

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

GENERAL¹

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".² 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".³

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 43 countries (again, in some instances, at consular level only) and at 4 international organisations.⁴ Among the setbacks in the field of foreign relations listed by the Minister were:⁵ (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 racist 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 its 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 *Ibid.*, 13 December 1972.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 December 1972.

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

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 September.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19 September.

¹¹ *Star*, 25 September.

¹² *Ibid.*, 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 the 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

² Hansard 12 col. 5419, 30 April.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 August.

⁴ *Sunday Tribune*, 13 May; *Sunday Times*, 17 June.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 September.

⁶ *Star*, 5 September; *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September.

¹ *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 on 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.

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 5 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 *Vaderland*, 2 January.

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

³ *Daily Mail*, 13 and 16 March.

⁴ *Daily Mail*, 9 April.

⁵ *Daily Mail*, 9 July.

⁶ *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

³ *Ibid.*, 8 February.

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

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1972.

³ *Ibid.*, 17 January.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 June.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 September.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 September.

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

² *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:

	<i>Italy</i> R	<i>Per-centage Increase</i>	<i>Switzerland</i> R	<i>Per-centage Increase</i>	<i>Sweden</i> R	<i>Per-centage Increase</i>
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	
	<i>Belgium</i> R	<i>Per-centage Increase</i>	<i>Spain</i> R	<i>Per-centage Increase</i>	<i>Others</i> R	<i>Per-centage Increase</i>
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.

¹ 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.