

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS: THE COLOURED, INDIAN, AND AFRICAN POPULATION GROUPS

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO MATTERS RELATING TO THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group was gazetted on 23 March, in terms of Proclamation 81 and Government Notice 442. The Commission was requested to report within 18 months. The terms of reference were:

- “1. to inquire into and to consider and report on:
 - (a) the progress of the Coloured population group since 1960 in:
 - (i) the social sphere, with the inclusion of housing and health conditions, community development, education, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (ii) the economic field, with the inclusion of commerce and industrial development, agricultural development, general economic development, occupational participation, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (iii) the constitutional field, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (iv) local government, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (v) the sports and cultural fields, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (b) hindrances in the different fields which can be identified as being obstacles;
 - (c) any other relevant matters within the scope of the designated field of inquiry which may come to the attention of the commission;
- “2. to make recommendations . . . as to the manner in which development of the Coloured population group can be further promoted.”

Professor Erika Theron of Stellenbosch was appointed chairman of the commission, the other members being six Coloured men and twelve Whites, all with specialised knowledge in various fields. The commission set up study groups on government and administration, economics and labour, agricultural matters, education, cultural and religious matters, the social sphere and welfare

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS: THE COLOURED, INDIAN, AND AFRICAN POPULATION GROUPS

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO MATTERS RELATING TO THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

The appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group was gazetted on 23 March, in terms of Proclamation 81 and Government Notice 442. The Commission was requested to report within 18 months. The terms of reference were:

- "1. to inquire into and to consider and report on:
- (a) the progress of the Coloured population group since 1960 in:
 - (i) the social sphere, with the inclusion of housing and health conditions, community development, education, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (ii) the economic field, with the inclusion of commerce and industrial development, agricultural development, general economic development, occupational participation, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (iii) the constitutional field, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (iv) local government, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (v) the sports and cultural fields, and all matters relevant hereto;
 - (b) hindrances in the different fields which can be identified as being obstacles;
 - (c) any other relevant matters within the scope of the designated field of inquiry which may come to the attention of the commission;
- "2. to make recommendations . . . as to the manner in which development of the Coloured population group can be further promoted."
- Professor Erika Theron of Stellenbosch was appointed chairman of the commission, the other members being six Coloured men and twelve Whites, all with specialised knowledge in various fields. The commission set up study groups on government and administration, economics and labour, agricultural matters, education, cultural and religious matters, the social sphere and welfare

services, housing, transport and community development, health, and sport and recreation.

The Labour Party and the Natal Coloured Teachers' Association are reported¹ to have decided to withhold evidence unless subpoenaed. They objected to the identification of 'Coloured' people as a separate population group, for whom full citizenship rights were not contemplated.

THE COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (CPRC) Budget

According to the Republic's official estimates of expenditure for 1973-4,² the amounts allocated to the CPRC were:

	R
Provision from Revenue Vote (Coloured Relations)	111 091 000
Provision from Loan Account	52 500
	111 143 500

In addition, the central Government budgeted R6 409 900 for the salaries of 1 347 White personnel seconded to the service of the CPRC.

These amounts exclude expenditure on the University of the Western Cape, which does not fall under the CPRC.

The Council's proposed expenditure in 1973-4 is:³

<i>Revenue Account</i>	R
Finance and Auxiliary Services	1 487 000
Education	69 272 500
Welfare Services and Pensions	39 308 000
Rural areas and Settlements	1 020 500
Local Government	3 000
	111 143 500
<i>Loan Account</i>	
Education	15 300
Rural Areas and Settlements	37 200
	111 143 500

In terms of Proclamation 185 of 3 August, agricultural services in Coloured areas are to be transferred to the control of the CPRC.

Constitution of the Council

The next elections of the 40 elected members of the CPRC are due in 1974. As previously, a further 20 members will be nominated by the Government.

From 1979, however, all 60 members will be elected. The

¹ *Star*, 22 May.

² R.P. 2/1973, 3/1973, and 6/1973.

³ Letter 6/29 dated 2 November from the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs.

Minister of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs said in the Assembly on 29 May⁴ that an earlier date was impossible because much work had still to be done in demarcating the constituencies.

