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REPORT OF THE 28TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
OAU CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA



CM/T90

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REPORT OF THE 28TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
OAU CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA TO
THE 28TH ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa met at its 28th Ordinary Session in Lusaka, Zambia, from 29th January to 4th February, 1977.

PRESENT:

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Algeria | 12. Morocco |
| 2. Angola | 13. Mauritania |
| 3. Cameroon | 14. Mozambique |
| 4. Congo | 15. Nigeria |
| 5. Egypt | 16. Senegal |
| 6. Ethiopia | 17. Somalia |
| 7. Ghana | 18. Tanzania |
| 8. Guinea | 19. Uganda |
| 9. Guinea-Bissau | 20. Zaire |
| 10. Liberia | 21. Zambia |
| 11. Libya | |

OBSERVERS:

- (a) Member States: Botswana, Burundi, Central African Empire, Comoro, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Sierra Leone and Sudan.
- (b) Liberation Movements: ANC (Zimbabwe), ANC(S.A.), P.A.C., SWAPO, FLCS and LMD.

IN ATTENDANCE:General Secretariat:

H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mhomboua - Administrative Secretary-General

Dr. Peter Onu - Assistant Administrative Secretary-General in charge of Political Affairs

Mr. A.N. Chimuka - Head of Political Department

Commander Dawit G. Egzibhera - Chief of Decolonization

Executive Secretariat

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, OAU Liberation Committee Sub-Office, Lusaka

Major E.M. Mwanyika - Military Expert

(Full list of participants is attached).

OPENING CEREMONY:

2. The meeting was solemnly opened at 1700 hours on the 29th January 1977 at Mulungushi Hall, by H.E. Dr. Kenneth D. Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, under the Chairmanship of H.E. Mr. Joaquim Chissano, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in his capacity as Chairman of the 27th Ordinary Session of the Committee.

3. Amongst the guests specially invited to attend the Opening Session were: H.E. Ambassador D.W. Kamana, President of the UN Council for Namibia, Her Excellency S. Gbujama, representing the Chairman of the UN Committee on Decolonisation and H.E. Mr. L. Herman, Chairman of UN Committee against Apartheid. The Opening Session was also attended by Heads of Diplomatic Missions accredited to Zambia.

4. Accompanying President Kaunda at the Opening Session were the following dignatories:- His Hon. G. Zulu, Secretary-General of UNIP; The Right Hon. Prime Minister, Mr. E.H.K. Mudenda; Members of the Central Committee of the Party; Ministers and other Party and Government dignatories.

5. Before delivering his Opening Address, His Excellency, President Kaunda invited participants to observe a minute silence in memory of the late Jason Moyo, the Zimbabwean nationalist who died for his fatherland, and all the sons and daughters of Africa who have given their lives for the cause of African Liberation.

6. On behalf of the Party and People of Zambia, His Excellency President Kaunda extended to every participant fraternal greetings and warm welcome to Zambia. He wished them a happy and enjoyable stay, noting that this was the first time for Zambia to host a meeting of this important organ of the OAU.

7. On the timing of the 28th Session, the President declared that the meeting was being held at a most crucial time in the history of Africa, when all negotiations to attain Africa's objectives through peaceful means had failed.

8. The President urged that in making decisions, the Liberation Committee should clearly understand the nature of the contemporary world, the world which is characterised by great contradictions which bring into confrontation the two antagonistic and irreconcilable forces represented by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and fascism, on the one hand, and the just struggle of the oppressed masses, on the other. President Kaunda further reminded the participants that Southern Africa and the Middle East were now the top two of the world's hot spots. He warned that Africa was only a step away from a racial war in which super powers could not avoid being involved. The President cautioned that Africa has to plan future action against the background of these strategy intentions of major powers.

9. Continuing on the developments in Southern Africa, the President recalled that in 1974 the Frontline States launched the programme to achieve

Africa's objectives of majority rule and independence through negotiations.

These efforts, however, have already failed.

10. Regarding the Geneva Constitutional Conference on Zimbabwe, President Kaunda pointed out that it was Ian Smith and his clique who were responsible for wrecking the talks. This was because the latter was bent on setting up a government in Zimbabwe composed of reactionary elements. The British Government for their part have called off the negotiations without even consulting the nationalists who were supposed to be parties to the Conference. The President reaffirmed the fact that no agreement would end the war in Zimbabwe without the fullest participation and consent of the fighting forces. In this connection he informed the participants that on the 9th of January, 1977, the Frontline States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia) made a decision to the effect that the Patriotic Front be supported by the OAU.

11. President Kaunda further urged that in order to expedite the downfall of Ian Smith, apart from the intensification of the armed struggle, more political and diplomatic pressure be exerted. He particularly called upon Britain and the United States of America to apply comprehensive sanctions against the rebel colony. The President drew attention to Britain's hypocrisy in enforcing the so-called oil embargo, revealing that for almost ten years, Britain maintained, at great expense, two frigates and an aircraft carrier in the Mozambique channel. The so-called blockade of Rhodesia by Britain was, therefore, a farce; an expensive exercise in deception. President Kaunda mentioned particularly the following companies: BP, Shell, Caltex, Mobil and Total, as culprits.

12. On the armed struggle itself, the President gave assurance that Africa was prepared for a long and protracted struggle. What mattered was victory. In this hard and bitter struggle, Africa reserves the right to seek aid from any quarter, should South Africa intervene on the side of Ian Smith's illegal minority regime.

13. Turning to Namibia, the President expressed gratitude to the OAU and the UN for recognising SWAPO as the only authentic and legitimate representative of the People of Namibia. He welcomed the UN's increased interest in Namibia's development, adding that last year (1976) the UN General Assembly and the Security Council passed important resolutions supporting SWAPO and demanding South Africa's

total withdrawal from Namibia. Despite this continuous call, however, the racist regime remained obstinate in its oppressive policies. Africa's response, therefore, must support SWAPO's armed struggle against the recists.

14. On the situation in South Africa itself, the President observed that the system of apartheid was an affront to African and progressive mankind. He pointed out that while Sharpeville in 1960 sent a sharp reminder to the white community that they were sitting on a volcano, the year 1976 was a decisive turning point in the history of South Africa. The 1976 uprising in Soweto, Langa and other townships gave a final signal that South Africa has entered an era of revolution.

15. Regarding other territories of Africa still to be liberated, the President expressed concern about the situation in the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), Reunion, the Canary Islands and the Comoro Island of Mayotte. The President emphasized that the process of decolonisation in these areas must be stepped up and that more concerted efforts be exerted towards the total liberation of all these territories from colonial yoke.

16. Finally, His Excellency President Kaunda stressed that the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was the vanguard in the heroic struggle for the total liberation of Africa. This being the case, there was absolute need to further strengthen the Committee by all available means. Noting that the Committee had done a commendable job since its inception in 1963, the President paid tribute to its leadership and wished it every success in the task that still lay ahead. President Kaunda then appealed to all OAU Member States to guarantee the success of the Committee in the accomplishment of its task for Africa's dignity and glory.

(Full text of the President's speech which was later adopted as official working document of the 28th Session can be found at Annex I).

REPLY SPEECHES:

17. After the Presidential address, the following made reply speeches in the form of a Vote of Thanks:

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|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| H.E. Mr. C. Cecil Dennis Jr. | - Foreign Minister of Liberia |
| H.E. Mr. Latyr Kamara | - Ambassador of Senegal to Ethiopia |
| H.E. Mr. Abdellaziz Benhassine | - Ambassador of Algeria to Sudan |
| Mr. M. Garoeb (SWAPO) | - On behalf of Liberation Movement |

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S SPEECH:

18. The Secretary-General began his address by lamenting the assassination of one of the heroes of African liberation, Mr. Jason Moyo, whose funeral had taken place in the morning of the same day at the Lusaka Municipal Cemetery.

19. He noted that the monstrous crime against the late Moyo showed the determination of the racists and their stooges to resort to anything to silence the powerful voice of freedom. This crime should now galvanise the commitment to fight for freedom until final victory.

20. The Secretary-General further noted that the meeting was taking place in Zambia, the country exposed to all types of aggression not only by virtue of neighbourhood or environment, but especially because of her irreversible action for the cause of freedom and dignity. Addressing himself to H.E. President Kaunda, the Secretary-General paid tribute to the Zambian Leader for his commitment and indefatigable action for triumph and human values.

21. On the issue of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), the Secretary-General recalled that the territory had embarked upon the process which should very soon lead to independence. However, he warned that Africa should remain vigilant (if only to forestall any grave civil strife) and outplay any attempts at making this independence nominal and neo-colonialist in kind.

22. Turning to Southern Africa, the Secretary-General observed that this was where Africa's dangerous cancer lay. In Zimbabwe, for instance, the intensification of the armed struggle by the freedom fighters had compelled the racists to submit to the principle of independence. The Lusaka Manifesto and other documents embodying the African strategy for liberation are well known to all. The abortive Geneva Conference was the last proof of Africa's goodwill. Henceforth there is no alternative but to go by the reality in which peaceful means to liberate Zimbabwe had been completely blocked.

23. Turning to Namibia, the Secretary-General observed that liberated Angola offered SWAPO a reliable base from which to organise this battle. This being the case, the Liberation Committee should take measures to support the efforts of the People's Republic of Angola in favour of SWAPO to enable the Movement to retaliate against the provocations and acts of aggression perpetrated by the Voster apartheid regime.

24. On South Africa itself the Secretary-General stated that the hour of truth had sounded. Despite the arrays of laws and the repressive machinery the people had demonstrated their determination to break loose from the grip of this inhuman regime.

25. Finally, the Secretary-General drew attention to the provisions of Resolution AHG/RES.80 of the 13th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government which stipulates that "any attack by the racist regimes against any of the Frontline States shall be taken as an attack against all of independent Africa."

(Full text of the Secretary-General's Speech is at Annex II).

SPEECH OF THE OUT-GOING CHAIRMAN:

26. The Out-going Chairman addressed a special word of thanks to H.E. the President, the Government and People of Zambia for the warm reception that had been extended to the participants, adding that it was not by mere chance that Zambia was the host. The holding of the 28th Session in Lusaka was a further expression of the firm commitment of Zambia to the cause of African liberation. He saluted all delegates and other participants at the Conference and noted that no African country would be truly independent as long as Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa remained under racism, apartheid and colonial domination. The Minister observed that the vast material, political and diplomatic resources which Africa had mobilised in recent months have played a crucial role in bringing about positive developments realised since the Liberation Committee's 27th Ordinary Session held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, in May 1976. During this period, the scales in the relation of forces tipped more in favour of the fight for liberation. The Minister hailed the independence of Seychelles and highlighted on the important steps being taken by Africa towards the total independence in Southern Africa.

27. On the Geneva Conference, the Out-going Chairman noted that Zimbabwean freedom fighters resolutely defended the interests of the masses by their unwavering stand for real and meaningful transfer of power to the people.

28. On the death of Jason Moyo, the Minister expressed grave concern and declared that the death of Comrade Moyo was a blow not only to the people and fighters of Zimbabwe, but also to Africa and indeed all the forces of the world committed to independence and self-determination.

29. Turning to Namibia, the Minister stated that SWAPO freedom fighters had forced the enemy to show its true face by sponsoring puppet groups in order to turn Namibians against Namibians and, with the active backing of imperialism, create the conditions for foreign intervention. He added that Africa and the peace-loving world have already condemned the so-called Turnhalle constitutional conference.

