CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION
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The struggle against apartheid is in its last phase. It is getting world wide support and is waiting for the dawn of freedom for the blacks in South Africa. It has been intensified to an extent that the Pretoria Regime begins to realise that it can not go with apartheid policy for long now. Apartheid has become synonymous with racial segregation in so far as majority population has become victim of racial discrimination in South Africa.

It is not a new policy. Its origin goes back to the landing of Vasco-de-Gama at Mossel Bay. He looked with greedy eyes at the cattle of the people and their grazing land. He claimed the land which belonged to the King of Portugal. He thanked their generosity by naming the area 'the Bay of Cows' a land-mark was erected which still exists, claiming that the land belonged to the King of Portugal this was the first act of robbery in South Africa. The Portuguese ships braved the 'sea of storms' round the Cape to bring their precious cargoes home. However during all this time south Africa remained an unexplored land. Compared with the profits of the East the land seemed to have nothing to offer and its interior was shunned by the Portuguese crews.

By 1600, the Indian trade monopoly was wrested from the grasp of the Portuguese by trade rivals - the English, the Dutch and the French, while Portugal's spice ships were the Royal monopoly, the English, the Dutch and the French in the 17th century set-up chartered companies of shareholders to exploit the Eastern trade at the Cape. That bay under Table Mountain acquired new importance. Table Bay rarely visited by the Portuguese, became a halfway house on the long voyage to the East Indies, the rendezvous of passing ships of many nations.

The earliest settlement at Cape of Good Hope was made by the Dutch in 1652 when the Dutch East India company under the leadership of Jan Van Riebeeck established a refreshment station from which water, meat and vegetables could be supplied to its ships trading with the East. At first, their intention was to grow vegetables there and to obtain fresh meat from the indigenous population. The Dutch East India company instructed Riebeeck to do so by barter but to retain good relations with them. But soon these orders led him to pursue contradictory policies.

For many years, the Cape had only a small population. In course of time, settlements extended into interior. Solitary farms were established by the Dutch who solved their labour problem by employing Malayas, Negroes and Hottentots as slaves. These slaves were hard workers. Consequently their farms began to prosper, and life in
settlement became comfortable and pleasant. Hence, the white population dependent on slave labour began to regard any manual work as beneath the dignity of whites. In fact, it was considered infra-dignity for any white man or woman to be employed at all.  

Between 1672 and 1717, a number of German and Dutch artisans were brought by the Dutch East India Company to guard the station-community from the cattle raids and French attacks. It was in this century that the settler began to encounter and to defeat one another in a war for the supremacy of sea and seizure of colonies in Africa. The Cape was the most important for them. Alfred stated that, this struggle involved primarily the dominance and control of the Cape which was the most strategic gateway to the East.  

The French conquered Holland in 1795 and the Dutch ruler went into exile in England. With his consent Great Britain annexed the Cape. At the peace of Amiens, it was restored to the Dutch, but it was reconquered in 1806. At the European settlement of 1814, the Cape went to Great Britain by formal cession.  

The population of the Cape was increased by the immigration of many British settlers during the period of distress which followed the Napoleonic wars. There was thus, in course of time, a British as well as a Dutch element in the colony. The antagonism which developed between the two races later in the century did not appear at first since the blacks were numerous and the white races instinctively acted together against the blacks. Dutch law and language continued to be in use and slavery remained the basis of the economic life of the colony.

Between 1806 and 1833 the Cape was under the rule of a military Governor who was aided by Senior Officials. Faced with the problem of handling a population which was almost entirely non-British, they applied a policy of anglicisation. English replaced Dutch as the official language of the courts and the free slaves were given rights of citizenship. These measures were opposed by the Dutch and their dislike of British rule dates from this time. Abolition of slavery in 1833 completed their alienation.

