

**A SURVEY OF
RACE RELATIONS
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

1973

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**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE
RELATIONS**

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POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS: THE WHITE POPULATION GROUP

THE NATIONAL PARTY

During 1973 the National Party has been faced with increasing manifestations of black dissatisfaction and anger. The Black Consciousness movement appears to be gaining strength, despite the banning of most of its prominent members. Two of the more conservative of the homeland leaders have been voted out of office. The leaders are voicing the demands of their people with increasing forthrightness and to wider audiences. Serious unrest has continued at black universities. Guerrilla activities in Rhodesia and Mozambique, aimed ultimately at the Republic itself, have been intensified. The "outward policy" is not succeeding: there is mounting international criticism of South Africa.

The Government has pressed ahead with plans for the partial consolidation of the homelands, but in almost every case these plans have not proved acceptable to the people concerned, who have claimed far more land and greater economic benefits than are offered.

So far as Africans in the towns are concerned, 22 Bantu Affairs Administration Boards are in the process of taking over administrative control from urban local authorities. Plans are being continued for large regional townships in the homelands to which African families will be moved from "white" towns in the regions concerned, the workers having to commute daily, weekly, or even less often to their places of employment. But the new Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. T. N. H. "Punt" Janson, has conceded that Africans in cities remote from the homelands will be there for generations to come, and that their numbers will grow. Already, he indicated,¹ about 77 per cent of those living on the Rand, including mine labourers, are settled there on a family basis. He stated that steps must be taken to make them as contented as possible, and has invited suggestions for easing the impact of the so-called pass laws. He is promoting consultation between administrators and urban Africans, and is raising funds for the provision of recreational and sports facilities in urban townships.

Coloured people are becoming increasingly alienated from the Whites, in particular the Afrikaners. The Government has

¹ Assembly, 29 May, Hansard 16 col. 941.

appointed a multi-racial Commission of Enquiry into matters relating to this population group.

The wide-spread strikes of African workers, who are awakening to their immense potential power, have been instrumental in bringing about amendments to labour legislation, providing improved channels through which certain categories of African employees can express their grievances, and legalising strikes in certain limited circumstances. Government departments, in particular the Railways and the Post Office, are continuing the process of allowing Africans to progress to work requiring some degree of skill, and the Prime Minister has said that the Government will not stand in the way of changes in South Africa's traditional work patterns in the private sector, allowing blacks to move into higher job categories if white workers in the fields of employment concerned agree to this. The necessity of a narrowing of the wage gap is being accepted. For the first time there are official plans for the pre-service and in-service training of African factory workers in "white" areas.

In an effort to lessen South Africa's isolation in the sporting world, the Government's policy in regard to mixed sporting events has been redefined, certain "multi-national" events having been actively encouraged. This policy remains complicated, however, and unacceptable to those people in the Republic and to overseas countries that press for multi-racial sport at all levels.

As described later, interim reports by the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations have had significant repercussions.

Despite the difficulties it faces, the Nationalist Government remains very firmly in the saddle.

THE UNITED PARTY

Press attacks on the Party's leadership

During the early part of 1973 the *Sunday Times*, formerly a staunch supporter of Sir De Villiers Graaff's leadership of the United Party, published a series of editorials and articles demanding his resignation. It and other English-language newspapers voiced dissatisfaction with the Party's "lack of dynamism" and "political compromises".

It was reported² that during July the U.P.'s general secretary, Senator J. L. Horak, wrote to the *Sunday Express*, stating that he had been directed by a combined meeting of the Party's Central Head Committee and its Parliamentary Caucus to convey appreciation of this newspaper's consistent and responsible support. This was resented by the "reformist" members of the Transvaal provincial caucus, under the provincial Party leader, Mr. Harry Schwarz, M.P.C., who declared that the *Sunday Express* had been

² e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 July.

openly critical of them and had published reports containing mis-statements of fact. Sir De Villiers issued a statement supporting the allegations of "regrettable attacks" by this newspaper on Party leaders in the Transvaal.

Conflict within the Party

As mentioned on page 8 of last year's *Survey*, in August 1972 Mr. Harry Schwarz, M.P.C., defeated Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn, M.P., in the election of a Party leader for the Transvaal. Mr. Steyn had for long been one of the Party's most prominent members, but was regarded by the "reformists" or "young Turks" as being too conservative. It was widely reported that there was considerable disagreement between the supporters of these two men.

One source of dispute arose from the fact that a different emphasis could be placed on aspects of the Party's constitutional plan, described in the previous issue of this *Survey* (page 9), and again defined in a pamphlet issued by the Party's Division of Information in 1973, entitled *Federation: Your only way to security*. It was stated in this pamphlet that there must be no domination by one population group of any other, that power must be shared. However, the (white) parliament would act as regulator in the delegation of powers to the legislative assemblies for the various communities and to the proposed Federal Assembly, and no powers affecting the security of the State would be transferred without a special mandate of the white electorate given at a referendum.

A subsequent official statement was released to the effect that the United Party was committed "to white leadership in the interests of all our people and" as an instrument to bring about a sharing of power and responsibility among all our population groups". The phrasing made it possible for conservative Party members to emphasize "white leadership" rather than the ultimate sharing of power, and vice versa.

A further cause of dissension arose from the United Party's participation in the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations.⁴ This matter is described in a subsequent chapter, but it is relevant to mention here that the Commission consisted of six members of the National Party and four members of the United Party. During February it issued two interim reports, both of which had been approved unanimously. The first called for the establishment of a permanent, bi-party, statutory Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security, to continue the work of the Schlebusch Commission. The second report, dealing with the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas), recommended that, while no action should be taken against this Union as a

³ According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, for 12 September, this word "and" was not included in the first issue of this statement.

⁴ See 1972 *Survey*, page 52.

body, the continued involvement in student politics of eight named members of Nusas was "extremely undesirable". Banning orders were thereupon served by the Government on the eight student leaders concerned.

There was wide-spread criticism of the rôle played by the United Party commissioners. They should, it was said, have submitted a minority report recommending that the evidence obtained be submitted to the Attorney-General for action, if warranted. The United Party was repeatedly urged to "get off the Commission". Among the outspoken critics were Party members on the Witwatersrand and Mrs. Catherine D. Taylor, M.P. for Wynberg, Cape. (The support given by the Parliamentary caucus for the commissioners is described below.)

Mrs. Taylor had specialized in educational matters and the affairs of Coloured people. She stated⁵ that, nevertheless, she had not been considered for membership of the Schlebusch Commission nor the Commission of Inquiry into matters relating to the Coloured population group. She was warned at a caucus meeting⁶ that if she made any further public statement that questioned the wisdom of Party tactics, or did not endorse the action and conclusions of the four United Party Schlebusch commissioners, this could result in her expulsion from the caucus. Mrs. Taylor thereupon resigned as the Party's shadow Minister of Education. Later, she announced⁷ that she would not seek re-election to Parliament. "In-fighting is consuming all our energies", she said.

Attitude to the Schlebusch Commission's reports

Early in May⁸ the chairman of the United Party's caucus, Mr. T. Gray Hughes, released a statement to the effect that the caucus had passed a vote of full confidence in its four members of the Schlebusch Commission, and had requested them to continue in office. Until the final report on Nusas was released, any attempt at assessment or criticism of the Commission's findings must be premature.

Failure by the United Party to have participated in the Commission, and with it, failure to have played a necessary part in ensuring a fair and just hearing for those whose actions were being investigated, would have been a grave dereliction of the Party's constitutional function as the Opposition, it was stated.

The caucus reaffirmed the United Party's total opposition to arbitrary banning as a form of administrative punishment, and its unshakable belief that, if such action was contemplated or taken against anyone, compliance with the rule of law demanded that the person concerned must have access to a judicial tribunal,

⁵ e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 March.

⁶ *Ibid.*, and issue of 19 June.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 4 May.

which would have power to examine the matter independently of Parliament and the executive.

It was emphasized that the United Party would not tolerate any attempts to achieve political change other than by democratic procedures within the law. It would continue to oppose any tendencies on the part of the Government, or of any other persons or agencies, to impose totalitarian methods in the maintenance of order.

Discussion of consensus

When the Commission's first interim report was under discussion, Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn spoke in support of the establishment of a bi-party Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security, and added that he believed consensus between the two parties would grow.⁹

In a Press statement,¹⁰ Sir De Villiers Graaff then firmly rejected suggestions of a move towards consensus on the major issues facing the country. The only object of consensus should be to remove discussion on inconsequential issues, allowing the nation to face the real ones. There were five basic principles on which the United Party would never compromise with the Nationalists, he said. These were:

- (a) its profound belief in the freedom and dignity of the individual;
- (b) its conviction that points of agreement between people should be stressed, and not points of difference;
- (c) its belief in a free enterprise system with a minimum of governmental interference;
- (d) its acceptance that people of different races, different standards of living, and different cultures could live in harmony in a single state;
- (e) its belief that all the people of South Africa had a common destiny and should have a common loyalty to one another and to the country.

The Prime Minister commented¹¹ that in a broad sense he wanted consensus on matters of common interest to South Africa, but it would have to be on his Party's terms. "I do not seek consensus with the United Party as such. What would I do with it?"

Debates on race relations

In the Assembly on 5 February,¹² Mr. Dave J. Marais maintained that urban Africans were and would remain a permanent part of "white" South Africa, and that the denial to them of basic human rights gave rise to a potentially explosive situation.

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 and 13 June.

¹⁰ *Sunday Express*, 10 June, and *Star*, 12 June.

¹¹ Senate, 12 June, Hansard 12 cols. 4 000 *et seq.*

¹² Hansard 1 cols. 81-5.

Mr. Japie D. du P. Basson said,¹³ "We shall never find the right answers until we deliberately and openly adopt a course leading away from colour as the norm for all arrangements." After referring to the humiliations of petty apartheid in lifts, post offices, etc. he stated that these were fostering a spirit of discourtesy to non-whites. "Every white child who sees this situation must simply, from an early age, arrive at one conclusion, namely that in our eyes the non-white person is considered to be inferior."

Speaking shortly afterwards,¹⁴ Sir De Villiers Graaff condemned "hurtful and unnecessary invasions of human dignity which are often found in what is called petty apartheid", hardships under the pass laws, and evils of the migratory labour system. He referred to the dissatisfactions of Africans in urban areas, repeating a previous warning that "the urban Bantu is the flash-point for race conflict in South Africa".

In a subsequent debate,¹⁵ Mr. T. Gray Hughes said that relations between the Government and the country's Africans had never before been so strained. There was naught for the comfort of anyone in the confrontation that was building up. The Government's policy was rapidly approaching the point of no return. The economic needs of the homelands had been neglected in favour of their political development. The Government's homelands policy could not even begin to succeed unless these areas could absorb their own annual increase in workseekers, which they were very far from doing. But, Mr. Gray Hughes added, the Achilles heel of the Government's policy was its attitude to urban Africans.

Mr. David Marais repeated¹⁶ that it was in the urban African townships that the real racial tensions were compounding to an alarming degree. If the Government persisted in treating these people as temporary sojourners in so-called white South Africa, he said, it should at least, and as a matter of urgency, create a "migrant workers' charter".

Following an investigation of "petty apartheid" by a committee headed by Dr. G. F. Jacobs, M.P., the U.P. formulated its policy on social relationships in South Africa. This was released to the Press in October. On 29 October *The Star* quoted Dr. Jacobs as saying, "We are opposed to forced separation of the races, and also to forced integration. The basic idea is that in social affairs, we believe that you must have options."

Three principles were proposed. The first was that neither open (integrated) nor exclusive (separate) facilities should be enforced. It should be left to the proprietor of an institution or service to say who should use it. Secondly, where no separate

¹³ Hansard 3 cols. 1136-8.

¹⁴ Cols. 1281-9.

¹⁵ 17 May, Hansard 14 cols. 6842-53.

¹⁶ Cols. 6863-5.

facilities existed, as in state libraries, museums, or opera houses, these should be open to all races until equivalent ones could be provided. And thirdly, in transport, public lavatories, and residential areas, there should be both facilities open to all races and others that were exclusive, but a higher price would have to be paid for the latter.

Transvaal congress of the United Party

Black leaders had in the past addressed the United Party's parliamentary caucus, but during August, for a first time, three addressed a Party congress — that held in the Transvaal. They were Professor H. W. E. Ntsanwisi, Chief Executive Councillor of Gazankulu, Mr. Tom Swartz, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, and Mr. J. N. Reddy, a member of the Executive of the S.A. Indian Council.

Mr. Harry Schwarz and Dr. Gideon Jacobs were unanimously re-elected leader and deputy-leader, respectively, of the U.P. in the Transvaal. Neither was opposed. Both men were given standing ovations.

An "Act of Dedication to our People" (described below), which had been formulated by the provincial caucus, was unanimously accepted.

In his summing-up speech at the end, Sir De Villiers Graaff paid sincere tribute to Mr. Schwarz (thus implicitly giving notice that the campaign against him and his supporters by conservative members must cease).¹⁷

"Act of Dedication to our People"

The "Act of Dedication" stated¹⁸ that "all our people, irrespective of language, creed, race, or colour, shall be entitled:

1. to be free of humiliations impugning upon their dignity and not be subject to unjust discriminatory practices;
2. to the protection of the rule of law, which presumes a man's innocence until guilt is proven before an independent judiciary, which guarantees the liberty and security of the individual, which ensures freedom from restriction and detention by executive action, and which permits the suspension of such fundamentals only in times of war or other national emergency;
3. to live in a society where law and order is maintained to protect the individual and security of the State, and where the ballot box is recognized as the only means of bringing about changes of government and of the constitution;
4. to social and economic justice, with opportunity of progress

¹⁷ *Sunday Times*, 26 August.

