

NYM/016/22571

## **African National Congress Of South Africa**

***Observer Mission to the United Nations and Representation to the U.S.***

801 Second Ave., Room 405, N.Y., N.Y. 10017

Tel: (212) 490-3487

TX 225602

The Statement by Neo Mnumzane,  
Chief Representative of the Observer  
Mission of the African National Congress  
of South Africa to the United Nations  
Before the United Nations General  
Assembly on the Relations with the  
Host Country.

1st March, 1988.

MR. PRESIDENT,  
DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES

THE DECISION TO CONVENE THIS RESUMED SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY REFLECTS A VERY REALISTIC APPRECIATION OF THE GRAVITY OF THE ISSUE UNDER DISCUSSION. FOR THIS, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND ALL FORCES STRUGGLING AGAINST APARTHEID AND FOR A UNITED NON-RACIAL AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA ARE MOST PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL TO YOU MR. PRESIDENT <sup>AND</sup> THE ENTIRE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

WE ARE EQUALLY GRATEFUL TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE SECRETARY GENERAL FOR HIS REPORTS, A/42/915 DATED 10 FEBRUARY 1988 AND ITS ADDENDUM 1 DATED 27 FEBRUARY 1988. BOTH DOCUMENTS AMPLY ILLUSTRATE HIS EXCELLENCY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S PRINCIPLED COMMITMENT TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS AGREEMENT AND THE UNDIMINISHED FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

MR. PRESIDENT,

DUE TO THE HISTORIC SIMILARITIES THAT INTIMATELY LINK THE SITUATIONS IN PALESTINE AND SOUTH AFRICA, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA EMPATHIZE MOST NATURALLY WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR SOLE AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE, THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANISATION. BOTH OF US HAVE, FOR A LONG TIME, BEEN THE TARGETS OF SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS TO UPROOT AND DISPOSSES US, TO MAKE US FOREIGNERS IN OUR RESPECTIVE MOTHERLANDS. THE ZIONIST STATE OF ISRAEL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, THE TWO FORCES BEHIND THIS NEFARIOUS

INHUMAN ENTERPRISE ARE, NOT SURPRISINGLY, SO VERY CLOSELY ALLIED, THEY COULD VERY WELL BE SIAMESE TWINS. THEY ALSO BOTH ENJOY THE PATRONAGE, THE ACTIVE AND ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF THE SAME SUPERPOWER THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, IN A STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP THAT IS NO LESS THAN A TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE AND WHOSE TARGET IS THE ARAB AND AFRICAN PEOPLE AND BY EXTENSION THE ENTIRE PEOPLE OF THE THIRD WORLD.

MR. PRESIDENT,

TOWARD THE MIDDLE OF LAST YEAR, RIGHTWING FORCES IN THE U.S. CONGRESS SET IN MOTION AN INITIATIVE DESIGNED TO SEVERELY RESTRICT THE ABILITY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE U.S. AND ESPECIALLY AT THE UNITED NATIONS. APART FROM SEEKING TO RESTRICT OUR PHYSICAL MOVEMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY, THIS INITIATIVE ALSO SEEKS TO DISSUADE THE UNITED NATIONS FROM GIVING OUR STRUGGLE A HEARING AND TO PERSUADE THE UNITED NATIONS, THROUGH ITS SPECIAL AGENCIES, TO DENY US ASSISTANCE IN OUR MISSION TO ERADICATE APARTHEID AND BRING ABOUT A SOUTH AFRICA CONCEIVED IN THE SPIRIT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. THE AUTHORS OF THIS INITIATIVE ARE STILL FAR FROM GIVING IT UP.

IT CAME AS NO SURPRISE, THEREFORE, WHEN IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE U.S. HAD DECIDED TO CLOSE THE PLO INFORMATION OFFICES IN WASHINGTON DC AND THAT IT WAS BENT ON FORCING THE CLOSURE OF THE PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION OF THE PLO TO THE UNITED NATIONS. IT WAS A CASE OF AN ALLY SERVING AN ALLY.

THE TIMING OF THE MOVES AGAINST THE PLO AND THE ANC-SA IS MOST REVEALING. IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK AS WELL AS ISRAEL ITSELF, THE TEL AVIV REGIME HAS

DECLARED OPEN SEASON ON ~~THE~~ PALESTINIAN PATRIOTS WHO, AS A RESULT, CONTINUE TO LOOSE THEIR LIVES IN RISING NUMBERS AT THE HANDS OF ISREALI SOLDIERS, SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY WANT TO BE FREE IN THEIR MOTHERLAND. IN SOUTH AFRICA, THIS COINCIDES WITH THE EXPANSION, REINFORCEMENT AND TIGHTENING OF THE PRETORIA RACIST REGIME'S THIRD STATE OF EMERGENCY IN THREE YEARS. IT HAS RESULTED IN THE IMPOSITION OF VIRTUAL MARTIAL LAW IN BLACK TOWNSHIPS, THE ALMOST TOTAL MUZZLING OF THE PRESS, THE ARBITRARY MASS ARREST, DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL, TORTURE AND MURDER IN DETENTION OF THOUSANDS OF SOUTH AFRICAN PATRIOTS INCLUDING CHILDREN.