The Dutch farmers, who were called Boers were deeply religious. Their theology, like that of the Dutch in Europe was calvinistic. It was based on the old
Testament rather than on the New. They regarded themselves as the chosen people of the God, like the Hebrews. They compared the black peoples of South Africa with the canaanitic races (Palestinians) which were overcome by the Israelites. They held, therefore, that they were entitled to keep the Hottentots and other coloured races in subjection. The grant of freedom and citizenship to the blacks aroused bitter feelings among them. British opinion at home and at the Cape was stirred against the Boers by tales of their oppression of and cruelty towards the blacks. It was felt that the black people needed protection against their masters.

In 1833, the Government of the Cape was placed on a more satisfactory footing. It was declared to be a crown colony, under the rule of a Governor who was to be assisted by an executive council and legislative council. During the next few years further troubles with both blacks and Boers had to be faced. In 1834, the Kaffirs invaded the colony and were repelled after stiff fighting. The Governor, Sir, Benjamin D Urban proposed to enlarge the colony by fixing its boundaries on a line which was easily defensible against further attack, but the home government refused to agree. The Boers were indignant. They lived lonely lives on isolated farms.
They regarded the British action as a refusal to afford them reasonable protection against the danger of native attack.

In 1836, began the Great Trek. Many thousands of Boers, refused to live any longer under British rule and left the Cape Town. About 12,000 to 14,000 people trekked out by 1840. They crossed the Orange River and on the farther side of it, they founded the Republic of Orange Free State. Some of them continued the trek and crossed the Vaal River. Far in the remote interior, hundreds of miles from the coast, they founded the Transvaal. In 1838, a third party trekked to the north-east and formed a settlement in Natal. British settlers followed the Boers into Natal. In 1845, the province was proclaimed to be a part of Cape colony, in 1845, it was declared to be a separate crown colony, with a Lieutenant Governor subordinate to the Governor of the Cape. Many of the Natal Boers, however, resumed their trek and joined their compatriots in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. This episode was absolutely fundamental to a country's subsequent development. Furthermore, the distribution of these Trekkers foreshadowed the extent of South Africa today. The great trek was important because the region

where the trekkers had settled down proved to be the 'richest parcel' of real estate in the world and Afrikaner\(^5\) nationalism bred there. In fact, the Great Trek was an attempt to preserve a way of life. More specifically, the Boers were retreating from a government which interfered with the relationship between master and servant and legislated for the roles of white masters and black servants.

For some years Great Britain pursued no decided policy towards the Boer settlements. It was felt that Boers and natives needed protection against each-other-natives against Boer oppression and Boers against native attack. In 1848, the orange Free State was annexed but British statesmen were reluctant to shoulder the responsibility.

Constitutional development in Cape colony and Natal followed the Canadian model. Responsible government was granted to Cape colony in 1872 and to Natal in 1893.

5. French Protestants, who fled from their homelands in 1688 settled. Some of them were agriculturalists, skilled in the cultivation of the vine and in wine making. They introduced the vine into the Cape and established wine making industry. The administrators in the service of the company discouraged the use of French language in the settlement and encouraged the integration of the French and French settlers. Consequently, the French lost their language and became fully identified with the budding Afrikaner.
In 1877 the Boer republics were threatened with attack by a war-like native race, the Zulus, and for the protection of the Boers themselves the Transvaal was annexed. The Zulus were followed in 1879. Although disasters were met with at first, the Zulus were overcome. Their military organisation was destroyed. The British annexed Zululand; it was ruled at first as a separate province but was joined to Natal in 1897.

Freed from the Zulu danger, the Boers desired to recover their independence. The British military force in Natal was small. The Boers won a decisive victory at the Battle of Majuba Hill. Reinforcements were sent out but the British Government decided to abandon the struggle. In 1881, the latter recognized the independence of the Boers.