30. With reference to South Africa, the Minister observed that the struggle of the people had now reached a higher stage of direct confrontation between the people and the racist state.

31. On the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), the Minister expressed gratitude for the co-operation recently displayed by neighbouring States with respect to the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the territory. However, the Minister expressed concern at the series of confusion and divisible manoeuvres embarked upon recently by French authorities pretending that there still remained doubts among the people of Djibouti as to whether or not they want independence.

32. Paying particular tribute to all the OAU Member States for their increasingly firm determination and active participation in the liberation struggle, the Minister mentioned particularly the tireless efforts of the Frontline States who have remained in the forefront in providing freedom fighters with material, political and diplomatic support. These efforts have been crowned by resounding victories both on the battle-field and at the negotiating table.

33. With respect to the OAU Goodwill Mission to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, which the Out-going Chairman himself led on the 20th August to 4th September 1976, the Minister observed that the OAU delegation was able to verify once more the firm commitment of those countries to the cause of liberation. In each country, the Minister added, the delegation held fruitful discussions with Government and Party Leaders as well as representatives of mass organisations. In each country visited the delegation received firm guarantees of continued support for the liberation struggle. The report of this Goodwill Mission was later presented together with the report of the Executive Secretary.

(Full text of the Out-going Chairman's speech is at Annex III).

ELECTION OF THE BUREAU:

34. The Committee considered the first item of the Agenda and elected the new Bureau composed the following members:

Chairman	:	Zambia
1st Vice-Chairman	:	Ethiopia
2nd Vice-Chairman	:	Mauritania
Rapporteur	:	Congo

35. Following the address of the Foreign Minister of Zambia, the Hon. Dr. Siteke N. Mwale, M.P., Chairman of the 28th Session of the Liberation Committee; the Committee elected the Drafting Committee of the Session composing of the following members:

1. Cameroon	5. Nigeria
2. Congo (Rapporteur)	6. Tanzania
3. Guinea-Conakry	7. Zambia
4. Libya	

ORGANIZATION OF WORK:

36. In consideration of item 2 of the Agenda, the Committee decided on the following time-table:

Morning	:	10.00 - 13.00 hours
Afternoon	:	16.00 - 19.00 hours.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA:

37. The Provisional Agenda was examined, and adopted as follows:
1. Election of Bureau
 2. Organisation of work
 3. Adoption of the Provisional Agenda
 4. Confirmation of the Minutes of the 27th Ordinary Session
 5. (a) Report of the Executive Secretary
(b) Report of the Goodwill Mission to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria
 6. Report of the Standing Committee on Policy and Information
 7. Report of the Standing Committee on Defence
 8. Report of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance
 9. Any Other Business
 10. Date and Venue of the next Session.

CONFIRMATION OF THE MINUTES OF THE 27TH ORDINARY SESSION:

38. After considering and examining the Minutes of the 27th Ordinary Session the Committee adopted the document as presented by the Executive Secretariat.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORT:

39. The report was presented as follows:-

- (a) Executive Secretary's Report.
- (b) Report of the Goodwill Mission.

At the invitation of the Chairman, the Executive Secretary made a summary of his report highlighting the major issues such as Zimbabwe, the plight of fleeing youths and students from Soweto, Langa and other parts of South Africa, in the face of Vorster's brutal repression. The Executive Secretary also touched upon positive developments during the period under review. The example of these were the successful progress made by the Zimbabwe fighting cadres, the victories scored by SWAPO in the political field and the armed combat inside Namibia. He pointed out the heroic determination and courage displayed by the courageous youths of South Africa in the struggle against racism and apartheid.

40. After the Executive Secretary's introductory remarks the Chairman invited delegates to confine their contribution to general remarks and reserve their comments on the substantial issues until when the reports of the Standing Committees on Policy and Information, and Defence were being considered.

41. Some delegations in their comments referred to the issue of Western Sahara but the Chairman reminded members of the fact that the Mauritius Summit had decided that an Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government should be convened to discuss this problem.

42. During the discussions of the Executive Secretary's Report, which took about two days, the following points came out prominently:

- (a) The invitation by the Japanese Government to the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee.
- (b) OAU/UNESCO Joint exercise to obtain education facilities in Member States for the fleeing school children of Soweto.
- (c) Zimbabwe.

43. With regard to the Japanese invitation, the Executive Secretary informed the Committee that the Executive Secretariat had received official invitation from the Government of Japan through their Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam for a delegation from the Executive Secretariat to visit Japan. The original invitation was received almost 12 months ago and several reminders were sent in later on. After some consideration, the Secretariat thought it wise to consult with some African Ambassadors who have served in Japan on the advisability of accepting the invitation.

44. After these consultations the Executive Secretariat was now seeking the views and advice of the Committee. During the discussion of this particular issue three schools of thought emerged:

- (a) Some delegates felt that in view of the negative policy of Japan towards Africa as exemplified by her collaboration with Africa's enemies it was unwise and untimely to accept the invitation;
- (b) Other delegates saw no harm in accepting the invitation since it would provide an opportunity to tell the Japanese Authorities of Africa's sentiments and feelings. Such a Mission, they felt, would also enable Africa to inform the Japanese people, through their mass media, of the wrong that was being done in their name by their Government;
- (c) The other school of thought was that more information should be sought before accepting or rejecting the invitation and that if the invitation were to be accepted, it should not be limited to the Executive Secretariat.

After further exchange of views on this matter the Committee decided to reject the invitation.

45. The Executive Secretary informed the Committee that following students exodus from South Africa, since last June, as a result of Soweto and related massacres of African youths in Soweto and other townships in South Africa, UNESCO/UNDP had earmarked the sum of US. \$ 1,049,500.00 to finance the emergency project for education placement of the students and pupils in OAU Member States. UNESCO is ready to undertake a joint Mission with the Executive Secretariat to visit some OAU Member States as a matter of urgency in order to establish and obtain facilities for these youths.

46. After a constructive and lively exchange of views on this item, the Committee decided to accept the Executive Secretary's recommendation and advised that closer co-operation and consultation be maintained amongst all parties concerned, in order to find an early and adequate solution to this urgent problem.

47. After these specific issues had been disposed of the Committee took note of the Executive Secretary's report together with the report of the Goodwill Mission to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

48. The Committee then thanked all those who had made generous contributions to the African liberation cause and in particular to the recent contributions from Guyana, Jamaica and Yugoslavia, and also expressed appreciation for the gesture of the blind Afro-American, Mr. Irvin Brown, who recently donated US \$ 1,000 from his personal savings.

49. After the introduction of the two reports of the General Policy and Information, and Defence, by their respective Chairmen, the Committee then decided to examine the progress of the struggle for the liberation of Africa territory by territory. It was agreed that apart from the reports of the two Standing Committees, the report of the Executive Secretary, as well as the address of His Excellency, President Kaunda, be used as Working Documents and for reference. It was also decided that National Liberation Movements be invited to contribute as much as they could during the deliberation of their respective territories.

ZIMBABWE:

50. In accordance with the established practice the Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe were invited to address the Committee before Member States made their contributions. The various Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe then took the floor in the following order:

- (i) Mr. Joshua Nkomo - (Joint Patriotic Front - ZAPU)
- (ii) Dr. Chikosi - (ANC - Muzorewa)
- (iii) Mr. Masangomai - (ZANU - Sithole)
- (iv) Mr. Muzenda - (Joint Patriotic Front - Mugabe)

51. In his address, Mr. Joshua Nkomo explained how the Patriotic Front came into being. He said that the Front was a union between ZAPU and ZANU and political directorate of ZIPA. He commended the Frontline States for their efforts in assisting to bring about this unity. Mr. Nkomo observed that despite some differences which still existed between ZANU and ZAPU, the Patriotic Front has already developed into a solid unity both politically and militarily.

52. Regarding the Geneva Talks, Mr. Nkomo dwelt at length on the unsatisfactory role played by Britain, especially in the person of Ivor Richard, Chairman of the said talks. He made it known to the Committee that the British proposals which were being broadcast and publicized by the Western mass media had not been officially communicated to the Liberation Movements concerned. As far as his Organization was concerned the Geneva Conference was not a conference for the Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe. The Geneva talks turned out to be merely a meeting between Mr. Ivor Richard and the rebel leader, Ian Smith. No wonder the said conference was later broken by the rebel leader in Salisbury and not in Geneva where the Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe themselves were parties to the Conference.

53. Mr. Nkomo further explained to the Committee the reason why he himself and his Organization had no wish to meet Ivor Richard who was visiting Lusaka during the 28th Session. The main reason for this was that in the considered view of the Patriotic Front, Mr. Richard had no more role since the Geneva Conference he was supposed to chair had already been torpedoed by obstinate rebel leader, Ian Smith. He therefore, reaffirmed to the Committee that the alternative was to free Zimbabwe through armed struggle.

54. The representative of Bishop Muzorewa's group of ANC (Zimbabwe) began his address by objecting to the presence of the Patriotic Front in the Hall. He stated, therefore, that no member or representative of the Patriotic Front should be allowed to enter the Assembly Hall. The ANC (Muzorewa) representative also alleged that the Patriotic Front was formed by the Frontline States and did not represent the Zimbabwe people. He added that there was no real unity between ZAPU and ZANU (led by Mugabe) and that the formation of the Patriotic Front was fictitious and a marriage for convenience between Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe.

55. Dr. Chikosi continued his statement with a criticism against the role played by the Frontline States, alleging that they were taking it upon themselves to impose leadership upon the people of Zimbabwe amongst other things. He then dwelt at length on what he called the negative role being played by Frontline States.

56. Mr. Masangomai, the Representative of Rev. Sithole's group of ZANU, conveyed greetings from his leader, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole. He then stated that the people of Zimbabwe were identifying themselves with ZANU and that the ANC was an internal wing of ZANU. Mr. Masangomai added that there was good working relationship between ZANU (Sithole) and the Muzorewa group of the ANC (Zimbabwe).

57. Like the Representative of the Muzorewa group of the ANC, the ZANU representative (Sithole) devoted the greater part of his statement on criticising the Frontline States and the Patriotic Front.

58. The other representative of the Joint Patriotic Front expressed concern and fear that Ian Smith was well represented in the Hall through the Muzorewa group. He denied categorically that the Patriotic Front was formed by the Frontline States. With reference to the Mgagao document of September 1975, the representative informed the Committee that at least 1,500 ZANU cadres expelled Rev. Sithole from ZANU, replacing him with Robert Mugabe. He observed further that Sithole's voluntary withdrawal from the ANC (Zimbabwe) was followed by a series of unbecoming behaviour of the Reverend himself.

59. On the Geneva Constitutional Talks, the ZANU (Mugabe) representative noted that the Patriotic Front succeeded in outplaying the imperialist manoeuvres. He reaffirmed that the Patriotic Front was a political structure of ZIPA and that any difficulties or differences which still existed between ZANU and ZAPU were being ironed out. The representative supported the explanations which were earlier given by Mr. J. Nkomo.

60. After all the Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe had made their contribution, the Chairman opened the debate and invited delegates to make observations in the light of what they heard from all the function and tendencies. Speaking on behalf of the Frontline States, the Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, H.E. Mr. Ibrahim Kaduma, made a brief but precise explanation to some of the allegations and criticisms levelled against the Frontline States. In a nutshell the subject matter of the Minister's intervention could be summarised as follows.

