Historical Security Council Background Guide 2019

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Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the Model United Nations Conference in Erfurt, Thuringia. We are very delighted to introduce this year's UN Historical Security Council (UNSC) to you. We will go on a journey to 1960, the year in which the Security Council first addressed the Apartheid regime in South Africa. On March 21st, 1960, the Sharpeville massacre took place, in which 69 demonstrators lost their lives and many more were wounded in the township of Sharpeville. The demonstration, which was originally intended to be non-violent, is today considered a turning point in South African history and marks the beginning of our session of the UNSC on March 30, 1960.

The South African Apartheid describes a system of institutionalized racial segregation that formally existed from 1948 till the early 1990s. It can be described as an authoritarian political culture which aimed to establishment white supremacy even though the white population of South African Union were in the minority. This development entailed the oppression of black and colored people within the South African Union. African, Colored and Asian South African Societies. The unique constellation of different ethnic groups and claims to land and leadership has shaped South African history throughout its existence. Thus, this thematic introduction aims to show how this political system emerged over centuries. Lastly, it shall provide explanations and information detailing how the escalation in Sharpeville could occur in March 1960. It does so by illustrating which mechanisms eventually triggered the international community to act and call upon the Security Council to take action.

Please note that this guide cannot replace a well-founded personal research under any circumstances. This guide rather provides an analysis of the most prominent events manifesting the Apartheid regime. However, please keep in mind that our session will take place on March 30, 1960. As you prepare for the conference you may be aware of events taking place after our meeting time. While they may influence you, we ask you to focus on the information that were available to your country representatives prior to and in March of 1960. Having said that we now invite you to put yourself in the position of your country in 1960.

We wish you every success in your research. Please do not hesitate to contact us if you have any questions. We are looking forward to EfMUN 2019 and our journey back in time to the year 1960.

Sincerely,

Ellena Knorr & Rieke Beckmann

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AP	Afrikaner Party
NP	National Party
NRC	Native Representation Council
ONUC	UN Operation in the Congo
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
UN	United Nations
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNMOGIP	UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
UP	United Party
VOC	United East India Company

CREATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1946 - Inaugural meeting of the Security Council. UN Photo/Marcel Bolomey.[1]

In the course of World War II an idea of a new order of world peace emerged, an attempt to replace the unsuccessful League of Nations. Soon it was clear that the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France and China intended to take the lead in this new order.[2] In spring 1945 the San Francisco Conference supported the transfer of special responsibility to a Security Council and thus the five "Great Powers".[3] The future permanent members began their work on 17 January 1946 at Church House, Westminster in London.[4] Since then, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has taken permanent residence at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City. A representative of each of its members must be present at all times at the United Nations (UN) Headquarters so that the UNSC is capable of holding a session whenever the need arises.[5] As the second principal organs of the UN, Art.24 (1) UN Charta confers upon the UNSC the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.[6] Pursuant to Art.23 UN Charta the UNSC comprises the above mentioned five permanent members and ten non-permanent members. Until 1965 however, the UNSC had only six permanent members.[7] Amongst other

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[1] United Nations, News (2018), UN 70 anniversary Photos

[2] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, Kluwer Law International, p.497.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] United Nations (2018), Security Council. What is the Security Council

[6] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Kluwer Law International*, p.497.

[7] Ibid. P.498.

relevant global questions the Apartheid regime in South Africa was an especially crucial task for the UNSC in 1960.[8]

COMMITTEE OVERVIEW

International Peacekeeping by the Security Council

The United Nations Security Council has exclusive competence for the adoption of effective and binding measures. It is subject to the UNSC to determine whether a threat or breach of peace justifies its intervention.[9] Over decades the UNSC established a power-based approach in UN dispute settlement.[10] According to this power-based approach, resolutions, preventive deployment, peacekeeping, sanctions and peace enforcement may be used as measures against the breach of peace.[11] Typically, peacekeeping measures include the deployment of blue-helmet troops and the authorization of a "coalition of the willing" (e.g. Iraq/Kuwait) or other organizations.[12] From 1947 onwards, the tensions between the United States of America and the Soviet Union prevented the UN from establishing a system of collective security. Therefore the UN's first attempts to Peacekeeping operations in regions affected by a breach of peace were undermined by the national interests of the rivaling permanent members.[13] Once the United States and the Soviet Union resolved their conflict, the UN was able to utilize a wider range of its dispute settlement repertoire and therefore fulfill its task to peace-keeping provided for in the UN Charter.[14] In addition to that decolonization was another factor that fueled the need for UN peace keeping. Very often crisis increasingly developed in former colonies following the withdrawal of the colonial powers from their respective territory.[15] This occurred with political settlements in Namibia, El Salvador, Cambodia and Mozambique. The withdrawal of the colonial power was then followed by comprehensive UN Peacekeeping missions aiming to help newly independent countries to rebuild their torn societies through "post-conflict peace building".[16]

It was first and foremost Dag Hammarskjöld who was committed to the UN peacekeeping mission.[17] On April 7, 1953 he was appointed as the second UN Secretary General. He took over responsibility for an organization that was deeply divided into an eastern and a western bloc.[18] This division was particularly visible in the Soviet Union's boycott of the Security Council over the refusal to give the then communist Chinese regime a seat in the council by

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[8] United Nations (2018), Security Council Resolutions, Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1960

[9] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Kluwer Law International*, p.499.

[10] Peck, C. (1996). *The United Nations as a Dispute Settlement System,* Kluwer Law International, p.14.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Klu-wer Law International, p.499.

[13] United Nations (2018), Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter

[14] Peck, C. (1996). The United Nations as a Dispute Settlement System, Kluwer Law International, p.16.

[15] Hatto, Ronald (2013), "From peacekeeping to peacebuilding: the evolution of the role of the United Nations in   peace operations", p.500.

[16] Peck, C. (1996). The United Nations as a Dispute Settlement System, Kluwer Law International, p.16.

[17] Sture Linnér, Sverker Åström (2007), "UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld - Reflections and personal experiences", p.26.

[18] Ibid.

blocking the adoption of several resolutions.[19] Hammarskjöld firmly believed that the power of diplomacy would provide a political solution to even the most intense conflicts.[20] Albeit being a relatively new organization Hammarskjöld understood, that the relevance of the UN lay in its ability to adapt to all sorts of conditions.[21] When the Suez Crisis of 1956 erupted, the UN Charta did not yet provide the means for UN Peacekeeping to stabilize the fragile situation.[22] However, Hammarskjöld saw an opportunity rather than a constraint. He developed a concept of peacekeeping based on suggestions of Canada's Foreign Minister Lester Pearson.[23] Within a few weeks he assembled the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) which was the first ever armed UN operation.[24] UNEF was not a peace-enforcement operation but a peacekeeping operation to be carried out in cooperation with the parties to the conflict. Hammarskjöld devised the principles that formed the foundation of UNEF based on a self-developed set of rules. Therefore, United Nations peacekeeping as a security institution came into being with the creation of UNEF.[25]

Mandate of the Security Council

The Security Council as the second principal organ established by Art.7 UN Charter is primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.[26] Besides dealing with procedural issues and questions of organizational law, about three quarters of the work of the UNSC are resolutions on peace-keeping.[27] Resolutions adopted by the Security Council acting under Chapter VII of the Charter are considered binding in accordance with Article 25 of the Charter.[28] In addition to that the UNSC is also intended to develop friendly relations among nations, to cooperate in solving international problems and to promote respect for human rights.[29] When a complaint regarding a threat to peace is brought before the council, it will first hold informal consultations.[30] Whenever a matter is ready for decision a formal meeting is scheduled.[31] The council will make its opinion known through decision and recommendations. While softer forms of publication are Presidential Statements, the council can also decide for first actions aiming at a non-violent settlement of disputes between parties concerned.[32] At that point in time the council may set forth principles for an agreement, undertake investigations and mediations, dispatch a mission, appoint special envoys or request the Secretary General to use the secretariat to achieve a peaceful settlement of the dispute.[33] As it is the council's primary concern to avoid hostilities it may issue ceasefire directives that can help to prevent an escalation of the conflict.

