APARTHEID AND THE NON—ALIGNED MOVEMENT: PERCEPTIONS AND POLICIES.

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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "APARTHEID AND THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT: PERCEPTIONS AND POLICIES", submitted by Mr. SHUVALOKE SARKAR is in partial fulfilment of the total requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University. This work was carried out at the Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

This dissertation is original and has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma of any other University. We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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DEDICATED

TO

MY

PARENTS

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In this study we shall analyse two subjects: one is the system of apartheid, in which a white minority subjugates, and oppressively rules over the native Black population in South Africa on the basis of an ideology that explicitly arrogates to this white minority a superior civilizational status and assigns to blacks an inferior one; the second subject is the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which is the product of the anti-colonial revolution which saw in the middle decades of this centurythe liberation of a great number of colonized countries. NAM composed to a significant extent of such ex-colonial countries represents and tries to realize their hopes and aspirations in opposition to an international order which is dominated by the traditionally dominant powers of the Western World. These two subjects will be studied both on their own terms, that is to say, we shall attempt to explicate the system of apartheid and the Non-Aligned Movement for what they are in themselves; later we shall try to focus on the reasons for and the processes by which aparthied and NAM are inextricably linked to each other in an as yet unresolved struggle.

Let us first make a few introductory observations on apartheid in an attempt to delineate the issues that are central to this analysis before going on to examining NAM and the contradiction between the two. Apartheid is an extreme statement of a racial and socio-evolutionary doctrine that has a pedigree stretching back to the nineteenth century, in the second half of which century self-conscious ideologists of British imperialism created the building blocks of explicitly racial doctrines that denied civilizational adulthood to Asian and African peoples and placed upon the fully civilized white races the so-called and putatively onarous "white Man's Burden". This ideology became the clock which was supposed to dress up the ruthless exploitation of the colonized countries and their native peoples. In South Africa a similar but more perverse doctrine of "exclusive white superiority" was distinguished in that it came to be institutionalized in all its maturity as the system of apatheid. And, quite anachronistically, this occured at a time when the world was seeing the first stirrings of the tide of decolonization that was eventually to flood the gates of colonization.

First of all in Chapter I, we shall try to see as to how the ideology of apartheid developed. We shall make a short survey of a number of analysis of this development in

which the most convincing one will be elaborated. Broadly
the attempt would be to see how the ideology of apartheid
and the system it underpinned related to the articulation of
the socio-economic interests of its proponents and the kind
of a class base it derived support from. This question is
somewhat problematic - it is problematic in the sense that
such a question relates fundamentally to a project which
seeks to link together things in a manner that poses
important theoretical problems. Thus for instance in trying
to link together the politics of apartheid, the ideology of
apatheid and the socio-economic interests of those who built
the system and forged the ideology, the problem of
"determinism" cannot be wished away. Afterall, we,
sometimes, do come across the type of analysis which in
order to emphasise a particular set of facts tends to
overlook others. It will be our modest attempt when we
discuss the subject, to be balanced in our conclusions.

After discussing the development of the ideology of
apartheid and delineating some of the basic features of the
system, in chapter II we shall identify and study the forces
of change that have developed within South Africa.
Apartheid, however rigid its construction might be, cannot escape a
basic fact - that a society can never be static, at least in
the long-run. Pressures for change, as we will see, are not

only exerted by an ever-intensifying liberation struggle of
the non-whites but change is also sought by a section of the
whites. Without going into the details of the movements we
will first examine the various shades of African Nationalism
in what they stand for and secondly find out why and to what
extent some whites are advocating a relaxation of apartheid.
The study will also see as to why such pressures for change
are being resisted and as to how the Government of South
Africa has responded to them.

Chapter III shall study the ideology of NAM, which is
the basis of its opposition of apartheid. NAM,is the
representative principally of those ex-colonial countries
which gained independence in the middle decades of this
century, seeks primarily to work towards an international
order that would permit the development of the Third World
both in economic terms as well as their political status in
the international community. For this to be achieved it is
necessary for NAM countries to break the domiance of the
powerful states - primarily the western powers - which has
constantly sought to perpetuate this dominance by
perpetuating and strengthening the world capitalist system
and an international political system the control organizing
principle of which is the unbridled exercise of power in
various forms. What the NAM countries are aiming at

essentially is the substantiation of the independence they had gained formally in real terms. In analysing the collective world-view of these countries, however, we shall have to come to terms with a number of complexities. The central problem is that, given the diversity of politico-economic systems that NAM encompasses - from capitalist Kuwait to the communist Cuba - how does it manage to reach consensus both on general principles as well as on particular issues. And even if it does manage to achieve consensus formally, do the NAM countries honour the consensus in their policies and actions in international relations? Some of the other important questions are - what is NAM's position vis-a-vis the two blocs - east and west; to what extent have NAM countries been able to distance themselves from the power politics of blocs; and what is the nature of NAM's neutrality - if we can strictly call it neutral. As far as evaluating NAM's effectiveness is concerned we would restrict it to the examination of NAM's efforts against apatheid and not the other important issues that preoccupy it. However, before going into that we would first establish the connexion between NAM and apartheid.

Thus in the final chapter we shall first try to establish this link - by justifying "external interference"

by NAM in the "internal affairs" of South Africa. We do this by emphasising the fact that South Africa seeks to protect this last bastion of direct colonisation in an age where it has become utterly anachronistic. Moreover the world view that apartheid represents in the most crude and brutal from is one which is homologous to the one which dominates the west's outlook in the international sphere. The homology with the west lies, in the fact that the west equally is trying its level best to perpetuate the dominance of the western world in the sphere of international relations that arises both from considerations of tangible interest and perhaps also from the same age - old belief in the social superiority of the whites. The correspondence of the interests on South Africa and the hegemonistic west is exposed by the fact that the latter has constantly protected the former from effectively adverse international action. As we will see it is this impediment that hinders NAM's spirited efforts against apartheid.

We must submit that this disseration has been undertaken under certain constraints.

First of all there is a certain ambiguity in the expression used in international relations which to begin with have problematic underpinnings in political philosophy.

For example the world 'Ideology' which have been used in the context of Afrikaaner nationalism, African nationalism and NAM, is used differently in different paradigms and sometimes even within the same paradigms. We have however not gone into such debates and the broad notion of an ideology with which we proceed is that it is a conscious world view that guides the actions of those who subscribe to it.

Secondly, where the ideology of NAM is concerned the researches fails to came across any rigourous analysis. There are liberation theologies, there are treaties on national liberation and revolution but one does not came across a treatise on NAM's liberation ideology particularly with reference to apartheid. Such an exercise would require the endeavor of a researcher hiving a familiarity with philosophical and political world views of the pioneers of NAM and the felicity with their respective languages. Only where the two are combined it is possible to take the aid of content analysis of NAM documents and speeches on an informed basis, Such a detailed exercise has not been possible in this study which is primarily based a secondary sources. However, whenever it has been possible we have availed of statements of the pioneers of the NAM in the english version. We are aware of the fact that in some

parts of the text more detailed analysis would definitely be more revealing. However given the expense of the project such omissions could perhaps be excused.

Before we end it might be interesting to point out that there is an ironic coincidence in the type of criticism that radical critics (like Vyrenan[1]) level against the third world regimes and collectivities and the opinion that the western establishment hold of NAM. The dependency theorists would argue that most regimes of the Third could being structurally dominated by the west cannot take any genuine steps towards such progressive goals as socialism. From the other side, as Jackson[2] does, the west would say that Third world unity is a farce because most of such countries have informal 'alliances' with great powers belonging to different blocks.

In a very different context Baldev Raj Nayar[3] has written about this same coincidence. We have however taken a more optimistic view of NAM which will unfold in the following text.

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CHAPTER - 1

THE IDEOLOGY OF APARTHIED

It is a well known fact that in South Africa a white minority is unjustly ruling over a vast African[1] majority through a system of institutionalised racialism called apartheid. Apartheid is an Afrikaans[2] term meaning 'APARTHOOD'. It denotes the policy of racial segregation as practised by the National Party in South Africa since 1948. Officially it is a policy of 'seperate but equal development' but in effect it is a vicious form of colonialism. Apartheid involves legislation controlling places of residence, shcools, universities and recreational facilities as well as laws prohibiting mixed marriages and controlling voluntry associations. The major intesion is to allow political power only to the white population, and to deny to the remainder all rights that would be tantamount to political access, including the right to vote at an election. Blacks are confined to certain autonomous 'homelands' alleged to be their 'true' historical places of residence, leaving the remaining areas to be enjoyed by whites in untroubled sovereignty.[3]

The differences in natural assets and infrastructure between the 'homelands' and the 'white' areas are stark.

Moreover due to this deliberate policy of separation a vast army of unemployed blacks are exploited at a very cheap cost. Some indices can be quoted to highlight the extent of discrimination and exploitation.[4]

- Africans comprising 72.7%[5] of the population has 13%[6] of the land of the country.

- Whites comprising 15% of the population cornered 64% of the incomes in 1977 while the Africans got merely 26%.

- Old age pension for whites (1982) was 140 Rends per month while Africans got 38 Rands per month.

- Per capita expenditure on education in 1980-81 for the whites was 1000 Rands per month while for the Africans it was 180 Rands per month.

- During the period of 1961 to 1984 over 17,745,000 Africans have been arrested or persecuted under a battery of pass-laws and other influx control regulation in South Africa.

However, racialism did not suddenly appear in 1948 in South Africa. That the non-white human beings, especially the Blacks of Africa are intrinsically 'inferior' had been a general opinion of all the white colonizers of the world. In fact this belief was the basis of the ideology which

justified colonialism. Generally the rationale was that it is the onerous destiny of the whites to civilize the non-white peoples of the world. This belief had been reflected in social attitudes and the political system through out the colonial world in various forms.

The British, who were the most successful colonizers were in most cases 'paternalistic'[9]. Though they did relegate the 'natives' to an inferior status socially, economically and politically, they did not seek to marginalise the local population totally or utilize them solely as a cheap labour force. This was to a great extent because the British, in most instances, did not go to the colonies as settlers, but only to rule and exploit them. This kind of colonization necessitated the developing - albiet restrictedly - of the local populations in order to utilise them efficiently in the process of exploitation.[10] Thus, for instance, in the case of India, education was disemminated to the Indian elite so that they might help the British in the administration of the colony.

The colonisation of South Africa by the Afrikaners was of a different nature. They had come in large numbers as migrants and had settled on the land driving out the local population from the most fertile tracts. The only purpose for which they needed the blacks was for labouring in their

farms and plantations and later on in the mines and industries. But given the pervasive nature of 'settler' exploitation its perpetuation requires total denial of assimilation and development of the blacks, which if done would pose as a challenge to the permanence of white hegemony. It is for thes reason that we find such an elaborate and oppressive system to have been instituted in South Africa.

However, this system did not develop overnight but was the product of a specific historical process. The specificity of this historical process is vindicated by the fact that it ran counter to another historical process that was global. In the middle of the twentieth century colonialism started crumbling almost throughout the world and most non-white peoples not only gained independence but were (as least formally) also accepted as equal human beings by the whites. However, in South Africa white racial domination going quite against the tide, crystallized into institutionalized segregation and political and economic domination. The Nationalist Party which won the South African election in 1948 on the principle of apartheid declared it a victory of "Afrikaner Nationalism". What is this brand of nationalism and how did it develop?

The Afrikaners proudly claim that Afrikanerdom (the national identity of the Afrikaner people) was shaped by its three hundred year struggled to implant itself on the hostile South African soil, its roots constantly under attack from both primitive inhabitants of the region and the relentless enemity of British imperialism. Before we proceed with the statement of 'Afrikaners nationalism' let us briefly review the bare facts of this three hundred year struggle of the Afrikaners.

The first white setters in South Africa were Dutch (1652). These settlers joined later by some French and German migrants developed into a farming community which concommitantly developed their language Afrikanner and a certain culture of their own. They overcame the resistance of the native tribes of Khoi-Khoins (Hottentots) and imported slaves from other parts of Africa. With fresh migrations and increase in local population these colonialists started spreading into the interior of the country. This brough them into conflict with the Bantu-speaking tribes - the Zulus, the Xhosas and others - over the possession of land.[12] The Boers were to large extent successful in pushing back these tribes, often after bitter struggles.

At the end of the eighteenth century the British came and with the discovery of gold and diamond deposits in the land a struggle for sovereignty between the two colonizers was inevitable. The struggle made the Boers retreat and embark on their famous 'Voortrek' (Great Trek), which took them even deeper into the country where they set up two republics - the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. But the British too expanded their territories northwards and after the bitter Angole-Boer war of 1899-1902 these republics were brought under British domination. The country was given independence as a dominion in 1910 though the Anglo-Boer struggle was still unresolved. The Boer by now had defined, their national identity was 'Afrikanerdom' (which would be later redefined again in more reactionary terms).[13] However, the Boer were still divided-part of them supporting a coalition with the English to rule the country and the rest clinging to a 'purer' version of ethnic exclusivity end therefore opposing the coalition.

The second World War execerbated divisions among the Afrikaners but involved the country in the war on the side of the Allies which enabled the then Prime Minister of South Africa, Jan Smuts to play the role of a world statesman. But an overwhelming majority of Afrikaners perceived the involvement, of South Africa in the 'imperialistic war' as a

sacrifice of interests.[14] Moreover this section was critical of Smuts' relatively liberal domestic policies. This section triumphed in 1948 when the Nationalist party of Dr. D.F. Malan the vehicle of radical Afrikaner Nationalism was voted to power and instituted apartheid the same year in which South Africxa became a republic[15].

Thus the genesis of Afrikaner nationalism had supposedly occured in the early times of the history of the Afrikaners. Far removed from the eroding effects of industrialisation, the volk (people) is presumed to have developed for itself an exclusive, but democratic and classless from of racially pure social organisation guided by an austere Calvinist faith. This organisation heroically withstood the assults of 'British greed' and 'Black competition' and finally overcame all odds in 1948 when apartheid was established, instituting the separatehood of the Afrikaners in clear terms.

The Afrikaner volk and their glorious history is putatively a product of God's will. To quote Dr. D.F. Malan

> "The history of the Afrikaner reveals a determination and a definiteness of purpose which make one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the working of man but a creation of God. We have a divine rights to be Afrikaners. Our history is the highest work of art of the Architect of the centuries."[16]

It is the divine will that forged the Boers in an organic unity. This particular God....." Wills the difference between nation and nation. He wills this because he has placed before each people a unique destiny a unique calling......."[17] Therefore the races must 'develop separately'.

Nation is the primary social unit from which all individuals draw their identity. The devleopment of the 'nantional culture' and the promotion of its unique, exclusive values is thus a divinely ordeined duty of the individual. Moreover borrowing from Darwinism, Afrikaner Nationlism claimed that its culture was far more evolved then that of the Blacks and therefore deserved to call the shorts in South Africa. However, this claim was later officially withdrawn when the Nationlist Party granted the Blacks the 'right' to their own nationalism in their 'independent' homelands. We shall come to this later.

A large number of analysts have written on South Africa and have analysed this ideology variously. Some liberalx writers like de Villiers[18] take the existence of a monolithic, class-less, Afrikaner identity for granted. They criticise it on the ground that because of its development in backward isolation followed by its prolonged confrontation with blacks and the British and because of the

influence of a narrow calvinist dogma, the Afrikaners have developed into 'paranoid simpletons', 'out of touch with reality', suffering from an 'inferiority complex' and are therefore gullible tools of manipulating leaders'.

According to some 'subjectivist'[19] liberals, there is nothing objective in race or ethnicity. A racial or ethnic group is whatever it says it is. They are simply rhetorical idioms manipulated to organise collectivities for political ends in the competitive scramble for resources.

Another liberal view held according to Berghe by the 'primodialists', contradicts the above analysis by maintaining that there is something fundamental given in the nature of ethnicity and race which antecedates transcends and imposes limits on the subjective views that people may have of these groups in any given situation. However, this view too rejects the notion of racial classification and puts the emphasis on ethnicity.[20]

Berghe himself attempting to take a balanced and scientific view takes a middle position. He says that for a racial group to exist it needs the conjunction of objective and subjective conditions. It is subjective to the extent that there is a consciousness of a distinction between 'them' and 'us'. However, these subjective perceptions do

not develop at random or just because a group suddenly claims to have a common identity. They crystallise around clusters of objective characteristics that become 'badges' of inclusion and exclusion. Nor are the characteristics seized upon a matter of capricious choice. Making use of sociobiology Berghe claims that the 'genetic affinity' of the members of a particular race imparts in them a natural tendency to rally together into a sociological group.

A large number of liberals[21] argue that 'backward' Afrikaner nationlism by establishing the system of strict racial separation actually handicapped the country from developing its economic potential to the full. Black labour was not allowed to develop its potential in skills nor was it allowed access to many jobs that were maintained as preserves of white labour. Therefore an uncompetitive labour market developed in South Africa that was against the rationalising tendency of capitalism.

This argument is not totally without merit. As we shall see later, a section of the capitalists of South Africa have been expressing the necessity of reducing the restrictions imposed on black labour's horizontal and vertical mobility. But this analysis does not take into account the fact that a variety of economic interests stood

to gain from the policy of segregation and that this was a major driving force behind the development of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism.

Some later day liberal analysts like Merle Lipton[22] do make a class analysis of the ideology and even trace the forces of economic interest that prevailed over other in the creation of Apartheid. However, a problem that remains with most of these studies is that they take the existence of Afrikanerdom to be given -- in the sence that the ideology more or less existed and it only needed to be manipulted by those who wanted to utilise it to further their economic interest.

