

**ORGANIZATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY**
Secretariat
P. O. Box 3243

منظمة الوحدة الافريقية
السكرتارية
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**ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE
AFRICAIN**
Secretariat
B. P. 3243

Addis Ababa •• ادیس ابابا

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Thirty-first Ordinary Session
KHARTOUM, Sudan
July 7 - 15, 1978

CM/878 (XXXI)

REPORT OF THE THIRTY-FIRST ORDINARY SESSION OF THE CO-ORDINATING
COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA TO THE
THIRTY-FIRST SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF
MINISTERS



CM/878

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REPORT OF THE THIRTY FIRST ORDINARY SESSION OF THE
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF
AFRICA TO THE THIRTY FIRST SESSION OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

1. The Thirty-first Ordinary Session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa was held in Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, from 19th to 23rd June, 1978.

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. UGANDA
8. GUINEA	19. TANZANIA
9. GUINEA-BISSAU	20. ZAIRE
10. LIBERIA	21. ZAMBIA
11. LIBYA	

OBSERVERS:

(a) Member States of the OAU:

Burundi, Gabon, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar,
 Rwanda, Sierra Leone Sudan.

(b) Liberation Movements:

Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe), SWAPO (Namibia),
 ANC (SA) and PAC of Azania (SA).

IN ATTENDANCE:

(a) General Secretariat:

- H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua - Administrative
Secretary-General
- Dr. Peter Onu - Assistant Administrative
Secretary-General in-Charge of
Political Affairs.
- Mr. A.N. Chimuka - Director of Political Department
- Commander D.G. Egziabher - Chief of Decolonization.

(b) Executive Secretariat:

- Col. Hashim I. Mbita - Executive Secretary.
- Ambassador L. Oyaka - Assistant Executive Secretary
in-charge of General Policy
and Information.
- Mr. M.L. Metteden - Assistant Executive Secretary
in-charge of Administration
and Finance.
- Mr. M.K. Simumba - Director, OAU Sub-Office,
Lusaka.
- Mr. A.J. Sebastiao - Director, OAU Sub-Office,
Maputo.
- Major J. Dongwe - Military Expert,
Liberation Committee.

(c) Executive Secretariat (New York):

- Mr. Mustapha Sam - Assistant Executive Secretary.

OPENING SESSION:

2. The Opening Session, which took place at the Institute for Finance Management, was convened at 16.00 hours on the 19th June, 1978 and presided over by Mr. Muhammed Al-Suwayye, Leader of the Libyan Delegation in his capacity as Chairman of the Thirtieth Ordinary Session.

OPENING ADDRESS:

3. The Thirty-first Ordinary Session was opened by the Right Honourable H.E. Ndugu Edward Sokoine, Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania. Before declaring the Session open, the Prime Minister addressed the meeting and recalled that the Liberation Committee had lived through 15 years of remarkable achievement during which the independence of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, Angola, Mozambique, Djibouti, Comoro and Seychelles, was realised. The Liberation Committee, he added, had played a commendable role in bringing about this achievement. The Prime Minister expressed a sense of pride at the brilliant record of the Liberation Committee. He warned, however, that it was also an appropriate opportunity to take stock of the present situation so that Africa would be better equipped to meet the challenges ahead. For the remaining task of the Liberation Committee in the struggle for freedom now required maximum efforts, the greatest dedication; and the closest collaboration with the National Liberation Movements.

4. The Prime Minister also stressed that the popularity of the struggle had been the reason why many patriotic young men and women, students and peasants; were fleeing from Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa for training in neighbouring countries in preparation for the battle. This being the case, the struggle must remain a people's struggle. Hence the overriding necessity for the Liberation Committee and Africa to re-state that the struggle for African Liberation is, first and foremost, an African obligation. It is a struggle for an African identity and dignity. The Prime Minister also noted that the liberation struggle would cleanse the society of the vices of racism and the consequent suppression of the majority by a minority and replace it with a society based on human equality and the democratic rights of the majority in the countries of their birth.

5. Turning onto the struggle in Southern Africa particularly, the Prime Minister expressed great concern at the attitude of the Western powers, that Southern Africa and Africa in general was becoming an arena of East-West confrontation. This viewpoint is misleading and should be condemned by Africa. He clarified that the confrontation in Southern Africa was between those who support liberation and those who oppose it. The people in Southern Africa were fighting for their right to be free and for their own dignity.

6. On Zimbabwe, the Prime Minister noted that the fighting forces of the Patriotic Front had compelled Ian Smith to accept the concept of majority rule - in his own life time!

7. With regard to Namibia, the Prime Minister paid glaring tribute to SWAPO and reiterated the OAU stand that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. He, therefore, called upon the international community, and especially the UN Security Council, to support this position in the context of the negotiations now going on.

8. The Prime Minister then invited the Committee to discuss and make recommendations on important matters affecting the ability of the Liberation Movements to identify the struggle, especially in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

9. Finally, the Prime Minister appealed to all Member States to meet their obligation in respect of contribution in funds, materials, arms; in dissemination of information, so as to meet the needs of the various Liberation Movements.

(Text of the Prime Minister's Speech is attached as Annex I).

REPLY SPEECHES:

10. After the Opening Address by the Right Honourable Prime Minister, reply speeches were made by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, H.E. Mr. G.B. Silwizya, (on behalf of all delegations present); the Leader of the Delegation of ANC (SA), Mr. Nkobi Thomas (on behalf of National Liberation Movements); the Out-going Chairman, Mr. Muhammad Al-Zuwayye, Culture and Information Secretary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya; and the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, H.E. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua.

11. On behalf of the delegates present, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Zambia renewed the appeal to the OAU to take concrete action to assist National Liberation Movements as well as independent countries neighbouring the war zones, which had become victims of aggression by the fascist regime of South Africa and the illegal minority regime in Salisbury.

12. The Minister stated further that the struggle in Southern Africa had taken a new phase in that the enemy had changed tactics by creating puppet governments in Zimbabwe and Namibia. This manoeuvre, he said, was being master-minded by the racist South African regime, supported by some Western countries.

13. On Zimbabwe, the Minister observed that those who not very long ago were sitting at the Liberation Committee meetings had now treacherously betrayed the struggle and were dining and wining with the enemy while calling the freedom fighters whom they themselves recruited, as terrorists.

14. On South Africa itself, the Minister added, the regime had stepped up oppressive measures against the masses through massacre of school children and the resistant Movements. Meanwhile, the racist and illegal regimes continued to attack and violate the territorial integrity of the Frontline States, which made it difficult

for the Liberation Movements to achieve their goal without arms and other equipment. That was why the Liberation Committee had to study together how to help the Liberation Movements and provide them with their urgent needs.

15. On behalf of Nationalist Liberation Movements, the Leader of the ANC (SA) noted that the whole world was focusing its attention to Southern Africa. He paid tribute to the Liberation Committee for its concrete help to the Liberation Movements in all fields. He explained to the Committee the state of the struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. He concluded by appealing for more material, financial, political, diplomatic and moral support at this time when the liberation struggle has reached a decisive moment.

