



**ORGANIZATION OF  
AFRICAN UNITY**

Secretariat  
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**ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE  
AFRICAIN**

Secretariat  
B. P. 3243

Addis Ababa

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Twenty-sixth Ordinary Session

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Addis Ababa, February 23 - 28, 1976

REPORT OF THE 26TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU  
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA  
LOURENCO MARQUES, MOZAMBIQUE 19 TO 24 JANUARY, 1976

(Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa)

(Committee of Eighteen)



Organization of African Unity  
Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa  
(Committee of Eighteen)

REPORT OF THE 26TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU CO-  
ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA  
LOURENCO MARQUES, MOZAMBIQUE 19 TO 24 JANUARY, 1976.

This report is a summary record of the 26th Ordinary Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, held in Lourenco Marques, the People's Republic of Mozambique, from 19th to 24th January, 1976.

PRESENT:

- |                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Algeria       | 10. Morocco    |
| 2. Cameroon      | 11. Mauritania |
| 3. Congo         | 12. Nigeria    |
| 4. Egypt         | 13. Senegal    |
| 5. Ethiopia      | 14. Somalia    |
| 6. Ghana         | 15. Tanzania   |
| 7. Guinea        | 16. Uganda     |
| 8. Guinea Bissau | 17. Zaire      |
| 9. Libya         | 18. Zambia     |

(a) Member States

Burundi, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Sierra Leone.

(b) Liberation Movements

PAC, ANC(SA), ANC (Zimbabwe), LMD, SWAPO, FLCS.

ABSENT:

SPUP AND SDP.

IN ATTENDANCE:

GENERAL SECRETARIAT:

H.E. Mr. William Eteki-Mboumoua, Administrative Secretary-General.  
Mr. Peter Omu, Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Political  
Affairs.

Commander Dawit Gebreegziabher, Chief of Decolonisation Section.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Lt. Col. Hashim I. Mbita, Executive Secretary.

Mr. L.S. Oyaka, Assistant Executive Secretary in Charge of  
Policy and Information

Mr. M.L. Metteden, Assistant Executive Secretary in Charge  
of Administration and Finance.

Mr. M.K. Simumba, Director of Sub-Office, Lusaka.

Dr. L. Kamara, Deputy Director of Sub-Office, Lusaka.

Major A.R. Nasibu, Military Expert.

OPENING SESSION

2. The Official inaugural Session was performed by the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Samora Moises Machel. In his opening statement, which was adopted as official working document, the President noted from the outset that it was with great satisfaction that the People's Republic of Mozambique received in their liberated country the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the blood bank of African solidarity. He added that he and his Comrades were receiving old friends who had marched with them in the days of combat. The President added that this was not the first time that the Liberation Committee, through its representatives, was treading on Mozambique soil.

3. In each of its visits the Liberation Committee came to observe and bear witness to the greatest moments of the struggle of the people of Mozambique. This enabled the Committee to acquaint itself with the concrete situation which led to the intensification of moral and material assistance.

4. The President recalled that in May 1968 the Liberation Committee visited the liberated areas of Niassa Province, at the time when preparations for FRELIMO's 2nd Congress was in progress.

5. In October 1972 another delegation of the Committee visited the liberated zone of Cabo Delgado, at the time when PRELIMO was launching political, ideological as well as military offensive to repel enemy infiltration and subversion.
6. In September 1974 the Liberation Committee was present when PRELIMO Transitional Government took office. Last but not least, the Liberation Committee was most effectively represented, on the 25th of June, 1975 when the new States of the People's Republic of Mozambique was born.
7. After further welcoming all the participants to the 26th Session to Mozambique, President Samora invited the Committee to recall the memory of those who fell during the struggle and gave their lives for the noble cause of African freedom and liberty. At this moment, a minute of silence was observed in respect of those who lost their lives so that future generations of Africa may live in dignity.
8. The President further reminded the Committee that Africa was now advancing towards the final phase of the liquidation of the painful, humiliating and atrocious chapter of classical colonialism. This, however, did not mean that the work of national liberation was over. National Liberation means the process that starts with the resistance to foreign occupation, oppression and domination.
9. The President further observed that this was a period when the peoples struggles were leading to direct confrontation with imperialism thus causing the latter to increase its aggression which, in turn, would result in the intensification of the war of resistance. Imperialism had really resorted to more acts of subversion, corruption, blackmail, pressure and threats. By means of economic sabotage, imperialism tries to create economic crises in order to cause serious instability.
10. At this juncture President Samora invited the attention of the Committee to the acts of aggression committed by the imperialists at various times around the world:
  - The imperialist aggression against the Arab people in 1947 which resulted in the imposition of the aggressive state of Israel;

- in 1949 the imperialists occupied the Province of Taiwan in order to use it to attack the People's Republic of China;
- in 1954 the imperialists violated the territorial integrity of Vietnam and divided the country into two. Further acts of aggression and atrocity were committed and are still being committed by imperialists all over the world. The examples of Cyprus, Laos, Lebanon are but a few of them.

11. Turning to the Indian Ocean, the President reiterated that Africa was resolutely opposed to the continuation of imperialist military bases of aggression in this area. The OAU regards foreign military bases as a threat not only to the liberation process, but also to the already independent African States.

12. With regard to Liberation Movements, the President observed that experience had shown that whenever the Liberation Committee took correct decisions and avoided recognition of pseudo-Liberation Movements, the best result was achieved. On the other hand where the Liberation Committee and the OAU as a whole was unable to make clear and correct choice, Africa's enemies were given the opportunity to disrupt the Liberation process. This was the unfortunate and tragic situation obtaining in Angola. The President then appealed to the Committee to make bold decisions to recognise only one single organization in each territory to be liberated and if it is justified to make every effort towards reconciliation.

13. With regard to the aggressive hostility from Salisbury and Pretoria, the President assured the Committee that the Mozambique people would not be intimidated by provocations. They would fulfil their international duty towards the struggle of the Zimbabwean people under any circumstance. The Pretoria regime, with the support of their imperialist friends, were now engaged in a campaign to divide Africa. The racist regime of Pretoria has, therefore, become a cancer trying to spread itself in independent Africa.

14. The People's Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle that the Republic of South Africa be excluded from the community of nations in Africa and the world as a whole.

15. The President concluded his remark by appealing to Africa to rise to the new challenge and remain united for the next phase of the battle -- the battle for the total liberation of Africa from military, political, economic and cultural domination.

(The full text of the Speech of the President, which was later adopted by the Committee as official Working Document of the 26th Session, is at Annex 1.)

SPEECH OF THE OUT-GOING CHAIRMAN

16. The Out-going Chairman, H.E. Dr. A. Laraki, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco, thanked President Samora Machel on behalf of the Members of the Committee for his address and the warm welcome and wonderful hospitality accorded to the delegates and the tireless efforts made to facilitate their work.

17. In paying tribute to the President, the Government and people of Mozambique, Dr. Laraki emphasized that the choice of their country as venue for the present Session was of great significance owing to their newly won independence under the enlightened leadership of FRELIMO after fourteen years of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial regime, thereby offering to further generation of Africans and the world, a worthy example of courage, tenacity and determination of a people desirous to regain their liberty and independence.

18. Examining the major political developments regarding the liberation struggle since the 25th Session of the Liberation Committee, the Out-going Chairman noted the important progress made in the field of decolonisation leading to the independence of Mozambique on 25th June 1975, followed by Cape Verde on 5 July, the Comoro Islands on 6 July, Sao Tome and Principe on 12 July and lastly Angola on 11 November of the same year.

19. With regard to territories still under colonial domination, Dr. Laraki noted with satisfaction the political evolution in the SEYCHELLES, especially the spirit of entente and comprehension existing between the two parties, SDP and SPUP, which have made positive steps towards independence scheduled to take place not later than June 1976.

20. Regarding Zimbabwe, the Minister noted with concern the division within the ANC since the Lusaka Agreement of December 1974. He appealed for unity and called for an intensification of the armed struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe.

21. Referring to South Africa, Dr. Laraki observed that no notable change has taken place in the system and racist policies of Pretoria. Instead, South Africa has pursued a policy of repeated aggression on Angola with the support of its allies. He pledged independent Africa's support to combat racism and apartheid to the end.

