

There is also a Department of Coloured Relations which has been established to serve as a link between the Council and other Government Departments.

In section 20 (3) of the Act, it is determined that liason with other Ministers should be conducted via the Minister of Coloured Affairs.

This then concludes the brief historical background to Coloured participation in politics and also gives a summary of separate political institutions which have been established up to date for the Coloured group.

#### THE "NEW POLITICAL DEAL"

In terms of proclamation 77 of the 3rd April, 1969, the State President determined that the Coloured Persons Representative Council be established on the 1st July, 1969. Elections were held in September, 1969 and the first session of the Council commenced in November of the same year.

The Council has legislative as well as advisory powers, the latter being the same as those of the previous Union Council for Coloured Affairs. With regard to its legislative powers, the Council can make laws in respect of any specified subject assigned to it.

The following functions have presently been assigned:

Finance, Education, Community Welfare & Pensions, Coloured Rural Areas & Settlements and Local Government.

It must be noted, however, that before any law is introduced in the Council it must have the prior approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs.

The Executive carries out the functions of the Council while the Council is not in session and deals with all the functions as listed above. The management of finance is assigned to the Chairman of the Executive and the other functions are designated to each of



the remaining four members. Provision is made in the Act that the Minister of Coloured Affairs or an Administrator may delegate their powers to members of the Executive in respect of the functions assigned to the Council.

#### THE POSSIBILITY OF PURPOSEFUL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Before expressing any views on why I believe that greater possibilities of purposeful political participation exists for the Coloured group within the present set-up, I wish to establish if political participation in the past had in fact been purposeful, and if not, why not.

I think it would be true to say, when looking at the history of the Coloured franchise, that the Whites in South Africa did everything in their power to preclude Coloured people, those fellow-countrymen who stand closest to them culturally, from any purposeful political and economic participation in the land of their birth. Perhaps the entire motive for this could be found in the word uttered by a former Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, while still in the Hertzog Cabinet. He said:

"South Africa could never really be safe as a White man's country until civilized Coloured folk have been segregated as completely as the Bantu."

History tells us that a contributory cause of the Great Trek was the proclamation of Ordinance 50 of 1828 which gave persons of colour equal status in the eyes of the law.

The South Africa Act of 1909 was merely an extension of discriminatory forces already prevalent and opened the flood-gates to a host of discriminatory legislation against the so-called non-Europeans.

Legislation and the "Civilised Labour Policy" excluded non-Europeans from certain skilled and semi-skilled employment.

The Cape Provincial Council as far back as in 1938 passed an ordinance empowering local authorities to enforce segregation in



public buildings, conveyances, places of recreation and residential areas, but this was vetoed by the Coalition Government.

The 1939 Coalition Government projected a scheme for residential segregation which would in Smuts' words "peg the present position".

The rather telling and prophetic remark by the then Minister of Labour, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, when he boasted that: "We will take the Hottentot off the White man's roll" gave ample warning of what was still to come.

A group of intellectuals from Stellenbosch University - "the heart of intellectual nationalism", including the late Dr. Donges, the late Governor General, Dr. Jansen, Dr. N. Diederichs, the present Minister of Finance, Professor Werner Eiselen, Professor Andries Cilliers and Professor Van Eden tried in 1947 to define apartheid and said: "that prejudice and discrimination on the basis of colour was in the South African society unalterable". They claimed it was "no blue print for oppression, but an idealistic programme for the protection of the interests of each racial group and the fostering of goodwill and co-operation between them by the complete segregation of each group. Such segregation would only make compulsory a process which was already for advanced, namely, voluntary segregation".

When one considers that all the while the Coloured people of the Cape and Natal did in fact exercise a vote, then one must conclude that it was a worthless exercise, one cleverly calculated by the rulers of the time to salve liberal consciences and stage semblances of democratic practice.

To the White in South Africa, a voteless person of colour has meant and still means preservation of identity and dominance of the political system. Thus, it was inevitable that the vote had to be taken away from the Coloureds since it presented a threat to the White man's undisturbed control.

So it was that the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act (No. 30 of 1956) that the Coloured enfranchised ceased to be a threat or advantage in the Parliamentary set up. They had ceased to be of any further political usefulness to



White political parties and in the process discovered that they never really possessed what is perhaps considered sacred in modern Parliamentary democracies, namely, the right to participate effectively in determining the political course of a country and its people.

It is an accepted fact that the Coloured people today suffer tremendous deprivations because they were never able to exercise real political influence. Separate political institutions have been established in an attempt to replace what has been legislated away. The latest institution is the Coloured Person's Representative Council. How then can this institution fullfill the political needs and aspirations of the Coloured people and allow for purposeful participation by a largely inarticulate electorate?

In the first place it must be said that for the first time in their history, Coloured people have been given an opportunity to do things for themselves.

The effect of being able to learn parliamentary and administrative processes of government has been tremendous, particularly when viewed in the light of the allegation that no White is capable of sincerely promoting the interests of the Coloured people because of prejudices inherent in our South African society.

Granted, that the Council has limited powers, but what few people realise is that for the first time Coloured people have powers to exercise, and that in the general course of their political evolution more powers will be attained, enabling the Council to serve as a stepping-stone to a future of greater political participation in South African politics. It must also be borne in mind that few people consider this institution as the end, but rather as a means to an end.