The discovery of diamonds and gold gave new shape to almost every feature of South African population. Because with the discovery of diamonds; it began the transition from an almost wholly agricultural economy to a pre-dominantly industrial society. Thus arose the need to employ a large number of workers which were drawn as migrant workers. Consequently the European population rose from about 181,592 in 1865 to 236,783 in 1875.6

It accelerated a new tendency towards the establishment of white rule over Africans on their land. It hastened the utilization of such areas of African settlement as the reservoir of cheap labour for the white controlled areas. Thus, discovery of diamonds gave a new shape to south Africans life. As Anthony Lemon describes this development:

"The discovery of the world's greatest gold bearing reef of witwatersrand, drew South Africa's patriarchal subsistence economy into the full stream of world economic development with dramatic suddenness. Investment and white immigrants poured into the country. Also it contributed to much internal migration of both blacks and whites. In consequence: South Africa faced modern problems of Capital and labour for the first time. Thus gold fields became South African's first industrial community."

In fine, with the discovery of diamonds and gold, South Africa became a land of riches attracting adventurers from all over the world. Consequently they descended to the diamond diggings. But among all of them the Britishers were very effective in the administration of colonies.

Moreover, the discovery of diamonds and gold not only increased the tempo of economic development, but brought money-minded, profit-seeking, British capitalist in the country. These Britishers used their own foreign ways. In the name of development, they deployed white labour with a view of developing the gold mines extensively. But this white labour was deployed at higher wages in comparison to blacks. Thus, from the very beginning labour was divided into two groups: a large body of African labour earning very low wages and a much smaller group of white workers earning high wages. It was not in the first instance, simply the net result of colour prejudice, though it certainly existed, but that the African labour was unskilled and imported labour had become a necessity for the development of gold mines as gold mines could not be drawn on unskilled workers.

At the same time white farms were demanding much more African labour for the extension of commercial agriculture. It proved useful for the Africans also as they found it a means of entering the market economy. Such market demands equally opened up new opportunities for African commercial agriculture. The latter resulted in a virtual explosion of peasant economic activity in the early 1870s. This led to a period of prosperity in
the locations and reserves in marked contrast to the predominantly subsistence agriculture prevailing in the housetlands today. Consequently, the Africans even succeeded in using the money acquired from the sale of agricultural surpluses to buy back land. This threatened to reduce the availability of labour on mines and farms particularly in view of the failure to raise wages. Hence the whites used various methods to ensure the sufficient supply of cheap labour. Land under African occupation was reduced. The reduction of land as well as introduction of taxes was also designed to force African peasants to enter the labour market. This step had been taken towards creating the landless proletariat. It is characteristic of South Africans towns today. It represents the greatest single problem facing the architects of separate development.

Meanwhile the relations between Afrikaners and Britishers became tense. The former suspected that the British had definite designs upon their country because of its richness in gold.

**Anglo-Boer antagonism:**

the Afrikaner saw the British capitalist's intrusions and economic development as a threat to their

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institutions. Because to the Afrikaner of that day, a non-white was only to work in the service of the Whites. Therefore, they were allowed to enjoy minimum of rights while London was determined that the non-whites in their share of influence should be treated with justice. The Afrikaners wanted to escape from British influence. This led to much friction and bitterness which resulted into Anglo Boer war that ended in 1902. With this, a new chapter in the history of South Africa began. It was felt that such antagonism would lead nowhere and that it would be better to live together on the basis of compromise. Initially the Britishers were satisfied with domination of economy and polity by Afrikaners. However, they began steadily to forge their ultimate total control over the establishment of the inevitable republic of South Africa.

By the end of 1907, British South Africa included four colonies with responsible government. In 1908, they took initiative and called a convention in which a constitution for the union was to be considered. In this convention, the race

* By this time Liberal Party came into power in Britain and they were sympathetic towards Boers. In 1905, both the republics were granted responsible government which enabled the Boers to take active part in the administration of the country.
question became crucial because the Afrikaners were prejudiced not to provide political rights to the black people. Finally, a constitution was accepted which was based on colour-prejudice. The Blacks were provided right to vote only in Cape Town and Natal. Thus the majority population was deprived of their fundamental right to take part in the politics and through polity supremacy of the Afrikaners was established with the establishment of the union of South Africa in 1910.