It was left to marxist analysts like O'Meare'[23] and No Sizwe[24] to show in a detailede manner how, inspite of the existence of a feeling of racial superiority and racial exclusiveness, the Afrikaners did not really have such a cohesive and conscious ideology before the beginning of this century. Dan O'Meare argues that due to their predominantly dispersed and rural existence in the earlier years neither their cultural bond nor their language were fully developed.

Let us attempt a broad outline of the analyses that O'Meare, Swize and others have done in tracing the

development of the full-blown racist nationalism of the Afrikaners.

In the last quarter of nineteenth century the South African socieity was broadly composed of the following significant classes. The two Afrikaner republics in the north (Orange Free State and Transvaal) had a class of big Afrikaner farmers who were in the process of undertaking capitilist production, though they were still having African tenants (a feudal method) on their farms. There were also small Afrikaner farmers having a few African tenants per farm or as in many cases none at all. A class of Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie comprising of small traders, teachers and other professionals had started developing. In the British ruled southern provinces (Cape and Natal) there was a class of Afrikaner landed - bourgeois in the cape with large farms producing wine and rearing sheep. In Natal the economically dominant class comprised of British Sugar plantation owners. British capital had also come to control a modest industrial set up in these two provinces. And of course there were the Africans on whose exploited backs the whole system rested.[26]

A new factor was suddenly introduced in the situation when diamond and gold were discovered in Kimberly (Orange Free State) and Witwatersrand respectively. An inevitable

struggle ensued between Afrikaner agricultural capital and British imperialism to exploit these sources of fabulous profits.

The agrarian Afrikaner capital and the petty-bourgoeis (in the northern provinces) coalesed with an Afrikaner langauage movement[27] to found the Afrikaner Bond (1988) which was intended to become the 'vanguard organisation' of 'Afrikaner nationalism.[28] The aim of the Afrikaner Bond was to stop the profits of the land to migrate to England and to make enterprise more dependent on Afrikaner capital than English banks.

However, within this movement there was a contradiction "which, broadly speaking drew a line of demarkation between the attitudes and aspirations of the landed bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeoisie. Where as the former was content to settle for a sharing of power with imperialism on the basis of joint exploitation of the 'native masses' and would, therefore, accept equality of language and economic opportunity on the existing foundations, the latter were concerned to gain exclusive power and to sever the British connection, thus making it possible for national capital to become dominant in the whole of South Africa".[28] Since the interests of the former were more in line with the realities of the situation and because it is they who really lead

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Afrikaner Bond (J.H. Hofmeyer and Company) a politics of conciliation and power sharing as junior parterns, with the British continued.

But the British wanted more and the Anglo-Boer war took place in 1899-1901 leading to the annexation of the two northern republics of the Afrikaners by the British. This further blocked the aspirations of the petty bourgeoisie. The agrarian capitalists however, were quick to compromise with the imperial finance capital (mining) the political expression of which was The South African Party led by Generals R Botha and Smuts. "The episodic differences between General Smuts and General Hertzog (who almost immediately after the granting of independence in (1910) - broke away from the South African Party to form the National Party should not obsure the fact that both accepted the premises of the compromise of 1910, a fact that was again proved in 1934 when their parties merged to form the United South African National Party".[29]

But the fundamentalist petty-bourgeoisie did not give up its struggle. In 1918 a small group of them formed the Afrikaner Broaderbond (A.B.). "It was founded by fourteen railway clerks, policemen and clergymen."[30] A number of teachers joined the organisation from 1921 onwards and gave

it leadership. Later Calvinist academics like L.J. du Plessis joined and the leadership shifted to this group. In the initial years it was 'little more than a religious organisation".[31] Moreover it was wracked by dissention and several purges took place. To enforce descipline the organisation went undergound in 1921. It decided to take up the role of the 'vanguard organisation' of the northern "Afrikaner nationalism" in 1927 when General Hertzog abondoned republicianism following the 1926 Balfour Declaration that granted South Africa dominion Status. In 1926 A.B. set up its 'public front' - the Federation of Afrikaner Culutural Association' (F.A.K.) to develop and organise the cultural life of the Afrikaners. In 1934 it decided to infiltrate members into 'key positions' in all leading institutions and began to recruit political leaders for the Afrikaner nation. Dr. D.F. Malan was one of the earliest recruits.

Throughout however the A.B. membership remained predominently petty bourgeois. In 1944, the first year for which a reasonably reliable breakdown of members' occupation list exists, teachers academics, clergymen and civil servants accounted for over fifty percent of members, with lawyers, journalists, politicians, farmers and assorted businessmen the other large occupational grouping.[32]

The A.B. was a policy-making and coordinating body planning the activities of its public organisations and individuals. Its organisational set up was very much in the line of Nazi and the Facist parties from which it had drawn a lot of inspiration.[33]

But how did this essentially an urban petty-bourgeois organisation bring an overwhelming majority of Afrikaners, economically in diverse class categories -- within a single ideological fold to vote the Nationalist Party of Dr.D.F. Malan to power in 1948? And first of all what was this classes' own interest?

The petty-bourgoies was interested in a system where they would be able to build up an 'Afrikaner Capital' that would be able to replace 'British Capital' which dominated the financing of South African mining and industrial economy and took away large profits back to England. They therefore wanted a government through which the Afrikaners alone will be able to call the shots and would have an exclusive hold over the economy. For this purpose however it was important to bring the two other important classes within the scope of their plan.

First let us take the case of the white workers. A large white working class had developed over time. It

started with the Anglo-Boer war when many Afrikaner small farmers lost all. A couple of droughts and a steep rise in population were also important factors that proletarized them. Then came the Great Depression (late 1920s) which again drove many rural Afrikaners to the cities looking for work. This class very singificantly, was in the process of developing a class consciousness too, under a number of organisations.[34] However, the A.B. was able to bring them within its ideological fold due to two reasons. First of all white workers were having tough competition form the African workers who were used to working cheaper. Secondly, the white workers had caste-consciousness against the African workers, based on colour. So the A.B. through its own labour unions championed the cause of white workers by demanding reservation of jobs for them (colour bar) at least in skilled work and also higher pay than the Africans.

The other class was that of the Capitalist farmers, one group of which belonged to the Cape and the other to the northern provinces. To begin with they were the support base of the South African Party and subsequently the United Party of Jan Smuts. They were finally brought into the fold of A.B., with the II World War. Jan Smut's decided to join the war effort for the British which was contrary to the interests of the farmers. First of all they did not see

what interest South Africa had in the 'War of imperialists'. Secondly it affected their market where Germany was an important buyer of their exports. Moreover they found the domestic policies of the United Party to be softeng towards the Africans which was contrary to their interest. The Capitalist farmers were not only interested in effecting 'legal' take-over of most of the agricultural land that blacks still hald as tenants but also such a system that would provide cheap labour for their capitalist farming. These interests were not being fully met becuase of thee 'persisting' hegemony of British Imperialism'. Therefore, a majority of these farmers turned to Afrikaner nationalism of the A.B., Dr. Malan and his Nationalist Party.

And where would the capital came from to create the Afrikaner capital' for the petty-borugoies? It was supposed to come from the accumulated capital that the Agricultural bourgeois was either hoarding or spending in real estates and also from the funds that could be collected through union funds of the white workers.

Politically the culmination of A.B.'s success was the securing of complete independence for South Africa in 1948 with the establishment of the republic and the victory of the Nationalist Party which set up the institutionalised

system of aparthied that segregates and exploits the blacks. As far as its professed economic goal to establishing the hegemony of Afrikaner capital was concerned there was some success as indicated in the table below, though English capital and that of the Multinationals (Table III - Chapter IV) still outweigh Afrikaner Capital in most sectors except agriculture.

TABLE I

English/Africans Differentials[35]

Affrikaans/Share of Ownership of Private Sector

Sectors	1938/39	1954/55	1975/76
Mining	1	1	30
Manufacturing Construction	3	6	15
Commerce	8	26	16
Transportation	N.A.	14	15
Liquour & Catering	N.A.	30	35
Finance	5	10	25
Agriculture	87	84	82

However, this persisting preponderence of outside capital in the South African economy is not resented any

more becuase foreign capital is politically weak and cannot challenge the Afrikaners in national policy. Moreover this capital is necessary because Afrikaners simply do not have enough capital to invest in their economy. Morover the interests of British capital to a great extent is served by the apartheid laws which keeps black labour cheap. But now that some of the capitalist section - especially the non-Africaners capital -- are wanting a loosening of the system their suggestions are facing firm rejection by an overwhelming majority of Afrikanners and their government which proves that A.B.'s goal of making Africandom the pre-eminent will in South Africa is realised.

THE ENTRENCHING OF APARTHEID :

We will make a brief survey of the Acts that were enacted to entrench Aparthied.

As far back as 1903 the Legden Commission, appointed by Lord Milner, in which a majority were, quite interestingly, British members, had made proposals for the separation of blacks and whites politically and territorially, planning to leave the substance of political power in the hands of while legislators, and to have the land demarcated into black and white areas with a view of finality. To a very great extent subsequent South African legislators looked up to the Legden

Commission as the inspiration behind the segregation policy. Between 1910 and 1938 there had been a number of legislations passed which were later reinforced after 1948 to instituionalise Aparthied. Some of them are as follows :

1. <u>1927 - Inmorality Act</u> forbidding extra-marital sex between Africans and Whites.

2. <u>1923 - Urban Areas Act</u> confining Africans of segregated townships or locations :

3. <u>1913 and 1936 - Land Acts</u> reserved 13% of Land for Africans constituting 73.7% of the population. Outside this land, Africans could neither buy nor (in most cases) rent property or business.

4. 1922 - The Stallerd Commission suggested that Africans should only be in the towns to 'minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases to minister'. All African men over sixteen years of age had to carry a 'pass' or reference book which recorded their permission to work and live in a particular white area.

5. <u>Mines and Works Acts 1911 and 1926</u> barred Africans from more skilled jobs at least in the State sector.

6.   Industrial conciliation Act - 'Pass bearers' would   no

longer have employee status in the unions which will be

registered from henceforth.

Between 1939 and 1948 there were some steps taken to

halt and even revert this process of segregation.   However,

they were abortive and cost the United party, its defeat.

With the coming of hte Nationlist Party to power this   short

relaxation process was completely reversed.   The Nationlist

Party undertook to set up a system where the economy would

develop with the traditional heirarchical race structure

which would ensure the preservation of the white edentity

and its superior position vis-a-vis other colours.

Following is the sequence of the important legislations

undertaken to achieve this goal (1948 - 1970).

POLITICAL

1.   1950 - Population Registration Act - it provided

for   the   compilation of a register of   the

population and the issuing of racial identity

cards.   It also laid down definitions of each

race.   Further it catergorised the Africans into

ten groups on the basis of language.   However, the

whites (with British and Africaaners) were now in

one single racial group by law.[37]

2.   <u>1951- Bantu Authorities Act</u>[38] - Aparthied divides
     the African population into ten groups declared to
     be 'national units' or even 'Nations'. The 13% of
     the   land   is   distributed   among   these   groups
     consisting of 73.7% of South Africa's population.
     However, only half of the African population stays
     in the Bantustans while the other half is working
     as labour in the white farms or are residing in
     the Urban areas mostly under temporary residence
     rights.   Under this Act Tribal Authorities were
     set up in Bantustan areas to revive traditional
     structures and at the same time make the chiefs
     dependent on thee white regime. These homelands
     are gradually progressing towards 'Independence'
     through   stages.   Four of them are   already
     'indepenent' (like Trankie).

3.   <u>1959 - Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act.</u>

4.   <u>1968 - Prohibition on Political Interference Act</u>
     banned racially mixed political parties.

SOCIAL :

1.   <u>1953 - Reservation of Separate Amenities Act</u> - to
     counter the decision of the courts in 1952 that
     separate facilities must be equal.

2. <u>1957   - Native   Amendment   Act</u>   - compulsory
    segregation in churches, places of entertainment,
    clubs, buses, sports etc.

ECONOMIC

1. <u>1950 - Group Areas Act</u> - restricting, trading and
    residential rights of non-whites.

    Vertical and horizontal controls of black labour
    movement were brought under stiffer controls.
    Total preference of whites in the state sector was
    establish.

2. <u>1953 - Bantu Education Act</u> - to deliberately give
    inferior education to Blacks so that they are
    unable to compete with white job seekers.

3. <u>1970 - BANTU Labour Amendment Act</u> - Most far
    reaching measure of. job reservation for white
    labour.

REFERENCES/NOTES

1. Both the words - 'Blacks' and 'African' have been used in this paper to refer to the native negroid people of South Africa.

2. Afrikaans is the langauage of the Afrikaners who are those Whites of South Africa who are to Dutch origin.

3. Scruton Roger - A Dictionary of Political Thought, London, Pan Books in association with Macmillam Press, 1982 - page 19.

4. Aparthied the Facts - International Defence and aid fund for South Africa in cooperation with the U.N. Centre Against Aparthied, 1985.

5. Population Statistics of South Africa :

Major Groups	Population (in millions)	Percentage
Africans	21.0	72.7
Whites	4.5	15.5
Coloured	2.6	9.0
Indians	0.8	2.8

Source : Ibid - page 19.

6. Land area of South Africa is 11405/9 square kilometers - The Oxford School Atlas. DELHI, Oxford University Press, 1988, page - 5.

7. Michael Savage - "The Imposition of Pass Laws on the African population in South Africa 1961 - 1984" in African Affairs - April 1986, page 181.

8. Hill. R, Christopher : Change in South Africa, <u>Blind Alleys or New Directions?</u>" London, Rex Collings London, 1983.

9. Philip Mason - <u>Patterns of Dominance</u> - London, Oxford University Press, 1970, <u>passim</u>.

10. Bipan Chandra - <u>Modern India</u>, New Delhi, NCERT Publication.

11. Brian Bunting - <u>The Rise of the South African Reich</u>, London, Penguin Books, 1964.

12. Though the Boers (Afrikaners) claims that they were the first settlers on the land, actual history as traced by Davenport among others, proves that those black tribes who had migrated to this land from other parts of the Africa Led come much earlier. Refer : Daveport T.R.H. - <u>South Africa, A Modren History</u>, London, Macmillian, 1977.

13. Dan O'Meare - <u>Volkskapitalisme : Class Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism 1934-1948</u>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

14. <u>Ibid</u>, page 6.

15. Most of this short account has been gleaned from T.R.H. Davenport - <u>Op.cit</u>.

16. Brian Bunting, <u>Op.cit</u>, page 7.

17. Dan O'Meare, <u>op.cit</u>, page 7.

18. De Villiers - "Afrikaners Nationalism" in <u>The Oxford History of South Africa</u>, (ed.) M. Wilson & L. Thompson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971, Vol. II, pp. 365-366.

19. Pierre L. Van Den Berghe - <u>Race and Racialism - A Comparative Perspectives, New York</u>, John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1978, Introduction.

    He has given an interesting overview of approaches to the study of South African racism. Berghe has given the instance of Barth as one of the subjective liberals.

20. <u>Ibid</u>, Introduction.

21. R. Horawitz - The Political Economy of South Africa - London, Weidenfed and Nicholson, 1967.

22. Like Merle Lipton, Op.cit. Also see Mugalane Bernerd Mkhosezwe : The Political Economy of Race and class in South Africa, New York & London, Monthly Review Press, 1979.

23. Dan, O'Meare, Op.cit.

24. No Sizwe - One Azania, One Nation : The National Question in South Africa, London, Zed Press, 1979, passim.

25. In fact, as Berghe (Op.cit page 97) points out, initially race was not the basis for states differentiation between Europeans and indigenous peoples. Religion was the important criterion and baptism conferred legal and to a considerable degree, social equality with the Dutch settlers. During the first few years of Dutch settlement there were a few instances of Christian marriage between Dutchmen and Hottentot women ...... Within a couple of generation however, colour and race had supplanted religion as a criterion of memebership in the dominant group.

26. It is not fundamental for an analysis to examine the smaller - mostly miniscule class positions of the Indians, coloreds and others.

27. This language movement was started by a group of Afrikaner intellectuals who wanted to replace official but alienated Dutch of the northern province (Transvaal end Orange Free State) by Afrikaner and to develop the latter to a level of intellectual and social respectability vis-a-vis English.

28. No Sizwe, Op.cit.

29. Ibid, page 17-18.

30. Dan O'Meare, Op.cit, page 60.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid, page 63.

33. Brian Bunting Op.cit.

34. O'Meare, _Op.cit_, This is significant because such a movement was aparently crucial and that had the possiblity of developing into a multiracial working class movement against the white bourgeois.

35. Merle Lipton, _Op.cit_, page 410.

36. _Ibid_.

37. _Aparthied : The Factsps : International Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa in Cooperation with the UN Centre Against Aparthied, 1985_, page 16.

38. _Ibid_, page 53.

38

CHAPTER II

PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGE

A social system is dynamic and even apartheid with all its rigidity does not escape this fact. Thus, even before racialism was formally instituted with the establishment of apartheid in 1948, pressures for change in the opposite direction had already started gathering. The non-whites through various organisations and protest movement of increasing intensity made more and more strident demands for equality and justice. In the 1950s and 60s they attained the quality of a liberation sltruggle and inspite of heavy-handed oppression the struggle has continued.

