

4/1/89
**THE CITIZEN
COMMENT**

Hendrickse

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, seems bent on continuing his confrontational policy.

He will not agree now to any constitutional amendment that will allow the State President, Mr PW Botha, to postpone the House of Assembly elections until 1992.

He will not co-operate on anything until the Group Areas Act is repealed.

He will talk to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress even though, by doing so, he will apparently defy a Cabinet directive which forbids any Minister to engage in talks with terrorist organisations which seek the violent overthrow of the State.

He will, in fact, be a pain in the rear.

But though he may impress his followers in the Labour Party, the Prog Press, which thinks that defying the government shows he is using the tricameral system to best advantage, and some of his critics, who had labelled him a government "stooge" because he took part in the system, he certainly does not impress moderates who believe that confrontational politics are out and consensus politics are in. Those people who believe that more good can be done for the Coloured people by working with the government rather than against it also find his approach totally counter-productive.

There was a time, as a member of Mr Botha's Cabinet, when Mr Hendrickse made an excellent contribution to the country's progress.

But he apparently decided that being too close to the government was undesirable, so he took an early morning dip on a segregated beach, lost his Cabinet post and abandoned compromise for defiance.

Now he is becoming even more uppity.

He demands the scrapping of the Group Areas Act as a precondition for any co-operation with the government, well knowing that the State President could lose his own constituency if he repealed this measure, as well as the Separate Amenities Act.

He refuses to acknowledge that the Free Settlement Bill, providing for mixed areas, is a major advance. To him it is all or nothing. Nothing, however, justifies his blocking and delaying tactics, which have disrupted the normal workings of the tricameral system and forced expensive sittings because of his refusal to vote on three controversial Bills.

If, in fact, he carries out his party's threat to force all Bills it opposes to be referred to the President's Council, he will effectively jam up the workings of Parliament.

He may think these are justifiable tactics—but they are the negation of Parliamentary

democracy.

What has caused further concern is Mr Hendrickse's threat to press ahead with talks with the ANC, the PAC and other bodies regarded as "terrorist organisations".

It is suggested that Mr Botha, who appoints Ministers to the Cabinet and Ministers' Councils, may fire him as chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives and Minister of Education and Culture.

Mr Hendrickse, however, shrugs this off, saying that "in terms of the Constitution, the President can only appoint someone who commands the support of the majority in the House of Representatives".

There was no-one within the LP who would be prepared to take over the job from him, Mr Hendrickse said.

We do not know whether, in fact, the State President would axe him, but we do know that talks with the ANC and PAC would be regarded in a serious light.

They would aggravate the tensions between him and the government, especially the State President, and certainly harm his and the LP's image among moderates.

This should, in fact, be a year in which efforts are made on all sides to get the negotiations for a new dispensation going.

It is certainly not a year in which Mr Hendrickse should try to stride the political stage like a man who can dictate the country's future.

He is not that kind of man — and the sooner he realises it, the better.

New initiative to end Natal violence launched by ANC

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The ANC could be making a bid to end the ongoing political violence in Natal by inviting Inkatha, the UDF, Cosatu and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) to talks in Harare later this month.

Mr Peter Kerchhoff of the Maritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness said yesterday: "There is definitely something being raised because it is obviously of concern to a lot of people."

The Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal says 655 people died in Maritzburg and Mpumalanga last year

in political violence.

The latest peace talks could stem from a visit by the SACC to meet ANC representatives in Harare last year.

But observers monitoring the violence point out there are many obstacles facing such talks.

First, the State could withdraw or refuse passports to delegates.

"The last thing the Government wants is a united black opposition, especially if it follows talks hosted by the ANC," said one person.

There is also tension between Inkatha and the ANC.

PEACE BID

ANC invites Inkatha, UDF, SACC, Cosatu to Harare

THE banned African National Congress could be making a bid to end the on-going political violence in Natal by inviting Inkatha, the United Democratic Front, Cosatu and the South African Council of Churches to discussions later this month in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Reports of the talks have been carried in several newspapers and Mr Peter Kerchoff of the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness said: "There is definitely something being raised because it is obviously of concern to a lot of people."

The Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, has said 655 people died in Pietermaritzburg and Mpumalanga last year in political violence. This figure excluded five people killed last Friday and Saturday.

Naught

The Progressive Federal Party's unrest monitoring group said 221 people had been killed in political violence in the Durban townships in the first 11 months of 1988.

This gives a death toll for Natal and KwaZulu for the year of at least 821, but the total is probably a lot more.

There have been

SOWETAN Correspondent

4 JAN 1989

several attempts to bring peace between the opposing political groups, but they have so far come to naught.

The latest talks could stem from a visit undertaken by the SACC

to meet ANC representatives in Harare late last year.

It has been reported that ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo was deeply concerned about the situation in Natal.

People monitoring the

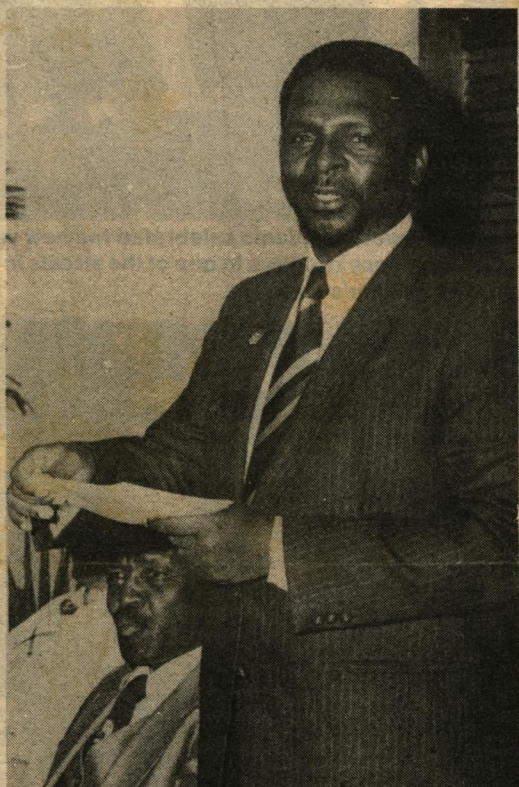
violence pointed out that there were a lot of obstacles confronting the talks.

Firstly, the state could withdraw or refuse to give passports to delegates to the talks.

Also, a lot of tension existed between Inkatha and the ANC.

SOWETAN
4 JAN. 1989

ADDRESS PEOPLES' PROBLEMS



MR ENOS J Mabuza . . . Chief Minister of KaNgwane.

BLACK education will not be effective or return to "normal" unless the Department of Education and Training addresses the legitimate grievances of black pupils and negotiates with representative organisations.

This was said by Mr Enos J Mabuza, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane and president of Inyandza National Movement, yesterday. He was addressing the annual conference of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (Atasa) at the Airport Sun Hotel in Johannesburg. The theme of the conference was "Education for Justice and Fairness."

In his address, entitled "The Politics of Education in South Africa," Mr Mabuza highlighted the way in which education in South Africa is used.

He said education was used as an ideological weapon of control, which deliberately sets out to maintain white supremacy, black subordination and the status quo.

Political interface

Mr Mabuza said education was in the frontline of the political interface in South Africa. He challenged Atasa to face this political challenge head on, and not merely offer token opposition or resistance to Pretoria's directives.

"There is no place in our country today for conservative and intimidated organisations headed by leaders and office bearers who are perceived by the younger generation as Uncle Toms, whose role belongs to another era.

"We need dynamic, politically aware and committed bodies working to advance the national democratic struggle. Atasa should espouse the ideal of unity on a broad base and find common ground with fellow South African teachers from other racial groups," he said.

Mr Mabuza warned that with the siege-like conditions created by the SADF patrolling black schools, the DET's repressive disciplinary measures, failure to address the legitimate grievances of black pupils and its refusal to negotiate with representative organisations, black education will not be effective or return to "normal."

