

Apartheid: An Overview of its Origins, Application, and the Struggle against its Policies (1948-1969)

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Abstract

The independence of the African countries after World War II announced the end of the colonial era either through armed revolts or political negotiations. South Africa was the only exception to this rule because of the unique form of colonisation that existed known as 'domestic colonisation.' The latter helped in the concentration of the country's wealth and governance in the hands of a minority of whites that established a racist and rigid system of government over the other ethnic groups. South Africa moved gradually to the establishment of a totalitarian state that applied racial discrimination through a system of government known worldwide as Apartheid. Opposition to Apartheid started in South African where non-white activists and even some whites played an important role in incriminating the Regime within the international community .

Résumé

L'indépendance des pays Africains du joug du colonialisme a suivis deux schémas différents. Pour certain pays les révoltes armées étaient le seul moyen pour se débarrasser de la présence européen, mais pour d'autres l'indépendance a était acquise a travers les négociations. L'Afrique du Sud était Le seul pays en Afrique qui présenta une exception à cette règle. La nature du colonialisme qui en existait, souvent connu comme 'colonialisme domestique,' a permis aux Afrikaners de concentrer le pouvoir et les richesses du pays dans leurs mains, ce qui a rendus la tâche des autochtones très difficile sinon impossible de ce débarrasser de cette minorité Européenne. La discrimination raciale appliqué par les Afrikaners était arrivé a son apogée par l'application de L'Apartheid en 1948, et provoqua une intense opposition au régime à l'échelle nationale ce qui a permis à la communauté internationales de découvrir les horreurs du régime .

Keywords: Apartheid, South Africa, domestic colonization, Afrikaners, Bantus, Asians, racial discrimination, political struggle, United Nations, economic sanctions.

Introduction

The early contact between the Europeans and the Sub-Saharan Africans was based on trade. Pushed by a strong sense of mercantilism, the European traders established commercial relations with their African counterparts on the grounds of mutual respect and profit. However, the presence of the Europeans in South Africa was primarily for settlement and not for commercial interests. Therefore, land was a cause of disagreement between the newcomers, mainly the Dutch who set foot in the country in 1652,¹ and the natives namely the Khoi and the San who were herdsmen and hunters, respectively. In the end, the balance of power tilted in favour of the Dutch, or the Boers,² in the wars that they waged to take the land from the autochthons. Thus, separation and segregation between the ethnic groups had been de facto accepted from the beginning, but was de jure instituted when Apartheid was applied in 1948 onwards.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the Apartheid System under four main themes. The first and the second themes respectively expose the origins of Apartheid and its doctrinal bases, and its laws of discrimination and segregation in South Africa. While the third theme debates the opposition to Apartheid in South Africa, the fourth sheds light on the struggle against it in the United Nations through political reactions and economic sanctions from 1948 to 1969.

I. Origins of Apartheid and Its Doctrinal Bases.

The Dutch settlers regarded the natives as inferior race that had no natural rights against them as predicated by their religious convictions and beliefs. They were strongly influenced by John Calvin's 3 teachings that were at the basis of the doctrines of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches. These teachings spread among the French Huguenots, the Protestants of Netherlands and Scotland, and the Puritans of England. One of the main themes in their religious faith is 'predestination,' which means that man's destiny was determined by God. The concept is illustrated by Jesus' saying: "You have not chosen me; it is I who have chosen you." (John. 15:16). The Dutch who moved to South Africa believed firmly in the idea that they were

chosen by God to accomplish a mission in this part of the world. They regarded their settlement as a providential manifestation .

Presumably, the belief of being chosen by God meant for the Dutch settlers that the other races were destined to be under their domination. The preachers of these views found their justifications in the Old Testament where scriptural evidences put emphasis on the fact that human beings were created different and, consequently, put in different scales i.e. masters and servants. In 1889, the Dutch Reformed Church (D.R.C.) accepted separation as a principle but refused to apply it in its internal functioning. This acceptance gave the white South African rulers the moral support to conduct their policies of segregation that crystallized into the Apartheid system of government from 1948 onwards .

