

NEWS BULLETIN, No. 6/7, (Sept. 1986)

Commonwealth: Sanctions avert bloodbath

On June 12, 1986, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) reported that the Botha government is "not yet ready to negotiate fundamental change" and that international economic pressure in the form of sanctions "may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War." After intensive meetings with the minority regime, the group concluded that Pretoria "is not ready... to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future. Its program of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face."

The EPG did not specifically recommend any measures, but concluded:

"We are convinced that the South African Government is concerned about the adoption of effective economic measures against it. If it comes to the conclusion that it would always remain protected from such measures, the process of change in South Africa is unlikely to increase in momentum and the descent into violence would be accelerated. In these circumstances, the cost in lives may have to be counted in millions."

.....

"The Black leadership has already come to the view that diplomatic persuasion has not and will not move the South African Government sufficiently. If it also comes to believe that the world community will never exercise sufficient effective pressure through other measures in support of their cause, they will have only one option remaining: that of ever-increasing violence."

The final reason for such further measures was formulated as follows:

"It is not whether such measures will compel change; it

is already the case that their absence and Pretoria's belief that they need not be feared, defers change."

United Kingdom lags behind

The Prime Ministers of six Commonwealth members (United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, India, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the Bahama's) endorsed, early August, the report of the EPG, but the UK refused to go along with the measures, which the other five will implement and urge the rest of the Commonwealth and world to do the same. The six countries will:

- Cut air links
- Prohibit new investment and reinvestment of profits earned in SA;
- Ban all imports of agricultural products;
- Terminate existing double taxation agreements;
- End government assistance to trade with SA;
- Cease all government buying from SA;
- Stop government contracts for South African controlled companies;
- Ban promotion of tourism to SA;
- Halt all new bank loans to private and public sector borrowers;
- Ban imports of uranium, coal, iron and steel;
- Withdraw consular facilities in SA, except for their own nationals or those of other countries for which they act.

The United Kingdom will only:

- Impose a voluntary cessation of new investment;
- Put a voluntary ban on South African tourism promotion;
- Accept and implement a European Economic Community decision to place an embargo on imports of coal, iron, steel and gold coins.

US Congress to President Reagan: substantial sanctions needed

Among the most remarkable developments regarding economic sanctions is the unprecedented position, taken by both houses of the US Congress. In the House of Representatives, the Democratic majority was joined by a substantial number of Republicans, who adopted a bill, which included a ban on new US corporate investments and a virtually total trade ban. The Senate, where the Republicans have the majority, then discussed and adopted a bill mid-August (84 to 14), which does not go as far as the House bill, but means a considerable sharpening of positions, particularly of Republicans, taken one year earlier.

In order to ensure the broadest possible agreement between Democratic and Republican supporters of strong US measures against South Africa, the House has on September 12 accepted (307 to 88) the Senate Bill as the common position of Congress, to be presented to President Reagan for signature. If the President vetoes the bill, Congress has to discuss, whether to overrule the veto, for which a 2/3 majority in both the House and the Senate are needed. The original percentage of sup-

porters to the Bill was 85 in the Senate and 80 in the House.

The main points of the bill are:

1. ban on new investments
2. ban on loans
3. ban on imports of coal, iron, steel, uranium, textiles, gold coins, agricultural products
4. ban on air links
5. wider scope, stricter application of arms embargo
6. export ban on oil and oil products to South Africa
7. investigation to reduce import of strategic minerals
8. no promotion tourism
9. prohibition to SA state agencies to use US banks

If no clear steps towards the abolishment of apartheid will be taken by South Africa within a year, the bill provides for further measures by the president, such as a ban on imports of diamonds and other minerals and prohibition of acceptance of money from South African citizens by US banks.

UK, W-Germany, Portugal frustrate common EEC policy

The political leaders of the EC member states met in The Hague on June 26-27 and discussed, whether further sanctions against South Africa should be taken. As in the case of the Commonwealth, it was the United Kingdom, now together with the Federal Republic of Germany and Portugal, which forced the postponement of any immediate decision and pressed for yet another mission to Southern Africa. During three months, (i.e. before September 27) "the Community will enter into consultations with the other industrialised countries on further measures which might be needed covering in particular:

- a ban on new investments
- the import of coal
- the import of iron and steel
- the import of gold coins"

Immediately after the June summit, controversy arose whether this formula meant, that after three months these measures would more or less automatically be taken, or not. The UK statement, after the August meeting of the Commonwealth, indicated an increased willingness to take such measures.

Coal ban deleted

But at the meeting of the EC Ministers of Foreign Affairs on September 15 and 16, in Brussels, it was the Federal Republic of Germany, supported by Portugal, which forced an even further weakening of the common sanctions policy and thus took over the role of the United Kingdom. An import ban on coal, by far the most substantial import ban of the Hague package (two third in value terms), was finally excluded from the common EC set of new sanctions.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT repeats call for sanctions

On July 7, 1986, the European Parliament has adopted an extensive resolution on sanctions against South Africa, on support to the people of South Africa, to South Africa's neighboring states and on Namibia. In earlier resolutions, the European Parliament had already taken positions on these issues, which were now updated in accordance with the latest developments in Southern African and in Western policy.

