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**A SURVEY OF
RACE RELATIONS**

1969

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**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE
RELATIONS**

P.O. BOX 97

JOHANNESBURG

JANUARY, 1970

POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

NATIONAL PARTY

Policy statements: Coloured people and Africans

During the no confidence debate in the Assembly in February, the Prime Minister, Mr. B. J. Vorster, said¹ that the policy of separate development was not intended, and must not be seen, as a denial of anybody's human dignity. It was aimed at protecting the whites. Brown and black people, however, had an equal right to preserve their own identities.

Mr. Vorster went on to admit that the Government had evolved no ultimate policy for the Coloured people.² These people were still finding their souls in the process of becoming a nation, he said, but a Coloured nation would eventually develop. It was not practicable for them to have a homeland: they and the whites would live in one country. That was the dilemma and the problem for the future. It would be presumption on his part to say that he could see the end of the road, the Prime Minister continued. "Our children after us will have to find a solution . . . but what I can in fact do is to lay the foundations as I think that road will unfold."

"The future does not lie in granting representation to whites and Coloured in the same Parliament", Mr. Vorsler said. "If one wants peace, then the development must not be towards each other, but must be away from each other. We have placed the Coloured on that political road. . . . One will have to find a link between the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and this Parliament. It is not going to be easy . . . but it will be found."

Earlier in the debate the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, re-cmphasizcd* that Africans were present in the white areas only for the labour they provided. The reduction of their numbers was an extremely important criterion, but it was not the most important criterion: the latter was "the political say which is being ensured for the whites in white South Africa and the compensatory political say which is being made possible for the Bantu in their own country".

During the year there has been increasing emphasis by National Party spokesmen on the "multi-national" (as opposed to the "multi-racial") nature of the population of South Africa. There are considered to be a white, a Coloured, an Asian, and eight distinctive Bantu nations. It is claimed that the policy is not based on discrimination, but on differentiation.

¹ Hansard I col. 15R.
² Cols. 168-9.
³ Cols. 43, 46.

Views on inter-racial contact

In an address to students of the Rand Afrikaans University the Minister of Planning, Dr. Carel de Wet, said⁴ that contact across the colour line, for example between students, nurses, teachers, or municipal officials of different racial groups, was desirable only if the aim was the advancement of separate development and if there were mutual problems, or if one organization could help the other. There should be no social mixing or integration.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Education, Dr. P. G. J. Koornhof, added that no integrated overall authority should exist. Discussions should be kept to the minimum, and should be handled on a high level.

The views of the Afrikaans students on this matter are given in a subsequent chapter.

Recruits to the National Party

During February, Mr. Harry Lewis, M.P., crossed the floor from the United Party to the Nationalists, giving the latter a majority of 127 to 38 in the Assembly.

The Principal of the University of Natal, Professor O. P. F. Horwood, resigned from his post as from the end of 1969. The Prime Minister announced that he was to be appointed as a National Party senator in 1970.

Dissension within the party

Through their independent publication *Woord en Daaiul*, certain members of the Gereformeerde (Doppcr) Church have continued to maintain that it is immoral to apply so-called petty apartheid indefinitely if there is no prospect of achieving full separate development in the near future.

The main criticism from within the National Party, however, has come from the *verkrampste* or ultra right-wing members, whose views are expressed in the newspapers *Veg* and the *South African Observer*. They have disparaged Mr. Vorster's leadership, accusing him of deviating from the path of Mr. Strydom and Dr. Verwoerd. They oppose the Party's policies in regard to the acceptance of black diplomats from other African states, the admission of large numbers of Roman Catholics among the immigrants, and the attempts to win support from English-speaking people (which it is considered might affect the character of the Afrikaner nationalist movement); and they fear the implications of the possible admission of mixed sporting teams in certain circumstances (this matter is dealt with in a subsequent chapter).

Dr. Albert Hertzog, M.P., whose name became attached to the *verkrampstes*, stated during April⁵ that he would not leave the

⁴ *Star*, 15 AURUSI.
⁵ *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 April.

National Party unless he were driven out. The strategy of most of the *verkrampstes* was to avoid a public break with the party, instead trying to take it over from within. (As mentioned later, however, some of them in Pretoria considered that a new political party should be formed.)

Until the Transvaal congress in September, the party did not succeed in flushing the principal dissenters into the open, but during the first quarter of the year there was considerable criticism of the *verkrampstes* in certain newspapers, particularly the Sunday journal *Die Beeld*, whose right to do so was championed by *Die Burger*, the mouthpiece of the Cape Nationalists. Both papers belong to the Nasionale Pers group. They exposed what they considered to be a *verkrampste* move against Mr. Vorster's leadership.

The frankness of the reports was resented by the editors of papers in the rival Afrikaanse Pers group, more especially of *Die Vaderland*, who expressed the view that *Die Beeld* was harming the party by exploiting tensions within it. Towards the end of March, the leaders of the two Press groups were summoned to meet Mr. Vorster, and it was apparently agreed that differences inside the party would not be raised in public."

The *verkrampste* attacks were, however, continued in *Veg* and the *South African Observer*. These papers were repudiated by the National Party caucus: it was reported⁶ that six Members of Parliament, including Dr. Hertzog, Mr. Jaap Marais, and Mr. Louis Stofberg, at first demurred but finally accepted the caucus decision.

On 18 April the Hendrik Verwoerd Korps (a group which had been expelled from the Junior Rapportryers — i.e. junior members of the National Party — because it would not disown members who had sent "smear" letters to M.P.'s)⁷ called a public meeting in Pretoria which was attended by some 500 people (not including the M.P.'s mentioned earlier). Among those present were Professor A. Pont⁸ and Mr. Gert Bcctgc (a right-wing trade unionist who is also secretary of the Congress to Combat Communism). At the meeting there were attacks on Mr. Vorster (more particularly for allegedly using the Security Police to investigate the activities of leading *verkrampstes*) and on certain newspapers and prominent Afrikaners in various walks of life who were accused of being "enemies of Afrikanerdom". A standing ovation was given to Mr. S. E. D. Brown, editor of the *South African Observer*.

During the proceedings Mr. Barry Botha, the editor of *Veg*, announced that at some stage a new political party would be formed in opposition to the Nationalists. Mr. S. Fanie van

* *Sunday Times*, 6 April.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 March.

⁷ See 1968 *Survey*, page 1.

⁸ See 1967 *Survey*, page 11.

Huyssteen, the chairman of the Hendrik Verwoerd Korps, stated that this body stood unashamedly for Afrikaner domination of South Africa.

In the course of a speech made in the Assembly on 14 April, Dr. Hertzog labelled English-speaking South Africans as liberals, and maintained that only Calvinist Afrikaners could be trusted to rule South Africa. The Minister of Transport, Mr. B. J. Schoeman, repudiated the implied insults to English-speaking people, as did the Prime Minister, who said¹⁰ that Dr. Hertzog's speech had been unfortunate, susceptible to an interpretation that did not reflect the standpoint of the National Party. "I believe", Mr. Vorster continued, "that if South Africa should ever find herself threatened, Afrikaans- and English-speaking people will stand shoulder to shoulder." In its publication *Kairos*,¹¹ the S.A. Council of Churches commented that "John Calvin would be rather amazed to discover what has happened to his theology if he were able to visit the Republic at present".

Subsequently, at a meeting of his constituents in Ermelo, Dr. Hertzog disassociated himself from the views of Messrs. S. E. D. Drown and Barry Botha.¹²

At the Cape congress of the National Party Mr. Vorster emphasized that the party would not allow itself to be white-anted from within.¹³

During the Transvaal congress Mr. U. J. Schoeman unexpectedly asked congress to vote on four resolutions, each covering a point on which the dissidents had criticised the Government. Delegates were asked to express full confidence in the Government's policies in regard to immigration, relations with other African states, co-operation with English-speaking people, and tours by sporting teams. There was at least ostensible unanimity on the first three of these resolutions, but not on the fourth: at the congress this matter revolved about the acceptability of Maoris in visiting All Black teams. Of the more than a thousand delegates, eleven (including Dr. Hertzog) voted against Mr. Schocman's resolution, and seven (including Mr. Jaap Marais) abstained from voting. The names of all these people were noted.¹⁴

On 15 September the Prime Minister announced that there would be a general election in early 1970, a year ahead of the normal time. This decision had been taken, he said, because of the recent actions of Dr. Hertzog, which had given the impression overseas that the Government and the National Party were unstable.

During the next few days it became clear that the party was

¹⁰ Assembly, 22 April. Mansard 11 cols. 4506-7.

¹¹ *My issue*.

¹² *Hand Daily Mail*, 10 May.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 3 September.

¹⁴ *Hand Daily Mail* and *Star*, 19 September.

determined to weed out the "rebels" well in advance of the election, not allowing them to capture official nominations.

The Party membership of Dr. Hertzog, Mr. Jaap Marais, and Mr. Louis Stofberg was cancelled, and a fourth Member of Parliament, Mr. Willie T. Marais, faced with possible similar action, decided to resign.

It was announced at a mass rally held in Pretoria on 24 October that a new political party, to be called the Herstigte Nasionale Party (Reconstituted National Party) was to be formed. The Party was launched next day at a meeting said to have been attended by 1,023 delegates from more than 120 constituencies. Dr. Hertzog was elected leader, and Mr. Jaap Marais deputy leader.

