

I believe you will be interested in this letter.

A/Reg/14/1

for file

28.4.67

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY  
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
Ames, Iowa 50010

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

February 17, 1967

Information Service of South Africa  
655 Madison Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

Sirs:

I wrote you earlier in the week thanking you for "South West Africa" by Thomas Molnar. I had a paucity of facts on this country, in the library development of which I am much interested, and I felt that Professor Molnar had the desire for justice of a crusader. I had not quite finished the book when I wrote, and I was going to give it to our university library and speak of it favorably to others.

I have no doubt that Professor Molnar tells some truths. But toward the end of the book (p.145) I found a statement about American Indians so totally false that now I have no trust in his statements at all. I have studied the case of American Indians for fifteen years, an extremely complex and difficult case, in part because the "Indian problem" at one period is not at all what it is at another period. Professor Molnar states:

(Indians) were both numerically weak and unusable, unbreakable, undomesticable in farm and factory. Consequently we destroyed them, often in ways that might make the South Africans shudder. Those who escaped destruction we have confined in reserves, where many of them live in justified hatred of the white man, and have degenerated to the lowest possible level of indignity; they are used now as tourist attractions in Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico.

In the first place, American Indians were not confined to reserves, though they have reserves where their living is optional, in several states. Beginning about 12 years ago the Government started an active policy of what is known as "termination", that is, encouraging Indians to vote to leave their reserves and join the general population, and agreeing to pay them the value of the lands which they were giving up. Nothing in Indian history has brought forth such cries of resentment as this termination policy, from Indians themselves. "Termination is ex-termination" has been a frequent cry. They want to stay in what they now regard as their homelands. When termination has taken place, as it has in some cases, the Indian vote for it was strongly influenced by the votes of Indians still enrolled as tribal members but who live off the reservations; and these naturally wanted the money they would get by "termination". About six years ago the Government started an intensive investigation into what the Indians want, and as a result the termination policy was set aside, though it is still available when a large group want it. But the government continues of trying to settle individual Indians and their families in cities where they are subsidized until they become self-supporting. The government reports this policy is about 70% successful, but "success"



is a difficult thing to define.

In the meantime the Indian population is increasing, and now all reputable scholars regard it as much larger than when the white man came. I have never found any special hatred of the white man among Indians. I have found resentment at particular white men's policies, and much apathy and discouragement, for they want both to keep their ancient culture and the same time have the superficial appurtenances of modern white "civilization": dress, cars, TV sets, especially.

In response to demands from Indians the Government is now starting industries on reserves so they may have year-round employment near their homes. One of my friends close to the top in the Bureau of Indian Affairs tells me, however, that he does not know of a single case in which these industries run for and by Indians are economically successful; and this one would expect from location theory in economics. Yet it may be worth trying, for we do not know how to handle the major problems of cultural change, and economic losses may be inevitable.

One of the biggest problems is how Indians disagree among themselves: not on the termination policy which is generally reprobated by reservation Indians, but on who shall hold office and what shall be done in education, housing improvement, health and subsidies in general. One of my best friends among Indians, formerly Executive Secretary of the National Council of Younger Indians, tells me that in his opinion we have tried to do too much for Indians without knowing what the results would be. "We need help, but our helpers need it more."

Indians have not "degenerated to the lowest possible level of indignity" and if they are "used as tourist attractions" as Professor Molnar states, it is because they use themselves that way. The Government certainly does not use them. To present Indian dances is, of course, an easy way of making money (in more states than the three Professor Molnar mentions), and Indian handicraft shops are common in the mountain states.

The fact is, we do not know the answer to the so-called Indian problem as it exists today. We try one thing and then another, and encourage Indians to express themselves on what they want. *Often they do not know their values, nor would we, in so confused a cultural situation.*  
It is reputedly estimated that about one third of Indians in the United States now live off reservations, *many now unrecognizable by race.*

I am not presenting an answer to what we should do about Indians. I do not know. What I am saying is that this statement about Indians in his own country by Professor Molnar destroys my faith in what he says about minority groups in another country. I regret this bitterly, for I know it is easy to distort facts about Africans, especially in the tensions of South Africa, and I had hoped that I had found something I could believe.

