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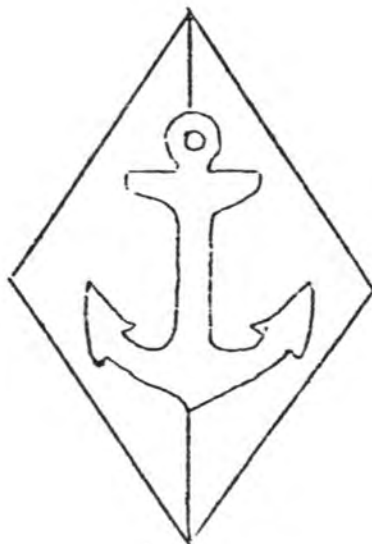
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LABOUR PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA
ARBEIDERSPARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA



MINUTES
NOTULE

17th ANNUAL PARTY CONGRESS
17de PARTY JAARKONGRES

ESHOWE, NATAL
3 to 5 January 1983

Official Opening

Monday 3rd January 1983 at 15h00.

1.

OPENING DEVOTIONS

Proceedings commenced with scripture reading and prayers by Bishop L Zulu.

2.

MARK OF RESPECT TO DEPARTED MEMBERS

Congress rose and observed the customary silence as a mark of respect to all its departed members.

3.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Mr Eric Lucas, Chairman of the Natal Region of the Party extended a warm welcome to Party Officers, delegates and visitors.

4.

INTRODUCTIONS.

The National Chairman, Mr David G Curry, thanked both Bishop Zulu and Mr Eric Lucas, introduced the invited guests and fraternal delegates and welcomed all present to the Party's Congress. In introducing the chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr M G Buthelesi he also invited him to officially open the Party's Seventeenth Annual Congress.

5.

ADDRESS BY CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI.

Mr Chairman, Delegates,

So soon after the season of goodwill, I find it difficult to turn to the hard and complicated realities of our political life in South Africa. Yet perhaps it is good that so important a Conference as the National Convention of the South African Labour Party should be held right at the beginning of a New Year. So many important decisions are to be taken at this gathering that it is appropriate that these decisions launch a brand New Year.

My brothers and sisters, when you invited me to address you today, I am sure you were aware of the intense speculation that you would cause. You face very difficult decisions which South Africa is aware of. South Africa is watching you very carefully at this hour. The Government is watching you, your own supporters are looking to you for guidance, and the millions of non-voters, of rightless Black people, are watching your conference as carefully as people watch a barometer before a storm.

I am referring, obviously to the critically important decisions which you face regarding the constitutional proposals of the Government. On the very eve of these decisions, you have chosen to invite me - the leader of people who are totally excluded from these proposals - to address you. One can forgive the intense speculation about what your motives might have been.

Those who speculate are not aware of the political ties which have evolved over recent years and which are deepening as we come more and more to face the realities of our disenfranchised position. Whether some members of the South African Government see my presence here as a sign of your resistance, or whether some members of the South African Government see this conference as a venue of my SABA swan-song is irrelevant. In opening this conference, I share with you an ongoing political engagement between the Coloured people, Inkatha and the Indian communities.

Inkatha has now a membership of over three quarters of a million people. It is the overwhelming voice of Black South Africa and I represent that overwhelming voice here today, as we share thoughts about deep and sombre political events

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and proposals which could change the face of South African politics.

I am very conscious that it will take more than a thousand constitutional proposals such as those offered you to break the basic ties which bind our people together. I am not here today to deliver a Swan-song to the Black Alliance. Our meeting together, and the history of SABA's development is an indication of the acceptance of the principle that we have but one common political destiny. In our sense of partnership as Black South Africans, we accept that we have at times different roles to play, but this does not give us separate political identities. It is the acceptance of these separate identities which would destroy the partnership.

We in Inkatha have had to play a role which the Coloured and Indian communities could not play in blocking the Government's attempt to denationalise nearly six million Zulu-speaking people as a prelude to their confederal formula. The Coloured and Indian groups could not play this role. You in this year of 1983 as Coloured people in the Labour Party have a specific role to play which Inkatha cannot play on your behalf. It is appropriate, therefore, that I am present here today, and given our history of co-operation within the broader framework of our South African identity, it is not surprising either.

Within the parameters of this thought, you as the dominant political group amongst the Coloured community, have to make your own decision about where you go from here and what your stand should be towards the Government's new constitutional proposals. I want to be helpful to the extent that I can as you deliberate about these weighty matters, and both as a Black South African and as Chairman of SABA, I hope that what I say will assist you in what you are doing.

There is in my mind no question whatsoever that 1983 could be the year of glory for the Indian and Coloured community of South Africa if you reject the Government's proposals aimed at a confederal system. It will be a year of glory not because you will make party political gains; it will be a year of glory if you reject these proposals because rejection of them will stave off a deteriorating political situation in which there can only be the evolution of a people against people violence on a large scale.

During the dark ages of mankind's development, politics was basically about the amassing of physical strength to enable one successfully to wage violence against other people. Humanity found this so wasteful that we have now turned violence for political sake into an atrocity. The use of violence ultimately gave way to the employment of democratic procedures, and it is this heritage of mankind which we as Black South Africans are now entrusted with.

As human beings committed to the higher ideals of mankind, we test most of the things we do politically speaking against the possibilities or probabilities that we will increase or decrease the prospects of non-violent change. As Black South Africans, we do not have to labour the point that apartheid is preparing our people for violence. Whites may speculate about this but we know it to be the case. As South Africans we know it is the Black people of this country who will raise the level of politics here to civilised standards. We cannot do this within the framework of apartheid. We reject apartheid. We reject divisive politics. We reject politics based on purely divisive ethnicity. We reject the present Prime Minister's direction of political thinking.

One of the things which confuses the issue for us is the extent to which we have been subjected to newspaper, radio and television propaganda that the proposals are at least a beginning and a small step in the right direction. I am almost daily amazed at the political naivety of many of my white friends and associates who have been seduced by this propaganda and hold that the Prime Minister's proposals are at least a beginning. This to me amounts to deceiving the Prime Minister. In a democratic South Africa and in a South Africa where Black participation in the economy was such that the media was not White-owned and White-controlled and White contrived, we would have been presented with a picture of the proposals as being an almost medieval attempt to entrench classical apartheid in the very constitution of our country. I can think of no purer form of political apartheid than the confederalism which is the destiny of the current proposals.

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We in Inkatha have fought valiantly and resolutely to establish the politics of equality based on universal adult suffrage. We have done so sensibly, without insisting on any particular form of democracy. But we have done so insistently demanding a form of democracy which is acceptable to all the people of this country. There must be some such formula for democratic politics and we have sought it.