The S.A. Republican Party, led by Professor C. F. van der Merwe, decided that it would disband and advise its members to join the new party.

THE UNITED AND PROGRESSIVE PARTIES

The policies of the United and Progressive Parties have remained unaltered during the year under review. Their attitudes on specific issues are mentioned in relevant chapters of this *Survey*.

One of the main points of attack during the no confidence debate was the slow pace at which the African Reserves were being developed and the Government's reluctance to tell the country what the total cost would be if the policy of separate development were to become a reality. In a subsequent speech the leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, M.P., said he estimated that this cost would be some R600,000,000 a year over at least ten years: about six times more than was being spent.¹⁵

COLOURED PERSONS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

The terms of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act were set out on page 10 of last year's *Survey*. Provision was made for 40 elected and 20 nominated members. The Council will deal with local government, education, community development, Coloured rural settlements, and the financing of these matters.

In accordance with the terms of Ihis Act, the Department of Coloured Affairs was abolished as from 1 July. A Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs was created as from the same date,¹⁶ to handle matters that were not to be transferred to the Council. An Administration of Coloured Affairs was established to administer matters assigned to the Council, headed by Mr. F. Gaum, who was given the designation of Commissioner for

¹⁵ *U Star*, 1 March.

¹⁶ Proclamation R233 of 5 September.

Coloured Affairs. The services of Coloured teachers and of many officials formerly employed by the Department of Coloured Affairs, as well as of a large number of white officials, were made available to the Administration.

In the Assembly on 4 February,¹⁷ the Minister of the Interior gave figures indicating the number of Coloured persons who were eligible for registration as voters in the elections for the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, as follows:

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Cape	342,000	359,000	701,000
Natal	11,000	13,000	24,000
Transvaal ...	31,000	32,000	63,000
Free State ...	7,400	7,100	14,500
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	391,400	411,100	802,500

By 17 December 1968, the Minister said, 546,036 persons, or 68 per cent of those eligible, had registered as voters. The final number of registrations was not stated.

Five parties entered candidates for election: of these, only the Labour Party completely rejected the Government's policy of separate development. A brief summary of their policies follows.

The *Labour Party*, led by Mr. M. D. Arendse, stands for one-man-one-vote, with direct Parliamentary representation for all South Africans, whatever their racial group. The party accepted the Representative Council as a stepping-stone to full democratic rights because it offered the only means of political expression that was available in the interim to the Coloured people.

The *Federal Coloured People's Party* is led by Mr. Tom Swartz, the appointed chairman of the previously-existing Council for Coloured Affairs. It stands for parallel development, believing that the Coloured people are a nation with an identity of their own. Members are prepared to co-operate with the Government in matters promoting the advancement of the Coloured people, but want eventual equality with white people.

The *Conservative Party*, led by Mr. C. J. R. Fortein, also advocates parallel development, aiming at unifying the Coloured people, making them politically conscious, and gaining political experience through the machinery of the Representative Council. It aims at eventual equal opportunities with those of whites, and equal pay.

The *Republican Party*, led by Mr. Tom le Fleur and Mr. William Collins, describes itself as a moderate group working for Coloured unity, which can best be sought, it considers, apart from

the white people. It advocates an Immorality Act to prohibit intermarriage between Coloured people and other non-whites.

The *National Coloured People's Party*, headed by Dr. Clifford Smith, is a right-wing group, based in Johannesburg. Dr. Smith supports Government policy: he sees the Coloured people as a separate race with its own identity. He, too, is in favour of an Immorality Act such as that described.

The elections were held on 24 September. Three seats were unopposed, going to the Federal Party. Excluding these seats, the results were as follows:

<i>Party</i>	<i>Seats contested</i>	<i>Seats won</i>	<i>Total votes</i>	<i>Votes per seat contested</i>
Labour	35	26	135,202	3,863
Federal	37	8	90,025	2,433
Republican ...	17	1	30,238	1,779
National	16	1	23,260	1,454
Conservative ...	10	—	3,216	322
Independent ...	8	1	11,407	1,426

Including the uncontested seats, the Federal Party gained 11 seats.

Of the party leaders, only Mr. Arendse was successful. Mr. Swartz, Mr. le Fleur, and Dr. Smith were all defeated, while the other leaders apparently did not stand for election.

The total percentage poll was 48.7 per cent. The percentage ranged between 66.6 and 81 per cent in the three northern provinces, but was below 30 per cent in seven urban constituencies of the Cape, the lowest figure, for a Cape Town seat, being 16.4 per cent. The percentage was higher in rural areas of the Cape. It would appear that large numbers of the urbanized Coloured people in that province boycotted the elections.

In a statement made on 27 September Mr. Arendse said that in view of the fact that his Labour Party had won a clear majority of the elected seats in the council, he felt that it should be consulted in regard to the nominated membership. If the Government did not treat his party honourably in this matter, he could not guarantee that the Coloured people would stand by the Government in a time of trial or trouble.

On 7 October the Government announced the names of the 20 persons it had nominated to the Council. Of these, no fewer than 13 were members of the Federal Party who had been defeated in the elections. One of them was Mr. Tom Swartz, who was appointed Chairman of the Executive of the Council: he gained only 1,667 votes in the Kasselsvlci constituency as against 1,753 votes cast for a Republican candidate and 5,632 for a representative of the Labour Party.

In a Press interview Mr. Arendse said, "Surely this must be the only country in the world where a party which has won an

election ends up as the opposition?" The Government's action had been "an insult to democracy". On 8 October the *Star* asked whether the packing of the Council with men whom the Coloured people had rejected was not a direct violation of the Government's own Improper Interference Act. Numerous protests were voiced.

It was announced on 4 October that the Chairman of the Executive would receive a salary of R6,000 a year, and other members of the executive R5,000. All would be provided with motor cars for official use, and entertainment allowances, and the Government would build houses which they could rent for nominal sums. Ordinary members of the Council would be paid R1,500 a year.

In terms of Government Notice R 3669 of 31 October, the Minister of Coloured Affairs announced a lengthy list of powers that were to be delegated to the Council.

A first short session was held during November. Mr. Arcndse moved a vote of no confidence in the Council. A motion by a member of the Opposition that was carried unanimously was to the effect that Coloured professional persons should be paid at the same rates as whites receive for equal qualifications and responsibilities.

ATTITUDES OF COLOURED PEOPLE

The results of a survey of the attitudes of Coloured people in Port Elizabeth to issues affecting their lives, undertaken by members of various churches there, were published in September.¹⁰ This survey involved just under 200 people from all strata of Coloured society. The findings revealed that the feelings of Coloured towards whites were becoming increasingly bitter. As regards Africans, those questioned were either more friendly than in the past, or were unconcerned.

About 89 per cent thought that it was impossible for a true Christian to support apartheid as it is experienced by Coloured people. Some 45 per cent felt that job reservation most affected their lives, while 34 per cent said that the Group Areas Act, and 21 per cent the Immorality Act, was most hurtful. Only 12 per cent felt that Coloured people who had been resettled were happier than they had been before they were moved under the Group Areas Act.

On the question of party politics, 85 per cent said that Coloured people felt greatest sympathy for the views of the Labour Party, although numbers of these stated that they intended boycotting the elections because they did not consider that the council, as constituted, could improve their prospects. Of those with an education higher than Standard VIII, 97 per cent preferred

¹⁰ *Star*, 27 September.

the Labour Party. The lowest poll for Labour, 77 per cent, came from the group with an education lower than Standard VI.

A general conclusion was that the Coloured people in Port Elizabeth had a sense of hopelessness about their prospects in South Africa under apartheid.

According to the Press,⁹ some members of the pro-apartheid parties, particularly in the Transvaal, exploited racial prejudice during the elections for the Representative Council, their particular targets being people considered to be "passing" as Coloured but who were really Indian or African. Observers stated that the seed of racialism was sown by Coloured leaders when their parties came into existence, after the establishment of Coloured group areas.

In her presidential address to the Garment Workers' Union in the Transvaal (which has large numbers of Coloured members) Miss Anna Scheepers mentioned that certain members were spreading racialism and "unhealthy nationalism" within the ranks. Disciplinary action would be taken against persons who caused racial tension, she said.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL

As described in last year's *Survey*,¹ a new Indian Council was created in 1968, again with nominated members only. Little publicity has been given to its activities. As was the case with the previous council, it has concerned itself very largely with the effects on Indians of the Group Areas Act.

AFRICAN ATTITUDES

Once more, except in the Transkei (described later) there has been little overt political activity during the year under review among Africans in South Africa. A few political organizations do exist, for example the Bantu Federation of South Africa,¹¹ but little is heard of them. A new group, formed in December 1968, is the Bantu Nationalist Conservative Party in the Eastern Cape, which is said²¹ to aim at uniting all African tribes into one nation on a federal basis. It recognizes the hereditary heads of tribes as symbols of tribal unity, but not as autocrats.

• It is clear that there is much frustration and bitterness among Africans, particularly those in urban areas, but through fear of informers and of police action few of these people are willing to give open public expression to their feelings.

A wave of arrests made in mid-1969 is described in a sub-

⁹ *Star*, 29 September.

¹⁰ *Star*, 11 July.

¹¹ Page 15.

²¹ See 1968 *Survey*, pnc 17.

