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V3 PAR.32

**UDF/AZASO PROTEST MEETING IN RESPECT OF  
STUDENTS KILLED AT NGOYA UNIVERSITY,  
KHOTSO HOUSE : ~~1983-10-29~~**

*3. 11. 1983*

**SPEAKERS:**

1. Oupa MONARENG (SOYCO)
2. ? (AZASO)
3. Muntu MYEZA (AZAPO)
4. Popo MOLEFE (UDF)
5. Jean Francios BILL (Blanke ABRECSA)
6. Frank CHIKANE (UDF)
7. Herbert BARNABAS (SAAWU)
8. ? (CCAWUSA)
9. Tiego MOSENEKE (AZASO)
10. Siphon RADEBE (CUSA)
11. Brendan BARRY (NUSAS Wits)

*No 19 7/8/17*

**SEATED ON STAGE**

1. Aubrey MOKOENA
2. Muntu MYEZA
3. Oupa MONARENG
4. Tiego MOSENEKE
5. M.C. ?
6. Frank CHIKANE
7. Popo MOLEFE

**ASSESSOR**

At the top of page 2 first part of video is not transcribe. It is about the 70 the anniversary of Alexandra Township near Johannesburg.

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Page 8 Line 7 After "own language that" add "akukaze kufe Isinxan Lengwenya Kucwebe Iziziba (never have the young one of a crocodile died and the water remaining clear.)"

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*Page 31 line 3 Change "(inaudible)" to "and shall continue to Be"*

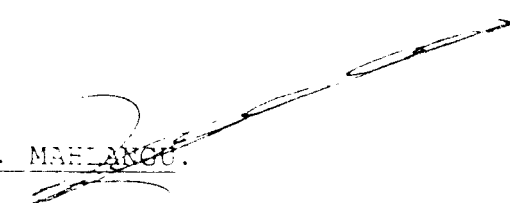
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CORRECTIONS :

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

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

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

  
A.A. MHLANGU.

## O P M E R K I N G S

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

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

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

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

---oOo---

Video and sound intermittent. Audience dance and sing:

Ma guerilla amasothoho Hayi-hayi	)	
Oliver Tambo Hayi-hayi	X 2	) X 2
U baba wethu	)	
(Nelson Mandela) in place of Oliver Tambo	X 2	

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CHANTER:	AUDIENCE:
Amandla	Awethu X 2
Mayibuye	I'Afrika X 2

TRANSLATION OF SONG:

The guerillas are soldiers  
Oliver Tambo/Nelson Mandela is our father  
(Video interruption)

SPEAKER: OUPA MONARENG:

"..... got to realise that our struggle is eh going on and the enemy is trying its level best to cause division within the ~~oppressed and exploited masses~~. So, despite the fact that there is such brutality going on in this country the patience of the masses are not going to be undermined, we are aware of such brutalities, of such cruelty. So, people should be aware of such a situation, as its they who are going to have a number of speakers who will pay their tribute their fallen heroes and this eh number of speakers will be people from the student organisation from the political organisations, from the workers oerganisations, community organisations and the civical (sic) organisations.

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So, in doing that we shall with eh honesty and wholeheartedness remember and re-dedicate, commit ourselves to the struggle towards liberation. So as we must keep on reminding, all those involved, all those eh forces of division that the people are not asleep.

The deaths which are caused in the University of Fort of eh Ngoye are a mere extention of all the brutalities which took place in the University of Fort Hare, the University of Turfloop, the homeland of Ciskei, the homeland of eh Zululand, Bophuthatswana and the like.

So this type of harassment, brutality and the like, won't go unchecked; for we ..... we'll realise that their political debris, are obviously going to be thrown into the dustbins of history.

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So, before we could announce the program, we can in the later, eh at a later stage have people who are from the university of Ngoye. One or two delegates coming up to actually give us a clear description of the atrocities which took place at the university. And meanwhile, waiting can we have a lively, dynamic and energetic song from one comrade, so as to show that the people inside the country, Johannesburg, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town are still with the comrades who have fallen. And the international community has the support of the liberation struggle in South Africa. So let us have comrades, a few of those songs and because there are young dynamic people here who are prepared to relentlessly and gallantly fight for their freedom which belongs to them, which is got (inaudible) Let us then comrades give us freedom songs so as to rededicate ourselves and .....

(Video interruption).

SONG:

Asiwafuna a mavelashona X + 8 )  
 (We don't want ~~westerners~~ <sup>vasculators</sup> )  
 Si'landela uTambo X 6 ) X 4  
 (We are following Tambo) )

UNKNOWN CHANTER:	Amandla!	AUDIENCE:	Awethu!	X 2
	Mayibuye!		I'Afrika!	X 2
	Oliver		Tambo	X 9

Amandla!

Awethu

X 2

SONG:

U Mandela Hayi-Hayi	)		
Ubaba wethu Hayi-Hayi	)	X 3	Our Father Hayi-Hayi.
Oliver Tambo Hayi-Hayi	)		
Ubaba wethu Hayi-Hayi	)	X 3	Our Father Hayi-Hayi.
Amaguerilla Hayi-Hayi	)		The Guerillas Hayi-Hayi.
Amasotsha Hayi-Hayi	)	X 3	The Soldiers Hayi-Hayi.
Oliver Tambo Hayi-Hayi	)		
Ubaba wethu Hayi-Hayi	)	X 3	Our Father Hayi-Hayi.
Amaguerilla Hayi-Hayi	)		The Guerilla Hayi-Hayi.
Amasotsha Hayi-Hayi	)	X 3	The Soldiers Hayi-Hayi.
Oliver Tambo Hayi-Hayi	)	X 2	
U'Isotsha Hayi-Hayi	)		He is a Soldier Hayi-Hayi.
Nelson Mandela Hayi-Hayi	)		
U'Isotsha Hayi-Hayi	)	X 2	He is a Soldier Hayi-Hayi.