Tactics of the opposition Labour Party

Many members of the Labour Party consider that they should identify themselves with the Black consciousness movement. Certain leaders of this movement have criticised the party for remaining in the CPRC, but it has, thus far, done so in order to use the Council as a platform from which it can, legally and officially, launch attacks on Government policy.⁵

At its national congress, held in April, the Labour Party decided to allow its Youth Organization to become non-racial. This had been urged by youths who supported Black consciousness.⁶

1973 Session of the CPRC

The official opening of the CPRC's 1973 Session on 3 August by the President of the Republic's Senate was boycotted by the Labour Party. This party subsequently introduced a motion of no confidence in the CPRC, which was defeated by 30 votes to 22.⁷ The Council decided unanimously to call upon its Executive to negotiate with the Government for the declaration of 1 December as a national day to commemorate the abolition of slavery.⁸

Proceedings were interrupted later in the month because of complaints by the leaders of both of the main parties against actions by the Republic's Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie P. Mulder. At a National Party meeting Dr. Mulder referred to the fact that Mr. Tom Swartz, leader of the Federal Party and chairman of the Council's Executive, had addressed the Transvaal congress of the United Party. According to a report published in the *Burger*, the Minister stated that Mr. Swartz had become a leader of the Coloured people because the Government nominated him as a leader. At the time, the U.P. had ridiculed him for that reason, but it was now accepting him.⁹ Mr. Swartz was bitterly resentful of these reported remarks.

Mr. Sonny Leon, leader of the Labour Party, was angry too, because the Minister had refused passports for which he and the members of his family had applied. On 24 August the Council adjourned normal business, and nominated a 16-member delega-

⁴ Hansard 16 col. 7895.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 June; *Sunday Express*, 10 June; *Cape Argus*, 3 August.

⁶ *Star*, 23 April.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 August.

⁸ *Star*, 17 August.

⁹ See 1969 *Survey*, page 7, for the circumstances of Mr. Swartz's appointment as chairman of the Executive.

tion, representing all the political parties and the independents, to seek an immediate interview with the Ministers of the Interior and of Coloured Affairs in order to discuss these two matters.

It was announced on 28 August that the Prime Minister as well as the two Ministers mentioned would attend the discussions, but that these could not be held until 11 September (after the Council's Session was due to end). The Labour Party then moved that the Session should adjourn for the year, in protest, unless an earlier meeting could be arranged. This motion was defeated by 28 votes to 27, in favour of a Federal Party motion that the Council should adjourn until 12 September. Seven members appointed to the delegation to meet the Cabinet Ministers then withdrew from it — four from the Labour Party (including Mr. Leon), two representatives of small parties, and an independent.¹⁰

The remaining nine members met the Cabinet Ministers, as planned, on 11 September. It was reported¹¹ that the Minister of the Interior told Mr. Swartz that the *Burger* had given a misleading account of his speech, which was sincerely regretted by all those concerned. Even before the matter had been raised in the CPRC, the Minister had asked for a correction to be published.

The Prime Minister told the delegation that Mr. Leon's application for a passport would be reconsidered on its merits if he gave an undertaking to refrain from harming the interests of South Africa while he was overseas. Informed of this, Mr. Leon is reported to have said that he refused to "buy" his passport by "crawling" before the Government. Criticisms that he had voiced on overseas visits in the past had not been attacks on South Africa, but on the policies of the Nationalist Government.

On 14 September Mr. Swartz moved that the Council should adjourn until 1974. Mr. Leon said that he would have supported adjournment for "all time", since the Council could never satisfy the political aspirations and rights of the Coloured people. But he objected to a closure merely of the present Session, since 27 motions on the Order Paper had not been dealt with. Mr. Swartz's motion was carried by 28-19 votes.

STUDY OF ATTITUDES OF COLOURED PEOPLE IN JOHANNESBURG

Dr. M. L. Edelstein, the chief welfare officer of Johannesburg's Non-European Affairs Department, has completed a "Sociological Study of the Coloured Community of Johannesburg with Special Reference to Attitude Analysis". It reflects the views of a sample of 500 middle-class people, who were interviewed by trained Coloured workers. Dr. Edelstein emphasized that the

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29, 30, and 31 August.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13 September.

findings were not necessarily representative of the views of Coloured people of South Africa generally, but did provide an indication of how a significant portion of the Coloured community felt about vital issues.

It is clearly impossible to give an adequate summary of the study in these pages. Very brief reference only can be made to a few major points.

More than half of those interviewed (62 per cent) said they believed that the Coloured people should form an integral part of the South African nation. Only 32 per cent thought that they should form a nation with its own identity.

Only 2 per cent wanted to be called "Black". A majority of 53 per cent wanted to be called South Africans, while 24 per cent wanted to be called "Coloured".

Generally, Dr. Edelstein found that the Coloured were drifting further and further away from the Whites; that they were becoming alienated, frustrated, and unco-operative; that their loyalty to South Africa was, in a majority of cases, doubtful; and that their relationship with Whites abounded in points and latent points of friction.

A large majority, of 81 per cent, believed that the Government's policy of separate development was increasingly alienating the Coloured from the Afrikaner. Afrikaners ranked low on the social distance scale. But when the respondents were asked later to give their opinions of members of the two White groups on the basis of their individual contact with them, the Afrikaner image improved considerably.

More than anything else, Johannesburg's Coloured people wanted political equality with Whites — a full say in the central Parliament. Although they pressed for full economic and social opportunity, a majority did not insist on residential integration.

