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GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-ninth year

Letter dated 25 July 1984 from the Chairman of the Special
Committee against Apartheid to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Declaration adopted by the North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, held in New York from 18 to 21 June 1984.

The Conference was organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid as part of its programme for 1984.

I request that this letter and the declaration be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under item 31 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) J. N. GARBA
Chairman of the Special Committee
against Apartheid

* A/39/150.

ANNEX

Declaration of the North American Regional Conference for
Action against Apartheid

The North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid was organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid and met at United Nations Headquarters from 18 to 21 June 1984 under the presidency of the Reverend William Howard, Jr.

It was attended by many public leaders, State and local legislators, representatives of non-governmental organizations active in the campaign against apartheid and for liberation of South Africa and Namibia. The Governments of Canada and the United States of America were represented by observers.

The opening session of the Conference was addressed by:

His Excellency Major-General J. N. Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid

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

The Honourable Edward M. Kennedy, Senator, United States of America

His Excellency Mr. Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General

The Honourable Daniel M. Lisulo, S.C., M.C.C., Chairman of the Political and Legal Committee of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party of Zambia and Representative of the President of Zambia, His Excellency Mr. Kenneth D. Kaunda

His Excellency Group Captain Emeka Omerua, Minister for Information, Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture of Nigeria, and Representative of the Head of State of Nigeria, His Excellency Major-General Mohammed Buhari

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson

Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

Addresses were delivered at subsequent meetings by representatives of United Nations bodies, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, as well as by Mr. Thomas Nkobi of the African National Congress of South Africa; Mr. Joseph Mkwanazi of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania; Mr. Zehdi Labib Terzi of the Palestine Liberation Organization; Mr. Andrew Young, Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia; Professor Angela Davis, Co-person of the National Alliance against Racial

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and Political Repression; and Mr. Charles Yancey, City Councillor of Boston. The Conference also heard statements by Mr. Imrann Moosa, Black Consciousness Movement; Mr. Howard Rawlings, Legislator from Maryland; Mr. Julian Runnie, People in Support of Azania; Ms. Laura D. Blackburn, Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, and other public leaders and representatives of non-governmental organizations from Canada and the United States of America.

All speakers drew attention to the critical situation in southern Africa and the importance of action by Governments and peoples of Canada and the United States of America for the eradication of apartheid and the liberation of Namibia in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions, such as the Programme of Action against Apartheid, which states:

"Apartheid in South Africa, which has been denounced by the United Nations for over three decades, has become a grave menace to international peace and security. Urgent, effective and concerted action by the international community is essential in order to abolish that inhuman system and enable the people of South Africa to establish a democratic society in which all the people of the country, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will enjoy human rights and fundamental freedoms."

The United Nations and the Organization of African Unity have laid particular stress on the urgent need for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the racist régime of South Africa and all necessary assistance to the national liberation movements in their legitimate struggle for freedom.

The Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid stated:

"The Conference meets at a critical time in the history of the struggle for emancipation in Africa.

"Apartheid, armed to the teeth, has been blackmailing independent African States, holding the people of Namibia hostage and rushing to denationalize the indigenous African majority in South Africa.

"At the same time, there is an orchestrated effort by the perpetrators of apartheid and their friends to confuse and hoodwink world public opinion and persuade it that apartheid has miraculously become peaceful and flexible, that the leopard is losing its spots, and that the way to deal with evil is engagement and dialogue with the evil-doers.

"The racist régime of Pretoria has become so emboldened as to demand recognition as a regional Power.

"The Special Committee denounces all collaboration with apartheid. It reaffirms that the duty of all Governments and peoples is the suppression and punishment of apartheid, not to find pretexts and adjustments to live with it. It, therefore, welcomes the public outrage which has accompanied the recent visit of Prime Minister Botha to Western Europe.

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"This is a time for stepping up governmental and public action to quarantine the racist régime and assist the struggle for national liberation in South Africa and Namibia."