SPEECH OF THE OUT-GOING CHAIRMAN:

16. In his capacity as Out-going Chairman, Mr. Muhammad Al-Zuwayye, Culture and Information Secretary of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, recalled that the meeting was convening when the Continent of Africa had reached a vital and fateful turning point. Colonial powers, he added, were re-grouping in order to return to Africa from the back-door.

17. The Out-going Chairman observed further that the present circumstances placed a heavy burden upon the Liberation Committee for continued support of the Liberation Movements, especially in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

18. On Zimbabwe, the Out-going Chairman stressed that the internal settlement, supported by certain defeatist elements in Zimbabwe, was totally rejected.

19. Turning to Namibia, the Out-going Chairman noted that the armed struggle remained the most effective means of achieving independence. He strongly supported the conditions laid down by SWAPO to ensure total and unconditional withdrawal of the racist occupation army from the entire territory of Namibia, including Walvis Bay.

20. Touching on the situation in South Africa itself, the Out-going Chairman hoped that the Sub-Committee entrusted with the task of reconciling the two Liberation Movements (ANC and PAC) would succeed in its assignment. He also expressed the hope that the Conference due to be held in Arusha on 27th June, 1978, would succeed in removing differences within the ranks of the PAC of Azania (SA).

21. With regard to Reunion, the Out-going Chairman invited the Ad Hoc Committee to study the problems of these countries to meet as soon as possible.

22. He referred to the question of Western Sahara and expressed high hopes that the envisaged Extra-ordinary OAU Summit would be held to deal with the problem.

(Text of the Speech of the Out-going Chairman is at Annex II)

SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE OAU:

23. The Administrative Secretary-General noted that the 31st Session was being held at the moment when the process of the total liberation of the Continent was gathering momentum but at the same time the retrograde forces of domination were not only organising themselves to preserve their advantages.

24. The Secretary-General declared that Africa could not fail to suspect and discern the hands of imperialists who were spreading their mercenaries throughout the Continent in order to hamper the progress of total liberation of Africa. "While zones of tension are being created and kept alive", the Secretary-General noted, "further cynical attempts are being made to draw attention away from the essential pre-occupation of the liberation of Southern Africa.

25. On the question of Zimbabwe, the Secretary-General observed that the armed struggle under the Patriotic Front had tilted the balance of power in favour of the freedom fighters. The so-called negotiated or internal settlement merely comprised the position of the broad masses, thus, guaranteeing long-term interests of the illegal racist minority regime. The Secretary-General added that the meeting held in Dar-es-Salaam from 14th to 15th April, 1978 symbolized the willingness to negotiate but without betraying the objective of the liberation struggle.

26. On Namibia, the Secretary-General stressed that all conditions for a negotiated or peaceful decolonization, as rightly demanded by SWAPO, were still to be met. He warned the Committee of Apartheid South Africa's attempts at eliminating SWAPO from the political future of Namibia thus humiliating the OAU and frustrating decisions of the UN.

27. With respect to South Africa, the Secretary-General pointed out that as long as Vorster could nurse the hopes that Anglo-American mediation in Zimbabwe would bring only apparent changes in the present state of affairs while preserving the position of the colonialists and racists, he was prepared to play the role of a well-intentioned "mediator".

28. The Secretary-General concluded his remark with an appeal for more determined bid to liberate Southern Africa by reinforcing the means placed at the disposal of freedom fighters; and at the same time looking after the security of the neighbouring independent States. In this connection he cited Resolution AHG/Res.80 (XIII) as constituting political commitment and responsibility. (Text of Speech of the Secretary-General is at Annex III).

ELECTION OF BUREAU:

29. The Committee elected its new Bureau as follows:

Chairman: H.E. Mr. B. Mkapa,
Foreign Minister of the United
Republic of Tanzania.

1st Vice-Chairman: Nigeria
2nd Vice-Chairman: Guinea
Rapporteur: Egypt.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA:

30. The following provisional agenda submitted by the Executive Secretariat was adopted:

1. Election of Chairman
2. Adoption of the Agenda.
3. Organization of Work
4. Adoption of the Minutes of the last Session.
5. Report of the Executive Secretary (LC.31/DOC.2)
6. Report of the Standing Committee on Policy and Information (LC.31/DOC.3).
7. Report of the Standing Committee on Defence (LC.31/COC.4)
8. Report of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance (LC.31/DOC.5).
9. Any other business.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK:

31. It was agreed that the hours of work be:

Mornings: 10.00 - 13.00 hrs.
Afternoons: 16.00 - 19.00 hrs.

ADOPTION OF THE MINUTES OF THE LAST SESSION:

32. The Minutes of the 30th Ordinary Session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa were adopted as presented by the Executive Secretariat.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY (LC.31/DOC.2)

33. The Executive Secretary introduced his report by explaining that the report contained different activities of the Secretariat and the Liberation Movements during the period from last February till the middle of June 1978. He stressed on the latest development in the diplomatic activity concerning Zimbabwe and Namibia.

34. He informed the Committee of the celebration of the 15th Anniversary of the Liberation Committee, with the collaboration of the National Liberation Movements based in Dar-es-Salaam. These activities included special radio programmes, a film show and a reception at which the Tanzanian Foreign Minister and the Executive Secretary made statements.

35. In the course of introducing his report, the Executive Secretary informed the Committee that he had received at the Secretariat (on Friday, 16th June, 1978) the two Anglo-American representatives, Mr. J. Graham and Ambassador S. Low, and during their meeting he reaffirmed the Committee's position concerning the Anglo-American plan. The two envoys stated that they still considered the internal settlement as illegal.

36. In his report, the Executive Secretary asked for guidance from the Committee on several subjects including:

(a) UN Specialized Agencies:

That the Committee may wish to direct the Executive Secretary to address letters of appreciation to those agencies which responded positively in giving assistance to the Liberation Movements.

The Committee approved this request.

(b) Human Rights Prize:

The Executive Secretary sought guidance on how to reply to the communication received from the Director of the Division on Human Rights of the UN Secretariat, asking the Liberation Committee whether it had any

nomination it would like to make, of candidates for a Human Rights Prize.

After deliberating on this matter, the Committee decided that it was not yet in a position to direct the Executive Secretary on it.

(c) Canary Islands:

While reminding the Committee of the recommendation taken at the 30th Session of the Liberation Committee in Tripoli, concerning the Canary Islands, which includes among other things, the grant of special assistance to MPAIAC pending its formal recognition, as a Liberation Movement, the Executive Secretary requested the Committee to look into the aspects and direct the Secretariat accordingly.

After a lengthy debate and after explanation of the Assistant Secretary-General in Charge of Political Affairs, it was realised that it was up to the forthcoming meeting of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to decide when it considers the Report of the 30th Session of the Council of Ministers held in Tripoli. This recommendation could not be implemented until it is approved by the Summit.

AD HOC MILITARY COMMISSION:

37. Recalling the decision of the 30th Session of the Council of Ministers in Tripoli, establishing a Military Commission to assist and reinforce the combat capabilities of the Liberation Movements against enemy aggression, the Executive Secretary informed the Committee that contacts with the Frontline States were in progress and that he had yet to visit two countries during next August, that is, after the 15th Summit in Khartoum.

38. The Committee then took note of the Executive Secretary's Report. It also decided that deliberations concerning each territory would take place while discussing the reports of the three Standing Committees.

