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Agenda item 31POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICALetter dated 3 October 1984 from the Chairman of the Special Committee
against Apartheid to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the texts of two communiqués issued at the Conference on Southern Africa, organized by the Socialist International Committee on Southern Africa and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, and held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, on 4 and 5 September 1984: (a) Joint Communiqué of the Socialist International, the governing parties of the front-line States and the national liberation movements of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) (annex I); and (b) Communiqué of the Socialist International and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament (annex II).

The Conference was attended by heads of State and Government of front-line States, and the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid was among the special invitees.

In view of the importance of the communiqués of the Conference and their relevance to the consideration by the General Assembly of the "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa", I have the honour, on behalf of the Special Committee, to request that they be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 31.

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

ANNEX I

Joint Communiqué of the Socialist International, the governing parties of the frontline States and the national liberation movements of the African National Congress and the South West Africa People's Organization

The Socialist International, together with Frontline States ruling parties and the national liberation movements of ANC and SWAPO, met in Arusha on September 4-5, 1984, to analyze and review the current situation in Southern Africa and to consider ways and means of speeding up the independence of Namibia and the eradication of the apartheid system in South Africa. For decades Southern Africa has been a scene of struggle for national independence and the struggle against colonialism and apartheid.

In Angola and Mozambique the National Liberation Movements had to wage a protracted armed struggle and ultimately won their national independence, also contributing to the downfall of a fascist dictatorship in Europe. In Zimbabwe the minority regime was likewise defeated and independence proclaimed. The struggle for the independence of Namibia still continues. Apartheid, a crime against humanity, is at the root of the problems in Southern Africa and has been entrenched further in South Africa. South Africa continues to pursue its militaristic policies against the majority of the people and through devious manoeuvres promotes racist policies of granting privileges or favours on the basis of the colour of the skin. Apartheid is unique. It is clear therefore that South Africa's policies are a threat to international peace and security. There will be no real peace in Southern Africa until apartheid is eradicated. Today, the apartheid structure remains unchanged and the so-called reforms have only strengthened this evil system.

South Africa's policies have had far-reaching negative consequences:

- Apartheid and other forms of oppression in South Africa. The concept of Bantustans, which is meant to rob a majority of the people of their citizenship, the Koornhof laws and the new South

African Constitution Act, are all intended to further divide the people of South Africa, to create new and more refined means of racist minority rule.

- The illegal occupation of Namibia. In violation of United Nations decisions, South Africa has refused to leave that country, as required by Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).
- Military and economic destabilization of the Frontline States. Through a combination of armed confrontation and economic might, and in violation of international law, the racist regime of South Africa has tried to force the Frontline States to succumb to its policy of a constellation of Southern African States, under its dominance.
- South Africa's policies are a threat to world peace. No real peace will be achieved until apartheid is gone. In 1984, apartheid is still the same, despite claims that so-called reforms are being implemented.

The parties participating in the Arusha Conference in solidarity with the struggle for freedom and independence in Southern Africa have agreed on the following:

1. We demand freedom and independence for Namibia in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). We reaffirm our denunciation of the so-called Cuban 'linkage', and do not accept the introduction of other extraneous and irrelevant elements to this issue. The demand that SWAPO should give up its just and legitimate struggle for independence, before South Africa will even promise to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, must be rejected.

To this end, we support the efforts of SWAPO to liberate their country and pledge increased material, diplomatic and political support to that movement.

2. The parties condemn the racist régime of South Africa for its economic, political and military destabilization of independent

neighbouring States, directly or through their clients. We further condemn South Africa's continued military occupation of Southern Angola and call for unconditional and immediate withdrawal of its troops. In this connection, the Socialist International member parties pledge to increase economic support to, and co-operation with, the Frontline States and Lesotho and Swaziland, to enable them to lessen dependence on South Africa, strengthen their independence, and withstand South Africa's aggression. The parties reaffirm their strong condemnation of apartheid as a crime against humanity and call for its eradication.

