

JOINT MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS  
OF AFRICAN STATES HELD IN CAIRO 17th TO 21st JULY 64.

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Honourable President of the Conference,  
Your Excellencies,

It is with a feeling of deep emotion that we accept the honour of addressing this august assembly of Africa's eminent leaders and heads of state. We appeared before you at the historic Addis Ababa conference which adopted a Charter of Unity and founded the Organisation of African Unity. On that occasion the spokesman of the Freedom Fighters was the Honourable Oginga Odinga whose country was at that time still held in colonial bondage but happily today is free and independent.

This fact alone dramatises Africa's spectacular advance to its cherished goals of Freedom and Unity.

Today, as so many times before we are in Cairo, we have come here to hail this First Anniversary of the founding of the O.A.U. and to drink from the fountain of the increasing wealth of experience of our liberated - the independent African States. We take this opportunity also to thank in particular the President and Government of the United Arab Republic for the warm welcome and hospitality that has been extended to the Freedom Fighters.

Mr. Chairman, since the Addis Ababa Conference of the Heads of African States, heart-warming victories and successes have been recorded by our heroic continent, Kenya after a long and bitter struggle has become free. Colonial Nyasaland has become independent Malawi. And on October 24th the new Republic of Zambia will appear on the map.

We salute also the popular armed revolution in Zanzibar which ushered in a new era of progress in that Island.

There have been other achievements. We noted with deep satisfaction that border disputes, which had threatened to undermine African Unity and were being exploited by the colonialists to further their own sinister designs, are being settled amicably.

On the other hand however, the Imperialists and colonialists shocked and frightened by the victorious advance of Africa, have redoubled their efforts and in a last ditch stand to stem the tide of African revolution. Suffice it to say that inspite of the gains made during the period under review there are still eighteen African territories under colonial rule involving some 35 million people. These territories are South Africa, the British Protectorates, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Portuguese colonies and territories under French and Spanish rule etc. etc.

And it is clear that for the majority of these countries their road to freedom is via an armed revolutionary struggle.

Already the heroic people of "Portuguese" Guinea led by the P.A.I.G.C. with arms in their hands have wrested from the Portuguese 45% of their fatherland. The people of Angola are in arms. This is going to be the same in many other territories.

#### The Present Situation.

South Africa. The Verwoerd fascist regime is now engaged in a frantic and desperate arms build up, spending this year alone no less than £115 million on armaments. They are mobilising virtually every White person to be a soldier for Apartheid and White domination. The tempo of oppression has increased immensely. South Africa has been transformed into a huge prison with thousands of militants, her best sons and daughters languishing in jail, some serving life imprisonment and others tortured and executed.

But despite this brutal repression the Africans and other oppressed people are determined not to bow to oppression. They are daily raising their level of preparedness. The cry for armed rebellion is echoed throughout the length and breadth of the country.

South West Africa. What has been said of South Africa applies to South West Africa as well. In the territory of South West Africa the South African Government continues to implement the Apartheid laws and perpetrates similar atrocities to the acts of repression committed against the people of South Africa.

As far as the struggle for the liberation of South West Africa is concerned we observe that too much stress has been laid on legal technicalities abroad rather than on positive support for the struggling people in the country itself through their popular liberation Movements there. It is our hope therefore, that whilst the countries of Africa should intensify their external campaign of pressure against South Africa maximum emphasis must from now on be placed on the liberation struggle in the country itself.

It must be remembered that in the final analysis court decision or no international court decision, the overthrow of the South African regime in South West Africa must rest on the shoulders of the people themselves with the active support of the outside world be it in the form of legal, economic or diplomatic action.

#### The British Protectorates .(Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland)

The dynamic united stand taken by the people of Basutoland demanding unconditional freedom from the oppressive shackles of British Imperialism is a point worth noting. Despite the joint subversive intrigues of Britain and her financial colony in the form of the fascist South African regime, the people's irresistible pressure has made it impossible for Imperialist Britain to postpone the independence of Basutoland indefinitely. Basutoland's independence cannot and should not be regarded as an end by itself. It can never have any meaning unless it is interpreted as a stepping stone which will hasten the collapse of all the forces of oppression in Southern Africa through the Organisation of African Unity.

We therefore urge the people of the other two Protectorates, Bechuanaland and Swaziland to follow suit by intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle in their respective territories. We note Bechuanaland's advance in this respect and also greet the newly formed anti-imperialist Front in Swaziland. This Front had it been formed earlier could have doubtless resulted in a shattering defeat of the reactionary pro-imperialist forces which recently won elections in Swaziland.

