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ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS'

SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA:

1970-1990

A Research Project

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Public Administration

Southern University

In Partial Fulfillment

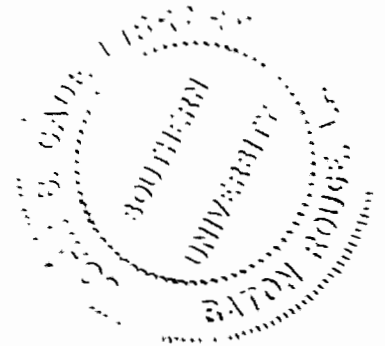
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Master of Public Administration

By

Kabelo G. Tlhomelang

July 1993



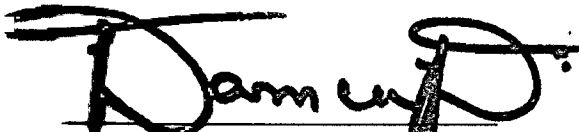
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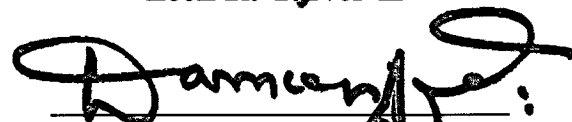
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Master of Public Administration,
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ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF THE UNITED NATIONS'

SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA:

1970-1990

An Abstract of a Research Project

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Public Administration

Southern University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Public Administration

By

Kabelo G. Tlhomelang

July 1993

ABSTRACT

This research project examines a series of the United Nations' sanctions imposed on South Africa from 1970 through 1990. The goals of these sanctions were to force South Africa to abandon its apartheid policies. The paper examines diplomatic and economic measures including the oil and arms embargoes. Economic sanctions precipitated economic crisis which forced the South African government to reexamine its apartheid policies and this marked the beginning of change. Multiparty negotiations between the government and black nationalist are in process to establish a multiracial society. For the first time in more than three hundred fifty years in April 1994 there will be national elections to elect a transitional government.

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<u>SUBJECT</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
<u>STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</u>	1
<u>LITERATURE REVIEW</u>	2
Events Leading to Sanctions	3
Resistance to Apartheid	5
Summary	5
<u>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</u>	15
<u>ANALYSIS</u>	16
Diplomatic Measures	17
Arms Embargo	22
Oil Embargo	23
Economic Measures	25
Table 1	25
Figure 1	28
Figure 2	29
Table 2	34
<u>CONCLUSION</u>	34
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	37
<u>APPENDIX</u>	43

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this research project is to analyze the series of the United Nations' sanctions imposed on South Africa from 1970 to 1990 and to determine if the sanctions have contributed to social change there.

The mention of South Africa evokes stark images of the horrors of apartheid. South Africa is the southernmost, largest and most powerful of the many countries situated in Southern Africa. Historically, the land was inhabited by the natives who came in contact with the Dutch settlers who were the first Europeans to arrive in South Africa in 1652. Later around 1830, other Europeans followed. South Africa began in 1910 through the union of the two British colonies of Cape of Good Hope and Natal, and the Afrikaner (Boer) republics of Orange Free State and the South African Republic (now Transvaal).

The country became known as the Union of South Africa until 1961 when it withdrew from the Commonwealth of Nations and became the Republic of South Africa. Since its occupation by the European settlers, the majority, black people, have been dispossessed of their land, rights, and forced to work in the farms following defeat by colonialists. The Boers (farmers) regarded themselves as the chosen people of God and black people as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Thus, the stage was set for the dehumanizing policy of apartheid which is institutional "separateness".

Apartheid is a rigid policy of racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation of the black majority by the white minority. This prejudice was legalized and enforced through brutal

and political representation in government affairs. The population of South Africa is extremely diversified; Blacks are the majority - 72 percent; Coloreds (persons of mixed origin) 9 percent; Asians (persons of Asian descent) 3 percent; White population 16 percent. Among the white population the Afrikaners are 65 percent and the British and other Europeans 35 percent (Worrall, 1990, 262).

It was against these developments in 1962 that the United Nations (U.N.) became involved to influence public policy in South Africa. The U.N. General Assembly in December 1966 condemned apartheid as a "crime against humanity," (Vandenbosch, 1970, 253; *The Chronicle*, March 1993, 71). The Assembly resolved that the situation in southern Africa posed a grave threat to international peace and security, and deplored the attitude of the major trading partners of South Africa. The U.N. member states were urged to disengage from South Africa. Partial economic sanctions and arms embargo were imposed on South Africa. The Security Council denounced apartheid as "abhorrent to the conscience of mankind." The U.N. uses sanctions against nation-states who violate universal human rights and as an intergovernmental organization, it seeks to establish international order and peace. Having provided the background, the rest of the paper will include: the literature review, research methodology, and analysis.

Review of the Related Literature

The universal use of sanctions as a means of bringing compliance or observance of the norm dates back to the Treaty of

~~Stephania in 1840 (Clements-Vaughan, 1970, 11; Martin, 1993, 400).~~
European nations used sanctions as a balance of power, i.e., if a nation tried to dominate the system thus threatening the territorial rights, sovereign jurisdiction or power of any nation, other nations would present a common front against the aggressor. This European practice permeated the international political system until the end of the second World War. The United Nations adopted the use of sanctions in 1945, that in case of failures in diplomacy then sanctions would be imposed to force compliance with the established norm. They have been used in recent years by the United Nations against Rhodesia, and most recently in Iraq when it invaded Kuwait in 1990. Economic sanctions are valuable tools in international politics, precisely because they force upon those whom sanctions are imposed to bear heavy costs. President John F. Kennedy was the first U.S. president to impose a military embargo on South Africa (Clements Report, 1990, 7).

