**Apartheid and International Response: Recent Developments**

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A. INTRODUCTION

This brief report on recent developments concerning international response to apartheid is supplementary to the report issued on 2 May 1988, which covered developments in South Africa from September 1987 to March 1988 and showed that the apartheid regime had been on an offensive. 1/ The present report is confined to action by Governments and intergovernmental organizations against apartheid.

In November 1987, after its examination of the annual report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, 2/ the General Assembly adopted a number of resolutions, 3/ with greater support by the Member States than in the past. The resolutions focused mainly on international solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa, the implementation of comprehensive mandatory sanctions and, pending such sanctions, the application of co-ordinated and strictly monitored measures, the strengthening of the oil embargo, and the need for concerted international action against apartheid. The Security Council also reacted to events in South Africa and the southern African region. Although it failed to adopt a proposed draft 4/ that would have imposed selective mandatory sanctions on South Africa, it adopted resolutions against the planned execution of the "Sharpeville Six" 5/ and the aggression against Angola. 6/
B. ACTION BY GOVERNMENTS AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

During the period under review, few actions were taken by Governments and intergovernmental organizations against the apartheid regime, despite its escalated repression and offensive against the peaceful activities of opponents of apartheid. These actions were mostly appeals and campaigns for the release of South African political prisoners and clemency for those sentenced to death. With regard to economic sanctions, although the President of the United States of America had not recommended any further action under the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, in December 1987 the United States Congress added an amendment (the Rangel Amendment) to the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act. The new legislation, which took effect as of 1 January 1988, repealed tax credits for approximately 160 United States companies operating in South Africa. According to the American Chamber of Commerce at Johannesburg, the total tax of those companies might increase from 57.5 per cent to 72 per cent. Also, a bill currently being considered in the United States Congress would, if enacted into legislation, replace the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and forbid any United States citizen from holding any investment in South Africa. It would also prohibit all imports from South Africa, except for certain strategic materials, and all exports to South Africa, except for publications, articles intended to relieve human suffering, economic assistance and private assistance intended to promote human rights, health, welfare, religious and educational activities. The new measures, which were approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, would thus bar all United States investment in South Africa and impose a near-total trade embargo against the apartheid regime.

On 30 October 1987, the European Parliament adopted a resolution urging more effective control or circumventions or restrictive economic measures imposed by the European Economic Community (EEC) against South Africa. EEC called on the Pretoria regime in March 1988 to withdraw its bill tabled in Parliament on 1 March, which, if adopted, would restrict the financing or extra-parliamentary groups inside South Africa. EEC also informed the regime that it intended to continue with its aid to anti-apartheid groups, which had amounted to over $17 million in the past two years.

In October 1987, the Commonwealth Summit, meeting at Vancouver, Canada, reviewed developments in southern Africa and adopted the Okanagan Statement and Programme of Action on Southern Africa. States members of the Commonwealth, with the notable exception or the United Kingdom or Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reconfirmed that economic measures had a considerable impact on South Africa. They established a Committee of Foreign Ministers to meet periodically so as to provide the necessary impetus and guidance. The Committee held its first meeting at Lusaka in January 1988 and called for the strengthening of sanctions against South Africa. It suggested that the mandatory arms embargo should be tightened and that South Africa's financial links with the rest of the world should be undermined. It pledged to increase action against censorship in South Africa and commissioned two studies on South
Africa: one on South Africa's relationship to the international financial system with a view to exploring possibilities for action against the apartheid regime in this area and the other to include a thorough examination or South Africa's terms of trade and trading patterns and to explore ways of increasing the economic independence of the front-line and neighbouring States from South Africa. R1/

At a meeting held at Luanda on 16 November 1987, the leaders of Angola, Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe called for international action to defeat South Africa's invasion of Angola. They condemned the South African war against Angola and called for help from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to drive South Africa's forces out of Angola. 12/

Subsequently, many Governments, in addition to intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, appealed for clemency for the "Sharpeville Six" who were sentenced to death on the grounds of "common purpose". They also condemned the banning in February 1988 of 17 organizations and 18 persons, and demanded the lifting of the bans. At a meeting held on 8 March 1988, the United Nations Security Council failed to adopt a draft resolution that would have imposed selective mandatory sanctions on South Africa, largely based on the EEC measures.

In the field of the sports boycott of South Africa, the International Convention against Apartheid in Sports, 13/ which was adopted in 1986 and opened for signature in 1987, entered into force on 3 April 1988 after having been ratified or acceded to by the requisite number of States.

During the period under review, the AFRICA (Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonization and Apartheid) Fund, established in 1986 by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, proceeded with its projects concerning assistance to the front-line and other States.

C. IMPLEMENTATION AND IMPACT OF ECONOMIC MEASURES

South Africa's economic relations with its major trading partners continued, with some recent changes in the volume of trade. The majority of States members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) continue to be the main trading partners of South Africa. Partly due to restrictive measures, imports to the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States from South Africa declined recently. Nevertheless, South Africa has made inroads into new markets, particularly in the Far East.