Non-ethnic system

He argued that the basic problem in South African education has been the lack of a creative, apolitical, non-ethnic system based on a common purpose.

He urged black teachers to acknowledge and accept their political role in challenging the legitimacy of the minority that lies behind the present education system. He warned the teachers that the challenge would not be an easy task.

"To dismantle Bantu Education will be easy. The difficulty will arise in trying to build up a new educational dispensation which will respond to broad socio-economic and political aspirations without being controlled by a particular narrow political ideology," he said.

Angry exchanges after arrest Tutu's son fined R400 on traffic offences

Darene Rothschild and Michelle Vermaak

TREVOR Tutu, son of Cape Town's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was fined R400 or 150 days in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday for failing to react to summonses for three traffic offences.

Tutu (31), of Orlando West, Soweto, was taken into custody at 9 am yesterday outside the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court. He was handcuffed and taken to the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court where he was refused bail and held in custody until he appeared yesterday afternoon.

Tutu pleaded guilty to operating a vehicle that

was not registered or licensed, and for parking in a loading zone on two occasions. He also pleaded guilty to failing to appear in court three times in connection with these offences.

He said he acknowledged and respected the court, and wished to indicate his remorse. His wife usually took care of such procedures so he gave her the three fines to take care of.

Tutu said she failed to pay the fines, but he realised his negligence in the matter.

Counsel for the defence, Mr J H Bolleurs, asked the magistrate, Mr C van Eetveldt, to take into account Tutu's situation as sole supporter of a wife and child.

Mr Bolleurs told Tutu he had to take into consideration the interests of society, the road user and the circumstances of the offence. He also considered his family and income.

The prosecutor, Mr W P de Villiers said that numerous efforts were made to contact Tutu at his home, and messages were left there.

Tutu operated an unregistered, unlicensed vehicle on April 23, 1986. The two parking offences occurred in August 1987.

According to a spokesman of the Johannesburg Traffic Department, Tutu was arrested because of the outstanding warrants of arrests which were issued after he failed to appear in court.

Earlier Tutu appeared in the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court with Miss Joan Helen Rhodes on a charge of contravening the Civil Aviation Offences Act. Their appearance arises out of an incident at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday when, it is alleged, they left their luggage unattended. When they were questioned about the luggage, they allegedly made certain remarks to security officials.

The case was postponed to February 15 and they were warned to appear.

As Tutu left the courtroom, two traffic officials arrested him and handcuffed him.

He protested as he was led away. Miss Rhodes walked with him to the traffic officials car.

An angry Tutu asked the traffic officials if they really thought the handcuffs were necessary. "Do you think I am going to run away."

Miss Rhodes asked the two men if they thought

Tutu was "a dangerous criminal". Tutu interrupted and said: "Yes, I am, because I am too clever for them."

As he walked to the officers' vehicle he gave Miss Rhodes instructions. Asked to get into the car, he angrily told the officers: "Wait for me until I am finished."

Tutu said his arrest was "not totally unexpected." He told the men he was "not stupid". He saw them coming and knew the difference between Johannesburg Traffic Department officials and Kempton Park Traffic Department officials.



TREVOR TUTU, son of Archbishop Desmond Tutu outside the Kempton Park Magistrate's Court yesterday before he appeared on a charge of contravening the Civil Aviation Offences Act.

Post

4-7 JANUARY 1989

WHAT'S LEFT?

That's the burning question as the Labour Party continues its hoo-ha

THE festive season is supposedly the time to reflect on one's failures (which are usually many) and successes (which are usually few) over the past year.

And it is supposedly the time to reflect and plan for the new year, avoiding the mistakes of the past. Not making the same mistake twice, it is said, is experience.

I'm sure I speak for many when I say that we don't learn from our experiences. The festive season is usually a time when we overspend and overindulge and then vow that we won't make the same mistake next year.

It is one New Year resolution few of us can keep.

It is a recurring pattern, something like the soapies we watch on TV.