No country is immune to the influence of the international community - not even if it wants to, which South Africa's white regime does in certain matters especially its 'internal affairs'. The world community stands against apartheid because it is 'a crime against humanity', and 'a threat to international peace and security' (we shall elaborate on this in Chapters III & IV). The World Community has accepted African nationalism, the ideology of liberation struggle of the havenots of South Africa as a legitimate force.

Even the white minority of South Africa has not been a reactionary and racist monolith. Not only has there been a section (though relatively a minority) of white civilians which favours a fairer deal for the non-whites on moral, programatic or economic grounds but even the government has from time to time paid lip-service to or introduced changes (though hollow) for delivering justice to the non-whites. But first let us examine African nationalism.

(1) AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The movement of non-white resistance to Apartheid was initiated by a distinguished group of African chiefs and educated leaders who founded the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. An Inter-ethnic association, it pledged to defend the rights and represent the interests of non-whites as a whole to the Union Government. Initially it was not 'truly nationalist' because it merely demanded political justice from the Government.

Steven F. MacDonald ('The Black Community)[1] lists seven "all-in" efforts to forge an unity of all individuals and organizations resisting Apartheid in the form of a variety of conferences from 1909 to 1970s through which black nationalism has developed. The theme of the

conferences broadly represent the progression of African nationalism from the South African Native Convention (1909) asking for "equitable Justice" to the "Black Renaissance convention" (1974) demanding "a society in which all people participate fully in the Government of the country through the medium of one man one vote". It is a history of increasing radicalism.

The ANC remained the chief organisation opposing Apartheid till 1959 and is still considered at least by the international community at large, as the foremost organisation representing African nationalism.[2] ANC adopted the FREEDOM CHAPTER in 1955 which proposes a system based on universal adult franchise. It also proposed a socialistic kind of set up where the major resources of the country would be managed by the state (belong to the people) although private enterprise and professions of the non-monopolistic kind would be legal. Actually ANC has got both liberal and socialist elements in it with the South African Communist Party being its affiliated organization. It has also got strong links with the USSR which gives its commondos millitary training and arms to fight the South Africa forces.[3]

In 1959 there was a rift within the ANC and a group broke away to form the Pan-Africanist-Congress of

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Azania (PAC) under Subukwe. It questioned the nationalist position of ANC which was based on ethnic plurality including within its fold the coloured, the Indians and the sympathetic whites. It was therefore, according to PAC, not 'truly' nationalist in the strict sense of the word. PAC championed an 'African Nation State; a government by and for Africans - on the lines of Algeria or Tanzania.[4] PAC denounced both US and the USSR as imperialist powers and preferred to develop relations with China.

The ANC is cricised by some for the type of revolutionary politics it conducts. No Sizwe criticises the ANC for not really attempting to creat a class based nationalism which it otherwise formulates.[5] To make this point he quotes Mandela's replies to the prosecuting council at the Treason Trial where Mandela States his preparedness to advocate refraining from civil disobedience etc. in return for gradual extension of black representation in Parliament.[6] Bob Petersen an erstwhile editor of 'Workers Unity' the official journal of South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU) - an ANC led organization, criticised the leadership for not letting SACTU develop into a genuine, independent underground trade union organisation because of its class character.

Till 1960 the ANC and the PAC (after it was formed), led peaceful movements but with gathering mass participation against the South African regime. After the Sharpville massacre (of peaceful agitators led by PAC) in 1960, both these organisations were declared illegal and many of their leaders were detained. The Freedom Charter (ANC) was declared a treasonable document and the famous Treason trial took place between 1958 and 1961.[7] Henceforth both organizations went underground and many of the leaders went into exile. They were forced to take to revolutionary struggle. The ANCs pluralist (ethnically) ideology helped it get wide recognition abroad. Armed struggles especially by ANC soldiers are 'firmly integrated' affairs, well planned and coordinated with civilian support and has been acknowledged by the white regime's security forces as a serious challenge, even in the absence of major direct confrontations of a conventional kind.[8] Especially since the beginning of 1981 there has been a big increase in the number of 'incedents'.

Within South Africa, after Sharville, there was widespread repression with all important leaders jailed, banned or in exile. The rest of the sixties was a period of lull but resistence and the liberation struggle begun to acquire mass proportions again under the leadership of "a

new layer of legal, organised opposition loosely united by their varying adherence to a set of ideas described as "Black Consciousness".[9]

Significantly influence by Frantz Fanon,[10] the manifesto of the South African Student's Association (SASO - 1969 - of Steve Bikofame), which as the leading organization of this movement, read:

"Black Consciousness is an attitude of mind - a way of life.

"The basic tenet of Black Consciousness is that the Black man must reject all value systems that to make him a foreigner in the country of his birth and reduce his basic human dignity .... The Black Man must build up its own value system .... see himself as self defined and not defined by others.

"The concept of Black Consciousness implies the awareness of the black people of the power they weild as a group, both economically and politically and hence group cohesion and solidarity are important facets of Black consciousness. Black consciousness will always be enhanced by the totality of involvement of the oppressed people;

hence the message of Black Consciousness has to be spread to reach all sections of the Black Community."[11]

The SASO, the Black Peoples Convention and other organization within the fold of this ideology mobilised large mass movements to oppose Apartheid from the Seventies. In 1976 after the Soweto messacre of school children the movement became widespread and had to be suppressed with new security laws, banning of these organizations and great amount of repression. However new legal organizations proliferated to carry on the struggle. At the moment discontent is so widespread that the South African Government is clamping down even on liberal/religious legal organization like the South African Council of Churches, the Anglican Church (Bishop Desmondl Tutu) etc. to control their activities.[12]

Finally one should take a look at the Inkatha Movement of the Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu Bantustan. He claims that he commands a support base that has growth greater than that of ANC. Championing the aspirations of the Zulus he says that he is fighting white supremacy from 'within the system'. Though this movement is given importance by some authors, most commentators find his claims to be considerably hollow.[13] First of all his

supporters are limited to Natal and Kwajulu. Secondly being a legal organization membership of Inkatha is an overt affair. On the other hand many supporters of ANC would not take formal membership due to fear of repraisals. Therefore the strength of the followings of the two organizatiaons cannot be calculated on the basis of number of registered members. Thirdly, quite appearently, Buthelezi either attracts supporters because of the jobs and facilities he controls, being the chief of a Bantustan, and/or through his loompens coerces people into supporting him. In fact a number of opinion polls have shown that even in Natal, a supposedly Buthelezi stronghold, Mandela has double the number of followers than Buthelezi.[15] In fact Buthelezi is considered by genuine African Nationalist Organisations like the ANC and the PAC to be an enemy of the South African Blacks for helping the Whites to divide their ranks on ethnic lines and mislead a section into wrong kind of politics.

From the above account we can delineate three debates among the Africans themselves on the nature of African nationalism. The first one (as reflected by the PAC splitting away from ANC) is whether it is a nationalism solely of the Africans symbolised by an exclusive Black Culture and its destiny or is it a pluralistic nationalism

incorporating members of all races who believe in equality of races and in the system of one man one vote. ANC takes the latter view.

The second issue is whether African nationalism would be based on class consciousness or race consciousness. Although ANC, being an inter-ethnic organization and having the South African Communist Party within its fold, is formally committed to a class-based nationalism, it has been criticised for not practicing its ideology in a pure form (as discussed earlier). Gerhar[16] points out that in 1978, of the 28 executives of ANC and PAC, except two the rest were all university educated. This to an extent reveals that the leadership hardly has any proletarian background. In fact Brewer[17] argues that though the Black Labour Unions (since 1982 when they were legalised) play an important role in opposing apartheid, it is the educated professional and semi-professional Africans (nurses, social workers, teachers, solicitors, doctors etc.) and students who play a crucial role in leading and supporting the movement. Since these people are not strictly proletarian and are motivated more by moral persuation than by economic oppression, African nationalism stands on a broader base than a single economically exploited class.

Finally the third debate is whether African nationalism has any base at all. Buthelzi would go along with the White regime to claim that the Africans consist of several unique tribes with their unique cultures and therefore separate nationalisms. This argument is of course widely rejected because it is an obvious fact that whatever might had been the case before the whites came, in the past one hundred and fifty years tribal exclusivity has been broken down under the impact of colonialism and Africans have generally merged into one broad people of havenots. Tribal identities are not significant for a majority of the Africans any more.

It is difficult to ascertain as to which organisation or group of organisations leads the Africans in their struggle. The inter-ethnic ANC perhaps still retains the leading role though after 1960s Black Consciousness organisations have been more in the public eye. Gerhart[18] has called this movement a successor of the ANC and the PAC. The question of support of the African masses to the various organisations with different ideological positions would become important if and when the Whites are finally overthrown. However it was heartening to see most of the organisations coming together to found the United Democratic Front in 1983 to coordinate their opposition to Apartheid.

(except for Inkatha which is an outcase among truly nationalist organisations). They have continued to remained united in their struggle.

(2) WHITE PERCEPTIONS

Even from within the white minority of South Africa pressures of change emerged. First of all there were the liberals who seek a gradual evolution of the system into a just and democratic set up to be achieved without violence. According to Christopher Hill, "though liberal forces have not really been able to do anything to improve the system they have helped to ensure that it has been administered fairly within the rules laid down by the Nationalist Party Government. Ideas of 'human rights' have been maintained in Parliament by such courageous individuals as Mrs. Suzmen and outside by the such bodies as the Institute of Race Relation".[19]

However the most significant call for change comes from some of the manufacturing capitalist sections of South Africa. Merle Lipton[20] analyses the economic dynamics of the situation as follows: Capital in South Africa was never unanimously in favour of Apartheid. During the first half of the century Agricultural and Mining Capital were predominant economically and apartheid served their

interests by assuring a supply of cheap and abundant Black labour. Manufacturing capital at that time would not mind it either way because it depended more on skilled labour which was available in plenty amaong the whites themselves. But with the passage of time the manufacturing sector grew and became technologically more sophisticated. Table 1 below indicates the increased weitht of the manufacturing sector.

Table - I

Sectoral Contribution of GDP (%)[21]
1911-1980

	1911	1951	1960	1970	1980
Agriculture	21	19	11	8	7
Mining	28	13	14	10	23
Manufacturing & construction	5	22	24	27	26
Service	46	46	51	55	44

Even the mining and agricultural sectors introduced superior technology.

All this led to an increased demand for skilled labour, who further enjoy market advantages because of the colour bar which prohibits black labour from securing jobs above certain levels. More over the blacks are mostly

uneducated and cannot acquire skills easily. This has led to a short supply of skilled labour. For example in 1975 there were unfilled vacancies of 7916 white posts in the metal and engineering, electrical, motor building and priority sectors.[22] This artifically high demand for their skills made the white workers demand and get very high wages which goes against the rational of capitalism. Moreover this affected the prices of manufactured goods which becomes uncompetitive in the export market. As it is, their export market was at least partially affected due to Apartheid earning an international status of an outcast. Again, fresh finances and loans from abroad were reluctant to venture into South Africa due to the perceived instability of South Africa after Sharpville and other disturbances. There was even some flight of capital from South Africa.[23] Finally the capitalist felt that a larger market for their goods could be created within the country by giving the African some buying capacity instead of keeping them at a total subsistance level.

Thus a variety of business group interest,[24] basically in the manufacturing sector, exerted pressure upon the South African government to remove some of the social and economic discriminations. Their objectives included the removal of job reservation - statutory administrative and

customary; movement towards the elimination of the wage gap between black and white; examination of a wide range of ligislations which had the effect of inhibiting the labour supply in the hope that much would be jettisoned; practical measures to improve the quality of life of African in urban areas; the inclusion of blacks in employee status in the Industrial Conciliation Act; improving or even abolishing 'Bantu Education' etc. Arguments commonly used to persuade white public opinion-that change must come-were that of 'enlightened self interest' and that there were enough jobs to satisfy the needs of the white labour force.

These pressures were not ignored by the South African Government. Vorster (1966-78) and P.W. Botha (1978-1989), who succeeded him as the Prime Minister, realised the necessity of introducing a pragmatic approach. Vorster formally conceded that 'one does not have the right to belittle and redicule the human dignity of others ...... and that blacks must be treated not a labour units but as 'human beings with souls"[15]. Botha agreed that in a changing world adaptation was necessary. He said that people should not be too emotional about African identify. Even if these were basically rhetorical utterences, from around 1970 onwards these was a perceptible relaxation of apartheid at least in the socio-economic sphere:

- Racial segragation in sports was relaxed to some extent from 1977.

- The Mixed Marriages Act was relaxed vis-a-vis coloured people.

- In the economic sphere 'the vertical colour bar' and 'job bar' were relaxed partially. The Rickert Commission and the Wiehahn Commission made a number of suggestions to relax control on African labour and allow them to from various.[26] Many of these suggestions were at least partly implemented which showed positive effects (though very limited) on the wage gap between white and African labour, and the nature of occupational structure - as indicated in Tables II & III below.

Table II

Racial Shares of Total Personal Income(%)[27]

	1924/5	1946/7	1960	1970	1980
Whites	75	71.3	71.2	71.9	59.9
Africans	18	22.2	21.4	19.3	29.1
Coloured	5	4.5	5.3	2.3	3.4

Table III

RACIAL OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE (100s) 1960 & 1980[28]

Occupation	Year	Whites	Coloured	Indians	Africans	Total
Professional	1960	138	14	5	48	206
Technical	1980	371	51	23	205	650
Administrative	1960	59	1	2	6	68
Managerial	1980	126	3	4	5	138
Clerical	1960	276	9	8	19*	313
	1980	395	70	53	211	839
Sales	1960	97	10	23	29*	160
Workers	1980	196	38	37	180	541
Service	1960	59	118	15	711*	902
Workers	1980	156	153	17	1174	1499
Agricultural	1960	117	128	12	1475	1731
Workers	1980	89	155	6	1734	1992
Production &						
Related	1960	176	214	43	1316	1949
Workers	1980	434	387	104	2304	3230
Unclassified &	1960	28	59	17	286	391
Unemployed	1980	28	71	12	702	813
Total	1960	1150	554	126	3890	5720
Economically						
Active	1980	1905	928	226	6524	9613

* Stars highlight the occupations in which blacks made perceplible inroads.

- Education of the African was partially improved. Whereas in 1970 expenditure on Bantu education was 50 million Rands, in 1983, it was 1168 million Rands. While in 1961 there were only 2200

University Degree holding Africans in 1980 there were 25000 of them.

However given the enormity of the discrimination (as we saw in Chapter I) such changes have been negligible and the average African in South Africa still leads a humiliating and poor life.

Hill identifies two broad opinions among the non-liberal whites both of which want to enjoy superiority over the Africans but one of them taking a less conservative and, according to it, a more pragmatic stand. This less conservative section which is known as the 'Verligte', believes that it is better to improve the lot of the Africans socio-economically and give them some sort of political expression within the system (They are however unable to suggest viable changes). Otherwise they fear that in the case of a civil war the whites might be totally dispossessed. The other section known as the 'Verkrapte' is rigidly against giving away even an inch. It is the 'Verkrapte' opinion that is dominating the political arena of South Africa while the 'Verligte' form a minority opposition. The latter group broadly consists of the manufacturing sections among capitalists (we have seen why) and a minority of the professionsls, academics, students and journalists.

The basic reason why the Government of South Africa shies away from introducing really significant socio-economic measures is because the verkrapte are in majority both in society and in the administration.[29] According to Lipton, within the 'White oligarchy' the classes which dominate are the white farmers and the white labour who perceive a threat (both economic and cultural) in bettering the socio-economic conditions of the African. Hill points out that one can argue (like Dan O'Meare) that, 'Afrikaner identity' had not been innate in its coherence but had been an ideology developed by interested classes to further economic goals. But it cannot be denied that such as ideology has taken deep roots in the Afrikaner psyche and an ordinary Afrikaner might be genuinely paranoid to protect it from the perceived on-slaught of another culture. Thus to analyse the situation in South Africa one has to see the interplay of both the catagories - race and class.[30]

Another reason why the white rulers of South Africa are reluctant to introduce wide-ranging socio-economic measures in favour of the Africans is because they fear that it would only strengthen the liberation struggle instead of placating the Africans. For instance if Africans are allowed more spatial mobility in the 'Whites-only' areas it would give them the scope of carrying out 'terroristic' activities more effectively.

As far as giving the Africans equal political rights is concerned, the possibility is simply ruled out because that would inevitably end the hegemony of the Whites who form a minority. Therefore except for a handful of 'liberals' the rest of the whites do not give it any consideration. Not only are political rights denied to the Blocks, but even their permanent presence or direct ownership of significant assets in white areas is disallowed because of the cultural, economic and political threat that would exist if it were otherwise. However such a policy face a delemma because economically the whites cannot do without black labour.

As a solution to this complex problem the system of 'separate development' on ethnic lines was developed. (refer to Bantusthan Acts in Chapter I) It was deemed to solve a number of problems:

a) It recognised that Africans also have a right to political freedom and the development to their independent culture. Therefore provision was made to give them the scope to develop 'independently'. Thus the 'homelands' or 'Bantustans' were created as autonomous African territories which would become progressively independent. However it was 'historically' justified that Africans are

entitled to only 13% of the land and that too the infertile tracts while the rest 'rightfully' belong to the Whites.

b) The Blacks were forcible devided into several separate ethnic entities based on tribe and culture and all were given separate .homeland on the basis of the belief of racially pure development. This was quite probably a measure that sought to devide the Africans into disperate groups ideologically and spatially in order to distintegrate their mass strength. About half of the Black population was forcible removed to these Bantustans while the rest remained the urban areas but with virtually no political or other rights and privileged and under extreme segregation.

c) Most importantly the homeland policy 'proleterized' the African tenants of white lands who were forced to leave for the Banntustans their adding them to an already swollen black labour force. The system moreover divided the Africans on the linels of ethnicity.

