A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS

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POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

NATIONALIST PARTY

The emergence of “verligte” and “verkrampte” groups within the Nationalist Party has been described in the two previous issues of this Survey. In an address to the Institute of Race Relations in October its President, Mr. Leo Marquard, dealt with this matter.(1)

“The verkramptes”, he said, “are those who maintain that Afrikaner nationalism grew strong through its vigilance; it should not bow the knee to the foreign and false gods that appear in seductive disguises as ‘moderation’, ‘co-operation between Christian churches’, and so on. These are really liberalism in disguise. The Afrikaner should glory in his isolation. The verligtes (especially as seen by the verkramptes) are those who think that Afrikaner nationalism not only can afford to relax its exclusiveness but that it will be compelled to do so in order to preserve itself as a white group on a black continent.”

Mr. Marquard pointed out that probably the majority of verkramptes are comparatively young people who have been brought up on the tenets of Christian National Education. In terms of this policy, first published in 1948, he said, “a ‘Christian’ means Christian according to the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Churches, and . . . ‘National’ refers to the Boerrenasis—that is, Afrikaner nationalist”.

The alleged infiltration by the verkramptes of Afrikaner organizations was outlined on page 2 of last year’s Survey.

At the beginning of the year under review the Prime Minister was not prepared to admit publicly that there was any real struggle within the party. On 6 February he said in the Assembly,(2) “There is not a single man sitting on this side in this Parliament who does not subscribe a hundred per cent to the entire policy of the Nationalist Party in all its respects”.

From July, however, Mr. Vorster made open attacks on party dissidents. At the end of June anonymous “smear” letters and pamphlets were sent to Nationalist leaders by verkramptes. Mr. Marquard said that an anonymous letter sent to Nationalist M.P.s “attempted to discredit the Prime Minister and other prominent Afrikaners by pretending to praise them for their enlightened, liberal, and outward-looking policies—in fact, praising them for what all good Nationalists had always been taught was un-Afrikaans”.

(1) Some Present Political Trends, published by the Institute of Race Relations.
(2) Hansard 1 col. 62.
Mr. Vorster reacted strongly by calling in the Special Branch to discover the perpetrators of the letters (some of them confessed). On 12 August the party’s Transvaal Executive expelled five young men who were found to have been responsible. Newspapers such as *Die Vaderland*, *Dagbreek*, and *Hoojstad* that had previously published the views of verkramptes ceased to do so. The insinuations in the “smear” letter were repudiated in the Nationalist Press.

The name of Dr. Albert Hertzog had become attached to the verkramptes (although he had not publicly endorsed their views). In February, Dr. Hertzog was removed from the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs but remained Minister of Health until a reshuffle in August, when he was omitted from the Cabinet.

On 16 August the Prime Minister made an important speech at a party rally in Heilbron, dealing with aspects of his policy that had been targets for verkrampte attacks and defending these vigorously and with conviction—matters such as diplomatic relationships with Black States, immigration, co-operation between Afrikaans and English, making it feasible for non-white athletes to attend the Olympic Games.

Mr. Vorster is reported to have said, “There is a small number of people sitting on the fence... The time has arrived that they will have to make a choice”. Referring obviously to the verkrampte he said, “For two years I have shown the greatest patience... I am no longer prepared to be patient with these malicious people... I have told you how I see things. If I am wrong then you must get another leader. But if I am right, then I expect the loyal support of every one of my followers”.

In his summing up of political trends Mr. Marquard said, “I think the quarrel is significant because it indicates a shift in Afrikaans political thinking, away from total isolationism and total exclusiveness... But I don’t think we should delude ourselves into believing that a new era in race relations is about to dawn”.

As indicated in the pages that follow, apartheid measures as between White and Black have been reinforced and have been more stringently applied during the past year. Threats have been made to clergy and students who protested. Banning orders continue to be issued, and passports refused. Action has been taken in South-West Africa in direct defiance of United Nations resolutions.

There has, however, been another development in Nationalist thinking: at the time of writing it is too soon to estimate the significance of this. During October the publication *Woord en Daad*, mouthpiece of the Afrikaans Calvinist Movement which has its headquarters in Potchefstroom, rejected the existing state of apartheid as a permanent solution to the racial question, and described apartheid regulations as “intolerable burdens which could be justified only if they were regarded as transitional regulations”. A call was made for the creation of opportunity for a “humane existence in the Bantu homelands”, and it was stressed that the longer the delay, the more difficult this would become.

Many Dutch Reformed Church ministers have become increasingly concerned about the effects of migratory labour on African family life.

Professor N. J. Rhodie of the University of Pretoria declared that “certain maximum goals cannot be reached. What should be prepared is a blueprint of minimum goals”. *Die Transvaal*, the Nationalist Party’s official mouthpiece in the Transvaal, has appealed for a volkskongres on the race question, with a selected audience and carefully chosen speakers. In an editorial published on 15 November it was stated that the object would be to make it clear that the Government could not solve the race problem on its own. Whites must realize that they would have to roll up their sleeves and make sacrifices. Various Afrikaans newspapers have expressed concern over the slow pace of development of the homelands.

**UNITED PARTY**

The United Party’s race federation policy, and its recommendations for non-white representation in Parliament, were described on page 4 of last year’s Survey. The Party’s attitude on matters that were of general concern during the year is outlined in the pages that follow.

**COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO IMPROPER INTERFERENCE AND THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS**

The circumstances leading to the appointment of this Commission were described on pages 12 to 18 of the 1966 Survey. The Commission’s report was published on 16 February. It contained a majority report by the six Nationalist Party members, a minority report of the three Opposition members (including a representative of Coloured voters), and, as an annexure, the memoranda submitted, and in some cases oral evidence given, by 47 organizations and individuals, 17 of them Coloured.

The majority report recommended that the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill of 1966 be not proceeded with in its existing form. It was considered, however, that legislation providing against improper interference by one race group in the politics of another was desirable; that the representation of Coloured people in Parliament should be abolished; and that a Coloured Legislative Council should be created in place of the
Council for Coloured Affairs, with somewhat wider powers. The detailed recommendations of the majority were, in the main, incorporated in the legislation that followed, and are discussed later.

The minority considered that the suggestions by the majority for preventing “improper interference” were impractical and that the matter was not a suitable one for legislation. They stated that “it is essential that our Coloured citizens should have some defined form of representation in our sovereign Parliament. To deny them this right, which they have enjoyed for over a century, would be a gross injustice. Moreover, the overwhelming volume of evidence given by the Coloured people to the Commission was that they would bitterly resent being deprived of representation in the sovereign Parliament.” The proposals for a Coloured Legislative Assembly were supported provided it was recognized that such a body could never assume the status or powers of a sovereign Parliament.

Indians, too, should be represented in Parliament, the minority considered, and the Indian Council should be developed along lines similar to those recommended for the Coloured Council.

During a debate in the Assembly on the report(7) the Chairman of the Commission, the Hon. S. L. Muller (who was then the Deputy Minister of Police, of Finance, and of Economic Affairs),(8) challenged the statement by the minority that the overwhelming weight of Coloured evidence had been that Coloured people would bitterly resent the deprivation of representation in Parliament. But Sir de Villiers Graaff disagreed with Mr. Muller,(9) asserting that the majority report had been in sharp contradiction to the evidence. Mr. A. Bloomberg supported this remark: he is a representative of Coloured voters and had been a member of the Commission.

Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) maintained(10) the Government knew perfectly well that, given the ordinary, democratic choice, Coloured people would reject “the whole oppressive concept of separate development”. But the Coloured organizations that might have given evidence to the Commission along these lines had been deliberately emasculated by the Government through visits by the Special Branch; police and magisterial warnings; banning orders; the dismissal of teachers; and massive administrative action through the Group Areas Act, job reservation, and other means.

There was now a background of utter frustration and futility among Coloured people, Mrs. Suzman said. The acceptance of separate development by some of them had been under duress; a result of despair.

(Further reference is made to the attitudes of Coloured people on page 13.)

**LEGISLATION INTRODUCED AS A RESULT OF THE COMMISSION’S RECOMMENDATIONS**

 Shortly after the Commission had reported, the Government introduced the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill, the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill, and the Coloured Persons Representative Council Amendment Bill.

During the Parliamentary debate the Minister of the Interior successfully moved that the title of the first of these measures be altered to the “Prohibition of Political Interference Bill”.

**“POLITICAL INTERFERENCE” AND COLOURED REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT**

Prohibition of Political Interference Act, No. 51 of 1968

This Act made it illegal for anyone:

(a) to belong to a racially-mixed political party (the races were defined in accordance with definitions contained in the Population Registration Act);

(b) to assist a political party which has members drawn from a population group other than his own by being an agent or a member of an election committee, or to give such assistance to a person of another population group who is nominated as a candidate for Parliament, a provincial council, the Transkeian Legislative Assembly, the Coloured Persons’ Representative Council, or any other body to which the State President may apply the Act;

(c) to address any meeting to further the interests of a political party or the candidature of a person nominated for election to one of the bodies mentioned above if all or the greater majority of those present belong to a population group other than his own;

(d) to receive money from outside the Republic, or cause such money to be brought in, if it may be used to further the interests of a political party or a candidate for election, or to combat any aim or principle of a political party.

No prosecution will be instituted under this Act except on the express direction of the provincial attorney-general. Minimum sentences are prescribed for those convicted of contravening any provision of the Act. On a first conviction there is a fine of not less than R300 or more than R600, or imprisonment for a period of not less than six months or more than twelve months, or both such fine and such imprisonment.

\(7\) 28 February, Hansard 4 col. 1271.

\(8\) Mr. Muller was subsequently made Minister of Police and the Interior.

\(9\) Col. 1274.