¹⁸ *Race Relations News*, June.

and to obtain a share in the wealth of the land, with free education for all, with protection against exploitation of the working man so that all who do a fair day's work can own a home and enjoy a decent living standard, and with deserved care when aged or infirm;

5. to a participation in the determination of their own destiny so that no-one will be without voice in the constitutional machinery of the State whilst ensuring security for all groups, without domination by one over others and without danger to standards already attained;
6. to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, peaceful assembly and association, together with freedom of speech including lawful dissent and protest;
7. to be proud citizens of South Africa, commanding respect in the community of nations, strong morally, economically, and militarily, able to resist terrorism and other aggression, while seeking to live in peaceful co-existence with neighbours in Africa."

Following its unanimous acceptance by the Transvaal congress, the Act of Dedication was submitted for consideration by the central congress of the U.P. in November.

Further statements on internal feuding in the U.P.

Following a meeting of the U.P.'s central executive committee held in Cape Town during July, Sir De Villiers Graaff announced¹⁷ that there had been a full and frank discussion on party unity. It had become abundantly clear that no real differences existed on fundamental policy. With the full support of his provincial chairmen and other members of his executive he wished to state, however, that he was not prepared to countenance feuding within the Party, indiscipline, or personality differences, which derogated from the U.P.'s first duty of attacking the National Party Government.

During the following month²⁰ Sir De Villiers repeated that he and his provincial chairmen were determined to root out the bickering and quarrelling which had done so much to tarnish the Party's image and impede its progress. He made it clear, however, that internal debates arising from the ferment of ideas in the country were accepted and welcomed.

Resignation of Mr. Marais Steyn

It was reported in various newspapers on 31 August that at a combined U.P. central head committee and parliamentary caucus meeting, Mr. Schwarz attacked Mr. Marais Steyn for emphasizing "white leadership" as being the Party's policy, rather than "shared power". Mr. Steyn then announced his resignation as chairman of

¹⁷ Various newspapers of 26 July.
²⁰ *Star*, 18 August.

the Party's Information Division, saying it had become clear to him that there were unbridgeable personality problems between himself and Mr. Schwarz, and that important matters of principle were involved, for example the attitude of Party members to the question of dynamic white leadership in South Africa.

Sir De Villiers was reported to have issued a statement endorsing Mr. Schwarz's interpretation, i.e. that white leadership was necessary only in order to establish a Federation in which power would be shared.

On 1 September Mr. Steyn resigned from the U.P. and announced that he would seek membership of the National Party. The Press speculated²¹ that he hoped to be supported by conservative Party members. If this was the case, the move was abortive, for a meeting of the public representatives of the U.P. in the Transvaal unanimously reaffirmed loyalty to the Party, its policies, its national leader, and its Transvaal provincial leader. Mr. Steyn was called upon to resign his Parliamentary seat forthwith: like other members, he had undertaken to do so if he ever ceased to be a Party member. The U.P. Divisional Committee of his constituency, Yeoville, met too, and also called upon Mr. Steyn to resign and fight a by-election as a Nationalist.²² He announced,²³ however, that he would meet the voters of Yeoville before deciding. Meanwhile, he had been accepted as a National Party member.

National Congress of the U.P.²⁴

In opening the national congress of the U.P., held in Bloemfontein during November, Sir De Villiers made it plain that the Party's policy was to use white leadership to bring about a federal political system in which power and responsibility would be shared fairly by all the communities of South Africa.

The congress accepted revised aims and principles which embodied this principle and also (in a slightly revised form) those contained in the Transvaal congress's "Act of Dedication". The policy of continuing consultation with members of all racial groups was fully endorsed, as was the Transvaal decision to invite black leaders to address its congress. It was decided that whites ought not to have the right to veto the establishment of independent homelands if this was in accordance with the wishes of the blacks concerned.²⁵

At his request, Sir De Villiers was given a mandate to appoint a central disciplinary committee with wide powers. Its decisions would be subject only to appeal to the central head committee.

²¹ *Sunday Times*, 2 September.

²² *Star*, 4 September.

²³ *Ibid.*, 18 September.

²⁴ Account based on numerous Press reports between 9 and 12 November.

²⁵ In previous years, the U.P. had opposed the granting of ultimate sovereign independence to the homelands.

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

When opening the Transvaal congress of the Progressive Party, held in Johannesburg during June, the Party leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, appealed to verligtes in other parties who were frustrated by political deadlocks to help the Progressives to create a grand alliance of modern enlightened South Africans.

Two motions were debated behind closed doors, their terms being released to the Press later.¹ One matter discussed was that considerable numbers of voters found themselves unable to subscribe to National or United Party policies, yet were not attracted to Progressive Party policies. It was considered that one reason was that the Party's policy statements did not give adequate reassurance to whites in general, and Afrikaners in particular, that their identities were recognised and would be preserved within a framework of equal opportunities and rights for all.

Following discussion of the other motion, it was decided that the Party might be well advised to place more emphasis on pragmatic, short-term objectives rather than on long-term ideological philosophies. Immediate objectives might include pressing for the right of urban Africans to have their families with them, the freeing of group areas removals, massive economic development of the homelands, the control of black governmental bodies by elected rather than nominated members, non-interference by the Government in sport.

It was planned to submit these recommendations to the national congress in September; but in the event they were not discussed at the latter meeting owing to lack of time.

At this national congress, held in Durban, Mr. Colin Eglin was unanimously re-elected as Party leader, and Mr. Ray Swart was unanimously elected national chairman in succession to the late Mr. Harry Lawrence.

The congress made no policy changes, but focussed primarily on the way in which issues such as labour, education, and the cost of living should be tackled. Delegates gave full backing to Mr. Eglin's initiative in having held discussions with black leaders in the Republic and in other African states. It was decided to plan a national convention of all races to consider such matters as the franchise, federation, land distribution, and the rights of workers.²

Invitations to attend the congress had been sent to all the homeland leaders, three of whom were able to accept and addressed the delegates — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Mr. Collins Ramusi of Lebowa, and Mr. T. M. Molathlawa of Bophutha-Tswana. Chief Buthelezi received a standing ovation after a speech in which he urged that blacks and whites should together draft

¹ e.g. *Sunday Times*, 24 June, *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 June.
² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.

and work for the enactment of constitutional guarantees for the safeguarding of basic rights and freedoms for all, thus allaying the fears of minority groups, particularly the whites.³

ACTION SOUTH AND SOUTHERN AFRICA (ASASA) AND PLANS FOR A DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The establishment by Mr. Theo J. A. Gerdener of a movement called Action South and Southern Africa, and his initial plans, were described on pages 61-2 of last year's *Survey*.

Mr. Gerdener said during June⁴ that ASASA had been working for a closing of the wage gap, and for the elimination of petty apartheid. Discussions were in progress to identify the forms of discrimination that caused the greatest inter-racial friction. Two further projects would be given priority. One, called "Food and race relations", would concern itself with the fact that only 22 per cent of South Africa's work force of five million people enjoyed proper well-balanced feeding. Proper feeding would improve productivity and cut the accident, absenteeism, and sickness rates. The second project was to establish citizens' advice bureaux in the major cities to help newcomers, especially blacks, find their way through the welter of laws and regulations that affected them.

During the latter part of the year⁵ Mr. Gerdener announced his plans for the creation of a Democratic Party, initially all-White, but later to include people of other racial groups. Its policy would be a "twin stream" one. In the one stream would be the Whites, Coloured, and Indians. All basic rights at present enjoyed by the Whites would be extended gradually to the others. In the course of time, all public facilities would be shared, and a state would emerge in which all citizens had full equality. Petty discrimination based on colour would be eliminated.

The borders of the homelands would be redrawn to consolidate these areas into large blocks which could become viable, completely independent states. There would be no mass removals of people: Whites could remain in the new African areas if they so wished.

A policy for urban Africans in white areas had still to be determined. Consideration was being given to the conversion of large urban African townships into autonomous city states, dual states, or integrated parts of homelands.

The White, Coloured, and Indian areas, the independent African states, the autonomous city states, and, possibly, neighbouring states would be linked in a commonwealth of Southern African states, economically inter-dependent but politically independent, and anti-communist. Richer member-states would con-

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Sunday Express*, 3 June.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July, 4 August, 30 August; *Sunday Times*, 5 August and 23 September.

tribute to the dynamic economic advancement of the less fortunate ones. A commonwealth was preferable to a federal form of government, since in a federation one group might be able to dominate the others.

VERLIGTE ACTION

During the past two years a series of informal meetings were held throughout the country between verligte⁶ white people of various political parties who are disillusioned by the political log-jam and anxious to see bold action taken to remedy legitimate grievances of blacks. These culminated in a meeting held in Pretoria on 20 May, organized by Professor Willem A. Joubert of the University of South Africa, and attended by prominent academics, politicians, businessmen, and others from various political parties, including General R. C. Hiemstra (the former Commandant-General), Professor Frans Maritz and Dr. Connie Alant of the University of South Africa, Mr. Japie Basson, M.P., and Mr. Colin Eglin.

With financial assistance from two businessmen whose names were not revealed, this group planned a function which was held in Johannesburg on 29 June, and attended by about 450 invited guests. Professor Joubert, who was in the chair, said that the object was to form a verligte action group on an across-the-party basis in order to mobilise enlightened political opinion to facilitate change. He stated that there were three points of departure on which it was essential to agree:

- (a) that South Africa was one nation whose people had a common destiny, their mutual commitment making joint planning for the future essential;
- (b) that the country had a "multi-form" nature consisting of different population groups;
- (c) that all people in South Africa, notwithstanding their status, group loyalties, or colour, were entitled to a life consonant with human dignity.⁷

An interim steering committee consisting of 21 persons was appointed, and a full-time office opened in Pretoria.

During the following month,⁸ a special committee was set up to discuss with black leaders the question of the involvement of their peoples in the new movement. A series of action groups was formed to discuss, with people of all racial groups, current questions such as citizenship and political rights, education, city and community planning, economic affairs and labour, censorship, student affairs, and welfare services.

It was announced on 25 July that the interim national Com-

⁶ "Enlightened".

⁷ *Star*, 25 June, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 June.

⁸ *Star*, 13 July.

mittee had decided to open the membership of Verligte Action to all South Africans, irrespective of language or colour. Multi-racial meetings, with speakers drawn from the different racial groups, were held in Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban, and other centres.

A pamphlet was issued, amplifying the "points of departure". Verligte Action, it was stated, was concerned about the future of South Africa and its people, and about the humiliations and injustices to which many South African citizens were subjected. It was concerned about the growing feeling of frustration and bitterness among many people, the increasing antagonism between language and colour groups and the danger of open confrontation. It called for a fundamental reappraisal of attitudes, policies, and actions, and asked all South Africans to assist in the eradication of prejudice and the removal of injustice. Verligte Action committed itself to principles of non-discrimination and the full participation of all groups in the country's social, economic, and political structure.⁹

Plans were discussed for a national convention to consider the political future of South Africa.

CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS AMENDMENT ACT NO. 79 OF 1973

A Constitution and Elections Amendment Bill was introduced by the Minister of the Interior during April, and was referred to a Select Committee before its Second Reading. After hearing evidence, this committee drafted an amended Bill, which was adopted by Parliament.

It contained a large number of provisions relating to the registration of voters (continuous registration will take place), and the conduct of elections. Many of these provisions are to apply, too, to the election of members of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and the Coloured Council for South West Africa.

At present, the House of Assembly consists of 166 members, 160 of them elected by white voters in the Republic, and 6 by white voters in South West Africa. The quota per electoral division in the Republic is obtained by dividing the total number of registered voters by 160. However, if an electoral division has an area of 10 000 square miles (approximately 26 000 square kilometres) or more, the delimitation commission may reduce the number of voters in this division to 8 000 or a number equal to 70 per cent of the quota, whichever is the greater. The number of seats per province has, thus, altered from time to time according to the distribution of the population. In 1973 it was:

⁹ *Star*, 14 August.

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	73
Cape	...	...	...	...	54
Natal	...	...	...	...	18
Free State	...	...	...	...	15
					<hr/>
					160

When introducing the revised Bill,¹ the Minister of the Interior said that the number of seats per province was to become fixed, because, proportionately, the numbers of voters in the Cape and Free State were not increasing as rapidly as were those in the Transvaal and Natal. The number in rural areas of the Cape and Free State had decreased.

In terms of the new Act, the House of Assembly will consist of 165 members elected in the Republic and, as before, 6 elected in South West Africa. The distribution of seats in the Republic will be:

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	76
Cape	...	...	...	...	55
Natal	...	...	...	...	20
Free State	...	...	...	...	14
					<hr/>
					165

These numbers will not be altered until a period of ten years has elapsed from the date of commencement of the Amendment Act. The average quota for the Republic will be obtained by dividing the number of white voters on the current lists by 165, provided that in the case of an electoral division with an area of 25 000 square km. or more, the delimitation commission may reduce the number of voters to a number equal to 70 per cent of the quota.