Bromberger[31] points out that the whole plan was an attempt to extrenalize the 'III world' problems of poverty,

population explosion and rising expectation exacerbated by colour conflict, with which the white' oligarchy', an outpost of the first world, found itself confronted within its body politic. Moreover to get over the problem of increase of black population in white areas due to growth of industries a policy (Physical planning Act etc.) was implemented which was to decentralise industrial growth. New industries were to, come up in the bordering areas of Bantustans which would stop African labourers from migrating to white areas.

P.W. Botha who became prime minister in 1976 took some of the following steps to control growing black discontent and to respond to international pressures. He increased expenditure on Bantustans (though insignificantly), introduced the ninety-nine year lease system for property held by blacks in white urban areas; introduced the "Three house legislature" system where coloureds and Indians would get a nominal political representation in the system (1983); relaxed mixed Marriages Act vis-a-vis coloureds; made provision for middle class Africans to own property in African when locations etc. Botha's aim was to create division between the non-whites and also within the Africans. His government believes that a growing middle class could counter the growing discontent

among the Africans from within. However that his policy has failed is evident from the fact that from 1984 onwards South Africa has been kept more or less under emergency and at present the South African Government is clamping down even on legal organisations and their activities.[32]

Botha is finally retiring after being a President for more than ten years. These ten years were not easy. The freedom struggle has been constantly alive. The international community, in spite of the West continuing to support Apartheid, has been constantly pressurizing for reforms if not total change (we will go into the details in the last chapter). The South African economy has not been doing very well. "Economic sanctions and falling gold prices have put South Africa in a financial squeeze. An estimated $ 50 million deficit surfaced in South Africa's balance of payments ... current account in January due to falling gold price which have been hovering around $ 480 a gram .. pointing out that this signalled threat to its ability to keep up heavy repayments of its massive foreign debt - one billion dollars of which are due this year."[33]

> "In recent years South Africa has been pledged by double digit inflation, exorbitant interest rates, a perennial draught in much of the country ... and sharply increasing labour cost...."[34]

However the mood of a majority of Afrikaners is not very condusive to change. Patrick O'Meare reports as to how there has been a general shift to the 'right' in white politics in South Africa - as evident from byelections held in recent months.

Some hopes have been raised with the coming in of Frederik. W. Deklerk as the new leader who will replace Botha shortly. He is supposed to be, according to many, a pragmatic leader: "It is a reflection of these hopes that De Klerk is the first leader of South Africa's ruling party since world War II to be invited to both London and Washington to meet Prime Minister Thacher and Secretary of State James Baker III and possibly President Bush".[35] Helen Suzmnan, a veteran civil rights legislator testified to the changed atmosphere but warned that it would be a mistake to expect more than "incremental change", in the framework of De Klerks' ideological vision.[36]

Klerk's problem as was Mr. Botha's is the confusion caused by the ambiguous rhetoric of reform that the Pretoria Government has developed over the years as it has tried to convince the world it is abandoning apartheid while at the same time reassuring white voters at home that is is not.

The statements made by Klerk made it seem that he "envisions a system in which the racial groups will function as constitutionally defined political blocs which equal voices regardless of their size. No group muslt be in a position to dominate the others ... that is why he will not consider majority rule a system that would allow the black majority to dominate .... Decisions will have to be reached by consensus among racial groups with a maximally depoliticised body, such as a constitutional court, to serve as arbiter."[37]

This again might be pure electoral rhetoric aiming to keep everybody positively inclined towards him, and would most probably never see the light of implementation. But the Blacks do not even accept this device as one that could really give them their rights. It is a device which according to them would thrawt the majority's democratic right to rule. "Such a plan would preserve the priviledged position whites have built for themselves under apartheid, in which they control 89% of the land and 95% of the country's industrial undertakings."[38]

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CHAPTER III

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

To a great extent the post World War II international political system continues to vindicate .the realist doctrine[1] according to which "power"[2] is the determining variable in international relations. This "power system" which has its genesis in the industrial revolution and the development of capitalism in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century has three important characterists:

(a) The techno-economic revolution rendered a handful of western countries materially far advanced than the rest of the world - an advantage that has increased continuously. Except for China and Japan disparities between the developed countries and the rest have gone on widening inspite of prolonged efforts by the latter to develop themselves. As techno-economic strength is a fundamental facet of power[3], the latter remains concentrated in global dimensions mainly in the hands of a few developed countries. But as we see in the next point underdevelopment is a price that the "backward" countries pay for the prosperity of the developed.

(b) Capitalism by its very logic has to constantly expand not just to prosper but in order to survived[4]. This necessity propelled the capitalistically developing west to embark on its colonial mission. Vast territories of Asia, Africa and America were forcibly incorporated into a system in which they figured as the vast "periphery" dominated, made dependent and exploited by the small but developed and powerful "centre"[5].

Several factors[6] led to decolonisation of the peripheries in the twentieth century and almost all the erstwhile colonies are today free nations. However, this freedom is still to be substantively realised. Bandyopadhya writes: "the structures created by imperialism are more or less intact, sometimes under different forms and names...."[7] Thus direct colonial rule and economic exploitation has given way to new methods and instruments to politically control and economically exploit the third world. Political and military intervention (covert or overt), manipulation of insternational financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund[8], unequal trade practices, the predatory Multinational Corporations and the veto power in the United Nations security council are some of the more important of the means used for this post-world war II subjugation of the formarlly free III World by the powerful few of the world[9], perhaps more effectively than in the past.

(c) However, the powerful do not form a monolith. In the pre-World War II era, the imperialists while on the one hand were exercising power to exploit the colonies, on the other they were exercising power in a intra-capitalist conflict over the "sharing" of the colonial world. It is this basic contradiction (without going into its complex details) that was responsible for the two world wars. ⋏ However At the end of the World War II, the alignment of the "power elite" of the world changed drastically.

First of all there was the rise of the East. The Bolshevik revolution (1917) heralded the birth of a new system based on an ideology that claimed to be the successor of capitalism in an evolutionary sense. The fact that Soviet Russia was attacked several times in the intra-war period by the European capitalists indicate the fact that it did pose a threat in their perspective. However, the fundamental contradiction still remained intra-capitalist. It was only since the end of the Second World War that Soviet Russia expanded its direct influence beyond its borders. The east-European countries joined the Socialist ranks[10] alongwith China where the second major socialist revolution took place. Socialism became an attractive ideology-at least in some of its aspects for a large number of newly independent III World countries like Tanzania;

fuelled revolutions in a few of them like Vietnam and Cuba; and has kept alive strong movements in many others like Phillipines.

This global development was totally antithetical to the interests of capitalism. Shrinking global influence of imperialism would not do, and therefore the "evil" encroachment of socialism had to be "contained" by military means.

This brings us to the actual "power game" that is played in the post 1945 world politics. Analysing it Fred Halliday writes:

"Since that time (1945) two elements have ABOVE ALL ELSE dominated international relations.... These are the conflict between two rival social systems, capitalist and communist and the nuclear arms race."[11]

These two elements makes the nature of "competition" and "conflict" inthe present system different from the "previous great power rivalries". To quote further from Halliday's succinct analysis: "The competition between the social systems is firstly "GLOBALISED ie, it involves the whole world in its political and military dynamics. Whilst unable to..... control or programme much of world events,

the major powers nonetheless tend to impose their own competitive logic upon them. Secondly, the rivalry rests upon a BIPOLAR conflict between the USA and the USSR, the two states which emerged as dominant forces in their respective domains at the end of World War II.[12] In the 19th century Britain was supreme.... In the period between the First and Second World Wars a variety of states competed for dominion. The bipolar conflict dates....from the emergence of these two and only two great powers of the nuclear age. They are endowed with economic, geographic and political weight at a time when the possession of large nuclear arsenals has given each of them additional superiority over other states within their own camps. Thirdly the conflict is SYSTEMIC (which makes it more deep rooted).... There are underlying reasons, inherent in their respective social orders, which dictate that they (the two Great powers) cannot permanently resolve their disagreements...."[13]

This fundamental systemic and ideological contradiction is emphasised by Halliday especially because, "Systemic conflicts override attempts at state to state accommodation. For the very social interests embodied in the leading capitalist and communist states are present, in a fluid and conflicting manner, in third countries; the

result is that the clash of the two blocks in constantly re-animated and sustained by developments in these other states (eg. Afghanistan) that may be supporters or allies of one or the other block."[14]

Coming to the second element that, according to Halliday dominates the present political system of the world -- the nuclear arms race -- we find that its nature too is quite different from earlier arms races. Not only have conventional armaments become more devastating but the atomic weapon threatens the world with definite annihilation in case of its use - however much the U.S. might be trying to harness its technological superiority to create a "nuclear umbrella." (SDI)[15]

Bipolarity, of course, is perceived by many analysts like Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya[16] to be weakening since late 1950s because, countires which were earlier towing the "paternal" lines of the super powers have asserted their individual prowesses. France has done so vis-a-vis the U.S. while in the case of China, its ideological differences with the U.S.S.R. sundered them totally. China Struck out an independent foreign policy line based on its individual military strength and opportunist diplomacy that even made it shake hands (even if guardedly) with the U.S. obviously in order to counter possible Soviet hostilities.

The development of "Polycentrism" has however not led to any significant change in the political structure of the international system. It has merely altered the composition of the "oligarchic centre" of the international system. Bandyopadhaya writes:

> ".....the polycentrism which resulted mainly from the Sino-Soviet conflict, beginning around 1956, did not substantially alter the oligarchic and neoimperialist character of the international system. It merely inspired new strategic manoeures within the central oligarchy[17], resulting in the Sino-US rapproachment and the acceptance of the People's Republic of China was an additional member of the international oligarchy sanctified by its admission into the UN System as a permanent member of the Security Council".[18]

Thus, we see that it is the powerful who dominate the world and the major issue of international politics is how power is exercised by the powerful. Whether it is in systemic conflicts fought out in the Third World arenas like Afghanistan between the West and the East, or whether it is in the perpetuation of coercion, control and exloitation of the III World by the imperialist West, the issue in both cases relate to the exercise of power.

Inspite of this, however, it is amply evident that a number of fators have eroded the ubiquity of power in international relations and have whittled down the scope of arbitrary actions and unilateralism of powerful nations. Some of the factors can be sighted:

(i) Paul Kennedy in his extremely comprehensive historical analysis of "The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers," has highlighted the fact as to how even in the present era when the two "super powers" seem to be invincible, factors are already at work both internally and externally to affect existing superiorities and balances. About the United States he writes:

> "Although the United States is at present still in the class of its own economically and perhaps even militarily, it cannot avoid confronting the two great tests which challenge the "longevity" of every major power that occupies the "number one" position in world affairs.: whether in the military/strategical realm, it can preserve a reasonable balance between the nation's perceived defence requirements and the means it possesses to maintain those commitments; and whether, as an intimately related point, it can preserve the technological and economic basis of its power from relative erosion in the face of the ever-shifting patterns of global production....."[19]

The present detante in east-west relations which Gorbachov wants to carry forward into a total transformation of the international system that would be based on peace and cooperation - free of nuclear anxieties and reccuring tensions, is a recognition of the fact that the Soviet Union is not in a position to carry out, to a large extent, a pointless struggle and competition with the West. Not only this -Gorbachov also knows that it would not be very difficult for him to diplomatically and substantively

convince the west of his good intensions because in reality
the Western countries too at this point need to concentrate
on their own economic and political well being -
domestically. USA has got an uneasy economy to handle,
especially when economically its competitors are, quite
ironically, the faster developing EEC countries and Japan.
So is the EEC group, especially West Germany and France
among them keen to make the beat of the "second industrial
revolution"[20] for which they are even eager to cooperate
with the USSR and China - or for that matter anybody with
whom business would be good. Morever, politically too the
prolonged and expensive strategic activism of the west has
too a great extent lost the support of domestic populations.
Besides challenging the very necessity of "aggressive"
deterrance especially nuclear deterrence as done by the
Greens of Europe, "....In the area of military procurement
itself, allegations of "waste fraud and abuse have been
commonplace".[21] And this is but one of the questions raised
by people in the NATO countries about the credibility of
NATO policies.

(ii) Scott[22] has made an interesting differentiation
between the nature of international interaction that existed
prior to 1945 and that which exists today. It would be
worth it to quote him in detail:

"The traditional issues of world politics in the pre-interdependent era normally revolved around matters of domination and subordination, power and control. They had to do away with the way in which relationships among actors were established, managed, and changed with the capabilities of actors, and with the strategies and tactics that they might utilize. These issues had to do often, with relationships between actors in special subsystems. The contemporary scene abounds with examples of this kind of relationship - Soviet-American relations....., relations within the NATO alliance and so on. These are the problems of kind that Alexander, Ceasar, Napolean, and Metternich would have understood. Issues of this kind have probably existed since the beginning of relations between organized geographic units. Their emergence did not depend on a particular level of technology and required only enough interaction to allow contending praties to come into contact with one another. Therefore in the pre-interdependent era there was little concern for global problems because there were few of them and it was too early for obervers to think globally.

With technological advances and a rise in the level interaction among actors, however, the situation began to change rapidly in the twentieth century. Issues arose the very existence of which would have astonished a Ceasar or Napolean: issues involving global inflation, recession, unemployment, currency instabilities; environmental issues involving pollution of the atmosphere, the sea, oceans and lakes, inadvertent weather modification, purposeful weather modification, the elimination of entire species; global resource issues relating to energy, minerals, over-fishing of the seas, the mining of the ocean depths.....; issues involving the creation of global organizations to promote

peace, development, and improvement in the quality of life around the world; issues relating to global population, total world food production, the carrying capacity of the globe and the nature of limits to growth......

Problems of this kind cut across national boundaries and the lines of various subsystems and may be global in extent."[23] And unlike in the past today international organizations and bodies, conventions, laws and so on are required to manage such global interaction and problems.

Even when we look at the issue from the framework of imperialism we find that even as the peripheries suffer from "structural" "dependence" and "domination",[24] the "centres" are also "dependents" on the perpetuation of such structures. It is afterall not out of any altruistic volition that the West-manipulated International Monetary Fund is taking such a wide interest in the Third World debt crisis.

(iii) Politically, inspite of the "power system" still continuing to reign, there has taken place considerable change though much of it is of formal nature. First of all the process of decolonisation led to the liberation of most of the Third World. The host of new nations inspite of

being individually weak have attained some amount of initiative. Today, for instance, India can resist imperialism to a significant degree as it is doing in the case of impending U.S. trade sanction in the form of Super 301.[26]

If not individually at least collectively the Third World has made its presence felt in international organisations, most notably the United Nations. They moreover have learnt to coordinate themselves through organizations like the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77. Though collective security still remains illusive, internationalism has come to stay and international issues like decolonisation, new international economic order, democratic world order disarmament and peace and racial equality have gained wide currency inthe U.N. though they are still far from being resolved.

The above developments undoubtedly contradict the dominance of the "power system" in world politics. And the Non-Aligned Movement is one of the major forces that have emerged in the post-colonial era to challenge this "power system". What the newly independent countries experienced after decolonisation was that the international system was still being dominated by the powerful and the latter sought

to continue their domination - ideologically, economically and technologically and if necessary, militarily. As we will elaborate subsequently - these "new nations" were opposed to thetwo interrelated manifestations of the exercise of power -(a) the bi-polar bloc politics in which the cold-war tensions threatened to engulf the whole globe in its strategic brinkmenship; (b) The continuing dominance of imperialism of the west. We do not propose to go into the individual cases of non-aligned nations and examine as to what compulsions influenced each of them toward this collective endeavour. However, it was obvious that common experience and a common desire to be genuinely independent nations seeking healthy development in a just world urged them to come together, coordinate their views and embark on a collective endeavour to work for a better future.

Several enterprising leaders of the post-colonial world made their contribution to the birth of this movement. Leaders like Pandit Nehru of India, who hosted the Asian Relations Conference as early as 1947 and President Sukarno of Indonesea who hosted the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asia relations in 1955 were the trendsetters. President Tito of Yugoslavia, though not from a colonial background could be called the main driving force behind the launching of the Non-Aligned Mvement, alongwith Pandit Nehru and President

Nasser of Egypt. The preparatory meeting for the first conference of heads of state or government of non-aligned countries was held in Cairo in June 1961. This led to the first conference of heads of state or government of non-aligned countries held in Belgrade from September 1st to 6th, 1961. Since then seven more such conferences have been held at regular intervals of three years except for an interval of six years between the second and the third conference. That the movement has grown in strength is indicated by the fact that while the first conference in Belgrade had twenty-five participants and three observers, the last one held in Harare (1986) had one hundred and one participants and fifteen observers.[27] There are of course opinions which feel that this increase in membership has led to ideological dilution as more and more diverse national ideologies are being accommodated within the movement. For instance, Jackson writes, "The question of a common NAM ideology is a contradiction of sorts in a movement spaning the capitalist economies of Singapore and Kuwait, the conservation of Saudi Arabia and Morocco, and the hard-core communism of Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea...."[28] However, as we will see later, the ideology of Non-Aligned has consciously and necessarily placed itself above this very diversity of forms of government, national ideologies and strategies of socio-economic development. NAM seeks to

achieve goals in relation to which these diversities converge.