²² *Daily Dispatch*, 6 December, 1968.

sequent chapter. Asked to comment, the Minister of Police and of the Interior, Mr. S. L. Muller, is reported²⁴ to have said that the spirit of "underground communist subversion" was still present in South Africa. Subsequent to this, during November, African National Congress leaflets were anonymously and widely distributed in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and East London. Tape recordings of A.N.C. slogans were played outside the non-white entrance to the Cape Town railway station: the instrument was found in a paper bag attached to a pole.

It was reported last year that there had been much dissension within the ranks of the Pan-African Congress-in-exile, that for this reason the Organization for African Unity had suspended financial assistance, and that the Zambian Government had banned the

P.A.C. There has been dissension, too, in the African National Congress-in-exile. The Head of South Africa's security police, Brigadier P. J. Venter, told a *Sunday Times* reporter²⁵ that the A.N.C. leadership was divided. On the one hand were the African nationalists, led by Oliver Tambo, and on the other the communist sympathisers, prominent among whom were Moses Kotane, Duma Nokwe, Joe Matthews, J. B. Marks, Robert Resha, and J. Temba Mqotha. The leaders received about R2,000,000 a year from Russia alone, he added, and other sums from organizations in various countries, but very little of this was ever seen by the freedom fighters.

Brigadier Venter confirmed the substance of a report that the *Sunday Times*²⁶ had received from a Lesotho citizen, Mr. S. G. Hoohla, who had escaped from an A.N.C. transit camp in Tanzania, after spending two years in exile. He and many others, he said, had originally left their homes on being offered educational scholarships abroad. These never materialized. Pressure was [r] on the men to train as guerrilla fighters instead. Those who refused, or who opposed the leaders, were terrorised, or beaten, or thrown into Tanzanian gaols. While the leaders lived in luxury, the men in the camps existed in the poorest of conditions: in resentment, one of them had attempted to assassinate Mr. Duma Nokwe. Many had escaped to Nairobi. They would like to return to South Africa but dared not because they had left without travel documents.

Brigadier Venter added that 72 trained freedom fighters, who had recently been flown in a Russian aircraft from Algeria to Dar-es-Salaam, escaped on arrival. To prevent a recurrence of this many men were being kept in cells until they were sent out to fight. Mr. Joe Modise, in charge of military operations, had suffered a mental breakdown.

²⁴ *Sunday Express*, 18 May.

²⁵ Issue of 2 February.

²⁶ Issue of 26 February.

Reports on the numbers who have escaped to Kenya range from about 70 to more than 300: the majority are South Africans, it has been stated,²⁷ but others were originally from South-West Africa, Rhodesia, or Portuguese territories. Some, who have scholarships or have found employment, have permission to remain in Kenya; but many are probably there without official approval.

According to the *Sunday Times* of 6 July, four of those stranded in Nairobi sent documents to organizations in Western countries which had supported the A.N.C., urging that no further financial aid be sent to the leaders, since they used it mainly for their own benefit and lived in luxury while the men in the camps were underfed and had poor medical and other facilities. It was alleged that the leaders had opened a shop in Dar-es-Salaam where they sold clothing and other items that had been contributed for the freedom fighters.

On at least two occasions, it was stated, men who had opposed the leadership were sent on ill-planned invasions, of Rhodesia and Mozambique respectively, after (he security forces of these countries had been alerted to the men's arrival.

Morale in the camps was said to be very low. A.N.C. members there had split on tribal lines and lighting had occurred.

As mentioned later, there has been little guerrilla activity during 1969.

» *Star*, 7 Mar.

an identity card for which he had applied earlier to the South African authorities. This stated his race to be Coloured. The couple were then charged with contravening the Immorality Act. However, they were acquitted, the judge finding that they were not domiciled in South Africa at the time of the alleged offence, and that they intended returning to England.²⁴

An eminent scholar who was invited to lecture at universities in South Africa declined the invitation because his non-white wife would have been unable to accompany him.²⁵

A white man and an Indian woman were convicted under the Act during August, being given suspended sentences. The evidence leading to their conviction was given by members of the police who had spied on them through the windows of a private house. After their arrest the two had been submitted to physical examinations.²⁶ Referring to such cases, the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation's Current Affairs commentator said that the Act was necessary for the preservation of the nation, but it should be called what it was, the "Anti-miscegenation Act"; means for gathering evidence against suspected offenders should be devised which were "less distasteful"; and there should be an "appropriate limitation" of permitted publicity.²⁷

During May, four white men and a youth were charged under the Act as a result of evidence given by an African woman, who had "volunteered" to the police to allow herself to be used to tempt men. The men were given suspended sentences, while sentence on the youth was postponed for three years. When this matter was raised in Parliament, the Minister of Police said that the incidents should never have occurred: the police had no right to trap people in the manner that had been done without first obtaining the permission of the Commissioner of Police.²⁸

Commenting on the Immorality Act, the independent journal *Pro Veritate* (which is associated with the Christian Institute) said in April that the State had no right, according to the Scriptures, to regard extra-marital intercourse across the colour line as more immoral than within the limits of one race. It transgressed against divine justice if it summarily prohibited marriages across the colour bar; and it openly revolted against God if it declared such existing marriages to be an evil worthy of its judgment and punishment.

→ *Sunday Times*, 8 March; *Star*, 12 May.

⁵ *Star*, 26 April.

²⁶ *Kant Daily Mail*, 19 August.

²⁷ *Star*, 17 April.

²⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 June.

SECURITY MEASURES

EXPENDITURE ON DEFENCE

In the official budget for 1969-70,¹ a sum totalling R271,600,000 was allocated for defence, R17,469,000 more than in the previous year. The largest increase was in the amount voted for the procurement of armaments. The total defence vote has risen steadily and rapidly since 1959, when it was R40,000,000.

The Minister of Defence said² that the expenditure in 1969-70 would represent 2.5 per cent of the total national product.

STRENGTH OF THE DEFENCE FORCE

According to *The Military Balance*, an annual calculation by the independent Institute for Strategic Studies,³ the strength of South Africa's Defence Force, including members of the citizen force who are under training at any one time, is:

	<i>Regular</i>	<i>Citizen Force</i>
Army	5,700	22,300
Navy	2,500	1,200
Air Force	5,000	3,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13,200	26,500

If men who have completed their citizen force training are included, South Africa's total armed forces when fully mobilized would total 85,500, it was stated. Then there were 58,000 commandos, described as part-time rural militia.

DEFENCE EQUIPMENT

In the same publication, the armour possessed by the army is recorded as 100 Centurion tanks and about 100 medium tanks, several hundred armoured cars, and unstated numbers of scout cars, armoured personnel carriers, and light reconnaissance aircraft.

The Navy was stated to have two destroyers carrying anti-submarine warfare helicopters, six frigates, twelve minesweepers, and ten seaward-defence boats. Three deep-diving submarines were on order.

The Air Force had 24 light jet bombers, 20 fighter bombers

¹ Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account. R.P. 2/69, paRC 104.

² Assembly, 5 May, Mansard 13 col. 5289.

³ Report in the *Star*, 12 September.

equipped with air-to-surface missiles, 16 Mirage interceptors, 34 Mirages of other types, at least 40 Vampires, 7 maritime reconnaissance aircraft, and about 49 other aircraft (excluding those used for training). There were more than 80 helicopters. Surface-to-air missiles were on order from France. The Citizen Force was said to operate eight squadrons, with aircraft apparently not included in the figures given above.

It was stated in a Defence White Paper tabled in Parliament on 24 April⁴ that the decision had been taken in principle to buy fast coastal patrol craft for the Navy. The possibility of having coastal patrol craft manufactured locally was being investigated. Attention was being given to equipping naval ships with guided missiles. A start had been made with constructing a synchro-lift for a submarine base being built at Simonstown. Further ground-support aircraft and heavy transports were on order. South African factories were supplying the Army with all the vehicles it needed, as well as arms and ammunition. Some of the most modern electronic equipment was being manufactured locally.

Speaking during the Defence Vote,⁵ the Minister of Defence said that the Atlas Aircraft Company at Kempton Park was making great strides towards the almost complete manufacture of strategic aircraft.

In co-operation with France, he added, South Africa had developed a unique ground-to-air missile for defence against fast low-flying air attacks. It was tested towards the end of 1968 at the missile-range at St. Lucia Estuary in Zululand.

The first diving and torpedo-recovery vessel to be built by a South African firm was launched in May.⁶

Work is continuing on installing the Decca navigational aid system, which will provide complete cover for South Africa's coastal waters and a large part of the interior, and will also aid the fishing industry, help in the search for oil on the continental shelf, and be made available to international shipping off the coast in times of peace.⁷

A R12,000,000 underground radio communications centre is being built at Westlake, Cape Town, under the code name Advokaat. It will maintain a world-wide communications network. Information on world shipping, obtained from radar and other sources, will be fed into a computer which, instantaneously on demand, will produce a map of the shipping in any selected portion of the ocean.

An underground air defence radar station has been constructed at Devon in the Eastern Transvaal as the nerve centre

¹ Rand Daily Mail, 25 April.

² Star, 3 May.

³ Sunday Times, 18 May.

⁴ White Paper, op. cit.

⁵ Sunday Times, 27 April.

of the Northern Air Defence Sector's early-warning system. Information is fed into computers from radar heads above ground and from satellite stations at Mariepskop, Ellisras, and Mafeking. Memory banks are supplied with information about every conceivable type of enemy aircraft that could be used in an air attack, together with information on the best type of defence against these aircraft. Within seconds, the computers can work out the best action to take in any given situation, and the controllers can then transmit orders to jet aircraft stations at Waterkloof, near Pretoria, Pietersburg, and elsewhere, and to anti-aircraft installations."