The Parliament approved the list of joint sanctions, drawn up for later consideration by the Council of Ministers in the Hague, on 26-27 June 1986 (i.e. a ban on new investments and a stop on imports of coal, iron, steel and gold coins), but condemned the delay in the implementation of these measures. It noted that the current joint EEC policy is an inadequate response to the inflamed situation and does not meet the demands for sanctions by the oppressed population of South Africa, their organisations, the neighboring states and world public opinion.

Sanctions

The resolution calls for a broad definition of the oil embargo, already agreed on in September 1985, which should include all oil-based products, stocks held in bonded storage (entrepot), oil technology and its financing, petrochemicals as well as the participation of EEC companies in the transport of oil-based products to South Africa from third countries.

As long as there is no agreement yet among the EEC Council of Ministers on the implementation of the measures of the Hague summit on new investments, iron, steel, coal and gold coins, separate member states should implement these measures immediately, and should also consider bans on the import of agricultural products, gold, uranium and diamonds from South Africa.

Renewal of IMF loans to South Africa should not be encouraged and it should be ensured that rescheduling of South Africa's debts is linked with effective pressure to abolish the apartheid regime.

Trade patterns between the Community and South Africa and Namibia respectively should be investigated and provisions should be made for the collection of information, required for statistical monitoring of this trade.

Arms and nuclear relations

The arms embargo should be strictly implemented by comprehensive legislative and other measures. A comprehensive list of items, falling automatically within the scope of the embargo, should be drawn up.

The enforced conscription of EEC citizens into the South African defence force is to be ended.

Member states should refrain from nuclear cooperation with South Africa, regarding both contracts already concluded as well as new contracts.

Support to S.A. people, neighboring states

The Community should step up aid to and imports from SADCC and its member states, to replace South Africa as a source of goods, which are also produced in the SADCC area.

Current EEC programs of "positive measures" to assist the people of South Africa should be immediately implemented and extended. Programs of aid to the victims of apartheid should

- in no way support the South African government and administration
- not contribute to programmes, which the apartheid regime could be expected to cover itself
- not contribute to programmes or organisations, related to governments of homelands or "independent states".

Namibia

Regarding Namibia, the resolution condemned the "internal solution and provisional government" set up by South Africa. EEC funds should be channelled through the Namibian Council of Churches and associated NGO's for aid programmes to refugees and displaced persons, for scholarships, health and social welfare. Only Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is called an acceptable path to a peaceful solution of the Namibian problem and no links should be set up, such as done by the Reagan administration and the Pretoria government, between Namibian independence and the prior or simultaneous withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The EEC foreign ministers should establish firm relations with the UN Council for Namibia, the only legal administrative authority in the country today.

Plans of West European governments, to dump nuclear waste in Namibia should be ended.

AWEPAA appeals to all its members to initiate parliamentary discussion in the national parliaments of the EC and in the European Parliament on the position of the Council of Ministers and each individual country.

The compliance of Germany and others with a coal ban is of immediate concern. A more general aim to ensure, that the European Community ultimately does not lag behind the position of the US Congress and of the Commonwealth countries (minus the United Kingdom).

Joint policies and initiatives with governments and/or parliaments of the United States, the Western Commonwealth members Canada, New Zealand and Australia, with Japan as well as the Skandinavian and other West European countries outside the EC are an important instrument to achieve this.

OIL EMBARGO: new findings on VIOLATIONS

On September 16, the Shipping Research Bureau presented its most recent research findings on companies and countries, involved in the continuation of the oil flow to South Africa. The Bureau found 83 tankers, which apparently delivered crude oil to South Africa in 1983 and 1984, supplying more than half of South Africa's need of imported crude oil.

Norwegian shipowners

In most cases, the oil companies involved effectively hid their identity, except for *Netherlands/Bermuda*-based Transworld Oil/John Deuss and Fed. Rep. of *Germany*-based Marimpex.

Over half of the shipping companies were *Norwegian*, other countries where considerable numbers of involved (directly or indirectly) companies are based or whose flags were used, are: *Greece, Liberia, Panama, Singapore, the United Kingdom* and the *United States*. Involved to a lesser extent are: the *Bahama's, Cyprus, Denmark, Hong Kong, Japan, Malta, Switzerland*.

Origin of oil: Gulf, Brunei

The origin of the crude oil was in 64 cases the *Persian Gulf* (Saudi-Arabia: 14 cases, Oman: 13, United Arab Emirates: 11, Iran: 7, Qatar: 3, Kuwait: 2, unknown: 24), in 18 cases the *Far East* (Brunei: 17, Malaysia: 1) and in 1 case the Netherlands transshipment port of Rotterdam.