Events Leading to Sanctions

After the formation of the United Nations, as early as 1946, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a non-racial resolution as a general principle. The racial policy of South Africa which is a major problem between the United Nations and South Africa, has been before the U.N. since 1946. The issue was put on the U.N.'s agenda in 1952. The developments leading to the United Nations' involvement with the problem of apartheid began as far back as 1927. For example, in 1927 the Immorality Act was passed in South Africa prohibiting extra-marital relations between Europeans and

to include coloreds. Voting rights for nonwhites were withdrawn in 1936 (Vandenbosch, 1970, 232). The turning point in the South African history occurred in 1948 when the ruling Nationalist Party came to power through a landslide victory over the English-speaking United Party (Mermelstein, 1987, 106). The majority of the Nationalist Party members are Afrikaners. During the election campaign apartheid was a slogan of the Nationalist Party (Vandenbosch, 1970, 230). The policy of apartheid was compounded by the Dutch Reformed Church which preached and supported it as sound Biblical doctrine. Most of the Afrikaners claim to be members of the politically influential Dutch Reformed Church. However, the Dutch Reformed Churches in the Netherlands rejected apartheid and were critical of their sister churches in South Africa. It is estimated that 80 percent of the population profess Christianity and that 30 percent of Afrikaners belong to the Dutch Reformed Church. However, in 1990 at an interdenominational conference held in Rustenburg, representatives of 90 percent of churches officially denounced apartheid and appealed for integration both in the church and society (Villa-Vicencio, 1991, 8). Following the election, in 1949 an Act prohibiting mixed marriages was passed.

In 1950, the Population Registration Act was passed which required people to be classified as white, native, colored or Asian at birth. The same year the Group Areas Act was passed which authorized the government to proclaim an area reserved for

This policy of separate development could uproot and relocate whole communities. All along primary education was separated and blacks could be admitted to white schools to pursue higher education. However, in 1959 the Bantu Education Act was passed which completely segregated higher education and separate universities for nonwhites were established (Vandenbosch, 1970, 230). Throughout the 1950's the U.N. General Assembly remained conciliatory regardless of the adamantly uncooperative position of South Africa. In 1956 South Africa partially withdrew from the U.N. General Assembly because of pressure to abandon its racial policy (Vandenbosch, 1970, 237).

Resistance to Apartheid

The Africans never stopped fighting for their rights after defeat by the European settlers. After the formation of the Union of South Africa the natives became even more organized as evidenced by the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 (Walshe, 1987, 66) and later the more militant Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Mostly the demonstrations were peaceful and non-violent. On March 21, 1960 armed South African Police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators killing 69 and injuring at least 178 black people at Shaperville. The same day in a disturbance in Langa near Cape Town 2 Africans were killed and 47 injured or maimed (Vandenbosch, 1970, 240; Walshe, 1987, 67). The demonstrations were against apartheid pass laws. The South African regime outlawed the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist

~~gress~~ and other liberation movements as subversive and they ~~maintained~~ underground operations (Walshe, 1987, 66). Thus, ~~nonviolent~~ efforts to end apartheid received a major blow and armed ~~struggle~~ became inevitable. The Pan-Federation decided to employ ~~commercial~~, diplomatic, and political sanctions against South ~~Africa~~ (Ibid). The Security Council convened ten days later to ~~consider~~ the massacre. On April 1 1960, the U.N. Security Council ~~adopted~~ a resolution recognizing that the situation in South Africa ~~might~~ endanger international peace and security, deplored the ~~apartheid~~ policies and actions of the South African government, and ~~called~~ upon the government to bring about racial harmony based on ~~equality~~ and abandon its policies of apartheid. The United Kingdom ~~and~~ France maintained that apartheid was a domestic matter. Italy ~~followed~~ suit with reservations (Vandenbosch, 1970, 241). The ~~United~~ Nations faced difficulties in dealing with apartheid ~~because~~ South Africa, Britain and many Western powers including the ~~United~~ States argued that the racial policy was incompatible with ~~the~~ interpretation and obligations of the Charter. In other words, ~~the~~ racial policies were considered a domestic matter and ~~therefore~~, outside of the United Nations' jurisdiction in ~~accordance~~ with Article 2, paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter.

The U.N.'s actions were interpreted as interference in ~~internal~~ affairs. However, with the passage of time the number of ~~states~~ which sided with South Africa decreased. Many member states ~~maintained~~ that the racial policy involved respect for human ~~rights~~. In 1961 the United Kingdom expressed fears that the

~~...the pursuit of the policy of apartheid could have disastrous~~
~~consequences~~ not only in South Africa but even beyond its borders.
~~The~~ United States under the Kennedy administration changed its
~~position~~ that the policy of apartheid was a legitimate concern of
~~the~~ United Nations (Vandenbosch, 1970, 242). As the world's
~~disapproval~~ of South Africa's racial policy intensified, official
~~statements~~ of the regime became more provocative and defiant.

In 1962 the General Assembly adopted a strong resolution going
~~beyond~~ regretting, deploring, deprecating and reaffirming. The
~~resolution~~ urged member states individually or collectively to:
~~break~~ off diplomatic relations with South Africa or refrain from
~~making~~ them; close their ports to vessels flying the South African
~~flag~~; enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South
~~African~~ ports; boycott South African goods including arms and
~~munitions~~; and refuse landing and passage facilities to South
~~African~~ aircraft (Vandenbosch, 1970, 246). The resolution also
~~established~~ a special committee to monitor the racial policies of
~~the~~ South African government.

The General Assembly in its recommendation requested the
~~Security~~ Council to take appropriate measures, including sanctions,
~~to~~ secure South Africa's compliance with the resolutions of the
~~General~~ Assembly. In July 1963, the Security Council at the
~~request~~ of African members adopted a resolution calling upon South
~~Africa~~ to abandon the policies of apartheid and to liberate all
~~prisoners~~ detained for opposing apartheid; called upon all states
~~to~~ cease the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and

~~_____~~, ~~_____~~ to South Africa. France and the United Kingdom ~~_____~~ (Vandenbosch, 1970, 247). There was much pressure from ~~the~~ African member states as many of them were becoming independent ~~and~~ joining the United Nations. The Afro-Asian states wanted the Security Council to deal with the South African apartheid question ~~under~~ Chapter VII of the Charter. This chapter is concerned with ~~action~~ to threats of peace, breaches of peace, and acts of aggression. France, the United Kingdom, and the United States ~~opposed~~ action under Chapter VII (Vandenbosch, 1970, 249). The special committee on apartheid observed that while world ~~condemnation~~ of apartheid was mounting, South Africa was ~~intensifying~~ its racial policies. In 1964, the Afro-Asian states ~~pressed~~ for economic sanctions to be applied against South Africa. ~~The~~ General Assembly Special Committee on Apartheid in 1965 ~~concluded~~ that economic sanctions against South Africa were ~~feasible~~ but France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and ~~West~~ Germany opposed the idea. In 1967, the General Assembly again ~~urged~~ disengagement from South Africa by member states. The ~~resolution~~ also called for international campaign against apartheid ~~and~~ effective action to eliminate it.