TRAINING IN UNCONVENTIONAL WARFARE

The Minister of Defence told Parliament¹⁰ that South Africa had embarked on a two-stream policy of being prepared for conventional warfare, but also of training men for unconventional warfare. Five special "anti-terrorist" training camps had been established, strategically sited, at which training was being given in camouflage and disguise, the establishment of bases, tracking, field shooting, convoy and ambush drill. The men were kept informed of counter-measures to the latest tactics being used in terrorist attacks throughout the world. The Air Force had been reorganized for greater mobility and was being integrated with the anti-guerrilla combat forces.

Members of the South African Police continue to operate with Rhodesian security forces near the Zambian border. In addition, the Minister of Police has said, "3,000 miles of South Africa's northern borders are being patrolled night and day by 800 white and 300 non-white policemen at any one time. They have been specially trained for the work. On patrol the men sometimes cover as much as 25 miles a day through difficult terrain and often in intense heat, carrying packs weighing anything between 40 lb. and 70 lb. for up to five days.

South Africa has produced a 10-lb. manpack radio transmitter-receiver¹⁵ with a range of more than 750 miles for use in such operations.

PETROLEUM GAS

No oil has yet been found in the Republic; but petroleum gas, consisting largely of methane, was struck during March in drilling operations on the continental shelf, 40 miles offshore from Plettenberg Bay. The yield is about 35,000,000 cubic feet a day, about one-third of the total needed, over a guaranteed

¹⁰ Sunday Express, 3 August.

¹¹ Rand Daily Mail, 6 May.

¹² Hand Daily Mail, 3 June.

¹³ Star, 19 June.

period of about 25 years, before it would become an economic proposition to lay an undersea pipeline to the coast. The well also produced "condensate", consisting of light petroleum liquid products, the presence of which established that substantial quantities of hydro-carbons exist under the continental shelf. Further wells are to be drilled, the Minister said.¹¹

BUREAU FOR STATE SECURITY

In the Prime Minister's vote in the estimates for 1969-70, an amount of R4,063,000 was allocated for secret services.

In terms of provisions of the Public Service Amendment Act, No. 86 of 1969, a Bureau for State Security was set up. (The title BOSS was coined for it.) It is headed by a former head of the Security Branch, Lieutenant-General H. J. van den Bergh, who is directly responsible to the Prime Minister.

According to the Deputy Minister of Justice,¹¹ the Bureau will co-ordinate and complement the security activities of the Security Branch of the Police and the military intelligence division of the Defence Force, but these organizations will retain their identities. It will not be subject to the authority of the Public Service Commission, and, except during the Annual Budget debate, Parliament will be unable to question its activities. According to the Prime Minister,¹⁵ the officials of the Bureau have no power of arrest or detention.

The Security Services Special Account Act, No. 81 of 1969, set up an account to finance the activities of the Bureau. Money in this account may be used for such services of a confidential nature and such services connected with the Bureau as the Prime Minister may, from time to time, approve as being in the national interest. The account will be subject to audit by the Controller and Auditor-General only to the extent determined by the Minister of Finance in consultation with the Prime Minister.

The United Party supported the creation of the Bureau (it was before the General Law Amendment Bill, described below had been published); but Sir de Villiers Graaff warned of danger to democracy unless the Government handled the legislation with great responsibility.¹⁰

GENERAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 101 OF 1969 ("BOSS BILL")

Section 10 of the 1969 General Law Amendment Act further amended the Official Secrets Act of 1956, as amended in

¹¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 and 28 March.
¹² *Assembly*, 11 June. Hansard 18 col. 7832.
¹⁵ *Sunday Times*, 10 August.
¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 June.

The relevant Section (No. 3) of the principal Act read, "Any person who has in his possession or under his control any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information which relates to munitions of war or any military or police matter and who publishes it or directly or indirectly communicates it to any person in any manner or for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the Republic, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1,500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment."

In terms of Section 10 of the 1969 Act, these provisions became applicable to security matters as well as to military and police matters. A "security matter" was defined as any matter relating to the security of the Republic, including any matter dealt with or relating to the Bureau for State Security, or relating to the relationship subsisting between any person and the said Bureau.

i' Section 29 of the new Act provided that, notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law or the common law, no-one shall be compelled to give evidence or furnish any information in any court of law, or before any body established under any law, if a certificate purporting to have been signed by the Prime Minister, or any person authorized thereto by him, or by any other Minister, is produced to the effect that the matter concerned affects the interests of the State or public security, and that disclosure of it will be prejudicial to the interests of the State or public security.

The General Law Amendment Bill was introduced during the closing days of the Parliamentary session. The United Party opposed the Bill at its second reading because of Clauses 10 and 29. Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) moved that it be read that day six months. She accused the Government of misleading Parliament by not disclosing its terms until after the Public Service Amendment Bill (which established the Bureau for State Security) had been passed. The new measure, she stressed, changed the nature of the earlier one.

j.: During the committee stage of the Bill numerous amendments were proposed by the Opposition, but none was accepted. At the third reading the United Party moved that the Bill be read that day six months.

ll. The measure was severely criticised outside Parliament, too. **Calling**, first, with Section 10, a deputation from the Newspaper Union saw the Deputy Minister of Justice, according to **reports**, to discuss the possibility that the Press might unwittingly **report** on matters that were deemed by the Bureau to be security matters. The Deputy Minister gave the assurance that innocent disclosure of such matters would not be a punishable offence: offence would be committed only if disclosure were made

with the object of prejudicing the safety or interests of the State. If members of the Press were in any difficulty or doubt they could always consult officials of the Department of Justice. Prosecutions would take place only at the instance of an attorney-general, the Deputy Minister stated.¹⁷

The editors of various newspapers expressed their serious concern, in spite of these assurances. The S.A. Society of Journalists issued a statement in which it said that it regarded Section 10 as the most serious curtailment yet made of the freedom of the Press in South Africa. The public would have no means of knowing how much information was being suppressed."

There was very wide concern, too, about the implications of Section 29 which, as was pointed out, might prevent an accused person from giving evidence in his own defence, and encroached on the already circumscribed power of courts of law to test State privilege.

Statements condemning Section 29, or expressing very serious concern at its scope or implications, were issued by the Bar Councils of Johannesburg, the Cape, Natal, and Pretoria, the General Council of the Bar, the Natal Law Society, and the Johannesburg Side Bar Association. At a public meeting in Randburg, Mr. Justice Marais said he was worried about the dignity, independence, and esteem of the judiciary in the existing South African scheme of things. He reminded his audience that the independence of the judiciary was the cornerstone of the administration of justice. The Government, he said, had neglected to consult the judiciary before publishing Clause 29, nor had it informed them of its intentions.¹⁸

Serious misgivings were expressed, too, by Mr. Justice Ludorf, Mr. Justice Quartus de Wet, Mr. Justice Caney, and leading professors of law at the Universities of South Africa, Pretoria, and Potchefstroom, and the Rand Afrikaans University.²⁰

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs. Jean Sinclair, contributed an article to the Press in which she pointed out how, in the search for national security, the personal freedoms and security of all in South Africa had been eroded over the years.

On 5 September the Prime Minister announced that Mr. Justice Potgieter of the Appellate Division had been appointed a one-man commission of enquiry into matters relating to the security of the State. His terms of reference, published in Government Notice 3296 of 17 September, were to investigate and report on the potential threat of conventional and unconventional warfare against South Africa; the threat of terrorism and potential guerrilla warfare and the possibility of internal subversion; the

¹⁷ Assembly, 11 June, Hansard 18 col. 7860; Senate, 18 June, Hansard 16 cols. 4046-7.

¹⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 July.

¹⁹ *Star*, 27 June.

²⁰ Various newspapers of 26-29 June.

necessity of the Government's being fully informed and kept abreast of matters relating to security; security measures taken in other comparable democratic countries; and the security of the State in general.

The Commission was also asked to report on whether the State departments concerned in security functioned properly and in a co-ordinated manner; on any matter that might constitute a threat to the efficient functioning of security organizations; and on whether, and to what extent, existing legislation, or portions thereof, concerning the Bureau for State Security should be amended.

It was announced on 2 December that Dr. A. Hertzog, M.P. and Mr. Jaap Marais, M.P., were to be prosecuted by the State for refusing to give evidence before this Commission after having been summonsed to do so, following an alleged statement by Dr. Hertzog that he had heard the Bureau for State Security was likely to cost a very great deal more than was admitted by the Government.

FURTHER DISQUALIFICATION FOR VOTERS

Section 2 (iv) of the Electoral Laws Amendment Act, No. 99 of 1969, and Section 23 of the General Law Amendment Act, provided that a person will be disqualified for ever as a voter in general elections, or elections for the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, if, *inter alia*, he has been convicted of an offence under the Suppression of Communism Act or the Terrorism Act and is sentenced to a period of imprisonment without the option of a fine.

Only Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) opposed these Clauses. She pointed out²¹ that if they became law a banned person (who had been banned by the Minister of Justice without recourse to the courts) could be deprived of his vote merely if "he were convicted of forgetting to report to a police station in terms of his banning order (even if given a suspended sentence). So might persons who were sentenced for such minor offences as displaying a poster supporting any aim of a banned organization, or collecting money for such an organization.

