

10. The livestock industry is the principal source of income after the earnings of "migrant" labour. Livestock include cattle, sheep, goats, horses, mules and to a lesser extent, poultry and pigs. The chief exports are wool and mohair which earn approximately £1.25 to £1.5 million a year. Livestock are also exported; but imported livestock, not infrequently, equals or exceeds the value of exported livestock.

11. To a large extent agriculture is conducted on a subsistence basis.

12. About 1 million acres of land are at present under cultivation. It is estimated that about 10 per cent of the resident population (i.e. roughly 20,000 families) are without access to arable land. There is, therefore, a land shortage, added to which most of the soil is badly eroded. Considerable sums of money have been spent by the Department of Agriculture, especially in recent years, on anti-erosion measures.

13. Basutoland, with its strongly flowing mountain rivers, is rich in water resources. If properly harnessed, water and power could (a) be supplied at a profit to the neighbouring Republic of South Africa and (b) be utilized for irrigation and power schemes within the Territory. In regard to (a) it is stated that, on present rates of consumption, the Rand Water Board in the Republic of South Africa will be facing a short-fall of potable water by 1970; but it is not known at present whether the Government of South Africa wishes to purchase water and power from Basutoland sources.

14. The Territory's known mineral resources are few and of limited value. Apart from small quantities of diamonds no minerals are mined at present.

Budget

15. Basutoland has been running deficit budgets since the financial year 1960/61. Since then the Basutoland Government has received budgetary assistance from the British Government in the form of grants-in-aid as shown in the following table:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Deficit (covered by grant-in-aid)</u>
	£m.	£m.	£m.
1960/61	2,393	1,865	.390
1960/62	3,284	1,883	1.141
1962/63	3,269	1,883	1.141
1963/64	3,503	2,095	1.533
1964/65	4,169	2,479	1.694
1965/66	4,721	2,084	2.350*

* Approved deficit.

16. On any realistic view there is no prospect of Basutoland being able to do without a considerable amount of budgetary assistance from outside sources for many years to come. Furthermore, it must be recognized that a considerable amount of additional expenditure will result when current recommendations by Salaries Commissioners for increased salaries for public service officers and teachers are put into effect.

Development Expenditure

17. The total public expenditure to be incurred in the period 1963/66 (i.e. the period covered by the current Development Plan) is estimated at £5.737 million made up as follows:

	£m.
Economic	.665
Infra-structure	2.862
Social Services	2.060
Administrative	<u>.200</u>
	<u>5.737</u>

The sources of finance for the Plan are:

	£m.
C.D. and W. <u>territorial</u> allocation	1.878
C.D. and W. <u>central</u> , budget and other funds	1.229
Loans (including an I.D.A. loan of nearly £1.5 m.)	<u>2.630</u>
	<u>5.737</u>

18. The major development needs of the Territory are a continuation and expansion of the activities of the Department of Agriculture; the development of industry so as to increase local employment and incomes; education (including technical training); and an improvement of infra-structure services, especially roads and power. These needs are reflected in the current Development Plan.

B. NEEDS

Organization for Economic Planning

19. In common with Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Basutoland has need of assistance in the fields of economic planning and statistical services. The Territory at

present has neither the expertise nor the statistical data available for the production of a comprehensive and balanced Development Plan. Although a statistical unit has been set up, no national income estimates have been attempted, and with the present staffing position, the unit is mainly occupied with preparation for the 1966 Population Census.

20. The new Constitution provides for the establishment of a National Planning Board. Its functions are briefly:

- (i) to prepare plans for economic development;
- (ii) to co-ordinate the plans of the Government and other authorities;
- (iii) to advise the Government on economic development;
- (iv) to advise the Government on land policy;
- (v) to perform any other function legally conferred on it.

21. The composition of this Board is to be 12 members, 3 of whom will be nominated by Motlotlehi, 3 by the Minister responsible for land matters, 3 by such other Minister or Ministers designated by the Prime Minister and 3 by the Minister responsible for Local Government.

22. It is not clear to the Mission why it was considered necessary to include provision for the National Planning Board in the Constitution. The machinery for economic planning is essentially an instrument of Government administration and, while it may well be desirable to legislate on the functions of various planning bodies, it is undesirable to be too rigid in the approach to planning, at least in the initial stages. The National Planning Board as defined in the Constitution is both advisory and executive.

23. It is the Mission's view that the National Planning Board should be considered as a National Economic Advisory Council, leaving the function of the preparation of plans for economic development to be exercised by a National Planning Committee under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. In formulating plans, the National Planning Committee would seek advice from the National Economic Advisory Council, which should be fully representative of all sections of the community. Both bodies should be serviced by a planning secretariat, which should include the economic planners, the statistical unit, and the section of Government dealing with external financial and technical assistance.

24. The main assistance which can be given to the planning machinery is the provision of an economist and a statistician. This we regard as being one of the

highest priority needs. We suggest that the unit should be headed by a senior officer with administrative, financial and economic experience and that it should come under the direction of the Prime Minister.

Improvement of Agricultural Production

Statement of the general position

25. In view of the paucity of other resources, agriculture is and will probably remain the main economic activity of Basutoland. Four-fifths of the country consist of mountains up to 11,000 feet and the remainder is lowland between 5,000 to 6,000 feet which contains the main arable areas. About 1 million acres of land is at present under cultivation in the lowland and foothill areas; the rest of the country is suitable only for rough grazing. Due to population pressure, however, marginal land in the mountains is being brought under cultivation. To a large extent, agriculture is on a subsistence basis. But the Territory is not self-sufficient in agricultural produce; over 100,000 bags of maize are imported annually from the Republic of South Africa to augment local food crops.

26. The most important source of income derived locally is the livestock industry. Wool and mohair exports earn about £1.25 million a year. The only other agricultural exports of significance are wheat, which is marketed through agents of the South African Wheat Control Board, and cattle.

27. The major effort of the Agricultural Department over the past thirty years has been directed towards soil conservation and anti-erosion work. Considerable sums are spent each year on these measures. Despite this, the standard of soil conservation is showing some decline in the lowlands. This is a result not only of greater land pressure but also of fragmentation of land holdings. The land tenure system, which is referred to in paragraphs 42-47 is also an important factor to be taken into account, particularly in connexion with agricultural development.

Crop production

28. The main crops are wheat, maize, sorghum, peas and beans. Wheat is increasingly grown in the mountains; but its quality is impaired by smut infestation and by floor threshing and the return to farmers is much lower than

that enjoyed by wheat producers in the Republic of South Africa. Maize quality is also poor and production is insufficient to meet local demand. Sorghum is a food crop grown for local consumption. The production of peas and beans is small.

29. An agro-ecological study has been carried out to serve as a basis for land-use planning, and agriculturally the Territory has been divided into five main zones, according to terrain. Conservation, livestock and crop services have been planned in some detail for each of these zones. In general, crop services are concentrated in the lowland zone, whereas the main emphasis in the mountains is on livestock. Extension services in the arable areas are directed towards "progressive" farmers, of whom there are about 800; the Progressive Farmers' Scheme does not at present cover livestock owners. These farmers have recognized the advantages of farm planning and consolidation of holdings; but they are short of capital to provide the essential instruments of better farming, i.e. improved seed, fertilizers, implements etc. There is the additional problem that few farmers are in a position to obtain credit, due to the lack of tenure, the smallness of holdings and fragmentation of land. Few farmers have adopted a "cash economy" approach to their farming and crop husbandry techniques are still poor.

30. Agriculture thus presents gloomy prospects for the future unless some breakthrough can be made to modernize the whole farming pattern in Basutoland. Although agriculture already absorbs a high proportion of public expenditure, the limited funds available are not sufficient to have an immediate impact. It is necessary that priority continue to be given to soil conservation measures in order to check erosion, which appears nevertheless to be spreading. On the more positive side of development, the aim should be to train farmers to obtain better yields from existing acreages and existing crops, rather than from the spread of cultivation to new areas or the introduction of new crops. This training might best be given at farm training centres (see paragraphs 73, 32, 34-36 below). The value of crops per acre now averages only about £5 which clearly shows the need to increase yields.

31. The achievement of any advance in crop production will only come with a change in attitude of the Basotho farmer and a realization of the need to adopt improved agricultural methods, use of better seed and fertilizers and use of proper implements and machinery. Given these advances, there will still be the need for better credit facilities, the reform of the land tenure, the consolidation of fragmented holdings and a marketing system to dispose of produce.

32. The Mission noted with interest the experiment in mechanized farming conducted in the Mafeteng District. The District Council there raised a loan of £45,000 with which it purchased ten tractors and implements. Ploughing was charged for at an estimated economic rate (which in fact proved to be below cost) and the whole scheme was supervised by a manager employed by the Council with experience in mechanized agriculture. Financially, as far as the District Council is concerned, the scheme has not been a success, due probably to inexperience of the Board of Control.

Agriculturally, the scheme has successfully demonstrated the advantages of closely directed and supervised cultivation using mechanization, selected seeds, fertilizers and correct planting. Wheat production in the district is reported to have been raised from 573 bags in 1962 to 60,000 bags in 1964.

33. Unfortunately, schemes of this kind require substantial initial sums of capital and operating costs are high. Careful costing is required to determine the charges for tractor hire. If the capital is financed by a short-term interest-bearing loan, as in Mafeteng scheme, the charges are liable to be excessive and subsidization may be required. Nevertheless, specific schemes of this kind in selected areas are definitely of educational value and there is no reason why they should not become directly or indirectly revenue producing, provided they are planned in detail and expenditure is closely controlled. We consider that there would be value in the Government undertaking similar schemes based on mechanized agriculture. This requires, however, that the conditions to which we have referred in paragraph 31 should be fulfilled and in addition, that trained staff should be available to supervise projects.

Livestock production

34. The number of livestock in Basutoland is estimated at 1.3 million sheep, 0.5 million goats, and 0.3 million cattle. Sheep and goats provide the main export products of the country which are wool and mohair. Livestock improvement measures are increasing, and it is confidently estimated by the officials concerned that the value of livestock products could be increased by £1.5 to £2 million a year if livestock farmers could be persuaded to adopt improved animal husbandry techniques, measures to maintain animal health, breeding from better stock, and controlled use of pasture.

35. The livestock improvement scheme is based on the provision of livestock centres throughout the pastoral zone. These centres are intended as the focal points for technical services to livestock owners in each area. They are provided with sheds for the preparation of hides and skins, veterinary dispensaries, and breeding animals. Each centre services four to five dip-tanks in the area. The staff at the centres are responsible for instruction to livestock farmers on care of animals, preparation of livestock products and methods of disease control.

36. Further funds are required to expand these services, both for capital costs and for annual recurrent charges. A progressive farmer scheme should be encouraged amongst farmers specializing in livestock production. More attention should be paid to the development of a mixed farming system in the foothill regions based on the production of fodder crops for supplementary feeding and fattening of livestock and dairying in selected areas. The latter is particularly important not only as an additional source of income but for nutritional purposes.

37. As in the case of crop production, livestock improvement will also depend in the long run on a marked change of attitude amongst Basotho farmers and on the consolidation of holdings and the cessation of communal grazing.

Co-operative development and credit

38. The history of the co-operative movement in Basutoland has in recent years been integrally bound up with credit institutions. It is, therefore, impossible to comment on the two in isolation.

39. The co-operative movement really started in 1948 with the appointment of the first Registrar of Co-operative Societies. A central banking and marketing union was established in 1958 under the name of the Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union (B.C.B.U.) to handle and finance wool, mohair, hides, skins and cattle sales. In 1963 the B.C.B.U. ran into difficulties and its registration was cancelled. The report of an investigation into the causes of its failure stated that it was due to political interference and bad management. Although Government-supported, it was not Government-controlled, despite the large sums provided by Government-guaranteed overdrafts from a commercial bank. In order to save the whole co-operative movement from collapse, the Co-operative Union of Basutoland (C.U.B.) was formed and took over the liabilities and assets of B.C.B.U.; its two members

were the Basutoland Government and the Basutoland Co-operative Savings Society. The liabilities of B.C.B.U. are still outstanding, and it is understood that there is an immediate problem relating to repayment of the commercial bank overdraft. This whole matter has been the subject of study by an expert and it is not within the competence of the Mission to advise on how the past and present difficulties facing C.U.B. should be resolved.

40. We are, however, concerned that the co-operative movement in Basutoland should be revitalized and used by the Government under centralized direction for the economic advancement of the Territory. We believe that the expansion of co-operatives is most desirable, particularly in the field of marketing, and as a means of injecting capital into the agricultural economy. Experience elsewhere has shown that one of the most effective ways of making small loans is through efficient and properly managed co-operative societies. This requires a vigorous programme of co-operative training, not only of co-operative officers but of co-operative managers. At least one co-operative education expert is urgently needed for this purpose.

41. With regard to the facilities for credit in the agricultural sector, both to individual progressive farmers and to co-operatives, the future will to some extent depend on decisions to be taken concerning the Co-operative Union of Basutoland and the problem of its liabilities. We incline to the view that the Basutoland Government should give serious consideration to the setting up of a statutory credit and savings institution, similar to that established in Swaziland, which would be governed by an autonomous board of management appointed by the Government. This should take over the Agricultural Development Fund (which is a small fund administered by Government for small-scale supervised credit to farmers for purchase of fertilizer and improved seed) and should be the sole credit institution for agricultural, housing and small business loans. Assistance would be needed in the establishment of the bank and in the drafting of legislation should it be decided to proceed on this basis.

Land tenure

42. All land in Basutoland is vested in the Basuto Nation and the power to allocate land is vested in the Paramount Chief. Under his authority, the power to

grant tenancy of land is exercised by the Chiefs. They also have the power to dispossess, although it is understood that this power is exercised only on rare occasions. This reflects the traditional concept under which the welfare of the people is the responsibility of the Chiefs. This concept in regard to land is enshrined in the Basutoland Constitution, except that an important section gives the Parliament the right to make laws regulating the principles on which land may be allocated or taken away. The Constitution also lays down the procedure for allocations and appeals against decisions. There is no freehold or leasehold title to any land in the Territory (with exception of BAFED - see paras. 99-102) and therefore no legal security over land can be obtained.

43. During the course of discussions in the Territory, it was frequently pointed out to the Mission that this system of tenure is a restrictive factor in economic development and that it was desirable to grant some form of title which at least assured a farmer of possession of his land. This, of course, is a problem common to many other countries; the system of communally or tribally owned land inhibits development in areas where there is dense population and land pressure. This situation applies in the lowlands of Basutoland and it is therefore important that the tenure system should be adapted to meet the needs of an expanding economy. This might be done without destroying the basic concept that land is vested in the nation to be enjoyed by the nation.

44. The present system of communal ownership has also other implications. For example, we were told that the losing battle being fought on soil conservation is partly due to the fact that no individual farmer feels responsible for anti-erosion measures on land which is not in any legal sense his own. Equally, we were told that there is little incentive to improve land either for crops or grazing for the same reason. The extension of credit is limited by the inability of farmers to offer land as security; at present credit has to be short term, secured by a charge over crops or medium term for the purchase of farm implements, secured on a charge over those implements. We were also told that in the urban areas, commercial undertakings hold their land at the pleasure of the Paramount Chief; thus if a trader wishes to sell his business, the sale of the property is subject to the approval of the Paramount Chief for the transfer of the land tenancy right. The inability to attract industrial concerns to Basutoland is partly attributed to the fact that no security of tenure on a site can be offered.

45. While the Mission is not qualified to suggest the principles on which land reform might be based, we consider that a useful start could be made in connexion with urban local government. We understand that the structure of local government is presently under review preparatory to the drafting of new legislation. On the assumption that this legislation will provide for the establishment of town boards and councils, we suggest that these bodies should take on the function of allocating land within their boundaries. These urban authorities might be granted leasehold of all non-government held land in the towns and empowered to issue their own sub-leases for a fixed number of years. This would at least provide security of tenure for commercial and industrial undertakings within the urban areas.

46. The National Planning Board is charged with the function of advising the Basutoland Government on land tenure. We gained the impression from discussions with the Basutoland Cabinet that the political leaders are aware of the need to find a solution to this problem. The Mission hopes that the Government will be able to determine a land reform policy which will be in the best interests of the economic progress of the Territory. At the appropriate time, expert advice will be needed on the changes to be made and the legislation required to give effect to such a policy.

47. In the rural areas there is also the problem of land fragmentation. At the appropriate time, it will be necessary to carry through a programme of land consolidation. The services of an expert on land consolidation would be required by the Basutoland Government to advise on the procedure to be followed in such an exercise.

Marketing

48. Marketing is of particular significance in Basutoland in view of the difficult nature of the terrain and the lack of communications. It is largely carried on by licensed produce traders, who are also involved in the general distributive trade of the Territory. It is said that a trader gives credit to his wool, mohair and livestock customers who repay him in the wool and mohair seasons, and that this system props the whole economy in the rural areas. The role of co-operative societies in the marketing system is still comparatively small. There is a general scepticism amongst the commercial community in the Territory about the future of

co-operatives; this is not entirely self-interest, but due to the somewhat unfortunate history of the movement which culminated with the collapse of the Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union in 1963. Wool and mohair exports are handled almost entirely by traders; only about 15 per cent is handled by co-operative societies which in turn sell to a subsidiary of the Union, H. Hides Limited. While co-operative banking has not been successful in Basutoland, this does not apply to co-operative marketing. Such failures as have occurred have been due to inexperience and lack of training.

49. There has been a feeling for some time that if effective Government-sponsored schemes for the improvement of livestock and agricultural production are to be introduced, the present marketing system needs modification. The Government recently commissioned an expert survey on marketing, but the report was not available at the time of the Mission's visit. However, a number of observations can be made on this matter. There is clearly need for the Government to play a more active role in marketing. Whether a statutory marketing board for single channel marketing is appropriate we were unable to judge; however, some form of marketing organization which would have power to regulate the industry and to promote better quality control is patently desirable. We also consider that a Marketing Division should be established in the Ministry of Agriculture, with specific responsibility for the close study and direction of all aspects of marketing. Acceptance of proposals along these lines will require the services of specialist staff including an experienced marketing officer and an agricultural economist.

50. Despite the unfortunate history of the co-operative movement (principally co-operative banking rather than marketing) we believe that marketing co-operatives for wool, mohair and cattle must be built up. This will require a strengthening of the Co-operative Department, not only in staff, but by changes in legislation to give the Registrar more powers to control societies rather than simply to supervise and advise them.

Education and Training

Manpower requirements and planning

51. The Mission has already referred to the overriding need in Basutoland for a central economic and planning unit which would bring together the necessary

information required for the compilation of national income statistics and other pertinent data to enable a comprehensive development plan to be drawn up and periodically reviewed. One of the tasks of this unit should be to appraise the Territory's manpower requirements in the light of its development objectives.

52. The need for such a continuing appraisal derives from the particular characteristics of the labour market peculiar to Basutoland. Within the Territory, opportunities for employment, especially of skilled and semi-skilled persons, are limited. The total labour force employed in the Territory numbered 15,000 of which about 40 per cent were in Government service and 27.8 per cent were employed by private enterprises. Only 2,300 persons were employed at salaries over £250 per year for which some degree of vocational training may be assumed. As prospects for industrial development do not appear to be great, at least in the immediate future, the demand for certain categories of labour with particular skills is likely to be inelastic once immediate requirements of localization of the Civil Service have been satisfied. Even now there is evidence of severe unemployment, especially among persons with some degree of specialized vocational training.

53. The situation is complicated by the fact that a major part of the Basotho wage earning population is employed in the Republic of South Africa, either on a settled basis or on temporary contract in the mines and agriculture. Neither the precise numbers involved nor their occupations are fully known, estimates varying from the figure of 160,000 given by the Basutoland Government to a much larger figure (ranging up to 280,000) given by the South African authorities who base their calculations on the number of persons of Basotho origin living in the Republic. Whatever the actual figure, the possibility that such persons might return to swell the labour supply in Basutoland is a problem which must be constantly borne in mind, especially since they are believed to include about one-fifth of the known Basotho university graduates.

54. In so far as changed circumstances may have major effects on the supply and demand for labour, it is important that such changes, in so far as it may be possible to foresee them, should be taken into account in connexion with the formulation and review of development programmes. It is no less important in our view that co-ordinated planning should also extend into the field of education and

training, particularly vocational training, if the Territory's limited financial resources are to be used to the greatest possible effect and not merely to add to the burden of unemployment. This aspect is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Strengthening of the basic educational system

55. The educational system in Basutoland has grown up in a haphazard manner largely because public funds available have been insufficient to permit the Government to set up its own school system and have obliged it to restrict its role to subsidizing and supervising the activities of religious missions. At present, owing to continued expansion, especially at the base of the educational pyramid, Government expenditure on education currently represents 19.41 per cent of total recurrent expenditure (equal to about 32 per cent of territorial revenue), and is less than adequate to perform even these limited functions. Unless there is a drastic review of educational objectives and the means to attain them, Basutoland is likely to find itself with a costly educational system which will progressively deteriorate in quality owing to insufficient financing. As will be shown hereafter the present system has serious defects resulting in enormous economic waste which the Territory can ill afford. The priority need therefore is to draw up a realistic educational plan with specific objectives related to the Territory's most urgent requirements. We believe that this is one of the most appropriate areas for technical assistance and we suggest that early consideration be given to such assistance.

56. The main features of the educational structure in Basutoland are a broad base of no less than 1,060 primary schools, 930 of which provide only the first six years of the eight-year primary course, topped by a relatively slender superstructure of 17 junior secondary schools offering a three-year course up to Junior Certificate level and 7 high schools taking pupils up to Cambridge School Certificate (G.C.E. "O" level). Further secondary education to G.C.E. "A" level, which is required for entry to most overseas universities, is available only by taking an additional three-year course at the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The proportion of children who attend school (61 per cent) is extremely high, but wastage within the school system is enormous. Of the 165,000 children enrolled in primary schools, about 60 per cent do not

complete their third year and in 1963 only about 10 per cent of original entrants completed the full primary course to Standard VI. Approximately 3 to 4 per cent of original primary entrants pass on to secondary education and of these less than one quarter continue beyond Junior Certificate level. In 1964 only 88 students passed the School Certificate examination. Added to the severe wastage, many students are required to repeat classes. Both these factors represent a serious economic loss to the Territory, especially since it may be assumed that the 60 per cent who do not complete three years of primary schooling may relapse into illiteracy.