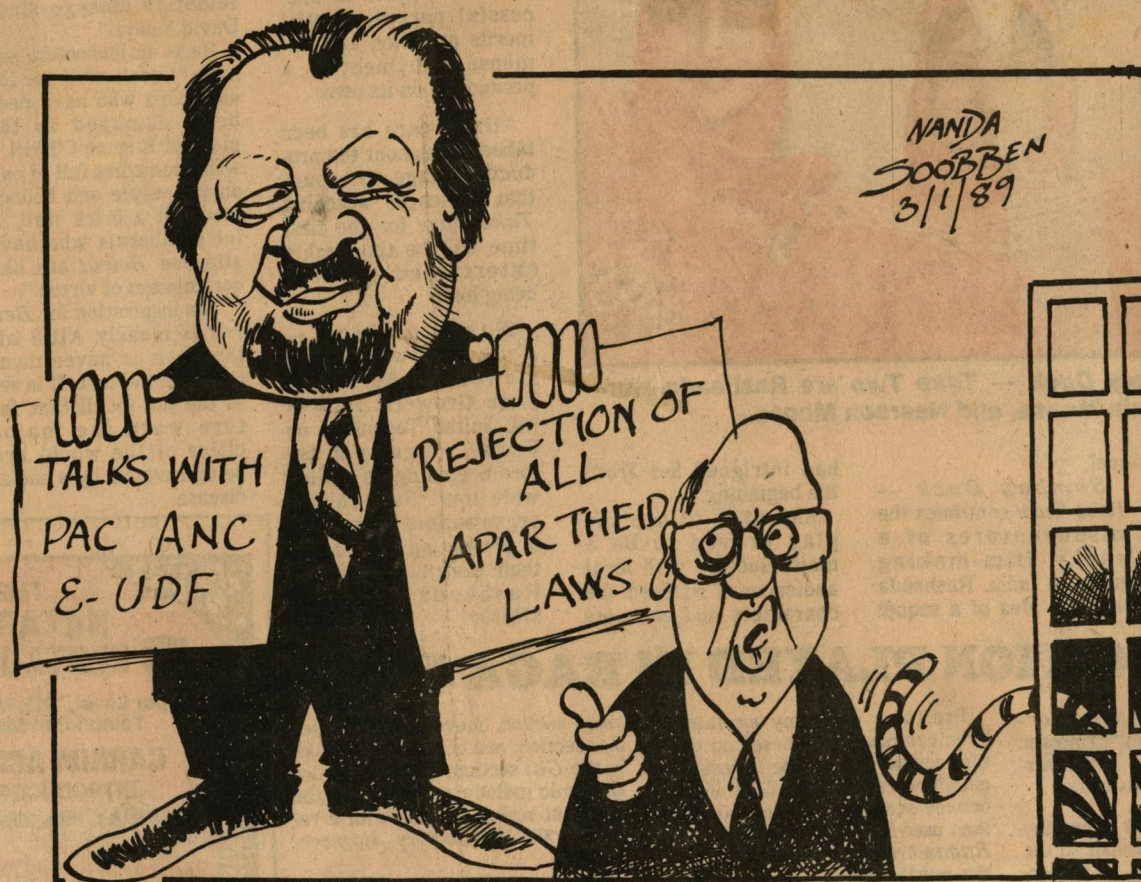
At the weekend a media colleague, Graham Brown, who heads *Agence France-Presse* in Johannesburg, described South African politics as something akin to *Dallas*, where the story goes round and round without any apparent conclusion, and then oes full circle again.

The reason for his latest nightmare of a political South African soapie is twofold — the usual Labour Party national congress hot air which is blown up into storm clouds by a media starved of news, and the perennial attempt to get a new so-called "left" political party for whites going.

The Labour hoo-ha has become an annual bore. The white media keeps telling us that Labour will reconsider participation in the tricam system, whereas any black person will tell them that Allan Hendrickse's party is quite happy to be one of the pillars of the collaboration establishment.

Then we are told how Labour's participation in the system has led to "reforms". The scrapping of the pass laws, of the anti-mixed marriages laws, of the laws forbidding sex between whites and blacks is credited to Labour.

