

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

1970

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**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE
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POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS

During 1970 the political scene has been much influenced by the general elections on 22 April and the provincial elections on 28 October. Much of what was said publicly by leaders was, consequently, intended for party political advantage. Two fairly short sessions of Parliament were held, before and after the general elections, and it is possible that the government shelved some contentious legislation.

For the first time the National Party was fighting on two fronts: the breakaway of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (Reconstituted National Party) was described on page 5 of last year's *Survey*. It became clear, however, that a large number of prominent *verkrampies* remained members of the National Party, preferring to try to influence policies from within. Tensions within this party are described later.

On 26 October the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, announced that, in future, parliamentary and provincial elections would be held on the same day. (*The Star* commented on 30 October that this would blur the lines between national and provincial issues.)

The general elections were held a year in advance of the normal time. As reported last year, Mr. Vorster said the reason was that "we cannot let the world get the idea that South Africa has an unstable government". Earlier, the Minister of Transport and Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, had told his constituents that the purpose was to act before the Herstigtes had had time to set up an adequate election organization.

ELECTION PLATFORMS¹

The National Party

The National Party gave the assurance that it would put its country's interests irrevocably first, tolerating no interference from outside in domestic affairs. It acknowledged the supreme guidance of God in the affairs of countries and peoples, and believed that a powerful sense of unity must be promoted among the white people by the positive preservation of the equality of rights of the two language groups. It believed in planned and selective immigration.

The party aimed at removing racial tension between white and non-white by creating ever more opportunities for parallel development.

It pledged itself to defend the country's security by, among other things, promoting a strong defence force, co-operating with

¹ Summarized from statements contributed by the respective parties to a pre-election booklet published by *The Star*, or to newspapers supporting the parties concerned.

friendly states, and maintaining scrupulous vigilance against communism and other forms of subversion.

The party outlined measures it intended taking to promote economic growth and stability, and to ensure that the white worker would not be supplanted by undesirable competition from non-whites.

The N.P. believed in the preservation of international sporting relationships, it stated, but would not deviate from the traditional policy of separate sporting activities within South Africa as between the white and non-white groups.

The United Party

The United Party, led by Sir de Villiers Graaff, stated that its policy was to reconcile the races by fair dealing and respect for the dignity of every South African. This could best be achieved under enlightened white leadership, which was qualified by education and experience to develop the nation's resources in the interests of all its peoples.

As it believed that all the country's peoples were interdependent and shared a common destiny, the U.P. would maintain South Africa as one economy. Points of unnecessary racial friction would be avoided by means of separate social and residential facilities.

The party's policy envisaged a federal system of government, based on a federation of racial communities. Communal councils would be established for each non-white group, to administer the internal affairs of the groups concerned. Statutory standing committees would serve as links between Parliament and these councils.

There would be defined representation for all in Parliament, with separate voters' rolls for each race group. No change would be made in the representation of any non-white group without the approval of the white electorate in a special election or referendum.

The party believed that the country's greatest need was a continuously rising standard of living. A supply of well-trained labour, both white and non-white, should be ensured, for the development of natural resources to their full extent. Various other "bread and butter" proposals were outlined.

The Progressive Party

The Progressive Party, led by Dr. Jan Steytler, based its policy on the belief that South Africa was, and would remain, a multi-racial country whose citizens were interdependent. Its philosophy was that in any society, the individual human being was of paramount importance. Each citizen must be treated with equal dignity and each must be equal before the law and have full opportunity to develop and use his talents. Merit, and not colour, must be the measure of individual worth.

Laws that restricted the country's development must be repealed, and all human resources harnessed. The wasteful migrant

labour system must be scrapped, and a settled labour force created.

Compulsory integration, as well as compulsory segregation, was opposed. Social relationships should be regulated by the conventions of society and the attitude of individuals.

The party favoured political co-operation within a single, multi-racial country. The constitution should be a rigid one that could not be altered by an engineered majority. The common roll franchise should be extended to all citizens who had passed Standard VIII, or had a Standard VI qualification with the regular income of at least a semi-skilled worker. The Senate should be so elected that it would be able to reject legislation detrimental to any racial group.

There should be a Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to all freedom of speech, worship, and assembly; freedom from arbitrary arrest; equal access to the court; equal protection under the law; and the independence of the judiciary.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, led by Dr. Albert Hertzog, stood for national unity around the core of Afrikanerdom. English-speakers were regarded as Afrikaners in the making. Afrikaans should be the national language.

International forces making for racial integration must be resisted. The party regarded the maintenance of separate identities by the whites and non-whites as paramount: the latter must not be given expectations of social equality with whites.

Economic forces militating against separate development must be bent to ensure peaceful progress in which the separate development of the white and non-white nations would be strengthened. Industrialization must be checked if it were over-stimulated by foreign capital and labour.

The National Alliance Party

The National Alliance Party, led by Mr. Blyth Thompson, made no distinction between the whites, whatever their origin. Separate development of whites and non-whites was the only realistic approach, it considered, but should be applied with humanity and flexibility. Differences of language, religion, and tradition should be respected, no one group being allowed to impose its beliefs and customs on others.

Free enterprise should be fostered, interference in business minimized, and greater use made of non-white labour without harming white workers. The standard of the public services should be improved. A better standard of education was needed, parents being free to choose the language medium. More should be done for those in need. The Government should avoid actions or statements which unnecessarily put the country in a bad light overseas.

RESULT OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The overall average percentage poll was 74.35. In one Transvaal constituency the N.P. candidate died shortly before the election; this seat was retained by the N.P. at a subsequent by-election, but with a reduced majority. This result is included in those given below.

The number of seats obtained by the various parties was:

	1966 elections	At dissolution of the Assembly	1970 elections
National Party	126	123	118
United Party	39	38	47
Progressive Party	1	1	1
H.N. Party	—	4	—
Others (including independents)	—	—	—
	<hr/> 166	<hr/> 166	<hr/> 166

(For the first time since Union, this House of Assembly included no representatives of the Cape Coloured people.)

Analysis by province of the 1970 results is:

	N.P.	U.P.	P.P.	Totals
Transvaal	58	14	1	73
Cape	36	18	—	54
Natal	3	15	—	18
Free State	15	—	—	15
South West Africa	6	—	—	6
	<hr/> 118	<hr/> 47	<hr/> 1	<hr/> 166

Excluding the result of the by-election, the percentage of the total vote gained was:

	1966	1970
N.P.	58.6	54.86
U.P.	37.1	37.53
P.P.	3.1	3.46
H.N.P.	—	3.59
N.A.P.	—	0.15
Others and independents ...	1.2	0.41

The number of seats contested in 1970, and the average number of votes gained in all of these, were:

	Seats contested	Average number of votes
N.P.	140	5 864
U.P.	143	3 928
P.P.	19	2 724
H.N.P.	78	689
N.A.P.	4	565

All but three of the H.N.P. candidates, and all of those of the N.A.P., lost their deposits.

Mrs. Helen Suzman of the Progressives increased her majority in Houghton from 711 in 1966 to 2 049. There was a swing to the Progressives in some constituencies where there had been a direct confrontation with U.P. candidates, but where there were N.P. or allied candidates too, the P.P. appeared to have lost ground.

According to a study by Dr. H. Lever of the University of the Witwatersrand, in the 107 seats that were contested by the N.P. and the U.P. in both 1966 and 1970, there was a swing of 4.3 per cent to the U.P. Dr. Lever found, in a detailed analysis of two Johannesburg constituencies, that those who had changed their allegiance were mainly English-speaking. The floating vote seemed to consist of English-speaking people. It appeared that a number of Afrikaners, particularly the younger urban ones, had not registered, or had refrained from voting.

