

43 000 huise benodig. Om hierdie beraming te rugsteun, verwys ons na die onlangse verklaring deur die Kaapse stadsraad dat hulle 'n waglys van 11 600 het. Bellville het sy waglys op 1 700 gesluit terwyl Parow 'n waglys van 700 het. Prof. Cilliers noem voorts dat "... in the greater Cape Town area virtually a quarter of a million Coloured people are not housed to minimum standards" (Argus, 30. 9. 71).

Die gevolg van hierdie toestand is dat 'n baie groot persentasie van die kleurling in sink opslaanhuisies in oorbevolkte toestande woon. Van sulke mense kan immers nie verwag word "to be motivated to aspire towards economic security, or to maintain an adequate standard of productivity or to pursue a standard and pattern of life of social stability. Children living under such conditions cannot be expected to attain educational standards which are commensurate with modern requirements".

Die toestand bestaan dus dat 'n opvoedingsprogram van relatief hoë gehalte opereer vir kinders wat onder relatief swak sosio-ekonomiese toestande leef.

Terwyl daar nooit toegestem mag en sal word tot die verlaging van die opvoedkundige standarde nie, moet die saak by die wortel reg gestel word en sosio-ekonomiese toestande van die oorgrote meerderheid kleurlinge verhelp word.

As onderwysman wat in diens staan, kan ek van geen aanduiding van verlaging van opvoedkundige standarde getuig nie. Daar is alle aanduidings dat die ampte van die Administrasie van Kleurlingsake hoë ideale vir Kleurlingonderwys koester. Ons frustrasie is dus die Administrasie se frustrasie as die sosio-ekonomiese probleme dreig om die opvoedingsprogram in die wiele te ry.

Die volgende syfers om die relatiewe afname in leerlingtal tussen Blanke en Kleurling te illustreer is maar een van die probleme:

Op 31 Julie 1970 het die Minister van Kleurlingsake die volgende syfers in die Volksraad verstrek wat betref die leerlingtal per klas in Kleurlingskole gedurende die eerste kwartaal van 1970 (Horrell, 1970: 232).

<u>Klas</u>	<u>Getal leerlinge</u>
Sub A	99 649
Sub B	83 663
St. I	74 126
St. II	63 102
St. III	56 344
St. IV	45 906
St. V	<u>35 126</u>
Totaal in laerskool:	457 916
St. VI	26 276
St. VII	15 418
St. VIII	9 851
St. IX	3 900
St. X	<u>1 975</u>
	515 336
	=====

In verband met die Blanke onderwys het die Raad van Geesteswetenskappe die volgende syfers vir die jaar 1968 vrygestel:

<u>Klas</u>	<u>Leerlinge</u>
Sub A	82 585
Sub B	75 977
St. I	79 797
St. II	77 955
St. III	76 086
St. IV	74 104
St. V	68 540
Aanpassingsklasse	<u>10 652</u>
	545 696
	=====
St. VI	70 726
St. VII	64 280
St. VIII	53 055
St. IX	38 227
St. X	29 898
Spesiale klasse	<u>8 333</u>
Totaal	264 519
	=====

Indien die vergelyking wat uit die bogenoemde syfers spreek, u enigszins verontrus, wil ek dit weer eens beklemtoon dat die oorsak eerder by die sosio-ekonomiese milieu waarin die kind leef, gesoek moet word as by die Administrasie van Kleurlingsake en by sy skole.

Hierdie situasie is voorts nie eie aan Suid-Afrika nie. In Duitsland het Adolf Busemann na 'n deeglike ondersoek bevind dat daar 'n styging van die druipeyfer is na gelang die ouerlike beroep daal. Ernst Hase

het op sy beurt vasgestel dat die druipsyfer styg na mate ouers minder geskoolde werk verrig en dat hoe meer kinders daar in 'n huis teenwoordig is, hoe hoër die druipsyfer vertoon en andersom.

E. G. Malherbe wat waardevolle navorsing in verband met hierdie aangeleentheid onder die arm-blankes gedoen het in die tyd toe hierdie vraagstuk aan die orde van die dag was, bevind dat 47 % van die vertraagde kinders in dié groep afkomstig was uit gesinne van ag en meer kinders (Malherbe: 222 - 226).

Meer resente navorsing in Johannesburg uitgevoer, toon aan dat sosio-ekonomiese oorsake 'n baie belangrike rol speel in druipling. Prof. Nel (96 - 114) stipuleer in hier voege die volgende oorsake: armoede; huislike verhoudinge; werkloosheid van vader; stokkiesdraai; grootte van die gesin ens.

By 'n nasionale konferensie oor Maatskaplike werk gehou in Johannesburg in 1936 bevestig dr. Verwoerd die saak implisiet as hy vra: "Wat help al die kosbare onderwys egter as die afbreekkrag van die huisgesin groter is as die opbouende invloed van die skool?" (Theron: 80)

Hierdie vraag wil ek in die konteks van my referaat herhaal en daarmee volstaan.

Die vraag ontstaan wat bogenoemde feite te make het met volle burgerskap vir die Kleurling. Die relatief swak prestasie van die Kleurlingkind op skool dien wrywel vir die kieserspubliek van Suid-Afrika as 'n bewys van die inherente minderwaardigheid van die Kleurling en sterk dit hom in sy oortuiging dat die Kleurling burgerskap nie waardig is nie. Die roepstem vanuit verantwoordelike rigtings word gereeld gehoor! "Hef jul mense op en dan kan julle politieke regte kry." Terwyl daar nog nooit by ons 'n onwilligheid bestaan het om aan enige opheffingstaak deel te hê nie, wil ek die vraag hier stel: Moet ons nie eers burgerregte kry nie? Was dit nie immers die grondslag waarop die ganse opheffingstaak van die arm-blanke geskied het nie?

