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International Legal Action Against Apartheid

Professor David Weissbrodt* and Georgina Mahoney**

Apartheid in Southern Africa represents one of the greatest challenges, one of the greatest success stories, and one of the most frustrating defeats of the international human rights movement. This article first introduces international human rights and the international law of human rights—particularly as they relate to apartheid. Second, the article sketches the work of the International Court of Justice, which has rendered three significant human rights decisions concerning Namibia. Having begun to discuss Namibia, the article also examines the work of the Security Council, General Assembly, and other United Nations bodies concerning Namibia.

Third, having discussed Namibia, it is logical to consider the other geographical areas where there have been significant and successful international action against apartheid in the southern African region: Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Fourth, the article reviews international legal action in regard to South Africa itself. The presentation on South Africa has been organized around the institutions which have helped to establish the international legal consensus that apartheid is a criminal offense against humanity. Accordingly, this fourth section starts with treaties, then moves on to the Security Council, the General Assembly, other United Nations bodies, and finally a brief view of United States court activity.

I. Human Rights and the International Law of Human Rights

One can trace the origins of the international human rights movement back to the nineteenth century efforts to abolish slavery and to the formation of the Red Cross to give relief to the

* Professor of Law, University of Minnesota. This brief article was initially presented as introductory remarks for a program on October 11, 1985, entitled "Apartheid and American Lawyers" sponsored by the Minnesota Minority Lawyers Association. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Theodore J. May for his help in preparing this article.

** University of Minnesota Law School, class of 1986.

1. Sherman Carroll, The Nineteenth-Century British Anti-Slavery Movement
wounded and prisoners of war.\(^2\) One can even look back to declara-
tions such as the United States Bill of Rights in the eighteenth
century.\(^3\) Nevertheless, most observers point to the formation of
the United Nations as the beginning of the modern struggle to im-
plement international human rights.\(^4\) Since then, as Harlan Cleve-
land of the University of Minnesota Humphrey Institute has
pointed out, international human rights has become the world’s
first universal ideology.\(^5\) Religions, political philosophies, and eco-
nomic ideas have adherents in various parts of the world, but
human rights represents an idea which now has worldwide
acceptance.

In joining the United Nations, every government undertook
to promote “universal respect for, and observance of, human rights
and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race,
sex, language, or religion.”\(^6\) The prominence of the prohibition
against racial discrimination is noteworthy in this seminal provi-
sion of the U.N. Charter.\(^7\)

Soon after the formation of the United Nations forty years
ago, a group of delegates headed by Eleanor Roosevelt sought to
clarify this international obligation by promulgating the Universal

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Overview, in International Human Rights Law and Practice 1, 1 (James Tuttle ed.
1978) [hereinafter International Human Rights].

2. See David Forsythe, Humanitarian Politics: The International Committee of
the Red Cross (1977); Richard Perruchoud, Les Resolutions des Conferences Interna-
tionales de la Croix-Rouge (1979).

States, in Human Rights in International Law: Legal and Policy Issues 25, 27-31
(Theodor Meron ed. 1984) [hereinafter Meron]; Louis Henkin, Constitutional Fa-

4. See Jack Greenberg, Race, Sex, and Religious Discrimination in Interna-
tional Law, in Meron, supra note 3, at 307, 309; Karl Patsch, Fundamental Princi-
pies of Human Rights: Self-Determination, Equality and Non-Discrimination, in 1
The International Dimensions of Human Rights 61, 70, 73, 75-81 (Karel Vasak ed.
1982). The drafters of this provision listed racial discrimination first and found dis-
crimination such a significant violation of human rights that it deserved proscrip-
tion in the UN Charter itself. See Warwick McKean, Equality and Discrimination
Under International Law 54-55 (1983); see also Marc Bossuyt, L’Interdiction de la
The prominence of this prohibition against racial discrimination is, of course, very
relevant to the situation in South Africa.
Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration represents the most authoritative definition of human rights in existence: it has found its way into many national constitutions and parts have become recognized as international customary law. Article one of the Declaration states: “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.” Article two states: “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinctions of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, etc.” Again, the issue of racial discrimination is given prominence.

In addition to the Charter and the Universal Declaration, the United Nations and other bodies have proceeded to develop further international standards in the area of human rights—more than exist in any other area of international law.

Those lawyers schooled principally in the United States might object: “What good are these international standards if there is no way to enforce them? We do not have an international police force or army.” The answer to this question is that international human rights can be achieved through the techniques of advocacy, persuasion, threats of public exposure, embarrassment, and ultimately, political and economic isolation of the violator. Although these techniques are not commonly used in the United States legal system, where courts have power to punish and enjoin, these international human rights techniques can be effective. Thanks to these techniques, some death sentences are voided, some “disappeared” persons re-appear, some persons receive

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10. See Filartiga v. Pena-Irala, 630 F.2d 876 (2d Cir. 1980).

11. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, supra note 8, at 72, in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 1.