²¹ Assembly, 11 June, Hansard 15 col. 7745.

DETENTION AND TRIALS IN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE SECURITY LAWS

NUMBERS DETAINED AND CONVICTED IN 1968

Questioned in the Assembly on 27 May,¹ the Minister of Justice gave the following statistics relating to persons convicted under the security laws in 1968:

<i>Convicted under:</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Africans</i>
Section 21, General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (sabotage) ...	-	-	-	-
Suppression of Communism Act (1950 as amended) ...	3	1	1	24
Unlawful Organizations Act (1960) ...	-	-	-	3
Terrorism Act (1967) ...	-	-	-	34

One person (white) who had been released after serving⁸ prison sentence was charged with a further offence under the Suppression of Communism Act, he said.

According to the Minister of Prisons,² those who were released during 1968 after serving sentences of imprisonment under these laws were:

<i>Convicted under:</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Africans</i>
Section 21, General Law Amendment Act ...	-	-	-	8
Suppression of Communism Act	5	-	-	6
Unlawful Organizations Act	1	1	-	172
Terrorism Act	-	-	-	3

Those who were still serving sentences under these laws at the end of 1968 were:

¹ Hansard, 16 col. 6681.

² Assembly, 30 May, Hansard 16 col. 6M8.

<i>Convicted under:</i>	<i>Whites</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Asians</i>	<i>Africans</i>
Section 21, General Law Amendment Act ...	11	17	14	374
Suppression of Communism Act	6	2	-	34
Unlawful Organizations Act	-	2	1	527
Terrorism Act	-	-	-	31

Various forms of detention without trial are provided for in security laws. Section 215 *bis* was inserted in the Criminal Procedure Act in 1965, providing for the detention for up to 180 days at one time of persons whom the attorney-general considers may be able to give evidence in serious criminal cases.³

Section 22(1) of the General Law Amendment Act of 1966 provides for the detention of suspected terrorists for interrogation for periods of up to 14 days. The Commissioner of Police may, however, apply to a judge of the Supreme Court for an extension of this period.⁴

Section 6 of the Terrorism Act provides for detention for indefinite periods.⁵

Questioned about the numbers detained in 1968, the Minister of Justice said "that it was not in the public interest to disclose how many people were detained under the Terrorism Act. The Deputy Minister said that 27 persons were detained in 1968 under the Criminal Procedure Act. Of these, 22 were called as witnesses in criminal proceedings and 4 were released without being so called. (The remaining person was presumably charged Or was still in detention.)⁷

Not all the detentions are ordered in connection with Suspected political offences. From information given in the House of Assembly by Mrs. C. D. Taylor and elicited by her from the Minister of Police⁸ it appears that Mr. Aboobaker Suliman was Suspected of certain offences and a charge was preferred against him under the Suppression of Communism Act. Six Indian and Coloured persons were detained under the 180-day clause as possible witnesses: of these, one was held for 163 days, one for 162 days, two for 157 days, and two for 156 days.

It was eventually found that Mr. Suliman could not be charged for his alleged offences under the Suppression of Communism Act, and the potential witnesses were then released. He was charged, instead, under the Population Registration Act,

³ See 1965 Survey, page 35.

⁴ See 1966 Survey, page 55.

⁵ See 1967 Survey, page 63.

⁶ Assembly, 7 March, Hansard 5 col. 2066.

⁷ ABCmbly, 28 February, Hansard 4 col. 1575.

⁸ ABTmbly, 13 and 28 May, Hansard 14 col. 5830, Hansard 16 cols. 6801-2, 6804.

and was convicted on 61 counts of forgery and uttering, being sentenced to five months on each count, part provisionally suspended. (It appeared that he may have forged identity cards for persons who wished to be accepted as Cape Malays in order to be able to trade in proclaimed Coloured areas.)

TRIALS OF CERTAIN PERSONS DETAINED PRIOR TO MID-1969

1. rictermaritzburg trial

Eleven African men and one woman (Mrs. Dorothy N. Nyembe) appeared in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, in January on various charges under the Terrorism and Suppression of Communism Acts. There was a 16-page indictment, alleging that between June 1962 and November 1968 they had conspired with 26 others to overthrow the existing order in the Republic by means of subversion, terrorism, violent revolution, and warfare. Among the alleged co-conspirators were Abram Fischer, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Oliver Tambo, and Duma Nokwe. The accused were stated to have been in league with the banned S.A. Communist Party, Spear of the Nation, and African National Congress. An anonymous "well-wisher" in London was reported to have sent money for their defence, through a solicitor in London.

Several former detainees gave evidence for the State. Exhibits before the court included military weapons.

Judgment was given on 26 March. One of the men was acquitted and discharged, the rest being found guilty of various charges under the Terrorism Act, including going abroad for guerrilla warfare training in Ethiopia, Algeria, the Soviet Union, Tanzania, or Zambia; establishing means whereby those trained could secretly re-enter South Africa; searching for suitable submarine landing sites on the coast; inciting people to undergo guerrilla training; and giving assistance to people known to be terrorists.

Mrs. Nyembe was gaoled for 15 years. Of the men, one was gaoled for 20 years, six for 18 years each, two for ten years each, and one for five years.⁹

2. Men arrested in Victoria West

As mentioned in last year's *Survey*, a number of men were arrested in Victoria West during April 1968 and the following months. The State alleged that between November 1966 and June 1967 they were members of the banned organization Poqo, and that they attended meetings at which plans were discussed,

⁹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 and 27 March, and various earlier papers.

(or attacking the town's police station and post office, poisoning its water supplies, cutting telephone communications and power supply cables, killing whites, and other acts.

During November 1968, in a court at Oudtshoorn, ten of the men were convicted of Poqo activities and each was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

Their appeal, heard in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, on 4 June, proved successful, their convictions and sentences being set aside. The Judge-President of the Cape passed severe strictures on the judgment of the Oudtshoorn magistrate, finding that his reasons for accepting the evidence of State witnesses were "anything but convincing", and that the same applied to his reasons (or discarding as untrue the appellants' evidence.¹⁰

Another 24 of those who had been arrested in Victoria West appeared in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, during September on charges of sabotage and Poqo activities. Three were discharged during the proceedings on the ground that the State had brought insufficient evidence against them. All the rest were discharged on 30 September. (Some of them had been under arrest for as long as 17 months.)

Mr. Justice Theron said that the security police spy known as X54 had been the centre of the whole State case. Under cross-examination it had become apparent that his answers were quite clearly false and that he was prepared to tell lies. He admitted that he had lied during a similar trial in Port Elizabeth. While his evidence was corroborated in some respects by other State witnesses it was evident that they, too, were telling untruths.

The judge said that "it made a person shudder to think that someone like X54 could be placed in a position where he had an interest in the arrest of members of the public."¹¹

3. Men arrested in Graaff Reinet

Early in 1969, 24 Africans were arrested in the Graaff Reinet district on charges similar to those in the Victoria West case.

They appeared in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, during June. Eleven of them were acquitted on all charges. Of the remaining 13, none was found guilty of sabotage, but all were found to have belonged to Poqo. The judge said he had taken into consideration the fact that none of the acts contemplated had actually been carried out.

The ringleader, Jim Hermanus, was found guilty on three charges, and sentenced to seven years. Of the rest, two were sentenced to 2½ years each, three to two years each, and seven to 1½ years each.

'ill'

¹⁰ *Rand Daily Mail* and *Eastern Province Herald*, 5 June.

¹¹ *Kand Daily Mail*, 1 October.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3 July.

4. Bakwena-ba-Mokgopa tribesmen

According to various reports,¹³ the Bakwena-ba-Mokgopa tribe has its headquarters at Bethanie, near Swartruggens, but a group of tribesmen lives at Hebron, to the north of Pretoria. This group pressed for its own local sub-headman. The chief of the tribe, Chief James Mamogale, told the court at the trial described below that he first appointed Jacobus More from tribal headquarters, but cancelled this appointment after objections had been raised. He then appointed Herman More, also from headquarters. The Hebron community again objected on the ground that a Hebron man should have been selected; but the chief said that the time was not ripe for this.

On about 16 October 1968, attempts were made to burn the residence of Herman More at Hebron, the tribal offices, in which two of Herman's relatives were sleeping, and other buildings. About eleven tribesmen were arrested, some of them being detained for about eight months before being indicted.

Three were released during this period, subsequently giving evidence for the State, and, as described later, two died in detention.

In July, the remaining six men were brought before the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on charges of sabotage, with alternative charges of attempted murder and arson.

On 18 August they were all acquitted. The judge said that with the exceedingly poor material at its disposal the State had failed to prove their guilt. It had relied on the evidence of the three accomplices, which was contradictory and irreconcilable with the facts as known.

The released men told a Press reporter that they would continue, through the Bantu Affairs Commissioner and the Bantu Authorities, to urge that Herman More be removed.

5. Bakubung tribesmen

The removal of a portion of the Bakubung tribe from the farms Palmietkuil and Elandfontein, about 25 miles from Rustenburg, was described on page 133 of last year's *Survey*, and is further mentioned in a subsequent chapter of this *Survey*.

According to these reports and to evidence given in court by Major T. J. Swanepoel, Chief Interrogation Officer of the Security Branch, the captain of the tribe, Richard Monnakgotla, died soon after his marriage to Kathirena Tsitso Monnakgotla, Richard's brother Lukas was then appointed captain, but was deposed after there had been complaints that he was not caring properly for Kathirena and her son. Mrs. Kathirena Monnakgotla was then made captain. Many of the tribesmen objected to this on the grounds that she was not of royal blood and was originally

¹³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 July and 12 and 19 August.

not from the Bakubung tribe, and that it was not tribal custom to have a woman captain.