This opinion was confirmed by the Afrikaans writer Chris Barnard, after a study conducted among Pretoria University students,² and to some extent by members of the Department of Political Science at the University of South Africa, whose analysis was published in the periodical *New Nation*. The general view appeared to be that many traditional Nationalist voters, particularly those in the cities, had been re-thinking their own positions. For historical and emotional reasons the *verligtes* who disapproved of current N.P. policies would not transfer their allegiance to the U.P., but instead, preferred not to vote at all. Dr. Denis Worrall of the University of South Africa commented³ that these people appeared to have been repelled by the N.P. rather than attracted by the U.P. Afrikaans-English divisions were accentuated.

During the months that followed, there were two further by-elections. In each case the Nationalists retained these seats, but with smaller majorities than in 1966.

² *Die Beeld*, 10 May.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July.

THE NATIONAL PARTY BETWEEN THE ELECTIONS

In statements made in the Assembly on 20 July and 1 September⁴ the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, made it clear once again that he regarded South Africa as a multi-national, rather than a multi-racial country, each of the main Bantu ethnic groups constituting a nation, too.

Separate development, he said, was not a denial of human dignity. "I do not base my policy on the premise that I think I am better than another person is . . . or for the moment . . . more learned than he is, for in the long run he may become . . . perhaps more learned than I am."

He believed, Mr. Vorster said, that the Afrikaans and the English-speaking whites, and each of the non-white groups, had the right to preserve its identity. The non-whites were being educated along the road to self-determination. "I want to create chances and opportunities for people of a different skin colour . . . which I believe cannot be created under any other policy."

During June Mr. Vorster visited Rhodesia, Malawi, France, Spain, and Portugal, where he had discussions with the Presidents and/or Prime Ministers, with the apparent object of explaining his policy, and establishing a pragmatic working relationship with national leaders who were not openly hostile to South Africa. Mr. Vorster went to Geneva too, where he and the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs called a meeting of South African and British Ambassadors. General elections were in progress in Britain at the time.

Further important statements in regard to relationships with other independent states in Southern Africa are described in the subsequent chapter. In brief, they were invited to enter into non-aggression pacts with South Africa. But Mr. Vorster made it clear that his government would "fight terrorism, not only in our own country, but also in any other country in Africa where the government requests us to do so".

Major issues in South Africa during the year have been the mounting shortage of skilled labour; the artificial shortages of even unskilled labour, particularly in the western and central Cape and on the Witwatersrand, caused by the Physical Planning Act and influx control; unemployment, poverty, and malnutrition in the African homelands; the question of whether the border industrial policy is the best method of dealing with these problems; the increasing disenchantment of many Coloured people with the future offered to them; and ever-rising hostility to racialism overseas

which has started to "bite", most particularly in the cherished sphere of sport.

Positive steps, from the point of view of race relations, have been the increased amounts spent on the education of all racial groups; an apparent slight decrease in the number of arrests of Africans for purely statutory offences; and the official acceptance, for the first time, of an African who has been openly critical of separate development as the leader of his people (in Zululand).

There has, clearly, been dissension within the National Party on a number of these issues. *Verkrampte* members, whose views are often expressed by Dr. Andries Treurnicht, editor of *Hoofstad*, remain strong critics of *verligte* members.

But Mr. Allister Sparks, the Deputy Editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, has expressed the view⁷ that, in the long run, a more fundamental difference will be that between the urban businessmen on the one hand, and the intellectuals and churchmen on the other, who might all be termed *verlig*. Modern-minded urban Nationalists, he considers, are growing impatient with the "economic absurdities" of apartheid, and object to proposals that the manpower shortage should be met by labour restrictions and a slowing down of the country's growth-rate.

The views of the intellectuals and churchmen find expression in *Woord en Daad*, issued by the Afrikaanse Calvinistiese Beweging which has its headquarters in Potchefstroom, and in articles by Mr. Chalk Pienaar of *Die Beeld* and Mr. Dirk Richard of *Daybreek en Landstem*. (Later in the year, these two papers merged.) The concerns of these people are troubled by race discrimination, it was said, and they want a speeding up of the "positive" side of separate development to bring an end to this.

But, as Mr. Sparks pointed out, any move to meet the manpower shortage by relaxing restrictions on the use of non-white labour must make separate development "more unattainable than ever". And any move to implement separate development must aggravate the manpower shortage, with serious economic consequences.

Differences of opinion within the National Party have arisen in regard to the future of the Coloured community.

THE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

A provincial council normally has the same number of members who are elected in that province for the House of Assembly, except that there must be a minimum of 25 members. For the first time, in 1970, there was no representation of the Cape Coloured people.

At the provincial elections in 1965, the National Party gained 16 seats, and the United Party 55. One went to an independent. Since then, there has been a new delimitation of constituencies.

The *Rand Daily Mail* pointed out on 30 October that these elections were held just before the National Party reached the peak

⁴ Hansard 1 col. 51; Hansard 9 cols. 4209-4212.

⁵ Article by John Worrall, a correspondent who followed the tour; *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 Jan.

⁶ Assembly, 15 September, Hansard 9 col. 4208.

⁷ 48. Issue of 8 August.

of its strength, the following year. There were fractional drops in Nationalist majorities at by-elections between 1967 and 1969.

At the elections held on 28 October, there were 68 unopposed candidates, 45 Nationalists and 23 United Party. Including these the number of seats obtained by the various parties was:

	National Party	United Party
Transvaal	54	19
Cape	36	18
Natal	3	22
Free State	25	—
Total	118	59

The Progressive Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party candidates were unsuccessful. The National Alliance Party did not contest the election.

The average percentage poll was 63.88.

The number of seats contested, average number of votes gained in all of these, and percentage of the total votes that were cast for each party were:

	Seats contested	Average no. of votes	Percentage of total vote
N.P.	98	4 733	53.5
U.P.	96	3 759	41.6
P.P.	14	2 116	3.4
H.N.P.	22	556	1.4
Indep. Liberal	1	94	

Deposits were lost by all but one of the H.N.P. candidates, two Nationalists, two Progressives, and the Independent candidate.

According to the analysis in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 30 October, the general election showed a drop of 3.8 per cent in the National Party's share of the poll between 1966 and 1970. The provincial elections showed a further fall of 1.56 per cent.

THE COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL Coloured Persons' Representative Council Amendment Act, No. 87 of 1970

This Act provided for the Council to elect from among its members a chairman, a deputy chairman who would also be chairman of committees, and a vice-chairman of committees. They would hold office for the duration of each Council, unless they ceased to be members, resigned from these positions, or were removed from office by resolution of the Council.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs was empowered to appoint such times for the holding of sessions as he deemed fit, and to prorogue the Council, provided that there must be at least one session per year. Both the United and the Progressive Parties maintained that powers to adjourn or reassemble the Council should be vested in the chairman of the Council, and not the Minister.

Powers and Privileges of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act, No. 91 of 1970

The main provisions of this second Act dealing with the Council were as described below.

1. Reports and proceedings of the Council will be privileged documents in criminal and civil proceedings in courts of law. The publication of extracts or abstracts from the Council's proceedings will be protected, provided that a court is satisfied that this was done bona fide and without malice.
2. No member or officer of the Council will be required to attend court proceedings during a session in a place away from where the Council is sitting.
3. The Council, or a duly authorized committee of it, may enquire into any matter relating to the functions of the Council, and may call any Coloured persons as witnesses at such an enquiry. (On behalf of the United Party Mr. L. G. Murray moved^a that the word "Coloured" be deleted, thus entitling the Council to call witnesses of any racial group, but his motion was ruled out of order.)
4. A number of offences against or by members of the Council were defined, e.g. bribery and corruption; assaults upon, threats to, or interference with any member or officer of the Council pursuing his lawful duties; and disruption or disturbance of the Council's proceedings. Members are precluded from voting upon any issue if their direct pecuniary interests are involved. Members may not publish any false or scandalous libel on any member touching his conduct as a member.