57. In 1960, the Government introduced a policy of "freezing" the number of primary schools so as to concentrate all available resources on developing secondary education. Notwithstanding this, enrolments in primary schools have increased by about 15 per cent and, as the funds available to pay teachers' salaries are limited, this has resulted in an increase in the over-all pupil-teacher ratio from 54:1 in 1960 to 61:1 in 1964, with a much larger increase at the lower primary level. Add to this the fact that there is a wastage rate of between 15 and 20 per cent annually among primary teachers, that more than one-third of them are unqualified and that in many cases lower primary schools consist of a single-room building housing several classes under only one teacher and with hardly any teaching material other than a blackboard, and it is not surprising that the quality of instruction is poor, consisting not uncommonly of mere memorization by rote. The situation is not so bad in the higher primary schools where the pupil-teacher ratio has been maintained at 40:1 and where separate rooms are provided for each class, but here also there is a dearth of equipment and teaching aids. Furthermore, the existence of separate higher primary schools, covering only two years of schooling, has added to the proliferation of small schools in the Territory. Since 1964, the "freeze" has been relaxed to permit an expansion of higher primary education, and there are now 130 such schools with an average enrolment of only 82 pupils. Thirteen more schools are planned for 1965.

58. The unsatisfactory state of primary education is mainly due to lack of finance. Although there has been a slow but progressive increase in the proportion of trained or partially trained teachers, funds are simply not available to increase the over-all teaching staff or to provide adequate premises, equipment and teaching aids, a situation which was aggravated by an upward revision of teachers' salary scales in 1961. Another result of financial stringency has been proliferation of

small, sometimes single-teacher, schools run by various religious denominations, often in close proximity, one to another. Under such conditions, supervision and control by the existing inspectorate staff is necessarily minimal.

59. The question must be asked whether this situation can be allowed to continue with a risk of possible further deterioration in quality owing to an attempt to accomplish too much with too limited funds. There is surely little to be gained from a large pupil enrolment if half leave school before acquiring the minimum education necessary to prevent them from relapsing into illiteracy. While it may be out of the question to consider restricting the number of admissions, there are some obvious measures which might be considered, such as (a) progressive reduction in the age-range of pupils,^{1/} (b) reduction of the number of students required to repeat classes, and (c) reduction in the number of schools by amalgamation wherever possible. These are of course only partial remedies. What is needed above all, in our opinion, is a fundamental review of the whole system and its objectives within the framework of a development plan for education. Once clear policy guidelines have been established it will be possible to consider sources of financing. We note that according to one calculation, the cost of providing classrooms to accommodate the existing pupil enrolment, with no repeaters in the lower primary schools, at the rate of 50 pupils per classroom, would amount to about £1 million to £1.5 million. In addition, substantial funds are needed for school equipment and salaries. To what extent part of the capital cost could be reduced by community self-help remains to be seen.

60. At the secondary level, the main problems are the extremely small proportion of primary students who enter secondary schools and the severe wastage which occurs before the School Certificate level. In 1964, there were 2,752 secondary students, an increase of roughly one-third over enrolments in 1960. Admissions represented about 63 per cent of those who successfully passed the primary school-leaving examination, indicating that any marked increase in secondary admissions must be accompanied by an increase in the outflow from the higher primary level. In this respect, it has been suggested that the higher primary level should be discontinued so that secondary education should begin after a six-year primary course. While this is a technical matter on which the present Mission is not competent to pass judgement, we suggest that this would probably lessen the number of drop-outs and

^{1/} The present age-range of pupils in the lowest primary grade is from 5 to 20 years. In 1964 there were 4,400 pupils over 18 years in the primary schools and the number of older pupils appears to be increasing.

lead to financial savings through a greater concentration of school facilities. In line with the same considerations of increased efficiency, we would add that the small size of the existing secondary schools, which in 1963 averaged only 114 pupils per school, appears to be uneconomic. If there is to be a substantial increase in secondary enrolments resulting from a shortening of the primary course, the first objective should be to expand selected schools to a size conducive with optimum efficiency. As in the case of primary education, there appears to be a need for basic planning in regard to both the objectives and content of secondary education and in regard to the location and development of school facilities. Whatever may be the outcome of such a review, it is apparent that a considerable increase in expenditure on secondary education will be necessary. Such expenditure would be required not only to increase the number of secondary places and teachers, but also to overcome the at present gross deficiencies in the supply of teaching materials particularly in respect of science equipment and books.

61. Whatever may be the main reasons for wastage at the secondary level, one element needs to be considered, namely, the cost of education. According to information furnished to the Mission, the cost to the parent per pupil is between £25 and £38 per annum, of which boarding fees represent between £18 and £30. At present less than 300 students are in receipt of bursaries, the annual cost of which to the Government is in the order of £4,500. Since school fees are undoubtedly a deterrent in a country where incomes are very low, there appears to be a need for a substantial increase in the number of bursaries available.

Improvement of teaching standards

62. One of the most urgent tasks is to raise the standards of teaching, particularly in the lower primary schools. As has already been shown, the supply of teachers at the primary level is insufficient to cope with wastage and increasing pupil enrolment, with the result that the pupil-teacher ratio has already deteriorated to 61:1. In order to reduce the ratio by about one-third it would be necessary to at least double the present output of trained teachers and the target would have to be somewhat higher if it was desired to hasten the replacement of untrained teachers, who at present number over 900 in the primary schools.

63. Training of teachers for the primary schools is provided at seven small institutions run by religious missions. The training is at two levels. For the

lower primary schools the qualifications required are a Standard VI primary certificate followed by three years of training leading to the Basutoland Primary Teacher's Certificate. For the higher primary level candidates are admitted after Junior Certificate and take a two-year course culminating in the High Commission Territories Higher Primary Teacher's Certificate. In mid-1964, the number of students enrolled in the two courses were 487 and 88 respectively and the annual output of trained teachers has averaged about 150, although it was substantially less in 1964. In recent years there has been a progressive diminution in the number of candidates for the Higher Primary Certificate.

64. Basically the problem of increasing the supply of teachers is also one of finance. Funds have not been sufficient to increase the teaching establishment nor to provide the necessary training facilities and bursaries. Nevertheless, if expenditure on primary education is not to be wasted, there must be additional expenditure on teachers. In this connexion, we believe that one of the reasons for the decline in candidates for the Higher Primary Certificate is the prospect of almost certain employment in Government at higher salaries for students who remain in school to obtain their School Certificate. To this must be added the cost of teacher training, which amounts to between £25 and £35 per year. Government bursaries are available in certain cases, but are the same as for secondary students, that is to say the maximum amount awarded is £15. The result is that colleges have difficulty in collecting fees and students are sometimes obliged to terminate their studies owing to inability to pay. In comparison it is interesting to note that government bursaries for students at UBBS amount to £241 - £251 per annum and include an allowance of £30 for pocket money and incidental expenses.

65. Before providing for an expansion of teacher training, it is necessary to review the facilities which exist. The seven teacher training colleges in the Territory are all extremely small and inadequately endowed with equipment and materials, including library facilities, to perform their task efficiently. Enrolments vary from 72 to 95 students and five of the colleges provide courses at both the lower and higher levels; in 1964 one college, for instance, had only 7 candidates for the Higher Primary Certificate. Too small and under-financed, the colleges are hard-pressed to produce teachers of sufficient quality, especially since most of the students enter college with no more than a third-class pass at the

primary leaving examination. The effects are to be seen in the declining proportion of candidates who pass their final certificate examination, which dropped from 66.9 per cent in 1960 to only 45.9 per cent in 1964.

66. Clearly there is need for a review of teacher training. Reasons of efficiency and economy call for an amalgamation of the existing colleges and, if the two courses are to be maintained, it would seem desirable at least to concentrate the small number of Higher Primary Certificate students into a single institution. The second need is to make available adequate financing to enable the colleges to perform their task satisfactorily, i.e. by providing increased bursaries, more equipment and staff. Thirdly, if primary education is to be improved, the number of teacher-trainees will have to be at least doubled. All of this will involve additional capital and recurrent expenditure. Finally, as time progresses, it would be desirable in our opinion to up-grade the standard of training for, at least, lower primary teachers. If, as proposed, the higher primary schools are eliminated, then the standard for entry to teacher training should be at least 3 years of secondary education.

67. Teacher requirements at the secondary level raise fewer problems. About half the present teachers are expatriates, but many of these are members of religious orders. The supply of Basotho secondary teachers is very far from adequate but facilities for training exist at UBBS and the main problem is to increase the number of School Certificate graduates available for training.

68. In chapter V of this report, we discuss the role which UBBS should play in the improvement of education in the three Territories. In Basutoland, as in the case of Swaziland and Bechuanaland, there is an urgent need for a crash programme to up-grade the existing teacher force by in-service training, including refresher courses. In part, this should probably be done through the teacher training colleges and by strengthening the supervisory staff of the Education Department, but we feel that UBBS can be an important centre both for planning and carrying out a planned system of teacher training. This is indeed one of the objectives of the University's development plan.

Adult literacy

69. It has been often claimed, although without statistical proof, that there is a high level of literacy in Basutoland and the figure of 50 per cent of the total

population has been quoted. The evidence adduced in the preceding sections suggests however, that while the proportion of children who attend school at some time or other is high, about 60 per cent of these do not go beyond the third primary year, and a further 30 per cent do not complete the primary course. Furthermore the proportion of drop-outs among girls tends to be slightly higher than among boys at the higher primary levels. This enormous wastage, particularly in the early years, represents a serious economic loss to the Territory, for it must be assumed that many of these early drop-outs will relapse into illiteracy.

70. The Mission believes that a territory advancing towards independence can ill afford, for political as well as economic reasons, to view such losses with equanimity. We suggest that there is a clear need for a programme of extension teaching aimed specifically at the needs of this group. Such a programme requires careful organization and planning and presents technical problems which we are not qualified to discuss. We suggest that this is an area in which the Extension Department of UBBS could offer useful guidance and leadership, particularly in the planning and organizational phase (see chapter V) or, alternatively, that technical assistance might be sought from specialized agencies. One clear need is for a greater supply of suitable reading material in the rural areas which, we suggest, might be met by the publication of a periodic newsletter prepared by the Department of Education for this purpose. Use could also be made of the existing Women's Associations, for the promotion of educational extension among girls.

Technical training

71. Until 1962 when a previously existing technical school run by the Education Department was reorganized and re-opened as the Lerotholi Artisan Training Centre, there was no provision for the systematic training of people for employment as skilled workers in industry. Consequently a great deal of the skilled work in the Territory was done by foreign craftsmen. Such industrial skills as were acquired by Basotho were obtained either as a result of employment in the Republic of South Africa or by in-service training in the Public Works Department of the Basutoland Administration.

72. Today the Lerotholi Artisan Training Centre has an enrolment of 132 students and offers a 3-year course leading to the intermediate examination of the City and Guilds of London Institute, following which the trainees spend two years as apprentices either with the Public Works Department or with local firms, returning

to the Centre one day a week. Courses recognized by the Institute are offered in motor mechanics, carpentry and joinery, bricklaying, electrical installation and fitting. The purpose of the Centre is of course to produce skilled craftsmen and supervisory staff, while training of semi-skilled workers continues to be undertaken within the Public Works Department.

73. In addition to the above, the Leloaleng Technical Institute, also modernized and expanded to a capacity of 100 students, serves as a rural training school for tailors, leather workers, carpentry, building and cabinet making. Finally, secretarial training for girls is provided at one secondary school, where students with junior certificates are offered a course leading to a commercial certificate, and at the Lerotholi Centre which runs a one-year course in typing only.

74. The expansion of the Lerotholi Training Centre followed recommendations made in 1959 by a group of industrial consultants who proposed an annual intake of 40 trainees. This proposal was made in the light of very tentative estimates of future demand based mainly on the Government's recurrent and capital expenditure plans for 1960-1964. Since that time there are indications that the demand for skilled tradesmen may be greater than anticipated. To meet this additional demand the Government is considering the desirability of establishing a second training centre in the north of Basutoland.

75. In the absence of forecasts of manpower requirements based on a comprehensive development plan it is difficult to assess the need for additional skilled workers. If however, it is necessary to expand the output beyond its present level, the Mission believes that this could best be achieved by extending the facilities already available at the Lerotholi Training Centre, particularly in view of the heavy capital outlay which would otherwise be required in equipment and the recurrent cost of providing additional teaching staff.

76. There is, in the Mission's opinion, a definite need for improved training of secretarial staff and there is a strong argument for expanding the existing typing course at the Centre into a full commercial course for which candidates would be required to possess secondary education, at least at the junior certificate level.

Agricultural training

77. Although Basutoland is primarily a pastoral and agricultural country, productivity in this sector remains extremely low and livestock holdings and

production of wool and mohair have, indeed, decreased over the past decade. Years of overgrazing in the highlands, and in the arable lowlands subsistence farming involving protracted monoculture, without rejuvenation of the land by use of fertilizers, coupled with insufficient conservation, has left a legacy of soil impoverishment and erosion. Efforts to improve peasant farming have been hindered by traditional attitudes, land tenure problems including fragmentation of holdings, and by the fact that a large number of the adult male population is absent in the Republic of South Africa at any given time. Malnutrition is endemic and the Territory is obliged to import substantial quantities of maize and sorghum. Improved standards of cultivation and husbandry are essential not only to obtain a much needed increase in crop yields but also to prevent further deterioration of the Territory's soil and grassland resources.

78. Measures to raise the standards of peasant farming take the form of the usual extension services, supplemented by farm training centres and livestock improvement centres to which may be added the development of producer and marketing co-operatives and agricultural credit. Particular emphasis is placed on the Progressive Farmers' Scheme which has been growing rapidly and now has an enrolment of about 800 farmers.

79. The Government attaches particular importance to increasing the number of trained extension workers, especially of junior extension agents and livestock field advisers. In 1964 the former numbered only 248, or approximately 1:670 landed families. It is believed necessary that this number should be increased to 550 by 1968 in order to meet minimum requirements. In addition the proposed 1968 establishment provides for six district extension officers, promoted from the grade of extension agent, and sixteen additional agricultural officers, or twice the existing number, possessing university qualifications. At present only two of the agricultural officers are Africans, the remainder being expatriate Europeans. It may be noted that, so far, funds have not been provided for this expansion and it may well be questioned whether in view of the Territory's limited financial resources a wholesale expansion of extension services is to be preferred to a strategy of concentrated effort as represented by the farm training centres. In any event some increase in field staff is essential and unavoidable.

80. Training of agricultural and veterinary staff at the university level will depend upon an increase in the output of secondary graduates and it is clear

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that the Territory will have to rely for a number of years on the services of expatriates. The most immediate need in this connexion is to strengthen the wholly inadequate facilities for science teaching, including the provision of laboratories at the secondary schools. The Mission is in full accord with the view of the territorial authorities that this is a high priority requirement.

81. Training for subordinate agricultural staff is provided at the Maseru Agricultural Training School which is associated with the Territory's main agricultural experimental station. Established in 1954 and staffed in part by officers of the Agriculture Department on a part-time basis, the school provides (a) a two-year training course for men and women Junior Certificate graduates who wish to qualify as junior field staff (male) or assistant nutritionists (female), (b) in-service training courses for existing staff of the Department, and (c) orientation courses and seminars for teachers, chiefs, councillors or farmers and their wives. In short, its function is almost identical with that planned for the Malkerns Agricultural College and Short Course Centre in Swaziland. Its present annual intake is fifty resident students, of whom twelve are women studying home economics. The two-year diploma course is intended to provide graduates with a basic agricultural training which may later be supplemented so that eventually they can be promoted to senior technical posts.

82. The question may well be asked whether it is desirable to have separate institutions in each Territory. It appears to the Mission, however, that the theoretical economies of integration are outweighed by the advantages of having the schools so located that students may be trained within the context of the agricultural conditions with which they will later have to deal since conditions in the three Territories are very different. Furthermore, the schools are more than mere academic institutions: their function of farm training centres is no less important and they are in fact important tools in extension work. The existence of separate training institutions does not, however, exclude the possibility of close co-operation between them which might well include the exchange of staff to lecture on specialized topics.

83. Existing development plans for the Maseru training school, based on the recommendations made by an FAO adviser in 1964, call for its expansion to accommodate 120 students with an annual output of sixty and to provide

residential accommodation for the extension courses. The increase in student enrolments is considered necessary to cope with the staff needs of the Agricultural Department, including annual wastage. The school requires not only a substantial capital expenditure on premises and equipment but also a strengthening of its permanent staff. At present the permanent teaching staff numbers only ten and a considerable part of the teaching is undertaken by specialist officers of the Department in addition to their other duties. This is not a satisfactory situation as teaching schedules have to be adjusted to the availability of the lecturer. An increase in the permanent staff is desirable if the school is to be made fully effective. Since the provision of an adequate training centre is vital to all development projects involving agricultural extension, this is, in the Mission's opinion, a high priority need, and one for which external financial and technical assistance might well be sought. The Mission notes that according to the FAO adviser's report, the estimated capital cost of building and equipment would be in the area of £74,600 to which would have to be added the additional recurrent costs, including salaries, and subsidization of students.

84. Apart from the training school, development plans also include the up-grading of four small training farms into farm institutes in order to provide courses for farmers, their wives and other sections of the community, serve as demonstration centres and provide facilities for the in-service training of local staff. The institutes will each have residential accommodation for thirty to forty persons and, on the basis of short courses of two-week duration over a period of ten months, would together cater for 2,500 or more farmers each year (representing 1.5 per cent of agricultural families in Basutoland). Each centre will be staffed by a resident officer-in-charge assisted by resident teachers of agriculture and home economics, the whole under supervision of a specialist provided by FAO. Construction of two of the institutes and their operating costs up to 31 December 1966 have been financed by grants from the United Kingdom Freedom From Hunger Campaign and Oxfam. Additional funds will be required to finance the recurrent costs of these two institutes after 1966 and the construction and running costs of the other two. The recurrent costs of the former, one of which has been completed, will amount to approximately £22,000 annually.

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85. A further scheme provides for the establishment of fifty livestock improvement centres, of which about half have been completed. These centres, each of which is staffed by a veterinary/livestock assistant are sited in stock zones in accordance with agro-economic planning. Their purpose is to teach farmers improved methods of husbandry, to furnish advice on treatment of livestock products, and to provide other specialized services. Construction of the remaining twenty-five livestock improvement centres will require capital expenditure of about £50,000, while recurrent costs of the scheme will be in the region of £80,000 annually.

86. Both the farm training institutes and the livestock improvement schemes, appear to the Mission to be high priority needs which might conceivably be the object of special financing.

Localization of the Civil Service

87. Compared with the other two Territories, Basutoland is fortunate in having a reasonable number of persons with secondary and vocational training, so that the localization of the Public Service has been able to progress further. The position at the end of 1964 was that out of 517 senior and medium posts on the establishment (74 of which were vacant), 258 were held by Basotho and 185 by expatriates. The breakdown by major categories was as follows:

	<u>Superscale</u>	<u>Administrative and Professional</u>	<u>Technical and Executive</u>
Basotho	3	35	220
Expatriates	35	57	93
Vacancies	-	19	55

At the junior or clerical level localization was almost complete, the only exceptions being a few wives or relatives of expatriate officers.

88. The machinery to promote localization, which was established following an expert study in 1960, consists of a Government Training Section responsible for all in-service training as well as all post-secondary and higher training overseas, and two supervisory committees, one of which deals with scholarships while the other advises the Establishments Secretary on training policy.

Appointment to senior administrative posts had been largely by promotion from the executive category. This has not been easy however, owing to the small size of the Public Service and the fact that many sections consist of only one or two officers. Furthermore, it has resulted in vacancies at the executive level which have yet to be filled. At the present time twenty-three Basotho are receiving training in superannuary posts and there is provision for fourteen more. In addition, 120 are studying overseas on courses of one year or more covering subjects ranging from secondary education and nursing training to higher degrees, and seventy-six are enrolled at the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, including nine who are following a combined legal and administrative course. Of the 120 studying overseas, about sixty are in the United Kingdom, the remainder in Australia, Canada, Israel, West Germany and the United States. All, including those studying at UBBS are in receipt of scholarships, and some who are already members of the Public Service, had been granted additional allowances to support their families.

89. At the junior and clerical levels there is an immediate need for further education and improvement of skills. This need will be partially met by the acquisition of an adviser who will undertake the organization of in-service training. Another specialist has been recently appointed to organize clerical training and to establish induction and refresher courses. These measures, supplemented by loans and other inducements to staff wishing to follow correspondence courses, are probably adequate to remedy existing deficiencies.

90. Thus, with a reasonable supply of persons undergoing or available to undergo training it may be anticipated that a high degree of localization could be attained in the foreseeable future, although some skilled jobs will continue to require outside recruitment for some time to come. Certain comments need, however, to be made. In the first place, it would be helpful to morale in the Public Service if the Government would at the present stage of constitutional development, make a clear statement of policy in regard to localization. If the intention is to retain expatriate officers after independence and until such time as they can be replaced by qualified Africans, the intention should be stated and a time-table for localization should be worked out. If, on the other hand, the Government feels that the whole service should be localized rapidly, even if

necessary by a reduction in standards, then a much more intensive crash programme should be worked out without delay.

91. Secondly, thought should be given to the capacity of the Public Service to absorb newly trained personnel after independence. At present, there are some 259 posts in the senior and medium categories which are now either vacant or occupied by expatriate personnel but a number of these are financed by allocations from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. Their continuation after independence will necessarily be contingent on funds being available. Added to this there may well be a need to reallocate resources between different activities in the light of changed circumstances after independence. Since alternative employment for trained persons is not easily come by in Basutoland, care should be exercised in the allocation of bursaries for higher training. This again points to the need for manpower planning, to which we have already referred.