Despite the enormous amount of documentation, it is relatively rarely that the Non-Aligned have collectively and explicitly delineated the ideology of NAM. K.P. Mishra says, "It is true that at no time during the last three decades has a cohesive and well integrated theoretical framework of non-alignment been evolved. It is also true that this has led to varying interpretations of non-alignment and hence to confusion."[29] However, a patient perusal of the available speeches of some of the more prominent non-aligned leaders like President Tito of Yugoslavia, Pandit Nehru and others and the communiques of the non-aligned preparatory meetings and Summit Conferences a reasonably comprehensive and coherent understanding can be arrived at.

Here we must briefly dwell on the idea of "consensus" in NAM on the basis of which the communiques are formulated. Many western scholars have been highly critical of the ambiguous process of consensus that NAM follows. Jackson writes:

> "The idea of consensus, rather than actual voting is at once vital to the movements identity and at the root of its organizational problems. It both provides a facade of Third World Unity and prevents precise agreement on non-aligned positions...."[30]

He writes further:

"Acceptance of a consensus (in NAM) is less binding and allows members to compromise in the interests of NAM unity without being accountable...."[31] Again he says, "Nor is there total agreement on what constitutes consensus. Cuba, Vietnam and other "radical" members support the view..... that it is merely a convergence of views....Other Latin Americans have tended to favour unanimity as a basis for consensus. Similarly, some Asian members advocate unlimited debate until all members with reservations agree not to openly oppose the consensus.

The question of reservations is equally troubling and the reverse of consensus. As issues and membership have multiplied, a significant number of states, beginning at the Colombo summit, have dissociated from specific sections of summit declaration...."[32].

To be objective such criticism cannot be ignored and to a significant extent these problems do plague NAM. The fact pointed out by Rajan that one-sixth of the Belgrade participants and one-third of those at the Cairo and Lusaka summits had military links with a great power[33] does undermine the ideology of NAM. Many observes like Rajan in fact suggest a stricter membership criteria for NAM.

However, the core leaders of NAM - if such a group can be strictly delineated - India, Yugoslavia, Cuba, the African Group excluding perhaps the French sattelites and other have preferred a widely participated movement with its incidental "ambiguities" to a "closely kint" one with limited number of paticipants. Pandit Nehru speaking in the Bandung Conference, 1955 said: "we all came with our own perspectives each considering his own problem the most important in the world. At the same time, we are trying to understand the big problems of the world and to fit our problems into this larger context, because in the ultimate analysis, all our problems, however important they may be, cannot be kept apart from these larger problems...."[34]

Making a statement in the Lok Sabha on the same conference Prime Minister Nehru reported: "....the problem of Dependent Peoples or colonisation was the subject which at once exerted both pronounced, agreement and disagreement. In the condemnation of colonisation....the conference was at one.....

" There was, however, another and different view in the conference which sought to bring under colonialism and to include in these above affirmations the alleged conditions in some countries which are soverign nations. Some of these are members of the United Nations and all of them are

independent in terms of international law and practice. They have diplomatic relations with ourselves and other countries.... It appeared to us that irrespective of whatever views may be held in regard to the conditions prevailing in these countries or of relationships that may exist between the Soviet Union and them, they could in no way be called colonies; nor could their alleged problems come under the classification of colonialism..... It is no injustice to anyone concerned to say that this controversy reflects a - projection of the cold war affiliations into the arena of the Asian-African Conference. .....It is, however, entirely to the good that these conflicting views were aired and much to the credit of the conference, that after patient and persistent endeavour a formulation was forthcoming which did not do violation to the firmly held opinions of all concerned. This is a matter of which it may be said that one of the purposes of the conference, namely, to recognize diversities but to find unity, stands vindicated."[35]

Thus, Nehru, even before NAM was launched had made explicit some important characteristics of the envisaged third world unity. One important point he has made above is the inevitable influence of the bipolar politics on the Third World which unavoidably has a negative effect on the

unity. However, he, I think judiciously, feels that it is still possible, inspite of differences, to arrive at a consensus of perception however dilute it may be.

In fact, as Willets does, it would be worthwhile to make a subtle distinction between non-alignment as a principle of foreign policy of individual countries and non-algned as a collective Third World movement aspiring to transform the international system. Though, there is no doubt that the latter is to a large extent a product of the former:[26]

"Non-alignment was chosen to be an instrument of or a means of foreign policy by its founders like India in order to give fuller meaning and content to their newly achieved political independence. They were not content with just formal transfer of political power: they wanted to go beyond and shape their destiny autonomously and in a manner which protected and promoted their national interest which lay essentially in accelerated socio-economic development of their weak and backward societies. International peace was a pre-requisite for the achievement of this objective and the cold-war blc-politics and power politics needed to be opposed".[37]

(Though it is a fact that in the first Summit Conference in Cairo Cold War was a major concern especially emphasised by Pandit Nehru, we will later see when we go into the issues that concern NAM that this statement is slighly misleading in the sense that cold-war was a particular phenomenon-albiet a crucial one-of a whole system that NAM opposes). ~~However~~, Thurufore, (to come back to the point we are presently pursuing), being non-aligned does mean having totally independent foreign policy which might take stands on issues but such stands should be on the merit of the situation and should not betray any informal alignment with power contestants.

However, if we examine the individual foreign policies of the participants of the movement we come across numerous deviations if we view them strictly through the framework of non-alignment in the "ideal-typical" sense. Many cynical observers[38] have seen hypocrisy in the individual acts of non-aligned countries. For instance India's Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the USSR is sighted as an example of such hypocrisy.

Without going into a detailed defence against such allegations it will suffice for our purposes to state two arguments in defence of NAM. Firstly whatever futuristic

visions of a better world they have, for the present NAM
countries have to survive and develop within the existing
parameters of international relations. And as we know, with
the big powers still having an authoritative hold over the
globe, and there being various regional and national
compulsions that are not totally condusive to the policy of
non-alignment, it would be unfair in many cases to expect
individual foreign policies to reflect the "ideal type"
completely and consistently.

The second argument is that such a problem need not
decisively impair the effectiveness of the movement. The
very fact that the movement has managed to grow spatially;
has been consistently arriving at consensus over collective
perceptions and policies, and has taken individual positions
over various issues in world bodies especially the United
Nations, goes to prove that the collective force in genuine.
However, these arguments make us implicitly accept a subtle
distinction...." between non-alignment as a principle of
foreign policy in individual countries and non-alignment as
a collective movement."[39]

The first non-aligned gathering - the Cairo
Preparatory meeting in June 1961 attempted to give a concise
definition of non-alignment. The Foreign Ministers drew up

the criteria by which the Committee of Ambassadors issued invitations to the first summit.[40] These were:

(1) The country should have adopted and implemented policy based on the existence of states with different political and social systems and a non-alignment or should be showing a trend in favour of such a policy. '

(2) It should be consistently supporting the movements of National independence.

(3) The country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great-power conflicts.

(4) If a country has a bilateral military agreement with a great power or is a member of a regional defence pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts.

(5) If a country has conceded military bases to a Foreign Power, the concession should not have been made in the context of Great Power Politics.

NON-ALIGNMENT AND NEUTRALITY

The above definition is highly important as it shows that even at this very early stage the Non-Aligned were not

identifying themselves solely on the basis of a lack of military alignment in the cold war. The definition highlights as its first two criteria, peaceful coexistence and anti-colonialism.

Despite the fact that the Non-aligned are not neutral states many writers have persisted in maintaining that non-aligned is merely a synonym for neutralism.[41]

However, nw it is widely accepted that the two are vastly "different cups of tea".[42] Following are the differences:

(i) In formalistic terms the neutrality of the European neutrals Switzerland, Austria and Finland, is founded on either municipal or international law. This legal states cannot be transformed without violating the legal provisions relevant to them. Non-alignment on the other hand is based on political considerations and can be changed without recourse to legalities. In fact, the potential great warriors of the post world war II era, do not accept the "neutrality" of the non-aligned. Willets in differentiating between the "neutralist component" of non-alignment and the legal "neutrals" of Europe writes....:

"By contrast the cold-war belligerants, with their "those who are not for us are against us" approach, do not

recognise or respect any decision to abstain from the cold war."[43]

This attitude of course has changed considerably for the better and today the NAM countries are not really held in that kind of a contempt as was by Dulles.[44] The USSR in fact often appreciates the attitudes of the NAM countries.[45]

(ii) The main concern of all the four European neutrals is war, ie. to stay neutral in that eventuality. Their peace-time neutrality is really a prerequisite to their main wartime objective. Non-alignment as is obvious, is basically and almost etirely a peacetime policy. In case of war, the non-aligned may find it necessary to take sides on the basis of right and wrong. A. Appadorai quotes Nehru clarifying this point as early as 1947 December in the Constituent Assembly :

"That (non-attachment to blocks) has got nothing to do with neutrality or anything else or passivity.... It is a little difficult nowadays in world wars to be neutral.... We are not going to join a war if we can help it; and we are going to join the side which is to our interest when the choice comes to it."[46]

Stressing the fact that non-alignment is an active, positive approach the first preparatory meeting communiques say:

"State participating in the meeting availed themselves of the opportunity to reaffirm once again, their adherence to the policy of non-alignment as a POSITIVE APPROACH to the problems facing the world at present.

This 'positive approach' of NAM is not confined merely to an approval to war, especially cold war bloc politics. In fact as Bandyopadhaya points out NAM emerged at a time when polycentrism and post first cold-war detante were also emerging[48]. Though, "....there was a popular belief that detante could make the concept of non-alignment obsolete",[49] President Sukarno of Indonesea stated in very clear terms at the Belgrade Conference of NAM (1961): that "prevailing world opinion today would have us believe that the real source of international tension is ideological conflict between the Great powers; I think that this is not true. There is a conflict which cuts deeper into the flesh of war, and this is the conflict between the new current forces for freedom and the old forces of domination..... · The world must recognise this conflict between the old and the new..... Socialist states have emerged.... New independent states have emerged....All nations must have the freedom to arrange their own national lives.....No power shall

interfere in the struggle of any other nation to change its ideology...."[50]

After all the cold wars are only particular phases in a bipolar power system and the latter does not cease to exist when the former does. Thus as we will elaborate later the fight of NAM is against the whole oppressive power system dominated basically by imperialism. However, since during the first summit cold war and threat to peace were immediate concerns of NAM, as emphasised by Nehru in Belgrade, let us first study NAM's position vis-a-vis East-West bloc tencion.

NON-ALIGNMENT, COLD WAR & ALLIANCE POLITICS

Whar are the characteristics of cold war that we witness in the modern age?

Taking off from Hallidays analysis given earlier - Cold War believes in the possibility of war and prepars for it, the result of which is the heightened rigidity of blocs, authoritatively had by the super-powers and what follows is hostile strategic manouverings and the arms race. Since it is a game of power, the initiative lies in the hands of the most powerful who aspire to draw other nations into respective blocs. World politics is thus seen in the

framework of East-West rivalry. This rivalry is set in the framework of incompatible and competing ideologies - broadly capitalism and communism.

The Non-Aligned Movement refutes this whole ideology of cold war. Schwarzenberger defines power politics as a system of international relations in which groups consider themsleves to be ultimate end.[51] In view of NAM, giving such primacy to group interest artainly lead to doom. The Second World War nearly led to such a disaster.

"The War (II World War) ended disastrously for the mightiest fascist states, which had made tyranny and force the guiding principles of their policy and war a means for.......imposing their domination upon the entire world-ignoring humane and other moral principles which are asserting themselves with increasing force in the present-day world."[52]

A third world war would certainly lead to disaster because of the nature of armaments in this nuclear age:

"........the greatest peril facing the world today is the threat to the survival of mankind from a nuclear war....(It) is no longer a moral issue; it is an issue of

human survival. Yet...the arms race,.....as well as reliance on doctrines of nuclear deterrance has heightened the risk of the artbreak of nuclear war and led to greater insecurity and instability in international relations...."[53]

Therefore :

".......international peace and security can only be ensured through general and complete disarmament....under effective international control."[54]

Disarmament is not merely necessary to ensure peace but is crucial for the development of the poor countries:

".....massive investments in the economic and social progress of mankind can be made if agreements are reached to reduce expenditure on armaments...."[55]

Given the potential threat of annihilation that is contained in a cold war NAM, maintains:

"....in our time no people and no government can or should abandon its responsibilities in regard to the safeguarding of world peace".[56]

Because the cold-warriors believe that world politics in solely their purview, NAM challenges such a claim: "The purpose of this meeting is to make the great

powers realize that the fate of the world cannot rest in their hands alone. It is to demonstrate to the protagonists of force that the majority of the world decisively rejects the use of force as a means for settling the varius important problems we have inherited from the last war." [55b]

Neither is the ideological basis of cold war accepted, which is a tool used by the powerful to undermine the soverignity of less powerful and post colonial nations:

"The present day world is characterised by the existense of different social systems....these differences (do not) constitute an insurmountable obstacle for the stabilization of peace provided attempts at domination and interference in the internal development of other peoples and nations are ruled out.....

"....any attempt at imposing upon peoples are social and political system or another by force and from outside is a direct threat to world peace......

"....the peoples and government shall refrain from any use of IDEOLOGIES for the purpose of waging cold war exercising power or imposing their will." [57]

The Non-Aligned Nations were paricularly sensitive to such inferferences, because many of them were totally involved in developing modern political and social system at it suited their visions and purposes. And in this endeavour they were not ready to tow the line of the 'pure' forms of capitalisation or socialism as practiced by the cold warriors.

Thus the cold war must come to an end:

".......it is high time to have this division (between blocs) removed, at least gradually and embark upon a new and fresh road of understanding and cooperation in international relations by means of peaceful negotiations."[58]

War is an anachronism in the nuclear age and NAM hopes that in the coming age outstanding issues are resolved through cooperation and negotiations, preferably at the international level, in the forum of the UN:

"The best way of proceeding would be to settle outstanding issues through United Nations."[59]

However, though the NAM is on principle against war and alignments it has compromised this principle to a certain extent on grounds of pragmatism. It has not ruled

out the possibility of war and is therefore not against its participants having their defence establishments. Nor are alignments ruled out altogether - as is obvious from the membership criteria quoted above. A member can have defence understandings or cooperation with other nations but it should not be in the context of the cold war. There is a difference between the two types of alignments. Defending his country's policy of having military cooperation with India, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia told a press conference in New Delhi (14th September 1986): "My country was free to ask any other friendly nation for help and training of its personnel."[61]

NAM BEYOND COLD WAR:

There is no doubt that east-west tension and the threat of global annihilation due to this was the burning issue at the time of the first non-aligned summit conference at Belgrade in 1961. Nehru addressing this confernce said:

"Today everything, including the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism, which is important and to which reference has been made repeatedly here, is over shadowed by this crisis which confronts humanity...."[62]

'This Crisis' is of the cold war. However, as we have seen in the criteria for membership profounded at the first preparatory meeting at Cairo in June 1961 and also when we examine below, the agenda that was stated in it, the scope of NAM was not restricted to the cold war. The subjects proposed for discussion were:

"Exchange of views on the international situation. Establishment and strengthening of international peace.

(1) Respect for the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination struggle against imperialism, liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

(2) Respect for the sovereignity and territorial integrity of states; non-interference and non-intervention in internal affairs of states,

(3) Racial Discriminatin of Apartheid,

(4) General and complete disarmament; banning of nuclear tests; problems of foreign military bases,

(5) Peaceful coexistence among states with different political and social systems,

(6) Role and structure of the United Nations and the implementation of its resolutions.

Problems of unequal economic development; promotion of international economic and technical cooperation.[63]

NAM & DECOLONISATION

The Belgrade Conference 1961 perceived the cold war as a manifestation of the crisis that the 'power system' is facing in trying to perpetuate the 'value' of domination:

"There is a crisis that lead towards a world conflict in the transition for an old order based on domination to a new order based on cooperation between nations, founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of prosperity; considering that the dynamic processes and forms of social change often result in.....a conflict between the old established and the new emerging nationalist forces; considering that a lasting peace can be achieved only if this confrontation leads to a world where the domination of colonialism - imperialism and neocolonialism in all their manifestations is radically eliminated; and recognizing the fact....that the acute emergencies, threatening world peace now exist in this period of conflict in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America and Big Power rivalry likely to result in world conflagration cannot be excluded; THAT TO ERADICATE BASICALLY THE SOURCE OF CONFLICT IS TO ERADICATE COLONIALISM IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS...."[64]

Raimo Varynen wirtes:

"International relations can be observed from either the top or the bottom.....A great power perspective argues that international relations flow out of the domestic conditions of major powers and from their neutral relations, often characterized by tensions and rivalries.....The peripheral perspective.....that the peripheries are not mere objects of international power games, but they have a measure of independence and can therefore shape, in part the course of international relations. Certainly they are not able to lead the world, but they may be capable of injecting their own interests and values into these relations...."[66]

However, many myopic observers felt that NAM's relevance was basically in the context of cold war and it would became a redundant force once detante had set in. This view is naturally based on an inadequate understanding of NAM.