12. Id.


facer trials\textsuperscript{15} or escape torture,\textsuperscript{16} and some oppressive governments fall.\textsuperscript{17}

II. Actions Against Apartheid: The International Court of Justice and Namibia

It seems best to begin with the International Court of Justice (I.C.J.), or World Court, not only because the Court has received considerable media attention, but also because the Court does its work through the adversarial model which United States lawyers know better than other international procedures.\textsuperscript{18} The I.C.J. cooperates with other UN bodies in settling a variety of legal questions, including many human rights issues. In fact, several human rights treaties expressly confer jurisdiction on the I.C.J.\textsuperscript{19}

The International Court of Justice decided several significant cases involving the former German colony of South West Africa,

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{17} With regard to all aspects of human rights implementation, it is particularly difficult to demonstrate the causal connection between efforts and actual improvements. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that countries such as Uruguay have credited international human rights pressure with helping to establish new governments which are more respectful of human rights norms. See David Weissbrodt, \textit{Report on the Forty-First Session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights}, AIUSA Legal Support Network Newsl., Mar. 1985, at 8, 13-14.
\item \textsuperscript{18} The International Court of Justice (I.C.J.) is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice (P.C.I.J.), established in 1921 by the Assembly of the League of Nations. With the advent of the United Nations, the I.C.J. took over the functions of the P.C.I.J. See U.N. Charter art. 92. The I.C.J. possesses four types of jurisdiction: (1) advisory jurisdiction to consider issues where the views of the Court are requested by the General Assembly, Security Council, or other U.N. bodies. See U.N. Charter art. 96; (2) contentious jurisdiction whereby the parties to an international legal dispute bring a matter to the Court by compromising or specific agreement. Statute of the International Court of Justice art. 36, para. 1; (3) contentious jurisdiction whereby a party to an international convention brings a dispute against another party to that treaty which provides for references of matters to the I.C.J. \textit{Id.}; and (4) contentious jurisdiction whereby a state which has accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court brings a case against another country which has accepted the Court's compulsory jurisdiction. \textit{Id.} at para. 2. See also Shabtai Rosenne, \textit{The Law and Practice of the International Court} 292-331, 364-421, 698-757 (1975). The Court has recently received public attention because the United States has recently withdrawn its acceptance of the I.C.J.'s compulsory jurisdiction. \textit{See United States: Department of State Letter and Statement Concerning Termination of Acceptance of I.C.J. Compulsory Jurisdiction}, 24 Int'l Legal Materials 1742 (1985).
\item \textsuperscript{19} See, e.g., Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, \textit{approved and proposed for signature} Dec. 9, 1948, art. XI, 78 U.N.T.S. 277 (\textit{entered into force} Jan. 12, 1951) [hereinafter Genocide], reprinted in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 56; see also \textit{Highlights of Forty Years of United Nations Efforts on Behalf of Colonial Countries and Peoples, Objective: Justice}, June 1985, at 11-12 [hereinafter \textit{Highlights of Efforts}].
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which is now known as Namibia. The first case arose from a request in 1949 by the General Assembly of the United Nations for an advisory opinion as to the legal status of the territory of South West Africa. The case dealt with the League of Nation's 1920 decision to give South Africa an international mandate to administer South West Africa. After the formation of the United Nations and the dissolution of the League of Nations, the U.N. General Assembly invited states administering territories under the League of Nations mandates to submit trusteeship agreements for the General Assembly's approval. South Africa asked the General Assembly if it could take this land and make it part of South Africa. The General Assembly refused and requested that South West Africa be placed under the international trusteeship system. In response, South Africa refused to comply with the reporting requirements of the trusteeship system, whose goal is to end colonialism and allow new nations to achieve independence.

In 1949, the General Assembly asked the I.C.J. to render an advisory opinion on the status of South West Africa and on the ob-


22. Id.

23. Under the League of Nations mandate, South Africa undertook to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants" of South-West Africa. Id. at 133. See generally Louis Sohn & Thomas Buergenthal, International Protection of Human Rights 337-504 (1973).

24. G.A. Res. XI (I), U.N. Doc. A/64, at 13 (1946). The trusteeship agreements would comply with the provisions of article 76 of the United Nations Charter, including such objectives as "to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement." U.N. Charter art. 76(b). Trusteeship agreements would also "encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world." U.N. Charter art. 76(c).

25. South Africa was probably motivated by the many natural resources including copper, diamonds, lead, lithium, silver, and zinc, which are found in Namibia. See U.S. Interests in Africa: Hearings before the Subcomm. on Africa of the House Comm. on Foreign Affairs, 96th Cong., 1st Sess. app. 2 at 504 (1980) [hereinafter Africa Hearings].


27. See Sohn & Buergenthal, supra note 23, at 374.
ligations of South Africa in regard to the territory. The follow-
ing year, the I.C.J. decided that South Africa's obligations under
the mandate were still in force and that the General Assembly was
competent to discharge the supervisory functions previously exer-
cised by the League of Nations.