Water Resources

92. The mountain rivers of Basutoland constitute the Territory's main economic asset. The mountains enjoy a high and reliable rainfall of up to seventy inches a year, producing strongly flowing rivers. It is estimated that 1,600 million gallons a day are derived from these rivers.

93. Since 1956, investigations have been made into the possibility of utilizing this water. They have centred round the Malibamatse River in the far north of Basutoland at Ox Bow. The Ox Bow Lake scheme, the biggest single project under consideration in Basutoland, provides for the construction of dams for storing flood-water to be used for power generation at hydroelectric stations in the Republic of South Africa and also for the delivery of water either to the Orange Free State or to the Witwatersrand. A tunnel would convey the water through the mountains either west towards the Orange Free State or north into the Vaal catchment area. The latter is now thought to be more likely, as the damming of the Vaal and the offtake for the Johannesburg area may already be too great for the present catchment area. It was anticipated that the Rand would suffer from water shortage by the mid-1970's; present indications are that additional supplies will be needed before then. The South African Government is already engaged in its own scheme on the Orange River, estimated to cost £225 million. The cost of

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the Ox Bow scheme, including dam, tunnel, hydroelectric station at Witzieshock and transmission lines, would be around £16 million, half the cost being spent in each of the two countries involved. This would supply at least 75 million gallons a day and provide the possibility of power generation of up to 270 million KWH per annum. Extension of the scheme, involving the tributaries of the Orange River, would double the cost and the capacity for water supply. In the longer term, schemes could be developed downstream to supply up to 800 million gallons a day to the Rand, but the costs would be high.

94. Any large-scale development of the water resources of Basutoland depends on the sale of water and power to the Republic of South Africa. The Ox Bow scheme, on present costings for development and sales, would produce a revenue of about £1 million a year to the Basutoland Government. (It is of note that although this represents half its present internal revenue, it is less than half the budget deficit at its 1965/66 level.)

95. Apart from any large-scale development, there is possibility of limited development for Basutoland's internal requirements. Irrigation for agricultural purposes would be feasible in the Calendon, Makhaleng and Orange River regions, by means of small dams for 2-3,000 acre schemes. Further investigation is needed into the soils in potential areas and the hydrological aspects.

96. The most promising scheme is a multipurpose scheme for Maseru district, combining hydroelectric power, urban water supply, and supplementary irrigation. Two alternative sites have been proposed. The first is on the Makhaleng River, where there is an estimated yield of twenty cusecs and a total head of 1,200 feet; the second is on the Maletsun-Yene River at the Semonkong Falls, where an estimated yield of 100 cusecs and an available head of 950 feet could be utilized for a hydroelectric power station with a maximum installed capacity of fifteen M.W. The services of a civil engineer with experience of hydroelectric schemes has been requested from the United Nations to carry out a survey of these sites.

97. In the meantime, additional plant is required to increase the capacity of the existing thermal electricity station at Maseru, and it is also anticipated that the water supply of Maseru will be inadequate within a year or two. A scheme has been prepared which if implemented would satisfy the water needs of the town, based on present assessment of increasing demand, up to 1975. Immediately, however, there is a need to improve the river intake on the Calendon River, provide additional storage tanks, and to reorganize the pipe reticulation system. The cost of this is likely to be £120,000, and might be provided by a loan which would be self-financing if adjustments are made to the present water rates.

Mineral and Industrial Production

98. Basutoland has very few known mineral resources. A small section of the Public Works Department looks after mineral survey work. The only mineral mined at present is diamonds, worth about £100,000 a year. A mining investigation team is at present working on the potential diamond fields; the possibility of alluvial deposits in the Calendon and other rivers is also being examined. Whether mining on a commercial scale is feasible is still to be determined. Coal is believed to exist and its exploitation for fuel would be useful in overcoming the present practice whereby animal manure is used as fuel rather than being returned to the land. There is no afforestation; local sandstone which has been quarried in the past for building purposes is now extremely expensive to cut and the exploitation of clays for local brick-making offers one of the few possible industries based on local materials.

99. In an effort to attract industries to the Territory, the Basutoland Factory Estate Development Company (BAFED) was set up in 1962. BAFED was granted a fifty-year lease on a block of land at Maseru and empowered to sublease sites to industrial concerns. So far only three tenants have been found - two oil distributing companies and a distributor of building materials. BAFED has also taken on two other functions, namely, the exploitation of diamond-mining rights at Kao and Lighobong, and the operation of a small-loans fund to assist small-scale industries. Hopes that the Commonwealth Development Corporation might participate in the establishment of a Development Corporation to give financial and promotional support to industry have not been realized; the main problem, so we were told, is the relatively short period of lease given to BAFED on the industrial estate which, it is felt, gives insufficient security of tenure to a potential investor.

100. Basutoland has few advantages to offer potential investors. Its infra-structure is still relatively undeveloped; its natural resources are limited; and the local market is small. The Government has yet to determine what incentives it might offer to investors in the form of taxation relief, facilities (such as factory premises and housing) and security of tenure on land. The Mission was unable to ascertain what type of industries the Government hopes to attract, but having regard to the country's agricultural production, the possibilities might include meat processing, tanning and wheat milling. At present, any of these would

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be premature until increases in production and quality of livestock and agricultural products have been achieved. One immediate need is brick-making and this is under consideration by the Government. Expert advice will be needed to set it up and manage it for an initial period.

101. The improbability of industrial development in Basutoland under existing circumstances was recognised by the Economic Planning Council in a White Paper published in 1963. It recommended a number of steps which might induce potential investors to set up industries in the Territory. These included:

- (1) A declared willingness on the part of the Basotho to welcome industrial development;
- (2) A revision of taxation on industrial companies equated to the level in the Republic of South Africa and other Southern African territories;
- (3) The granting of initial taxation relief for certain pioneer industries;
- (4) Provision of industrial sites on 99-year leases;
- (5) Provision of factory premises and housing at low rentals.

102. The Legislative Council rejected this White Paper, mainly, it is understood, because of the proposals relating to the allocation and security of land for industrial purposes. It must be stressed, however, that unless a favourable climate for the attraction of industry to Basutoland is created, the improbability of industrial development will remain. We have already commented on the small size of the labour market in the Territory and the large number of Basotho, who are at present dependent upon the employment in the Republic of South Africa (paragraphs 51-54). The creation of additional employment possibilities within the Territory must therefore figure prominently in any planned development of the Territory's resources. For this reason alone, it is desirable that the Government should reconsider favourably the steps required to attract industry to the Territory, and if it is prepared to do so, an expert study of industrial feasibility would be invaluable.

103. We believe that, although the objective of industrialization should be pursued, it should not detract from the shorter-term necessity of revitalising the basic activity of the country, i.e. agriculture and livestock production.

Other Sectors

Communications

104. The terrain of Basutoland makes the development of communications difficult and expensive. The few roads are concentrated in the lowland area in the west; elsewhere access is by pack animals along track or bridle paths. The railway from Bloemfontein in the Republic of South Africa enters Basutoland for one mile to the capital at Maseru. A large number of air strips have been developed and the internal air service is important to the Territory.

105. A loan of just over U.S.\$4 million (£1.3 m.) has been negotiated with the International Development Association for road development. About 90 miles of road will be improved and the whole programme will cost about £1.7 million. This will include blacktopping the road from Maseru to Leribe, improving the road south from Maseru to the Matsieng turn-off, and gravelling the road from Leribe to Pitseng. The justification for these developments lies mainly in the lowering of transport costs to the user.

106. Certain roads, termed Class 'C' roads, are maintained by traders; the Chamber of Commerce states that private enterprise is responsible for 400 miles of 'roads' out of a total of 960. In the sense that road maintenance then becomes part of the costs of marketing of produce or distribution of consumer goods, the costs are passed on to the public in the price structure of commodities. There would appear to be a good case to review the whole question of responsibility for maintenance, with the objective of transferring this responsibility to district authorities.

107. The so-called "mountain road" from Maseru to the Matsonyane River is an example of what will happen if there is insufficient planning and economic evaluation of road projects. This road cost about £500,000; it is doubtful whether the benefits are anywhere near in the right relation to the costs. A need is felt to improve access tracks across the Territory; certainly there are some areas which require special consideration e.g. the Mothotlong/Sani Pass, but in general the present system appears to cope reasonably well with agriculture and livestock products. So far as we know, an economic study of transportation in Basutoland has not been undertaken. In view of the importance of communications to the marketing system, and to the general expansion of agricultural and livestock production, there would

be value in a transportation study being undertaken, preferably at a stage when more statistical data on the country's production have been collected and analysed.

Medical and health services

108. In 1964-1965, Government expenditure on medical and health services amounted to £400,288 from the current budget, or 9.6 per cent of the total, and £143,135 for development, most of the latter being spent on the extension and equipment of the central hospital at Maseru and the construction of a new 100 bed mental hospital at Botsabelo. The reasons for the small proportion of funds allocated for medical and health services are principally the low priority accorded to those services in a Territory which is heavily grant-aided and the fact that voluntary organizations contribute about 37 per cent of available facilities.

109. For a resident population of 880,000, the existing facilities are less than adequate. Including the central hospital at Maseru which was constructed in 1957, there were 9 government hospitals and 8 mission hospitals with the following number of beds in 1964:

<u>Beds</u>	<u>Government Hospitals</u>	<u>Mission Hospitals</u>	<u>Total</u>
General	471	276	747
Obstetric	76	55	131
Tuberculosis	117	71	188
Isolation	25	24	49
Mental	18	-	18

The ratio of population per general bed is thus 1,178. Apart from the Maseru hospital, however, the other hospitals are quite small, mostly housed in old buildings and with inadequate equipment, especially as regards operating facilities. The hospitals are supported by 4 health centres and 28 dispensaries. Most of these facilities are however in the lowland areas which contain about 60 per cent of the total population. The highlands are served primarily by the dispensaries and also by 8 clinics maintained by a voluntary organisation BASOMED, which is discussed below. Basutoland possesses no facilities for pathological laboratory work, all specimens being sent to Bloemfontein for analysis. There is evidently a need for the establishment and staffing of a central pathological laboratory at Maseru. Other needs of the central hospital include (a) the building of a new poly-clinic

to replace the existing out-patients dispensary housed in a prefabricated hut and without the basic amenities for the approximately 500 patients who attend daily, (b) a maternity block (to permit training in midwifery), and (c) new x-ray equipment to replace the existing outmoded unit. It is estimated that the cost of these improvements would be £94,000.

110. Far more important, however, is the shortage of medical personnel. Although the Government establishment provides for 25 medical officers, there are only 15 at the present time. There is only one specialist surgeon and no other specialists, no pharmacist or physiotherapist. Apart from Government personnel there is one doctor in each mission hospital and 7 private practitioners, of whom 4 are Basothos. Eight Basothos are undergoing medical training, two of whom will qualify in 1965. The training of nurses is carried on at the Maseru central hospital and at one mission hospital. At the end of 1964, 46 nurses were in training at the former hospital, their number being limited only by lack of accommodation.

111. Preventive medicine is likewise restricted by lack of funds. The public health branch consists of 11 persons, including two health inspectors, each in charge of three districts, and six health assistants stationed at different health centres. In principle, there should be one health inspector for each district and additional health assistants. Development proposals also envisage the establishment of public health clinics in each district for purposes of health education and environmental sanitation, but owing to lack of funds, only 2 have so far been built.

112. A particular problem is the provision of medical facilities for the mountain areas which contain about 30 per cent of the total population. In these areas valuable work is being done by BASOMED, a voluntary organization largely supported by Oxfam. BASOMED maintains 8 clinics staffed by African nurses and visited regularly by a volunteer doctor travelling in light aeroplane. Facilities at these clinics are minimal and any patients requiring more than simple treatment have to be flown to Maseru or one of the district hospitals, often in extremely bad weather. The organization treats on an average 70,000 patients annually and operates on a budget of £10,000 of which £1,500 is donated by the Government. The Mission understands that BASOMED encounters serious difficulties in meeting its costs, especially for drugs and supplies, particularly since it is mainly dependent

on voluntary contributions. In view of the valuable work which it is doing under conditions of hardship, the Mission feels that this organization deserves greater assistance than it is getting from the Government.

113. A major health problem in Basutoland, especially in the mountain areas, is malnutrition. Although the mission does not possess recent statistics on the subject, the figures for 1962 are illustrative. During that year, 109 deaths resulted from malnutrition and 14,496 cases of deficiency were reported, including 7,499 cases of pellagra, 849 cases of kwashiorkor and 2,551 cases of avitaminosis. Since the cases reported represent only a fraction of the incidence of malnutrition and since it affects mainly children, this is obviously a problem deserving of serious attention. Valuable work is being done under the nutrition education scheme which aims at encouraging vegetable production in community, school and home gardens by means of demonstration, instruction and assistance utilizing health and agricultural department personnel, local authorities, womens' organizations, etc. With support from FAO/UNICEF, Oxfam and other organizations, much has already been accomplished, but much still remains to be done. It is to be hoped that this scheme will continue to receive financial support. Mention should also be made in this respect of the assistance received from Save the Children Fund for the provision of milk and soup to school-children.

CHAPTER V

UNIVERSITY OF BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND

General

1. The University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland (U.B.B.S.) was established, as such on 1 January 1964. It was created by the acquisition of the premises at Roma outside Maseru, Basutoland, of Pius XII College which had been established in 1945 and run since then by Roman Catholic authorities. These authorities were paid an indemnification of £150,000 for the College, of which £100,000 was contributed by the Ford Foundation and the balance by the British Government from C.D. and W. funds.
2. U.B.B.S. is an autonomous non-denominational, multi-racial university awarding its own degrees. It has three main aims: to produce men and women qualified for senior appointments in education, government, law and the public services; to produce graduates capable of developing the material resources of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland; and to raise the standard of education throughout the three Territories. While it is primarily intended to serve the three Territories, it also accepts students from elsewhere in Africa. This indeed was a condition for a scholarships' grant made by the United States Agency for International Development.
3. The University is currently extending the range of courses which it offers. During the first year it offered courses for a general B.A. degree, a B.Sc. degree, the Junior Secondary Teachers' Diploma and the Post-graduate Diploma in Education. In 1965 it introduced courses leading to B.A. (Economics), B.A. (Administration), B.Ed. and a two-year diploma in Law supplemented by two years of further study at a British university. The normal entrance requirement for degree and diploma courses (except the Postgraduate Diploma in Education) is the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, ordinary level, 1st or 2nd Division, or its equivalent. The length of each degree course is four years and is geared to "O" level entry, so that after two years of study, students will have reached the G.C.E. "A" level standard and be eligible to follow courses not provided at U.B.B.S. at other universities for which G.C.E. "A" level is the entrance requirement.

4. The undergraduate population at the end of 1964 was 188. This number should grow to about 240 students during 1965 and to about 300 by 1967. The ultimate target set by the University authorities is approximately 1,000.

5. In addition to academic courses for full-time students, the Extension Department of U.B.B.S. provides a variety of courses in adult education. These include:

- (a) short residential courses for co-operative movement officials;
- (b) short residential courses for accountants and book-keepers;
- (c) residential and field courses for leaders in co-operative education;
- (d) short residential courses in public administration and citizenship for civil servants; chiefs and members of district councils;
- (e) a programme of adult education for community development leaders.

6. The development plan for U.B.B.S. (covering the period from 1 January 1964 to 31 March 1966) has recently been revised. Under the revised plan the British Government has made available from Colonial Development and Welfare funds the sum of £475,000 towards the approved capital programme of £523,000 during the first triennium.

7. On the recurrent side, it is estimated that expenditure over the same period will amount to £473,160. This will be met from three sources:

	£
Contributions from the three Territories	131,625
C.D. and W. grants	208,883
A.I.D. scholarships and students fees	132,652

8. The University authorities have prepared a capital programme for the period ending on 1 March 1970, the estimated cost of which is as follows:

	£
<u>Phase 1.</u> Ending on 1 March 1966, and providing for an intake of 270 students	480,000
<u>Phase 2.</u> Ending on 1 March 1967, and providing for an intake of 300 students	797,500
<u>Phase 3.</u> Ending on 1 March 1970, and providing for an intake of 500 students	833,500
	<u>2,111,000</u>

9. No estimates of recurrent costs over the period from April 1966 to March 1970 were made available to the Mission. It is, however, evident that, with the proposed expansion the annual recurrent expenditure in the years 1967-70 will be considerably in excess of the 1966 figure which is estimated at a little under £300,000.

The Role of the University

10. No examination of the economic position of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland would be complete without reference to the role of U.B.B.S. in relation to the development of the three Territories, or to the implications of its continued existence and proposed expansion in so far as this affects their financial resources. But before these aspects are discussed there are two points which should, perhaps, be made in order to keep the picture in perspective. Firstly, it should be noted that the combined population of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland is only about 1,700,000. The three Territories are moreover in an early stage of development both in economic terms and as regards education, especially at the secondary level. Thus, given that the main aims of U.B.B.S. are geared primarily to the needs of the three Territories (see paragraph 2 above) it will be a number of years before the output of secondary school graduates is sufficient to fill the student body even at the present level of enrolments. Hence, if the University is to expand as proposed, it must continue for many years to depend heavily upon students coming from elsewhere.

11. Secondly, as pointed out in Chapter I, the three Territories are not homogeneous and, while they all co-operated in the transformation of Pius XII College into the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, it should not be assumed that this degree of co-operation will automatically be maintained in the future. Indeed, it must be stated frankly that the impression gained by the Mission is that interest in the University in Bechuanaland and Swaziland is only lukewarm. There are various reasons for this: in the first place there is fear that the recurrent costs which the Territories may be called upon to bear may be disproportionate to the benefits which Bechuanaland and Swaziland expect to derive from the University; secondly, the fact that U.B.B.S. admits students at G.C.E. "O" level is regarded as relegating it to an inferior status since the first two years of the degree course are equivalent to advanced secondary education.

In both Swaziland and Bechuanaland there is a desire to extend the secondary school course up to G.C.E. "A" level in order that students might obtain direct entry into overseas universities. Unless U.B.B.S. can increase the services which it renders directly to Swaziland and Bechuanaland before long, interest may evaporate altogether.

12. Turning now to the role of U.B.B.S. in the development of the three Territories, the University authorities themselves are convinced that it has a positive part to play in implementing the three aims set out in paragraph 2 above. With regard to the production at Roma of graduates capable of filling senior posts in the public and private sectors, it is evident that the range of disciplines which the University presently offers or plans to offer cannot meet all the needs of the Territories in the field of higher education. Consequently, it will continue to be necessary to send students elsewhere for higher education in specialized subjects such as medicine, engineering, agriculture and law. Furthermore, so long as the degree course at U.B.B.S. is geared to students entering with only G.C.E. "O" level qualifications, those who wish to obtain an honours degree will have to pursue their studies elsewhere in Africa or overseas.

13. The public services in all three Territories are at present capable of absorbing a considerable number of graduates at the ordinary pass degree level (especially in the field of education) but other than this and a few opportunities in the private sector, it must be recognized that the number of graduates required in the future will inevitably be restricted by employment opportunities in the Territories. The Mission feels therefore that it would be unrealistic for the University to plan for an increase in student numbers over and above the 1965 enrolment without first having regard to the estimated manpower needs of the three Territories over, say, the next decade, in the first instance.

14. Furthermore, there is the risk that Swaziland or Bechuanaland may decide to institute G.C.E. "A" level courses in one or more of their secondary schools. If this occurs, then U.B.B.S. could expect to receive only those students who did not obtain "A" level certificates since the others would probably apply for entry to overseas universities. For reasons which we have already explained in the preceding chapters, the Mission feels that the introduction of separate "A" level courses in each Territory would be uneconomic at the present time. It believes

that the best solution for the Territories, at least at present, as well as for the future of U.B.B.S. would be the creation of an "A" level centre attached to the University and serving all three Territories. From this centre, which should be linked with one of the overseas examining bodies, students could either pass on to a shortened degree course at U.B.B.S. or proceed to other universities elsewhere to read for degrees not offered at U.B.B.S.

15. In the fields of extension work and teacher training, we believe that U.B.B.S. can play an important role at the present time. It can also give valuable help and assistance in the raising of educational standards generally in the Territories.

16. Much of the extension work should, we believe, be conducted in the Territories instead of at Roma. We stress this particularly in the case of public administration training for serving officers, for two reasons: (i) because the cost of sending large numbers of students to Basutoland for short courses would be greater than that of providing staff in numbers adequate to enable the University to conduct courses in the Territories; and (ii) because the Territories themselves would find it difficult to release more than a few officials at any one time to attend Roma for short residential courses. We believe that the University could also do valuable work in support of the territorial Education Departments by organizing in-service courses for teachers and assisting in crash programmes for the up-grading of teaching staff. Other activities envisaged by the Extension Department are, we gather, in the fields of accountancy, co-operatives and agriculture. We have some misgivings about the last subject named since, in our view, agricultural training which at the present stage must necessarily be aimed at the more junior grades such as agricultural demonstrators, can more realistically be provided at training centres conducted by the Agricultural Departments of each Territory where teaching can be related to the agro-ecological and social conditions peculiar to each Territory.

17. Regarding the second aspect mentioned in paragraph 10 above, the question whether the interests of all the three Territories in the University can be sustained and stimulated turns on whether the Territories feel they are getting value for money. Out of 220 full-time students enrolled as of 1 June 1965, there were 76 from Basutoland, 30 from Swaziland and 23 from Bechuanaland. At present each Territory makes a direct contribution of £19,500 per year towards the

University's recurrent costs. But the factor causing some concern at present in Swaziland and Bechuanaland is a suggestion by the British Government that, as from 1 April 1966, they should accept as a first charge on their local resources a proportionate share of the recurrent costs of the University of the order of £200,000 to £250,000 per year. As we understand the position the Territories are reluctant to accept this until they know what new allocation of Colonial Development and Welfare funds they will receive. If the allocations do not come up to expectations then the question of development priorities is likely to arise with the result that, for example, Bechuanaland may well ask whether it would not be much more economic to withdraw from U.B.B.S. and send potential graduates to other universities.