In its comment, the Bureau points out that the companies involved have broken the stated embargo policies of these oil exporting countries and have tried to hide this fact by never reporting South Africa as the destination of the oil. However, 4 or 5 countries have not or ineffectively acted against ships or oil/transport companies, whose identities were all reported to them by the Bureau before publication. Other oil exporting countries, in the Gulf and elsewhere, have been far more committed and effective in implementing their oil embargoes against South Africa.

The involvement of the home countries of ships/companies is even greater, as no formal or informal restrictions on involvement in oil supplies from third countries were in force at all.

Costs of embargo for SA

In spite of the deficiencies of present embargoes, South Africa annually has to spend more than US \$ 2,300 to overcome the effects of the embargo in addition to its regular oil bill of US \$ 3,000 million.

(Shipping Research Bureau, PO Box 11898, 1001 GW Amsterdam, Netherlands)

AWEPAA: EC should tighten oil embargo

In a political comment, AWEPAA President J.N. Scholten and E. Glinne, Chairman of AWEPAA's branch in the European Parliament, stated that the regrettably heavy involvement of some oil-exporting countries does not diminish the need for tighter embargo policies of the European Community. The scope of the current common embargo, agreed upon in september 1985, is generally narrow (if determined at all) and should include measures on crude oil *from any origin*, not only from the EC itself, whether it is kept in *bonded storage* (entrepot) or put into *free circulation* inside the EC. *Transshipment* in ports like Rotterdam, the supply of (often technologically or strategically sophisticated) *oil products* should also be included in the national measures to implement the common EC embargo. There is also the need to tackle Europe's main involvement as the home base of oil and shipping companies, which transport crude oil directly from elsewhere to South Africa. The European Community collectively even lags behind the position of the U.S. Congress, which adopted a bill prohibiting the supply of both crude oil and oil products.

EC should not do less than US Congress

Mr. Scholten and Mr. Glinne stated that the current EC policy on oil and on sanctions in general not only supports US President Reagan in his opposition to sanctions, but also alineates Europe from the Developing Countries, officially associated with the EC under the Lomé-treaty. They called for a strengthened EC policy, which would include no less measures than those of the bill, adopted by the US Congress (summarised on front page of this bulletin).

Japan to join other Western countries?

The clearest Western example of a wait-and-see attitude is Japan. Whereas other countries stress the importance of Japan joining measures by other major western powers, press reports indicate only that the Japanese government is considering additional sanctions against South Africa but is waiting for clarification of the intentions of the US and the United Kingdom. Of all the measures, which might possibly become law in these countries, a Japanese ban on coal imports is most substantial, as it is the largest single importer of South African coal (9 mln. tons of a total of 45 mln. tons in 1985, with Denmark and France having reduced or terminated their imports recently.) Australia, already exporting more than half of its coal exports to Japan, has recently reached an agreement on increased deliveries to Japan for a price, lower than has to be paid for South African coal.

Meanwhile, South Africa's substantial fruit exports to Japan have come to a total standstill because of Japanese fears for the safety of its sanitary inspectors under the state of emergency.

Liberal International for sanctions

The Liberal International on June 29 renewed a call originally made in Madrid last year for the imposition of "internationally co-ordinated, conditional, selective and progressive sanctions against South Africa".

The call was part of a six-point resolution adopted by an international executive committee meeting in Helsinki, attended by Liberals from 16 countries, including Mr. David Steel and Mr. Colin Eglon, the leader of the white South African Progressive Federal Party.

Nordic countries

The Nordic foreign ministers have on August 14 announced strengthened joint efforts to achieve effective sanctions by the UN Security Council. No further immediate joint sanctions were announced, they will only be studied, including a joint trade boycott. Contingency planning for the early implementation of Security Council decisions will be intensified. Other countries will continue to be encouraged to increase international pressure on South Africa.

Humanitarian assistance to Southern Africa and development assistance to the Frontline States and SADCC will be increased. In the United Nations, contingency planning will be promoted for economic assistance to South Africa's neighbour states in the event of South African reprisals against these countries.

Norway

After banning agricultural imports from South Africa and introducing a licensing system for other imports earlier this year, Norway has banned by law the export of refined oil products and ships. Other imports and exports will only be allowed, if license applicants have dealt with the same products before. All these measures also apply to Namibia. Prime Minister Brundtland announced in July, that Norway would impose a total boycott on trade with South Africa when Norwegian parliament reassembles next October. In anticipation, trade has already declined by 40% in 1986, compared with last year.