Immediately after gaining power in 1910, efforts were made to subjugate the Blacks. The South African government under the leadership of various leaders, adopted the racial policy giving new brand to it. In 1912 Hertzog adopted the policy of 'segregation' and the blacks were dispossessed of land through Native Land Act of 1913. Smuts had also stressed upon the need for 'Segregation'. But in 1924 Mr. Hertzog again formed the government. He applied native policy more strictly by passing the Native Administration Act of 1927 through which the African had been put outside the rule of law.

In 1932, the United Party came into power under the leadership of Hertzog and Smuts became Deputy Prime-Minister. Then Hertzog resigned and Smuts became prime Minister who continued with the policy of
segregation. Consequently the Africans had to lead a semi-slave like life. But soon Smuts was replaced by Malan as the leader of national party which gained power in 1948.

In 1948, the National party gained power by a campaign for 'racial segregation' or 'Black Peril' and gained power on this basis. Thus, racial segregation or apartheid became official policy. Yet it was not a new policy because the previous government had also adopted it as evidenced from the statement of General Smuts: "That two people (black and white) can not indefinitely go on living side by side... We must see that we have in our power all those things which can ensure tactical and military superiority. We must prohibit non-Europeans from possessing firearms or the training in their use. Manufacturing industry, wealth and education must be kept in white hands.... We must frown up trade unionism among the Bantu or upon the formation of political bodies."

The blacks continued to revolt against the system but they were not united. After the formation of African National Congress, they united under its aegis and

9. Dr. E.S. Reddy, Struggle for Freedom, (Mainstream Publication 1986 p. 64
carried out peaceful struggle for their rights. However, instead of solving the problem, the situation became more and more aggravated. The process of decolonization also proved helpful to make the Africans more conscious for their rights. After the second World War, process of decolonization was accelerated. The imperialism was crippled. Because the imperial powers had assured their colonies that the war was being fought for the principles of self-determination and democratic ideals. If they gave help and supported the allies, these principles would also be implemented in the colonies after the war. So, after the victory of Allies in the World War Second, people of colonies demanded for implementation of these principles of self-determination and democracy.

Meanwhile U.N.O. came into existence to 'preserve world peace'. U.N.O. passed several resolutions urging the Master countries to grant freedom to the colonies at the earliest. In the interest of world peace and abiding co-operation among the Nations, the imperial powers withdrew gradually from their colonies. Consequently by 1950 several states won political independence in Asia and Africa. Today colonies occupied only about 4 percent of the world's land area inhabiting between 1 and 2 percent of world population. While in
1919, colonies embraced 77.3 percent of world's territory with 69.2 percent of its population. Thus it is quite clear that imperialism suffered serious setbacks. This was remarkable event in the human history. It occurred with such rapidity that the change in the position of the peoples of Asia and Africa and in their relations with Europe marked the dawn of a new era for mankind.

But the blacks in South Africa were unable to see the dawn of democracy and human rights as colonial status and racial segregation still existed in the country. The fact is that imperial powers conferred self-government to those who were ready for it and where solid social and economic set-up existed because in the absence of such a set-up the political power still proved to be of no use. What made a country ready for the grant of the right of self-determination, Marshal clarifies:

'The conditions of readiness were very stiff. There must be economic advancement which would enable ex-colonies to be economically self-sufficient and to stand on their own feet.
There must be an educated elite capable of filling political and administrative offices. There must also be widespread political awareness in the mass of the population.  

South Africa did not fulfill these criteria. But the blacks became more conscious for liberation. Like other Asian and African countries they wanted to get their rights. So they intensified their struggle after the creation of Bantustans. The scheme was contradictory in nature. Apparently the Bantustans policy aimed at allowing the Africans to develop themselves according to their own culture. But in actual fact it was to keep the Africans inferior and to denationalize them.

This escalated the crisis. The Africans launched defiance campaign in 1952 but the government did not pay any heed to the African's demand. The government continued to adopt more and more oppressive measures. Consequently after 1960, the passive struggle had turned into armed struggle and it still continues. As the racist government adopted more and more repressive measures, the struggle became more and more intensified. Thus the solution lay in full eradication of apartheid at the earliest not in gradual reforms.

