

suitably located premises for the erection of mosques in new Coloured residential areas and to have Muslim residents settled in the vicinity of those places of Worship (M 23/1970). The second motion (M 57/1971) concentrated on the maintenance of present places of Worship, requesting the government to guarantee the sanctity and protection of Mosques in so far as they are affected by the Group Areas Act and to pay due respect to the religious dictates of the Muslim community. An addendum moved by Domingo and accepted by all members together with the main motion actually went much further by requesting that "no Muslims or Worshippers in any religion be forcibly removed under the Group Areas Act which prevents their worshipping in the traditional and usual places of worship". Bearing in mind the grave suffering and hardship caused by Group Area removals to the religious life of almost all non-Muslim communities, this addendum implicitly condemns all such removals. Being of such a general nature, however, it lost its operational importance. What the last motion really implied is the granting of certain exceptions in the declaration of Group Areas, in order to maintain established Mosques and Churches. This pragmatic approach, approved by all parties, might be a precedent for other requests for adaptations under the Group Areas Act which are important for e.g. education, industry and commerce, cultural establishments, sport, etc. (Ref. sect. 3.1).

Of a different nature, but still concerned about group relations and group areas, are four motions which all relate to the attitude towards non-Coloured persons residing in or doing business in Coloured Group Areas. Three of these motions were introduced by W. J. Swartz, only member of the Transvaal based National Coloured People's Party, which in its policy towards other racial groups is very much influenced by the problems of Coloured Group Areas in Transvaal and the frictions existing between the small numbers of Coloureds and the Indians, Africans and Whites of the area. The controversial character of the motions, as revealed in the heated debates, clearly demonstrates how different these problems are in the various parts of South Africa and how delicate these practical issues are. In the first motion (M 21/1970) Swartz requested the Government in terms of existing acts to

- (a) Have all non-Coloureds who occupy houses and those who own property and business in Coloured areas removed;

- (b) that the practice of issuing Coloured or Malay Identity Cards to non-Coloureds be discontinued and that all non-Coloureds with Coloured Identity Cards be re-classified".

The reaction of the two main parties to this radical proposal was revealing as to their individual approach. The Labour member Rooks opposed the motion as such very emphatically and added an amendment requesting the repeal of the Population Registration Act of 1950 under which act the classification itself was done. The Federal Party's amendment was lodged by Polly, a nominated member of the Transvaal, who must have had much sympathy with Swartz's motion. While he did oppose the motion, especially the proposal for re-classification - stressing the hardship this would cause - he also requested the government "more effectively (to) prevent the infiltration of disqualified persons into Coloured Group Areas". By using the term "disqualified persons" any direct link with Indian or Bantu individuals was prevented, although implicit reference to them was quite obvious. It was furthermore clear that there was much difference even between Federal members themselves on the attitude towards this motion, which may have been the main reason why this motion as well as the other two lapsed after the expiration of time. In the second and third motion (M 37/1971 and M 38/1971) W. J. Swartz repeated the earlier request. On both motions Domingo, who himself is resident in Transvaal, moved amendments either asking for the repeal of the Race Classification Act (M 38/1971) or the opening of all trading and residential areas for all racial groups. On the matter of Identity Cards the nominated Malay member (Savahl) moved an amendment (M 38/1971) opposing reclassification on account of the misery caused, but added an urgent request to prevent "the issue of Coloured or Malay Identity Cards to persons who are obviously not Coloured".

Summarising this category of motions very briefly we can distinguish three types of motions: Those of a very general nature directed against the broad principle and practice of discrimination, where the strategy of the two main parties differs considerably; secondly, the motions on a wide array of particular aspects of discrimination where there is consensus between the parties and which will probably increase in number, degree of operationalism and also bitterness in the tone of the debate; and, finally, a small number of

group-identity issues on which there is much dispute even amongst the members of the various parties and which in themselves are a danger to the spirit of co-operation of the Council. The latter motions may become less important as the process of socio-economic development makes progress.

### 3. Social and Economic Development

In this section the multitude of motions dealing with issues of social and economic development are reviewed briefly under the sub-categories indicated earlier.

#### 3.1. Group Areas and Residential Development

The motions related to this aspect can be grouped into three sections, i.e. those concerning the broad principle of Group Areas and the general handling of Group Area policies, secondly more specific issues related to Group Areas legislation and policy and, finally, certain aspects only indirectly related to Group Areas but of much importance for residential development.

As in the previous categories the difference in attitudes between the major parties towards Group Areas is clearly revealed in the five general motions. Only one of these motions was introduced by a Labour member (M. D. Arendse), but this proposal is indicative for that party's attitude. Arendse moved "that (the) Council request the Government to repeal all Group Areas legislation forthwith" (M 70/1971, p. 1176). A similar approach was taken on three amendments to Federal members' motions, in which forced removal of people was rejected (M 35/1970 and M 49/1971) and the immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act was demanded (M 8/1970). Two of the motions (70 and 8) expired after the lapse of time for debate while only one of five motions was passed unanimously, being a motion introduced by Brown in which the Minister was asked to end the uncertainty about the removal of Coloured people from farms and other established residential areas (M 20/1970). Although short, the debate on the latter motion which concentrated on the aspect of freeing certain residential areas in expectation of removal or replot-

clamations, showed much bitterness on the side of all speakers.