Die toepassing van die Groepsgebiedewet het die Kleurling veelal nadelig getref. Afgesien van finansiële verliese wat hy hierdeur gelei het, het die toepassing van die wet baie Kleurlinge sonder eiendomme gelaat aangesien die pryse wat hulle vir eiendomme gekry het te min

was om hulle in staat te stel om weer huise te bekom. Die oorgrote meerderheid van hierdie persone het hulle dus vir die eerste maal in hul lewe as huurders in sub-ekonomiese behuising bevind. Dit het hulle met 'n mindere status bekleed wat betref sosiale aansien ener syds en burgerregte andersyds. As huurder is hy nie meer geregtig om aan 'n belastingbetalersvereniging te behoort waar hy enigsins system kan laat hoor nie. Uit die aard van die saak is hy ook deurentyd bewus van sy afhanklike posisie van sy landheer aan wie hy die dak oor sy kop te danke het. Hieroor kan ad infinitum uitgewei word.

Syfers deur die Minister van Gemeenskapsbou verskaf, dui daarop dat in vergeleke met die ander volksgroepe dit die Kleurling en Asiaat was wat die spit in verband met die toepassing van die Groepsgebiedewet moes afbyt (Hansard, 3, Col. 1181):

<u>Getal gesinne wat moes verhuis</u>	
Blank	1 318
Kleurling	68 899
Indiër	37 653
Chinees	899

As in ag geneem word dat daar om en by 3,7 miljoen blankes is teenoor die 2,1 miljoen Kleurlinge en 614 000 Indiërs en Chinese in Suid-Afrika is, spreek die bogenoemde syfers boekdele en impliseer uiteraard in watter mate die Groepsgebiedewet 'n struikelblok in die weg tot volwaardige burgerskap vir die Kleurling is.

In die lig van al die sosio-ekonomiese struikelblokke wat hier genoem is, kan 'n mens jouself wel afvra: Hoe kan 'n bevolkingsgroep wie se weg so besaai is met struikelblokke opgehef word? Voorts, hoe kan hy homself sonder burgerregte ophef? U kan self besluit hoeveel van hierdie struikelblokke inderdaad deur wetgewings in die Kleurling se weg gelê is - wetgewing waaroor die Kleurling as burgers sonder stemreg geen beheer het nie.

In die lig daarvan dat die blankes so baie van dié struikelblokke met wetgewing in ons weg gelê het, verwag u dat ons moet glo dat u dit goedgunstiglik weer sal verwyder? Sou die Afrikaner in die twintiger en dertigerjare aanvaar het dat die Engelsprekende uit eie vrye wil die struikelblokke op sy pad tot volwaardige ekonomiese

ontwikkeling sou verwyder het? Die Afrikaner het hom immers nie op die Engelsman se "goeie bedoelings" verlaat nie. Trouens deur ekonomiese stukrag en die beoefening van politieke regte het hy tot sy reg gekom ten spyte van die struikelblokke wat op sy weg gelê is deur die Engelsman.

Sou die Afrikaner se ekonomiese ontwikkeling tot sy reg gekom het indien die Engelsman oor volle politieke beheer beskik het, en die ekonomiese ontwikkelingsprogram van die Afrikaner in sulke fyn wetlike besonderhede uitgewerk het en as die Engelse die Afrikaner-sakelui verbied het om in tradisioneel Engelse stede hul sake te doen en Afrikaners verbied het om in gesagsposisies bo Engelse te staan?

Het u al gedink watter uitwerking dit op die persoonlikhede van mense het om te voel dat alles altyd vir hulle gedoen word, dat hul geen seggenskap het om te besluit hoe dit gedoen moet word en of dit uiteraard wel gedoen moet word? Het u inderdaad al gedink hoe dit moet voel om tot die posisie van kind in jou eie huis of vreemdeling in jou vaderland gereleger te word?

Slot

Na die industriële revolusie in Engeland was die aristokratiese klas se steeds onwillig om volwaardige burgerskap tot die werkende klasse uit te brei uit vrees dat Engeland geregeer sou word deur straatveërs (soos dit gesê is). Die aristokratiese klasse was ook nie geneë om hoër salarisse aan die werkersklas te betaal aangesien die werkers kwansuis net meer drank sou koop en die geld sou verspil.

Dit het Engeland tot op die drumpel van 'n burgeroorlog gevoer en toe volwaardige burgerskap tog uiteindelik aan die burgerstand gegee is, was daar wel oorgangspyne, maar op die breë en op die langeduur beskou, het dit tot voordeel van Engeland meegewerk.

As ons dus vandag pleit dat die sosio-ekonomiese struikelblokke in die weg tot volwaardige burgerskap uit die weg geruim moet word, doen ons dit nie in die begeerte om die blanke te bedreig nie, maar in die laaste instansie om die ontwil van die vooruitgang van ons vaderland Suid-Afrika wat ons in gelyke mate liefhet. Ons besef

voorts van harte dat gelyke voorregte noodwendig gelyke verantwoordelikhede meebring. Ons sien uit daarna!

VERWYSINGS

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Cillier, S.P. | <u>Appeal to Reason</u> |
| Horrell, M. | <u>Survey of Race Relations in South Africa - 1970</u> |
| Malherbe, E.G. | <u>Onderwys en die Arm-Blanke</u> |
| Müller, A.L. | <u>Minority Interests</u> |
| Nel, B.P. | <u>Druiping by Skoolleerlinge</u> |
| Paton, A. | <u>Civil Rights and Human Dignity</u> |
| Phillips, O. Hood | <u>The Constitutional Law of Great Britain and the Commonwealth</u> |
| Schlemmer, L. | <u>Social Change and Political Policy in South Africa</u> |
| Theron, E. | <u>H. F. Verwoerd as Welsynsbeplanner 1932 - 1936</u> |
| Van der Horst, S.T. | <u>Progress and Retrogression in South Africa: A Personal Appraisal</u> |
| Verloren van Themaat, J.P. | <u>Staatsreg</u> |

THE COLOURED PERSONS REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL IN ACTION:

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

by Wolfgang H. Thomas

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the proceedings and debates of the first three sessions of the Coloured Persons Representative Council (CRC) with particular emphasis on the social and economic development problems of the Coloured population group. A great deal has already been written on the purpose and institutionalisation of the CRC, as well as its scope, powers and limitations.¹⁾ Here the existence and functioning of the CRC is accepted per se without specifically considering its long run potential for giving meaningful expression to all the political demands of the Coloured people. The writer personally believes that the present CRC does not fulfill such function sufficiently and that full political rights and socio-economic opportunities have to be granted to South Africans officially classified as Coloured, but wishes to exclude a discussion of this aspect from the paper.