18. The University represents a courageous and imaginative effort to fill the gap created when the doors of universities in the Republic of South Africa were closed to students from the Territories. Although only eighteen months have elapsed since its establishment, it is already a going concern. If its future evolution continues to be oriented towards the urgent needs of the Territories, it can, in the Mission's opinion, make an important contribution to their over-all development. We feel that care must be taken to gear the development plans of the University both in terms of its activities and the size of enrolments to the manpower requirements of the three Territories. Owing to the relatively under-developed state of secondary education in all the three Territories, the supply of School Certificate graduates eligible to enter the University will be limited for several years. Furthermore, although there is an immediate need of persons with higher education in order to localize the public services, the need for graduates in the longer term will depend upon the rate of expansion which can be achieved in the economic sphere. Although we would not attempt to forecast long-term requirements, we suspect that it will be many years before the Territories alone can absorb a large output of university graduates such as is suggested by the University's ultimate target of an enrolment of 1,000 students. For the present, the Territories can ill afford the luxury of providing higher education for any sizeable numbers of students from other parts of Africa unless some external financing of recurrent costs is forthcoming on a continuing basis.

19. Our primary concern is that the University should contribute as much as possible to the immediate needs of the three Territories, particularly in view of their stringent financial situation and the lukewarm interest which we observed in Bechuanaland and Swaziland. We have suggested that, in view of the small numbers of students who could undertake G.C.E. "A" level training in each of the Territories, it would be more economical and more efficient to concentrate such training in a single "A" level institution attached to the University and serving all three Territories. This would enable the University to offer a shorter degree course and eventually to raise its standards to the honours level and would prevent G.C.E. "A" level certificate-holders from being diverted to other universities.

20. We also believe that the University has an important role to play, through its Extension Department, in meeting the urgent requirements for adult education and in-service training in the three Territories. We feel that it is of great importance that the presence of the University should be quickly felt in all the Territories if it is to get the support which it needs. This, in our opinion, is crucial for if the Governments of Swaziland and Bechuanaland should come to feel that the financial burden of contributing to U.B.B.S. is so great as to make it more economical for them to send students elsewhere then no one should be surprised if at some future date they should decide to withdraw from participation.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

1. As shown in the preceding chapters, the needs of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland for additional economic and technical assistance are great and extend to many fields. Whereas the Territories are now moving steadily towards independence, development in the economic and educational fields has been slow. It is only in recent years that concerted efforts have been made to hasten the pace of economic growth and to develop education. Urgent measures are therefore required to accelerate progress in these fields.

2. In assessing the needs of each Territory, the Mission has restricted its suggestions to measures which it regards as essential both for the development of the economy and to meet priority requirements in other fields. We have limited ourselves, except in a few instances, to defining the needs since we did not have available sufficient information to formulate detailed projects supported by estimates of cost. If the suggestions made by the Mission are found acceptable, it will thereafter be necessary to draw up detailed proposals, which can serve as a basis for further action.

3. Our assessment of the needs of each Territory and our suggestions concerning future action are set out in Chapter II, III and IV above. While we do not propose to repeat here our assessment of all the additional economic and technical assistance needs of each Territory, we feel that it would be useful to emphasize some of the most outstanding, indicating the paragraphs of the relevant chapters where we have discussed them. These are indicated in the following paragraphs.

4. The most outstanding needs in Swaziland (Chapter II) are:

(a) There is most urgent need for the establishment of an economic planning and statistical unit to prepare the necessary analytical basis for a comprehensive development plan upon the expiry of the present plan in 1966 (paragraphs 17-23).

(b) There is urgent need for more dynamic measures to localize the Public Service (paragraphs 89-95); to improve education and technical training, with particular reference to additional boarding accommodation and bursaries for secondary education (paragraphs 69-72); expand teacher training, including a crash programme of in-service training (paragraphs 75-77); to expand the Swaziland

Technical Trade Training Centre (paragraphs 80-81); and to take measures to reduce the wastage resulting from school drop-outs at all levels in the primary and secondary schools (paragraphs 65-67).

(c) In the productive sector, attention is drawn to the specific need to raise the productivity of Swazi peasant farming and to promote cash crops, especially dry-land cotton (paragraphs 24-27 and 31-33). The expansion of agricultural extension services with particular reference to the completion of the Malkerns Agriculture College and Short Course Centre and the development of rural training centres have been suggested (paragraphs 83-88). Agricultural credit is urgently required (paragraphs 49-57) and attention should be given to fostering co-operative development, with particular emphasis on marketing co-operative (paragraphs 42-48). Reference is made to the need for continued development of settlement schemes (paragraph 34), investigation of small-scale supplementary irrigation projects including methods of financing small dams for agriculture (paragraph 61), the provision of additional extension staff for livestock development and the promotion of dairy farming (paragraphs 40-41). It is suggested that a comprehensive survey should be made of the possibilities for agricultural development in Southern Swaziland (paragraph 130). There is need to take positive steps to encourage and assist Swazi participation in industrial development and in business, and to provide credit to promote the development of small-scale industries and small businesses (paragraph 106).

5. The most outstanding needs in Bechuanaland (Chapter III) are:

(a) The main need is to establish a properly staffed Planning Unit, with appropriate planning bodies (paragraphs 20-30).

(b) In view of the heavy dependence of the Public Service on expatriate personnel, extraordinary measures are required to hasten the localization of the Public Service (paragraphs 110-114). There is also need for a survey of the Territory's manpower requirements followed by the preparation of a development plan for education tailored to fit these requirements (paragraph 75).

(c) There is urgent need to expand and improve facilities, teaching staff and pupil enrolments in secondary education (paragraphs 84-85), to raise teaching standards (paragraphs 88-96), and to provide better school buildings and more teaching aids and equipment in primary schools (paragraphs 78-79 and 86).

Additional financial assistance and staff are required to complete the development of the Bechuanaland Training Centre as rapidly as possible (paragraphs 99-101).

(d) In the productive sector, measures need to be taken to expand crop production, especially cash crops such as dry-land cotton, and to achieve basic self-sufficiency in food-crops (paragraphs 42 and 43). The agricultural extension service needs to be expanded by the provision of more agricultural officers and demonstrators. High priority should be given to the construction of a new and enlarged agricultural training school at Gaberones (paragraphs 102-106); any general increase in extension staff should be accompanied by the establishment of farm training institutes in each of the main arable regions (paragraphs 40, 108 and 109). Additional assistance, both in staff and funds, to expand the co-operative movement is necessary for any rapid expansion of agricultural production (paragraph 69).

(e) There is a fundamental need to improve the internal marketing of beef cattle. The whole marketing system should be reviewed in order to ensure the maximum return to the producer, while at the same time ensuring adequate supply to the abattoir (paragraph 52). It is strongly urged that the Cooperative Department should move into the field of forming cattle marketing co-operatives and the Departmental staff position should be strengthened (paragraph 53). Possibilities of the development of holding grounds should be closely examined in relation to the use of Crown Lands for stock purposes (paragraphs 51-53). A land use and ecological survey of the northern Crown Lands should be carried out with a view to development of this area for ranching (paragraph 56).

(f) Further investigation is needed into the potential for irrigated agriculture. The possibilities of schemes for the construction of small dams in the eastern region should also be examined (paragraphs 44, 119 and 120). The staff of the Geological Department should be strengthened in order to carry out research into ground water supplies (paragraph 124).

6. In Basutoland (Chapter IV) the most outstanding needs are:

(a) The priority need is for the improvement of economic planning machinery and for the provision of an economist and statistician to staff a central economic planning unit (paragraphs 19-24).

(b) There is most urgent need for a complete review of the educational system and the establishment of a realistic educational development plan related to the Territory's manpower requirements (paragraph 51-55). There is an urgent need to improve primary education by providing more trained teachers and better facilities and equipment (paragraphs 57-59). The output of trained teachers needs to be doubled and a crash programme is required to up-grade existing teachers through in-serve training, including refresher courses (paragraphs 62-68). A considerable increase in expenditure on secondary education is necessary (paragraphs 60-61). There is need for extension teaching of primary school drop-outs (paragraphs 69-70) and an expansion of secretarial training (paragraph 76).

(c) In the productive sector, the principal needs are to increase the productivity of Basotho farming and animal husbandry. Priority should be given to achieving a substantial increase in the number of agricultural extension staff and to this end the Maseru Agricultural Training School should be expanded. Priority should likewise be given to the development of farm training institutes and livestock improvement centres. Specific schemes based on mechanized agriculture should be extended where conditions are favourable (paragraphs 25-37, and 78-86). The co-operative movement should be revitalized and expanded, particularly in regard to marketing of wool, mohair and cattle. The staff of the Cccperative Department needs to be strengthened and an expert on co-operative education is urgently needed. Serious consideration should be given to the setting up of a statutory credit and savings institution on lines similar to the one already established in Swaziland (paragraphs 40, 41 and 50).

(d) There is need for the Government to play a more active role in the marketing of agricultural and livestock products. A Marketing Division should be set up in the Ministry of Agriculture with specific responsibility for study and control of marketing (paragraph 49).

(e) An expert study in depth of industrial feasibility should be undertaken (paragraph 102). Water development for urban areas and for irrigation should be pursued. The immediate need is for water and electricity supply to Maseru (paragraphs 95-97). A study of transportation in relation to marketing requirements should be undertaken (paragraph 107). Finally, there is an urgent need for the expansion of medical and public health services (paragraphs 109-113).

7. It will be noted that in general we have suggested:

- (i) that an economic planning and statistical unit should be established in each Territory as a matter of urgency, to assist in the formulation, analysis and review of comprehensive development plans and to act as a dynamo to economic planning;
- (ii) that in each Territory there is an urgent need for improvement of education and vocational training in accordance with a development plan for education which would be closely related to manpower requirements arising out of programmes in other sectors;
- (iii) that in each Territory there is an urgent need to improve teaching standards generally and specifically to provide additional staff for secondary schools, teacher-training colleges and technical training institutes;
- (iv) that there is an urgent need for more active measures in regard to the localization of the Public Service, particularly in Bechuanaland and Swaziland;
- (v) that certain departments connected with the productive sector should be strengthened by additional staff in order to achieve the economic objectives set out in development plans;
- (vi) that further surveys are necessary before potential natural resources can be exploited; and
- (vii) that capital needs to be injected at certain key points in order to facilitate further development.

8. The Public Services of the three Territories will need to be strengthened in the professional and technical fields to enable them efficiently to implement programmes within co-ordinated development plans for each Territory. Therefore, within the context of the measures necessary for the localization of the Public Services, appropriate steps should also be taken to ensure that until local manpower becomes available, the Territories are assured of the services of competent personnel from outside.

9. We have referred to the need in all three Territories for an improvement in teaching standards generally and specifically to provide additional teaching staff for secondary education, teacher-training colleges and technical training

institutions. This is an area in which valuable assistance could be furnished in the form of a special programme to supply teachers from other countries, on fixed-term contracts, either through the media of existing bilateral voluntary schemes or through special arrangements under international auspices. The need is an immediate one and should be aimed at the rapid development of the educational system of each Territory to the point where it can fill the urgent manpower requirements arising from the Territories' constitutional progress and from the economy's development which is envisaged.

10. We do not consider that we are called upon to formulate specific solutions to the problem of land tenure, which has been referred to in the preceding chapters. The whole question of land reform, including that of land tenure, in the context of economic development of developing countries has been the subject of several studies and recommendations by both the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations. We believe that these should be of assistance to the Territories in dealing with this question.

11. Most of our suggestions have financial implications and, if adopted, would involve additional expenditure, although we have been unable, for reasons already stated, to furnish estimates of the additional cost. At the time of writing this report, the Mission is not aware what development funds will be made available to the Territories by Britain under the new Overseas Development and Service Act.

12. At present the main sources of financial and technical assistance to all three Territories are Britain, the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

13. British Government aid at present takes two forms, namely, budgetary assistance and development finance in the form of grants and loans, details of which are given in the chapters dealing with each Territory.

14. In addition, in the private sector, there is a large-scale investment by the Commonwealth Development Corporation in Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

15. Voluntary organizations in Britain, notably the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief and the Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign, have contributed and are still contributing significant sums of money to the Territories.

16. The Mission has also noted that all three Territories receive assistance under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and

the regular programmes of the specialized agencies. The allocations under the Expanded Programme for the period 1965/66 have been considerably increased.

17. On a per capita basis, this financial and economic assistance to the Territories from the above sources has been considerable over the past few years. However, it has not led to striking economic growth.

18. We assume that British assistance (whether as C.D. and W. grants or in some other form) will continue for some time to come more or less on the present scale.

19. In regard to United Nations technical and economic assistance, there is no doubt that the Territories could absorb more aid of this sort, especially as concerns professional, technical and teaching personnel, resource and other surveys. So far, the Territories have not received any assistance from the United Nations Special Fund. Also, the possibilities of obtaining the services of qualified administrators and other professional staff under the United Nations programme in public administration have not been fully explored. Additional assistance from these sources would be of much help to the Territories. During the Mission's tour of the Territories, its attention was drawn to the delays in the processing of requests for technical assistance. In view of the urgency of the needs, any steps taken to expedite the processing of such requests will be greatly appreciated by the Territories. In this connexion the Mission noted the recent appointment of a sub-regional representative of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board and Special Fund resident at Gaberones, Bechuanaland.

20. With regard to the future development of these Territories, it is clear that they should be enabled to develop at a faster pace than is possible within the resources that are being made available at present. It therefore follows that economic, financial and technical assistance will have to be provided on a much larger scale. The scale and the programming of such larger assistance will have to be determined on the basis of detailed studies initiated by the planning units proposed for each Territory.

21. The Mission recognizes that such additional assistance commensurate with the needs described in earlier paragraphs will have serious implications for the budgetary position of the Territories, which are already faced with the problem of deficit budgets. In preparing comprehensive and co-ordinated development plans based on sound economic analysis, the planning units in each Territory

will necessarily have to take full account of the budgetary implications of increased expenditures on development projects in the various sectors. It is important to ensure a balance between the requirements of the Territories in such fields as education and training and the need to invest in revenue-producing projects which will strengthen the Territories' budgetary position.

22. Another important condition which has to be met if rapid economic progress is to be achieved in the Territories is the readiness on the part of the governments' political leaders and the people of each Territory to contribute their utmost towards the realization of the planned objectives, bearing in mind that this may even involve a degree of sacrifice and the modification of established attitudes if they constitute a barrier to progress.



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REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

(covering its work during 1956)

Rapporteur: Mr. K. NATWAR SINGH (India)

CHAPTER VII

BASUTOLAND, BECHUANALAND AND SWAZILAND

CONTENTS

	Paragraphs	Page
I. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORY	1 - 125	2
A. General	1 - 15	2
B. Basutoland	16 - 50	5
C. Bechuanaland	51 - 73	13
D. Swaziland	74 - 125	19
II. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	126 - 252	31
Introduction	126	31
A. Written petitions and hearings	127 - 207	31
B. Other statements	208 - 210	53
C. General statements by members	211 - 252	54
III. ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	253 - 293	72
IV. FURTHER CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	294 - 360	83
Introduction	294	83
A. Report of the Secretary-General	295 - 296	83
B. General statements by members	297 - 360	84
V. FURTHER ACTION TAKEN BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE	361 - 364	99

* This document contains the chapter on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The general introductory chapter of the Special Committee will be issued subsequently under the symbol A/6000. Other chapters of the report will be issued as addenda.

I. INFORMATION ON THE TERRITORIES

A. General

1. Information on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland is contained in the reports of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its seventeenth,^{1/} eighteenth^{2/} and nineteenth^{3/} sessions. Supplementary information on recent political developments concerning the Territories and on economic, social and educational conditions is set out below.

Political developments

2. South Africa has long occupied a dominant position in the political and economic life of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, and of recent years, has sought to strengthen its hold over them, a matter over which the General Assembly and the Special Committee have expressed deep concern.

3. As noted in the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its nineteenth session, covering its work during 1964 (A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII), Mr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, suggested to the three Territories in 1963 that they would advance more rapidly if his country should replace the United Kingdom as their guardian and guide towards independence and prosperity within the framework of a South African commonwealth. This plan, designed to turn the Territories into "Bantu homelands", was rejected by the United Kingdom and the African nationalist political parties. However, it was received with varying degrees of enthusiasm by certain elements in the Territories, notably among the European settlers (mostly South Africans) and by the commercial interests in Swaziland.

4. Two months later, after denying that South Africa was interfering in their affairs, as had been suggested by certain African nationalist leaders, Mr. Verwoerd stated that South Africa was prepared to live in good neighbourliness and friendship with these Territories and that its declared policy was non-interference in the internal affairs of any other State.

^{1/} Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventeenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 25 (A/5238), chapter V.

^{2/} Ibid., Eighteenth Session, Annexes, addendum to agenda item 23 (A/5446/Rev.1), chapter IX.

^{3/} Report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its Nineteenth Session covering its work during 1964 (A/5800/Add.5), chapter VIII.

5. Subsequently, Mr. Verwoerd was reported to have given the highest priority to his plan for positive co-operation between South Africa and the Territories, as well as with Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and certain African States to the north. This plan, which according to reports has since become a major foreign policy objective, stresses the importance of early independence for, and the prosperity of, the three Territories. The plan also envisages, as the next step, an embryo of a commonwealth of States of Southern Africa and, in the economic sphere, a common market of Southern Africa. The reported conclusion of a firm military alliance between South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia in December 1964 was thought to be in line with this plan.

6. Early in 1965, elections were held in Basutoland and Bechuanaland which were won by the Basutoland National Party and the Bechuanaland Democratic Party respectively.

7. On 4 March 1965, Mr. Verwoerd was reported to have said that he had sent personal congratulations to Mr. Seretse Khama, the leader of the Bechuanaland Democratic Party, on his election victory. The ban on Mr. Khama's entry into South Africa had been lifted in October 1964. This was done, Mr. Verwoerd stated, "when it became clear that Bechuanaland had been placed on the road to independence and after I had indicated on behalf of the South African Government that, since this was in accordance with the policy of separate development, the Republic would desire friendly relations with such a neighbour State". The details of relations with Bechuanaland could, according to him, be negotiated only when independence was achieved. It would not be possible for Mr. Khama to visit South Africa without "mutually acceptable arrangements".

8. On 10 March 1965, Mrs. Eirene White, Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the United Kingdom Colonial Office, together with other officials from the Colonial Office and the Ministry of Overseas Development, visited the Territories to study current and long-term problems. Following recent discussions between the United Kingdom Government and the Secretary-General, a team consisting of two nominees of the Secretary-General and one nominee of the United Kingdom was sent to the three Territories during May/June 1965, to investigate and advise upon the scope for additional economic and technical assistance to these Territories.

9. According to reports, a special border commission was to be formed during the last quarter of 1964 by the Governments of South Africa and the three Territories to settle existing territorial disputes along their common frontiers. It was reported that the commission was unlikely to go into major disputes involving sovereignty claimed by these Territories over areas which now form part of South Africa.

Economic conditions

10. South Africa signed a new series of agreements on economic ties with Portugal in October 1964 and a new trade agreement with Southern Rhodesia in the following month. The conclusion of these agreements was believed to represent an important step towards the establishment of a common market of Southern Africa as envisaged by Mr. Verwoerd.
11. It is also believed that another tendency in this direction is the maintenance of the existing arrangements for close economic association between South Africa and the three Territories. An account of these arrangements is given in the last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly (A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII).
12. With the accession to power in 1964 of a traditionalist and European-supported Government in Swaziland, that Territory's economic relations with the Republic were expected to become even closer. Mr. C.F. Todd, elected member of the Imbokodo Party, who, as a member of the Executive Council, is in charge of the portfolio of natural resources, agriculture and mining, has expressed his firm belief that development funds and initiative must in future come mainly from South Africa and that in order to encourage investment from this source, Swazi politics must be sufficiently conservative in nature.
13. Similar views have been expressed by certain political leaders in the other two Territories, whose economies are much weaker and more dependent on South Africa. As in the case of Swaziland, their Governments consist of parties favouring the maintenance of ties with South Africa, which have also declared their intention of seeking development aid from the Republic.
14. Until 1945, the United Kingdom, according to reports, provided no financial or technical aid to the three Territories. Since then, they have received such assistance but it has not been considered sufficient to reduce their economic dependence on South Africa, and their leaders have continued to express dissatisfaction with the pace of economic development.

Educational conditions

15. The University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland was opened at Roma, Basutoland, on 9 October 1964. The University, with forty academic staff members and 200 students, was expected to offer courses leading to a general bachelors degree in arts and in economics, as well as specialized bachelors degrees in administration, economics and law. The curriculum was eventually to be expanded to include specialized five-year courses. Students were to be enrolled regardless

of nationality, race, religion or sex. It was anticipated that the University would be expanded to accommodate by 1967 some 300 students drawn primarily, but not exclusively, from the Territories. In this connexion, the United Kingdom Government has recently agreed to provide aid of £475,000 up to 1966 for the University. Of this amount, £150,000 will be provided in direct aid, and over £150,000 by the three Territories out of funds given by the United Kingdom Government in grant-in-aid and Colonial Development and welfare funds.

B. Basutoland

Political and constitutional developments

New Constitution

16. As noted in the last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly (A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII), the Secretary of State for the Colonies undertook at the 1964 Constitutional Conference that every effort would be made to ensure the holding of the elections for the new National Assembly before the end of 1964.

17. The elections, however, took place on 29 April 1965. Earlier, a number of complaints were made by several political leaders in the Territory about the delay in the holding of these elections and about the organizational arrangements.