- (a) That the Frontline States were not imposing and had no wish to impose leadership on the people of Zimbabwe. The Frontline States were merely endeavouring to create conditions that would enable the people of Zimbabwe to participate in the running of their country in freedom and democracy.
- (b) That in their actions, the Frontline States were being guided by the Lusaka Manifesto, the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration and other relevant documents which guided the Liberation Committee.
- (c) That the Liberation Committee was a war Committee and not a Committee of politics. This being the case, it was necessary to channel aid to the fighting cadres rather than to the politicians quarrelling over leadership.
- (d) That the Frontline States, like any other States, had responsibility over the security, economy and well-being of their own people.
- (e) That there was need to build one strong army that would wage the liberation war in Zimbabwe until final victory.
- (f) That the Frontline States would not be deterred by unfounded and groundless criticism. They are committed to the cause of total liberation of Africa and they would continue with their effort until the final goal was reached.

61. Several delegates wondered why some Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe devoted their speeches on attacking the Frontline States instead of reporting on the progress of the struggle and formulating programme and strategy for the intensification of the struggle.

62. The Committee took note of Nigeria's contribution to the freedom cause and welcomed her announcement to present to the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee, at the end of the current Session, a Cheque for US.\$1.17 million in settlement of the arrears due to the Special Fund. This was done as a gesture towards meeting the pressing need for the intensification of the struggle in Zimbabwe.

The Leader of the Nigerian Delegation further disclosed to the Committee the existence of a Southern Africa Relief Fund, with an initial sum of US.\$3.3 million, to which has been added voluntary contributions by the Nigerian masses to the tune of another US.\$3.3 million. He added that every effort was being made by his Government to mobilize the population of Nigeria so that everyone, young or old, would contribute in whatsoever way they could to the cause of African liberation. He appealed to other Member-States to do likewise.

63. The Leader of the Nigerian Delegation then formulated proposals which constituted the basis of a new strategy to be adopted in the conduct of the freedom struggle in Zimbabwe. These proposals were later amended and adopted by the Committee as a resolution on Zimbabwe. The Committee also decided that new fronts should be opened in order to stretch the enemy forces and that the Frontline States should give all their assistance in this direction and that the Liberation Committee should continue to be fully briefed about the military position in the field.

64. After the conclusion of discussion on Zimbabwe, the Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Committee of the United Nations, the President of the Council for Namibia and the Representative of the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation; briefed the Committee on their activities and initiatives towards the acceleration of African liberation and the elimination of racism and apartheid.

65. The Chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Committee stated, among other things, that his Committee did not limit itself only to Anti-Apartheid activities. The Committee dealt with the overall liberation struggle and especially the struggle for decolonisation in Southern Africa.

66. The President of the Council for Namibia assured the Committee that his Council was doing everything towards the immediate independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. He reminded the Committee that SWAPO had already been granted the status of Permanent Observer at the UN General Assembly. He suggested that an Extraordinary UN General Assembly be convened specifically to discuss the independence of Namibia and that every effort should be made to see that the year 1977 becomes a year for Namibia's independence.

67. In her statement made on behalf of the Chairman of the UN Decolonisation Committee, Her Excellency, Ambassador S. Gbujama, observed that the 31st UN General Assembly was a revolutionary Session in favour of African liberation struggle. She cited particularly the UN Resolution which recognised armed struggle as the only means of liberating Namibia.

68. At this juncture the Committee directed the Executive Secretariat to participate fully at the forthcoming Seminar of Solidarity with the Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa, scheduled to convene in Maputo, Mozambique, later on in the year.

NAMIBIA:

69. The Representative of SWAPO, the only Movement recognised by the OAU and the UN as the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, began his intervention with the assurance that SWAPO was not opposed to the convening of a Constitutional Conference provided this was done in accordance with the conditions laid down by SWAPO, namely:

- (a) Release of all political prisoner.
- (b) That talks be held under UN supervision.
- (c) Withdrawal of South Africa's military and police forces from the Namibian territory.
- (d) Unconditional return of exiled Namibians without fear of victimisation.
- (e) Recognition of SWAPO by South Africa as the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people.
- (f) Recognition and respect by South Africa of Namibia's territorial integrity.
- (g) Revocation of the death sentences recently passed on three SWAPO leaders.

70. The SWAPO representative then reminded the Committee of the manipulation and meddling by the USA in Namibia's internal affairs, with particular reference to the support being given by America to John Vorster to enable him install a puppet regime in Namibia. This was being achieved through the so-called Turnhalle Constitutional Conference. The SWAPO representative requested OAU Member-States not to grant any permission for visits to their respective countries by the participants in the Turnhalle Tribal Talks. Any such permission would be construed as recognition of these tribal talks.

71. The SWAPO representative was particularly critical of the role being played by puppet Chief Kapuo. He indicated that not long ago this puppet Chief was given a rousing official welcome in the United States of America where a grand reception was organised for him.

72. The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, one of the most affected of the Frontline States by the Namibian problem, informed the Committee that a short while ago the Fascist regime of South Africa had moved in 50,000 troops to the Angola/Namibian border. However, the delegation reaffirmed Angola's total support for SWAPO and appealed for more aid to SWAPO and the Frontline States which were directly or indirectly bearing the brunt of the struggle.

73. Intervening in support of SWAPO, the Leader of the Delegation of the Arab Republic of Egypt informed the Committee that his country had put five scholarships at the disposal of SWAPO and ten scholarships for South African youths who have crossed the borders into Frontline States. The Delegate of Egypt also announced that his Government had decided to give an immediate grant to SWAPO of Stg.£5,000 over and above Egypt's normal contribution to the Special Fund.

74. The Committee was distressed to learn that West Germans and Israelis were being settled in Namibia by the racist South African regime for the purpose of destroying SWAPO. The Committee condemned the countries that aided and abetted the illegal racist regime in South Africa in carrying out this exercise. From the intervention that followed, the consensus was that more aid and assistance be given to SWAPO in the form of material, financial, political and moral support. The Committee endorsed the recommendations contained in the reports of the two Standing Committees and the Executive Secretary's Report.

SOUTH AFRICA:P.A.C.:

75. The PAC Representative in his contribution stated that his Movement was dynamically involved in the revolt against apartheid and the tyranny of the minority racist regime in that territory. His Movement's activity was evidenced by the recent infiltration of the Jabulani Police Station in Soweto by a PAC trained sabotage unit which, he said, blew up 26 enemy police officers. The PAC representative also stated that activities of his Movement contributed to the national uprising which broke out in Soweto on June 16, 1976. Further victories, he said, would be registered if OAU Member States provided the PAC with the required assistance.

76. ANC (South Africa)

76. The representative of the ANC (South Africa) described the current situation in Southern Africa, particularly since the Soweto incident of June, 1976, as a true mass revolution in which the ANC had played an important role. He said that his Movement's activities included occasional sabotage operations, such as the recent blowing up of a South African Police Land Rover by four ANC activists. He indicated that a state of war indeed existed in view of the arrests, detentions and trials as well as tortures and murders of detainees. He read out a long list of African nationalists arrested, detained or awaiting trial as well as a comprehensive data on the incidents of deaths in detention.

77. On the question of Bantustans, he drew attention of the Committee to the possibility of yet another puppet enclave, the Bopbusathwana Bantustan, attaining a so-called independence on December 20, 1977. He expressed the hope that OAU Member-States would not grant recognition to this or any other homeland that may be granted sham independence by the Vorster regime.

78. Observer delegations from the immediate neighbouring States drew attention of the Committee to the vicious measures being taken by South Africa to sabotage their economies and also the acts of aggression against their sovereignty and territorial integrity. The refusal of Lesotho to recognise the so-called independence of Transkei had provided South Africa with the pretext to unleash an economic warfare against that Kingdom.

79. Other delegations highlighted the urgent requirements of assistance in the field of education, vocational and technical training for the young victims of Soweto, hundreds of whom were now in exile in the neighbouring independent African countries of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. They called for a special programme of assistance for the temporary sanctuary States. Delegations also paid tribute to activities of the UN Special Committees which had contributed to the mobilising of world public opinion against the repressive system of apartheid in South Africa and the Republic's unholy alliance with Zionist Israel. They appealed for close co-operation and co-ordination between the OAU Executive and General Secretariats, on the one hand, and the UN Special Committee, on the other, in the convening of seminars and other conferences designed to highlight the crimes against humanity being perpetrated in Apartheid South Africa with the support of Western capitalism and imperialism. The delegations urged Member-States of the OAU in their entirety to rise to the occasion by increasing their assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa to enable them better prepare themselves for the struggle ahead.

THE SO-CALLED FRENCH SOMALILAND (DJIBOUTI):

80. The representative of LMD in his contribution drew the attention of the Committee to the continued French manoeuvres to hinder the smooth accession of this territory to genuine independence. He alluded to the issue of identity cards which were being used by one authentic group against another. He reiterated the support of his Movement for the Round Table Conference decided upon by the Summit in Mauritius and urged for its early convention.

81. The representative of the FLCS who spoke for the United Front, composed of LPAI and the majority Parliamentary Group as well as the local Transitional Government. He intimated that the United Front was founded in response to the united call by the OAU; and that its doors were open to other liberation movements and political groups in the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) which were still outside the Front. He also condemned French political manoeuvres designed to impede the territory's smooth accession to independence and called for a free referendum under the auspices of the OAU and the UN.

82. The representative of MPL, in his contribution, contended that the situation had not really changed in his territory even with the ouster of the former Chief Minister, Mr. Ali Aref. He expressed fears about the intentions of the neighbouring independent countries and France which still continued with the manoeuvres to delay and impede a smooth and peaceful accession to independence of the territory. He stated that the problem of citizenship was being used by France to sow the seeds of confusion among the various ethnic groups, and even amongst the neighbouring independent African countries who hosted thousands of refugees from Djibouti. A solution to the problem of citizenship, he suggested, could be found in the formation of an anti-colonialist United Front. He therefore called for an early convening of a Round Table Conference on a neutral ground under the auspices of the OAU, prior to the French referendum on independence.

83. The representative of UNI made reference to what he described as intense provocations by French colonialists in the form of arbitrary arrests, detentions and imprisonments. He called upon France to free all political prisoners, including the Secretary-General of his own Party, and to allow a free atmosphere for the conduct of the referendum for independence. He then urged the Committee to condemn French colonialist manoeuvres which constituted an impediment to an early and peaceful accession to independence.

84. The delegation of one of the neighbouring States briefed the Committee on the latest mission of the French Minister of State who had reiterated his country's determination to prepare the territory of the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) for an early and unconditional independence. The other neighbouring State delegation expressed apprehension that disunity amongst the political parties inside Djibouti could have disastrous consequences for the organization. He, therefore supported the call for an early convening of a Round Table Conference to resolve this issue.