The trouble was exacerbated when Mrs. Kathirena, supported by about two-thirds of the tribesmen, agreed in 1966 to a Government proposal that the tribe should move to Ledig in the Pilanesberg area. The remainder of the tribe, under Lukas's leadership, refused to move, and, as described later in this *Survey*, many of them were arrested.

Major Swanepoel said that a few of the dissidents then formed themselves into a gang and consulted witchdoctors as to how to bring about Kathirena's death. Four unsuccessful attempts were made to kill her, and towards the end of 1968 she was eventually wounded.

Ten Africans, including Lukas and one woman, were then arrested on charges of assault with intent to commit murder.

When they appeared in the Rustenburg magistrate's court on 22 January to apply for bail one of them, Marks Monnakgotla, told the magistrate that, in an attempt to induce him to make a statement, policemen had beaten him and given him an electric shock which knocked him unconscious. Next day, the Pretoria Supreme Court granted an interim order restraining any member of the police from questioning him pending another hearing on 28 January at which the police had indicated that they would oppose an application for the order to be made permanent.

On 24 January, when the arrested Africans again appeared in court in Rustenburg, the State withdrew the charge of assault with intent to commit murder, but before they could leave the dock they were re-arrested under the Terrorism Act. Their application for bail then fell away.

On the return date, the Pretoria Supreme Court discharged the interim order and postponed Marks Monnakgotla's application *sine die*. The judge said it could be considered only after Marks had replied to evidence contained in an affidavit submitted on behalf of the police, who denied his allegations. There was no reason to believe that he would, meanwhile, be assaulted in prison, the judge said.

The Minister of Police subsequently told the Assembly¹⁴ that Marks Monnakgotla's allegations of assault had been thoroughly investigated by a senior police officer. The matter was then referred to the attorney general, who refused to prosecute.

The ten Africans were due to appear in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, on 11 September on charges, under the Terrorism Act, of having conspired to upset the rule of law and order by terrorist activity. As mentioned later, on the night before their appearance one of them, Jacob Monnakgotla, died in prison, his death being certified to have been from natural causes.

When the remaining nine appeared in court, six of them

¹⁴ M 25 February, Hansard 4 cols. 1311-2.

pleaded guilty to attempted murder. The State then withdrew the main charge, under the Terrorism Act.

Major Swanepoel of the Security Police urged the judge not to send to prison the three who had pleaded not guilty — Lukas, Marks and Elisha Monnakgotla. They were elderly men, he said, and not criminally-minded. These three were acquitted.

The six others were found guilty of assault and sentenced to three years' imprisonment with two years conditionally suspended."

DEATHS DURING DETENTION

Mr. James Lencoe

Mr. Lencoe, a Lesotho national employed in Johannesburg, was arrested at his home in Soweto during the night of 5 March, and detained under the 180-day clause of the Criminal Procedure Act. It was apparently not until 13 March that his wife was informed that he had died in the Pretoria Local Prison on 10 March, having hanged himself with his belt.¹⁸ A post mortem had been carried out by the prison surgeon, who found that the death was due to hanging.

Mr. Lencoe's brother instructed his attorney (Mr. Joel Carlson) to apply for another post-mortem to be carried out by a doctor chosen by Mr. Lencoe's widow, together with a doctor nominated by the State if the State so wished. As the State raised no objection, the magistrate ordered another post-mortem, which was conducted by two doctors.

During the inquest proceedings the widow, Mrs. Julia Lencoe, said that she could not identify the belt with which her husband had allegedly hanged himself. The only belt he had possessed had been left at home.

Her counsel told the court that there was medical evidence that proved beyond doubt that Mr. Lencoe had been given an electric shock on the day he died. Three leading pathologists, one of whom had been brought out from the United States, testified that there was a mark on his toe that was consistent with a very recent electric burn mark. A State pathologist, under cross-examination, said he could not exclude the possibility that the mark might have been caused by an electric burn.

The magistrate refused to allow certain political prisoners to be called from Robben Island to testify about allegations that a team of Security Police, under the direction of Major T. J. Swanepoel, had used electric shocks as one of their methods of interrogation. Major Swanepoel denied that detainees were ever given shocks.

The magistrate found that Mr. Lencoe died as the result of

¹⁸ Account compiled from various Press reports on 21, 25, 27 and 29 January, and 11 and 12 September. This account is based on numerous Press reports, e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 March, 24 March, 28 June, 20 August, 6 September.

hanging, self-inflicted; that no satisfactory proof had been given that he had suffered an electric shock on the day of his death; and that no blame attached to any living person.

Mrs. Lencoe then instituted a civil action against the Prime Minister, the Minister of Police, and Major Swanepoel for damages amounting to R5,000 in her personal capacity and R5,000 in her capacity as the mother of two minor children.

Mr. Nicodimus Kgoathe

Mr. Kgoathe was one of the Bakwena tribesmen detained in connection with a case described earlier. He was arrested on 11 November 1968, and on 21 January was taken from the Silverton police cells to the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria, where he died on 4 February. During his stay in hospital he was treated for lung and kidney infections. A post mortem gave the cause of death as bronchial pneumonia.

At the inquest proceedings the doctor who arranged for him to be admitted to hospital said that, in his opinion, Mr. Kgoathe was then suffering from the after-effects of concussion. Mr. Kgoathe had told him that he had fallen in a shower room, but on being further questioned said that he had been assaulted. This seemed to be the more likely explanation, since he had linear marks on his shoulders, and U-shaped wounds and other abrasions on his body.

A sergeant of the Silverton police station testified that Mr. Kgoathe had complained of body pains and said that he had been assaulted by the Security Police during interrogation. However, he refused to lay any charge. Two members of the Security Police stated that during his interrogation Mr. Kgoathe had been allowed to take a shower, and had fallen in the shower room.

The magistrate found that on the evidence before him he was not in a position to conclude that any person was to blame for Mr. Kgoathe's death.

Through her attorney, Mr. Carlson, Mr. Kgoathe's widow sued the Prime Minister and the Minister of Police for damages of R9,000.

Mr. Solomon Modipane

Mr. Modipane was another of the Bakwena tribesmen referred to earlier. He was arrested on 25 February and died three days later in the H. F. Verwoerd Hospital. According to a Press report, the head of the C.I.D. said that Mr. Modipane had received "certain injuries" when he slipped on a piece of soap, but that this was not necessarily the cause of death.

On 23 May a magistrate endorsed the post mortem report that death was due to natural causes, and found that no inquest was necessary.

¹⁹ From accounts in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 March, 11 April, 7 June, 28 June, 4 July, 11 April, and Minister of Police, Assembly, 20 June. Hansard 19 col. 8667.

Mr. J. B. Tubakwa

According to the Minister of Police,¹⁹ Mr. Tubakwa was arrested on 10 September 1968 under the Terrorism Act, and on the following day hanged himself in the Pretoria Prison.

Mr. Caleb Mayekiso

Mr. Caleb Mayekiso, a former political prisoner, was detained on 14 May, in Port Elizabeth, also under the Terrorism Act, and died in detention on 1 June. The District Surgeon certified that his death was from natural causes.²⁰

The Imam Hadja Abdullah Haron

The Imam H. A. Haron, a Cape Moslem leader, was detained in Cape Town under the Terrorism Act on 28 May. He died on 27 September while in detention. His death, too, was certified to have been from natural causes.²¹

Mr. Jacob Monnakgotla

Mr. Jacob Monnakgotla was certified to have died in gaol from natural causes on the eve of the trial of Bakubung tribesmen, described earlier.²²

DETENTIONS IN MID-1969

Numbers of persons were detained in May and June of 1969. Questioned in the Assembly on 3 June²³ about those who had been detained in the Transvaal since 12 May, the Minister of Police said that 35 had been held under the Terrorism Act, and one under the 14-day clause, in connection with suspected underground political activities, while four potential witnesses were being detained under the 180-day clause. It was neither in the public interest nor the interests of the persons concerned to give their names nor the places where they were being held.

The relatives of some of the persons who had been detained; told their attorneys or the Press that for some days they did not know where the people concerned were being held, or under what law. They were, thus, unable to send them clothing. However, Brigadier P. J. Venter, the head of the Security Police, said that at the time of the arrests the families were told why the persons were being held, and the arrested persons were told to pack suitcases with them.²⁴

The homes of some persons were searched, documents being removed.

Mr. Albert Mashamba was released from detention on about

¹⁹ Assembly, 18 May. Hansard 10 col. 4277.

²⁰ Minister of Police, Assembly, 13 June. Hansard 18 col. 7945.

²¹ Minister of Police, Assembly, 10 June, Hansard 18 col. 7622.

²² Rand Daily Mail, 11 September.

²³ Hansard 17 col. 7135.

²⁴ Sunday Times, 18 May; Rand Daily Mail, 21 May.

24 June, as was Mr. John Schlapobersky on 6 August: he decided voluntarily to leave South Africa.

One of the detainees, Mr. Philip Golding, was a British subject. It was reported that the British Ambassador had more than one discussion about him with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs: it was stated²⁵ that he expressed his Government's view that Mr. Golding should either be released or brought to trial.