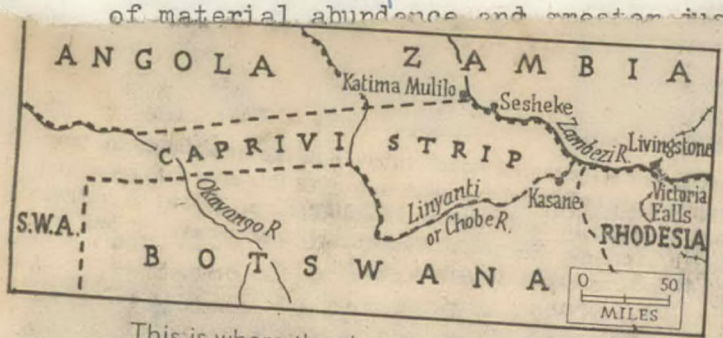
Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth E. Hoyt  
Professor of Economics



Mission From EAST AFRICA ended in death  
 King of a terrorist organisation confirms it.

*Alleged 14/11*



This is where the shooting took place

**SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION**

**LUSAKA.**  
**SOUTH WEST AFRICAN People's Organisation**  
 (Swapo) officials in Lusaka yesterday confirmed that the African nationalist killed in the Zambesi shooting incident on Thursday was a member of

**their organisation.**

A spokesman said the man had gone from East Africa on "a mission," but had not travelled through Lusaka.

"The organisation might make an official comment later," he added.

A Zambian police spokesman said yesterday that an initial report had been received on the Zambesi River shooting involving African nationalists and the South African police.

He said the police officer commanding the Barotse Province was now making an on-the-spot investigation in the Katimo Mulilo area.

When fuller reports of the incident were available they would be studied by the Zambian Government.

**Intercepted**

The refugee leader of the Swapo terrorists, Tobias Haijale, alias Tobias Hainjeko, was shot dead on Thursday and a White warrant officer and an African constable of the South African Police were wounded when a police boat intercepted a boat carrying about 30 Africans on the Zambesi near Katimo Mulilo in the Caprivi Zipfel on Thursday, the Deputy Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, said yesterday in Cape Town.

The police patrol boat was under the command of Warrant Officer Grobler, who was wounded. His lung was penetrated by a bullet but his condition is satisfactory.

The African constable, Tjaka, who was also wounded, underwent an emergency operation and is in a serious condition.

The Deputy Minister said it had been established that the boat with 30 Africans aboard was an ordinary passenger and cargo boat belonging to the Zambesi River Transport, which operates between Katimo Mulilo and Livingstone.

**Fled**

"The first bullet hit Warrant Officer Grobler and subsequent shots hit Constable Tjaka in the left arm and at the back of his head. Two further shots aimed at Constable Jacobs missed however." Although wounded Warrant Officer Grobler shot the attacker fatally wounding him. "The rest of the Bantu fled and disappeared in the bush on the banks of the river."

The pistol used by the terrorist was of .30 calibre of Czechoslovak make, said Mr. Muller.

The wounded police were taken by ambulance aircraft from Katimo Mulilo to Pretoria on Thursday night where they were admitted to the Military Hospital.

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must we give produced, the as well as

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er that nations will over-emphasize against communism and fail to see the and economic institutions as an its challenge. These nations can of the present world conflict if ly with the legitimate aspirations ccessfully and creatively with their self-critical.

e churches to point to the dangers on the one hand the temptation to and the danger of a self-righteous and social systems of the West; on cept the false promises of communism responsible society.

*Rand Daily Mail 20/5/67*  
 and non-communist countries are called to y concern and prayer across all barriers. affirm our unity with these churches ne bond of the Spirit, and our confidence joice with them in the Christian witness nstances and seek to understand and their temptations and in their Christian emptations are relevant also to our we are presented with a number of ques- n communist as well as in non- communist Christians must wrestle with the following pecial way in communist lands.

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*Subversive Activities*

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NATS and U.P. bid for joint attitude to UN on S.W.A.

...NEW YORK... LONDON... WASHINGTON...

Cape Argus  
20/4/67

The Argus Political Correspondent

THE Government and the Opposition are trying to arrive at a bipartisan approach to foreign policy in anticipation of the General Assembly meeting of the United Nations tomorrow to discuss the report of the 14-member *ad hoc* Committee on South West Africa.

This is the main significance of the debate on foreign affairs which began in the Assembly last night and continued this afternoon.

The debate was moved forward by agreement between the parties to take place before the United Nations discussion and the speech by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Dr. H. Muller) last night must be seen as directed primarily at the world body rather than towards the local parliament and the people of South Africa.