Anyone with the slightest interest in our politics knows that the scrapping of these laws was on the cards long before the tricam system went into operation.



Finding a way to fire him may be hard Labour . . .

Then we are told that Labour is going to negotiate with extra-parliamentary organisations such as the banned ANC. That this is only the intention of Labour is ignored by the white media.

In this lazy season of lazy journalism nobody bothers to ask the ANC and other extra-parliamentary groups whether they are prepared to negotiate with the Labour Party.

We are told that Labour will seek closer links with Inkatha. We are not told why former close allies Inkatha and Labour parted so acrimoniously, and what Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to say about Mr Hendrickse and company's decision to participate in the tricameral system.

Why does not Labour consider the most glaringly obvious strategy: the withdrawal of all parties from the tricam and from homelands, and leave Parliament to the Nats — who have manipulated it for their own ends — and the Conservative Party?

Wouldn't such a step give birth to a massive anti-apartheid alliance which might bring together some 90 percent of South Africa?

Then we have the media giving prominence to Labour's David Curry saying he is tired of boycott politics, yet those same journalists do not question him about his party's boycott of things such as apartheid events staged on apartheid beaches.

We are also told at every turn that Labour is about to embarrass State President PW Botha over some strategy or other. Far from being embarrassed, Mr Botha clasped his wagging fingers and thumped the table so hard that it was Mr Hendrickse who had to make an embarrassing apology in case his defiant swim in the Indian Ocean was misconstrued.

And far from Mr Botha's being embarrassed by Labour, it was Mr Hendrickse's party which has seen members leave to form new parties. In fact, it was Labour which squealed that the Nats were trying to manipulate Labour members.

Mr Hendrickse regarded it as a triumph that last week's Labour congress was held in the Bloemfontein

city hall and not in a coloured township. Dear, oh dear, if we are going to measure political achievement by that yardstick our political problems couldn't be at all serious.

Then there is the hoo-ha over the new "left" party. Few black people — and I dare say few whites — have shown much enthusiasm for it.

On the white "left" of the Nats since the 50s we have had the United Party, Progressive Party, Democratic Party, Progressive Reform Party, New Republic Party, Independent Party, and who knows what else.

And still they soldier on towards futile parliamentary alliances. That in itself would not be a bad thing — if blacks could have faith in any of the leaders of the "new left movement".

How the capitalist captains of industry and free enterprise can be to the "left" of the Government, with its white exclusivist socialist policies, is beyond my simplistic understanding of politics.

After all, PFP leader Zach de Beer is — or was — a big deal in the Anglo American empire, Louis Luyt is

a big deal in Afrikaner big business. Willem de Klerk has no constituency to speak of, and Denis Worrall is of passing interest to most black people.

Another ex-colleague of mine, Mauritz Moolman, showed in a letter in the *Sunday Star* at the weekend that even a few questioning whites view the leaders of the new party with little enthusiasm.

"One of them was," writes Mr Moolman, referring to Dr Worrall, "until recently well entrenched in high office where playing apologist for minority rule is the name of the game until he had a fall-out with the boss.

"The other (a reference to the NDM's Wynand Malan) has seen the light after being elected to Parliament by a few whites in privileged suburbia, but nobody seems to be sure how much. He also claims to have contacts with extra-parliamentary leaders (who, presumably, are within easy reach because they are in jail)."

Referring to Dr De Beer, Mr Moolman says: "The third, still, is a scion of industry, representing the big capital perceived by many of the disenfranchised to represent that which entrenches the privileges of those who have elected the former.

"The fourth (referring to Dr Willem de Klerk) is the broeder of a leading Nat (Transvaal NP leader FW de Klerk) and will remain so, especially since it is unclear if he has any contacts at all — apart from his Nationalist brother, of course."

Mr Moolman adds: "And what about the man (Mr Luyt) who is trying to make all this possible? The former Department of Information's greatest (now allegedly disillusioned) friend. Even the Nats are smiling because his inane creation is still on the streets."