Historically, the system of segregation in South Africa started when the Union of South Africa was proclaimed on May 31, 1910. At that time, two main political parties emerged namely the South African Party (SAP) and the Unionist Party (UP). While the former got 66 seats in the Assembly and won the elections of 1910 under the leadership of General Luis Botha (1910-1924), the latter led by Leander Starr Jameson got 38 seats and formed the opposition. The first government was composed of 10 ministers, 4 English and 6 Afrikaners. Among the Afrikaners there was J.B.M. Hertzog who was put in charge of the Native Affairs .

The South African Party's policy was based on two main points. The first point was the reconciliation between all whites (Dutch and English), and the second was the loyal cooperation with Great Britain. In 1911, the Minister of Native Affairs, Hertzog, proposed a Bill that tended to restrict the areas of the Bantou reserves and to prohibit property transactions between the whites and non-whites, which Parliament defeated in December 1912. Therefore, PM Botha dismissed Hertzog because of his anti-British opinions and openly expressed racism. This dismissal provoked a schism in the South African Party. A group of members of the SAP broke away and founded a new party called the Nationalist Party (NP).

The Nationalist Party won the elections of 1924 with 63 seats out of 135 and Hertzog became PM. The South African Party got 54 seats. The priorities of the PM Hertzog were to withdraw from Dominion status and entrench white supremacy in the country. In the elections of May 1933, Hertzog was obliged to rejoin Smuts to form a coalition because of the social disturbances

engendered by the world economic crisis of 1929. The merger of the NP and the SAP in December 1934 gave birth to the United Party on the grounds of a compromise. In return of accepting Smut's ideas related to the status of South Africa within the Commonwealth, Hertzog was given free hand on the questions related to all racial legislation. 5 However, a minority of extremists within the N.P did not accept this fusion and considered it as an act of treason from the part of Hertzog to the ideals of the NP. In the same year, they broke away and founded the (Purified) Nationalist Party under the leadership of Dr. D.F. Malan. 6

The unity of the NP and the SAP did not last long. In the beginning of the Second World War the United Party split up because of political divergence between Hertzog and Smuts. 7 While the former wanted neutrality the latter wanted to back Great Britain in the War against the Nazis. At last, the Union of South Africa entered the War beside the Allies. The schism in the United Party gave way to the Purified Nationalist Party or the Nats 8 to take the political lead in the country and eventually the application of the Apartheid system in 1948.

II.Apartheid Laws of Discrimination and Segregation in South Africa

Apartheid, which is probably the only Afrikaans word known to most people in the world, simply means separateness of different ethnic groups as regards all life matters in South Africa. This concept was produced by a group of intellectuals at the University of Stellenbosch, 9 who founded an organisation known as the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) as a reaction to the Liberal Race Relations Institute (LRRI) of Johannesburg. The LRRI's members considered that there should be no racial discrimination in the law and in administration .

It is worth mentioning that founding-members of the SABRA became Prime ministers of South Africa such as Dr. Malan (1948-1954), and Dr. Verwoerd (1958-1966). Pr. Eiselen, who was Permanent Secretary to the Native Affairs Department, defined the meaning of Apartheid as follows:

"By separation, I mean this separating of heterogeneous groups from the population of this country into separate socio-economic units, inhabiting separate parts of the country, each enjoying in its own area full citizen rights,

the greatest of which is the opportunity of developing such capabilities as its individual members may possess to their optimum capacity.” 10

Theoretically, this implies that Apartheid did not advocate segregation but separation of different ethnic groups 11 in distinctive areas where each had full rights. The socio-economic and political development of each community depended on the endeavour and capacities of its people. Therefore, Apartheid was not a simple continuation of the previous policies of segregation applied in South Africa but a radical and a coherent doctrine, which gradually evolved from 1948 onwards .