I have been very explicit on this point ever since I accepted the role of leading my people in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. At that stage, there was no talk of confederalism in the National Party. The cut and thrust of politics was about the exclusion and inclusion of Blacks in the parliamentary process, whether they were Indian, Coloured or African. Ever since I accepted the challenge to lead my people out of the labyrinth of apartheid stupidity, I have fought for one South Africa in which democratic procedures of one or another kind would ensure the evolution of civilised government for all in this country.

As Black South Africa opposes apartheid ever more efficiently, White South Africa shifted its ground from time to time. The present proposals amount to no more than White South Africa abdicating its position in this struggle which started in 1910. White South Africa wants to flee from democratic political engagement with Black South Africa. It wants to pretend Africans do not exist by making them foreigners who have no political rights. They represent White South Africa on the run and they represent White South Africa trounced by democracy and who do not want to admit defeat.

We in Inkatha and in KwaZulu will never be party to the disenfranchisement of any South African. I took up political cudgels as a hereditary chief whom the people asked to lead them through the dark days of government-instituted ethnic divisiveness. Ethnicity of Black people was abused in order to foist ethnic institutions on the whole of Black South Africa, and we in KwaZulu have set our minds against our ethnicity being abused to foist ethnic politics on South African Blacks. We have thwarted the grand design of apartheid by refusing to accept so-called independence. We in Inkatha and KwaZulu have accepted the kind of recommendations which were made by the Buthelezi Commission. Any South African who participates in attempts to entrench racialism in our constitution is misguided or worse. We have rejected 'independence' so-called because we do not want to go down in history as having cast in concrete the Government's classical apartheid, or of having accepted the abuse of our ethnicity to separate us from our fellow compatriots of different ethnicity.

People who carry passes are not voluntarily accepting ethnicity as the basis of social, economic and political life. Those who are affected by group areas and influx control regulations do not participate voluntarily in apartheid. Black exclusion from the parliamentary process has been criticised by all Blacks since the Act of Union.

The proposals of the President's Council to continue excluding me and my people from the workings of democracy should be rejected by all Blacks. Any participation in the machinery being created gives the constitutional changes a blessing they do not deserve.

In all my political career I have fought for equality and justice. I rejected the Black Advisory Council which was proposed by Mr P V Botha as a sister rubber-stamp to the President's Council for White political selfishness. If I had agreed to participate in it, I would have been a participant in casting in concrete the National Party's divisive ethnicity.

Salvaging what little I can for my people at the so-called homeland level is not done at the expense of the political life of the Coloured and Indian community. My leadership position from which I have consistently attacked the divisiveness of apartheid was not created by any White government. I have an independent power base which rests on foundations established before the Whites set foot in South Africa as settlers. That is why I took such strong exception to people of the ilk of Messrs Chris Heunis, Lofty Adams and Pat Poovalingam trying to confuse issues by pretending that my leadership within the Zulu national grouping was created by the Nationalist Government. This is utter nonsense and it is a silly way of trying to undo Zulu history.

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Because there has been effective White propaganda and confusion in thinking, we have to take these attitudes seriously, even if they have been contrived by propaganda. Some people see them as nothing more than an elaborate attempt to include a minority of Black people in a form of parliamentary process without actually sharing decisions. Others, mostly perhaps within the White National Party, see them as a way of bringing a few Black people into Parliament without strengthening the opposition. Yet other people see the proposals as the start of a gradual process which will lead to better things in time. Then there are also Whites who see them as a radical departure from the status quo which will lead to a slide of Whites from power. Propagandists for the Government overseas cite the split in the National Party as an example of how meaningful the proposals are. I suppose to some early colonists with medieval minds even the freeing of slaves was a dangerous radical reform and they seem to have continued in the same way of thinking ever since.

It is important for us to look at what people feel. Two surveys about the constitutional proposals have been done recently among Coloured and Indian people and reported in the press and on television. These two surveys both produce very similar findings and therefore can be taken as fairly valid and reliable. One was conducted by Prof. Lawrence Schlemmer and one by the Human Sciences Research Council. I will not go into these findings in detail but I would like to draw out certain very broad trends.

These surveys make it clear that very large majorities of nearly nine out of ten Coloured and Indian people, and even nearly six out of ten Whites in the cities, believe that Africans should be included in the constitutional arrangements. In fact, nearly half the Whites and many more Indian and Coloured people in cities do not believe that peace between the races is possible without including Africans. The studies show that Coloured and Indian people are very sceptical about the proposals in their present form. In the Schlemmer poll, over six out of ten Coloured people did not believe the proposals went far enough, and nearly six out of ten said they would vote against the proposals as they stood. Only one-quarter of Coloured people and just over one-third of Indian people said that they would positively vote for the proposals as they stood.

The picture from Coloured and Indian people in the big cities, then, is that the constitutional dispensation offered by the Government falls far short of what is required. At the same time, however, seven out of ten Indian and Coloured people in the Schlemmer survey felt that their leaders should not ignore or boycott the proposals but should negotiate and pressurise to get them improved. In the Human Sciences Research Council survey as well, very clear majorities of Coloured and Indian people felt that the proposals held some benefits for them and that there were chances of improvements in the future.

I do not find these results strange at all. Your supporters, like our supporters, do not support violence as a strategy at this stage. They also find very little or nothing at all in the South African Government's constitutional proposals which are a guarantee of future peace and prosperity. But they believe, as we believe, in negotiation as a strategy.

The Government has come with proposals. They are clearly inefficient. It would seem to me that rank and file Coloured and Indian people in these surveys are saying: 'go there and push, argue and negotiate for an adequate minimum basis for further development.' As I read it, they are saying: "do not simply accept or reject the proposals - use them as a way of starting what we really need in South Africa - a process of negotiation."

I would like to say just a few words about the two alternatives to negotiate - acceptance of the proposals as they are or rejection out of hand. Accepting the proposals as they are means accepting an incurable ulcer in the body of Black unity. We will never heal the rift. Black people who are not included - the Africans - are going to feel even more alienated than they are at the moment. For them it will be a clear indication that Coloured and Indian people will then become, in our eyes, second-class "enemies". One sometimes respects one's large "enemy" but very seldom his little runners and camp-followers. They are without any honour at all. I do not believe Coloured and Indian people can afford this fate.

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It would, I think, be wrong of us to think we have to either accept the proposals or reject them and retain the present political situation. The rejection of the proposals is not an acceptance of the status quo. We must be astute in our political perceptions and our strategies and tactics must reflect this. There is an urgent need for change in this country. There is an unprecedented recognition that change is necessary, and I believe that we have to choose between one form or another form of change. I believe that in our circumstances we in fact have a choice of two political directions. The one is that which has been contrived by the Prime Minister and his caucus within the four walls of apartheid, and the other is the kind of proposals which the Buthezi Commission has made. In the latter proposals, we have relevant points for political action and an ongoing process of building up pressures. Within the Buthezi Commission proposals, there is considerable room for manoeuvre and because they are based on demographic, economic and social realities, they offer us opportunities for political action and joint programmes.

