to continue developing. Then community <sup>PLANNING</sup>planned, housing, just briefly to say that here again the Group Areas Act and the budget will be factors which have to be taken into consideration. (Pause) I think just a summary of the present failure of the present system. First of all, whether it be a nominated council or an elected one it still does not satisfy our vote which within the terms of democracy has been prostituted since these institutions have been established. The present system despite the interim measures or practices as still maintained, as a matter of fact entrenched racist<sup>AND</sup> reactionary re ... ah ... policies from the White local authorities and no real relationship have been built<sup>UP</sup> between the so called Coloured and Indian Group Area and the White authority. In most towns, in most places, there has usually been indifference and arrogance on the part of the White authority. Then the Group Areas <sup>IN</sup>is addition to the fundamental flow of it being a racist, identity, it had a very poor financial base. Very poor because there is very little profitable, taxable income, because most of the taxable income of a local authority comes from rates, from home ownership and business producing products. Most of our areas because there have been resettlement areas, have sub-economic housing which brings forth little if any real profit to us. Then most of the group areas being dormitory towns, resettlement areas. It has barely on econo-

272 mic and an industrial or even a basic functional administrative infrastructure. At no stage has there been real joint decision making. There has been no power sharing, then of course you had your Group Areas which in effect have been to small even as a dumping ground for the Government's so called unwanted Blacks ... ah ... Indians and Coloureds. At the local level no real leadership or genuine leadership of the people have come forth to participate in this institution. And there has been no real administrative motivation on the part of individuals to join at the civic level and so makes civic administration a success.

Now with this new proposal, how does it alter the situation. The P.C. has fumbled along to a most unimaginative fashion. It talks of broadening the tax base. It talks of transferring of these hard functions from the local authorities to the metropolitan authorities. So taking off the burden of provision of these services, but at the same time adding on the burden of giving profits to an additional tier of administration.

Then it must also be borne in mind that revenue accruing from soft services such as libraries art, galleries, parks, housing, street maintainance, cleaning and welfare services in terms of the economic viability of an area are really financial losses. They are provisions to the communities as an advantage but the local authority itself cannot recoup any of it in order to extend or improve these facilities. So the home owner with its poor base will be forced to add to it

Then it has also been suggested that there should be some sort of arrangement between the Government where subsidies are allowed. And that from the present C.B.D. and industrial areas, income derived from them, or taxable income should then become a neutral fund from which allocations will be made to the various areas. And of course this latter proposal



314 has been rejected outright by the Transvaal Municipal Association which is hard core Nationalist Party. The only other way in which local authority may be able to get funds is by floating loans and stocks from non-governmental sources. But because we will be in a competitive market and in an absence of viable infra-structure and port security. When you are buying in that type of market between Johannesburg and say Lenasia, you know who<sup>will</sup> buy the stocks and where the stocks will be bought from. And it is very interesting to note that in defining standards of basic requirements, the P.C. comments, minimum standards must be in accordance with the ability of the communities concerned to pay. Implying that poorer and under developed communities must expect to do with less and unequal facilities. This merely will widen the gap between the privileged White areas and our poorer areas.

One more suggestion is that the G.S.T. be increased. This extra taxing of basic and essential commodities will make the poor poorer and hungry hungrier. Also strange is this way of racism that whilst White local authorities are willingly amalgamated for cost effective viability and rationalisation dots of Indian and Coloured areas are to be carved out of this mythical Nirvana of self determination. our ethnic is lands? Will remain developmentally inferior infra structurally incomplete and State financial schemes based on the loaded rate able property income, will mean that even the subsidies that will be coming to us will be on a very, very small basis. It has also been suggested that as an interim measure the local authority present, they bud ... the budget to management of the local affairs committee before it is accepted. But an allocation is made and the local affairs committee or the management committee is

358 able to juggle around with the figures within the allocated sum, and they cannot increase the allocations. So you take away a R1000 from a TB organisation and give to another welfare organisation or visa versa. But the total amount given to the community be increased within the present system. And I cannot see without add ... adding extra burden to the local residents that they will have to fork out more for the needs of their community.

Next ~~for~~ <sup>THE</sup> P.C. talks about the failure of the local level administrative machinery, because people like us have introduced radical politics. I think it must be made clear that we have shown widespread opposition to the present system at present. But this has always manifested itself in elections and nominations to office. Never have any real efforts been made to disrupt recruitment and training at administrative functions.