REPORTS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES ON GENERAL POLICY
AND INFORMATION; AND DEFENCE.

39. The Chairman of the Standing Committee on Policy and Information, H.E. Mr. C.O.C. Amate, Ambassador of Ghana to Ethiopia, highlighted on matters pertaining to General Policy and Information. The Chairman of the Standing Committee on Defence, H.E. Mr. Nathaniel Eastman, Ambassador of Liberia to Ethiopia, was subsequently asked to introduce his report.

40. After the introduction of the two reports, the Committee decided to deliberate on both reports jointly with reference to the Executive Secretary.

ZIMBABWE:

41. The representative of the Patriotic Front explained in detail the developments of the armed struggle inside Zimbabwe and said that the enemy was using all means to confuse the struggle and had created a new class of traitors. But the vigilant stand of the people of Zimbabwe keeps the enemy away from realising his devilish intrigues. The Delegate of the Patriotic Front also informed the Committee that more than 100 Zimbabweans were massacred per week and the three so-called nationalists must be considered as partners of Ian Smith in committing these crimes.

42. Concerning the question of unity between military cadres, he informed the Committee that serious steps were being taken to realise this unity. The Delegate of the Patriotic Front then appealed to the Committee to intensify material aid to the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe.

47. The Delegate stated SWAPO's position concerning the negotiations with the five Western countries members of the Security Council and reaffirmed SWAPO's conditions for achieving the genuine independence of Namibia; i.e. that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia which is not negotiable; that the UN should play its full part in assuring democratic and free elections in Namibia and the dismantling of the colonial structure in the country.

48. The SWAPO representative appealed to the Committee and to Member States to replenish the losses suffered during the invasion of Kassinga so that SWAPO could continue successfully with the armed struggle. In this concern, the Leader of the Uganda Delegation stated that his country had decided to extend assistance to SWAPO to the tune of 20 tons foodstuff.

49. During the debate that followed it was the general opinion of delegates that the Committee should endeavour to intensify its assistance to SWAPO in order to enable it to continue with the armed struggle against the illegal occupation of Namibia.

50. Some delegates pointed out that even with the prospects of a peaceful solution, SWAPO needed new types of assistance in the fields of communication and information to enable it to mobilise the people of Namibia during the new stage of the struggle.

51. The Committee condemned the South African diabolic plans to establish a puppet government in Namibia by means of a so-called internal settlement, and drew the attention to the need of mobilising the international community and public opinion against such plans.

SOUTH AFRICA:

52. In his contribution, the Delegate of the ANC (SA) informed the Committee about the recent uprising and demonstrations undertaken by students in different parts of the country which reaffirmed the revolutionary spirit of the masses. He also gave an account of bomb explosions in different cities and the infiltration of guerillas in the urban centres. The ANC delegate also drew the

CANARY ISLANDS

57. The Committee was informed of the application by a representative of MPALAC for audience and heard his statement. In accordance with the established practice the request was granted.

58. The representative of MPALAC made an expose of the development in the situation prevailing in the Canary Islands, the progress achieved in the liberation struggle and the repression to which the militants of his Movement are subjected. He denounced the attempted murder against the person of the MPALAC Secretary-General. On the basis of the Tripoli recommendation, the representative of MPALAC presented to the Committee a request for financial and material assistance.

59. Since according to the report submitted to the 30th Session of the Council of Ministers in Tripoli, the Spanish Authorities have refused to allow the visit of an OAU Fact-Finding Mission to the Islands, the Committee thought it imperative that further efforts should be made with the Spanish Government, with a view to sending a Fact-Finding Mission to the Canary Islands without further delay.

60. During the debate that ensued on that matter, some delegations deplored the fact that the Ad-Hoc Fact-Finding Committee could not accomplish its mission because of Spanish refusal to grant OAU's request for permission to send a Fact-Finding Mission to the Canary Archipelago.

61. The Leader of the Delegation of Senegal informed the Committee of his Government's decision to withdraw from the AD-HOC Committee on the Canary Islands. He also entered his country's reservation to the problem as a whole. The delegations of Egypt, Mauritania, Morocco, and Zaire entered their reservations concerning the decision taken in Tripoli on the issue.

LA REUNION:

62. The Committee took note of the information contained in the Reports of the Standing Committee on General Policy and Information, and the Executive Secretary.

63. It was hoped that the Ad Hoc Committee consisting of COMORO, LIBYA, MADAGASCAR, MOZAMBIQUE, TANZANIA and SEYCHELLES would meet soon to gather more detailed information and to recommend appropriate measures to be undertaken to speed up the independence of La Reunion.

64. The Leaders of the Senegalese and the Mauritanian delegations reserved their countries position.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATION
AND FINANCE

65. The Chairman of the Standing Committee and Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea to the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Ibrahim Camara, introduced the report on a sad note when he reported the death of late Mr. V.K. Acquah, resident Internal Auditor from Ghana, who died after an automobile accident in Dar-es-Salaam. He briefed the Committee on the efforts deployed by the OAU, the Secretariat Staff of both the Executive Secretariat in Dar-es-Salaam and the General Secretariat in Addis Ababa; as well as the African Diplomatic Corp., the Ghanaian Community and other sympathising individuals in Dar-es-Salaam, to ensure that the remains of the late Internal Auditor are promptly and properly conveyed back home to Ghana for a decent burial.

66. The Chairman drew attention of the Member States to the low level of contributions to the Special Fund to the OAU Liberation Committee by Member States of the OAU in the last financial year 1977/78 and cited the part of the report of the Secretary of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance, where a table on contributions shows that only 19 out of 49 Member States of the OAU have paid in their contributions for the financial year. In this connection, he also highlighted the problem of arrears in contributions which has bedevilled the Secretariat since the inception of the Committee in 1963; and which now stands at a total amount of over 12,000,000 US dollars. He impressed upon the Committee the need for OAU Member States to pay up their contributions to the Special Fund of the Liberation Committee and arrears thereof, to enable the Nationalist Liberation Movements of Southern Africa intensify the armed struggle at this crucial stage of the struggle against the last vestiges of racism and colonialism in that part of our continent.

67. On assistance to Nationalists' Liberation Movements, he reiterated the need for the Executive Secretariat of the OAU Liberation Committee and all OAU Member States to give increased financial and material assistance to the Nationalists' Liberation Movements. He recalled the exhortation of the Standing Committee to the Executive Secretariat to pay promptly to Nationalists' Liberation Movements financial grants approved by the Liberation Committee; and to exercise prudence in the disbursement of the funds now available in revenue derived from voluntary donations. A substantial part of these sums, it was observed, have already been expended on the purchase of vehicles; and there would therefore be a need to ensure that there are always funds in the kitty for the maintenance of the vehicles.

68. On revenue from extra budgetary sources, Ambassador Camara reported the apparent lack of clarity at the meeting of the Standing Committee as to exact decision of the 30th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee on the US\$5,000 donation from Iran. He also recalled ^{the} Secretariat's explanation on the steps being taken to return the donation of US\$10,000 from an Afro-American, Mr. Richard Williams, to its rightful owner.