However inadequate in terms of universal suffrage per se the Buthezi Commission may be, it does represent my, Inkatha's and the KwaZulu Black people's rejection of the Nationalist Party politics of divisive ethnicity. We must distinguish between using ethnicity in a cheap and divisive way as the Government is trying to do, and recognition of the existence of ethnicity as a fact of life. There is a big difference. There has been far too much emotional rhetoric on ethnicity as a reaction to the Government's abuse of ethnicity, which pretends as if ethnicity per se is an evil thing. If it is evil then mankind would not be so rich because of various cultural contributions of the world's ethnic groupings.

This is one of the issues which this Conference has to grapple with. We in Inkatha have done more than many Blacks would have wanted us to do to make possible one or another form of non-racial democracy.

There are those who cry for one man one vote and nothing less and to hell with White, Indian and Coloured political sentiments. The Buthezi Commission report starts off with the assumption that Utopian politics and ideological posturing is not helpful. It starts off with the assumption that all the people of South Africa, White and Black alike, need to be flexible. For me this flexibility comes with the need to find a solution which is democratic and just. I do not find the exclusion of millions of Africans from the process of Government democratic and just, and I do not think that our rejection of proposals which aim to do this is an indication that we lack flexibility. We can be flexible together in the achievement of common ideals, and political flexibility is required not to achieve any specific ideal, but to find common cause. There is no common cause in the constitutional proposals being made by the Government, and if anyone asked me what the majority of Africans think about these proposals, I would say that Africans would say almost with one voice that the Indian and Coloured communities of South Africa must consider these proposals very seriously for this reason alone. This is not simply an act of protest and it is not negative. I say this notwithstanding the fact that I have not come here to dictate to the Labour Party about what decision they need to take. That is the business of Conference.

I have seen a number of severe technical weaknesses in the Government's proposals pointed out in the press. It seems to me the most serious one concerns the division of politics into "common affairs" and "ethnic community interests." So much time and energy will be spent on trying to convince the White Chamber in Parliament and the President's Council that race discrimination, like Group Areas and separate schools, is a common affair and not a community affair, that you will have time for little else. Your representatives will become so exhausted by the preliminaries like these that you will have no energy left for Government.

It seems to me that these kind of problems have to be resolved from a position of strength. The moment one accepts a set of constitutional proposals, one can try to modify them, certainly. However, one cannot challenge basic elements in them. The division of politics into "common politics" and what seems to me like "ghetto politics" is just such a basic element.

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From the survey by Schlemmer which I quoted earlier, it is clear that the South African Labour Party is the largest single political group among Coloured people. This give you a particular responsibility with regard to the Government's present proposals. It also gives you a particular opportunity to make a very positive move which I imagine you have already considered, and which you will probably make before conference is over.

As political realists and as members of the Black Alliance, it would seem to me that the Black Alliance can neither accept nor ignore the present Government's proposals. But these proposals have never been negotiated openly with you or any other members of the Black Alliance. This would seem to me to be a minimum requirement for any eventual participation with the blessing of the Black Alliance as a whole. We in SABA and Inkatha stand for a National Convention in which all South Africans will be represented. But we do realize that this cannot be done overnight, taking into account White intransigence and White fears. But if all people were represented in this proposed set-up, it may have been seen as at least one little faltering step in the right direction.

The Government must accept the reality of SABA and it must negotiate with it. Black South Africans have seen fit to come together in SABA. It is the collective voice of the most important political group in the Coloured community, and of an important structured group amongst the Indian people and certainly of the most important political group in the African community, whatever our detractors may say.

While the Government rejects this indigenous political development in favour of its imposed apartheid ideology, we have little hope of constructive politics. Blacks in Inkatha may be deeply appreciative of their Sotho, Swazi, Xhosa, Zulu, Venda, Tswana, Ndebele or Shangaan extraction. The Indian community is not undifferentiated, and nor in fact, the Coloured community. Each differentiated group has a sense of its own identity, and the bringing together of these identities in SABA has enriched us all politically. We are politically impoverished if we recede into ethnic compartments, and it is in that impoverished circumstance that the Government wants to talk to us because there they are more powerful, in terms of manoeuvring us on the basis of the old divide and rule principle. We have found that the importance of the sense of our identity is not threatened when we come together, but that in a strange way the unity of people of different identities heightens their awareness of who they are. We have not found it difficult to act within the broader identity of being South Africans, and we know that Whites in this country would share the experience had they been participants with us.

Quite frankly, what I would like to see is for you to establish a group of experts in consultation with other members of the Black Alliance. With this group of experts, you could examine the proposals and develop a detailed position. You could then ask the Government to nominate its own people to sit with your group and jointly consider both the Government's and your detailed positions. This should be done openly and in full public view. This would be the politics of open negotiation and as I read the surveys, including those of the Buthelesi Commission, what most of our supporters would like to see.

Our message to the South African Government must be clearly that the confederal dream of White superiority must be abandoned. Inkatha, the Labour Party and the Reform Party, and collectively SABA, cannot agree to co-operate with the Government in attempting to establish a confederal situation, nor can we co-operate with the South African Government in taking South Africa step by step towards confederal politics.

I think it is important for the Coloured community and the Indian community to recognise that the Government has not made the kind of political demands on them which have been made on Africans. The Coloureds have not been asked to agree to relinquish their South African citizenship. They have not been asked to agree to being made foreigners in the land of their birth. They have not been asked to lose their democratic rights in the country they love. They have not been asked to relinquish their individual and collective claims on the richness of South Africa's economy, and they have not been asked forever to relinquish the right

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to be heard in the decisions of government which controls the country's foreign policy, its internal development, its fiscal policy, its transportation, its posts and telegraphs, its electricity supply, its defence, and virtually every other essential of a truly autonomous state. For the Coloured community to accept proposals which make these demands on their African compatriots would be disaster for them and for everybody. It would be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as your ultimate abandonment of Africans as your fellow countrymen and fellow Blacks.

The Government's proposals have been developed as a well publicised White initiative with a few nominated Coloureds and Indians to decorate proceedings. No self-respecting Black party or organisation can accept this. I regard these proposals as the first stage of a White initiative. What simply has to happen now is a well considered and equally well publicised Black response, followed by negotiation. By this I do not mean quiet persuasive chats and behind-the-scene arm-twisting. These issues are of immense concern to all South Africans and they all have a right to know. Not all political horse-trading can be out in the open, but the broad negotiating positions must be open to public scrutiny.

I am not against any meaningful gradualism. Any realistic politician in South Africa knows that our society will not leap into an open democracy in one single political jump. Those who believe it can must be thinking of revolution. As a realist, I also know that revolution must fail several times before it succeeds in South Africa. It is important for us to realise that whatever we do in this country we are going to be involved in some kind of gradualism, and our choices are between the gradualism of violence or gradualism of negotiation.