After the liberation movements, were banned South Africa ~~remained~~ to be at peace during the rest of the 1960's. Many foreign ~~investors~~ moved into South Africa. The 1970s were another period of ~~great~~ challenges in South Africa when the government further ~~intensified~~ its policy of segregation. Meanwhile, the Black ~~Consciousness~~ Movement gained roots in black schools and

...ities. In 1970, another massacre occurred in Soweto when school children were brutally killed by the South African Police and many left injured or wounded (Walshe, 1987, 70). The students were protesting against the inferior Bantu Education and Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Many leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement were detained and tortured. The "homelands", known in South Africa as countries, were created. This was in accordance with the widely criticized Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 which gave blacks an illusion of independence. It was through legislative enactment that roughly 13 percent of the country has been set aside for exclusive black ownership and occupation (Houghton, 1990, 262). Africans are denied South African citizenship because the official position of the South African government is that blacks have the nationality of their homelands. This action of the South African government is a violation of Articles 73 and 74 of the U.N. Charter (which bars members states from colonizing weak states). The white minority government had established itself as a colonial power. Many member states proposed that South Africa be expelled in accordance with Article 6 of the Charter (which states that any member which violates the principles of the Charter may be expelled from the U.N. by the General Assembly upon recommendation of the Security Council). Some permanent members of the Council who have the power of veto refused to listen arguing that it would be easier to exert pressure on South Africa inside than outside the United Nations (Van den Bosch, 1970, 255). At the same time, the South African

regime was becoming increasingly insecure following the expulsion of the Portuguese from Angola and Mozambique in 1975. The liberation struggle in Rhodesia coupled with U.N. sanctions was already showing signs that the Rhodesian illegitimate regime was about to be defeated. South Africa feared that liberation fighters would use independent southern African states to launch attacks against it. South Africa allied itself with the United States to stabilise Angola (Heitman, 1990, 10; Clifford-Vaughan, 1978, 49; Jackson, 1987, 4; Skinner, 1986, 5). The Cold War policies came into play in southern Africa as the Soviet Union and Cuba supported the Angolan government. U.S. policy and its allies by their inaction or action supported apartheid.

During the administration of Presidents Nixon and Ford not much happened to force South Africa to change its apartheid policy. In November 1976, Britain, France, and the United States opposed the Programme of Action Against Apartheid which was supported by more than 100 members of the General Assembly. The aims of the program were to break all diplomatic relations with South Africa, cease the sale of arms and oil, suspend all nuclear cooperation, cancel all loans, investments and technical assistance, refuse landing rights to South African aircraft and close all ports to South African ships (Clifford-Vaughan, 1978, 5; Johnson, 1977, 27). President Carter supported mandatory sanctions especially a military embargo to be imposed on South Africa by United Nations in 1977. The Carter administration put human rights at the forefront of the United States foreign and domestic policy. The

~~International Report mentions that this forced South~~
Africa to go to the negotiating table to loosen its aggressive
~~claim~~ on Namibia as its fifth province (April, 1990, 7).

In 1981, President Reagan with his policy of constructive
~~engagement~~ lifted the arms embargo arguing that the use of
~~diplomatic~~ measures and mild pressure sanctions would force the
~~South~~ African government to reverse its apartheid policy.

In 1984 South Africa adopted a new constitution and abolished
~~the~~ office of Prime Minister and executive powers were transferred
~~to~~ the President (Houghton, 1990:272). The parliamentary system was
~~replaced~~ by a three-chambered parliament, one house for the whites
~~(83 members)~~; one for Coloreds (85 members); and one for Asians
~~(25 members)~~. Members serve a five year term, and are elected by
~~separate~~ electorates except a small minority who are nominated.
~~This~~ change did not give blacks representation in parliament
~~because~~ the government's position on this issue is that blacks are
~~represented~~ by the governments of the "homelands." Blacks
~~expressed~~ showing frustration over their exclusion from the
~~political~~ process. The Organization of African Unity appealed to
~~the~~ Western industrialized nations to tighten sanctions on South
~~Africa~~. There was mounting internal political crisis.
~~Confrontation~~ between protestors and security forces resulted in
~~massive~~ deaths (Liebenow, 1991, 156). In July 1985, despite
~~international~~ criticism of its actions, the South African
~~government~~ declared the state of emergency. Police and army
~~officers~~ were given wide powers of detention without warrant or

trial, extensive rights of search and seizures and full indemnity from all legal claims resulting from their actions (O'Meara and Winchester, 1990, 280). These authors also suggest that because of increase in international pressure and mounting internal dissent, between 1984 and 1986 the South African government repealed prohibitions on black freedom of movements, residence, citizenship, mixed political parties and interracial marriages. However, even though blacks were allowed to apply for citizenship and pass books were abolished, the government began using trespass laws and housing and work permits in order to control the movement of blacks.

In 1985, the U.S. Congress began to debate on legislation to impose sanctions against South Africa including the prohibition of new loans, sale of nuclear-power equipment and technology, the export of computers to government agencies, and the sale of Kruggerand gold coins in the United States. In September 1985, just before the Senate was to vote on compromise measures already approved by the House, President Reagan issued an executive order imposing limited sanctions. In 1986, the U.S. Congress passed a stringent comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act which was vetoed by President Reagan, arguing that the first sanctions had not forced South Africa to reverse its apartheid policy. Congress overturned the veto and the bill became law. Some U.S. multinational corporations pulled out from South Africa because of pressure from home (Worrall, 1990, 279). As a result of the action of Congress international bankers refused to lend money to the South African

statement of how the existing loans. BROWNE (1991, 199) says that one government officer said that the U.N. sanctions were "isolating and devastating the economy". However, as U.S. firms pulled out, Japanese corporations strengthened trade ties with South Africa. These developments weakened the United Nations sanctions on South Africa (Clements Report, April 1990,7). President Bush tightened the enforcement of sanctions in 1989.