CHANTER: (Inaudible)	AUDIENCE: Voetsek Voetsek	X 15
( " )	Hayi-Hayi	X 8
Amandla!	Awethu!	X 2
Mayibuye!	I'Afrika!	X 2
Oliver!	Tambo!	X 6

Unseen and unknown speaker: Thankyou very much.

UNKNOWN SPEAKER:

*AZASO T - kamp . uneduce holker  
Voorritter*

"(inaudible) .... demonstrations on campus and shows their total opposition to the INKATHA rally on their campus because our students did not want conflict, did not want confrontation with the INKATHA impi's on that Saturday; they decided to have their protest on the Friday as a sign and to show the authorities that they were totally opposed to this rally on their campus.

Police then came onto campus teargassed the students and baton charged them. But then the students dispersed and there was no incident. On Saturday the 27th in the morning INKATHA impi's came on the campus and they attacked the students in their hostels ~~and~~ <sup>MS</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> result, five were killed and hundred more others were injured.

This is a brief ah ... sort of ah outline of events on that Saturday (29).

This is a very serious issue and I <sup>think</sup> ~~places~~ <sup>FACES</sup> the students in our country ~~at~~ <sup>is</sup> a big challenge. Students in our country have joined in the movement, the unity to bring about liberation for all peoples of South Africa.

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The government has tried to create these tribal universities in an attempt to divide and rule the oppressed masses of the land. But students were not detered, even in these tribal institutions, students still formed representative bodies. Bodies wh... wh... whose main aim was to unite all the students and to join in the total liberation struggle. But you see the government continuing in its attempt to divide our people. And organising groups like Inkatha which are totally reactionary and anti-revolutionary to try and destroy the unity amongst the oppressed people.

With that said, comrades, we shall then go on to have our speakers to come and address us on this issue. I've got a couple of messages from different organisations and I shall read some as the meeting goes on.

Our first speaker then will be the secretary-general of AZAPO Mr Muntu MYEZA". (Applause).

MUNTU MYEZA:

"AMANDLA!"

AUDIENCE: Awethu!



On behalf of the AZANIAN PEOPLES ORGANISATION I wish to greet all people present here today.

We of the AZANIAN PEOPLES ORGANISATION felt it incumbent upon us to come and join hands with all those people present here today as represented through their various organisations to express our concern and our disgust at the actions of the INKATHA movement which is led by the Frankenstein of Pretoria, Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI.

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We, also wish to express our deep-felt condolences to the people who have lost their children, their brothers and relatives, because of this, unwarranted wanton murder of Black students at the campus of the university of Zululand.

Further to that we wish to say that for us in the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT it is events such as these that show to us, demonstrate to us unequivocally the need for black solidarity to overcome the evils that the White racist minority regime has visited upon the Black people of this country.

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We apportion blame accordingly not only do we blame GATSHA BUTHELEZI but we blame the people who are the architects of the deeds that follow inevitably from the fellows of GATSHA's ilk.

We know also, that were it not then for White racist rule in this country, the creation of Bantustans, the monsters such as GATSHA, such as SEBE wouldn't have been created. And it is accordingly that we apportion blame four squarely on the door of the White racist regime. They must be held responsible for the death, bloodshed and injury of our people at the university of Zululand.

We, in AZAPO, in the BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT know and recognize the fact that, in any given society there will be different approaches, to what the attainment of the best that there is in life. And with particular reference to our struggle in this country, we accept that there are various people, various groupings

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that have different approaches. What we do say, is that the viability of those approaches will be determined by the achievement that those methods are able to muster.

But what we <sup>do</sup> say also, is that the creations like the Bantustans which rely on tribalism, on ethnicity are doomed because they are anachronistic, they have no potential for success. Tribalism may have been relevant at some stage in the history of Black people in this country, but it is no longer relevant, <sup>now</sup> it is an anachronism which belongs in the dumping ground of history. And therefore most people, like GATSHA BUTHELEZI, who still want to perpetuate the spirit of tribalism and <sup>an emotive reaction</sup> ~~foment~~ <sup>between the words "foment" and "Reaction"</sup> a response to the issues that affect the people, by appealing to their tribal instincts are only retarding the struggle and in the process killing our people.

To the people who have lost lives, we say to them, we shall communicate with you beyond the grave. We shall not forget that you died because you stood in opposition of a group of people whose policies and ideas have been rejected time and again by the majority of the Black people.

To the INKATHA followers, I doubt if there be any in this gathering, we say to them, everytime we see you strutting in the streets in your flashy uniforms (laughter) we shall know that you are responsible for the murder of our people. You may not have been there personally, but there is a vicarious responsibility that you must shoulder, because the murders were perpetrated in the name of your organisation.

We know that it is nigh impossible to remove GATSHA from INKATHA, as it is, from the Bantustan platform. But what you can do, Black people who are in INKATHA, is to leave him. Do not be tainted by the same brush, the bloody brush that GATSHA and all his leaders are tainted with.

It will be only when the Black people of this country stand up and say with one voice, that we reject GATSHA, we reject the Bantustan concept, we reject the White racist settler regime; that we will be able to put an end to things that are being perpetrated by Gatsha, by SEBE, by MANGOPE, by MPEPHU.