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[19] UN Chronicle (2011), "Dag Hammarskjöld and United Nations Peacekeeping, p.5f.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.p.5.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., p.6.
[25] Daase, Christopher (1999), "Spontaneous Institutions: Peacekeeping as an International Convention", p. 240.
[26] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Klu-wer Law International, p.499.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] United Nations (2018), Security Council. What is the Security Council
[30] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Klu-wer Law International, p.499.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., p.501.
[33] United Nations (2018), Security Council. What is the Security Council

Whenever a dispute cannot be settled by any other means the council can opt for enforcement measures including complete or partial interruption of economic relations, arms embargoes, financial penalties and restrictions as well as travel bans under Chapter VII Art.41 UN Charta.[34] In addition to that the council can enforce the severance of diplomatic relations, a blockade or collective military action as last resort, which is also provided for in Chapter VII Art.41 UN Charta. Finally, it needs to be underlined that the UNSC is always urged to minimize the impact on the population and the economy and to focus their action only on those responsible.[35]

Structure of the Security Council

The permanent member of the UNSC, the so called P5, exercise considerable influence over the decisions of the council as they have a Right of Veto which has its legal basis in Art. 27 of the Charta.[36] A negative vote on substantive matters by one of the five permanent members can block a draft from becoming a resolution.[37] The General Assembly elects the other members on a two year basis that is not renewable.[38] They are chosen mainly due to their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security as it is stated in Art.23 (1) Un Charta.[39] While informal meetings of the UNSC are held almost every morning, formal meetings are of a ceremonial nature.[40] In a monthly rotation the Presidency of the UNSC is elected among its members. After consultation with other members the President has the sovereignty over the agenda setting.[41] Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of nine members (Art.27 (2) UN Charta), all other matters require concurring votes of the P5 (Art.27 (3) UN Charta). This in effect entitles them to veto.[42]

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[34] Daase, Christopher (1999). "Spontaneous Institutions: Peacekeeping as an International Convention", p. 240.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Löwe, V. (2002). Veto, Right of Veto. In Volger, H. (Eds.), A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Klu-wer Law International, p.647.
[37] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Klu-wer Law International, p.501.
[38] Sarooshi, Dan (1999). "The United Nations and the Development of Collective Security"
[39] Winkelmann, I. (2002). Security Council. In Volger, H. (Eds.), A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations, Klu-wer Law International, p.498.
[40] Ibid., p.499.
[41] Ibid., p.500.
[42] Ibid., p.501.

The Security Council in 1960

In 1960 the General Assembly elected Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador, Italy, Poland and Tunisia as non-permanent members.[43] From the perspective of the UNSC the progress of decolonization was of importance with regard to Africa.[44] A majority of African states had gained independence in the early sixties.[45] This was also reflected in the large increase in UN membership in the 1960s.[46] As many as 16 of these new member states were then newly independent African states.[47] The growing pan-African sentiments brought a subsequent emergence of Africa as a major force in the United Nations, which in turn led to the UNSC also having to deal with this matter more frequently.[48] In the 1960s the UNSC dealt five times with situations of threats to peace on the African continent that arose from the African states drive for self-determination.[49] Following the changing reality on the African continent due to decolonialization, the admission of new Member States was on top of the UNSC's agenda in the 1960s.[50] Details regarding the emergence of the crisis in the South African Union, which was on the UNSC's agenda as well, shall be further discussed in the following chapter.

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[43] United Nations (2018), Security Council. Membership since 1946

[44] Melchers, K. (2002). Africa as a Topic in the UN. In Volger, H. (Eds.), *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, Kluwer Law International, p.1.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Encyclopedia Britannica (2018). "United-Nations"

[47] United Nations (2018), Growth in United Nations membership, 1945-present

[48] Melchers, K. (2002). Africa as a Topic in the UN. In Volger, H. (Eds.), *A Concise Encyclopedia of the United Nations*, Kluwer Law International, p.1.

[49] United Nations (2018), Security Council Resolutions, Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1960

[50] Ibid.

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SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID

South African Apartheid was an attempt to create rigid racial boundaries between the black and white people of the South African Union.[51] In the narrower sense only the legally established policy of racial segregation since 1948 is called Apartheid. In South Africa, the term Apartheid is used by official bodies for the political-legislative measures on racial segregation before 1948, since the foundations of apartheid were gradually being laid from 1910 onwards.[52] However, social division of ethnic groups and racial discrimination had already been imposed by Europeans settlers and British colonialists following the colonialization of South Africa. This segregation in the colonial era then matured to Apartheid in the years following the South African Union in 1910.[53] Consequently, South African Apartheid and the events evolving with it cannot be understood without a profound background knowledge of South African history.

Pre-Apartheid Era

The precursors of Apartheid were already set in the colonial era as southern Africa fell under Dutch and later British rule.[54] Along with European rule racism, discrimination and segregation was introduced in South Africa.[55] Therefore, regional division, racism towards natives as well as the aggregation of classes had been prevalent in South Africa since the 17th century.[56]

Ruling Groups

South Africa has been shaped throughout its existence by internal diversity and heterogeneity.[57] Prior to the founding of the nation state South African Union in 1910 the term South Africa described a geographical region in southern Africa inhabited by different ruling groups.[58] Dutch-speaking settlers of Dutch, German and French descent, British colonial rulers and numerous autonomous native political entities were competing for land and power in the Region of South Africa before the South African Union was founded.[59]

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[51] Posel, D. (2011). The Apartheid Project, 1948–1970. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.320.

[52] Encyclopaedia Britannica (2018), South Africa

[53] Beinart, W., & Dubow, S. (1995). Introduction: The historiography of segregation and apartheid. In Beinart, W., & Dubow, S. (Eds.), *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa,* London: Routledge, p.1-4.

[54] Beinart, W., & Dubow, S. (1995). Introduction: The historiography of segregation and apartheid. In Beinart, W., & Dubow, S. (Eds.), *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth-Century South Africa,* London: Routledge, p.1.

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[56] Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (1987). The politics of race, class and nationalism. In Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (Eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism*, Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited, p.2-4.

[57] Ross, R., Mager, A., & Nasson, B. (2011). Introduction. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.2.

[58] Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (1987). The politics of race, class and nationalism. In Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (Eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism*, Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited, p.3.
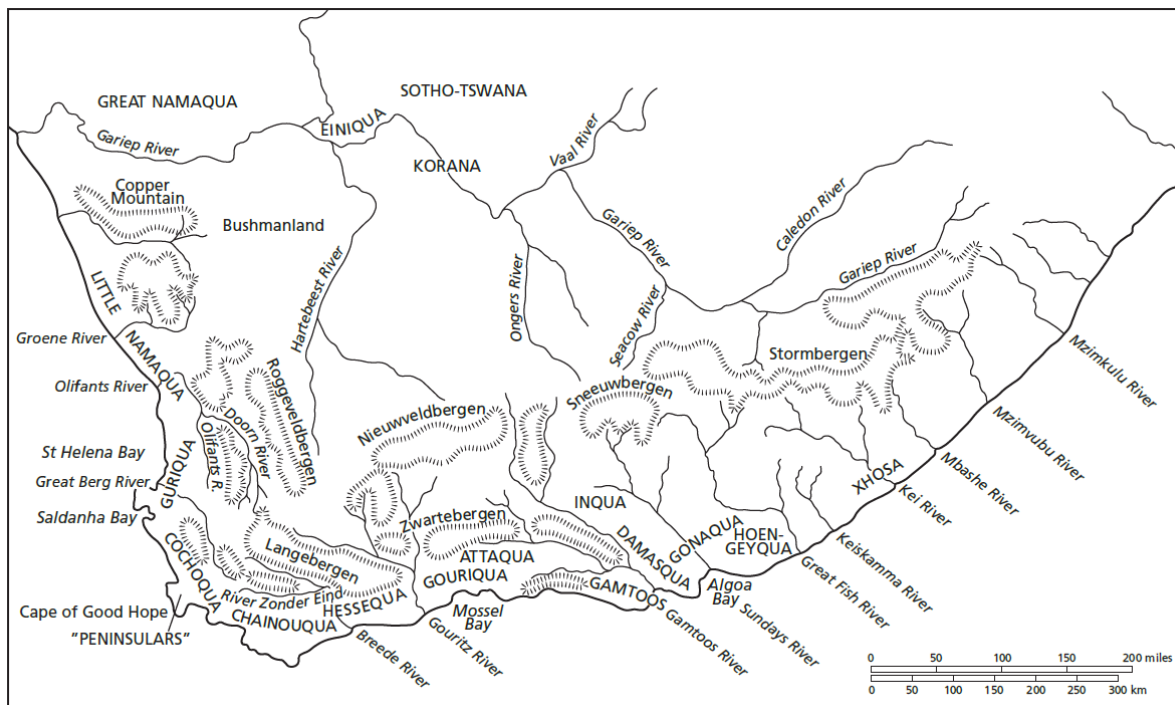
[59] Ibid., p.1-3.