At present, a provincial council has the same number of members as are elected in that province for the House of Assembly, except that there must be a minimum of 25. The numbers in 1973 were, in consequence:

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	73
Cape	...	...	...	...	54
Natal	...	...	...	...	25
Free State	...	...	...	...	25

According to the Amendment Act, provincial councils will consist of the same number of members as are elected in the province for the House of Assembly, provided that in any province whose representatives in the Assembly are fewer than 20, the provincial council will consist of twice as many members as the number of representatives of that province in the Assembly. In

¹ Assembly 12 June, Hansard 18 cols. 8928-36.

such case, each electoral division for the Assembly in that province will be divided by the commission into two electoral divisions of the provincial council, each containing as nearly as possible an equal number of voters. The number of provincial council seats will, accordingly, be:

Transvaal	...	...	...	...	76
Cape	...	...	...	...	55
Natal	...	...	...	...	20
Free State	...	...	...	...	28

The new Act provides that the life of a provincial council shall normally be five years, but the State President may by proclamation dissolve all provincial councils with effect from the same date. Should a provincial council dissolve by effluxion of time during the existence of a House of Assembly, the State President may by proclamation extend the duration of the provincial council for a period not exceeding 18 months. If, however, the Assembly is dissolved before the 18 months has expired, the provincial council may be dissolved, too.

The object of these provisions is to make it possible for elections for the House of Assembly and for the provincial councils to be held on the same day.

The United Party supported the Second Reading of the Bill. It was opposed by Mrs. Helen Suzman, for the Progressive Party, because it:

- perpetuated the existing disparity between the values of the votes of urban and rural electors;
- introduced a disparity between the values of the votes of electors in the different provinces;
- might reduce the importance of provincial issues by submerging them in the politics of national elections.

Mrs. Suzman claimed that the measure would operate to the disadvantage of the Transvaal.²

² Hansard 18 col 8946.

Survey and further information was given on page 65 of the 1972 *Survey*. The Minister of the Interior has estimated that some 2 600 000 White people hold identity cards, of whom some 440 000 have received the new documents. It will probably take three years before the new documents have been issued to all White South Africans.¹¹

Dr. Trefor Jenkins, head of the S.A. Medical Research Institute's department of sero-genetics and his deputy Dr. G. Nurse have questioned the validity of the Government's methods of determining a person's racial group.¹²

A Population Registration and Identity Documents Amendment Bill was introduced in 1973 and later promulgated as Act No. 36 of 1973. It is directed, in the main, at tightening administrative controls upon the racial classification of people classified as "Bantu". It is a measure with retrospective effect to 1953 regularising the *de facto* exercise of powers delegated to the Secretary of the Interior by the head of the Bantu Reference Bureau and his personnel. It entitles specified officials administratively to notify people who have been issued with an (African) reference book that they have been classified as members of an indicated ethnic group and also to seize any other identity documents in which their race is not reflected as "Native" or "Bantu".

¹¹ Hansard 12 col. 811, 4 May.

¹² *Sunday Tribune*, 24 June.

MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS

DEFENCE

Defence Amendment Act, No. 26 of 1973

In terms of the Defence Act, No. 44 of 1957 as amended, "service in defence of the Republic" means military service in time of war, or in connection with the discharge of the obligations of the Republic arising from any agreement between the Republic and any other nation.

The Amendment Act extends this definition to include service by a member of the Defence Force expressly designated by the Minister or by a person acting on the express authority of the Minister to perform any function relating to the combating of terrorism within the meaning of that term under the Terrorism Act of 1967, while such member is engaged in any activity connected with the performance of such function.

Under the Moratorium Act, No. 25 of 1963, "service" means continuous service in the Citizenship Force. The 1973 Act extends this definition to include continuous service in a commando.

When introducing the Bill, the Minister of Defence said¹ it was only fair that all members of the Defence Force who were disabled or killed on duty should be treated alike as far as pensions and other benefits were concerned.

Proposed expenditure on Defence

According to the official Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1973-4,² a sum of R447 022 000 was allocated to Defence, which is R111 686 000 more than in the previous year, and almost 14 per cent of the total sum voted for all departments of State. A further R25 000 000 was voted in the Supplementary Estimates.³ More than half of the total sum is required for the procurement of armaments and contributions to the Defence Special Equipment Account.

The Departments of Public Works and of Community Development expect to spend more than R30-million from Loan Account⁴ on works for the Defence Department.

¹ Assembly, 19 March, Hansard 7 cols. 2931-2.

² R.P. 2/1973 page 57.

³ R.P. 6/1973.

⁴ R.P. 3/1973.

Notes on Defence equipment

The Minister of Defence announced in January⁵ that, after extensive research, the Armaments Development and Production Corporation had developed and built a vehicle able to trace and destroy landmines planted by guerrillas.

During March the Prime Minister officially opened the recently completed subterranean maritime communications headquarters at Silvermine, sunk into the slopes of Constantia Mountain. The centre is stated⁶ to be able to remain operational even in the event of a nuclear or bacteriological attack. It contains computers which collate and process a continually up-to-date picture of air and sea traffic round the coasts of Africa. In time of war, they could predict the movement of enemy ships and aircraft and plan counter-action.

On 14 September *The Star* quoted two international magazines, *Air Enthusiast* and *Flight International*, in reporting that early in 1974 South Africa was to take delivery of the first of 48 Mirage F1 fighters (successors to the Mirage III). The initial batch would be constructed in France, but later the South African Atlas Aircraft Corporation would contribute some components, undertake final assembly, and, by 1977, produce the aircraft itself under licence. The F1 is stated⁷ to be able to land and take off in half a kilometre, and to attain a speed of Mach 2.2.

The overseas magazines stated that Italy was to supply South Africa with 20 Aermacchi MB 326 K single-seat close support and operational trainers. These are improved versions of the Impala being made under licence by the Atlas Aircraft Corporation. As the S.A. Air Force had ordered more than 100 of them, preparations were being made to phase the new model on to the Impala assembly line at Atlas. The S.A. Army Air Corps was to obtain 40 Aermacchi AM 3 C reconnaissance aircraft, it was stated.

VOTE FOR SECURITY SERVICES

Included in the Prime Minister's Vote from Revenue Account for 1973-4⁸ is an amount of R9 043 000 as a contribution to the Security Services Special Account created in terms of Act 81/1969. This is R3 543 000 more than the sum voted the previous year.

GATHERINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ACT, NO. 52 OF 1973

Terms of the Act

The Gatherings and Demonstrations Bill was introduced in Parliament early in May on the unanimous recommendation of the

⁵ *Star*, 17 January.

⁶ *Star*, 8 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 March.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April.

⁸ R.P., 2/1973, page 15.

Committee on Standing Rules and Orders of the House of Assembly and the corresponding Senate Sessional Committee. Both committees were representative of both the Government and the United Party.

This measure prohibited all gatherings or demonstrations in the open air within a defined area of Cape Town. It was rendered an offence for any person:

- (a) to convene, organize, address or preside at such a prohibited gathering or demonstration, or to encourage or promote it, or by means of force or threats to cause the gathering or demonstration to be held or attendance at or participation therein to take place;
- (b) to print, publish, distribute, or in any manner circulate a notice convening, organizing, advertising, or in any manner making known such a proposed gathering or demonstration;
- (c) to attend or take part in such a gathering or demonstration;
- (d) to demonstrate in the open air in the defined area.

The maximum penalties on conviction for such offences were laid down as R300 or 6 months or both.

According to the Deputy Minister of Police,⁹ the intention of the measure was to ensure that deliberations could take place in Parliament without any disturbance in the vicinity. However, the provisions apply irrespective of whether or not Parliament is in session.

The Deputy Minister added that the area involved amounted to "hardly a square mile". It is bordered by Orange, Annandale, Mill, Buitenkant, Strand, and Long Street, and includes the Anglican Cathedral (on the steps of which demonstrations have frequently taken place) and the city campus of the University of Cape Town in Orange Street, besides the precincts of Parliament and Governmental offices.

The Act defines a "demonstration" as any demonstration by one or more persons for or against any person, cause, action, or failure to take action. A "gathering" means any assembly, concourse, or procession of any number of persons relating to or arising out of any demonstration. The words "relating to or arising out of any demonstration" were added in terms of an amendment moved by the Deputy Minister during the committee stage of the Bill in the Senate — it was reported¹⁰ that this was done as a result of representations by the Principal of the University of Cape Town, Sir Richard Luyt, in order that there should be no interference with normal university and student activities on the Orange Street campus.

The Act does not apply to bona fide divine services, funeral ceremonies or processions, official functions or processions, gather-

⁹ Assembly Hansard 14 col. 6561.

¹⁰ e.g. *Sunday Express*, 20 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 and 26 May.

ings of people who come together to view a funeral or an official function or procession, nor to any gathering or procession for which the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town has granted permission in writing.

Parliamentary debate

At the second reading debate in the Assembly, Mrs. Suzman moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

During the committee stage she opposed the measure clause by clause, moving various amendments,¹¹ and continued her opposition during the third reading. She received no support from the United Party, which had agreed with the National Party on the introduction of the Bill.

Interim proclamation

Various protests, described below, were held against this Bill while it was before Parliament.

On 16 May the Minister of Justice gazetted a Government Notice, under the Riotous Assemblies Act, which was effective up to and including 30 May (on which date the new Act was gazetted). It applied to the area defined in the Act, and, therein, prohibited the assembly in any public place in the open air of any public gathering of a political nature, or which was held in protest against anything. The magistrate of Cape Town was authorized to grant exceptions.

Protests against the measure

On the morning of 15 May, members of the Black Sash, carrying placards, stood in silent protest in Government Avenue, near an entrance to Parliament.

A citizens' protest committee organized a silent demonstration at lunch-time that day on the steps of St. George's Anglican Cathedral, nearby in Wale Street. A number of people representing various organizations or coming in their private capacities joined in this demonstration, watched by a large crowd. According to various reports¹² uniformed members of the police ordered the crowd to disperse, took the names and addresses of 47 protesters, and confiscated a poster reading "We protest". Questioned in the Assembly by Mrs. Suzman,¹³ the Deputy Minister of Police said that the persons concerned were required to furnish their names for the purposes of summoning should the public prosecutor decide to do so, in terms of an Administrator's Notice of 1946. The poster was confiscated in case it was required as an exhibit. The

¹¹ c.r. Hansard 14 cols. 6463-9.

¹² c.r. Cape Times, 16 May.

¹³ Hansard 14 col. 890.

47 persons were, subsequently, summoned to appear in the magistrate's court.

On the following day, a number of university students carrying placards staged a protest on the steps of the Cathedral. The Divisional Inspector of Police read out a notice signed by the Chief Magistrate, temporarily banning all gatherings at this venue in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act. The police then arrested 42 students and one juvenile who did not disperse. The 42 persons appeared next day in the magistrate's court, and were released on bail of R10 each.¹⁴

On 17 May a large number of students staged a picket protest on the Orange Street campus of the university. Members of the public watched from outside. The police came several times to warn the students to disperse, and eventually arrested 21 of them. They were released on bail of R50.¹⁵

Shortly before the trial of the first group of 42 students was due, it was announced that the Attorney General had withdrawn the charges against them, and also against the remaining 21 students and the 47 members of the public.¹⁶

FOURTEEN-DAY BAN ON CERTAIN GATHERINGS IN PARTS OF THE TRANSVAAL

The death of Mr. A. E. Timol while under detention was described on page 98 of last year's *Survey*. The police alleged that he had jumped through a tenth-floor window at police headquarters in Johannesburg, where he had been taken for interrogation. At the inquest, the magistrate found that he had committed suicide, and that no-one was to blame for his death.

A multi-racial rally to commemorate his death and the deaths of 21 others while under detention was planned by certain members of the public, to be held on grounds open to the public in Vrededorp, Johannesburg, on Sunday, 21 October.

On 19 October Government Notice No. R1976 of 1973 was gazetted in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, prohibiting for a 14-day period the assembly in any public place in the magisterial districts of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, the Vaal Triangle, Heidelberg, and Kempton Park, of any public gathering at which any form of state or any principle or policy of the government of a state "is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, or discussed, or which is held in protest against or in support of or in commemoration of anything".

In a statement released to the Press on the same day, the Minister of Justice said, "I deem this action expedient for the maintenance of the public peace as a result of political activities by certain individuals and organizations". He added that, in terms

¹⁴ Rand Daily Mail, 18 May.

¹⁵ Various newspapers of 18 May.

¹⁶ Cape Times, 17 August.

of the definition of a public place contained in the Riotous Assemblies Act, public gatherings which took place within the walls of a building would not be affected. Magistrates had been authorized to grant exemptions.

Students of the University of the Witwatersrand obtained permission from the university authorities for the memorial meeting to be held in the University Great Hall instead. The authorities took no action to prevent this, and the meeting was held without incident.

BANNING ORDERS ON PERSONS

The latest official list of banned persons was gazetted on 20 July, in terms of Government Notice 1229: it contained the names of 29 white and 171 black persons. Comparing this with the previous official list, published on 28 July 1972, the Press concluded that 86 names had been removed and about 50 added.

During the year under review several people have had orders renewed for third terms of five years. They include Mrs. Mary Moodley of Benoni, Mrs. Jacqueline Arenstein of Durban, and Mr. Joseph Morolong. Mr. Morolong was originally banned in 1963 after serving two years' imprisonment on Robben Island for a political offence. Since then he has been confined to his father's isolated farm in the Vryburg district. From 6 am to 6 pm he may not move more than 2½ km from his hut on the farm. During the hours of night this distance is reduced to 50 metres. He is precluded from visiting even the nearest small store.

Again, a number of ex-prisoners have been served with banning orders on their release from jail. Such orders are usually for two-year periods; but five-year orders including house arrest were issued during May to Messrs. Indris Naidoo, Reggie Vandeyar, and Shirish Nanabhai of Johannesburg after they had served ten-year sentences for sabotage.

The banning of eight white leaders of Nusas and eight black leaders of Saso is described in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with student organizations, while the subsequent banning of further blacks connected with the Black People's Convention and the Black Community Programme has been mentioned earlier. As Saso leaders were banned, others were appointed to take over their duties: some of these substitute officials were, in turn, shortly thereafter placed under restriction orders. At the time of writing seven of the substitute leaders had been banned, including the newly-appointed Saso president, Mr. Henry Isaacs. In terms of the orders, all except one of these leaders were, *inter alia*, prohibited from taking part in the activities of Saso or the BPC.