22. With regard to Namibia, the Minister noted with satisfaction the intensification of the armed struggle by SWAPO and called for increased material support from Africa until Namibia is free.

23. Concerning Reunion, he stated that the main objective should be to see it that neighbouring states especially Madagascar and Comoro are in a position to assist the population of the territory in the struggle for their independence in accordance with the principles of the Accra Strategy.

24. While expressing the Committee's joy over the Comoro people's victory of 6 July, 1975, the Minister noted that the case of Mayotte remains "preoccupying".

25. On Angola, Dr. A. Laraki first of all highlighted the situation in the country, which kept on worsening with each passing day and which constituted a source of major concern to our Community. He pointed out that the situation demanded an urgent and radical solution.

26. The Minister also renewed the Committee's solidarity with our Arab and Palestinian brothers in their just struggle against Zionist aggressor.

27. Lastly, the Minister appealed to Member States to pay their contributions regularly since the National Liberation Movements.

recognised by the OAU cannot undertake any meaningful action without material and financial support.

SPEECH OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL.

28. In his reply speech, the Administrative Secretary-General, H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua, paid a glowing tribute to the President, government and People of Mozambique for their heroic struggle devoid of contradictions and tragic divisions based on vaulting ambitions or on ideological deviationism which has today made Mozambique an independent and sovereign state under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of FRELIMO.

29. He emphasized that in order for the liberation struggle to achieve its desired goal, we must be guided by certain principles which the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa has always observed in its pursuit of an appropriate strategy in every stage in the evolution of the struggle. These principles are:

- (1) The primordial responsibility of peoples struggling to set their country free. Responsibility which pre-supposes full liberty in the choice of strategies, under the sole condition that the supreme end, that is liberation, be considered as non-negotiable.
- (2) The unity of the people fighting for freedom, a condition that determines not only the efficiency of action, but also and above all, the national community to be liberated.
- (3) The clear notion of the finality of the struggle, finality which is nothing less than the emancipation of the people, a thing which makes it possible to avoid deviationist tendencies triggered off by personal ambitions.
- (4) The clear notion that liberation struggle should be placed in a global perspective not only of the total liberation of the continent but also of the struggle for justice, peace and progress. That is to say, that it implies solidarity not only of freed progress and peace-loving people with those still to be freed, but also a special solidarity among those peoples struggling for their liberation.

5. The clear identification of the enemy in order to avoid unholy and unnatural alliances.

30. In remaining faithful to these principles, the peoples of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, and Cape Verde Islands have been able to win decisive victories and have thereby swollen the ranks of the independent nations of Africa.

31. Failure to do this, has led to the tragic situation in which the Angolan people find themselves today. And world imperialism has not failed to exploit the situation in pursuit of their selfish interests.

32. The Administrative Secretary-General called on independent Africa not to watch South Africa's involvement in Angola passively since it was not only the fate of Angola which was at stake; but also the sovereignty, the unity, the integrity and the dignity of the entire Continent of Africa.

33. On Zimbabwe he appealed to the OAU to avoid committing the same mistakes as in the case of Angola by crystalizing through partisan attitudes the division of the Zimbabwe Nationalist Movement. The aim should be to continue to encourage ANC to remain united so that majority rule can be achieved within the shortest possible time.

34. Regarding South Africa Mr. Eteki noted that while patiently continuing our search for a united platform for the struggle among movements already recognised, we must discourage the proliferation of movements by refusing recognition to new movements. It is imperative for the Liberation Movements to intensify the armed struggle with the support of independent Africa both in material, political and diplomatic fields so as to foil the manoeuvres of Vorster and his allies aiming at imposing puppet states on the international society as well as the OAU.

35. On Namibia, the Administrative Secretary-General observed that South Africa's presence in Angola hampers SWAPO's struggle in Namibia. Therefore OAU should increase its material support as well as intensify its diplomatic offensive at the international level so as to accelerate the independence of Namibia.

36. On the So-called French Somaliland(Djibouti), Mr. Eteki observed that while welcoming the encouraging developments towards the independence of that territory, we should remain vigilant so that such independence does not become a neo-colonial arrangement nor a threat to peace in that region.

37. Independent Seychelles should not be balkanized. Therefore, Africa must be prepared to support her action to recover every part of her territory on attainment of independence thereby ensuring security in the Indian Ocean.

38. Likewise, the Government of the Republic of Comoro must be given every assistance in its efforts to frustrate the neo-colonial designs of France, aimed at dismembering its territory.

39. Mr. Eteki also expressed deep concern over the situation in the So-called Spanish Sahara. He observed that the situation had developed to such a stage that it was the United Nations rather than the OAU which was left to seek solutions to this African problem. And, judging from the present tension among the States concerned in the region, and the different positions adopted by members of the African group at the United Nations regarding Resolutions on the territory, one is bound to wonder whether the Sahara issue might not create a situation for Africa similar to that of Angola.

40. The Administrative Secretary-General observed that the desire to preserve unity should be given priority above all other considerations, a duty which presupposes a patient search for impartial solution, that is, such solutions as are likely to rally the whole or the majority of the sovereign Member States of the organization

(The full text of the Administrative Secretary-General's speech is annex II to this report).

Other Reply Speeches:

41. Other reply speeches were made by H.E. Hamdi O. Moknass, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritania, H.E. Omar Arteh Ghali - Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Somalia, and H.E. Putteho M. Ngonda - Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Zambia. They all expressed gratitude to His Excellency President Samora Machel, the Government and the People of Mozambique for the sincere welcome accorded to the Committee during the historic 26th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee.

42. On behalf of other members of the Liberation Committee the three delegations reiterated OAU's uncompromising position with regard to the unconditional and total liberation of Africa.

ELECTION OF THE BUREAU:

43. After consultation at the level of Heads of Delegation the Bureau of the 26th Ordinary Session was proposed by Ghana and elected by acclamation. It is constituted as follows:

Chairman:	Egypt
1st Vice-Chairman:	Tanzania
2nd Vice-Chairman:	Guinea Bissau
Rapporteur:	Zaire.

44. On taking the chair, the new Chairman, His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Riad, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, thanked the Committee for the honour bestowed upon him and his country in being elected Chairman. He paid tribute to the people of Mozambique and PRELIMO under the wise leadership of their young and vigorous President Samora Machel, for their heroic and victorious struggle against classical colonialism. He wished the young state success in their second phase of the liberation struggle, i.e. the struggle for economic and cultural liberation.

45. The Chairman then informed the Committee of the recommendations agreed upon during the meeting of the Heads of Delegation. The recommendations were summarised as follows:

- (a) That the Committee recommends to the Council of Ministers that the People's Republic of Mozambique be invited to become a member of the Liberation Committee;
- (b) That after the admission of the People's Republic of Mozambique as a member of the Liberation Committee the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique be invited to preside over the 27th Ordinary Session to be held in Tanzania, the Headquarters of the Liberation Committee.

46. These recommendations were also accepted and approved by acclamation.

ITEM 5: ORGANIZATION OF WORK:

47. After brief consultations the working hours were agreed upon as follows:

1. Mornings 10.00 hours - 13.00 hrs.
2. Afternoons 16.00 hours - 19.00 hrs.
3. Nights: Night session to be held when necessary.

ITEM 6: CONFIRMATION OF THE MINUTES OF THE PREVIOUS MEETING:

48. The Minutes of the 25th Ordinary Session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa held in Rabat, Morocco, from 9th to 12th June, 1975 were confirmed and approved as presented by the Executive Secretariat.

ITEM 7: EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT:

49. Introducing his report which was contained in Document LC.26/DOC.2, the Executive Secretary surveyed and summarised the developments of the liberation struggle since the Committee's meeting in Rabat, in June 1975. He touched upon various items of the report highlighting on where there have been either positive or negative extremes. These extremes reflected upon

successes or victories scored by the liberation movements on the one hand and, on the other hand, division among the leadership of some liberation movements which resulted in retarding the progress of the liberation process. The Executive Secretary also touched upon the difficulties which the Secretariat was encountering in dealing with UN Specialized Agencies regarding projects for assistance to Liberation Movements.