ON THE 23RD OF THIS VERY MONTH , THE PRETORIA RACIST REGIME IMPOSED SEVERE RESTRICTIONS AMOUNTING TO A <sup>VIRTUAL</sup> VIRTUAL BAN ON 17 MASS DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS AND 18 INDIVIDUALS COMMITTED TO NON-VIOLENT FORMS OF STRUGGLE. IN ONE STROKE IT SERVED UNEQUIVOCAL NOTICE THAT IT WOULD BROOK NO OPPOSITION , PEACEFUL OR NOT, TO APARTHEID. IN SO DOING, IT DRAMATICALLY FURTHER UNDERMINED THE POSSIBILITIES OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFLICT. IT ANNOUNCED , WITH ITS USUAL DEFIANT STANCE, THAT IT REMAINED AS INTRANSIGENT AND UNREPENTANT AS EVER.

AS IN THE PALESTINIAN-POPULATED ENCLAVES WITHIN ZIONIST ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IN THE BLACK TOWNSHIPS OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIST OPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION CONTINUES TO ESCALATE THROUGH MASS UNITED ACTIONS ON ALL FRONTS, EVEN IN THE FACE OF THE MOST DOUNTING ODDS.

IN THEIR DIFFERENT WAYS, ZIONIST ISRAEL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA ARE

IN DIRE STRAITS AS A RESULT OF THEIR WANING ABILITY TO HOLD CAPTIVE AND SUBDUCE THOSE WHOM THEY OPPRESS AND EXPLOIT AND SEEK TO DENATIONALISE. THE MOUNTING STATE VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM OF THE TWO REGIMES IS A MEASURE OF THEIR DESPARATION WHICH IN TURN IS A REFLECTION OF THEIR MOUNTING WEAKNESS.

WE ARE CONVINCED THAT U.S. MOVES AGAINST THE INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATION -- ESPECIALLY IN THE U.S. AND THE U.N. OF THE PLO AND THE ANC IS PART OF A BROAD ATTEMPT BY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO COME TO THE RESCUE OF ZIONIST ISRAEL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA. BY OBLIQUELY AFFIRMING ZIONIST ISRAEL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, IT AMOUNTS TO VIOLATE THE VERY LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER.

ALSO, FOR THE HOST COUNTRY TO SEEK TO CLOSE THE PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION OF THE PLO, AMOUNTS IN THE MOST OBVIOUS WAY, TO SEEK TO VIOLATE INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT AMOUNTS TO SEEKING TO ASSERT THAT MIGHT IS RIGHT.

UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND PARTICULARLY NOW IN THESE TROUBLED TIMES, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT AFFORD TO LET THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS BE TRAMPLED UNDERFOOT. NEITHER CAN WE AFFORD TO BE INDIFFERENT TO SO OBVIOUS A CASE OF THE VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

THE SINISTER LOGIC BEHIND THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION AGAINST THE PLO MUST BE FULLY COMPREHENDED. IT RISES OUT OF THE DANGEROUS OVERSIMPLIFICATIONS THAT:

1. MIGHT IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITIES CAN TRANSFORM WRONG INTO RIGHT
2. THAT AN ALLY RIGHT OR WRONG DESERVES UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT
3. THE ASSERTION OF THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE, TO BE DIFFERENT MUST BE REWARDED WITH HOSTILITY.

4. THAT LOYALTY TO ALLIEST TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER THE OBLIGATION OF CIVILIZED PEOPLE TO UPHOLD THOSE VALUES WHICH ENNOBLE HUMANITY AND TO RESPECT THOSE INTERNATIONAL LAWS AND NORMS WHICH ALONE, MAKE POSSIBLE THE INTELLIGENT, RESPONSIBLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES, NATIONS AND STATES OF THE WORLD.

THAT LOGIC IS A PRESCRIPTION FOR INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY AND IS FRAUGHT WITH DANGERS FOR ALL OF US. IF TODAY THE PLO SEEMS TO BE THE PROSPECTIVE VICTIM, TOMORROW IT COULD BE THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLES ORGANISATION AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. AFTER THE ANC AND SWAPO IT COULD BE THE WHOLE THIRD WORLD. AFTER THAT WHO KNOWS WHERE IT WILL NOT STOP?

WE MUST STAND FIRM ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND NORMS. WE MUST DEFEND THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE PERMANENT OBSERVER MISSION OF THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANISATION TO BE CLOSED. TO DO OTHERWISE IS, POSSIBLY, TO CLOSE THE DOOR ON THE VERY FUTURE OF THE U.N. SYSTEM ITSELF.

FINALLY, WE WISH TO REAFFIRM OUR PRINCIPLED SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE LED BY THEIR SOLE AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE, THE PLO., AND WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA LED BY SWAPO AND OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARAH LED BY POLISARIO, AS WELL AS THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE AGAINST AGAINST OPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN AND FOR A FREE ,

HUMANE, PEACEFUL, PROSPEROUS AND ABUNDANT FUTURE FOR ALL MANKIND.