Council chambers, staff, and expenditure

According to the Government's Estimates of Expenditure from Loan Account,^b a total sum of R480 000 is to be spent on the Council Chambers, which are situated near the University of the Western Cape. It is estimated that about R379 000 will have been spent by the end of March 1971.

An Administration of Coloured Affairs has been created to administer matters assigned to the Council (i.e. education, community development, local government, rural settlements, and the financing of these matters). For the time being, most of its senior officials are white persons seconded by the Department of Coloured

^a 24 September, Hansard 10 col. 4915.
^b R.P. 3/1970, Vote B.

Relations, which budgeted R3 826 000 for their salaries during 1970-1.¹⁰ Coloured personnel, including teachers, who were employed in the services mentioned have been transferred to the Council's staff.

In the country's main and supplementary estimates of expenditure for 1970-1,¹¹ a sum of R67 515 000 was voted for the Council's expenditure. Further amounts will be spent from Loan Account on the erection of public buildings, including schools.

In terms of the principal Act, the Council appropriates money for specific services within the limits of the sum voted by Parliament.

The allocation decided upon, when the Council met in November, was:

Education	38 658 160
Social services and pensions	27 213 780
Rural areas and settlements	774 185
Local government	2 420
Finance and auxiliary services	866 455
	<hr/>
	67 515 000

Proposed liaison with the central Government

Speaking in the Assembly on 29 September,¹² the Minister of Coloured Affairs said that he and his Deputy Minister held discussions about every two months with the Council's executive committee. The question of a closer form of liaison with the Government was to be discussed with a committee appointed by the Council which would include representatives of the Labour Party and of the small minority parties.

Developments within the Council

As recorded on page 7 of last year's *Survey*, although the Labour Party won the majority of elected seats in the Council, the members nominated by the Government enabled the Federal Party led by Mr. Tom Swartz, to come into power.

At a first short session, held in November 1969, a motion moved by a member of the Opposition was carried unanimously: it was to the effect that Coloured professional men and women should be paid at the same rates as whites received for equal qualifications and responsibilities. This motion was then submitted to the Minister.

In a Press interview on 4 July,¹³ Mr. Swartz is reported to have said that discrimination on the basis of colour was morally wrong

His party's policy was one of separate amenities, but equal in all respects. The provision of better educational facilities was one of its prime targets.

When welcoming a new Minister of Coloured Affairs to a meeting of the Council's executive committee,¹⁴ Mr. Swartz again called for equal pay for equal work with equal qualifications, and for more schools and teachers. He urged, too, that there should be more employment opportunities, an agricultural college and a beach for Coloured people in Natal, and a finalization of group areas, bearing in mind the need for future expansion.

At a congress of the Labour Party held in April, Mr. Sonny Leon succeeded Mr. M. D. Arendse as leader, while Mr. David Curry was elected deputy leader. Labour Party members absented themselves from the official opening of the Council in November, and from the start of the Budget debate, as a protest against the Government's constitution of this body, and its failure to reply to the motion calling for equal pay for equal work.

In one of the early debates in November, the Federal and Labour Parties agreed to urge that the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act be extended to Coloured farm labourers.

ATTITUDES OF MEMBERS OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

As indicated earlier, members of the Federal and allied parties believe in parallel development, and are prepared to co-operate with the Government in matters promoting the advancement of their people; but they aim at eventual equality with whites.

The Labour Party, which stands for one-man-one-vote, accepted the Council as a stepping-stone to full democratic rights, because it offered the only means of political expression that was available in the interim to members of the Coloured community.

It is undoubted that many Coloured people, especially those who boycotted the Council elections, are experiencing an increasing sense of frustration. Some of this was conveyed by Dr. Adam Small in a paper given to a Council meeting of the Institute of Race Relations in January 1970.¹⁵ In the course of this address he said, "This is the outstanding thing about the political structure for the Coloured people, as, of course, for all non-whites in South Africa, that in respect of it any decision of theirs counts for nothing, and, indeed, can count only for nothing; and being decisionless like this, is of course the essence of unfreedom".

In the course of one of his last speeches in the Assembly as a representative elected by the Coloured community, Mr. Abe Bloomberg said,¹⁶ "Never in the history of our country has there been a more bitter and more hostile feeling against the Government and the white people generally".

¹⁰ Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account, R.P. 2/1970.

¹¹ R.P. 2/1970 and R.P. 7/1970.

¹² Hansard 11 cols. 5286-7.

¹³ *Star* of that date, and of 30 May.

¹⁴ Speech recorded in *Alpha*, August.

¹⁵ "The Coloured People: a 1970 Appraisal: One View" RR. 17/1970.

¹⁶ 3 February, Hansard 1 cols. 140-8.

On 28 September, Mrs. C. D. Taylor said in the Assembly¹⁷ that there were very obvious and discernable traces of bitterness and anger amongst the leaders of the Coloured people. They were sick of being treated as second-class citizens in their own country. It was impossible to assess the extent of the cumulative sociological problems amongst these people to which the Government's ideologies had given rise. She gave a number of examples of these problems.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

Mr. A. M. Rajab has succeeded the late Mr. P. R. Pather as chairman of the executive committee of the Indian Council. Mr. H. E. Joosub continues as chairman of the Council itself.

In an address given to the Institute of Race Relations in January,¹⁸ Mr. Joosub expressed the view that, although the Council had nominated members only, and was not all the Indians would wish it to be, it did, for the first time, provide the community with direct access to the Minister of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of his department. They were willing to listen to grievances and suggestions.

At meetings held during 1970, the Council has expressed concern about the future of Indians in Zululand and in Ladysmith; pressed for greater diversification in the types of dwellings in Indian townships; urged the establishment of a separate Indian medical school; pleaded for opportunities for Indian industrialists in Durban; and worked to secure training for Indians as chartered accountants, electricians, plumbers, telephone mechanics, and health inspectors.¹⁹

During the Assembly debate on the Vote of the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. R. M. Cadman (United Party) pointed out²⁰ that since its inception, this department had issued no report on its activities. He enquired when the Council was to become an elected body, with some real powers.

Mrs. Helen Suzman commented²¹ that many matters that deeply concerned the Indians, such as group areas removals, fell under the Departments of Planning and of Community Development. She asked whether the Minister of Indian Affairs concerned himself with such matters.

The Minister replied²² that, when it considered this necessary, his department did make representations about removal schemes. The Council's quarterly meetings and the monthly meetings of its executive committee were attended by departmental officials. Through him (the Minister), the Council had an avenue of approach to other Ministers: he had arranged for several deputations to be received.

¹⁷ Hansard 11 cols. 5212 *et seq.*

¹⁸ "Political Aspects of Separate Development from the Indian Point of view". RR. 1/1970.

¹⁹ *Flat Lux*, March and August.

²⁰ 1 September, Hansard 7 cols. 3083-4.

²¹ Cols. 3087-8.

²² Cols. 3101-4.

But the Minister refused to be drawn on the future of the Council. He merely said, "Should the Government in its wisdom and in its time decide . . . that they should have executive powers, that there should be a partly elected body, the Government will have to come to this House and introduce such legislation".