Britain on the other hand opposed U.N. and Commonwealth efforts to tighten sanctions on South Africa (Baldwin, 1971) and in the 1980's she did not change her position because of historical and economic ties. Britain's argument was that sanctions were a form of interference in domestic affairs of South Africa. The Clements International Report (April, 1990, 8), made an observation that U.N. sanctions could have worked had there been violations. These violations included :

- South Africa made many contributions to the Second World War efforts of the allied forces against Nazi Germany hence this leniency.
- The Cold War made the nation an important ally because of its possession of wide ranging strategic minerals which were critical to the nuclear arms race. South African firms also mine diamonds and uranium which were resold or exported through other countries which did not honor U.N. sanctions.
- The nation's location at the tip of Southern Africa was considered militarily strategic on passage to the Indian Ocean. The sea route around the Cape became of particular

larger vessels carrying oil from the Middle East to Europe

1. The United States (Western bloc leader) had its racial problems and could not find the moral courage to point an accusing finger at South Africa.

South Africa also dismantled and reassembled goods in foreign ~~countries~~ and shipped them to countries that had placed embargoes ~~in~~ then (under the knockdown process). Oil cargo was transferred ~~to~~ South African tankers on the sea. Israel also openly ~~continued~~ its military cooperation with South Africa.

~~This~~ further weakened the effectiveness of U.N. sanctions to force ~~South~~ Africa to change her apartheid policy (Clements Report, May ~~1990~~, 17). President P.W. Botha started the process of reform ~~between~~ 1984 and 1986. President de Klerk when he came to power in ~~1989~~ seemed more committed to reform than President Botha. This ~~was~~ marked by the repeal of some of the apartheid laws as mentioned ~~earlier~~ including in February 1990, the unconditional release of ~~political~~ prisoners like Nelson Mandela, legalizing the African ~~National~~ Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, United Democratic ~~Front~~, South African Communist Party and more than thirty political ~~organizations~~ (Europa World Year Book, 1992, 2453). On March 17, ~~the~~ whites voted to give President F.W. de Klerk a mandate to ~~bring~~ an end to apartheid (Un Chronicle, 1992, 32).

~~President~~ F.W. de Klerk in his recent speech to parliament ~~explained~~ that faced with the challenge of dismantling the bastions ~~of~~ apartheid, the citizens had the choice of supporting progress or

Summary

There are two differing opinions on the effects of sanctions on South Africa. One is that sanctions did not help to bring about change in South Africa but that the United Nations sanctions helped to bring the apartheid problem to eyes of the whole world. The second is that sanctions helped to bring about change. From the available literature sanctions did have some impact on South Africa but it was not lasting because national interests took pre-eminence over the global interests of the United Nations. Some studies show that the U.N. sanctions were not effective to bring social change. The nations which had the economic and military power to support change did not do so. One of the available options was change from within perhaps through peaceful dialogue. Crankshaw suggests that President F.W. de Klerk is committed to reform in government policy towards blacks.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data were gathered from the South African Year Book and other existing publications on measures taken by the United Nations against South Africa on two key areas which provide the teeth in any sanctions.

- a) Diplomatic measures which include nonrecognition, rupture of diplomatic relations or withdrawal of consular representation, no direct contact with political leaders, no cooperation by international organizations. An examination of such member countries of the United Nations was made. Impact was measured

by observing the number of countries which withdrew consular representation, established or continued diplomatic relations with South Africa.

- 2) Economic measures which include international destruction (economic sabotage, strikes), rupture of trade relations (economic boycott). Data on exports to and imports from South Africa were used. Trade is very valuable to any country. Impact was determined by using increases and decreases in exports and imports, their contribution to the South African economy and government and potential effect if curtailed. These data were examined with reference to their possible impact on the formulation of South African public policy and the possible role that the western industrialized nations which have trade relations with South Africa may have played in inducing South Africa to change its apartheid policies through the United Nations sanctions and its organizations.

ANALYSIS

This part of the paper examines the measures employed by the United Nations, at the request of the African National Congress (which was at the forefront of the campaign for internal change) to induce the South African government to abandon its apartheid policy. The Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth of Nations and the international community followed. This section is divided into two. The first part discusses diplomatic measures and the second part economic measures, including trade sanctions, oil and embargo.

~~_____~~

The purpose of diplomatic representation usually among other things is to keep countries informed of political, economic, and ~~the~~ developments in the countries in which they are stationed, ~~and~~ of international trends and their possible influence on ~~domestic~~ politics, economics, and trade. The other function is to ~~act~~ as a channel of communication between the home government and ~~foreign~~ governments, negotiate new agreements, investigate trade ~~opportunities~~, assist in negotiating the lifting of trade ~~restrictions~~ and encourage economic development by providing ~~potential~~ investors with information on investment in South Africa. ~~The~~ final function is to advise and assist citizenry of the host ~~government~~ abroad and disseminate reliable information about the ~~country~~. In South Africa the Department of External Affairs was ~~established~~ in 1927 which assumed control of all consular and ~~diplomatic~~ matters (South African Year Book, 1960, 93).

South Africa maintains full diplomatic relations with the ~~following~~ countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, ~~Brazil~~, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, ~~Spain~~, Guatemala, Holy See, Hong Kong, Israel, Italy, Japan, ~~Lesotho~~ (trade mission), Luxembourg, Malawi, Mauritius, Monaco, ~~Swaziland~~, Namibia, The Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, ~~Portugal~~, Rumania, Spain, Swaziland (trade mission), Sweden, ~~Netherlands~~, Taiwan, Togo (no reciprocal representation in South ~~Africa~~), The United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Zaire (trade ~~mission~~) and Zimbabwe (trade mission). The homelands of

Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Venda are listed as having diplomatic relations with South Africa (South African Year Book, 1991/92, 72 & 73; Europa Encyclopedia, 1992, 2452). Most of the Western powers maintained political relations with South Africa claiming that by their presence they would exert pressure from within. In Africa, South Africa was more isolated diplomatically than on any continent. Zimbabwe broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1980 after independence but continued trade relations leaving Malawi as the only African country to maintain official diplomatic relations with South Africa during the 1980's (The Europa Encyclopedia, 1992, 2453). South Africa has a Customs Union with Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland which is just for trade relations.

The Organization of African Unity banned African countries from establishing diplomatic relations with South Africa and many of them complied. In March 1984 South Africa signed a non-aggression pact with Mozambique, known as the Nkomati accord, in which each government pledged to prevent opposition forces to launch from its territory against the other. The pact also implied that South Africa would stop its covert support for the Movimento Nacional de Resistencia de Mozambique (MNR) and that Mozambique would not allow South African liberation fighters to use its territory as a base for attacks on South Africa (The Europa Encyclopedia, 1992, 2454; Rotberg, et al. 1985, 2). Independent African states would not establish diplomatic relations with South Africa until there was change to a multiracial democratic society.