50. After the Executive Secretary had concluded his introduction, several delegates made remarks of a general nature on the report. While thanking the Executive Secretary for the quality of the contents of the report, the Committee agreed that the points raised therein should be discussed under the appropriate items in the reports of the Standing Committees. It then took note of the report on the condition that same be used as a working document when discussing the report of the Standing Committee on Policy and Information as well as those of the other two Standing Committees.

51. After due note was taken of the Executive Secretary's Report, the Committee was informed that Mr. Ali Aref Bourhan, the Chief Minister of the Council of the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) had requested to address the 26th Ordinary Session. It was, however, noted that Mr. Ali Aref himself was not present in Lourenco Marques. The question as to whether Mr. Ali Aref should be granted a hearing was then discussed at a considerable length, after which the following consensus was reached:

"The committee will, as usual, listen to all trends of opinion willing to give information pertaining to the liberation struggle of a territory under colonial domination."

52. With the disposal of this problem the Committee proceeded to examine the report of the Standing Committees as contained in item 8 of the Agenda.

ITEM 8: REPORTS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES ON POLICY AND INFORMATION  
AND DEFENCE:

53. The reports were introduced by the Chairmen of the respective Standing Committees, H.E. Y.B. Turkson, for Policy and Information Ambassador of Ghana to Ethiopia, and Mr. Mahmoud M. Saad of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and head of the Libyan delegation for the Standing Committee on Defence.

54. In his introduction, Ambassador Turkson drew the attention of the Committee to the fact that the item on Angola as contained in the report was merely for information. He informed the Committee that the Standing Committee on Policy and Information had specifically recommended that the issue on Angola should not be discussed since the territory was already an independent State. The same applied to the Comoros, with the exception of the French violation of the territorial integrity of Comoro by occupying part of the territory of that country i.e. the Mayotte Island.

55. After the Chairmen of the Standing Committees had concluded the introduction of their respective reports it was agreed that, in accordance with the established practice, the reports should be discussed or examined territory by territory in the chronological order in which they appeared.

56. On the question of Seychelles, the Committee observed that there was no need for protracted discussion since it was now almost certain that the territory would achieve its independence this year. However, the Committee considered the problem of the so-called British Indian Ocean Territories (BIOT) with a view to drawing up a recommendation as to what action to be taken by the OAU. The items of the report were then considered and discussed as follows:

ANGOLA:

57. It was agreed that the Committee had no mandate to discuss the situation in Angola since the country was already independent and sovereign.

COMORO:

58. Here again it was felt that the Committee had no mandate to discuss the Comoro, an independent State and a member of the OAU. The Committee however, examined the problem of Mayotte and reaffirmed its position that it is an integral part of the territory.

SEYCHELLES ISLANDS:

59. The Committee expressed satisfaction that the territory was steadily moving towards independence. The Committee reiterated its position that the Seychelles should attain its independence with BIOT as an integral part.

ZIMBABWE:

60. Having on the one hand, heard the statements made by the representatives of ANC of Zimbabwe and, on the other, examined the political and military situation in Zimbabwe, the Committee adopted a Resolution on Zimbabwe. (See Annex III).

NAMIBIA:

61. The Committee decided to recommend to the Council of Ministers and the International Community to step up political and diplomatic pressure for self-determination and independence of the People of Namibia.

62. The Committee also in appreciation of the commendable efforts deployed by SWAPO in intensifying the armed struggle, decided to increase its financial and material assistance to enable SWAPO maintain its operations and give it the possibilities of further extending into new areas of operation.

63. Meanwhile, the Committee condemned the aggression committed against the independent and sovereign state of Angola by the fascist regime of South Africa, using Namibia as its operating base and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the racist troops from Namibia. A resolution on Namibia was adopted (Annex. IV ).

SOUTH AFRICA:

64. The Committee decided to request the Council of Ministers to adopt a resolution calling on Member States of the OAU as well as United Nations Organization to reaffirm the condemnation of the Bantustanisation policy in South Africa, and to ask the Member States of the two Organizations not to grant recognition to any of the pseudo States that may be created through that abominable policy of the South African racist regime.

65. The Committee recalled its resolution on Namibia condemning South Africa for its aggression on Angola and for the application of its balkanisation<sup>and</sup>/Bantustanisation policy to Namibia and Zimbabwe.

66. The Committee, once again, appealed to the Liberation Movements of South Africa to consider seriously the creation of a United Front so as to adopt a common strategy to confront the enemy more effectively. It commended in particular the necessity to identify clearly and establish a realistic basis for unification.

67. Regarding the application of UMSA (Unity Movement of South Africa) the Committee felt that the latest developments and the surrounding circumstances rendered it futile to consider recognition. The Committee, therefore, considered it unnecessary to entertain any more application from UMSA for recognition.

68. In this connection, once again, concerned itself with the question of Unity and decided that the problem should be examined from the base.

#### CANARY ISLANDS:

69. With regard to the meeting of the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee (Algeria, Guinea and Senegal) on the Canary Islands, it was felt inadvisable for the same to be convened in the absence of the Secretary-General of MPAIC, Dr. Cubillo. It was decided that the meeting be organized by the Executive Secretariat as soon as possible and that all parties concerned should be present.

#### REUNION:

70. The Committee was informed that the Executive Secretariat had recently carried out further consultations with the neighbouring States. It was, however, felt that the Secretariat should continue its efforts and endeavour, through further consultations, to obtain more information to enable the Committee to study more deeply the question of the independence of the Island.

#### THE SO-CALLED FRENCH SOMALILAND (DJIBOUTI):

71. The discussion on this subject was long and protracted. Statements were heard from delegations of the two national liberation movements recognised by the OAU i.e. FLCS and MLD as well as from the representative of LPAI (the opposition party inside the territory). It was agreed that a fact finding mission should proceed to the territory with a view to drawing up a detailed report on the political situation and the decolonization process in the territory. It was suggested that the Mission be composed

of representatives of 4 Member States with clear terms of referendum, which are yet to be agreed upon.

72. The Committee endorsed the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Policy and Information as follows:

- (a) that all parties concerned be invited to enter into consultations and negotiations to establish a common platform to negotiate for independence;
- (b) The Administrative Secretary-General assisted by the Executive Secretary be requested to provide the necessary moral and political assistance to all the parties concerned during the process of consultations and negotiations;
- (c) The neighbouring States be requested to make all necessary arrangements to facilitate, in an active manner, the process of consultations and negotiations involving the parties and the OAU;
- (d) The French Government be invited to create the necessary favourable conditions in the spirit of cooperation, to facilitate consultations and negotiations;
- (e) The Administrative Secretary-General and the Executive Secretary should report as early as possible on the extent of implementation of the above decision;
- (f) Call on the neighbouring States to accelerate the independence process by unequivocally renouncing any territorial claims over the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti).

73. In addition the Committee considered the following suggestions:

- That France be called upon to grant unconditional independence to the people of the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) and respect the wishes of the majority of the people for immediate and genuine independence;

- that France should negotiate on the substance and process of accession to independence with all parties and political organisations engaged in the liberation of the territory;
- that France should respect and put into effect the provisions of the Resolutions on the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) passed by the 12th Summit of the OAU Heads of State and Government and the one passed by the 20th Session of the UN;
- that the electrified barbed wire as well as the landmines surrounding Djibouti be dismantled;
- that France should organise the return of all political refugees forcibly expelled from the territory;
- that free elections be held under the supervision of the UN and OAU in order to allow the people to freely choose their representatives.

#### THE SO-CALLED SPANISH SAHARA:

74. The Committee discussed exhaustively the question of the So-called Spanish Sahara. In addition, the Representative of the Front POLISARIO was granted a hearing by the Committee, during which the delegations of Morocco and Mauritania withdrew.\* In his statement the Representative of the Front POLISARIO gave a detailed account of the situation obtaining in that territory.

75. After further discussion and careful examination of the problem, the Committee arrived at the following decision:

"In view of the fact that the Front POLISARIO is the only legitimate Liberation Movement in the So-called Spanish Sahara fighting for the independence of that territory, the Committee decided to recommend to the forthcoming Session of the Council of Ministers that the Movement (POLISARIO) be recognised by the OAU."

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\* See Annex VI for the statement of the Moroccan delegation.