The Federal Party's attitude is well illustrated by taking together the three motions initiated by their members. The crucial point is the finalization of the proclamation of Group Areas, as requested in Motion 8. This point was also central to the abovementioned Motion by Brown, and it was reiterated in the amendments moved by Coverdale on Arendse's motion (M 70/1971). To the last request were added two further points, both concerning the way in which specific areas are proclaimed, i.e. that proclamation should take place "op 'n regverdige wyse", and that where established Coloured residential areas have been declared White while removal has not taken place yet, reproclamation should be considered (M 70/1971). Thus, although Federal members in principle accept Group Areas as part of the Government's policy of parallel development and some speakers even stressed certain advantages arising for Coloured people from the establishment of Group Areas (e.g. slum clearance, protected business rights, new housing projects), the above qualifications indicate a wide spectrum of possible dissent between Federal members and the Government concerning proclamation, finalization, removal, etc.

The above point is also illustrated by another motion (M 49/1971) moved by Coverdale in which the Executive is requested to ensure that Coloured Group Areas are proclaimed in certain specific places (Piettersburg, Grasmere, Nelspruit, Brits, etc., cf. p. 515/1971) "and elsewhere, where there are large concentrations of Coloureds, irrespective of the growth points which are envisaged for the Coloureds in the Transvaal". In the debates two more places in the Free State (Springfontein and Ladybrand) were added and much criticism was voiced by speakers of all parties against the policy of growth point concentration, the deproclamation of established Coloured Group Areas, the influence of White pressure groups and interests on the proclamation and deproclamation of Group Areas and the detrimental effect of the uncertainty about the future of various townships. The bitter tone of the debate made it clear that this issue is one of the most important for the Coloured people. The fact that none of the Executive members participated in the debates might indicate that so far they are powerless to influence the relevant decisions. This was also revealed in certain debating points made about Local

Group Areas Boards and their composition, and in written answers on certain questions about the state of finality of certain areas in Natal. Notwithstanding all this the motion probably was still too vague and general to elicit any specific policy change on the side of the Government. One step in the direction of more specific motions was taken by A. C. Jacobs in a motion about specific aspects of removal in the Free State, which other participants in the debate tried to generalize so as to be applicable to the Republic as a whole (M 35/1970). In the motion certain conditions are laid down for removal, i.e.:

1. Sufficient compensation for previous housing
2. Free transport to new growth point
3. Provision of sufficient housing in the new area
4. Availability of employment opportunities in the vicinity of the new area
5. Provision for aged and others unable to work

Since some of these conditions are fulfilled in principle and occasionally also in practice the motion is probably again too general to have an influence on circumstances in specific places. It does, however, indicate on what level the real conflict of interest between Coloured people and the Government lies. Further motions on these matters will have to handle only some of the above aspects in even greater detail in order to outline the necessary action.

Closely related to the above issues is an unanimous motion introduced in 1970 by Plaatjies of the Free State pointing out that in that Province according to an Act of 1893 Coloureds are still prevented from owning their property and requesting that this practice be changed and more private property be made available for ownership by Coloureds (18/1970). Although this motion was restricted to the one Province, various other contributions brought forward criticism on the lack of residential property available for private ownership. A motion proposed by A. Adam in 1970 which, however, lapsed at the end of the session and has so far not been reintroduced, asked specifically that "the Executive make representation to the authorities concerned that residents in Coloured sub-economic and economic houses be allowed to purchase these homes at cost price plus a nominal interest rate" (implicitly also referring to the premises; cf. 6/1970, p. 1058).

Three of the motions on more specific issues concerned the requirement for Coloureds in some residential areas or parts of the country to obtain permits in order to live or work in those places. Frequent representation was made by Dunn, the representative for the Dunn-community in Natal, either in the form of written questions or motions to get title rights on property in the Dunn-reserve, to prevent any removal of Coloured persons in the Zululand complex (M 82/1971, lapsed at the end of the session), and to have the permit system in Zululand withdrawn (M 82/1971 and Motion 5/1970 moved by the nominated member Swales of Natal). A motion to have the permit system still existing in residential areas in Transvaal abolished, was accepted unanimously (M 77/1971). Not much attention was, however, given to the rationale of that system and the possible negative effects on the Coloured inhabitants themselves in cases of a complete withdrawal of the control (e.g. over-crowding and influx of Africans). Two further motions on particular areas were also accepted unanimously. The first requested the Executive to negotiate with the authorities that the full area set aside for Coloureds in Reigerpark (Witwatersrand) would actually be made available, thus articulating the existing fear that due to pressure from White groups the original allocation was to be changed and diminished (M 31/1971). The other motion concerned agricultural land in the Lower Orange River Scheme and in it the Government was requested to give assurance to the Coloured owners of land in that area that they would not be disowned or removed (M 47/1971). The bitterness revealed in the debate on the latter motion must be seen in relation to the other motions on agricultural issues, especially the need for more land (cf. M 16/1970 in category 3.3).

Other issues discussed which are only indirectly related to Group Areas are the busfares and protest in Galvendale, mentioned earlier (M 73/1971), and the request "for the provision of proper and adequate police protection for the Coloured communities residing in Coloured townships in the R.S.A." (M 42/1971, accepted unanimously). These aspects are closely related to the residential infrastructure referred to in a later section. Again, however, it is doubtful whether the general motions will cause much improvement in the services.

In conclusion to this section we might emphasize that although the

Labour Party formally opposes the whole policy of Group Areas the main body of the motions on Group Areas is more and more concerned with the speed, justice and specific way of implementation of the policy and that considerable bitterness and resentment is revealed in the debates by most of the participants. As long as no finalization of Group Areas proclamation is firmly in sight, it is probable that dissatisfaction may increase in the future notwithstanding the fact that real progress is already being made.

