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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
Forty-first session  
Items 33, 86 and 92 of the  
preliminary list\*  
POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE  
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME  
OF ACTION FOR THE SECOND DECADE  
TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL  
DISCRIMINATION  
ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF  
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL  
First regular session of 1986  
Item 2 of the provisional  
agenda\*\*  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE  
SECOND DECADE TO COMBAT  
RACISM AND RACIAL  
DISCRIMINATION

Letter dated 19 February 1986 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.  
of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the  
United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you the "Tripoli Declaration" issued by the International Conference in Solidarity with Peoples under Racial Discrimination held at Tripoli from 23 to 27 November 1985 in co-operation with the Guild of Lawyers in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Organization of African Lawyers.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 33, 86 and 92 of the preliminary list, and of the Economic and Social Council, and brought to the attention of the Commission on Human Rights.

(Signed) Rajab A. AZZAROUK  
Chargé d'affaires a.i.

\* A/41/50.

\*\* E/1986/30.

Annex

SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA

GUILD OF LAWYERS

REGIONAL OFFICE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN LAWYERS

TRIPOLI DECLARATION

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLES  
UNDER RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

held in the Jamahiriya, Tripoli  
from 23 to 27 November 1985

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The first International Conference in Solidarity with Peoples under Racial Discrimination was held from 23 to 27 November 1985 at Tripoli in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Preparations for the Conference were made by the Organization of African Lawyers, in active co-operation with the Guild of Libyan Lawyers and the General People's Congress in the Jamahiriya.

This historic Conference, which was the first of its kind to take place in Africa, was marked by the participation of distinguished figures and distinguished lawyers who came from the five continents to affirm their rejection of the evil apartheid régime and to express their solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle for human dignity.

The opening of the Conference was attended by representatives of States, government and popular organizations and eminent members of the international press.

The opening meeting was held on Saturday, 23 November 1985, in the Hall of the People at Tripoli. It was opened by the Secretary of the General People's Committee for Justice and the Chairman of the Organization of African lawyers.

The following States, Governments and distinguished figures participated in the opening meeting:

Opening statements:

Mr. Muftah Kueiba. Secretary of the General People's Committee for Justice.

Mr. Muhammad Abd al-Salam Khalifah, Secretary of the Guild of Lawyers of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Regional Representative of the Organization of African Lawyers for North Africa.

Statements of appreciation:

Mr. Zola Mweyiya, representative of the African National Congress.

Mrs. Ellen Musialela, representative of the South West Africa People's Organization.

Mr. Breiten Breitenbach.

Speeches of support:

Mr. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Mr. Chedli Klibi, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States.

D. Sylvestre Nsanzimana, Assistant Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

Mr. Muhsen Abu-Maizer, Palestine Liberation Organization.

Telegrams read out:

Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Mr. Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity.

Representatives of heads of States:

Mr. Ajbuybur, Deputy and personal representative of His Excellency the President of the Togolese Republic.

Mrs. Konate, Secretary-General of the Ministry for External Relations and Co-operation and personal representative of the President of Burkina Faso.

Non-governmental organizations:

Mrs. Helen Hajipetrov, World Peace Council.

Mr. Lennox Hinds, Organization of Democratic Lawyers.

Mr. Igor Karbiz, Organization of Soviet Lawyers.

Introductory statements:

Mr. Jomolo Kunj, World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. Tafis Sahili, Ethiopian Committee for Peace, Solidarity, and Brotherhood.

Mr. Marcos Antonio, League of Brazilian Lawyers.

Mr. Njom Benoit, Chairman of the Organization of African Lawyers.

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In the course of their statements, these distinguished persons referred to the historic nature of this Conference, praising the consensus on the initiative which has breathed new life into the struggle being waged by liberation movements in southern Africa.

Some of them drew attention to the possible dangerous consequences if apartheid were to be likened to racism or any other form of social, cultural or political discrimination.

Others noted the historical connection between apartheid and nazism, as well as the connection between the struggle of those fighting for the freedom of Azania and the struggle of the Palestinian people.

All referred to the fact that a conference of this kind was being held in Africa only after 25 years of independence, with the aim of discussing lasting solutions to this positive affront and to the violations of human dignity practised by the apartheid régime.

The representatives of international organizations such as the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, together with the representatives of States, heads of State, representatives of liberation movements and peoples' organizations and Mr. Breiten Breitenbach, all referred to the vital need to eliminate this inhuman crime and promised that, in addition to the measures adopted as a result of the Conference and of action by the Organization of African Lawyers, they would provide all possible assistance with a view to facilitating the extirpation of this chronic disease of our times.

They also affirmed that, after centuries of oppression, in which slavery had been followed by colonization, old-style colonialism by neo-colonialism and nominal independence by the new economic, political and cultural hegemony, the time had now come for the emergence of a true African consciousness that would constitute a moral force capable of rejecting anyone who brought shame upon humanity.