Commenting on this statement, Mr. Joosub said that,²³ until it became at least a partly-elected body, the Council would not be able to convince the members of the Indian community that it was representing their interests adequately. There was a growing lack of faith in this body, he stated.

ATTITUDES OF AFRICANS

Since the banning of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. in 1960, the only African political bodies of any significance have been the parties in the Transkei. It is evident that there is much frustration among urban Africans, especially; but through fear of informers and police action few of them are willing to give open expression to their feelings.

It seems likely, however, that the creation of Territorial Authorities will afford Africans some legitimate platform for expressing their points of view. There is a preponderance of chiefs on these bodies, but by no means all the chiefs are "yes-men".

Mr. Lawrence Morgan of the *Natal Mercury* wrote an article on African intellectuals in Natal in the issue of this paper on 19 February. Impatience and insecurity, he said, were causing such men to turn increasingly to the view that only the type of power generated by group solidarity and education could ensure their ultimate evaluation by others on the grounds of their humanity alone. They considered that an essential component of this development would be an ability to shake themselves free of both the white paternalism of the extreme Right and the neo-paternalism of the Left.

This feeling has been reflected among African students. The formation of the South African Students' Organization (SASO) is described in a subsequent chapter. In an article on this body,²⁴ Mr. Clive Nettleton, Assistant to the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, outlined how these students came to feel that the open organizations like NUSAS and the UCM (University Christian Movement) were white-dominated and insensitive to problems peculiar to black students. They became increasingly convinced that their first allegiance was due to the black community with whom they shared the burdens and injustices of apartheid. Their duty was to promote the level of awareness, pride, achievement, and self-respect of this community.

These students maintained that the term non-white was a denial

²³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 September.

²⁴ RR. 111/70.

of respect to the majority of South Africa's people, and resolved to use the term "Black", instead.

On a return visit to South Africa in March, Mr. Anthony Sampson, editor of the African periodical *Drum* during the early 1950's, commented on the withdrawal he had noticed by many Africans away from whites and into a world of their own.²⁵

He mentioned that there had been a switch in the A.N.C.-in-exile, away from Moscow and towards Washington, this move possibly being related to the emergence of the Black Power movement in the States.

The Rev. Dr. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, is reported²⁶ to have said that this Institute had experienced a withdrawal of Blacks and Black organizations from its efforts to change the outlook and structure of a racial society.

Propaganda for the A.N.C. is still anonymously distributed in South Africa from time to time. During March, small explosive devices scattered hundreds of pamphlets from containers placed in public places in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. A bin containing similar leaflets was found in Port Elizabeth.

²⁵ *Star*, 28 March.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 10 September.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

REPERCUSSIONS OF DECISION BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Early in September the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches, at a meeting held in West Germany, announced that it had decided to make certain grants totalling 200 000 American dollars (about R142 800) from a special fund that had been set up to combat racism. This fund was composed of contributions from certain member-churches and part of the World Council's reserves.

Nineteen groups would receive grants. Some of these, such as Frelimo in Mozambique, controlled territory they had conquered, and wanted money for developing the areas. Others were movements in exile, which had asked for assistance in countering the propaganda of white racist regimes and to assist victims of discriminatory policies with legal aid and educational, health, and welfare measures: they included the African National Congress, the South West Africa People's Organization, the Zimbabwe African National Union and People's Union, and organizations attacking the regime in Angola. The Anti-Apartheid Movement and two other bodies in Britain were included, as were organizations in Australia, Columbia, and Japan that were combating racism; but the situation in Southern Africa was considered to be a priority.

Each of the groups concerned had given an assurance in writing that the money would not be used for military purposes, it was stated. The purposes for which each organization had requested assistance were outlined. Only part of the special fund would be used in this way: other sums would be spent on research into the causes of racism, and for protests against race discrimination.

On 9 September, the day after the full text of the World Council's statement was issued, the South African Council of Churches called a meeting in Johannesburg to discuss it. A statement was issued dissociating the South African Council from the World Council's decision and its "implied support of violence". It was pointed out that South African member-churches had not been represented when the decision was taken.

The South African Council would not withdraw from the world organization, it was stated. (It is an associated body, not a direct member.) It did not seem that withdrawal either from this organization or from the South African situation would serve the purpose of reconciliation. The Council acknowledged that it was

SECURITY MEASURES

NATIONAL SUPPLIES PROCUREMENT ACT, No. 89 OF 1970

The terms of this Act are similar to those of a Bill which was published in 1968 but, in view of wide criticism, was not then proceeded with in Parliament. Following discussions between the Minister of Economic Affairs and the Federated Chamber of Industries and others, however, certain amendments were made, and the Chamber then stated that it was satisfied.¹

The main change is that the various main provisions of the Act will not become operative unless they are brought into effect separately, by Proclamation. Some of these provisions were embodied in War Measure 146 of 1942, which was due to expire at the end of June unless it was once more extended. One of them related to the stock-piling of essential goods. The Act provides for the creation of a National Supplies Procurement Fund (which, in effect, will be a new name for an existing Fund, with certain administrative changes), but the amendments to the original draft made it possible for this to be done without bringing the rest of the Act into operation.

The more drastic provisions will be brought into effect "when- ever the Minister deems it necessary or expedient for the security of the Republic". The Minister of Economic Affairs said² that this would be done in extremely serious circumstances only. Their provisions were outlined on page 39 of the 1968 *Survey*: briefly, they will empower the Minister to control and direct the manufacture, acquisition, and supply of any goods and services he deems to be necessary or expedient for the country's security.

DEFENCE POLICY

Two major policy statements have been made by the Prime Minister in the Assembly; on 20 July and 15 September.³ He explained the reasons why South Africa was seeking supplies of certain arms from countries overseas (this question is dealt with in the chapter on Foreign Affairs).

"We do not need arms . . . for the purpose of attacking anybody", the Prime Minister said. "South Africa does not have any evil intentions as regards any other nation . . . South Africa is intent on seeking peace." If it were the Government's intention to oppress Black people in the Republic by force of arms, or to attack neighbouring Black states, "we would not even need a tickety's worth" of

¹ *Star*, 2 August.

² Assembly, 21 August, Hansard 5 col. 2369.

³ Hansard 1 cols. 52-3; Hansard 9 cols. 4207-8.

arms from other countries. South Africa could and did itself manufacture all the arms that would be required for such purposes.

The Prime Minister emphasized that he was prepared to enter into a non-aggression pact with any Black state in Africa.

"We are only asking for arms", he continued, "because we see the communist threat unfurling before our eyes in this part of the world . . . and must protect ourselves against onslaughts from outside, and also have the interests of the free world at heart." Large-scale Russian infiltration had already taken place into waters around Southern Africa, he said. It was essential to safeguard the sea route around the Cape, "which is probably more important to Europe than us". The Russians "are here for a purpose which, in addition to the other objectives they may have, is to sabotage this route around the Cape if and when it suits them".

The Prime Minister went on to talk of terrorism. "We shall fight terrorism", he said, "not only in our own country, but also in any other country in Africa where the Government requests us to do so . . . If plans which are being laid against South Africa on such a large scale, and if the proposed build-up of terrorist forces becomes a reality, and if terrorists were to invade South Africa with the permission of those countries, we shall resist them. If they take flight we shall chase them, and we shall do so right into those countries from which they come".

Speaking at a naval ceremony at Gordon's Bay in June,⁴ the Minister of Defence maintained that the Third World War would not be declared — it was a process that was already in progress in various forms. The Soviet Union and its associates were trying to subjugate the free world step by step, he said.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE AND EQUIPMENT

In terms of the Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for 1970-1,⁵ a sum of R257 100 000 was allocated to Defence (R14 406 000 less than in the previous year).