We need clearly to understand that the mythology of violence offends reality in our situation. It is a myth to believe that we could have one violent upheaval and thereafter a Utopian situation will result. For us there is along the road of violence only the gradualism which successive failures will bring. We may move gradually from protest to posturing to violence against property as we have done. We may then gradually move into violence against people. We do not have to approve or disapprove of the political position of anybody when we object to violence being used against them. I have objected to the violence which was employed by the South African Government against Black South Africans in Mapoto. I objected again against the South African violent thrust into Maseru. I rejected the violent thrust into Angola. We rejected the violent assassination of Mr Hlapane and I think you will find it understandable that I reject the violence which has from time to time been threatened against my own person.

This kind of violence can only escalate gradually in this country. Can we really accept that we should kill those who disagree with us politically. This is a very serious thing to consider at this juncture. If we were all to accept that principle, then all hell would be let loose. That is why one cannot reject the Maseru type raid as we do, but in the next breath accept the assassination of Mr Hlapane. There are many of us, I am sure, who would disagree with what Mr Hlapane did after resigning from the external mission of the ANC, and from the South African Communist Party. But to accept the principle of liquidating political enemies amounts to skating on extremely thin ice. Who will decide what warrants killing a political opponent and in what circumstances it is justified? Killing in war, in a theatre of war, is something completely different from this. In other words, war is war.

This violence will go through phases and one of the phases will be the type of IEA violence against people who shoot each other in the knees and blow each other up in dance halls. The South African army and police force, together with the secret police in para-military developments, will defeat initial attempts to bring about revolution. There never will be one glorious revolution in this country. There may well be a succession of revolutionary situations, each exacting a terrible toll not only against lives and property, but also against prospects for the future. Connivance in schemes such as the Government's constitutional proposals by our Coloured and Indian brothers and sisters, can so easily drive so many Africans into the hands of those who have opted for violence. That is the extent of your responsibility today.

Violence will not produce results any faster than non-violent negotiation. Violence is a place where frustrated people hide from the realities of life. The hard reality which we face is that we must reject violence and we must reject the current constitutional proposals being advocated by the Government, and we must seek to reinforce each other in whatever strategies and tactics that living realities of each day provide for us. That is the choice you will be making when you decide on the issue before this conference.

I, like any other sensible observer, accept that real change will come in stages and steps. There is a difference, however, between stages and steps, and the Government's proposals as they stand. In no way can one regard any proposals which actually offend and annihilate three quarters of South Africa's population as a gradual step in the right direction. Proposals which create conflict are not healthy gradualism.

Gradual steps and stages in constitutional change in South Africa must build trust, not break it down. My ideas of meaningful gradualism is stages of open negotiation. Less than this, we in Inkatha cannot accept. We are willing to concede that negotiation can take a long time. We can accept that there can be interim achievements along the path of negotiation, but it is only within a process of negotiation between all of South Africa's people that gradualism will be found. The present proposals as they stand are not, I repeat not, a stage in a gradual process. They are a trap. When people are caught in a trap they will fight free. Of this I must warn my White fellow South Africans.

It is for our Indian and Coloured brothers and sisters to decide whether they would like to play the part of the bait on this dangerous and lethal trap. The decision that is before you is not a decision just for the Coloured and Indian communities. It is a decision for the future of South Africa, and it will set a pattern for what kind of future awaits all of us. It is indeed a decision which will determine the issue of whether change will be violent or non-violent. There exists at present a White/Black violent situation. Your decision will determine whether to this a dimension of Black-on-Black violent confrontation at many levels will be added to what is already a very agonising situation.

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6. VOTE OF THANKS

The Deputy Leader of the Labour Party of S A, Mr I Richards, moved a vote of thanks to Dr K G Buthelezi.

7. FRATERNAL GREETINGS

1) Mr Y S Chinyere, leader of the Reform Party of S A.

Mr Chairman, Firstly I wish to thank the officials and members of the Labour Party of S A, for extending an invitation to the officials of the Reform Party of S A to your conference. We are indeed very grateful to you for this kind gesture.

Secondly, I bring to you greetings and best wishes from the Reform Party of S A for a very successful and healthy conference. I am sure we are all looking forward for a good conference.

Mr Chairman, my message to the conference is, that you are meeting today, to discuss and take important decisions on the two reports produced by the President's Council dealing with with constitutional dispensation for Whites, Coloureds and Indians. I would like the conference to seriously look into the positive and negative aspects of the proposals as outlined in the Reports. One should not become too emotional when discussing this matter. After all one has to look into this matter, not on a short term basis, but one has to consider it on a long term basis, as to whether we are laying a sound foundation for our future generations in our country.

Therefore Mr Chairman, I would like the conference to seriously examine some of the aspects of the President's Council's new constitutional proposals. I am sure at the deliberations, various questions will arise, regarding the merits and demerits of the President's proposals, on questions such as:-

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1. Does the present President's Council's proposals differ much to the Government's 1977 proposal, and if so, how much reform is involved?
2. Do the proposals reinforce White minority rule?
3. Do the proposals entrench apartheid?
4. Do the proposals make any provision for the repealing of all discriminatory laws and especially the Group Areas Act, Locality Act, Mixed Marriages Act and Influx Control Act?
5. Will the proposals create conditions for inter-group conflict?
6. Do the proposals suit our divided Society?
7. Are the wide Presidential powers a move away from democracy?
8. Is the present proposals in any way indicate power-sharing?
9. Will peace and stability be guaranteed in South Africa in the interests of all its citizens - White, Black and Brown?

Mr Chairman, with this brief remarks, may I once more wish your delegates a very successful conference, and may the Lord guide and help you in your deliberations and decisions.

Thank you and God Bless you all.

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ii) The Hon E J Mabuza, Leader of the Inyanza National Movement and Chief Minister of KaNgwane. Greetings was read on his behalf:

Mr Chairman, the Reverend Hendrickse, the Honourable uMntwana waKwaPhindangene, Leaders of representatives from SABA constituencies, delegates to this annual conference of the Labour Party of South Africa, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are most grateful to the Labour Party Leadership for having invited us to this, your 17th Annual Conference. We have come to regard our attendance of your annual conference as pilgrimages whose completion is characterised by political renewal and reassurance on our part. The spirit of solidarity that usually prevails in and pervades your conferences, is both contagious and infectious, such that one may be tempted to believe that we are about to reap the fruits of our liberation struggle. Your brothers and sisters in the Inyanza National Movement, have no doubt that this Conference will be at an even higher note than the past conferences. It is with this expectation in mind, and against this background, that we bring to you the warm and fraternal greetings of the Inyanza National Movement.

