

STATEMENT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA
TO THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND YOUR EXCELLENCIES,

1. The A. N. C. of South Africa once more wishes to welcome the opportunity of addressing this Honourable Committee. It is of great significance that the committee meets on the African Continent and most of all in Lusaka, Zambia, on the frontier and line of immediate confrontation between the forces of Freedom, National Independence, Human Rights, Peace and Security and the barbaric forces of racialism and colonialism, violence and aggression, oppression and exploitation.

2. It is also of significance that the Ad Hoc Committee's meeting is held only a few months after the historic meeting of the Security Council which was held for the first time in Africa in Addis Ababa, at the invitation of the Organisation of African Unity.

3. This meeting demonstrated the growing importance both of the African continent in the United Nations itself and the importance which that organisation has been compelled to pay to the vital problems of Africa.

4. It is perhaps important to recall that at one stage, Africa, let alone Southern Africa and South Africa was an unimportant issue in both the discussions and organs of the U. N. O. It was a tragic heritage of the League of Nations, an organisation dominated by the colonial powers who used it and manipulated it for their own interests. Some of the lessons from the rise and demise of the League are pertinent.

5. As Emperor Haile Selassie I, said in opening the Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa:-

"Today, the attention of the world, which bitterly recalls the dismal failure of the League Council to uphold the basic principles of its covenant, will inevitably be focussed on this Hall in full expectation that the Security Council will discharge its responsibilities towards the peoples of Southern Africa.

"The League of Nations suffered a premature death because of its inability to live up to the principle of its covenant. The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, as the principal organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter -

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and security under the Charter - clearly stands to be judged before the collective conscience of humanity on the issues of colonialism and racism."

6. The clarion call of the Emperor which reflects the fervent views of the peoples of Africa and indeed of all democracy loving peoples of the world is reflected in this apt quotation.

"Throughout history it has been the inaction of those who could have acted, the indifference of those who should have known better, the silence of the voice of justice when it mattered most, that has made it possible for evil to triumph. The glorious pages of human history have been written only in those moments when men have been able to act in concert to prevent impending tragedies. By the actions you take, you can also illuminate the pages of history."

7. The Emperor, your Excellencies spoke from the intimate experience of his country of how the legitimate rights of an African state and people were scandalously treated on an unequal basis with the rapacious and aggressive and expansionist policies of a European imperialist power, France and Britain as usual rallied to the support of Italy against Ethiopia and defended her aggression against Ethiopia.

7. Britain which is today the subject of numerous acts of treachery in Africa, Southern Africa and South Africa called upon the League Council to recognise the sovereignty of Italy over Ethiopia.

8. It is also significant that only Maxim Litvinov of the Soviet Union protested in favour of Ethiopia against Italy.

9. The position was abundantly clear the imperialist powers then as today in concert were determined to pursue their plot of destroying African independence by aiding and abetting one another in their sinister schemes of imposing or re-imposing their domination over Independent African states and peoples.

10. The case of the demise of the League of Nations, the dastardly role of the imperialist powers against Ethiopia and its peoples must always be borne in mind by the U. N. O. and in particular the Human Rights Committee.

11. It was, therefore, even of more historic importance that the first meeting of the Security Council in Africa should have been held in the capital of an African state whose sovereignty was betrayed by an international organisation and whose peoples had to resort to armed struggle to restore their self-determination.

12. We are by no means prophets of doom, but it is necessary to strike a sharp note of warning before it is too late.

13. The objectives of the imperialist powers have not changed fundamentally both in regard to their policies in Africa and their aims of subverting, paralysing and destroying any international

effort and organisation dedicated to the pursuance of Human Rights, national independence, world peace and security.

14. We wish to reiterate that in terms of the Charters of all humane international organisations, in particular that of the U. N. O., its covenants and resolutions and conventions, the imperialists stand indicted, as much as Hitler and his hordes as international criminals and bandits who commit crimes and atrocities against humanity.

15. The major imperialist powers, the United States, Britain and France continue ironically to be permanent members of the Security Council. This is a dangerous anachronism. By what right except the sheer cunning and skillful manipulation should those who hold the Security Council and the United Nations efforts and precepts in disdain and flagrant contempt be accorded the power to throttle the legitimate endeavours of the U. N. O. and the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world. How long should this continue? Would Hitler's Nazi Germany have had a seat on the highest body of the world, and be vested with extraordinary powers? Surely this would have been a violation of the very purposes for which the U. N. was established.