In the course of the speech referred to earlier, the Minister of Defence described South Africa's naval equipment. A new maritime headquarters was being built near Westlake, with subsidiaries in Durban and Walvis Bay. Coastal reconnaissance aircraft and naval helicopters had been purchased recently, the latter to operate from frigates and destroyers. These ships were being modernized. A tanker and three submarines had been bought, and a new submarine base was being established at Simonstown.

(South Africa's army and air force equipment was described briefly on page 32 of last year's *Survey*.)

The Prime Minister announced on 26 July⁶ that the S.A. Atomic Energy Board had developed a "unique" new process for the en-

⁴ *Star*, 13 June.

⁵ R.P. 2/1970, Vote 18.

⁶ Hansard 1 col. 56.

richment of uranium. Only three other Western countries — the United States, Britain and France — had enrichment plants. As South Africa was the world's third-largest producer of uranium, the new process for enriching it would lift her into the ranks of world nuclear powers, with the potential for developing atomic weapons.

Development in the field of nuclear energy was, however, directed entirely towards peaceful purposes, the Prime Minister emphasized. South Africa was prepared to collaborate in the exploitation of the new process with any non-communist country desiring to do so, subject to the conclusion of an agreement safeguarding her own interests.

COLOURED AND INDIAN AUXILIARY SERVICES

The Minister of Defence said in the Assembly on 31 August¹ that the Coloured Corps would be used for auxiliary services and for certain work in the Navy. Members would not be used in infantry units, nevertheless were being taught to use weapons so that they might protect themselves in time of war. Indians would be treated on the same basis.

When they were ready for it, Coloured and Indian members would be commissioned, but would not be allowed to be in command of white servicemen.

Africans would be employed in certain auxiliary services as labourers only. "If the Bantu wants to build up a defence force, he should do it in his own eventually independent homeland", the Minister said.

¹ Hansard 7 cols. 2939-41.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS

ACTIVITIES OF THE PUBLICATIONS CONTROL BOARD

In reply to questions in the Assembly on 17 February,¹ the Minister of the Interior said that, during 1969, 616 imported and 63 local publications were prohibited by the Publications Control Board. Of these, eleven had been submitted to the Board by private persons: nine of these applications were rejected and two accepted. During the year, the embargoes on nine publications had been lifted. Since the establishment of the Board in 1963 it had prohibited a total of 4 402 publications.

The second volume of the Oxford University Press "History of South Africa", edited by Professors Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, appeared in two editions. The edition for distribution in South Africa contained 52 blank pages. In the other edition these pages were occupied by a chapter by Professor Leo Kuper on African Nationalism between 1912 and 1960: the publishers omitted this from the South African edition because it quoted a number of banned people. The publishers are reported² to have stated that they did not apply to the South African Minister of Justice for permission to include this chapter because they had been advised that it was unlikely that such permission would have been forthcoming.

Further questions on 28 July³ elicited the reply by the Minister of the Interior, that between November 1963 and the end of June 1970, 13 338 films were submitted to the Publications Control Board. Of these, it prohibited 222, and insisted on changes or cuts in a further 1 561. (As described on page 291 of the 1968 *Survey*, many other films, that have an element of violence, are banned to Africans and to juveniles of all races.)

In an outspoken address on 28 May,⁴ Professor L. H. Hugo of the Department of English at the University of South Africa said that censorship was a mistake, breeding frustration, resentment, and anger among intellectuals. Many South African writers had been suppressed or alienated. Censorship merely drove natural, wholesome impulses underground, turning them into things of guilt and shame. Control could best be exercised through a virile, open-minded education policy, he said. One should not work from the premise that what may offend a few should be banned for all. A further critical article on the activities of the Board, by the Professor of English at the University of South Africa, Professor D. Ridley

¹ Hansard 3 col. 1884.

² *Sunday Times*, 11 October.

³ Hansard 2 col. 554.

⁴ *Star*, 29 May.

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

INCURSIONS INTO RHODESIA AND CAPRIVI BY GUERRILLA FIGHTERS

The Minister of Police said in the Assembly on 16 February¹ that, towards the end of December 1969, South African policemen in Caprivi had clashed with a group of guerilla fighters. He understood that one or two of the latter had been captured and the rest killed. None of the South Africans was injured.

Various Press reports stated that a group of about 20 guerillas crossed the Zambesi River from Zambia in January, entering Rhodesia near the Victoria Falls. They split into two groups. One of these attacked a South African police camp at night, wounding four men, one seriously. One of the attackers was killed. The other group fired on the airport, causing superficial damage, and blew up a railway line. They were pursued by the Rhodesian security forces: two Rhodesians were killed and three wounded. Eleven of the guerillas were killed and seven captured, and considerable quantities of arms and equipment were seized.

The seven men were tried in Bulawayo and found guilty of the murder of a Rhodesian African soldier and of having entered the country illegally, bearing arms. Six of them were sentenced to death and the seventh to life imprisonment. Their appeal failed.

During February, Africans living about 60 miles from Salisbury captured an armed man who had apparently been one of a large group who came from Zambia at the end of 1967. Many of them were then killed or captured, but a few escaped. The man was handed over to the police. He is reported to have said in court that his job was to recruit and train people for guerilla fighting. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. Six Africans who were found guilty of being accessories after the fact of his offence received sentences ranging from fifteen months to four years.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

It was announced on 8 June² that the Government was offering a R1 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of Iyambo Israel, also known as Patrieka Hiambo or Shitumwa. He was described as "the most wanted terrorist in the country", said to be moving between Angola and Ovamboland, trying to revive the SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation) movement in South West Africa.

¹ Hansard 3 col. 1143.

² Star of that date.

ANGOLA

The fighting in Angola is in its tenth year. Guerilla fighters of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and of other, apparently less effective organizations such as Unita, have infiltrated a large part of the eastern bushveld area. They operate from bases in Zambia.

In the far north of the territory the Portuguese forces continue to fight guerillas who cross the border from the Congo Kinshasa.

MOZAMBIQUE

There have been six years of fighting in Mozambique, in three areas, where the Portuguese forces are opposed in the main by guerilla fighters of the Frelimo organization (Mozambique Liberation Front). There has been continued fighting in the thick bush of the Cabo Delgado district, near the Tanzanian border, in the Vila Cabral district to the east of Lake Nyasa (or Lake Malawi), and in the Tete area adjoining the Zambian border, about a hundred miles north of the proposed Cabora Bassa dam. Early in 1970 the guerillas claimed to control about a fifth of the territory: reports state that it would be more correct to say that they *operated* in such an area, laying land mines along the roads and ambushing army patrols.

Since August, the Portuguese have mounted a series of large-scale offensives, and claim considerable success, with the capture of a number of guerilla bases and much equipment. There have, apparently, been heavy casualties. The Portuguese plan is reported³ to be to build a network of tarred roads along the frontiers, linking a chain of military bases, thus sealing off the borders and then to try to defeat the guerillas who remain in the territory. Various methods of propaganda are used to try to persuade these people to surrender; and doctors, sociologists, and agricultural experts are sent to areas which the guerillas infiltrated to try to counter Frelimo propaganda among the tribesmen.

³ e.g. Rand Daily Mail, 30 September.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SOUTH AFRICA'S MEMBERSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In reply to a question in the Assembly on 7 August¹ the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that South Africa was a member of at least 38 inter-governmental organizations: he gave a list of these. If the widest possible interpretation were given to the term "international organizations", however, the number to which South Africa belonged might well exceed one hundred.