It is significant that your annual conferences are normally held at the beginning of the year, which is a time for renewal and rededication. At a time when the future of our country is being polluted by politics of separation, the Labour Party of South Africa and Inkatha, have the onerous task of being, and of being seen to be the bastions of the liberation struggle. Our political renewal and our rededication to the SABA Statement of Belief, will therefore be as good as a breeze of fresh air in the polluted politics of our country.

There is no doubt that your Conference will be called upon to decide on crucial questions which will have far-reaching consequences for the constitutional future of our country. We pray that wisdom will prevail and that whatever decisions you will make, the SABA and the oppressed Black masses of this country, will be part of the bottom line.

We would like to thank you for your support on the KaNgwane Swaziland land deal. KaNgwane together with 1 million Black South Africans, were, as from the 8th June 1982, faced with the prospect of being wiped out of the map of South Africa and of being ceded to a foreign country. The land deal in its original form, was part of the multifacet strategy to dispense with millions of Blacks

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by assigning them to independent homelands or foreign states, and thus reduce their population size into a minority group. Although the battle is not over yet, we shall remain resolute to the very bitter end because we believe in an unbalkanised South Africa where all our peoples should have a place in the sun.

May your deliberations be stimulating and successful.

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Other greetings received were from:

- Mr C J Reed. Eden Park Branch. J D Johnson and family.
- Mr P C Greef, Chairman of the NRP Youth Branch, Stellenbosch

8. APPOINTMENT OF RESOLUTION COMMITTEE

The following members were appointed:-

- Mr N M Isaacs (Cape Pen. Region)
- Mr J Rabie (Transvaal Region)
- Mr W M Ross (East Cape Region)
- Mr A Stowman (Natal Region) and
- Mr M H Swartz (Gardenia Region)

Conference rose at 18h00 and stood adjourned until Tuesday 4 January 1983 at 09h30.

TUESDAY 4 JANUARY at 09h30

9. PRAYERS

Proceedings commenced with scripture reading and prayers by Bishop H Biyase

10. OPENING REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN

After having thanking Bishop Biyase, the National Chairman, Mr D E G Curry called upon the Leader of the Party, Rev H J Hendrickse to deliver his annual address to Conference.

11. ADDRESS BY THE LEADER OF THE PARTY, REV H J HENDRICKSE

Mr Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Comrades in the Struggle for Liberation, My Brothers and Sisters, thank you for allowing me an opportunity of addressing you.

May I start where I started in Johannesburg two years ago and where I started in Elsie's River last year by reiterating that in life it is absolutely essential to stand still for a while and review the past, take stock of the present and having done this, set the sails for where you want to be.

I am aware of the tremendous interest in this Congress with all kinds of speculations, but for me to focus on the future demands that I look briefly at the past. For whatever decisions are to be taken, the relevance of the past remains important. Who am I and where do I come from?

I will not dwell on the origin of the so-called Coloured people except to say that if a group has a claim above everybody else to be true South Africans then it is this heterogeneous lot of people with affinity with and related to all other groups within the country. It is certainly a mistake to think in terms of a coloured culture or a coloured identity. We do not have a peculiar language, value-system....

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value-system, ethical codes or profession of faith. I am appreciative of the fact that the Prime Minister has emphatically stated that we are not a "nation in the making".

If this is true of the Coloureds then certainly it is also true of the Afrikaners. One must accept that they like us are in reality a conglomeration of various cultures but that over the years they may have accepted that they are a peculiar people. To accept the Afrikaners as a race is a mistake. To-day they are so intermingled and intermarried that it would be difficult to identify peculiar characteristics that separate them from other white groups. So much is said about the "protection of identity" or "loss of identity" but I still have to find someone who can explain to me exactly what this Afrikaner identity or way of life really is.

In 'n brief aan "Rapport" skryf 'n perseen verlede jaar: "Is die Afrikaner werklik so uniek en sy identiteit so besonder? Hy is tog per slot van rekening maar net afkomstig uit 'n mengelaos van Europese nasies en sommer baie Afrikaners het 'n aansienlike tikkie swart bloed in hul are. Die Afrikaner so sogenoemde kultuur is en word steeds uit ander gemeenskappe ontleen - die Afrikaner taal het sy begin op 'n nederige vereenvoudigde Nederlands..... eers slawe taal en daarna eindelijk ontwikkel tot eie reg. Volkliedjies kom hoofsaaklik uit Nederland en Duitsland. Die konsertina is uit Engeland soos ook sy nasionale sport rugby. Biltong het hy by die Hottentotte leer ken".

Wat van die sogenoemde Kleurling? Ek is by geboorte geristseer as "Mixed". Ander soos ek is of "Hottentot", Gekleurde, Kaapse Kleurling. Antropologies bestaan daar nie sulke mense soos kleurlinge nie. Die Wit man het ons dit gemaak. Maar in die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse opset kom ons aanvaar dat ons so geklassifiseer is. Later sal en moet die saak reg kom. Dit is een van die mooi dinge en sekerlik 'n kenmerk van ons dat ons arms altyd oop is om almal te ontvang... selfs die babas van Wit moeders wat volgens dokumentere stukke so beskryf word: "Vader onbekend.... Moeder Wit... kind waarskynlik Kleurling". Ons het wit bloedverwante en swart bloedverwante. Reis maar deur die land en sien hoe daar in elke dorp. Wit en Kleurlinge met dieselfde v. me is. Daar is by ons mense wat as Kleurling geklassifiseer is maar wat vitter as Witmense is, as ook die van ons wat swarter as swart mense is.

Maar nou genoeg. Een ding is seker... verwant aan mekaar is ons...dieselfde kultuur, dieselfde taal, dieselfde Godsdienst, dieselfde gewoontes, ens. Daar is 'n lotsgebondenheid, alhoewel baie Afrikaners dit nie will aanvaar nie. Of ons nou van die afsonderlike verhoog nou dit verwerp of te nie. Die Afrikaner, of sal ek sê, sogenoemde Afrikaner en die sogenoemde Kleurling se pad na die toekomst is een pad.... saam sal ons moet loop as mede-Suid-Afrikaners. Laat ons eerder as Suid-Afrikaners mekaar die hand reik (so skryf een Engela Minnaar) en saamwerk in die poging om die heersende probleme op te los. Indien dit nie gebeur nie, is die kans uitstekend dat daar oop 'n paar dekades nie meer so iets soos Afrikaner, met of sonder "identiteit" in hierdie land sal wees.