Three of the banned Saso leaders, Jerome Modisane, Bokwe Mafuna, and Nyameko Barney Pityana, were convicted of a contravention of their banning orders. Mr. Modisane's sentence was suspended, Mr. Mafuna's sentence was partly suspended (he was

jailed for three months), and Mr. Pityana was imprisoned for 18 weeks. Mr. Mafuna disappeared soon after his release: it was reported that he had left the country illegally. Philippe le Roux of Nusas was arrested for having left Cape Town, to which area he was then restricted, and attempting to escape from South Africa without a valid passport. He was found guilty, all but six months of his sentence being conditionally suspended. The Rev. Father Cosmas Desmond was found guilty of having attended a social gathering by meeting two friends. Sentence was postponed until the end of 1974. Harry Nengwekhulu and Miss Joyce Sikakane, who were under banning orders, are reported to have escaped from the country without detection.

When Julius Mkumbuzi contravened his order for a third time, previously-suspended sentences were brought into operation and he was jailed for 18 months. Henry C. Holland and Godfrey K. Beck received short sentences for minor infringements. Mrs. Winnie Mandela and Peter Magubane, both banned persons with previous convictions, were each sentenced to 12 months for having met one another, but were released on bail pending an appeal.

The orders previously served on Mrs. Amina Cachalia and Father Cosmas Desmond were temporarily relaxed on compassionate grounds. When Sabelo S. Ntwasa qualified at the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice he was granted permission to attend church services on Sundays: he could then assist in Anglican services as a sub-deacon although he could not preach sermons.

In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, it is illegal to print and/or publish and/or disseminate the utterances or statements of a person subject to a banning order. According to various Press reports,¹⁷ on 3 January Mr. Patrick Laurence, a reporter on *The Star*, posted to a colleague in London, from a Johannesburg street letter box, an article quoting the banned former-P.A.C. leader, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, with a covering letter stating that this was intended for possible publication in *The Observer*. The documents are stated never to have reached Mr. Laurence's colleague. The envelope was, apparently, opened by an unknown person in Britain, and the documents were then sealed in another envelope and sent to the Commissioner of the S.A. Police in South Africa. On 3 August, Mr. Laurence was found guilty of attempting to publish the utterances of a banned person, and given a sentence of 18 months, conditionally suspended for three years.

BANISHMENT OF AFRICANS

The banishment of Africans in terms of Section 5(1)(b) of the Bantu Administration Act of 1927 has been described in previous issues of this *Survey*. Between 1948 and 1966 some 156 men

¹⁷ e.g. *Star*, 3 and 6 August.

and women were banished, often to remote farms for indefinite periods. It appears that, following extensive publicity, the Government has taken no action under this Section since then. From information given by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration in reply to a question in the Assembly on 27 March,¹⁸ it would seem that the last eight of the banishment orders that were still in force were withdrawn during 1972.

REMOVAL ORDERS IN THE TRANSKEI

Under the 1960 emergency regulations for the Transkei, which are still in force, authorized chiefs there may order any African to move with his household from one place to another in the district concerned, temporarily or permanently. Mrs. Suzman asked the Deputy Minister of Police how many persons were subject to such removal orders at the end of 1972, but was told¹⁹ that chiefs were not accountable to his department.

LEGISLATION DEALING WITH CITIZENSHIP AND RESIDENCE IN THE REPUBLIC

South African Citizenship Amendment Act, No. 41 of 1973

This Act amends section 19 *bis* of the principal Act of 1949. It provides for the deprivation of South African citizenship in the case of South African citizens who have also the citizenship or nationality of another country, where it appears not to be in the public interest that such a citizen should continue to be a South African citizen.

The decision of the Minister of the Interior with regard to the deprivation of citizenship is not subject to appeal to or review by any court of law, and no person is entitled to be furnished with any reasons for such decision.

During the second reading debate, the Minister stated¹ that these provisions were aimed at drug pedlars, but conceded that their application was not limited to such persons. Both the United Party and the Progressive Party opposed the measure on the ground that the powers to be assumed by the Minister were far too wide.

Aliens Control Act, No. 40 of 1973

The Aliens Control Act rendered it illegal for anyone to employ, have business dealings with, or harbour any alien who is not in possession of a valid temporary residence permit, and other than in accordance with any conditions specified in the permit. The

¹⁸ Hansard 8 col. 534.

¹⁹ Hansard 9 col. 615.

¹ Assembly Hansard 2 cols. 711-5, 729.

conditions may include the period during which the holder may remain, the area of the Republic in which he may be, and the type of work (if any) that he is entitled to perform. Specified categories of persons may be exempted by the Minister.

These provisions withdrew the concession in regard to work permits that had previously applied in the case of white citizens of Britain, Eire, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Rhodesia, and certain other African states. Like other foreigners, those wishing to take up employment or to study at South African educational institutions must obtain permission before they enter the Republic.

The Act did not affect existing laws and regulations governing the admission of workers from southern African states who enter the country in accordance with special inter-state labour agreements.

TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

Statistics

Questioned in the Assembly on 15 February,² the Minister of the Interior said that statistics for 1972 relating to passports were not yet available. In 1971, 154 907 applications had been granted and 191 refused.

On 2 March, he stated³ that during 1972, three Whites, one Asian, and one African were granted and allowed to make use of permanent departure permits.

Some people who were refused travel documents

The withdrawal of the passports of members of the Christian Institute who refused to testify before the Schlegbusch Commission is described on page 38.

Among other church workers who were affected during 1973 was pastor (Miss) R. Becher of the Methodist Church, who since 1967 had worked among the Coloured community in Cape Town. Her applications for a renewal of her temporary residence permit and for permanent residence were refused.

Two Dominican priests who had worked among Africans were refused re-entry permits after they had taken leave overseas: they were Father Peter Sanders and Father Edmund Hill. A leading Dutch theologian, Professor Hendrikus Berkhof, was invited to attend a workshop run by churchmen, most of whom were members of the three Dutch Reformed Churches, but when the authorities discovered that he was a member of the central commission of the World Council of Churches he was denied a visa. An American, Professor W. B. Keeney, was to have been seconded for two

² Hansard 2 col. 99.

³ Hansard 4 col. 268.

years to the S.A. Council of Churches, but his application for a temporary residence permit was unsuccessful. A visa granted to Miss Ann Lowell, an American church worker, was cancelled and she was deported. She had been secretary to the Rt. Rev. Colin Winter after the latter's expulsion from South West Africa in 1972. According to the Minister of the Interior,⁴ she had misrepresented the purpose of her visit, stating that it was for sightseeing, whereas in fact she wanted to involve herself in Bishop Winter's church affairs. Visas were refused, also, to two Lutheran ministers, the Rev. C. Krause and the Rev. J. Hasselhorn, who had been invited to attend a church conference in Johannesburg in October.⁵

Among members of the laity whose passports were withdrawn were Mr. Christopher Mokoditso and other Saso student leaders, and at least eight leaders of Nusas. Certain of these students were among those who were subsequently banned.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Sonny Leon, applied for a renewal of his passport, and for passports for his wife, daughter, and son. All were refused. The circumstances and repercussions are mentioned on page 18. A few months after his banning order had been lifted Dr. G. M. Naicker requested passports for his wife and himself. His application, too, was rejected.

Two people who had been invited to a workshop of the Abe Bailey Institute of Inter-Racial Studies were denied visas: they were Mrs. Karin Himmelstrand of the Swedish International Development Agency and Mr. Phenius Sithole, a Rhodesian African trade union leader. (His co-delegate was admitted.) Miss Yuko Gijima from Japan, who was engaged to marry a white Natal farmer, was refused admission, as was an Australian student leader, Mr. Neil McLean.

Several medical men from overseas have been debarred from coming to or remaining in South Africa: this matter is described in the chapter of this *Survey* dealing with Health.

⁴ *Star*, 16 August.
⁵ *Sunday Express*, 30 September.

CONTROL OF MEDIA OF COMMUNICATION

PUBLICATIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS

Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963 as amended

Provision was made in this measure for the establishment of a Publications Control Board, with the following functions:

- (a) to examine any locally-produced publication if a member of the public requests it to do so, and to decide whether or not the publication is undesirable¹ (a "publication" is defined to include any documents made public, illustrations, sound recordings, etc., but to exclude newspapers published by members of the Newspaper Press Union, and articles in scientific and technical journals that are bona fide intended for the advancement of knowledge);
- (b) to examine imported publications or other goods, and to decide whether or not these are indecent, obscene, or on any ground objectionable;
- (c) to view cinematograph films intended for public exhibition and to decide whether or not they are undesirable in their entirety, or should be cut, or should be approved subject to exhibition only to persons of a particular racial or age group, or should be approved unconditionally;
- (d) to consider whether or not any public entertainment or proposed entertainment is undesirable, or whether conditions should be imposed for its arrangement.

The Board must have not fewer than nine members, all appointed by the Minister of the Interior, of whom at least six must be persons having special knowledge of art, language, literature, or the administration of justice. Two of these six persons are designated by the Minister as chairman and vice-chairman, respectively. In 1973 the Board had five full-time and seven part-time members.

The Board appoints committees to report to it on publications, films, or entertainments. Such a committee consists of a member

¹ The Act specifies that a publication or other object will be deemed undesirable, *inter alia*, if it, or any part of it, is deemed to be indecent, obscene, offensive, harmful to public morals, blasphemous, offensive to the religious convictions of any section of the population, brings any section of the population into ridicule or contempt, is harmful to the relations between any sections, or is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare, or peace and good order. It is an offence to publish, produce, distribute, or display a publication or other object that has been declared undesirable.

GUERRILLAS AND MOVEMENTS-IN-EXILE

UNITED NATIONS CONSIDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Consideration by the UN General Assembly in 1972 of international violence and terrorism was described on page 106 of last year's *Survey*. As mentioned, it was recommended that an international convention on terrorism should be drawn up. The African and Arab blocs were adamant that any definition of international terrorism should exclude the liberation movements. A special ad hoc committee of the Assembly, representative of 35 nations, was appointed to consider the whole question.

The Committee met for nearly a month in July and August. It divided into three groups, one to try to define "international terrorism", a second to study its underlying causes, and a third to consider measures to eliminate the problem. None was able to reach any agreement.¹

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Financial assistance given by the World Council of Churches to certain liberation movements is described on page 39.

During December 1972 the U.N. General Assembly adopted by 124 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with no abstentions, a resolution sponsored by 41 African states. It called on the Secretary-General, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, to continue efforts to strengthen co-operation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. This was particularly necessary, it was stated, in assisting "the victims of colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa" and in disseminating information about "the present grave situation in that area".

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. R. Patricio, maintained that "the situation as concerns the two Portuguese states of Angola and Mozambique, integrated as they are in the multi-racial Portuguese nation, far from being grave, is very promising for the future socially, economically, and politically".

South Africa's Ambassador, Mr. Carl von Hirschberg, opposed the draft resolution "because of the imputations and the assertions it contains" which, South Africa believed, were "without foundation and unwarranted".²

It was announced during February³ that the incoming Labour Government in New Zealand had contributed about R4 500 to the

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August.

² *Ibid.*, 15 December 1972.

³ *Star*, 12 February.

UN Trust Fund to help victims of "the repressive and discriminatory practices in South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia". The previous government had declined to make any such grant.

The UN and OAU jointly organized a conference held in Oslo from 9-14 April. Costs were met by the Nordic countries. The object was announced as being to consider non-violent ways of ending colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, but, when the Norwegian Government offered to pay the travel and living costs of representatives of the liberation movements, it became clear that with their presence the conference would not confine itself to peaceful means of achieving its object. The British, American, and French governments decided not to send delegates (although representatives of non-governmental organizations in these countries attended). Delegate after delegate called for support for the armed struggle. It was reported that representatives of the liberation movements were widely accepted as the legitimate representatives of Africans in the countries of southern Africa.⁴

It was announced in May⁵ that a new All Africa Movement had been formed, with headquarters in London, constituting a broad front of the S.A. Communist Party-in-exile, the ANC-in-exile, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The object was to extend guerrilla activities in South Africa and Rhodesia. The movement was stated to have the backing of several communist countries and of certain left-wing elements in Britain. Among the leading figures were said to be Joe Slovo, Dr. Jusuf Dadoo, and Jack Hodgson.

Libya is reported⁶ to have made substantial financial contributions to the two Rhodesian nationalist movements-in-exile, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (Zapu) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu), and to have promised donations of arms and medicines.

According to a report published in September,⁷ Canada is to increase the non-military help it gives to guerrilla movements in Africa. Arab countries are doing so, too.

Other countries and organizations that are helping have been mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*.

On 8 November, the General Assembly passed a lengthy resolution which, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the legitimacy of the "struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle". This paragraph was approved by 82 votes to 12, with 23 abstentions. Botswana voted in favour of it. Lesotho, Swaziland, Malawi and South Africa absented themselves from voting on this paragraph, but Lesotho voted for the resolution as a whole.⁸

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail and Star*, 11 April.

⁵ *Sunday Express*, 20 May.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.

⁷ *Star*, 26 September.

⁸ *Star*, 9 November.

ACTIVITIES IN THE CAPRIVI STRIP AND TRAINING OF SOUTH AFRICAN PERSONNEL

The Caprivi Strip, jutting out from South West Africa between Zambia and Botswana, is administered by South Africa and patrolled by S.A. policemen, white and black.

According to a Press report,¹ guerrillas from Zambia attacked a police post on the border during January, wounding six White and one Indian policemen.