Consular representatives were allowed access to Mr. Golding several times: it was reported that he said he was in good health and had no complaints about his treatment. The British Ambassador was, apparently, informed during September that Mr. Golding would be released after he had given evidence for the State.

CHARGES UNDER THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT

On 28 October, Mrs. Winnie Mandela (wife of Nelson Mandela, the former leader of the banned A.N.C.) and 21 other Africans appeared in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court on a number of charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. It was alleged, *inter alia*, that they had continued the activities of the A.N.C. and furthered the aims of Communism during the period October 1967 to June 1969 in Johannesburg, Durban, Cradock, Port Elizabeth, Umtata, and other places; had possessed or distributed A.N.C. literature; had investigated targets for sabotage and devised means for obtaining explosives; and had discussed the establishment of contact with guerrilla fighters in the event of their arrival in South Africa. It was alleged in the indictment that they had used or proposed using Mr. Golding as a link with the A.N.C. overseas.

The accused were remanded in custody for summary trial in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, to commence on 1 December.

It is not publicly known how many of the others who were detained had been released and how many were still in custody pending their appearance as witnesses. The State Prosecutor said in court that the State had more than 80 witnesses at its disposal, a "substantial number" of whom were being held in detention.

The trial is in progress at the time of writing.

²⁵ U Rand Daily Mail, 16 August.

GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

The only guerrilla activity reported in South-West Africa since the last issue of this *Survey* was compiled was the wounding and capture of one man by the police during December 1968. Another man is said to have escaped.¹

The trial in Pretoria, under the Terrorism Act, of 37 men who had been arrested in South-West Africa was described on page 50 of the 1968 *Survey*. In mid-1969, eight more men from Ovambo-land were tried in Windhoek on charges relating to the same events. They asked for *pro Deo* defence. As no advocate in Windhoek was available, two junior counsel arrived from Cape Town: one of them withdrew during the proceedings.

The main charge was under the Terrorism Act, with two alternative charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. The State alleged that the men, with numerous others, had taken part in a Swapo² plot to create a violent revolution in the territory with the object of taking over the government. The accused were stated to have engaged in terrorist activities during the period June 1962 to January 1968. After some of them had undergone military training abroad, it was alleged, camps were set up in South-West Africa to train people there. *Inter alia*, the accused, or some of them, were stated to have taken part in the murder of a chief's bodyguard and the wounding of two others, and in a plot to kill certain chiefs, an armed attack on the home of a white farmer during which the farmer was wounded, and another armed attack on the houses of two white officials in Oshikango, during which these houses were set on fire and an African servant wounded. The accused were stated to have resisted arrest, firing on members of the police.

Among the court exhibits were firearms, reports of meetings, and letters and documents from Swapo officials abroad detailing plans for military action. Evidence was given by several alleged accomplices.

On 20 August, two of the accused were found not guilty and discharged. The remaining six were declared guilty on the main charge, the judge finding it was clear that they had been associated with the Swapo conspiracy and its broad plan for the violent overthrow of the Government of South-West Africa.

Five of the men were sentenced to imprisonment for life: they were Messrs. M. Victory, J. F. Haita, S. F. Haita, J.

¹ *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 December 1968.

² South-West Africa People's Organization.

Ipenguela, and G. Shikomba. Mr. J. S. Shimuefelani was gaoled for 18 years.

On 4 November Mr. Shimuefelani was given leave to appeal against his conviction, while three of the other five, Messrs. S. F. Haita, J. Ipenguela, and G. Shikomba, were granted leave to appeal against their sentences.

RHODESIA

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, units of the Soutli African Police continue to operate with Rhodesian security forces in patrolling the northern border of that country.

The Rhodesian Minister of Defence, Mr. J. Howman, said on 27 December 1968³ that, by then, more than 160 guerrilla fighters had been killed since the incursions via Zambia began in 1966. A considerably greater number had surrendered or been captured, while some had fled back across the border. The Rhodesian forces had suffered 12 killed, 30 wounded, and 2 accidentally killed on service. One South African policeman had been killed, and two died in the Zambezi Valley.

On pages 68-9 of last year's *Survey* it was mentioned that, after the guerrilla raids began, Rhodesia's Law and Order (Maintenance) Act was amended to make the death sentence compulsory 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.

By March 1968 there were reported to have been more than 100 in the death cells, and others joined them later. Five men, guilty of murder under the common law, were executed. In September 1968, however, the mandatory death sentence was removed, discretion being restored to the courts. It was reported in November⁴ by the Rhodesian Minister of Justice that, of the 173 Africans sentenced to death since 1965, 131 had had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. There were still 36 in gaols awaiting execution or reprieve: six of them had been sentenced in 1966 and ten in 1967.

During the year under review there have been no large-scale infiltrations of guerrillas from Zambia. A report from Lusaka in September⁵ stated that the guerrilla organizations had given up any hope of achieving quick success by military means. The armed raiding parties that had been sent into Rhodesia became little more than suicide squads, and it was virtually impossible to obtain further recruits from within Rhodesia.

o" The new plan, it was stated, was to build up cadres of trained guerrillas in Rhodesia. Zapu⁶ had been sending lone intelligence

³ *Star* at that date.

⁴ *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 September.

⁶ The Zimbabwe African People's Union.

officers into the country to gauge the reactions of rural Africans! and to find safe infiltration routes and places for arms caches. Several of them had been arrested following information received from local Africans. The leaders talked of a life-time commitment to the struggle for majority rule in Rhodesia, seeing little hope of this except through a long, bitter, and increasingly violent campaign.

PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

The war against guerrillas continues in the Portuguese territories. There is sporadic fighting in three areas of Mozambique against infiltrators who make hit-and-run raids, plant booby traps, and ambush troops. The smaller of the two nationalist organizations concerned, Coremo (the Mozambique Revolutionary Committee) operates, from bases in Zambia, in the western corner of the territory, the Tete Province, to the north of the proposed Cabora Bassa Dam. It hopes to create a situation in which the building of the dam will be impossible.

Frelimo (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) operates from bases in Tanzania, and has infiltrated in the Cabral area in the extreme north-west, and in the extreme north-east in the Makonde sector of the Cabro Delgado area. The bitter fighting has been in the latter area.

The Frelimo leader, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, was assassinated in Dar-es-Salaam during February, being succeeded by a three-man council led by the Peking-trained Rev. Uriah Simango. Later, Mr. Simango resigned, leaving Messrs. M. dos Santos and Machel in charge. Fighting in the field was for long controlled by the Makonde tribal leader Lazaro Kavandame; but he surrendered to the Portuguese early in April, apparently having been influenced by messages from captured tribesmen telling of the Portuguese offers of friendship. Thereafter, Mr. Kavandame toured Makonde country telling his people to lay down their arms, and leaflets bearing a message from him were scattered from the air. According to the *Star* of 19 August, however, there had by then been no notable effect.

It was stated in the same report that the Portuguese authorities claimed that about 120 insurgents as against some 10 Portuguese troops were being killed each month. The authorities were continuing to resettle families from the fighting zones in fortified villages, where efforts are made to improve their standards of living.

Accounts of the fighting in parts of Angola and of nationalist movements involved were given on page 69 of last year's *Survey*. It was mentioned that one of the three organizations involved in Angola is Unita. The *Star* reported on 6 May that Unita has suffered a decline since its leader, the Rev. J. Savimbi fell out with President Kaunda after his followers attacked 15

Benguela railway and halted Zambian copper exports. The leading guerrilla group is how stated to be the M.P.L.A., which is well organized on Marxist lines. Its strategy is to avoid combat as far as possible, but to infiltrate quietly to subvert the Portuguese administration.

Bitter fighting continues in Portuguese Guinea against Amilcar Cabral's PAIGC (African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde). A leader who was captured some years ago, Rafael Barbosa, and 91 others, renounced the movement and declared their loyalty to Portugal during August. They were released from detention and allowed to return to their homes on undertaking to play no further part in guerrilla activities.⁷

⁷*Star*, 6 August.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

THE UNITED NATIONS

During the debate on his Vote in the House of Assembly South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Mullet, said that the Republic would remain in the United Nations, and would co-operate with it, as long as this was in the country's interests, and as long as it was not humiliated there. The United Nations remained a very useful international forum, he said, where South Africa could state its case, and a very useful meeting place where the best possible contacts could be made at the least

expense. South Africa was enjoying valuable co-operation in a number of important agencies, Dr. Muller continued, for example, the Atomic Energy Agency, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Civil Aviation Organization, and others.

During December 1968 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted an Afro-Asian resolution appealing to the World Bank to stop all transactions with South Africa and Portugal "until they renounce the policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination". The voting was 82 to 7 with 25 abstentions.

A few days before this, the General Assembly's Economic Committee voted by 49 to 22, with 23 abstentions, to expel South Africa from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad). When this resolution came before the General Assembly, however, the president of the Assembly ruled that the matter was an "important question" under the rules (implying that a two-thirds majority would be required). The resolution failed to gain the necessary majority.³

In a lengthy resolution, also passed in December 1968, the General Assembly, by a vote of 89 to 4 with 25 abstentions, condemned South Africa and Portugal for their "persistent defiant stand toward the United Nations and world opinion". Member-nations were again called upon to break off all diplomatic, commercial, military, cultural, and other relations with South Africa. The Assembly condemned the "torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of political prisoners", and demanded that South Africa should abolish the laws under which opponents of the policy of apartheid were detained without charge or trial.*

¹ 7 May, Hansard 13 cols. 5443-4.