Already political leaders in the Council have brought tremendous pressure to bear on the Government to justify its stated policy of separation with equality - and with results. After initially rejecting a resolution of the Council calling for the rate for the job for all professional staff, the Government barely six months later reversed its decision and is prepared to accept the principals of equal pay for equal work to be applied progressively.



The Executive of the Council has a very important role to play. The pattern has already been set for regular consultation with members of the Cabinet. It is of the greatest interest to note that for the first time Coloured men have the opportunity to regularly confer directly with the most responsible members of the Government on matters affecting their people. And it is equally interesting to note the Prime Minister's statement to the effect that this system of liason can be improved upon.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr. Jan Loots, recently announced far-reaching changes in the future political development pattern of the Coloured people. During the debate on the Coloured Affairs vote he said that the Coloured people would have a separate parliament, one that would ultimately be equal to the White parliament. He emphasized that there was no ceiling to their political development and that this parliament would have ultimate control over their local government institutions, public service, postal service, judiciary and police force.

What, in fact, does this all mean? Does it mean a splintering off of the Departments of Justice, Police, Posts & Telegraphs and others? And if so, does it mean greater legislative and executive powers for the Council on matters effecting the Coloured people?

If this is so, then I see an enlarged Executive exercising a form of internal authority over government departments administering matters affecting the Coloured people. It follows logically then that the Executive of the Council will have to be a body, since it will oversee Coloured affairs on a national basis, with status equal to that at Cabinet level. Such a change could indeed be regarded as allowing for self-determination.

However, for the Council as presently constituted to prove an effective vehicle through which the Coloured people could participate purposefully, it requires status. And status can be given to it by:

- (a) Abolishing Council nominations
- (b) the exercising of greater autonomy by Coloured people.

In the first place, the Coloured Persons **R**epresentative Council Act



could be amended to provide for a fully elected body, but the second point may prove more difficult to achieve since it strikes at the very root of a situation which is viewed with scepticism by all of whom Dr. Malan described as "civilized Coloured folk", and that is whether it is true that the Government is honest in its intentions not to perpetuate a system which allows for complete domination of people of colour.

To me, it is absolutely essential that Coloured men and women actively participate at the highest level on all administrative bodies dealing with their interests. At the same time I do not believe that Coloured, Bantu or any other related administrations be considered increased avenues of employment for Whites. Coloureds must hold executive positions as soon as they can be trained for them. This is an obstacle the Government will have to contend with since indications are that superiority or otherwise is still determined by the colour of your skin.

White attitudes will have to change if separate development is to progress for ironically as it may sound, separate development in practice means closer co-operation and a working together on an equal basis between White and non-White.

#### CONCLUSION

Is it possible for the Coloured people of the Republic to participate purposefully in the present political set-up? My answer would be an unequivocal yes.

Few people realise that the Coloured people have reached the cross-roads in their long and unfortunate history. From now on they must press forward not to the political Utopia which is so glibly proclaimed by others, for in the South African context this does not exist, but towards social advancement and economic independence.

The age of practical politics has arrived. The bulk of the Coloured population - the poor and the semi-literate have become chary of the theorists and the idealists for they remember too well the bitter experiences of the past.



GOVERNMENT POLICY FOR THE COLOURED PEOPLE

by Dr. Schalk W. van der Merwe

This subject is of great importance in the South African political situation - in fact, it might very well be considered of paramount importance as regards political theorizing, political patience, tolerance and political thinking and understanding, as well as political resourcefulness in the ordering of human and group relations. This is certainly also the field where the philosopher and the political scientist can make their contributions to supplement the experience of the statesman and others involved in practical politics - in other words, those responsible for the implementation of policy.

I hope that we shall be able to agree or disagree on a philosophic-scientific basis and to accept one another's motives as a sincere desire to contribute to a better deal for our Coloured population.

In the Appendix there is a separate document containing the official policy of the Government as approved at all the congresses of the National Party during 1971 (Appendix I). This policy is still the same and that there is no frantic search for new formulas - although it goes without saying that the Government is willing to make adjustments where this is required by changed circumstances in these dynamic times.

But we shall proceed step by proven step - and leaps in the dark will be avoided. Progress and evolution will be based on practical experience rather than on hypotheses, or on experiments with group relations which have not yet been proved successful or beneficial in those parts of the world where they are being carried out. In the newspaper "Rapport", H. Katzew recently mentioned "the peril of trying to translate the experience of one nation into the experience of another", and although the South African population and group situations are not so unique that we have nothing to learn from the experience of other countries, a reliable evaluation of our position calls for close involvement, study and experience, and the solutions are not to be found in a too dogmatic approach to "principles" which certainly cannot be regarded as universal or



aprioristic, owing to the complexity and unpredictability of human behaviour - not only as individuals but also as members of a group.