And we say lastly, to GATSHA and all those who support him, in his own language that: *Akuzange kufe izinyane lengwenya kucwebe iziziba*  
Never has the young one of a crocodile died and the river remaining clear.

We shall remember this, just as the world today remembers HITLER, just as Africa today remembers IDI AMIN, we shall not forget. Lastly, before I sit down I would like to extend an invitation to the people, the organisations gathered here today, to a prayer meeting that is being organised by the AZANIAN PEOPLES ORGANISATION which is to be held at the Dube YMCA, .. YWCA on Sunday at two, and I might add here that this is not a rival meeting. We do not seek to rival anybody. This is a matter of national importance and we feel then, much as we appreciate the efforts that have been gone into today to get us together here today, there are a number of people who are not able to attend because of work commitments; and therefore we extend an invitation to all the people to attend a prayer meeting, in mourning for the deeds that have befallen us at Dube YMCA on Tuesday, on Sunday at 2 pm. And also before I sit down I would like to extend a few words from the AZANIAN STUDENTS MOVEMENT; who unfortunately were not able to come here today, but they have mandated me to come and say here on behalf of them, that they stand with everybody here in expression of concern, expression of abhorrence and disgust at GATSHA, the running dog, of White racist capitalism.

Amandla! (Gives clenched fist salute right hand).

AUDIENCE: Awethu!

Applause.

SONG:

Siyaya Siyaya (Cut short by master of ceremonies)

MC

Thank you comrades, Thankyou comrades.

Eh, (inaudible) Any other organisations which have got messages of support and which don't have them here, please com forward eh to read the messages from your eh, you have to read those messages yourself.

Are there any others?

At this time we shall have a message from TIC eh and eh ABRECSA".

POPO MOLEFE:

"Thank you chair person, this is the message from the TRANVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS. It reads as follows: 'The TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS condemns those responsible for the murder of our five comrades who merely expressed support for a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented South Africa. The masses of our people will not be fooled by those puppets who are motivated to kill in order to preserve the institutions of apartheid system.

We call on our people to reject these puppets and support the genuine leaders of our people in a struggle for a non-racial, democratic South African and against apartheid and the Bantustans'.  
(Applause).

JEAN FRANCOIS BILL:

"This is the message from ABRECSA, THE ALLIANCE OF BLACK REFORMED CHRISTIANS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. 'ABRECSA expresses its condolences to the families of the five students who were brutally killed at the University of Zululand last week.

We also express our sympathy to the many who were injured and wish them a speedy recovery.

ABRECSA wishes to place on record, its total abhorrence, for the behaviour of the INKATHA YOUTH MOVEMENT as reported in the Press and also by eye-witnesses. We condemn their action in the most severe terms, not merely for the brutality of their attack, but also for their sheer arrogance in wanting to brow-beat into submission those who refuse to join them or support them.

INKATHA projects itself as a cultural and non-violent movement for liberation. This recent event has shown it to be the exact opposite, an ethnic movement for violent oppression.

We further deplore the fact that this tragic conflict creates not only further division, but deep animosity amongst Blackes, which only benefits the oppressor.

ABRECSA warns all those who continue to collaborate with the system, that they are operating under a gross illusion if they believe that they can change it from within. Their collaboration serves only to make them the tools which the oppressor uses to maintain power and privilege, to discredit their leadership and to make them the enemies of the suffering masses.

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ABRECSA thanks the UDF for calling this meeting to express the feelings of the people, it expresses its support for all the efforts to unite the people and mobilise them to resist and overcome their oppression. And we also place on record our strong condemnation of the measures by the State to ban UDF and other meetings, to harass and detain Black leadership. We believe that in the long run these efforts will fail, for God is with his suffering people, and if God is with us, who can be against us? We shall overcome!

(Applause with a shout of 'Mayibuye').

"Eh, this message comes from the CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS, and it reads thus: 'COSAS adds its voice of condemnation at the recent INKATHA leadership inspired, murderous show, at Ngoye University; which left five students dead and many seriously injured. This barbaric act of inhumanity came as no surprise, as we have earlier anticip..... all anticipated this is why we supported the warnings by the students of Ngoye against the fellows of INKATHA leadership on campus. History has records of such violence, atrocities committed by INKATHA, using migrant workers and fellow nationals against their children and students working for democracy and freedom.

We join other organisations warning INKATHA, Ngoye authorities and their Pretoria masters responsible for this cruelty. We endorse the call by AZASO to observe this day, 3rd November, as a national day of mourning and call on our membership, other school students and the entire people to observe this by a minute of silence, Black armbands, prayer meetings at schools and outside schools. We dismiss allegations made by Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI which holds COSAS responsible for the violence at Ngoye campus'.

(Applause)

MC

"We call on our next speaker which is REVEREND FRANK CHIKANE from UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

(Applause).

Shouts of UDF, UDF, UDF.

FRANK CHIKANE:

"Ladies and gentlemen, comrades and my brothers and sisters, I want to say this afternoon that this is a day of reckoning. I think we have reached in our history a time when people have to take sides in the struggle for the liberation of the people. Even if there are

people who have been pretending for a long time, as the struggle intensifies in South Africa. Those who are not genuine and committed to be part and parcel of the struggle of the people will show themselves.

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And I want to say in a struggle for liberation, there are only two sides that people can take. One side is that of those who want to maintain the status quo, and the other side is those who want to dismantle the status quo, and you can have numerous groups with their various versions, but when you come to the real truth, you only have two groups. Some people may pretend for sometime, but our struggle has so intensified that people are forced to show their real colours in the struggle of the people.