Apartheid was considered as the complete and suitable solution to the racial problem in the country. It was the keyword for the 1948 electoral campaign of the Purified Nationalist Party that won 70 seats out of 153 under the leadership of Malan who became Prime Minister from 1948 to 1954. Once in power, the NP started dealing with the question of the relations between the whites and non-whites and the establishment of the ‘Afrikanerdom’. On taking office, PM Malan declared:

”Today, South Africa belongs to us (Afrikaners) once more. For the first time since Union, South Africa is our own. May God grant that it will always remain our own.” 12

Henceforward, a rigid and rigorous policy of segregation was applied between the whites and non-whites by the succeeding Apartheid governments. After Malan came Strijdom (1954-1959) with his theory of Baaskapor ‘white masterdom,’ and then Prime Minister Verwoerd (1959-1966) applied the concept of ‘separate development’ or ‘vertical Apartheid’. These modifications in the official terminology reveal the gradual consolidation of the doctrine in order to entrench the white domination over the other races in South Africa .

Racial legislation touched every aspect of life. The South African Parliament enacted laws in the period between 1948 and 1969 that defined clearly the framework of the Apartheid policy. The process of separation between the whites and non-whites followed a very determined scheme that touched four main domains: physical, racial, geographic, and economic. The first step was to prohibit inter-racial marriages by enacting the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949. Then, a year later in 1950, the second step was taken to ban sexual intercourse between the Europeans and the other ethnic groups by enacting the Immorality Amendment Act.

After 'physical contact' had been prohibited mainly between the whites and the non-whites, the South African Parliament took the third step by separating the population into distinct ethnic groups through the enactment of the Population Registration Act of 1950. The population was categorised into three main ethnic groups according: Whites, Coloureds (people of mixed races and the Asians) and the Bantus. Complexion was the principal criterion that placed an individual in a certain ethnic group .

Once the population in South Africa was classified into distinct ethnic groups, the government issued the Groups Areas Act of 1950, which was considered as the cornerstone of the Apartheid system since it allocated dwelling areas exclusively for each ethnic group. On that basis, the Bantu Authorities Act was enacted in 1951 to establish ethnic governments on the reserves known as 'Homelands'. Henceforward, the African was obliged to carry his 'Reference Book' when moving from Bantu areas to those of the whites. In fact, he was moving from one state to another mainly to look for a job.

In the economic field, the government's main concern was to safeguard the privileges of the white workers and protect them from any competition from the part of the non-white workers. To reach this objective, the policy of 'Job Reservation' was applied in all domains: factories, building sites, administration...etc. The Mines and Works Act of 1956 excluded the Africans from other jobs than labouring in the mines. The South African Parliament passed the Factories, Machinery and Building Act of 1960 to prevent contact between white and non-white workers that no longer met in places like: canteens, rest rooms, dressing rooms...etc.

Through the application of these laws, the Apartheid regime entrenched the supremacy of the whites and tightened its grip on the population in South Africa. These laws aroused the anger of the oppressed ethnic groups in South Africa, and created tensions to which the national and international community did not remain indifferent.

III.Opponents to Apartheid in South Africa.

Reactions opposing the policies of segregation in South Africa were initiated mainly by intellectuals, politicians, and churchmen, among others, from different ethnic groups. It should be understood that not all the whites approved, to a certain extent, the application of Apartheid. It was thought that total Apartheid was unworkable because it deprived the white population

form cheap and abundant black labour force. However, the Nationalist Party, through its succeeding Prime Ministers, managed to make separation and exploitation practicable and profitable .

Opposition to Apartheid came from the official institutions. The spearhead of this opposition was the United Party that rejected the policies of Apartheid but insisted on the maintaining the supremacy and leadership of the whites. The Party advocated gradual economic integration of non-white ethnic groups and refused their participation in any social or political manifestations. The other political parties were not of big threat to the Nationalist Party, but stressed on the recognition of the human rights of the non-whites. In this regard, the Liberal Party was founded in 1953 to work for a multiracial society where the rights and freedoms of all people should be respected without distinction of colour or race. The doctrines of the Liberal Party were greatly influenced and inspired by the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, neither the Europeans nor the other ethnic groups supported it. 13