### WHO ARE THE COLOUREDS?

The Coloured population of South Africa originated from the Whites of Europe, the indigenous Hottentots and the slaves brought from the East and from West Africa during the 17th Century. To a much lesser extent the Bantu also contributed, particularly during more recent years. Since the 17th Century this population group of mixed origin has increased to 2 018 000, according to the 1970 census. That the Coloureds are not yet a nation may be readily accepted from the socio-scientific point of view. The fact that they show certain distinctive characteristics and the fact that Coloureds have had Coloured forbears for many generations, however, indicate that they may be a nation in the making - and they are, in fact, regarded as such by the Government and by many Coloureds themselves. This process of becoming a nation will be assisted by the present policy in the political and social spheres and by geographical distribution.

### THE COLOURED POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

That socio-economic improvement is not only the primary need of the Coloured population but also the Government's first and main objective, although not its only one, may be readily accepted as well as the fact that the Government's programme has made excellent progress during the past decade that many milestones have been reached and that much has been achieved. But in this discussion I shall, for the most part, confine myself to present political policy and how it fits in with the concept of citizenship for Coloureds as well as the existing political machinery available to them. I shall not deal in detail with the progress made in the fields of education and social welfare, in rural areas and in other spheres, which have gradually become the immediate responsibility of the Coloured Persons Representative Council.



## TWO POLES OF THOUGHT

In the controversy about the Coloured policy of the governing party during the past year, two main points of view were polarized, namely:

- (a) the concept of a homeland for the Coloureds, which may be described as the idea of a foundation or territory for their own State and which implies that the Coloureds are already a nation in their own right; and
- (b) the view, found particularly among certain academics, certain Coloured leaders and others, that political integration is the only realistic ultimate destination of the Coloured population in the South African political set-up.

## POLITICAL INTEGRATION OR ASSIMILATION

This is not intended to mean biological miscegenation, or, as it was recently called in a periodical, "amalgamation", but it means the division of authority at the sovereign level. At this stage it is sufficient to refer to the exposition of policy in this connection given ten years ago by the National Party as the governing party:

- (a) No representation of Coloureds by Coloureds in the Central Parliament, and this applied to the time it was said and to the future; and
- (b) the accentuation of the policy of separate development.

It was stated, inter alia, that: "It (the Party) believes in parallel streams which do not converge, as the only basis for continued friendship as a result of good neighbourliness...".

"... The Federal Council is convinced that a consistently applied policy of separate or distinctive development has a firm moral basis, in its application to Whites as well as Coloureds. This is so because of the privileges and opportunities to be granted, in accor-



dance with this policy, to the Coloured population in their own sphere, and because the policy will protect the rights of the White population. This policy has remained unchanged through the years, as you may see from the papers before you, and has also been carried to a logical and practical conclusion with the abolition of White representation for Coloureds (something that is not mentioned in the statement of 1961) and the establishment of the Coloured Persons Representative Council which, although at present only partially elected, is the first step on the road towards a wholly elected body.

### HOMELAND

Another line of thought which is propagated in direct opposition to that of political integration, is the idea of a so-called homeland for the Coloureds. All the arguments used in the controversy about this theory have been heard so frequently that it is perhaps sufficient to say that this is, in the first place, a more recent idea and quite an attractive one in theory but that it will obviously not be able to stand the test of practical implementation. In rejecting this idea the Government does not entertain the possibility that it might in time become practical politics, since this would simply leave the backdoor open to constant speculation, and single-mindedness in the pursuit of the Government's policy of parallel or separate development, as explained in various statements, would be hampered by such a half-baked theory.

Both the homeland idea and integration are sometimes obtruded in a way that indicates an obsession with ultimate goals while the difficult constructive work of the moment is being disregarded.

### PARALLEL OR SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

I shall not attempt to define this policy, but I shall endeavour to explain it, and what it embraces, by illustrating and commenting as I go along. Let me first of all repeat that the socio-economic development and upliftment of the Coloured group is an inseparable part of the policy of parallel development. I should therefore like to comment on a statement which appeared in the periodical "Woord



en Daad" of November 1971, and which, in translation, reads as follows: "An important mistake which is fairly generally made in this connection, is (provisionally) to isolate the aspect of economic development for immediate attention and to push the political aspect out of sight or later consideration."

Now I want to state very definitely that this statement, if it refers to Government policy in any way, gives a wrong impression. Government policy, is in fact, to do the one and not leave the other undone - in other words socio-economic advancement as well as political development. Unfortunately, experience in other countries has shown that the awakening of political aspirations and the legalisation of rights which do not readily materialise, as a first priority, result in unforeseen disillusionment and friction. The Government therefore believes that political development should take place simultaneously with socio-economic advancement, but should feel its way more cautiously and should follow in the wake of socio-economic upliftment, rather than be in the vanguard.

#### THE EVOLUTION OF PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT

##### Historical Background of the Coloured Franchise

Before 1910 only the Coloureds in the Cape and Natal had the vote. With Union status quo with regard to the franchise was preserved in accordance with the constitution of 1909, which also provided that all candidates for the Union Parliament had to be British subjects and of White descent. Thus the Coloureds were denied the right of standing as candidates - a right, however, which they had never exercised in the Cape or Natal before 1910. In 1956 the Coloureds in the Cape Province were placed on separate voters' rolls when the South Africa Act Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1956, and the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, No. 30 of 1956, were passed. The Cape Province was accordingly divided into four Coloured electoral divisions, namely, Peninsula, Boland, Karoo and Outeniqua. The Coloured voters on these separate rolls had to elect four White representatives to represent them in the House of Assembly. Coloured representation in the Senate will not be dealt with here since it has no bearing on the franchise. The Coloureds in Natal were kept



on the White voter's rolls but no new Coloured voters could be registered and if any voter, for technical reasons, no longer qualified for registration as a voter, he would forfeit his right to vote.