Addressing the fourth summit conference at Algiers in 1973, President Tito sid:

".....the tendency of bloc polarization of the world is waning, while non-alignment is gaining strength - both quantitatively and qualitatively. Consequently, what we have always claimed - namely, that the roots of a policy are

much deeper and its objectives long term - is being confirmed today.....this struggle will be indispensible as long as the old relations are not replaced by a new, democratic practice, in which it will be possible to express the needs of all nations directly and to accord to their legitimate interests on equitable treatment.....".[67]

Thus NAM rejects:

".......all forms of subjugation, dependence, interference or intervention, direct or indirect, overt or covert and all pressures - political, diplomatic economic, military and cultural in international relations.".[68]

Colonialism and neocolonialism is all their manifestations have to be removed to achieve a democratic international system. Though, most of the colonial world had been emancipated by the time NAM was launched a few colonies remained, mainly in Africa. They were the Portugese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa and Namibia under occupation of South Africa. Outside Africa the cause of Palestinians is a burning one among several others.

NAM made these persisting vestiges of colonialism one of its central concerns and has consistently used all its

collective moral force at the U.N. and other fora towards their dismantling. While Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia managed to wrest independence in due course, though not without stiff struggles, the colonial and racist forces of South Africa and Israel have proven to be far more intrasigent.

Expressing the anguish of the dependent peoples of Africa, Ghana's President, Kwame Nkrumah, while speaking at the first conference of the heads of states of non-aligned countries, Belgrade said:

"It is distressing that in this age of enlightenment there should be foreign powers which still regard any territory in Africa as an extension of their own national boundaries, and which refuse to reconcile themselves to the inevitable march of history. It is indeed surprising that nations which regard themselves as civilized should acclaim the unfortunate survival of this pernicious system as a civilising and useful mission."[69]

NON-ALIGNMENT & NEOCOLONIALISM

However, decolonialism in the way of territorial and (formally) political emancipation was not the end of the struggle....:

".......political decolonisation, in quintissence, is nothing more than the recognition of the right of an ex-colonial country to organize its political, legal and administrative affairs in an atmosphere of national independence. It is in a more organic sense, merely the threshold of the domain of freedom for the people--a domain which can be governed in effective measure only by the completion of the process of socio-economic decolonailsation"[70]

It is precisely in the pursuit of this vital goal that the newly liberated countries come face to face with the manifestation of that global reality called neo-colonialism. One might even formulate that political decolonisation and economic neocolonialism have a casual link, insofar as the lapse of formal (old) direct colonialism has created a vacuum that has been filled by informal and indirect colonialism. The receding of political domination and hegemony has been followed by attempts to build patterns of economic manipulation and control. The nonaligned movement's main thrust has been to create conditions for the effective use of the newly acquired political independence of the former colonised nations for their economic development and equitable social transformation. But this thrust of the non-aligned movement as a collective

organization of the 'have not' states and severely constrained by the structure, processes and style of functioning of the international economic system. The basic needs for development of the newly liberated countries includes transfer of technology, availability of loans and aid, adequate supply of energy and favourable terms of trade.

"It is precisely in these areas that the newly liberated countries find that the domination of the world capitalist economy militates against their basic interests and runs counter to their demands for economic decolonisation. The trial of the world capitalist system – Transnational Corporations (representing private/corporate capital) government agencies (representing state sector of advanced capitalist countries) and IMF – World Bank (international financial institutions manipulated by the capitalist west due to weighted voting) have a decisive control on the contemporary international economy – in terms of financial investments, technology, energy, prices of commodities and goods, interest rates, etc."[71]

It is since the Lusaka Conference – the III summit in 1970 – that emphasis on the restructuring of the world economic order have increased.[72] The Economic Declaration

adopted by the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned nations at New Delhi, 1983 states:

".....The crisis of the international economic relations and the widening gap between developing and developed countries have emerged as the most serious problem and a source of instability threatening world peace and security....

"....the international economic crisis was not merely a cyclical phenomena but rather a symptom of structural maladjustment marked inter alia by increasing imbalances and inequalities to the detriment of the developmental prospects of developing countries.

".....Under the present unjust world economic system the lovers of power are firmly in the hands of a few developed countries and are often used to the detriment of the interests of the developing countries.

".....The non-aligned countries are committed to promoting a major restructuring of the world economy throgh the establishment of the New International Economic order. The Heads of States or Governments regard their efforts in this direction as an integral part of the general struggle of their peoples for political, economic, cultural and social liberation..."[73]

NAM AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The non-aligned countries have made their debut in twentieth century international relations by challenging the paradigm of power and defining their national interest (as well as that of all other states) in terms of communication and cooperation. It bases its activities on the principle of communication or exchange, of information and ideas, their articulation, aggregation and ventilation in a multilateral framework.[74]

Therefore, it was but natural for NAM to adopt the United Nations as its central forum for communicating its perspectives and policies to the rest of the international system. J.W. Burton writes: "In any association of nations which is voluntary and in which each member acts independently and avoids alliances, communication is the only associative influence. This is true of federations as it is of the British Commonwealth - the non-aligned nations and the United Nations. The structures and procedures can be predicted ad hoc arrangements for consultation, central organisation with limited powers conferred by consent, and unanimity as a principle of decision - making in any matter regarded by a member as being vital to it.

"Under the influence of these states (Non-aligned) the United Nations has undergone substantial changes: except in form, it is no longer a collective security organisation. The Security Council - once the main focus of attention - is a reminder of the past era, and if in the future it is enlarged, it will function only as a small executive of the Assembly, which today is the more active organ......

"The Goal to which international cooperation is currently directed appears, on analysis, to be no longer a world government, with enforcement potential against a member state ......but a universal international system in which communication, knowledge of consensus, feed-back, awareness of revisionist demands which a consequence views as legitimate, can lead to change and adjustment to change - a process not possible in conventional systems of alliances and colletive security dominated by alliances. In so far as the world organization retains and exercises force, it will be employed only with a limited police function, supervising conflict situations where local communication between states or rival factions has broken down, until such a time as contact is restored and negotiation becomes functional".[75]

The United Nations was crucial for NAM in two important ways. In the first place as soon as a new country has become independent it has sought to join the UN. This

sets the final seal on its independence, with the achievement of international recognition as the granting of formal equality - 'one state one vote'. And secondly the UN provides the crucial forum in which the NAM registers its collective impact. Not only is it physically impossible for the NAM countires to form a bloc to match the strength of other blocs, but as President Tito puts it,

"(The formation of a bloc)...would run counter to the political concept of non-aligned countries. If we examine the actual substance of blocs, their characteristic features, we find that their first and most important feature is their military aspect....these countries (the non-aligned) preclude the use of military force for the solution of any dispute."[76]

NAM exhorts all the states of the world, especially the powerful ones to use the UN to reach solutions on all international problems:

"The United Nations has a vital role to play in safeguarding the independence and sovereignity of the non-aligned nations. It provides the most suitable forum for cooperative action by the non-aligned countries and to facilitate the democratization of internationalo relations. While exhorting the permanent members (of the security

council) to faithfully discharge their obligations under the charter, the conference records its concern at the tendency of the Great Power to subordinate the work of the organization to their own interests and requirements and to bypass the world organization in the solution to international problems....."[77]

In fact the Colombo (Vth) conference of Heads of State or Government, in 1976, while emphasising the relevance of the United Nations, criticized the misuse of veto power by the permanent members to thwart decolonisation and democratization of the international system. It also called upon: "all United Nation member states to direct all their efforts towards the reconsideration of the United Nations Charter particularly as regards the right to veto.....

"Requests all Non-Aligned Member Countires to strive for the amendment of the UN charter....in order to implement the principel of equality among all United Nations Member States:"

To Conclude: "The ideology of NAM is a programmatic assertion of political values which are held to be of universal validity for their proclaimed domain.....It is different from other ideologies in that an ideology is

usually concerned with the role of individuals in society, whereas non-aligned is concerned with the role of states in the international system....."[78]

The ideology arises from the need for identification for new states entering a complex and demanding system; a counter-ideology to the pressures mainly from the "free world" and in many cases as a result of specific situations of stress, that some of the states were facing. Particularly in relation to economic needs the ideology serves the purpose of interest articulation.

Non-alignment is the assertion of state sovereignity in Afro-Asia. The consequences of this assertion have been worked out and proclaimed mainly in the fields of piece and security - colonialism and economic relations. Between them these fields ocver almost all aspects of international relations.

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2. Power for our purposes can be defined as "the ability to control the behaviours of other states in accordance with one's own will"

    - Hano Morgerthau, Politics Among Nations, New York, 1948, pp 13-21.

3. Mahendra Kumar: Theoretical Aspects of International Politics, Delhi, Shiv Lal Agarwal & Company, 1978 page 197.

4. I.V. Lenin "State & Revolution"

5. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya: North Over South: A Non-Western Perspective of International Relations, New Delhi, South Asia Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1984 pages 8-37.

6. Without going into the details we could state a few:

    a) Liberation Struggles
    b) Weakening of the colonial powers due to the exhaustion of World War II.
    c) Pressure from the emergent powers - the U.S. to free the colonies so that they could be penetrated through the U.S. economic interests.
    d) The coming to power of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom which did not find it viable or in the interest of the English Labour to perpetuate colonialism.

7. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya: Op. Cit. Introduction.

8. ibid, page 129

9. As far as 'subjugation' is concerned the predominant complaint of the Third World has been against the United States and its allies. Even if the actions of the USSR have been strongly condemned in particular cases like Hungary (1956) or Afghanistan (1979-1988) by the Third World at large - these actions have been isolated (without going into the merits of the case) and only political whereas the economic hegamony enjoyed by the west in the 'free' world economic system is a pervasive affair. Besides the cases of political

intervention by the US which are much more numerous in number than that of the USSR. It is therefore not surprising that NAM and the east go along so well in the United Nations as Jackson has pointed out. Richard L. Jackson: _The Non Aligned, the UN and the Superpowers_, New York, Praeger Pub., 1983.

10. There is of course a widely held opinion based on facts that though there were communist parties in the East European countries before the Second World War, they could not have come to power or held on to it without total intervention by Soviet Russia at the end of the war. Mas uprising in Hungary (1956) and (Cekoslovakia - 1968) vindicated that fact that large section of the populations of these countries resented the 'Soviet hegemony'.

11. Fred Halliday: _The Making of the Second Cold War_, London, Verso Editions & NLB, 1985, page 30-32.

12. Halliday (op. cit) of course points out in detail as to how it is a misperception - after deliberate - to equate USSR with the US - in the sense that they are equally strong super powers. The economic technological and to a large extent military strength of the former are significantly lesser which makes its alleged drive for Global hegemony an inadequate exercise as compared to that of the US.

13. Halliday, op. cit.

14. ibid

15. Rakesh Gupta, "NAM and Disarmament" in _NAM Summit: New Delhi to Harare_, edited by V.D. Chopra, New Delhi, Patriot Publishers, 1986, page 104.

16. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya, op. cit. page 197.

17. Here the term oligarchy can be very misleading for in the literal sense it would mean that all the powerful join hands in subordinating the weak sections. This is of course not true because the East is not included in the 'imperialist camp' led by the United States and there is little evidence - except possibly in the case of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty - where the two super powers have joined hands in a common policytowards the rest of the world.

18. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya, op. cit. introduction.

19. Paul Kennedy: <u>The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers:</u> London, Fontana Press, 1988, p. 665

20. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya, op. cit. introduction.

21. Paul Kennedy, op. cit. pp.674-675.

22. Andrew M. Scott - <u>The Dynamics of Interdependence.</u> The University North Carolina Press, Cepet Hill and London, 1982, introduction, page viii.

23. ibid

24. Jayantanuja Bandyopadhaya, op. cit.

25. N.A. Sharma, "Developing World: Debt Burden", <u>World Focus</u>, Volume 9, Number 4, April 1988, page 17.

26. Press Trust of India - "India Flays Coercive Trade Moves", <u>Times of India,</u> New Delhi, Saturday, June 24, 1989, page 7.

27 The representatives of the following countries and organisations which are members of the movement participated in the Eighth Conference:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Balames, Balgaria, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Burma, Bhutan, Bolina, Botswana, Barundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Colombia, Comoros, Cango, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, Ajebouti, Eqador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinee, Ethiopia, Gahon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinee, Guinee-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Le Henon, Resotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Omen, Pakistan, Palestine Liberation Organisation, Panama, Peru, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Time and Binape, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierre Leone, Singapore, Somalia, SWAPO, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, Swaziland, Syria, Toqo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Cameroon, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Vanuetu, Viet Nam, Yemen Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Laire, Lambia, Zimbabwe.
The representatives of the following countries

and organizations as well as National Liberation movements attended the conference as observers: Anitigua, Barbuda, Brazil, Costa Rica, Vominica, El Salvadar, Mexco, Papua New Gunea, Philippines, Uruguay, Venezula, African National Congress, Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, League of Arab States, Organization of African Unity, Organisation of Islamic Conference, Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, United Nations and Front de Liberation National Kaneket Socialiste (FLNKS) - K. Ramamurthy & N. Srivastava (ed.) _Eighth NAM Summit Conference Documents_, Delhi, Indian Institute of Non-aligned Studies, 1986, pp.30-31.

28. Richard L. Jackson: _Op.cit_, p.6

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37. K.P. Mishra, "Towards Understanding Non-Alignment", ibid, page

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39. Peter Willets: _The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance_, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1978, Foreward.

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42. a)Peter Willets, op. cit. page 20.
    b)K.P. Mishra, op.cit., pages 5 & 27-31.

43. Peter Willets, op.cit.

44. ibid

45. Jackson, op.cit.

46. K.P.Mishra, Op.cit. page 5.

47. K.P. Mishra, op.cit., pages5.

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CHAPTER IV

THE NON-ALINGNED MOVEMENT'S EFFORTS AGAINST APARTHEID

Before we set out to discover as to how NAM operates in its attempts to dismantle the system of apartheid in South Africa we could perhaps try and see what issues are connected with apartheid which make it abhorrent to NAM countries. This is necessary also to refute the South African regime's claim that the international community does not have any right to interfere in the domestic affairs of South Africa. The legitimacy of NAM's position is justified not only by its own world view but, as we shall see, by the charter and sanctions of the United Nations as well. This of course has to be so because NAM basically functions within the parameters of the United Nations and most of its collective efforts are carried out within the bodies of the U.N.

First, of course, is the fact that apartheid encapsulates a recist doctrine which seeks to deny to non-European peoples tha status, as it were, of fully civilised human beings. As we have seen most of the countries participating in NAM are excolonial whose peoples have suffered for centuries from European racism. In part, thus,

NAM's struggle against apartheid can be viewed as a denial of this racist doctrine by which these excolonial countries seek to establish their selfhood and thus place on a firmer footing their status as independent peoples. Endorsing the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial discrimination of November 1963 NAM declared in its Colombo Summit 1976:

".... any doctrine of racial differentiation of superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous".[1]

Moreover the South African regime is not merely subscribing to racism but concomitantly perpetuating an acutely exploitative colonial system, the description of which we have already seen. We have also seen as to why and how decolonisation is a fundamental preoccupation with NAM. Thus apartheid is a part of a much wider struggle. Describing the situation in southern Africa the Political Declaration of the Seventh Summit Conference at New Delhi said:

"Developments in the Southern part of Africa show that apartheid, racial discrimination and colonial tyranny continue to resist the forces of change. The struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa for self-determination is an

integral part of the wider struggle of the peoples of the world against all forms of oppression, exploitation, domination, inequality and discrimination."[2]

The voilation of Human Rights is obviously widespread and vicious when a minority exploits and discriminates against a vast and resenting majority. Human Rights encompass all the necessary conditions that are required for any member of the 'human family' to develop his or her self to the fullest possible extent. The preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 states:

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.....

"Whereas disregard and contempt of human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have enraged the conscience of man-kind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people ...

"Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and opression that human rights should be protected by the role of law.....".[3]

The two international covenants - one embodying civil and political rights and the other encompassing economic, social and cultural rights - which were adopted in 1966, enshrine thirty articles, setting as common standard, ... for all peoples and all nations'. And - whether it is Article 5 which says - "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment",[4] or Article 21(2) which says, "Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country",[5] or for that matter any of these articles - the system of apratheid violetes them all both legally and illegally.

The world with horror witnessed the Sharville and Soweto massacres of 1961 and 1976 respectively. These incidents have been flashpoints in one continuous saga of state coercion which has consumed thousands of black lives and detained and tortured thousands more. Some of the draconian and discriminating laws have been sighted in the first chapter and there are numerous more. Since 1985 due to mounting intensity of freedom struggle and anti-apartheid

movements South Africa is continuously under emergency rule during which time authoritarianism has increased. In 1988, the Government widened its already extensive controls over black opposition groups with new regulations that severely curtailed all but the administrative activities of the 17 leading anti-apartheid organisations.[6]

To briefly review the violation of human rights of the Blacks of South Africa we can quote a few indices :

TABLE - I

The Index of Human Rights Violation in
South Africa 1981-85[7]

Year	Number of people Arbitrarily Impri- soned	Deaths & Detention	Number of people banned
1981	630	8	19
1982	310	3	21
1983	453	2	10
1984	560	5	11
1985	2436	1	39

Source : South African Institute of Race Relations Survey.