\(10\) Col. 1311.

\(11\) Cols. 1356-9.
On a second or subsequent conviction the penalties are a fine of not less than R1,000 or more than R2,000, or imprisonment for a period of not less than one year or more than two years, or both such fine and such imprisonment.

Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, No. 50 of 1968

This Act provided that Coloured representation in the House of Assembly and Cape Provincial Council would cease when these bodies were dissolved before the next elections, and that any vacancies existing or occurring before then would not be filled. (There was a vacant seat in the Assembly, caused by the death of Mr. C. Barnett.)

It was provided, too, that the Government would not appoint anyone to the vacant seat for a Senator nominated on the ground of his thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured people of the Cape.

Parliamentary debate on these two Bills

(1) Prohibition of Political Interference

Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) opposed the motion of the Minister of the Interior that leave be given to introduce the Bill, and at the Second Reading stage moved that the Bill be read that day six months. The Opposition as a whole was strongly opposed to the measure, forcing a division on every clause at the Committee stage.

Mrs. Suzman said that in prohibiting mixed political parties the Government was infringing the basic democratic right of freedom of association. The system of separating people into political compartments on a racial basis would drive non-whites into bitterness, frustration, and hostility.

The Minister of the Interior stated that in the past there had been exploitation of the Coloured vote. There were political forces both inside and outside the country doing everything within their power to obstruct the Government in the implementation of its policy of separate development. The Government, as guardians, wanted to ensure that the right of self-determination was exercised by all population groups in as untrammelled and uninfluenced a way as possible.

Members of the Opposition criticized the clause dealing with meetings as being vague but the Minister replied that it had deliberately been framed in vague terms. There was nothing in the Bill to prevent a member of a White political party from advocating his party's policies at a meeting at which a minority of Coloured people was present, the Minister said: Coloured people could in any case read Press reports of such a meeting.

A White man could even describe his party's policy before an entirely Coloured audience provided that this was not done with a view to the creation of a Coloured party holding similar views, or to influence people to support such a Coloured party.

In reply to Mr. E. G. Malan (United Party), the Minister said that it would become illegal for any White political party to use African messengers to deliver political pamphlets.

The clause dealing with the acceptance of money from overseas had also deliberately been framed in vague terms, the Minister stated, in order to prevent money from entering the country to assist a specific political party via an individual person or a non-political organization.

Referring to the provision that prosecutions under the Act would not take place except at the direction of the attorney-general, Sir de Villiers Graaff said this was indicative of the fact that the Minister realized "this Bill is so cast that he may catch fish that he did not intend to catch at all". Sir de Villiers and other speakers strongly opposed the provision of a minimum sentence.

(2) Abolition of Coloured representation in Parliament

The United Party, Progressive Party, and Coloured Representatives all opposed the Minister of the Interior's motion that leave be given to introduce the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Bill. At both the Second and Third Readings Sir de Villiers Graaff moved that it be read that day six months, and at the Committee stage a division was forced on every clause.

Sir de Villiers pointed out that in abolishing Coloured representation the Government was breaking a pledge given by Dr. Verwoerd in 1964.

It was maintained by the Prime Minister that the existing representation of Coloured people was a "bluff". While there must be at least 700,000 Coloured over the age of 21 years, he said, only 33,000 male voters in the Cape had possessed a certain measure of representation in the Assembly.

In reply, Mrs. Suzman said if it were true that the Coloured vote was meaningless, why had the Government plunged the country into the constitutional crises of the 1950s? The Government, she continued, was abolishing the representation of Coloured people for the one simple reason that increasing numbers of them were voting for the Progressive Party. Mr. G. S. Eden (Coloured Representative) contended that the Nationalists did not dare to contest an election among the Coloured people. Sir de Villiers said, "One cannot help asking oneself whether this system would have been regarded as being bad if the Coloureds had continually returned Nationalists to this House". Mrs. Suzman enquired whether it had not been "improper interference" when the Nationalists removed Coloured voters from the common roll.
The Prime Minister asserted that for the first time in their history the Coloured people were to have substantial powers through the Coloured Council. Sir de Villiers replied that Parliament had powers of vital importance to Coloured people in respect of which the Council would have no say whatsoever. The Coloured should continue to have the right to be heard on these matters through representatives in the Assembly; for otherwise, Parliament would never know what they were thinking.

The Coloured people, Sir de Villiers continued, were the group closest to the Whites, with long political experience, yet they were being placed in a position inferior to that of the Bantu. The latter had at least been promised possible eventual sovereign independence.

All three Coloured Representatives spoke of the frustration of the Coloured people and of their opposition to the Bill.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs said, "It is true that the Coloured people might feel aggrieved at the removal of their representation from the House of Assembly... I concede that".

EFFECTS OF THE ACTS ON THE PROGRESSIVE AND LIBERAL PARTIES

When racially-mixed political parties became illegal the Progressive Party, "under protest and under compulsion", decided to confine its membership to Whites. Its leader, Dr. Steytler, said, "We know that our non-white members and supporters want us to fight on, and we know that there is a great need for our party—perhaps greater than ever before". As the ugliness of apartheid became increasingly apparent, he continued, "a party like ours will be desperately needed". The national chairman, Mr. Harry Lawrence, emphasized that the party would continue to fight for the principles of multi-racialism and a just society.

Mrs. Suzman pointed out that at a congress two years previously the non-white members of the party had encouraged the Whites to continue even if they themselves could not do so. It was tragic that the party was to be deprived of their active co-operation, she said, but nothing stood in the way of discussions.

The seats held by two members of the Progressive Party in the Cape Provincial Administration will be abolished in 1970, when the life of the present council comes to an end.

The Liberal Party decided that continued existence as a uni-racial party would be inimical to its non-racial philosophy, and decided to disband. It was reported to have approximately 2,500 members, more than half of whom were non-white. Numbers of leading members had been forced to resign; the party's national president, Mr. Alan Paton, said that banning orders had been served on 42 of them over the past five years. The party donated its funds to the Institute of Race Relations to be used for the education of under-privileged people.

PROTESTS AGAINST THE BILLS

A fortnight's protest against the two Bills was arranged by the Black Sash in co-operation with the Progressive and Liberal Parties, the National Union of S.A. Students, the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand. This began with an all-night vigil in Johannesburg, in which church leaders and other members of the public also took part. Participants carried torches and displayed placards. The national president of the Black Sash, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, set alight the organization's flame of freedom, which was kept burning for the duration of the protest.

Mrs. Sinclair said, "We have come together tonight to register our anger and our strongest disapproval of the Government for its decision to remove from the Coloured people of the Cape their representation in Parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council. We object strongly, too, to government interference in our right of free political association. The whole of South Africa will be impoverished by this isolating of people into political vacuums, and the harm done to good relations will be immeasurable. Despite this abhorrent legislation the Government will not succeed in extinguishing the light of freedom within us".

Vigils and protest meetings were arranged by these same organizers in numerous centres in South Africa. The Black Sash distributed leaflets describing the Government's "great betrayal" of the African and Coloured voters. Members of the Progressive Party drew attention to the protest by driving with their lights on during the daytime.

Eight leading churchmen signed an appeal to more than 1,000 churches of all denominations throughout the country asking them to pray for the Coloured people, who were to be deprived of any real say in the affairs of the country, and in addition denied the right of any effective political association with other groups. Prayers were asked for the Government, too. Men, women, and children of all race groups worked throughout the Easter weekend addressing envelopes.

The police took the names and addresses of numbers of members of staff and students of the University of Rhodes who joined a silent protest arranged by the Black Sash in Grahamstown.

Almost 1,000 people attended a protest meeting in Johannesburg and unanimously adopted a resolution pledging themselves to "strive for the restoration of political parties to which all South
Africans can belong, and for a political system in which all South Africans will have equal opportunity to play their part”.

The Director of the Institute of Race Relations, Mr. Quintin Whyte, issued a statement in which he said, “While the Institute was unhappy about the present form of representation because it tends to induce racial friction and resentment, it considers that the relegation of the Cape Coloured to an even more inferior, powerless, political position will give rise to an embitterment which bodes ill for the future of South Africa . . . . The six million Cape Coloured of the year 2000 A.D.—only 32 years away—are unlikely to accept this enforced political impotence. The racial situation cannot be contained for ever in the strait-jacket of apartheid”.

COLOURED PERSONS REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL ACT.
No. 52 OF 1968

Terms of the Act

The Coloured Persons Representative Council will consist of 40 elected and 20 nominated members (instead of 30 elected and 16 nominated, as provided for in the principal Act of 1964). As before, of the nominated members, two must be Malays, two Griquas, and the rest must represent the Provinces: twelve (instead of eight as previously) from the Cape, two from the Transvaal, and one each from the Free State and Natal.

There will be twenty-eight instead of eighteen electoral divisions in the Cape and, as before, six in the Transvaal and three each in the other provinces. It will be an offence for a qualified Coloured person (over the age of 21 years) not to register as a voter, the maximum penalty on conviction being R50 or three months’ imprisonment. Special provision is made for the registration of persons who are unable to read or write.

As previously, the State President will designate the chairman of the Council’s Executive, the other four members being elected by the Council. A new provision was that the State President may at any time remove the chairman from office. No member of the Executive may also hold the office of chairman of the Council as a whole: the latter is elected by members.

As before, the Executive will deal with finance, local government, education, and community development in so far as these matters affect Coloured people, and with Coloured rural settlements. The new Act added that the Executive will deal, too, with such other matters as the State President may from time to time determine.

The chairman of the Executive will deal with finance, and to each of the elected members will be assigned responsibility for one of the other matters mentioned. Powers in relation to these matters may be delegated to the Executive member concerned by the Minister of Coloured Affairs or a Provincial Administrator.