69. On Staff Matters, he once again highlighted the seriousness with which the Standing Committee viewed the current staff situation; and reported the decision of the Standing Committee to the effect that the OAU General Secretariat be given a time-limit within this current financial year by which to fill the technical staff vacancies of French and Arabic Translators, and French and Arabic Secretaries that had remained unfilled for a long time.

70. The Chairman thanked Ambassador Camara for his introduction and called upon the Member States to make their interventions. On the procedural question, the consensus was in favour of general observations and comments; while the Chairman again focussed attention of the Committee on the salient points of the Report of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance.

71. On the question of arrears and contributions to the Special Fund of the OAU Liberation Committee, the Committee deplored the financial situation, which had shown some initial sign of improvement immediately after the Livreville Summit, where the Chairman of the 29th Session of the Council of Ministers presented a memorandum on the subject of arrears, to the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It was therefore decided to bring the memorandum up-to-date and submit it again for the attention of the Summit in Khartoum. The Committee also decided that the Secretariat at the level of the Secretary-General and/or the Executive Secretary should immediately despatch individual notes to all the OAU Member States concerned with a view to impressing upon them the urgent need to pay in their contributions and any outstanding arrears in contributions to the Special Fund to enable the Committee effectively meet the demands and challenge of the current favourable situation. In this connection, the Libyan delegation briefed the Committee on the steps so far taken by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to carry out consultations with individual Member States who may wish the Jamahiriya to pay up, on their behalf, any arrears that those Member States may have in contributions to the Special Fund.

72. On contributions by OAU Member States to the Special Fund of the Liberation Committee, the Committee heard from the Secretariat what further receipts or advance information on payments had been received within the intervening period between the last Standing Committees' Meeting and the 31st Ordinary Session. While Ghana has since paid her contribution to the Special Fund for the financial year 1977/78, Guinea (C), Algeria and Morocco had made available to the Executive Secretariat advance information they had received about payments from their respective capitals.

73. With regard to principles on acceptance of donations, the Committee recalled that the decision of the 30th Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee in Libya on the US\$ 5,000 donation from Iran was in favour of an immediate return of the paltry sum of money which was regarded as an insult to Africa, particularly in view of Iran's increasing trading, nuclear, and other links with the racist regime of South Africa, and having regard to its decision not to receive the recent OAU Ministerial Mission to OPEC countries.

74. On Staff vacancies, the Committee invited the Assistant Secretary General (Political) to explain the long delays in the convening of the meetings of the Appointment and Promotions Board of the OAU. Dr. Onu based the General Secretariat's explanation mainly on practical difficulties of having the Board members all present at the same time in Addis Ababa; as well as on the delays in replies from Member States to vacancy advertisements. He, however, assured the Committee that preparations are at an advanced stage to convene a Board Meeting to fill all vacancies early in August.

75. While a delegation of the Committee requested that it should be made mandatory on the General Secretariat to convene the Appointments' Board Meeting before August, 1978, a consensus emerged that a strong appeal be made once more to the Secretary-General to ensure that the existing vacancies in Dar-es-Salaam are filled before the end of the current financial year.

76. The Chairman paid tribute to the late Internal Auditor, Mr. V.K. Acquah, and added the whole Committee's sentiments of sympathy and condolences to the Ghana Government and the bereaved relations of the deceased.

77. The deliberations were concluded with the adoption of the reports of the three Standing Committees: Policy and Information; Defence and Administration and Finance, as well as attached Resolutions on Zimbabwe and Namibia.

ANY OTHER BUSINESS:

78. The leader of the Nigerian delegation made what he deemed an important declaration about the serious situation facing Africa at the present moment. The full text of the declaration is annexed to the report.

79. The Secretariat read out a communication from the Anti-Apartheid Movement of West Germany, inviting the Executive Secretary of the Liberation Committee to a "Congress Against the Nuclear Co-operation Between the Federal Republic of Germany and Racist South Africa", scheduled for Bonn between 10 and 11 November, 1978. The Anti-Apartheid Movement also requested for the Committee's financial support towards the cost of the Congress.

80. The Committee decided that the Secretariat should consult the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Administration and Finance and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Disbursement of Funds derived from voluntary donations on the matter.

DATE AND VENUE OF THE NEXT SESSION:

81. The Executive Secretariat informed the Committee that so far no invitation had been received regarding the venue of the 32nd Session. This being the case, the next Session will be held at the Headquarters, unless a Member State invites the Committee between now and January, 1979.

CLOSING:

82. The Chairman, H.E. Ndugu B. Mkapa, Foreign Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania, brought the meeting to a close by thanking the delegates for their understanding and co-operation, and expressed appreciation on behalf of his Government and People for the kind sentiments expressed about their Leader and Country.

RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA

The 31st Ordinary Session of the Liberation Committee, meeting in Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, from 19 to 23 June, 1978,

Convinced that the advanced stage reached in the struggle for independence in Namibia has prompted the South African racist regime to embark on a sinister programme designed to rob the Namibian people of their imminent victory,

Gravely concerned that the South African racist regime is continuing to promote its puppets and quislings of the Turnhalle tribal gathering as alternative to SWAPO, the authentic representative of the people of Namibia, which is fighting for the genuine national and social liberation of Namibia as a united political entity,

Condemning South Africa's continued intransigence and unflexibility by refusing to demonstrate any good faith or willingness to enter seriously into meaningful negotiations for its withdrawal from Namibia,

Commending the military and diplomatic efforts of SWAPO to secure genuine independence for Namibia,

Gravely concerned of Southern Africa racist regime's repeated acts of aggression against, military incursions into, and violations of the territorial integrity of the neighbouring states, in particular Angola and Zambia, causing considerable loss of human life and damage to property:

1. STRONGLY CONDEMNNS AND REJECTS any elections in Namibia which are not held under the control and supervision of the United Nations in conformity with the Security Council Resolution 385 (1976) in its entirety;
2. STRONGLY CONDEMNNS the South African racist regime's repeated acts of aggression and military incursions in the neighbouring independent States, in particular the recent massacre of innocent refugees at Cassinga during the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola;
3. CALLS UPON all OAU Member States and the international community to increase their material and financial assistance to SWAPO.

RESOLUTION ON ZIMBABWE

The OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, meeting in its 31st Ordinary Session in Dar-es-Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania, from 19 to 23 June, 1978,

Refaffirming Resolution CM/868 (XXX) which rejected and totally condemned the so-called "internal talks" taking place in Salisbury because these talks were aimed at perpetuating white minority power,

Noting that the Salisbury March 3, 1978 Agreement actually is an attempt to consolidate white minority power and that the unrepresentative elements that were party to the "internal talks" with the racist Ian Smith are now an integral part of the resulting treacherous and illegal Salisbury regime,

Having Expressed the conviction that intensified armed struggle is a decisive factor in the efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom and total independence for the people of Zimbabwe,

Recognizing with appreciation the efforts being deployed by the Frontline States on behalf of the OAU to ensure that a just solution is attained to the problems in that territory:

1. STRONGLY REJECTS AND CONDEMNS the March 3, 1978 Salisbury Agreement and the treacherous regime set on those terms;
2. CALLS UPON all OAU Member States and the international community not to give recognition to the regime resulting from the March 3 Salisbury Agreement and never to give any form of encouragement or solace to any of its elements;
3. ENCOURAGES the appreciable prosecution of the armed struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front, the sole Liberation Movement of Zimbabwe;
4. RESOLVES to grant all possible emergency and other requests put forward by the Patriotic Front for the intensification of the armed struggle;
5. CALLS UPON all OAU Member States to increase their material and financial aid to the armed struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front;

6. APPRECIATES the role played by the Heads of State, peoples and governments of the Frontline States who, for the high ideals and principles of the OAU, have committed themselves to the total liquidation of racist minority regimes of Southern Africa;
7. CALLS UPON all OAU Member States to implement Resolution CM/Res. (XXVII) in support of Frontline States which are constantly subjected to the repeated acts of aggression by the racist colonialist regimes of South Africa and Southern Africa.