With the passing of Act. No. 50 of 1968, Coloured representation in the House of Assembly was abolished, since it was considered that the Coloured Persons Representative Council, which then came into existence, would better serve the interests of the Coloured population.

#### COLOURED ADVISORY COUNCIL

Although the Coloureds had the vote in certain areas, it held little meaning for them, since they were not yet aware of their separate identity as a group. It was not until 1896 that the first signs of this group consciousness became noticeable when open-air meetings were held in Cape Town on the slopes of Devil's Peak. This awareness grew and spread to other provinces, but Government legislation continued to distinguish only between White and Non-White and did not recognise the Coloured people as a separate group.

In 1936 a new day dawned for the Coloured population when the Government of the day appointed a commission to inquire into and report on the political, social, educational and economic position of the Coloured people of South Africa. With the appointment of this commission of inquiry, the existence of the Coloureds as a separate group was recognised for the first time, even if only by implication. One of the consequences of the appointment of the commission, although it did not recommend this, was the establishment of a body to be called the Coloured Advisory Council. This Coloured Advisory Council was established for a trial period of two years as from 1 April 1943 and originally consisted of seven members. This number was later increased to 20 and in January 1944 to 25 members. The functions of the Coloured Advisory Council were threefold. In the first place, the Council was to assist the Government in its efforts to carry out the recommendations of the Cape Coloured Commission of 1937 as far as possible. Secondly, the Council was to advise the Government and was to be at the Government's disposal at all times for consultation regarding current administration. Thirdly, the Council had



to assist the Government in respect of the special problems of the Coloured community during the period of postwar planning and reconstruction. This Council, which met quarterly and had a full-time secretary, had no executive powers.

In 1948, after the change of Government, certain differences with the Government on matters of principle cropped up and, after protracted negotiations, the whole Council resigned on 6 January 1950, and was abolished. This Council had never been established by legislation but owed its existence solely to a Cabinet decision.

#### COUNCIL FOR COLOURED AFFAIRS

The next step in the political development of the Coloureds was the establishment of a Union Board for Coloured Affairs consisting of 15 members nominated by the Head of State and 12 members elected by the Coloured voters. This Board was instituted in terms of section 14 of the Separate Representation of Voters Act, No. 46 of 1951, as amended. The members of the Board were nominated on a provincial basis and in 1956 its name was changed to that of Council for Coloured Affairs. The Cape Province was represented by eight members at least one of whom had to be a Griqua and one a Malay; the Transvaal was accorded four members, the Orange Free State one and Natal two - a total of 15. The same registered voters who elected the four White representatives to the House of Assembly also had to elect the 12 elected members for the Council for Coloured Affairs, three for each of the delimited electoral divisions. This Council, which was only established on 1 July 1959, after a prolonged constitutional battle, also had purely advisory functions under the Department of Coloured Affairs and met four times a year.

In terms of section 18 of Act 46 of 1961, these functions were the following:

- (a) to advise the Government at its request on all matters affecting the economic, social, educational and political interests of the Non-White population of the Republic.



(b) to make recommendations to the Government in regard to any projects calculated to serve the best interests of the said population;

(c) to act in general as an intermediary and a means of contact and consultation between the Government and the said population; and

(d) to carry out such statutory and other administrative functions as may be assigned to the Council by the State President.

Less than ten years later the Coloured Community advanced another important step forward on the road towards political emancipation.

#### COLOURED PERSONS REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

With the establishment of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, the Government proved its confidence in the development of the Coloured population, for while the Advisory Board had consisted of appointed members only and the majority of the members of the Council for Coloured Affairs were appointed by the authorities, the majority of the Coloured Persons Representative Council consisted of elected members. The Coloured franchise was extended to all adult Coloured persons above the age of 21 years, irrespective of any property, educational or income qualifications. For the first time the Coloureds were also granted executive powers, as well as the means required to give effect to these powers. In the following paragraphs details are given of some of the more important features made possible by the Coloured Persons Representative Council Act, No. 49 of 1964, as supplemented and amended by Act 52 of 1968 and subsequent legislation.

#### ESTABLISHMENT

By Proclamation 77 of 3 April 1969 the State President provided for the establishment of the Coloured Persons Representative Council with effect from 1 July 1969. The establishment of the Council led



to certain other steps:

- (a) The dissolution of the Department of Coloured Affairs on 1 July 1969;
- (b) the creation of a new Department of Coloured Relations with new functions;
- (c) the creation of an Administration of Coloured Affairs; and
- (d) the constitution of the first Coloured Persons Representative Council' after an election which took place on 24 September 1968.