3. We condemn the so-called elections recently held in South Africa. Even those few granted the right to express their views gave a ringing denunciation of this mockery. Efforts to give respectability to the so-called reform programme, and thereby the racist régime, must be fought on all fronts. Not until real change takes place, that is, the destruction of the system of apartheid and separate development, can South Africa have a place in the family of nations. South Africa is trying to destabilize neighbouring countries. This may affect political relations in the region but this does not mean others can use this as an excuse for passivity in the common struggle against apartheid. By various means, South Africa must be isolated in order to keep up pressure for real change.

4. The parties therefore reject the present United States policy of "constructive engagement" which reinforces racist South Africa's policy of a constellation of States in Southern Africa.

5. The parties call for increased pressure on South Africa in the form of comprehensive binding international sanctions, adopted by the United Nations Security Council.

6. The parties pledge to increase material, political and diplomatic support to the ANC in its struggle to establish a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, based on majority rule. We further demand the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners detained by racist South Africa.

7. In the search for solutions to the problems in Southern Africa, the parties underscore that the problems in the region should not be perceived in the context of the East-West conflict or super-power rivalry.

8. The parties at the Arusha Conference pledge to continue their co-operation to achieve the common aim of freedom and independence in Southern Africa. The Conference is to be followed up by increased contacts and through co-operative action in order to promote our common goal and to mobilize public opinion in different parts of the world.

9. The Arusha Conference will represent a new departure and a new phase in co-operation between those struggling for liberation in Southern Africa - the Frontline States and the national liberation movements ANC and SWAPO - and the Socialist International and its member parties in solidarity with them.

ANNEX II

Communiqué of the Socialist International and
the Socialist Group of the European Parliament

Apartheid in South Africa has been condemned over and over again by the international community. Apartheid means that a vast majority of the population of South Africa is condemned to being prisoners in their own country. Apartheid in South Africa is a unique form of oppression, as it is written into the constitution and the laws of a country. For this reason the world community through the United Nations and other fora has demanded specific action aimed at the eradication of apartheid.

1.0 The policies of the South African regime have had three effects:

1.1 Apartheid and other forms of oppression in South Africa.

The concept of Bantustans, which is meant to rob a majority of the people of their citizenship, the Koornhof laws and the new South African Constitution Act are all intended to further divide the people of South Africa, to create new and more refined means of racist minority rule.

1.2 The illegal occupation of Namibia. In violation of United Nations decisions, South Africa has refused to leave that country, as required by Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

1.3 Military and economic destabilization of the Frontline States.

Through a combination of armed confrontation and economic might, and in violation of international law, the racist régime of South Africa has tried to force the Frontline States to succumb to its policy of a constellation of Southern African States, under its dominance.

2.0 South Africa's policies are at the root of, and constitute, the main obstacle to the peaceful achievement of independence and justice in Southern Africa. Reverend Alan Boesak, founder and patron of the United

Democratic Front in South Africa has said:

"Those who live by the belief that their security and their peace is based upon upholding persecution, dehumanization and violence are not free themselves. They are not free as long as they continue to kill our children in order to preserve their privileges. It is time that the white people in our country realize that their fate is inevitably linked to our fate. They will not be free until we are free."

Of some thirty million people in South Africa, only four million are white. Demographic forecasts predict that by the turn of this century there will be not more than six million whites in a population of at least forty-six million.

Opposition to minority rule is growing. Change will come. The question is whether it will be through peaceful or other means. The South African regime has a choice. By organizing the Arusha conference, the Socialist International and its member parties and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament want to strengthen the ties of friendship and co-operation with the Frontline States and the National Liberation Movements in order to promote our common goal of social justice, peace and independence.

3.0 Since its foundation in 1951, the Socialist International has opposed all forms of racism, and has worked consistently against the apartheid régime. In the 1960s the Socialist International and its member parties participated in efforts to block military co-operation with South Africa. In 1977, a mission led by Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme to the Frontline States and Liberation Movements was conducted by the Socialist International. In 1977, the Bureau adopted an action programme on Southern Africa. In 1978, at the Socialist International Congress in Vancouver, the Liberation of Southern Africa was a major theme. In 1981, the Bureau initiated the process which has led to the conference on Southern Africa, being held in Arusha, Tanzania, September 4-5, 1984.