The paper consists of three parts. In Part I certain aspects of the Council and its proceedings during the first three sessions are discussed, including an analysis of the participation of individual Council members and the attitudes of the parties. - Part II is an

1)

Cf. a paper read by F. Gaum at Stellenbosch on 18. 7. 1969 titled "Die Nuwe Staatkundige Bedeling van die Kleurlinge"; also the paper by M. Wiechers on "Kleurlingburgerskap in Suid-Afrika" read at the Grabouw conference on 19th Oct. 1971. In this collection the history of the Coloured franchise and the institution of the CRC are discussed in detail in the papers by dr. S. W. van der Merwe, D. Curry, P. Swartz and N. J. Olivier.

extensive review of the debates and motions under a number of major topics and Part III attempts a general evaluation of the Council deliberations so far and includes certain tentative conclusions on ways and means to improve the effectiveness of the Council as an instrument for the socio-economic advancement of the Coloured people.

The scope of this paper should be seen as restricted in so far as most of it is only based on a study of the Hansard Reports, vols. 1 - 13.²⁾

Part I:

COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS

1. Activities of the CRC

From a broad perspective we can distinguish the following institutions directly or indirectly concerned with the political, social and economic aspects of the Coloured community. On the one side there are the three specifically "Coloured" Institutions, i.e. the CRC, its Executive and the Administration of Coloured Affairs with, in addition, an increasing number of other statutory bodies in various spheres, as e.g. Local Management Committees. On the other side we find the various government institutions concerned with the specific problems and issues of the Coloured people, but which so far exclude their direct participation, i.e. the Cabinet and Parliament, the Civil Service or General Government Administration (e.g. Planning, Community Development, Labour, Forestry, Police etc.) and various other statutory bodies (eg. Local and Provincial Governments, Statutory (Advisory) Boards etc.). Formal liason between the two groups of institutions is in the hands of the Department of Coloured Relations.

²⁾ References to the reports indicate the volume and page. E. g. 2/243 refers to volume 2, p. 243. Volume one covered 1969, volumes 2 -6 1970 and 7 - 13 the 1971 session. Numbers prefixed by M refer to the chronological number of the motion as shown in Appendix A.

Since the institutional characteristics of the CRC are discussed in various other papers, we can now focus attention on the specific activities of the CRC. Most of the attention attracted by the CRC so far was limited to the debates on various private member motions. The proceedings do, however, include certain other aspects, all of which are briefly discussed here.

In terms of its legislative role the primary function of the CRC is the passing of specific legislation. The first act was only passed during the third session and although a relatively large part of the overall proceedings was taken up by the various stages of the legislative processes, the significance of the act was rather limited, since an almost similar act pertaining to the other racial groups had already been passed in Central Parliament.³⁾ There are, however, certain indications that more important legislation will be proposed in the near future in the spheres of education and training as well as local government.

A second major function of the Council is to pass the annual budget after discussion in the various stages. So far two budgets have been passed and the opposition rejected both of them outrightly, forestalling more detailed discussion by staying away from the debate in the committee stage. The main reason given for this attitude was that "this budget is cut and dried and no effort on (their) part will bring favourable changes and any improvements at the moment" (8/283). The Federal members, however, used the general budget debate to bring to attention their dissatisfaction with certain aspects of government policy and, in 1971, more particularly about the government's response to the resolutions passed in the previous session (T. R. Swartz 8/289).

3) Referring to the first act passed in the Council in 1971 D. Curry stressed that "the principal Act (i.e. in Parliament, covering more or less the same ground, but excluding the Coloured people - WHT) ... has an amendment at the end that if this little Council did not pass it, the Minister could next year in Parliament merely by a simple amendment pass the Bill so that it applies to Coloured persons also" (12/1069).

Closely related to the discussion of private member's motions but of greater political significance is the annual no-confidence motion of the leader of the opposition and the ensuing general debate. Such debates have been held at the beginning of the second and third session with each time a different approach by the opposition. The 1970 motion, introduced by L. P. Leon moved the Council's no confidence in the Chairman of the Executive Committee (E.C.) and the members of the E.C. The leading speakers of all parties participated in the debate (2/pp. 15 - 178) and a wide array of problems was covered, most of which have since been voiced more specifically in separate motions. Much of the debate still reflected the difference between the major parties in their approach towards the Council and co-operation with the government. The amendment proposed by T. R. Swartz as chairman of the E. C., which was accepted by a 32 : 27 margin, expressed confidence in the E. C., although it stressed the interim nature of the existing institutional pattern.

In 1970 the leader of the opposition in his no-confidence motion proposed "the total abolition of the CRC" and the replacement of the CRC by direct group representation of the Coloureds in Central Parliament through the 40 elected persons and the nomination of senators by these 40 members, thus functioning as an electoral college. Except for the leader no other member of Labour Party (L. P.) participated in the discussion. The amendment moved by T. R. Swartz re-affirmed the policy of parallel development and the CRC as an interim institution on the road to full citizenship. It also urged the government to "hold discussions with members of the Council and other interested persons on further extensions to the powers of the Council and other instruments of deliberation and liason". The amendment was accepted by a vote of 31 : 28, thus somewhat shifting the balance between the two main parties. In the light of changes in party affiliation since August 1971, i.e. the defection of J. Muller and S. Essop from the F. P. and M. D. Arendse as well as Domingo and du Preez from the L. P., as well as the starting of the new centre Social Democratic party unpredictable changes may occur in the voting during the next no-confidence debate.