... , in 1950 African countries which were still under European
colonization had 'diplomatic' relations with the Union of South
Africa (represented by the British High Commissioner). India
withdrew its representation in 1954 (South African Year Book, 1960,
35). In 1961 the United Arab Emirates withdrew its diplomatic
representation with South Africa. Most of the Arab countries
followed suit and the communist countries in eastern Europe and
Asia refrained from establishing diplomatic relations with South
Africa. By 1970, South Africa was banned from participating in the
following public international organizations: United Nations
Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the
Commonwealth of Nations, the Committee for Technical Cooperation in
Africa, the Economic Commission for Africa, the Scientific Council
for Africa, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the
International Telecommunications Union, the International Labor
Organization (ILO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO),
the Congress of the Universal Postal Union but not the Union itself
(Van den Bosch, 1970, 257). At present South Africa maintains
membership in the United Nations, and its specialized organizations
including, World Health Organization (WHO), International Monetary
Fund and World Bank, and the International Atomic Energy Agency
(South African Year Book, 1991/92, 73). South Africa further
isolated itself by refusing to give its citizens passports to
travel abroad or denying visas to foreigners who wished to visit
the country. South Africa was denied participation in the 1968
Olympic games held in Mexico. The ban on sports and cultural ties

is working in alliance with the government to keep the blacks divided. Thus, weaken the opposition front. The following section discusses arms embargo, oil embargo, other economic measures which include trade restrictions, ban on long-term loans, and new foreign direct investment.

~~arms embargo~~

The U.N. first imposed a voluntary arms embargo (which did not cover the transfer of technology and weapons through third parties) on South Africa in 1963 as a result of the Sharpeville massacre. The United States imposed a voluntary arms embargo in 1963. Britain which was the major supplier of weapons then to South Africa, followed suit in 1964. France and Italy stepped in to supply French Mirages and Italian Impalas (Cawthra, 1986, 16). South Africa imported parts and assembled armaments under its manufacturing concern Armcors. The nuclear industry was established in the 1950s, when the mining of uranium began, through the assistance of Britain and the United States (Cawthra, 1986, 17). South Africa started to operate its first nuclear power station in 1984 in Koeberg, situated in Dufnesfontein in the western Cape. The South African Energy Corporation (founded in 1982) operates an experimental uranium enrichment plant in Valindaba, (near Pretoria) and in 1989 was planning to open a small production plant. This is the place alleged to have been the site where nuclear weapons were manufactured. President De Klerk admitted that South Africa manufactured six nuclear weapons but said they were dismantled in 1989 after he came to power (Africa Events April 1993, 16). The development of nuclear weapons was seen as a smokescreen for the manufacture of a ballistic missile. It was during the mid 1980's that South Africa launched its own fighter jet called the cheetah, based on a combination of French and Israeli technology. France continued to supply South Africa with arms such that between 1980

~~the 1985~~, France supplied 50 percent of South Africa's arms. Following the 1985 State of Emergency most western military ~~forces~~ were withdrawn from South Africa (Cawthra, 1986, 17). ~~The~~ embargo have been circumvented by the use of third parties, ~~acquiring~~ military equipment, components and materials under the ~~pretext~~ that it is for civilian purposes and then assembling it in ~~the~~ country. In the fiscal years between 1981 and 1983 it was ~~revealed~~ that the US government authorized the commercial sales of ~~more~~ than \$28.3 million worth of military related equipment to ~~South~~ Africa and became the third largest recipient of nuclear ~~exports~~ from the USA (Cawthra, 1986, 96).

In 1984 the committee of the Security Council responsible for ~~monitoring~~ and enforcing the arms embargo reported that South ~~Africa~~ had spent R900 million on purchases of arms from overseas ~~that~~ year. Again in 1984 the Security Council urged member states ~~to~~ importing arms, ammunition and military vehicles produced in ~~South~~ Africa (Cawthra, 1986, 103). The arms embargo remains in ~~force~~ and the U.N. member states are urged to respect and enforce ~~it~~ (U.N. Chronicle March 1993, 71). The arms embargo and ~~economic~~ sanctions forced South Africa to abandon its claim and ~~apartheid~~ policies on Namibia which is now independent. The next ~~section~~ examines the effects of the oil embargo.

1. Embargo

Despite South Africa's mineral wealth, it lacks petroleum. ~~Like~~ the 1973 oil crisis by the Organization of Petroleum ~~Exporting~~ Countries (OPEC), which imposed a total oil embargo on

South Africa, Iran stepped in to supply "over 90 percent of South Africa's imported oil" until in 1979 when the Shah was overthrown (Cawthra, 1986, 88). The U.N. General Assembly called for a total oil embargo against South Africa in 1979. The cost of acquiring oil was estimated to be \$2.3 billion a year. In 1990, the total cost of oil acquisition was estimated to be \$25 billion in addition to \$25 billion spent on crude oil. Between 1987 and 1988, 66 tankers based in Hong Kong, Greece, and Britain were reported to have made oil deliveries in the capacity of 15.8 million tons in violation of the U.N. oil embargo (Africa Report Nov.-Dec. 1990, 2). The update further said the oil came from the Middle East especially the United Emirates, Qatar and Saudi Arabia. South Africa produces oil and gas from coal which meets between 20 and 40 percent its oil requirements. In 1985 petroleum prices rose by 40 percent (Murray, 1987, 18). However, the 1979 Petroleum Products Act, (which forbids the publication of information on the source, manufacture, transportation, destination, quality, or stock levels of any petroleum acquired or purchased for the Republic) makes it difficult to get much on the true cost of petroleum to South Africa (Cawthra, 1986, 89). The oil embargo still remains in force (U.N. Chronicle March 1993, 71). The oil embargo added to economic crisis especially the cost of acquiring oil. If there would have much cooperation in enforcing the oil embargo that would have paralysed the transportation sector, thus limiting the ability of law enforcement agencies to repress blacks. The following section discusses the effects of other economic sanction.

Table 1 is a summary of the sanctions imposed on South Africa.

	EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA	IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA	BAN NEW F.D.I	BAN NEW BANK LOANS	OTHER ACTIONS
	Partial; no arms sales to the government	Partial; no iron, steel, gold coins, agric.products uranium, products made by parastatals	Total	Total	Ban on air links, end of trade credits, double taxation agreements
			Partial	Voluntary	Closing of Australian Trade Commission in Jo'burg
		Partial; no iron, steel	Voluntary	Voluntary	Voluntary ban on promotion of tourism to South Africa
		Partial; no govt purchases of S.A. products; no uranium, agric. products			Ban on promotion of tourism to S.A
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Ban on air links
	Partial; no computer for military, petroleum products as energy source	Partial; no scrap iron, gold coins	Total	Total	
	Partial; Govt authorization required for oil exports	Partial; no scrap iron, steel, gold coins	Total	Total	Suspension of state guarantees for delayed payments of goods
	Partial; no computer sales to govt agencies	Partial; no iron, steel, gold coins	Total		Suspension of air links, tourist visas voluntary ban on promotion of tourism, no state officials to use S.A. Airways
	Partial; no military equipment	Partial; no iron, steel, gold coins	Total		
	Total, except for oil tankers whose destination is decided at sea	Total	Total	Total	Ban on air links, transfers of patents, leasing capital equip. insurance contracts, tourism
	Total	Total, even S.A. goods passing through third parties	Total	Total	Ban on air links
	Partial; no computers/equipment technology to govt agencies; no nuclear materials/technology; no munitions; no crude oil or petroleum products	no gold coins, military articles, uranium, coal, textiles, iron, steel, agric. products, sugar or any products from S.A. parastatals	Total	Partial: no loans to Govt. and parastatals, except for education and housing	Ban on air links, S.A. Govt. bank accounts (ex. diplomatic purposes), trade subsidies promotion of tourism, end of double taxation agreements

Modern African Studies, Vol. 26, no.1 1988 pp. 107 & 108

F.D.I = Foreign Direct Investment

The United Nations sanctions were intended to force the South African government to abandon its apartheid policies. Economic measures as perceived by the international community would force the government to negotiate with the blacks or give them political rights. The United Nations even before it imposed mandatory sanctions called upon member states to stop trading with South Africa as trade was seen to be aiding the white minority government to remain in power and further its apartheid policies.

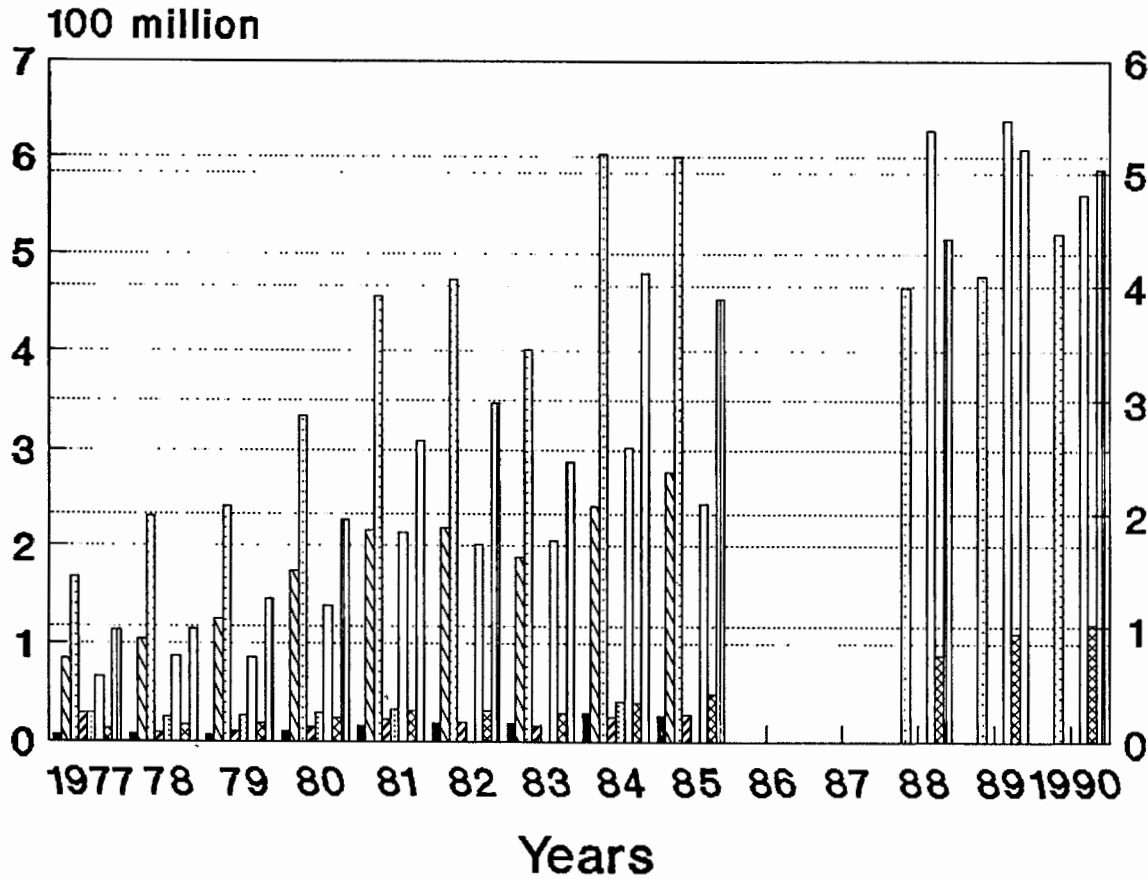
Before the passage of the Anti-apartheid Act of 1986 by the U.S. Congress, there were massive demonstrations by nongovernmental organizations against multinational corporations doing business in South Africa. The U.S. sanctions included the prohibition of new loans to South Africa, sale of nuclear-power equipment and technology, export of computers to government agencies. The U.S. also demanded the release of political prisoners, unbanning of liberation movements, opening of dialogue with the blacks, and the lifting of the state of emergency. The U.S. government also withdrew landing rights to South African aircraft in 1986. Following this, IBM, General Motors, Coca Cola, Xerox, Eastman Kodak, Honeywell, Exxon and McGraw Hill multinational corporations sold their investment to South African companies and pulled out. Chase Manhattan Bank and Citibank refused to roll over loans and issue new loans to the South African government. No new loans were issued until September 1991 after the USA government lifted its sanctions earlier in July. Canada had enacted a similar legislation earlier in 1984. Australia did likewise. The European

community look similar, though much limited than the U.S. sanctions. Britain conceded to sanctions after pressure from the Commonwealth's Eminent Person's Group (EPG) including coal, iron, steel and gold coins in 1985 (Arnold, 1992,). During the period between 1985 and 1987 trade with South Africa declined slightly and it increased again in 1988 (see table 2 and fig. 1 & 2). However, trade with Japan and Germany continued to grow.