South Africa refused to submit to UN supervision in its ad-
ministration of South West Africa. It continued to practice apar-
theid in the region. Ethiopia and Liberia instituted proceedings in the I.C.J. against South Africa for its failure to fulfill its
obligations under the mandate it had received from the League of
Nations and assumed by the United Nations. This time the
World Court found that the League of Nations Covenant had made
no provision for state versus state actions. Hence, Ethiopia and
Liberia were held to have no standing.

The ensuing world outcry against the World Court's unpopular
decision had a very negative effect upon its stature. Since
Ethiopia and Liberia lacked standing, the General Assembly asked
the I.C.J. for an advisory opinion on the status of Namibia. This
time, in 1971, the I.C.J. declared South Africa's presence in
Namibia to be illegal. The court affirmed that distinctions based
on race violate the UN Charter and that all member states of the
UN had an obligation to refrain from supporting South Africa's il-
legal presence in Namibia. Since the time of that historic deci-
sion, the World Court's decision has been cited for the proposition
that the Charter imposes obligations on the member states to sup-
port human rights.

Opinion of July 11).
29. Id. at 143-45.
I.C.J. 5 (Judgment of July 18); cf. U.N. Charter art. 77 (trusteeship system applies
to territories under mandate).
32. See Bin Cheng, The 1966 South West Africa Judgment of the World Court,
20 Current Legal Probs. 181 (1967). The decision caused violence in northern
Namibia. John Dugard, South West Africa and the "Terrorist Trial," 64 Am. J.
33. Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in
Namibia (South West Africa) Notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276
34. Id. at 46.
35. Id. at 45, 46.
36. Id. at 57. See, e.g., Egon Schwelb, The International Court of Justice and
the Human Rights Clauses of the Charter, 66 Am. J. Int'l L. 337 (1972); Richard Lil-
33-34 (1979); Richard Lillich, The Role of Domestic Courts in Enforcing Interna-
tional Human Rights Law, in Guide to International Human Rights Practice 223,
227-28, 241 (Hurst Hannum ed. 1984); 1974 Digest of the United States Practice in
ternational legal activity against apartheid, one is struck not only by the diversity of efforts but also by the way the case of South Africa has been used to develop very important international human rights law precedents which have been helpful with respect to countries in all parts of the world.37

Even before the I.C.J. decision in 1971, the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 had terminated South Africa's mandate over South West Africa on the ground that South Africa had already disavowed the mandate by failing to fulfill its obligations thereunder.38 The General Assembly decided that henceforth the territory would come under the direct supervision of the United Nations. Pursuant to Resolution 2248,39 the UN established the Council for Namibia as the legal authority administering Namibia. The General Assembly proclaimed that, in accordance with the wishes of its people, South West Africa would henceforth be known as Namibia. The General Assembly then integrated under one trust fund—the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa—the assistance funds for Namibia, South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese territories of southern Africa.40

For the first six months, the Council for Namibia tried to operate in Namibia and work toward a smooth transition of governments. The Council soon decided, however, that the South African authorities simply were not going to cooperate.41 Hence, since 1967, the Council has essentially been working as a government in exile, with one office in New York City and another in Lusaka, Zambia.

In 1969, the Security Council condemned South Africa for its defiance of the authority of the United Nations.42 The Council recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people against the illegal presence of the South African authorities. The


38. Highlights of Efforts, supra note 19, at 21.


40. Highlights of Efforts, supra note 19, at 22.


42. Highlights of Efforts, supra note 19, at 22-23.
Council requested member states to lend moral and material assistance to the armed struggle of the Namibian people.43

In 1974, the Council for Namibia enacted the Decree on the Natural Resources of Namibia.44 Under the decree, no person, corporation, or entity may search for, take, or distribute any natural resource, animal or mineral, found in Namibia. Any vehicle, ship, or container found to be transporting such resources is subject to seizure. Any person or entity violating the decree may be held liable for damages by the future government of an independent Namibia.45

In 1976, the Council for Namibia established the Institute for Namibia.46 The purpose of the Institute is to provide Namibians with education and training to help them in the struggle for independence and to administer the government once independence is won. The Institute is also located in Lusaka “until South Africa’s illegal occupation of Namibia is terminated.”47

Between 1976 and 1978, the General Assembly and the Security Council drew up a program of action for Namibia’s independence.48 The program demanded free elections in Namibia, as well as universal suffrage. South Africa, however, proceeded with its own unilateral elections, the results of which were declared null and void by the General Assembly.49

The United States has taken the position that South Africa illegally occupies Namibia. The United States filed a brief in the International Court of Justice arguing that South Africa possessed no right to continue its occupation of Namibia.50 Nevertheless, the present United States Administration has introduced a new, rather extraneous, issue into the effort to achieve Namibian independence. The United States now contends that Cuban military advisors must depart from Angola before there can be independence for Namibia. In 1983, the General Assembly rejected these at-

43. Id.
45. Id. This decree was probably intended not only to declare that South African mining and similar operations in Namibia were illegal, but also to discourage companies from exploiting or trading in these Namibian raw materials.
46. Highlights of Efforts, supra note 19, at 32.
47. Id. at 28-29.
48. Id. at 33-36.
49. Id. at 36.
tempts to condition Namibia's independence on such extraneous issues.\textsuperscript{51} South Africa, however, has grasped at this single issue to excuse its continued presence in Namibia. Nevertheless, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has indicated his willingness to go forward with the United Nations Plan for Namibian independence "without any preconditions."\textsuperscript{52}

Namibia has not yet gained independence. South Africa has made it clear that it has no intention of complying with either the letter or the spirit of the United Nations plan for Namibia. Namibian independence will be achieved only if the United States places sufficient political pressure on South Africa or if the South African government decides, as it did in regard to Rhodesia, that the defense of its parochial interests requires that it concentrate limited energies on South Africa alone.