On 25 September² the Minister said that South Africa had withdrawn from Unesco, the International Labour Organization, and the Food and Agricultural Organization. Steps had been taken by other countries to thwart the Republic's attendance at meetings of the Universal Postal Union and the International Telecommunications Union. (The circumstances, in each case, have been reported in previous issues of this *Survey*.)

In June South Africa was chosen, together with France and Russia, to lead the International Electrotechnical Commission for the next six years.³

THE UNITED NATIONS

On 16 December 1969, by 86 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 21 abstentions, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a lengthy motion expressing alarm over evidence of "gross and systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in South Africa, Namibia (South West Africa), and Rhodesia". The Secretary-General was requested to give the widest possible publicity to "the evils of these policies." All member states which still maintained relations with these countries were called upon to terminate them immediately. The Assembly asked the Secretary-General to set up a radio station to broadcast anti-apartheid programmes to the peoples of Southern Africa.

At a meeting of the Security Council early in March, the Afro-Asians were able to secure a two-thirds majority vote for a resolution condemning Britain for not using force to overthrow the Rhodesian Government, and calling for mandatory sanctions to be extended to South Africa and Portugal because of the assistance they had given to Rhodesia. The motion failed, however, because the United States and Britain exercised their vetos. A British motion

¹ Hansard 3 cols. 1247-8.

² Hansard 10 cols. 5017-8.

³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 June.

calling for condemnation and non-recognition of the newly-proclaimed Rhodesian Republic was defeated.

A compromise motion was eventually passed on 18 March with 14 in favour, none against, and Spain abstaining. Member-states were called upon to sever all relations with the Rhodesian Government and to cease transportation services to and from that country. All agencies of the United Nations were asked to suspend Rhodesia's membership. South Africa and Portugal were condemned for continuing to assist Rhodesia; and the immediate withdrawal of South African police forces there was ordered.

Commenting on this resolution, the South African Prime Minister said,⁴ "The United Nations is no super-parliament. Laws for South Africa are made only in the parliament of South Africa. South Africa's point of view on Rhodesia is well known".

On 23 July another Afro-Asian resolution was adopted by the Security Council, with Britain, France, and the United States abstaining from voting. All states were called upon to bar the sale of arms to South Africa "unconditionally and without any reservations whatsoever", also to deny spare parts, and not to allow the training abroad of members of the South African forces, or foreign investment in, and the granting of licences and patents to, the South African arms industry.⁵

The General Assembly, on 13 October, called on all states to implement the Security Council's resolution fully, the voting being 98 in favour and 2 against (South Africa and Portugal), with 9 abstentions.⁶

On the previous day, the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling upon the Specialized Agencies to render all possible moral and material assistance to liberation movements in their struggle to attain independence and freedom. On this occasion the voting was 86 in favour, five against (Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa), with 15 abstentions.⁷ South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the House of Assembly, Cape Town, "When United Nations' funds are made available for illegal purposes we shall withhold a proportionate share from our annual contribution, as we have done in the past".⁸

A comprehensive declaration was adopted at a special commemorative session held in October to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. It contained a clause condemning apartheid in South Africa.⁹

On 13 November, by 60 votes to 42 with 12 abstentions, the General Assembly decided to withhold acceptance of South Africa's credentials, in protest against the country's policies. The President

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 July.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 October.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 October.

⁸ 1 September, Hansard 7 col. 2128.

⁹ *Star*, 29 October.

of the Assembly pointed out that this would not affect the right of the delegation from South Africa to take part in the Assembly's proceedings.

It was reported in March¹⁰ that donations amounting to about R700 000 had been made to the United Nations fund to help victims of apartheid, while approximately R1 200 000 had been received for the Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. These figures did not include pledges totalling about R380 000.

On 27 October Unesco passed a resolution, by 55 votes to 26, with 16 abstentions, calling upon affiliated organizations to sever all ties with South Africa. There have, at the time of writing, been no reports of action taken by affiliates as a result: they include the International Red Cross, the Boy Scouts' and Girl Guides' Association, the P.E.N. authors' club, and others covering a wide range of activities such as library training, adult education, the teaching of the deaf, family planning, and tourism.¹¹

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has urged its affiliated unions, representing about 50 000 000 workers in 60 countries, to stop emigration to South Africa.¹²

RELATIONS WITH RHODESIA

The Prime Minister said in the Assembly on 27 July¹ that South Africa's relations with Rhodesia would remain unchanged, in spite of the Security Council's resolution.

After Rhodesia became a republic, on 2 March, all other countries except South Africa withdrew their consulates.²

Mr. Ian Smith has again visited the South African Prime Minister during 1970, and, during May, Mr. Vorster visited Mr. Smith on the first stage of his journey to countries further north.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

The American Secretary of State, Mr. William P. Rogers, visited South Africa early in February. At the time, his statements were non-committal.

On 18 February, however, President Nixon commented on Southern Africa in his state-of-the-world message to Congress. He said, "Clearly, there is no question of the United States condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white-ruled regimes . . . The United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination". However, the 1960's had shown that there could be no quick solution: progressive change in Southern Africa would not be furthered by force. The United States warmly welcomed the Lusaka Manifesto by African leaders, he said.³

¹⁰ *Star*, 26 March.

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October and 11 November.

¹² *Ibid.*, 15 May.

¹ Hansard 1 col. 54.

² *Sunday Times*, 26 April.

³ See 1969 *Survey*, page 78.

Towards the end of March, the State Department released an official policy statement which had been endorsed by the President.⁴ In this, Mr. Rogers said that "the modern world demands a community of nations based on respect for fundamental rights . . . We take our stand on the side of those forces of fundamental human rights in Southern Africa as we do at home and elsewhere." The United States was pledged to work to bring about a change of direction in South Africa, and condemned minority rule, but it rejected violence, believing that the solution to the problem lay in "the constructive interplay of political, economic, and social forces which will inevitably lead to changes". The United States did not believe that "cutting our ties with this rich, troubled land would advance the cause we pursue or help the majority of the people of that country". But the arms embargo would remain.

Washington would continue to oppose South Africa's continued administration of South West Africa, it was stated.

For the first time, a distinction was drawn between the policies of South Africa and of Portugal. The latter's "declared policy of racial toleration" was seen as holding "genuine hope for the future".

Mr. Rogers proposed a programme of aid to enable the enclave states of Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana to build "multi-racial societies free of the predominant influence of the minority-dominated states adjoining and surrounding them".

In a speech made in May⁵ the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. David D. Newsom, announced that American investment in South West Africa was to be discouraged. Later, he said⁶ that in his country's opinion, mandatory sanctions against South Africa were neither practicable nor likely to advance desired goals. "We favour contact by the outside world with all segments of the South African population".

Mr. Newsom visited South Africa and other African states in November, accompanied by his deputy, Mr. W. Beverly Carter. In a Press interview in Johannesburg⁷ he re-emphasized that the United States had always sought a non-violent and evolutionary solution to the problems caused by the "abhorred" racial policies "which by law separate men and deny them rights solely on the basis of the colour of their skin". America would continue to debar its warships from calling at South African ports, he said.

RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN

The cancellation of a Springbok cricket tour of Britain is described in a subsequent chapter. The general secretary of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa had urged that African states should boycott the forthcoming Commonwealth Games unless this

⁴ *Star*, 28 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 March.

⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 May.

⁶ *Star*, 18 September.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November.

were done. The then Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, is reported⁸ to have said that he hoped the British Cricket Council would reconsider its invitation to the Springboks, as it would be a tragedy if African states did boycott the Games. If the Springboks did come, people should feel free to demonstrate, but such demonstrations must be peaceful.