Figure 1: The geographical region of South Africa and approximate locations of Khoekhoe in South Africa before contact with the whites

Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) The Cambridge History of South Africa, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.173.

The native people were heterogeneous and characterized by the multi-ethnicity and multilingualism of their people.[60] However, under European supremacy they were referred to under the single definition of African.[61] Two important groups were the Kohekohe and Xhosa.[62] The local group of the Kohekohe was the first group to get in contact with sailors arriving in South Africa and even developed a regular system of trade.[63] However, when the Dutch began to settle violent conflicts arose between the Kohekohe and the Dutch.[64] In the years following the Dutch settlement in South Africa many Khoekhoe polities collapsed under the Dutch pressure.[65] Another native group were the Xhosa which fought against settler expansionism in the south of the colony.[66]

Likewise heterogenous were the European settlers regarding their origin and languages.[67] In the 16th century the region around the Table Bay was taken in possession and populated by

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (1987). The politics of race, class and nationalism. In Marks, S. & Trapido, S. (Eds.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism*, Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited, p.1.3.

[63] Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.170.

[64] Ibid., P. 170-178.

[65] Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.179.

[66] Ibid., 209-210.

[67] Ibid.

the Dutch.[68] The Dutch trading company United East India Company (VOC) established a permanent base in South Africa as a safe haven for their passing ships to Asia.[69] The VOC's employees were primarily of Dutch but also of German descent.[70] Nearly a million men sailed east for the VOC but only a third returned, as many sailors decided to stay in settlements and colonies overseas such as South Africa.[71] In the 17th century a number of Huguenots immigrated to South Africa fleeing the political upheavals in France.[72] Therefore, the colony established in the Table Bay region was a melting pot of Europeans, forming a Dutch-speaking community known as Afrikaners.[73]

At the beginning of the 19th century, the British annexed the colony and became the prevailing power in the region of South Africa.[74] By annexing the seizing the colony, the British aimed to defend their Indian Ocean interests.[75] Therefore, they added to the mix of ethnicities prevalent in the region of South Africa.[76]

Colonial Era

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[68] Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.173-177.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Omer-Cooper, J. (1977). Colonial South Africa and its frontiers. In J. Flint (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.353.

[75] Trapido, S. (2011). Imperialism, Settler Identities, and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred-Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.66.

[76] Ibid.

The foundation for a colonized South Africa was set in 1652, when the VOC established a permanent base in Table Bay in the south-west of the region of South Africa, which should shelter passing ships and provide them with fresh supplies.[77] VOC was the most important trading company in the world in the mid-seventeenth century as it had been granted monopoly rights by the Dutch States-General over trade routes between the Netherlands and regions located east from the South African Cape.[78] Therefore, the VOC was powerful and able to acquire territories by conquest or use of force, supported by nearly a million men sailing east, which had pledged themselves to serve the VOC.[79] Soon the base in Table Bay was developed into an agricultural colony with a small group of nine men, called free burghers, which were given land from the VOC in order to begin farming.[80] The term free burghers describes former VOC employees which obliged themselves to serve the VOC but were granted release from the service in order to build up a permanent supply base in South Africa securing the servicing of passing VOC ships.[81] Subsequently, the VOC granted release to more men to work as artisans and offer their services to passing ships.[82] Simultaneously, the population of the settlement increased, as the VOC's establishment grew, from a population of 100 settlers in 1657 to 700 settlers in 1695. Additionally, not only VOC employees supervising the VOC's base and free burghers of Dutch descent accumulated in the Table Bay area, but also Huguenots fleeing the political upheavals in France.[83] Furthermore, the Dutch started to bring slaves from the northern part of the western coast of Africa and the shores of the Indian Ocean to the colony, to support Dutch settler households.[84] The steady extension of the Dutch settlement and endeavors to settle further inland sparked violent conflicts with the indigenous Kohekohe.[85] The native

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[77] Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.174.
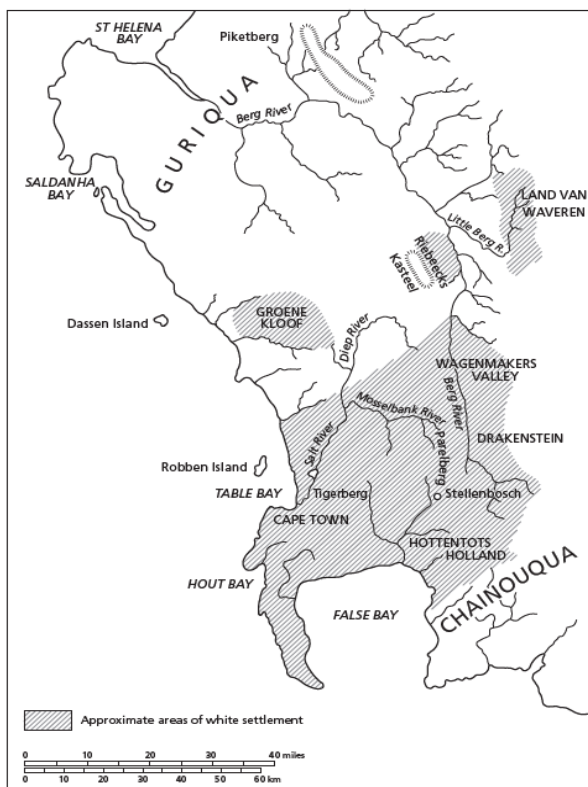[78] Ibid., p.174-175.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid., p.176.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., p.174-177.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid., p.178.

group inhabited the inlands and defended it against Dutch settlers which considered the land as terra nullius.[86] Despite the violent conflicts the Dutch had gained control over the extended area of the Table Bay at the end of the 17th century.[87] The importance of the Table Bay region increased steadily, as the base provided foodstuff, ship refurbishment and medical aid for the ships that passed between Asia and Europe.[88] In order for the base to fulfil its tasks, more slaves from the shores of the Indian Oceans were brought to the colony, which made up half the population in 1775.[89] At the end of the 18th century, the colony was coined by slavery, exploitation of the indigenous people and a rigid racial hierarchy which came along with European hegemony.[90] Furthermore there were also differences in hierarchy amongst the Europeans, as VOC employees and officials dominated over free burghers.[91] Nevertheless, before 1800 interracial marriage was a common occurrence at the Cape, with an estimated number of 1000 native and ex-slave women married to white free burghers between 1652 and 1795.[92] The offspring of those mixed marriages were called colored.[93] Even though colored were of Dutch descend, they were refused Dutch citizenship thus had no land rights in the colony.[94] Therefore, they were often forced to leave the colony.[95]

Figure 2: Approximate area of white settlement c.1710
Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.203.