And I want to say once more again, I've said it in this hall, this is a sign that our liberation is coming very soon. (Applause). It is a sign, it is a sign that we are closer to our liberation. The events of the 29th October 1983 are just a result of the fruits of the apartheid system. You can not separate from it this type of result. We must understand that apartheid has artificially created conflict within people. Apartheid is such that it is meant to create conflict so that when there is conflict, you can justify separation. And that is part and parcel of the apartheid system and the system in South Africa realises if they promote tribalism, if they promote divisions among the people if they still make the Zulus feel more important than the Tswanas, when the Tswanas on the other side are told, the others are the Matabeles and they go on and on and on, and play around with us they hope to achieve a conflict that will keep us apart. The second thing is that INKATHA, it is an artificially created organisation which is meant to destabilise or interfere with the struggle of the people. It is a deliberate act of the liberals and oppressors of this country to promote an organisation like Inkatha so that they should say in future, the only viable way of getting our peace in South Africa is to have Inkatha taking over in South Africa and becoming the leading people in South Africa. I want to emphasize this, that the liberals in

? this country, all liberals, think there is hope in INKATHA and they think that they are going to get their salvation from them and all the international criminals, think that they are going to get some liberation (inaudible) (interruption by the applause of the audience).

.... and I want to warn those criminals who do not learn from history that they must go to Zimbabwe or Rhodesia if they want to call it, go and read the history and know that the organisation, they think they are probing people to organise, to support, its not the organisation of the people, and when the day of reckoning comes, then they shall know where the people are, what the people want, and the people are going to demand<sup>a</sup> the true thing, that is the liberation of the people without the oppression of any other person. And therefore we want to warn all those people who think there is salvation in INKATHA, to know they are simply proving bloodshed, because for INKATHA to take over South Africa, and rule it, they'll have to do it by killing the oppressed. They're not going to fight against the oppressor, and that is a sign that INKATHA says it is non-violent, it's not going to change South Africa by violence, but kills our people. It's a sign that they are on the side of the oppressor.

And today on the 29th of October we now know where INKATHA stands, and therefore because they are on the side of the oppressor they will participate in killing the people to produce the support they want. And I want to say that the act of 28th October was a decisive act that INKATHA has taken and the nation<sup>^</sup> has knows exactly where they stand and the nation knows what to do about it.

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I want to come to one point before I sit down, that for us who are in the church, we have got a problem, people talk about the theology of reconciliation. That the church should actually be reconciling people ~~warning~~<sup>warring</sup> factors in a community, and I want to warn those who simplify the gospel of Jesus Christ, that reconciliation does not mean reconciling sin with justice. There is no possibility (inaudible) (audience applause) .. there is no possibility in which



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you are going to reconcile evil with good, and reconcile evil with good or righteousness, there is no way in which you can reconcile God with a sinner, but God helps, helps a sinner out of his sin to be reconciled with him. And therefore we should understand that there cannot be reconciliation in South Africa, as long as if apartheid is there, as long as if injustices are there, there will be more and more conflict until people face the truth and say, this is an unjust system, let's dismantle it and put a just system, then people shall be reconciled, thank you.

Applause.

Unknown person: AMANDLA Audience: AWETHU!

(Remark: Prof ISMAIL MOHAMED can be seen in the audience applauding).

MC

*During THE MURDER*

~~(Inaudible)~~ BARNABAS from the South African Allied Workers Union to be our next speaker (applause),

HERBERT BARNABAS (Video interruption) (Inaudible) leadership of Gatsha BUTHELEZI.

We express horror at the massacre of students at Ngoye university. And we were horrified to read of statements by Chief Gatsha BUTHELEZI who is presently the president of this movement, that Inkatha was (inaudible) of these innocent lives protecting his honour. This therefore means that to protect his honour, innocent lives was lost. Without the stern support and solidarity of the students at the university of Zululand, we in SAAWU know all students wherever they are as nothing less than workers in training. We are grieved with this action as workers (inaudible). We also feel that the central government should ban Inkatha for crippling the economy of the country. For the government to know that we are offended by abominable actions taken by its homeland partners, this day must go to history as a national day of mourning by all progressive organisations.

Our position identifies itself with the feelings of those students who are mourning. To their parents and relatives we say, students who got injured and those who died will always be regarded by us as heroes. We are with their bereaved families during this time of mourning.

Despite warnings by Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI to a closed session of his, known as the KwaZulu legislative assembly, that the abuse of him had to come to an end; and that community labelled him as sell-out, was going to have ugly repercussions, ~~we~~ here say, as long as he doesn't align himself with progressiveness and democracy he will remain one of the worst <sup>vengades</sup> (inaudible) .. in this country (laughter). He adjudged the murder of students by INKATHA, by saying, that it is the students that provoked violence. We are no longer living during the Kruger age, during which time everything bad or ugly was pushed down the peoples hearts. Today everybody has a right to raise his finger to register an objection.

BUTHELEZI issued a silly warning to the South African government, saying that if this kind of provocation continued, INKATHA YOUTH would demonstrate their strength and their prowess; this is a blatant lie.

Our organisation has organised workers in places like Estcourt, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Durban and Nongoma's surrounding areas and they no longer support INKATHA". (Applause)

(Video interruption).

POPO MOLEFE:

The Committee of Concern for the students of Ngoye, those who are suffering serious injuries and those who died following the brutal repression of both the KwaZulu tribalistic government and the South African Botha-Malan regime. The Ngoye incident has clearly shown and exposed our enemies in the struggle for liberation in this

country. Students have now then become victims of this fascist regime.

We hereby clearly say, that students struggle, has thus far marked a great era of resistance against all injustices. We condemn the tribalistic INKATHA for the death of innocent students of Ngoye.