In 1985, South Africa declared a moratorium on the repayment of foreign debt. Total foreign debt stood at \$24 000 million (SA ~~for~~ Book 1989/90, 413). Loans were rescheduled, \$508 million to ~~paid~~ in 1987, \$400 million in 1988, \$436 million in 1989

Figure 1

South African Imports (R Million) 1977-1990



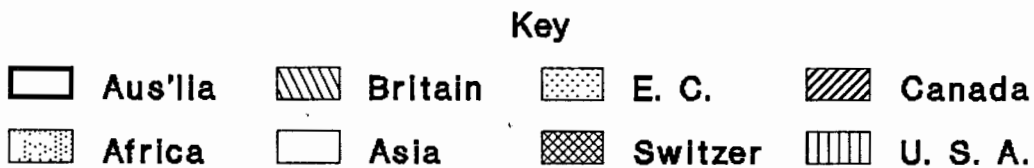
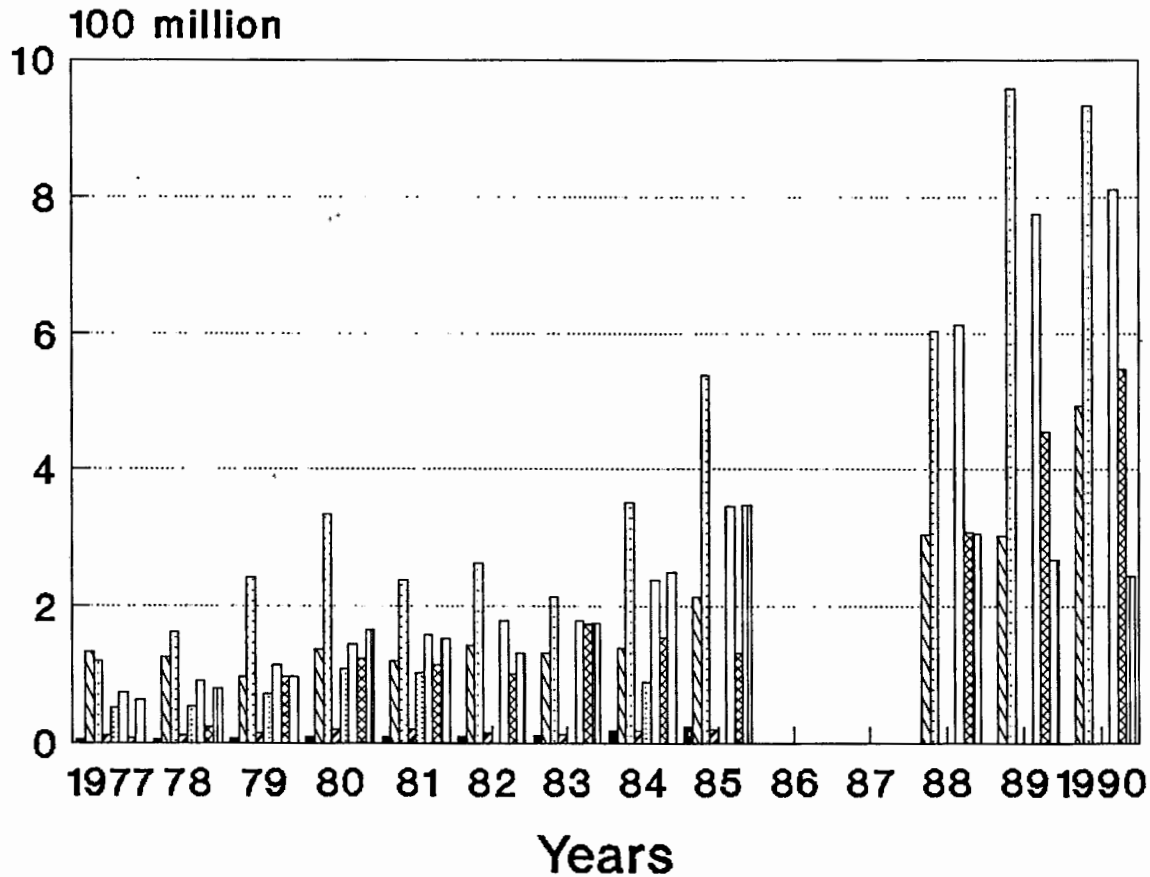
Key



Source: Europa Encyc. 1983, 1985, 88, 92

Figure 2

South African Exports (R Million) 1977-1990



Source: Europa Encyc. 1983, 1985, 88, 92

and \$166 million in 1990. Debt rescheduling was indicative of economic effects of sanctions on the domestic economy showing the vulnerability of the economy to external forces. Withdrawal of foreign credit and investment, coupled with protests, and violence which affected the level of productivity seems to have crippled the South African economy.

The inflation rate sharply increased in the mid- 1980s to 18.6 percent in 1986 and thus bringing down the value of the South African rand against hard currencies. For example, in 1976 US\$1 = R0.87 and in 1989 \$1 = R2.53 (SA Year Book 1991/92). In 1980 exports accounted for 36.5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product and in 1989 their contribution was 28.5 percent. South Africa relies heavily on foreign trade for its earnings of foreign exchange. It was estimated that between 1943 and 1984 the United States direct investment grew from \$50 million to over \$2.3 billion. The average annual return on investments declined from 31 percent after-tax in 1980 to 7 percent in 1983. According to table 2, nearly 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product comes from imports and exports. With such variations as in inflation rates as it happened in the mid 1980's the balance of payments is adversely affected and makes South African exports less competitive on the international market. For example, in 1980 the balance on the current account of the balance of payments was R2 818 million, merchandise exports as a percentage of the GDP was 15.4 percent and merchandise imports were 22.4 percent. The average percentage of imports as a percent of GDP is 20. The growth rate of the GDP was:

4.0 percent in 1981, -0.8 percent in 1982, 2.1 percent in 1983, 5.1 percent in 1984, -0.8 in 1985, 0.3 percent in 1986, 2.1 percent in 1987, 3.2 percent in 1988 and -1.1 percent in 1989 and 1990 (SA year book 1989/90, 414; 1991/92). It seems lack of confidence in the domestic economy because of the political situation, prohibition of new loans and investment induced a recession. The other factor could be because of the worldwide economic recession.