African, Third World countries on sanctions

In the past months, African and Third World countries have repeatedly called upon the Western world to increase its pressure on South Africa, in particular by implementing substantial sanctions against that country. The Southern African countries of Zimbabwe and Zambia, which themselves have relatively close economic relations with South Africa (trade, transport of their trade with third countries), have early August agreed to implement the measures recommended to the Commonwealth (see front page of this Bulletin)

OAU appeals to US Congress

In July, the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity had appealed to the US Congress to impose sanctions against South Africa over the objections of President Reagan. The OAU accused Reagan of blocking the only alternative to a bloodbath. Whereas the OAU members found it difficult to agree on common measures against any of their remaining economic ties to South Africa, their call on the Western world to impose sanctions was generally supported.

Frontline States and SADCC

On August 21, the heads of state and governments of the Frontline States met in the Angolan capital of Luanda. They expressed their approval of the decisions of the majority of the Commonwealth leaders, who had met earlier that month. While calling for economic sanctions against South Africa, they also called for more assistance to themselves, to offset South Africa's retaliatory measures against its neighbours. A collective strategy will be worked out for the introduction of a sanctions package in the Security Council, which the US and the UK will find difficult to veto.

Immediately after the Frontline States' summit, there was a meeting of SADCC leaders, also in Luanda.

They called for increased support for their efforts to become less dependent on South Africa economically. On sanctions, they stated that SADCC vulnerability should not be used by others for not imposing economic sanctions against South Africa. SADCC member states will do nothing to undermine the effectiveness of sanctions, imposed on South Africa by the international community. Neither the Frontline States nor SADCC have been able to reach agreement on further common sanctions against South Africa. President Reagan was invited to a summit in Southern Africa to discuss how to end apartheid in South Africa.

Non-Aligned special fund to assist Frontline States, Liberation Movements

Finally, the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement, which took place in Harare (Zimbabwe) in early September, announced the foundation of a fund to assist Frontline States and Liberation Movements of South Africa and Namibia. A team of 8 foreign ministers will visit South Africa's main trading partners (US, UK, West Germany and Japan) to persuade them to introduce comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

International calendar on Southern Africa

Non-governmental organisations

Sept. 26-28 Popular Struggles in Africa. Conference of the Review of African Political Economy in association with The Centre of African Studies, Liverpool University. Information: ROAPE Conference, Department of Sociology, University of Liverpool. Liverpool L69 3 BX. United Kingdom. Tel. 51-709-6022.

Sept. 29 - Oct. 2 The Southern African Economy After Apartheid. Conference organized by the Centre for Southern African Studies. Information: Centre for Southern African Studies. University of York. York YO1 5DD. United Kingdom. Tel. 904-59861. Telex: 57933.

Oct. 15-19 Two workshops on Namibia and Sanctions against South Africa will be held in Stockholm, Sweden. Information: Africa Groups of Sweden and the Isolate South Africa Committee. Barnängsgatan 23, 11641 Stockholm. Tel. 8-401855 Telex: 10971

Oct. 17-19 Namibia - 20 Jahre Rechtsbruch - Freiheit für Namibia. Seminar. Information: Anti Apartheid Movement. Blücherstrasse 14, 53 Bonn 1. BRD. Tel. 228 - 211355

Oct. 24-26 Namibia Consultation with representatives of Lutheran, Anglican and Catholic Churches, organized by the Lutheran World Federation. The consultation will take place in the Federal Republic of Germany. Information: LWF, P.O. Box 66, Route de Ferney 150, 1211 Geneva 20 Switzerland. Tel. 22-916354. Telex: 23423.

Nov. 4-6 Conference on Religion and Education in post-apartheid South Africa. Information: Research Institute of Oppressed Peoples (RIOP) c.o. Free University, Valeriusplein 12-14, 1075 BH Amsterdam, Netherlands. Tel. 20-767682

Nov. 7 Seminar on South African English Literature, Bad Boll Evangelische Akademie, Oekumenereferat, D 7325 Bad Boll, Federal Republic of Germany.

Nov. 15 Day of International Action against the Role of Shell in Southern Africa. Information: Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Oudezijds Achterburgwal 173, 1012 DJ Amsterdam, Netherlands. Tel. 20-270801. Telex: 17125
- Kairos, Kromme Nieuwegracht 10, 3512 HG Utrecht, Netherlands. Tel. 30-319714. Telex: 40701.

Nov. 29 Demonstration against South Africa in Bonn. Information: Anti Apartheid Movement. Blücherstrasse 14, 53 Bonn 1, BRD. Tel. 228-211355.

South Africa

Sept. 24 onwards Synod of the Dutch Reformed Mission church (N.G. Sendingkerk) in Belhar.

Oct. 14 onwards Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church (N.G. Kerk)

This calendar on Southern Africa is compiled and distributed by the Workinggroup Kairos (Christians against Apartheid) and AWEPA (Parliamentarians against Apartheid). You are requested to send information on forthcoming events to either of the addresses below.