As mentioned earlier the private members motions and their discussion have so far constituted the major part of the Council proceedings. Including the two no-confidence motions eighty separate

motions were moved during the three sessions and seven further motions lapsed at the end of the third session. Of the four motions which lapsed in the 1970 session three were tabled again in 1971. These motions will be discussed in part II in more detail, so that reference is made here only to the main categories under which the 87 motions fall and under which they will be discussed later.⁴⁾

TABLE 1:

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Number of motions</u>
1.0 General Political and Organizational	10
2.0 General Aspects of Discrimination	14
3.0 Socio-Economic Development	63
3.1 Group Areas	13
3.2 Housing and Urban Infrastructure	8
3.3 Agriculture and Land	6
3.4 Education and Training	11
3.5 Workconditions and Renumeration	15
3.6 Social Services	6
3.7 Business and Enterprise	4

In addition to the specific motions included in the above categories six general motions were passed unanimously, expressing the Council's opinion on some contemporary issues as, e.g., the death of Minister van Rensburg (2/243), disasters like the flooding of the Gamtoos River (10/pp. 658, 763 and 879), the Soweto train accident (M 3/244), and the Miss World Competition (M 5/713). Of more particular importance for the role of the Council is an unanimous motion passed without debate expressing "appreciation to the financial institutions in the private sector who have taken the most encouraging step in the implementation of a resolution of (the) Council calling for equal pay for equal work, (expressing) the hope that others will follow this praiseworthy example" (13/1225). With such a motion the Council acts directly as a pressure group appealing

⁴⁾ A short summary of the motions in chronological order is given in Appendix A. Some of the motions cover aspects falling within various categories. In the list below they are only counted once.

to public conscience in the hope of influencing the private sector without resort to statutory action.

Finally the tabling of questions for oral or written reply by members of the Executive was another aspect of the Council's activities. Altogether 51 questions were tabled, most of which related to aspects of education at specific schools, although some of them elicited answers outlining policy, e.g. the availability of loans for farmers (6/1020) and the steps taken to improve economic farming (4/448) or specific administrative steps taken or, e.g. the appointment of teachers. It is significant that in answering many of the questions the Executive had to emphasise that the particular matter was beyond their authority (e.g. group area delimitations). As is the case in the Central Parliament a few members asked most of the questions. Only seven of the 51 questions were tabled by two Federal members, none of them nominated, whereas twenty questions were asked by one L. P. member alone (Middleton), and the rest by nine other L. P. members.

2. Attitudes of the Parties

Before the actual voting pattern of the main parties is discussed, it might be useful to briefly review the official policy goals of the parties. Since party programmes are in general quite vague and the actual attitudes on broad policy issues can be deduced from our discussion in Part II, not much space is given to this aspect here. Nevertheless it has to be borne in mind during the whole of this paper that whereas the Federal Party officially accepts "the positive aspects of the policy of separate development", thus also the Council as a separate (though perhaps only temporary) political body, the Labour Party has as its explicit goal the abolition of the Council and the political re-integration of the Coloured people into the (white) Central Parliament. For the government, again, the existence and evolution of a separate political institution for the Coloured people is most probably the overriding goal with respect to the CRC.

These differences in the basic attitude towards the CRC go a long way in explaining the actual voting patterns. Still, the present

writer is of the opinion that in the longer run the actual social, economic, cultural and political-administrative problems confronting the Coloured population and thus the government of South Africa are of prime importance and will remould the attitudes and policy goals of the parties as well as the government.

Analysing the voting on the various motions actually debated can reveal some trends about the attitudes of the parties on the issues under discussion. Some aspects of this pattern are summarised in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Voting Pattern on Motions debated (cf. Table 1)

Category	(1) No. of Motions	(2) No. Unani- mous	(3)*): Nature of Difference		(4)*):	
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1.0 Genl. Political (incl. 2 Budgets)	12	2	9	1	8	2
2.0 Genl. Discrimination	14	7	5	2	3	4
3.0 Economic + Social	55	33	2	20	18	4
3.1 Group Areas	12	7	-	5	3	2
3.2 Housing	6	4	1	1	2	-
3.3 Agriculture	5	3	-	2	2	-
3.4 Education	11	4	-	7	7	-
3.5 Renumeration	14	11	-	3	2	1
3.6 Social Services	3	2	-	1	1	-
3.7 Business	4	2	1	1	1	1
T o t a l	81	42	16	23	29	10

The categories used are the same as those in Table 1, except that the total number is less, since motions lapsed are excluded while

*) Explanation of Table 2:

- (3) (a) - Principle + Practice
- (3) (b) - Approach + Tactics only
- (4) (a) - Voting favouring F. P.
- (4) (b) - Time Lapsed

the two budgets are included, Of the total of 81 motions 42, or more than half, were passed unanimously, in some cases after minor adjustments to the wording or after the withdrawal of amendments. It is revealing that only 2 out of 12 motions of a general political or organizational nature were passed unanimously, half of these about general aspects of discrimination, and about 65 percent of those on economic and social affairs. Particularly high is the degree of unanimity on the motions about remuneration and the general conditions of work (11 out of 14). The dissent on the motions not passed unanimously can be analysed from two perspectives. Column (3) distinguishes two different kinds of dissent, i.e. differences in principle and practice on the one side and differences in approach or merely of a tactical nature. In only 16 of the 81 motions, i.e. with respect to about 20 % of the motions, the dissent was of such a fundamental nature, and even this rate could be reduced if the opposition to the two budgets is not seen as fundamental but more actually tactical in nature. Furthermore the fundamental dissent is almost completely limited to political strategy as can be seen from col. 3 (a) and 3 (b). In only two instances was the dissent on questions of social and economic development of a more fundamental nature. Looking at the motions themselves it can be seen that in 6 of the 7 cases of fundamental difference in categories 2.0 and 3.0, the difference was about allowing non-Coloureds into Coloured areas (see motions 21, 37, 38, 40 and 50).