The situation in South Africa has become exceptional because of the involvement of big powers which have involved themselves through neo-colonialism and for the fear of communism. The backwardness inherited from colonialism has yet to be overcome. The newly independent countries have to depend upon big powers. For they do not possess means to make best use of their resources. The imperialist powers provide these means. In this way they continue to maintain economic domination.

After the second world war, the big powers gave political freedom to the colonies, but their mentality did not change. They gave a new shape to imperialism by adopting new methods. This is known as Neo-colonialism in international politics. They attain real control by the combination of economic, military and cultural means. The imperialist powers set up their domination through multinational corporations, by investing assets and through the transfer of technology. These were practised in one form or the other in all developing countries. But in South Africa through these methods, the big powers would prop-up apartheid which is nefarious inhuman policy.

Moreover, after the second world war, the ideological competition between capitalism and communism paved the way for imperialism. The super-powers like America and Soviet Union continued actively courting for their favour for long and South Africa became an arena of super powers competition.
African situation can not be reconciled to the Marxist theory of class struggle. Because it is race, not class which is the real determinant of status. Gerhart also expressed the similar view. 12.

In South Africa, there is not a class conflict yet it has become a forum of super powers rivalry. Their competition in South Africa is because of economic interest as well as strategic and ideological consideration south Africa is much more important economically and strategically. Thus, both the countries want change in the country according to their own orientation.

Whether there is a class conflict, neo-colonialism, fear of communism, it is well known that all aspects of South African System have been intertwined in the web of apartheid against which the Africans have been struggling.

Apartheid is a 'Dutch' word which means 'segregation'. The term is based on the norm of 'racial segregation'. According to this policy, the population of South Africa is officially divided into four racial groups. Europeans or the whites 2. Africans or the indigenous population generally referred to as Bantu. 3 Asians who came primarily from India 4. metis, a mixed race referred to as coloureds. The population has been divided into different racial groups so that they could develop themselves according to their own tradition, culture and

history. Apartheid aims at permanent and complete separation of the 'Whites' from 'Blacks'. It conceives that it is the only way to avoid the conflicts between different races because under this policy, the blacks would receive equal opportunity to develop their own institutions. According to the plan, the blacks would have their own tribal authorities, tribal courts, a separate system of Bantu education and African labour bureaus. Thereby they would be able to develop themselves according to their own traditions.

In fact, the concept of apartheid is based on the assumption that different races more specially whites, blacks and coloureds can not live harmoniously together as an integrated community. The plan is to separate the races at every point where this can be done. Each group must be allowed to develop as far as it is capable of progressing on its own lines and within its own sphere of activity. If there is no separate territory in which a group can have its own heartland and then the group as far as possible evolved a separate way of life within the territory it shared with another group. This meant separate tea rooms, transport, homes, churches, recreational facilities and places of entertainment. The groups could work together but they must return in their own spheres when the shift was done. Even at work they would come under different controls, enter the factories
through different doors, use different lavatories, change and eat in different rooms. Thus apartheid, in its broad term, meant separation of the races. But at the same time it implied white domination as all those who voted for it knew that it also implied baaskap which was the political term in South Africa for white domination.\textsuperscript{13} This domination could be found in every sphere of South African's life. In every respect amenities and facilities were better for whites and kept separate while the blacks were paid starvation wages, having no houses or jobs and died from malnutrition or diseases. Every aspect of their life was regulated in accordance with apartheid system, where they might live, work, own land, play, whom they might go to school with or have as a neighbour or friend, even whom they might marry was determined on race lines. The blacks were having no fundamental rights, they had no voice in the system. Even they were not allowed to oppose the system as opposition to the system was met with bannings, detention without trial, imprisonment or worse. In fact, these repressive measures had become synonymous with freedom. Thus, racial discrimination was found in its worst form in South Africa. The Africans were struggling against this evil. They wanted a full eradication of apartheid at any cost. They intensified their struggle to an extent where the racist government seemed unable to