AWEPA

*Association of West European Parliamentarians
for Action against Apartheid*

 **kairos**

christenen tegen apartheid
christians against apartheid

Western governments and parliaments (national, international)

- Sept.-Oct. 10 United States: President to accept or reject sanctions bill of Congress, if President vetoes, Congress will debate whether to overrule.
- Sept. 22 - 26 Joint Parliamentary Committee session of European Parliament and ACP countries (EC-associated developing countries). Athens-Greece.
- Sept. 27 End of 3 month period after the Hague summit EC Council of Ministers, after which final decision on sanctions is to be taken.
- Oct. 6 - 10 Session European Parliament, Strasbourg-France, with debate on sanctions decision EC Council of Ministers.
- Oct. 23 - 24 Working session on sanctions of members European Parliament and national parliaments EC states, parallel to regular session European Parliament, Strasbourg-France.
Organisation: AWEPAA, P.O. Box 402, 2501 CK The Hague, Phone (20)-266639 or (70)-614911.
- Nov. (tentative) UN General Assembly, Debate on South Africa, New York, USA
Information: UN Special Committee against Apartheid, United Nations, New York, NY 10017, USA, (212)7541234

Commemorative days

- Sept. 30,'66 Independence Day Botswana
- Oct. 4,'66 Independence Day Lesotho
- Oct. 11 International Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners in South Africa and Namibia
- Oct. 26,'76 South Africa declared the so-called homeland Transkei 'independent'.
- Oct. 27,'66 UN General Assembly ends South African mandate in Namibia (Resolution 2145)
- Nov. 6 Day of Solidarity with South African Trade Unionists.
- Dec. 1,'85 Foundation of Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions)
- Dec. 4,'81 South Africa declared the so-called homeland Ciskei 'independent'.
- Dec. 9,'61 Independence Day Tanzania
- Dec. 10 Human Rights Day
- Dec. 16,'61 Foundation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress.
- Jan. 8,'12 Foundation of the African National Congress

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Telex 17125

kromme nieuwegracht 10 - 3512 HG utrecht - nederland
telefoon 030-319714 - telex 40701

AWEPAA and UN conferences on NAMIBIA

On June 12-14, AWEPA organised the parliamentary conference 'Namibia: Breaking the stalemate; a West European responsibility' in Rome, with the assistance of the Italian government and parliament, as well as the United Nations Council for Namibia. The following are the main points of the final declaration, which include (points a. through j.) a plan for parliamentary action, which the participants have pledged to undertake to weaken South Africa's will to continue its occupation of Namibia, to force the implementation of UN Sec. C. Resolution 435 (1978), as well as to counter South Africa's international and regional policies.

The Rome Declaration on Independence for Namibia and abolition of Apartheid

The Conference took place at a time when the crisis in southern Africa was increasing in intensity: the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth had just reported its conclusions that the white South African Government was not interested in conducting a dialogue aimed at dismantling apartheid, and that sanctions should be applied; and during the course of the Conference the South African Government declared a national state of emergency in an attempt to prevent commemorative demonstrations on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising on June 16th, 1976.

The Conference was attended by members of 14 West European national parliaments, the European Parliament, Canada, delegations from the U.N. Council for Namibia, from SWAPO of Namibia and from the Council of Churches in Namibia.

The participants noted that nearly twenty years since the South African presence in Namibia was declared illegal by the United Nations, there is still no real sign that the oppressed people of Namibia will gain their independence through the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No. 435 (1978).

The participants recalled that UN Security Council Resolution 566 (1985) urges all Member States to take voluntary measures against South Africa because of its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. They noted that the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth had also, because of the apartheid in South Africa itself, recommended meaningful sanctions be imposed.

Plan of parliamentary action

- a. to intensify pressures on South Africa so as to achieve the abolition of apartheid;
- b. to put pressure on the governments of the countries of the so-called Western Contact Group who have not yet done so to recognise, as the Eminent Persons Group of the Commonwealth has done, that their negotiations with the South African Government have not been successful and therefore to explicitly *disband the Contact Group*;
- c. parliamentary initiatives regarding the violation of *human rights*;
- d. to work towards the *implementation of Decree no. 1* of the U.N. Council for Namibia thereby ending all illegal trade in Namibian natural resources. The forthcoming court action, initiated by the UN Council for Namibia against the *Urenco uranium* enrichment plant in the Netherlands, should stimulate *other initiatives* on this issue;
- e. to implement those sanctions specifically mentioned in the UN Security Council Resolution 566 (1985), viz.
 1. stopping *new investments* in South Africa and Namibia and applying disincentives to this end;
 2. the re-examination of *maritime and aerial* relations with South Africa and Namibia;
 3. the prohibition of the sale of *Krugerrands* and all other gold coins minted in South Africa;
 4. applying restrictions in the field of *sports and cultural* relations;
- f. to put pressure on their governments to proclaim an embargo on involvement in export, sale or shipping of *crude oil, petroleum products or natural gas* to South Africa or Namibia;
- g. to put pressure on their governments to prohibit the purchase or handling of *coal* from South Africa;
- h. to consider the establishing of a *total trade boycott* against South Africa and Namibia following the example of Denmark;
- i. to put pressure on their governments to step up their efforts to force South Africa to implement *Resolution 435*. This will have to include registering more clearly with the US administration their *opposition to the "linkage"* policy, thus emphasising the right of Namibia to self-determination and independence in accordance with the law of nations. This right takes precedence over any geo-strategic considerations;
- j. to propose in their parliaments that *aid to Namibians* be increased. This aid should only be channelled to and through United Nations agencies or those Namibian agencies such as SWAPO and the Council of Churches in Namibia, which are actively opposing the South African occupation of Namibia and which are in no way related to the structures of or individuals involved with the Multi Party Conference "interim government". The current EEC programmes to victims of apartheid should be fully accessible to such organisations.