The main issue between South Africa and Britain has been the question of the supply of arms. During February the South African Ambassador handed a note to the then British Foreign Secretary placing on record South Africa's accusation that the Labour Government had failed to honour the letter and spirit of the 1955 Simonstown Agreement⁹ by refusing to allow South Africa to buy sophisticated British equipment required for the defence of the Southern Atlantic sea-lanes.¹⁰

Speaking in the Assembly on 17 February,¹¹ the South African Minister of Defence said that in 1965 Britain had promised to allow the supply of specialized equipment that was an integral part of an anti-submarine weapon system. Supplies continued until 1969, when an export permit was refused. "It is necessary for South Africa to take other decisions in so far as it concerns her maritime defence", the Minister said. (Submarines and other equipment have been obtained from France, for example.)

After the British general elections the incoming Conservative Party Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, told the House of Commons that he intended giving effect to the purposes of the Simonstown Agreement, for Britain had vital defence interests in the Southern Atlantic. "This in no way means that we condone racialist practices", he added. A full statement was promised later.¹²

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, told Parliament that there would be the fullest consultations with Commonwealth countries before a final decision were made, nevertheless Britain reserved the right to sell certain limited categories of naval defence weapons that were directly related to the security of the sea routes.¹³

Considerable opposition to any such plan has been expressed within Britain.

Action taken by the "non-aligned" states is described later.

RELATIONS WITH LESOTHO, BOTSWANA, AND SWAZILAND

During December 1969 a new customs agreement was reached between the governments of South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland. The Customs Union that had existed since 1910 would

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May.

⁹ See 1968 *Survey*, page 75, for the terms of this Agreement.

¹⁰ *Sunday Times*, 8 February.

¹¹ Hansard 3 col. 1271.

¹² *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 July.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 14 and 21 July.

continue, but the three smaller territories would receive a much larger share than previously of the combined revenue from customs, excise, and sales duty.

The agreement allowed for the three territories to impose additional duties to protect their own new industries, while retaining free entry for the products into the territories of the other partners. Duties collected in this manner would be paid into the common customs revenue pool and subsequently shared between all the countries concerned.

The first general election since independence was held in Lesotho at the end of January. At a stage when it appeared that the opposition Congress Party was winning, the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, stopped the election as being invalid, suspended the constitution, and declared a state of emergency. He alleged that there had been irregularities, intimidation of voters, and violence. He promised that free, democratic elections would be held later, under a new constitution.

South Africa's Prime Minister said in the Assembly on 6 February¹ that the Republic's attitude to Lesotho was unchanged, since it was not for her to interfere in the domestic affairs of another State. "We are simply continuing as if nothing has happened".

It was mentioned in last year's *Survey* that Mr. Joe Molefi, a South African refugee in Lesotho, had been served with a deportation order. He appealed against this, unsuccessfully, in first the High Court and then the Appeal Court of Lesotho, and then was given leave to appeal to the Privy Council. The Privy Council found, in June, that Lesotho was bound by the international convention for the protection of refugees, but that Mr. Molefi was not a refugee in terms of this convention.²

Mr. Molefi, together with about 40 other South African political exiles in Lesotho, was detained during the state of emergency there; Chief Jonathan alleged that they had meddled in the political affairs of his country in spite of repeated warnings. The South African Government granted permission for these people to overfly the Republic if they could find political asylum abroad. Some have left.³

It was announced from Moscow during March that Botswana and Russia had decided to establish diplomatic relations: no date was specified. South Africa's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development is reported to have commented that South Africa was not in favour of neighbouring states establishing such relations with Russia, but could do nothing to stop it.⁴

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the Assembly on 3 September⁵ that when Botswana became a member of the

¹ Hansard 1 col. 454.

² *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 July.

³ *Ibid.*, 18 July and 2 September.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11 March and 8 April.

⁵ Hansard 7 col. 3279.

United Nations it had to define its boundaries, and claimed to have a common boundary with Zambia at a point midstream at the confluence of the Chobe and Zambesi Rivers. This is near Kazungula, where the borders of the Caprivi Strip, Rhodesia, Zambia, and Botswana converge. South Africa disputed this definition of Botswana's borders, the Minister said, maintaining that the boundary had been moved at the expense of South West Africa. It was purely a juridical problem.

A ferry boat service had been in operation between Zambia and Botswana at Kazungula for more than a decade, the Minister continued. "Our Government does not interfere with the normal traffic at that ferry. But, just as we did in the past, we shall continue to ensure that South Africa's security is not threatened by it."

It was announced in April that the United States had offered to assist Botswana to build an international highway linking the country with Zambia, with a bridge near Kazungula. It would open up hitherto inaccessible regions of Botswana. South Africa's Prime Minister is reported⁶ to have said, "I have no jurisdiction over links that may or may not be built between two independent countries". In the speech referred to earlier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that the question of the road would be considered through normal diplomatic channels. "If it were built by Botswana we would be able to make use of it, just as Botswana and other neighbouring states are making use of our roads".

The assistance being given by voluntary South African agencies in Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland is described in the first chapter of this *Survey*.

RELATIONS WITH MALAWI

The Minister of Foreign Affairs said in the Assembly on 6 February⁷ that South Africa had made a loan of R8 000 000 to Malawi for the construction and development of the new capital at Lilongwe.

In terms of its export finance scheme, the Minister continued, the Industrial Development Corporation of S.A. had granted credit totalling R10 340 336 to enable a South African consortium to secure contracts for a railway and rail equipment linking Malawi with the Mozambique coast. South African materials and labour would be used as far as possible.

As mentioned earlier, the South African Prime Minister visited Malawi during May.

CONFERENCES OF LEADERS OF AFRICAN STATES

The Lusaka Manifesto, adopted in 1969 at the fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States, was summarized

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 June.
⁷ Hansard 1 cols. 359-60.

on page 78 of last year's *Survey*. One of the key passages was an agreement that what the leaders of these states required of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal was a commitment to the principles of human equality and self-determination. Given this commitment, disagreements about the rate of implementation would be the concern of individual countries and not a matter for concerted African action.

The Foreign Ministers of the states concerned met in Lusaka early in January to prepare for the sixth Summit Conference, to be held in Khartoum later that month. They issued a communique (from which Malawi dissociated itself), viewing with grave dismay the deteriorating situation in Southern Africa. By their "outright rejection" of the Lusaka Manifesto, it was stated, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal had "closed the door to the possibility of a peaceful solution". Support for the liberation movement was again pledged.⁸ At the meeting in Khartoum it was agreed to appoint a committee to organize boycotts of countries that traded with South Africa.

This decision was again discussed at the seventh Summit talks, held in Addis Ababa during September, differences of opinion being expressed. It was, *inter alia*, decided to appoint a delegation to persuade Western countries to refrain from supplying arms to South Africa. President Kaunda of Zambia, who had been chairman of the meeting, was entrusted with this mission.⁹

CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED STATES

Immediately after this meeting a Non-Aligned Nations Summit Conference was held in Lusaka: President Kaunda again presided. There were reported¹⁰ to be delegates from about 54 of the "Third World" countries of Africa, Asia, the Middle East (excluding Israel), and Eastern Europe, including 25 heads of states — of Yugoslavia, India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Laos, and other countries.

Sixteen foreign journalists (mainly men based in Southern Africa) were detained at the commencement of the proceedings for periods of up to 23 hours. Three of them were ordered to leave Zambia, and others were prevented from covering the conference.