Mr Moolman is referring to the fact that Mr Luyt was Info's front man in its attempt to buy the *Rand Daily Mail* in the mid-70s. The bid was unsuccessful, so *The Citizen* was set up secretly with some R30-million of taxpayers' money.

Mr Moolman, like Mr Brown, myself and others who worked for the *Rand Daily Mail*, have long memories about the Info scandal and Mr Luyt's role in it.

Some of us also have long memories of the Schlebusch Commission whose report formed the basis of the tricam constitution. Unless I'm mistaken, Dr Worrall was a key figure in the commission.

I can recall that during a break in one of its sessions that I covered in Pretoria around 1980, Dr Worrall was visibly angered when I ventured the opinion that nothing less than universal franchise in a non-racial unitary state would suffice.

Roll on 1989. Last week the "reformist" Nats gave further notice that they will tolerate no extra-parliamentary opposition. They restricted four more organisations, bringing the total for 1988 to a record 32.

Yet the Labour Party and the new white "left" want to talk to extra-parliamentary organisations. At this rate none will be left to talk to this time next year.

That is why Labour and the white "left" might be better advised to consider whether they should continue to actively prop up a racially loaded parliamentary system which has been of benefit to only the Nats and the CP.

Banning of more anti-apartheid bodies another blow to democratic opposition

Post Reporter

THE banning of four more anti-apartheid organisations last week — bringing to 32 the total number of extra-parliamentary bodies restricted during 1988 — has been widely condemned as a further inroad against democratic opposition to apartheid.

On Thursday Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok restricted the Democratic Teachers' Union (DETU), the National Detainees' Forum, the Western Cape Students' Congress (WESCO), and the 2 000-member Western Cape Teachers' Union (WECTU) from carrying on or performing any acts and activities whatsoever in terms of

Regulation 7 of the Security Emergency Regulations.

On June 10 the Government banned the following organisations when it renewed the State of Emergency:

The Azanian People's Organisation; the Azanian Youth Organisation; the Cape Youth Congress; Committee for the Defence of Democracy; the Cradock Residents' Association; the Detainees Parents' Support Committee; the Detainees Support Committee; the National Education Crisis Committee; National Education Union of South Africa; Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation; Release Mandela Committee; Soweto Civic Association; Soweto Youth Congress;

South African National Students' Congress; South African Youth Congress; the United Democratic Front; the Vaal Civic Association; and the Western Cape Civic Association.

Restrictions on the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) were also renewed at this time.

On August 24 the End Conscription Campaign was also effectively banned, while the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee and the Soweto Students' Congress followed in October.

The Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Transvaal Students' Congress were the next victims, banned by Mr Vlok on November 1.

The Black Students' Society at the University of the Witwatersrand and its counterpart at Rhodes University were banned last month, as were the Mitchell's Plain Student Congress and the Western Cape Student's Council.

Mr Roger Burrows, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on national education, said the new restrictions amounted to a continued misuse of Government's executive orders to prevent totally legal organisations from functioning.

He said the National Party and not the courts had passed judgment on the organisations.

Mr Burrows said the action against the education bodies would not stop de-

mands for an end to the abhorrent apartheid education system and further placed in question the Government's claims that it wished to negotiate with the people.

A spokesman for the Human Rights Commission said in a statement the bannings were deplorable and clearly illustrated the Government's insensitivity to the plight of the country's thousands of detainees.

He said this action would not eliminate democratic opposition any more effectively than had any of the Government's other repressive strategies implemented over the past five years.

"Opposition grows in

proportion to repression of dissent," the spokesman said.

A police spokesman said in response to the latest restrictions last week that the National Detainees' Forum had been founded to perpetuate the aims of the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, one of the 17 organisations restricted in terms of Regulation 7 last February.

He said the three education organisations played an active role in the struggle for people's education, an "ANC-inspired" education system.

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said the State's reasons for restricting the organisations were "ridiculous".

Mr Omar said that although bannings had become the norm since the National Party took power, this had not stopped the struggle for liberation.