It is Government policies and attitudes of White civic councils which normally deters persons of calibre and motivation to seek jobs. I think most of these jobs are really dead end street. I think when you have some mogul part in some dusty Matieland Transvaal town with two streets, would any individual with any motivation be prepared to become a town clerk of a one horse town?

I am sure not.

So, the blame must be squarely laid at their own policies and thier own intrinsic flawed racist philosophy. And I cannot see in the new arrangement this communication gap between the White hierachy and the White and the dependant wards improving beyond the present classic Baas and Boy form. At the best of course it can be a patronizing parochial relationship, where we know our so called civic leaders, spend time our of number garlanding the so called White Ministers and the White Mayors. So even under the new dispensation except

for a few large areas, this motivation will still not be improved. We have seen in the White community, that despite parity of political rights, the English and Afrikaner have not been able to find a proper relationship in the, at the bureaucracy level. So I cannot for once see how this will improve in our areas. And I think those that some from Durban and Natal know the present situation in Umzinto, North Verulam and Isipingo. Next, the P.C. talks about <sup>DEPOLITISATION</sup> depoliticisation of local government to say that when we talk of <sup>DEPOLITISATION</sup> depoliticisation simply means the entrenching racialism, ethnicity and I am sure that these policies do not deserve to be salvaged.

Now, I have already showed you the various interim measures taken. (pause) Just a few comments on each of these, some of these items in its broad context. They talk of local autonomous areas whether they be small or large. Already the (incoherent) means of communication have failed miserably and therefore 440 any joint meetings with the White Councils will basically be still unproductive and within the framework of the Group Areas Act. You still will have in order to extend the boundries of these areas to go through laborious and treacherous hearings and <sup>COMMISSIONS AND</sup> select committees. And it will still mean a struggle to sustain our social and spiritual sanity and dignity, if we look at a personal level beyond the framework of the administrative level, I think the Group Areas Act and these little group areas have really destroyed a very fundamental aspect of our social and spiritual commitment. It has created in most areas rampant corruption. It has created self exploitation. It has created internal dishonesty. It has created rent racketeering. It has created family disintegration, social insecurity, endemic poverty, a sense of insular existence,

466 inter group and even inter religious suspicions and a ~~whole~~ host of other soul shattering evils.

Just to give a little example that the critical housing situation has created and so demoralised our people that when I an exploited tenant is by some hook or crook measure able to get a house in the area, I then become the exploiter, because then I relet that to another individual.

So this whole internal corruption, social corruption, is a festering manifestation of these policies which will under no circumstances be eliminated by whatever local proposals they make.

Now we come to the so called freedom decentralisation and co-responsibility at the local level.

Not only want ... do they want to take away the present right <sup>of</sup> ~~to~~ election, as distasteful as it is, where each individual has at least an equal vote.

Under the new system you are going to have a vote, a loaded voting system where material worth through rateable value of properties, directorship of companies and monitory status will be deciding factors. Here you will find, that they say, one of the methods should be, a person over the age of eighteen should have one vote. in addition to that if you have a fixed property or you have a fixed residence, you will have an additional vote. If you own a company or a corporate uh organisation then they would decide whether you should have one vote, two votes or three votes. As an alternative suggestion they have said that if you are a registered owner of a fixed property, you should have two votes. If you are an owner of fixed property, you must have one vote. If you are a fictitious owner, that is that same as the corporate uh vote, you should have two votes. And then another fictitious vote and the question of fixed property owning, another vote. Truly, this is an elitist hegemony with scant regard for grassroots, participation and democracy and human worth.

524 This attempt to manage mass aspirations and strifle grassroots rights through a capitalistic overlordship, is even to the simplest, I think mind bogling. A (incoherent) responsibility they demand, they ask us for the enforcement of influx control, race entrenchment and the suppression of the popular will. So, any local community who may feel that there is hope in this, will see that democracy is to be totally sacrificed to the alter of greed and materialism.

When they talk about rights of decision making through parents committees at primary, secondary level, they state that this will be subject to a national character. It will be mother tongue related and must be Christian orientated. So to do a thing, Arabic, Urdu oriental studies no way will alter this requirement. So you might feel fine as a community, there will be more Arabic speaking. There will be more Hindi speaking, but there will be no democracy. In rural areas the present disadvantage of the one and two teacher primary schools and in the larger areas the present shortage of subject qualified staff will still prevail. And here again we have seen this machinery being implemented with RAJBANSI already deciding whom and who should deserve his favour. At this level again the social welfare security and health, MR RAJBANSI is waiting in the wings to take over these portfolios and under the new system this will become something which you own so called Indian Chamber will be responsible.