### 3.2. Housing and Urban Infrastructure

The motions relevant to this section can be grouped under three headings, i.e. those relating to the urban infrastructure of Coloured townships, those concerned with the housing shortage and the quality of accommodation, and thirdly those relating to more particular aspects of home ownership.

Only one motion was moved on the general quality and availability of urban amenities. Early in the 1970 session the nominated member, Africa, proposed that representation be made to the relevant authorities to ensure that Coloured Group Areas are furnished with all public amenities as soon as possible (M 6/1970). The Labour Party amendment, stated very much the same, just implicitly rejecting the acceptance of Coloured Group Areas per se. In the debate reference was made to numerous specific instances of shortcomings or complete absence of these amenities, and the blame was put on the various authorities responsible for this, including Local authorities and the Department of Community Development. The frequent absence of co-ordination and co-operation between various authorities was also sharply criticized. The debate itself was of a relatively high standard but still too general to initiate any policy changes. The motion should be viewed together with those mentioned at the end of the last section.

One unanimous motion requesting the installation of water supply, electricity and roads in Grasmere (Transvaal) (M 28/1970) sufficiently illustrated the degree of frustration existing in the residential areas where these amenities are lacking. It was significant that during the short debate members by interjection indicated

that their constituencies suffered from similar shortcomings. Furthermore it was shown that representations made to various authorities had all proved of no avail (p. 911). As shown in the debate on a motion passed in 1970 and mentioned earlier (M 49/1971), the real problem in the case of Grasmere seems to have been the existence of pressure from the nearby White community to have the Coloured Group Area deproclaimed and the residents removed (cf. Rabie, 9/1971, p. 521), thus illustrating the interrelatedness of the various issues or obstacles.

The overall problem of the housing shortage was discussed in two motions, each accepted unanimously, although proposed by members of the two main parties respectively. In 1970, Curry proposed the appointment of "an independent commission of experts to enquire into the serious backlog in housing and the continuous growth of emergency camps and continued removal of Coloured people under the Group Areas Act, and report upon the ways and means of solving these problems" (M 29/1970). Virtually the same proposal was repeated in M 63/1971 by Plaatjies, this time only stressing that officials and members of the CRC and other interested persons should be members of such a commission. The proposal of a commission again reveals the apparent lack of confidence in the handling of this complex problem by the present authorities concerned and the recognition that it is too difficult to be handled by CRC members. The lengthy debates revealed much bitterness and reference was made to many specific cases of hardship. The most important part of the debates is probably the contribution by Africa (M 29/1970) in which he indicates what possible adaptations of policy might be undertaken to start solving the problem. A short summary of his main points is given here as an indication of what is possible in terms of specific proposals, although only very few of these types of contributions were made in the debates (cf. pp. 936 - 942).

1. Community Development should for the next five years put all the houses built with the National Housing Loan Fund at the disposal of the municipalities throughout the country to allocate them. Thus the present practice of only making 20 per cent of the new houses available for slum clearance and the reduction of the backlog should be radically changed. This would mean a drastic reduction in the number of people re-housed as a result of Group Areas relocation.



2. The application of the Slum Clearance Act by the Slums Board would have to be changed so that more solid houses in proclaimed slum areas would be maintained and put at the disposal of the people living there.
3. Far more serviced premises would have to be made available to private persons at cost price by municipalities, so that these persons could make use of the Government assisted schemes to build their own houses according to their plans and specifications.
4. More scope be given to Coloured people earning a sufficient income to move out of sub-economic houses and build their own houses with the aid of Government assistance or normal loans from Building Societies.
5. In all major townships (as in Cape Town at present) White entrepreneurs or utility companies should be allowed to buy unserviced and undeveloped land in the Coloured areas, build houses and sell them to individuals on the instalment basis. Thus the White private sector should be allowed to develop sites even on a temporary basis.
6. Building Societies, many of whom have money invested by Coloured people, should also be encouraged to act as developers.
7. Decentralization of industry to the Platteland should be encouraged in order to decrease the exodus of people from those areas and thus relieve the housing shortage in the larger towns.

Of particular importance is the motivation given by Africa for these concrete proposals: "Both the motion and the amendment do not help this House one iota to solve the problem of housing... the few points... suggested... should be the basis of negotiations of any committee with the authorities in order to try to solve this problem (p. 941) ...; we cannot as a Council forever, on this high level, want to pass the buck on to a commission or onto the Exe-

cutive... (W)e must contribute and make concrete suggestions in order to solve the problems." (p. 942).

Although Africa went into considerable detail in his suggestions, it is obvious that an even more concrete and detailed set of suggestions would have to be compiled to reach the level of actual policy implementation and pin-point the necessary institutional changes.

Closely related to the previous motions and somewhat more specific was a motion moved by Hollander and accepted unanimously requesting the Executive to negotiate with the authorities concerned to have the specifications of Coloured housing improved (M 5/1970). In the debates a wide variety of issues about the types of houses, the quality of sub-economic houses, health dangers, transport and other services, etc., were discussed, much of them in a rather frustrated vein. Speakers emphasized the close interrelationship between the housing standard, the rent-paying capacity and the wage and salary level, concluding that an improvement of the latter might be the main instrument to solve the housing problem. Another specific motion relevant here, but lapsed at the end of 1971, was one moved by Le Fleur with the rural settlements in the Northern Cape in mind. He asked for the erection of more community settlements in the place of emergency camps and "pondokkies" (M 86/1971, p. 1322). In another motion which lapsed at the end of 1970 (M 2/1970) one of Africa's suggestions was taken up even further, i.e. the Executive was to make representations in order to allow Coloured economic and sub-economic homes to be purchased at cost plus a nominal interest rate. The motion has not been reinstated so far, and since this right exists in some areas the motion is also in need of further specification. One other proposal by Africa was the subject of heated debates as a result of another motion (M 26/1970): The Labour Party (Curry) requested the Government not to allow private industry to lease or erect housing for their workers in municipal or Divisional Council areas so as to prevent exploitation of the workers by these firms. The Federal amendment asked for the opposite, i.e. a change in the Group Areas Act in order to make it possible for organized Trade and Industry to contribute towards housing without, however, exploiting individual employees. The debate which ended somewhat inconclusively indicated the great number

of factors which have to be taken into account in considering the advisability of such a step. What was needed for the debate in the first instance was a comprehensive fact paper outlining the advantages and the problems and steps to overcome such dangers. Only on that basis could a meaningful debate actually have taken place.