16. The role of the imperialist powers in the U. N. O. and their crimes in various countries is long and black. It is not necessary to burden your Excellencies with these blatant facts. Their positions on vital issues of human rights at the Addis Ababa Conference exposes their designs.

17. Let us briefly examine how collectively and individually the imperialist powers opposed fundamental Human Rights resolutions concerning Southern Africa and other parts of Africa.

(a) Namibia the council called on South Africa to withdraw its police and military forces and its civilian personnel from the Territory immediately and declared that if South Africa did not do so the Council would act immediately for the full and speedy implementation of the resolution.

The vote was 13 in favour, none against and two abstentions, France, United Kingdom.

(b) Apartheid A part from condemning apartheid, the resolution called for the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa in pursuance of their human rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The vote was 14 in favour to none against and with one

abstention/.....

FRANCE. France of course, needless to say is the greatest channel for arming the South African racists and their greatest military ally against African independence and the national liberation movement.

(c) So-called Portuguese-controlled Territories

Even more revealing was the voting on the so-called Portuguese-controlled Territories. The Council called on Portugal to recognise immediately the right of the peoples of these countries to self-determination and independence, in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence, to colonial countries and peoples, and to cease immediately all colonial wars against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and to withdraw all its armed forces.

The vote was nine in favour to none against abstentions - France, United Kingdom, United States, Italy, Belgium, Argentina. Your Excellencies these abstentions require little comment.

(d) Zimbabwe - Southern Rhodesia

The Resolution on Zimbabwe was not adopted because of U. K. sabotage. It called for the United Kingdom to desist from carrying out settlement agreements between the U. K. and the Ian Smith regime, and the convocation of a constitutional conference.

- (e) Sections of the resolution condemning killings, woundings and detentions of the people of Zimbabwe, the full implementation of sanctions against the illegal regime of Ian Smith and the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the police and armed forces of South Africa received the following obvious and characteristic votes :-
Nine in favour, one against - United Kingdom, five abstentions - United States, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium.

18. The voting is adequate proof that the foreign policies of the imperialist powers is individually and collectively based on the principle of the suppression of the National Liberation Struggle and giving massive aid and support to fascist, racist and reactionary and colonial regimes.

19. We submit that even a cursory examination of the utterances and actions of these powers will reveal this.

20. If this is reiterated often it is not because we think this Committee is ignorant of the facts, but because we speak through you, Mr. Chairman and Your Excellencies, to the nations and people

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Of the world.

21. British Foreign Policy is basically and irrevocably hostile to the development of true self-determination. It is completely committed and involved in the support of the racist white minority and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa. British foreign policy in theory and practice has no concern for human rights whatsoever. It is based on the principle of maximum profits at the expense of all human rights. It is basically racialist and almost fascist in outlook in respect of former colonial countries. Hence the question of selling arms to South Africa in violation of Security Council resolutions.

22. French Foreign Policy towards Africa has always been brutal Fuhrer policy. French economic interests, French cultural domination and the French language above everything else, including human rights. France is ruthlessly, openly and unashamedly dictatorial and domineering in certain African states. In fact, like Britain, she has a basic racist and fascist foreign policy in Africa - this is sometimes concealed under the thin veil of French deceptive diplomacy.

23. The close military and strategic alliance between France and the racists of South Africa is no accident. It is an alliance to crush human rights in South Africa and Africa.

24. The Northward aggressive and expansionist policies of South Africa are complemented by a Southward domineering policy of France.

25. The United States of America.

The foreign policy of the U. S. towards Africa and Southern Africa is deeply rooted in her economic and ideological offensive to oust the former imperialist powers from their positions of domination and to replace them.

26. American foreign policy is based on principles similar to those of Nazi Germany. U. S. uber alles.

27. Only a few months ago, President Nixon declared that, "There is no power on earth greater than the U. S. today, nor shall there be one in future."

28. As far as U. S. foreign policy is concerned, Nixon in his state of nation address stated,

"As we look back over this century, we can be proud of our nations's record in foreign affairs. America has given more generously of itself toward maintaining freedom, preserving peace and alleviating human suffering around the globe than any nation has ever done.