It was reported¹¹ that there were deep differences of opinion on various issues, drafting committees having to adopt innocuous wording in order to secure agreement. Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland are said to have avoided supporting actions against South Africa that might conflict with their own interests, in view of their geographical situation. The French-speaking African states were unwilling to vote for any resolution condemning France's trade

⁸ *Star*, 9 January.

⁹ *Star*, 4 September.

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.

¹¹ Various Press reports between 11 and 16 September.

links with South Africa. Arab states pressed for motions calling for sanctions against Israel, which various African states did not support. Other world issues were discussed. There was no voting, decisions being reached on the basis of a consensus of opinion. But a commentator said that there was complete unanimity on one point: the reaction of men of colour to the denial of acceptance simply *because* they were men of colour.

The conference adopted a plan, proposed by Emperor Haile Selassie, to work for the maximum isolation of the "minority racist regimes" of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal, and for increased aid for liberation movements, through the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)

It was agreed that President Kaunda, accompanied by the Foreign Ministers of Algeria, Cameroun, Kenya, and Mali, should tour Western capitals to try to persuade the governments to refrain from selling arms to South Africa; from giving any direct or indirect support to South Africa, Rhodesia, or Portugal; and, if involved, to withdraw from the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric project in Mozambique.¹² President Kaunda would, also, speak for the Third World and the O.A.U. at the United Nations.

No permanent secretariat was set up, as had apparently been planned. The conference issued the "Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation, and Democratisation of International Relations". Besides calling for the action outlined above, the leaders decided to continue their efforts to bring about the dissolution of great power military alliances, and to intensify joint efforts for the liquidation of colonialism and racial discrimination.

President Kaunda and his companions then visited West Germany, Britain, the United States, and France. The only success they apparently achieved was in France, where a partial ban on some items of equipment for South Africa was promised: the practical effects of this were not clear.

OFFERS BY SOUTH AFRICA TO OTHER AFRICAN STATES

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, has several times emphasized that it is possible to have good relations with other states, while pursuing different domestic policies. During September he offered to enter into non-aggression pacts with other countries in Africa and elsewhere.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, referred to this offer in a speech to the United Nations General Assembly. He continued, "I note with disappointment, indeed surprise, that certain African states have already rejected our offer. I trust, however, that if they should persist in spurning our offer they will

¹² The World Bank, Sweden, and Italy, which originally agreed to help finance this project, had already dissociated themselves from it, leaving the responsibility to South Africa, Portugal, France, and West Germany.

at least refrain from accusing us of aggressive designs in future".¹

Speaking in the Assembly on 15 September,² the Prime Minister said that people in the black states were fortunate because "there was no need for them to spend a cent on armaments". They knew that South Africa would not attack them.

The Republic would not tolerate communist domination in Southern Africa, Mr. Vorster continued. "We shall rise against it and oppose it with all the means at our disposal . . . The second thing is that we shall fight terrorism . . . not only in our own country, but also in any other country in Africa where the Government requests us to do so". Forces were being built up to be used against South Africa later. If such plans were carried out and terrorists did invade the Republic "from certain countries with the permission of those countries, we shall resist them. If they take to flight we shall chase them, and we shall do so right into those countries from which they come".

On 10 November, the Minister of Defence said that South Africa was prepared to discuss with her African neighbours and her other friends contingency planning arrangements aimed at resisting possible terrorist attacks and Russian military penetration.³

NEW CONTACT WITH CERTAIN AFRICAN STATES

It was announced early in November that the government of the Ivory Coast, led by President F. Houphouët-Boigny, had decided that the O.A.U. was ineffectual, not really unified, and too dependent on wordy resolutions that led nowhere. President Kaunda's overseas mission was not considered to have been a success, and he was not regarded by the Ivory Coast as being a pan-African leader. The O.A.U. had been neglecting very real social and economic problems in the African states.

The Ivory Coast had decided to adopt a more realistic policy, based on contact and dialogue with South Africa and Portugal, trying to bring about changes by peaceful means. Closer trade and political ties would be sought; this would not necessarily involve full diplomatic relations.⁴

President Houphouët-Boigny is reported to have said that he was sending envoys to discuss his policy with other heads of African states, with a possible view to the calling of an African summit at which reality would be taken into account.⁵

The Ivory Coast has a "little entente" agreement with Gabon, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, and Togo. Gabon and Dahomey announced that they supported President Houphouët-Boigny's policy. So did Mauritius. Mali opposed it, as did Senegal, Cameroun, Liberia, and the People's Republic of Congo.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October.

² *Hansard* 9 cols. 4207-8.

³ *Star*, 11 November.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 and 4 November.

⁵ *Star*, 5 November.

A few days later, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that he was to visit the Malagasy Republic to finalize a trade agreement. It was announced on 14 November⁶ that a loan of R2 320 000 was to be made to the Government of that country to improve transport facilities on the island of Nosse Be and to augment electricity and water supplies, and that the Industrial Development Corporation would provide export credit facilities for the building of a five-star hotel, in order to develop the tourist industry.

At the time, the Premier of Ghana, Dr. K. Busia, was visiting Canada. He is reported⁷ to have said he agreed that neither sanctions nor guerilla warfare would affect the South African Government's policy. Other means should be tried, including dialogue, to try to encourage constitutional and moral changes from within the country. (There is stated to have been some opposition from within Ghana to Dr. Busia's remarks.)

It was reported on 14 November that heads of states from French-speaking Africa would discuss the question of relations with South Africa at an already-scheduled summit meeting of the Afro-Malagasy Organization to be held early in 1971.

THE NETHERLANDS

The Deputy Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Dr. J. A. Bakker, visited South Africa in November; he was the first Dutch Minister to do so for twelve years. Besides meeting Cabinet Ministers he had talks with other leading personalities of the various racial groups.

In a Press interview,⁸ Dr. Bakker said that ties between the two countries must be maintained, even if the Netherlands disagreed with some aspects of South African policy. He welcomed the closer contact with other African states.

IRAN

South Africa and Iran have agreed to establish consulates-general in one another's countries. Diplomatic relations with the Lebanon already existed.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 November.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November.

⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 November.

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1970 the South African Reserve Bank stated that the economy had achieved a very high rate of growth. There had been an increase of well over 12 per cent in the gross domestic product at current prices, despite a shortage of labour and certain types of capital. The upswing in economic activity stemmed from a substantial rise in total domestic demand, which exceeded the domestic supply of goods and services and exerted considerable pressure on resources, particularly on the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour.

This had led to price rises at a rate which might be considered unduly high. Moreover, although a high rate of growth was achieved, the distribution of resources was such that most of the increase in activity was concentrated in fixed property development and in the provision of financial and other services. Sectors responsible for the production of goods did not expand satisfactorily.

On 30 October the Government announced steps to check the flow of credit by raising the cash deposit and shortening the period for repayment in a range of hire-purchase transactions.

THE COST OF LIVING

According to a news release dated 25 August by the Department of Statistics, the weighted average consumer price index for the nine principal urban areas rose from a base of 100 in October 1958 to 126.6 in July 1969 and 134.3 in July 1970. The index for food only was 134.8 in July 1970.

The nine urban areas for which calculations were made were Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Pretoria, the Witwatersrand, and Bloemfontein.

During November 1966, the Department conducted a survey of the expenditure of white families. A new weighing system has been devised, based on the results of this survey, and using a base of 100 in April 1970. The new index includes the Vaal Triangle and the Free State goldfields as well as the areas mentioned above. The weighted average of the eleven areas was 100.8 in July 1970 (all items), and 101.8 for food only.

In his Budget speech,¹ the Minister of Finance said that during the year ended 30 June the consumer price index had

¹ Assembly, 12 August. Hansard 4 col. 1530.