

components). It has also authorized the sale of staple foodstuffs. Non-member states (including the majority of EEC countries,<sup>19</sup> the former socialist countries, Japan, and the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East) are not bound by this recommendation. Some neighbouring countries are suspected of turning a blind eye to trade with Haiti, or of being simply incapable of properly controlling it, even when they have amended their laws and regulations in order to implement the OAS embargo. President Aristide has yet to regain power and the junta has shown a surprising ability to maintain its hold as time passes. Development aid has been limited to food aid and emergency medical assistance, primarily through multilateral channels. All project funding has been suspended by the World Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank. Thus far, the ruling junta seems to be adapting to life under sanctions. It is clear, however, that the economy is starting to suffer from the measures, even though the embargo is partial. Over 25,000 jobs have reportedly been lost in export manufacturing industries, swelling the numbers of the unemployed in a country where under-employment is already endemic. A stronger international consensus on sanctions combined with the discontinuation of oil deliveries could force the junta, which clearly does not enjoy popular support, to surrender power.

i) China

China faced an outcry after the Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, primarily from western countries appalled by the government's crack-down on pro-liberalization forces. While the announced measures were relatively mild, they did keep China in the spotlight of public opinion and the media, and they are believed to have had some effect, especially at the political level. China proceeded to deal with the dissidents more quietly, and it is generally believed that they were treated less harshly than might otherwise have been the case. The Chinese leadership was probably surprised by the international ostracism it faced, and it was important for them not to lose face.

The sanctioning countries had to satisfy the demands of the organizations and numerous individuals who were calling for sanctions without jeopardizing their own extensive interests in China, whose economy has been developing rapidly over the past 15 years and therefore offers attractive business opportunities. The need to secure Chinese support in the UN Security Council was also an important factor given current attempts to enhance the UN's role in

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<sup>19</sup> The European Community invoked its obligations under the Lomé Convention, which it concluded with a large number of African, Caribbean and Pacific states, and did not follow the lead of the OAS, although it did indicate it would go further if the UN Security Council so decided. It also left its member states free to adopt individual sanctions.