III. Rhodesia/Zimbabwe

Lest one despair over Namibia, it is useful to keep in mind that international pressures were more successful in ending apartheid in another country—Southern Rhodesia. There UN sanctions, together with the pressure of internal armed conflict, finally brought down the racist government of Ian Smith and led to the formation of Zimbabwe.

The Rhodesia/Zimbabwe case may be the one in which, to date, sanctions were applied with the widest international support. Of course, it is difficult to gauge the effect of sanctions with precision. The impact of sanctions must be considered along with other factors affecting the economy and political strength of the sanctioned government.

In 1965, a white supremacist government in Rhodesia Unilaterally Declared its Independence (U.D.I.) from Britain.\textsuperscript{53} The United Kingdom responded by imposing immediate sanctions and by asking the Security Council to support these sanctions. The following year, through Resolution 216, the Security Council declared


\textsuperscript{52} Secretary-General Ready to Implement Namibian Independence Plan, UN Monthly Chron., Apr. 1986, at 42.

U.D.I. to be illegal and a threat to the peace.\textsuperscript{54} The Security Council then imposed a selective non-mandatory arms embargo.\textsuperscript{55} This action was followed by more comprehensive mandatory sanctions (Resolution 253).\textsuperscript{56} This resolution, explicitly based on Chapter VII of the Charter,\textsuperscript{57} provided for a complete ban on all imports originating in Rhodesia, as well as imports to and investments in Rhodesia. Airlines were prohibited from flying there. Security Council Resolution 277 obligated member states to sever all diplomatic and military ties as well.\textsuperscript{58}

For a while, Rhodesia withstood the sanctions fairly well, thanks to countries such as South Africa, who did not comply with sanctions.\textsuperscript{59} In the mid-seventies, however, Rhodesia began to feel the effects of the world economic recession and the dramatic rise in oil prices.\textsuperscript{60}

During the mid-seventies, Rhodesia was increasingly affected by the war for independence within its own borders. Before it was over, the war took 27,000 lives, most of them Blacks.\textsuperscript{61} When genuine majority rule was achieved in 1980, the consensus was that the sanctions, despite all their loopholes and violations, had a severely limiting effect on the Rhodesian economy.\textsuperscript{62}

\section*{IV. South Africa}

Many ask whether the qualified success of international pressure against Rhodesia could be repeated elsewhere—in South Africa. Today, South Africa experiences greater world condemnation


\textsuperscript{57} U.N. Charter arts. 39-51.


\textsuperscript{59} Doxey, \textit{supra} note 58, at 67-79.

\textsuperscript{60} Id. at 78.


for its human rights violations than any other nation. That con-
demnation is grounded principally upon international treaties and
the decisions of United Nations bodies.

A. Treaties

Various international treaties have helped to establish the in-
ternational legal consensus that apartheid is a criminal offense
against humanity. Treaties form an important substantive body of
international law; they directly create obligations for the state par-
ties. Treaties may also create obligations for non-parties if they
become part of customary law, as have several provisions of
human rights treaties.\(^6^3\) Hence, even though South Africa has not
ratified any of the treaties discussed below except the United Na-
tions Charter, it is affected by the collective actions of states which
have ratified them, and South Africa may have obligations under
such treaties if they are deemed to be part of international custom-
ary law.

Most relevant to the subject of this article is the International
Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of
Apartheid, promulgated by the General Assembly in 1973.\(^6^4\) It
condemns apartheid as a crime against humanity and obliges state
parties to pass laws and other measures against apartheid. It
obliges states to prosecute individuals who practice and promote
apartheid. The treaty's definition of apartheid includes denial of
life and liberty to persons because of their race, creation of ghettos
for members of a particular racial group, and exploitation of the

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63. Two criteria are used to determine whether a principle has attained the sta-
tus of a rule of customary international law. First, there must be evidence of state
practice, e.g., physical acts, claims, national laws, to show that the norm has been
generally adopted by nations. See Michael Akehurst, Custom as a Source of Inter-
national Law, 1974 Brit. Y.B. Int'l L. 1, 18, 53; Anthony D'Amato, The Concept of
Custom in International Law 87-92 (1971). Second, the state practice should be ac-
companied by opinio juris or statements that certain conduct is required or forbid-
den, giving rise to an international legal obligation. See Akehurst, supra, at 31, 53.
Treaties constitute a part of state practice, especially if accompanied by opinio juris
or claims in the treaty or in the travaux preparatoires indicating that a treaty pro-
vision is a restatement of preexisting customary law. Id. at 53. Indeed, treaties pro-
vide the most accessible and authoritative source of customary international law.
The Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties recognizes in article 38 that a treaty
may become "binding upon a third State as a customary rule of international law,
recognized as such." Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, opened for signa-

64. International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime
of Apartheid, opened for signature Nov. 30, 1973, 1015 U.N.T.S. 243 (entered into
force July 18, 1976) [hereinafter Apartheid], reprinted in Human Rights Compilation,
labor of members of a particular racial group. Seventy-seven governments have ratified the Apartheid Convention. Significantly, the United States has neither signed nor ratified this treaty, most likely because of United States concern about the possibility that its corporations doing business in South Africa might be violating the treaty.