Finally, a motion asking for the provision of housing facilities for civil servants liable to a great deal of shifting between various urban centres in South Africa was also accepted unanimously (M 53/1971). The debate showed the three inter-related aspects of housing shortage, employment conditions and the resulting shortage of civil servants.

The debates on the subject of housing clearly reveal that this issue, which is itself the result of various other problems, bottlenecks or restrictions and the cause of further socio-economic problems, cannot be tackled in isolation from the other categories of problems, making any progress by means of an institution like the present CRC so much more difficult.

### 3.3. Land and Agricultural Problems

The motions tabled in the Council on matters pertaining to the rural areas and the agricultural sector centre around three aspects, namely the availability of land, the provision of certain aid or facilities, and the improvement in the working conditions of the agricultural labour class. On the aspect of land, five motions are relevant. The general principle was unanimously accepted in a motion proposed by Brown, and reformulated by Africa, requesting the opening up of more agricultural land for occupation and ownership by Coloured farmers in areas adjoining existing Coloured rural settlements (M 16/1970). Of similar content was the first part of a unanimous motion proposed by Theron (M 48/1971). In the debate on the need for more land, three aspects were stressed: the necessity to maintain and even expand a Coloured farming community, the need for more land and greater individual holdings to make present farming more successful, and the personal hardship and loss caused by the removal of and uncertainty about such removal of Coloured farmers as a result of reclamation of rural settlement areas. There

was much bitterness about the Government's statement that more land was not readily available or was too expensive to make available. On the other hand the debate showed very little recognition of the necessary long-run trend away from agriculture towards employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

In addition to the two general motions, three motions concerned certain specific areas and land requirements, i.e. one requested more land in the North Eastern (Kalahari) region of the Cape, illustrating the additional complication caused by the proximity of Bantu areas (M 12/1970), the other asked for an enlargement of individual lots and the granting of permanency of ownership in the Eksteenkuil Settlement in the Northern Cape (M 10/1970), and the third (unanimous) motion related to the uncertainty of the future of the settlements in the Lower Orange River region. The amendments to the first two specific motions were more of a tactical nature than of substantial content.

Requests for financial, marketing and other aid to Coloured farmers were voiced in two motions and implicitly in certain questions tabled in the Council. In Motion 38/1971, demand was made unanimously for personal loans to farmers and for the subsidizing of farmers who are not able to join agricultural co-operatives in order to aid them in the buying of equipment. In a separate motion, to which an amendment with almost identical content was proposed and defeated, the Government was asked to erect cooling and storing facilities in Coloured rural settlements to improve the marketing and storage. Although in themselves relatively specific these motions and debates showed a lack of perception of present facilities or aid available and the real nature of the obstacles. On the other hand, even the member of the Executive responsible for Rural Settlements, Cloete, barely concealed his bitterness about the vague, defensive and generally negative response given by the Government in its official answer to earlier requests (M 9/1971, pp. 499-509). The debate further brought to light the problem with co-operatives refusing to accept Coloured farmers as full members since the law prohibits their membership (p. 495/6). A similar problem is caused by the permit system whereby Coloureds are not allowed to purchase land from Whites, even though both parties may be willing to negotiate, unless a permit is granted by the Government (p. 497).

Some further motions concerning the general employment conditions of agricultural workers not discussed here are the following:

1. The proposal for the institution of an agricultural college and experimental farm (M 13/1970, cf. sect. 3.4)
2. The request to have the tot-system on the farms abolished immediately (M 83/1971, motion lapsed)
3. The request to have a commission of enquiry go into the matter of farm prisons, i.a. the furnishing of cheap farm labor (M 72/1971, referred to in sect. 2.0)
4. Two motions on the Masters and Servants Act and wage and general employment conditions of (i.a.) farm labour (M 11/1970 and M 41/1971, cf. sect. 3.5)

Relative to the number of Coloured people still employed or self-employed in the agricultural sector, a large number of motions of the CRC so far has been concerned with their problems. Yet, the motions have not been very operational and the debates in general lack a background perspective on the present and future role of agriculture for Coloured development.

### 3.4. Education and Training

Considerable emphasis has been put on the problem of education and training in the debates, the motions, no-confidence motions and the questions tabled in the CRC. The problems discussed in the motions can be grouped into three sub-categories: the principle and implementation of compulsory education, requests on specific institutions of schemes, and certain organizational aspects.