The principal Act provided that the State President might by proclamation confer upon the Council the power to make laws on the matters mentioned above as they affect the Coloured people. The necessity for such a proclamation falls away in terms of the Amendment Act: the Council may draft laws without special powers to do so being conferred upon it. But, as before, no proposed law may be introduced except with the approval of the Minister, granted after consultation with the Minister of Finance and the Administrators.

It was stated in the principal Act that the moneys required for the exercise of the Council’s powers and functions shall be made available annually out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose. The Amendment Act adds that money to defray unforeseen expenditure of a special character may be made available from the Exchequer Account if the State President deems this to be in the public interest.

The Council is to be given slightly more latitude than was previously proposed in the preparation of its estimates of expenditure, but, as before, these will require the approval of the Minister, in consultation with the Minister of Finance. The Ministers will decide the total amount which will be submitted to Parliament for appropriation.

Thereafter, the chairman of the Executive will submit the estimates to the Council, which will by resolution appropriate moneys for specific services within the limits of the total sum voted by Parliament. Members of the Executive will then control the expenditure in accordance with the approved estimates. Unspent balances at the end of a financial year will be repaid into the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Insofar as they are appropriate, the provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act will apply to the administration and control of money by the Council and its Executive.

Meetings of the Council will be open to the public.

A Department of Coloured Relations is to be created.

Parliamentary debate on the Bill

The Prime Minister said that for the time being, at any rate, the Council would be named the Coloured Persons Representative Council, and not the Coloured Persons Legislative Council, as recommended by the Commission. The Commission suggested that the chairman of the Executive should be elected, but this was unacceptable to the Government because the chairman would be responsible for finance and must be fitted for such a position. Furthermore, the Government was unwilling to grant the Council

(19) See Hansard references given in footnote (17).
ordinary powers of taxation: it might, however, be authorized to impose specific levies.

The Commission had suggested the creation of a Coloured Affairs Commission as a link between the Council and the Government in matters over which the Council had no control, and of a Select Committee of Parliament on Coloured Affairs, to maintain liaison with a similar committee of the Council. At the present stage the Government would take no decision as to what channel of communication should exist between the Government or Parliament and the Council, the Prime Minister said. It would wait to consult with the new Council on this point.

The term of office of the existing Council for Coloured Affairs would be extended pending the creation of a new Council.

The Minister of Coloured Affairs stated that the bulk of the work of his Department would be transferred to the Administration of the Council: the cost of the services so transferred would initially amount to about R50,000,000 a year. In order to maintain the existing level of efficiency, most of the officials of the Department would be seconded to the Administration while retaining their rights and privileges as public servants. Coloured officials would gradually replace Whites.

The head of the Administration, to be designated the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, would also be the accounting officer and would accompany the chairman of the Executive when the latter had to appear before the Select Committee of the House of Assembly in regard to the spending of the funds appropriated for the Council.

His own department would survive in a diminished form, the Minister said, to maintain liaison between the Administration and the central Government. It would be renamed the Department of Coloured Relations.

Much preparatory work had to be done — the registration of voters and compilation of rolls, delimitation of constituencies, printing of the necessary forms, and so on. It would probably be possible to hold an election in the latter half of 1969 and the first annual session of the Council in May or June of 1970. (The general registration of voters commenced on 18 September.)

In the Senate on 28 May the Minister said that a comprehensive report had been prepared on social welfare services for the Coloured people. He would hold it over as one of the first matters to be dealt with by the Council.

The Opposition supported the principle of the Bill but suggested numbers of amendments at the Committee stage, none of which was accepted. They urged, for example, that all the members of the Council should be elected: Sir de Villiers asked if it would not be "improper interference" if the Government nominated one-third of these members. Attention was drawn to the limitations on the Council's powers, and to the lack of any machinery for liaison with Parliament. It was again pointed out that the Council could never be a substitute for direct representation in Parliament.

Other comments

In a paper given to the Institute of Race Relations Mrs. Y. M. Maytham pointed out that for the purpose of the Separate Representation of Voters Act Indians in the Cape were regarded as Coloured and voted with them on the separate roll. They had no vote for the Coloured Council, and since the passing of the Political Interference Act could not be members of a Coloured political party.

Government spokesmen have encouraged Coloured teachers to take part in Coloured politics. On 15 November the regulations for Coloured political parties from having to obtain official permission to hold meetings there.

**COLOURED POLITICAL PARTIES AND ATTITUDES**

Mrs. Maytham said, in this paper, that a study of evidence given to the "Improper Interference" Commission made it perfectly clear that the whole range of political philosophies from the extreme right of the extreme left was shared by members of both the White and the Coloured groups, although proportionately more of the latter wanted increased Coloured participation in the central government.

The whole position in regard to Coloured political party groupings and alignments was in a state of constant flux, she said. In looking at these groupings it must be remembered that their formation was not a normal evolutionary process of their own choice, and this to a large extent accounted for the constant change particularly in regard to the personalities involved and their alignment as they "jockeyed" for position.

The political parties mentioned were as given below.

1. The **Federale Kleurling Volksparty** was formed by Government-appointed members of the Council for Coloured Affairs and is led by the chairman of this Council, Mr. Tom Swartz. It accepts the Government's policy of separate development and stands for vertical but not horizontal apartheid. In their oral evidence before the Commission the leaders pleaded for the retention and extension to other provinces of Coloured representation by Coloured in the central parliament. They refused to divulge membership figures.

(21) "The Emergence of Political Groups among the Coloured People in the Cape Province".

{20} Senate Hansard 12 col. 3428.
2. The Kleurling Volksbond was formed in 1958 but later joined the Federal Party, agreeing to work separately in the cultural and welfare fields only.

3. The Konserwatiewe Party was created in about 1966 by Mr. C. J. R. Fortein and others — mostly teachers — who broke away from the Federal Party. They appear to be more conservative than the Federals, and stand for full citizenship within the framework of separate development. In their evidence they claimed to have about 3,000 members, but it had been said that this figure was an exaggeration.

4. The South African Labour Party, now led by Mr. M. D. Arendse, claimed a membership of 940. They aim at common roll representation with equal franchise rights for all Coloured and Whites, and have accepted the Coloured Representative Council as a temporary institution to serve as a forum for a campaign to improve Coloured political rights.

5. The Eastern Province Coloured People's National Union was mentioned by Mrs. Maytham. It appeared to be a remnant of the larger, moderate, organization that was once led by the late Mr. George Golcling. During November its members decided to disband and join the Federale Kleurling Volksparty.

6. The Republikeinse Party, Mrs. Maytham said, was a small group of between 50-100 people which appeared to have one branch only, at Beaufort West. Their policy is virtually the same as the Federale Party except that they wish to retain their separate identity on the platteland.

7. It would appear that the Republican Coloured People's Party is a separate, larger organization. Its leader is Mr. Tom Le Fleur. The Eastern Province Herald reported on 30 August on this party's first national congress. Members accepted separate development and aimed at securing for Coloured people a fair share of the country's assets.

8. There is a National Coloured People's Party in the Transvaal, led by Dr. C. L. Smith. It, too, supports separate development.

9. According to anonymous pamphlets circulated in 1968, the left-wing Coloured People's Congress claims still to exist but to have gone underground.

It was announced in November that the Konserwatiewe Party, the Republican Coloured People's Party, and the National Coloured People's Party, were entering into a coalition.

Speakers at the meeting addressed by Mrs. Maytham said that Coloured people from urban areas of the Cape were afraid of possible control by the rural conservative element. Those in Natal, mainly English-speaking, feared dominance by the Cape and the loss of their own status. There was little vocal leadership among them.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL ACT, No. 31 OF 1968

The South African Indian Council that was appointed by the Government in 1964 was a non-statutory body with 21 nominated members and purely advisory powers.

Act 31 of 1968 provided for the creation, as a next step, of a statutory Council of not more than 25 Indian persons appointed by the Minister of Indian Affairs to represent the three provinces concerned in such proportion as he may deem equitable. Members, who may not include public servants, will hold office for three years. The Council will appoint a chairman from amongst its members. (The Secretary for Indian Affairs was chairman of the previous council.)

There will be an Executive of the Council, with a chairman appointed by the Minister from amongst the Council members, and four members elected by the Council itself.

The Council will have advisory powers only, and will serve as a link and means of contact and consultation between the Government as represented by the Secretary for Indian Affairs, and the Indian population. The Minister, the Secretary, and any departmental official designated by the Secretary for the purpose, may attend meetings of the Council or its Executive and take part in the proceedings, but will have no vote.

Members of the Council will receive such allowances as the Minister, in consultation with the Minister of Finance, may determine. (The members of the previous council received only daily allowances for attendance at meetings and subsistence and transport expenses.)

When introducing the Bill, the Minister of Indian Affairs said that a partly-elected Council would eventually be established, he hoped at the end of the three-year period of office of members to be nominated to the new body. Until resettlement in group areas had reached a more advanced stage, however, there would be practical difficulties in the way of compiling a voters' roll and demarcating electoral divisions.

One of the new Council's first tasks would be to receive and consider recommendations of the Indian Education Advisory Council, in order that members might gain experience of educational matters. The Indian Council would eventually take over the control of education for Indians.

Remuneration would be paid to members because experience had proved that they were involved in considerable expense

(23) Argus, 22 December 1967.
(24) Cape Times, 13 May.
(25) Assembly, 5 June, Hansard cols. 6550-1.
through calls on their time made by the Indian community and by other bodies. According to the Natal Mercury of 13 July, Council members will be paid R600 a year; Executive members R800; the chairman of the Executive R900; and the chairman of the Council R1,000 a year.