COMORO:

85. With regard to the situation in the Island of Mayotte, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Comoro made a detailed expose on the situation on the Island as well as the recent massacres of Comorian nationals perpetrated in Madagascar as a result of racial conflict. Concluding his remarks the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Comoros outlined a four-point proposal on the Island of Mayotte and Comorian refugees as follows:

- (a) The Committee of Seven set up in compliance with the Resolution of the Summit Conference in Mauritius should meet separately from the OAU regular sessions at a place and date to be fixed by the Secretary-General.
- (b) A strategy based on the proposals of the Committee of Seven should be worked out by the OAU at the forthcoming Libreville Summit.
- (c) The question of Mayotte Island of Comoro should be placed as a specific item on the Agenda of the OAU Council of Ministers Session in Lome, in consonance with the provisions of the resolution passed on this issue by the Summit in Mauritius.
- (d) The OAU Bureau of Refugees should deal with the problem of those repatriated from Majunga.

86. At the end of the discussion on the question of Mayotte, and on the proposal of a number of Member-States, the Committee endorsed the four-point proposal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Comoros. The Secretariat should study seriously the question of Comoro being a unique case where part of the country is still in colonial hands.

87. The Secretary-General should also report to the next Council of Ministers on the unhappy incidents in Majunga where a number of Comoro nationals lost their lives following a conflict with the nationals of Madagascar.

88. In line with the aforementioned recommendations, the Committee was further requested to clarify the Liberation Committee's role vis-a-vis the liberation of the Island of Mayotte, to examine in detail France's interests in Africa and to recommend appropriate measures to be taken in the event France refuses to decolonise Mayotte.

89. The Committee then endorsed the four-point proposal of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Comoro.

REUNION ISLAND:

90. The Committee, while taking note of the information contained in the reports from the Executive Secretariat, regretted that no progress had been made towards gathering enough information with regard to Reunion and requested accordingly the Executive Secretary to exert more efforts with the co-operation of the concerned neighbouring States and to report to the next meeting of the Liberation Committee.

CANNARY ISLANDS ARCHIPELAGO:

91. As regards the Canary Islands, the Committee regretted the fact that the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee consisting of three countries (Senegal, Algeria and Guinea) had not been able to meet since its creation; and noted that the Executive Secretariat and the Liberation Committee had failed to maintain contact with Dr. Cubillo, Secretary-General of the MPAIAC. In the light of this situation, the Secretariat had been asked to contact (as soon as possible) the leaders of MPAIAC with a view to informing the Committee about the recent developments.

92. After a detailed examination of the Executive Secretary's report (LC.28/DOC.2) and those of the Standing Committees on Policy and Information (LC.28/DOC.3) and Defence (LC.28/DOC.4), the Committee adopted the said reports.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE:

93. The Committee took up item 7 of the Agenda on the Report of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance, introduced by Citoyen Lemba Ne Kensi Zinga of the Zaire Delegation.

94. During the discussion that followed the examination of the report; delegates wanted to know why some posts have remained vacant for so long, especially the post of Assistant Executive Secretary for Defence, and the vacant posts of Secretaries in the working languages of the OAU.

Budget of the Special Fund:

95. Other delegates of the Liberation Committee asked for some clarification on the expenditure incurred, the balance of accounts while considering the allocations under different codes to Liberation Movements for the next financial year 1977/78, as contained in the Draft Budget of the Special Fund approved by the Standing Committee.

96. The Committee then heard the representatives of the Liberation Movements before deciding upon the allocations for the stepping up of the armed struggle and thus accelerate the liberation process in each territory. The representatives of the Movements set forth before the Committee the justification for their requests by pointing out their commitments as the struggle developed, the consequences of savage and brutal repression they have to suffer at the hands of the forces of colonialism and apartheid, forcing the masses into exile in the neighbouring OAU Member-States.

97. The Committee subsequently heard the Liberation Movements of the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) who had been absent from the meetings of the Standing Committees in Dar-es-Salaam. The two Movements recognised by the OAU explained their requests for financial assistance which, after due consideration, were approved as part of the US.\$3,359,662-94 Budget of the Special Fund for 1977/78 with minor amendments.

(The Budget of the Special Fund for the year 1977/78 is attached at Annex IV).

98. The Committee then adopted the Report of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance (LC.28/DOC.5). The Committee also approved the estimates for the Secretariat's servicing the OAU Observer Mission to the So-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) during the holding of a Referendum and Elections envisaged before the territory accedes to independence.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS:

99. No specific points were discussed under this item.

DATE AND VENUE OF THE NEXT SESSION:

100. The Committee accepted, with pleasure, the kind invitation of the People's Republic of Angola for the holding of the 29th Ordinary Session in that country. The invitation had earlier been circulated to all participants of the 28th Ordinary Session. In accordance with the established practice the Executive Secretariat was directed to liaise with the host Government with a view to fixing a specific date.

CLOSING SESSION:

101. After an all-night sitting, the Committee concluded deliberations on the last item of the Agenda at about 06.30 hours in the morning of 4th February, 1977. Thereafter the Chairman of the 28th Ordinary Session, H.E. Dr. Siteke Mwale, M.P., Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, delivered a brief but touching closing speech, thanking the participants, especially delegates, for the energy and co-operation they had exerted towards the success of the meeting. Before wishing the participants bonne voyage, the Minister expressed the hope that it would not be long before the Continent of Africa was totally liberated from classical colonialism.

VOTE OF THANKS:

102. In reply to the Minister's closing remarks, the delegations of the Arab Republic of Libya and the Republic of Zaire delivered a Vote of thanks on behalf of other delegations and participants.

103. The 28th Ordinary Session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was formally closed at 06.45 hours on the 4th February, 1977.

CM/790 (XXVIII)

Annex I

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT DR. K.D. KAUNDA
AT THE OFFICIAL OPENING OF THE O.A.U. LIBERATION
COMMITTEE MEETING, MULUNGUSHI HALL, LUSAKA,
JANUARY 29, 1977.



CM/790 (XXVIII)

Annex I

Comrade Chairman
Your Honour, the Secretary General of the Party
The Right Hon. Prime Minister
Hon. Chief Justice
Hon. Mr. Speaker
Hon. Members of the Central Committee
Hon. Cabinet Ministers
Your Excellency the Administrative Secretary General
of the O.A.U.
The Executive Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee
for the Liberation of Africa
Your Excellencies
Comrade Freedom Fighters
Distinguished Guests
Countrymen,

On behalf of the Party, Government and all Zambians I extend to each and everyone of you warm and fraternal greetings. We welcome you all to our country. We wish you a very happy, enjoyable and fruitful stay.

This is the first time Zambia is hosting a meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. We welcome the opportunity to host this most important organ of the O.A.U. We wish you success in your deliberations.

This session of the Liberation Committee comes at a most crucial time in the history of Africa. Africa is going through a most momentous period in history. The people of Southern Africa have made clear decisions to wage to victory their just struggle against their oppressors. It comes at a time when all initiatives to attain Africa's objectives by peaceful means have failed. Even the joint Anglo-American initiative fully backed by the other Western nations has collapsed. Smith's war against the African people continues. The dangers of a bloodbath have never been worse. The responsibility for this perilous course of events rests with Smith and Britain.

CM/790 (XXVIII)

Annex I

In making important decisions, the O.A.U. Liberation Committee must clearly understand the nature of the contemporary world. Today's world is still characterised by great contradictions which bring into confrontation two antagonistic and irreconcilable forces represented by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and fascism on one hand and the just struggle of the oppressed masses on the other. This is why Africa and the progressive forces throughout the world back the cause of the oppressed millions in Southern Africa. The cause of the oppressed masses is not a cause against one race, it is a cause against injustice perpetrated by a lunatic clique of racists in the region.

Africa must also understand that Southern Africa is one of the top two of the world's hot spots. The other being the Middle East. We are only a step away from a racial war in which super-powers cannot but be involved. Africa must, thus, plan future action against the background of the strategic intentions of major powers. Africa must know that in the event of a real bloody racial war in Southern Africa, the West will not be counted on the side of the oppressed. We wish they would, but history shows that they will not, we know our allies.

At this time it is important to state that our strategy in the liberation of Southern Africa has been very clear right from the start. We have always declared our readiness for meaningful negotiations to achieve Africa's objectives. We re-affirm this today. But we also re-affirm unequivocally that if negotiations fail, then we shall achieve our objectives by armed struggle.

In 1974, the Frontline States launched a concerted programme to achieve Africa's objective of majority rule and independence through negotiations. Our efforts failed. Now an Anglo-American initiative to which we have given maximum support has also clearly foundered on the rock of Ian Smith's hard-headed, blind intransigence and racial bigotry. Angola,

Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, have been united in demonstrating to the whole world including Smith's allies that Africa is genuinely committed to peace and stability on the basis of equality regardless of race. We have demonstrated to friend and foe alike that we accept the principle of negotiations as an instrument of international peace and security.

But we have equally demonstrated that negotiations for their own sake, negotiations to buy time cannot be accepted by us. Now Smith has broken the Geneva Conference. He wants to set up a Government with reactionary elements. The British Government for their part have called off the negotiations without consulting the nationalists who were supposed to be party to the Conference. We have no regrets whatsoever. For us Geneva was only an extension of the liberation war in Zimbabwe. Geneva or no Geneva that war had continued and will continue until victory is won. Smith's rejection of the British proposals on Monday, January 24, 1977, is a rejection of the peaceful strategy and a vote for the escalation of the war. It is not the Africans who have rejected negotiations. Smith has rejected negotiations. He wants war.

Let Smith know, and let the whole world know this. No agreement will end the war in Zimbabwe without the fullest participation and consent of the Patriotic Front and all its fighting forces.

- No agreement will end the war if it involves the transfer of power to puppets and reactionary elements within Zimbabwe.
- Any attempt to exclude the nationalist forces under the leadership of the Patriotic Front will end in civil war.

Those who seek to ignore the decisive factors of the Zimbabwe revolution are preparing a recipe for white exodus. The tide of history is sweeping the oppressed masses to their historic destiny - to self-determination and full national independence.

No one wants whites to suffer except Smith's Rhodesian Front. Indeed if we were asked to define the Rhodesian Front we would say: The Rhodesian Front is a murder squad whose constitution is a barbaric monstrosity unfit for human society, whose end is self-destruction. Racists will be the foolish victims of their own nurtured cancer of selfishness. Their selfish love of themselves will ultimately destroy them.

The choice is theirs. They can be refugees or they can cast their lot with free Zimbabwe to enjoy the sunshine of success in peace and freedom.

On January 9, 1977, Frontline States made a decision to recognize the Patriotic Front. Some people have wondered about the meaning of that decision.

First, the decision of the Frontline States to back the Patriotic Front was a recognition that Smith had not accepted majority rule by negotiation and that war would, therefore, continue in Zimbabwe. That war is being waged by the forces of the Patriotic Front - ZIPA. Without these forces, there would have been no Geneva, no peaceful negotiations. As we recognize the continuing war and as we pledge Africa's support for liberation until victory, we also must support the forces waging it. The forces which are responsible for the new and historic victories are the Patriotic Front.

Second, the recognition of the Patriotic Front means that Africa's material aid must go to those who are fighting. The fighting forces in the liberation war in Zimbabwe are under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Free Africa must indentify herself with those who are fighting. Victories in the armed struggle will in the end create democratic conditions in which even those who are not fighting can join in the enjoyment of freedom.

Third, our recognition of the Patriotic Front is a concrete expression of our commitment to the unity of all nationalist forces engaged in the liberation war against Smith and his clique. Frontline States understood the dangers of building more than one army for Zimbabwe. We cannot afford to have a third or fourth army. We thus pledge to build unity amongst all the forces of the Patriotic Front. Our duty to Africa is to help give Zimbabwe one national army and the time to do it is not later but now.