Protesting against the non-liberal policies of the United Party, a group of members broke away and founded the Progressive Party in 1959. The Progressive Party also advocated the respect of human rights and the safeguard of the dignity of the human beings. It opposed the policies of the Nationalist Party and demanded constitutional reforms to meet its objectives . Non-white opposition to the policies of segregation in South Africa had begun before the establishment of the Union of South Africa. It started with the Natal Indian Congress, whose origin can be dated back to the first struggle of the Indian originated population, around 1894, to be recognised as an integral part in the South African society. Mahatma Ghandi played an important role in shaping the Party's policies and techniques of resistance known as 'Passive Resistance' and 'Civil disobedience.' After the departure of Ghandi from South Africa in 1920, a new political organisation was created known as the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). The Party turned to be increasingly militant from 1946 onwards .

One of the most prominent opponents of Apartheid was the Africa National Congress (ANC) that was founded in 1912. At the beginning, the Party's policy was rather reformist and conciliatory before the application of Apartheid. After 1948, its policy became increasingly involved in militant activities. In 1959, the ANC undertook actions to destabilise the economy of

South Africa through strikes like the 'Stay-at-home' strike, which was launched on May 1, 1950. Two years later, the Party protested against the racial legislation through the 'Defiance Campaign', which was aimed to put an end to segregation in the country.

However, Robert Sobukwe broke away from the ANC in 1959 and founded the Pan-African Congress (PAC), which demanded concrete actions against the regime and repudiated the idea of alliances or cooperation either with the white moderates or the other non-white parties. The first confrontation between the two parties occurred when the ANC announced a manifestation on March 31, 1960 against the 'Pass Laws' 14 that the PAC started eight days earlier. The situation worsened when the police of Sharpeville fired on unarmed demonstrators killing 67 and wounding nearly 200 people. 15 Four days after the Sharpeville events, the ANC and the PAC were disbanded. It became clear that engaging into fratricidal struggle had adverse effects on the movement against Apartheid.

The non-white opposition reached agreement and cohesion in 1955 when the People's Congress was founded by the main non-white political parties, trade unions, and even white liberals. They met at the conference of Cliptown in Transvaal, and adopted the 'Freedom Charter' as a platform for their common opposition to Apartheid. However, the opposition to apartheid in South Africa was not totally efficient to the point to oblige the government to abandon the Apartheid policies. This opposition had the effect of drawing the attention of the international community on the situation of the non-whites in the country mainly within the United Nations.

IV. The Struggle against Apartheid in the United Nations (1948-1969).

The international community showed a general agreement opposing South Africa's Apartheid policy. The latter was described as 'abhorrent' by Britain, as 'toxic' by U.S.A, as 'shameful' by U.S.S.R, as 'hateful' by India, as 'cancer' by Algeria, as 'fundamentally immoral' by Japan. 16 Although there was overwhelming condemnation of the Apartheid system, there was no general agreement upon the means to be used to induce South Africa to change its policy.

As mentioned earlier, the first country to oppose South Africa's Apartheid system in the United Nations was India that lodged a complaint to

be treated by the first U.N General Assembly (GA) in 1946. 17 India complained against the enactment of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 by the South African Government. The latter violated the treaties 19 had been signed by both countries concerning the treatment of the Indian originated population in South Africa. This Act limited the right of the Asians to buy or occupy a property without the consent of the Ministry of the Interior, which was considered by India as discriminatory and a flagrant infringement upon Article 13. 1. b.20 of the UN Charter that South Africa's P.M Smuts participated in its elaboration and signed. In defending his country, Smuts denied any violation of the rights of the Asians in South Africa, and invoked Article 2 paragraph 7 21 of the U.N charter, arguing that the matter was essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of South Africa.

The GA of October 26, 1946 decided to include in its agenda the Indian complaint entitled 'Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa.' The complaint was voted through 32 votes in favour and 15 against, and voted down South Africa's request to withdraw India's complaint by a vote of 36 to none. 22 However, the GA of 1947 was unable to adopt any resolution on the Indian complaint for lack of a two-thirds majority.