We assure the parents of those students and the whole world, that no injustices perpetrated to our comrades by an individual or institution shall be left unquestioned. The leaders of INKA....., the leader of INKATHA <sup>Gatsha Buthelezi</sup> and his collaborators have proud, ... have proved themselves to be against total liberation. The struggle continues.

(Applause)

(Video interruption)

POPO MOLEFE:

(Inaudible) ..... the anti-Community Councils to read this message please. I'm not sure if I will be able to read this handwriting.  
(laughter)

(Video interruption)

It says, that the senseless and unsensitive, insensitive killing of young unarmed students. We have long seen GATSHA and his INKATHA as strongest opponents of apartheid, Gatsha has masqueraded himself as a champion of peace and freedom in our country. The truth is that he is at the helm of tribalism and reaction. This is a man who has without fail, dealt peacefully with the apartheid government, but we the oppressed have met up with unbridled violence from the same man ~~Hmm~~, the students at the Ngoye pleaded with GATSHA to cancel the INKATHA RALLY on campus. He arrogantly refused, saying as chancellor he has the right to host a rally on campus.

We have no doubt in our minds, GATSHA must have known trouble would erupt on the day of the rally. It is unfortunate that the name of the king, CETSHWAYO, whose contribution to our proud history of resistance has had to be dragged in the mud by GATSHA. We hold his name in high esteem. His relentless fight against land dispossession is safely stored in our glorious history of resistance. To have students in the mos....., to have students killed in the most vicious, callous and cold manner in which THABANE, SANDILE, CECIL and MUNDI were killed, is an intolerable crime for which perpetrators must answer.

We strongly condemn senseless killings of young students at Ngoye.

That is the end of the message".

(Applause).

MC

"Thank you comrade. Eh, again comrades, because of time, eh there are many messages here from different organisations and I think that if we can read all of them I think we wont make it. So I just mention the name of the organisations which have sent messages but we wont read those messages and we will continue with our speakers. We have got messages from NEUSA, from NEUSA, the RELEASE MANDELA COMMITTEE, GAWU, the HEALTH WORKERS ASSOCIATION and the NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS.

We then continue with our next speaker who will be Mr OUPA MONARENG from the SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS."

(Applause).

OUPA MONARENG:

Thankyou very much eh, comrade chair. Fellow countrymen, fellow students, brothers and all the people who are in this hall, to actually remember and endorse their concern about the brutality of

our five comrades, who is now another victim of oppression and exploitation (inaudible) The SOWETO YOUTH CONGRESS, known as SOYCO, together with the entire youth movement throughout the country; namely CAYCO, PEYCO, AYCO, SAYO, MAYO, that is the youth movements or congresses throughout the country which have been formed and mushrooming (inaudible) are endorsing their abhorrence and indignation to the cruel brutal and merciless killing of the five innocent Ngoye students by the primitive, shortsighted and block-headed (laughter and applause) eh block-headed, Zulu impi's and warriors.

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We together with the rest of the entire progressive forces, freedom lovers in our country and the world over, identify the enemy in terms of his violent, brutal and eh merciless actions. We ti..., we shall tirelessly fight all symbols and manifestations of oppression and deprivation. exploitation

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11/9/87

In this era of darkness and brutality; our revolution, cadres and comrades are prepared to chase (sic) attack and destroy the enemy from all areas, levels and corners of the world. Despite the fact that they are Black, White, Yellow or Green.

~~servants~~ SERVIC'S

It is clear and obvious that they (inaudible) GATSHA'S, MANGOPE'S, MATANZIMA'S and the THEBAHALI'S, are prepared to replace the actual enemy and subject our people to constant harassment and cruelty.

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Therefore barring primitive actions, leave us youth no option, but to challenge, but to a challenge of instructing all the progressive youth, student and community organisations to take a drastic action against such government ~~rated~~ <sup>CRIPPA</sup> eh bodies, puppets and stooges; predictably INKATHA and all its members throughout the country.

Let us subject them to constant harassment and aggressiveness. (Laughter and applause). Lets eh drive them all from our places of operation and residence. To those who are innocent within the tribal groups we make an urgent and special appeal to all, to resign and join our ranks.

This appeal should not be taken for a threat, for history is on our side. What happened to the Zulu hostel dwellers in 1976, will also happen to Inkatha members (a person whistles).

These dwellers were used to kill our people but that action never took them two weeks to regret (applause). So it is imperative for the peace-loving Inkatha members to resign before a sky-lab befalls them. (Laughter and applause).

We shall attack them in their homes, hostels, places of employment and their offices (laughter) for we loath them very much. This then taken, should not be seen as causing fights in between our people, but between freedom-lovers and agents of oppression. We know as a matter of fact that this deeds are a continuation of attacks to our people (inaudible) further and the Ngoye university.

*in Turfloop and Fort Hare*

20  
1/1/87

The whole system of homeland apartheid oppression and deprivation will with due respect manifest itself in many ways. People should realise that the era of dogfights and mudslinging is over, for this is a period of actually escalating our struggle. We know that as the struggle intensifies some people shall be thrown into the dustbins of history, for our leader has said that, as the struggle grows, political debris shall be thrown into the dustbins of history.

?

So it is time to realise that time is running out for those who behaved like eh ... eh Gatsha's and the impis and those who have been reactionary throughout our struggle. That the peoples patience will not be undermined we are watching and eh our patience are running out.