4.0 This Conference of member parties of the Socialist International, the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, the leading parties of the Frontline States and the National Liberation Movements of Southern Africa, ANC and SWAPO, meets at a crucial time in the freedom struggle. A process is under way to negotiate the future of Namibia. An agreement has been reached between Mozambique and South Africa. But as long as apartheid remains the main conflict will continue.

4.1 For these reasons we demand from South Africa:

- the end of apartheid and the Bantustan policy and the start of building a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa. A lasting solution to the problem of South Africa must include all South Africans.
- the release of all political prisoners.
- full recognition of the independent trade unions. Freedom of movement and association for the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its member organizations, and other popular movements.
- freedom and independence for Namibia in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). We reaffirm our denunciation of so-called "linkage". The presence of Cuban troops in Angola is, according to international law, a subject for Angola and Cuba to consider, and has, therefore, no place in negotiations concerning the independence of Namibia.
- an end to the destabilization of Frontline States, either directly or through client organizations.

5.0 South Africa's régime is affected by international opinion. Its policies are dependent on international co-operation, mainly in the economic and military sectors. For these reasons and in order to promote

changes in South Africa in manners as peaceful as possible and to promote the development of independence and social and economic justice in Southern Africa the international community should:

5.1 Increase its pressure on South Africa in the form of binding international sanctions, adopted by the United Nations Security Council. Awaiting such concerted international action, the countries of Europe and the European Community should concentrate on direct selective actions, especially the following:

- an end to new foreign investment in South Africa.
- bringing an end to State-guaranteed bank loans for exports to South Africa.
- step by step reduction of commercial contacts.
- adherence to the United Nations arms embargo and an end to all forms of military co-operation with South Africa.
- an end to nuclear co-operation with South Africa.
- bringing an end to sports and cultural links with South Africa.
- the monitoring of the achievements of these goals by the European Parliament, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and other appropriate international fora.

5.2 Increase, as a priority, financial and political support to the Frontline States, and to the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC). These countries have supported the liberation struggle at enormous economic and human costs. The economic situation of these countries should be strengthened through an increase of economic assistance in order to:

- lessen dependence on South Africa.
- strengthen economic resistance.

5.3 Angola has had to face a continuous invasion of South African military forces since its independence in 1975. Mozambique, after the long struggle for its own independence, first had to pay heavily to uphold sanctions against the illegal Smith régime in Zimbabwe. After independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, it has been directly and indirectly invaded by the South African military forces. Lesotho and other Frontline States have also been subject to direct South African pressures in order to make them succumb to the might and the will of the racist régime.

5.4 Strengthen political, diplomatic and financial support for the liberation movements by governments. A just and lasting peace solution in Namibia and South Africa cannot be achieved without the direct participation of the liberation movements. Support by governments for work with the victims of apartheid who suffer poverty, harassment, forced removal from their homes and communities, and continuing burden of oppression.

5.5 Be prepared to support a free and independent Namibia as soon as Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) has been implemented.

6.0 The Socialist International, its member parties of the Southern Africa Committee, and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament undertake to work towards increased solidarity with the following parties of the Frontline States and the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa* through:

*CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI (CCM), United Republic of Tanzania
MPLA-PT, Angola
Botswana Democratic Party
FRELIMO-PT, Mozambique
UNIP, Zambia
ZANU-PF, Zimbabwe
ANC
SWAPO

- increased political and material support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and the Frontline States.
- efforts to achieve support for anti-apartheid work in our countries, in partnership with the trade union movement, and other popular movements.
- support for the work of Non-Governmental Organizations in our countries involved in work for political prisoners, refugees and other victims of apartheid.
- support for the work of the independent trade unions of South Africa.
- efforts to combat propaganda by South Africa and its allies in our media, and to combat racist bias of all types in our communities.
- continued political support for efforts to bring an end to military and economic co-operation with South Africa, in every appropriate forum.