The nature of the differences between the opposing sides in the CRC is also reflected in their approach toward voting (col. 4 (a) + 4 (b)). In ten of the 39 cases where unanimity could not be reached the motion lapsed because of expiration of the allocated time of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours. This strategy was used i.a. on matters where the majority side itself was divided on the issue and thus forestalled a clear vote. In three of the four cases under category 2.0 the issue was the particularly delicate one of removal and reclassification of "disqualified" persons out of Coloured Group Areas, whereas the aggressively formulated motion on the CDC (M 37/1971) also showed differences in the F. P. (with the proponent of the motion, J. Muller, shortly afterwards leaving that party). In four other motions which expired, the two sides agreed on the practical aspects, but differed in their approach. In all those cases (M 8 and M 70 on Group Areas, M 50 on Apartheid and M 9 on Job Reservation) the

opposition proposed the complete abolishment of present laws, thus making it difficult for the Federal members to agree. There is, however, a tendency since 1971 for the F. P. to accept the principle of the motion while rejecting the "spirit" or specific phrasing of Labour motions (e.g. M 68 on Sport; M 65 on Job Reservation, M 61 on Housing and M 59 on Equal Pay).

Comparing the motions debated during 1970 and 1971 and excluding the two budgets we can see that in 1970 14 out of 31 motions were passed unanimously (45 %), compared to 27 out of 47 (57 %) in 1971. The voting pattern and consequently the party strategies in the CRC may undergo drastic changes in the following session as a result of present changes in party affiliation.

TABLE 3: Party Affiliations of CRC members

	1969	1970 (end of session)	1971 (end of session)	November 1971 ⁷⁾
Labour Elected	25	25	24 ⁶⁾	21
Federal (Nom. + Elected)	30	31 ⁵⁾	30	29
Speaker (Federal)	1	1	1	1
Other Parties and Independent	4	3	5	9
	60	60	60	60
Non-Confidence Vote		32 : 27	31 : 28	

5) One independent member (S. Essop) joined the Federal Party after being elected.

6) Mr. Rooks left the Labour Party as a result of differences in principle and strategy. In April 1972 he was elected Chairman of the new Social Democratic Party.

7) During March 1972 Mr. Domingo, former member of the Labour Party and then founder of the Social Democratic Party died.

Table 3 gives some indication of the change in the relative strength of the two main parties since the election in 1969. The change between 1969 and 1970 is the expulsion of J. D. Petersen from the L. P. caucus at the start of the 1970 session. The only change during the 1971 session was J. Muller leaving the F. P. Since the end of the session three members left the L. P. (M. D. Arendse, A. J. Domingo and L. V. Du Preez) and S. Essop left the F. P. Formally the F. P., together with nominated members still have a majority over the Labour Party (29 : 21), but the group of independent and minority party members (Brown and W. J. Swartz) gain in strategic importance. Taking the no-confidence vote as an indication of general sympathies in terms of the two sides of the house and fundamental issues the margin is very narrow indeed. (Between 1970 and 1971 W. J. Swartz changed his vote.) From Table 2 we know, however, that the dissent between party members is much less on the more practical issues with the result that the independent group could in future sway the majority against the F. members and the Executive. Whether this potential will soon be used to register no-confidence in the chairman of the Executive is an open question, very much dependent on the attitude of members like S. Essop and M. D. Arendse and the effect of new party groupings.

Of more importance for our analysis here is a presumption that the greater flexibility in the voting pattern, combined with the overwhelming degree of unanimity on the fundamental aspects of social and economic policy will cause an even higher number of unanimous motions as well as more aggressive phrasing of the motions. In the final part we will return to this questions.

3. Initiative and Attitude of Council Members

An attempt will be made in this section to analyse the contribution of the various members to the debates and proceedings of the Council so far. Since the present writer is no scholar of political science and has no experience in the evaluation of members of parliamentary institutions, this section should be seen as of a very tentative nature. Its main purpose is to indicate the leading personalities in the Council and the relative contributions of the three main groups, i.e. elected L. P. members, elected F. P. members

and nominated members. As basis for the discussion a list of all the members and their contributions is furnished in Appendix B. To compare the contributions of the various members the following ways of participation in the debates were taken into account:

- (i) Number of motions proposed by the member;
- (ii) Number of amendments put by each member;
- (iii) Number of discussion opportunities actually used by the member in respect of motions, leaving out of account the length of each contribution;
- (iv) Number of other contributions during the proceedings, including the committee stage of the first act and proposals of general nature;
- (v) Number of formal questions tabled or asked orally on which the answers are recorded in Hansard.

From the above it is obvious that the frequencies found in Appendix B are not a direct index of the actual role each member played in the Council. Certain leading personalities obtained more debating opportunities as result of procedural arrangements. Some indication of this is given in the supplementary remarks. Furthermore the length of each debating opportunity is not indicated, nor can its importance or impact be deduced from Hansard. With few exceptions there is, however, some positive correlation between the frequency rates and the length of speeches.

By simply adding the frequencies of the various contributions a rank order is constructed in Appendix B, which should be seen as a very tentative scale of the initiative taken by the members in the Council deliberations. On the basis of this ranking some conclusions can now be drawn.⁸⁾

8) Critics of this paper indicated that such a comparison is not warranted since even in the central (White) Parliament members' participation differed considerably. Yet, it is advanced here that a similar approach might be taken in such a study. As long as the limitations of this analysis are recognized and no undue conclusions are drawn about personalities or races, the method thus seems justified.

Taking the most active 15 members we see that according to the original party affiliations six are Labour members, six nominated Federal members, two are the only members of the two minority parties (Brown + W. J. Swartz) and only one is an elected Federal member (Rabie). Excluding the two minority party leaders for the moment (procedural rules gave them more opportunities for contributions) the four most active members are Labour members. However, according to the latest changes in party affiliations, the latter two of those four (M. D. Arendse and E. Domingo⁹⁾) have become independent members. With the two minority party members these two Independents, together with Rooks, can constitute an important block of five members not restricted by party discipline in their vote on practical issues. It is revealing that only one elected Federal member is amongst this group, while there are only four of the eleven elected Federal members in the more active half of all the members (i.e. up to rank order 30). On the other hand the six nominated Federal members in the leading group include the two dominating members of the Executive Council (T. R. Swartz and W. J. Bergins) as well as the party secretary and son of T. R. Swartz (Peter Swartz). If their active participation is viewed as a result of their functions, the other three active nominated members, i.e. Adams, W. B. Pieterse and Africa are of special importance. All three are noted for very eloquent speeches and some highly constructive proposals, as will be indicated in Part II.