On 9 July the Minister announced the names of the 25 persons nominated by him to serve on the new Council. In making these appointments, he said, he had taken into account the geographical distribution of Indians, their religious and cultural interests, and their commercial, professional, and other activities. The Council would adopt its own standing rules and orders for regulating the conduct of meetings.

Members held their first statutory meeting in Durban on 24 September. Mr. H. E. Joosub of Pretoria was elected chairman of the Council.

The attitude of many Indians towards the conception of a Council has changed since the Government first suggested the scheme, in 1963. Numbers of prominent men who then opposed the plan feel that the situation has changed, and that the new Council will be able to serve the interests of the Indian people. Among them is Mr. P. R. Pathar of Durban, president of the Natal Tamil Vedic Society and a former leader of the S.A. Indian Council.

ATTITUDES OF AFRICANS

Inside the country

In a talk presented in May,28 Mr. Lawrence Schlemmer, Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Natal, said that Government and police action had crushed the intellectual leadership of African and other non-white opposition groups, and in so doing had left these groups voiceless. These leaders had, however, been marginal in non-white society, and were removed before any coherent political organization with grass-roots involvement could come into being.

These factors probably accounted for the present apparent calm. So quiet and cautious were the non-whites that even social scientists conducting research among them did not really know what their prevailing attitudes were. An impression was gained of a spirit of total bitterness and disenchantment, unless the country was led to channel aggression into personal or individual life situations.

Almost any unskilled or peasant labour force tended to be politically apathetic. Overawed by white power, Africans in South Africa felt helpless and tended to channel their aggression into personal or individual life situations.

Mr. Schlemmer contended, however, that although the Africans maintained surface calm, Government policies were leading the country ever closer to the danger of mass African unrest. Particularly in urban areas the situation was a potentially explosive one. Police action would not be able to prevent the communication of a spirit of total bitterness and disenchantment, unless the country tackled immediately the tasks of trying to foster sound race relations and the type of social conditions that underlay sound race relations.

The Bantu Federation of South Africa, which has its headquarters at Bergville in Natal, now claims 49,900 members. It has since 1948 supported the policy of separate development, and on a different basis from that advocated by the Government. It calls for the establishment of an African national parliament, over-riding all tribal groups.29

African political exiles

It is reported30 that the Pan-African Congress-in-exile has set up a "Revolutionary Command" to direct an eventual armed struggle within South Africa: it has not in general supported the policy of the African National Congress of promoting infiltration of the country by freedom fighters from outside bases. But there continues to be internal strife in the organization. Mr. P. K. Leballo is said to remain president, but Mr. A. B. Ngcobo, formerly treasurer-general, has been virtually eliminated from the leadership.

The Zambian Government banned the P.A.C. in August, a spokesman saying31 that genuine foreign nationalist parties were free to use Zambia as a platform from which to voice their grievances, but that the P.A.C. had engaged in futile activities which had dissipated efforts against the enemies of freedom. It was reported32 that 46 P.A.C. members in Zambia, including Mr. Leballo, were arrested and deported to Tanzania.

A subsequent report33 stated that African exiles from South Africa who were in Dar-es-Salaam became disenchanted with the

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(26) Natal Witness, 29 April.
(27) Sunday Times, 14 July.
continued lack of co-operation there between the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. and the squandering of money by leaders, and decided to form a new organization called the National Liberation Front of South Africa. This would have its headquarters in the Congo-Brazzaville. Its secretary-general is Mr. J. J. Kuzwayo.

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RACE RELATIONS

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

At its biennial conference, which was held in Cape Town during May under the chairmanship of the Rev. Seth Mokitini, the Christian Council of South Africa decided to change its name to the South African Council of Churches. Twenty-seven churches and church organizations are members of the Council, the organizations including the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association, the Y.W.C.A., and the University Christian Movement. Although they are not members the Roman Catholic Church and Nederduitsche Gereformeerde Mission Church send observers to meetings of the Council of Churches. The general secretary is the Rt. Rev. B. B. Burnett.

The Council has set up a Division of Inter-Church Aid to assist in meeting human needs across denominational boundaries. Further reference to this is made in chapters of this Survey dealing with the removals of Africans from Black Spots and with malnutrition.

During February the Council of Churches and the Christian Institute jointly convened a national conference on “Church and Society”. Findings were published dealing, *inter alia*, with the nature and function of the State, international co-operation (“living together in peace in a pluralistic world society”), and with man and community in changing societies. The conference recommended the creation of a permanent family life commission.

Later, in May, another national conference was convened on the emergence of pseudo-gospels in Church and society in South Africa. Attention was focused on deviations from the true Christian gospel caused by such factors as attempts to justify racial discrimination, appeasement of the intolerance of some whites, blindness to the sufferings of fellow-South Africans, and the emphasis by some Christians on a form of spiritual pietism to the exclusion of social concern.

The “Message to the People of South Africa” is described on page 21.

THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

As described in previous issues of this *Survey*, the Christian Institute is composed of individual persons rather than of churches as such. Its headquarters, like those of the South African Council of Churches, are in Johannesburg. It has established a regional office in Cape Town which is used by both organizations.
THE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

SIZE OF THE POPULATION

No later estimates are available of the size of the population as a whole than those given on page 19 of last year's Survey.

The issue of Bantu for December 1967 gave revised estimates of the numbers of Africans in the various ethnic groups (the date of these estimates was not stated):

- Xhosa: 3,570,000
- Zulu: 3,340,000
- Swazi: 395,000
- Tswana: 1,338,000
- South Sotho: 1,505,000
- Venda: 280,000
- Tsonga: 586,000
- North Sotho and North Ndebele: 1,122,000
- South Ndebele: 294,000
- Total: 12,430,000

The Bureau of Statistics estimates that there were 12,750,000 Africans in South Africa in mid-1967.

PROHIBITION OF MIXED MARRIAGES AMENDMENT ACT, No. 21 OF 1968

The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Act provided that if any male person who is a South African citizen or is domiciled in the Republic enters into a marriage outside the Republic which cannot, in terms of the principal Act, be solemnized within the country (because one partner to it is white and the other non-white), such marriage shall be void and of no effect in the Republic.

The partners to a mixed marriage contracted outside South Africa could, thus, be prosecuted under the Immorality Act if they returned to South Africa and lived together.

The United and Progressive Parties opposed the Bill at its Second Reading. Mr. T. Gray Hughes (U.P.) said (1) that it could well be prejudicial to the rights of a woman who had contracted a bona fide marriage outside the country to a South African of a different racial group (according to South African classifications), and to the rights and status of her children. The South African husband could at any time return to South Africa and so avoid all responsibilities towards his wife and family. He could marry another woman and this would not be bigamy. (The Minister of Justice conceded this.)(2)

In reply to another point raised by Mr. Gray Hughes, the Minister said that the children of such a marriage would be legitimate in South African law. Mr. Hughes raised a further point -- could a maintenance order be enforced if the husband had returned on his own and failed to support his family? The Minister replied that this would be possible if South Africa had reciprocal arrangements with the country in which the wife and children were living. But Mr. Hughes submitted that the courts were unlikely to enforce a claim arising from a marriage that was void.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS REGISTRATION AMENDMENT ACT, No. 18 OF 1968

This Act provided that the registrar-general may amend the registration of the birth of any person by substituting, for the original entry in respect of the racial group of such person or either of his parents, an amended entry reflecting the classification assigned under the Population Registration Act.

As soon as possible after the registrar-general receives notification of the birth of a person born after 1 December 1967, this official must ascertain what classification has been assigned to the person and his parents. If necessary, he will then amend the registration of the birth. District registrars will be notified accordingly, and instructed to amend their records.

The provisions relating to birth certificates were opposed by the United Party. In an interview given to the Sunday Times on 10 March Mrs. C. D. Taylor, M.P., pointed out that a local registrar would be able to attach a note to a birth certificate if he thought that the parents were not stating their correct racial group, and send it to the registrar-general. Officials could then start an inquiry into the racial origins of the whole family.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE COLOURED GROUP UNDER POPULATION REGISTRATION

A provision of the General Law Amendment Act, No. 70 of 1968, validated a proclamation issued under the Population Regis-

(1) Assembly, 22 February, Hansard 3 cols 992-6.
SECURITY MEASURES

ARMAMENTS DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION ACT, No. 57 OF 1968

This Act provided for the establishment of the Armaments Development and Production Corporation of S.A., Ltd., to be known as Armscor (or Krygkor in Afrikaans). Its objects will be to meet the armaments requirements of the country, including those required for export and for supply to members of the public, by taking over existing undertakings or establishing or helping to establish new undertakings. *Inter alia,* it will review matters relating to raw materials required, and labour supply and rates of wages.

The Board of Directors will be appointed by the Government. Shares in the corporation may be taken up by the State only. The share capital will be R100,000,000 or such larger amount as the Government may determine.

ARMAMENTS AMENDMENT ACT, No. 63 OF 1968

The Armaments Amendment Act amended the Munitions Production Act of 1964. The Munitions Production Board was renamed the Armaments Board and its powers were widened.

NATIONAL SUPPLIES PROCUREMENT BILL

The National Supplies Procurement Bill was published in 1968 but was not proceeded with in Parliament.

If the measure is passed the Minister of Economic Affairs will have the power to mobilise the whole economy at short notice. A state of emergency need not be declared. The Minister will be empowered to tell any manufacturer, importer or trader exactly what he wants done, how and when and at what price. The Bill states, “Any person who has received an order . . . shall be deemed to be capable of performing the act he is ordered to perform, unless he proves he is not so capable”.

There will be compensation, but the Minister may institute a cost investigation in connection with any goods or service in respect of which an order has been issued. For example, a firm may be ordered to tender for a government defence contract and to carry out the work — this may happen if Armscor finds itself unable to undertake the work.