Former WECTU chairman Mr Yusuf Gabru condemned the bannings as a "cowardly" act and added that the restriction would not prevent teachers in the Cape Peninsula from continuing the fight for a democratic education system.

Post
4-7 January 1989

LABOUR PARTY RESOLUTIONS DISMISSED AS MERE RHETORIC

By William Harper

THE much-publicised resolutions to forge links with extra-parliamentary organisations, adopted by the Labour Party this week in its search for political allies, seem set to remain nothing more than rhetoric unless it pulls out of the tricameral system.

Spokesmen for the progressive democratic movement have dismissed the resolutions — adopted at the LP congress in Bloemfontein at which the party also decided to continue with participation despite the rejection of the tricameral system by the vast majority of black South Africans — on the grounds that the LP had been an active participant in State attempts to destroy all real opposition to apartheid.

Natal Indian Congress secretary Dr Farouk Meer said the resolutions to work with organisations such as the ANC, PAC, and UDF were a contradiction because of the role the LP had played in the campaign to crush extra-parliamentary opposition.

"We must be mindful

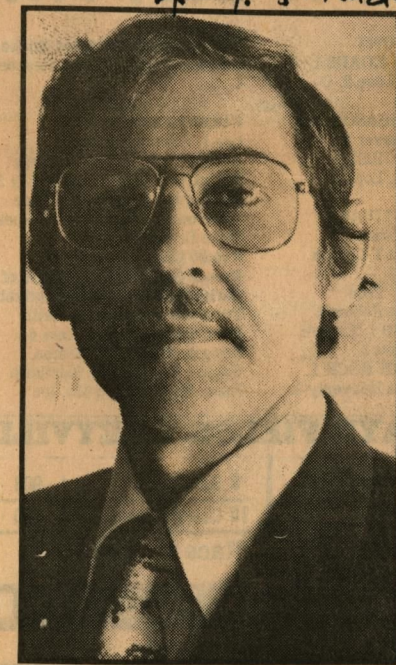
of the fact that the LP supports the emergency and is party to the security laws which have resulted in the detention of thousands of members of the progressive democratic movement and the banning of organisations in this sector," Dr Meer said.

"By their continued participation they are continuing to give legitimacy to the system and are in fact jointly responsible for what is happening to the country."

Dr Meer said that under these circumstances it was "quite meaningless" to talk about discussions with extra-parliamentary organisations unless the LP broke its links with the Government.

He said claims by the LP that it had made tremendous strides in the struggle for liberation and in attempts to uplift the coloured community were "totally untrue" as none of the fundamental cornerstones of apartheid had been removed.

This, Dr Meer said, left the LP with only one option open if it hoped to achieve any measure of



Farouk Meer: Resolutions were a contradiction because of the LP's role.

credibility with the majority of the people — and that was to pull out of the tricameral system.

He said State President PW Botha would call the LP's bluff by holding elections in March and winning them, causing whatever bargaining chip the party believed it held to "with-

er away".

"The Labour Party enters 1989 caught in a trap of boasting about improvements which they have not achieved and using these achievements for justification for continued participation," Dr Meer said.

He added that while no overtures had been made

in connection with co-operation with the UDF and other organisations, it was "highly unlikely that anybody would want to talk to the Labour Party".

"Such overtures will almost definitely be scorned," he said.

Mr Clifford Collings, spokesman for the United

Only solution is to pull out advises Meer



Allan Hendrickse: Government unwilling to give what the party asked.

Committee of Concern (UCC), said the LP had clearly shown itself to be an "enemy of the people" by supporting the State crackdown on extra-parliamentary opposition through its participation in an undemocratic system.

Mr Collings said the LP was now attempting

to claim some of the credibility, support, and recognition enjoyed by the UDF and the ANC by being seen to be associated with them when it was these organisations which had borne the brunt of the State's repression — repression which the LP had openly endorsed.

"The only thing that the Labour Party can do to contribute to the dismantling of apartheid is to resign from Parliament now and not return," he said.