18. On 30 April 1965, the new Constitution which was agreed in outline at the 1964 Conference came into operation. Paramount Chief Moshoeshoe II took the oath of office as the Queen's Representative in Basutoland, and the present Resident Commissioner became British Government Representative.

19. On 13 May 1965, addressing the first session of Basutoland's new Parliament established after the latest elections, the Paramount Chief said that the Territory would seek closer co-operation with South Africa during the pre-independence period, and would work under the new Constitution "for achievement of independence in the shortest possible time".

Results of the elections

20. All sixty seats in the new National Assembly were contested by the three main parties in the elections. They were: the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), which held thirty of the forty elected seats in the dissolved Legislature; the Basutoland National Party (BNP); and the Marema-Tlou-Freedom Party (MTFP). The elections were also contested by the Marema-Tlou Party (MTP), which put up thirty-seven candidates, and by a few independents. It was reported that on polling day, riot squads stood by

in the Territory and that British troops were alerted to move in from Swaziland in the event of an outbreak of violence following the declaration of the election results.

21. Of the sixty seats in the new National Assembly, the BNP won thirty-one, the BCP twenty-five and the MTFP four. The MTFP was expected to line up with the BNP in the Assembly. The main surprise in the elections, fought mainly on the issue of the Territory's relations with South Africa, was considered to be the defeat of Chief Leabua Jonathan, the BNP leader. It was announced that Chief Sekhonyana Maseribane, the deputy leader, would be appointed acting Prime Minister until a safe seat was found for Chief Jonathan.

22. Immediately after the elections, the BNP stated that it would ask for independence within a year, but that Basutoland would remain in the Commonwealth. The BNP also expressed its desire to establish diplomatic relations with the Republic, and to apply for membership of the United Nations as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The party also declared that its main efforts in the economic sphere would be directed towards industrialization and that development aid for this purpose would be invited from South Africa and other industrial countries.

Political parties

23. The BCP, led by Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, is reported to be the oldest political party in the Territory. Mr. Mokhehle has in the past been critical of United Kingdom and South African policies in regard to Basutoland. His party has made it clear that it stands firmly for independence by the end of 1965, despite the postponement of the elections. The party has reportedly threatened to join the boycott movement against South Africa and has undertaken to ensure that after independence the Orange Free State of the Republic is reintegrated into Basutoland. It is also believed that the party intends to reduce the political role of the chieftancy and to discourage missionary activity in the Territory.

24. The BNP, on the other hand, is thought to favour closer relations with South Africa. Chief Jonathan formed the party in 1959 in order to "reunite the chiefs with the people". In the 1960 elections, the party was reported to have received heavy support from certain of the local Christian churches, but failed to attract significant support. Recently, according to reports, the party obtained substantial funds from South African interests and made considerable progress in rallying the support of voters. The party has reportedly expressed itself in favour of the integration of Basutoland within the South African "Bantu homelands" system.

25. The MTFP, headed by Dr. Seth Makotoko, has links with the African National Congress in South Africa and is said to be supported by the Paramount Chief. After the recent elections, Dr. Makotoko became President of the Senate set up under the new Constitution. Early in 1964, he replaced Chief S.S. Matete as the party's head. Chief Matete has since organized his own political party, the MTP.

Economic conditions

General

26. As stated in the last report of the Special Committee, the economy has depended principally on crop cultivation, the raising of livestock and the earnings of labour employed outside the Territory. Economically important movements of goods and people have occurred primarily between Basutoland and South Africa rather than within Basutoland itself.

27. Since the Territory's economic growth has remained slow, more and more Basuto have found it necessary to seek work abroad. The total population was estimated to have increased from about 700,000 to 1 million between 1961 and 1964, and the number of Basuto resident outside the Territory and mainly dependent on employment in South Africa from some 130,000 to over 220,000 during the same period. The inflow into the Territory of earnings of these workers has grown in importance.

Land, agriculture and livestock

28. Of the total area of nearly 12,000 square miles, perhaps 1,500 are cultivable; much of the remainder is grass land suitable only for grazing. The land is held in trust for the Basuto nation by the Paramount Chief and may not be alienated. Grazing rights are communal, but arable land is allocated to individuals and families by chiefs. There are few non-African settlers in the Territory. The scarcity of arable land has continued to underline the need to increase productivity. In recent years, improvement in farming methods has been hampered by the lack of security of tenure and by the fragmentation perpetuated by the existing system of tenure.

29. The Territory experienced severe drought during the latter half of 1963, thus reducing the prospects of a good maize harvest. Famine existed in certain mountain districts, owing to shortages arising from poor transport facilities.

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30. Soil conservation has remained an urgent problem in Basutoland. According to the administering Power, there was a marked deterioration in established maintenance works in 1963, largely because of an inadequacy of professional supervision and a lack of awareness among the people of the serious dangers of soil erosion. To remedy the situation, a Natural Resources Board was formed with the task of ensuring that the conservation requirements of the Territory were met. During the year there was some progress in reclamation work; 9,000 acres were protected by contour plowing and in addition dams were constructed. Work on land-use planning had been held up because of shortage of staff. However, an agroecological plan was recently approved by the Government to meet the vital need for increasing agricultural production and conservation of the soil.

31. In 1963, the Progressive Farmers' Scheme, supported by credit facilities, continued to make some progress. The total number of registered farmers increased from 621 in 1962 to 758 in 1963. Some farmers tried to consolidate their holdings but met with opposition from the people with whom they wished to exchange land. During 1963, four training farms were completed and the Agricultural School was expanded to accommodate 120 male students. While the shortage of teaching staff continued to be a problem, some improvement was made in the staffing position.

32. The Government has continued its policy of fostering co-operative development and of providing funds for credit and marketing services. In 1963, the Co-operative Union of Basutoland was formed in an effort to save the co-operative movement, following the financial collapse of the Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union, a federation of co-operative societies.

33. The improvement of livestock and of marketing facilities for livestock and animal products is a need which has been engaging the attention of the Government. In 1961, a scheme was started for the establishment of thirty-five improvement centres to make livestock and veterinary services available in those areas which had hitherto had no such facilities. It had been hoped that by the end of March 1963 some thirty centres would be erected, staffed and equipped and that further funds would be provided for the completion of the scheme by the end of 1964. However, there were only twenty centres at the end of 1963.

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Mining

34. During the first week in April 1963, a team of British geologists arrived in Basutoland to carry out a six months' preliminary mining survey of the Territory. In October 1963, the Government approved the appointment of a committee to investigate diamond prospecting and mining.

Industry

35. Factors hampering industrial development include the traditional system of land tenure, the shortage of persons with industrial skills, the scarcity of local capital, the lack of cheap power and of raw materials suitable for local processing and the centrifugal pattern of road communications. According to the administering Power, the Government has made some effort towards the partial removal of these obstacles. For the first time in 1963, the Basutoland Factory Estates Development Company was granted a fifty-year lease of its industrial site in Maseru under legislation passed by the Legislature. The company in turn was empowered to grant leases to industrialists and to provide such essential services as water, power, drainage and roads. The new company was expected to start work early in 1964, and has already granted leases to three industrial projects. In December 1963, proposals were presented to the Legislature concerning aid for pioneer industries.

Communications

36. The principal lines of communication lie between Basutoland and South Africa. There are 560 miles of main roads, of which about 235 miles bear the heaviest traffic. The main road system is confined almost entirely to the western lowlands. It consists of a principal road running roughly north and south from Maseru, and connected on the west with South Africa's road system.

37. The Territory is linked with the railway system of South Africa by a short branch line from Maseru to Marseilles on the Bloemfontein-Natal main line. One mile of this line is in Basutoland. A private airline serves twenty-eight airstrips suitable for light aircraft.

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Power

38. The Territory has one power station in Maseru, which was extended in 1963 by the installation of two 1,000 k.w. turbo-alternators. At the beginning of 1965, a small hydroelectric scheme was inaugurated at the village of Matsieng. The Ox-Bow Scheme, one of three larger schemes considered economically feasible, has been investigated in some detail and its total capital cost was estimated at some £16 million. The development of this project would depend on the sale of power and water to neighbouring areas in South Africa. In the past, political differences have prevented Basutoland and the Republic from conducting negotiations on the scheme. More recently, however, the Marema-Tlou Freedom Party, in its election manifesto, has called for a mutually advantageous arrangement with South Africa.

Public finance

39. Revenue and expenditure of the Territory during 1963/1964 were each estimated to total £4.2 million. Customs and excise duties payable by South Africa under the Customs Agreement of 1910 accounted for some 37 per cent of the total estimated revenue, grants-in-aid from the United Kingdom for 36 per cent, and grants under the United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Act for about 13 per cent. Of the total estimated expenditure for 1963/64, education accounted for 16 per cent; public works (recurrent and extraordinary), 14 per cent; Colonial Development and Welfare schemes, 13 per cent; health, 9 per cent; and agricultural and veterinary services, 6 per cent.

Development Plan

40. Apart from a total of £1,823,000 provided by the United Kingdom for development in the period 1963-66 (see A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII), contributions for development projects have also been made by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, whose programmes of assistance are described in the report of the Secretary-General concerning the implementation of operative paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 1954 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963 (A/AC.109/98), and by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, which has approved a £118,000 programme for 1964-66, designed to increase the Territory's food production and earning power.

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41. A White Paper containing a number of recommendations made by the Economic Planning Council was tabled in the Basutoland National Council during 1963. These recommendations were that: company taxes should be reduced to levels as low as those prevailing in South Africa and in the other two Territories; the Government should grant tax concessions to pioneer industries: sites should be made available on ninety-nine-year leases; factory premises and housing should be made available at low rentals; and the people of the Territory in general and chiefs and political leaders in particular should show themselves willing to welcome industry. Early in 1965, these recommendations were still under consideration by the Legislature.

Social conditions

Racial discrimination

42. In 1963, legislative measures were taken for the removal of racial discrimination from the marriage, tax, wheat and wheaten products control laws.

Labour

43. The Department of Labour was created in 1963. Its principal functions include the promotion of trade union development, the fostering of good relations between employers and employees, and the enforcement of labour legislation. During the year, a National Advisory Committee on Labour, composed of equal numbers of employers' and employees' representatives, was established to advise the Government on labour policy and legislation.

44. In 1963, the Department of Labour established an employment exchange service in Maseru. During May-December of that year, 1,799 persons were registered as requiring work, of whom 231 were placed in employment. District Labour Committees, covering five areas, were set up during the year to review changes in wages of government daily paid employees and to hear employees' complaints. The total number of trade unions in the Territory increased from five in 1961 to seven in 1963.

Public health

45. In the years 1961-63, the number of general hospitals increased from fourteen to fifteen and beds from 1,148 to 1,271, representing a ratio of sixteen beds to 10,000 persons.

50. Results obtained by Basuto students in primary and secondary school leaving examinations in 1963 were as follows:

	<u>Standard VI</u>	<u>Junior Certificate</u>	<u>Cambridge Overseas School Certificate</u>
1963: Entries	3,240	436	108
Passes	1,826	283	67

C. Bechuanaland

Political and constitutional developments

New Constitution

51. The last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly (A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII) contains a summary of the proposals which the United Kingdom substantially accepted in June 1964 as the basis for the revision of the Constitution for Bechuanaland. Subsequently the Territory was divided into thirty-one single-member constituencies in accordance with the recommendation of a Delimitation Commission set up in July of that year. The Bechuanaland Protectorate (Constitution) Order, 1965, providing for a new constitution along these lines, came into operation on 30 January 1965.

Results of the elections

52. The elections for the Legislative Assembly established under the new Constitution were held on 1 March 1965. They were contested by the Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP) led by Mr. Seretse Khama; the Bechuanaland Peoples Party (BPP) led by Mr. Philip Matante; the Botswana Independence Party (BIP) led by Mr. M.K. Mpho. The three parties put up thirty-one, twenty-six and twenty-four candidates respectively. Prior to the elections, Mr. Matante's BPP objected to the organizational arrangements and alleged that the Government had used its influence to win support from the voters for the BDP.

53. In the final results, the BDP secured twenty-eight out of the thirty-one elected seats in the new Assembly, the remaining three being won by Mr. Matante's BPP. Of some 190,000 registered electors, comprising an estimated 81 per cent of all qualified voters, 80 per cent cast their votes.

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Political parties

54. The BDP is reported to have stated that it would call for independence in September 1966 but that Bechuanaland would remain in the Commonwealth. The party has also advocated non-racialism and the maintenance of good neighbourly relations with South Africa. The BPP and BIP are believed to draw their support from the small urban population. All the parties are reported to be opposed to any acquiescence in the South African Bantu homeland plan.

Formation of a new Government

55. Following the elections, Mr. Seretse Khama, the leader of the BDP, was appointed the Territory's first Prime Minister. A Deputy Prime Minister and five other ministers were appointed from among the members of his party. In anticipation of the constitutional changes, the Bechuanaland Government in 1964 established an advisory Public Service Commission and recruited experts mainly from the United Kingdom to assist in organizing a ministerial system and to create an effective government machine to be run by a local civil service. The government headquarters were moved from Mafeking in South Africa to Gaberones within the Territory in February 1965.

56. On 3 March 1965, following his appointment as Prime Minister, Mr. Khama said that although he abhorred apartheid, his country would continue to trade with South Africa and would welcome investment funds from any source, including the Republic. On the same day, Her Majesty's Commissioner was reported to have declared that Bechuanaland would be granted independence as soon as its cabinet had settled down and expressed themselves in favour of complete self-rule for the people. This, according to him, might possibly be during the middle of 1966. After independence the United Kingdom would continue to provide economic aid to the Territory on the scale to which it was accustomed.

Economic conditions

Development Plan

57. Details of the Development Plan for 1963/68 are contained in the last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly. Among the projects designed to foster its basic objectives are: the creation of a statistical organization to assist, inter alia, in future development planning; the extension and intensification of survey operations so as to assess the development potential of the Territory's human and natural resources; the establishment of a National Development Bank to make available credit facilities for development in the private sector of the economy; and the encouragement of self-help activities by offering incentives to private enterprise and the stimulation of local initiative by community development.

58. Of the total expenditure of £10 million envisaged under the Plan, over £7 million was expected to be spent during the period 1963-66. Of this amount, £4.1 million will be provided by the United Kingdom Government and £0.5 million by the Bechuanaland Government. Other contributions expected from external sources include £1,285,750 from the International Development Association (IDA), £166,308 from the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and £10,360 from the United Nations Regular Programme of Technical Assistance.

Land, agriculture and livestock

59. Details of the distribution of land in the Territory are given in the last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly. Of the European blocks, covering 4,400 square miles, an area of about 2,500 square miles is held in perpetuity by the British South Africa Company; the remaining area is owned by the Tati Company. The total area of potential arable land is about 8 million acres, mostly in the Eastern Protectorate; of this area it is estimated that only 6 per cent is under cultivation.

60. The Development Plan for 1963/68 envisages an increase in agricultural and livestock production. It is planned: to expand the existing programme of agricultural extension work to increase the number of the progressive farmers from 1,000 to 4,000 during the development period; to conduct research and experiment in producing new cash crops; to introduce land use planning in order to eliminate

soil erosion; to investigate the economic possibilities of peasant farming; and to provide additional credit facilities for both stock and crop production. Other projects include: the expansion of facilities for agricultural and veterinary training; the establishment of a department to encourage the co-operative movement; the opening up of new grazing areas; and the extension of veterinary services to improve disease control. It is also hoped to introduce extension work in animal husbandry, particularly in the Tribal Territories, to improve internal marketing facilities and arrangements for cattle, and to investigate the need to expand and improve abattoir facilities.

Mining

61. The total value of mineral exports decreased from £308,000 in 1961 to £221,000 in 1962 and £184,000 in 1963. This decline was due mainly to a marked reduction in the amount and value of exports of manganese ore and to asbestos marketing difficulties, which were experienced in the first quarter of 1963.

62. The Development Plan for 1963/68 provides for an intensification of the regional reconnaissance geological mapping programme, a more extensive investigation of specific mineral occurrences and the granting of assistance in the exploitation of workable minerals.

Industry and commerce

63. In 1964, a South African company announced plans to build a brewery, a malting plant as well as a seed and grain cleaning plant in Gaberones. Several hunting companies are operating in the Territory, which has game in large numbers.

64. In the Development Plan for 1963/68, the Bechuanaland Government proposes to encourage the growth of secondary and service industries through: the maximum use of private enterprises in its construction and maintenance programmes; infra-structural development; and the grant of tax concessions and other legislative inducements to attract foreign capital and new industries. The Plan also includes a scheme to assess the potential of the fauna resources of the Territory and stimulate a tourist industry based on the Game Reserve.

Communications

65. The public road system comprises 1,595 miles of trunk roads and 3,300 miles of other roads. Except for the main north-south trunk road and the roads linking the more important centres of population, the road system remains largely undeveloped. The main railway line from Cape Town and Johannesburg in South Africa to Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia provides rail service for the Eastern Protectorate. The railway within the Territory, 394 miles in length, forms part of the undertakings owned and operated by the Southern Rhodesia Railways.

66. The Development Plan for 1963/68 contains a programme of action to overcome the inadequacy of communications through the improvement and expansion of roads and telecommunications. Under this programme, it is contemplated to construct or reconstruct three roads, totalling 355 miles in length, as well as to improve the main north-south trunk road and district feeder roads.

Power

67. The Development Plan for 1963/68 stresses the need to expand electricity supplies and to continue efforts to open up the Territory's coal resources so as to provide cheap electricity at urban centres. Under the Plan it is expected that a surplus of power will exist at Gaberones and that this surplus could be absorbed at several other places including Lobatsi.

Water resources

68. The Development Plan for 1963/68 recognizes that sustained economic progress in the Territory depends above all on the conservation and development of water supplies. Owing to the shortage of funds, a modest start on hydrological surveys is proposed under the Plan. Efforts would be concentrated on the development of underground water supplies, the construction of small stock dams, the provision of adequate water supplies to Lobatsi and the improvement of storage and reticulation at several other centres.

Public finance

69. It is estimated that revenue and expenditure of the Territory would each amount to £3.1 million in 1963/64. Actual expenditure for that year amounted to £3.36 million and the estimated revenue was revised to £1.75 million. The major

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portion of the territorial revenue comes from direct and indirect taxes, which in 1963/64 accounted for 36 per cent of the total estimated revenue. The Territory is benefited by grants-in-aid from the United Kingdom, amounting in 1963/64 to 39 per cent of estimated revenue. Of the total estimated expenditure in 1963/64, 19 per cent was allocated to public works, 13 per cent to agriculture, 11 per cent to central and district administration, 10 per cent to veterinary services, 9 per cent to health and 8 per cent to education.

70. A basic object of the Development Plan for 1963/68 is to improve the fiscal position of the Territory by concentrating on schemes likely to lead to an increase in national revenue and control. Moreover, the people will be required to carry the maximum fiscal burden consistent with economic growth and additional tax reforms are therefore receiving attention.

Social conditions

Labour

71. Of a total potential labour force of some 196,000 persons, only 33,500 have regular paid employment, and of these, 23,000 are usually employed in South Africa, mainly in the mining industry. Additional numbers of workers find seasonal employment in the Republic during the harvest months. The remainder of the able-bodied adult population and a considerable proportion of the young men and children of school-going age are engaged in stock-raising or subsistence agriculture. There is a shortage of professional and technical personnel in the Territory.

72. The Development Plan for 1963/68 describes labour as one of the least developed and least utilized resources. The educational programmes of the Plan are aimed at the maximum development of human resources. In addition, a preliminary manpower survey, designed, inter alia, to ascertain skilled manpower requirements, is proposed under the Plan.

Public health

73. The most prevalent diseases are tuberculosis, which is the Territory's chief health problem, diphtheria, influenza, whooping cough, measles and malaria. The view is expressed in the Development Plan for 1963/68 that the main factor limiting

social advancement is not the physical condition of the people but rather the lack of progressive attitudes. It is therefore concluded that education must clear the way for further general advance in the health services. On the basis of this conclusion, only 5 per cent of the total expenditure during the development period is allocated to public health projects.

D. Swaziland

Political and constitutional developments

Opposition to the present Constitution

74. In July 1964 the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, led by Mr. A.P. Zwane; the Swaziland Democratic Party, led by Mr. A.M. Nxumalo; and the Swaziland Progressive Party formed a Joint Council of Swaziland Political Parties to oppose the present Constitution which, they contended, favoured the traditionalist alliance. The Joint Council subsequently made several unsuccessful attempts to secure the annulment of the present Constitution and of the elections held under it. These attempts included the dispatch in August 1964 of a representative in the person of Mr. Nxumalo to make representations to the Secretary of State. The Joint Council's demands were that: the United Kingdom Government should hold without delay a constitutional conference in which representatives of all political parties of the Territory should participate with a view to making constitutional arrangements for independence, on the basis of universal adult suffrage, including the fixing of a specific date for independence and the protection of fundamental human rights; South African influence in the Territory should be eliminated; and the sovereignty of Swaziland should be guaranteed by the United Nations after independence.

75. During his visit to London, Mr. Nxumalo also claimed that the Government had failed to enforce democratic practice in the conduct of the last elections. According to him, the Ngwenyama had ordered the people through the chiefs to vote for the Imbokodo Party under such threats as loss of land rights and jobs. Many European employers had also used threats towards their employees in the interest of the traditionalist alliance.

76. On 1 September 1964, Mr. Dumisa Dlamini, Secretary of the Joint Council, called for the suspension of the first sitting of the Legislative Council until the demands

of his organization were met. Eight days later, 500 British troops were reportedly flown into Swaziland from Kenya to join the locally based battalion in two days of military exercises and riot drill. It was officially denied that their arrival had any connexion with the current opening of Swaziland's new Legislative Council. The opening was also the occasion for a protest demonstration by 700 supporters of the Joint Council as well as a gathering of the Ngwenyama's mabuto (warrior regiment). There were no incidents.

77. Early in December, Mr. A.P. Zwane, President of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress, sent a cable to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, asking him to comply with the Joint Council's demands immediately. The cable was timed to coincide with the visit to London of the Commissioner of Swaziland.