They all expressed their hope that this Conference would constitute the starting-point for a genuine rallying of all Africans, in the first instance, and of all those, throughout the world, who sincerely expressed abhorrence for this truly savage behaviour in modern times, an obsolete manifestation in the twentieth century.

During the opening meeting, the Conference appointed the Honorary Bureau to preside over the Conference and established the three Committees which would provide the framework for its meetings, as follows:

Appointment of Mr. Muhammad Abd al-Salam Khalifah, Secretary of the Guild of Lawyers of the Jamahiriya and Regional Representative of the Organization of African Lawyers for North Africa, as Chairman of the Conference.

Establishment of three committees:

First committee:

Agenda: Question of Namibia in relation to Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

Chairman: Mr. Boutchway, Professor of Law in Ghana.

Rapporteur: Mr. Nchatchu Herman, lawyer and diplomat from Cameroon.

Second committee:

Agenda: Apartheid and the problem of dialogue.

Chairman: Mrs. Amina al-Mas'udi, lawyer from Rabat, Morocco.

Rapporteur: Mr. Emmanuel Slambiri, diplomat from Burkina Faso.

Third committee:

Agenda: Achievements and dimensions of activities in support of peoples under the apartheid régime.

Chairman: Mr. Abdullah Wad, lawyer from Senegal.

Rapporteur: Mr. Sasi al-Hajj, lawyer from the Jamahiriya.

Thirty contributions were recorded within the framework of the three broad Committees, and the originality, excellence and diversity of these contributions enhanced the highly important discussions, which are to be published. On the basis of the work of the Committees and the agenda put before them, the Organization of African Lawyers considers that the Tripoli Conference was the first local manifestation of solidarity between the Arab and African peoples in their liberation struggle against the hegemony of the apartheid régime and that this solidarity on the part of the Arab people was global, in view of the attendance of major distinguished figures representing the Arab world, such as the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States and the Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

The Organization of African Lawyers believes that this solidarity represents a genuine return towards lasting support from the States of black Africa for the Palestine Liberation Organization in its struggle for the restoration of its legitimate rights.

With regard to the three items inscribed on the agenda, the Organization notes that participants deliberated calmly and insisted in every case on discussion of the means which would permit the attainment of immediately practicable solutions.

The Organization of African Lawyers accordingly saw fit to reaffirm, with respect to the question of Namibia, its lasting support for SWAPO, which it considers to be the essential element which must be central to any solution of the Namibian question.

It is a cause of regret to the Organization that all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity on this question have yet to be implemented.

Considering the consequences of the non-implementation and ineffectiveness of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, the Organization believes that the only solution which can lead to the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) lies in intensification of the armed struggle.

With regard to the question of apartheid, which it considers to be a crime against humanity, the Organization of African Lawyers salutes the heroic struggle for freedom which is being waged by the fighters of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania.

It also salutes the other liberation movements and the white democrats, who, like their black brothers, risk their lives daily in order that their countries may one day be free of that deadly Nazi evil.

With regard to the question of dialogue, the Organization of African Lawyers stresses that no dialogue is possible with those who refuse to recognize a partner.

Although it does not reject every possibility for dialogue among South Africans themselves, the Organization believes that the establishment of any dialogue with the racist Pretoria régime as if with an independent African country, as well as the initiation of any form of co-operation with it, constitutes a form of betrayal and weakens the Azanian liberation movement.

The Organization therefore calls upon all African States to step up the various forms of financial, military and diplomatic assistance they provide to the national liberation movements.

The Organization of African Lawyers condemns the attitudes of all those States members of the Security Council which make use of the veto against the proposed sanctions against South Africa. It also condemns the attitude of States which permit South Africa to obtain nuclear weapons with which to destroy the black majority. It calls upon the United States of America and the United Kingdom to join in the support expressed by their two peoples for action against apartheid by putting an end to the manoeuvres and procrastination which are designed to prevent Namibia from gaining its independence and to delay the elimination of apartheid.

The Organization of African Lawyers strongly condemns the successive acts of aggression by the racist Pretoria régime against sovereign African front-line States, and particularly against Angola.

It calls for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South Africa's hostile troops from the territory of Namibia, which is occupied by them in violation of international laws, and particularly the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

With a view to providing concrete support for the efforts of SWAPO, the African National Congress and the black people of South Africa, the Organization of African Lawyers has, for its part, resolved as follows:

1. To establish a "Nelson Mandela Prize", for the encouragement of all individuals and organizations who work to promote the cause of peace, freedom, human rights and the rights of peoples in Africa.
2. To establish an apartheid information centre, the role of which would be to publish all information relating to the consequences of the disgraceful collusion and collaboration with the despised South African régime.
3. To establish the "Steve Biko University", to educate the young people of South Africa along the same lines as the United Nations University with respect to Namibia, with a view to giving them the best possible preparation for succession to the racist Pretoria régime's clique in South Africa.
4. To establish a solidarity fund for the peoples of Africa, the proceeds of which will be used to finance the activities of the apartheid information centre in order that it may operate the "Steve Biko University" and permit the award of grants to all young people of South Africa who wish to enrol in it. The fund will also finance the "Nelson Mandela Prize".