POINT OF CONTACT

In trying to reach a bipartisan approach to the South West African issue and to the closely linked question of South African participation in United Nations activities, Government and Opposition are, at the same time, trying to provide the foundation for a continuing dialogue with the United States and the other Western nations.

The aim is to find a point of contact, to strengthen America's hand in avoiding escalating pressures over South West Africa and to keep the door open for debate.

Mr. Japie Basson (U.P., Bezuidenhout), chairman of the Opposition's foreign affairs committee and a former M.P. for South West Africa, summed up the lines along which a bipartisan approach is being sought in seven points of Government policy which he said had emerged from Dr. Muller's speech.

(1) The Government regards South West Africa as a territory with a separate international character;

(2) There is nothing in Government policy in any way envisaging incorporation of the territory in South Africa or interference with its international character;

(3) The territory consists of peoples with diverse interests and aspirations;

(4) Apart from material development, the Government will create machinery for self-expression for each group;

NOT RIGID

(5) The policy of separate development must not be seen as a rigid dogma but purely as a matter of method and nothing more, and this method was open for further dialogue;

(6) There was no predetermined pattern for the peoples as a whole — each group would be given the opportunity to speak for itself about the kind of citizenship it desired and its relationship with the other groups with the ultimate aim of political emancipation for all;

(7) The Government had nothing to hide and would provide proper information about its actions and intentions.

When the Assembly adjourned last night he was saying that greater emphasis should be recognised but not stressed to the point of ignoring the large areas of communal interest. He continued this argument this afternoon.

The Minister is expected to respond this afternoon to the points set out by Mr. Basson.

Meanwhile, there has been substantial agreement on Dr. Muller's statement about the misuse of United Nations funds for activities aimed against a contributing member nation.

M.P.s stressed in conversation today that the Minister's statement could in no way be construed as a hint that South Africa was considering reducing its participation in the United Nations, but rather the reverse.

The Minister's statement was endorsed by Mr. Basson who said further comment would be reserved until the Minister made clear what steps he had in mind.

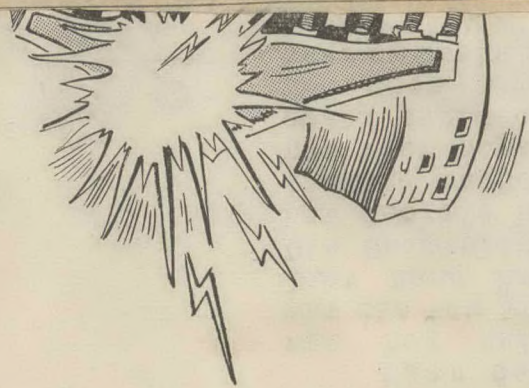
South Africa is the largest contributor in Africa to United Nations funds, carrying, on the present basis of assessment, 0.52 per cent of the total budget. The next largest contributor in Africa is the United Arab Republic with 0.23 per cent.

Most countries in Africa contribute the minimum 'floor levels' of 0.04 per cent. This includes Abyssinia and Liberia, the complainants in the International Court case against South Africa over South West Africa.

M.P.s said today that South Africa, as the most highly industrialised country in Africa, had no objection to the justice of the assessment. But there was reason to object to funds needed for technical development being spent on the buttressing of ideological interests at the instance of the very countries which most needed assistance and could least afford contributions.

A/REC/14/1

"Waarvoor? Be-  
lastings natuurlik.  
Wie anders moet be-  
taal vir die voor-  
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onder ons adminis-  
trasiesalontvang?"  
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kop gekrap en toe  
gepra: "Meneer, kan  
ek maar in dollar



Africa w/ SWA 1967.



SOUTH WEST AFRICA  
A VITAL CLASH  
TODAY

DAILY DISPATCH  
B/5/67

A/Reg/14/1

Africa w (South Africa)

# A vital clash today

DD 13/5



Mr. D. P. De Villiers

BY GORDON VAN DER MERWE

SPECIAL significance is attached to the symposium on the South West Africa case in Los Angeles today because it will afford the first confrontation between the leader of the South African legal team in the case, Mr. D. P. de Villiers, and the representative of Ethiopia and Liberia, Mr. Ernest A. Gross, who has made frequent critical comments on the judgment since it was delivered last July.

Mr. Gross has made his allegations before United Nations members, in public utterances, before two American Government bodies, in a number of radio and television programmes, and in articles in influential foreign affairs and legal journals.