76. The delegations of Senegal and Zaire objected to this decision, while the delegations of Cameroon and Egypt entered reservations.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE CURRENT CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU:

77. The leader of the Uganda delegation, Mr. C. Katsigazi took the floor and drew the attention of the Committee to the contents of a cable sent by the Current Chairman of the OAU, Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada to the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Comrade Samora Moises Machel; and copied to the Chairman of the 26th Session. The Chairman on behalf of the Committee thanked the leader of the Ugandan delegation for bringing the communication to the attention of the Committee.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE:

78. The report was introduced by the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance, H.E. Mr. Isa Modibbo, the High Commissioner for Nigeria in Tanzania, who laid emphasis on the need for Member States to pay up their contribution to the Special Fund to enable the Committee provide the necessary assistance to national liberation movements. The Report was adopted as presented.

DRAFT BUDGET OF THE SPECIAL FUND FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR 1976/77:

79. The draft budget of the Special Fund for the Financial Year 1976/77 was approved with slight amendments. Proposed allocations for financial as well as material assistance to the ANC and the PAC of South Africa were increased to absorb the sum of money earmarked for the reserve fund in the draft budget.

CLOSING SPEECHES:

80. The 26th Session was formally closed in the early morning of 24th January, 1976 by the Chairman, H.E., Mr. Mohamed Riad, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Egypt; and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, H.E. Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano. (The text of the Chairman's Speech is at Annex V).

OPENING ADDRESS BY COMRADE SAMORA MOISES MACHEL,  
PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

19TH JANUARY, 1976

His Excellency,

Ahmed Laraki,

President of the XXV Session of the Co-ordinating  
Committee for the Liberation of Africa,

Comrade Leaders of the Liberation Movements,

Excellencies,

Ministers of Foreign Affairs,

Ambassadors,

Delegates and Observers,

Your Excellency,

William Eteki Mboumoua,

Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization  
of African Unity,

Your Excellency,

Lieutenant-Colonel Hashim Mbita,

Executive Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee for the  
Liberation of Africa,

Excellencies,

Comrades,

Friends,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great satisfaction that the People's Republic of Mozambique  
and the Mozambican people receive in their liberated country the Co-  
ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, the blood bank  
of African solidarity.

We are receiving old friends who marched with us in the hours of combat.

This is not the first time that the Liberation Committee, through its representatives, treads our soil in the fulfilment of its grandiose task of liberating our continent.

In each of its visits, the Liberation Committee came to observe and bear witness to the greatest moments of our struggle, the advances of the liberation fight, which enabled it to know our real situation and thereby increase its moral and material assistance.

In May 1968 the Liberation Committee visited the liberated areas of Niassa Province at the time we were preparing FRELIMO's Second Congress which marked the beginning of a new phase of our armed struggle for national liberation.

In October, 1972, this time in the liberated zone of Cabo Delgado, your visit once again took place at an important moment of our fight, the moment when we were launching a political, ideological and military offensive to repel enemy infiltration and subvention among us, an offensive which culminated in the neutralization of the moral and physical agents of reaction and the intensification of revolutionary vigilance.

In September, 1974, once again the Liberation Committee was with us when the Transitional Government took Office. On the 25th of June 1975 you came to share with us the exhilarating moments of the materialisation of the people's victory.

This time we are honoured with the presence of the Liberation Committee which has come here to hold its 26th Ordinary Session. Welcome ones again to Mozambique. We hope that your presence here by the Maputo river, at the boundary of liberated Africa, marks the beginning of a new liberation offensive.

The meeting of the Liberation Committee in the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique testifies to the expansion of the frontiers of African freedom and dignity; it expresses the determination of the African peoples to liquidate completely foreign domination; it reflects the balance of forces between us and the enemy.

Your presence marks the triumph of the sacrifices made by Africa and the progressive world which contributed to the defeat of Portuguese colonialism.

In receiving the Liberation Committee here we wish to reaffirm that the People's Republic of Mozambique, fruit of the Mozambican People's heroic and victorious struggle against Portuguese colonialism and against imperialism, undertakes to continue and assume completely its duty in the united fight of Africa and the World against foreign domination and exploitation on our Continent.

Portuguese colonialism, militarily defeated by our Peoples, has ceased to exist in Africa.

At this juncture we would like to pay heartfelt and respectful tribute to the memory of all those who, bearing the flaming torch of freedom and African independence, fell in the struggle against colonialism. We invite all those present to observe a minute of silence.

The cause of the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies triumphed because it was just and had the support of Africa's solidarity and that of the progressive forces of the world. The Peoples' enemies, colonialism and imperialism, are forced in desperation to acknowledge our common victory.

The victory of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde, Angola, East Timor, marks the beginning of a new phase in the liberation of the Peoples.

This meeting of the Liberation Committee in a country which won victory through armed liberation struggle, is the living affirmation of our continent's capacity to free itself completely.

In Africa colonialism has been dislodged from its positions. Popular resistance triumphed in the Comoros and the Archipelago proclaimed its independence. Despite imperialist manoeuvres in the Seychelles and the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) the national independence process is in its final phase. The fight of the peoples of the Sahara has forced the colonial power to recognize the impossibility of classical colonial domination; this fight assures us that one day the People of that territory shall be free.

We are in the final phase of the liquidation of the painful, humiliating and atrocious chapter of classical colonialism.

This, however, does not mean that the work of national liberation is over.

National liberation is a process that starts with national resistance to foreign occupation and that ends when all forms of imperialist domination have been finally liquidated.

National liberation is the fight to win full political independence. National Liberation is the cultural fight to assert our African personality. National Liberation is the fight against the military presence of imperialist bases of aggression on our Continent. National Liberation is our countries' fight to recover the right to exploit their natural resources for their own benefit. National Liberation is the fight against imperialist economic order in international relations. National Liberation is the fight by all the Peoples of our Continent to freely choose the political and economic order that best suits them. National Liberation is the affirmation of the right of each People to choose their own friends.

It is only by assuming National Liberation completely and conscientiously that we shall with well-defined strategy and tactics, see the real dimensions of the real battle.

Such an understanding is fundamental to the determination of the true nature and forms of the domination that still exists on our continent.

With the fall of Portuguese colonialism and the anticipation of the imminent disappearance of the remaining classical colonial dominations the racist regimes emerge as the last survivors of the classical forms of domination. However, behind them imperialism, the permanent and principal enemy of all Peoples, raises its head.

Faced with the development of the Continent's struggle and the successive fall of colonial regimes, imperialism finds itself obliged to identify itself increasingly openly with the Salisbury and Pretoria regimes, and at the same time tries to strengthen its military presence on the Continent in order to gain by occupation or intimidation, the political and economic submission of countries already independent. Thus, imperialism is forced to take off its mask, revealing before the eyes of the people its true nature as direct enemy.

We can state that the present period is the period when people's struggles lead to confrontation with imperialism, the period when as imperialism, increases its aggression, it loses its footholds in Africa one after another.

Having lost its colonial intermediaries and knowing that the days of the racist regimes are numbered, imperialism attempts by all means to neutralise and topple the popular regimes, the anti-imperialist regimes of Africa, that threaten it. Thus imperialism intensifies its subversive actions, corruption, blackmail, pressure and threats. By means of economic sabotage imperialism tries to create serious economic crises to make these regimes unstable. However, sensing

the imminent loss of its positions of domination and exploitation, it does not hesitate to resort to brute force and open aggression.

Imperialism attacks Peoples, divides countries, installs puppet regimes, imposes its military bases that serve as permanent platforms of aggression against people's struggles.

Thus in 1947 it launched the war of aggression against the Arab Peoples and imposed the aggressive State of Israel on the zone. In 1949 it occupied the province of Taiwan in order to attack the People's Republic of China. In 1953, after brutal aggression it imposes the puppet regime of Seoul against the People's achievement in the northern part of Korea. In 1954 the division of Vietnam was imposed, and in the southern part is installed the instrument of imperialist aggression.

Later, and continuing until the present day, we have witnessed the division of Cyprus, the criminal invasion of Laos, the violation of Cambodian sovereignty, attempts at the partitioning of Lebanon.