NIGERIAN DECLARATION TO THE 31ST ORDINARY SESSIONDar-es-Salaam 19th - 23rd June, 1978.

" While considering the question of the Liberation of the remaining pockets of Colonialism in Africa namely, Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa, the Nigerian delegation feels compelled to pronounce itself on the present situation in Africa. Africa today finds herself in a situation where there is an attempt to recolonise the Continent. Our delegation recalls with deep alarm the fact that a bunch of mercenaries have been able to overthrow the Government of an independent African State. We condemn the new role of imperialists, their lackeys and mercenaries in Africa.

" We have also learned with dismay the proposal to set up a Pan-African Force in our Continent with the help of certain Non-African powers.

" We reiterate our commitments to the Charter of the OAU regarding the territorial integrity of Nations.

" A Pan African Force must be African as the name implies. It must be set up by the OAU when and how it decides to do so.

" We refuse to accept any intervention in Africa by certain powers on the pretext that other powers are in Africa. Africa remains determined to oppose the motivations of all foreign powers if the action of these powers are inimical to the interest of Africa. Africa should and must remain the sole interpreter of its own destiny.

" We urge the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa to appeal to all continental powers to leave the solution of African problems to Africans themselves. This is the least that Africa asks. "This much Africa demands and must have."

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Annex IV

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, NDUGU E.M. SOKOINE, MP.

IN OPENING THE 31ST ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU

LIBERATION COMMITTEE - DAR ES SALAAM - JUNE 1978



understand the objective for which they are prepared to lay down their precious lives. They are spread over wide territory and are popular among the masses because they interpret correctly the feelings of the people and translate them into action on the battlefield.

The remaining masses are prepared to give them cover by day and unite with them at night in combat against the illegal minority racist and apartheid regimes. The popularity of the struggle has been the reason why many patriotic young men and women, students and peasants flee from Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa for training in neighbouring countries in preparation for battle, It is unity among these valiant fighters which is their valuable asset against the oppression and machinations of the enemy. These are irreversible achievements.

4. It is therefore appropriate Ndugu Chairman, to give compliments to the Liberation Committee of the O.A.U. for the contribution they have made in the past 15 years which has made possible today's brilliant record in favour of the freedom fighters. Further, it is important that we should further enhance this contribution and that we must keep the initiative in our own hands. The struggle must remain in a peoples struggle. It is because of this that there is an over-riding necessity for the Liberation Committee and Africa, to restate, that, the struggle for liberation is first and foremost an African obligation. It draws its inspiration from the deep commitment of the African people to freedom and their resentment against the indignities they have suffered under the racism and colonialism. Basically, this is a struggle for an African identity and dignity.

5. The liberation struggle will, therefore, cleanse society of the voices of racism and the consequent suppression for the majority by a minority, and replace it by a society based on human equality and the democratic rights of the majority in the country of their birth.

6. Today the struggle in Southern Africa is the focus of World attention. Regrettably, there have been grumblings from the West to the effect that Southern Africa and Africa in general is becoming an arena of East/West confrontation. This viewpoint is unfounded and misleading and should be condemned by Africa. The confrontation in Southern Africa is between those who support liberation and those who oppose it. The people of Southern Africa are not fighting for the interests of either the West or the East. They are fighting for the right to be free. They are fighting for their own destiny. It is an insult to Africa and a great desservice to this historic struggle to attempt to inject ideological connections into it.

7. Ndugu Chairman, despite these international manoeuvres, today there can be no doubt that the freedom movements assisted by the Liberation Committee, will reach the goal of majority rule in Southern Africa. In Zimbabwe the fighting forces of the Patriotic Front have compelled Ian Smith to accept majority rule in his life time! Our obligation here is therefore to render maximum support to these forces and to the Patriotic Front which leads them.

8. Ndugu Chairman, it is the Patriotic Front through its military strength which has the power to bring about a negotiated solution and genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe. It is the Patriotic Front forces who are the focal point of militant young men and women of Zimbabwe who go out for training and those who remain at home. It is they who have generated international pressure for rapid transition to majority rule.

9. Equally, through their position of strength they have laid bare the hollowness of the so-called internal settlement. Smith had hoped that at the eleventh hour he could associate a few hand-picked Africans with his ruthless suppression of the majority. For this he won rejection and condemnation of the so-called internal settlement by the UN.

10. Ndugu Chairman, whatever the future of a negotiated settlement, the Liberation Movement now has a fighting force in Zimbabwe which is growing in strength in armaments, in mobility, in numbers, in morale and in dedication to the cause. It is obvious that the Africans who share power with Smith are powerless even with the assistance of mercenaries against the tide of history for liberation.

11. Ndugu Chairman, I would like to point out that the success of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa so far has been brought about by a combination of factors namely the dedication of freedom fighters, the support of the OAU and the international Community and the sacrifices made by the neighbouring independent African States which have acted and continue to act as rear bases for the fighters.

12 The illegal minority racist and apartheid regimes have committed aggression against these countries in a vain attempt to intimidate them. On behalf of Tanzania, I take this opportunity to pay special tribute to Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola for the contribution and sacrifice they are making for the liberation of the whole of Southern Africa. At the same time, I should like to appeal to all Independent African States to give generous material to these countries so as to enable them to resist the enemy.

13. Ndugu Chairman, it is not enough for Africa to pay only tributes to them. These countries require concrete assistance.

14. Ndugu Chairman, the liberation struggle has reached an advanced stage in Namibia. Tanzania supports the position of SWAPO which is also the position of the OAU that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. I would like to express the hope that the International Community and especially the Security Council will support this position in the context of the negotiations now going on. Africa and the International Community have the obligation to make clear to South Africa that Walvis Bay has been and will always be an Integral part of Namibia.

15. lastly Ndugu Chairman, there is some need to restate our position vis-a-vis the role of the United Nations in both Zimbabwe and Namibia. Tanzania welcomes the presence in adequate strength, of UN forces in both territories. Our confidence in the UN and its ability to supervise the transition to genuine majority rule stems from the fact that the UN has constantly given support and presided over the search for independence in both territories.

16. Finally, I am sure this session will discuss and make recommendations on important matters affecting the ability of the liberation movements to intensify the struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. I would like to emphasize what I said earlier that the liberation of Southern Africa is at a critical stage.

17. The liberation Committee should, therefore review the whole question and come out with positive measures for making the maximum contribution towards the success of the struggle.

18. In this connection, I would like to appeal to all Member States to meet their obligations in full in respect of contribution in funds, materials, in arms, in dissemination of information so as to meet the needs of the various liberation movements.