But as I have stated our affinities are on both sides.. black and white and because of this Mr Enos Mabuza is right when he says: "There is an important conciliatory role you (the Coloureds) can play in bridging the gap between the fears of the Whites and the aspirations of the Blacks. Yours is the significant role of bringing together the Whites and Blacks to the realisation that they are but one great South African nation. (Johannesburg Conference 27/12/60)

Iemand het nou die dag verklaar: "Selfs die hedendaagse wetmakers ondervind probleme om die Suid-Afrikaanse bevolkingsgroep (Kleurlinge) te definieer en het tot dusver volstaan met 'n negatiewe definisie. 'n Kleurling word omskryf as die deel van die bevolking in Suid-Afrika wat nóg Blank, nóg Swart, nóg Asiaat is!"

Before 1828 the Hottentots and other coloureds. i.e. free persons of mixed descent, were in more ways than one, second class citizens in the Cape Colony as their mobility, abode and labour were limited by law. They were compelled to do certain work and could not purchase property. However, as a result of Ordinance 50, these limitations were removed and the Hottentots and "other

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free persons of colour" in the Cape Colony enjoyed equal status with Whites. They together with the freed slaves could participate in local affairs as well as Central government if they like other people (Whites) could meet certain qualifications. In other words everybody enjoyed a qualified franchise.

In terms of the Law Coloureds (since 1836) could participate in local government and since 1853 in central government. They were eligible to become members of parliament and after 1872 could even become cabinet ministers.

In practice, however, no Coloured person ever became a member of parliament or a cabinet minister. A few Coloureds were elected to municipal councils. The first Coloured and certainly the most influential person to be so elected was Dr Abdurahman (1872 - 1940) who was elected to the Cape Town City Council on 12th September 1904.

It would appear then that from 1836 to 1910 that the Coloureds enjoyed full citizenship in the Cape Colony.

However, when Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 the Coloured and African people were excluded from participating in the main government bodies. "Only those of European descent could become members of parliament". Coloured persons could become members of the Provincial Council, Divisional Councils and Municipal Councils but not Africans.

In 1936, General Hertzog and General Smuts formed the United Party and with a two-thirds majority in a joint sitting of both Houses (Parliament and Senate) removed the Cape Africans from the common voter's roll.

The Coloured people were removed from the common voter's roll in the most immoral way, something that the Afrikaner people in particular will never be able to erase from their consciences, i.e. the enlargement of the Senate. The Coloureds lost their last vestige of the franchise when they were removed from the municipal voter's roll in 1972.

Mr Chairman, Comrades and Friends, the history of the Nationalist Government has been a history of passing of discriminatory legislation. Human rights were forgotten and the rule of law buried. Can we condone the insensitive uprooting of people, the lack of nobility, the denial of the right to live. Can we in a civilised society tolerate the Mixed Marriages Act which denies the right of God to put together those bound in love. Has the State the right to pass a law like the Immorality Act Section 16? Can we forget the deaths in detention of Dr Aggett, Steve Biko and others?

It must be remembered that as we meet here today we too have experienced detention without trial. Do not forget that I spent 60 days in solitary confinement. That my wife had to experience having both husband and son in jail. That the deputy leader and Vice-Chairman of this Party and many others present here have shared this experience. In spite of this we are not filled with hatred for hatred is self-destroying. Because we love our country and all her people we meet here in a spirit of willingness to forgive although we will not forget.

Mr Chairman, we meet here because the realities of our circumstances demand that we do so. We meet here to see how we can contribute to the good of the greatest number of people. We say with conviction that the time for protest politics has passed. Cliche regurgitation and vociferous slogan shoutings, forayings and condemnations are not enough.

We want to say very clearly to those who condemn us and denigrate us for being within the system and working the system to come out of their caves of shadows into the day light of reality. In Plato's Republic, they are the ones that are fettered and bound so that they can only see the shadows on the wall of the cave. They believe there are no realities except the shadows. If they were to come out the light would blind them and they would not be able to see the things now called real. We say to them... listen to Mr Enos Mabusela, at the opening of our Conference in 1980... "I as one of those Black leaders whose participation in 'homelands politics' is to avail myself of the opportunity of

articulating.../

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articulating the political aspirations of my people. I am involved because I want to lead, guide and help my people where they are."

We must warn our graduates against people who live in the past and still dream of the day of liberation. The latest issue of the "Educational Journal" publishes a resolution taken at a meeting in 1959:

"Categorically rejects tribal colleges as clinics for the indoctrination of NON-EUROPEAN students in order to entrench and perpetuate a system of Herrenvolkism in South Africa; condemns conscious agents in the process of indoctrination of NON-EUROPEAN students any persons who accept appointment at these tribal colleges as members either of the teaching staff or of the college councils."

These are the people who teach within the system receive their cheques from Coloured Administration and remain as Coloured teachers within the system. The pay is good.

Mr Chairman before going on to make the remarks so many are waiting for allow me to state that we have already made representation to President Reagan to allow Dennis Erustus to continue to work in the United States. Dennis is loved and respected by us and someday South Africa will erect a monument of appreciation to him for his contribution through sport to the coming into being of the new society we all are hoping for.

Mr Chairman, Honoured Guests, Comrades, Friends, I am not ashamed to say that we meet on the horns of a dilemma. We have our loyalties. We have our prejudices. We have our dreams, our hopes our aspirations but we are also confronted with the realities of life in our peculiar situation. However, we shall not run away from the challenges and the risks. We are not prepared to bury our heads like ostriches.

The Leadership of this Party has participated in a number of discussions and consultations with the Government. But I want to repeat what I have already said that in the South African circumstances we must be big and bold enough to see the Government's proposals from both a Black perspective as well as from a White perspective.

From a Black perspective they appear to be meaningless and here I wish to state emphatically that Labour Party believes that no constitutional arrangement that does not include the largest number of South Africans can ever be regarded as final nor a guarantee for peace and security. The Labour Party is still committed to its belief in one man, one vote in a unitary system although it is prepared to negotiate on a basis of a federal structure.. not one based on ethnicity but rather a geographic one. The Labour Party views the inclusion of the total South African population in the central decision-making process of the country as a corner-stone of the Party. The Labour Party has repeatedly stated that it would continue to follow the path of negotiation and seeks non-violent solutions to our problems.

But the Party acknowledges that there is no single strategy for social change in South Africa. I am often reminded of Mr Norman Middleton's favourite quote: "You take the high road and I'll take the low road. The important thing is that we should get to where we want to be."

May I remind you of the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes..... "The great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, but the direction in which we are moving".

Where are we? Where do we want to be? How do we get there?

Mr Chairman, listen to Martin Luther King when he says (three dimensions of a complete life): "You must not wait until the day of full emancipation before you make a creative contribution to the life of the nation. Although you experienced natural dilemma as a result of the legacy of slavery and segregation, inferior schools and second-class citizenship, you must with determination break through the outer shackles of circumstances."