In Africa too, open acts of aggression are well-known. In the sixties Zaire, then Congo-Leopoldville, was assaulted by imperialism in an attempt to block the process of installation of a popular government and to divide the country. Later, imperialism tried to dismember Nigeria by force, fomenting the secession of the Eastern Region. In 1972 the Republic of Guinea was the object of an invasion aimed at substituting the progressive regime of the Democratic Party of Guinea, by a regime subservient to foreign domination. Recently, the island of Mayotte has been forcibly occupied by France. Throughout the whole period of the colonial-imperialist wars of aggression against our people, South African and Rhodesian troops as well as so-called foreign advisers, have been systematically used against our people. Throughout all this period there were constant acts of aggression against such countries as Tanzania, Zambia, Congo, Zaire, Guinea and Senegal, because they had defied the risks involved in showing solidarity with their neighbours.

Even today, there are constant and repeated acts of provocation by the minority and aggressive regime of Ian Smith on our frontier.

Comrades and Friends,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies, and  
Gentlemen,

The attempt to dismember the Comoro Archipelago, the occupation of parts of the Egyptian territory by Zionist forces, the South African invasion of Angola, are in fact manifestations of the same imperialist aggressiveness directed against the People's achievements and calculated to intimidate the masses, block their Liberation process, and prevent them, as in the case of Egypt and Angola, from their neighbouring territories.

In Southern Africa, imperialism, using its faithful Pretoria forces, which continue to dominate Namibia, intends by its occupation of Angola, to have at its disposal launching bases for the extension of its domination and exploitation in independent Africa.

Thus we consider that today more than ever there is an intimate and fundamental relationship; a permanent inter-dependence within the National Liberation process between independent countries and the National Liberation Movements are permanent and equal allies.

Let us be clear: Africa should either extend the frontiers of freedom or the forces of imperialism will enlarge their zone of subservience. So it is a question of not only resolutely supporting the liberation struggle, but also of intensifying the fight in our own States for the elimination of dependence on imperialism.



This is Africa's crucial fight. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that although our Peoples are united in this fight, our States frequently express divergent views.

A few days ago in Addis Ababa we all confirmed that in the present phase some states are not in a position to condemn clearly and unambiguously Pretoria's aggression against Angola, against Africa. All of us saw too that these same States were not capable of condemning clearly and unambiguously, those Angolans who are collaborating with South Africa in its invasion.

Our own dignity and self-respect demand that just as yesterday we condemned Van Thien in Vietnam, Lon Nol in Cambodia, Tchang Kai Chek in China, Tshombe in Africa, we should condemn those who now lead the troops of South Africa, the number-one enemy of Africa, to attack their own country and massacre their own people.

The emergence of two distinct political lines in Addis Ababa enables our States to know each other better; it is a positive factor for the development of the people's struggle in Africa.

The heightening of the contradiction between the People and imperialism, the intensification of the battle between the people's interests and enemy interests, necessarily leads to different definitions of the enemy and a consequent reconsideration of alliances.

We maintain that any regime determines its opposition: a people's regime is opposed by reactionary forces on the national plane and by imperialism at international level; similarly, an exploitative and oppressive regime will have the national masses and all the world progressive forces, arranged against it.

The search for compromises with the enemy, the effort to convince the enemy of our good will, the principle of not intensifying the struggle so the enemy can negotiate, manifest, in reality, the alliance between reactionary national classes and imperialism and lead to capitulation.

Africa fights against foreign bases. Africa resolutely opposes to the continuation of imperialist bases of aggression in the Indian Ocean. Africa correctly understands that foreign military bases, the nuclearisation of its coasts, are a threat to its liberation process, to its right to build the political, economic and social system that is best suited to the interests of its peoples.

The definite elimination of the racist regimes and the remnants of colonialism depends on consistent anti-imperialist struggle on our continent.

Excellencies,  
Comrades and Friends,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

For a more effective support of the Liberation Movements, for the further mobilisation of the masses in countries still under foreign domination, for a faster development of the liberation struggle, it is imperative that the Liberation Committee intensify its action aimed at achieving a real unity of the fighting forces.

This leads us to tackle with militant courage and unambiguously analyse, the problem of the proliferation of organizations claiming to be liberation movements.

Experience has shown us that whenever the Liberation Committee has proceeded to take correct options, whenever the Committee has dissociated itself from pseudo-movements, from marginal and opportunist organizations, the liberation struggle has developed harmoniously masses have reinforced their unity against divisionist manoeuvres on Africa and her natural allies, the socialist countries have been able to channel their aid and intensify their contribution to the national liberation cause.

This is the Liberation Committee's experience in relation to Guinea-Bissau and Cape-Verde, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, The Comoros, Namibia, the Seychelles.

On the other hand, when the Liberation Committee has been unable to make a clear and correct choice, we have given Africa's enemies the opportunity to disrupt the liberation process through unrepresentative and ideologically feeble groupings. This is the reality behind Angola's tragic situation. We must be conscious of our responsibilities on this matter.

The proliferation of Liberation Movements only favours mere effective divisive action by the enemy.

In proliferation the enemy will find those who, being ambitious weak or corrupt, are ready to join him in opposition to the People's interests.

Over and above an effort to reconcile the movements we need a prior effort to analyse the nature, origin and significance of various Liberation Movements.

It is only when this is done that we shall be in a position to clearly define the correct line to be followed: to recognize one single organization to the exclusion of all others, or if it is justified, to make an effort towards reconciliation.

At present the intensification of the common struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa is essential.

Rhodesia is a British colony where a racist minority has usurped power and exercises it through the bayonet, with the active support of imperialism.

In the wake of Portugal's colonial defeat the racist regime is experiencing an isolation unprecedented in its history.

The masses impetuously intensify the political battles for national independence.

The regime's reply to the People's demands is a brutal stepping-up of repression and increased machinations, while it increases its acts of provocations and aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and other neighbouring countries, in an attempt to expand the area of conflict, internationalise it and distract attention from its internal contradictions.

However, the Mozambican People will not be intimidated by provocations. We shall fulfill our internationalist duty towards the struggle of the Zimbabwean People under any circumstances.

The colonial occupation of Namibia proceeds by South African domination, proceeds with a war of aggression by South Africa against the Namibian People led by SWAPO.

In a desperate attempt to prevent the People's inevitable victory, the Pretoria regime has extended its criminal aggression to the People's Republic of Angola.

South African troops are now suffering humiliating reverses, the soldiers of arrogant racism are shamefully defeated.

This attack has brought the broad masses of Angola in a battle against Pretoria and now mobilized the peoples of Africa and the world angered by the South African regime's brutal aggression.

What is the enemy's strategy?

The Pretoria regime, with the support of imperialism, is conducting a campaign to divide Africa. Pretoria is a cancer trying to spread itself in independent Africa.

The dignity of the People of Africa rejects Pretoria's policies of any compromise. Compromise with the enemy gravely endangers our independence, our dignity and the emancipation of our Continent.

The People's Republic of Mozambique upholds the principle that the Republic of South Africa be excluded from the community of nations in Africa and the world because of inhuman policies and its aggression.

The People's Republic of Mozambique identifies itself with the struggle of South African people of all races to build a truly democratic order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has the highest regard for the long and historic struggle of the African National Congress to unite, organize and mobilize South African people of all races in the fight

to build a society with dignity and humanity, a new society

Excellencies,  
Comrades and Friends,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The concept of African unity that existed until recently enabled us to develop the fight against classical forms of colonialism.

The victories achieved by the African peoples forced the enemy to modify its strategy and tactics.

Thus a new challenge arises: Africa is called upon to intensify its unity for the present battle: the battle for definite expulsion of imperialism from Africa, the battle to liberate Africa from foreign bases, from economic domination, from cultural subservience, the battle to impose a new international order.

This battle requires greater mobilization of the masses, more than just inter-governmental union it requires a broad, popular, anti-imperialist front. At this time begins the final annihilation of imperialism on our continent.

This front, this combat must necessarily involve our natural allies, the socialist countries, who constitute the liberated zone of mankind, and the world democratic forces which are operational detachments of our struggle.

Victory will be ours in the new confrontation. The Peoples of Africa want to build their unity, unity founded on independence, freedom and a fitting social order.

We wish you success in your deliberations and a pleasant stay in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

LONG LIVE THE OAU!