Since 1985, South Africa has experienced a net outflow of capital abroad which amounted to a total of R4 908 million in 1990. It is estimated that between 1985 and 1990 South Africa lost 30 to 33 billion rand in repayment of foreign loans (South African Yearbook 1991/92). This was because of the effect of international sanctions imposed by the different countries. Sanctions precipitated panic, isolation from the world community, shame and forced the South African government to reexamine its policy of apartheid. There was massive unemployment (estimated to have been rising at 10,000 a month and currently around 48 percent) which caused the relocation of the white labor. These psychological and political effects coupled with domestic activism and violence among the affected black majority threatened the business environment and made foreign investors to stay away.

Economic sanctions intensified after the 1984 constitutional changes which excluded the blacks from the political process. This problem forced foreign governments to reconsider their stance on the diplomatic measures. Economic sanctions gave political and diplomatic measures stronger teeth and essentially ended the

apartheid hegemony.

The landmark apartheid policies were repealed during this time as a result of economic crises. These policies included the repeal of the Immorality Act of 1927, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1967, Black Urban Areas Act of 1945, and the passage of Property Rights Act of 1986 (which gave blacks limited rights to own property). These changes came at the height of economic sanctions, between 1984 and 1986, which brought severe hardships upon South Africa. President F.W. de Klerk who came to in 1989 strongly believed that political reconciliation was the answer to economic crisis. He further helped to repeal apartheid policies. The Separate Amenities Act was repealed and period the period of detention without trial was limited to six months. In February 1990 De Klerk legalized the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, South African Communist Party, United Democratic Front and more than 30 political organizations. The same month Nelson Mandela and 120 other political prisoners were released unconditionally (Europa Yearbook, 1992, 2453). Thus, economic sanctions especially the ban on new foreign direct investment, long term loans and trade restrictions which South Africa and helped to bring about a change in policy direction. International cooperation contributed to the process of change in South Africa. The European Community economic sanctions were lifted in December 1990. The Commonwealth countries supported the lifting of cultural sanctions against South Africa in October 1991. However, sanctions on finance, arms and trade and

prices (R million), 1973-1988

Year	Merc. export	Net Gold expo	Ser Rec	Merc. Import	Ser Pay	Total G&S	Tran.	Bal.	GDP	Exp	Imp %GDP
1973	2 517	1 770	962	-3 550	-1 765	-66	14	-52	19 918	12.6	17.8
1974	3 164	2 565	1 114	-5 768	-2 157	-1 082	84	-998	24 472	12.9	23.6
1975	3 653	2 540	1 400	-6 742	-2 802	-1 951	138	-1 813	27 454	13.3	24.6
1976	4 889	2 346	1 497	-7 443	-3 056	-1 767	96	-1 671	30 800	15.9	24.2
1977	6 293	2 795	1 595	-6 881	-3 429	373	39	412	34 314	18.3	20.1
1978	7 449	3 864	1 949	-8 019	-4 010	1 233	97	1 330	39 297	19.0	20.4
1979	8 813	6 003	2 334	-9 739	-4 694	2 717	163	2 880	46 698	18.9	20.9
1980	9 766	10 141	2 761	-14 159	-5 984	2 525	293	2 818	62 007	15.4	22.4
1981	9 579	8 340	3 084	-18 111	-7 351	-4 459	370	-4 089	71 083	13.1	24.8
1982	10 142	8 627	3 506	-18 004	-7 955	-3 684	339	-3 345	79 676	12.3	21.8
1983	10 207	9 929	3 565	-15 863	-8 279	-441	363	-78	89 815	10.9	17.0
1984	12 907	11 684	4 441	-21 471	-10 119	-2 558	338	-2 220	105 814	11.8	19.6
1985	20 465	15 460	5 796	-23 045	-13 109	5 567	358	5 925	120 141	16.3	18.3
1986	25 048	16 719	6 222	-25 514	-15 664	6 811	385	7 196	139 695	17.2	17.5
1987	25 146	17 792	6 453	-28 320	-15 350	5 721	431	6 152	164 455	14.9	16.8
1988	31 472	19 622	7 504	-39 710	-16 882	2 546	393	2 939	198 957	15.8	19.7
1989											
1990											

Source: South African Year Book, 1989-90, p. 442

Conclusion

The United Nations sanctions on South Africa were by nature reactionary and very limited in scope. From 1950 until 1960 there was more condemnation and deploring of the apartheid policies and racial discrimination than action. The 1962 call for sanctions

sanctions which were not binding on member states were in response to the 1976 Soweto uprisings. The call for renewed sanctions in 1985 followed the 1984 constitution which further disenfranchised blacks of human, civil and political rights. However, it seems that these sanctions imposed by the United States, oil exporting countries, and the withdrawal of some European corporations and banks hurt South Africa the most. The governments of the western industrialized nations had the political, economic, and military power to induce South Africa to abandon its apartheid policies but delayed to act decisively. This potential derived from the trade, historical, and cultural ties. However, when they imposed economic sanctions on South Africa change came about rapidly.

The South African white minority government has made significant changes in recent years by repealing some apartheid policies, legalizing liberation movements and the unconditional release of political prisoners, granting of immunity to political offenders and the return of exiles. Some critics of government denounce this as more of a reform of the appearance of apartheid. However, the Bantu Self-Governance Act remains to be repealed and bring the black majority into the mainstream of social and political life and the constitution needs to be changed to guarantee civil rights, justice and equity for all South Africans. The process of fragile negotiations is underway, under the umbrella of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) even though it has been beset by threats from the right wing white

minority and certain black groups. The challenge which remains for both black and white South Africans is to deal with extreme groups. Among the black is the Inkatha Freedom Party, (predominantly Zulu who are the majority among blacks), led by M.G. Buthelezi. There are more progressive forces in the black community including the Congress of South African Trade Unions, African National Congress, United Democratic Party and the Pan Africanist Congress. Among the white right wing extremists are the Conservative Party (led by Andries Treurnicht), Afrikaner Resistance Movement (led by Terre Blanche), the White Liberation Party, and stray elements within the Police and South African Defence Forces. The escalating township violence, coupled with army, police, and security forces' brutality have also stalled the talks. On Friday July 2, 1993 negotiators reached a landmark agreement to hold multiracial elections on April 27, 1994 to vote for a transitional government (NBC Nightly News). We can hope that negotiations continue peacefully till a multiracial democratic society is created.

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