\textsuperscript{13}John Cope., \textit{South Africa} (Toronto), 1967, p.44.
crush the struggle even through repressive and brutal measures. Furthermore, the struggle received world wide supports. Thus, the situation in South Africa reached a stage where a peaceful and speedy solution was required and the problem could be solved by international community which was committed to enforce the principles of self-determination, human rights and majority rule as well as the eradication of racial discrimination. As the newly independent countries became the members of the United Nations which came into existence in 1945, they began to demand for the full eradication of racism and colonialism wherever it existed. In this connection David Kay remarks:

"These new nations are possessed of a compelling desire to eradicate speedily the remaining bastions of European colonisation. Closely associated with their demands for an end to colonialism is their personal commitment to eradicate the variant of racism which maintains white superiority over black."

Thus, under the influence of new members, the question of racial discrimination in South Africa attracted a considerable attention in the United Nations. Majority rule, absence of democratic norms and human rights posed a serious threat to international morality which the world body was seeking to uphold. So, the South African situation continuously, remained the

major issue of discussion for United Nations.

The United Nations has a variety of means to deal with recalcitrant states. These include measures from diplomatic pressure to use of force. In addition, the Charter of the United Nations has also institutionalised an important technique of sanctions to deal with the target state. They are applied in various spheres such as political, cultural, economic and sports. In case of South Africa, economic sanctions have been considered to be the only peaceful means to eradicate the evil of apartheid from South Africa. There are two aspects of sanctions; positive and negative. The negative are applied as penalties and lead to deprivation whereas the positive sanctions applied as rewards. In other words economic sanctions are used to uphold particular value system and discourage any deviation from the norm. Economic sanctions had normally been considered a necessary weapon during war time but during the peace time also it is used for the furtherance of certain values. These measures aim at discouraging undesirable behaviour. Thus, they are applied against norm-breaking state.

The theory of economic sanctions postulates that economic deprivation will result in the desired political change in the behavioural pattern of the target state. Economic sanctions do not aim at the destruction of economy of the target state but they are used to put the
things right. They are based on the logic that economic deprivation leads to political change because there is a direct cause-consequence relationship between the two. Economic stability is essential to the preservation of political structure of a state. Economic boycott undermines economic stability which can lead to political alteration. When economic sanctions are applied against the target state, the economy is thrown out of the mainstream of international economic intercourse. This, in turn, saps the morale of the people of the target state and causes them to lose their confidence in the regime. The next is political instability and out of this instability, there arises conditions which the sanctioneering states regard as desirable.  

Moreover, in this industrialised age, international trade and commerce has gained great significance. No state is self-sufficient in economic sphere. So, economic isolation can very well undermine the economic structures of the target state leading to political alteration. So it has every chance of succeeding. But there should be the standpoint of the international community. This calls for identification of violation of the peace, the decision to apply measures and then adequate pressure. Full participation is also necessary to achieve the desired goal.

The efficiency of the economic measures depends upon the co-operation of the member states particularly who control the strategic resource. U.N.O., as the international organization, is structured so loosely that it can not force any state to apply its measures and the target state succeeds in getting of the friends. In case of South Africa, the international community adopted economic sanctions. But because of the political will of the big powers particularly of its trading partners, the effects of sanctions has been circumvented and the country continues with its apartheid policy.

The trading partners are having economic and strategic interests in the country. So they recommended other approaches such as 'Persuasive' 'constructive engagement', 'selective sanction' etc. But they were not in favour of comprehensive economic sanctions. They did not want to make sacrifice for the promotion of moral and democratic values for which they claimed to have fought the second world war. The sanctions demanded sacrifice. While to fulfil their interests, they raised their voice against the apartheid system, but in practice, their behaviour was different. Actually they were seen supporting the racist regime through economic collaboration. Because the assistance which the regime received from its trading partners, was being used by the regime to preserve the apartheid
policy. Thus, to adopt economic sanctions was not sufficient as long as economic sanctions policy was not scrupulously observed by certain member states particularly the west. It was the role of various multinational corporation which had become major obstacle in the application of sanctions. Without universal participation, it seemed economic sanctions did not work to change policy. Adequate pressure and public opinion could force these states to adopt economic measure in accordance with the international community.