#### CONSTITUTION

The Council consists of 20 members nominated by the State President and 40 members elected by the Coloured voters. It is constituted as follows:

<u>Cape Province:</u>	28 elected and 12 nominated members.
<u>Transvaal:</u>	6 elected and 2 nominated members.
<u>Orange Free State:</u>	3 elected and one nominated members.
<u>Natal:</u>	3 elected members and one nominated member.

There are, in addition, members representing the following groups:

Griquas:	No elected members, 2 nominated.
Malays:	No elected members, 2 nominated.
<u>Total number of elected members:</u>	40
<u>Total number of nominated members:</u>	20

Period of office:

The period of office laid down for the members of the Council is five years.



### The Vote

For the purposes of the election of members of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, all Coloured persons of 21 years and over in the Republic, men as well as women, who are eligible for registration as voters, irrespective of any property, educational or income qualifications, are entitled to the vote.

### Chairman of the Council

The Council elects its Chairman from its own ranks. The Chairman of the Executive and its members are not eligible for election as Chairman of the Council. The functions of the Chairman are to preside over the meetings of the Council and to ensure that the correct procedure is followed.

### Legislative Powers of the Council

The Council is empowered to make laws in respect of any matter assigned to it. For the present these matters are the following: Finance, Education, Community Welfare and Pensions, and Rural Areas and Settlements. In the near future Local Government will also be included. Before legislation may be introduced in the Council, the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs must be obtained, which is granted after consultation with the Minister of Finance and, where necessary, with the Administrators of the Provinces. After a bill has been passed by the Council, it must forthwith, together with such explanatory observations as may be required, be transmitted to the Minister for submission to the State President to obtain his assent. The State President may declare that he assents to such bill or that he withholds his assent, or that the bill is to be referred back to the Council for further consideration in the light of such information and advice as may be given.

Every law in respect of which assent has been given by the State President, must be published in the Government Gazette. A law assented to by the State President has the force of law as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of Parliament.



### Advisory Powers of the Council

For the rest the new Council has the same advisory powers as the former Union Board for Coloured Affairs in regard to all matters affecting the economic, social, educational and political interests of the Coloured population of the Republic. It may make recommendations in regard to any planning calculated to promote the best interests of the Coloured population, it serves as a link and a means of contact and consultation between the Government and the Coloured population and it may perform certain statutory and other administrative functions entrusted to it by the State President.

### Funds

The funds required by the Council for the exercise of its powers and the performance of its duties are made available annually out of funds voted by Parliament for this purpose. At present this amounts to approximately R 80 000 000. The Executive prepares the estimates of expenditure for submission to the Minister of Coloured Affairs who, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, determines the amount required to defray the Board's expenditure, which is submitted to Parliament for appropriation. After funds have been appropriated, the Chairman of the Executive must submit an estimate of expenditure to the Council for the appropriation, by formal resolution, of funds for the services specified in the estimates. The Council's accounts are audited by the Controller and Auditor-General.

### The Executive

The Act provides for an Executive consisting of five members. The Chairman of the Executive is designated by the State President, while the four other members are elected by the Council from its own ranks.

### The functions of the Executive

The Executive carries out the functions of the Council, except in



so far as the making of laws is concerned, while the Council is not in session, and also deals with the following matters in so far as they affect Coloured persons:

- (a) Finance;
- (b) local government;
- (c) education;
- (d) community welfare and pensions;
- (e) rural areas and settlements for Coloureds; and
- (f) such other matters as the State President may from time to time determine by proclamation.

In terms of the Act, the management of finance is assigned to the Chairman of the Executive. In respect of each of the other matters I have referred to, the Executive designates one of its members to exercise and perform, on its behalf and under its direction, the powers, functions and duties incidental to the matter in question.

Under the Act, the Minister of Coloured Affairs or an Administrator may, by notice in the Government Gazette, delegate any power conferred upon him by any law, which relates to any of the matters dealt with by the Executive, to the member of the Executive designated to perform the functions incidental to that matter or to whom that matter has been assigned. Extensive powers have already been delegated to members of the Executive, and promulgated in the Gazette of 31 October 1969.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY: ADMINISTRATION OF COLOURED AFFAIRS

##### Provision

It is obvious that, just as in the case of Parliament and the Cabinet, the Council and the Executive require administrative machinery, and the Act accordingly provides that the Minister may make officers and employees available to the Council for the performance of its functions. Such officers and employees remain subject to the provisions of the Acts under which they were employed. This administrative machinery is known as the Administration of Coloured Affairs and the Administration's entire establishment is based on a structure



for Coloured staff, since all posts are eventually to be filled by Coloureds. At the moment adequately trained Coloured officers are not yet available in sufficient numbers, so that White officers will, for the time being, continue to be provided for the posts which cannot be filled by Coloureds. As more Coloureds are trained, they will be absorbed into the organisation and the White officers will gradually be withdrawn.

#### Purpose and Functions of the Administration of Coloured Affairs

The purpose and functions of the Administration of Coloured Affairs under the direction of a Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, may be summarised as follows:

Purpose: To promote the development of the Coloured community.