More than 120 governments have ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which specifically condemns apartheid. In addition, under the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, certain acts which constitute apartheid also constitute the crime of genocide. Similarly, under the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity, "inhuman acts resulting from the policy of apartheid" are included as crimes against humanity for which there can be no statute of limitations. Apartheid also involves slavery-like practices and forced labor prohibited by the Slavery Convention and the Forced Labor Convention.

65. Apartheid, supra note 64, at 245-46, in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 29-30.


67. Genocide, supra note 19, at 277, in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 56.

68. The Genocide Convention forbids a number of acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, as such. These acts include killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, and deliberately inflicting group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part. Genocide, art. 2, supra note 19, at 280, in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 56. The Apartheid Convention forbids "inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them." Apartheid, art. 2, supra note 64, at 245, in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 29-30. The acts include denial to racial group members the right to life and liberty of person by murder, infliction of serious bodily or mental harm, arbitrary arrest or illegal imprisonment, and "deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part." Id., in Human Rights Compilation, supra note 8, at 30.


B. Other UN Action Against South Africa


The Security Council, General Assembly, and other UN bodies have taken repeated action against South Africa. The Security Council considered the question of apartheid for the first time in 1960, prompted by large-scale killings in South Africa of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators against apartheid. In Resolution 134, the Council called upon South Africa to abandon apartheid. A few years later in 1963, the Security Council called upon South Africa to stop killing anti-apartheid leaders (Resolution 181) and upon member states to observe a non-mandatory arms embargo. The same year, the Security Council established a group of experts "to examine methods of resolving the present situation in South Africa through full, peaceful, and orderly application of human rights . . . and to consider what part the United Nations might play in the achievement of that end." Based on subsequent recommendations by the group of experts, the Security Council in ensuing resolutions soon strengthened the economic sanctions. In Resolution 311 (1972), the Security Council expressed its grave concern that the situation in South Africa constituted a breach of the peace. This finding was important because it established the basis for the UN to take measures against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, such as imposing a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. No such mandatory and comprehensive arms embargo has been imposed because of opposition by the United States, France, and the United Kingdom.

76. Id. at 23.
Two problems have arisen under the non-mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council. The first is the dual use problem; for example, a helicopter can be used for war or for peace. The second problem is that some major world powers are violating the embargo, namely France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States.81

The United States' violation of the embargo and its voting pattern on the Security Council have not been progressive. The U.S. has voted in the United Nations, often alone, against efforts to end apartheid. The United States takes this position for three reasons. First, it is concerned that a new government in South Africa will be less friendly to U.S. interests. The U.S. is particularly concerned about a Marxist or pro-Soviet government take-over. Second, the U.S. wants to preserve its access to raw materials in South Africa, including manganese, platinum-related minerals, gold, diamonds, and chromium.82 Third, the United States government has traditionally sought to protect U.S. companies doing business in South Africa, including the plants and assets of those companies.83

In February 1986, the Security Council condemned South Africa for recent threats and acts of aggression against other states in southern Africa.84 The Resolution demanded an end to the state of emergency in South Africa and an end to apartheid. In voting on the Resolution, thirteen members of the Security Council voted in favor, none against, with the United States and the United Kingdom abstaining.85

2. The General Assembly.

The General Assembly has taken numerous other actions against apartheid. In the General Assembly, the voice of the U.K. and the U.S. is proportionally less than in the Security Council, while the voice of the Third World is much stronger. Perhaps it is

82. The U.S. imports significant portions of the South African output of antimony, chromite, ferrochromium, ferromanganese, platinum metals, diamonds, and fluorospars. Africa Hearings, supra note 25, at 496-97.
for this reason that the General Assembly has voted early and often against apartheid.

The question of apartheid was raised at the General Assembly's first session in 1946. India complained about the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa. In Resolution 395 (1950), the General Assembly found that apartheid was necessarily a policy of racial discrimination within the meaning of the Charter's prohibition. The General Assembly therefore ordered the government of South Africa to suspend implementation of the infamous "Group Areas Act." In Resolution 616A (VII) (1952), the General Assembly formally condemned apartheid and established a commission of three members to monitor the situation in South Africa. Resolution 1761 (XVII) (1962) requested member states to sever all diplomatic and trade relations with South Africa. In 1974, the General Assembly rejected the credentials of the South African delegation. South Africa was no longer permitted to vote. Because of Security Council inaction, however, South Africa was not technically expelled from the United Nations.