The broad issue of school education with particular emphasis on the introduction of compulsory education has been discussed at great length in two motions with very similar content. These motions also revealed the differences between the main parties. The Labour Party in an amendment to the motion by W. Pieterse in 1970, and in

an almost identical motion by D. Curry in 1971 reiterated the principle of compulsory education and requested the Government "to appoint an independent commission of experts to enquire into and report upon ways and means of providing a system whereby the educational needs of the Coloured people, in all its facets, will be fully realized" (M 69/1971, p. 1129). The Federal members, on the other hand, rejected such a commission since education already falls under the CRC's jurisdiction. In the 1970 motion the Executive was only asked to go into the matter of progressively implementing the system of compulsory education up to Standard 8 or the age of 16 years. In the amendment to Curry's 1971 motion, the Executive was urged to expand the present programme as fast as possible. The real difference between the parties in practice seems to be rather slight, since both are in favour of the early introduction of compulsory education, while both are restricted by the severe shortage of funds and teaching staff. The lengthy debates disclosed much information on specific aspects of the shortages, but contributed little in terms of concrete proposals for improvement. It was implicit in the contributions of most speakers that since progress is crucially dependent on finance, the actual progress was a function of the willingness of Central Parliament to allocate more funds.

The debate on university studies was also mainly fundamental in nature. Hendrickse proposed that "those sections of the Act which stand in the way of students attending universities of their choice" be repealed (M 30/1970, p. 655), thus following the categorical line of the Labour Party, while Bergins in his amendment pleaded for a dynamic expansion of the University of Western Cape, including the possibility of further campuses in other parts of the country. Bergins further asked that students who are unable to register at U.W.C. be given sympathetic consideration in their application for other universities. In the debates much bitterness was voiced by various speakers about the lack of Coloured staff and participation of Coloureds in the administration, while Labour members in addition stressed that too much Government control was being exerted upon the University and students.

In the six motions concerning specific educational or training schemes there was general consensus on the practical goals, i.e. the expansion of facilities. The following three motions proposing

the institution of new facilities were accepted unanimously:

1. An adult training scheme for men similar to that for White men at Westlake, thereby creating facilities for an alternative training to the usual apprenticeship system (M 75/1971)
2. A comprehensive technical college for engineering in the Peninsula and possible further institutions in other main centres of the country, in order to give Coloureds the opportunity to qualify as mechanics, etc. (M 36/1971)
3. One or more agricultural colleges and experimental farms to train potential farmers and agricultural officers (M 13/1970).

The debates revealed much frustration about the unwillingness of White employers to apprentice or train Coloured workers. The above proposals thus constitute one attempt to overcome the shortage of training opportunities or evade the discriminatory practices.

On the other three motions the parties were divided, mostly, however, on technical or rather tactical points. In one motion Brown asked for the erection of hostels and schools on farms to aid the schooling of rural children, while I. S. Pietersen moved in the amendment that only primary schools and no hostels be erected on the farms. While both sides wanted more attention drawn to farm schooling, the technical aspects of hostels, etc., should rather have been settled outside the Council. Of a similar nature was the motion by Brown asking for the take-over of nursery schools by the Government, while W. Pieterse only requested in the amendment that the subsidy payable to private nursery schools be increased (M 52/1971). The difference in approach was partially tactical (the Free State Federal members voted with Labour thus causing the Federal amendment to be rejected, 31 to 26), and partially practical in nature. Labour speakers stressed the insufficiency of private institutions and wanted to shift the financial and organizational responsibility to the Government. The motion, although of minor importance as such, attracted much attention since for the first

time a Federal proposal was rejected. The third motion, concerning the practice of exemptions from the registration of youths for the Cadet Camps (M 27/1970), was in itself lengthy and quite emotional but actually related to a minor incident which could have been prevented by administrative procedure. The debate gave some general attention to the Cadet Camp, its function and future and can in that respect be seen as worthwhile. Although the original motion was rejected all parties agreed on the specific incident.

The two motions on organizational aspects can be mentioned very briefly. The Council unanimously accepted that all School Committee members should be elected (M 60/1971). In the other motion Adam asked that Muslim teachers be appointed on the staff of all schools "where circumstances justify such appointment" and that Muslim children be given tuition in their own religion (M 56/1971). Broadening the whole issue and causing the debate to become quite heated, Hendrickse requested in an amendment that "all forms of religious instruction be abolished in all schools". While he, himself a minister of religion, must have had the dangers of certain religious biases in mind, the voting result (F 28 : 17) showed the delicate nature of such a proposal.

### 3.5. Work Conditions and Renumeration

With about 17 of the 85 motions (i.e. 20 per cent) in some way related to this section, the subject of wages and general working conditions was very much in the centre of the Council debates. In our survey we can again distinguish between the issues of principle, i.e. motions concerning job reservation, equality of pay and minimum wage levels, and the variety of specific matters concerning the working conditions of particular groups.

The issue of equal pay for equal work was the only issue debated in the first session of the Council in 1969. In that unanimous motion (M 1/1969) request was made "to institute the payment of equal salaries on the same basis as paid to White persons in respect of all professional and medical personnel, teachers, public servants and members of the nursing profession in respect of the Coloured community". The intense dissatisfaction



with the Government's reaction to the first motion was voiced in the 1971 motion on this matter: "... this Council finds the Minister's reply... totally unacceptable and therefore again requests that there be given attention outside ideological party beliefs and the so-called traditional South African policies" (M 32/1970). The Chairman of the Council in his contribution stressed "the cardinal moral principle involved in the Government's policy of separate parallel development which presupposes that... equal rates be paid for equal work" (6/1970, p. 1031). In its answer to this motion the Government admitted that it is "striving at a situation where we shall come to accept equal pay for equal work", and that the statement issued by the Federal Council of the National Party on this issue in 1971 "can and must be read as an acceptance of the principle of narrowing the gap" (70/1971, p. 781). As to the practical implementation of the principle the answer only stated that "at the moment this matter is receiving attention" (p. 782). In reaction to this, N. Middleton proposed in M 59/1971 "that this Council again request the Government to implement equal pay for equal work for all South Africans immediately". Although accepted unanimously the very bitter and sharp attack by Middleton in his speech and the wide phrasing of the motion (including other non-White groups) was resented by Federal members. Closely related to this motion was a general motion welcoming the move by some banks to implement equal pay for equal work with respect to their employees (13/1971, p. 1225). A further, almost identical, amendment was moved by Domingo to a motion concerning the conditions of service of teachers requesting the immediate taking of steps to implement the principle of equal pay for equal work to all teachers (M 64/1971).