19. In conclusion, Ndugu Chairman, I have the honour to declare open this 31st Ordinary Session of OAU Liberation Committee.

Thank you.

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Annex V

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA

SPEECH OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. WILLIAM ETEKI MBOUMOUA
OAU SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING
OF THE 31ST ORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU LIBERATION
COMMITTEE

DAR ES SALAAM

TANZANIA.

19th June, 1978.

MR. PRIME MINISTER,
MINISTERS,
DELEGATES
EXCELLENCIES
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The holding of the Liberation Committee assizes in this hospitable town of Dar-es-Salaam, amidst the Tanzanian people committed to and mobilized for the liberation of Africa is always a source of inspiration for us and an occasion to imbibe the realities of the struggle and to reflect upon the strategies to be adapted for victory.

Tanzania carries very high the banner of the liberation of Africa, the dignity of the African which are embodied in the charismatic personality of her leader, the Mwalimu Nyerere who himself, a convinced militant of the cause of liberty, dignity and justice has been able to instil these values in his people. But what is most fitting to exalt is his faith, his conviction of the final victory, faith which feeds his availability, his total commitment to the struggles for the emancipation of the African peoples.

The role he played in the liberation of former portuguese colonies, the eminent and quasi missionary role he is now playing on all fronts for the liberation of this last bastion in Southern Africa, are in fact the corollary of his commitment.

At the risk of offending the modesty of President Nyerere, we would request him to kindly accept, once more the vibrating and deferent homage we tender him.

Kindly accept, Mr. Prime Minister that we associate to this homage the people of Tanzania and the militants of the vanguard party Chama Cha Mapinduzi.

Accept that we include in this homage, the Heads of Frontline States and their militant peoples who, under your enlightened impulse, are keeping alive the fighting zeal of the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Mr. Prime Minister, each moment of our quest for the liberation of Africa bears its particular mark and calls upon us to evolve an adequate strategy.

The moment we are living through today bears its own character and demands that we show a special vigilance.

In fact, as I said on another occasion, at the moment when the process of the total liberation of our continent is gathering momentum and when at the same time our countries are undergoing a new dynamism, inspired by an irresistible need for deep changes, the retrograde forces of domination are not only organising themselves to preserve their advantages and exploiting system but are also evolving a global strategy to stifle this powerful drive for a liberatory revolution.

How can we fail to suspect behind all this, the hands of imperialists who spread out their mercenaries in our continent, hamper the process of the total liberation of Africa and the realization of a new quasi - revolutionary situation which is the only condition susceptible to liberate the African individual from all factors which, in his daily or geographical environment, embody or reflect the vestiges of bondage.

While zones of tension are being created and kept alive, while destabilization enterprises are being abetted, we are made to believe that Africa is the sick child of the International Community. And in a sudden outburst of unholy solicitude; the imperialists have developed a sudden concern for our security.

Meanwhile, cynical attempts are being made to draw our minds away from our essential preoccupation and from concentrating on the liberation of Southern Africa. The attention of the International Community highly sympathetic to our cause is being deviated from us by gross misconstruction of the motives and causes of our struggle.

When Angola is attacked and invaded, her civilian population massacred, no one runs to their rescue.

When atrocities are being perpetrated by the mercenary forces of Ian Smith against the civilian populations both of Zimbabwe and of neighbouring countries, no one shows as much as a flicker of anger.

When the huge repressive machine of Vorster crushes the defenceless and unarmed black populations, we are treated to some timid platonic condemnations.

It is essential, isn't it, that the bogey of Cuban threat be evoked!

But we know how to be vigilant.

Our liberation struggle has reached a clarification point.

In Zimbabwe the armed struggle of the valiant combatants under the Patriotic Front has tilted the balance of power in favour of the freedom fighters. While accentuating the armed struggle, the Patriotic Front has adhered to this political stand that in all confrontations, the main thing is to maintain a point of vantage, to be able either to overcome the enemy or in the case of inevitable negotiation, to obtain advantageous compromises.

Having a clear idea of the end in view, and which is the emancipation of the people, which dismisses all disastrous divisions engendered by unbridled individual ambitions, tribalism or regionalism, and by pseudo-ideological deviationism, the Patriotic Front has, with reason, refused to accept negotiated settlements which represent compromises guaranteeing the long term interests of the racist colonialist minority.

The meeting held in Dar es Salaam from 14th - 15th April, considered as a replica of the meeting held in Malta symbolizes both the willingness to negotiate without however betraying the ethical end of the liberation struggle and the care to avoid a protracted and blood letting civil war in Zimbabwe.

The ball is now in the court of the racists, their puppets and the Anglo-Americans.

Faced with the colonialist manoeuvres of Ian Smith and the timorous moves of the Anglo-Americans clever at concerning subtle plans to counterbalance rights and privileges between composite groups of the Zimbabwean society but little desposed to apply adequate pressure to ensure the success of their plans. We, more than ever before, have the duty to reaffirm our support to the Patriotic Front who embodies the hopes of those who do not want to see the people of Zimbabwe betrayed of the liberty, and the full and total independence they aspire to.

However, the political consciousness of black populations in South Africa itself, the energy and audacity with which they are claiming for the suppression of apartheid and the more and more generalized censure of world opinion have driven the South African racists to adopt more rigorous repressive measures to combat all changes. The Vorster regime broke out in blood letting reprisals against Black Organizations.

South Africa has thereby confirmed its determination to perpetuate the Apartheid system, to maintain by force of arms and by the rule of terror the whole of Southern Africa under its domination and to wield a heavy influence on the future developments of relations in this part of the world, thus constituting a permanent threat to the continued emancipation of independent African States. The aggression against Angola is a striking illustration of the South African policy in its true light. South Africa must therefore be fought with determination both at diplomatic level and at war level through the intensification of armed action by Liberation Movements. Those who stand to benefit from our support; must on their part, and for the effectiveness of the struggle, know how to transcend their contradictions and escape the derisive spell of division.

Mr. Chairman,

It is obvious that if in our determined bid to liberate Southern Africa, we have to reinforce the means placed at the disposal of freedom fighters and exalt the cohesion both of movements and of fighters, it is equally true that we should look after the security of the neighbouring countries.

In this connection the Resolution AHG/Res.80 (XIII) constitutes a political commitment of no mean responsibility.

It is however regrettable that we do not avail ourselves of the means to honour this commitment. This Session of our Committee should take up the matter and find out means of dissuasion to counter these repeated aggressions of the enemy.

The great concern today is to be able and to know how to draw upon African wisdom, African solidarity and conscience probe for a sense of dignity, for enough resources to enable us to complete our liberation, to preserve it, consolidate it, and, by offering ourselves to progress, dedicating ourselves to our self-centred development, to impose our positivity upon the world.

Our duty consists in mobilising all our resources for the rehabilitation of Man and the African continent in their dignity which is liberty.

In this context, I feel, I must applaud all African peoples and all regimes which have already condemned these vile colonialist attempts to control the present and future life of our peoples. We affirm that Africa can only be its own ally, and that such attempts to halt the ever-turning wheel of history are doomed to failure: History is always advancing to ensure the masses' control over their destiny.