The Carnegic Enquiry held in 1984 to report on the life in the Homelands found --

* Nearly 9 million in the Homelands live below the breadline;

* One-third of the Black Children under 14 are stunted or under-weight;

* In Transkei (one of the Homelands) 26% of the workforce is unemployed.[8]

At this point one might ask whether or not it is hypocritical on the part of the many countries, to denounce violation of Human Rights within South Africa, when their own records on preserving human rights - as in the case of the Iraqi forces using chemical weapons against Khurdish rebel tribes - have taken place from time to time. Partly this criticism may be admitted. However, one must remember that in most such cases violations are not formally institutionalised or legitimised by an ideology such as apartheid, nor are the violations so enormous. When therefore, such violations occur, a possibility internal to the system remains that they will be checked. For instance, the alertness with which the Indian press manages to reports on such violations in India and the vehemence with which the public sometimes react often does pressurize the government
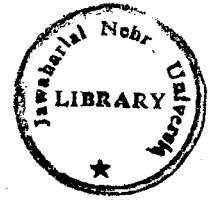
to take corrective actions. We can easily recall the furore that the 'Bhagalpur blinding case' had created a few years back. However, where south Africa is concerned there is no mechnaism by which such checks can be applied. Justly then has the U.N. General Assembly defined apartheid as "a crime against humanily".[9]

The NAM, which has always given apartheid a primary position of its agenda, described the violation of human rights in the Lusaka Summit, 1970 in the following words:

"Nothing with profound concern that South Africa arrogantly continues to persue the policy of racial discrimination and Apartheid of flagrant violation of various UN resolutions on Human Rights and fundamental freedoms...."[10]

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Another fact which gives the world community a right to oppose South Africa is that it is a constant violation of international pease and security. In spite of being a powerful country which cannot be challenged directly by any country within the region South Africa feels insecure. Angole, Mozambique and Zimbabwe have opposed apartheid. This is not only because of South Africa is against communism, the ideology that Angola and Mozambique subscribe to. Moreover South Africa had opposed the decolonisation of

all its neighbours. Even after their empancipation South
Africa has sought to coerce these states and foment
instability in them so that they are not able to give
effective support to the liberation movements of South
Africa and Namibia. Namibia remains a colony of the South
Africa till today.[11] To maintain this hegemony South Africa
has had a conflictual relationship with Angola which is
backed by Cuba, for over a decade because Angola shelters
the SWAPO guirrilas of Namibia. The problem of frontline
states is that they are to a great extent economically
dependent on the relatively much stronger South Africa
economy. This further helps South Africa's "outward policy"
of pressiruzing its neighbours to remain passive.

NAM has been constantly opposing this policy of
'destabilisation' followed by South Africa. To quote form
the Seventh NAM summit's political declaration :

"The Conference noted with great concern the increased
acts of military, political and economic destabilisation
perpetrated by the South African racist regime against the
independent neighbouring states of Angola, Mozambique,
Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and
Seychelles. It condemned the South African regime for
creating arming, financing and utilisation counter

revolutionary groups, bandits and mercenaries as an extension of the South African army to cause instability in the region ..... creating a serious threat not only to regional stability but also to international people and security....."[12]

Such activities of South Africa prompted by the domestic compulsion of perpeturting the racist hegemony deny it the protection of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the U.N. charter which prohibits the U.N. from interfering in a States domestic affairs. As an analyst points out :

"In the case of the practice of Aparteid in South Africa, the question whether it is an internal affair or not was settled in 1946 by the General Assembly itself ... because all the Black countries of Africa are affected one way or the other by the practice of apartheid in South Africa. For that reason the United Nations has every right to deal with the question of apartheid, and in fact it has been on the agenda of the General Assembly every year since 1946".[13]

Another important factor which makes South Africa an enemy of international security is its efforts to become a nuclear power. The Seventh Summit of NAM in its political

declaration expressed its fears concerning this development in this words :

"The persistent efforts of the apartheid regime to acquire a nuclear weapons arsenal were yet another indication of its determination to maintain its dominance. The continued colloboration of certain western countries and Israel with the South Africa regime in this field as well as investments and economic assistance being given by them to South Africa has only encouraged that regime in its intransigence".[14]

Nuclear weapons are not safe in anybody's hands but it is a much bigger threat to the world when the initiative to use such weapons lies with as desparate a customer as South Africa.

Finally, NAM feels that there is no alternative to struggle against the South Africa regime. Whatever changes that have been initiated by the white regime do not have any positive content - whether it is the creation of Bantustans or the new scheme of parliamentry representation. In fact such efforts are meant to divide the non-white popualtion into disperate groups and thus undermine its mass strength. The political declaration of the Seventh Summit condemned these devious policies .....

"It (the Summit) drew attention to the sinister schemes aimed at the perpetuation of colonialism under the guise of Pantustanisation and thus depriving the people of South Africa of their political, economic and social rights and freedoms in order to keep them under the continued subjugation of the white minority ....

The conference noted with indignation the introduction by the South African regime of so-called consitutional reforms and unreservedly condemned that act as yet another device to devide the oppressed people of South Africa and consolidate and perpetuate apartheied and white minority rule".[15]

There are two major ways in which NAM acts against South Africa. One is by using its collective voice and voting strength in the United Nations. The second way is through its own organisations.

NAM, THE UNITED NATIONS & APARTHEID

In the United Nations the issue of apartheid is always given prominence on the agenda. As far as condemning the racist regime and exhorting it to mend its way is concerned the U.N. members are more or less unanimous in their stand. Thus in this matter, whether it is the United States or U.K.

or any NAM country - nobody fails to be critical of South Africa. The NAM groups prominent role in sustaining a strong propaganda compaign against South Africa in the General Assembly and the Speical Commission is definitely important, though "anti-colonialism need not be considered the sole proregative of the Non-Aligned".[16] *However* It is only since the 1960s when the U.N. was joined by host of newly independent countries, most of which also joined the NAM collectivity, that apartheid attained its current status on the U.N. agenda.[17] A voting analysis shown by Peter Willets shows hundred per cent unity of NAM countries in the U.N. on the issue of Aparteid which is not evident where the group of Western countrise is concerned.[18] Of course besides NAM countries, the eastern block and other non-NAM Third World countries have also shown high degree of sympathy for the anti-apartheid cause.

Since the mid 1960s all the main organs of the U.N. have been involved in the attack upon apartheid. The Commission on Human Rights appointed a special Rapporteur whose study detailed a long list of South African legislation that should be repealed; the Assembly established a United Nations Trust Fund for the legal defence of political prisoners, relief for their families and assistance to refugees; the specialised agencies such as

the International Labour Organisation adopted anti-apartheid programmes within their fields of interest -- such as labour legislation -- and South Africa was forced to withdraw from the membership of some of the main agencies; the Assembly drew up as a treaty an 'International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; and the Secretariat established a Unit on Apartheid which has run an intensive information compaign against apartheid".[19]

Propaganda by itself does not solve the problem unless it is backed by tangible action. Here unfortunately the U.N. has been found wanting and as we shall see that the hinderence is caused by some of the powerful members whose cooperation is necessary to undertake such actions.

Such actions could be of three types. They are direct intervention; material support to the liberation struggle in South Africa; and material sanctions against South Africa.

As far as direct intervention in concerned, inspite of the U.N. being theoretically based on the principle of collective security, use of collective force against an erring state is ruled out practically. This is because firstly, such action has to be sanctioned by the security council where the majority of veto powers - U.S., U.K. and France - would not dream of such as action against South

Africa. Secondly, the U.N. does not have any effective military wing to carry out such an action. As we know, not many nations, and especially not the big powers, are really keen on an effective system of collective security because that would involve giving away state sovereignty in large measure.

However, not only is the U.N. ununited on the question of direct intervention, but the U.S. and its allies would not even allow the U.N. to give effective material support to the armed liberation struggle in South Africa except in the way of giving them international legitimacy. This is a major reason why the U.N. puts so much emphasis on peaceful solutions on the ground that violence has many negative consequences. E.S. Reddy Writes :

"Because of the incalculable dangers of violent conflict in South Africa, the urge for peaceful solution is a common feeling in the United Nations."[20]

This reasoning is correct on principle, a principle to which NAM also generally believes in - that 'force' should be marginalised in international politics. However, in certain circumstances there can be no other option. After all it is due to the continuing intransigence of the white regime that the case for the human rights of the blacks of

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South Africa seem to be indefinitely lost. Of what value is peace to these unfortunate people? However, as we have seen, the policies of the U.N. do not reflect unanimity of will and it is the western friends of South Africa, who enjoy veto power, that block the passage of material help from the U.N. to the armed struggle in South Africa. Otherwise the General Assembly is committed to ...."the support of the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people, irrespective of the means they choose, including armed struggle".[21] It was General Assembly which is dominated the NAM countries which gave observer status to the Liberation movement organisations South Africa.[22]

Finally, we come to the issue of economic, political and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa. It is widely felt that such measures to isolation South Africa would put peaceful pressure on it to bring about positive changes in its system. According to E.S. Reddy, the proponents of sanctions in the U.N. has justified the necessity of sanctions thus :

"The logic of economic sanctions is based on the assumption that if the world will make clear its determination to prevent the combination of prosperity and discrimination in South Africa, the previlidged group will be compelled to

reassess the situation and choose prosperity and equality, rather than poverty and inequality."[23]

This reasoning is not totally correct. As we have seen, more than any intrinsic feeling of racial superiority it is the motive of economic exploitation that necessitates the policy of apratheid. Equality and prosperity cannot go hand in hand for the whites of South Africa. This is because introducing equality would mean a just sharing of existing resources, employment, public services etc., which, if implemented would drastically cut into the exclusive preserve of white opulence. According to Mr. Moosa Moola, the African Nation Congress representative to India, the whites would never agree to this on peaceful terms. Genuine sanctions, in Mr. Moosa's view, would have the effect of softening up the white regime which would make it possible for the liberation movement to launch a more effective struggle and compound the crisis. Only then would the whites possibly see sense in relenting to the forces of change. In fact even E.S. Reddy has pointed this out.... "It must be noted that the liberation movement in South Africa has not subscribed to that simple formula (that economic santions by themselves would lead to a change in the system). It has given the central place to the struggle of the people. The purpose of economic sanctions is to

weaken the oppressors, in the context of a struggle of the people, and to render the struggle easier....."[25]

The issue of sanctions - both political and economic gained importance in the U.N. after the 1960 Sharpville massacre. In 1960 the Security Council was involved for the first time in calling for the abandonment of apartheid and cautiously recongnising that the situation is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security.[26]

Following the failure of Deg Hammanskold to make any progress in a visit to South Africa on behalf of the Security Council, the General Assembly in 1962 called upon all states to break off diplomatic relations with South Africa, to boycott South African goods and to refrain from exporting to South Africa. This not being Security Council sanction was not mendantory. The General Assembly also established a special Committee on Apartheid, which has built up an expertise on the situation and has been important for U.N.'s role in disseminating information on apartheid. The Afro-Asian states were not able to obtain an endorsement by the Security Council of the general trade boucott, but in 193 they did gain a call for an embargo first on the sale of arms to South Africa and then later on

the sale of all equipment for the manufacture and maintainance of arms and ammunition.[27] Much later on the death of Steve Biko followed by the crackdown on the news media and Black consciousness organisations provided the political climate for the adoption by the Security Council in November 1977 of a tightly defined, fully mandatory arms embargo.

Though the General Assembly resolutions are not mandatory the constant compaigning has isolated South Africa in a number of ways. Only twenty one countries of the world have got diplomatic links with South Africa; South Africa is deterred from participating in all international sporting events and sports bodies of many countries of the world discourage their sports persons from participating in sports in South Africa etc.

However, mandatory economic sanctions has not been imposed on South Africa. The United States and its allies has to date blocked all attempts by the NAM and other like mined countries to pass mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa in the U.N. The U.S. voting record show the protective attitute that it along with its allies have towards South Africa.

TABLE - II

The Index of U.S. Support for South Africa
in U.N. General (GA) 1981-1985

Resolution	Title of Resolution	Year	Vote		
			Yes	No	Absten-sion
1	2	3	4	5	6
GA 36/172B	Support for Liberation movement in South Africa	1981		X	
GA 36/192D	Mandatory santions against South Africa	"		X	
GA 36/172E	Condemning military and nuclear colloboration with S.A.	"		X	
GA 36/1720	Cessation of foreign investment & financial loans to South Africa	"		X	
GA 37/2	Urging the IMF to deny South Africa's loan application	"		X	
GA 37/39	Condemning assistance to South Africa's Apartheid regime	"		X	
GA 38/39A	Programme of action against Apartheid	1983		X	
GA 38/39K	Condemning apartheid in sports	"		X	

1	2	3	4	5	6
GA 38/72A	Comprehensive sanctions against Apartheid	1984		X	
GA 38/19	International convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid	"		X	
GA 39/15	Condening militery economic & other forms of assistance	"		X	
GA 40/64A	Comprehensive sanctions against S.A.	"		X	
GA 40/64B	Assistance to Liberation Movements in South Africa	"		X	

If this record of United States stand on apartheid looks particularly bereft of a will to change we must remember that there has been some significant pronouncements by the U.S. spokesman which have been critical of South African policies. Thus, after Protoria launched attack against Zimbebwe, Botwwana and Zambia, George Schultz said it was, "totally without justification and is completely unacceptable".[29] But the U.S. administration's general policy towards South Africa had been quite candidly rationalised by President Reagan:

"Can we abandon a country that is strategically
essential to the free-world...? I feel that if we are going
to sit down at a table and negotiable with Russians surely
we can keep with a friendly nation like South Africa".[30]
However, even though the U.S. administration has been
assiduously following the policy of "constructive
engagement"[31] vis-a-vis South Africa, the American
legislature, reflecting a widely held public opinion, was
more genuine in its stand when it passed relatively
significant sanctions against South Africa in 1986 defeating
a Presidential veto.[32]

In spite of this, generally the stand of the West vis-
a-vis comprehensive sanctions against South Africa has been
that such measures would be negative. They reason that
sanctions would not only further stiffen the racist regime's
attitude but the economic crisis that would be generated by
such sanctions would hit the blacks hardest and make their
suffereing acute. Moreover the chaos that might ensure
would throw the possibility of any peaceful solution to the
winds.

This argument has but obviously been found specious by
the proponents of sanctions. Mr. Moosa Moola ridicules such
false concern for the non-whites of South Africa by saying

that if the non-whites of South Africa are ready to face
further hardships for the cause of freedom why deny them the
opportunity to sacrifice?

In actuality these countries are not ready to
compromise their individual and collective interests that
are shared with South Africa. The mutually beneficial links
are both economic and strategic. Let us examine them
briefly:

Important Economic Linkages:

- there is a heavy involvement of multinationals of the
  West in South Africa. Between 2000 and 2500
  transnational corporations have been identified as
  having subsidiaries or associated companies, or other
  investments in South Africa.

Table III

A NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN S.A. BASED IN OTHER COUNTRIES
1980[33]

Britain	1200	Australia	35
West Germany	350	Belgium	20
USA	340	Italy	20
France	50	Swiss	12
Netherland	50	Sweden	10

the Western banks have loaned out enormous amounts to South Africa. Between 1972-1980 the magnitude of such loans was 7 million.[34] Moreover, the United States has served as the "political collateral" for the apartheid state to obtain loans both from international financial institutions and local American banks. For example in 1981, through American influence, the apartheid state got a loan of $ 1.1 billion, the biggest loan from the I.M.F.[35]

South Africa is an important trading partner of the West qualitatively more than quantitatively.

Table IV

EXPORTS & IMPORTS TO & FROM MAJOR TRADE PARTNERS - 1975[36]

(R millions)

Exports		Imports	
Country	Amount	Country	Amount
U.K.	903.7	U.K.	1097.3
U.S.A.	427.7	U.S.A.	985.0
Japan	487.3	Japan	612.0
West Germany	426.8	West Germany	1033.9

South Africa provides a large market for the manufactured goods of these trading partners. Moreover

South Africa is the only source of important minerals which are alternatively produced in significant quantities only by the Soviet Union. These minerals are chromium, Uranium, Manganese and Vandium.[37] The Western powers would not like these minerals sources to fall in the hands of pro-Soviet acts like the ANC.

The factors are possibly given more vital consideration in determining the United States' and her allies' policies vis-a-vis South Africa. The racist regimes secure rightist and 'white' loyalties are important for the west due to a number of reasons.[38]

First of all South Africa is strategically situated on the important Cape sea-route their supplies crucial oil interest to Western Europe from the Middle East (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Southern Arica: The Escalation of a Conflict - A Politico-Military Study, Uppasala, Almquist Wiksell, 1976, p.52).

Secondly, a large part of South Africa's coastline is on the Indian Ocean which have became a strategically important area for NATO since the 1970s.

Thirdly, South Africa, being the regional power, manages to keep its unfriendly, anticolonial and

antiwest neighbours under control by its 'outward' policy of coercion and pressurizing tactics. South Africa in a way can be called a 'frontline' state that colludes with the US in backing UNITA's insurgency against the marxist regime of Angola which in turn is backed by Cuba with USSR's blessings.[39] This factor too makes South Africa a regional ally of NATO.

- Fourthly the fact that the NATO Navy suggested that a 'South Atlantic Treaty Organisation be formed along with South Africa to muscle up the 'soft underbelly' of NATO end counter the perceived growth of Soviet presence in the area exposes the fraternity of South Africa with the west.[41] In its seventh summit the NAM expressed concern at the possibility of the birth of such an organisation. But instead of explicitly stating that such a move had been tentatively planned by the NATO, it warned unnamed Latin American countries that if they joined alliance with South Africa it would endanger international peace and security and undermine the liberation struggles of Southern Africa.[42]

Now the question arises as to whether the NAM and other countries which genuinely carry out a perpetual campaign against apartheid have really been able to achieve anything

concrete in the U.N. inspite of their inability to persuade the west to impose decisive sanctions against South Africa.