The Imbokodo Party's programmes

78. On 14 September 1964, the Legislative Council adopted a motion presented by Prince Makhosini Dlamini, leader of the Imbokodo Party, whereby the Council would take note of the aims and policies of the Imbokodo Party and express the hope that the Government would give early consideration to the possibility of their implementation.

79. In introducing this motion, the Prince stated that the aims of his party were to make Swaziland a modern, non-racial and independent State under the kingship of the Ngwenyama. Emphasizing the importance of the advancement of the Swazi Nation, he was reported to have expressed the view that under colonial rule the Swazi Nation was denied the opportunities of attaining a stage of development comparable to that of the European and that this disparity must be reduced as soon as possible. He also urged that the Ngwenyama should be made King of Swaziland, and that the Swazi tradition and culture should be nurtured and adapted to the modern world.

80. On the question of the future of the Territory, the Prince said that his party would make use of the present Constitution and the Legislative Council to achieve independence at the earliest possible date. His party requested the Government to set up a commission to consider the question of further constitutional advance. Dealing with foreign relations, the Prince said that his party desired to live in peace with all nations of the world and expected them to refrain from interfering in Swaziland's affairs. He denied that his party's policies were designed to deliver the Territory into the hands of the South African Government.

Economic conditions

General

81. As noted in the last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly, Swaziland is better endowed with such natural resources as mineral deposits, good soil and an abundant supply of water than either Basutoland or Bechuanaland. The economy continues to depend mainly on the production of asbestos, iron, sugar and forest products although the predominant activities over most of the Territory are animal husbandry and traditional farming.

82. In a recent statement of policy, the leader of the Imbokodo Party is reported to have drawn attention to the fact that "there still exists on a large scale economic disparity between the various population groups". Therefore, he said, his party had decided to set up a development corporation to foster the development of the Swazi Nation in all spheres of endeavour. He also stated that his party favoured rapid economic development and the encouragement of capital investment from abroad.

83. In a statement on 17 September 1964, Her Majesty's Commissioner said that although industrial expansion had been rapid and great, the Territory could not afford too great an imbalance between industry and agriculture. He therefore urged that the transformation of Swazi agriculture from a subsistence to a cash crop basis should be speeded up.

84. Since domestic savings are not adequate for the investment requirements of the Territory, the problem of obtaining external capital is of great importance. In this connexion, Mr. C.F. Todd, member of the Executive Council holding the portfolio of natural resources, agriculture and mining, stated in August 1964 that having regard to Swaziland's contribution to South Africa's foreign exchange reserves, the monetary and banking authorities in the Republic "might agree to a Swaziland National Finance Corporation being regarded as a deposit-receiving institution, thereby qualifying it to accept funds from South Africa". The Corporation "would not only further industrial development - presumably along lines similar to those followed by the South African Industrial Development Corporation - but would also play an active part in financing exports of, say, sugar, tobacco and citrus".

Land

85. Part of the Swazi-owned land consists of land purchased from European holders which is vested in the Ngwenyama on behalf of the Swazi Nation and which includes farms set aside for settlement schemes designed to educate Swazi farmers in the cultivation of cash crops.

86. In reply to a question, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said in the United Kingdom House of Commons on 23 June 1964 that the Swazi National Council had at present no funds available for land purchases. He added that the Swaziland Government was well aware of the importance of agricultural development in the Territory and had already formulated further settlement schemes to be carried out with the financial assistance currently available from the Colonial Development Welfare Fund. He indicated that he would not consider a special advance from the Fund.

87. In a recent statement of policy, the leader of the Imbokodo Party is reported to have stated that his party rejected the United Kingdom Government's policy of handing out irreplaceable natural resources of Swaziland, including its land and minerals, to outside interests, "making them masters of our economy with the Swazi as the mere labourer". His party would continue to fight for the restoration to the Swazi Nation of the rights of control and disposal of these resources.

88. Soil erosion is a problem, but except for the Lowveld, the pasturage in Swaziland is less vulnerable to damage than that in either Basutoland or Bechuanaland. None the less, owing to an increase in the numbers of livestock and a reduction of pasturage area caused by the encroachment of arable land, erosion has been increasing.

89. The Department of Agriculture, with the co-operation of the Swazi authorities, has instituted a programme of mechanical soil conservation measures together with regulation of land management practices. There are also a few resettlement schemes, and a rotational system for communal grazing has been developed. Responsibility for soil conservation is exercised by the Rural Development Board in African areas and the Natural Resources Board in European areas.

90. On 24 November 1964, the Legislative Council passed a motion calling on the Government to make it statutory for the above-mentioned Boards to operate jointly. Speakers referred to the need for more effective measures concerning soil

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conservation, and suggested that the two bodies having common boundaries should operate jointly, with powers to ensure the best usage of land and water resources in the Territory.

Dryland farming

91. The output of dryland crops, particularly maize and cotton, increased considerably in 1963 from the low point reached in the previous year. But the Territory is still not self-sufficient in maize, imports of which amounted to £320,000 in 1962 and £290,000 in 1963. In November 1964, the Legislative Council decided to appoint a Select Committee of five members to investigate the production, marketing and distribution of maize and also the possibility of increasing its production in the Territory.

92. Two of the most important cash crops, cotton and tobacco, are of particular significance to the economy of southern Swaziland. With new techniques of pest control available, an increasing acreage is being planted to cotton under irrigation. Air-cured tobacco leaf is marketed through the Swaziland Tobacco Co-operative in South Africa, where over-production is causing marketing difficulties. In 1964, Swaziland received from the Republic a Burley tobacco quota of about 40,000 pounds on an experimental basis.

93. Southern Swaziland has not shared in the general economic expansion that has taken place in the remainder of the Territory. The farmers in this region, both Swazi and European, who are in competition with subsidized farming in the Republic, are of the opinion that their economic future depends mainly on three factors, namely, improved communications with the north and the availability of power and of long-term credit facilities.

94. During his visit to this region in July 1964, Her Majesty's Commissioner said that he was fully conscious of its problems. He believed that an immediate need was for improved communications and hoped that detailed plans for a first-class road linking the south with central Swaziland would soon be drawn up. He considered that some of the measures being taken to foster agricultural development would have a favourable effect on the economy of the southern part of the Territory.

Irrigation farming

95. A rapid growth of large irrigation projects has occurred during the past decade in the Lowveld. There has also been some development of irrigation in the Middleveld. Thus far irrigation farming has played a far more important part in the economy than dryland farming. The principal irrigated crops are sugar (the most important crop), rice and citrus. Other crops such as bananas, tomatoes and garden vegetables are also grown.

96. According to a government estimate, the total area under irrigation will be expanded from 50,000 to 80,000 acres between 1964 and 1966. The latter figure will represent approximately one third of the economically irrigable area of Swaziland, and agriculture will have reached the safe limit for run-of-river schemes. The Government considers that unless there is to be a risk of serious water shortage in drought years, storage on the Territory's major rivers will be essential.

Livestock

97. The livestock industry is briefly described in the last report of the Special Committee (A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII). A significant development in 1964 affecting this industry, which provides the main wealth of the Swazi, was the establishment of an abattoir and meat-processing factory at Matsapa.

Agricultural services

98. The Government has continued to expand agricultural services. In 1964, work was started on the agricultural college and short course centre at Malkerns; the Research Station there was strengthened by the appointment of a principal research officer and an entomologist as well as by the establishment of a laboratory for the agricultural chemist; and a Co-operative Department was created, the principal objective of which is to assist the farmers to market their produce.

Forestry

99. As described in the last report of the Special Committee (A/5800/Add.5, chapter VIII), three large plantations of pine and eucalyptus have been established in the Territory. During 1962/63, after the commencement of operations at the Usutu pulp mill, the value of exports of forest products was £2.2 million compared

with £0.5 million in the previous year. The role of pine in the forestry industry is expanding. However, owing to world over-production, wattle no longer represents an important contribution to the industry.

Mining

100. As noted in the last report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly, mining is a major economic activity in the Territory, the two most important minerals being asbestos and iron. A beginning is being made in turning to account the extensive deposits of coal. Other minerals worked are beryl, barytes, diaspore, kaolin, pyrophyllite, tin, gold and silver, but none is at present being mined in appreciable quantities.

101. Under the present Constitution, Her Majesty's Commissioner is empowered, in the name of and on behalf of the Ngwenyama, to make dispositions conferring rights or interests in respect of minerals or mineral oils in Swaziland. However, this power is not to be exercised except after consultation with the Ngwenyama and the Executive Council.

102. On the subject of mineral rights, the leader of the Imbokodo Party is reported to have said in his recent statement of policy that:

"Whereas private rights and private ownership of properties of Europeans are protected under the constitution, our mineral rights are not protected but are to be administered by Her Majesty's Commissioner. This is a denial of our rights of ownership. We do not accept this condition. The control and disposal of our mineral rights must be restored to Ngwenyama-in-Council."

Industry

103. New sugar marketing arrangements came into force on 1 January 1965, by which South Africa will no longer be required to provide in its local and export markets for the production of sugar in Swaziland. The Swaziland sugar industry will henceforth be free to determine the desirable level of its sugar production and will be responsible for the marketing of its own sugar. Swaziland is also to become a member of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement with an over-all quota of some 110,000 long tons a year.

104. In November 1964, the Development Loan Bill of 1964, the object of which is to raise Exchequer loans of £345,000 to finance two industrial development projects,

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was presented to the Legislative Council. The cost of one of these, an industrial area at Matsapa, is approximately £100,000. This project is already stimulating further schemes of territorial significance such as the construction of an abattoir and meat processing factory, a cotton ginnery and a brewery.

Communications

105. The Government has sought to quicken the pace of economic development through the expansion and improvement of the communications system. In 1964, a 125-mile, east-west truck route across the Territory was completed, making a total of 1,280 miles of roads with bitumen or gravel surfaces. There are 380 miles of truck routes supplemented by 900 miles of secondary routes. Under the present road development programme, roads in the two sugar areas are to be improved and a first-class road linking the south with central Swaziland is to be built.

106. The establishment of the iron-ore industry provided the decisive impetus for the completion in 1964 of the building and equipping of the first railway line (some 140 miles) at a cost of about £9 million to connect with the port of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique. This railway furnishes a route to the coast for exports of iron ore as well as other principal commodities, such as pulp and sugar, and a cheap route for imports.

Water and power

107. Swaziland is well watered and the principal rivers (the Great Usutu with its three main tributaries, the Komati, Mbuluzi and Ingwavuma) offer good scope for hydro-electric power development. Besides five smaller ones, there is already a large hydro-electric plant (with an initial capacity of some 10,000 k.w.) in operation at Edwaleni, south of Mbabane, using water from the Usutu system.

108. The scheme, inaugurated in September 1964, cost approximately £2.3 million, most of which was raised through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). It has been planned to high standards of economy and efficiency, and could be developed up to 30,000 k.w. of installed capacity or even further by means of storage dams on the Usutu system. Although it was the iron ore mine at Ngwanya that furnished the impetus for the scheme, the biggest single offtake of power, amounting to one third of the output, is expected to be for irrigation pumping, enabling large tracts of land to be economically developed.

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109. The principal rivers of Swaziland involve South Africa or Mozambique or both. The Territory's hydro-electric schemes might be adversely affected by future attempts on the part of any other Government concerned at large-scale development of these international rivers. Investigations on this matter were initiated late in 1963 with the assistance of the United Nations Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations.

Public finance

110. The estimated revenue and expenditure of the Territory in 1963/64 each amounted to almost £2.7 million.

111. By far the largest single source of territorial revenue is income tax, which represented 32 per cent of the total in 1963/64. For income tax and also mineral tax, the Territory was heavily dependent on the value of its mineral production. Income tax rates for individuals and companies were slightly lower than those in South Africa. This relationship was maintained in the interest of the capital development of the Territory.

112. The second largest source of territorial revenue is customs and excise duties which accounted for 11 per cent of the total in 1963/64. As in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, Swaziland is subject to a Customs Agreement with South Africa and has virtually no influence over the amount of revenue which accrues.

113. Despite the recent upsurge in economic activities, revenue has continued to fall below expenditure, thus forcing the Territory to rely increasingly on United Kingdom assistance in the form of grants-in-aid. Such grants, which accounted for 26 per cent of the estimated revenue in 1963/64, have not been sufficient to permit Swaziland to develop fully its economic potential.

114. Of the estimated expenditure for 1963/64, 17 per cent was allocated to public works, 15 per cent to education, 13 per cent to central and district administration, 10 per cent to agriculture and 7 per cent to health.

Development planning

115. In November 1964, the Legislative Council adopted a motion recommending to Her Majesty's Commissioner the appointment of a panel of experts to assist the Government in drawing up a development plan for Swaziland. Proposing the motion,

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Mr. J.D. Weir, elected member of the United Swaziland Association, said that development in the Territory was being retarded by basic reductions in its meagre budget and the severe scrutiny to which grants-in-aid provided by the United Kingdom were subjected. Mr. Weir referred to the need for the improvement of administrative, educational and medical services as well as for more effective utilization of the natural resources of the Territory. He suggested that the Government should seek advice from experts in drawing up a well-thought-out development plan on a five-year basis, and make an immediate approach to IBRD for a long-term loan.

Social conditions

Labour

116. Swaziland has been characterized by high rates of unemployment among unskilled labourers and a marked shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers. The expanding industrial development has helped ease somewhat the problem of unemployment. But with the coming to an end in 1964 of the construction work on the railway and hydro-electricity projects, much further improvement could not be expected in the employment situation. With this in mind, the leader of the Imbokodo Party is reported to have said in a recent statement of policy that "we need to provide new fields of employment for our younger generation and to increase their skills".

117. The government and industrial leaders of Swaziland have adopted a number of measures to give effect to this policy. These include: (a) the establishment of an Apprenticeship Board, composed of the Labour Officer as chairman and eleven other members, which has declared that the aim of industrial training is to provide as quickly as possible a flow of skilled workers to satisfy fully the needs of industry; (b) the starting by the Usutu Pulp Company of its own apprenticeship training programme on a non-racial basis, with five African students from the Swaziland Trade Training Centre being taken as apprentices; (c) the announcement by the newly formed Swaziland Management Institute of its decision to issue soon detailed programmes for training for different levels of management and personnel; and (d) the carrying out by two overseas experts of a preliminary survey of Swaziland's manpower resources and requirements for industry and the government,

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which will be followed in 1965 by another to be made by a vocational training expert of the International Labour Organisation.

118. Concerning the trade union movement, the leader of the Imbokodo Party is reported to have said in his policy statement that "we believe in the orderly development of trade unions and the Swazi National Council has established a committee to assist trade unions to develop on sound lines". He suggested that the Executive Council "should only assist trade union leaders who have the economic interests of workers at heart".

119. The question of equal pay for equal work was raised in the Legislative Council during February 1965. Replying, the Chief Secretary said that persons occupying posts specified in the budget of the Territory were paid the salaries attached to those posts. In the absence of trade testing, some discrimination might still be practised against persons holding posts unspecified in the budget, although that was contrary to the Government's policy.

120. Dealing with industries, the Chief Secretary stated that there was still a considerable gap between the wages paid to unskilled labour, mostly Africans, and those paid to skilled labour, mostly Europeans. In his view, it was extremely difficult to legislate in this matter, nor was it possible to make drastic changes affecting Swaziland's economy. But he gave an assurance that the Government intended to keep up the pressure to ensure that workers were paid according to their value without discrimination between races.

Public health

121. In his recent statement of policy, the leader of the Imbokodo Party is reported to have stated that: "The average life-expectancy of the Swazi is amongst the lowest in the world. Apart from causes due to malnutrition, there are other contributory factors such as centralization of medical facilities and complete lack of social services ... More clinics and better social amenities must be made available to all."

Educational conditions

122. In an address to Swaziland teachers in August 1964, Her Majesty's Commissioner stated that owing to the shortage of funds, it was necessary to have

priorities in the educational field. The first priority was being given to the improvement of the secondary schools to ensure an increase in the number of matriculants to 200 annually within the next few years. It was most important that the educational system should provide a sufficient number of high quality candidates to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

123. The Commissioner further stated that another very important priority was the raising of standards of technical education. It was hoped that within the next three years the Swaziland Trade Training Centre would be able to accommodate some 130 students in five trades providing industries with over forty apprentices annually. Plans were also being made for the development of primary education, the improvement of teacher and clerical training and the creation of a truly unified teaching service.

124. In his recent statement of policy, the leader of the Imbokodo Party stressed the desire of his party for the provision of better and wider education for the people to enable them to participate fully in the management of their own affairs.

125. In accordance with the Commissioner's decision, announced in December 1964, a Scholarship Selection Board will be set up and consist of the Executive Council Member for Education and Health as Chairman, two ex officio members and up to eight other members who will be appointed by the Commissioner to represent local interests. The Board will be responsible for the selection of candidates for all forms of higher education and training above secondary level outside the Territory.

II. CONSIDERATION BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE^{4/}

Introduction

126. The Special Committee considered Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland at its 347th, 357th to 360th, 365th, 368th to 370th and 372nd meetings held in Africa between 28 May and 17 June 1965.

A. Written petitions and hearings

127. The Special Committee had before it the following written petitions:

Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

<u>Petitioner</u>	<u>Document No.</u>
Messrs. A.B. Ngcobo and M.K. Nkula on behalf of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa (PAC)	A/AC.109/PET.340 and Add.1
Mr. I.B. Tabata, President, All-African Convention (AAC) and Unity Movement of South Africa	A/AC.109/PET.391 and Add.1
Mr. Cato Aall, Secretary, International Refugee Council of Zambia (IRCOZ)	A/AC.109/PET.417

Basutoland

Messrs. M.Q. Molapo, Bishop Mpeta, R.S. Tsinyane and L.A. Matooane, representatives, Basutoland Congress Party (BCP)	A/AC.109/PET.338 and Add.1
Mr. Charles Malapo, General Secretary, Basutoland National Party (BNP)	A/AC.109/PET.339
Mr. Lipampiri Lefela, Secretary, Lekhotla La Bofo	A/AC.109/PET.382
Messrs. G.M. Kolisang, Secretary, Basutoland Congress Party (BCP); M. Hlekane, Secretary, Marema-tlou Party (MTP); and J.T. Mokotso, Secretary, Marema-tlou Freedom Party (MFP)	A/AC.109/PET.383

^{4/} See also chapter _____, Meetings in Africa, for an account of the discussions on the resolution adopted by the Special Committee at its 373rd meeting on 18 June 1965 (A/AC.109/128/Rev.1) concerning the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to Southern Rhodesia, Territories under Portuguese administration, South West Africa and Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

Bechuanaland

Mr. Phillip G. Matante, President
Bechuanaland Peoples Party (BPP)

A/AC.109/PET.418

Swaziland

Mr. J.J. Nguku, President,
Swaziland Progressive Party (SPP)

A/AC.109/PET.341 and Add.1

Mr. S. Chale on behalf of the Joint
Council of Swaziland Political
Parties

A/AC.109/PET.409

128. The petition indicated above as A/AC.109/PET.409 contained a request for hearing which was approved by the Special Committee at its 358th meeting on 8 June 1965. However, the petitioner, on whose behalf the request was made, has not yet appeared before the Special Committee.

129. The Special Committee heard the following petitioners:

Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland

Mr. I.B. Tabata, President, All-African
Convention (AAC) and Unity Movement
of South Africa (A/AC.109/PET.391)

(347th meeting)

Messrs. A.B. Ngcobo and Z.B. Molete,
representatives, Pan-Africanist
Congress of South Africa (PAC)
(A/AC.109/PET.340/Add.1)

(358th and 359th meetings)

Basutoland

Messrs. Bishop Mpeta, L.A. Matooane,
representatives, Basutoland Congress
Party (BCP) (A/AC.109/PET.338/Add.1)

(357th and 358th meetings)

Swaziland

Mr. J.J. Nguku, President, Swaziland
Progressive Party (A/AC.109/PET.341/
Add.1)

(360th meeting)

130. Mr. Tabata (Unity Movement of South Africa) said that his organization was appearing for the first time before a United Nations body. The All-African Convention had been set up in 1936 during the crisis of the Hertzog Native Bills

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which abolished the remaining voting rights for non-Whites. Its membership comprised all the existing political, educational, professional, religious, civic and other organizations, and the trade unions, including the African National Committee (ANC), which was one of the founder members but left the Federation in the early 1940's owing to disagreement on policies and principles. The Unity Movement, of which he was President, had been established in 1943 as a result of a conference of federal and national organizations of the oppressed racial groups, called by the All-African Convention.

131. The failure of the League of Nations to live up to its ideals, and acts such as the rape of Abyssinia, the only independent African State at the time, disillusioned the African people and made them suspicious of the United Nations. But the changes that had taken place throughout the world since the Second World War, the disappearance of the old ideas concerning empires and colonies and the rapid emergence of independent States had changed the United Nations and shown the smaller nations that it offered them a forum for registering their protests. They were greatly encouraged by the fact that the Special Committee had decided to carry out its investigations in Africa where it would be able to learn the true situation.

132. The fact that the Committee was limiting its investigations to the problems of the colonies and protectorates, without touching on South Africa, was a serious obstacle. South West Africa was in fact a fifth province of South Africa and would be involved in the policy of Bantustan. Similarly, because of their dependence on South Africa and their geographical position it was difficult to discuss the economic and political situation of the Protectorates without reference to the South African Government's policies.

133. South-West Africa had been discussed in the United Nations for some eighteen years and the International Court of Justice was now to pronounce on the legal issues involved. His organization would like to know whether the United Nations had considered how the decision of the International Court could be enforced. If intervention in South West Africa should prove necessary, he would suggest that the countries with vested interests should be excluded from any task force, and that the choice of countries to supply military contingents should be made by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He also suggested that the OAU should consult the people of South West Africa by means of a referendum on all the issues

involved. It was important to take into account the views of the people as well as the decision of the International Court, since it was the task of the United Nations to help the people of South West Africa to achieve full independence.