It is very important that in the above-mentioned debates the main emphasis was placed on the inherent justice or morality of the principle of equal pay for equal work, implicitly accepting the ruling White wage level and wage structure as the guide line. No mention was made of the possibility that the Whites were in fact overpaid, relative to their productivity or the wage potential of the country as a whole. Likewise almost no reference was made to the overall implications of paying equal wages to all Coloureds and members of other non-White groups, either on Government expenditure or with respect to inflation, employment, Whites/non-Whites competition, etc. Thus, although both sides of the Council felt so

strong and quite unanimous on this vital issue the debates were far too general to reach the real problems of this issue or indicate the exact institutional changes needed to implement the principle.

Similar difficulties were experienced with the other issue of principle, i.e. the abolishment of job reservation. In a first motion Adams moved that the Minister of Labour be requested to "relax the implementation of the Job Reservation Act as far as it affects the Coloured people" (M 9/1970). The Labour member, M. D. Arendse, moved an amendment requesting the Government to "abolish job reservation". The motion lapsed since the time limit was exceeded but the two sides were essentially in agreement. In the next year, M. D. Arendse moved virtually the same motion requesting the Government: "to repeal all laws relating to Job Reservation" (M 65/1971, p. 1000), and he was this time not opposed by the Federal members. In the lengthy debates on this issue many practical examples of job discrimination were given and the disadvantages of the system as well as the alleged selfishness of the Whites was decried. Yet, the debate - not to speak of the motions themselves - never reached a level of concreteness where the exact points of change needed are indicated or some steps in the abolishment of the system are suggested. Furthermore, there was little appreciation of the changes already taking place in the employment structure. It was, however, evident from the debates that while the motion was addressed to the Government, the private sector was equally guilty of practising various types of employment restriction.

A somewhat different approach than the request for equal wages, which is specifically orientated towards the more skilled workers and professional people, was brought up for the first time in a motion which lapsed at the end of 1971. In it, Jones asked the authorities to "provide by legislation that all labourers in the R.S.A. be paid a wage of not less than R 25 per week" (M 85/1971). Coming from the Labour Party, the motion again included all races. It indicates a strategy which might in future be used by all parties of the Council to improve the wage level of the lower paid workers. Closely related to this was a motion accepted unanimously in which the Government is requested "to take the necessary steps to adjust the balance between wages and current cost of living (M 78/1971). It is disappointing that this motion, which offered the opportunity

to discuss the whole complex problem of inflation, living costs, wage levels, poverty datum lines etc., was debated very briefly by only three speakers. A similar motion can, however, be expected in future and its significance will then to a great extent depend on the quality of data and arguments brought forward.

In the motions of a more particular nature, the employment conditions of only a few categories of employees were discussed. These are summarized briefly below. It can be expected that future Council sessions will witness a systematic expansion of this category of motions as more and more employees try to improve their conditions by appealing through the Council. Much will depend, however, on the kind of impact such specific motions have on the actual employment conditions of those groups.

1. Employees of Local Authorities (M 66/1971): In a very articulate debate a motion was accepted unanimously requesting salary and fringe benefit parity, a no-differential salary structure and the upgrading by 40 per cent of the lowest wages. The debate revealed some of the vast differences in the employment conditions of the various local authorities and it implicitly indicated how difficult it is from an administrative point to improve the overall employment conditions. It is doubtful that such a general motion can induce much change since actual change has to be initiated at the local authority level.
2. Teachers: The salary position, fringe benefits and the related high rate of resignation of teachers has been debated in various motions. In one particular motion (M 64/1971) a Federal member asked the Executive to investigate how the overall conditions of employment of teachers can be made more attractive in order to overcome the existing shortage. The Labour amendment requested the implementation of equal conditions of service. Thus, although the latter amendment was defeated, both sides were undivided in their aim. A second very specific motion about the salaries paid to teachers seconded from primary to secondary

- schools (M 58/1971) again proved that on such a concrete level unanimity can easily be reached and the responsible member of the Executive does actually promise particular action.
3. Employees of Government Sawmills (M 51/1971): A motion calling for improved conditions of employment for these workers and a Labour amendment calling for equal pay and fringe benefits was passed unanimously and initiated a very concrete debate which showed that even amongst this relatively small group of employees conditions of service do vary considerably throughout the country. Actually this fact should have got much more attention in all these debates, since it indicates that the most effective strategy to improve is probably not that of merely re-stating the principle of equality, but analyzing the differences and their causes.
  4. Allowances and Conditions of Service of Council Members (M 71/1971): Although the allowances have already been increased twice since the start of the Council, a motion passed unanimously but debated only by opposition members asked the Government to appoint an independent commission to go into this matter. In the debates two arguments were stressed: first, the financial requirements of members who have to serve their respective constituencies and, secondly, the sharp differences in the remuneration and conditions of service between Council members and members of Parliament.
  5. Conditions of Service of Farm and Domestic Workers: In two lengthy debates the wages, fringe benefits, treatment by employers and other problems of these two groups of workers were discussed. The debates revealed intense bitterness and dissatisfaction amidst general agreement between both parties that radical change is needed. On the practical approach to implement change there was wide difference, prima-