E.S. Reddy cautions that before proceeding to access the effectiveness of the United Nations one must take into account the limitations of the world body. Given the scope of the organization, especially when one recognises the constraints imposed on it by power politics in the international system, it would be unrealistic to expect determined and vigorous action based on strong unanimity of wills. Even otherwise, as the chairman of the special committee against apartheid declared in 1967:

"The main role in the liberation of South Africa should rightfully go first to the oppressed peo/ple themselves. The international community can assist them and help create the conditions in which they can secure the liberation with the least possible violence and delay but it can not aspire to deliver liberation to them".[42]

Of course it is not that the liberation struggle in South Africa expect to be presented freedom on a platter. However, they have been angry with the west for stalling resolutions of mandatory sanctions in the United Nations, and for giving material sustainance to the white regime. Perhaps they are frustrated with the fact that they not

merely struggling against the white regime of South Africa but against a global imperlalist force. This is the impression I gathered from an informal talk that I had with the ANC representative to India, Mr. Moosa Moola.

But no body has given up hope or the struggle - not the liberation strugglers of South Africa, not NAM, nor the U.N. Voicing a common conviction, the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid declared in 1967:

"..... It is essential to recognise that popular revolutions take their time, face reverses and even lose battles but will ultimately succeed. The international community cannot formulate the methods of the liberation struggle or determine its time table. Perseverence and determination are essential if it is to play a helpful role..."[43]

And the U.N. has played a helpful role inspite of its limitations, by the 1960s the Afro-Asian had gained ascendancy in the General Assembly and they utilised their collective strength to sustain a concerted movement against apartheid inside and outside the United Nations.[44] This III World rallying against apartheid, in which the Socialist block and some Western States like Sweden also join in, has effected a - "historic shift in the balance of forces

against apartheid. Twenty five years ago, it was difficult even to obtain the required majority for a discussion of apartheid in the U.N. Many powerful western and other states blocked any condemnation of South Africa... Today the U.N. and the international community are committed to the total eradication of apartheid. There is no government which admits to friendship with the Pretoria regime. Even Western Governments contribute funds for the legal defence of persons charged under such offences as "communism", "sabotage" and "terrorism" ignoring South African protests. Many governments assist the liberation movement in its struggle against apartheid, even the armed struggle...."[45]

Finally, let us examine NAM's independent contribution to the struggle against apartheid. There are two ways in which NAM acts as an independent agency in the struggle against apartheid. One prong of its efforts is directed towards mobilizing opinion in the international community by constantly keeping the issue of apartheid alive and denouncing the South African regime. This part of NAM's endeavours culminate when it meets every three years to orchestrate its multifareous activities. The other element of NAM's independent action lies in the organisation and provision of material assistance for the anti-apartheid movement that is being conducted in South Africa.

Perhaps the more important way in which NAM tries to fight apartheid in South Africa is by the first method which is carried forward into the United Nations to mobilize the entire international community against apartheid. Apartheid has always been given a high place on the NAM agenda in every NAM meeting. Every aspect of the issue has been given due consideration - as we have signted in the text earlier. The South African regime has been denounced, the liberation struggle has been given moral support and observer status within NAM, the west has been denounced for helping the white regime to perpetuate apartheid and the international community has been exhorted to ostracize South Africa and impose sanctions against it.

Here we must examine whether the NAM members themselves have imposed sanctions against South Africa. As far as diplomatic relations are concerned except for the NAM countries which are situated adjacent to South Africa, no NAM country has any diplomatic links with South Africa. It is unavoidable for the neighbours of South Africa to keep diplomatic links because they are structurally linked to the South African economy. Much of their trade and workforce is dependent on South Africa. The ideal example is that of Lesotho which is an enclave within South Africa and therefore totally dependent of it in many ways.

Similarly when Willets points out that although NAM canvasses for mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa and criticises the West for having trade links with South Africa some of its own members have substantial trade links with South Africa, he is not being truly objective. For while the west could make do without its economic links with South Africa given their economic strength and the width of their trade, the NAM neighbours of South Africa have no other alternative but to be dependent on their economic links with South Africa.[46]

Moreover it is not that NAM does not appreciate this problem of dependence of these African states on South Africa. It is to reduce this dependence that the Africa Fund was created after the Harare Summit of 1986. The other objective of the Fund is of course to give material support to the liberation struggle directly.

This brings us to the question of direct material support to the liberation movement in South Africa. Although it does not have a permanent establishment, NAM has recommended material assistance to the liberation movement right since the second summit conference. In the third summit conference at Lusaka in a separate resolution on Apartheid and racial discrimination it called upon all the non-allingned countries to:

"Contribute financially and materially to assist the people fighting against colonialism, racial discrimination and Apartheid in Africa through the Liberation Committee of the OAU".[47]

The Fourth Summit at Algiers (1973) had decided to establish a support and solidarity fund for South Africa. The Fifth Summit Conference in Colombo recalled:

"that the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Alligned Countries held in Algiers in 1973, had decided to establish a support and solidarity fund for South Africa...

"(The NAM)....Authorizes and request the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Group at the United nations to further convene a pledging conference, during the 31st session of the General Assembly, to receive pledges of contribution to the Fund by non-Aligned countries from those delegations not on a position to do so at this Conference ..."[48]

The problem that such an effort faces is that the NAM countries are generally poor and short of funds for their own economic development. Many of them have steep

borrowings of loans from abroad. This makes it difficult for NAM to give really significant material assistance to the freedom struggle of South Africa.

However renewed efforts were initiated at the Harare summit to establish a Fund for "Action for Resistance to Invasion, Colonialism and apartheid".[49] With India as its Chairmanperson the Fund is to be directed toward reducing the dependence of the Frontline States' dependence on South Africa and to give material assistance to the freedom struggles in Southern Africa. It is also a task of the Fund Committee 'to persuade the Western States to prevali upon the US administration to cooperate in securing an end to South African aggression and sponsorship of armed hands in the frontline states'.[50] This obviously in reference to the US support to the UNITA against the Angolan government. Such diplomatic efforts are essential because mere material assistance, especially of the modest quantities than NAM can gather, by itself would be of no use unless other pressures act on South Africa.

The Africa Fund plans to supplement the ongoing projects of Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) which has laready identified 500 projects for long term development of the region. The fund was launched in New Delhi 1987 with the initial capital of $ 70

million with India pledging $ 40 million. In response to the appeal many countries have contributed as generously as they could. In July 1988 it had collected about $ 240 million.[51]

Given the enormity of the job, such an amount is surely modest. However things cannot be transformed overnight and the struggle against apartheid is a difficult one. Given the nature of the NAM organisation, in which nothing is mandatory and all decisions are by consensus with no compulsion on members, NAM has shown remarkable determination in its opposition to Apartheid. Results might not be immediately tangible but the cumulative effect of NAM's efforts would certainly be felt one day when the blacks secure justice - however remote that dream remains today.

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1. <u>Two decades of Non-Alignment: Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries 1961-1982</u> New Delhi, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1982, page 196 (hereafter referred to as '<u>Documents</u>'.)

2.a. <u>Final Documents: Seventh NAM Summit New Delhi</u> March 1983, page 15 para 39. (Henceforth referred to as '<u>Final documents</u>'.)

   b. Before we proceed we must mention that this text will not go into the question of Namibia - as to how this country is kept under colonial domination and integrated into the system of apartheid, and how the movement for Nambia's independence has been going on for the last few decades, and about the latest development which could possibly lead to formal emancipation of this colony.

3. Quoted from Dr. Asha Hans: <u>The United Nations - A Sage of Forty Years</u> - New Delhi, Amar Prakashan, 1986, page 261.

4. Ibid, page 262.

5. Ibid, p.265.

6. Patrick O'Meare "Politics in South Africa", Philadelphia, <u>Current History</u>, May 1989, page 217.

7. George Klay Kisch Jr., "Beyond the Facade of Constructive engagement: A Critical Examination of US Foreign Policy Towards South Africa", <u>Africa Quarterly,</u> Vol. XXVI, No. 1.

8. V.D. Chopra (ed)., <u>NAM Summit: New Delhi to Harare</u>, New Delhi, Patriot Publishers, 1986, pp 200 - 201.

9. E.S. Reddy: <u>Apartheid, the United Natiaons and the International Community</u>, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1986, p.10.

10. <u>Documents</u>, op.cit., page 52.

11. Although finally South Africa has formally agreed to free Namibia by 1990, the process of transfer of power has got bogged down South Africa's efforts to thwart the coming to power of SWAPO the popular nationalist organisation of Namibia.

12. <u>Final Documents</u>: p.21, para 60.

13. C.V. Narashimhan. <u>The United Nations: An Inside View</u>, New Delhi, UNITAR in association with Vikas Publishing House, 1988, p.249.

14. <u>Final Documents</u>, p.19, para 53.

15. Ibid., page 18 & 19, para 52 & 56.

16. Peter Willets: <u>The Non-Aligned Movement: The Origins of a Third World Alliance</u>, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 1978, page 159.

17. E.S. Reddy, op.cit. page 102 & Chapter I & II.

18. Peter willets, op.cit., pp. 159-167.

19. Peter willets, Ibid., pp 157 & 158.

20. E.S. Reddy, op.cit. p.6.

21. Ibid., p.21.

22. The United Nations does provide some amount of education and training to the blocks of South Africa who are abroad. Refer E.S. Reddy, op.cit., p.5.

23. E.S. Reddy, op.cit., p.7.

24. Quoted from a personal interview.

25. E.S. Reddy, op.cit., pp.11-22.

26. Peter Willets, op.cit., p. 157.

27. Ibid.

28. George Klay Kisch, Jr. op.cit.

29. Pauline H. Baker, "United States' Policy in South Africa", <u>Current History</u>, Vol. 186, No.520, p.195.

30. George Klay Kischm Jr., op.cit.

31. U.S. Policy towards Southern Africa - refer George Klay Kisch, op.cit.

32. Pauline, H. Baker, "The American Challenge in South Africa, "<u>Current History</u>, Vol. 88, No. 538.

33. International Defence and Aid Fund for S.A. in Cooperation with the U.N. Centre against Apartheid: <u>Apartheid - The Facts,</u> United Nations, 1985, p.82.

34. Ibid.

35. George Klay Klish, Jr. op.cit.

36. Gann L.H. & Duigan Peter: <u>Why South Africa Will Survive</u>, London, Croom Helm, 1981, p. 249.

37. Aluko Olajide & Timothy, M. Shaw (ed): <u>South Africa in the 1980s</u>, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1985, p.63.

38. "More recently, framers of military and foreign policy in some countries professing to seek a "free world" have been carried away by short-sighted and ill-advised 'strategic' considerations in dealing with South Africa, so as to make the oppressed majority an innocent victim of powerful forces". E.S. Reddy, <u>Struggle for Freedom in Southern Africa - Its International Significance'</u>, New Delhi, Mainstream Publications, 1987, p.49.

39. This confrontation is hopefully coming to an end. South Africa, Cuba and Angola has worked out an experiment by which South Africa and Cuba will simultaneously paul out of Namibia and Angola respectively by mid 1990. Separately the most recent development is the ceasefire being declared between Angolan government forces and UNITA Gurrillas. Under the aegis of organisation of African Unity the two parties seem to be heading towards a peaceful and of a protracted civil was (<u>Times of India</u>, June 24, 1989. page 1 - "Angolan Civil War Ends").

40. *Proceedings* - January 1988 - 'Soft Undurbelly of NATO'.

41. *Final Documents* - page 20, para 58. Fortunately such a treaty did not materialize, for if it did not would not only further heighten East-West confrontations, but would also enhance the South African regimes strength to making the task much more difficult for the liberation struggle in South Africa.

42. E.S. Reddy, *Apartheid, the U.N. & The International Community*, New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1986, p.12.

43. Ibid., p.12.

44. It is interesting to note as Peter Willets (op.cit.) has pointed out that the cohesion that the NAM countries have shown on the issues of apartheid is not a general rule otherwise. For instance NAM is to a significant extent divided when taking positions on issues like East-West confrontations.

45. E.S. Reddy, op.cit., p.13.

46. Peter Willets, op.cit., p.167 to 179.

47. *Documents*, p.53.

48. Ibid., p.224.

49. Rikhi Jaipal: *Non-Alignment: Origins, Growth & Potential for World Peace*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers, 1983, p.216.

50. K. Ramamurthy & G.N. Srivastava (ed & campiled), *Eighth NAM Summit: Selected Documents*, Delhi, Indian Institute of Non-Aligned Studies, 1986, pp. 54-55.

51. Subhakanta Behra - "Dismentling Apartheid - An Africa Fund Initiative", New Delhi, *The Third Concept: Journal of Ideas*, July 1988, p.19.

CONCLUSION

The basic conclusion that we derive for the first two chapters is that both 'economic interest' and race are important variables in the dynamics of South Africa's politics. We saw that it was the chauvanistic Afrikaner petty - bougeoisie which mobilised the other two main classes of Afrikaners - the landed bourgersic and labour - to give Afrikaner nationalism that 'classless' racial coherence that it achieved in the twentieth century. However, it was possible to achieve this unity not merely because the various classes of Afrikaners came from the same racial stock but more importantly because such a movement promised the furtherence of the economic interests of all major Afrikaner classes.

The initial enemy was British imperialism which was opposed by a strong nationalist sentiment by the Afrikeners. But as we subsequently saw it was more of British political hegemony than the presence of British economic interest in South Africa that was opposed by Afrikaners. While it turned out that substantial presence of British capital was and continues to be a necessity for the prospirty of the South African economy, British political hegemony, while it existed, gave primacy only to British political and economic

interests often at the expense of Afrikaner interests. However, once British rule was removed the Afrikaners did not have any problem with the economic presence of British capital as long as it did not interfere our much in South African politics.

However 'black competition' was something that could not be got rid off. It was not only necessary to eliminate the possibilities of any political or economic competition from the numerically overwhelming blacks but it was equally vital for white prosperity to harness this vast source of raw labour for systematic exploitation by 'white' capital. It is primarily for this purpose that such a rigid and discriminating system of segregation as apartheid was instituted in South Africa. As Evans-Pritchard[1], the anthropologist would have pointed out that a ruling class which is in minority (as the Afrikaners are) has the ability, (and also finds it necessary for the perpetuation of its hegemony) to structurally distance itself from the rest of the populace and attain a great deal of cohesion and ideological unity. However, we must remember that such a 'ruling class' is not really determined only by the relations of production - in the Marxian sense. While in an 'ideal typical' capitalist society the prevailing relations of production and ideology (according to classical marxism)

would basically be serving the interests of the capitalists, in South Africa it serves the interests of all sections of the whites who in Merk Lipton's[2] words form the 'white ologarchy'. As we have seen even the white 'proletariat' is protected from black competition in the labour market where well paid higher jobs are concerned.... In fact we have seen that many restrictions on mobility (both spatial and occupational) of black labour have partially hurt the interests of a small section of manufacturing capitalists.

So the vital cleavage between the haves and havenots lies along the line of racial demarkation, and consciousness of both the dominated and the dominating is coloured by race. Of course as we saw the African National Congress which is possibly the leading organization of the non-whites follows a pluralistic doctrine and in the emancipated future that they have planned for South Africa all races including whites will have equal status and opportunity. However given the prolonged viciousness of white racialism in South Africa it is difficult to visualize a reconciled cohabitation of races even if such as opportunity occurs in the future.

The ideology of NAM on the other hand is diametrically opposite to that of apartheid. The movement impresses us by the fact that inspite of the many structured handicaps that

the Third Word is beset with it has still managed to rally together to create such a universalistic and progressive platform. The ideology of NAM is opposed to that of apartheid in that it believes in the equality of races, the equality of nations, the right to self-determination, decolonisation and human rights.

It is true that many sceptics and critics would look for 'sobering realities' that according to them make NAM's declared goals unattainable. However we must remember two things. First of all the very fact that NAM has continued to be an alive and growing gathering through all these years go to prove that its members and observers find such a forum worthwhile. Secondly even if today most of the NAM countries continue to be economically poor and militarily weak it is not necessary that they will always remain so or that their ideological opponents - mainly the powerful west - are going to continue enjoying unrestrained power. The inevitable transitions in the international systems has been extensively dealt with by such authors as Paul Kennedy[3] and Scott[4] and the momentum seems to favour the emergence of the kind of world that NAM envisages - global cooperation, diffusion of power and peace.

As far as NAM's actions vis-a-vis apartheid is concerned, it is commendable that such a sustained effort

has been there to keep South Africa an alive issue in international fora and give constant moral and (modest amount of) material support. At the moment it might seem that the liberation movement in South Africa and its international supporters do not have much hope to succeed in the near future. Gann and Duignan[5] has written elaborately on the strength of the Apartheid regime. Economically it is the, "wealthiest, fastest growing most powerful nation in Africa with a growth rate since world war II second only to that of Japan".[6] Moreover militarily the "apartheid regime has itself described the process of militarisation in term of a 'total strategy....' and by the 1980s, the military has become the dominant force in the government".[7]

However, when we scan the pages of history we come across so many cases where seemingly invincible forces - be it the Roman Empire, or Napoleon, or British Imperialism or Fascism - have bitten the dust ultimately. What is heartening in South Africa is the fact that inspite of the ruthless repression the liberation struggle continues to battle with determination. We feel that it is only a matter of time, and the future in which the twenty - four million non-whites will wrest jusitice is not beyond the pale of speculation.

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