LONG LIVE UNITED AFRICA!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

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ANNEX II

SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE  
OUU AT THE OPENING OF THE 26TH SESSION  
OF THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE  
LIBERATION OF AFRICA LOURENCO MARQUES

19TH JANUARY, 1976

Comrade President of the People's Republic of Mozambique,  
Mr. Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa,  
Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

For the first time the OAU Liberation Committee is holding its Session in a country that has effectively freed itself from colonial yoke after long years of admirable struggle under the direction, guidance and impulse of a missionary-movement which has managed, during the whole duration of the struggle for freedom, to steer clear of all snares and contradictions that attend upon freedom efforts, namely: the tragic division based on vaulting ambitions, on tribalism or regionalism, or on ideological deviationism.

And at the moment when our inexorable march for the total liberation of the continent is dangerously fraught with and slackened by sly and arrogant interference by the imperialists the holding of this meeting in Mozambique, the fatherland of Frelimo, nay, more, the fatherland of uncompromising observance of the principles and the objectives of total liberation of the continent in dignity, is a symbol, a promise.

In the midst of the tribulations that Africa is going through, in the midst of challenges flung and humiliations inflicted, the example of Frelimo, of its leaders and its militants should inspire us in the organisation of further struggles that we have to carry out, in the consideration of principles that should guide us in our search for solutions to the serious problems that beset Africa. The history of these last of our efforts to liberate Africa has proved that failure to approach the problems of liberation on the basis of certain clear and strong principles cannot but lead to a dead-end, that is to say, to measures that divide Africa, weaken the efficiency of the combatant action of freedom fighters, and undermine the respect and influence of our Organization thereby responding to the wishes of the enemies of Africa.

These principles have always been observed in the increasing efforts of the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa in laying down and appropriate strategy at every single stage in the evolution of liberation struggle.

To-day it seems to us most meet to recall these principles.

They are:

(1) The primordial responsibility of peoples struggling to set their country free. Responsibility which presupposes full liberty in the choice of strategies, under the sole condition that the supreme end, that is liberation, be considered as non negotiable.

(2) The unity of the people fighting for freedom, a condition that determines not only the efficiency of action, but also and above all the national unity of the community to be liberated.

(3) The clear notion of the finality of the struggle, finality which is nothing less than the emancipation of the people, a thing which makes it possible to avoid deviationist tendencies triggered off by personal ambitions.

(4) The clear notion that liberation struggle should be placed in the overall perspective of the total liberation of the continent and the struggle for justice, peace <sup>and</sup> progress. This implies, therefore, the solidarity of freed peoples enjoying peace and progress with those still to be freed, and also a special solidarity among those peoples struggling for their liberation.

(5) The clear identification of the enemy. To enable us to avoid unholy and unnatural alliances.

In observing strictly these principles, the peoples of Mozambique, of Sao Tome e Principe, Cape Verde Islands have been able to win decisive victories and have thereby swollen the ranks of the independent nations of Africa.

Failure to place the struggle in the context of these principles, we are aware, has brought about the tragic situation in which the Angolan people find themselves today. The combined effects of division in the struggle, of ambitions, of imperialist covetousness, of the contradictions underlying the so-called detente between the super-powers, have brought about to the detriment of the Angolan people, an unspeakable aggression, an attempt at fascist reconquest which would have led, had it been tolerated, to serious consequences involving possible partition, complete smashing of hopes of liberating the peoples of southern Africa, and the tragic danger of being faced with a situation similar

to the Palestine problem. Our position against racist regimes, especially South Africa, cradle of apartheid, remains, fixed and unchanged. South Africa is our identified enemy.

Hence, there is no doubt that passive tolerance of the presence of South Africa on freed African soil, tantamounts to working objectively against African Sovereignty, its unity, integrity, dignity, thereby delaying and retarding the achievement of our goal: the total liberation of the continent.

In this context, it is not the fate of Angola which is at stake, but all that fringe still under domination. South Africa trembles at the prospect of a really independent, unaligned impregnable Angola which deprives it of the possibility of establishing a bumper zone, between its racist territory and the African countries still to be liberated in Southern Africa.

At this stage of our analysis, we must respect our intangible principles, and in the process, our tendencies, our political options and undertake to help Angola, in defending its liberation, its existence, its integrity, and in becoming an effective and sure bridge ahead for the liberation of African territories still under racist domination.

If I have recalled the tragic situation in Angola before this Committee which is not supposed to concern itself with problems of independent countries, it is because it brings out clearly how important it is for us to maintain our vigilance more than ever in the struggles we have to fight in future.

In Zimbabwe, our determination to keep on strengthening the striking force of freedom fighters could only have feeble results if the Zimbabwe nationalists were to lose sight of the fact that the efficiency of their struggle depends to a large extent upon their cohesion, their ability to rally their people around a common ideal.

Hence we have to hail the efforts that the Presidents of Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania continue to make with a view to safeguarding the unity of the nationalist movement of Zimbabwe.

Hence, we have to avoid, within the Liberation Committee and more particularly within the OAU, committing the same mistakes as in the case of Angola, by crystallizing through partisan attitudes the division of the Zimbabwe

nationalist movement. To achieve this it is enough that we remain uncompromising about the final objective to be attained, that is, the triumph of majority rule and not encourage splits by a priori preferences for the type of the society to be built.

In South Africa, we must while patiently continuing our search for a united platform for the struggle among movements already recognized, discourage proliferation of movements by refusing recognition to new movements.

In this part of our continent, facing the racist and fascist regime of Pretoria which is daily strengthening and improving its means of oppression and aggression, with the <sup>the</sup> aid and support of every nature from the big western powers / regime which is preparing to get its diabolical efforts at territorial disintegration through bantustanization endorsed by world public opinion, it is more than ever urgent, for liberation movements to intensify their armed struggle and for independent states of Africa to develop further their political and diplomatic actions in order to foil the manoeuvres of Vorster and his allies which aim at imposing puppet states on the international Society and even on the OAU.

Namibia too, in its heroic struggle under SWAPO leadership, is suffering from the effects of the Angolan situation. There is no doubt that the liberation struggle led by SWAPO is seriously hampered by the Situation in Angola which permits racist South African horders to cut off the freedom fighters from Namibia and from their operational base through incurssions in Angola. But the struggle goes on. It goes on with obstinacy both at political and diplomatic levels. Thus in order to drive home strongly the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa at the United Nations, the Special Committee of the OAU on Namibia instituted by a resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU held in April 1975 in Dar es Salaam, asked for a meeting of the Security Council on the question of Namibia. This meeting is to be held within the next few days. It will be once more an occasion to denounce the masquerades of the constitutional Conference that the Pretoria regime organized attended by puppet ethnic groups to the exclusion of SWAPO which embodies the aspirations of the people of Namibia to independence.

It will also be an opportunity to reinforce the action of the Committee on Namibia through the application of the pertinent resolutions already adopted by the United Nations.

The Security Council will also provide us with the opportunity to distinguish between the friends and the enemies of Africa and specially those who today claim to be so much worried by the situation in Angola whilst they did not hesitate, through a shameful imposition of a veto during the Security Council debate on Namibia in June, 1975, to choose the camp of illegal occupation, aggression and repression.

For the first time in Djibouti a situation is developing which seems to respond to the aspirations of the people of the so-called French Somaliland to independence. We take cognizance of this development but at the same time remain vigilant so that the independence becomes neither a neo-colonial arrangement nor a threat to peace in that region. We must, therefore, ensure that the liberation movements recognized by the OAU are actively involved in all the phases of the independence process.

We are gratified by the fact that the Seychelles shall soon accede to independence, just as we had the opportunity to hail the proclamation of the independence of Comoro. We must recognise, however, the presence of the spectre of a possible balkanization looming large over both countries and the threat to their territorial integrity.

In the case of Seychelles the question of the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory remains unsolved. We must be prepared to support the action of the independent state of Seychelles to recover those Islands and thus ensure security in the Indian Ocean which must be declared a zone of peace.

In Comoro, colonialist France remains unmoved by the unanimous condemnation of her attempts to balkanize the Comoro Islands and maintain her sovereignty over Mayotte, an integral part of the Comoro entity.