TAPE 11 So the question of allocation of post subsidisation  
SIDE 2 and grants as it already has become a political play-thing for the political opportunist. And of course the fact that our social welfare organisations moving in a direction of non racialism will now be re-Indianised and in the process there will become greater isolation between the group thereby using the benefits of free exchange of ideas, resources

584 and personal. They talk about the right worship and religion. I would specifically address myself on this issue to the Indian Community because there is a feeling in some quarters that the present system in some way or other <sup>does</sup> ~~down~~ protect religion and freedom of worship. It is a sad thing that the Indian community basically composed of two prominent groups, the Muslims and the hindus have very few members of the other groups within those religions and as a result have not really looked into this question of freedom of worship and religion. First of all there are three fundamental flaws in this. We know the World Allience of Reformed Churches have defined apartheid as heresy and apartheid is the policy of the Nationalist Party Goverment. So they must be heretical of course. The three basic flaws again. We have the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marrages Act, which denies the right to matriomony between persons of same faith, but different races, let alone different faiths. It also is a blatant transgression of religious freedom and the race classification laws violates the principles of the unity of the human family and here again promotes race above worth and moral standards of performance. We must also not forget that whatever development in these fields have taken place, this stately Mosques and the Temples and Mandales and the Churches have not been through the Group Areas Act or through the support of the present system. It has been as) a result of our own efforts, because we had these facilities (inaudible) times when (incoherent) lived in our group areas. SO it ... it is not the group areas which has facilitated, it has been our own resources and our determination which has established these facilities. Now when we come to the question of housing which is the most vexing problem in the local areas. The Goverment <sup>HAS</sup> ~~had~~ already by its guide ...

30

END TAPE  
11 SIDE 1

033 by its revised guidelines abdicated its responsibility for the housing needs of the people. It has said that those earning below R150 will be the responsibility of the State and of course that allocation in the new system would come through the, the Ministry of Finance to your own Chamber. And then they will decide how to re-allocate that money to the various local areas. And here again it can become the plaything of political opportunists, to which areas to give, to which uh people to grant.

This privilege, to they can utilise as they have been utilising to exploit and to undermine the needs of our people in these areas. So our slum conditions are going to grow to overcrowding, is not going to be alleviated. Then growing needs of the national growth of the population and the dilemma of the disqualified tenants in the White areas, promoted by the State policy will still leave us into the laps of apartheid. And they want us to become captives of so called economic private enterprises, hard pressed community organisations and so called impoverished budding local municipalities. In order to extend the group areas, in order to accommodate extra housing you'll still go through the bureaucracy of the Group Areas Board on which of course the Indian (incoherent) have one representative. I think they have one at the present moment, the Coloured, I think two and up to now they have not been able to make any sort of impact even within the framework of those areas by improving any of these facilities within the areas. So the gap between the have's and the have not will merely widen. And you will have the ghettos of discontent continue to nestle side by side with the mink and manure suburbs in most areas, specially in the larger areas and this will is definitely a very chilly probability.

I have said that at the local level in our areas we hardly have an economic infra-structure. In

070 terms of industries, in terms of your facilities. And I cannot under any circumstances see how this is going to be improved. Now the metropolitan and regional joint services councils as I have said, will have nominated individuals from the local councils to represent. So it will once again be a capitalistic hegemony which will decide the type of facilities and the extent of the facilities to be provided. The Government has said that it is negotiating but at the present moment it is already putting into effect part of its so called proposals.

Here (pause) I have already shown you that particular guideline but what has been added is that they have created a Department of Constitutional Development. They have established a working national committee on which management and local affairs committee are to be represented. Also Regional Committees where the administrator will consult with the so called Management Committees and in past we have seen that these have been a failure. In the future we cannot see how this is going to improve the situation. I think we must accept that some crumbs to alleviate the grievances will follow, but it will not satisfy the demands of our society based on non-racialism. There is no fundamental departure from apartheid. It is a constitutional consolidation of the system with Indians and Coloureds sharing the responsibility of making it work. The Government has added that carrot to the truncheon, co-optation of an elite ethnic leadership with Western material interest to supplement the dwindling White manpower at all levels of implementation.

So ladies and gentlemen, as far as your local proposals are concerned there is absolutely no change. And I don't think we must expect any changes at all.