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[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Ibid., p.184.

[89] Ibid., p.186.

[90] Legassick, M. & Ross, R. (2009) "From Slave Economy to Settler Capitalism: The Cape Colony and Its Extensions, 1800–1854," in Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.186-188.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.41

[93] Omer-Cooper, J. (1977). Colonial South Africa and its frontiers. In J. Flint (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.355.
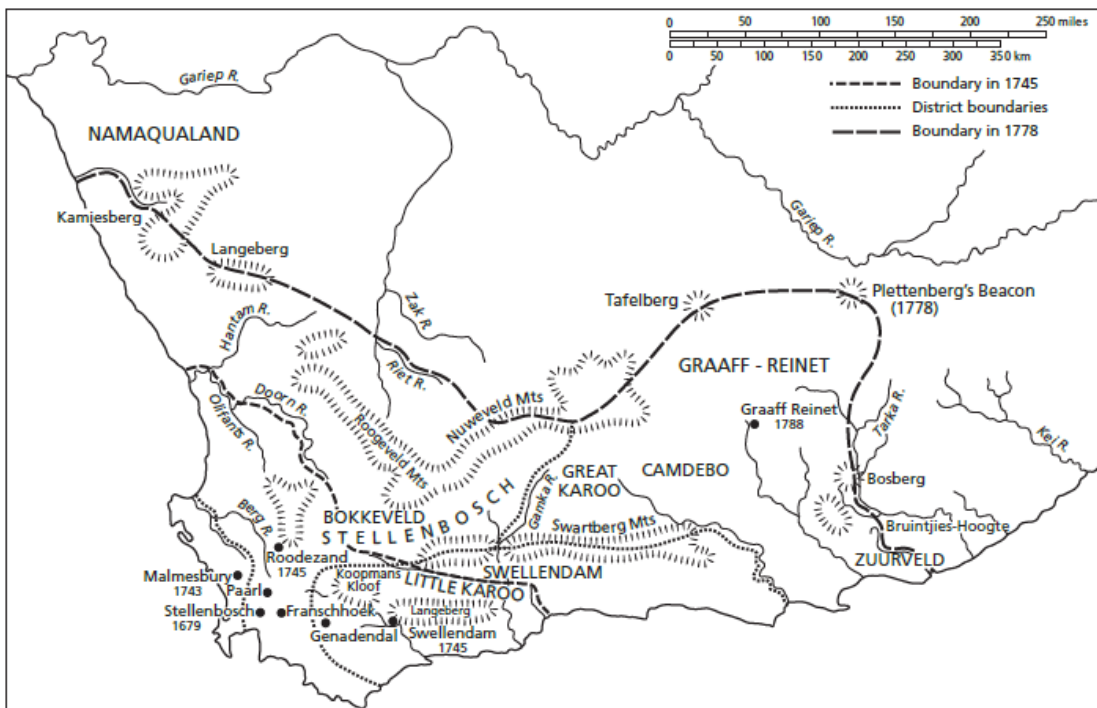
[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid.

Figure 3: The shifting Cape frontier in the 18th century.
Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) The Cambridge History of South Africa, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.203.

British Annexation of the Colony and Arising Nationalism

In the 19th century Britain seized the colony from the Dutch, with the intention to secure Britain's interest in India.[96] After a short battle the British conquered the colony and forced the VOC's rulers to capitulate.[97] Soon the region served the British as a market for British goods, supplier of resources and for emigration purposes.[98] The colony underwent change under British influence, as an assimilation of the Dutch towards British culture, language and behavior was promoted by the British.[99] There was antagonism of the imperial power, which caused many Afrikaners to react to the British annexation with resettlement into the inland and thus outside the sphere of British influence.[100] Those Afrikaners who stayed in the British controlled colony developed a pragmatic but reluctant loyalty towards the new ruling power.[101]   Under British rule an apparent liberalism and egalitarianism was introduced, providing a formal equality to all ethnicities and races, but implementing a racial subjugation.[102] Due to a changing public opinion and therewith associated public

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[96] Trapido, S. (2011). Imperialism, Settler Identities, and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred-Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.67-69.

[97] Ross, R. (2009). Khoesan and Immigrants: The Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800. In Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.210.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., p.66-69.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Legassick, M. & Ross, R. (2009) "From Slave Economy to Settler Capitalism: The Cape Colony and Its Extensions, 1800–1854," in Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., & Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.62-63.

movements in Britain, slavery was condemned in Great Britain because of its cruelty and finally abolished by law in 1807.[103] However, it took over 30 years, to abolish slavery in the whole of the British empire and thus South Africa.[104] In the South African colony slavery was abolished in 1833.[105] Accordingly, British settlers were forbidden slaves from the very beginning of their settlement.[106] However they did not recoil from employing former slaves and indigenous groups under stringent conditions and for a starvation wage.[107] Even though slavery was officially abolished, native workers were given a fixed place of residence which they were not allowed to leave without an official permission.[108] Rights and protections that had been granted for native workers were hardly ever implemented.[109] The measures introduced after the slavery abolishment rather secured the labor supply for British colonialists than granted freedom, rights and protection to the native workforce.[110]

The measure of slavery abolition sparked great unrest in the Afrikaner society.[111] Soon, Afrikaner settlers faced a shortage of labor, especially since the natives refused to join the labor force if their territory bases would sustain their rural economy.[112] Additionally, conflicts and violent encounters over property arose between settlers and natives.[113] Especially the settler's possession of land and livestock was often challenged by the natives.[114] The indigenous people did not share the same understanding of private property as the settlers did and were therefore declared a propensity for thief by the settler community.[115] The changes introduced under British reign strengthened the already existing group identity of Dutch-speaking colonists into an Afrikaner nationalism, as they were bonded by an shared and increasing dissatisfaction towards the British rule.[116] Additionally, indigenous groups as the Kohekohe developed a sense of nationalism, too.[117] This sense of nationalism was sparked by the gained but rather apparent independence, which was reached through the abolishment of slavery.[118]

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[103] Carey, B. (2011). Slavery and abolition. In J. Lynch (Ed.), *Samuel Johnson in Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.352-359.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Legassick, M. & Ross, R. (2009) "From Slave Economy to Settler Capitalism: The Cape Colony and Its Extensions, 1800–1854," in Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., and Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.279-280.

[106] Trapido, S. (2011). Imperialism, Settler Identities, and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred-Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.69.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.70.

[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Legassick, M. & Ross, R. (2009) "From Slave Economy to Settler Capitalism: The Cape Colony and Its Extensions, 1800–1854," in Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., and Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.279-280.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.80-81.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Legassick, M. & Ross, R. (2009) "From Slave Economy to Settler Capitalism: The Cape Colony and Its Extensions, 1800–1854," in Hamilton, C., Mbenga, B. K., and Ross, R. (Eds) *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.279-280.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid.

Overall the development of a single identity within South Africa was strongly undermined by a pan-ethnic nationalism amongst all groups.[119] Due to a lack of a shared identity, the racist discourse started to intensify with the beginning of the 1830s.[120] In that age, racism did not originate in color difference or a perceived race distinction, but was rather fueled by material interests.[121] Slaves and indigenous people did not serve the settlers material needs any longer, as they refused to work.[122] Associated therewith the native people refusal to work for the settlers boosted the stereotype of the indolence and unproductive native.[123] Especially violent encounters with indigenous people, violently rising against the settler's limitless appetite for land fueled racist outbursts.[124] Therefore, the settlers established the concept of the native people as an enemy.[125] However, the racist discourse was not directed against all Africans, only those groups rebelling against the settlers will.[126] Therefore, the settler racism was a manifestation of their underlying needs and fears.[127]

The Great Trek

The British policy of racial egalitarianism and the resentment of British rule lead to a strengthened pan-ethnic nationalism within the Dutch-descending Afrikaner community. This was a main cause for the Great Trek, a mass-movement of dissatisfied Afrikaners seeking to escape the British rule.[128] The settlers streamed out of the colony heading northwards, crossing the Orange River aiming for the deserted and sparsely populated lands northeast and southeast of the Cape Colony.[129] As a result, three entities were established by the trekkers: Transvaal in the northeast, the Orange Free State in the region of Transorangia and Natal in the southeast.[130] Very often, the trekkers had violent encounters with indigenous people on the Great Trek.[131] Those disputes were caused by the settlers crossing native territories and even striving to take territory in possession, which was inhabited by natives.[132] Natives were seen as a threat to the settler's lives and therefore were segregated from settler communities as means of survival.[133]

Furthermore, the British did not accept the trekkers striving for independence and were reluctant that those seeking to escape British hegemony could break out of the British

119 Ibid.
120 Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.82-83.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
123 Ibid.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid.
126 Ibid.
127 Ibid.
128 Ibid., p.93-95
129 Omer-Cooper, J. (1977). Colonial South Africa and its frontiers. In J. Flint (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.367.
130 Ibid., p.368
131 Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.95.
132 Ibid.
133 Ibid.