At the extreme east point of the "Strip", on the Zambezi River, its border meets those of Zambia, Rhodesia, and Botswana. The villages of Kazungulu and Kasane are in Zambia and Botswana, just to the north and south, respectively, of the river. This has for long been a point of escape to the north for refugees from the Republic and South West Africa. A ferry operated by Zambians used to operate between the two villages, but it was reported² in March that the service had been suspended. S.A. police and Zambian troops were said to have been exchanging fire across the river.

It was announced in April³ that a party of South African policemen, with a locally-employed African tracker, had been ambushed by guerrillas operating from Zambia while they were on foot patrol, well inside the borders of the "Strip". The guerrillas opened fire with machine guns, killing four policemen and the tracker. A few members of the party escaped.

During the following month several South Africans patrolling the area were injured, one seriously, when the wheel of their vehicle struck a landmine.⁴

In August, nearly 4 000 white S.A. troops were engaged in a six-day military exercise in Gazankulu, the Shangaan homeland in the northern Transvaal, which is fairly close to the Mozambique border. They temporarily recruited more than a hundred local men, nominated by the chiefs, to act as guides and trackers.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN RHODESIA

The background

As mentioned on page 109 of last year's *Survey*, there was little reported guerrilla activity in Rhodesia during most of 1972. Zanu and Zanu were said to be replanning their strategy. Heavy casualties had led to the abandonment of plans for direct armed confrontation. (The *Sunday Express* reported on 24 December 1972 that, since activities began in April 1966, at least 10 guerrillas had been killed and large numbers captured. Eighteen Rhodesian servicemen, white and black, had been killed.)

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 January.

² *Star*, 10 March.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April.

⁴ *Ibid.* 25 May.

Towards the end of 1972 the new tactics became evident. Guerrillas were no longer coming in camouflage uniforms, bearing arms and equipment, but were wearing nondescript civilian clothes, so that they could easily merge among local Africans. Their arms — lighter and more sophisticated ones — were smuggled in, in advance, and hidden in caches. They no longer sought direct confrontation, but engaged in hit and run tactics. When pursued, groups divided up, leaving a number of trails, meeting one another again some distance away. Local tribesmen were persuaded or coerced into giving assistance.

In a Press interview on 31 January¹ the Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, said that the situation was more serious than his Government had realized. Previously, security forces had been concentrated near the Zambian border. But a breakdown in security had enabled guerrillas to infiltrate tribal areas in the north-eastern corner of Rhodesia, near the Mozambique border: they had been doing so for six to seven months. The border was not easily defined, and Africans habitually moved to and fro across it. The country was extremely wild and difficult to patrol. A number of local Africans had been subverted. Some had been used as porters to bring in arms and ammunition, while others had been sent across the border for training in terrorism.

There are tribal trust lands in this area and also, around the villages of Centenary and Mount Darwin, farms owned by whites, producing mainly tobacco. It would appear, from various reports, that the infiltrators were mainly Zanu members, who had come via Mozambique with the help of Frelimo fighters in the Tete area.

Security forces were reported² to have discovered several caches of arms, including automatic rifles and pistols, light machine guns, grenades, rockets, mortars, various types of land mines, and plastic explosives, mainly of Chinese or Russian origin.

One of the new tactics used by infiltrators was to lay landmines on dirt roads (or later, in the gravel on the sides of tar strip roads).

The Rhodesian security forces were stated³ to be co-operating with Portuguese troops across the Mozambique border. They had to continue guarding the Zambian border, and, as well, began patrolling the Botswana border. Various reports⁴ have indicated that guerrillas (possibly Zanu) have attempted to infiltrate Rhodesia via Botswana, and that, early in 1973, the Botswana authorities handed over about 28 Rhodesian Africans found in their territory.

Together with some six other liberation movements operating against Portuguese territories or originating in South Africa or

¹ *Star* of that date.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 December 1972.

³ *Ibid.* 23 December 1972.

⁴ *Ibid.* 9 and 17 March.

South West Africa, Zapu and Zanu have their headquarters in the "Zambia National Liberation Secretariat" building in Lusaka, although the guerrilla bases may be in Mozambique or actually on Rhodesian soil.⁵ Further reports⁶ state that, during March, a special OAU committee with representatives from six countries visited Lusaka to try to resolve past differences between Zapu and Zanu leaders, and succeeded in obtaining an agreement for a joint political council and a joint military command. A third movement is Frolizi (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe), formed in Lusaka in about 1971 by dissidents from Zapu and Zanu.

Landmines and attacks on farms

The initial phases of the new campaign by the guerrillas were the laying of landmines and a series of armed attacks on white farmers and their property in the Centenary area of north-east Rhodesia. The first was made on 21 December 1972 on the farmhouse of Mr. M. de Borchgrave: there was firing at night, and one of his small daughters was wounded. He and the rest of his family went to stay temporarily with a friend on a neighbouring farm. Two nights later this homestead, too, was attacked. This time, Mr. de Borchgrave and his other daughter were wounded. Next day, while security forces were searching for the guerrillas, a military vehicle set off a landmine on the farm. Four soldiers were injured, one of them, a white man, so seriously that he died soon afterwards.

There were further landmine explosions on 28 December, when three white soldiers were injured, and on 4 January, when one white and two African policemen were injured. During the manoeuvres concerned at least three guerrillas were killed and several captured, but a number escaped.

Army and Air Force leave was cancelled, police reservists (including many farmers) placed on two-hour standby, and territorial soldiers warned of likely short-term recall, which began on 6 January.

On 8 January there was an attack on the village of Mount Darwin. No-one was hurt, but a bridge was slightly damaged. On the same day, two white South African policemen were killed and two injured in a landmine explosion in the Victoria Falls area.

Closing of the border with Zambia

Next day, the Rhodesian Government announced that, in spite of a number of warnings, Zambia continued to harbour guerrillas and to allow them to operate from its territory. Until it ceased to do so, Rhodesia would close all border posts, except for exports of copper from Zambia. The Zambian Government retaliated by

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 March.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 and 19 March.

closing the borders from its side and diverting copper exports. It was reported on 3 February⁷ that the border posts on the Rhodesian side were to be reopened because Mr. Smith's Government had been informed that its objects in closing them had been achieved. President Kaunda denied having made any concessions, and stated that he would consider reopening the Zambian border posts only if the Rhodesian Government began talks with African leaders who were under restriction about progress towards majority rule.⁸ (It was, however, reported subsequently⁹ that two main guerrilla camps near the southern Zambian border, between Kazungulu and Livingstone, had been removed.) Trains taking goods from S.A. to Zambia continue to cross the Victoria Falls bridge, changing locomotives halfway. The trucks are returned empty.

Between 11 January and 15 March, at least seven landmine blasts were reported, apparently in the Chirundu area of Zambia, near the point where the main road from Lusaka crosses the border into Rhodesia. It was stated that 13 Africans had been killed as a result, and 19 people injured, including women and children and a Briton. Zambia claimed that Rhodesians had laid the mines, but the Rhodesian Government firmly denied this. Several Press reports¹⁰ indicated that those responsible might, possibly, have been dissident Zambians: Zambian security men had been active in the area and had made a number of arrests.

Further attacks in the north-east, and preventive measures

On 11 January, three White Rhodesian land inspectors and eight African assistants were ambushed near Mount Darwin. Two of the Whites were murdered and the third, Mr. Gerald Hawkesworth, kidnapped. Nothing was heard of him until 5 February, when the Zanu leader, Mr. Herbert Chitepo, announced that he was being held as a prisoner-of-war in Mozambique. A little later, Zanu produced a letter from Mr. Hawkesworth to his mother, stating that he was well. On 10 October a message sent through an indirect channel again reported Mr. Hawkesworth to be well.*

The Rhodesian authorities set up roadblocks on roads in the northern part of the country. Vehicles coming from tribal areas were searched. Emergency Power (Collective Fines) Regulations were gazetted on 19 January, in terms of which such fines might be imposed on groups of Africans who failed to report the presence of guerrillas in their areas. A few days later the police seized cattle from a tribal trust farm to cover the payment of such a fine. After a clash between security forces and guerrillas in the Chiweshe tribal trust area, a little to the south of Centenary, all African schools and businesses in this area were closed by the authorities

⁷ *Sunday Times*, 4 February.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 February.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 March.

¹⁰ *c.n.*, *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January.

*He was released in December.

because, it was stated, they were regarded as security risks. A few weeks later similar action was taken in the Chesa African purchase area near Mount Darwin.

Security forces continued intensive ground and air patrols and made rocket attacks on suspected guerrilla bases. It was announced from time to time that further guerrillas had been killed, wounded, or captured: their names and the numbers captured were not revealed. Casualties were suffered, too, by the security troops and police. The emergency regulations were again amended to increase from five to twenty years the maximum sentence on being found guilty of failing to report the presence of guerrillas as soon as possible. The Air Force dropped thousands of leaflets on tribal trust lands giving warning of these severe penalties.

But violence continued in the north-eastern district. On 24 January, Mrs. Ida Kleynhans was killed and her husband severely wounded when their farm near Centenary village was assailed. About ten days later there was a rifle and grenade attack on a farm a few kilometres to the east: a British visitor, Mr. L. Jellicoe, was killed and an African employee hurt. Two farm stores were looted. Mr. F. Odendaal beat off a prolonged attack on his farm and property on 24 April: as a police reservist he had adequate weapons and returned the fire of the guerrillas. On 16 May Mr. L. E. Konig was dragged from his home in the Mount Darwin area, shot, and killed, two of his African employees were killed, and another two abducted. Mr. L. B. Couve, who farmed nearby, was shot dead on 8 June.

Further casualties resulted from landmine explosions in the north-eastern district. An African truck driver was killed near Mount Darwin in June. During September a White woman was killed and her husband injured near Centenary, and, in another incident, a White and an African were hurt. A White South African policeman was killed in October and a companion seriously injured.

Security forces operating in the region killed or captured more guerrillas, but themselves suffered casualties. Some statistics are given later.

Attacks in other parts of Rhodesia

Violence spread to other areas. In February, Zambian troops opened fire on three White Rhodesian fishermen in a boat near Chirundu, killing one and wounding the others. At about the same time, a territorial soldier was killed and his six companions injured when their truck exploded a land mine on a road not far to the north of Salisbury.

Then there were attacks on farms in the north-western districts of Rhodesia, in the Karoi area. A farm homestead was set on fire during February. Next month, following an attack on a farm

house and the looting of a store nearby which had a White woman in charge, there was a clash between security forces and guerrillas. Six of the latter were killed and a number (including Coloured men) captured. A White farmer on anti-terrorist duty was killed, and two others severely injured.

A further attack took place on a farm in the Wedza district to the south of Marandellas, a town on the railway line from Salisbury to Beira. The farmer, Mr. A. H. Joubert, was shot and killed, and a store on a neighbouring farm looted. Four guerrillas were reported to be in the area. Security forces tracked down two of them, killing one and wounding and capturing the other. A couple of weeks later an armed African, thought to be one of the band, was found in a bus at Enkeldoorn, about 130 km south of Salisbury. Security forces wounded and captured him.

Measures to protect farms

Farmers in isolated areas were advised by governmental officials to form district security committees which were incorporated into the national security network. Most of the men became police reservists and formed district Police Anti-terrorist Units (Patu), dividing their time between farming and patrolling, and while their husbands were on duty their wives did the farm work. The women mustered for field reserve training in the use of firearms, first aid, and radio operation.

The windows of farm houses were protected with screens of chicken wire as a first line of defence against hand grenades, and sandbagged inside. Some homes were surrounded by security fences. At the height of the emergency many families slept in different rooms each night, not allowing even their own employees to know their plans. Social life was curtailed to daylight hours: people invited to dinner stayed with their hosts overnight. Farmers were in radio contact with one another and the security forces.

More and more civilians were called up for duty, men in the older age groups being employed in office duties to relieve others for field work. This gradually afforded some relief to farmers, as reservists guarded vulnerable farms at night.

Penetration into towns

In March, the authorities warned townsmen that incidents of violence could not be ruled out in urban areas. Police, Whites and Africans, patrolled the streets of Salisbury. At the end of that month two armed Coloured men, alleged to be guerrillas, were arrested in Salisbury.

Mana Pools and Victoria Falls

During May a civilian, Mr. S. Escreet, was killed when the vehicle he was driving detonated a land mine in the Mana Pools

game reserve, in the far north of Rhodesia. His companion was injured. Three months later there was another landmine explosion in this reserve, injuring two members of the security forces. Two further explosions took place shortly afterwards: no details were released. It was announced on 3 October that this popular holiday resort had been closed to the public for security reasons.

On 15 May Zambian troops opened fire on four tourists who were in a gorge below the Victoria Falls, on the Rhodesian side of the border. Two young Canadian women were killed and an American man seriously wounded.

Guerrilla action against African tribesmen

It was mentioned earlier that guerrillas penetrating through Mozambique persuaded or coerced Africans in tribal areas near the border into giving assistance.

The Rhodesian Minister of Internal Affairs told Parliament on 2 May that three Africans had been executed by guerrillas for failing to help them, three African officials had been kidnapped but escaped, eighteen Africans had their huts burned and lost all their property, at least six African stores had been looted, and a number of tribesmen had been abducted for military training.

During the next few weeks three women were killed and several others maimed, guerrillas abducted 22 Africans, 12 of them women, several more stores were robbed and one burned, and two African policemen on patrol were kidnapped.