Thank you (Applause)



103 CHAIRMAN

Thank you DR. SALOOJEE for that detailed analysis. I am now going to open the session to questions and perhaps some discussions, but now time is a limiting factor and I'd like any contributions, is they are going to come from the floor to be short and to the point. We'll take discussions on both Professor COOVADI'S paper and DR. SALOOFEE'S paper at one and the same time. So matters now over to you. If you will just raise your hand whoever wants to contribute or ask questions, please do so. This is to be no discussion. It seems the speakers have covered their topics pretty well and it has gone down well. I will now hand this session over to the next Chairman, MR CASSIM SALOOJEE. The only <sup>DECLARATION</sup> ~~announcement~~ that I have to make other than that, is that there will be no tea because tea has already been had, I am told. Thank you (Pause)

MR CASSIM SALOOJEE:- Right friends, we go onto the next paper. Ah, I don't have to go into the detail of what has been said previously. Ah, we've had a number of speakers who have promptly demonstrated that the constitutional <sup>proposals</sup> are just not acceptable. They (inaudible) demonstrated that we have no choice but not to become part of the oppressive group, not to colaborate in our very own oppression. We now have the important task of how we are going to express our opposition. <sup>How</sup> ~~Now~~ we are going to prepare ourself organisationally to carry on this struggle. Now the one little thing that I want to do is that it is during this moment in time that we re-re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for realizing a truely non racial and (no reception) and for that reason I say that it would be appropriate for us to dedicate this particular session to MOLVI SALOOJEE who spent so many years of his life courageously providing leadership and courageously

162 being part of the struggle for freedom and justice in this land. So I wish to dedicate this session to the memory of MOLVI SALOOJEE and we hope that it is in that spirit that we will continue to conduct that fight.

I also wish to make the point that we have already taken a historic decision and that decision is that we see our we see the place of our people side by side with all the other peoples of South Africa. This is the historic decision that we have taken and MR N.G. PATEL in his paper would give us some indication of the direction that we would have to take. With that we would also have to consider the decision that we took last night to establish a commission that would go into the question of the United Front. Now you must bear in mind the kind of organisational forms that we would have to develop and the extent to which we would take further the idea of the United Front. Now that is what we would be discussing and in view of the limitation of time I have no intention of carrying on. Further I am going to promptly ask MR PATEL to come and present his paper. You all know MR PATEL who is a very prominent member of the Anti SAIC Committee and who played a notable role in the political and social life of our people.

MR N.G. PATEL (applause)

186 MR N.G. PATEL:- Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. The subject of my paper is to attempt to see the road (inaudible) I would like to him initial (inaudible) that with all the different speakers that you have heard from yesterday afternoon (no reception). But also I succeed in throwing new light on the (no reception) different emphasis (no reception) that is the task in attempting to (no reception) surely as many speakers before me have pointed out, it is clear that our rulers find themselves in a situation that makes all

forms of domination impractical. They find themselves (inaudible) goals allies and institutions in order to continue (inaudible) domination in a new and improved form. But our rulers (no reception) that govern our society, but itself as well.

The Presidents Council's proposals are based on a skillful use of half truths and innuendos logical fallacies, <sup>FOLLY</sup> also assumptions and manipulation of facts and figures. Their aim is to confuse rather than clarify. <sup>DEVIATE</sup> ~~Divulge~~ rather than unify, deceive rather than enlighten and they have (inaudible) of their good intentions. The State has (inaudible) to convince (inaudible) the people of South Africa and abroad of its new resolve to undo past and present injustices by reforming first its constitutional <sup>ARRANGEMENT</sup> ~~agreement~~ as a prelude to inhering a society that would permit, and I hereby quote directly from the Presidents Council's reports:-

- (a) Individual and group freedom.
- (b) The equality of opportunity and justice.
- (c) The protection of identity and self respect.
- (d) Social and material welfare
- (e) Internal and external peace and security.

This constitutional arrangements it prefers, is a democratic system.

This is also stated in the report. It advocates the elimination of domination by a group as ~~itself~~. <sup>IT SAYS</sup> The President Council sees political development for all South Africans as a necessity and defines progress as the pursuit of the values of democracy, justice, prosperity, equality of opportunity, security, efficiency, self respect and the protection of culture and identity for all South Africans.

Now ladies and gentlemen, you will all agree that the most ardent supporter of the Freedom Charter would applaud the above descriptions of those values and intentions.

If history has taught us anything, it has taught

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