From the viewpoint of placing pressure on the South African government, probably the most effective international action has been the international sports boycott. The international boycott against athletic competition either against South African teams or in South Africa has really brought home the world's abhorrence of

92. Decredentialization, supra note 91, at 577.
93. See Centre Against Apartheid, UN Dep't of Political & Security Council Affairs, Register of Sports Contacts with South Africa, Notes & Documents, Dec. 1982, at i.
apartheid to the average white South African. Since many South African whites are avid sports enthusiasts, the sports boycott, which has been quite well enforced, has been a useful international measure. Most recently, the General Assembly has been considering an international Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, which will give further legal support to the General Assembly's initial actions establishing the sports boycott.94

Incidentally, the United States's policy of "constructive engagement"95 with South Africa has not gone unnoticed in the General Assembly. On December 10, 1985, the General Assembly condemned "the policies of 'constructive engagement' and active collaboration with the apartheid régime followed by the Governments of certain Western and other States which give encouragement to the racist régime in its repression of the people's legitimate struggle."96

3. Other UN Bodies.

Other UN bodies have also taken action against South Africa. For example, the Commission on Human Rights in 1967 established an ad hoc working group of experts to investigate charges of violations such as arbitrary killings and torture in South Africa.97 The working group issues major factual reports following its investigations.98 These investigations can be an effective means of protecting human rights. As the Montreal Statement of the Assembly for Human Rights correctly observed, "[t]he mere existence of an official and impartial fact-finding body might deter violations of human rights."99

95. "Constructive engagement" is the Reagan Administration's term for a policy toward South Africa that is less confrontational than a policy that includes sanctions. Constructive engagement is based on the philosophy that continued U.S. economic interests in South Africa could subtly affect apartheid. Reagan's view is that constructive engagement is more effective than sanctions, as it continues U.S. involvement in South Africa, rather than abandon that country to its internal politics. See N.Y. Times, Mar. 15, 1981, at 11, col. 1; id., May 23, 1981, at 7, col. 1.
99. John Carey, UN Protection of Civil and Political Rights 84 (1970) (quoting the Montreal Assembly for Human Rights). Some helpful fact-finding has been done in South Africa. See, e.g., Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the
The Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities has also played an investigatory role. Its Special Rapporteur, Ahmad Khalifa, has ambitiously compiled a list of banks and firms who have helped South Africa's economy. The Sub-Commission has also made direct appeals on behalf of individuals, such as Nelson Mandela. It called upon the government of South Africa to conduct a meaningful investigation into the true cause of the death of Stephen Biko. In 1985, the Sub-Commission decided to open all future sessions with a moment of silence to demonstrate solidarity with the victims of apartheid.

The 1985 World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women also called for economic sanctions against South Africa. Only the U.S., represented by Maureen Reagan, voted "no." The non-governmental organizations forum of that conference conducted numerous workshops on the status of women under apartheid.

The UN Commission on Transnational Corporations monitors the effects of corporate policies, particularly in the Third World. In 1985, the Commission issued a report criticizing voluntary corporate codes such as the Sullivan Principles for not helping the
Black majority in a meaningful way. This report should provoke controversy and critical self-examination within the corporate community. The report takes the general view that economic and military support for South Africa accrues to the white minority—not to the Black majority. Nevertheless, such support for South Africa is frequently labeled as being "good" for Blacks. Perhaps, one must ask: to whom shall we listen? To those who have an obvious stake in the status quo or to members of the Black majority?

4. The Declaration on Colonialism.

While the struggle in South Africa is against racism, it is also against colonialism. The white minority's presence and power in South Africa certainly is a colonial phenomenon. The policy of restricting Blacks to the so-called "homelands" is a colonial practice. It was this kind of group-based oppression that the General Assembly addressed when, in 1960, it passed Resolution 1514(XV): Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. "Recognizing the passionate yearning for freedom in all dependent peoples . . . in the attainment of their independence" and "[b]elieving that the process of liberation is irresistible and irreversible and that, in order to avoid serious crises, an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith," the General Assembly declared that "[t]he subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation." Accordingly, liberation movements in South Africa are eligible for some of the trust fund assistance mentioned earlier in regard to Namibia.

C. Recent Developments in United States Policy

The changes in United States policy toward the government of South Africa made in the summer and autumn of 1986 will no

106. Id. at 10.
doubt be discussed for some time. Only time will tell whether those changes were mostly symbolic or substantive, whether they were wise or foolish, whether they went too far or were too little too late.