Brothers,

The present circumstances of our continent places heavy burdens upon our Committee for the continued support of the African Liberation Movements, to enable them to intensify their struggle and to strike harder blows at racist colonialism which continues to exist in parts of our continent - in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and La Reunion.

As for Zimbabwe, the settlement proposed by the racists and supported by certain defeatist elements in Zimbabwe itself, is rejected in whole and in part. It can only lead to sham independence, to the legalization of the racist minority regime, and to aborting the struggle of the heroic people of Zimbabwe led by the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people.

On the Namibian question, while stressing that armed struggle is indeed the effective means of achieving independence for that people, we strongly support the conditions laid down by SWAPO to ensure total and unconditional withdrawal of the racist occupation army from the entire territory of Namibia including Walvis Bay. Only thus can the Namibian people, under SWAPO, exercise their right to self-determination and attain independence under the auspices of the UN and not under the supervision of a certain group of colonialist powers whose intentions towards Africa are not above suspicion.

Let us express the hope that the Committee entrusted with unifying the two South African Liberation Movements will succeed in doing so. Their unity marks the right path ahead for the intensification of the armed struggle against the racist presence in South Africa, and the frustration of the imperialist manoeuvres designed to prolong such presence. We also hope that the Conference due to be held in Arusha on 27 June 1978 will be able to remove the differences within the ranks of PAC. We hope that the revolutionary strugglers will be able to rise up to the level of their historical responsibility and so achieve more cohesion and unity, so as to share in the struggle of their comrades in the ANC for the liberation of their people from colonialist domination.

Brothers,

The present situation and the difficult circumstances faced by the African Liberation movements make it imperative for us to work seriously to help them solve their internal problems, and to render them assistance in the intensification of their struggle and the increasingly hard blows they are striking against the colonialist enemy. We are therefore required to rapidly implement the decisions we have taken in this connection, particularly the setting up of the Military Commission, already agreed upon at the last session in Al-Jamahiriyah, so that it should shoulder its responsibilities, primarily to study the Liberation Movements' needs of the arms, equipments and facilities with which we should supply them.

We are certain that the Frontline States - those confronting the racist enemy in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa - will cooperate with the Committee. They are more conscious than anybody else of its vital task.

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Annex VI

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Brothers,

We demand that the Committee set up at the last session be convened to study the situation on the Island of La Reunion as soon as possible. We attach great importance to the information which it imparts to us and which will enable us to render effective assistance to the people of that African island so that they can achieve self-determination and build up their independent state.

We should, noble brothers, respect the decisions we adopt and implement them with the necessary speed. Our decisions concern the destinies of our African peoples who still suffer from colonialist domination. Their continued colonization detracts from our own freedom. In this connection we still have high hopes that the emergency African Summit will be held to deal with the problem of the Western Sahara. It should enable the Sahara people to exercise their right to self-determination, and so put an end, once and for all, to all foreign intervention in African Affairs, particularly by France who has come to play an open colonialist role, whether through direct military intervention or through attempts to impose her tutelage over Africans by tying them down to her in alliances which serve her own interests and secure her exploitation and domination of the African Continent.

Let us take this opportunity to confirm, once more, that the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriah still stands by the statement made by its Leader Colonel Mu'ammr al-Qaddafi, that it is prepared to pay up the arrears in contributions by certain member states to the Liberation Committee budget. Diplomatic contacts are taking place at present with the countries concerned. We are motivated in this by our faith in

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Annex VI

Page 5

the role being played by this Committee, and the desire not to alter its programmes, designed to liberate all African Peoples.

In conclusion let us affirm to all revolutionary strugglers in the African Liberation Movements that we staunchly support their just struggle for the liberation of their peoples. We appeal to OAU member states to increase their material and moral support for these revolutionary movements to enable them to accomplish their historic missions.

We also appeal to them to consolidate and support the front-line states in their repulsion of repeated racist out-laugths. We take this opportunity to applaud their steadfastness and the sacrifices they have made in defence of the freedom and dignity of African peoples.

On your behalf, let me extend genuine thanks to President Nyerere, the government and people of Tanzania, for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded to us, and which are a true expression of African nobility and fraternity. Let me extend sincere thanks to the members of the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee for the cooperation they have shown during my term as Chairman of the Committee.

Victory for Africa !

Immortality for the martyrs of Africa !

Shameful defeat for the enemies of Africa !

M E M O R A N D U M

ON

ARREARS IN CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SPECIAL FUND

1. The 31st Ordinary Session of the OAU Liberation Committee meeting in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania from June 19th - 23rd, 1978 decided to update the memorandum submitted by the Chairman of the 29th Ordinary Session of the OAU Liberation Committee to the 14th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU Member-States in Libreville, Gabon in order to:

- (i) acquaint them with the progress made so far by the Committee in the liberation effort;
- (ii) underscore the immense task that still lies ahead;
- and (iii) state the financial contributions so far made by each Member State towards the realisation of this important task of liberation.

2. The Committee noted with pride that with the independence of Djibouti on 27th June, 1977, the number of Liberation Movements supported by the Committee is now reduced to 4. The Committee had been actively associated with the Liberation Movements in the Portuguese African colonies, the Comoros and the Seychelles and Djibouti - all of which attained independence during the last few years.

3. The end of the Portuguese colonial war in mid-1974 had led to a free flow of new recruits and an influx of refugees from the racists' enclaves in Southern Africa.

- (a) In Zimbabwe there has been a dramatic escalation of violence and the reaction of the enemy to the raging war has been causing anxiety to all observers.
- (b) Namibia: In spite of all measures taken by South Africa, SWAPO is fighting inside the country, dealing severe blows on the enemy.
- (c) South Africa: Both ANC and PAC have now started on the offensive within the territory and this is testified by accurate information from the Liberation Movements as confirmed by the international press.

4. In line with the magnitude of the current engagements, the needs of the freedom fighters have increased considerably. To mention only the case of Zimbabwe, where the struggle is now at its fiercest OAU Member States would wish to know that thousands of cadres who have received training outside Zimbabwe are currently operating in the country, harassing the Rhodesian security forces and striking fear and terror in the enemy camps.

5. Both the Mozambique and Zambian commands of the Patriotic Front have infiltration and operation programmes involving tens of thousands of trained cadres, annually. Conservative estimates put the expenses on non-military hardware accessories to these operations at 1½ million US dollars, besides transportation and airlifting costs. The two wings of the Front also have a long term programme of training some 35,000 cadres a piece.

6. As regards their training project, if 35,000 cadres are to be trained by each wing of the Patriotic Front, and training takes six months, then the expenses for keeping the trainees of each wing at a training camp, without considering the cost of teaching materials (weapons, uniforms etc.) i.e. only boarding and lodging at a very conservative estimate of US.\$2 per person per day, then US.\$ 12,000,000 must be raised. This figure, for only one wing of the Patriotic Front, would almost swallow up total arrears in contributions to the Special Fund as at 31st May, 1978.

7. Conscious of the dedication of all Heads of State and Government of the OAU to the cause of liberating the remaining non-independent African territories, the Liberation Committee observed with regret that the non-payment of the outstanding dues by some countries would appear to be due to the non-awareness by the Heads of State of this great omission due to lack of

adequate communication. It is resolved therefore that each Head of State should be provided with an analysis of contributions showing those countries which have fully paid their contributions and those which have not paid at all or made payments on very few occasions. The exercise is designed to enable each Head of State to give the necessary directives to the appropriate arms of his government to promptly settle the arrears that might be outstanding, and to ensure regular future payments to the Special Fund of the Liberation Committee.