Figure 4: South African Republics
Barber, J. (1999). South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.11.
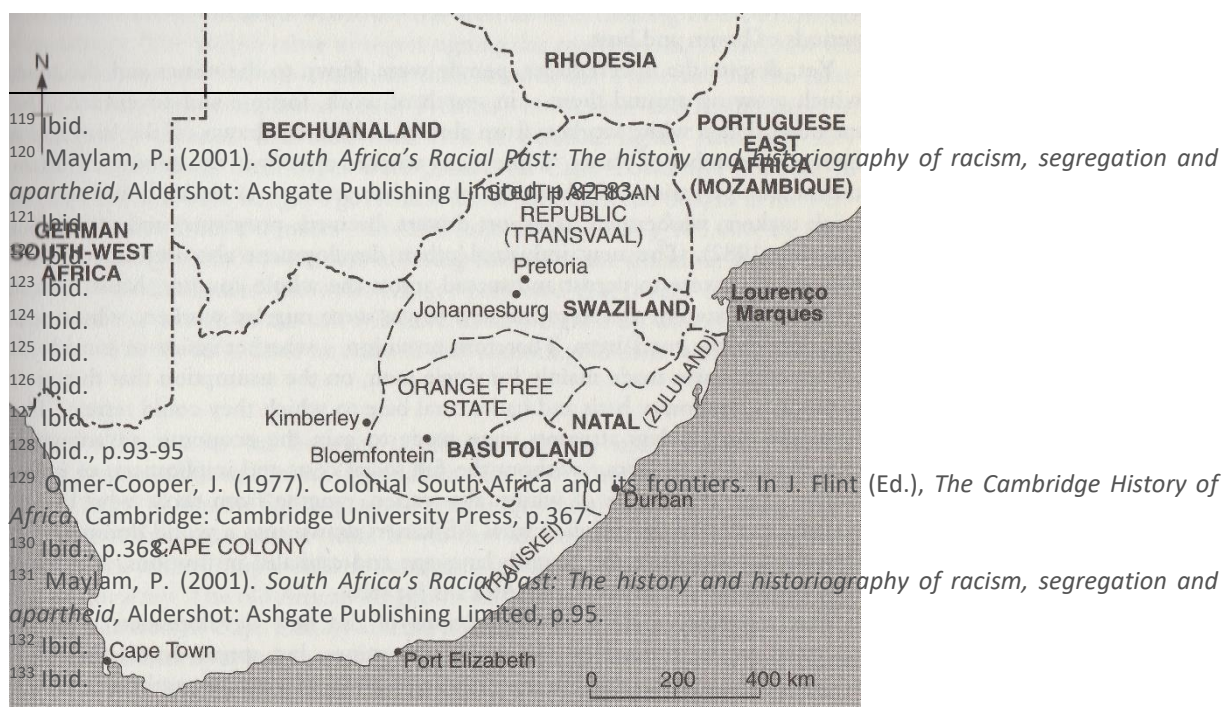
sphere of influence this easily.[134] For the reason of demonstrating their power, the British annexed Natal in 1843.[135] Many of the Dutch settlers in Natal were once again confronted with British authority and therefore fled to the Transvaal and Orange Free State.[136] In spite of the annexation of Natal, the trekkers in Transvaal and the Orange Free State were granted independence from the British in the 1850s forming the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, also called Boer republics.[137] However, these republics were deeply characterized by racism, segregation and a belief of white superiority, displaying it in the racially exclusive constitutions and the limitation of citizenship to whites.[138] Apart from this, the annexed Natal area under British rule displayed an institutionalized racism, too. Thus, the foundations for Apartheid were laid in Boer republics' policies as well as in the region under British hegemony.[139]

Anglo-Boer War in the Industrial Era

In the 1870s and 1880s the region of South Africa underwent a transformation and entered the industrial era.[140] Great deposits of gold and diamonds were discovered and claimed by the Boer republics, the British South African Republic as well as indigenous entities. This changed the formerly predominant agrarian economy and promoted urbanization and industrialization in South Africa.[141] According to the constitutions of the Boer states, which were both racially exclusive, blacks were seen as naturally inferior and servile, and therefore subject to labor coercion.[142] Consequently, white ownership emerged in the diamond sector, going along with the development of a racial labor division.[143] Therefore, the unskilled workforce predominantly consisted of black workers, whilst supervising activities were predominantly executed by white workers.[144] On the whole, black workers received a lower wage than their white colleagues and were rejected an equal treatment to white workers, rooting in the white workers strong belief of black inferiority.[145]

The British feared the loss of their supremacy over the strategically important subcontinent, especially as the Boer Republics economically gained from the gold and diamond deposits. After tensions between the British and Transvaal had grown steadily the British sent

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[134] Omer-Cooper, J. (1977). Colonial South Africa and its frontiers. In J. Flint (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.373-374.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid., p.374.

[137] Trapido, S. (2011). Imperialism, Settler Identities, and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred-Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.69-72.

[138] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.96-97.

[139] Ibid., p.96-97.

[140] Encyclopædia Britannica, *South Africa*, https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa/Diamonds-gold-and-imperialist-intervention-1870-1902.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p. 96-97

[143] Ibid., p.116

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid., p.117-118

additional troops to South Africa in 1899 to prepare for a possible conflict.[146] Furthermore, British troops had already been stationed near the borders of the Boer republics. An ultimatum issued by the government of the Transvaal demanding the British to withdraw any troops from Boer borders and to call back their troops on the way to South Africa was ignored by Britain.[147] As a response the Boer invaded the British colonies Natal and Cape Colony.[148] Therefore, the South African War erupted as a Boer-Anglo conflict in 1899.[149] After the war had been waged from 1899-1902, the Boer were defeated by the British and their reinforced army.[150] At the end of the war, a British annexation of the South African Republic and Orange Free State was concluded with the Peace of Vereeniging between the British and the Boer States.[151] This ended the independence of the Boer states.[152] Even though this war was waged between the white population of South Africa, Africans were heavily involved in the war.[153] They acted as soldiers, spies and often fell victim to the war.[154]

The South African Union

In the years following the Peace of Vereeniging, former Boer republics Orange Free State and Transvaal became crown colonies, directly administered by the British whereas Natal and the Cape Colony were British colonies with their own respective government.[155] The British High Commissioner for South Africa, Alfred Milner, planned major social and economic engineering to create a dominion of Dutch and British loyal to the crown and subordinating Dutch and British rights over the rights of Africans.[156] Therefore, the years after the war were characterized by reconstruction and a rigidifying system of segregation and discriminatory policies with restrictions of black ownership or suffrage.[157] In 1906/1907 the Orange Free State and Transvaal were granted responsible governments under the terms that a South African federation was founded and Dutch as well as British officials were represented in the local government.[158] The elected local government was led by Afrikaners and supported by the British political parties.[159] Soon, the local governments of the South African started to discuss the possibility of greater unity.[160] It was assumed by the states,

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[146] Trapido, S. (2011). Imperialism, Settler Identities, and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred-Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.100.