I am also.../

I am also reminded that in the old testament, Moses was left to negotiate with Pharaoh until all options had been exhausted. When the options failed God took over. (Exodus 12:12.. I am the Lord). I am further reminded that although Esther in the old testament was a Jewess, she had to enter the palace of King Xerxes, the Persian King, and so could save her people from extermination. (Esther 4:14... Maybe it was for a time like this..)

We in the Labour Party will use our own discretion with regard to the use of structures created by the Government. We will make our own judgements and will not be intimidated or brow beaten by either radical, irrational or irresponsible elements in the total Black community on the one hand and the Government with its powers of persuasion, legislation and security action on the other.

The National Executive Committee of our Party referred the Government's proposals to this Congress to examine these in the light of principles of reform and to see whether they can be used in a transitional period to get to where we want to be.

One of the main criticism is the fact that Blacks (Africans) are excluded. But I hasten to say that we are Black. We are a constituent part of the Black community. We are an equal partner of the South African Black Alliance and therefore, if one equal and adult partner goes into meaningful negotiation for the total Alliance, may I ask why are we now no longer Black and not able to speak and deal for and on behalf of the total Black community?

We must realise that the real bargaining and effective negotiation possibilities and power of the so-called Coloured people as a constituent element of the Black community is drastically increased.

Meneer die Voorsitter hier wil ek graag Prof Marinus Wiechers aanhaal: (toespraak op Jaarkongres - 1960). "Die Kleurling... kan skerp sinning en met groot bewustheid van innerlike krag en oortuiging na die groei oor die jare lyk en besef dat die Regering onherroepbaar (my beklemtoning) in 'n proses van konstitusionele herskikking (reform) geraak het. In hierdie herskikkings-proses het die Arbeidersparty 'n dinamiese en kataliserende funksie".

We are being shouted at that if we go into this dispensation we will be selling our principles. This is not so. The Labour Party's fundamental position - some like and others hate it for this - is that we do not believe that when we enter into negotiations, serve on Government-created bodies or make use of structures that we are denying our principles. On the contrary we use these facilities to drive our principles and to re-affirm our principles and to re-affirm our belief in righteousness, justice, equality and the oneness of our South African nationhood.

We have been doing so successfully in the past. The Labour Party has chosen when to boycott and when to state its case on the platforms it chooses. We must never forget that leaders in the Non-European Movement were, by advocating the boycott of the Parliamentary elections in 1948, responsible for bringing the Nationalist Party to power.

It is a fact that the majority of people (Coloured) expect the Labour Party to go in and speak to the Government from a platform where Government and the world will have to listen to the voice of the people.

Many people believe they can fight an argument by speaking in inaudible whispers. Many believe they can impress and influence others by sulking and blowing themselves up. Other again believe that you can fight a physical battle by making fists in your trouser pockets.

We believe you must fight where you can be seen and heard. There is no bravery in running away. We must not delude ourselves. We cannot fight a battle by not fighting it.

It was Dr Martin Luther King who said: "You must continue to work passionately and vigorously for your God-given and constitutional rights."

Mr Chairman, the situation demands of us integrity and honesty and sincerity

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and so I must acknowledge the courage of the Prime Minister to have taken the risks that he did. I believe it required dedication to that in which he believes to have risked his leadership within the Nationalist Party and a further willingness to accept the fact that he will go down in the annals of history as the one who was prepared to accept a split in the Nationalist Party rather than continue on the road that would lead to a situation too ghastly to contemplate.

Mr Chairman, Comrades, Brothers and Sisters, thank you for your support and your prayers. My prayer is that we will do that which God wants us to do. May He continue to guide and direct you as we deliberate and come to a decision.

Dr Martin Luther King said: "Man dies when he refuses to stand up for that which is right."

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today.

Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

- F D Roosevelt.

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Conference adjourned for tea.

12.

SECRETARIAL REPORT

Mr Chairman, Distinguished Guests and Delegates,

This Seventeenth Annual Congress of the Labour Party of South Africa brings to an end to another chapter in our history and introduces another, one which suggests, perhaps, greater hope for us, and consequently, our country.

On such an occasion it is appropriate and in fact imperative that we pause to reflect on what has been achieved through our strategies, what have been our shortcomings and plan for what lies ahead to ensure that we are not found wanting in the role we will be choosing today.

First let me remind ourselves that our successes can be attributed directly to an adherence to the principles and policy of our Party as enshrined in our constitution.

Allow me to go back in the past when this Party decided in 1966 to contest the CPFC elections, which took place in 1969. This was regarded to us as the most effective means of opposing the policy of separate development, better known as apartheid.

Through the CPFC we sought to demonstrate the complete rejection by our people of this evil system and revealing the institution as meaningless, fraudulent and farcical.

We fought the elections, came out on both occasions on top against impossible odds and actually defeated the oppressor, when we forced the Government to close down the CPFC. We, the Labour Party, started the cracks in that granite wall of apartheid, and this represents no mean achievement which can therefore be a source of pride to us. So let us remember that we did all this when being inside the system, not outside.

At this Congress we will, as we did in 1966 decide the future of our Party. We are decide whether we wish to go back into the political wilderness or not.

To members of this Party, your faith and your trust which you have placed in the leadership of this Party has given them the strength to continue the struggle. And by your further encouragement they will lead us together with other freedom-loving groups on the important road - the road for a better South Africa.

South African Black Alliance

The S A Black Alliance is the only Black political organisation in South Africa that in spite of the differences in each others strategies, have remained steadfast and united. And it is the only Black organisation in this country where its

constituent...../

constituent members are able to sit peacefully at table discussing problems and differences without there being any walkouts and/or threats. And the South African Black Alliance do not speak of violence as the solution to our country's problems.

SABA met during last year, on two occasions both in the Transvaal: in Ermelo on 26 - 27 February and at Johannesburg on 15 - 16 October.

At Ermelo the discussions and decisions covered a wide field which included the rejection of the overall spirit of the recommendations of the Steyn Commission which sought to regiment the press to toe government line. Decisions against the detention of Trade Union leaders and others and expressing sorrow at the tragic death of the late Dr Neil Agett. A call was also made upon the Government to institute one ministry of education and that provision be made for equal per capita expenditure per child. We too condemned the pressure by the Government which they was bringing about to bear on KaNgwane.

Topics of discussion at the Johannesburg meeting were these:-

- (a) Incorporation of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane to Swaziland without consultations with the KwaZulu and the KaNgwane Legislative Assemblies;
- (b) The Government's Constitutional proposals;
- (c) Shortage of housing; (d) Increase in bread prices; and
- (e) Koornhof Bills.

The S A Black Alliance also expressed its appreciation to the Nigerian Government for openly condemning the immoral land deal between South Africa and Swaziland.

At the Johannesburg meeting we were told that the South African Government offered both Mr Mabuza and his cabinet salaries for life and that he, Mr Mabuza, would be appointed deputy prime minister of Swaziland if he accepted incorporation. But that he must decide before the death of the Swazi King.