He has repeatedly denied that the applicants altered their plea during the case and accepted South Africa's factual evidence on conditions in South West Africa.

He has also stated that the judgment was purely technical and did not affect the matter at issue, namely, South Africa's administration of the territory, and that it therefore remains for the United Nations to take political action against South Africa.

Mr. Gross set out his views in an article in the "Foreign Affairs Journal" last October,

and in "The International Lawyer" in January this year.

In its April issue, "The International Lawyer" publishes a reply by Mr. De Villiers and the South African legal team, but so far no reply has been published by the "Foreign Affairs Journal."

Today Mr. Gross will for the first time be confronted directly by Mr. De Villiers and it will therefore be the first opportunity for his allegations to be directly challenged.

The South African article in "the International Lawyer." After remarking that "at times Mr. Gross's article in the January issue smacks on an attempt at personal justification," says:

"It is with some surprise that we read Mr. Gross's repeated charge in the article that South Africa has been guilty of a 'confusion between fact and conclusion'. Indeed, in the light of the history of the proceedings such a charge would be ludicrous."

In his article Mr. Gross said that the "charge" had never been that South Africa's violation of the "Welfare Clause" of the mandate consisted in the purpose of its officials who might be in office from time to time, "but in the objectively determined consequences of its undisputed racial policy and practices" and that, in any

event the "oppressive" or "injurious" effect of a policy of official racial discrimination "is an inference or conclusion to be drawn from the facts, rather than averment of the fact."

The South African reply to this article traces the course of proceedings at the World Court and quotes the facts of the case to show that Mr. Gross did indeed accept South Africa's factual evidence.

The article asks why the applicants did not take up the challenge to refute the facts, why they did not pursue their allegations of oppressive intent and harmful consequences, so vigorously stated in their initial pleadings, and why they resisted an inspection in loco by the court when their representatives were always clamouring for United Nations inspection of the territory.

"It is hardly credible that Mr. Gross thought he could obtain a finding of fact from the court that South African policies were oppressive in intent or effect, or both, he would not have pressed these issues, even if it did add another year to the case.

"The only possible inference is that Mr. Gross realised that he did not have the evidence to convince the court, and consequently rather confined himself to the purely legal case based on the norm or standards."

## Fact

The article also refers to the fact that Mr. Gross even declined to accept South Africa's offer to pay the witness fees of petitioners at the United Nations if Mr. Gross wished to call them to give evidence so as to allow the South African legal team the privilege of cross-examining them.

An example of Mr. Gross' comments on the judgment in America over the past months is his description, in a television interview two days afterwards, of the judgment as "an abortion of the judicial process." He said: "The Court is a weaker institution today, which is lamentable, and I think there is a big hole in the rule of law as a result."

Mr. Gross will have an opportunity of setting out his views on this aspect today, under the scrutiny of Mr. De Villiers and other legal experts of international standing.

The subject of the symposium, which is being arranged by the University of California and the American Society of International Law, is "The South West Africa case and its effect on international law."

On July 21 last year, Mr. Gross told the African group at the United Nations that the case had been for him "A rather arduous and fatiguing five or six years of effort and thought" and that the court decision had frustrated his efforts "to do justice to this historic and challenging opportunity."

He added: "We all know that the litigation has served as a barrier to political action. The barrier of the litigation has now been swept away — in fact it has been mined — by the court's abdication of responsibility."

On August 8 Mr. Gross appeared before the O'Hara Sub-committee, which was appointed to investigate American — South African relations, and was asked whether the applicants had any judicial recourse in view of the judgment.

He said: "What is conten-

plated is a full, fair and vigorous recourse to the political process prior to any serious consideration of judicial steps which might or might not be available."

In a statement before the sub-committee on Africa of the American Committee on Foreign Affairs the same day, Mr. Gross said of the judgment that "No party won and the court, as an institution, lost most of all."

"Favourable decision in the South West Africa case would have provided a basis for the exercise by the U.N. Security Council on what may fairly be described as an executive power comparable to that in our own system in terms of the judicial-executive relationship."

He repeated a statement which he had made more than once before, namely that "there remains what may be called the firmly established 'jurisprudence of the mandate' which in no way has been reversed or modified by the court's latest judgment."

"What then remains to be done? When the judicial rubble is cleared away, what avenue is open to the goal which all loyal members of the U.N. must seek to achieve in the name of justice and humanity?"