The Organization of African Lawyers therefore calls upon the international community in general, and the following in particular:

1. The people of the Jamahiriya and all African States;
2. The Organization of African Unity;
3. The United Nations;
4. The League of Arab States;
5. The Organization of the Islamic Conference;
6. The European Economic Community.

And all those peoples who consider apartheid to be a crime, to contribute to this fund in order that it may fulfil the above-mentioned commitments.

The Organization of African Lawyers undertakes to publish each year a list of the persons, companies, bodies and States which contribute to this support fund.

The Organization has also decided to convert the first international exhibition against apartheid in Tripoli into a mobile exhibition.

Banners have been printed bearing the following slogans: "Apartheid is a crime against humanity"; "I am against apartheid".

A book has been published to mark "Africa Day", which falls on 25 May 1986. It describes the struggle of Nelson Mandela, whose unconditional release is demanded by the Organization of African Lawyers.

At the governmental level, the Organization of African Lawyers calls for the following:

1. Increased assistance by the Organization of African Unity for the liberation movements in both Namibia and Azania, and the imposition of sanctions on African States members of the Organization of African Unity which violate resolutions relating to apartheid. These sanctions may take the form of a temporary deprivation of voting rights.
2. Expression of solidarity by the League of Arab States with peoples suffering under racial discrimination, by the dispatch of aid to South Africa's liberation movements.

The Organization of African Lawyers associates itself with the initiative taken by the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Abdou Diouf, whereby the United Nations is called upon to convene an international conference with the aim of imposing urgent and unconditional sanctions against South Africa.

It suggests that the following should associate themselves with this call:

1. The Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity at the United Nations.
2. The permanent members of the Security Council.
3. The President of the United Nations General Assembly.
4. All heads of African States.
5. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States.
6. The Secretary-General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, and the Movement of Non-Aligned States.

The Organization of African Lawyers calls upon the peace-loving States of the world that have respect for the human race to impose a ban on collaboration in all scientific, technical, cultural, sports, military, political and diplomatic matters with the racist Pretoria régime.

It also calls upon all the heads of religious groups in the world to give clear expression to their views on this question and to put an end to all contacts they may have with the leaders of the odious racist Pretoria régime.

With regard to the question of Namibia, the Organization of African Lawyers believes that there is not and cannot be any causal link between the presence of troops which are deployed on the basis of a request from sovereign States and the



implementation of Namibia's basic right to self-determination or its will to achieve independence.

In order that the democratic and freedom-loving community may proceed to implement the Tripoli Declaration, the Organization of African lawyers reminds them of a prominent instrument among the resolutions of the African National Congress, dated 26 June 1955 and known as the "Freedom Charter", which states, inter alia, that:

"South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white".

"No government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people".

"The people shall govern".

"All national groups shall have equal rights".

"The people shall share in the country's wealth".

"The land shall be shared among those who work it".

"All shall be equal before the law".

"All shall enjoy equal human rights".

"There shall be work and security".

"The doors of learning and culture shall be opened".

"There shall be houses, security and comfort".

"There shall be peace and friendship".

Here is what Nelson Mandela said after this Conference:

"I hate apartheid ... my hatred for it has increased because the overwhelming majority of mankind shares my opinion of it ... I hate the teaching which inculcates racist principles in children, and I hate it more strongly because I hate it together with millions of people throughout the world ... I despise the arrogance which accords the greater share to the minority and which places the majority in a state of slavery whereby it becomes fit only to serve that minority ... no punishment handed down by the court can extinguish my hate; indeed, nothing can do that unless it puts an end to the tyranny and arrogance against which I shall not cease to fight on the political, economic and social levels in this country".

However, the Umkhonto Manifesto of 16 December showed that the domination and stubbornness of the whites in Pretoria had exhausted the patience of this lawyer who spoke on behalf of freedom, who said, inter alia:

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"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom."

This, fellow freedom-loving citizens of the twentieth century, is the Tripoli Declaration and the conclusion of the work of the first International Conference in Solidarity with Peoples under Racial Discrimination. The Organization of African Lawyers hereby requests that, in accordance with the exigencies of moral necessity, that you should implement what is right in order that man may be free.

Done at Tripoli on 26 November 1985.

Drafting

Mr. Charles Chunganj  
Vice-Chairman

For the Guild of Libyan Lawyers

Muhammad Abd al-Salam Khalifah  
Chairman

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Chairman

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