Costs incurred in exercising the Minister’s powers will be met from the National Supplies Procurement Fund. This will replace the External Procurements Fund and will take over its existing balances. Further funds may be voted by Parliament, and the Fund will have recourse to Reserve Bank loans, guaranteed by the Government, in the same way that the External Procurements Fund had. On 31 March 1967, the latter’s overdraft facility with the Reserve Bank amounted to R174,500,000. The balance in the External Procurements Fund rose from R8,700,000 in 1961 to R23,500,000 in 1966 and to R68,200,000 in 1967.

Some of the specific powers to be conferred on the Minister of Economic Affairs in terms of the Bill are as follows.

(i) He will have the power 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.

(ii) He will be able to acquire or hire any goods or services in South Africa or elsewhere, on behalf of the State, or any person, or he may direct any person to acquire or hire such goods or services.

(iii) He will be able to import any goods for the State or any person, or direct anybody to import such goods, and make or have arrangements made for their supply, handling, storage, insurance, disposal and distribution.

(iv) He will be able to prohibit the manufacture, production, acquisition, disposal or use of any goods or the supply or use of any service either generally or specifically.

(v) He will be able to order any person who acquired specified goods to store them or otherwise deal with them in any manner he may direct.

(vi) If any person refuses to comply with any order in respect of the supply of goods, served on him by the Minister, the Minister will be empowered to seize the goods without having to go to court, paying compensation for them.

DEFENCE EQUIPMENT

The plan to install a Decca navigation system around South Africa’s coastline, which will enable the position of a ship or aircraft to be located precisely, was described on page 31 of last year’s Survey. The Minister of Defence said on 3 April* that work on the installation had begun.

He added that the Defence Force was occupying the workshops and quay on Salisbury Island, and would take over the whole island as an advanced base as soon as new premises were available for the University College for Indians, temporarily occupying buildings on the island.

It was announced in October that a missile base for experimental tests and launchings was to be established on the Zululand coast to the north of Lake St. Lucia.

As mentioned last year, South Africa placed an order with France for three submarines of the Daphne class. French shipyards
have also been asked to supply new frigates, about a dozen mine-sweepers and patrol craft, and four boom-defence vessels. During August the biggest ship yet built in South Africa was launched — a 4,500-ton cargo vessel.

The question of the Simonstown naval base, and armaments ordered from Britain, is dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Certain information about defence equipment was given by the Minister when making his policy speech in the Senate on 12 March. Local manufacturers, he said, had for some time been producing all the armoured cars required by the Defence Force, and South Africa was self-sufficient in the manufacture of rifles, mortars, and ammunition such as grenades, smoke bombs, aerial bombs, and explosives. The country had developed its own napalm bomb entirely from local raw materials, and also new types of anti-tank mines and shrapnel mines. A near-sight for infantry rifles was being produced. Parachutes and mobile field kitchens were made in South Africa.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS

THE BANNING OF PUBLICATIONS

In the Assembly on 27 February, the Minister of Finance said that between 1 April 1966 and 22 February 1968, 1,027 imported publications were held back by the Customs Department for scrutiny; 638 were submitted to the Publications Control Board; and 419 were declared objectionable by the Board.

CONTROL OF THE PRESS

The whole subject of the control of publications was dealt with on pages 66 et seq of the 1963 Survey. In that year the S.A. Newspaper Press Union drew up its own code of conduct and, in view of this, the Government agreed to exclude newspapers published by any member of this Union from the operation of the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963.

On 9 November, however, the Minister of the Interior said at a party meeting that he would recommend to the Cabinet the withdrawal of this exemption. The possible implications of this are described on page 69 of the 1963 Survey.

The Minister added that legislation was being drafted in terms of which steps could be taken against "certain newspapers and journals" which appeared to have no regard for codes of conduct. This warning was given in the context of concern about morality, and it was not clear whether or not the Minister was referring to any other type of censorship.

Only one contravention of the Press code of conduct has been published during the year: the Press Board of Reference found that two articles in the Sunday Times about housing conditions in a White township had presented a "distorted and exaggerated" picture.

(1) Rand Daily Mail, 23 January.
(2) Star, 9 November.
unanimously dismissed the appeal by the six men who had received 20-year sentences. Eight of the eleven judges allowed the appeal by the five men sentenced to life imprisonment, reducing this to 20 years each. (The remaining three judges dissented, considering that their appeals, too, should be dismissed.) In reducing the sentences the Chief Justice said, "This is not in any sense intended as a standard to be followed in other cases that may occur". The accused had been arrested at the beginning of the campaign. "A continuation of it may well necessitate sterner measures".

As described in the last chapter, the Appellate Court also dismissed an appeal on a point of law arising from the jurisdiction of the trial court in the light of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act and of South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa.

GUERRILLA FIGHTERS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO GUERRILLA FIGHTERS
BY OTHER COUNTRIES

As mentioned in last year's Survey, the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) resolved in September 1967 to allocate more than half of its annual budget to the support of freedom fighters' movements in Portuguese territories, Rhodesia, South Africa, and South-West Africa. In mid-1968 it decided to withdraw assistance to three organizations that it considered had been ineffectual — the South African Pan-African Congress, the South-West African National Union, and Holden Roberto's U.P.A. (Union of the Peoples of Angola), which is based in the Congo, Kinshasa.1

Instead, assistance was stepped up for the South African National Congress-in-exile, leaders-in-exile of the South-West Africa People's Organization (Swapo), and to various Rhodesian and Portuguese organizations, mentioned later. As described last year, these organizations have for some years been recruiting people from their own countries, mainly Africans but including some Coloured, and sending them for military training either in Tanzania or further afield to Algeria, Russia, or Cuba. Modern arms and ammunition have been supplied by Communist countries.

On their return, the trained guerrilla fighters who were ordered to attack eastern Angola, Rhodesia, South-West Africa, or South Africa have operated from forward base camps in Zambia, while those attacking northern Mozambique have come from Tanzania.

Speaking in the Assembly on 3 April, South Africa's Minister of Defence said that it was provocation for a country to make its territory available as a base for terrorists, and that provocation could lead to hard retaliation in the interests of self-respect and peace. Shortly afterwards, however, the Rhodesian Premier, Mr. Ian Smith, said that he had never contemplated retaliatory raids on Zambia "even though I have conclusive evidence that the Zambian Government is aiding guerrillas invading Rhodesia. I have always tried to avoid the escalation of this trouble".2

During a speech made on 24 August the South African Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, appealed "sincerely to the leaders of Zambia and Tanzania to stop giving moral and financial assistance to terrorists, because this would be wise both in their own interests and in the interests of Southern Africa as a whole". Support given to terrorists would eventually backfire, he said.3

(1) News Check, 2 August.
(2) Rand Daily Mail, 4 April; Sunday Times, 28 April.
(3) Sunday Express, 24 August.
In two speeches made in October\(^4\) South Africa's Minister of Police and of the Interior stressed the need for South Africa to win the goodwill of Black countries south of the equator, so that they might act as buffer states against pressures from the north.

**EVENTS IN SOUTH-WEST AFRICA**

The activities of guerrilla fighters in South-West Africa during 1966 and 1967 were described on pages 59 et seq of last year's *Survey*. These led to the passing of the Terrorism Act and to the Pretoria terrorist trial (see page 59). The Commissioner of the South African Police disclosed on 27 January that three more men, believed to be part of the original group, had been captured on the northern border of Ovamboland.\(^5\) It was announced by the Deputy Minister of Police in the Assembly on 25 April\(^6\) that all but eight of the foreign-trained Swapo fighters had been taken into custody: some had been released for tactical and other reasons.

In speeches made during October\(^7\) the Minister said that there was a new threat on the northern borders, where literally hundreds of men were waiting to enter. Some had made their appearance in the Caprivi Strip, in the Katima Mulilo area. They were using new tactics. In the past, men had crossed the border heavily armed, using their weapons to terrorize the local inhabitants. Now they were coming unarmed, avoiding clashes with the police, and attempting to influence chiefs and others to co-operate with them.

A fact that aggravated the situation, the Minister continued, was that most of the Africans in the area were poor, illiterate, and not at all well disposed towards the Whites. The Caprivi African National Union, which had a strong following, was anti-White in sentiment.

Thus far, he said, 37 political agitators had been arrested, including 5 chiefs or headmen and 2 men who had received training abroad. One of the men had hanged himself in his cell. A few days later the head of the Security Police announced that another 8 men had been arrested in the Caprivi Strip;\(^8\) and at the beginning of November the Minister said\(^9\) that 56 more had been apprehended during the past week. No one had been killed.

It was stated by the Commissioner of the Police\(^10\) that the police had a network of trained informers scattered in the strategic areas: it was unlikely that many men had slipped through the security screen. Some of those arrested had been sent to Pretoria for questioning, while others had been released.

\(^{4}\) Rand Daily Mail, 14 October; Sunday Express, 23 October.
\(^{5}\) Sunday Express, 28 January.
\(^{6}\) Howard 11 col. 4177.
\(^{7}\) Rand Daily Mail, 14 October; Sunday Express, 27 October.
\(^{8}\) Rand Daily Mail, 19 October.
\(^{9}\) Ibid. 2 November.
\(^{10}\) Sunday Express, 27 October.

**USE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE AND DEFENCE FORCE**

As reported last year, units of the South African Police were sent to Rhodesia in September 1967 to assist the Rhodesian security forces. (No Defence Force units were sent.) Joint action had continued.