The results of the travesty of a referendum scheduled for February 8 are already known, more especially as the people of Mayotte have been conditioned, intimidated and subjected to persecution.

As a matter of utmost urgency, the Government of the Republic of Comoro must be given every assistance to enable it to face the ignoble attempts to dismember its territory.

Mr. Chairman,  
Your Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

This general survey of the decolonization or liberation problem to be dealt with would not be complete without raising the question of Sahara formerly under Spanish colonial domination, despite its complicated nature, despite the emotions it gives rise to.

It must be raised because it is one of those issues, like Angola and Djibouti, which might cause a crack in the edifice of unity appropriately built by the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity.

It must be raised because according to press reports, it has caused some tension, if not a real tension, among the States of the region, which may degenerate into serious fratricidal conflicts.

Africa would then be hard put to finding ways of establishing peace and reconciling parties. We must at the outset acknowledge, however, without complacency that in view of the turn that the question has taken, the OAU cannot deal with it as an arbiter or mediator as the case should have been, but as a spectator and observer of realities.

Indeed, although for many years the OAU has paid attention to the decolonization problem of Sahara under Spanish domination as evidenced by the sponsorship, support and guidelines given to the United Nations resolutions and actions in that respect, it is nevertheless a fact that since, 1974, the problem has developed in such a particular way that it is no longer dealt with in the councils of the OAU, but in those of the United Nations.

Our Organization has therefore been obliged somehow to adapt its stand to trends over whose evolution it does not have any control.

The Resolution AHG/Res.75(XII) adopted by the 12th Summit in Kampala, the most recent of such OAU resolutions on the issue, reveals most clearly in its preambular and operative clauses, the difficulty and the illusory progress of our Organization.

We are aware that since then there have been the report of the Special Mission of the United Nations, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, the green march, the tripartite agreement and the debate of the 30th Session of the United Nations.

The two distinct and irreconcilable resolutions adopted at the end of that debate, each introduced and supported by various African countries created a pathetic image of a deeply divided African group.

Quite obviously, the problem was centred on the lines followed by these opposing resolutions which, for each of the sides, represented the intangible truth.

There is therefore reason to wonder what role the OAU still plays in connection with this matter if not to place it in the context of the intangible principles of our Charter, particularly, "the peaceful settlement of differences, through negotiations, mediation, conciliation or arbitration."

- If not to seek peace, co-operation and good neighbourly relations between States of the region.

- If not to keep in mind the complex reality of Africa with her ill-defined, moving frontiers, carved in the form of an accordeon, with the mobility of her people who are ethnically related and interrelated.

- If not to place above everything else the interests of the peoples and their aspirations to development and enlightenment within a national system that they would have chosen freely.

Mr. Chairman,

If since 1963, when 32 States signed the Charter, the number of independent countries has risen to 47; it is obviously because our decolonisation and liberation effort has yielded successful results.

It is obviously because African countries within the OAU have identified themselves together within the same mystic of unity based on such noble objectives as the strengthening of solidarity of States with one another, defence of their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and final elimination of colonialism in all its forms.

Strangely and paradoxically, however, the decolonisation of some areas is bringing back to the fore the spectre of the old, dying splits which undermine our noble ideal of unity and threatens to destroy the respect and authority which our organisation has acquired all over the world.

We should perhaps look for the root causes of this paradox in this unfortunate problem arising from the very idea that OAU member states make of their Organisation.

Do we consider the OAU or do we wish it to be, an Organisation above States with supra-national power to assert its authority as an arbiter of conflicts in Africa, of cases of aggression against an African country and thereby impose solutions on the parties concerned and bring all the Member States to respect its arbitration? In that case the Organisation should naturally endow itself with the means of its policy commensurate with its ambitions, means that may include the adoption of coercive measures and even the formation of a permanent force for intervention.

We are aware certainly that the OAU is not yet conceived in that framework. Unfortunately, there is always the tendency to forget the OAU and yet expect it, without unanimously invested authority, to solve problems to which it has no keys.

We have seen that in the cases of conflict which cause us concern, the parties to the conflict have always objected to arbitration by our Organisation in so far as the only arbitration acceptable to each of the parties concerned is the one which is unconditionally favourable to it.

Hence the parties concerned preferred naturally to approach Member States individually for support. A practice that is bound to render all mediation attempts by the Organisation superfluous.

Do we look upon the OAU as a mobilizable instrument to be used at pleasure for special causes that is, to be brought to take sides in favour of this or that State or a group of States, even when the object of these causes creates conflicts among Member States?

It is obviously a role quite unbecoming to the Organisation as such and particularly to the Secretariat.

Or should we simply admit that the OAU is in its present capacity nothing but a family circle after the African manner where a solution to any problem is obtained by consensus after long and patient mediation, and applied dispassionately and impartially by the executive body.

In the present state of affairs, it seems that the OAU fits rather the last picture and it is for this reason that the desire to preserve unity should prevail at all levels, a duty which presupposes a patient search for impartial solution, that is, such solutions as likely to rally the whole or the majority of the sovereign member states of the Organisation.

Mr. Chairman,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me avail myself of this opportunity to pay tribute through you to the people of Mozambique who in a spirit of contribution and militant commitment, receive us today with warmth and cordiality and especially with the confidence of a people fully alive to their responsibilities. Your message so deep in meaning and so brilliantly conceived, Distinguished President, in this country that stands for heroism, self determination, system in the organisation of liberation struggle, cannot fail to receive and buttress our faith in the future of Africa yet to be liberated and built up in spite of some vicissitudes that beset our way. From this lofty place glorified by successful liberation struggle, especially after the bitter memory of the Extraordinary Summit, it would warm our hearts if at the end of our debates we are able to cry out once more and for ever: LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, meeting in its 26th Session in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique from 19 - 24 January, 1976,

Having examined the Report of the Standing Committee on General Policy and Information, particularly the part devoted to Zimbabwe.

Having on the one hand, heard the statements made by the representatives of ANC of Zimbabwe and, on the other, examined the political and military situation in Zimbabwe.

Noting that the illegal racist minority regime has resorted to employing delaying tactics and divisionist machinations aimed at enabling it to strengthen its machinery of repression.

Noting further that the racist illegal regime is stepping up provocations, threats and oppression against neighbouring African sovereign states, particularly the People's Republic of Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana in order to extend and internationalize the conflict.

1. Reaffirms OAU's recognition of ANC as the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe.
2. Calls upon the ANC to intensify the armed struggle for national liberation and majority rule.
3. Invites OAU Member States to render every moral, political, diplomatic support and give material assistance to the just cause of national liberation of the people of Zimbabwe against the illegal and racist regime.

4. Appeals to the Heads of State of Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia to continue their efforts to ensure that the unity of the people and their Organization, the ANC is safe guarded.
  
5. Appeals to the OAU Member States to maintain vigilance against the racist illegal regime and to express their solidarity with the sovereign States neighbouring Zimbabwe.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, meeting in its 26th Session in Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, from 19 - 24th January 1976,

Having examined the reports of the Stading Committee on General Policy and Information, and on Defence, especially the parts relating to Namiba,

Having taken note of the intensification of military and political activities being carried out by SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people engaged in the struggle against domination by the South African minority and racist regime,

Noting that the minority racist regime of Pretoria is using Namibia as a base for aggression against the independent State of Angola,

Highly appreciates the acceleration of the liberation process conducted by SWAPO freedom fighters and the people of Namibia,

1. DECIDES to grant more substantial military, material and financial assistance to SWAPO and recommends to all OAU Member States and all peace-loving and justice-loving States and Organizations to assist actively this Liberation Movement;
2. CONDEMNNS the policy of aggression of the South African Minority and racist regime both in Namiba and in Angola which is being used as a spring-board and a laundering and rear base by the South African expansionist troops;

3. . RECOMMENDS to the OAU Council of Ministers to find the most adequate ways and means of driving away the South African troops of aggression from the territories occupied illegally.

CLOSING SPEECH BY H.E. MR. MOHAMED RIAD,  
CHAIRMAN OF THE 26TH ORDINARY SESSION OF  
THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE  
LIBERATION OF AFRICA

Dear Brothers and Colleagues,

Now that we have concluded our deliberations, it would perhaps be a propitious time to reflect for a while upon our achievements.