Fourth, our decision also means that in our political and diplomatic offensive we must apply the principle of unity. We must support the Patriotic Front and its fighting forces. Only they can end the war when agreement has been reached on the Transfer of Power. Only their decision to agree to a new form of Government will make the ceasefire relevant and effective.

We, therefore, must continue to give political, moral and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front apart from material and financial support. At this point, we must pay tribute to the leaders of the Patriotic Front for their vision in choosing to build unity amongst their fighting cadres. This augers well for the future of Zimbabwe.

But let me hasten to add that our recognition of the Patriotic Front does not mean a number of things which are attributed to us. We will not interfere in the choice of leaders in Zimbabwe. The choice of leaders in Zimbabwe is entirely a matter for Zimbabweans. But let me say this. The question of choosing the best instruments for waging the war and for winning victory in Zimbabwe is not only a matter for Zimbabweans, but is also Africa's concern and, therefore, ours. We are dealing with war. That is Africa's priority today. We cannot start bickering about premiership even before victory has been achieved. Africa, and Zimbabweans in particular, must have their priorities correct. The first one is liberation. When liberation has been achieved Zimbabweans can quarrel about leadership. For the moment the enemy is Ian Douglas Smith. Africa must be united to fight him and his clique. Africa must be prepared to use every means and co-operate with any forces in the world willing to help bring an end to the Smith racist minority regime and replace it with majority rule.

We are aware, very keenly aware, that our allies in the peaceful strategy will not be with us on the war path. We co-operated on the road to Geneva. But they will not work with us on the unbeaten war path to Salisbury. Our traditional allies will certainly and invariably support us on that path. We appeal to them to increase their support for the progressive forces in Zimbabwe. As victory draws near, let the reactionary forces within Zimbabwe know that puppets, quislings and stooges enjoy the sunshine of false success while their colonial masters reign, but having no merit, they quickly find themselves in the gutters of history upon the establishment of a peoples' Government. As it has been in other parts of the world, so will it be in Zimbabwe.

We call upon all those nations who worked for Geneva not to oppose the war of liberation. They know that Smith is responsible for the continuation and escalation of the liberation war. He is the common enemy. He has defied them. Let them concentrate on his removal from the path of negotiations. Only in this way will peace be established deeply rooted in freedom and justice.

We, particularly call upon Britain and the United States to apply full and comprehensive sanctions against the rebel colony. The new Administration in United States has struck the right note in their political line towards minority regimes.

However, the new challenge requires action now and we call upon them to move swiftly in support of the struggling masses. We call upon the Carter Administration to end America's imports of chrome from the rebel colony. That illegal trade conducted all these years in total defiance of Africa and the world is a source of revenue for Ian Smith. That revenue enables Smith to buy arms to kill the innocent masses.

We must now also extend sanctions to oil supplies. Since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in November 1965, Ian Smith has remained difficult and stupidly arrogant because he has always been assured of the continuous flow of oil in breach of the United Nations embargo. On February 15, 1968, at a Press Conference in Lusaka, I revealed the scandal in which hundreds of thousands of tons of oil for the rebel colony were being carried in ships owned by various countries including Britain, America, France, Japan and so forth.

The world is aware of Britain's decision to enforce the oil embargo. They maintained for almost 10 years at great expense two Frigates and an Aircraft Carrier in the Mozambique Channel. But the Blockade was a farce, an expensive exercise in deception. The fact is that Western ships continued to bring oil for Smith through "Lourenco Marques". Tankers belonging to BP, shell, Caltex, Mobil and Total were readily available to bring oil into the land of rebellion. So much

archaistrated and carefully planned propaganda was made about the ship Joana V. Yet it is common knowledge that even that ship discharged part of the cargo at Beira under the eyes of the British Patrol. My revelations were labelled as being without foundation at that time. Yet, despite all the falsehood fabricated to cover up the scandal, truth remains protected by time and history. The truth is that Shell-BP, Caltex, Mobil and Total have remained in control of the Rhodesian oil market. They remain supplying oil to Smith. This oil, transported by Western owned ships, has to-date kept the tobacco farms, industries, transport and the rebel administrative machinery running. The British envoy Mr. Ivor Richard himself was witness to the great paradox of the century.

Worse still the oil supplied by these Companies keeps Smith's war going. Oil Companies are responsible for the massacres of thousands of innocent people including civilians in Zimbabwe and for wanton acts of aggression against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. Yes, these Companies were source of encouragement for Ian Smith to declare his illegal Independence. They engaged in a conspiracy to hold Zambia to ransom. They have kept Smith afloat and have caused great damage to our economy through their continued support for the rebellion. The Western oil Companies are to-date running Smith's war machinery.

Yet these same oil Companies are asking for the co-operation of Africa and expect good treatment from Africa. We cannot accept the contention that they are independent subsidiaries. There are no oil fields in Rhodesia or South Africa. The Companies are multi-national Corporations.

Time has come for these oil Companies to choose between Ian Smith and co-operation with Africa. Free Africa is not asking too much of them. We charge them with the responsibility for the deaths of thousands in Zimbabwe and for Smith's attacks against independent African States. We demand that they stop their criminal conspiracy against Africa, against the cause of freedom and justice in Southern Africa.

Sanctions against the rebel colony must also include Banking and Insurance institutions as well as Postal and Telecommunications. Those who advocate non-military solutions must implement sanctions to cover these and other areas.

Africa is prepared for a long and protracted armed struggle in Zimbabwe. What matters is victory. Africa is sure that victory will come. In this hard and bitter struggle Zimbabweans reserve their right to seek aid from any quarter should South Africa intervene on the side of Smith in this war.

Africa must also give great attention to Namibia and increase support for SWAPO's struggle against South Africa's occupation of that territory.

The O.A.U. and the United Nations recognise SWAPO as the only authentic and legitimate representative of the people of Namibia. We know that SWAPO launched its armed struggle against South Africa only when their just demands were rejected. Normal political activity was suppressed and Namibia came under South Africa's military occupation. SWAPO has continued to declare publicly their readiness to talk to South Africa about Namibia's independence and South Africa's withdrawal. It is South Africa that has consistently rejected SWAPO's demands. We, therefore, welcome the United Nations increased interest in Namibia's development. Last year the General Assembly and the Security Council passed some of the best Resolutions supporting SWAPO and demanding South Africa's total withdrawal from Namibia. Despite this continuous call the racist regime remains obstinate in its oppressive and racist policies. Africa's response, therefore, must be based on SWAPO's armed struggle against the racist forces.

Our task must be to achieve independence for Namibia which ^{reflects} the unity of the whole people of a sovereign nation as a unitary state. We must continue to completely reject in any shape or form any manoeuvres aimed at dividing Namibia into Bantustans. We must reject in toto any attempts by the racist regime to annex any part of Namibia. We must reject any attempts to install puppets as the Government of Namibia. The Turnhalle tribal talks in Windhoek are a deliberate attempt to side track SWAPO and install stooges in Government to preserve S.A.'s interests and to have Namibia as a buffer State. We join SWAPO in fighting these attempts.

We urge Africa to increase her support for SWAPO's struggle until victory is won. We call upon our allies in Africa's struggle to join hands with the oppressed. SWAPO will win.

The system of apartheid in South Africa is an affront to Africa and progressive mankind as a whole. We have always reaffirmed our total commitment to the eradication of apartheid from the soil of Africa. We have fought apartheid in international fora. We are succeeding. We hail the efforts of the OAU, the United Nations and other organizations in increasing the awareness of the world about mankind's greatest tragedy perpetrated in Nazi style.

We have faith in man. We have faith that regardless of the intensity and the barbaric nature of oppression in South Africa, the 18 million under-privileged, oppressed and unarmed people will rise against even the deadliest of weapons. The new weapons systems being manufactured and procured by the racist regime, the mirages and various missiles, will find freedom fighters within South Africa out of range.

The year 1976 was turning point in the history of South Africa. Sharpville in 1960 sent a sharp reminder to the white community that they were sitting on a volcano.

The 1976 popular uprisings in Soweto and Langa and other townships gave a final signal that South Africa had entered an era of Revolution. The blacks will not simply accept to be under-dogs. They will fight injustice at every turning. Africa must, therefore, maintain the momentum of its oral, political and diplomatic offensive against apartheid. We must collectively condemn the atrocities perpetrated against innocent men, women and children. Far from these atrocities daunting the oppressed, they should give them and Africa encouragement because the journey to victory has begun. Let the oppressed people in South Africa know that in the fullness of time their mission is sure to be accomplished. Apartheid will be eradicated.

We must continue to reject phoney independence being granted to the Bantustans. We call upon the leaders of these areas to be vigilant and to maintain their pressure against their oppressors and to remember that unity amongst the oppressed masses is the most potent weapon in Africa's arsenal. We must use it.

Let me assure you all of Zambia's continued commitment to fight oppression in every form and manifestation everywhere in the world. We remain firm in our continuing

commitment to eliminate all forms of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and fascism. These remain sworn enemies of Africa. They are our enemies. Let us wage a collective struggle based on the unity of our people. Let us marshal together all our resources to strengthen Africa and the progressive world in order to deal effectively with the crisis in Southern Africa. Africa is destined to win.

World peace and security depend upon the removal of the causes of the current conflict.

There are other colonial questions which are of great concern to Africa such as the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), Reunion, the Canary Islands and the Comoro Island of Mayotte.

The process of decolonisation must be speeded up. We want every unliberated part of Africa to be free and independent. We must increase our support for the liberation of all these territories from the colonial yoke.

France has declared her intention to grant independence to the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti). We welcome the move. There should be no further excuses for delay in granting independence to the people of that territory. We, therefore, hope that France will redouble her efforts to translate into reality her declared intention. The people of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) must decide the type of independence they want for themselves.

SPEECH OF THE OUTGOING CHAIRMAN, H.E., COMRADE
J. CHISSANO, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE TO THE 28TH SESSION OF
THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Your Excellency, Kenneth D. Kaunda,
President of the Republic of Zambia,

Honourable Ministers of the Government of Zambia,

Your Excellency, William Eteki-Mbomoua,
Secretary-General of the OAU,

Your Excellency, Colonel Hashim Mbita,
Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee,

Distinguished representatives of the Liberation Movements,
Distinguished Delegates,

Allow me to begin with a word of thanks to the people and government of Zambia for the hospitality and warm reception which has been extended to us all. It is not by mere chance that Zambia is our host. We interpret our presence here today as a farther expression of the firm commitment of Zambia to the cause of Africa's liberation. We are particularly grateful to His Excellency, President Kenneth Kaunda for the clear remarks in his opening speech which we consider precious directives for our deliberations. President Kaunda is a comrade-in-arms of long standing. A veteran in the struggle for the liberation and defence of his own country, he has always maintained a firm and effective position in the liberation struggle of his neighbouring countries: Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

We salute all the distinguished delegates present here and wish to express appreciation for the practical contributions which have been made towards the armed struggle still being waged in Southern Africa. These are a reflection of Africa's ever-growing commitment to her total emancipation. They are an acknowledgement that no African country is independent so long as Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa remain under racism, apartheid and colonial domination.