In August and September of 1968 the South African Defence Force held two series of large-scale exercises in unconventional warfare, in the Sibasa area (northern Transvaal) and Thabazimbi area (north-west Transvaal). Senior officers met numbers of local African chiefs to explain the purpose of the exercises and seek co-operation. The commander of the joint combat forces, L.T.-General C. A. Fraser, S.M., told Press reporters that in order to win a revolutionary-type war it was essential to have the people's confidence.\(^11\)

**ATTEMPTED NEW INFILTRATION ROUTE**

A description is given later of the infiltration into Rhodesia, from the north, of men trained under the auspices of exiled leaders of the South African National Congress (A.N.C.) and the Rhodesian ZAPU and ZANU.\(^12\)

Exiled African Pan-African Congress (P.A.C.) leaders have, however, worked independently. During May, Portuguese security forces in Mozambique were alerted to the incursion of a group of men, and an action was fought at a small centre on the rail and road route from Salisbury to Beira. According to documents then captured, the group consisted of twelve highly-trained and well-armed P.A.C. men who were escorted by five Portuguese members of the Zambian-based Coremo (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee). They planned to make their way south and enter the Republic near Pafuri.

Three of these men, including their leader, were shot dead during the encounter and a few were captured. The rest fled. The Portuguese police, pursuing them, were ambushed, three officers (two White and an African) being killed. More of the infiltrators were captured later: it was announced on 2 July that two were still at large.\(^13\)

**GUERRILLA FIGHTING IN RHODESIA**\(^14\)

The infiltration into Rhodesia from Zambia during 1967 of large groups of ZAPU, ZANU, and A.N.C. men was described on page 66 of last year's *Survey*. There have been three further incursions during 1968.

It was reported that a group entered the country in January,
but that most of the members were rounded up by the security forces. A second wave, estimated to number about a hundred men, followed towards the end of February, crossing the Zambezi River in thick bush and mountain country between the Victoria Falls and Lake Kariba. South Africa’s Deputy Minister of Police said(10) that between 25 and 30 A.N.C. members originally from South Africa were among the invaders.

During March and April a series of air and ground operations took place in and near the Zambezi Valley. The Royal Rhodesian Air Force bombed and destroyed a large and well-equipped base camp on top of a cliff. It was reported that by the end of April, 55 guerrillas (including numbers from South Africa) had been killed in the fighting, while others had died in the bush. Six White members of the security forces had been killed (one accidentally) and seven wounded. A South African policeman was among those killed.

The remainder of the force was stated by then to be a disorganized rabble, deprived of food supplies. It was reported that African tribesmen who helped to capture them were given cash rewards. Some of the fugitives made their way back to Zambia, while others were found and arrested. The leader of the whole group, Moffat L. Hadebe, and one of his men hid in the bush for seven months before their capture.

Another wave of guerrillas came in July, crossing near the border post of Chirundu. Again, running battles took place. It was reported that by the end of that month 25 of the invaders had been killed, and numbers captured. A South African member of the security forces was killed and five members (including three South Africans) wounded.

The head of South Africa’s Security Police is reported(11) to have said that since the beginning of the campaign against Rhodesia, 29 of the guerrillas killed had been positively identified as being South Africans. It was believed that another 50 from the Republic had been killed or died in the bush. The Minister of Police and of the Interior said on 13 October(12) that 35 A.N.C. terrorists (including a few Coloured men) had been killed.

SENTENCES PASSED ON MEN CAPTURED IN RHODESIA

In terms of Rhodesia’s Law and Order (Maintenance) Act the death sentence was previously compulsory if persons were found guilty of attacks with explosives on occupied buildings or vehicles. After the incursions by guerrillas began the Act was amended to make the death sentence compulsory, too, for persons convicted of entering the country unlawfully while in possession of arms, unless they could prove that they did not intend to endanger law and order.

Numbers of persons found guilty of petrol bomb attacks and murder under the common law had been sentenced to death, and after the amendment to the law numbers of guerrillas, too, received death sentences. It was reported(13) that by March 1968 there were more than 100 in the death cells, some having been there for up to four years. Death sentences imposed by the courts had to be confirmed by the Governor to make them legal: only he could authorize execution or grant a reprieve. The Government did not recognize Sir Humphrey Gibbs as Governor, and for a long time hesitated about acting in this matter through Mr. Clifford Dupont, the Officer whom it had appointed to Administer the Government.

Finally, however, on 31 August 1967, the Minister of Justice told Parliament that action must be taken. The Government had considered the first six cases and had decided that three men, who had been convicted of murder under the common law, would be executed. (They were Joseph Dhlamini, Victor Mlambo, and Duly Shadreck.) The other three would be reprieved.

Counsel for the three condemned men obtained from the courts a stay of execution pending another court application, based on the contention that Mr. Dupont was not competent to confirm the sentences. This latter application was, in turn, rejected by the High Court in Salisbury and the Appeal Court: on 29 January 1968 the Appeal Court held by majority decision that the Smith regime was the de facto government of Rhodesia.

A further stay of execution was then applied for to enable counsel to argue on the right of appeal to the Privy Council. At this stage the Rhodesian Government announced that as the 1965 (U.D.I.) constitution made no provision for such an appeal it would refuse to recognize any decision of the Privy Council. The Chief Justice then refused to grant the stay of execution, stating in the Appeal Court that as the Government would undoubtedly ignore any decision of the Privy Council it would be an act of immense cruelty to raise the prisoners’ hopes when there was no hope.

As a last resort a petition was lodged with the Queen who, on the advice of the Commonwealth Secretary, commuted the men’s sentences to life imprisonment. But the Rhodesian Appeal Court declared the Queen’s reprieve to be invalid.(14)

The three men were executed on 6 March, and two more were hanged a few days later. In view of world opinion that the Smith Government was an illegal one, this caused a widespread wave of revulsion. A number of people in Salisbury staged a passive protest demonstration. Numbers of appeals for clemency were made for the others under sentence of death, including one from the Pope.

(10) Ibid., 3 May, and various other papers.
(11) Account based, in the main, on an article, by Mr. Allister Sparks, Road Daily Mail, 16 March.
A further six men were due to be hanged: four of them were not common law murderers but had been convicted under the mandatory death clause of the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act. The Government reprieved them. A Government spokesman announced a few days later(29) that a large number of cases had been considered by the Executive Council. Thus far, the sentences of 47 men had been commuted to varying terms of imprisonment. No decision had yet been reached in 33 of the more serious cases. The Star reported on 14 March that at least another 63 men remained under sentence of death, half or more of them under the "hanging clause".

Meanwhile, the courts continued to impose the mandatory death sentence on men who were convicted on charges of having entered the country unlawfully, in possession of arms, with intent to endanger law and order. At the beginning of August(30) Rhodesia's Minister of Law and Order told Parliament that there were then 75 in the death cells, 36 of them common law murderers and the rest convicted under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act: in some cases the men in the latter category had been found guilty, too, of murder or attempted murder. Since then, another 42 guerrillas have been sentenced to death. Others have received lesser sentences. The South African Minister of Police said on 13 October(31) that 9 South Africans were amongst those in the death cells. Another 6 South Africans had each been sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

During September the Rhodesian Parliament passed a Bill that removed the mandatory death sentence for those convicted of certain offences under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, substituting either the death sentence or life imprisonment for the more serious offences and lesser prison sentences in other cases. The Minister of Law and Order said(32) that the Government was acting from a position of strength. It appreciated that some of the guerrillas had not voluntarily chosen to undergo training, had no real intention of fighting, and surrendered when an opportunity presented itself. The amendment to the law would provide them with a stronger inducement to surrender.

Since the law was amended and until the end of November, Press reports indicate that 19 guerrillas have been sentenced to life imprisonment and 39 to periods of imprisonment ranging from 9 to 21 years. One of those who received a life sentence was Moffat Hadebe, the alleged leader of the group of about a hundred who crossed from Zambia early in 1968.

On 11 December the Rhodesian Government announced that 25 of the 117 condemned Africans had been reprieved, their sentences having been commuted to life imprisonment. The other cases were still to be considered by the Cabinet.

ALLEGED ABDUCTION OF MEN TO JOIN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

It was reported during March(33) that, according to a team from the London Times that visited Zambia, ZAPU office-bearers there acknowledged that they used press-gang methods to recruit guerrillas. Two Africans in Salisbury told Press reporters in August(34) that they had been members of a group of about 48 who were kidnapped and forced to accompany armed men. Early in September the Rhodesian authorities handed over to Zambian immigration officials a Zambian national who was alleged to have been abducted by ZAPU.(35)

Later that month there were reports from Lusaka and the Copper Belt(36) to the effect that Rhodesians living in Zambia were being abducted for guerrilla training.

During October the Zambian Government detained more than fifty members of Rhodesian nationalist movements who were operating from its territory, and deported them to Tanzania. It was reported that some of them made their way back.(37)

FIGHTING IN ANGOLA AND PORTUGUESE GUINEA(38)

Various African nationalist movements have been formed in Portuguese West Africa. The P.A.I.G.C. (African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde), led by Amilcar Cabral, has been active in Portuguese Guinea in the north, being said to hold much of this territory.

Based in the Congo (Brazzaville) is the M.P.L.A. (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), led by Agostino Nato. This poses a constant threat to the enclave of Cabinda, where oil has been found, and has mounted continuous offensives on south-eastern Angola. Its guerrilla fighters pass through the Congo (Kinshasa) to reach their forward bases near the Angolan border in Zambia.

Attacks on the Carmona area of northern Angola have been made by the U.P.A. (Union of Peoples of Angola) led by Holden Roberto from headquarters in the Congo (Kinshasa). He formed the G.R.E.A. (Angolan Exiled Revolutionary Government), which does not appear to have been very active in recent years: as mentioned earlier the O.A.U. has withdrawn its support.