You certainly have noticed that it is not at all enviable to be on the Chair. Inasmuch as it is a privilege to be Chairman, particularly of a committee dedicated to such a noble cause as the liberation, it is equally a responsibility of special magnitude. The Chairman is expected to be fundamentally impartial, and tuned - in conducting the business of the House - to the rules of fair-play.

And because impartiality and fair-play are, by definition, inexorable qualities in human nature, being a Chairman is, therefore, a painstaking work to practice.

What made this practice even more delicate is that fact that I was but dealing with brothers, with whom I have deep friendly relations for years, and whose views and opinions I respect and appreciate.

I think I have been impartial, even at those moments when our work was clouded with controversy and temperamental debate. I was motivated, throughout our meeting, by an ardent wish, and that is to see every and each one satisfied. If this wish is being materialised, I can then assure you that nothing could be more gratifying to me than that. If, however, the complexity of the issues discussed and the delicacy of the

topics dealt with have unwillingly constrained me not to fulfill that wish, all I can ask then is your understanding.

I must admit that you were co-operative and, indeed, understanding. In fact, I attribute our success mainly to your co-operation and sense of accommodation. I wish to thank you all for that.

Dear ~~Brothers~~ and Colleagues,

It will be a remiss on my part if I fail to pay tribute to the progressive and vigilant People's Republic of Mozambique. On its soil we met. By its principles we were inspired, and by its hospitality we were submerged.

May I be permitted at this juncture to state a fact and that is: If Egypt assumed this chairmanship, it did so on behalf of the sisterly country, Mozambique, and I myself on behalf of my brother Joaquim Chissano. I am sure that you are all looking forward to see him steering this Committee's deliberations at its next session.

In conclusion, I wish to thank wholeheartedly the Secretariat of the Liberation Committee, in particular the Executive Secretary, Lt. Col. Hashim Mbita, who deserves all our gratitude for the relentless work he has accomplished and for the exemplary patience he displayed.

My thanks also goes to all those who devotedly worked behind the scenes and whose assistance in processing our work was indeed invaluable, I, in particular, wish to thank all those who made our work easier ... those who are heard but not seen. I appreciate their diligence and dedication.

Dear brothers and colleagues,

Within hours we will be going back to our respective countries. But engraved in our memory will be the city of Lourenco Marques, the city which is radiating freedom and liberty. I am looking forward to meeting you again in yet another sisterly country; for the sake of our African Unity, and the cause of African liberation.

Thank you all and best luck.

STATEMENT BY MOROCCO

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Delegates,

We are all aware of the turn that the Sahara question has taken during the last half of the year which has just ended.

The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, has refreshed the memory of those who obstinately refuse to reckon with the realities. Indeed, he said among other things in his report that: "It has so happened that since 1974, the problem has taken a particular turn and is no longer discussed in the Councils of the OAU but rather in those of the United Nations."

Our Organization has been therefore, somehow compelled to adapt its stand to the quick succession of events over whose pace it has had no control.

Resolution RHC/Res.75 adopted by the Kampala Summit, the most recent resolution adopted by the OAU on this question, is the clearest illustration, as evidenced by its preambular and operative paragraphs, of the difficulties and the illusory progress of our Organization.

There is therefore cause to wonder what role the OAU could still play in this matter."

Mr Chairman, our Heads of State and Government guided, by their usual wisdom, refrained from discussing the substance of the matter. They desisted from it in favour of the United Nations Organization and the 30th Session of the General Assembly as you know, adopted two resolutions.

One General resolution directed at the administering power which has ceased to be since 14th November last year when the Madrid Forpartite Agreement was signed. That resolution is consequently inoperative.

The other resolution takes cognizance of the Madrid Agreement and sets out the procedure to be followed by the transitional administration to decolonize the territory in compliance with the terms of the agreement.

Since then an interim administration has been set up in Sahara, and the last soldier left the territory finally on the 12th of this month, ahead of schedule. This means Mr. Chairman, that the decolonization of Sahara is no longer a problem, the territory has been totally decolonized.

Mr. Chairman, the Sahara chapter is closed forever.

You will agree, Mr. Chairman, Honourable delegates, that our Liberation Committee was established more than ten years ago and it is only today when the Spanish occupation has already come to a close that we are being informed plainly about an application for audience and recognition by a so-called Liberation Movement of the territory.

We would have wished that the pseudo-movement which since our arrival on this heroic land of Mozambique, has vainly tried to dope and condition the delegations present, had been established earlier to contribute to the decolonization of the territory.

But alas, Mr. Chairman, it has come too late and the train has left without it.

In the light of the present situation and considering that unanimous desire of the Saharoui people to join their respective countries of origin and the setting up of the Moroccan-Mauritanian administration, any attempt to recognize to listen to that pseudo-movement will be considered by my country as an interference in the internal affairs of two sovereign States,

Members of this Committee and founding members of our Organization, and as a flagrant violation of Article III of our Charter.

Mr. Chairman, our Committee is fortunately aware of the danger involved in such a precedent which would open the way to opposing parties and secessionist tendencies.

Let this be clear, Mr. Chairman, my delegation calls upon this Committee to assume its responsibilities and I am sure that each and everyone here is aware of the danger.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



ORGANIZATION OF  
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Secretariat  
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منظمة الوحدة الأفريقية

السكرتارية  
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Annex VII

STATEMENT BY THE ALGERIAN DELEGATION  
TO THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE  
LIBERATION OF AFRICA

Lourenco Marquês,  
23 January 1976.

Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished Delegates,

The letter published by the delegation of Morocco on 23 of January 1976 and the statement read by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Morocco at the official opening of the 26th Session, contained obvious half-truths which hardly need to be pointed out since the delegates themselves will have realised the erroneous and biased nature of these statements.

The brilliant speech by the President of the Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Samora Machel, at the Opening of our Session and the report of the Executive Secretary, have stated OAU's position on this question better than we could.

All the resolutions adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, on Western Sahara, have strongly and unequivocally reaffirmed the right of the people of Sahara to self-determination. Delegations may refer to the collection of resolutions for confirmation.

Besides, it is necessary to recall that the International Court of Justice rejected all the so-called claims of sovereignty submitted by Morocco and Mauritania on Western Sahara. In fact the Court concluded thus:

" The facts and information brought to its attention did not establish the existence of any ties of territorial sovereignty between

the territory of the Western Sahara on the one hand, and the Kingdom of Morocco and the Mauritania entity on the other. The Court, therefore, did not establish the existence of legal ties of a kind that might modify implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) with regard to decolonisation of the Western Sahara and in particular the application of the principle of self-determination through the free and authentic expression of the will of the peoples of the territory".<sup>9</sup> par. 162).

The United Nations mission which visited Western Sahara also declared:

"In this territory, the mission noted 1/ that the population or, at least, almost all the people it met, categorically declared themselves in favour of independence and rejected the territorial claims of Morocco and Mauritania. The mission expressed the desire to see the United Nations Organization, the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States assist it obtain and preserve its independence".

The United Nations mission further stressed that the people revealed through demonstrations their support for the POLISARIO FRONT'S objectives for independence.

1/ Unofficial translation

In any case, these claims of hegemony having been refuted, how can one, even on principle, advance so-called historical arguments, today, to annex new territories? Should the sacred principle of territorial integrity be challenged? Should the intangibility of frontiers be challenged? Should we accept all annexations by force on our continent, and the policy of "fait accompli" which our continent has suffered since the colonialist aggression?

As the Executive Secretary has today pointed out in his report, the people of Sahara are engaged in an armed struggle against Spanish Colonialism which is still present, and the Moroccan and Mauritanian forces of aggression. The International Press has already written several reports on the struggle of the POLISARIO Front from the inland up to the Atlantic Coast as during the illustratious battles of GUERA and AMGALA.

Tens of thousands of Saharan refugees are fleeing from repression towards the Algerian borders and in the areas controlled by POLISARIO. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Red Cross and several humanitarian organizations are already assisting these refugees.

It is normal, Mr. Chairman, that today, within the framework of international solidarity, the Saharan peoples and the POLISARIO Front continue to enjoy the

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# Report of the 26th Ordinary Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa Lourenco Marques, Mozambique 19 to 24 January 1976.

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