134. It was common knowledge that Verwoerd's Bantustan Plan envisaged the incorporation of the Protectorates. The South African Government's views were revealed in a letter sent in November 1964, long before the general elections in Basutoland by the Chairman of the Basutoland National Party to the Commissioner General for South Sotho, one of the Afrikaaners in charge of the various tribal groupings. The letter, the text of which he read out, was evidence of the desperate need of the Verwoerd regime to draw the Protectorates within their political and economic ambit.

135. Many people had regarded the policy of Bantustan as an attempt by Verwoerd to counter United Nations criticism, and Verwoerd had lent credence to the view by claiming that he was giving independence to the oppressed people of South Africa. The falsity of such a claim was shown in the Act to establish Bantustan, under which four-fifths of the population would be deprived of their right to belong to their country of birth and banished to eroded and poverty-stricken enclaves that constituted less than 13 per cent of South African territory - an area at present inhabited by one third of the African population living on an average annual income of £21 per family. Furthermore, the South African Government should retain legislative power on all important matters, so that the Bantustan would not have political independence.

136. The Bantustan policy made sense only as a continuation of South Africa's traditional policy of an all-White Government that would establish Native reserves as sources of cheap labour. Verwoerd had come into power at a time of acute labour shortage due to the discovery of new and richer gold mines in the Orange Free States. One of his first acts had been to send experts to the Portuguese Territories to learn how labour problems were handled there. The horrors of the Portuguese system were described in the report of a committee of investigation appointed by Salazar as the result of a world-wide outcry against the atrocities inflicted on the Africans in the so-called Portuguese Territories.

137. Verwoerd had then set about establishing all over the country the "Bantu Authorities" which were the basis of the Bantustan. Unlimited powers were conferred upon puppet chiefs who dominated the so-called Bantustan Parliament

and were the tools of the White authorities. Habeas corpus was abolished in all the reserves and tribal law was re-established, giving the chiefs complete and arbitrary power over the population.

138. Mr. Tabata explained that he had commented on South Africa's Bantustan policy because it would be applied to the adjacent dependent Territories. He had also wished to show that the Protectorates even when they were given their independence would inevitably be drawn into the orbit of Bantustan policy and would have no economic independence. It was important for the Committee to realize that unless they were enabled to defend themselves, the independence granted them by the United Kingdom would be worthless. The acute shortage of labour, particularly for the mines, had been intensified by events outside South Africa. For many years there had been a standing agreement whereby Portugal supplied South Africa with contract labour amounting to 100,000 able-bodied men a year. Furthermore, South Africa had always depended on the surrounding Territories for labour: in 1962 Basutoland had supplied 150,000 labourers and Swaziland 8,500, while Bechuanaland usually supplied between 15,000 and 30,000 a year. In all 60 per cent of labour in the gold mines, which were the mainstay of the South African economy, came from countries outside South Africa.

139. With the revolt of the people of Mozambique and Angola and the threatened boycott by the liberated African States the labour problem had become acute. Since the mines and agriculture earned the foreign exchange currency needed by industry it was obvious that the crippling of the mines by the withholding of foreign labour would have disastrous effects on the country's whole economy. Verwoerd was aware of the power of the African States to paralyse South Africa's economy and was therefore forced to devise methods of producing the labour from the African population in his own country. Whereas the people who condemned the policy of apartheid failed to see the underlying causes, the international financiers were fully aware of them, and that explained the evasiveness and prevarication of the investor countries. Verwoerd's problem was in fact the problem of the British and American financial interests who owned most of the mining and industrial concerns in South Africa and controlled the policies in the Protectorates. Thus whatever the United Kingdom did, the South African economy would see that the Protectorates were drawn into the South African economy because he needed labour. He had also wished to comment on reference made during the afternoon meeting to the connexion between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa's military build-up.

140. The author of the book entitled Panzer Battles, a former member of Hitler's military staff who had been sent to South Africa in 1950 on a special mission, had revealed that 2,000 Nazi officers had been given asylum in South Africa after 1945 and that many of them were being used as military instructors. He had also reported evidence of close links between NATO and Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

141. It was impossible to discuss the situation of the people of the Protectorates without considering the policy of the South African Government. The letter he had quoted revealed the South African Government's cynicism regarding the proposed independence of the Protectorates and also brought into question the good faith of the British Government which had long been aware of South Africa's eagerness to engulf the Protectorates. His organization supported the granting of independence to the Protectorates but demanded that it should be made real by ensuring them the economic means to defend themselves against the predatory aims of South Africa. The inhabitants of Basutoland and Swaziland could not move without crossing South African or Portuguese territory, and even now the South African Government frequently refused permission to the leaders of those countries to cross its territory.

142. Under the Constitution imposed on Swaziland by the United Kingdom Tory Government, White South Africans resident there could become members of the Legislative Council. About 70 per cent of the White population were Afrikaners and members of Vervoerd's Nationalist Party. As South Africans pledged to the policy of Bantustan, it was their duty to work for legislation consistent with that policy and they were at present agitating for the expulsion of all the freedom fighters who had fled to Basutoland, on the grounds that they were foreigners and did not belong to any of the country's tribes. They were also violently opposed to the granting of asylum to opponents of the South African regime and that of their ally Portugal.

143. He had now explained why it was important for the Committee to consider the problem of decolonization in southern Africa in conjunction with the problems of the oppressed people in South Africa. The plight of the refugees was serious: they were deprived of their rights, their homes and their means of support and lived in constant fear of the South African and Portuguese police, who roamed

the streets of the Protectorates on the pretext of looking for criminals. Developments on the lines indicated in the letter he had quoted were a further cause for concern, since the expulsion of refugees was one of the subjects discussed in it. He doubted whether the refugees would be safeguarded by the international conventions to which the Powers concerned were partners.

144. He had refrained from dealing at length with any particular country, since the relevant information was either in the Committee's possession or could be obtained from the inhabitants or the representatives of the countries concerned. His object had been to emphasize the connexion between the Protectorates, South West Africa and South Africa, since the Committee, in dealing with individual colonies, was not in a position to view all the problems in their proper perspective. The main source of the difficulties of the Protectorates and South West Africa was South Africa itself and the question of South Africa could not be divorced from those of Central and West Africa. The economic link due to investments from a common source made it impossible to discuss the individual countries in isolation. Investors followed a unified policy to safeguard their interests; and any attempt at political solutions which did not take into account the economic ramifications and particular interests that were largely responsible for the situation was doomed to failure.

145. Mr. Mpetla (Basutoland Congress Party) said that his party's leader was detained at home by political developments. The people of Basutoland were engaged in a relentless struggle against the British colonial domination and exploitation and against Anglo-Boer machinations to incorporate the country into the settler Republic of South Africa.

146. In previous petitions, his party had made abundantly clear the vile nature of the recalcitrant colonial regime in Basutoland, where the British Government was depriving the people of their fundamental human rights, in violation of the United Nations Charter. The British claimed to be the skilled exponents of Western democracy and upholders of the Christian religion, but the truth was that they were hypocrites of the highest order, knowing no law but their own interest.

147. His party had been moved to request a hearing because of the rapid deterioration in its relations with the oppressive British Government which, in furtherance of its financial interests, was deeply engaged in underhand manoeuvres

designed to lead to the annexation of Basutoland by its ancient enemy, fascist South Africa.

148. He recounted the various steps - full information on which had been given in his party's earlier petition - that had led up to the holding in 1960 of the first elections in Basutoland, under the retrogressive Constitution of 1958. Of the 40 elected seats, his party had won 32, the Marema-tlou Party 5, and Independents 2, and the Basutoland National Party 1 only. Yet the last-named was the party that today had been brought to false victory.

149. Had it not been for British chicanery in foisting that bad Constitution on the people, incorporating all the retrogressive forces responsible for retarding progress, Basutoland would not be in the precarious position it was in today under the British Administering Authority. His party, with the full support of the broad masses of the people, had had a tough struggle to persuade the British Government to abrogate that Constitution and agree to elections based on universal adult suffrage. Constitutional talks had finally been held in London in April 1964 and a pre-independence constitution agreed upon, on the understanding that elections would be held before the end of 1964 and that independence would follow one year later. In the vain hope, however, of thwarting the Basutoland struggle for liberation, the British had maliciously delayed the elections until April 1965, with the object of establishing a puppet regime.

150. A number of incidents that had occurred after the London talks had clearly demonstrated the sinister motives of the British. A case in point had been the ambush of some members of his party on 18 October 1964, while on their way to a political rally at Rothe. The Chief at the instigation of the British colonial administration had set on his thugs. Three members of the party had been shot dead on the spot and one had died later in hospital. What was particularly noteworthy was the failure of the British colonial police on the spot to take any steps to maintain law and order; they had simply stood by and watched. Further evidence of government complicity was the fact that seven of the bullets used had been found to be identical with the ammunition used exclusively by the British administration. No action had been taken to bring the culprits to book until his party's London office had petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies. That was but one instance of the many British political intrigues designed to plunge the country into chaos and confusion and thus furnish a pretext for prolonging the British administration.

151. Before the 1964 elections, British chicanery in face of the earlier victory of the Pan-African forces, had been directed to bringing into power the present puppet regime, headed by a notorious traitor and "stooge" of Verwoerd's apartheid regime - Chief Leabua Jonathan, Leader of the Basutoland National Party. A regulation which provided for an absent voter's form (G.E.17) had been introduced and opened the way for corruption and the falsifying of polling results. The British administration, with the co-operation of South Africa and the white Roman Catholic priests, had persuaded voters to make false use of the form and had induced them to vote for members of the Basutoland National Party. His party had petitioned the Secretary of State for the Colonies to revoke the regulation in question; it had mentioned several examples of corruption in the use of the form and pointed out that clearly the plan was to force a false victory for the Basutoland National Party, in the same way as corrupt methods had succeeded in Transkei, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. As a result, the regulation had been revoked but even more subtle tactics had then been resorted to. Army planes and troops had been brought in from as far afield as Rhodesia, on the pretext that the planes would be used to convey ballot boxes from the polling stations to the central headquarters and that the troops would maintain peace and order.

152. His party, well aware of the effect of a similar move in Swaziland and Bechuanaland, had strongly protested against that attempt to scare and stop the people from going freely to the polls. But a deaf ear had been turned, so that it had become clear that the Government's real purpose was to provoke trouble in the country.

153. It had been learned from a reliable source, a few days before the elections, that 25,000 ballot envelopes in the hands of the Chief Electoral Officer had disappeared, but it had been claimed that the conduct of the elections would in no way be prejudiced as the envelopes did not bear the official stamp. Nevertheless, the same envelopes had turned up later in many constituencies, bearing the official stamp, and, in one case, the wife of the local chief had been caught red-handed issuing them to members of the Basutoland National Party. In another case, his party's candidate had been put in terror of his life by the local chief. Yet no action whatsoever had been taken to correct those abuses.

154. Then, too, information had been received that changes were being surreptitiously introduced into the Voters' Roll, to increase the number of supporters for the Basutoland National Party and cut out known supporters of his party. After citing specific examples, he claimed that the practice had extended to almost every constituency. Inquiry had elicited a bare denial. There could be no doubt that corruption in the elections had been encouraged and protected by the British administration; partiality had been shown in the appointment of presiding officers, more than 80 per cent of whom had been either members or supporters of the Basutoland National Party.

155. On South African interference in the elections, he cited the fact that, in flagrant violation of Basutoland's territorial integrity, South African registered cars had been seen distributing leaflets vilifying his party and lauding the puppet group. The leader of that group in a secret letter dated 18 November 1964, had thanked the South African Government for its support and had undertaken, if successful in the elections, to place Basutoland and its people in all ways under the wise guidance of the Republic of South Africa. The sinister conspiracy to falsify the elections and bring to power the puppet regime was in fulfilment of the old Anglo-Boer plan going back as far as 1909, to hand the country over to South Africa. For years, the colonial British had been telling the world that relations between South Africa and Basutoland were perfectly amicable. He would challenge the United Kingdom representative to explain that claim in face of the fact that Basutoland citizens returning from abroad were not allowed to pass through South Africa and that the Basotho working in that country were subjected to detention, deportation and every other kind of humiliating and evil treatment.

156. The struggle for political emancipation in Basutoland had to be seen in its true perspective. In the latest elections, it had not been just a question of his popular progressive party fighting against the Basutoland National Party, but of its fighting against the entire imperialist world guarding its financial interests in Southern Africa.

157. He appealed to the Committee to declare those elections null and void and to urge colonial Britain to call on the three political parties represented in the National Assembly to form a national government, for the purpose of preparing for immediate elections, free from corruption, and thus of bringing political stability

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to the country. Last but not least, he appealed to the Committee to urge Britain to stop the settler regime of South Africa from interfering in his country's internal affairs.

158. In response to questions, Mr. Mpeta gave details of the letter which he said was sent by Chief Leabua Jonathan, leader of the Basutoland National Party, to the Commissioner-General for South Sotho on 18 November 1964. It referred to a meeting with the Commissioner-General at which the latter had promised that the South African Government would return certain territories to Basutoland in the event of BNP winning the elections and confirmed that, in return, Basutoland would be handed over to the South African Government. The writer also mentioned difficulties with the BNP General Secretary over the conditions on which financial aid was to be given, and his own fears of losing the leadership of the Party - for which reason he was following the Commissioner-General's advice not to call an annual general conference. The writer also asked that pressure be put on the Chamber of Mines to secure the miners' vote, in exchange for the written guarantee he had given, and promised that if the Commissioner-General's plan worked and BNP won the elections, he would deal with the communists and refugees who impeded good relations with South Africa. The Commissioner-General's fears concerning the Catholic danger were unfounded: he would deal with the problem when he became head of the Government. Meanwhile, the Catholics were needed for winning the elections. The letter ended with a request for early payment of part of the R.15,000 promised by the South African Government, to meet election expenses, and a written guarantee to show his supporters.

159. Continuing, Mr. Mpeta said that in June 1962 the first petitioner to appear before the Special Committee on behalf of the Basutoland Congress Party had opposed a proposal by the British National Party that Basutoland should be placed under United Nations trusteeship, since it was feared that such a move would lead to trusteeship under South Africa.

160. The United Kingdom set out to create a good impression before the rest of the world, but ninety-seven years of domination had shown the British to be intriguers and hypocrites. They were responsible for engineering the elections, for the confusion that existed in Basutoland and for inciting the Verwoerd

Government to annex the territory. Their attitude was not surprising since the United Kingdom and the United States of America were investing over £1 million a year in South Africa.

161. Before anything could be done Basutoland must be given independence. The United Kingdom professed to be opposed to apartheid, but encouraged Basutoland's incorporation with South Africa, to rid herself of the burden of a poverty-stricken territory. The first essential was to declare the elections null and void and to hold new elections with universal suffrage to give Basutoland political stability.

162. Continuing, Mr. Mpeta wished to make it clear that there was a certain degree of interdependence between Basutoland and South Africa. The United Kingdom had deliberately turned Basutoland into a reserve of cheap labour for the South African mines and plantations in order to strengthen its economic position in South Africa. In South Africa at the present time, there were 150,000 Basutoland workers, without whom the South African economy could not survive. The United Kingdom had never attempted to make Basutoland economically viable. On the contrary, the country had been cruelly exploited. For example, in 1955 a group of Basutoland nationals had been refused mining rights in their own country. Rights had subsequently been granted to a South African, who had removed diamonds worth £1 million from Basutoland. The United Kingdom boasted about the aid it offered to Basutoland, but that aid was always supplied piecemeal and never fulfilled its purpose. Further, European civil servants had been placed in positions of power in order to prevent Basutoland nationals from running their own country. The purpose of that policy was obviously to frustrate trained Basutos so that they would leave the country.

163. In response to a question concerning the manifestos of the three main political parties, Mr. Mpeta said that the Basutoland National Party sought good relations with the South African apartheid regime; it promised to put Basutoland under Verwoerd's guidance if the Party won the elections; was opposed to diplomatic relations with socialist and communist countries, in particular the United Arab Republic and Ghana; and refused to co-operate with any other socialist countries. The Marema-tlou Party intended to perpetuate monarchist rule in Basutoland through the chiefs.

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164. Mr. Matooane (Basutoland Congress Party) said that the Basutoland Congress Party was striving for true independence and co-operation on an equal footing with the other countries of the world. The MFP was a party of limited vision which tried to persuade the people that without South Africa they would have nothing.

165. He also quoted an account of the three parties which appeared in the Financial Mail of 15 April 1965. The BCP was described as the first Party to establish itself, moulded in the classic African nationalist pattern of links with Accra and Cairo and basing its original appeal on anti-colonialism. Signs of United Kingdom anxiety to quit Basutoland had caused the Party to divert some of its fire to the chiefs and missionaries - notably the Catholics. The Party was by far the best organized of the three, having a strong youth league, and a year earlier had seemed certain to form the first Government. The MFP, more of a hybrid, was supported by eighteen of the twenty-two principal chiefs who would automatically have seats in the Senate and was believed to be favoured unofficially by the Paramount Chief. An important man behind the scenes was a black South African who was thought to adhere to the Moscow brand of communism; former members of the Communist Party now belonged to MFP. The manifesto suggested that the Party was trying to be all things to all men. It was now the weakest of the three major parties, owing to the murder of four BCP men in October 1964, for which a Chief and twenty others were awaiting trial.

166. The BNP was a conservative group with strong Catholic support. It advocated good relations with South Africa and received private finance from South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany. The leader was a popular figure and the Party had been gaining support. It hoped to appeal especially to women, now voting for the first time, who would be more interested in material matters than in ideology.

167. In response to a question regarding the need to safeguard the independence of the three Territories, Mr. Matooane said that he and his colleagues were very much aware of the danger, which was one of the reasons why they were appearing before the Committee. Basutoland was the poorest and most barren of the three Territories. The statement made in 1962 to the then Committee of Seventeen, that Basutoland's problems could be tackled only through independence, still held good since the whole economic system was designed to maintain the

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supply of cheap labour for the farms, mining and manufacturing industries in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. He would like to know what the Special Committee had done since that time. It was for the Committee to consider how Basutoland's independence could be guaranteed.

168. Mr. Ngcobo (Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa) said that the question of British colonialism in the three High Commission Territories was bound up with South Africa. The South Africa Act (Constitution) 1909 had provided for their incorporation in the Union, and the question had come up at every session of the South African Parliament. Since the South African Government adopted its Bantustan policies, however, the question of incorporation had assumed another form.

169. The Bantustan scheme, which was intended to establish a moral basis for apartheid, was an utter fraud. The root problem in South Africa was that 300 years earlier European invaders had taken the land by intrigue and force of arms. The Africans had been dispossessed, and until that fact of history was reversed the problem would remain unsolved.

170. An examination of the Bantustans in the Transkei would reveal their true nature. The Transkei Constitution provided for a "legislature" composed in such a manner as to ensure that government "stooges" enjoyed a perpetual majority. The Pan-Africanist Congress was against collaboration of any kind with the oppressor, and hoped that even the opposition in that mock parliament would soon realize that their presence there was an advantage to Verwoerd. The "parliament" had very limited jurisdiction, and none at all over the 17,000 whites living in the Transkei; all real power was reserved for the Pretoria authorities.

171. The introduction of the Bantustans had met with serious opposition from the whole people. The "elections" had been held in an atmosphere of terror and repression, and over 900 people had been gaoled in the Transkei alone. Despite such measures, and the proscription of PAC, opposition to the Bantustan policies would continue until all vestiges of foreign control had been expunged.

172. Those policies were now being extended to the so-called British Protectorates, and there was greater danger than ever before of their being incorporated into the Republic. The recent elections there had been won by people who professed admiration for Verwoerd's policies, and they owed their victory to the financial and material support they had received from the South African Government. The

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elections had been conducted by means of blackmail and threat, with the active connivance of the British authorities.

173. British asylum accorded to political refugees from South Africa had become a sham, and there was a particular vendetta against PAC. Leading members of PAC were facing trial in Basutoland on charges of conspiring, while in the Territory, to overthrow the South African Government by violent means. In that case, the prosecutor had been brought from South Africa. South African police were frequently seen in Basutoland seeking information about the activities of bona fide refugees. There had been many cases of discriminatory treatment meted out to African refugees by the Bechuanaland Government; some had actually been deported to South Africa. Most such cases had been reported to the United Kingdom Government, but things continued as before. It was to be wondered why that Government was represented on the Special Committee.

174. The United Kingdom and United States Governments were protecting Verwoerd, and had consistently flouted the United Nations resolutions on South Africa. The United States had declared an embargo on arms to that country, but side-stepped it by supplying men and materials for producing arms on the spot. Previous petitioners had stressed that rocket and missile bases were under construction in South and South West Africa with the help of United States, United Kingdom and German scientists, and poison gases were being developed in South Africa with the aid of Nazi scientists. British military academies still trained South Africa's military men. It had been said that the United Kingdom would continue to honour previous contracts, but for each contract so honoured, thousands of Africans were exposed to extermination. Men laid off after the abandonment of the TSR.2 project were now going to South Africa to work on the maintenance of military aircraft. It also appeared that some squadrons of the United States Air Force were being taught Afrikaans. He would like to know why.

175. The United States had immense sums of money invested in South Africa, and was doing everything possible to stimulate trade with the Republic. Recently, General Motors had inaugurated a \$30 million plant in South Africa, a type of investment which reduced that country's dependence on overseas source of industrial production and advanced it towards partial self-sufficiency. United States investors were also heavily involved in mining activities. Mining was South Africa's backbone, and the most reactionary industry as far as wages were concerned. For seventy years wages in the mines had remained static; hence the 27 per cent dividend paid to the American investors.