Finally there is UNITA (National Union for the Complete...
Independence of Angola, of which Joseph Savimbi is leader. It, too, operates from the Congo (Kinshasa) and has allegedly been responsible for attacks on the Benguela railway and for attempts to indoctrinate Africans.

There were heavy civilian casualties in the north (estimated at 3,000 to 4,000 Africans and 700 Whites\(^{(399)}\)) when Holden Roberto's men first led a rebellion there in 1961. Since then, civilian casualties have been much lighter, although it is reported\(^{(31)}\) that sizable numbers of Africans have died in the east, where there has been fairly continuous action between the Portuguese and the M.P.L.A. Many Africans have fled from this area. Those who remain are living in defended villages, and are said to be dependent on the Government for food.

According to various reports\(^{(32)}\) Portugal is maintaining 15,000 troops. White and African, in Portuguese Guinea and 60,000 in Angola. Some 1,000 troops have been lost in Angola since the fighting began seven years ago, with much higher guerilla casualties. Including expenditure on the war in Mozambique, Portugal is said to be spending 45 per cent of her national budget on defence.

**Fighting in Mozambique**

Two nationalist organizations have been operating against Mozambique, both in the north. The smaller is COREMO (the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) led by Paulo Gunane in Lusaka, which has infiltrated from Zambia, to the west of the proposed giant Portuguese/South African Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

Frelimo (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) has attacked on three fronts. Its president, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, directs its affairs from Dar-es-Salaam. Guerrillas have infiltrated along the Malawi border and from Tanzania in the extreme north-west and north-east, planting booby traps, making hit-and-run raids on military posts, and ambushing troops. For a time they claimed control of the two northern provinces. Many hundreds of tribesmen have been persuaded or frightened into co-operating with them. Africans from the areas concerned are being resettled by the authorities in fortified villages.

The Portuguese, stated to have about 120,000 troops in Mozambique, have apparently contained Frelimo attacks in the north-west, but are reported\(^{(33)}\) to be encountering difficulties in the north-east, where Frelimo fighters are assisted by Makonde tribesmen.

\(^{(399)}\) Star, 13 March.
\(^{(31)}\) Ibid, 5 August.
\(^{(32)}\) Star, 31 March, Sunday Times, 24 and 31 March.
\(^{(33)}\) Star, 26 August.
Rhodesia and the equally illegal South African regime in Namibia for resorting to the application or threat or use of capital punishment to suppress the natural aspirations of the peoples of Southern Africa to social and economic justice, civil rights, and political freedoms. It called on South Africa to renounce the execution of any persons sentenced to death for their opposition to apartheid. Some countries that abstained from voting stated that they were doing so because of the manner in which it was framed: the states that were opposed to the resolution were Australia, France, Malawi, New Zealand, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Botswana and Lesotho were absent.

On 2 December the General Assembly approved another Afro-Asian resolution, by 85 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 14 abstentions (those who abstained including the United States, Britain, France, Italy and Japan). The resolution declared that South Africa’s “inhuman” racial policies had led to violent conflict and had created a situation in Southern Africa which was a grave threat to international peace and security. The Security Council was asked to ensure that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions were imposed against South Africa.

United Nations’ debates on South-West Africa are described in the last chapter of this Survey.

SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONSHIPS WITH RHODESIA

During July Mr. Ian Smith visited South Africa and held discussions with Mr. Vorster in Pretoria.

Renewed talks between Mr. Harold Wilson and Mr. Smith took place on H.M.S. Fearless at Gibraltar in October to find out whether, despite deep differences on fundamental issues of principle, it was nevertheless possible to reach agreement on a settlement of the question of Rhodesian independence. Mr. Smith took home a document setting out Britain’s minimum requirements, to discuss this with his colleagues. By mutual agreement the British Minister without Portfolio, Mr. George Thomson, flew out in case he could be of assistance in the discussions.

On his way to Salisbury Mr. Thomson visited Pretoria for talks with Mr. Vorster and South Africa’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller. Thereafter, Dr. Muller told the Press: “It is no secret that South Africa attaches great importance to a satisfactory solution to this problem and that we have interested ourselves in it without interfering in the merits or the basis of a settlement.”

During an earlier visit, on his way home from the Swaziland independence celebrations, Mr. Thomson conveyed to Mr. Vorster Britain’s request that South African police be withdrawn from Rhodesia. Mr. Vorster made his reply public. Police units had been sent there to fight terrorists who were destined for South Africa, he said. The matter had nothing whatsoever to do with the Rhodesian independence issue. The police would remain in Rhodesia until the Government had the knowledge that no further terrorists were on their way to the Republic. South Africa would fight terrorists destined for South Africa wherever and whenever she was allowed to do so by the country concerned.

UNITED NATIONS DEBATES ON THE RHODESIAN ISSUE

It was mentioned on page 83 of last year’s Survey that in December 1966, at Britain’s request, the Security Council imposed selective mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia. France and the Soviet Union abstained from voting. Mr. Vorster subsequently made it clear that in no circumstances would South Africa participate in either boycotts or sanctions. South Africa argued that the abstentions cast by two permanent members of the Council were tantamount to adverse votes and that the resolution was in consequence invalid.

After considerable behind-the-scenes negotiations a unanimous motion was, however, passed by the Security Council on 29 May, considerably extending the sanctions against Rhodesia. Again, this was done at Britain’s request. Inter alia, all states were ordered:

(a) to ban imports of all products originating in Rhodesia and exports to that country of all commodities or products other than those specifically exempted, and to prohibit their shipment in ships, aircraft, or land vehicles;
(b) to prohibit all airlines from operating to and from Rhodesia;
(c) to stop the supply of all funds except those sent exclusively for strictly humanitarian purposes;
(d) to prevent the entry of persons with Rhodesian passports or ordinarily resident in Rhodesia, save on exceptional humanitarian grounds, if there was reason to believe that such persons had furthered or encouraged the unlawful actions of the illegal regime;
(e) to withdraw all consuls and trade representation.

All states were asked, too, to ban any settlement between Britain and Rhodesia that had been made “without taking into account the views of the people... and in particular the political parties favouring majority rule”. Further, they were requested to extend aid to Zambia and to give moral and material assistance to Rhodesians who were struggling to put an end to the illegal regime in their country.

The resolution stopped short of Afro-Asian demands that the Council should call upon Britain to use force if necessary, and
should censure South Africa and Portugal for refusing to apply the economic sanctions decided upon in 1966. But the Security Council did remind all member-states of their obligations under the Charter to abide by Council decisions, and it censured "those states which have persisted in trading with Rhodesia". All states were asked to report by 1 August on the action they had taken in pursuance of the terms of the resolution.

Mr. Vorster had announced in the South African Assembly on 24 April that South Africa would disregard any order such as that Britain was seeking to have made. "South Africa cannot allow itself to be dictated to as regards the countries with which it may or may not have friendly relations or do business", he said.

It was pointed out in the Press that Zambia and Botswana would find it impossible to comply with the Security Council's order.

A resolution was passed in the General Assembly on 25 October by 92 votes to 2 with 17 abstentions asking Britain not to grant independence to Rhodesia unless this was preceded by the establishment of a government based on free elections by universal adult suffrage and on majority rule. Member states were asked to refuse to recognize any form of independence that did not meet these conditions. Some of the countries that abstained from voting did this so as not to prejudice the discussions in progress between Britain and Rhodesia.

Early in November the General Assembly ratified a resolution of the Trusteeship Committee by 86 votes to 9 with 19 abstentions and 10 states absent. In this resolution it called upon Britain to use force to put an end to the "White rebellion" in Rhodesia; proposed that the sanctions against Rhodesia be extended to include all forms of communication; urged the Security Council to impose punitive sanctions on South Africa and Portugal for refusing to boycott Rhodesia; and urged all states to render all moral and material assistance to African guerrillas who were fighting against the White-minority government, suggesting that the protection of the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners should be extended to them. Those who voted against this resolution were Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

UNITED NATIONS TRUST FUNDS

It was decided during 1967 that the special educational and training programmes for persons from South-West Africa, the territories under Portuguese administration, and South Africa should be integrated, and should all be financed by voluntary contributions. (The first two had previously been financed by the

budget of the United Nations.) Assistance to persons from Rhodesia would be included. A target figure of $3,000,000 was set for the period 1968-70. By about March 1968, $484,169 had been received and another $22,759 pledged.

SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN: SIMONSTOWN AGREEMENT

Reports stated that South Africa demanded a firm decision from Britain by the end of 1967 as to whether she intended lifting or continuing the arms embargo against the Republic (imposed at the request of the Security Council, made in December 1963). Mr. Wilson gave his answer in the House of Commons in mid-December: the ban on the supply of arms would be maintained. In the course of his New Year message Mr. Vorster stated that in view of this decision he would have to look anew at the Simonstown Agreement. Mr. Wilson would be mistaken should he perhaps believe that co-operation would be one-sided.

The background to the dispute was given by South Africa's Minister of Defence in the Assembly on 20 February. What was generally referred to as the Simonstown Agreement, he said, included agreements related to the facilities of the Simonstown Naval Base, the defence of the sea routes around Southern Africa, and the need for international discussions in regard to regional defence.

It was agreed that the internal security of the countries of Southern Africa must remain a matter for each individual country concerned, but that there was a joint interest in the security of Southern Africa as a whole against aggression from without. South Africa undertook to build up a task force for use outside its borders against external aggression and, in pursuance of the undertaking, bought Centurion tanks from Britain to the value of more than R10,000,000. The obvious need for the continuing supply of the necessary implements of war from Britain — the Republic's main source of supply at that time — was taken for granted; South Africa assumed that this was part of a gentlemen's agreement, the Minister said.