MC

Thankyou very much (Gives clenched fist salute)  
(Applause with soft shouts of AMANDLA)

Thankyou comrades. I have been persuaded to read a couple of messages seeing that we'll have now two speakers and hopefully that

# Retenues - Stijn

Kan mi ookken dat No 3 gese het by  
weet me van : Melby's in veng 17de  
: geresplegung op 20ste.

Hoogste

Kelha 14kember	- Ken es een vd leesi Youtha Alike	1347
	Weg not best AZAPO post president of.	1549
		1550

each speaker will just take five minutes to address us. And therefore I shall ask comrade Popo again to read the message from the Health Workers Association and also the comrade from CCAWUSA to read a message from that union.

POPO MOLEFE:

The goal of all persons and organisations working towards a true democracy, is a society where all people are in a optimal state physical health, satisfied that their families are adequately cared for and able to fulfil their roles as humans in this life.

~~This~~ <sup>The</sup> disgraceful atrocities committed over the last weekend are clearly a hindrance to the peoples struggle in that

(a) Brutal methods are being used to enforce acceptance of a tribal movement which has dedicated itself to the maintenance of the vicious system of free enterprise, which is keeping our people in the bonds of exploitation and oppression. ]

(b) The murdered and maimed students, our potential community leaders, are now lost to the struggle. This is a loss we cannot afford, as education is an essential means of developing a community conscious of the factors which deter the achievement of optimal physical and mental health. The Health Workers Association sends condolence to the families of the bereaved and strongly condemns these acts of brutality. We also suggest that many of us through our silent acceptance are as guilty as the liberal press and political parties in giving credibility to these thugs. It is only through the continued effort by committed people and organisations in identifying the forces of evil and danger in our society and ensuring that these are clearly communicated to all people of our land, that the society which we are all aspiring to, free from exploitation, oppression, humiliation, colonisation and neo-colonialism, can be achieved.



Thankyou  
(Applause)

UNKNOWN BLACK MALE (CCAWUSA)

Comrades in the struggle, this is a message of solidarity with the bereaved families and the students at the University of Kwa-Zulu.

Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union wish to express its abhorrance to Inkatha's rule of force. We note with concern their ways of seeking recognition by brutality and aggressiveness. Functionaries of the racist minority Pretoria regime, seek to outshine each other in subjugating the oppressed masses of our people by savage and barbaric action.

The system and its (inaudible) will be dealt a major blow by the relentless opposition of all freedom-loving people.

Amandla! Audience: Awethu!  
(applause)

MC

Thankyou comrades. Just before we have our next speaker I will read all the names of the deceased. They are Thabane MAKOYANE from Umlazi, Sandile THABETE from Pongola, Cecil MARIBATHE from Eastern Transvaal and (inaudible) Bhekwa from Eastern Cape.

Tiego MOSENEKE the president of AZASO will be our next speaker.  
(Applause)

TIEGO MOSENEKE:

Amandla (with clenched right fist salute). Audience: Awethu X2.

Comrades the Azanian Students Organisation is gathered with you here today at a time in the history of our people, when we are not only

butchered and killed by the white racist minority regime, but by men of our own kind.

We have seen for the past few days the events at Ngoye.

The incidents at Ngoye are a clear reflection of the kind of society that we find ourselves in and in particular the kind of institutions, that thousands of our people have got to study in.

The education system very clearly, and the events that go on in this institution are a clear indication of whose interest our education system and these institutions, serve.

These institutions very clearly are there to serve the interests of the ~~Sotha-Maan~~ <sup>Botha Malan</sup> regime, together with its henchmen the homeland leaders, the puppets. This can very, be clearly seen by incidents a year ago at the University of Fort Hare, when that man called SEBE, who today keeps thousands of our people jailed in a football stadium. That man SEBE, who went in with his forces on the, onto the Campus of the University of Fort Hare, and again there very brutally murdered and assaulted students there. A few months ago, we have seen another one by the name of Phatudi up North. Phatudi again sent his men onto the university of the North and there again sent people into the hostels to go and molest students in those hostels. Now today we see some other man Gatsha BUTHELEZI and today we are making even a greater noise because it is this man Gatsha BUTHELEZI I am making this noise today because I remember a few years ago, I was a standard 4 student, I was called upon to write an essay. And the type of essay was supposed to be "The man whose history I admired". And I tell you comrades I wrote about Gatsha BUTHELEZI. (Mixed laughter and slight applause).

Today and for the past few years we have seen very clearly, that this man, simply can't be the man whose history I admire. This man stands and poses in front of the masses of our people as <sup>just</sup> another Albert LUTHULI. And I want to say this very clearly today, for all

of South Africa and the world to know, that Gatsha BUTHELEZI simply is not and can't be another Albert LUTHULI (Applause).

This man BUTHELEZI goes about in the <sup>press</sup> ~~past~~ name <sup>day in and day out</sup> (~~inaudible~~) well, with the assistance of the liberals of this country, the liberal press and his parties in this country. He goes all about and wants to enhance his name by claiming that he at one time was a very active member of the Youth League of the African National Congress. He stands up again with a very great noise and says he is building a movement that is destined to free the people of this land. This man is a loudest voice on justice and equality, this man stood up on platforms and said the same kind of things that some of us said. He rejected the PC proposals. This man again stood up and he rejected the community councils and said they cannot be a replacement for government which is representative of the people of this country.

And this man again, critical of all those who through the suppression that we find in this country have chosen the path of non-violence, very critical of those people, this man stood up and wanted to be the champion of non-violence in this country, maybe hoping to get another Nobel prize like LUTHULI (laughter and applause).