"The refusal of the court to adjudge the merits of apartheid does not mitigate its cancerous and noxious qualities."

In referring to the "jurisprudence of the mandate," Mr. Gross claimed that the mandate was still in full force and legal effect, that South Africa may not modify it without U.N. consent, that South Africa is fully accountable to the U.N. for the proper performance of the mandate obligations and must accept U.N. supervision, submit reports and transmit petitions from inhabitants, and that the U.N. may grant oral hearings to petitioners. He also said the general assembly was the organ of the United Nations vested with supervisory authority over the mandate.

"The abdication of the court of its judicial function now confronts the political body — and all its members — with their clear and present duties," he said.



Cape Times  
14/4/67

Parliament told of  
Terrorist Attack on  
S.W.A. POLICE

A/REG/14/1

Africa w/ SWA (B). unr.

~~Switzerland~~

Cape Times 14/4/67

# PARLIAMENT TALK OF TERRORIST ATTACK ON S.W.A. POLICE

Cape Times Parliamentary Correspondent

**A GROUP of trained terrorists armed with Russian semi-automatic rifles last month infiltrated the Western Caprivi Strip on their way to South West Africa and tried to ambush a police patrol, the Deputy Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, said in the Assembly yesterday.**

The terrorists opened fire on the police and in the resulting skirmish two semi-automatic rifles had been recovered. Since then "very nearly the whole group" had been arrested.

Speaking in committee of supply on the police vote, the Deputy Minister gave a review of terrorist activities and aims in South West Africa, and police actions to combat them.

The Deputy Minister said: The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was founded in 1957 by a group of Ovambo labourers in Cape Town on advice of well-known communists. Originally the name of this organization was "Ovamboland People's Organization (OPO)". The name was changed during the period in which Kerina Getzen testified before UNO in New York. This step was taken to leave the impression that he represents the whole of South West Africa. The leader of this

organization in Cape Town was Herman Ja-Toivo. Herman Ja-Toivo, who was recently arrested in Ovamboland for terrorist activities, confessed in a statement obtained from him that, in addition to Professor Simons and Brian Bunting, he also made acquaintance with well-known South African communists such as Dennis Goldberg, Ben Turok, Fred Carneson, George Peake and others.

### SERVING TERMS

These last-mentioned persons are all self-confessed communists, and have or are serving terms of imprisonment for participating in communist activities in the Republic of South Africa. Most of the executive members of SWAPO were actually trained and inspired by these mentioned communists and all of them have in fact accepted the principles of communist ideology.

During 1961 a prominent member and present president of SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, fled SWA after instigating a riot in Windhoek. He was subsequently followed by other prominent leaders of SWAPO. In December, 1962, a meeting of self-exiled SWAPO leaders was held in Dar-es-Salaam.

### TAKEOVER AIM

Here it was decided that Ovambo tribesmen, all of whom had to be under the age of 30 years, were to be sent from SWA to Dar-es-Salaam to receive training in guerilla warfare, terrorism and sabotage, with the sole object of undermining and eventually taking over the administration of SWA by means of the methods and active assistance, financially and otherwise, of Russia, Red China and other communist countries such as Ghana, Algeria, Egypt, North Korea, Tanzania and Cuba.

Furthermore it was decided that such recruits would be told that they could obtain scholarships in Britain and the USA and that apart from the offered scholarships a salary would be paid to them during their course of training. Instructions were then sent to remaining SWAPO leaders in SWA to recruit men for this purpose.

### LOW STANDARD

All these recruits were brought under the impression and believed that they were in fact leaving SWA to further their academic studies. It is significant that SWAPO concentrated on recruits of very low educational standard. Only a handful of Ovambos who could possibly qualify for advanced academic studies were amongst these recruits.

An estimated 900 trainee terrorists left SWA illegally under the auspices of the promised scholarships, and only approximately 20 actually held qualifications justifying admission for advanced study.

These trainee terrorists left SWA in small groups varying from two to five persons. They were instructed to report at the SWAPO foreign office, established for this purpose, in Francistown. Here they were accommodated for periods up to six months before being dis-

patched in groups of 10 to 30 for Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

On arrival at Dar-es-Salaam these so-called prospective academic students were rudely informed by their leaders that the actual reason for their being sent to Dar-es-Salaam was to receive military training and not for the purpose of furthering their educational qualifications. Most of these so-called students severely objected to this deliberate deception by their leaders.