On 6 July, 17 guerrillas raided a mission school and hospital just to the north of Mount Darwin, abducting 240 pupils, 32 members of staff including teachers, nurses, and maids, and four local African women. The raiders divided into groups making forced marches along different routes through rugged country towards the border. They were hotly pursued by security forces who killed one guerrilla and rescued 191 children from one group. During the operations a schoolgirl was accidentally shot dead by an African policeman. Over the next eleven days more children and some members of staff were rescued, while others managed to escape in small groups and make their way back. It was reported on 17 July that, by then, all the children, teachers, and nurses had escaped or been rescued, but the guerrillas still held three African women maids and four local African women.

During this period, a party of African teachers from a small school set out in a truck to do shopping. The truck detonated a landmine, and two of the teachers were killed and six seriously injured. Another African vehicle driver was killed in a landmine explosion.

On 12 September guerrillas made a night raid on kraals, kidnapping about 96 people, mainly teenagers but including some adult men and women. They were split into four groups and force-marched by night towards the border. Security forces rescued

about 59 from one group and arrested their captors. Some 21 others were rescued later in small groups or succeeded in escaping. One of the boys said that the men and boys were to have been sent to Tanzania for military training. The girls were told that they would be sent to Lusaka.

The bodies of several Africans who had been murdered were found, and several women and girls were raped. On 30 September another school near Mount Darwin was raided. The African headmaster was murdered, his wife and the pupils being forced to watch.

Further amendments to the Emergency Powers (Maintenance of Law and Order) Regulations were gazetted in May, empowering the authorities to evacuate African tribesmen from the northern border area and to seize or destroy any property that might be used by guerrillas. The Minister of Information stated that people in this area could not lead normal lives because of the degree of intimidation to which they were being subjected. After screening, all those not suspected of crimes would be resettled in an area that was better watered than their present one.

Numbers killed, injured, or abducted

According to Press estimates and information given by Mr. Ian Smith, between December 1972 and 26 November, 179 guerrillas had been shot and killed or died of wounds. The number captured has not been disclosed.

Press estimates of casualties amongst Rhodesian civilians and members of the security forces (which include South African policemen) are:

- 43 civilians (including 14 whites) were murdered, died in action, or were killed in landmine blasts (the total number injured is not known);
- 26 members of the security forces were killed and 60 wounded;
- an unknown number of African civilians were abducted.

Trials of guerrillas and those assisting them

Between February and early August, at least thirteen African and one Coloured guerrillas were sentenced to death in Rhodesian courts. Of these, eleven were executed. One of the sentences was later commuted to life imprisonment. Two Coloured men were each jailed for 25 years, and two Africans each for 30 years, for entering the country as trained terrorists and for bearing arms. A number of tribesmen received jail sentences for helping guerrillas to bring weapons of war into the country (one sentence of 18 years was reported) or for failing to report the presence in their areas of guerrillas (twelve men convicted of this offence in February were each sentenced to 3½ years' hard labour).

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES IN MOZAMBIQUE

The general background

Guerrilla activity continues in the Niassa area in the extreme north-west of Mozambique adjoining Lake Malawi and the Tanzanian border, near Vila Cabral; in the Cabo Delgado area in the extreme north-east, adjoining the Tanzanian border and the sea; and in the Tete area which protrudes between Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi, where the Cabora Bassa dam is being built. The Nyaja tribes in the Niassa area and the Makonde people in the Cabo Delgado area both have close kinsmen living across the international borders and there is constant movement across these borders, hence it is comparatively easy for guerrillas to infiltrate. Moreover, in these remote areas Portuguese administration was never firmly established. Social development schemes are in recent years being accelerated, but for many years these were neglected, and tribesmen appear to have been fairly easily persuaded that they would be better off if the Portuguese left. Hence, many of them support the guerrillas — others have been coerced into doing so.

In the Tete area, too, the tribes, principally the Chewas, have close kinsmen across the international borders.¹

The Frelimo movement (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) began in the towns among educated Africans, thus it probably has considerable support there, but this is clandestine because of strict security police surveillance. Africans who have joined the security forces come mainly from the central and southern parts of the country, and have no tribal affiliations in the war zones.

Coremo (the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) is a breakaway group from Frelimo, which operates mainly in the Tete area.

In recent months there has been a fourth front; Frelimo guerrillas coming from Zambia via the Tete district have penetrated further south, to the Vila Pery and Beira districts.

Portugal maintains about 60 000 troops in Mozambique, some 58 per cent of them Africans.² According to various reports quoting the Portuguese military command, during 1972 they killed 1 428 guerrillas, as against a monthly average of 18 Portuguese soldiers killed and 29 seriously wounded, mainly through mine blasts. About 300 guerrillas were captured or surrendered. During the first six months of 1973, 823 guerrillas were killed or seriously wounded and 82 were captured or surrendered.

It was stated that since the war began in 1964, the guerrillas had killed 689 civilians (nearly all Africans) and injured nearly

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 February.

² *Ibid.*

³ *c. a. Star*, 29 January and 5 July; *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 February and 17 July.

2 000. An estimated 6 500 people had been abducted to join the fighting forces or to act as bearers. Many were murdered because they refused to assist the guerrillas, and others killed or maimed by the explosion of landmines. In order to protect tribesmen in threatened areas and to prevent them from assisting guerrillas the Portuguese authorities have moved many of them into large protected villages. Leaflets warning against subversion have been scattered from the air, and similar warnings given through loudspeakers in the aircraft.

In the Tete, Vila Pery, and Beira areas the bush has been cleared or thinned along main roads and the railway lines. Armoured rail cars patrol the line, and troops the main roads, to search for land mines. River crossings are guarded by troops in their camouflage uniforms.

Niassa area

There has been considerably less fighting in this area during 1973. It was reported in October⁴ that, five months previously, a group of adults and children had been kidnapped from a village near Vila Cabral and marched to Tanzania. The five children in the group, aged from six to eleven years, were sent to a school where there were numbers of others who had been abducted by Frelimo. After some time, however, they escaped and made their way back to Mozambique through thick bush country. An army patrol found them wandering there.

Cabo Delgado area

Hit and run tactics have been continued, but in the Cabo Delgado area there are reported to have been six or more major attacks as well. One, in May, was on a village being built at Nangade to accommodate Makonde tribesmen. There were, apparently, no casualties from the mortar and rocket firing, but the building operations were impeded by the mining of roads to the coast and ambushing of supply convoys.⁵

An isolated Portuguese military post at Nazombe, 20 km from the Tanzanian border, was attacked by about 400 Frelimo men in June. They were repulsed and more than 50 of them killed, the Portuguese losing 10 men.⁶ During August, Frelimo bombarded a coastal town, about 110 km south of the Tanzanian border and four protected villages nearby, firing rockets, mortars, and automatic guns. They killed four people, wounded 49, and abducted 62 from one of the villages, mainly women and children.⁷ Another village, of 67 huts, was burned down in November, and 44 hostages abducted. A Frelimo leader who defected to the

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 June.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 June.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 10 August.

Portuguese said that Chinese advisers in Tanzania were helping to direct these attacks.⁸

Portuguese Army Special Groups tracked down some of the guerrillas responsible for these actions, reportedly killing 100 of them. Some of the troops were wounded: details were not given.⁹

Tete area

Guerrillas have continued to lay landmines on the road through the Tete area that links Rhodesia with Malawi, blowing up trucks, and have attacked convoys with brief bursts of firing. A landmine on the Beira-Tete railway line derailed the engine and six trucks of a goods train during February. There was a more severe explosion in May: two engines and sixteen trucks were badly damaged, the two drivers and two firemen killed, and seven railwaymen injured.

In the Tete area, too, there have been frontal attacks. In March a party of guerrillas estimated to number 100 crossed from Zambia and fired on a military post 10 km from the border. They were repulsed after several hours. Two weeks earlier another outpost had been unsuccessfully attacked. During July guerrillas fired a number of rockets at Estima, the command centre for forces defending the Cabora Bassa dam project. On 14 August rockets were fired at the town of Tete but did no harm to buildings there because troops prevented the guerrillas from getting within adequate range. A counter-attack was launched, heavy Frelimo casualties being reported.¹⁰

Many other guerrillas, said to be more than 200,¹¹ have been killed by troops on patrol or attacking Frelimo camps.

Some tribesmen are reported to have fled across the border into Rhodesia to escape the warfare. Others fled to Malawi when, on 24 October, guerrillas burned down their village of about 80 huts because they had refused to provide shelter and food.

Vila Pery and Beira districts

A first group of 90 guerrillas is said to have penetrated to the south of Tete late in 1972, and by June there were estimated to be 400 of them in the Vila Pery and Beira districts. By then they had killed about 20 people, including police and government officials, mainly in ambushes along roads. The authorities admitted that these infiltrators had had success in subverting local people, and it was planned to resettle nearly 250 000 Africans scattered in homes in the bush into villages that could be guarded. Frelimo's initial plans were, apparently, to strike at the power line being built to link the hydro-electric scheme at Cabora Bassa

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August.

⁹ *Star*, 31 July.

¹⁰ *Star*, 15 August.

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 January; *Star*, 31 July.

with the S.A. power network, to attack sugar and cotton estates, road traffic, and tourist resorts.¹²

At the time of writing the guerrillas had not penetrated as far south as the Beira-Rhodesia road and railway line. On 1 July, however, they opened fire on a light aircraft that landed at a tourist camp to the north of the Gorongosa Game Reserve (which is roughly 150 km from Beira by road). Of the four occupants of the aircraft, one was killed and two wounded. On 19 July about 90 rounds of automatic fire were shot at the main Chitengo tourist camp in the game reserve. No-one was hurt, but some buildings were damaged.

During the same month, two paratroopers were killed in an ambush along a road running to the north of the reserve, and trucks passing along this road were shot up.

Allegations of atrocities

According to Press reports during January,¹³ two Roman Catholic priests who had been in jail for some 18 months finally appeared in a military court in Lourenço Marques on charges of having made seditious statements. They had, apparently, alleged that troops had set fire to some African huts, burning at least eight Africans to death. One of the priests was reported to have been given a suspended sentence of 20 months plus a fine of about R36, and the other a sentence of 5 months plus a fine of about R123. It seems that they left Mozambique afterwards. Two more priests were in jail awaiting trial.

A British priest and three Spaniards (who had all been expelled from Mozambique) alleged¹⁴ that there had been four massacres in the Tete area. In the latest and worst, occurring towards the end of 1972, Portuguese forces had bombed a village and subsequently razed it to the ground, killing more than 400 people. One of the priests said he had seen an old man lynched and three men and a woman shot, their bodies then being burned.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces categorically denied these allegations.¹⁵ Out of 300 to 400 priests working in the war zones, he said, only seven had made allegations of atrocities. Over a period of 2½ years ten such occurrences had been reported, eight of which reports, on investigation, proved to be false. Two soldiers were to be tried, one for having killed two people in the Cabo Delgado area, and the other for having killed three or four in the Tete district. Some civilians inevitably suffered in the fighting, he added, for example if they were present in an enemy base that was bombed. But efforts were made to prevent this. A base from which Frelimo penetrated to the

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 June.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17 and 27 January.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 July; *Star*, 13 July.

¹⁵ *Star*, 13 July.

south had recently been bombed, but 15 days beforehand the people there had been warned from an aircraft which flew low and used sky-shouting equipment and dropped thousands of leaflets. But civilian casualties resulting from such bombings were totally different from purposeful killing, which was completely contrary to official policy. The Portuguese embassy in Pretoria stated that the British priest had been expelled because of his proved complicity with Frelimo.

It was reported during the following month¹⁶ that senior army officers had been rigorously examining the allegations. Court martial action was to follow the discovery of at least one case of what appeared to have been unnecessary killing in a village in the Tete area. Some human remains had been found among charred personal possessions.

On 25 September it was announced¹⁷ that the Governor and Military Commander of the Tete district had been dismissed suddenly. He was ultimately responsible for the area, and, whether he knew of it or not, it seemed that a massacre had, in fact, taken place on 16 December 1972 at Wiliamo Village. During a hunt for guerrillas, black and white troops had shot at about 100 civilians, of whom 20 to 30 survived. No information had come to light about the 400 casualties mentioned by the priests.

It would appear that there may have been Frelimo casualties that were not attributable to enemy action. The Frelimo leader who defected to the Portuguese in July was reported¹⁸ to have said that he did so because he had received orders from his superiors in Tanzania to kill his own men if they showed signs of cowardice or disillusion.

The two priests who remained in jail were formally charged in August¹⁹ with treason and subversion. It was alleged that they had given direct help to Frelimo guerrillas, had encouraged local tribesmen to co-operate with them, and had spread false information about massacres. They would be tried in open court before a military tribunal.

It was announced on 16 November, however, that the Portuguese Government had granted an amnesty for certain classes of prisoners, which would apply to the two priests. They were repatriated to Spain.

ANGOLA

It appears that there have been no major developments in Angola during the year under review. The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), based in Zambia, appears still to be the most active of the guerrilla movements.

¹⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August.

¹⁷ *Star*, 25 September.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 August.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 August.

It operates in the south-east of the territory. In this area, as in Mozambique, the Portuguese have resettled many tribesmen in defended villages. Holden Roberto's UPA (Union of the Peoples of Angola), based in Zaire, operates in the north of the territory.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA

The guerrilla force attacking Portuguese Guinea is the PAIGC (African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde). Its leader, Amilcar Cabral, was assassinated in January, apparently by the leader of a dissident faction. There was stated¹ to have been friction between the fighters and the intellectual leadership, and between Coloured Cape Verdeans and Africans.

In a Press interview on 25 January, the Portuguese Governor-General indicated that not many of the Africans of the Portuguese Province of Guinea supported the PAIGC. Close on half of the troops in the territory were local Africans. The government was engaged in a vigorous programme of social upliftment.