If the number of motions issued is taken as an indication of party initiative we see that of the leading group of 15, out of a total of 49 motions (62 % of all the motions) introduced, 21 were introduced by Labour members, 13 by the two minority party members, 13 by nominated members and only 2 by the elected Federal members. The origin of all the 78 motions is distributed as follows (according to original affiliation): Labour 36, Federal elected 10, Federal nominated 22, Independent or Minority Parties 10. Relative to the number of members the ratio is lowest for the elected Federal members.

To contrast the most active group Table 4 gives a summary of the contribution and composition of the 20 members with the lowest initiative ranking. Some conclusions are quite obvious from this table. Whereas only 19 % of the Labour members fall into this
9) See Footnote 7)

group, 60 % of the Federal elected and 45 % of the nominated members fall into the group. Comparing the 5 motions introduced by this group with the 49 introduced by the top 15 people, the difference in the initiative between the various members can be seen quite dramatically. Four of the nominated members made only three or fewer contributions, one of them (D. S. Habelgaarn) none at all, whereas two elected Labour members, W. E. Johannes and P. J. J. Meyer also contributed hardly at all so far.

TABLE 4:

Contribution of 20 members with lowest initiative ranking
(original party affiliations)

	Labour	Fed. Elected	Fed. Nominated	Total	% of Overall
Number of members	5	6	9	20	33
Motions proposed	-	2	3	5	6
Total contributions	18	29	34	81	9 ½
% of overall group in lowest third	19 %	60 %	45 %	-	-

Concluding this section it can firstly be said that the Labour members are on the whole more active in the proceedings of the Council, notwithstanding the allegation of "boycott" or non-collaboration. Their policy of staying away from the opening addresses and the committee stages of the budget debates are the only manifestations of such an attitude. It is almost ironical that the L. P. opposed the motion at the end of the 1971 session proposing the adjournment of the Council (M 74/1971).

Secondly, we can conclude that the elected Federal members are relatively speaking very inactive, only one of them falling into the top (15) group and 60 % into the lowest third. This tendency might indicate that the Federal Party won their seats not so much on account of the quality of the candidates but rather the attitude of the voters, the nature of the district (e.g. rural and isolated from larger towns) and the overall campaign organisation. Knowing

this the Federal Party might in future try to nominate more active candidates for those areas.

Thirdly, it is clear that the nominated members have so far been of very differing status. Whereas 9 of them fall into the upper third in terms of initiative, another 9 fall into the lower third, four of them very low indeed. This may be explained tentatively as follows: The more active nominated members were leading personalities inside the Federal Party or closely related to them, thus known to the government. Some of them were nominated because they lost their election, others because they had not stood for election. In contrast the relatively large number of inactive members would indicate a problem in finding enough able Federal Party orientated persons willing to become members of the CRC. Partially this may be attributable to the Federal Party itself, and partially to the government who nominated them. Whether more active members will be nominated in future depends on the attitude the government and the Federal Party take towards the Council.

Finally, the evidence given in Appendix B as well as the perusal of the debates themselves bear one fact out without any doubt, namely the great difference in the leadership quality of the members. In all three groups these qualitative differences are quite considerable. The future of the Council will to a great extent depend on whether the number of members of the quality of the top 15 increases or that of the lower third. It is obvious that in the Coloured community enough leaders exist to increase the quality of all members to those of the top, but whether this will actually be the case depends decisively on the attitude of the Coloured community towards the Council. The authority of the government to nominate members actually facilitates an improvement of the quality of the Council members, if the government so wishes.

PART II:

CONTENT OF THE MOTIONS

In Part I we described and analysed certain general aspects of the proceedings in the CRC and the contribution of its members. In this part we attempt a systematic review of the motions in or-

der to deduce the main problems discussed and the attitude taken by the Council on those issues. The discussion will be based on the categories used in section of part I and the systematic list of all motions given in Appendix A. It should, however, be stressed at this stage already, that many of the motions are closely interrelated, especially those of categories 10 and 20 with those more specific motions of category 30.

1. General Political Issues

The motions grouped under this heading include the two budgets, the two no-confidence debates, a motion on participation in the 1971 Republican Festival and two more organizational motions (M 74 and 76), besides five motions on the political institutions at both the local and national level. Viewing the various motions from their content we can distinguish three sub-categories, i.e. first, the criticism of personalities or office bearers, secondly, appeals to retain previously existing institutions or abolish institutions put in their place, and, thirdly, motions concerning the expansion, efficiency or evolutionary adaptation of new institutions. These three sub-categories might suggest three attitudes which individual council members or party caucuses can take and have, indeed, taken.

The first motion of a personal nature is the no-confidence motion of the L. P. introduced by S. Leon in 1970 (M 3/1970), saying that: "This Council places on record its no confidence in the chairman of the Executive Committee and the members of the Executive Committee of the C.P.R.C." The motion introduced a bitter debate, carried over to many other motions, where the L. members attacked the F. P. leaders for being nominated, for co-operating with the central government and for their allegedly apologetic attitude towards crucial issues of Colou; d politics. In the debates it was shown clearly that whenever the two main parties differed in their political strategy, these personal differences come to the foreground. Little of this was mentioned, however, during the debates on the numerous motions accepted unanimously. The frequent appeals by individuals of both parties not to "spoil a good case" would be indicative for this aspect.