The vast material, political and diplomatic resources which Africa has mobilised in recent months have played a crucial role in bringing about the positive developments witnessed since the Liberation Committee's 27th Ordinary Session in Dar-es-Salaam. During this period the scales in the relation of forces tipped more abruptly in favour of the fight for liberation. We hailed the independence of Seychelles and saw important steps being taken by Africa to bring us nearer to total independence in Southern Africa.

The intensification of the armed struggle by the gallant combatants of Zimbabwe and Namibia has reinforced our readiness to step up our solidarity while concrete results had world-wide repercussions. After the attainment of independence in Mozambique and Angola, the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia contributed to the creation of conditions for action by the liberation movement of South Africa, whose oppressed people responded readily to the mobilisation and organization for the struggle.

Suddenly imperialism, alarmed by the prospects of imminent defeat on the battlefield sought to conquer victories over the Zimbabwe and Namibia peoples at the negotiating table.

In the Geneva Conference, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters resolutely defended the interests of the masses in their unwavering stand for a real and meaningful transfer of power to the people. Great Britain's intentions were exposed and the armed struggle was once again shown to be the only realistic means of liberating the country. It is now up to Britain to prove that she also wants the independence of Zimbabwe by supporting those who are effectively working towards it. The rebel, racist Ian Smith will not give up power, it must be forcibly taken from him. In a desperate attempt to throw sand over the eyes of the world the illegal regime now prepares for yet another manoeuvre to install its own puppets in the government. Seasoned by the centuries - old resistance and

struggle against foreign domination Africa will condemn with one voice the so-called "internal settlement". Within the nationalist ranks themselves the armed struggle has acted as a smelting furnace for the definition of positions in the face of a ruthless enemy backed by the onslaught of imperialist deceit. Out of the ineffective postures of the ANC arose a strong, dynamic and determined political leadership of the armed struggle embodied in the Patriotic Front. Having shown in Geneva its determination to unwaveringly defend the real aspirations of the Zimbabwean People the Patriotic Front proceeded to create a co-ordinating Committee thus corresponding to the real demands of the present phase of the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe and providing for the gallant fighting forces of Zimbabwe the much needed political leadership. So important was the formation of the Patriotic Front for furthering the cause of liberation that the enemy was quick to strike at the first available opportunity in the barbaric crime of physically eliminating J.Z. MOYO, member of the Patriotic Front Co-ordinating Committee and one of the most active founders of this Front.

The loss of J.Z. MOYO represents a blow not only to the People and fighters of Zimbabwe but also to Africa and indeed all the forces of the world committed to the struggle for independence and self-determination. Our pledge is that the sorrow we feel will further strengthen our determination to fight until the banner of freedom is implanted in Zimbabwean soil.

In Namibia SWAPO freedom fighters have forced the enemy to show its true face, sponsoring puppet groups in order to turn Namibians against Namibians and, with the active backing of imperialism, create the conditions for foreign intervention attempts to liquidate SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the wishes of the Namibian people. Already condemned by Africa and the peace-loving world the so-called Turnhalle Constitutional Conference is already seen for what it is - a belated attempt to sow confusion and distrust among those who fight for genuine independence. We call upon Africa to actively support SWAPO's position of maintaining the armed struggle as the only means of achieving independence until such time as South Africa, the colonial power, accepts to attend a conference under the conditions laid out by SWAPO.

The struggle of the people of South Africa has now reached a higher stage of direct confrontation between the People and the racist state. In its obstinate attempt to proceed with the inhuman policy of apartheid and bantustanization the South African Government and its puppets have met a barrage of opposition whether in the Transkei or in the countless urban "locations" throughout the country. Under the leadership of the liberation movement, the people armed only with their determination to break the shackles of slavery, have united and stood up to face unimaginable demonstrations of terrorist brutality.

In Djibouti the co-operation recently displayed by neighbouring States with respect to the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the territory has guaranteed the irreversibility of the process leading to independence. Faithful to their colonialist tradition however the French Authorities have embarked on a series of confusionist and division manoeuvres pretending that there still remain doubts among the people of Djibouti as to whether or not they want independence.

Your Excellencies,
Distinguished Delegates,

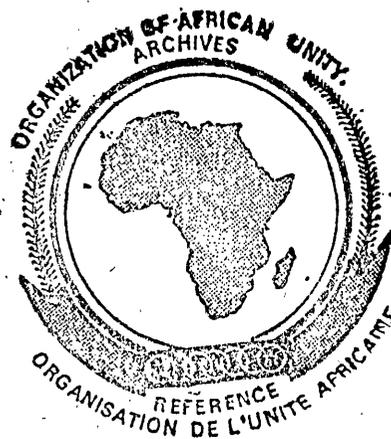
If the balance of forces is now in our favour we owe it largely to the increasingly firm, determined and active participation of African countries in the liberation struggle. This prompts me to mention particularly the tireless efforts of the Front-line States who have remained in the forefront in providing for the freedom fighters material, political and diplomatic support. These efforts have been crowned by resounding victories both on the battlefield and at the negotiating table.

For the same reason they have been singled out as the main target for racist attacks. Wherever the racist regimes have attacked Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana diplomatic and other forms of solidarity from African countries have made themselves felt in force.

These murderous acts of aggression are part and parcel of colonialism, racism and apartheid. To end aggression we must necessarily put an end to these evils. To end these evils we need to undertake a profound analysis of the nature of the enemy, the type of struggle being waged and its present stage, the demands of the struggle for Africa, the Liberation Committee and the liberation movement. Speaking in Maputo at the 26th Session of the Liberation Committee, President Samora Machel underlined that at the present phase of imperialist domination the national liberation movement can only accomplish its historical task when it adopts, practices and creatively develops the scientific ideology of the labouring masses and integrates the liberation struggle into the general struggle against the system of exploitation. This correct analysis has formed the backbone of Africa's increasingly meaningful engagement in the struggle.

Because ours is the just struggle of all peoples against colonialism, oppression and exploitation it is intimately linked to the struggle of all peace-loving nations for a free and just world. In this context, the Southern African liberation struggles have derived much support and encouragement from the successes of the Arab people and particularly our Palestinian brethren in their battle for the right to exist as a free nation.

In the OAU Good-will Mission to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria which I had the honour of leading from the 28th of August to the 4th of September, 1976 we were able to verify once more the firm commitment of those countries and of socialist countries in general to the cause of liberation. In each country our delegation held fruitful discussions with government and party leaders as well as representatives of mass organizations. It was my pleasant duty to explain the aims of our mission and bring our hosts up-to-date with the latest developments of the fight for total freedom in Africa. We received firm guarantees of continued support for the liberation struggle in Africa.



Your Excellencies,
Distinguished Delegates,

As Chairman of the Liberation Committee, I address to you all and the countries you represent my heartfelt thanks for the honour you bestowed upon myself and my country, having elected me to hold such a heavy responsibility. My work would not have been made possible without the keen and tireless support and collaboration of the Liberation Committee member states.

On your behalf I should like to express gratitude to the officials and staff of the Liberation Committee for the customary hard work and efficiency which forms such a great contribution to the success of our meetings.

In this hour of hard battles when the enemy can no longer hide its desperation and impotence under the onslaught of the forces of liberation we are fully conscious of the sacrifices required of us and the important decisions which lie ahead. We hope in this Session to be honest and frank in our contributions and thus once more live up to our historical role as a forceful and efficient co-ordinating body for the total liberation of our beloved continent.

I wish you the best successes in the discussions in this 28th Session of the OAU Liberation Committee. I am sure we are confident that the incoming Chairman will enjoy our full support and co-operation and we hope that his term of office will see a further leap forward in our liberation efforts.

Thank you.

Lusaka, Zambia.

29th January, 1977.

SPEECH OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL

H.E MR WILLIAM ETEKI MBOUMOUA

Today we as well are on the frontline, face to face with the racist Hydra.

We are so much there; we are poignantly and palpably experiencing a develish tragedy.

Through the conjugated action of enemy's land that arms, corrupts and divides, and the covetous tribulations of some of our people who give in to subjugation, a hero of the African Liberation of Zimbabwe has been basefully assassinated under our own eyes.

In this hour of desperation and affliction, the monstrous crime against our brother, the late Moyo - just as those crimes perpetrated before for the same reasons against other true nationalists, does show us the determination of the racists and their stoges to resert to just anything to stifle the powerful voice of aspriation to freedom. This crime should now convince us of the legitimacy of our fight for freedom, and hence galvanize our commitment.

We are in Zambia, a country exposed to all types of aggression not only by virtue of diabolic neighbourhood or environment, but as well and especially because of her irreversible option for the causes of freedom and dignity, because of her permanent commitment on the side of those who are fighting here in Southern Africa and elsewhere for the conquest of their rights to be human beings.

It is most remarkable that inspite of pressure, and intimidation Zambia at the same time as she faces the considerable sacrifices with a frigile economy, and exposes herself to insecurity even inside her borders, is still for all those who are fighting for the freedom of Southern Africa a haven in which they find the envigoring breath and the welcoming and encouraging atmosphere for the continuation of their struggle.

It is assuredly therefore a country of the humanism that receiving us today; not meditative and passive humanism, but a humanism militant committed, proclaimed, practised and applied under the impulse of a man of dedication, a man of stark objectivity, a man of faith in the development of the personality of the African wherever he is, and of Man in general.

At the risk of froiling your natural modesty and integrity, Mr President, we must pay our respectful tribute to you for your commitment, and your indefatigable action for the triumph of human values in a world Community that should be less inhuman.

Mr President,

The deliberations of this 28th Session of the Liberation Committee on account of developments already registered in our struggle, will take place under the BANNER of concentration and clarification, the intensification and organisation of our self-defence.

For indeed Djibouti appears to have embarked upon the process which should very soon lead to its independence. We must however remain vigilant if we are to forestall grave fratricidal strife and outplay any attempts at making independence nominal and neo-colonialist in that territory.

It is nevertheless the HOUR for concentration as our essential concern lies in the liberation of Southern Africa.

In Zimbabwe the outburst, and the intensification of the armed struggle by the freedom fighters have compelled the racists to submit to the principle of the unavoidable advent of independence, and the organisation of the mechanism to it, but what type of mechanism? It is here that we need clarification.

The Lusaka Manifesto and the analogous documents embodying the African strategy for liberation are known to all, and we have demonstrated our faithfulness to the principles that we have laid down and all subscribed to the Geneva Conference was the last proof of our goodwill.

Henceforth, we must therefore go by the reality in which the peaceful way to the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe is blocked, lest we offer Ian Smith the possibility of confiscating the logical consequences of majority rule and to divest the concept of independence of all its meaning which is that the liberated people must be responsible for its own destiny.

The matter is therefore clear: the freedom fighters, and the people of Zimbabwe in general must organize and intensify their liberation struggle until their demand for non-negotiable freedom prevails.

But what freedom fighters and what Zimbabwe people are we talking about. It is here that we must situate the recommendation of the Frontline States to henceforth support only the Patriotic Front.

A decision of this nature, which can have important consequences, on account of great divergencies, tendencies, temperaments and approaches in Africa today, could not have been based on sentimental motivations. It can only be under-

stood and upheld if it is seen as the final result of objective and dialectic analysis according to which cognisance had been taken on the one hand in the present circumstances, that negotiations can only result in concessions tantamount to a sell-out against the aspiration of the people of Zimbabwe to its real independence; and on the other hand that the intensification of the struggle and more victories over the enemy are the only guarantee for the actual transfer of power to the majority.