India requested the re-consideration of its complaint against South Africa for the second time in 1948 because of the application of Apartheid. India considered Apartheid as a serious threat to the solidarity and peace between world nations. As a response, the GA of 1949 adopted Resolution 265 (III) 23 in which it invited India, South Africa and Pakistan to enter discussion at a round-table conference. Preliminary discussions began in Cape Town in 1950 to explore the possible means and ways to settle the question. However, the Nationalist Party applied the Group Areas Act of 1950 and India decided not to participate in the round-table conferences as a protest.

India succeeded in passing Resolution 395 (V) 24 in December 2, 1950, in which Apartheid was described as a policy based on doctrines of racial discrimination. The GA of October 1952 included Apartheid in its agenda based on a joint request of 13 Afro-Asiatic countries. 25 This initiative was intended to draw attention on the situation of the non-whites in South Africa. Their request was based on Article 1 Paragraph 3, Article 55 paragraph C and Article 56, the principles of which were infringed by the application of Apartheid laws.

In this regard, the GA of December 5, 1952 adopted Resolution 616 (VII)26 to establish a three-membered committee to consider the racial situation in South Africa. The committee was composed of Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, Ralph Bunche of the USA, and Jaime Torres Bodet of Mexico. In March 1953, Bunche and Torres were replaced by Henri Laugier of France and Dantes of Haiti. The last committee found it difficult to conduct its investigations since the South African government refused entry to its members. The committee managed to present its report based on legislative texts, newspaper articles, and recent books, but far from eye witnessing the harsh conditions of the non-whites in South Africa.

The difficulty found by India to incriminate Apartheid in the United Nations, obliged it to find other battle grounds. It started to gather as many countries as possible to stand against South Africa. In this instance, the Bandoeng conference held on April 18, 1955 was the starting point of an Afro-Asiatic offensive against Apartheid, in which twenty African and Asian countries attended the conference. Two South Africans were invited to participate in the conference as observers namely Moses Kotane and the Indian originated I.A. Cashala, who had the opportunity to expose the situation of racial discrimination in South Africa to the participants. Therefore, the conference adopted a resolution, among others, in which South Africa was openly named and condemned.

Henceforward, South Africa became a soft target of criticism. It was in the Pan-African conference of Accra (Ghana) in 1958 that a resolution was adopted in which member-states decided to break off diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa. Add to that, in the Afro-Asiatic conference of Conakry (Guinea) on April 1960, underground organisations of the Basutoland and South West Africa were invited to attend the conference as expression of solidarity.

As the United Nations continued to interfere in the South African domestic affairs, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Eric Louw menaced the General Assembly of November 27, 1956 that South Africa would maintain only token representation at the UN meetings. It is to be noted that the Resolutions adopted between 1957 and 1959 expressed only deep regret and concern that South Africa did not respond positively to the appeals of the international community. This attitude of moral disapproval helped greatly

the South African Government to carry on its policies without being seriously worried.

It was the events of Sharpeville that changed the way the United Nations and the whole international community treated the question of Apartheid in South Africa. Four days after the massacre, the representatives of 29 Afro-Asian member-states of the U.N requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council (SC) to consider the 'Sharpeville Events.' On April 1, 1960, the SC adopted Resolution 134 on the question, 27 in which it deplored the policies and actions of the South African government that was responsible for the loss of so many lives, and called the government to abandon Apartheid policies with a vote 9 in favour and 2 abstentions of the United Kingdom and France. The events of Sharpeville put the question of racial discrimination in South Africa under a different perspective. In the conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, South Africa was openly reproached. The new position of the member-states as regards Apartheid policies had been one of the principle reasons that pushed PM Verwoerd (1958-1966) to announce the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth and to proclaim the birth of the Republic of South Africa on May 31, 1961. Presumably, the change in the official position of the United Kingdom towards the question of Apartheid was at the basis of this proclamation. In the previous UN resolutions, the UK adopted a position of non-interference in the domestic affairs of South Africa, but on April 1961, it voted for Resolution 1598 (XV), 28 which condemned Apartheid as 'reprehensible and repugnant to human dignity.' This resolution was voted by 96 to 1 with zero abstentions. Only Portugal voted against. 29