Functions:

- (i) To develop the mental, spiritual and physical potential of the Coloured people through education;
- (ii) to advance the spiritual and material welfare of indigent and/or maladjusted Coloured persons;
- (iii) to administer the affairs of Coloureds in rural areas; and
- (iv) to promote the development of the Coloureds in the sphere of local government.

#### The Organisation of the Administration and its relation to the Coloured Persons Representative Council, the Executive and the Department of Coloured Relations

The Administration is organised on the basis of four directorates, one each for Education, Community Welfare and Pensions, Rural Areas and Settlements, and Local Government. Each of these directorates maintains direct contact with the member of the Executive designated to deal with the matter concerned. The Executive has to take decisions on matters as a body. In addition, funds are required for the execution of virtually all plans. The Commissioner of Co-



Coloured Affairs is in over-all control of the four directorates to co-ordinate their activities. He is assisted by a Deputy Commissioner who is also in charge of a Directorate of Finance and Auxiliary Services. The Commissioner assists the Chairman of the Executive in an administrative capacity while he, in turn, co-ordinates the work of the members of the Executive, particularly with regard to the administration of financial matters.

The Executive, assisted by the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs and its Administration, is responsible for the planning and development of all the matters assigned to it, and it is precisely for this reason that the Executive is assisted by a strong Administration consisting of about 80 % of the old Department of Coloured Affairs.

#### Council Building and other Buildings

A building complex in keeping with the Council's status has been designed and completed in Bellville. The Second Session of the Coloured Persons Representative Council was opened there by the Honourable the Prime Minister in November 1970, and the third session was opened by the Minister of Defence in 1971. An administrative block in the vicinity of the Council building will be provided later for the Administration. At present it is being housed in the existing office block in Roeland Street, where offices have also been provided for the members of the Executive. Every member of the Executive will be given a house in a prestige suburb in the vicinity of the Council building in Bellville South.

#### DEPARTMENT OF COLOURED RELATIONS

The purpose and functions of the Department of Coloured Relations, under the direction of the Secretary for Coloured Relations, may be summarised as follows:

Purpose: To serve as a link between the Coloured Persons Representative Council and other bodies.

Functions: (i) To ensure that educational standards are maintained;



- (ii) to maintain liaison with other bodies on behalf of the Coloured Persons Representative Council;
- (iii) to deal with financial matters;
- (iv) to deal with staff administration and to perform general auxiliary services; and
- (v) to perform parliamentary work.

#### LIAISON BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND OTHER MINISTERS

Section 20 (3) of the Act provides that the Executive shall have access to other Ministers through the Minister of Coloured Affairs. Correspondence flows, in the first instance, from the Administration of Coloured Affairs to the Department of Coloured Relations, from where it is forwarded to other official bodies, as required.

#### LIAISON BETWEEN THE COUNCIL AND THE GOVERNMENT

As you will have gathered from the foregoing, the policy of parallel development as applied to the Coloureds embraces a policy of parallel administrative bodies at different levels, with continual liaison and consultation with White institutions at the various levels. Control over matters affecting the Coloureds in particular is already being exercised by the Executive of the Coloured Persons Representative Council, to which several important powers and functions have been delegated - powers and functions which will be extended in due course and which are about to be extended in the sphere of local government.

Whether this policy will succeed, will depend to a large extent on the efficiency of the machinery for liaison between the Council and the Government. Liaison at the highest level of government is already being maintained between the Executive and the Prime Minister, through the Minister of Coloured Affairs, by means of consultations at least once a year. The Executive also has regular consultations with the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Coloured Affairs about every two months or more frequently, as well as with other Ministers, as requested or considered necessary. By means of the Executive and



the administrative machinery the wishes of the Coloured Persons Representative Council can therefore be conveyed direct to the Minister of Coloured Affairs and other Ministers, and once a year, or even more frequently, to the Prime Minister.

The present machinery for liaison was introduced after consultation with the Prime Minister and other Ministers, the leaders of the various political parties of the Coloureds (excluding the Labour Party), and the Executive of the Coloured Persons Representative Council. The Honourable the Prime Minister, however, also made the following statement in Parliament on the form of liaison agreed upon. (Hansard, Column 5115/1971):

"This is the Coloureds' own standpoint in respect of the liaison they want to have. Not for one single moment do I want to say - in fact I do not think the members of the Coloured Community can say this conclusively at the moment - than this will be the liaison for all time, because times and circumstances change. But I told hon. members that if and when there was a representative Coloured opinion, I would settle this matter with them. The recommendation that was made by them, was accepted by me just as it was. I believe it will work very satisfactorily in practice. I believe it will work in practice for many years, but as is the case with any agreement, if any of the parties to it feel that the time has arrived for it to be reviewed, they will be free to review it, and then it will be done. I do not have the slightest doubt that over the years it will be reviewed from time to time, until one will have found the ideal formula and a fixed formula."

I may add that this explanation came from a man who has performed one great task, namely the laying of a foundation, but who honestly does not see it as necessarily his task to indicate the end of the road in the form of a blueprint, although he is prepared to continue to make his contribution on the road of evolutionary development. This goes to show the practical open-mindedness of the National Party and the Government who are not unreceptive to sincere suggestions on the part of Whites or Coloureds for the improvement of this liaison machinery in the interests of White-Coloured relations.