Asked about political attitudes, 38 per cent indicated that if they had the opportunity they would vote for the Progressive Party, 16 per cent for the United Party, 13 per cent for the National Party, and 33 per cent for none of these parties. So far as the Coloured parties were concerned, 32 per cent supported the Labour Party, 9 per cent the Federal Party, and 37 per cent none of the existing parties.

The greatest general grievance was unequal pay for equal work (73 per cent), closely followed by colour bars in employment (67 per cent), inadequate educational opportunities (56 per cent), and inadequate accommodation (52 per cent).

Dr. Edelstein found that most of the immediate major grievances and problems stemmed from the implementation, rather than from the basis, of the policy of separate development. This meant that, given money and effort, relations between White and Coloured could be improved considerably within the context of present political realities in South Africa (although trends were

at present moving in the opposite direction). Dr. Edelstein proposed a 12-point programme, based on his findings, to draw the Coloured people closer to the Whites. This programme was sent to the Theron Commission of Inquiry, mentioned earlier in this chapter.¹²

S.A. INDIAN COUNCIL

The S.A. Indian Council met on several occasions during the year, discussing and making official representations on such matters as the shortage of housing, particularly in Durban and Johannesburg, the provision of industrial sites in Indian group areas, the need for more beaches and inland holiday resorts for Indians, employment opportunities for school-leavers, and restrictions on travel through the Transkei. No party-political groupings have emerged within the Council.

The Council continues to consist of 25 nominated members, but according to the Minister of Indian Affairs,¹ after the term of office of the present members expires on 31 August 1974 there will be 30 members, half of them elected.² In the absence of voters' rolls, elections will be conducted through a system of electoral colleges constituted on a regional basis.

The chairman of the Council's executive committee, Mr. A. M. Rajab, died on 7 October.

INDIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of 5 September, a new Indian political party, called the People's Democratic Party, has been formed in the Transvaal. It is led by Mr. S. A. Mayet. He said that it opposed all racially exclusive movements, but because of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was obliged to confine its membership to Indians. It rejected all forms of political totalitarianism, and would strive for the equal participation of all people in the government of the country, and equal working conditions and opportunities.

Little has been reported during the year on the activities of the Natal Indian Congress. Its president, Mr. C. Sewpershad, has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.

BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES

At the end of May, Black Community Programmes, Durban, published *Black Review, 1972*, edited by Ben A. Khoapa. It recorded events and trends in the black community during the year. Mr. Khoapa's description of the goals of Black Community

¹² Findings re-summarized from a summary by Mr. John D'Oliveira, *Star*, 8 September.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July.

² Enabling legislation was passed in 1972. See page 22 of last year's *Survey*.

Programmes cannot be quoted, however, because during October he was placed under a banning order.

BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION

The founding of the Black People's Convention, and its aims, were described on page 28 of last year's *Survey*. Its first national congress, reported to have been attended by some 200 African, Indian, and Coloured delegates and observers, was held during December 1972 at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria.

The main theme of the speeches was that blacks were becoming ever more determined to chart their own future and find solutions to their own problems. Opposition was expressed to dialogue between South Africa and other countries, foreign investment which supported the economic system of white South Africa and exploited black workers, and multi-national sport as advocated by the Government. It was decided to write to foreign companies, asking them to withdraw their interests in South Africa and not to involve themselves in the economic development of the homelands and border areas.³

Mrs. Winnifred Kgware was unanimously elected first national president of the BPC. The other leading office-bearers then elected have been unable to continue in office. Banning orders have been served by the Government on Messrs. Chris Madibeng Mokoditsoa (elected vice-president), Sipho Buthelezi (secretary-general), and Sathasivan "Saths" Cooper (public relations officer), as well as on several other members, including the trade unionist, Mr. Drake K. Koka, Mrs. S. Moodley, and a young poet, Mr. Mathew Diseko. Mr. Mosebudi Mangena (elected national organizer) was during June charged under the Terrorism Act. His trial is described later.

Three former members of the BPC's staff in Johannesburg, Mr. Bokwe Mafuna (who had been placed under a banning order) and two office assistants, escaped from South Africa during October, without travel documents.

S.A. STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION

Events concerning this organization are dealt with under the section of this *Survey* dealing with student organizations in general.

AFRICAN LEADERS IN THE HOMELANDS

As indicated in previous years, the homeland leaders at first concerned themselves mainly with matters affecting the citizens of these areas, for example the extent of land to be made available to them, constitutional development, etc. More recently, how-

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 December, and *Star*, 21 December 1972.

ever, a number of these leaders, notably Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, have used the platforms afforded them by virtue of their office to voice the more general opinions and aspirations of Africans. They have given a number of addresses to multi-racial audiences, which have received wide Press coverage. Examples of views expressed on particular matters are given in appropriate chapters.