The United States Senate and House of Representatives voted to override President Reagan's veto and impose economic sanctions against South Africa. These sanctions prevent any new U.S. investment in or bank loans to South Africa, ban the import of iron, steel, coal, textiles, uranium, and agricultural products, place an embargo on oil products, ban all non-emergency landings and take-offs of South African airliners in the United States, and create new economic assistance for South African Blacks.110

This new United States policy grew out of an increasingly tense atmosphere about apartheid both in South Africa and in world opinion. Recent attempts at mediation by Commonwealth leaders between Black leaders and the South African government had failed.111 Amid strikes by Blacks in South Africa and thousands of arrests by South African police, Pretoria once again imposed a state of emergency, this time on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprisings.112 The government reserved the right to make warrantless searches, control essential services, close businesses, and censor domestic and foreign press. In response to Pretoria's action, Canada and France talked of supporting trade sanctions, and Canada revoked the credentials of four South African diplomats.113 At a UN conference, representatives from a hundred nations turned out to hear Rev. Jesse Jackson urge economic sanctions.114 Jackson's talk was boycotted by the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Federal Republic of Germany.115 When the UN Security Council attempted to impose economic sanctions against South Africa for its aggression against Angola, the resolution was vetoed by the United States and the United Kingdom.116

President Reagan attempted to put more subtle political pressure on Pretoria by using the leverage of congressional pressure to adopt economic sanctions.117 Reagan had proposed excepting South African companies adhering to anti-discrimination princi-

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115. Id.
amples and compensating United States companies suffering disadvantages in international competition as a result of the sanctions.\textsuperscript{118} Also, Reagan would have banned the import of iron and steel, but not of coal, textiles, uranium, or agricultural products.\textsuperscript{119} Perhaps, in hope of avoiding more severe congressional actions, Reagan fulfilled his commitment to name a Black envoy to South Africa by appointing veteran diplomat Edward J. Perkins to the post.\textsuperscript{120} Congress was not satisfied with such measures, however, and easily overrode Reagan's veto of the sanctions bill.\textsuperscript{121}

The issue remains whether these sanctions are more symbolic than actually punitive. Coal imports from South Africa, now banned, amounted to $43 million last year. South African coal output, however, totaled $50 billion.\textsuperscript{122} In anticipation of sanctions, United States business investments in South Africa had already declined.\textsuperscript{123} Bank loans were also declining because of a decision by the American Bank Association opposing further bank loans to South Africa. Similar measures had also been taken by state and local governments. Due to this pre-sanction investment decrease, about two percent of South Africa earnings will be affected by the federal sanctions.\textsuperscript{124} Furthermore, because the Anti-Apartheid Act is meant as a comprehensive statement of U.S. policy towards South Africa, it may preempt state, county, and municipal actions, requiring divestment. Therefore, the Anti-Apartheid Act could actually decrease the cumulative economic sanctions against South Africa.\textsuperscript{125} Nevertheless, if Western Europe and Japan increase

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\item \textsuperscript{118} Id., Sept. 30, 1986, at A6, col. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{119} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Id., Oct. 1, 1986, at A6, col. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{122} Id., Oct. 4, 1986, at A1, col. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{123} See id.; id., July 5, 1986, at A4, col. 5; id., June 19, 1986, at A1, col. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{124} Id., Oct. 4, 1986, at A3, col. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{125} The purpose stated in section 4 of the Act is "to set forth a comprehensive and complete framework to guide the efforts of the United States in helping to bring an end to apartheid in South Africa." Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-440, § 4, 100 Stat. 1086, 1088. There was considerable debate in Congress regarding whether this language is meant to indicate a congressional intent to preempt local actions. See generally 132 Cong. Rec. E3104 (daily ed. Sept. 12, 1986) (statement of Rep. Leland) (quoting Los Angeles Times, Sept. 12, 1986, at II5, col. 3). Representative Leland did not view the Act as preemptive. Senators Kennedy, Proxmire, and Cranston took the same position. Senator Lugar, one of the main proponents of the Act, however, did consider it as preempting non-federal action. Id. Although investment decisions are clearly local in nature, that characterization may not save state actions from being preempted. See Garcia v. San Antonio Metropolitan Transit Authority, 469 U.S. 528 (1985). Local actions that affect foreign relations have been found unconstitutional in the past. See, e.g., Zschernig v. Miller, 389 U.S. 429 (1968); Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 U.S. 52 (1941); New York Times Co. v. City of New York Comm'n on Human Rights, 79 Misc. 2d 1046, 362 N.Y.S.2d 321 (N.Y. Sup. Ct. 1974), aff'd, 49 A.D.2d 851, 374 N.Y.S.2d 9
their own sanctions against South Africa, the cumulative effect of economic sanctions may be enough to bring about some substantive changes in South African racial policies.

D. Other Legal Action

There has been international legal action against apartheid, not only in the United Nations, but also in both United States and South African tribunals. In *New York Times Co. v. City of New York Commission on Human Rights*,126 both the American Committee on Africa and other plaintiffs argued that advertisements for employment in South African countries constituted discrimination under New York law because Black applicants would not be considered for those positions. The New York Human Rights Commission was persuaded by the plaintiffs' argument and ordered the *New York Times* to cease and desist from publishing ads for South African positions.127 The New York Supreme Court overturned the Commission's order on freedom of speech grounds128 and later, the Court of Appeals affirmed.129 In the early 1970's, the *New York Times* had used great energy and skill to defend its right to advertise jobs in the South African government and industry for white workers. One wonders whether the *Times* would take the same position today. In any case, the *Times* case set the stage for other creative uses of United States courts to bring pressure on the South African government.