COLOURED PARLIAMENT

The Coloured Persons Representative Council, which came into being about two years ago, still has to find its feet as the first training ground for Coloured leaders, to enable them to participate in the process of orderly, responsible, democratic government. The accusation often heard from the official opposition, the Labour Party, as well as from some White opponents of the Government, namely that it was immoral to pack this Council with twenty pro-Government members, is naïve and, at the same time, shows a lack of understanding of political realities. In the first place this is the traditional course followed by the political emancipation of a population group which cannot quite stand on its own feet yet. The "mother government" gradually grants rights according to the ability of the developing group to help itself and to accept responsibility. A controlling hand is kept over the group, which then develops in an evolutionary manner in its responsibilities, duties and abilities. Furthermore, it would be extremely naïve and politically stupid of this Government to destroy its own creation with its own hands, that is to say the Coloured Persons Representative Council, created for this developing group, by filling it with representatives of a party whose declared aim it is not to co-operate with or even engage in dialogue with the lawful government of the country, a party which advocates complete integration, and, especially in recent times, has shown repeatedly that it wishes to destroy the Coloured Persons Representative Council. The replacement of leader M. D. Arendse after his discussions with the Prime Minister two years ago, the senseless boycotts of the Council's proceedings and a proposal for the dissolution of the Coloured Persons Representative Council during the previous session in August 1971 are striking proof of this. As far as the charge of immorality as such is concerned - now that we have dealt with the political realities - the question remains whether the approximately 158 000 votes cast in favour of the parties which support the policy of separate development in the broader sense, as against the approximately 137 000 votes recorded in favour of the party which rejects it (the Labour Party), cannot be regarded as a referendum in favour of Government policy, so that the Government has a moral duty to ensure that the views of the majority of the voters are respected by appointing members who are unbiased towards Government policy - particularly where the Government has the prerogative



gative of doing so. These people at least do not refuse to take part in a dialogue on behalf of the Coloureds.

This last argument is also a moral and not a political one and applies only in the sphere chosen by certain people for their accusations.

### DISCUSSION

The policy of parallel development was designed after long deliberation on, and an analysis of long years of experience in a plural society. Much is also to be learned from the many discussions, articles and speeches of the past year, even from those who do not accept Government policy. However, whether we approach this matter from the angle of a common society or from that of a plural corporate or multi-national society - as the Government does - it must be realised that political aspirations and thinking can only operate within the bounds of the possible, taking into account the group set-up, traditional views, prejudices and customs, as well as the acceptability of any policy to predominant numbers of both groups concerned - in this case Whites and Coloureds. We have here one of the crucial requirements for the success of any policy and the first fact of political reality that has to be taken into account. Another reality is the fact that the White people are at present governing the country and they can hardly be blamed for believing, on the grounds of more recent history, that a government founded on a Christian-democratic basis is the best guarantee for continued security, order and civilisation. We are only too aware of the criticism against these claims, but the question may well be asked: In which country of the world do individuals, the press, science and religion enjoy greater freedom in practice than in besieged South Africa - with the exception of those who want to overthrow the existing order by force?

Can the Whites (or the majority of them) be blamed for wanting to safeguard their own survival in the belief that in perforce protecting their own position they are also protecting other population groups? Of course, this only applies if the White man acts according to his Christian conscience, also in respect of the welfare of the Non-White groups and even in respect of their aspirations



to realise their own identity. Of particular importance is the White man's understanding of the necessity for order in a country with a great variety of population groups - an order which he has not only had to maintain during difficult times in the past, - but, according to all indications, will have to safeguard for many years in the future.

The idea of miscegenation between White and Non-White is unacceptable to the overwhelming majority of Whites and to a very significant number of Coloureds. This is seen as the ultimate end should a common society, with no legislative ordering of any social aspect, develop in this country. Nor is political integration, meaning, in this case, the exercise of integrated authority at the sovereign level acceptable. In view of the foregoing considerations, pursuit of such a policy by any White government is out of the question, even if a majority of the Coloureds - incited by the idea that a political kingdom must be sought above all other things - were to support it. In the light of the history of integration, the Whites of South Africa have come to the logical conclusion, right or wrong, that integration would be the beginning of the end of the kind of civilisation they would like to preserve. And it would also mean the beginning of the end of the kind of civilisation and culture which the Coloureds enjoy to-day and will enjoy to an increasing extent in the future. It is also more than probable, considering the present actions of some people, that a small number of Coloured representatives in a White parliament would turn into frustrated agitating types, more so than any White representative could ever have pretended to be. This would result in resistance rather than sympathy on the part of the Whites and would therefore be detrimental to the real political interests of the Coloured people. Or, even if this were not to happen, the Coloureds would in any case, without the slightest doubt, become a political bargaining force which would be able to play off White against White most effectively - not because they would necessarily want to do this, but because it would be such an attractive political weapon in demanding more and more political rights from any White section in power at any time, or from a section which wanted to get into power at all costs and might find the temptation irresistible at the prospect of more power.