In spite of the internal difficulties within the PAIGC, it apparently continued its offensive. A Lisbon report in June² stated that there had been heavy fighting. Over a 14-day period, at least 183 guerrillas and 38 Portuguese soldiers had been killed.

The guerrillas are said³ to possess Russian ground-to-air missiles with which they shot down several aircraft.

It was reported in October⁴ that the PAIGC controlled large parts of the countryside, but not the towns. In mid-1973, regional councils elected in fifteen areas set up a central PAIGC council of state, and declared this to be the new government of the country. Several states have already recognized it as such.

In a letter to the *Star*,⁵ however, the Portuguese Ambassador in South Africa quoted from a speech made by the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, to the UN General Assembly.

The PAIGC was established in the Republic of Guinea/Conakry, he said, and not in the Portuguese Province of Guinea. During a Press conference at the UN Headquarters Dr. Patricio had stated that the Portuguese Government would welcome a visit by a senior UN office-bearer to any part of the Portuguese Province, at any time that such an official so wished.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 January; *Star*, 29 January.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 June.

³ *Star*, 4 July.

⁴ *Star*, 11 October, and the *Economist*, 6 October.

⁵ 20 October.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GENERAL

In his New Year radio broadcast, the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, said that "the tempo with which (the ever-increasing menace of violence and terrorism) escalated, the moral and financial support it received from churches and other sources, the steady flow of better and more dangerous arms from communist countries it could rely upon and the unwillingness of the United Nations to deal effectively with this ever-increasing menace, is one of the legacies of 1972 that will hang like a millstone round the necks of all of us in 1973".¹ He later gave three major guidelines which, in his opinion, will determine the Republic's international relationships over the next twenty-five years. These were: (a) "the country would remain a member of the United Nations because this was her right, because the UN was an important international forum" . . . while not accepting "the United Nations as a world Parliament or a supranational organisation with prescriptive or executive powers" . . . "until such time as the organisation made further membership impossible"; (b) "South Africa would try to maintain and expand her material and spiritual bonds with the free Western nations in a community of mutual interest"; and (c) "South Africa would continue to seek — on the basis of her own inviolable national integrity and national sovereignty — good neighbourly co-operative relationships with states in Africa, including the states within South Africa's immediate sphere of interest".²

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said that in February 43 countries were represented in South Africa (some at consular level only), while in April, the Republic was also represented in 41 countries (again, in some instances, at consular level only) and at 4 international organisations.³ Among the setbacks in the field of foreign relations listed by the Minister were: (a) the break in good relations with the Malagasy Republic caused by a change of government in that country; (b) the decision to postpone the exchange of consular representatives between the Republic and Lesotho "as a result of circumstances beyond our control"; (c) an increasing swing to the left shown by elections in some parts of the world which could lead to increased pressure on South Africa; (d) the admission of China to the UN; and (e)

¹ Foreign investment in South Africa is covered in the section on "employment".

² *Star*, 2 January.

³ *Star*, 3 August.

⁴ Hansard 2 cols. 114-6, 16 February; and 9 cols. 572-4, 3 April. (Full lists of the countries and representatives were given.)

⁵ *Star*, 1 May

many resolutions aimed at encouraging the UN to bring sanctions against South Africa and to support "terrorists".

THE UNITED NATIONS

Events in the UN dealing with South West Africa (Namibia) and guerrilla movements are covered in the relevant sections of this *Survey*.

In a resolution at the end of 1972 which was adopted by 89 votes to eight, with eighteen abstentions, the General Assembly strongly condemned the policies of those North Atlantic Treaty Organisation members, and other powers, which "assist Portugal and other racist regimes in Africa and elsewhere in their suppression of people's aspirations for, and enjoyment of, human rights".⁶ A later resolution calling on governments to prevent their nationals, and corporations under their control, from taking part in the Cabora Bassa and Kunene River projects was adopted by 106 votes to six (Canada, France, Portugal, South Africa, Britain, and the United States) with 15 abstentions. This resolution declared that the projects were intended to "entrench colonialist and racialist domination over the territories in Africa and are a source of international tension".⁷

From 9 to 14 April a conference "to draw up a programme of action designed to accelerate the decolonisation process and wipe out apartheid in Southern Africa" was held under UN auspices in Oslo. Britain, France, and the United States were not officially represented. The travel expenses and living allowances of 18 representatives of nine African "liberation movements" were covered by the Norwegian Government while the other Nordic countries made voluntary contributions to cover the costs of the conference. A militant line appears to have been adopted.⁸

In September the Minister of Foreign Affairs defended South Africa's membership of the UN at the National Party's Orange Free State congress.⁹

The new president of the General Assembly, Dr. Leopoldo Benites, of Ecuador, has condemned apartheid and expressed support for African guerrilla groups.¹⁰

The UN General Assembly opened its three-week political debate with attacks by Singapore, Norway, and Ireland on South Africa's apartheid policies.¹¹ Canada said that it would increase humanitarian aid to African guerrilla movements.¹²

African countries successfully delayed the South African Foreign Minister's address to the General Assembly but the chair-

⁶ *Id.*, 13 December 1972.

⁷ *Id.*, 15 December 1972.

⁸ *Id.* and *Daily Mail*, 4 January and 12 April; *Star*, 4 January, 11 and 16 April.

⁹ *Id.* and *Daily Mail*, 20 September.

¹⁰ *Id.*, 19 September.

¹¹ *Id.*, 25 September.

¹² *Id.*, 26 September.

man ruled that South Africa's membership of the world body was not affected by an Assembly rejection of her credentials.¹³ The UN special political committee decided to allow representatives of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, both banned in South Africa, to be seated without voting rights and to take part in its debates.¹⁴ This met with considerable resistance from some states.¹⁵

AFRICA

General

South African exports to African countries rose by 4 per cent to R305 600 000 in 1972, while imports from Africa rose by 19 per cent to R152 300 000, giving South Africa a favourable trade balance of R153 300 000.¹

The inaugural conference of the Southern African Students' Union was held at Roma (Lesotho) in June. Countries officially represented at the conference were: South Africa and South West Africa (Namibia) — represented by the Black South African Students' Organisation after the National Union of South African Students had withdrawn — Rhodesia, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland. This conference firmly rejected the establishment of diplomatic relations between independent African states and the Republic. It also, however, called on the UN and the OAU to abandon economic sanctions against the "White minority fascist regimes" of Southern Africa.²

A Southern Africa Regional Tourist Council (S.A.R.T.O.C.) comprising South Africa, Portugal, Malawi, Swaziland, and Mauritius has been established.³

The Organisation of African Unity

The Secretary-General of the OAU, Mr. Nzo Ekwangki, said that the UN should go to war if South Africa continued to defy its resolutions.⁴ Nigeria's Commissioner of Trade, Mr. Weneke Briggs, said that an OAU economic alliance would be an obvious weapon against white-dominated Southern Africa.⁵

Lesotho

In April Lesotho's Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, sharply criticised world powers for selling arms to white minority regimes in Southern Africa "to perpetuate racial oppression and retard political progress of the black majorities".¹ Chief Jonathan

¹³ *Star*, 5 and 6 October; *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October.

¹⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 October.

¹⁵ *Star*, 18 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, and *Star*, 26 June.

³ Department of Information. Press Release 62/73 (K), 12 March 1973.

⁴ *Star*, 25 May.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 September.

¹ *Ibid.*, 30 April; *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May

also said, "We shall not cease to give moral support and any other possible support to our fellow men in the liberation movements who are still struggling to free themselves from the yoke of colonialism and racial oppression." The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs described as a "disappointment" the fact that the exchange of consular representatives between the two countries had not been implemented.² Chief Jonathan said that apartheid stood in the way of an exchange of relations at consular level.³

A boundaries commission is apparently to be established to investigate Lesotho's claims to land in the Orange Free State and the Cape.⁴

The South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, later criticised the Lesotho Government and laid the blame for the further deterioration in relations between the countries at Chief Jonathan's door.⁵ (See also the section on mining.)

Swaziland

There were no new developments of importance in relations between Swaziland and South Africa.

Botswana

A joint communique issued in September by the President of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, which expressed "full support for the struggle of oppressed people are waging in all the unliberated areas of Africa, including Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Namibia and Zimbabwe" caused consternation in certain Government circles in South Africa. The office of Botswana's President later issued a statement which said *inter alia*: "... the position taken by Sir Seretse . . . has caused hysteria in certain quarters, and given rise to speculation that Botswana has changed its policy towards its neighbours . . . It is the wish of Botswana that these (human) rights be achieved by peaceful means, but where this is not possible, the government has publicly expressed its understanding when the people concerned decide to resort to violent means . . . In Botswana's exposed and defenceless position we cannot allow ourselves to be used as a springboard for violence against the minority regimes which surround us."⁶

Rhodesia

In response to Rhodesia's closure of her border with Zambia the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, issued the following statement¹

¹ *Hansard* 12 col. 5419, 30 April.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 August.

³ *Sunday Tribune*, 13 May; *Sunday Times*, 17 June.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

⁵ *Star*, 5 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September.

⁶ *Star*, 19 January

"In his statement the Prime Minister of Rhodesia explained the circumstances which compelled his country, in its own interest and for the protection of the life and property of its citizens, to close its border with Zambia.

"From experience I know that Rhodesia did not seek this confrontation. Zambia, on the other hand, had done nothing of its part to prevent it or to promote good neighbourly relations and must throughout have realised that its actions and the granting of passage to, and the harbouring of, terrorists would sooner or later lead to trouble.

"Also those who encouraged it, defended it or closed their eyes to it, must bear the blame for this deteriorating state of affairs. It can only be hoped that responsible countries will make efforts, as South Africa has already in the past attempted to do, to normalise relations and endeavour to avoid further escalation.

"Although, as I have already announced, South Africa was not a party to this decision on the part of Rhodesia, and although one can expect divergent speculation as to the wisdom or otherwise of this step, South Africa will continue to treat the matter in accordance with the following basic principles which have repeatedly been stated by us.

"* We do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries.

* We do not initiate boycotts and we do not reply to sanctions with counter-boycotts.

* We are unconditionally opposed to terrorism and we shall in terms of our declared policy render assistance within our means to governments who seek it in their fight against terrorism.

* Where and when we are directly threatened we shall at all times take all steps to protect the life and property of our people and our territorial integrity."

The Chief of the South African Defence Force, Admiral H. H. Biermann, said that an allegation that 4 000 South African troops had crossed into Rhodesia was "devoid of any truth".²

United Nations officials have alleged that discrepancies between South Africa's reported exports of a number of commodities and the import figures given by her trade partners indicate trade in Rhodesian goods in contravention of UN resolutions.³

The Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, visited South Africa in June and had discussions with his South African counterpart. No official statement was released.⁴ (See also section on movements-in-exile and guerrilla fighters.)

² Star, 19 January.

³ Rand Daily Mail, 21 May.

⁴ Ibid., 11 June.

Zambia

President Kaunda, speaking at the ceremonial opening of the Zambian Parliament, said that Zambians must regard the liberation of Southern Africa as an unfinished task in the history of decolonisation. He went on to say: "We cannot be passive observers to a situation that daily affects our people, particularly on our long borders. We have already suffered the consequences of our geographical proximity to the den of iniquity and mass exploitation".¹

On 19 January Zambian troops allegedly fired on a South African police patrol-boat on the Zambesi River. The allegation was denied by Zambia.²

In 1972 South African exports to Zambia amounted to R55 000 000. The closure of the Zambian/Rhodesian border appeared to affect trade in 1973 but South African goods continued to move into Zambia.³

Tanzania

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania said that the concept of a pan-African army marching south to liberate white-dominated states was an absurd dream. He also opposed the idea of African guerrilla movements forming "governments-in-exile", saying, "the prestige of the freedom fighters will be gained on the battlefield, not in offices away from the fighting fronts".¹

Kenya

The South African Minister of Finance, Dr. Diederichs, attended the annual meeting of the governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Nairobi in September. He was protected by a heavy guard of Kenyan security men and the Government of Kenya banned any demonstrations against him.² African and some Asian and Middle Eastern delegates staged a walkout when Dr. Diederichs addressed the meeting.³

Ivory Coast

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast said that South Africa was an African state and there should be no confusion between South Africa and Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, or Namibia. He advised strongly against war with South Africa and pleaded that African states should receive those South Africans who did not practice apartheid.⁴

¹ 10 January.

² 20 January.

³ 23 March; Rand Daily Mail, 23 May.

⁴ 3 May; Sunday Tribune, 13 May.

⁵ Daily Mail, 19 September; Star, 20 September.

⁶ 20 September.

⁷ 11 October.

EUROPE

United Kingdom

Britain's entry into the European Economic Community was viewed with mixed feelings in South Africa. Fears were expressed about the possible effect upon trade between the two countries.¹ In 1972 South African exports to Britain amounted to R530 900 000 (an increase over 1971 of 27 per cent) while imports from Britain were worth R590 500 000 (a decrease over 1971 of 12 per cent), giving a South African deficit of R59 600 000.²

In March the British Minister of Education and Science, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, represented the British Government when the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, opened the South African Astronomical Observatory at Sutherland in the Cape. Her participation at the opening of this joint British/South African venture was criticised by the British Labour Party.³

In April, Lord Macpherson of Drumochter, leader of a British trade mission to South Africa, quoted the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, as saying "(South Africa) is regarded as one of Britain's priority markets by the British Overseas Trade Board".⁴

The British National Union of Students and the Anti-Apartheid Movement decided to increase material aid to "liberation movements" operating in Southern Africa.⁵

The British Labour Party's special Solidarity Fund Committee on Southern Africa received further moneys from big British trade unions for the support of African "liberation movements".⁶ The party's annual conference committed a future Labour government to reduce economic links with South Africa and to give "financial and diplomatic support to the liberation movements against all white minority regimes".⁷ (See also section on foreign investment.)