[147] Trapido, S. (2011). Imperialism, Settler Identities, and Colonial Capitalism: The Hundred-Year Origins of the 1899 South African War. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.100.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Boehmer, E. (2012). Perspectives on the South AfricanWar. In D. Attwell & D. Attridge (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South African Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.250.

[150]Ibid., p.250-251.

[151] Marks, S. (2011). War and Union, 1899–1910. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.165.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid., p.251-252.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.32.

[156] Ibid., p.36-39.

[157] Ibid., p.145-147.

[158] Ibid., p.48.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid., p.52-53.

that unity would bring prosperity in form of industry, capital and settlers.[161] A united South Africa should bring the two white groups together, and put an end to interferences from London.[162] In order to build a union government, it was agreed with all four provinces that the franchise in the Cape Colony should be racially exclusive but include women suffrage, while in the other three provinces the suffrage was racially as well as gender exclusive.[163] To address the issue of a greater unity an all-white National Convention was convened, which left the African population unrepresented and forced them to make their voices heard through petitions, lobbying and manifestations of their will.[164] The process of unity was complicated, as British and Afrikaners had various disputes regarding fundamental questions of governance.[165] Especially decisions about the official language, franchise arrangement and a federal or unitary central state posed a challenge to the National Convention.[166] However, there was a clear consensus that a cooperation of the whites was indispensable to endure their dominion.[167] When the first union elections were held in 1910 the South African Party won as it had been supported by most of the Afrikaners and great parts of the British.[168] The South African Party consisted of members of all four provinces and Dutch as well as English language groups.[169] It's objective was to build one white nation bound together by race rather than class.[170] Members of both Dutch and British groups were represented in the government as well as the Parliament.[171] The South African Union came into being in 1910, as it had been given the final blessing from the British government.[172] Britain gave the fate of the South African colonies to the union government, expanded their economic ties with the newly united country and incorporated the South African Union into their Empire and Commonwealth.[173]

From Segregation to Apartheid

The period after the unity was characterized by a systematic discrimination of the non-white population.[174] Non-whites were restricted in their mobility, were given diminished opportunities and were subject to strict control and an explicit exclusion by the government.[175] In the period of 1910-1930 numerous acts had been introduced by the government of the South African Union, which gradually pushed forward the existing system

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[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid.

[163] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.146.

[164] Ibid., p.55.

[165] Ibid., p.47-52.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.49-58.

[169] Ibid., p.59-60.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid., p.49-58.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid., p.58.

[174] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.143-155.

[175] Ibid.

of segregation and white hegemony in national structures and civil society.[176] The Land Act of 1913 introduced a system of designated ownership in different areas, which aimed to divide Africans from white members of society. Thus, blacks were restricted from purchasing land in designated white ownership areas.[177] The black population was limited to 7% of the countryside designated for Africans.[178] Similarly, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 introduced a proclamation of public areas for the use of exclusive race groups.[179] The government closed down black suffrage, which only existed in the Cape Colony, by introducing the Representation of Natives Act in 1936.[180] This act limited the black population's political representation in the parliament to three white representatives.[181] This representation was supplemented by the Natives Representatives Council (NRC) which acted as a consultative body to the parliament.[182] Consequently, their interests and needs were neglected. Political parties rather focused on representing the broad white population and marginalized groups within this group, such as the economically white population.[183] This fringe group demanded protection from black competition for jobs, as they blamed the black population for their economic distress.[184] A prime example of the helplessness of the black population towards white policy making was the introduction of convict labour of black people for private purposes.[185] This had been made possible by the lobby group of white farmers exerting their influence on the government.[186] However, the affected black population of South Africa could not politically defend their interests due to the lack of political representation.[187] Therefore, solely white interests were served.[188]

When elections were held in 1948, the two predominant parties were competing against one another, the United Party (UP) and the South African National Party (NP).[189] As governing party, the UP had been relying on a strong electorate and expected another victory, nonetheless the NP won the election.[190] The NP was favored by the majority voting system and gained the majority of seats in 1948.[191] The reasons for the surprise victory were twofold as the UP approached the elections in a complacent matter and was not able to match their electoral program to the zeitgeist.[192] Contrary to the UP, the NP led a sharp campaign and distinguished itself through their exceptionally racial rhetoric, a call for

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[176] Freund, B. (2011). South Africa: The Union Years, 1910–1948 – Political and Economic Foundations. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.211-213.
[177] Ibid., p.220.
[178]
[179] Ibid., p.236.
[180] Ibid., p.238-240.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., p.240.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.134-136.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.138-139.
[192] Ibid., p.134-135.

Afrikaner unity and the ability to appeal to the UPs core voters.[193] Since the NPs founding in 1914 it had been advocating for Afrikaner interests and fought against British hegemony and the anglicization of South Africa.[194] In the 1948 election they introduced the concept of Apartheid in their manifesto.[195] Through this they promoted an enforcement of a complete division of races and a strengthening of the white man's privilege in the South African society.[196] Furthermore, they promised to reclaim South Africa as the white-man's land.[197] The NP's rhetoric met the zeitgeist, as it gave whites a certainty in the race question and endorsed a unity of the Afrikaner community.[198] Those election pledges rooted in the Afrikaner society's anxiety of diminishing influence in South Africa and eventually losing South Africa as their proclaimed homeland to the African population.[199]

According to the NP's drive to solely represent Afrikaner interests, no English speaking minister served in the cabinet.[200] The cabinet consisted merely of Afrikaans speaking politicians.[201] In addition, high ranking positions in military and government were predominantly assigned to Afrikaners.[202] Thus, the number of Afrikaner in the civil service rocketed.[203] The NP took measures to benefit the Afrikaner economic interests, which inter alia led to increasing employment amongst Afrikaners.[204] After the NP came into power, they implemented a three-folded strategy, consisting of building up the state's power, ensuring a state controlled by Afrikaners and implementing Apartheid.[205]

The Apartheid Era

The Apartheid System

The term Apartheid describes a system of institutional racism and racial social engineering, implemented by the National Party in South Africa since 1948.[206] Apartheid differed from other race regulations in modern Western and colonial states by its explicit systematic and legalized separatism and exclusion.[207] The primary objective of Apartheid was to safeguard the white racial identity and white predominance against the superior number of blacks.[208]

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[193] Ibid.

[194] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.189.

[195] I Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.136-137.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid., p.136-137.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.137.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Ibid.

[204] Ibid., p.138.

[205] Ibid., p.136.

[206] Posel, D. (2011). The Apartheid Project, 1948–1970. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.319.

[207] Ibid., p.331.

[208] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.140.

In the South African Union, however, whites and blacks were greatly intertwined in the economic sector.[209] Especially the whites were strongly dependent on the black workforce.[210] The main driving force of the Apartheid was fear of the black population.[211] The white minority of the country feared the *swart gevaar* (black danger), which was a popular narrative of an ever expanding, aggressive black mass, swamping the white minority.[212]

All in all, the Apartheid system was held together by four pillars: The racial classification of the people of the South African Union, the state's repressive apparatus, the bureaucracy of the Apartheid system and the racial ideology.[213] Racial classification was reached through legislation which demanded the clear identification of the racial identity of every person living in South Africa.[214] The repressive apparatus of the state was the second pillar of the apartheid regime and was strengthened through harsh security laws.[215] It undermined the judicial system while giving power to the police and government.[216] Especially political opposition was in the focus of the repressive apparatus of the South African Union.[217] For this reason, the opposition was often exposed to brutalities by the regime.[218] The importance of the third pillar, bureaucracy, in strengthening the Apartheid system cannot be underestimated.[219] Through this pillar the oppression of non-whites was routinized.[220] Therefore, it occupied an important role in installing the system of oppression in everyday life of the citizen of the South African Union.[221] Fourthly, the Apartheid system was driven by an underlying ideology, which legitimated the unjust system.[222] Main aspects of the ideology were religious, characterizing god as the great divider who created ethnic groups and nations and whose will it was to keep them separate.[223] On the other hand racial science complemented the religious belief, promoting white racial superiority.[224] Moreover, nationalist thoughts defined nations and ethnic groups as distinct entities, which should be kept separate in order to enable each group to exercise self-determination.[225] However, this self-determination of the Afrikaners resulted in a forced imposition of Apartheid on non-white groups.[226] Thus taking away the right to exercise self-determination of non-white groups.[227]

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[209] Ibid.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Posel, D. (2011). The Apartheid Project, 1948–1970. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.23.