rily as a result of a lack of insight into the institutional, legal, and general economic possibilities for change. In the first motion (M11/1970) Labour urged that the industrial legislation be made applicable to these workers, while the Federal amendment which was later withdrawn only proposed in general that steps be investigated to improve their position. The Government's evasive reply, indicating that it would be impossible to either apply industrial legislation or take any other steps to improve the conditions, initiated the second motion (M 41/1971) in which several proposals were made: J. D. Pietersen requested the repeal of the Masters and Servants Act, to which M. D. Arendse added the earlier proposal about industrial laws, while Muller only requested the amendment of the Masters and Servants Act "to suit the circumstances of the present era". Although the latter amendment was accepted, the unspecific nature of the debate suggests that not much action will be induced. In a further motion related to working conditions, which lapsed however, the abolishment of the tot-system was requested. The impact of such a motion will again depend almost completely on the quality and depth of the arguments raised.

Summarizing this section we can say that the strategy concerning employment conditions moves on two levels. On the more general level the broad principles are stipulated and reiterated, while at the more concrete level different motions go into the details of the working conditions of specific groups of employees. It is the combination of these two levels, with much attention to detail, regional and other differences and the wider implications of changes which may in the longer run constitute a promising strategy for the Council.

### 3.6. Social Services

In contrast to the magnitude of the social need of Coloured people, a very small percentage of the motions was concerned with these matters. Of the six motions proposed, three lapsed at the end of 1971

while a fourth was discussed very briefly during the last day of that session. The only issue discussed comprehensively was a matter of principle, i.e. the equality in the pensions payable to the various racial groups. In the first of two motions on this issue the decision by the Executive to pay equal pensions and allowances to Coloured persons as to Whites was reconfirmed and the Government was requested urgently to act upon this (M 22/1970). The original Labour proposal which was defeated did not differ much since it only put the principle broader to include all races. In the second motion, passed unanimously in the next session, the Government was again asked to realize "the ideal of equal pensions" (M 44/1971). In the debates two points were stressed, similarly to the debates on remuneration, i.e. the need for more money by pensioners and the inherent justice and morality of equal allowances.

The other motions related to more specific issues again, i.e.:

1. To reinstitute the school feeding system in primary schools (M 84/1971).
2. To encourage the establishment of more homes for the aged (M 87/1971).
3. (a) To establish centres for the free distribution of milk and the catering for prevention and treatment of deficiency diseases.  
  
(b) Extend the facilities for in- and out-patients at hospitals and improve the financial assistance to patients (M 80/1971 passed unanimously).
4. To set up a commission enquiring into the causal factors leading to the high crime rate (M 81/1971, lapsed).

In addition to the above, considerable time was taken up in the 1971 session to pass the Coloured Persons Rehabilitation Centres Bill, the first act to be passed in the Council. The committee stage of the Bill brought to attention various aspects of the problem of rehabilitation, drug addiction, etc. The Bill did, however, not originate on the Coloured Administration since the main act on this

matter had already been passed in Parliament.

In conclusion, we might suggest that motions related to this section and of a relatively specific nature will in future attain much more attention, now that questions of principle on the other issues have already been discussed at such length. There is furthermore still wide scope for motions to discuss the whole range of social problems and obstacles related to the general problem of upliftment and socio-economic development.

### 3.7. Business and Enterprise

As a result of the fact that the vast majority of Coloured people are at present employees and only a very small number have independent businesses, it is quite understandable that only four motions were related to business and enterprise. In the discussion on these motions, a wide range of issues or problems was mentioned, the more important of which we can briefly summarize here:

1. Improve the functioning of the Coloured Development Corporation (C.D.C.): A motion debated in 1970 (M 24/1970) considered certain aspects of the CDC's activities, although the motion itself was concerned with the crayfish industry. The Government was asked to supply, through the CDC, separate crayfish packing facilities to protect the Coloured fishermen against exploitative competition from a large private concern. In addition there was a request to use any profits from the sale of crayfish for housing loans at low interest rates. In contrast to this very specific motion, a second motion of 1971 (M 54/1971) proposed certain steps about the CDC which would radically change the present situation. In the motion the appointment of a committee of enquiry into the activities of the CDC was requested, the appointment of Coloureds on this committee was proposed and, in addition, it was requested that the majority of the directorships on the CDC should be filled by Coloureds and Coloured personnel should replace the CDC's white staff. The debate which caused the motion to lapse, was not of a high quality. In part the vague and scattered arguments brought forward may have been a result of considerable differences of opinion between the various speakers even amongst

those belonging to the same party. Although all speakers formally approved of the motion, their personal attitude vis-à-vis co-operation with the CDC ranged from close contact to total rejection. With very few exceptions the contributions did not reveal much insight into the activities and the rationale of the CDC and even less awareness of the ways in which the Corporation's contribution to Coloured development could be improved. In the future there is much potential for constructively influencing the CDC through the Council, but motions to that effect will have to be very much more specific.