The participants are of the opinion that such *measures taken by individual countries contribute positively to collective actions*. The participants extended their appeal for intensified action along the above lines not only to their parliaments and governments, but equally to the people of their countries.

The participants are convinced that, given the dramatic and tragic situation that has been allowed to develop in Namibia and Southern Africa, *the world community must intensify the efforts to liberate Namibia and abolish apartheid*. The Western Countries have to shoulder their responsibility in breaking the stalemate.

To finish of a series of international conferences, seminars etc on Namibia, the UN held its International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia in Vienna from 7-11 July 1986, attended by governments, inter-governmental organisations, liberation movements of Southern Africa and NGO's. It was stressed that the United Nations and its Council for Namibia are the legal administrative body for Namibia until its independence, and that Sec. Council Resolution 435 (1978) constitutes the only internationally accepted basis for the peaceful settlement of the Namibian question. The 'linkage' with the presence of Cuban troops was rejected, as well as efforts to treat the issue as part of a global East-West confrontation, rather than as a matter of decolonisation. The conference called for the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council as well as by individual governments, because of South Africa's policies on Namibia and towards the whole region of Southern Africa.

United Nations Seminar on oil embargo

On June 4-6, 1986, the United Nations held a seminar on the oil embargo against South Africa in Oslo, in cooperation with the Norwegian government. Conspicuously absent from the seminar were representatives of the United Kingdom, the United States, Greece and Japan. 21 Nations did participate: Security Council members, oil exporting and shipping nations, Frontline States. The only western shipping nations present were Norway, the Netherlands and Denmark.

On several issues it was difficult to reach consensus on the final declaration. Norway and Denmark had difficulty in accepting the urge to all countries, to adopt *effective legislation* to strengthen the oil embargo and take *punitive action* against shipowners, oil companies and oil traders, involved in the transport and sale of oil to South Africa. They finally agreed, but the delegation of the Netherlands at the end did not accept the wording of the declaration.

Only after last-minute talks between the Norwegian Prime Minister Brundtland and the Chairman of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, Joseph Garba, Norway accepted recommendations on restricting trade of oil and shipping companies, which went considerably beyond measures Norway was willing to take itself. While strongly favoring a monitoring body within the UN framework, the Norwegian government stated that it would continue to develop such a mechanism itself, nationally and with other oil-exporting and -shipping nations.

Recommendations

Some of the recommendations of the seminar:

— Pending a mandatory decision by the Security Council, the Seminar proposed that in order to ensure the effective implementation of the present oil embargo against South Africa, all States should take action to:

- (a) *co-ordinate* the application of the international and national *measures* on the matter;
- (b) develop *new measures* in order to broaden its scope;
- (c) establish a mechanism to *monitor* its operation.

— All states are urged to adopt *effective legislative* and other measures in order to strengthen the oil embargo, and the seminar recommends the following programme of action containing general measures which they urge all States to adopt and implement as speedily as possible:

- (a) To compel the companies originally selling or purchasing oil or petroleum products, as appropriate for each nation, from selling, re-selling or otherwise transferring oil and petroleum products to South Africa and Namibia;
- (b) As appropriate for each nation, to establish strict *control* over the supply of oil and petroleum products to South Africa and Namibia by *intermediaries, small companies* and *merchants* by placing responsibility for the fulfilment of the contract on the *first buyer or seller* of oil and petroleum products, who would, therefore, be *liable* for the actions of these parties;
- (c) To prevent South Africa's access to *other sources of energy*, including technical know-how and financial assistance;
- (d) To prohibit all assistance to apartheid South Africa through the provision of finance, technology, equipment or personnel for the *prospecting*, development or production of hydrocarbon resources, the construction or operation of *oil-from-coal* plants or the development and operation of plants producing *fuel substitutes and additives* such as ethanol and methanol;
- (e) To prevent *South African* corporations from maintaining or expanding their *holdings in oil companies* or properties outside South Africa.