The Secretary-General of the United Nations pointed out:

"I believe that the Governments and peoples of Canada and the United States of America can make a vital contribution in support of the United Nations efforts ... because of their historical experience and cherished values."

Setting the context for planning actions against apartheid, Senator Edward Kennedy recalled the long and heroic struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom and justice.

Many political prisoners, he recalled, are now beginning their third decade in the sweltering prison cells of the apartheid régime, and eight years have passed since the children of Soweto were murdered. Still

"nothing has changed for the people who bear the pain and oppression of apartheid."

"Not since Nazi Germany has a government tried to do what South Africa is doing today - through the use of raw military power, deliberately, systematically, uprooting millions of people from the homes of their ancestors and forcibly relocating them to strange and inhospitable lands."

The United States Administration's reaction to these outrages, the policy of constructive engagement, was "a total failure", he told the Conference. It has had "the destructive effect of lending the apartheid régime the appearance of legitimacy".

Calling for real measures to help bring liberty to the people of South Africa, he continued:

"First, the export controls that were in force under President Carter but removed by President Reagan should be immediately reimposed.

"Second, the 1977 United Nations arms embargo - including the enforcement of restrictions on the sale of 'dual use' equipment - should be scrupulously enforced and a special team in the Department of Justice should be created to do just that. That vote in 1977 is the only time the United States has ever supported mandatory sanctions against South Africa in the Security Council. We have a special obligation to live up to that vote.

"Third, there should be a ban on all new loans by United States business interests to the South African Government - and there should be stringent controls imposed on all new investments and loans to the South African private sector. I associate myself with Congressman William Grey and others who are seeking to eliminate the extension of loans to South Africa through the International Monetary Fund.

"Finally, United States companies that violate United Nations Decree No.1, which prohibits foreign exploitation of Namibian mineral wealth until Namibia attains independence, should be fined heavily and should have their other international trading licences suspended."

He concluded with a call upon North Americans to take action to remove "the curse of racism from South Africa".

"Now, in 1984, let us speak across the globe with one voice. Let us raise our voices. Together we say: 'Apartheid must end!'"

The Reverend Jesse Jackson told the Conference that the United States was "in an official partnership with the racist régime in South Africa". He stated:

"In the service of this policy (of 'constructive engagement'), the Reagan Administration has given the green light for loans to South Africa from the International Monetary Fund. It has allowed more South African Consulates to open in the United States; expanded military ties with the apartheid régime, which includes training the South African Coast Guard; it has encouraged South Africa's repeated military invasions in Angola, by withholding diplomatic recognition to the Angolan People's Republic; and has generally created a climate of official endorsement that has made the United States South Africa's number one trading partner. It must be remembered that the flow of foreign capital into South Africa, from the United States, Britain and other allies, is essential to the apartheid régime's economic growth, and economic growth in South Africa, as elsewhere, is essential to political stability."

Calling upon participants to make the Conference a milestone pointing United States public opinion and corporate behaviour in a new direction, Reverend Jackson said:

"Disenfranchisement such as exists on a mass scale in South Africa today justifies disinvestment by United States corporations in the South African economy. Not one more United States corporation should be licensed to do business in South Africa, and the more than 350 United States corporations already doing business must be given a strictly enforced time-table for coming out of South Africa ... The present United States partnership with apartheid is a violation of our national morality."*

"Don't adjust to apartheid" he urged participants, "resist and rebel".

* There are also over 30 Canadian corporations doing business in South Africa.

Professor Angela Davis in her statement pointed out the connection between apartheid in South Africa and racism in the United States.

"The present Administration has now openly embraced the apartheid dictatorship as an 'ally' and by doing so has not only shown contempt for the South African and Namibian people, for international law and world opinion, but also for the more than 20 million oppressed black people in this country. Racism is indivisible. To embrace the world's most brutal form of racism, South African apartheid, is also to embrace racism at home.

"'Constructive engagement' means that the Reagan Administration's goal is the delegitimization of the liberation movements.