[212] Ibid.

[213] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.184.

[214] Ibid., p.184-185.

[215] Ibid., p.185.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid., p.185-186.

[222] Ibid., p.186-187.

[223] Ibid.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Ibid., p.187.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

When it came to the implementation of the Apartheid system there were strong disputes about the degree of separation of the races.[228] Some parts of the intellectual elite of the Apartheid regime promoted a total separation by establishing macro scale segregation, with racially exclusive towns and rural areas for the whites.[229] More practical approaches favored a micro scale separation in towns and areas, due to the economic dependency on native labour.[230] Accordingly, Apartheid was differentiated between Grand Apartheid and Petty Apartheid.[231] Grand Apartheid described a geographical and social division of South Africa after racial aspects.[232] Grand Apartheid was understood as the bigger picture of the introduced measures and aimed on total separation of races in the long-term perspective.[233] Complementary the Petty Apartheid described the accumulated impacts of the system on the daily lives of the suppressed population.[234] Both Grand Apartheid and Petty Apartheid were implemented simultaneously.[235] Both strategies combined enabled the system of Apartheid as a whole.[236]

The complex implementation process of Apartheid required an enhanced administrative mechanism and political structures.[237] Through this racial oppression was routinized.[238]

Legislation of the Apartheid Regime

The South African Union was never under a totalitarian rule, despite the implementation of the Apartheid system.[239] Instead it was rather classified an illiberal parliamentary democracy which was profoundly racially biased.[240] Therefore, the working mechanisms to foster the racial segregation were legislation acts and bureaucratic regulations.[241] Those legislations led to an extended regulation of the lives of the African people living in the South African Union, which was marked by dependency on permits or passes for everyday activities and were strongly restricted by prohibitions and proscriptions.[242] The first legislation that was introduced by the NP government was the mixed marriage act of 1949, which prohibited interracial marriage.[243] This act was complemented by the Immorality Act of 1950 outlawed interracial sexual intercourse.[244] In 1950 various acts with further system establishing effects

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[228] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.140-141.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Ibid.

[231] Ibid.

[232] Ibid.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Ibid.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Ibid.

[237] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.140.

[238] Barber, J. (1999). South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p. 141.

[239] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.346.

[240] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.346.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Ibid., p.347.

[243] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.141.

[244] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.183.

were introduced, such as the Population Registration Act through which racial labelling for every individual was made compulsory.[245] Therefore all inhabitants of the South African Union were assigned to racial groups such as white, African or colored.[246] The likewise in 1950 introduced Group Areas Act reinforced the 1923 Urban Area Act and introduced urban residential segregation for the four defined racial groups.[247] The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 restricted the Africans' rights of permanent urban residence, especially when they regime saw them as surplus to labor requirements of that specific area.[248] Furthermore, a series of acts segregating everyday life situations were introduced in the 1950s, which prohibited mixed sport clubs and mixed sport contests.[249] Non-whites were excluded from leisure facilities like cinemas and restaurants. Racial segregation was also provided in in public facilities like restrooms, parks and building entrances.[250] Consequently, education was segregated with the Bantu Education Act from 1953 separating education plans for African and white children.[251] Legislation was further used to strengthen the state's security apparatus, by passing rigorous security laws such as the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.[252] This act was used to declare organizations unlawful, which were hostile to the Apartheid regime, by applying a broad definition of communism.[253] Similarly the Apartheid regime was strengthened by the introduction of the Separate Representation of Voters Bill, which removed the colored offspring of Africans and white, from the common electoral roll.[254] Like the black community, colored's were granted representation through four white Members of Parliament.[255] Through this act, the colored joined the black whose right to vote was already restricted in the same manner since the Representation of Natives Act in 1936.[256]

Forms of Organized Resistance Against the Apartheid Regime

Political representation of non-whites had been difficult prior to the rising of the NP. Thus, changing of the status quo through the black community was almost.[257] Black political and civil rights leaders revolting against the unjust system were being harassed, suppressed by increasingly severe legislation and labeled communists under the Suppression of

[245] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.141.

[246] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.184.

[247] Ibid., p.182.

[248] Ibid., p.182.

[249] Ibid., p.184.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.141.

[252] Maylam, P. (2001). *South Africa's Racial Past: The history and historiography of racism, segregation and apartheid,* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, p.185.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.139.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Freund, B. (2011). South Africa: The Union Years, 1910–1948 – Political and Economic Foundations. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.220.

[257] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.144.

Communism Act passed in 1950.[258] Consequently, resistance rose.[259] Influential organizations in the fight against the Apartheid were the African National Congress Youth League, as well as the African National Congress (ANC), the Communist Party of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).[260] These different organizations shared the same ambition of fighting the unjust system of Apartheid. However, they represented different racial groups and differed in their underlying ideology and the approaches used to change the civil rights environment in the South African Union.[261] In 1949 the ANC reacted to the election of the NP and adopted a program of action, which consisted of non-violent resistance action plans.[262] However as Apartheid progressed, the ANC and the ANC Youth grew more confrontational, promoting rigorous but non-violent activities such as civil disobedience, boycott of racially divided institutions and strikes.[263] In 1952, the Defiance Campaign was initiated by many resistance groups such as the ANC.[264] During the campaign 8,000 volunteers were jailed as they deliberately broke laws to protest the unjustness of the legislation.[265] In 1955 a Congress of People was held to create a round table for representatives of all South Africans to discuss the future of the country.[266] A wide range of organizations were invited such as the ANC, the NP, political parties represented in the parliamentary and non-parliamentary parties, churches and trade unions.[267] Nonetheless neither the NP nor any other parliamentary party took part in the congress.[268] At the congress a National Action Council was formed, which drafted the Freedom Charter. The charter listed aims and ideals of a multiracial society and a nationalism built on civic instead of ethnic identity.[269] Even though the congress was broken up by police forces on behalf of the government on the second day, the charter sparked a new sense of determination amongst many organizations.[270] It acted as a ground principle for the work of resistance organizations and inspired the suppressed non-white population.[271] In the late 1950s, the ANC was fighting an internal battle.[272] ANC members which identified themselves as Africanists accused the ANC's leadership of lacking drive and failing to represent the aspirations of the mass of the African people.[273] They strongly opposed the basic understanding of the ANC's leadership that South Africa belonged to the white and black

[258] Ibid., p.144-145.

[259] South African History Online, *Apartheid and reactions to it,* https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-and-reactions-it

[260] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.144-157.

[261] Ibid., p.145-158.

[262] South African History Online, *Apartheid and reactions to it,* https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-and-reactions-it

[263] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.145-146.

[264] South African History Online, *Apartheid and reactions to it,* https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/apartheid-and-reactions-it

[265] Ibid.

[266] Barber, J. (1999). *South Africa in the Twentieth Century: A Political History – In Search of a Nation State,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, p.150.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid., p.150-151.

[270] Ibid., p.150-152.

[271] Ibid.

[272] Ibid., p.154-155.