— In addition, all States are urged to adopt effective measures and/or legislation, in order to strengthen the oil embargo. The objective of these measures should be:

- (a) To terminate the *transport of oil* to South Africa by ships under their flags, or by ships which are ultimately owned, managed or chartered by their nationals/companies within their jurisdiction;
- (b) As the first step towards the establishment of an international *monitoring* mechanism, to develop a system of *registration* of ships, registered or owned by their nationals, which have unloaded oil in South Africa in contravention of embargoes imposed.

World Conference on Sanctions against racist South Africa

After co-organising two topical conferences on the arms and the oil embargoes, the United Nations held its World Conference on Sanctions in Paris on 16-20 June 1986. Most countries and inter-governmental organisations participated. The most conspicuous absentees were the United States and the United Kingdom, whereas some Western countries sent observers only.

The conference called for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council and made the following, more specific recommendations:

A. Military and nuclear collaboration

48. The Conference therefore recommends that the mandatory arms embargo instituted by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977) be reinforced by calling all States:

- (a) To end all military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa;
- (b) To cease sale or supply of "dual purpose" items and related material such as computers, radar and other electronic equipment and related technology to South Africa;
- (c) To terminate all investments in corporations manufacturing military equipment or supplies in South Africa; and
- (d) Measures to discourage or prevent enlistment of their nationals in the South African military forces and appropriate assistance to those who resist conscription or recruitment.

49. The Conference further urges the Security Council to *make mandatory* its request to all States, in resolution 558 (1984) of 13 December 1984, *to refrain from importing* arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles produced in South Africa and to extend the embargo to cover all components and related material originating from South Africa.

50. It calls for more effective *monitoring* of the arms embargo against South Africa and in that connection urges action, without further delay, on the recommendations submitted in September 1980 by the Security Council Committee established by Resolution 421 (1977) concerning the Question of South Africa.

51. The Conference welcomes the Declaration of the International Seminar on Arms Embargo against South Africa and believes that it is imperative that the measures recommended therein be taken to reinforce and strengthen the mandatory arms embargo by the Security Council in resolution 418 (1977).

52. It calls for the extension of the arms embargo to include the *police* sector.

B. Oil and petroleum products

57. Measures should include, inter alia, the following: preventing the *sale, supply and transport* of crude oil and petroleum products to South Africa;

— the prohibition of all assistance to apartheid South Africa through the provision of *finance, technology, equipment or personnel* for the *prospecting, development or production* of hydrocarbon resources;

— prohibiting assistance in the construction of plants producing *fuel substitutes* and additives such as ethanol and methanol;

— the prohibition of the participation of *corporations and individuals* within their jurisdiction in the *oil industry* in South Africa, including exploration, storage, refining, transport and distribution;

— the prohibition of the importation of *oil-from-coal* technology from South Africa;

— the prohibition of the *import of oil or petroleum products and petrochemicals* from South Africa;

— the prevention of the efforts of *South African corporate interests* to maintain or expand their holdings in oil companies or properties *outside* South Africa.

60. The World Conference affirms the urgent need for the Security Council to adopt a *mandatory oil embargo* under Chapter VII of the Charter. It recommends that members of the Security Council, in consultation with oil-producing and oil-shipping States, co-ordinate action in ensuring that effective action at the level of the Security Council is taken as soon as possible.

C. Investments and loans

63. The World Conference recommends that the Security Council urgently consider a *mandatory embargo on investments in and financial loans* to South Africa.

64. It urges that the Governments be requested to make every possible effort to exert their influence to *persuade banks and financial institutions* concerned to refrain from further rescheduling the debts of South Africa.

D. Other sanctions

65. The World Conference urges the Security Council to consider other mandatory sanctions against South Africa, especially with respect to trade, e.g.:

- (a) Prohibition of *transfer of technology* to South Africa
- (b) Cessation of export, sale or transport of *oil and oil products* to South Africa, and of any co-operation with South Africa's oil industry;
- (c) Cessation of *further investment in, and financial loans* to South Africa or Namibia and of any governmental insurance or guarantee of credit to these regimes;
- (d) An end to all promotion of or *support for trade* with South Africa, including assistance to trade missions;
- (e) Prohibition of the sale of *krugerrands* and any other coins minted in South Africa;
- (f) Prohibition of imports from South Africa of *agricultural products, coal, uranium, etc.*;
- (g) Enactment of legislation or adoption of other measures to comply with UN *Decree no. 1* for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the UN Council for Namibia in 1974;
- (h) Termination of any *visa-free* entry privileges to South Africa;
- (j) Cessation of all *academic, cultural, scientific and sports* relations with South Africa, and of relations with individuals, institutions and other bodies endorsing or based on apartheid;
- (k) Suspension or abrogation of agreements with South Africa, such as agreements on *cultural and scientific* co-operation.