² *Star*, 19 December 1968.

³ *Star*, 14 December 1968.

* *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 December 1968.

Assembly resolutions that dealt with South-West Africa are described in the last chapter of this *Survey*.

In May, the International Labour Organization issued a booklet condemning apartheid. "Apartheid concerns everyone directly", it stated, "since it involves the whole future pattern of human relations."

During June, the General Assembly's Special Committee on Colonialism urged the Security Council to broaden the scope of sanctions against Rhodesia and to apply punitive sanctions against South Africa and Portugal, who had defied the existing measures. The resolution as a whole was passed by 19 votes to 2 (Britain and the United States) with 2 abstentions. However, Britain and the United States voted in favour of a paragraph of the resolution which condemned South Africa, Portugal, and other governments that continued to have political, economic, financial, and other relations with Rhodesia: here the voting was 21 to none with 2 abstentions.*

In the Security Council, the motion as a whole failed by a single vote to gain the required minimum of nine affirmative votes that only a veto could upset.⁶

The International Commission of Jurists stated, in a bulletin published in September, that the situation in South Africa in regard to racial discrimination was worsening. Recent legislation, increased security measures, incidents of brutality, and continued disregard for the rule of law, indicated that the regime in the Republic was tightening its hold.

As mentioned on page 132 of the 1964 *Survey*, during that year South Africa was excluded from a congress of the Universal Postal Union, held in Vienna, by 58 votes to 30 with 26 abstentions. An Afro-Asian motion for South Africa's expulsion from the Union was, however, rejected by 58 votes to 56, with 3 abstentions.

The matter was again raised at the next congress of the Universal Postal Union, which was held in Tokyo in October 1969. South Africa was excluded from this congress by 65 votes to 53, with 10 abstentions. The congress decided that a wider motion calling for South Africa's total expulsion required a two-thirds majority as it affected the charter of the organization. As the voting was tied, 57 to 57, this motion was defeated.⁷

The question of South Africa's policies was again considered by the General Assembly on 21 November. One resolution, carried by 80 votes to 5, with 23 abstentions, called on member-states to cut off all air and sea communications with the Republic, and to take steps to prohibit financial and economic interests under their jurisdiction from co-operating with the South African Government and companies registered in South Africa. Those

⁵ *Cape Times*, 11 June.

⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 June.

⁷ *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 and 10 October.

that voted against the resolution were Australia, Britain, the United States, Portugal and South Africa.

Another resolution, passed by 101 votes to 2 (South Africa and Portugal), with 6 abstentions, urged all states and organizations to exert every appropriate effort to secure unconditional release of all political prisoners and people subjected to restrictions for opposing apartheid. It reiterated that freedom fighters who are captured in the course of their struggle should be treated as prisoners of war in accordance with the principles laid down in the Geneva Convention.⁸

CONFERENCES OF LEADERS OF AFRICAN STATES

A fifth Summit Conference of East and Central African States was held in Lusaka during April, fourteen states being represented. The delegates adopted a manifesto in which they said they did not accept that any one group within a society had the right to rule the society without the continuing consent of all the citizens. They reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of human equality and human dignity, and to the doctrines of self-determination and non-racialism, and pledged themselves to work for the extension of these principles and doctrines within their own nations and throughout the continent of Africa.

What they required of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal, the leaders said, was a commitment to the principles of human equality and self-determination. Given this commitment, disagreements about the rate of implementation or about isolated acts of policy would be the concern of individual countries and not a matter for concerted African action. If peaceful progress towards emancipation were possible, or if changed circumstances brought this about, "we would urge our brothers in the resistance movements to use peaceful methods even at the cost of some compromise on the timing of change."

None of the African states would claim that it had achieved a perfect social, economic, or political organization, it was stated. Hostility towards discrimination and colonialism in Southern Africa was not on the basis of achieved perfection in Black Africa, but on the basis of the commitment of the Black states to human equality and dignity and national self-determination. Because there continued to be an open denial of these principles in the White-ruled states and colonies, opposition to these regimes was inevitable. The conference (Malawi excepted) pledged itself to increase both moral and material support for the liberation movements in Southern Africa.¹

This manifesto was later accepted by the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.).

⁸ *Star*, 11 November.
¹ *Star*, 17 and 24 April, and June Issue of the *Review of the International Commission of Jurists*.

During September, the 41 member-states of the O.A.U., at a meeting in Addis Ababa, resolved to increase their assistance to recognized liberation movements.²

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND NEIGHBOURING STATES

In the course of the debate on his Vote in the House of Assembly, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Hilgard Muller, said that "we are in direct touch with considerably more African governments than I am now prepared to, or in a position to, reveal".³ He announced⁴ that a sum of R425,000 had been provided in the current budget for technical aid to other states.

The Minister of Finance, Dr. N. Diederichs, told the House⁵ that South Africa had already contributed 14.08-million dollars to the International Development Association, and was to pay three further instalments, each of one-million dollars.

According to the Minister of Planning, Dr. C. de Wet, the Government has set up a special committee to examine the question of giving medical aid to neighbouring states in a more co-ordinated way.

Negotiations are continuing for a revised customs agreement with Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland. There was reported to have been resentment in these countries when South Africa imposed a sales tax without prior discussion with them.

Botswana's Minister of State, Mr. M. P. K. Nwako, said in February that there were then 3,820 refugees or people claiming refugee status in his country.⁶ Two-thirds or more of them are stated to be people who fled from Angola, mainly towards the end of 1968, and joined others at Shakawe, in north-west Botswana. At about the same time a group of 115 Caprivians from South African mandated territory crossed the Chobe River to Kasane: they apparently were peasants who became alarmed at reports of tough action by the South African security forces during a drive against suspected "terrorists". There are said to be about 60 refugees in Francistown from South Africa and other states, and about 80, from South-West Africa, in the desert village of Makunda.

Most of those at Francistown have been there for some years, and are living on small grants from international agencies, since the Government prefers to reserve the work that is available for its own citizens. The Angolans and Caprivians, however, are not so much political refugees as peasant fugitives from a disturbed way of life. With the help of an administrator sent by the United

² *Star*, 11 September.
³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May.
⁴ *Star*, 7 May, Hansard 13 col. 5499.
⁵ *Star*, 10 June.
⁶ *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 July.
⁷ *Star*, 25 April.
⁸ *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March.

Nations High Commission for Refugees, the Botswana Government is giving them land and seed, hoping that they will become self-sufficient farmers.⁹

It is reported¹⁰ that the South African and Botswana authorities have held several discussions on the question of "foreign" Africans who are deported from the Republic and arrive in Botswana penniless and without documents.

Mr. Joe Molefi, a South African refugee, has been deported from Lesotho. The Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, has promised that no refugee there will be returned to the country from which he fled. The refugees (said to include between 55 and 70 from South Africa) will be allowed to remain as long as they do not interfere in local politics or engage in subversion against the government of any country.¹¹

During the year under review a parliamentary delegation from South Africa and a trade mission from the Afrikaanse Handels-instituut have visited Malawi. The Government of the Republic has assisted with Malawi's development and broadcasting programmes.

The Prime Minister said in April¹² that South Africa had a good understanding with the Malagasy Republic and Mauritius; There was informal contact from time to time in matters affecting trade and co-operation in the technical sphere. His planning adviser had just paid a very successful visit to both territories.

⁹ Rand Daily Mail, 24 December 1968, 15 January, 24 February.

¹⁰ Ibid., 14 February.

¹¹ Rand Daily Mail, 30 May and 16 June; Star, 9 July.

¹² Assembly, 23 April. Hnnsard 11 col. 4580.

EMPLOYMENT

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report, published in September, the SA Reserve Bank said that the revival in economic activity that started towards the beginning of 1968 accelerated progressively during the second half of that year and in 1969. There was little evidence of inflation; but the labour shortage became more acute than at any time since 1961.

The Reserve Bank endorsed a warning that had been given the previous week by the Netherlands Bank that the labour shortage might lead to new inflationary trends.

In a statement issued on 13 February the Minister of Planning said that the Government had adopted a target growth rate of 5½ per cent a year in the real Gross Domestic Product for the period 1963-9. Over the four years 1963-7 the average realized growth rate was in fact 6.4 per cent per annum. The target for 1968-73 should again be 5½ per cent, he said.

THE COST OF LIVING

The consumer price index

The Reserve Bank stated that the seasonally adjusted consumer price index increased by 2.7 per cent during 1968 and at an annual rate of 2.9 per cent during the first half of 1969. If food prices (which had actually declined) were excluded, the prices of other consumer goods and services rose at an annual rate of 5 per cent during the first half of 1969, compared with an increase of 2.3 per cent during 1968. This could be ascribed partly to the introduction of the sales tax from about the second quarter of 1969, but another reason for the increase was the rapidly rising prices of medical and other services, including recreation.

The Department of Statistics found that the weighted average consumer price index for the nine principal urban areas rose from M26.4 points in June to 126.6 points in July (the base of 100 representing prices in October 1958). It attributed about half of the increase to the effect of the sales duty.

Between August 1968 and August 1969 the index for all items rose from 124.0 to 126.6. The index for all items excluding food increased from 122.8 to 126.8. The index for food only decreased from 127.2 to 126.0. It should be pointed out, however, that this food index may actually have risen for families in the