"The fruits of this so-called 'constructive engagement' have already shown themselves to be bitter and bloody. Emboldened by the White House and its commitment to end what the Reagan Administration itself has called the 'polecat status' of South Africa in the international community, South Africa has embarked upon a murderous path of state terrorism against all of its neighbours. It has criminally bombed and raided Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Lesotho."

Mayor Andrew Young said:

"But the situation has so deteriorated in southern Africa that simple actions against apartheid, however important and effective they might be, are not enough to assure peace and freedom of an independent Namibia and of the front-line States. It is important that we understand that there must be some development, some inflow of investment and capital into those democratic States and so the withdrawal of investment from South Africa essentially is a proper placement of priorities by the nations of the world and the banking systems of the world.

"The question is: Do we invest in the future of justice and democracy or do we continue to invest in the perpetuation of injustice - the apartheid or any of its more subtle and less obvious ramifications that might emerge in the future?"

Mr. Charles C. Yancey stated in his address that he would sponsor an ordinance to require the City of Boston to divest any of its municipal funds in financial institutions which conduct business in South Africa.

"We believe that no country is free if even one is subjugated. The liberation of Namibia and South Africa is the focal point of the new struggle of the 1980s. Both countries shall be free within this decade.

"... The City Council of Boston, Massachusetts, will have the opportunity to restate its commitment to human rights and justice. Now is the time for the City of Boston 'The Cradle of Liberty' to publicly condemn the illegal, illegitimate and inhuman régime of South Africa by passing the proposed divestment ordinance."

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The North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid recognizes that 1984 is a presidential election year in the United States and takes note that various participants in the Conference have been seeking to organize support for anti-apartheid activity in the 1984 United States presidential election. The Conference further notes that more than one United States presidential candidate has taken a firm stand against the South African apartheid régime.

Drawing on the understanding and analysis presented to us by the national liberation movements, African and North American leaders, and considering the specific recommendations of the Workshops of the Conference, we the participants in this North American Regional Conference for Action against Apartheid, who have come from cities, provinces and states across the face of Canada and the United States of America, and from many varied communities and constituencies, are united on the following conclusions:

1. The South African régime is intensifying repression internally and conducting an aggressive campaign to create the illusion of change in South Africa externally. The new constitutional changes are a fraud designed to entrench apartheid and totally exclude the African majority from power. At the same time they are aiming not only at excluding the black majority, but also at dividing the oppressed people of South Africa. Forced removals have driven millions of people out of their homes, trade unions are under attack, torture is rife and the bantustan system is creating puppet "states" on scraps of land, entrenching desperate poverty, exploitation and forcing family disintegration.
2. There is intensifying resistance in South Africa against the growing repression, in the schools and churches, in factories and farms, and across the entire country.
3. Determined to maintain its rule, the apartheid régime has responded to this resistance by implementing its "total strategy" which involves the complete militarization of the State, expanding its army and police, total militarization of the white civilian society, and the rapid development of its vast military and nuclear arsenals for internal repression and external aggression.
4. The South African racist régime sees the existence of genuinely independent neighbouring States as a threat to the survival of apartheid. Determined to extend its dominance over all southern Africa it has subjected those States to brutal military and economic sabotage and sophisticated destabilization by direct attacks and by its "contras" - the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR), UNITA in Angola, SUPERZAPU in Zimbabwe and Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) in Lesotho.
5. In Namibia, South Africa continues its illegal and repressive occupation, shielded by long years of Western economic, political, military and diplomatic collaboration. Western corporations continue to exploit Namibian resources in defiance of United Nations Decree No. 1.

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6. The Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" and the continuing support given to the South African régime by Canada and certain Western countries bear major responsibility for helping to maintain apartheid rule inside South Africa and for the escalation of South African destruction against neighbouring States. By endorsing South Africa's claims to recognition as a regional power, and following this with acts of friendship, the United States seeks to legitimize Pretoria's racism and repression, and its undeclared wars against the front-line and neighbouring States.