66. It stresses, in particular, the need for an immediate embargo on the *import of uranium and other products from Namibia* in accordance with UN Decree no. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the UN Council for Namibia in 1974.

67. Pending a decision by the Security Council, the World Conference recommends the above mentioned measures for urgent consideration of *all Governments which have not yet taken such action* and encourages anti-apartheid action by state and local authorities and by the public.

Arms embargo needs to be broadened and better implemented

The International Seminar on the UN Arms Embargo was held in London on 28-30 May by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, in cooperation with the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa. The Seminar discussed the need and possibilities for improving the implementation of the existing mandatory arms embargo, as well as for broadening its scope. This was considered the more urgent, because of the resistance and oppression within South Africa, the continued armed occupation of Namibia and the aggression against neighboring states, particularly Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola. The United States was specifically mentioned because of its recent supply of Stinger missiles and other military equipment to the South African surrogate force UNITA in Angola, which represents a *prima facie* breach of the mandatory UN embargo. Military spending and personnel has grown tremendously, but the aggression against its independent neighbours, against Namibia and its own population places major strains on the operational capability of the South African armed forces.

Enlistment of foreign nationals

A disturbing and rather new phenomenon, discussed and illustrated with recent examples of Dutch and British citizens, is the South African effort to enlist foreign nationals in its military forces. This policy is applied on inhabitants of South Africa with double or foreign nationality. Permanent residents with foreign nationality since 1984 are considered SA citizens, even if they do not wish so. One third of the white SA population are nationals of EC countries.

South Africa not self-sufficient

It was demonstrated that, contrary to widespread opinion, South Africa is still highly dependent on outside supplies for its military production and equipment. In some key areas, it is even more dependent on supply of components, and therefore more vulnerable to an effective embargo.

Nuclear threat

Special attention was paid to South Africa's possession of a nuclear bomb and the threat this poses to the peace in Africa and the world. In the case of South Africa, no valid distinction can be made between military and civilian use of nuclear power, so all nuclear collaboration with South Africa should be ended.

Recommendations:

The seminar called for urgent and effective action to strengthen and ensure the strict implementation of the UN mandatory arms embargo and recommended:

- 1) The Security Council should meet as a matter of the utmost urgency to *act upon* the 16 recommendations of its Committee on the arms embargo.
- 2) The voluntary *embargo on the imports from South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types and vehicles*, adopted by Security Council resolution 558 (1984), *must be rendered mandatory* and be *expanded* to include related material of all types, including para-military equipment.
- 3) The Security Council should determine that *arms and related material* of all types comprises all *military, nuclear and other strategic equipment*, including so-called '*dual purpose*' equipment such as aircraft, radar, computers, vehicles of all types, etc. as well as all types of equipment destined for *use by the South African military, police and security forces*.
- 4) The Security Council's Committee on the arms embargo should draw up a *comprehensive list of items* which would automatically fall within the scope of the arms embargo.

- 5) All states should adopt *comprehensive legislative measures* to ensure that the arms embargo is strictly implemented. Such legislative measures should involve effective *penalties* and also *prohibit the shipment* of arms and related material of all types to South Africa and Namibia.
- 6) All states should prohibit the export to South Africa and Namibia of all *spare parts and components* capable of being used in equipment falling within the scope of the embargo.
- 7) The Security Council should require all member states to revoke or terminate all *licences* previously concluded with South Africa to manufacturing arms and related material of all types, including licences for equipment for the manufacture of such items. Member states which have not already done so should prohibit the granting of licences for the manufacture in South Africa or Namibia of any item falling within the scope of the arms embargo.
- 8) All states should prohibit the *transfer* to South Africa or Namibia of *all technology* relating to the manufacture of arms and related material of all types and the UN Security Council should make such a prohibition *mandatory*.
- 9) The UN Security Council should impose a *mandatory ban on all forms of nuclear collaboration* with South Africa.
- 10) All states should end all forms of *military collaboration* with South Africa, including the exchange of military *attachés*, the holding of *joint exercises*, the exchange of military *intelligence*, participation in *conferences on military matters* in South Africa or admitting South Africa to their military and *technical academies* as well as any military exchanges with South Africa.
- 11) All states should *prohibit investment* in South Africa in corporations or other institutions involved in the manufacture or supply of arms and related material of all types.
- 12) All states should adopt legislative measures to prohibit within their national jurisdiction the *enlistment of their nationals* for service with the South African military and police forces.
- 13) Member States and organisations should *report on violations* of the arms embargo to the United Nations and co-operate with the Security Council Committee which deals with the arms embargo and with the Special Committee against Apartheid in their enquiries and investigations on cases of violations of the arms embargo.
- 14) The Security Council should impose a *mandatory oil embargo* against South Africa.

(More documentation from the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Cooperation with South Africa, P.O. Box 2, Lindeberggaard, Oslo-10, Norway.)