This course of events is so predictable because the exploitation of



the Coloured vote, even by White representatives, has in the past been the cause of much bitterness and eventually of a protracted constitutional battle which lasted from 1951 to 1956, when it was ended by the removal of the Coloureds from the common voters' roll. This is not a case of the exploitation of prejudices in a homogeneous population, which occurs in all democracies, but the manipulation of a group vote as a factor in the balance of power which, seen in historical perspective, results in endless bitterness and racial friction. Consequently another way was chosen. A policy of restoring the old position, and in a less acceptable manner than before, does not stand a chance of being accepted by the White electorate. And I am afraid that success will not be achieved by rallying the conscience of the Whites to idealistic ideas on human rights or even the sharing of Whites and Coloureds of certain Western values as a yardstick.

I should like, at this stage, from the Government's side, to ask those who promise the Coloureds political representation in the Central Government whether it is honest to offer upwards of 700 000 voters, 80 % of whom can already pass the elementary test of education and civilization of being able to write their own names, only six representatives in a Central Parliament of 166 members, and then making an extension of this representation subject to a White referendum. Would it not be fairer, would it not be more honest, to say that, if group representation is to be accepted, the Coloureds would be entitled to 30 seats or more? And if the principle that they should have separate representation is accepted surely, by the same token, there must be grounds for separate treatment in other spheres - if it is conceded that the honest aim should embrace equal or just apportionment. I know that there are those who believe that a common voters' roll with educational qualifications is the ideal solution to South Africa's political problems. In my opinion this is the only honest alternative, if the people of South Africa are seen as a homogeneous mass, although I fail to see why, in that case, much higher qualifications should be required of the Non-Whites than of the Whites, for anything that is not right from the outset, will remain a point of friction and further strife. The Government rejects this policy, however, and puts the following question: "What are the more probable advantages to be reaped by the Coloureds if they accept the policy of parallel development and co-operate to make it a success?" In the first place, it must be conceded that the



Coloureds have more political rights to-day, albeit at a lower level - rights which previously, at a so-called higher level, applied only in name and to a small minority. Furthermore the real needs of the Coloureds, which, it is generally admitted, require immediate attention, such as education, social welfare, community development and economic benefits, are receiving the constant attention of the Central Government on an unprecedented scale.

I should like to point out that the social and economic backlog of the Coloureds has been brought to the attention of the Government far more pertinently and urgently during the past year or so, since they have had a mouthpiece. More and more matters affecting the Coloured people are being entrusted to the Coloureds themselves, and they are in fact, in control of these matters through the Executive of the Coloured Persons Representative Council. When improvements in the provision for the needs of the Coloureds are sought and pleaded for in the Coloured Persons Representative Council, where there is complete freedom of speech, this takes place in public for all to see and hear, and, if their cause is at all reasonable, it cannot be ignored by the Cabinet Minister in charge of these matters. The needs of the Coloureds cannot escape the attention and conscience of a White Parliament, when, as has already been seen in practice, these needs are stated and pleaded for a second time in a manner and with a sense of responsibility that are possible only because less and less political capital can be made out of Coloured politics in the White Parliament.

The fact that not all the representations of the Coloured Persons Representative Council can be acceded to immediately is no argument that this body is inferior or useless. As a matter of fact, great progress has been made in fields which have not even been debated in this Council. During the past year, certain principles have been accepted which indicate a considerable advance in the White people's understanding of honest and justified claims on the part of the Coloureds - progress has been particularly marked in respect of consultations and liaison with the Government. Other achievements may be mentioned, such as the narrowing of the salary gap, the planned introduction of local government for Coloureds, and a multitude of other minor matters which from day to day testify to improved mutual understanding and progress in the socio-economic sphere.



## CONCLUSION

I should now like to repeat something I have said on more than one occasion during the past year. So far as the political dispensation for the Coloured population group - is concerned, this is the position today - a situation and matter for the present. To claim that full citizenship in the South African national set-up can only mean that equal individual treatment in respect of all civil, political and social rights and privileges must be guaranteed to every person irrespective of race, sex or colour, and in an integrated form is to demand what is not put into practice in any country in the world. Basically, it is our first duty as a Government rather to endeavour constantly to reconcile authority with justice towards all groups, and in this process the coercive authority of the State has a function which is exercised in countries recognised as highly civilised, where the same principles of justice to all are involved, but from another point of departure, namely compulsion to promote amalgamation. We are not in agreement with this as far as South Africa is concerned, but our ultimate aim is no less exalted.

There are admittedly still many imperfections. Many things are still being done in the name of apartheid or separate development which belie the basically just aims of the policy. In particular, we still have a long way to go in regard to the recognition of human equality. Nor is the situation static and unchangeable as regards liaison and better methods of co-operation between Whites and Coloureds with a view to even greater fulfilment of Coloured needs, also in the field of politics. Many forms of suspicion and distrust may disappear in the course of time. We shall proceed from one tested and tried step to the next.

Meanwhile I should, in the first place, like to ask the Coloured political parties which still remain aloof to abandon their negative attitudes and to be prepared at least to give what has been created for the Coloureds a trial, in a positive way and in consultation with those Coloureds who are disposed to co-operate.

In the second place, I should like to ask those impatient White apologists who are pressing for more political rights for the Coloureds at the central level, to couple their zeal and enthusiasm as far as



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