[273] Ibid.

population equally.[274] As a result the ANC split up into the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress.[275] The Pan Africanist Congress pursued notions that were particularly influenced by a strict African nationalism, demanding South Africa for Africans only.[276]

The Sharpeville Massacre

The Importance of the Area of Sharpeville

In 1960, the economic and social gap between the wealthy few, majorly the white population, and the poor masses, became particularly visible in the housing situation.[277] Majorly colored and black people that suffered from widespread poverty and diseases lived in the so called African Townships.[278] The creation of exclusively African Urban Townships was first introduced by the Natives' Resettlement Act in 1954.[279] Sharpeville was one of these townships consisting of 21,000 people situated between Vereeniging and Vanderbijlpark, which were two industrial towns in the southern Transvaal.[280] Over the years the white population of Vereeniging had grown, so did the townships for the Africans located in the outskirts of the town.[281] This housing policy had far reaching national consequences and was particularly visible in Sharpeville.[282] Sharpeville was one of the newer townships and thus relatively well serviced with running water, sanitation and other amenities. [283] Nonetheless, frustration among the inhabitants of the township Sharpeville was severe due to high rents. Thus, when about 5,000 residents from the nearby area of Top Location were forced to relocate to Sharpeville, many of the relocated people were not able to afford the high rentals. In the area of Top Location rents where much lower, however unemployment rates were particularly high. The forced resettlement of the people of Top Location and the high living expenses in Sharpeville created a deep feeling of resentment among the inhabitants of Sharpeville and the domestic migrants from Top Location.[284] Concerned by these developments, the government soon attempted to manage the situation and passed the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, which was designed to divide black urban workers, originally inhabitants of Sharpeville, from migrants.[285] Henceforth that act prevented the domestic migrants from Top Location from going to town to look for work. Domestic migrants were forced to stay behind in the township of Sharpeville.[286] Only blacks with permanent employment contracts were allowed to move between the town and the

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[274] Ibid.

[275] Ibid.

[276] Ibid.

[277]Encyclopaedia Britannica (2018), South Africa

[278] Ibid.

[279]Report (2018). "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa", p.13.

[280] Adhikari, M. (2005). *South Africa: Sharpeville Massacre*, in Shillington, K. (ed*.). Encyclopedia of African Hisory, Volume 3*, Taylor & Francis Group, p.1451.

[281]South African History Online (2018), "The Sharpeville Massacre - A watershed in South Africa by Reverend Ambrose Reeves"

[282]South African History Online (2018), "The Sharpeville Massacre - A watershed in South Africa by Reverend Ambrose Reeves"

[283] Adhikari, M. (2005). *South Africa: Sharpeville Massacre*, in Shillington, K. (ed*.). Encyclopedia of African Hisory, Volume 3*, Taylor & Francis Group, p.1451.

[284] Ibid., p.1452.

[285] Mager, A; Mulaudzi, M. (2011). Popular responses to apartheid: 1948–c. 1975. In R. Ross, A. Mager, & B. Nasson (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.373.

[286] Adhikari, M. (2005). *South Africa: Sharpeville Massacre*, in Shillington, K. (ed*.). Encyclopedia of African Hisory, Volume 3*, Taylor & Francis Group, p.1452.

township in the city from that day on.[287] It was due to the aforementioned developments that by the end of 1959, Sharpeville was subjected to a stricter housing policy. The housing conditions had worsened due to the high number of inhabitants and the unemployment rate.[288] The local government then forced the population to pay extra for supply infrastructure in the townships. Compared to the irregular, extremely low incomes of the black families, the sums required were exorbitant.[289]

The sequence of events described above leads to the fact that Sharpeville was one of the strongholds of the newly formed Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Generally, the Southern Transvaal and the Western Cape were the regions where the African National Congress (ANC) was relatively weak.[290]

Trigger of a Catastrophe - The Pass Laws of South Africa

The South African Pass Laws were subject to many resistance movements throughout the 20th century and can be seen as a cornerstone of the colonial and later racial capitalism in South Africa.[291] The government used the passes to track the movement of non-white people to uphold the provision of cheap labor and to enforce further segregation within the communities.[292] The Pass Laws required Africans to carry identity documents at all times to proof permission to be in a town at a specific time.[293] According to this law permission to stay in an urban area or town, which is the opposite of African townships, could be granted for instance when one had worked there under the same employer for 10 years or had lived there for 15 years without breaking the law.[294] It was because of this law that many inhabitants of Sharpeville were unable to reside in the city and the antipathy to pass laws ran especially deep.**[295]**

In December 1959, the ANC announced its intention of organizing a series of "antipass" marches beginning on March 31, 1960. Keen to make its presence felt in the area of Sharpeville, the PAC soon preempted the ANC initiative and quickly launched a similar "antipass" campaign on March 21, 1960.[296] Consequently the PAC called upon its numerous supporters to leave their passes at home and present themselves peacefully at the policy stations for arrest. They particularly drew a ready response from the residents of Sharpeville as the frustration with the pass laws was high.[297]

The Massacre

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[287] Encyclopedia Britannica (2018), "Pass Laws"
[288] Seekings, Jeremy;Nattrass, Nicoli (2005). "Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa", p.204.
[289] Ibid.
[290] Adhikari, M. (2005). *South Africa: Sharpeville Massacre*, in Shillington, K. (ed*.). Encyclopedia of African Hisory, Volume 3*, Taylor & Francis Group, p.1451.
[291] Encyclopedia Britannica (2018), "Pass Laws"
[292] Ibid.
[293] Mazrui, Ali (1999). "Africa since 1935 Vol VIII", p.259.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Adhikari, M. (2005). *South Africa: Sharpeville Massacre*, in Shillington, K. (ed*.). Encyclopedia of African Hisory, Volume 3*, Taylor & Francis Group, p.1451.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.

Early on March 21, 1960 a crowd of about 5,000 people gathered at the Sharpeville police station.[298] Similar gatherings were held nationwide, as the antipass campaign of the PAC was organized both on local and on national level.[299] At Sharpeville police station the officers were caught unprepared by the size of the crowd which led them to refuse to arrest pass offenders at first. This resulted in a stand-off between the armed policemen and the agitated crowd.[300] When stones were thrown and a police officer was pushed to the ground the constables panicked and opened the fire. Even though no order to fire had been given, officers would not stop when the crowd turned to flee.[301] Eventually 69 black and colored people were killed of which 52 were shot in the back and further 180 were wounded.[302] Universally the shooting in Sharpeville was highly condemned.[303]

Conclusion

Looking at the history of the Apartheid regime, the United Nations Security Council begins to address the topic of South African Apartheid as it turned violent. However, the peak phase of the political implementation of the self-declared supremacy of the white population had already begun in the 1940s, as the National Party was elected.[304] In the 1950s and 1960s, the main goal of the white Afrikaner population was to continue to differentiate the white population from all others through targeted legislation.[305]

In general, the year 1960 held many challenges for the UNSC and numerous conflicts were brought to its attention. It should be kept in mind that the colonial times that previously impacted global tendencies, continue to affect international politics in 1960. The UNSC is in the superior position to deal with this conflictual matter as the main organ dealing with maintenance of international peace and security. A holistic solution can only be achieved if the Security Council exploits its full potential and the interests of all parties in the South African Union are heard.

Further Reading

To understand your country's policy regarding the Security Council and the topic at hand in the year of 1960, you should take a closer look at diplomatic correspondence and official United Nations protocols and resolutions. Details can particularly be gained through assessing the verbal discourse of the respective representatives at the United Nations. You should also try to grasp your country's stance on racial segregation and specific economic and political interests in Africa. Considering the mandate of the Security Council delegates shall also become familiar with Chapter VII of the UN Charta.

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[298] Ibid., p.1452.
[299] Seekings, Jeremy;Nattrass, Nicoli (2005). "Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa", p.204.
[300] Adhikari, M. (2005). *South Africa: Sharpeville Massacre*, in Shillington, K. (ed*). Encyclopedia of African Hisory, Volume 3*, Taylor & Francis Group, p.1452.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.
[304]Seekings, Jeremy;Nattrass, Nicoli (2005). "Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa", p.20.
[305]Seekings, Jeremy;Nattrass, Nicoli (2005). "Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa", p.18.

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