This analysis can only logically mean that it is those of the nationalists of Zimbabwe who are determined to continue the struggle that can be considered as incarnating the hopes and aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

The decision of the Frontline States is undoubtedly as well based on the particularly important concept, in the ethical context of liberation struggle in general, according to which the finality of our struggle is the veritable and not the nominal liberation of peoples, in other words the advent of a new situation likened to a revolution that liberated man from all that embodies, and reflects the sequels of subjugation in his day to day surroundings.

Independence in the final analysis is an option for a type of society. It is not mere independence or the emergence of a privileged class that is subjected and corrupt, and even less the emergence of nepotic leaders yet take themselves for being charismatic.

The Patriotic Front has consecrated itself in its pure and incorruptible role, and we assure it of our support by all means. We shall however continue to say to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe that they should be able not

to succumb to the nefarious subterfuges of the demon of division. The enemy has been identified without any ambiguity, the direction and the meaning of the struggle must therefore bear no ambiguities.

The Namibian struggle is squarely along the same lines. From Namibia arise the decisive clamours of Vorster. They vary from fascist-style repression to attempts at imposing bantustanization with the help of puppet leaders; but we shall lend our ears, and place our hearts and arms rather with the freedom fighters who have come together within SWAPO, and have measured the dimensions of their struggle, and have suggested to us what nature and magnitude of assistance independent Africa should bring to them.

Liberated Angola henceforth offers SWAPO a most reliable base from which to organize its battles. Our Liberation Committee should take measures to support to efforts of the Peoples Republic of Angola in favour of SWAPO, or to enable it to retaliate against the provocations and aggressions perpetrated against it as a result of its support to the freedom fighters of SWAPO.

In South Africa itself the hour of truth has sounded. Despite the array of villainous laws, despite the immensity of the repressive machinery and its savage utilization the people has, with a courage that commands admiration and disconcerts the enemy, demonstrated its determination to burst the yoke of an inhuman regime and to free itself.

As for those who have fallen in Soweto, History shall record the wrath of the adolescents of Soweto; and the collective memory of Africa of the legends shall for time immeasurable sing those bare hands of the sons of Chaka Zulu.

There all elsewhere we exhort the nationalists to unity and cohesion for the efficaciousness of their action.

There all elsewhere, and undoubtedly more than anywhere else we must prepare to intensify multifarious assistance to this struggling people, to the liberation Movement whose task it is to organise, stir, and guide the people.

There all elsewhere we appeal for massive assistance from the peace and freedom loving peoples of the world.

This is the time to pay tribute to the Frontline States which in the name of the OAU are taking admirable action not only to stimulate and mentain the indispensable unity of the nationalists, but as well to constantly remind them of the true meaning of the struggle, to forestall any dangerous deviations, and especially, to offer in their own territories the best possible conditions to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The solidarity assistance of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia to the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa is all the more remarkable as it inevitably exposes these countries to criminal aggressions, if not invasion from the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

The Frontline States must therefore not be alone to shoulder the sacrifices of their contributions to the Liberation of Africa. This is the collective responsibility of all of Africa.

One of the provisions of Resolution AHG/Res.80 of the 13th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government clearly stipulates that "any attack by the racist regimes against any of the Frontline States shall be taken as an attack against all of Independent Africa."

And as I said in my New Year's Message:

"Whilst we extol the courage and the sense of sacrifice of the Government and the People of these countries, we must as well, at the level of all the States of the OAU and in a spirit of solidarity, commit and prepare ourselves, not only to assist them to repel aggression, or to respond to aggression by aggression but as well to organize ourselves to set up a deterrent force against such aggression which if left unpunished in the Southern African belt will by that impunity gain pretext to expand to other independent African State beyond the equator."

The Defence Commission, if it meets, should be an occasion for deep thought on the new dimension of our struggle. It is no longer simply question of sustaining and intensifying the liberated parts of our fatherland against aggression and invasion. Hence to the liberation struggle is added the action for self-defence.

All this must be our collective responsibility if we are to take up the challenge thrown to us by the forces of evil, of arrogant racism, the forces of the mutilation of Mankind.

We can beat the challenge for we are an essence to the Earth, we came with the dawn of the Earth,

for

we are Will itself.

I thank you for your kind attention.

CM/790(XXVIII)

Annex IV

SPECIAL FUND
DRAFT BUDGET FOR 1977/78

CONTRIBUTIONS EXPECTED FROM MEMBER
STATES IN 1977/78

(All figures in US Dollars)

Member State	Assessment 1977/78
1. Algeria	191,861.47
2. Benin	35,617.00
3. Botswana	16,800.48
4. Burundi	20,832.60
5. Cameroon	78,962.26
6. Central African Republic	49,393.39
7. Chad	38,977.10
8. Congo	16,800.48
9. Ethiopia	94,418.69
10. Equatorial Guinea	16,800.48
11. Gabon	165,652.73
12. Gambia	25,536.72
13. Ghana	158,932.58
14. Guinea	41,353.20
15. Ivory Coast	135,075.86
16. Kenya	74,258.11
17. Lesotho	22,512.65
18. Liberia	95,210.74
19. Libya	248,647.10
20. Malagasy Republic	54,097.54
21. Mali	47,041.34
22. Malawi	22,848.65
23. Mauritania	56,449.61
24. Mauritius	16,800.48
25. Morocco	200,933.74
26. Niger	42,673.22
27. Nigeria	234,870.72
28. Rwanda	20,832.60
29. Senegal	107,619.07
30. Sierra Leone	63,505.80
31. Somalia	25,536.72
32. Sudan	114,915.26
33. Swaziland	16,800.48
34. Tanzania	66,193.87
35. Togo	42,000.00
36. Tunisia	89,714.54
37. Uganda	58,801.68
38. Upper Volta	30,912.86
39. Arab Republic of Egypt	311,816.88
40. Zaire	103,155.29
41. Zambia	104,498.95
	<u>3,359,662.97</u>

Assessments for Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique, Comoro, Angola and Seychelles are still yet to be determined by the OAU Advisory Committee on Budgetary Matters.

Requests Presented by Liberation Movements for Assistance
During 1977/78

(All figures in US Dollars)

A.N.C. (South Africa)

1. Mobilization of workers and mass organisation; recruitment and training; underground communication system	523,900.00
2. Infiltration and logistical support	84,500.00
3. Operations	16,900.00
	<u>625,300.00</u>

P.A.C. of Azania (S.A)

1. Military Operation	338,000.00
2. Recruitment and Training	243,300.00
3. Administration and Publicity	103,090.00
4. Transportation	70,930.00
	<u>755,430.00</u>

PATRIOTIC FRONT (Zimbabwe)

1. Organisation and mobilisation inside the country; provision of food, shelter and medicine for fighters inside the country	750,000.00
2. Administration, publicity and propaganda	250,000.00
	<u>1,000,000.00</u>

SWAPO

1. Social Welfare and Health	811,200.00
2. Transportation	676,000.00
3. Defence	760,500.00
4. Administration and Publicity	802,750.00
	<u>3,050,450.00</u>

L.M.D.

1. Political mobilisation; training and transportation; social welfare and health care	67,000.00
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F.L.C.S.

1. Repatriation of refugees	40,000.00
2. Political mobilisation	7,500.00
3. Transportation	88,000.00
4. Social Welfare and Health	10,000.00
5. Administration and Publicity	25,000.00
	<u>170,500.00</u>

SPECIAL FUND
DRAFT BUDGET FOR 1977/78 (All figures in US \$)

I - PROPOSED ALLOCATIONS TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS 1977/78:

(a) Financial Assistance:

PATRIOTIC FRONT (Zimbabwe)

Recommendations for 1977/78:

Material	253,500.00
Administration and Publicity	169,000.00
	<u>422,500.00</u>

SWAPO

Recommendations for 1977/78

Material	202,800.00
Administration and Publicity	84,500.00
	<u>287,300.00</u>

P.A.C. of Azania (S.A)

Recommendations for 1977/78

Material	84,500.00
Administration and Publicity	42,250.00
	<u>126,750.00</u>

A.N.C. (S.A)

Recommendations for 1977/78

Material	92,950.00
Administration and Publicity	42,250.00
	<u>135,200.00</u>

L.M.D.

Recommendations for 1977/78

Material	}	
Administration and Publicity		
		<u>33,800.00</u>

F.L.C.S.

Recommendations for 1977/78

Material)	
Administration and Publicity		
		<u>50,700.00</u>

TOTAL 1,056,250.00

(b) Logistics and Mobility:
(Purchase of additional vehicles)(All figures in US \$)

<u>PATRIOTIC FRONT (Zimbabwe)</u>			
3 Trucks @ US \$28,813 each	3 Land Rovers @ US\$9,000 each		113,439.00
<u>SWAPO</u>			
3 Trucks	3 Land Rovers		113,439.00
<u>ANC (South Africa)</u>			
2 Trucks	1 Land Rover		66,626.00
<u>PAC</u>			
2 Trucks	1 Land Rover		66,626.00
10 Trucks	8	TOTAL	<u><u>360,130.00</u></u>

II. - ESTIMATES FOR OTHER EXPENDITURES - 1977/78

1. Transit camps	100,000.00
+2. Training Centres (Tanzania)	1,500,000.00
3. Contingency Fund for Mozambique Office	150,000.00
4. Contingency Fund for Angola	100,000.00
5. Secretariat Information Services	24,000.00
6. Unforeseeable political missions	12,000.00
	<u><u>1,886,000.00</u></u>

III. - SUMMARY OF ESTIMATES FOR 1977/78
(All figures in US \$)

Revenue:

Contributions expected from Member States 3,359,662.94

Expenditure:

1. Assistance to Liberation Movements	1,056,250.00
2. Logistics and Mobility	360,130.00
3. Other Expenditures	<u>1,886,000.00</u>
	3,302,380.00

RESERVE FUND 57,282.94

+General increases in prices as well as the pressing need for the intensification of the struggle in Zimbabwe during, and particularly, after the breakdown of the Geneva Talks explain the steep rise in allocations to the Training Centres. The rate of intake and training in the cadres has been doubled with corresponding jump in the cost of air-lifting and maintenance.