As both countries had agreed that the sea routes around Southern Africa must be secured against outside aggression, and as South Africa had assumed that the two countries would be allied, it agreed to place not only the naval base at Simonstown but also other shipping facilities at the disposal of such an effort. South Africa agreed, too, to expand its Navy to a stipulated size. Millions

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(7) Hansard 11 col. 4075.
(8) Star, 31 October; Rand Daily Mail, 8 November.

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(10) From pamphlet issued in February by the S.A. Institute of International Affairs on the decisions taken by the General Assembly in 1967.
had been spent in Britain on ships and aircraft, and there was
obvious need for the weapons that went with them.

In discussions during 1967, South Africa provided a “shopping
list” of maritime defence equipment that she would possibly require
during the next ten years. The only reaction had been Mr. Wilson’s
statement that an arms embargo still applied. South Africa now
had no choice but to develop its own resources more rapidly. So
far as the supply of weapons from overseas was concerned, coun-
tries that were willing to co-operate would receive the benefit.

The Minister said, “The British Government cannot continue
to rely on our benevolent acquiescence to the use of our airfields,
or the naval base at Simonstown, or any of our other harbour
facilities, in peace or war, except if we deem it in the interests of
South Africa to make them available.”

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES

The then incoming United States Assistant Secretary of State
for African Affairs, Mr. Joseph Palmer, visited Pretoria during
October for discussions with Mr. Vorster and Dr. Muller. No
public statement was issued about the matters discussed.

CANADA

During the past few years Canada has accepted large numbers
of professional and skilled South Africans as immigrants, including
a high proportion of Coloured teachers and others. According to
Press reports, a total of 1,351 immigrant visas was issued to South
Africans during 1966 and the first half of 1967, 609 of the persons
concerned being Coloured.

Canada then decided to adopt a points system for testing
applicants on merit. As it was difficult to apply this from a
distance a backlog developed. During February the Canadian
Government asked permission to bring a selection team of immi-
gration officers to South Africa to process applications that had
already been received: it stressed that no active steps would be
taken to recruit immigrants.\(^{(15)}\)

This request was refused. The South African Minister of the
Interior said,\(^{(16)}\) “It would not be in our national interest to;
aquiesce in the recruitment of emigrants in South Africa while we;
ourselves are actively engaged in training our own people and
recruiting abroad to supply our manpower needs.”

The Canadian Government then suspended the immigration of
all South Africans except for the families of persons who were
already settled in its country. It was reported\(^{(17)}\) that about 600
applications, representing between 1,200 and 1,500 people, were
returned to the applicants because they could not be processed.

\(^{(15)}\) Rand Daily Mail, 22 May.
\(^{(16)}\) Ibid., 5 June.
\(^{(17)}\) Ibid., 29 May.

CONFERENCES IN INDIA

The Indian Government granted visas to South African
delegates to the second United Nations Conference on Trade and
Development (Unctad), which was held in New Delhi in the earlier
part of the year. After there had been student protests against the
presence of South Africans the Government banned the assembly
of more than four people in the area around the hotel where the
South Africans were staying. The Ugandan delegate moved that
the Republic be expelled from the conference, but the president
ruled that Unctad had no power to do so. There was a walk-out of
nearly a hundred Asian and African members when the chief South
African delegate, Dr. Willem Naude, rose to speak.\(^{(17)}\)

After the conference the Indian weekly journal, The Citizen,
stated, “It is obvious South Africa has conducted itself with the
greatest restraint and dignity and has shown greater awareness of
the aims and objects for which the conference was meeting than
the countries whose representatives joined together in the baiting
of South Africa.”

During December the United Nations’ Economic Committee
decided by 49 votes to 22, with 23 abstentions, to suspend South
Africa from Unctad. (This decision required ratification.)

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION PROMOTION LOAN FUND ACT,
NO. 68 OF 1968

This Act provided for the establishment of an Economic
Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund, into which will be paid
moneys appropriated by Parliament and accruing by way of interest
or from any other source.

From this fund, loans or financial assistance will be given to
other countries for development projects, subject to the approval
of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Finance. The fund will
be controlled by the Secretary for Finance, and the accounts
audited by the Controller and Auditor-General.

The way in which the fund would operate was described by
the Minister of Finance in his budget speech, and by his Deputy
Minister in the Assembly on 14 May.\(^{(18)}\) The Minister said that in
the past, South Africa had contributed on a multi-lateral basis to

\(^{(17)}\) Star, 6 June.
\(^{(18)}\) Star and Rand Daily Mail, 2, 5, and 23 February.
\(^{(19)}\) Hammond 14 cols., 5208, 5315-8.
the funds of various international organizations. These contributions had often received no recognition, and South Africa had been slandered by the very countries which derived benefits from them.

In cases where the Republic had denied the full benefits of membership, such as in the International Labour Organization, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Agricultural Organization, it had, naturally, ceased to contribute, the Minister said. In other cases the contributions had been reduced. In so far as South Africa considered itself to be duty bound it would continue to contribute to some organizations, for example the International Development Association. But the Government had decided that some contributions which had previously been made on a multi-lateral basis should in future be applied in greater measure to assist neighbouring countries on a bi-lateral basis.

Questioned in Parliament about the organizations to which South Africa had ceased to contribute, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Deputy Minister of Finance gave the following information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Date of last contribution</th>
<th>Amount of last contribution</th>
<th>Total saving to 1968 since contributions ceased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unesco</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>R 52,545</td>
<td>R 850,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>R 78,893</td>
<td>R 552,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organization</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>R 75,071</td>
<td>R 380,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>R135,071</td>
<td>R 526,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R341,580</td>
<td>R2,308,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Deputy Minister of Finance added that South Africa no longer made a token voluntary contribution to the United Nations' technical assistance programme. This contribution would have amounted to about R350,000 a year.

The Finance Act, No. 78 of 1968, provided for an initial sum of R5,000,000 to be paid to the credit of the Economic Co-operation Promotion Loan Fund from the surplus in the Revenue Account.

According to the Deputy Minister, loans will be made only to countries that are well disposed towards South Africa, for sound development projects, and at reasonably low rates of interest. A condition of the loans will be that as far as it is at all possible, South African labour and goods must be used for the development of the projects. A loan of R8,000,000 had already been made to Malawi over three years, the Deputy Minister said, for the development of its new capital, Lilongwe.

Representatives from a number of African states attended a conference in Pretoria during May of the South African Association for Animal Production. Opening the conference, the Minister of Foreign Affairs talked of the work of the Southern African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilization of the Soil, on which Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, Rhodesia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and South Africa were represented. Representatives from Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland have visited Pretoria for talks on a possible revision of the customs agreement with South Africa, which was made in 1910. In terms of this agreement they are paid 1.31097 per cent of South Africa's revenue from customs and excise, but have no say in determining tariffs and general policy.

DIPLOMATIC TOWNSHIP

The Government has expropriated land at Waterkloof Heights, Pretoria, and is laying out a township. Any diplomat stationed in the Republic — Black or White — will be entitled to live there.

LESOTHO

It was announced during February that the governments of South Africa and Lesotho had agreed in principle to carry out the Oxbow project, subject to satisfactory technical reports and the availability of funds. If the scheme is undertaken water will be diverted to the Republic from rivers in the northern highlands of Lesotho. Since May, the Republic's Electricity Supply Commission has been supplying power to Maseru, making possible the establishment of two small factories.

Volunteer medical specialists and theatre staff from South Africa have spent numbers of weekends in Maseru, carrying out surgical and medical work and training local personnel in advanced techniques.

The help given by Free State farmers with the ploughing of the land is mentioned on page 29.

The number of political refugees from South Africa who are in Lesotho has been variously estimated as 57 or 71. During January they were all required to attend a meeting in Maseru at which the Deputy Prime Minister, Chief Sekhonyana Maseribane, warned them not to meddle in local politics nor to use Lesotho as a platform for attacks on the governments of other countries.

At the end of August the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, ordered all the refugees to leave the country by the end of the following month. They were, apparently, considered to

(20) Star, 14 May.
(21) Star, 9 November 1967.
(22) Rand Daily Mail, 26 January; Star, 30 September.
EASTERN AFRICAN STATES

During September the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania imposed a total ban on cash transfers from their countries to South Africa. Other forms of trade had been banned since 1963.

EMPLOYMENT

THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION

During the year under review the Government has continued its measures to curb inflation; these were outlined on page 100 of the 1967 Survey. In his Budget Speech the Minister of Finance indicated that the Gross Domestic Product had increased faster than had consumer prices. The Minister of Economic Affairs stated[5] that South Africa was more than meeting the 5½ per cent per annum growth target that was set in its 1964-9 economic development programme.

WAGES OF AFRICANS

No significant studies of wages and the cost of living have been published in recent months.

In an address given on 19 December 1967[6] Mr. Harry Goldberg, president of the Bantu Wage and Productivity Association, said it would appear that for the first time in ten years there had been a fall in the average real wages of African workers during the preceding year. While inflationary price increases had played their part in negating rises in monetary wages, it seemed clear that employers had done less to raise living standards than for many years past. At the same time, there were many indications that labour productivity was not improving at the same rate as in previous years.

Nine months later the chairman of this Association, Mr. W. L. Campbell-Pitt, said[7] that two recent market surveys in Soweto had indicated an improvement in average family incomes, resulting from several new wage determinations and an increase in the average number of wage-earners per family from 1.3 in 1956 to 2.2 in 1968.

In a recent study of the starting cash wages paid to African men entering employment in Johannesburg the municipal Non-European Affairs Department found that real wages had shown a small increase over the three-year period ended 30 June 1967. The response of different employment sectors to the need for higher wages had, however, been irregular.

MANPOWER AND PRODUCTIVITY

During 1968 a national Productivity Advisory Council has been set up, representative of the Departments of Planning, Indust-