The non-participation of the L. P. in the committee stage of the budget debates, their rejection of both budgets and the motion on non-participation in the 1971 Republican Festival can be construed as implicit personal criticisms of the Central Government. The boycott of the opening ceremonies also falls into this category. Bearing in mind the seemingly widespread and intense dissatisfaction of the Coloured people with the ruling government and its policies, it is, perhaps, strange that not more motions expressing open no-confidence in government institutions were tabled. It remains to be tested or analyzed to what an extent such motions would be overruled as being outside the scope of the Council. Notwithstanding the delicate issue on Freedom of Speech (cf. S. Essop, M 11/1970 pp. 437 passim and p. 582) on various occasions, Federal members voiced warning interjections about personal accusations of L. members and on a few occasions the Speaker asked members to withdraw certain statements (e.g. Middleton about the State President and Arendse about Mr. B. J. Schoeman, cf. 11/1971, p. 961).

The motion on the Republican Festival can furthermore be construed as being one of many examples of open no-confidence in the white community. In this connection the link with warnings on "Brown Power" is quite striking. One of the most direct statements on this was made by the L. member Middleton in the unanimous 1971 motion on Equal Pay for Equal Work: "I want the White man to listen to this voice (of the Black people) which is ringing through South Africa, that I am afraid one day that when the White man decides to love us he will find that we have decided to hate him" (10/1971 p. 785).

Coming to the second sub-category, there are several motions or amendments demanding either the repeal of so-called "Apartheid institutions" or the restoration of the status quo ante. Early in the 1970 session M. D. Arendse urgently requested the government to consider "the immediate appointment of a Judicial Commission ... to consider constitutional ways and means to restoring full political rights in all Departments of Government at Central, Provincial and Local levels..." (3/1970, p. 395). This was taken up again in the 1971 no-confidence debate where S. Leon called "for the total abolition of the CRC" (7/1971, p. 13) and a motion introduced by Rooks asking for the appointment of a Select Commission representing all parties and minority groups in the Council to call a con-

vention of Coloured leaders "to discuss a method under which direct representation can be achieved". (9/1971, p. 421). On the local level the same attitude was taken by the L. members. In an amendment in 1970, Julies moved that the Council "requests the Government to abolish the system of management committees and further requests the restoration and extension of the municipal franchise to all rate-payers and tenants in municipal areas" (6/1970, p. 1044), and at the end of the 1971 session, while the actual change of municipal voting rights was discussed in public, M. D. Arendse moved as a motion calling "for the retention of the municipal franchise of Coloured persons", the retention of municipal voters roll and the extension of the franchise (12/1971, p. 1054).

While the Labour members concentrated their attack on the principle of excluding Coloured persons from previously existing rights the Federal members in these lengthy debates argued that existing institutions had had little advantage for Coloured people and that it was necessary to accept new institutions as intermediate steps in the long run development.

This last argument actually is at the root of the motions and amendments falling into the third category, i.e. to use, expand and adapt available institutions. It was already voiced in the amendments on the 1970 no-confidence motion which spoke about the Executive "utilising the existing constitutional machinery as an interim measure to its fullest extent" (2/1970) and repeated more comprehensively in the amendment on the motion (7/1971) requesting a Judicial Commission, urging the Coloured people "to make the fullest use of the political and other provisions which have been put at their disposal ... and that from time to time such representations as thought necessary for the process of development and self-realization be submitted through this Council" (3/1970). This latter point was expanded in the amendment on the 1971 no-confidence debate which outlined the CRC "as a medium through which the Coloured people of South Africa could achieve full citizenship" and where the government was requested "as a matter of urgency to take steps to hold discussions with members of the Council and other interested persons on further extensions to the powers of the Council and other instruments of deliberation and liaison" (7/1971). A similar attitude was taken with respect to the issue of local selfgovernment.

A Federal motion in 1970 asked the government to "appoint more management committees to serve in Coloured areas throughout the Republik", (6/1970, p. 1044) while the amendment to the Labour motion by M. D. Arendse (M 67/1971) made some rather specific requests concerning the expansion of local institutions, i.e. the transfer of local government powers from the Provincial Council to the CRC and the speeding up of the establishment of fully elected autonomus local government bodies... as an initial step in the larger urban centres ... and (other) bodies in the smaller cities" (12/1971).

A few Labour motions can be construed as indicating a certain acceptance of the present political institutions and a similar strategy with regard to evolutionary change as followed by Federal members. In the 1971 no-confidence motion, demand was made for the 40 elected CRC members to represent the Coloured people in parliament and to form an electoral college for the nomination of senators (7/1971, p. 13). Somewhat later Domingo moved an unanimous motion that legislation be adapted in order to provide for the election of all 60 members of the CRC and that the leader of the majority party be appointed as Chairman of the Executive (10/1971, p. 933).

A motion requesting the Executive to enquire into the (change of) the demarcation of regional offices in order to obtain a better geographical grouping (M 74/1971, p. 1281) elicited no debate and was accepted unanimously. This motion constitutes the only technical motion in this category and it is one which could have considerable positive effect to Coloured people from an organizational point of view.

We can conclude this section by stressing that most of the motions were very wide in scope and fundamental in nature, thus emphasising the differences in strategy of the main parties. As such it is difficult to expect much concrete action from the government which has just created those institutions.¹⁰⁾ Increased pressure from the Coloured parties can be expected through either personal criticism of a more specific nature, or appeals to adapt and expand present institutions.

¹⁰⁾ Compare dr. S. W. v. d. Merwe's statement about avoiding the destruction of the institution, made in his paper reprinted in this volume.

So far only vague claims have been made for the increase of particular responsibilities, the expansion of specific projects, promotion of Coloured administrative personnel, etc. One step in this line would be more vigorous budget debates and concrete proposals for amendments to the budget or requests regarding budget items of the ensuing years.

2. General Aspects of Discrimination

The motions grouped under this category include a wide variety of issues, related to each other by the predominance of some aspect of discrimination. Some of them are also closely related to certain of the motions discussed under more specific sub-categories in the group on social and economic development. We can arrange the motions according to the degree of generality. At first those motions discussing general principles or broad issues are reviewed and thereafter those relating to more specific issues.