The organizations like the NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) OAU (Organization of African Unity), ANC (African National Congress) played a significant role in exerting pressure though public opinion. It was because apartheid had become a matter of great concern for these organizations. they had sought to get the sanctions implemented against the racist regime of the South Africa. In line with their commitment to wipeout the racial discrimination and colonialism, they made tireless efforts in the United Nations as well as outside the world body. However, they did not possess the power of enforcement and in the United Nations Security Council. They were not the deciding factor, so, they could prove effective only in mobilizing public opinion in favour of sanctions. It is for their efforts and dedication to the cause, the issue of apartheid and sanctions had constantly been on the agenda of the United Nations.
The complexity of the problem of Apartheid and its for reaching implementations have attracted the attention of the researchers. Though the problem had wide-range and many facets, the most significant aspect was the role and impact of sanctions imposed on white dominated South African Regime. Since the interests of those who dominated or shared the exploitation done by the Whites clashed with those of blacks in South Africa so those with vested interests circumvented the expected results of sanctions. Hence it is the politics of sanctions that needed due attention of the researchers. There was a need to understand the role of U.N.O. and its agencies on the one hand and other organizations such as NAM, OAU and ANC on the other hand.

Hence the topic, which seeks to understand the nature of struggle against Apartheid especially Politics of Sanctions. Besides, the following hypothesis will be tested in the study:

(i) Apartheid is commonly seen as a manifestation of racial prejudice. But its purpose has always been to secure an abundant supply of cheap labour for economy.

(ii) The International Organization is too loosely structured to admit of a concerted or unified approach on its part to the application of sanctions.

(iii) The effectiveness of the UN has been undermined by the attitudes of the governments that have failed to
implement the UN resolutions on sanctions.

(iv) The NAM, OAU and ANC have highlighted the events of South Africa requiring concerted action effectively and have played a prominent role in mobilizing public opinion in support of the implementation of UN resolutions in sanctions.

(v) Sanctions to be effective will have to be mandatory and comprehensive and imposed immediately by the international community.

(vi) Economic sanctions will compel South Africa to come to the negotiating table.

(vii) Timely imposition of sanctions can avoid racial bloodshed in South Africa.

(viii) Sanctions will hurt South Africa's blacks more than the whites.

(ix) Sanctions do not aim at destroying the South African economy or to destroy the whites but to reduce the racist regime's capability to preserve the apartheid system thereby pressurizing it to accept a peaceful transition to majority rule.

The chapterwise scheme of the study is as under:-

The first chapter entitled "Introduction" deals with the policy apartheid in historical perspective. In brief, it also throws light on the need of sanctions and politics thereof. It also presents the hypothesis to be examined and gives chapterisation.
The second chapter i.e. 'Meaning and Implementation of apartheid' attempts to define the concept of apartheid focussing especially on how has the government implemented the policy of apartheid.

The third chapter namely 'Sanctions and U.N.O.' examines the role of U.N.O. in imposing sanctions against South Africa.

The fourth chapter namely 'Role of NAM, OAU and ANC', highlights the role of these international forums in getting these sanctions implemented. The attempt has also been made to underline their limitations.

The fifth chapter entitled 'Politics of Sanctions' deals with the big powers in thwarting the attempts of imposing sanctions.

The last chapter namely 'Conclusion' summarises the main findings of the study.

So far as the methodology is concerned, the researcher has mainly adopted the analytical approach. The material available from the primary sources such as resolutions of U.N.O. and other bodies, records of the meetings and published documents has been analysed. Information available from secondary such as news papers, periodicals, studies of other scholars have also been utilized to supplement and substantiate the conclusion.