The position of the Commonwealth gave impetus to the struggle against Apartheid. The General Assembly of November 1962, requested member-states to take separate or joint specific measures to induce South Africa to abandon Apartheid included breaking off diplomatic, trade and transport relations. A Special Committee 30 was appointed to follow the developments of the situation in South Africa and report to the GA and the SC. By October 1963, 27 GA resolutions and 2 SC resolutions were passed to condemn Apartheid, which announced the end of 17 years of verbal condemnation and the beginning of the adoption of concrete and concerted measures against South Africa.

However, the South African Government continued the repression of its opponents. In June 1963, the police arrested underground activists at Rivonia,

a suburb of Johannesburg, mainly from the African National Congress and other tendencies including: Nelson Mandela, Mbeki, Sisulu, Goldberg, Katharada, Mhlaba, Mlangeni and Motsoaledi, who were sentenced for life imprisonment. As a reaction against what was known as the 'Rivonia Trial,' the GA of October 11, 1963 adopted Resolution 1881 (XVIII) 31 in which the South African Government was requested to abandon the trial and to stop repression of Apartheid opponents. The vote was unanimous 106 to 1. Only South Africa voted against.

The relations between South Africa and most countries started to deteriorate. In November 12, 1963, the President of the General Assembly AbdelazizBouteflika 32 suspended South Africa from participating in the remainder of Assembly sessions for that year. It did not take long to the South African Government to react since in the following day, it called back its UN Ambassador freezing its \$1 million annual contribution to the Organisation. However, this did not discourage the opponents of Apartheid and stop their attacks on the regime.

The African bloc helped by Asian and Arab states, succeeded in isolating the South African regime by denying it full representation in the various specialised UN institutions and agencies. Tactics of humiliating and irritating the regime were well conducted since South Africa withdrew voluntarily from the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1963 and 1964, respectively. Nevertheless, those tactics failed to exclude South Africa from organisations like the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) because of its important production of Uranium.

Accordingly, the actions undertaken by the OAU became a serious threat to the South African commerce and transport, and from 1963, Pretoria had practically no relations with the African states. The unified front that the African countries formed within the U.N pushed the Security Council to stand against the Apartheid regime. The General Assembly of October 26, 1966 proclaimed March 21 as the international day for the elimination of racial discrimination in Resolution 2142, A (XXI), 33 and in December 2, 1968, it requested all states and organisations to suspend cultural, educational, sporting, or other activities with the racist regime and organisations that apply or help applying Apartheid in South Africa .

World-wide political and diplomatic campaigns against South Africa's discriminatory policies proved to be relatively efficient. The political and diplomatic actions mainly conducted by the Third World Countries contributed enormously to the isolation of the Apartheid regime. It should be noted that the developed countries did not get involved efficiently in the struggle against Apartheid since the Security Council hadn't passed enough resolutions to right the wrongs done in South Africa. This attitude was not only caused by the peculiar nature of the "Domestic Colonisation" in South Africa, but by the fact that the racist regime had the industrial and economic wealth and the natural resources of the country at its disposal. 34 It was these natural resources that the developed countries had an eye on and desired strongly. Therefore, a strong blow in the economy of South Africa would only happen if the developed countries were urged to impose economic sanctions on the Apartheid regime.

After the Second World War, most investments of international firms in Africa were primarily in the fields of extraction, the shipping out of raw materials, and partial processing. 35 While the relatively limited range of investments was more profitable to the foreign companies, it had little impact on the overall growth of the African countries. The largest foreign investments were oriented and solicited in those countries where political stability was provided to ensure commercial undertakings. On these bases, South Africa was one of the most favourable countries to invest in, which helped greatly in the development of its economy. 36

The discovery of diamonds and gold in 1867 and in 1886, respectively, marked the starting point for a strong South African economy that gradually moved the country from being agricultural to an industrialised one. 37 In addition to diamonds and gold, the country was rich of other important minerals like Uranium, Chrome, Vanadium, and Manganese...etc, that attracted foreign investments and the interest of the industrialised countries. It had 80% 38 of the world's known reserves of Chrome and Manganese and dominated the international market of Vanadium, Antimony, and gold during the 1960s.