In 1987, Japan emerged as South Africa's foremost trading partner, followed by the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. Japanese products, primarily cars and machinery, are produced in South Africa under licence. In return, South Africa exports gold, other metals and coal to Japan. Trade between the two countries totalled approximately SUS 4 billion in 1987, an increase of 14 per cent over the previous year, partly owing to the appreciation of the yen. Recently, however, the Japanese car manufacturers Toyota and Nissan announced that they would reduce shipments of motor components to South Africa, which account for about 40 per cent of Japan's total
South Africa's exports to the Federal Republic or Germany declined to $US 1.25 billion in 1987 from $US 1.55 billion in 1986, while South Africa's imports from that country increased from $US 2.2 billion to $US 2.6 billion. The decline was largely a result or a sharp decline in gold and krugerrand exports which fell by approximately 53 per cent and 98 per cent, respectively. 1/

South Africa's imports from the United Kingdom increased from $US 1,270 million in 1986 to $US 1,587 million in 1987. During the same period, its exports to the United Kingdom decreased from $OS 1,319 million to $US 1,174 million. 6/

Following the adoption of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act in October 1986, South Africa - United States trade reportedly dropped by almost 30 per cent over the first nine months of 1987, from $US 2.6 billion to $US 1.9 billion in the same period or 1986. 17/

According to South African sources, however, South African exports to various countries in Asia increased from 19 per cent of total "shipments" in 1980 to 31 per cent in 1987. A case in point is South African trade with Taiwan Province. Total trade between South Africa and Taiwan Province increased from SUS 500 million in 1986 to SUS 1 billion in 1987. Taiwan Province exports electronics, machine tools and other goods and services to South Africa, which in turn exports minerals and agricultural products to Taiwan Province. 18/

Measures taken particularly by Denmark, France and the United States have contributed to the reduction or South Africa's revenue from coal exports. Its coal exports, which increased from 29.9 million tons in 1982 to 45 million tons in 1986, declined to 39 million tons in 1987. 19/ The recent establishment of the Office of South African Coal Industry in the United Kingdom to work against sanctions in that country is indicative of the growing crisis in the South African coal industry. 20/

Regrettably, there are reports that South African coal still finds its way to the EEC countries, particularly to the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom, through Dutch ports as "Dutch blend" or as trans-shipments. The Dutch blend is a relatively cheap mixture of South African and mainly Chinese coal, which are mixed in bunkers at the Dutch ports and then re-exported with reissued papers that show the Netherlands as the country or origin. In the case of trans-shipments, South African coal is reloaded from bulk carriers at the deep-water port of Rotterdam to smaller vessels for other European ports, usually with papers indicating the Netherlands as the country of origin, although trans-shipments are not imports or re-exports. South Africa's coal exports to the Netherlands thus increased from 200,000 tons in 1982 to almost 2 million tons in 1987, while most other European countries reduced their coal imports from South Africa. 21/

A comprehensive study on the subject of sanctions published by the Economist Intelligence Unit in January 1988 raised some questions about sanctions. 22/ Yet, even South Africa's Finance Minister Barend du Plessis admitted that sanctions
hurt by tying up billions or dollars in non-productive strategic stockpiles, retard ing the growth of the economy and creating unemployment. 23/ Also, the eight Commonwealth Ministers who met recently in Lusaka expressed their conviction that sanctions were an effective weapon against apartheid. 24/

D. CONCLUSIONS

Although the South African régime has recently intensified its repression in the country as well as its acts of aggression and destabilization in the region, the international community has taken little effective action in the past seven months. The régime's challenge has not yet been met by new determined international response.

In the absence or co-ordinated and effective international measures, South Africa's economic growth gained momentum in 1987. It continued into the first quarter of 1988, albeit at a slower pace. South Africa's economic growth depends, to a large extent, on its trade and financial transactions with its major trading partners. While its trade with certain countries increased, it declined with others. If the decline of South Africa's trade with some of its major trading partners continues, it would, along with its high international debt payments, put greater pressure on South Africa's balance of payments.

The limited impact of the national and international measures on the South African economy indicates the need for stronger sanctions and better co-ordination, monitoring and implementation. The apartheid régime should be completely isolated. The international community needs to consider the adoption or further and stronger restrictive measures against that régime.

Notes

3/ General Assembly resolutions 42/23 A-H.
4/ S/19585.
9/ Newsletter on the Oil Embargo against South Africa (Amsterdam), Shipping Research Bureau (SHIREBU), No. 9, October 1987, and No. 9, January 1988.
13/ General Assembly resolution 40/64G.
14/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 8 March 1988; Business Week (New York),
17/ The Citizen (Johannesburg), 8 March 1988.

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