- RECOMMENDATION ON ZIMBABWE -

Having examined the report of the Executive Secretary and the two reports of the Standing Committees on Policy and Information and Defence;

Having considered the decision of the Frontline States;

Aware of the progress being made by the Fighting Forces to build a United Front and to intensify the armed struggle in Zimbabwe;

Considering that the Smith regime and its collaborators are determined to keep power in the hand of the minority;

Reaffirming Africa's commitment to the liberation of Zimbabwe through the armed struggle;

Determined to build one united national army for the liberation of Zimbabwe;

- 1) Decides to endorse the decision of the Frontline States to give full political, material and diplomatic support to the Patriotic Front. However, the door should remain open to all groups of Zimbabwean nationalists fighting for majority rule in their country to join the Patriotic Front. All other fighting forces aiming at eliminating the rebel clique in Salisbury should be considered part-and-parcel of the Patriotic Front;
- 2) Urges Nationalists of Zimbabwe to desist from condemning each other, united their forces under the Patriotic Front and direct their concerted attention at the enemy;
- 3) Appeals to all the people and cadres inside Zimbabwe irrespective of their political affiliations to contribute to the intensification of the armed struggle till total victory is achieved;

- 4) Declares its commitment to give assistance and support to all fighting cadres of Zimbabwe inside and outside through the Patriotic Front;
- 5) Decides that henceforth the Liberation Committee shall concern itself mainly with finding ways and means of prosecuting the armed struggle more effectively;
- 6) Appeals to all Member States to motivate and mobilise the masses and the youth of Africa to understand that the struggle for the Liberation of the continent is the responsibility of all and that its salvation lies in our own hands;
- 7) Calls upon the International Community not to recognise any negotiated settlement between the racists and any puppets in Zimbabwe;
- 8) Pays tribute to the Frontline States for all they have sacrificed and continue to sacrifice in support of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Mr. S. Parirenyatwa
Mr. A. Nyarota - Representative in Dar es Salaam
Mr. C. Chikerema - Diplomatic Officer

ANC(Z):

Mr. J.M. Nkomo - President
Mr. J. Chinamano - First Vice President
Mr. J. Msika - Secretary-General
Mr. T.G. Silundika - Deputy Secretary for
Publicity
Mr. P.C. Takundwa - Deputy Secretary Youth
Affairs
Mr. R.P. Nyandoro - Member of the Executive
Mr. A. Nikita - ZIPA Command
Mr. A. Ndhlovu - Representative in East Africa

ANC(Z):

PATRIOTIC FRONT (ZANU):

Mr. Robert Mugabe - Head of the Party and
Secretary General and Co-Leader of the
Patriotic Front
Mr. Simon Muzenda - Deputy Leader of the Party
Mr. Mukudzei Mudzi - Secretary for External
Affairs
Mr. Matuku Hamadziripi - Chief Political
Commissar
Mr. Kumbirai M. Kangai - Secretary for Labour,
Social Service and Welfare

SWAPO (NAMIBIA):

Mr. Sam Nujoma - President
Mr. David Merero - National Chairman
Mr. Moses M. Caroes - Administrative Secretary
Mr. Per Mueshange - Secretary of Foreign
Relations
Mr. Lucas H. Pohamba - National Treasurer

ANC (SOUTH AFRICA):

Mr. Alfred Nzo - Secretary-General
Mr. Duma Nokwe - Deputy Secretary General
Mr. Mfanafuthi Makatini - Head of the African
Bureau

Mr. John Pule Motshabi - Member of N.E.C.
ANC (South Africa)

Mr. James Stuart - Member

Mr. Mandlenkosi Lubanga - Member

PAC (Azania):

Mr. D.M. Sibeko - Director of Foreign Affairs
and Leader of Delegation

Mr. E.L. Ntloedibe - Administrative Secretary
and Member of Delegation

Mr. V.L. Make - Chief Representative in West
Africa and Member of Delegation

L.M.D.:

Mr. Ahmed Bourha Omar

Mr. Mohamed Ibrahim Chchen

Mr. Ali Youssouf Ali

F.L.C.S.:

Mr Ahmed Elmi - Secretary General

Mr. Ahmed Mohamed - Secretary for Foreign Affairs

Mr. M.A. Farah - Representative in Algeria

Mr. Abdillah Ardeye -

Mr. O Abrar - Secretary for Education

Mr. Mohamed S. Nour

OAU GENERAL SECRETARIAT:

H.E. William Eteki Mboumoua - Administrative
Secretary-General

H.E. Dr. Peter U. Onu - Assistant Secretary-
General

Mr. Chimuka - Director Political Department

Commander Dawit G. Egziabher - Chief of
Decolonization

OAU EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT:

Col. Hashim I. Mbita - Executive Secretary

Mr. Laban S. Oyaka - Assistant Executive
Secretary (Policy and Information)

Mr. M.L. Metteden - Assistant Executive Secretary
(Administration and Finance)

Mr. M.K. Simumba - Director, OAU Liberation
Committee Sub-Office, Lusaka

Major E. Mwanyika - Defence Department

LIST OF DELEGATES TO THE MEETING OF
THE 28TH SESSION OF THE LIBERATION
COMMITTEE

PRESENT:ALGERIA:

H.E. Tahar Gaid - Ambassador
H.E. Abdellaziz Benhassine - Ambassador
Mr. Abdelkader Kourdoughli - Counsellor

ANGOLA:

H.E. Dr. Luis De Almeida - President's Office
H.E. Venancio Moura - Ambassador
Major Antonio Zola

CAMEROON

H.E. El Hadj M. Haman Dicko - Ambassador to
Ethiopia
Mr. E.C. Toko-Mangan - Member of the Delegation
Mr. B. Oubelabout - Member of the Delegation

CONGO:

H.E. Goma Foutou - Member of the Central
Committee and Minister Plenipotentiary
Mr. Gayama Pascal - Head of Division in the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Kimbembe Hyppolite - Head of Department and
International Relations of the Central Committee
of the Party.

EGYPT:

H.E. Ahmed Sidky - Director, Africa Department,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cairo
Mr. Mohammed Abouda - Counsellor Charge d' Affaires

Mr. Abou Zid Omar - Counsellor
Mr. Ahmed M. Bakr - Third Secretary

ETHIOPIA:

H.E. Ato Kifle Wodajo - Minister of Foreign
Affairs
H.E. Fitigu Tadesse - Consul-General in Djibouti
Ato Kesate B. Badima - Counsellor
Ato Wuhib Muluneh - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Ato Mendaye Deressa - Ministry of Foreign Affairs

GHANA:

H.E. Mr. C.O.C. Amate - Ghana's Ambassador to Ethiopia - Leader of the Delegation
H.E. Mr. G.R. Nipah - Acting High Commissioner to Zambia
Lt. Col. H.L. Ofosu-Apea - Ministry of Defence
Mr. E.G. Godwyl - Director/OAU Division - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. P.B.C. Koobie - First Secretary, Ghana High Commission, Lusaka

GUINEA:

H.E. Mami Kouyate - Ambassador of Guinea to Angola
Mr. A.H. Kouyate - Counsellor of Guinea Embassy in Mozambique

GUINEA BISSAU:

H.E. Alexandre Nunes Correia - Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde in Conakry

LIBERIA:

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Lt. General Henry K. Johnson - Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of Liberia
H.E. Nathaniel Eastman - Ambassador to Ethiopia
Dr. D. Elwood Dunn - Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs/Special Assistant to the Minister
Mr. Hugh Peabody - Attache
Mr. E. Boimi Fahnbulleh - Secretary to the Foreign Minister

LIBYA:

H.E. Hameda Zlitni - Head of Delegation, Minister Plenipotentiary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tripoli
Mr. Mohammed Sasi - Assistant and Head of Section Africa Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MAURITANIA:

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H.E. Ismael Ould Maouloud - Ambassador in Cairo
H.E. AbdelAziz Jama - Ambassador to Ethiopia
Mr. Ba Hamet - Africa Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MOROCCO:

Mr. Mohamed Bisbis - Chief of Africa Desk -
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rabat

Mr. Abdelhamid Kettani - Director, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs, Rabat

MOZAMBIQUE:

Camarada Joaquim Alberto Chissano - Minister for
Foreign Affairs

Camarada Jose Carlos Lobo - Ambassador at the UN

Camarada Felisberto Lukanga - Charge d' Affaires
in Dar es-Salaam

Camarada Alberto Sithole - Director of Africa
and Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Camarada Fernando Honwana - Assistant,
President's Office

Camarada Kufa - Ministry of Defence

NIGERIA:

Brigadier G. Alabi- Isama - Army Headquarters,
Lagos

H.E. A.B. Ayodele - Ambassador to Ethiopia

H.E. E.N. Oba - High Commissioner to Zambia

H.E. Isa Modibbo - High Commissioner to Tanzania

H.E. Mrs. R.T. Mohammed - High Commissioner to
Botswana

Mr. O.O. Adesola - Ministry of External Affairs,
Lagos

Mr. Baba-Gana Kingibe - Cabinet Office, Lagos

Mr. B.A. Adeyemi - Ministry of External Affairs,
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Mr. I.B. Mohammed - Nigerian High Commission,
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Mr Salahdeen - Ministry of External Affairs,
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l'Est, Chef de Delegation

Mr. Salieu Cisse - Premier Counsoiller -
Ambassadeur du Senegal a Addis Abeba

Mr Henri Antone Turpin - Division Afrique -
Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres

Commandant Victor Barry - Ministere des
Force. Armees

Commandant Abdourahman Ngom - Ministere des
Forces Armees

SOMALIA:

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Central Committee and Leader of Delegation
Jaalle Hussein Hassan Farah - Director of Africa
Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Jaalle Michal Mariano - Ambassador to Zambia
Jaalle Abdurahman Hussein Mohamoud - Ambassador
and Director of International Organizations
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Jaalle I.H. Mussa - Ambassador to Mozambique
Jaalle Omar Mohamud - Counsellor, Embassy of
Somalia in Lusaka
Jaalle Lul Mohamed - Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Mogadishu

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of the Delegation
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H.E. A.L.S. Mhina - High Commissioner to
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Ndugu E.W.N. Mwasakafyuka - Director, Africa and
Middle East - Foreign Affairs
Ndugu B.M. Kibasa - Principal Assistant
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Ndugu F.R.K. Etuttu - Counsellor, Tanzania High
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Ndugu F.N. Rugeiyamu - First Secretary, Tanzania
Embassy, Addis Ababa
Ndugu S. Ache-Mukanda - First Secretary, Tanzania
High Commission, Lusaka
Ndugu R.C. Shangali - Second Secretary, Tanzania
High Commission, Lusaka
Ndugu S. Bangu - Assistant Secretary, President's
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UGANDA:

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Mr. D. Ongara - Senior Assistant Secretary -
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 Director Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign
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 Citoyen Kabeya wa Mukeba - Ambassador to Ethiopia
 Citoyen Bande Larity Nyarende - Ambassador to
 Zambia, Member of Delegation
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 Hon. G.B. Silwisya, M.P. - Minister of State
 Mr. P.M. Ngonda - Permanent Secretary, Ministry
 of Foreign Affairs
 Mr. F. Muyawala - Permanent Secretary, Defence
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 H.E. Mayondi - High Commissioner to Tanzania
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 Mr. M.B. Pellama - Official
 Mr. H.M. Katawola - Official
 Mr. S.H. Kalonga - Official



OBSERVERS:

BURUNDI:

H.E. Felix Magenge - Ambassador to Ethiopia

BOTSWANA:

H.E. A.W. Kgarebe - High Commissioner to Zambia
 Mr. J.H. Hulela - First Secretary - Lusaka

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE:

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 Dr. L. Yagao Ngama - Director of Economics,
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 Mr. Abdoulkarim - Secretary-General, Presidential
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- SIERRA LEONE: H.E. Mrs. Famah Joka-Bangura - Ambassador to Ethiopia
Mr. Simon G. Carew - First Secretary, Addis Ababa
- SUDAN: H.E. Ibrahim T. Ayoub - Ambassador to Ethiopia
- LIBERATION MOVEMENTS:
- ANC(Z): Dr. E. Gabellah - Vice President
Dr. C. Chikosi - Secretary for External Affairs
Mr. Basera - Organizing Secretary
Mrs. Madziwa - Secretary - ZLC
Mr. J.R.D. Chikerema
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