The general practice of discrimination against Coloured people in particular has so far been discussed at considerable length in connection with three motions, in which the different attitudes of the two main parties have also been revealed. The categoric rejection of all forms of discrimination and separation by the Labour members is shown by two motions and one amendment moved by them. In motion 50/1971 D. Curry moved that the Council "condemns all forms of apartheid, whether it is called big apartheid or petty apartheid", which was almost identical to an amendment moved by him in 1971 "that all forms of discrimination on the basis of race, colour or creed, by any one group of people against another group of people is totally unacceptable". Of the same nature was a motion by M. D. Arendse requesting the government "to consider the immediate appointment of a commission to call evidence in order to review all discriminatory legislation with a view to its ultimate annulment" (M 61/1971, p. 882). Labour members emphasised their general opposition to discrimination, including discrimination against other non-white groups. Prominence was given to individual cases of discrimination as reported in the press or as had occurred in members' constituencies. They also tried to show that Federal members implicitly condoned discrimination, since they accepted the government

framework of parallel development, asserting that discrimination was a sine qua non for parallel development, i.e. racial differentiation.

The attitude of the Federal members is well illustrated by the three counter-motions, viz. amendments to those mentioned above. In one of the first motions in 1970 P. Swartz moved that "the Executive bring to the notice of the Minister of Coloured Affairs that discrimination against the Coloured people on the basis of colour alone is quite unacceptable to the Coloured people of South Africa" (4/1970, p. 553). In a later motion (50/1971) the Federal members went further, accepting in their amendment the Labour phrase "that the Council condemns all forms of apartheid", only adding "aimed at complete disregard for the dignity and worthiness of man", which would certainly have been accepted by the Labour side. The difference in strategy is, however, shown by the further addition "but sees the policy of separate but equal (sic!) development for the Coloured people as a stepping stone to full citizenship". The scant difference in the practical goals of the two parties is even further illustrated in the Federal Party amendment on Arendse's motion calling for an independent commission. P. Swartz proposed that "the Executive draw up a list of all discriminatory legislation and recommend to the government the annulment of such legislation, aimed particularly at (a) the restriction of progress and development of the Coloured people (ref. Job Reservation and Equality in Pay) and (b) the complete breakdown of good race relationship between White and Coloured people" (M 61/1971). In essence Arendse's motion and P. Swartz's amendment both aim for the same practical effect, but Swartz implicitly focuses on the role of the Executive of the CRC in handling these matters. Federal members also emphasized the existence of discrimination even before the evolution of the present policies. Some of them were in effect very bitter about the selfish attitude (rather than the policy framework) of the Whites which was supposed to be at the root of these problems.

Having clarified their general attitude and having both proposed the compilation of a list of discriminatory measures, it can, perhaps, be predicted that in future the differences present in the voting pattern on these three motions will not be maintained or, at least, will be unimportant. This can already be seen if we look

at the second group of motions under this category, i.e. those of a more specific nature, each dealing with just one aspect of discrimination. All five motions relevant here were accepted unanimously, i.e.:

- (i) that the Government repeal the Immorality Act (M 17/1970)
- (ii) that the catering facilities of the S.A.R. on trunk routes be improved and expanded to include the full range of first and second class facilities, and "that facilities on suburban trains on all routes be investigated" (M 46/1971)
- (iii) that the Government allow "all sports bodies to formulate their own policies with regard to International or National participation of all South Africans" (M 68/1971)
- (iv) that a judicial commission of inquiry be appointed to investigate the system of farm prisons with particular regard to short-term imprisonment, imprisonment for petty statutory offences, as well as the wages and hours of work (M 72/1971)
- (v) that Coloured people in the rural areas be allowed to obtain and own fire arms (M 79/1971).

The general pattern of discussion with respect to these motions was that members of both main parties and the independents reiterated the broad principle of no discrimination and then went along to describe specific incidents or hardships caused by the particular form of discrimination. Much bitterness was revealed in the debates, particularly in the motion on the Immorality Act. Although these motions were already more specific in their wording and content, they still did not (with the exception of M 17/1970) indicate precisely what had to be changed, i.e. which section of an Act or which policy aspect, and by whom. The frequent habit of proposing the appointment of some commission is symptomatic for the lack of operationalism in the motions.

Closely connected with discrimination and particular problems of social and economic development are two motions, the latter of which lapsed at the end of the 1971 session. The first motion was one of sympathy for the people of Galvendale in connection with their protest against increases in busfares (M 73/1971). The discussion pointed out the discrimination practised against Coloured people as a result of their removal from the town centre and the provision of insufficient amenities in the new residential areas. In the second motion D. Curry "requested the authorities concerned to set up a commission of enquiry into the predisposing factors in the social and economic life of the Coloured people that lead to an unusually high crime rate" (M 81/1971). The idea underlying this motion, which almost certainly will be reinstated in the next session, is that various practices of discrimination are important causal factors behind the high crime rate. Its future will depend upon the actual appointment and work of such a commission and whether further motions in this direction can be more specific about particular aspects of this causal relationship and can formulate operational proposals for policy changes.

Somewhat divorced from the issues mentioned so far are a number of motions all concerned with the rights of particular population groups and the relation between them. One motion is of very limited importance, since it only requested the use of the term "Griqua" whenever reference is made in official correspondence or property dealings instead of the concept Coloured (M 25/1970). The motion was opposed by the Labour members, since they reject race classification per se. Besides being of importance for the Griqua people themselves, the motion illustrated the strong feelings against the vague concept of "Coloured", especially in the particular combination of "other Coloureds". In the debates on various other motions, bitter criticism was voiced against this practice by members of all parties.

Three further motions of this nature were proposed in relation to Muslim Places of Worship and Religious Instruction at School. In the first of the two unanimous motions, A. Adams proposed that the Executive negotiate with the Departments of Planning and Community Development and with the Provincial and Local authorities about a number of specific aspects in order to make available enough and

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