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 But I have said, I cannot write the same that I wrote about Gatsha BUTHELEZI a few years ago. This man to me stands out very clearly as a traitor to the cause of our people. (Interjection). He is a liar and a collaborator (Interjections). This man is fomenting tribalism amongst our people. I must say, I must say very clearly today that those men and women who were carrying pangas and kieries and assegais, who walked into the hostels and murdered our people, those men are pure South Africans, and those people I say we should not do away with. Those are our people, those people have been misled by Gatsha and Inkatha for their own purposes. Those (applause).

Those people are still our people and we will always and our ranks will always be open to them to come and join us in a fight for a true democracy in this country.

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Gatsha BUTHELEZI is the same man who a few days ago in the same breath, in the same breath, as LE GRANGE stood up on a platform and said, certain organisations, the peoples organisations certain organisations, student organisations in this country and said they are a fronts of other organisations outside the country. The very same thing, very same things that are said by the LE GRANGE's of this world.

This man above all, above all the noise that he makes this man is a Bantustan Leader (Audience: Hear! Hear!). This man serves to reproduce an unjust system that we find in this country. This man is part of the system and when we all go out and destroy this system he shall be part of the enemy and we shall destroy the system together with him (Applause).

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And again, again I (inaudible) I want to advise our fellow men, and I want to advise our fellow students from the University of Ngoya; who are probably have very strong feelings against Inkatha. And I want to say fellow men, those people who murdered your fellow men, our fellow men, fellow South Africans, if those people knew the truth, only if they knew the truth, those people would have directed their wrath against Gatsha BUTHELEZI (Applause). And I want to say, I want to say and Azanian Students Organisation says very clearly so today, that let us see it as our duty, in our campuses, because this man, this man is causing very serious and grave divis, eh, divisions between our poeple. He is dividing us along tribal lines and we refuse to do so. Our organisations have many years ago, very many years ago managed to bridge the gaps which were between the tribal groups in this country.

Our people have fought for years to bridge these tribal gaps and we shall not allow this man to bring these gaps back. (Audience Hmm).

And we are saying let us see it as our duty from our respective campuses, which yes are there in the, in the Bantustans. Because this man is trying to cause divisions among the rural people of this country and the other people of this country. And we are saying, and Azanian Students Organisation is saying so today, that we should see it as our duty to go into these rural communities, to talk to these people, they are our people, to make them see the lie, to expose the lies of Gatsha BUTHELEZI, the SEBES for what they really are. And I can assure you fellow men these people will very soon and very soon join us in our march to freedom.

Amandla! Audience: Awethu!

(Applause)

MC Comrade Siphon RADEBE from CUSA

SIPHON RADEBE

Amandla! Audience; Awethu!

Eh, if this house can allow me to speak from the sleeve, I will take the whole day because there are so many things to say about Gatsha and what he did. So because of the time factor I will just read this message from the Council of Unions of South Africa.

The Council of Unions of South Africa says that first and foremost it salutes you all as a symbol of black solidarity, solidly pledging our solidarity with our brothers and sisters who have been murdered by Gatsha. Not only by Gatsha but by BOTHA, because we know for a fact that whatever has been done by Gatsha it has been done in the name or, under the instructions of P W BOTHA.

The Council of Unions of South Africa representing the following organisations:

South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union;  
 Building Construction and Allied Workers Union;  
 National Union of Mineworkers;

South African Chemical Workers Union;  
South African Laundry, Dying and Dry-cleaning Workers Union;  
Vugani Black Gaurds and Allied Workers Union;  
Steel Engineering and Allied Workers Union;  
Food Beverage and Allied Workers Union;  
Hotel, Liquor Catering Workers Union;  
United African Motor Assembly Workers Union;  
Transport and Allied Workers Union;  
Textile Workers Union.

Comrades, we are gathered here at a very crucial and critical moment in our history of our liberation. As recent as yesterday we shall remember that whites, that is the oppressors went to the polls to decide on how to oppress us. They were going to decide on the perpetual servitude under which we should live. Whether they voted yes or no is not important, it does not make any difference to us, because I want to aver here that all white people in this country want to oppress us. They only differ as to how they should oppress us and that is why there was this no or yes vote.

The nationalist (inaudible) to use some of its cronies in oppressing us the likes of Gatsha, SEBE's, MATANZIMA's and all.

These are reactionaries whose hands are dripping with our blood. Mention has been made here of a number of incidents where the homelands so-called leaders, have had their hands dripping or drenched in our blood. Put it in other ways, the brutal murder of our students by Gatsha ought to be seen not in isolation, it is not a isolated incident, certainly not an accident. But it is a concerted effort on the part of the oppressors to keep us in perpetual servitude.

This is now enforced by the running dogs of Pretoria, the likes of Gatsha.

The murder of our people did not begin on last Saturday, instead it was begun 330 years ago when Jan VAN RIEBEECK and his henchmen landed in this country. The Saturday massacre is but one of the many that have taken place ever since they set their pale faces in this country.

(Inaudible) wish to aver these wanton and brutal murders will still continue and they shall intensify, this being indicative of the fact that the enemy is becoming desperate and is <sup>challenging us.</sup> (inaudible). It is up to us, comrades, to take up this challenge. The enemy is challenging us, we should therefore mobilise all our liberatory efforts so as to conquer once and for all.

Needless to say that this phase of consolidation and mobilisation (inaudible). Those without a mandate and without a wish to be a united Azanian Nation speak against us. But most of all we need to guard against our own pettiness, our watchdog, our watchword should therefore be One nation, one people. We can only be one people if we jettison racism and capitalism. We can only be one nation if we are one people.