In another domestic lawsuit, the American Committee on Africa, the Congressional Black Caucus, and other groups intervened before the Civil Aeronautics Board (C.A.B.) when the South African Airways applied for a new route permit in the United States.130 The plaintiffs argued that because the government-owned airline discriminated against Blacks in employment and travel facilities, the C.A.B. could not find, as is necessary under Sections 404(b) and 411 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, that the proposed route would be "in the public interest."131 Although the hearing examiner was not persuaded by this argument, and although then-President Nixon signed the order granting the per-
mit, the action accomplished two things: (1) before the permit was granted, South African Airways hired several Black employees for its United States offices, and (2) the airline discontinued racial discrimination in seating on its flights inside South Africa.\textsuperscript{132}

In 1974, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law represented the United Mine Workers in an administrative complaint before the U.S. Commissioner of Customs to stop the importation of South African coal into the United States.\textsuperscript{133} South African law in effect at the time compelled indentured labor under penal sanction for all Black workers in the coal industry.\textsuperscript{134} Blacks constituted the majority of the labor force in South African mines.

The complaint arose under Section 307 of the Tariff Act of 1930, which prohibits the importation of goods produced or manufactured by forced labor, indentured labor under penal sanctions, or convict labor, provided that United States consumptive demand for the particular item can be satisfied from domestic sources.\textsuperscript{135} Evidence revealed that the United States could easily satisfy its own domestic demand for coal and was, in fact, a net exporter of coal.\textsuperscript{136}

Although the Customs Service was not ultimately persuaded by the plaintiffs' argument, the filing of the complaint had direct consequences: the South African Parliament repealed forty-one laws and sections of laws imposing criminal sanctions for the violation of labor contracts in mining, manufacturing, and other sectors of its economy.\textsuperscript{137} Indeed, the repeal of those laws strengthened the efforts to establish Black trade unions in South Africa. Those Black unions—particularly in the mining industry—today represent one of the most significant independent political forces against racial oppression in South Africa. Hence, the legal action in the United States indirectly led to significant pressures against apartheid.

These three cases show that creative U.S. lawyers can bring about changes in South Africa even if their actions do not prevail


\textsuperscript{133} Douglas Wachholz, The Utilization of Domestic Legal Techniques to Give Effect to U.N. Anti-Racist Measures, in Africa Legal Assistance Project, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, attachment II at 3 (1974).

\textsuperscript{134} Id.


\textsuperscript{136} Wachholz, supra note 132, at 17.

\textsuperscript{137} Id. at 18.
in U.S. courts and tribunals. These cases also show that to bring about more direct change, lawyers and would-be policy makers must go to the legislatures and to international legal fora. Indeed, measures for divestment have been adopted or are under consideration in the U.S. Congress, state legislatures, city councils, and universities throughout the United States.

U.S. lawyers have also helped South African lawyers working in the South African courts trying to secure the rights of those whom the South African government would like to silence. In South Africa, anti-apartheid speech or political activity is a crime. Persons have been imprisoned, tortured, and arbitrarily killed for attending or organizing peaceful demonstrations or funerals.

South African lawyers who represent such activists are by no means immune from arbitrary arrests and killings. For example, South African civil rights attorney Victoria Mxenge was killed outside her home, allegedly by government security forces. She was killed just weeks before she was to represent twelve United Democratic Front activists who were charged with treason.

In spite of the repressive nature of South Africa's government, competent, well-funded lawyers can make a difference in ensuring a degree of due process for the accused. In August 1986, the American Bar Association protested the arrests of South African lawyers who were defending Black minority members against state charges. United States lawyers, individually and collec-


141. See generally Political Imprisonment, supra note 140.

142. Situation of Human Rights, supra note 140.

143. N.Y. Times, Aug. 9, 1986, at A3, col. 3.
tively, have provided invaluable assistance to local counsel in South Africa by directing funding where it is required, offering legal assistance when it is requested, and observing trials and inquests where public attention may be beneficial. Lawyers' organizations which have worked in these ways to help South African lawyers include the American Bar Association, Amnesty International legal groups, the International Commission of Jurists, the International Defence and Aid Fund, the International Human Rights Law Group, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the Minnesota Lawyers International Human Rights Committee, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.144

Conclusion

United States policies toward South Africa have long been short-sighted. Perhaps 1986 will be remembered as the year the United States began a significant change in its response to apartheid. The question remains: What should United States lawyers do about apartheid? In this regard, Robert McNamara's statement of 1982 has the ring of prophesy:

The most underrated danger of human events is prolonged procrastination. And the greatest tragedies of history have occurred, not so much because of what was finally done, but because of what had earlier foolishly been left undone. In the matter at hand, to fail to act wisely now is only to ensure having to act desperately later.145

Perhaps, if lawyers and others act promptly and in good faith, it is not too late.

145. Robert McNamara, Chancellor's Lecture, University of Witwatersrand, Oct. 21, 1982, quoted in University of Minnesota Advisory Committee on South Africa, Report to President Keller 29 (June 5, 1985).