7. Actions taken in Canada and the United States of America demonstrate that there is a popular demand to end all economic, political and military contacts with South Africa. These actions include:

(a) Passage of provincial, national, state and local legislation to divest from and end all future investment in and trade with apartheid, as well as passage of United States legislation ending support for International Monetary Fund loans to South Africa;

(b) Student action which has forced divestment at universities and colleges throughout the United States and Canada;

(c) The raising of material support for the liberation movements of southern Africa.

The United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid should endorse and support the Co-ordinated Weeks of Anti-Apartheid Action in the United States and Canada to begin with the commemoration of the Sharpeville Massacre on 21 March and culminating in a national march in Washington, D.C., on 6 April 1985.

8. The United States policy of "constructive engagement", which advocates a strategic alliance with South Africa, has laid the basis for the recent top-level meetings of Western European leaders with Prime Minister Botha. This is an attempt to legitimize the illegality of the South African racist régime and allow it to end its international isolation.

9. To counter this attempt and to force intensified isolation of this outlaw régime, we have to undertake immediately the following seven tasks:

(a) To stop toleration for and collaboration with apartheid policies which prolong oppression; this includes ending of all investment in South Africa, full implementation of the arms embargo and total economic and cultural sanctions against the apartheid régime. This call for ending of investment is one for total divestment of funds already invested. We do not recognize the validity of the Sullivan Principles or other guidelines which dictate terms under which certain investments are deemed acceptable. There are no conditions under which a transnational presence in South Africa can be considered a progressive influence as some allege. All investment supports apartheid and must be withdrawn.

(b) To strengthen solidarity with and to generate additional support for the national liberation movements and all progressive forces opposing apartheid and to oppose legislature and diplomatic efforts to curtail support for the liberation movements.

(c) To expand support for the front-line and neighbouring States whose independence and development is now under attack by raising the visibility of the war being waged against them by South Africa;

(d) To demand effective support for the independence of Namibia, on the basis of the immediate and unconditional implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 435 (1978) which calls for a cease-fire and free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control. To reject attempts by the United States and South Africa to link Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola or other attempts to bypass the United Nations through internal or so-called regional settlements. In support of the just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, to call for the imposition of immediate sanctions to force South Africa to end its illegal occupation of Namibia.

(e) To strongly condemn the illegal régime of South Africa for the recent arbitrary arrests of 37 SWAPO leaders and supporters and demand that the racist régime immediately drop all charges against them and desist forthwith from proceeding with the proposed trial of these patriots.

(f) To counter in a co-ordinated manner the concerted South African propaganda campaign in the United States and Canada which aims to counter divestment and other anti-apartheid efforts by falsely claiming that apartheid is being dismantled in South Africa and Namibia.

(g) Given that the Olympic Games will be held in the United States this year, to call upon the International Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Committee to ensure that South Africa does not return to the International Olympic Movement until apartheid is totally eliminated.

10. We call for an active educational campaign against the idea that the Reagan Administration has scored a major foreign policy victory through the vehicle of "constructive engagement". This campaign should underscore United States collusion with the South African régime on the propagation of apartheid as a foreign policy, witnessed in accords such as Nkomati. It should underscore the propaganda value that both the South African Government and the United States place on the potential impact of being seen as peace-makers in the southern Africa region in a presidential election year; and the campaign should make known the recent historical dynamics of the southern Africa region vis-à-vis United States and South African foreign policy and the resultant "peace through coercion" as represented in agreements such as Nkomati. These accords or agreements are usually signed after intensive and cruel assaults by the armed forces of the South African apartheid Government.

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11. We recognize and emphasize that the only meaningful change in South Africa will be fundamental structural change, namely, the destruction of the institutions and apparatus of apartheid. All efforts must be measured by this yardstick. Anything less only contributes to the reformulation and perpetuation of apartheid.

12. Violence in South Africa is a creation of the apartheid régime, not of the men and women struggling to eliminate the cruelty of racism and oppression. Their struggle is just and deserves full international support.

We are convinced that by isolating the apartheid régime and cutting off its international support we can help speed the day when all the people of southern Africa live in peace and freedom. We return home to enlist millions of our fellow North Americans in these vital tasks.