The trade of energy resources between South Africa and developed countries strengthened the position of the Apartheid regime politically and economically. In return of supplying the U.S.A with Uranium from 1953 onwards, South Africa developed its nuclear research programmes. The

development of a nuclear mining and processing industry in the country was for the USA a strategic policy because of the post-war nuclear arms race with the USSR. Deputy Under-Secretary of State of President Carter's Administration, Joseph Nye Jr. stated that:

"South Africa became an important supplier of Uranium to the U.S.A beginning in 1953. These shipments continued until early 1960's... We entered agreement for nuclear cooperation with South Africa on July 8, 1957... The initial type of cooperation was in the area of research, but eventual cooperation in nuclear power was envisioned from the beginning."

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As stated earlier, only sanctions of economic nature were susceptible to affect the Apartheid regime. Although the economic sanctions against South Africa had been adopted easily from 1962 onwards, they didn't find their way to effective application. 40 This was due to the fact that the Security Council passed recommendations and not decisions against South Africa. The first concrete economic sanctions was adopted on August 7, 1963, when the Security Council passed Resolution 181 41 calling upon all states to cease the sale of arms, ammunition and military vehicles to South Africa. Two months later, 43 states announced that they placed the trade in arms and ammunition with South Africa under embargo. However, the USA, the U.K, and France specified that the embargo should be on repressive arms not on the defensive ones, and that the already signed treaties with the South African government had to be honoured. In addition, Japan and R.F. of Germany announced that the embargo on trade as a whole was not accepted. It was advocated that such embargo would not only be harmful and prejudicial for these countries but also to the black majority that needed help as well.

It was clear that the question whether to invest or not in Solackuth Africa was rather for ethical principles. The industrialised countries, whose economic systems were based on expanding commercial relations, were prepared to deal with the devil as long as mutual benefits were the outcome. 42 It was argued that these investments should not be stopped but encouraged because the process of industrialisation would benefit the South African economy as a whole, and thereby, helping the non-whites to surpass their miserable conditions. Presumably, this view was advocated only by the multinational firms and countries that had economic interests in South Africa .

Although Apartheid was openly condemned, it was found that the most belligerent opponents of the system maintained profitable economic relations with it. It was estimated that some 41 African countries 43 established commercial exchanges directly with South Africa or through third parties. The economic sanctions against South Africa during the 1960's were ineffective because the country's economy was very strong. In the period between 1948 and 1969, South Africa witnessed a steady economic growth,⁴⁰ which helped the regime to develop as an integral part in the Western global economic system, and eventually, to be in shelter of any coercive measures against it interests.

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Notes

- 1 In 1652 the Dutch East India Company charged Jan van Riebeeck with establishing a shipping station on the Cape of Good Hope. Immigration was encouraged for many years, and in 1707 the European population of Cape Colony stood at 1,779 individuals. For the most part, modern Afrikaners have descended from this group. "South Africa." Encyclopaedia Britannica, The Ultimate Reference Suite. Chicago: CD-ROM. 2008 .
- 2The word Boer is a Dutch word meaning 'husbandman' or 'farmer.' The Boers were of Dutch, German, or Huguenot descent, especially one of the early settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Ibid., 'The Boers'.
- 3John Calvin (1509-1564) was a French Protestant theologian that revolted against the Roman Catholic Church. He called for a simpler form of Christianity. "John Calvin." Ibid.
- 4Charles Cadoux (1966). L'Afrique du Sud. Paris: Librairie de Droit et de Jurisprudence. P.106.
- 5Malan was the Minister of Home Affairs in Hertzog's first Cabinet of 1924.
- 6At that time Hertzog was the PM and Smuts his vice-PM.