They were threatened with arrest if they should leave the camp, and a number of them were in fact so arrested and detained until they had cooled down. A large number wished to return to South West Africa immediately, but owing to lack of financial means and valid travelling documents were compelled to stay and obey orders.

### NO DOCUMENTS

It must be pointed out here that these trainee terrorists were permitted to travel through the African countries en route to Tanzania without documents as long as they travelled under the auspices and membership of the so-called freedom organizations such as SWAPO, PAC, ANC, and the banned Communist Party of South Africa. In Dar-es-Salaam all such trainee terrorists as well as trained terrorists were, and still are, accommodated in Kongwa Camp, maintained by SWAPO.

From Dar-es-Salaam trainees were dispatched in groups varying from 10 to 30 in number to Russia, Red China, Egypt, Ghana, Algeria and North Korea.

During September, 1965, the first group of six SWAPO terrorists returned and infiltrated into Ovamboland, South West Africa. They were armed with Russian-manufactured sub-machine-guns, Russian-manufactured automatic pistols and thousands of rounds of



Mr. S. L. Muller

ammunition for these firearms.

The terrorists established an underground hideout in an isolated dense forest in Ovamboland, South West Africa. Here, with assistance of local SWAPO politicians, they recruited and trained local Ovambos in terrorism and guerilla warfare.

On August 28 last year this terrorist camp was discovered and attacked by the South African Police to arrest terrorists. In the ensuing skirmish two terrorists were killed, one wounded and seven arrested. A few terrorists managed to escape.

Since then we have arrested a number of locally-trained terrorists, most of them having completed initial training prior to the police raid on the camp, and having returned to their abodes awaiting instructions from their leaders.

With the further arrest of members of the original group trained in Russia, five sub-machine-guns and three automatic pistols were recovered by the police.

### TEN ARRESTED

Ten local SWAPO politicians accused of having actively assisted and of conspiring with the terrorists to commit acts of terrorism among the Ovambo people and White Government officials have so far been arrested. Among these politicians is one of the founders of SWAPO. He confessed being a communist and admits accepting the communist ideology, and became a communist as a result of association with and the training he received at the hands of aforementioned White communists in Cape Town. He further confesses that SWAPO is completely under communist domination and that it is SWAPO's intention to form a communist-based government system once SWAPO will have

succeeded in taking over the control of South West Africa.

He is very outspoken in his criticism of the American war effort in Vietnam to stem the communist tide.

### ACTS LISTED

The aforementioned group has thus far been responsible for the following acts of terrorism:

(a) During February, 1966, they attacked two Portuguese trading stores in Angola near the Angolan-SWA border. They murdered the Portuguese and the Ovambo shopowners and robbed approximately R600 in cash money and an assortment of other articles. This loot was subsequently used to equip the terrorist camp mentioned previously.

(b) During September, 1966, they attacked the Bantu administration offices and residences at Oshikango, burning down three buildings and one Government vehicle and seriously wounding an Ovambo night watchman.

(c) During November, 1966, they attacked, assaulted and robbed two Ovambo headmen of their legally-possessed firearms, fortunately without loss of life to the headmen.

(d) During December, 1966, they attacked the tribal offices of a senior Ovambo headman, murdering by shooting one of his tribal messengers and seriously wounding a further two tribal messengers.

### FARM ATTACKED

During December, 1966, a group consisting of seven overseas trained terrorists infiltrated into the northern parts of South West Africa near Marocolaboom, Grootfontein. They attacked the farmhouse of Mr. Breedt, a White farmer, and seriously wounded him. The farmer's wife and small children were present during the attack, but fortunately escaped injury.

This group was armed with Russian-manufactured sub-machine-guns and Russian automatic pistols. After being persistently pursued by the police for a couple of days through dense forest land five of the gang of terrorists were captured, and one sub-machine-gun and one automatic pistol with approximately 800 rounds of ammunition were recovered.

During March, 1967, a group of trained terrorists infiltrated the Western Caprivi en route to South West Africa armed with Russian semi-automatic rifles. They endeavoured to ambush a police patrol. The terrorists opened fire on the police. As a result of the skirmish which resulted, two semi-automatic rifles were recovered, and since then very nearly the whole group has been arrested.



**Collection Number: AD1715**

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974**

**PUBLISHER:**

*Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation*

*Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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