8. Attached to this amended version of the memorandum is an up-dated annex showing an analysis of the contributions made by OAU Member-States to the Special Fund of the Liberation Committee, as at the end of the financial year 1977/1978.

1. Countries that have not made payments at all
Lesotho (since its first assessment in the financial year 1967/68)
Botswana (since its first assessment in the financial year 1966/67)
Malawi (since its first assessment in the financial year 1965/66)
2. Newly independent countries assessed for the first time last year:
Angola (since its first assessment in the financial year 1977/78)
Mozambique (since its first assessment in the financial year 1977/78)
Cape Verde (since its first assessment in the financial year 1977/78)
Comoro (since its first assessment in the financial year 1977/78)
Guinea-Bissau (since its first assessment in the financial year 1977/78)
Sao Tome et Principe (since its first assessment in the first financial year 1977/78)
Seychelles (since its first assessment in the financial year 1977/78)
Djibouti is still yet to be assessed.
3. Countries that have made payments on only one occasion:
Central African Empire (₤ 13,895 in the 1964/65 financial year)
Equatorial Guinea (₤ 10,929 in the 1974/75 financial year)
Gambia (₤17,222 in the 1976/77 financial year)
4. Countries that have made payments on two occasion:
Chad (₤161,031 in the financial year 1969/70 and US\$1,991,96 in the 1977/78 financial year)

5. Countries that have made payments on three occasions:
- Zaire: ₣ 11,760 in the financial year 1967/68
₣ 6,328 in the financial year 1973/74
₣ 27,576 in the financial year 1974/75
- Morocco: ₣59,498 in the financial year 1972/73
₣121,070 in the financial year 1973/74
₣83,722-36 in the financial year 1975/76
6. Countries that have fully paid up their contributions:
- Cameroon (with an overpayment of US\$16,474.35)
Ethiopia (with an overpayment of US\$27,225.43)
Ghana (taken into account the payment made on 20th
June, 1978)
- Nigeria
Tanzania (with an overpayment of US\$10,156.72)
Uganda (with an overpayment of US\$15,486.61)
7. Countries that have almost fully paid up their contributions :
- Kenya (with only US\$2,342.21 outstanding)
Zambia (with only US\$2,299.91 outstanding)
8. Countries that paid up substantial arrears last year:
- Ivory Coast (paid a sum of US\$994,580.44 during the
1977/78 financial year)
Gabon (paid a sum of US\$1,368,429.31 during the same
period).

Statement showing Arrears in Contribution as at 31.5.77
Assessment for 1977/78, Contributions received from 1.6.77
to 31.5.78 and Contributions outstanding as at 31.5.1978
 (All Figures in US Dollars)

Member State	Arrears as at 31. 5. 77	Assessment 1977/78 based on revised scale of assessment	Contribution received from 1.6.77 -31.5.78	Arrears of Contri- bution as at 31.5.78
1. Algeria	174,760.87	206,619.27	-	381,380.14
2. Angola	-	79,288.05	-	79,288.05
3. Benin	310,535.06	18,142.18	-	328,677.24
4. Botswana	230,562.72	65,849.39	-	296,412.11
5. Burundi	27,954.77	20,493.94	-	48,448.71
6. Cameroon	5,126.07	62,489.73	84,090.15	(16,474.35)
7. Cape Verde	-	18,142.18	-	18,142.18
8. C.A. Empire	498,219.09	23,181.67	-	521,400.76
9. Chad	421,565.44	20,493.94	1,991.96	440,067.42
10. Comoro	-	16,798.32	-	16,798.32
11. Congo	189,803.11	45,355.45	-	235,158.56
12. A. R. Egypt	2,002,247.06	254,326.49	148,500.00	2,108,073.55
13. Ethiopia	35,880.64	67,193.26	130,299.33	(27,255.43)
14. Eq. Guinea	68,972.28	33,932.60	-	102,904.88
15. Gabon	1,342,566.00	211,322.80	1,368,429.31	185,459.49

Member State	Arrears as at 31. 5. 77	Assessment 1977/78 based on revised scale of assessment	Contribution received from 1.6.77-31.5.78	Arrears of Contri- bution as at 31.5.78
16. Gambia	346,817.26	20,493.94	-	367,311.20
17. Ghana	-	108,853.08	-	108,853.08
18. Guinea	90,028.92	22,845.71	68,976.79	43,896.94
19. Guinea-Bissau	-	31,916.80	-	31,916.80
20. Ivory Coast	1,036,048.53	105,157.45	994,580.44	146,625.54
21. Kenya	(915.60)	76,600.32	73,342.51	2,342.21
22. Lesotho	234,390.87	18,142.18	-	252,533.05
23. Liberia	303,905.43	60,809.90	95,210.74	269,504.59
24. Libya	79,635.30	335,966.30	328,287.40	87,314.20
25. Madagascar	165,868.50	41,323.95	174,183.51	33,008.84
26. Malawi	315,941.28	27,885.20	-	343,826.48
27. Mali	165,626.90	18,142.18	-	183,769.08
28. Mauritania	238,042.78	31,580.83	-	269,623.61
29. Mauritius	-	52,074.78	-	52,074.78
30. Morocco	1,437,291.44	144,465.51	-	1,581,756.95
31. Mozambique	-	64,505.53	-	64,505.53
32. Niger	1,209.36	24,189.57	45,892.55	(20,493.62)
33. Nigeria	-	256,342.28	256,342.36	(0.08)
34. Rwanda	137,698.92	16,798.32	137,698.89	16,798.35
35. Sao Tome et Principe	-	43,339.65	-	43,339.65
36. Senegal	243,953.80	32,252.76	-	276,206.56

Member State	Arrears as at 31.5.7	Assessment 1977/78 based on revised scale of assessment	Contribution received from 1.6.77- 31.5.78	Arrears of Contri- bution as at 31.5.78
37. Seychelles	-	52,074.78	-	52,074.78
38. Sierra Leone	286,187.02	46,027.38	-	332,214.40
39. Somalia	26,779.42	23,181.67	26,412.48	23,548.61
40. Sudan	196,238.61	62,153.76	-	258,392.37
41. Swaziland	95,202.24	65,849.39	-	161,051.63
42. Tanzania	(197.00)	55,098.47	65,058.19	(10,156.72)
43. Togo	358,395.32	19,486.05	22,276.32	355,605.05
44. Tunisia	814,003.22	118,596.10	-	932,599.32
45. Uganda	20.37	39,644.02	55,151.00	(15,486.61)
46. Upper Volta	290,121.04	18,142.18	-	308,263.22
47. Zaire	940,090.13	72,232.75	-	1,012,322.88
48. Zambia	(4,026.70)	109,860.98	103,534.37	2,299.91
	13,106,549.57	3,359,662.94	4,180,258.30	12,285,954.21

* Egypt's contribution paid in material valued at US \$148,500.00 approximately.
Ghana paid an amount of US \$108,863.08 on 26th June, 1978.



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