- 7After the split in the coalition government formed by the N.P. and the S.A.P., the Purified Nationalist Party was known as the Nationalist Party or the Nats.
- 8Colin Legum (1967). *Africa, a Handbook to the Continent*. New York: Praeger. P. 335.
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- 10There were four recognised ethnic groups: The Whites, the Coloureds, the Asians, and the Blacks or Bantus.
- 11Quoted by Colin Legum. op. cit., p. 334.
- 12Charles Cadoux. op. cit., p. 274.
- 13The African workers were obliged to carry a pass valid for a limited period to work in the whites' areas.
- 14Gwendolen M. Carter. "The Republic of South Africa." In: *Africa*. Indiana University Press. Edited by Philip M. Martin. 1986. P. 341.
- 15Colin Legum. op. cit., p. 342.
- 16The first General Assembly was held in London, and the UN Secretary General was Tryge Lie (1946-1952.)
- 17The Indians, the Pakistanis, and the Filipinos were considered as Asiatic.
- 18Franck. L. Schoell. *Les Tensions Raciales dans L'Union Sud-Africaine et leurs Incidences Internationales*. Paris: LibrairieDroz. 1956. P. 93.
- 19Article 13.1 stipulates that 'the General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of: a. promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification; b. promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion'.
- 20Article 2.7 stresses that 'nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII'.
- 21Mary Benson. *South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright*. London: Penguin Books. 1966. P.112.
- 22Published Documents of the UN, A/RES/256 (III), July 12, 1949.
- 23Published Documents of the UN, A/RES/395 (V), December 2, 1950.
- 24The Afro-Asiatic countries were Saudi Arabia, Egypt, India, Pakistan, Philippine, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Burma, Afghanistan, Syria, Yemen, and Indonesia.
- 25Published Documents of the UN, A/RES/616 (VII), December 5, 1952.
- 26Published Documents of the UN. S/RES/134. April 1, 1960.
- 27Published Documents of the UN. A/RES/ 1598 (XV), April 1961.
- 28Portugal's position was due to its repressive colonial policy in Angola that was criticised by most countries within the U.N, except South Africa and Spain. In 1961, Portugal did not allow a U.N sub-committee to investigate on the situation in Angola .
- 29This committee started on April 2, 1963. It was composed of 11 members. There were 5 African states (Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, and Somalia), 3 Asiatic states (Malaysia,

Philippine, and Nepal), 2 Latin America states (Costa Rica and Haiti) and 1 European state (Hungary).

- 30Published Documents of the UN. A/RES/ 1881 (XVIII), Octobre 11,1963.
- 31AbdelazizBouteflika was at that time the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria.
- 32Published Documents of the UN. A/RES/ 2142, A (XXI), October 26, 1966.
- 33Gus Liebenow. 'Africa's Place in the Sun: The Expanding Arena of International Politics.' In: Africa. Indiana University Press, Philip M. Martin ed. 1986. P. 360.
- 34Reginald H Green and Ann Siedman. Unity and Poverty: The Economics of Pan-Africanism. U.S.A: Penguin Books. 1968. P. 99.
- 35Ibid.
- 36Grant S, McCellan. 'The Key: South Africa's Economy.' In: Southern Africa, the Reference Shelf. New York: The Wilson Company. Vol.51, N° 3. 1979. P. 120.
- 37Victor T. Levine. "South Africa in the world." In: The Africans: A Reader. New York: Praeger. 1996. pp. 248-249.
- 38Quoted by Robert A. Manning and Stephen Thalbot. "'Carter's Nuclear Deal with Africa.'" In: Southern Africa, the Reference Shelf. New York: the Wilson Company. Vol.51, N° 3. 1979. P. 220.
- 39Charles Cadoux. op. cit., p. 313.
- 40Published Documents of the UN. S/RES/ 181, August 7, 1963
- 41Adam Heribert. "Outside Influence on South Africa: Afrikanerdom in Disarray." In: The Journal of Modern African Studies. Cambridge University Press. June 1983. Vol. 21, N° 2. p. 360.
- 42Victor T. Levine. op. cit., p. 249.
- 43Charles Cadoux, op. cit., p. 316.