176. The submission of PAC was that South Africa was perpetrating the crime of genocide, as defined by the Geneva Convention on Genocide. Like the Nazis who had exterminated over 6 million Jews, the South African rulers regarded themselves as a master race chosen by providence to rule over other peoples. They even quoted the scriptures to justify their racist policies. As in Nazi Germany, thousands upon thousands of innocent people had been tortured and murdered by the authorities. Some cases had been brought before the courts; many more had not, because the perpetrators of the crimes were also those who dispensed justice. Political prisoners were treated with particular brutality. Moreover, South Africa was arming itself to the teeth. Thus, everything indicated that South Africa was actively conspiring to perpetrate the heinous crime of genocide. The South African Government must be brought to justice by the international community before it was too late.

177. Despite the resolute opposition of world public opinion, Verwoerd and his racist henchmen relentlessly pursued their chosen policies. Although ruled by a foreign minority, South Africa was accepted as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations. But the people of South Africa were not self-governing; they were suffering foreign oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation at the hands of a fascist minority. He therefore could not agree with the Special Committee that it was not competent to hear the nationalist leaders of South Africa.

178. It was clear that no amount of talk could induce Verwoerd to see reason. The South African people could not for ever be hewers of wood and drawers of water in the land of their forefathers. There was only one course left for them, and if there should be a blood bath, the least they asked of men of goodwill everywhere was sympathetic understanding. Yet peace and freedom were indivisible. The struggle of the South African people was the responsibility of all people everywhere, and it must be honourably discharged before it was too late.

179. Mr. Molete (Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa), said that most of the petitioners presented to the Committee had emphasized the importance of Verwoerd's apartheid policy and the Bantustan scheme he was trying to impose on the neighbouring territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. His example was being closely followed by Smith in Zimbabwe.

130. From the joint efforts of South Africa and the United Kingdom, during the recent elections in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, to bolster the moribund system of chieftainship and stir up anti-African nationalist feeling, it was clear that South Africa had not abandoned its long cherished plan to annex the three so-called British Territories. There had merely been a change of tactics. Events during the past two years had shown that in the Verwoerd-Salazar-Smith unholy alliance, the arch-enemy of African salvation and independence was Verwoerd. With his long experience in applying the doctrine of divide and rule, he considered himself the best qualified to take the lead in the political subjugation, economic exploitation and spiritual degradation of the indigenous Africans in the Territories. He was an expert psychologist and understood the "working of the native mind"; he supported the Herrenvolk doctrine.

131. The only effective way of tackling the problems of the dependent territories under Verwoerd-Salazar-Smith domination and particularly South West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland was to put a stop to the Verwoerd racist regime. The Committee could not, therefore, solve the problem of decolonization without hearing the representatives of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

132. In seeking to impose Bantustan in South West Africa and the other Territories, Verwoerd was bolstering up his own small empire and his dreams of South Africa as a colonial Power with the puppet states masquerading as independent South African States. The white industries being set up along the borders of the so-called Bantustan would not only exploit African slave labour, but would increase Afrikaner industrial and financial interests and help to maintain white supremacy and apartheid. Petitioners were bound to touch on the South African situation, if only to prove to the Committee that its work would be easier, if, in dealing with decolonization in Southern Africa, it gave some attention to the South African situation and the Verwoerd racist regime.

133. In response to questions, Mr. Ngcobo (Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa) said that the original plan for incorporating the three High Commission Territories into the then Union of South Africa was embodied in Section 151 of the South African Act (Constitution) 1909. In 1955 the Tomlinson Report had taken over the plan and proposed the annexation of the Territories as part of South Africa's so-called Bantu homelands. The Tomlinson Report was, in effect, the blueprint of the

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current Bantustan policies and the threat of economic subjugation to force the Territories into annexation. Verwoerd had used his puppets in the Swaziland and Basutoland elections. He had, for example, promised the Basutoland National Party (BNP) to hand over certain neighbouring territories if Basutoland were given to South Africa.

184. Unless the Territories could be given a guarantee, before independence, that they would have free transit facilities and would have their own radio, postal services and currency, South Africa would have powerful means of isolating them from the outside world. The situation was a real danger to the Territories. He urged that the Committee should submit recommendations to the General Assembly and the Security Council for safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

185. The United Kingdom's pious declarations during ninety-seven years in Basutoland and sixty years in Swaziland had never been fulfilled. The United Kingdom could have helped the Territories to a viable and economic self-sufficiency during the past decade but had failed to do so. The Government was hand in glove with South Africa, and under the pretence of neutrality had intervened against the liberty of South African fugitives; South African police were in league with the police in the Territories. The United Kingdom had given South Africans high administrative posts, such as district Commissioners and public prosecutors. No guarantees could be expected from the British, for they were not protectors but speculators.

186. Mr. Molete (Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa) said that during the elections in the three territories, the South African Press and radio had openly attacked the liberation parties - the three African nationalist organizations recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and opposed to the policy of annexation. The South African Government had issued a pamphlet listing the main parties supported by South Africa and circulated it in South West Africa in the four main languages.

187. Mr. Nquku (Swaziland Progressive Party), said that investigation of his Party's just complaints had already brought United Nations observers to Swaziland, and the Swazi people had greatly appreciated their counsel. The SPP had prepared a number of documents for the Committee's attention. The first

offered a critical review of Swaziland's constitutional development. In the second, it was demonstrated that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power responsible for Swaziland, had failed to comply with the United Nations Charter. The situation in Swaziland had improved little since SPP had submitted its previous petition in December 1962. The most notable change had been the adoption of a new Constitution, which made for still closer ties between the Swazi Government and the Government of South Africa. Yet there was no reason whatever why the administering Power should not grant Swaziland immediate independence. The third submission consisted of newspaper clippings to corroborate his testimony.

188. Recent developments called for a review of the entire political situation in Swaziland, and the presentation of certain demands on behalf of the Swazi people. The new Constitution was utterly unacceptable; the SPP accordingly demanded that a constitutional conference, to be attended by all genuinely interested parties, should be convened forthwith. The SPP had already protested against irregularities in the elections to the Legislative Council held in June 1964. It had challenged the Imbokodo Party (King's Party) and the United Swaziland Association (Settlers' Party) and taken their candidates to court. But the hearings had been repeatedly postponed while the United Kingdom Government secretly amended the electoral laws. It had then been suggested that, before criminal proceedings were instituted, petitions against the candidates concerned should be filed with the Swaziland High Court. The Court had then made a series of financial demands which the plaintiffs had finally been unable to meet; as a result, some of the petitioners had been dismissed. The SPP demanded that an inquiry be held, and that future elections be supervised by independent persons. The 1964 elections should be declared null and void.

189. Real power in Swaziland was still vested in the British Crown. The Legislative Council was a one-party Parliament composed entirely of die-hard tribalists, conservatives and reactionary settler representatives. Under such government, the Swazi people had no chance of becoming masters of their fate.

190. Another matter of grave concern was the United Kingdom Government's attempt to form separate urban governments under the control of district commissioners. If municipalities were to be formed, they should be based on a recognized model

and be governed by a democratically elected local government, as was the case throughout the world. By appointing district commissioners to fill what should be an elective office, the Administration was not only wasting public funds but helping to entrench European minority rule. The SPP condemned the institution of a qualified franchise in the urban municipalities as undemocratic, and called on the administering Power to withdraw it. Even Europeans were reluctant to take part in that form of urban government, and in some districts so few people had applied for registration on the voters' roll that elections could not be held.

191. The United Nations must induce the United Kingdom Government to grant Swaziland a truly democratic independence immediately, and to safeguard it against annexation by South Africa and encroachments by Portugal. He rejected the contention that the Swazi people were not ready to take over the administration of their own country, or that the threats from without made independence inadvisable. The Swazi people must have their independence, come what might.

192. The Africans of the Territory were victims of inhumane disabilities. The majority were illiterate, for discrimination in education, although theoretically illegal, was nevertheless practised. Excessive school fees denied education to many African children. There were no educational facilities at all for the children of African tenants on European farms, such children being condemned to spend their lives as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Furthermore, South Africa looked upon Swaziland as a British Bantustan with its "Bantu education", and in South Swaziland there was a daily exodus of European children crossing the border to attend schools in the Republic. Such things took place with the connivance of the administering Power. The SPP accordingly demanded free and compulsory education for all and the centralization of education under the Government of the country. The Swazi people appreciated the establishment of the new University of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, but it must be said that the University fell far short of the required standards.

194. Health facilities in Swaziland were woefully inadequate. In particular, free hospitalization had been withdrawn, which meant closing the hospital door to most Africans. Moreover, the same medical charges were levied on the whole population without regard to the poverty of the African majority. The SPP demanded the reinstatement of free hospitalization and the appointment of a commission of

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inquiry to investigate hospital facilities and, in particular, the treatment of Africans in Government hospitals.

195. The majority of the Swazis were socially backward, for the British had been reluctant to promote social progress in the sixty-odd years of their administration. Even now, little serious attention was devoted to the problem, and the aim seemed rather to be the separate development of the various communities, along apartheid lines. The administering Power should protect the emerging Swazi nation from socially corrupting influences such as the licensed casino at Ezulwini, which operated with government sanction - the more so as it was just across the border from South Africa, where such activities were forbidden.

196. Racial discrimination continued to be practised in all fields, despite legislation to the contrary. The African was treated as inferior to the European in the matter of personal status, remuneration and welfare services. Discrimination was practised openly in the Police Department, and the really shocking conditions to which Africans were subjected in Swazi gaols had recently been brought to light after some British soldiers had had personal experience of them. Discrimination was still practised in hotels and clubs, and the Portuguese were allowed to set up exclusively Portuguese clubs. Furthermore, there were two parallel judicial systems - the European courts and the native courts - and there were still laws maintained specifically for Africans. The SPP demanded the abolition of discriminated courts, and the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation.

197. Refugees in Swaziland lived in constant fear of the white South Africans and Portuguese who were present in the Territory. The administering Power should provide safeguards for such refugees, and the United Nations, too, should assist them in their plight. Repeated protests had been made against the presence of British troops in Swaziland, and SPP insisted on their immediate withdrawal.

198. The land question in Swaziland was a most serious political problem. African tenants on European farms lived in conditions of slavery, and mass evictions were continuing unchecked. The SPP demanded that a commission of inquiry be appointed to investigate the situation.

199. As in the past, SPP looked to the United Nations to curb South African interference in Swaziland's domestic affairs, to protect the Territory from

economic integration with South Africa, and to prevent the introduction of South African laws. South Africa was interfering with the political parties in Swaziland, even going so far as to refuse their leaders permission to pass through the Territory of the Republic. He himself had been obliged to travel to Dar es Salaam by air, via Johannesburg, and would have to return the same way. He appealed to the United Nations to intervene.

200. The oppressed peoples of Africa had rejoiced at the Labour Party's electoral victory in the United Kingdom. The SPP believed that the Labour Government would honour its election promises to emancipate the African peoples as quickly as possible. The United Kingdom faced a difficult situation in Swaziland, but it must be prepared to take a tough line with the die-hard tribalists and reactionary Europeans.

201. It was imperative that the United Nations act at once to protect Swaziland's economic resources from the designs of the South African Government. It should exert all possible influence with the United Kingdom Government to prevent the economic strangulation of the three High Commission Territories by South Africa, and to protect their right to do business with whomever they wished. The United Nations should also take note of SPP's opposition to all agreements undertaken by the administering Power on behalf of Swaziland without Swazi approval. The SPP also protested against the fact that only the north of Swaziland was being developed, while the southern areas remained untouched.

202. British influence in Swaziland was giving way to South African influence. At the last elections, the Swaziland Independent Front, a pro-British Party, had been roundly defeated by a pro-South African Party, the United Swaziland Association. Moreover, South African influence had finally won the support of tribal leaders for the complete expulsion of the British from Swaziland. It was not surprising, therefore, that the tribal leaders, as well as the settlers, were strongly opposed to the development of trade unionism.

203. In response to questions, Mr. Nquku confirmed that the Constitution had been rejected by the entire Swazi people. There had been such concerted opposition to it at the Constitutional Conference in London that the United Kingdom Government had had to submit a modified version to the Swazi people. It had still been unacceptable, however, and it was only as a last resort that the King had agreed to it.

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204. The United Kingdom Government had begun to return Crown lands to the Swazi people to a limited extent. Apart from those areas, however, no other land had been distributed. In Swaziland the land was divided into four categories: Swazi areas, land purchased by Swazis, land on freehold lease to Swazis and European farms. At the present time half the available land was in African hands, and half belonged to Europeans. It was therefore obvious that the minority settlers' group had more than their fair share, thus leading to overcrowding among the Swazis. Yet the Europeans owned large tracts of unused land. He therefore wished to request the Committee to call upon the United Nations to set up a court of inquiry into the land situation in Swaziland.

205. Referring to the electoral system, Mr. Nguku said that in theory the elections in Swaziland had been based on the "one man one vote" principle, but in practice such was not the case. For instance, unmarried women were not allowed to vote, regardless of their professional status.

206. With regard to the number of candidates, he pointed out that there had in fact been two general elections, one on an exclusively European roll and the second on a national roll. In the Territory's four constituencies, three candidates had to be elected on the national roll. Of the three candidates, one had to be European. Consequently the Africans had no choice but to vote for a European whom they did not want.

207. Refugees from South Africa and Mozambique lived in terror of their lives in Swaziland because of the presence of Portuguese and South African nationals. Kidnapping of refugees had taken place in Swaziland, and it was impossible to prevent them since South Africans and Portuguese were freely allowed to enter and leave the country. To the best of his knowledge, refugees in Swaziland received no material assistance, and he wished to appeal to the United Nations on their behalf.

B. Other statements

208. At the 339th meeting, the Chairman informed the Special Committee of the receipt of a communication from the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) requesting that the Co-ordinating Committee of the OAU for the Liberation of Africa be represented as an observer at the

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Special Committee's meetings in Africa. At the same meeting, the Special Committee decided without objection to grant this request.

209. The representative of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Organization of African Unity for the Liberation of Africa, speaking at the invitation of the Chairman, said that in connexion with the question of guarantees for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland on attainment of their independence, he wished to draw the Committee's attention to a resolution passed by the OAU Council of Ministers at its third ordinary session. He requested that the text of the resolution be distributed to the Committee for guidance.

210. The OAU was not concerned with political squabbles within the three High Commission Territories. Its chief concern was with their position in regard to South Africa after they had gained their independence. All three Territories relied on South Africa for much of their economic activity. There was a possibility that after independence, more radical Governments than those now in power might be returned. In such an eventuality, the South African Government might be tempted to annex or encroach upon the territorial integrity of the three Territories or to encourage subversion. Even now, Basutoland was at the mercy of South Africa for the right to overfly South African territory. The OAU therefore urged the United Nations to prepare an international convention guaranteeing the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of those Territories and the right to free passage without molestation or restraint.

C. General statements by members

211. The representative of Yugoslavia recalled that the United Kingdom Government had stated the previous year that it was prepared to grant independence to Basutoland one year after the elections. The United Kingdom Government was also under an obligation to take steps to ensure and guarantee that independence. He considered that those steps should include measures to improve the economic situation of Basutoland, as well as Bechuanaland and Swaziland, and the removal of Afrikaners and white settlers from key positions in the Territories before their accession to independence. Those new economic and administrative measures were indispensable if the independence and sovereignty of Basutoland and also of Bechuanaland and Swaziland were not to be jeopardized. He associated himself with the recommendations made by the representative of the Organization of African Unity and by the Conference of non-aligned countries with regard to their points of view on the question of

guarantees and he assured the petitioners that the Yugoslav delegation to the United Nations would support any step the United Nations might undertake with the view of deciding upon measures providing effective guarantees for those three Territories.

212. The representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland said that a number of detailed complaints had been made about the conduct of the recent elections in Basutoland. It should be pointed out that there was a readily available procedure for the hearing and investigation of complaints by the High Court of Basutoland. The courts were entirely impartial and not subject to influence either by the United Kingdom or the Basutoland Governments. Contrary to what the petitioners had said, he had been informed that no petitions had been submitted - unless during the last few days - alleging irregularities in the conduct of the elections. If complaints had been made, they were now sub judice. In any case, the Committee was not competent in either legal or practical terms to judge complaints of that kind or to ascertain the facts.

213. The petitioners' real complaint seemed to be that they had lost the elections, not that the elections had been improperly conducted. The United Kingdom Government had not rigged the elections in Basutoland. Nor had the Basutoland administration, which enjoyed a reputation for fairness in local political matters that was widely recognized in the Committee. Neither the United Kingdom nor the Basutoland administration had any interest in supporting one party against another. He had no comment to make on the allegation that the party which opposed the petitioners had received outside support, nor for that matter on the possible sources of funds and support for the petitioners' own party.

214. With regard to the statement that the election manifesto of BNP had promised to put Basutoland under Mr. Verwoerd's guidance, he would point out that the manifesto had in fact stated that BNP stood for full Basutoland sovereignty and would not allow any interference in internal affairs, and that it rejected the incorporation of Basutoland in South Africa. In addition, it condemned South Africa's policy of racial discrimination, but in view of Basutoland's geographical and economic situation thought it would be in the interests of the people to co-operate with South Africa on matters of mutual concern. Finally, the manifesto had advocated that Basutoland should join CAU.

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215. The petitioner had stated that Basutoland's economic problems would be solved only when independence had been granted and British exploitation had ceased. In fact there was no British exploitation of the Basutoland economy. On the contrary, that economy was heavily dependent on British financial assistance, which consisted almost entirely of straight, free grants. As indicated in the Secretariat working paper nearly half the Basutoland budget was financed by the United Kingdom. In addition, the United Kingdom Government was contributing £1,823,000 to the Basutoland three-year development plan. To describe a financial relationship of that kind as exploitation seemed to be at the very least misleading.

216. The petitioner had also spoken of his party's demands and struggle for independence from the United Kingdom colonial yoke. The fact was that the United Kingdom Government had promised independence whenever the Basutoland Parliament wanted it at any time after March 1966. The petitioners would be better occupied in working out practical policies for the many problems which Basutoland would inevitably face as an independent country than in complaining to the United Nations about the conduct of elections which they had lost or in calling for independence when it was theirs for the asking.

217. With regard to the points raised during the hearing, particularly by the representative of Yugoslavia, his delegation would have something to say when the time came to discuss all three Territories.

218. The representative of the Soviet Union had addressed the Committee on the subject of democratic principles and the conduct of free elections. If such a lecture had been necessary - which it was not - the United Kingdom delegation would have preferred it to come from someone more qualified to speak on such matters. Election meant choice. In the Basutoland elections the people had been offered a choice between candidates from several parties with different policies.

219. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics said he had listened carefully to both sides of the argument. The Committee had been given a substantiated account of the rigging of the elections held in Basutoland under United Kingdom supervision. In his reply, with the exception of an insulting attack on the Soviet Union, the representative of the United Kingdom had produced no argument other than the statement that the Committee was not competent to

inquire into the conduct of the Basutoland elections. He had claimed that the Basutoland Government, which had been set up by the United Kingdom, was more competent to judge complaints about the misconduct of elections than a United Nations Committee which included several distinguished jurists as well as representatives from all continents and all political and electoral systems. If the facts were made available, the Committee was perfectly competent to assess them. Yet the representative of the United Kingdom had not put forward a single concrete fact to refute the allegations of the petitioners. That being so, the Committee had no choice but to accept the veracity of the petitioners' statements. 220. The representative of the United Kingdom had also declared that his Government had no interest in supporting one party against another. He had then gone on to defend the policy of a particular party, whose policy was the integration of Basutoland in South Africa. The leader of that party was the present Prime Minister of Basutoland and he was acceptable to the South African regime. By defending the party that desired integration with South Africa, the United Kingdom representative had shown where his country's real interests lay. He had said that the United Kingdom provided substantial assistance to Basutoland. The Soviet Union delegation reserved its right to comment on the figures mentioned after closer study of them. It had been stated that half the Basutoland budget was financed by British taxpayers, but no mention had been made of the profits gained by United Kingdom investors from the exploitation of Basutoland.

221. The representative of the United Kingdom in a further statement said that he would deal with the points which had been raised by the petitioners from the Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The most important question was to establish the policy of the United Kingdom Government for the three Territories and to see how that policy was being carried out. It would be recalled that the Swaziland Constitutional Conference in 1963 had failed to agree on various important matters; the details had been set out in the earlier documents of the Committee. After the fullest consultation, the British Government had decided to introduce new constitutional arrangements which took account to the greatest possible extent of the views expressed at the conference and went as far as possible to meet them all. The new Constitution had come into effect at the

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beginning of 1964 and elections had been held under the Constitution in June. The composition of the legislature and the franchise system were fully described in the Secretariat working paper. The election results themselves were set out in paragraph 157 of that document. In August 1964 representatives of one of the political parties had made representations to the United Kingdom Government in which they had complained about certain features of the Constitution and of the elections. Those had been considered at the time and discussed with the Swaziland representatives by United Kingdom Ministers who had pointed out that the election legislation provided machinery for the investigation of complaints about the elections. In fact, a number of complaints had been submitted under that machinery. The Ministers had also replied to the representations made about the Constitution that there was no reason in their view to depart from the decision announced in the Swaziland White Paper that the Constitution should not be further reviewed until 1966.

222. The revisions to the Bechuanaland Constitution which had come into effect on 29 January 1965 had again been the outcome of a long and thorough process of consultation, discussion and conference, which had begun in 1963 and ended with the announcement in June 1964 of the United Kingdom Government's acceptance of the proposals unanimously agreed by all concerned in Bechuanaland. Under the new Constitution Bechuanaland had internal self-government with a full ministerial system. Elections had been held on 1 March 1965 on the basis of universal adult suffrage, and the results had been a victory for the Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP) with twenty-eight of the thirty-one seats, the Bechuanaland People's Party winning the remaining three. Eighty-one per cent of all qualified voters had been registered and 80 per cent of those had actually voted - a very high proportion. The leader of BDP, Mr. Seretse Khama, had been appointed Bechuanaland's first Prime Minister. Under the Bechuanaland electoral regulations, there was a procedure for investigation by the Courts of complaints about alleged irregularities in the conduct of the elections. No such complaints had been submitted. Only one prosecution had been initiated in connexion with the elections and that had been against BDP for using a public address system on election day.