France

In 1972 the value of goods exported to France increased by 49 per cent to R57 000 000 while French imports declined by 9 per cent to R99 300 000 giving a South African deficit of R42 300 000.¹

The Prime Minister said that the French elections in March were of extreme importance to South Africa.² Mr. Mitterand,

¹ *Star*, and *Vaderland*, 2 January.

² Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 and 16 March.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 April.

⁵ *Star*, 9 July.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.

⁷ *Star*, 5 October.

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Star*, 2 January.

the socialist leader, later said that if the left won these elections "France will cease all political and economic relations with countries continuing outdated colonialism or with segregationist regimes and it will back national liberation movements".³ However, the Gaullists retained power in France.

The Netherlands

South African exports to the Netherlands increased by 53 per cent to R55 800 000 in 1972, while imports from that country increased by 7 per cent to R62 400 000, leaving a trade balance unfavourable to South Africa of R6 600 000.¹

At the end of 1972 the announcement of the interim Dutch Government's intentions to participate with the British in Naval exercises in the Indian Ocean was severely criticised by socialist and religious political parties.² The South African Government refused a visa to Dr. Mharga Klompe, a former Dutch Minister of Culture, who wished to visit South Africa to persuade churches there to co-operate with efforts to have the banning order on the Franciscan priest Father Cosmas Desmond lifted. This decision was "deeply regretted" by the Dutch Roman Catholic Party.³

The incoming left-wing Dutch Government asked the South African Minister of Planning to postpone an intended visit to the Netherlands, cancelled its subsidy for emigration to the Republic and a refuelling call by two Dutch frigates at Simonstown. It does not appear at this stage that a really "hard line" on South Africa will be adopted.⁴ The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, said that the South African Government would compensate Dutch citizens for the loss of the emigration subsidy.⁵ The Dutch Foreign Minister said his Government rejected "apartheid".⁶

Federal Republic of Germany

South Africa's exports to West Germany increased by 18 per cent to R116 600 000 in 1972, while imports from that country increased by 1 per cent to R413 000 000, leaving a South African deficit of R296 400 000.¹

There were few changes of any importance in German-South African relations, but the Bundestag focussed attention on West German investment in South Africa (see relevant section of this *Survey*).²

¹ *Ibid.*, 8 February.

² Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1972.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17 January.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 June.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 20 September.

¹ *Ibid.*, 19 September.

² Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 March.

Portugal

Separate trade figures for Portugal are not issued by the Department of Statistics. They are, presumably, included in the figures given for "Other" European countries.

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, visited South Africa in March and was entertained by the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Muller, at a banquet where "a warm and sincere welcome" was extended to him. Dr. Muller referred to the "constructive and fruitful co-operation between South Africa and Portugal" on the Cabora Bassa project and the Kunene River Basin Development Scheme.¹

The Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga, paid a "routine courtesy" visit to South Africa in July.² Later in July the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano, said: "It would not only be Angola and Mozambique who would be victims of 'African independence madness' that aimed to expel the whites. It would create a threat to South Africa and Rhodesia, a threat effective and immediate because of an economic blockade of those east-coast ports vital to their subsistence — Beira and Lourenço Marques."³ The Chief of the Portuguese forces in Angola, General Joaquin da Luz Cunha, also visited South Africa.⁴

Trade with other European countries

Trade with other European countries in 1972 is tabulated below:

	Italy R	Per- centage Increase	Switzerland R	Per- centage Increase	Sweden R	Per- centage Increase
Imports	94 400 000	-10	62 700 000	12	43 800 000	0
Exports	77 300 000	108	7 700 000	43	12 100 000	27
Deficit	17 100 000		55 000 000		31 700 000	

	Belgium R	Per- centage Increase	Spain R	Per- centage Increase	Others R	Per- centage Increase
Imports	35 500 000	-7	14 200 000	1	73 400 000	0
Exports	81 600 000	43	40 700 000	175	72 800 000	60
Deficit	+46 100 000		+26 500 000		600 000	

South Africa recorded substantial trade balances with only Belgium and Spain.¹

¹ Department of Information. Press Release 49/73 (K) 5 March 1973.

² Star, 5 July.

³ Rand Daily Mail, 27 July.

⁴ Star, 25 October.

⁵ Department of Statistics. Bulletin of Statistics, June 1973.

AUSTRALASIA

Australia

South Africa's exports to Australia increased by 15 per cent to R16 400 000 in 1972, while imports from that country increased by 14 per cent to R70 600 000, giving a South African deficit of R54 200 000.¹

The new Australian Labour Government reversed the previous government's policy of cordial relations with South Africa. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Gough Whitlam, stated that Australia would support a General Assembly resolution calling for intensified sanctions to be extended to South Africa.² Australia later supported Afro-Asian resolutions aimed at South Africa in the United Nations. Mr. Whitlam later said that trade sanctions could cause South Africa to renounce its racial policies.³ (See also relevant section of this Survey on sport.)

New Zealand

Trade figures for New Zealand are included in those for the other countries of Oceania. In 1972 South African exports to these countries increased by 47 per cent to R2 800 000, while imports declined by 58 per cent to R5 100 000, leaving South Africa with an unfavourable balance of trade of R2 300 000.⁴ The new New Zealand Government of Mr. Norman Kirk has not adopted as hard a line as that of Australia. (See, however, the section on sport.)

ASIA

Japan

South African exports to Japan increased by 42 per cent to R259 300 000 in 1972, while imports from that country declined by 9 per cent to R267 100 000, leaving South Africa with an unfavourable trade balance of R7 800 000.⁵ Japanese policy towards South Africa appears to remain somewhat ambivalent.

Iran

Lieutenant General C. A. Fraser has been appointed South Africa's Consul-General in Iran. A long-term bilateral contract for the supply of essential crude oil has been concluded. Among Iranian visitors to the Republic in recent times were the Chief of the Iranian Navy, Admiral Farjollah Rassai, the Iranian Minister of Culture, Mr. M. Pahnbod, Her Highness Princess Maryam Chafik, and the Mayor of Teheran, Dr. C. Nikpay.⁶

¹ Ibid.

² Rand Daily Mail, 6, 7, 8 and 9 December 1972, 3 and 25 January; Star, 22 and 23 May.

³ Star, 18 September.

⁴ Department of Statistics. Bulletin of Statistics, June 1973.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Star, 14 May.

Other Arab countries

On 28 November, all Arab countries except Iran placed a strict embargo on oil supplies for South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia.

AMERICA

The United States

In 1972, South African exports to the US rose by 24 per cent to R147 000 000, while imports from that country declined by 1 per cent to R466 600 000, giving South Africa an unfavourable trade balance of R319 600 000.¹

The policy of the Nixon Administration towards the Republic, together with the reaction of American critics, was briefly outlined on pages 116 to 119 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

There were few developments of any note in SA/US relations during 1973. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced that it will close its operations at the space tracking station at Hartbeeshoek near Johannesburg by 1975.²

A US military publication, *Armed Forces Journal International*, suggested that "firm, open military ties with" what was called "the 'gatekeeper' to the Atlantic and Indian oceans should be reconsidered".³

Canada

South African exports to Canada rose by 31 per cent to R50 600 000 in 1972, while imports declined by 13 per cent to R41 300 000, giving South Africa a favourable trade balance of R9 300 000.⁴

Brazil

South African exports to Brazil rose by 125 per cent to R4 500 000 in 1972, while imports rose by 62 per cent to R22 200 000 giving South Africa an unfavourable trade balance of R17 700 000.⁵

Argentina

Separate trade figures for Argentina are not given in the Department of Statistics' quarterly bulletins. An air service between Cape Town and Buenos Aires has been inaugurated.⁶

¹ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 July.

³ *Sunday Times*, 2 September.

⁴ Department of Statistics. *Bulletin of Statistics*, June 1973.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *South African Digest*, 20 April.

GROUP AREAS, HOUSING, AND ADMINISTRATION COLOURED, INDIAN, AND WHITE POPULATION GROUPS

OCCUPATION OF LAND OR PREMISES

Proclamation R26 of 1965

As mentioned on page 303 of the 1965 *Survey*, Section 1 (4) of the Group Areas Act empowered the State President to declare by proclamation that the provisions of the Act prohibiting the occupation of land or premises by racially disqualified persons shall apply, also, to the presence of such persons in or upon land or premises (except under permit), either generally or in a specified area, for a substantial period of time or for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment or partaking of any refreshments at a place where refreshments are served or as a member of or guest in any club.

Various proclamations, in turn replacing one another, were issued under this enabling Section in 1957, 1958, 1960, 1964, and 1965. Proclamation R81 of 1964 exempted employees.

Proclamation R26 of 1965 was to the effect that in group areas, controlled areas, and specified areas,¹ the provisions of the Act relating to the occupation of land or premises would apply also with reference to any disqualified person who at any time was present in or upon any land or premises in such areas for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment, or partaking of any refreshments ordinarily involving the use of seating accommodation as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tearoom or eating-house, or as a member of or a guest in any club (except as a representative or guest of the State, a provincial administration, a local authority, or a statutory body).² Maximum penalties laid down in the Act on conviction for contraventions of such a proclamation were R400 or imprisonment for two years or both.

There was much confusion about the exact meaning of this proclamation and its effects on social gatherings, entertainments, sporting events, etc. So far as sporting events were concerned, the consensus of legal opinion appeared to be that multi-racial sporting

¹ In effect, the entire Republic except for African Reserves or residential areas, Coloured people's settlements, and mission stations. There are other laws and regulations dealing with the occupation of land in such areas.

² And again, as the principal Act provides, except under permit.

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1973 the South African Reserve Bank stated that the gross domestic product at current market prices increased by 16 per cent, compared with 11½ per cent in 1971/72.¹ However, the *real* gross domestic product increased at about the same relatively low rate of between 4 and 4½ per cent. On the other hand, the *real* gross national product increased at a rate of 5½ per cent as a result of a very significant change in terms of trade resulting from sharp increases in prices of some of the country's most important export products, particularly gold. The Reserve Bank went on to say: "With the rate of increase in the prices of imported goods declining and with the further increase in the price of gold and other export commodities during 1973, the terms of trade may be even more favourable for the calendar year 1973, and the rate of increase in the *real* national product may be substantially higher for 1973 than that of the *real* domestic product."

The mining sector's contribution at *current* prices to the gross domestic product, which had increased by more than 14 per cent in 1971/2, increased by 44 per cent in 1972/73. Agriculture's contribution also increased by 22 per cent.

Although total domestic demand had not increased substantially, a stronger revival seemed possible in the near future and the situation appeared very conducive to a further acceleration in the overall growth rate of the economy.

The Economic Development Programme has predicted that "the G.D.P. at market prices, expressed in terms of 1971 prices, will increase by R5 153 million, from R13 607 million in 1971 to R18 760 million in 1977, if an average growth rate of 5.5 per cent per annum is realised". The Government has accepted that the target rate of growth for 1972-1977 should be set at 5½ per cent.²

The Reserve Bank reported that the balance of payments on current account showed a marked improvement from a deficit of over R400 million in 1971/72 to a surplus of nearly R270 million in 1972/73. The net inflow of capital declined from R578 million in the previous year to R235 million in 1972/73. This was

¹ The gross domestic product at market prices was provisionally valued at R13 740 million in the calendar year 1971 and R15 404 million in 1972 (S.A. Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin, September 1973).

² Department of Planning, *Economic Development Programme for the Republic of South Africa, 1972-1977*. Pretoria, the Department, December 1972.

attributable to: (a) more favourable conditions for raising capital in the domestic market; (b) large repayments of official loans; (c) a switch from foreign to local financing of international trade induced by the lower interest rates obtaining in South Africa; and (d) exchange control measures introduced by the United Kingdom. The total gold and other foreign reserves increased to an all-time record of well over R1 300 million at the end of June 1973.

The rand, which had depreciated to about 15 per cent below the level of 15 August 1971, appreciated by about 3 per cent in October 1972, by about 6 per cent with the 10 per cent devaluation of the dollar in February 1973, but depreciated again with the downward floating dollar by about 3 per cent in April and May and was then revalued by 5 per cent on 5 June 1973. This brought the average effective exchange rate to about 5 per cent below the 15 August 1971 level or to approximately its level on 31 October 1967.

In August the Minister of Finance announced sales-duty concessions by which, he said, consumers would benefit to the extent of more than R30 million per year.³

On the question of South Africa's membership of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) the Reynders Commission has said:⁴ "It is the considered opinion of the Commission that, particularly from an export point of view, a withdrawal from GATT would bring in its wake incalculable risks for South Africa and that, all things considered, the country should maintain its membership."

On the labour front, the Reserve Bank reported that during the nine months ended on 31 March 1972, total non-agricultural employment was 1.8 per cent higher than during the same period in 1971. Noticeable increases were recorded in mining, commerce, and the Post Office. Unemployment of White, Coloured, and Asian people stood at 10 521 persons in June 1973—a decline from 0.72 per cent to 0.6 per cent of the total number of these groups employed. (Reliable statistics on African unemployment are not available.)

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

General

The question of the role of foreign investment in the South African economy was mentioned on pages 173-4 of the 1971 issue and on pages 218-230 of the 1972 issue of this *Survey*.

At the end of 1972 the Black People's Convention (a political movement embracing African, Coloured, and Asian people) passed the following resolution which it later embodied in the text of

³ *Star*, 24 August.

⁴ Commission of Enquiry into the Export Trade of the Republic of South Africa. R.P. 69/72. P.78.