We have fought four wars in this century - but our power has never been used to break the peace, only to keep it; never to destroy freedom only to defend it."

29. Nixon and the U. S. administration are proud of their brutal and inhuman foreign policies and actions against the people of Cuba and Latin America, Vietnam and South East Asia, Africa and the Middle East. How diabolical can they be!

30. The U. S. has committed atrocities and acts of genocide yet Nixon boasts that, "No country has more than the U. S. to alleviate suffering around the globe." How callous, heartless can the greatest murderers of the world can be. This is the character and government which is the ally of the white racist and colonial regimes of Southern Africa.

31. The Prime Minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro was correct in categorising Nixon and his gangsters as worse than Hitler. Vietnam and South East Asia is the acid proof of it.

32. U. S. Foreign Policy is based on a false premise of trying to reverse the course of history, the course of freedom, independence and world peace and security.

33. Whilst boasting of the four wars which the U. S. has fought to "Keep the peace----- and defend freedom" President Nixon has the audacity to state over and over again that in Southern Africa his administration will not condone or tolerate recourse to violence, either as a means of enforcing submission of a majority to a minority or as a formula for effecting needed social change. This is the most cynical statement from the most violent and aggressive power.

34. For the U. S. and Nixon, violence is the prerogative of the imperialist, racists and fascists to impose their domination and obnoxious rule. The oppressed and exploited, according to Nixon, must be denied the use of armed revolt against armed repression. The reasons are obvious.

35. We have stated briefly the foreign policies of only three major imperialist powers because we are convinced that the fundamental problems of Southern Africa and indeed human rights are inextricably connected with the policies of the imperialist powers.

His Excellency, Mr. Elijah Mudenda, Foreign Minister of Zambia, made a crisp and challenging statement when he said, " I take this opportunity once again to remind the allies, protectors and other partners of Pretoria, that if they continue on their road to a blind alley, they will certainly find themselves regretting that they backed the wrong horse into the abyss of darkness..... "

37. Racist South Africa is an integral part of this reactionary conspiracy. In the past we have dealt at length with this aspect, we shall not burden the Honourable Committee with a repetition of these facts.

38. Your Committee, Mr. Chairman, meets in an important year, one year after the year designated by the U. N. O. as the international year for Action to combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, Apartheid and Nazism. This was an important decision in the history of the struggle for human rights in the world. Apartheid, racial discrimination and nazism are not local terrors but international horrors.

39. The year was a year of ACTION, not merely resolutions. Moral support is always valuable. But in its wisdom the General Assembly decided that 1971 should be a year of ACTION. At the Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa this was the particular demand of the African leaders at the meeting.

40. Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, the question of human rights is a life and death issue, it cannot be the subject of debate and dissertations for decades. Those who are violating human rights are causing obvious destruction to life and culture.

41. Both the internal and foreign policies of the South African racist government supported by the imperialist powers are a menace to the peoples of South Africa, to the neighbouring states, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland. The South African racists jeopardise human rights and security of the whole continent.

42. This year has seen the most unprecedented upsurge amongst all sections of the people against the white regime of South Africa. The internal action of people, students and workers has brought the characteristic response of violence and more violence, arrests, detentions, deportations, and all forms of restrictions. The signs of revolt by peoples of all racial groups are growing in different social spheres. The racist government has had to desecrate even churches and alters to suppress this ferment.

43. The full commitment of the World Council of Churches to the liberation struggle is an example of support in action.

44. The strategy to destroy racism, apartheid requires the co-ordinated and concerted efforts of all democracy loving peoples of the world. The brunt of the struggle for human rights will no doubt be carried out by peoples in their own areas.

45. But Mr. Chairman and Your Excellencies, time is of the essence.

46. Let us state or restate briefly what we think should be the priorities.

(a) Unwavering and unflinching action against so-called member states who defy U. N. O. resolutions. This would be to begin with the suspension or expulsion of South Africa and Portugal from the United Nations and all its agencies.

(b) The suspension of their allies from the Security Council.

(c) The full recognition of the rights and status and participation of the liberation movements as the spokesmen of their people in the U. N..

(d) Unconditional aid, financially and materially to the national liberation movements pledged and acting on the principles of the U. N.

Thank you Mr. Chairman and Your Excellencies:

DUMA NOKWE

FOR African National Congress of South Africa

P. O. Box 1791,
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14th August, 1972,