2. Protection of Coloured business interests against White firms:

The motion on the crayfish industry and another motion on Coloured interests in Public Roads Transport are the first examples of motions aimed at either protecting Coloured business interests against unfair competition or at forstoring new Coloured businesses. The second motion (M 39/1971), moved by Adam and approved unanimously proposed the amendment of present legislation "so as to facilitate the complete take-over of Public Road Transport to and from Coloured areas by Coloured interests". In the debate sharp criticism was voiced at the poor quality, high and rising prices, and monopolistic attitudes of some large non-Coloured bus transport companies who handle the bulk of passenger transport to and from Coloured townships. It was felt that these companies in direct or indirect co-operation with the Road Transportation Control Board restrict the natural expansion of the Coloured transportation business. The proposal was logic in the light of the existence of Group Areas and the restrictions placed on Coloured businesses outside their Group Areas.

It can be expected that such motions will increase in number and, if not acted upon in some way, also in the degree of radicalism. The danger of replacing a White monopoly by a Coloured monopoly was not articulated in the debate, just as there was little concrete challenge directed to the existing companies to implement particular changes and thus become more acceptable. The strategy chosen was the easiest in terms of CRC debates and at the same time the least promising, since it proposed change by legislation.



3. Protection against non-Coloured businesses in Coloured Group Areas:

As a result of competition by non-Coloureds inside or at the edge of Group Areas, Coloured business-men have in various motions indicated the need for protection. In category 2.0 we mentioned three motions tabled by W. J. Swartz requesting the reclassification and removal of non-Coloureds from Coloured Group Areas, mainly in the Transvaal. Although these motions were rejected by both main parties, the issue remains and in another motion (M 40/1971) P. Swartz tried to bring to attention one aspect of it, i.e. the feeling that "the involvement by disqualified persons as majority interested parties in business concerns in Coloured areas is causing tremendous concern to the Coloured community". Again no mention is made of the particular racial group in mind, although the debate clearly showed that Indian businessmen were in mind just as much as White firms. There was some reference to another motion on Gatesville (the new proposed shopping centre for Indian businessmen, situated very close to large Coloured townships in the Cape Flats), which was, however, dropped. Swartz's motion suggested that the police be more careful in their control over such mixed concerns in order to prevent the exploitation of Coloured minority interests. From the debate and a study of the whole problem concerned, one can conclude, however, that a realistic approach to this delicate matter needs far more preparation and detailed study. As long as Coloured business is still in its infancy and Coloured businessmen are so severely restricted outside their Group Areas, more of these motions can, however, be expected.

PART III:

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

With a view to the length of this paper and the tentative character of any conclusions about the CRC and its role, this part will only summarise certain ideas or theses arising out of the proceedings so far. Each of these conclusions might be discussed and considered separately at greater length, taking into account other evidence not utilised by the present writer.

## 1. Constitutional Aspects

So far the constitution of the CRC, its link with other bodies, the powers, privileges, functions, finance etc. of the Administration have not really been discussed in any of the motions. The categoric rejection of the present system by the Labour members made this largely impossible. In future it may be likely and also possibly quite fruitful to concentrate on very specific aspects of the present system which have to be changed evolutionarily, yet speedily. Relevant matters include the budgetary process, sources of income, local government, various types of liason with other government bodies, appointment and promotion of Coloureds in the Administration and participation in other statutory bodies. It is doubtful whether such constitutional amendments can be handled by the CRC itself. Nevertheless, motions or resolutions of the Council can give the necessary impetus to such adaptations. Proposals will, however, have to be far more specific and constructive than some of the vague references made so far.

## 2. Council Members

Our brief analysis in the first part has revealed sharp differences in the initiative and overall capabilities of the Council members. Even though the criteria used are quite arbitrary and do not measure the real initiative or standing of the members outside the Council, there is no doubt that the Council's standing and the quality of its deliberations can improve considerably if members of a better calibre are elected or nominated. Our analysis showed that in all three groups, i.e. Labour, Federal elected and Nominated there is scope for improvement. More prominent personalities should be nominated for election and the leadership quality of the members should be improved. Partially the problem will be solved through the experience gained through time as well as the natural process of selection in future elections. Yet, a great responsibility rests on the party leaders who can influence nominations in "safe" seats, and, especially, on the government with regard to the nominated members. The present CRC members could probably also emphasise, through unanimous and detailed motions, that any further expansion of the Council should only be on the basis of elected members.

### 3. The Party System

This is not the place to debate the merits of the party approach in a body like the CRC. From the proceedings so far and the earlier history of Coloured Party politics we can, however, deduce that the parties themselves have great difficulties in maintaining internal cohesion. This is certainly not the result of some cultural trait of the Coloureds, and only secondarily of the lack of experience as some critics have maintained, but rather a direct result of the little impact and (therefore) prestige which the parties can demonstrate. The individual member has greater scope for the building up of his political personality if he stands as independent member, not so much during the election, but certainly during Council sessions. This trend is intensified by the short sessions and the rather stereotyped practice of debating private member motions. Besides, the overall pattern of two distinct strategies together with far-reaching unanimity on practical aspects increases the significance of independent members as is already evident so far. We leave open the question whether a new center party will be founded and what its impact might be. During the beginning of 1972 the new Social Democratic Party has actually been founded. It is significant that at its first party congress the possibility of a national front of all Coloured parties in the Council was openly discussed. (The Argus, April 4th, 1972). What is more important, however, is to study the stability and functioning of the party system, as well as the party strategies, as a function of the role, sovereignty and impact of the Council. Since the real power struggle in the future is not at all between Coloured parties but rather between the Council and its Executive and Administration on the one side and the white power elite inside and outside government on the other side, a new internal structuring of the Council may develop, possibly with far greater emphasis on individual leadership and powerful personalities. The developments in Coloured politics since November 1971, when the first draft of this paper was written, seem to confirm this prognosis.

### 4. The Executive and the Administration

As the only Council members permanently attached to the Administration and formally heading the various portfolios, the members of

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