Mr Chairman, if it had not been through the determination of the Chief Ministers of KwaZulu and KaNgwane, and the manner in which they had reacted, the whole plan of the Government, would by now have been safely completed.

The next meeting of SABA has been scheduled for 18th and 19th February 1983 at Durban.

Conference Decisions

We had become so much involved with discussions on the Government's Constitutional proposals that two important conference decisions were overlooked. They are, the appointments of Regional and National Housing Committees and consultations with Trade Unions.

The Cape Peninsula Region did meet to appoint such a committee but this came to a dead stop when members of that committee were appointed to the Regional Constitutional Committee.

The decision to consult with Trade Unions so as to gain a deeper understanding and so act in support of their demands never materialised. So we have to admit that we erred by not taking a stronger attitude towards the workers' demands, and I look forward that in this new year we reach a better understanding with the Trade Unions.

I would recommend, as I have done in the past, the appointment of specialised committees.

Negotiations with Ministers of State.

Maitland Garden Villages: We were indeed pleased to have learnt that after our numerous requests the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze, finally decided to reproclaim Maitland Garden Village a coloured residential area.

Witrood-Billoek(Lakamas) area: This area in the Gordonia Region was originally

owned.../

owned by coloured farmers but was, after Whites had moved in and some who died and was buried there, was declared a White group area.

Since 1970 and before numerous approaches were made to numerous Ministers but to no avail, because it would appear that White dead must not be disturbed. The Party took up the issue again in 1980 and after much correspondence a final reply was received that the Government has no intention to reproclaim the area.

Protea Township, Johannesburg: In 1981 we with representatives of the Township Committee interviewed Minister Koornhof regarding the adjoining area of Southern Protea, because it was decided by the Government that sub-economic houses will be built for Africans. The propertyowners objected that such housing scheme be built directly opposite theirs and would lower the property valuation.

The land in question, in fact was proclaimed a coloured group area as it was given to be available for coloured ex-servicemen for them to develop on a freehold basis, by a farmer the late Mr Eumet. But without consulting with the people of Protea the Minister had the area declared for the erection of sub-economic houses for Africans.

At the end of the interview with Minister Koornhof he suggested that arrangement be made to discuss the matter with Minister Heunis and for him to arrange that the Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze also be present. Minister Chris Heunis acknowledged our request and waited, apparently after he was appointed to his new portfolio referred the matter Minister de Klerk.

Minister de Klerk replied to our request and said he would give the matter his urgent attention - that was in September, yet in the meantime we were informed that the sub-economic houses are already being built. Yet we are still awaiting a reply from Minister de Klerk, and no doubt his reply will come after all the houses are complete.

Mr Chairman, as in these two cases should we not ask ourselves where is this reform and where is this better race relations that this Government talks so much about. Are they really honest.

Disciplinary Action against Teachers: In February last year, we had discussions with Minister Heunis on the disciplinary action taken by his department against teachers and pupils. Previous to this a memorandum was submitted to which he promised to furnish us with replies.

Amongst the grievances put to him, were the disparity in salaries, the unsatisfactory salaries of teachers with minimum professional qualifications and the double shift classes. We also mentioned the lack of sporting facilities and development of school premises, inadequate repair and maintenance services, lack of school halls and hostels, shortages of text books, insufficient stationery and the injudicious infliction of corporal punishment. His attention was also drawn to the unfavourable comparison of per capita expenditure for coloureds and other population groups.

In his twelve-page reply he admitted that students and teachers have justified grievances and the real and serious shortcomings in coloured education.

I must say that certain improvements have come about after our meeting with the Minister.

Clarification on Statements: A request was made to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha for a meeting with him where clarity could be given regarding certain statement made by both him and Minister Heunis. The statements made appear that the the Government was retreating from the principle of true power-sharing, which he, the Prime Minister, had embraced as a basis for reform.

His reply was that there would be no need for an interview because Minister Heunis had disclosed to us the basic principles of the Government's proposals when he met with our National Executive.

Bus Fare Increases: A request was made to the Min. of Transport, Mr Schoeman for him to intervene and hold back any further increases in bus fares until after the Velgevoed Commission had submitted their findings. A memorandum to the reason against increases was also submitted.

He replied that he does not have the power to intervene because the Local

Transportation Board is an autonomous body. We should raise our objections to that body.

When the LTB met at Cape Town to hear objections, it was the Labour Party's representative who were present to put the case of the commuters, after the so-called radical groups had left the Court, without raising any objections, singing freedom songs.

Dr Beyers Naude: An appeal was lodged to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr La Grange, for him to reconsider the banning order placed on Dr Beyers Naude.

On table is a petition which has been received, seeking our signatures and calling upon the Minister concerned to lift the banning order.

Mr Chairman, these are but a few instances where we have tried through negotiations. There have been other instances where leadership and members of the Party had discussions with Minister and Directors of their respective departments on matters covering a wide field i.e. housing, crime etc.

This Party can prove that it never have been reluctant in tending to the needs of the people, not by shouting outside, but through responsible negotiation with Government and Provincial Authorities.

Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill.

We joined with other Black groups the condemnation of this Bill as we see it increasing the existing conflict situation. If this Bill should become law in its present form we will be well along the road to the point where there will be no more Black South Africans. The Black Sash has called it the "Genocide" Bill.

We, in this Party believe that people should have the right to seek work, to live a full family life and to own property in areas of their choice.

After much pressure from all sides, we were pleased to learn that the Government had decided to have it withdrawn and submitted to a Commission of Enquiry for review.

Illegal Squatters Amendment Act No.72 of 1977.

Whilst having brought to your attention the Orderly Movement Bill we are now up against another ghost which has been overlooked. This so-called reformist Government has come like a thief in the night by extending influx control to Coloureds as well as Africans.

This Act as amended, that with certain exceptions, no persons might enter any land or building without lawful reason or remain there without reason. And may I say that it is mainly being used in areas where there is a housing shortage and to curtail the influx of farm workers into the towns who come seeking work.

Recently areas proclaimed are Ceres, Elwer, Port Nolloth and Garies. Other areas already affected are Cape Town, Paarl and Stellenbosch.

It is apparent that the majority of farm workers are being exploited through low wages and in order to keep them moving away from these farms money is being deliberately held back by the State for the building of houses.

We should make our objections known to the Government and call upon them, that if they are really concerned with reform they should start by improving race relations, and immediately make funds available for housing.

Congratulations to Dr Boesak and Dr Mentoor

The Party conveyed its congratulations to both Dr Allan Boesak and Dr I Mentoor on the elections to the position of President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Moderator of the D R Mission Church respectively.

Prof. Dennis Brutus

We had, through the United States American Embassy, submitted an appeal to President Reagan to intervene against the expulsion from the U S A of Prof Dennis Brutus.

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