The Council of Unions of South Africa wishes to re-affirm its commitment to the struggle for a democratic and socialist Azania. Today more than ever we need to examine our struggle for a total liberation, we need to examine our strategies and tactics seriously; because without conscientizing and mobilising our people our liberation will remain a mere dream and wish.

For Gatsha to be able to abuse our peoples, who are today wrongly labelled as Zulu impis, it indicates that we still have not yet fully politicised the oppressed.

This therefore is a challenge to all of us gathered here to go out and mobilise, conscientise, educate our people.

To those who have been doubting Gatsha's standing via a vis the struggle in this country, I can only hope that they have seen for themselves, a supposedly non-violent advocator has since become a small type Idi Amin of South Africa. We have got a wish to salute the students who have sacrificed their lives resisting devisive tribalism from being rammed down their throats. In respect and admiration of them we'll therefore pledge today as workers and as an integral part of the broader society to continue our struggle for a liberated socialist Azanian Republic.

BUTHELEZI and the like - minded may postpone our ultimate liberation but they must not, they must be rest assured that victory is ours, not only ours, but victory is certain.

Amandla! Audience; Awethu  
(Applause)

MC

Thankyou very much comrade. As we settle down comrades. We can have a last message now, and now I promise the last message of support from NUSAS.

WHITE MALE: BRENDAN BARRY

NUSAS and the SRC at Wits express their anger and horror at the events at the University of Zululand over this last weekend.

We extend our complete solidarity support and condolences to our fellow South African students.

We further reject with contempt the utter absurdity of Chief Gatsha BUTHELEZI's allegations that it was students from this region that were involved in orchestrating the entire events at the University of Zululand. We suggest that he first closely examine himself, before attempting to shift the blame for this chilling act of violence carried out by Inkatha.



This is not the first time that Inkatha has resorted to violence in their intimidation of students. Their action against school children during the 1980 school boycotts is remembered by students throughout South Africa.

This kind of activity on any of our campuses from whatever source can never be condoned, but at the same time it must be recognised that ultimately it is apartheid with its economic exploitation and its oppression that is responsible for these actions. And we as progressive students remain committed to struggling for a non-racial and democratic education system within a unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

(Applause)

MC

I've got an announcement here that tonight at 7pm at the Dube Y, just opposite Jomo Sono's Kentucky (Laughter) eh there shall be another service of this kind, also hosted by UDF in conjunction with AZASO, and those of you who stay in Soweto or who can afford to go to Soweto you are invited to attend.

Song (started while MC is busy with one of the people sitting next to him, which he attempts to stop)

warmbaths  
Nansi (Inaudible) Ivutho Umlilo  
Siyaya Siyaya  
Abafana ~~Abantwana~~ <sup>bonkhonto</sup> Bayishaye Izolo  
Siyaya Siyaya

There is Warmbaths on Five  
We are going X2.  
The boog of the spear hit it yesterday  
we are going X2.

MC

Thankyou very much comrade, I can understand my comrades outbreak, eh, we are very angry, we are very bitter and eh I understand my comrade.

Let us say please comrades also go around and tell people that you can reach, your friends who couldn't attend this meeting that tonight at 7pm we <sup>shall be</sup> ~~are~~ having such a similar meeting.

In conclusion therefore I would like to say that we also have messages from the Krugersdorp Residents Organisation and the Detainees Aid Movement but because of time we could not read these messages.

And I like to say again that eh it is quite clear to us from what the speakers have said of the events that occurred over the past weekend that the challenges for us as oppressed people, peace-loving, those who are foreseeing a non-racial, democratic South Africa, the challenge is increasing. And more especially so, for AZASO as a student organisation which represents students in these different institutions where these kind of atrocities have over the past months have increased and are continuing to increase.

AZASO has the big task on its hands to try and mobilise students in these tribal institutions and at the same time face this kind of repression and brutality.

But then the forces of opposition obstruction and reaction are increasing but also our people our people are more than ever determined to continue and fight for that South Africa we envisage which will be free of racism free of the exploitation of one people by another or one class by another class.

And we like to say to Gatsha BUTHELEZI that the unity that was initiated in 1912 when the African National Congress was formed, which were (inaudible) in 1950's until our move ..., the movement was banned in 1960 or 61 that unity which our people have so much striven for and eventually achieved cannot be crushed by him. And that our people be forever, more determined and our people are united and were united in purpose and united in action. We know who our leaders are, no matter how Gatsha can try and denounce our leaders eh as reports has it that, in his parliament eh because of his tribalist kind of attitude he denounced the peoples leaders; that Nelson MANDELA is not the peoples leader. But we want to tell Gatsha BUTHELEZI if he read the papers, if Gatsha BUTHELEZI was

aware that over the past weeks the Release Mandela Campaign has so much gained momentum to show that our people are clearly convinced that Nelson MANDELA is the peoples leader <sup>and shall continue to be</sup> (~~inaudible~~) (applause).

Thankyou very much comrades. Shall we then stand up (video interruption)

Singing of NKOSI SIKELELE AFRIKA with clenched fist salutes a large number with thumbs extended.

Unseen person AMANDLA	Audience: AWETHU X2
MAYIBUYE	I'AFRIKA X2
OLIVER	TAMBO X6

Whilst moving out of hall audience sings revolutionary song continuously with variations.

SONG

Abafana Bankhonto Bashaye Izolo  
Siyaya Siyaya  
The boys of Mkhonto struck yesterday  
we are going, we are going.



As the crowd moves into the street in front of Khotso House the singing continues with dancing and ululating of woman and they appear to be agitated. They also shout the slogan Oliver TAMBO. The people taking part are mainly young men and women.

Film ends with views of people moving in the street but mainly in front of Khotso House.