#### Southern Rhodesia.

The recent evil manoeuvres of the White settler Premier Ian Smith, including his recent visit to South Africa to work out trade and military pacts with Verwoerd in preparation for his contemplated declaration of independence have more than highlighted the urgency of the situation in Southern Rhodesia.

Not only have there been mass arrests, restrictions and imprisonment of freedom fighters and their leaders, Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole have been bundled into restriction and imprisonment. And recently the army has been called out in the Eastern district of the country to suppress an uprising.

The Southern Rhodesia issue is therefore most urgent and demands the immediate attention of the liberation movement in the country itself and the utmost vigilance of the OAU. The liberation Movement must be fully assisted to intensify more than ever before their struggle against settlerism so that the Smith-Verwoerd Alliance is foiled. It cannot be over emphasised that the success of the African Revolution in Southern Rhodesia will automatically open the gate to the freedom and independence of South Africa.

We should point out here that it would be serious underestimation of the Southern Rhodesia problem if the OAU. allowed itself to be influenced into complacency by the final communique of the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. What should be demanded of Great Britain is not a vague and pious undertaking that it will give consideration to the views of the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. The undertaking by Britain must indeed stipulate not just the desirability of a constitutional conference but a real promise that such a conference will infact be held within a stated period and it should adopt a constitution based on the principle of one man one vote. We hope that the OAU will exact all possible pressure to achieve this demand.

And should the Ian Smith Government in its madness declare unilateral independence, the OAU it is hoped, will examine effective punitive means.

#### Portuguese colonies:

In defiance of reason and commonsense, moral and international legality, and acting against the resolutions of the United Nations and its Charter, the colonial Government of Portugal continues to pursue a policy of armed repression against the African people in these territories.

As Freedom fighters we express our deep gratitude to the Organisation of African Unity and indeed to the individual African States for exposing the heinous crimes committed by Portugal. We feel that the more the Government of Salazar is isolated internationally the more increased material is given to the national liberation movement in the various territories, the quicker will be the liquidation of the evil and iniquitous regime. This enemy of Africa and humanity aided and abetted by Nato and financed by American Dollars.

Angola. The armed struggle which began in Angola in 1961 aroused resistance in the other Portuguese colonies although the Nationalist forces at the moment are facing urgent problems. The certainty of their final victory is not in doubt and their motherland will be restored. The O.A.U. will without doubt analyse thoroughly the Angola situation and adopt further effective measures to reinforce the armed struggle of the Angolan people so that a speedy victory will be achieved by the liberation movement.

Mozambique. In Mozambique with the intensification of police repression and the adoption of crude methods of oppression by the Portuguese the situation is deteriorating dismally. Convinced as we are that the OAU will increase its assistance to the Nationalists of Mozambique we must stress the important role of the African Independent states neighbouring this country in the acceleration of the pace towards the liberation of Mozambique. In particular we salute the peoples of Tanganyika, Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland whose national sovereignty must remain a positive element in the struggle for liberation of the people of Mozambique.

Portuguese Guinea.

The People of this country mobilised in an armed struggle led by the fighting organisation A.I.G.C. have made great strides in their struggle during the one year of the existence of the OAU. As already pointed out approximately 45% of the national territory has been liberated whilst the colonial forces are demoralised day by day. The struggle for the liberation of "Portuguese" Guinea has now entered a new and decisive phase not only for that country but for all Africa. Moreover, "Portuguese" Guinea has become the "Achilles Heel" of Portuguese colonialism. Her liberation will signal the beginning of the end of Portuguese rule.

Hence quite correctly, the OAU, individual African states and particularly the neighbouring states have given vital assistance to the revolution in "Portuguese" Guinea. With increased assistance the struggle will be raised to even greater heights.

Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe Islands.

In the Cape Verde Islands the African people fighting hand in hand with their brothers in "Portuguese" Guinea, important progress has been made in the task of arousing the political consciousness of the population.

Like in Cape Verde Islands, the nationalists in Sao Tome and Principe Islands are actively preparing to engage the Portuguese colonialists in a resolute struggle. The eradication and elimination of Portuguese colonialism remains one of the important issues facing Africa.

Somalia Coast. In this country like in some other African territories (Comores, Reunion etc.) are still subjected to French Colonial domination.

We would like to submit that the people of Somalia Coast and like other French colonies are entitled to active assistance from the OAU.

This assistance should take all possible forms that can effectively help them in their struggle for liberation.

"Spanish" Guinea. The imposition of the recent referendum upon the people of this country calls for effective material and political assistance from the OAU so that the people can wage their struggle for freedom and true independence.

Political Action.

It is our submission that the campaign for the isolation of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal should be stepped up. We urge the African states to retain the initiative and firmly consolidate the good work already done in implementing the trade ban and boycott of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal. The campaign for economic sanctions held recently in London that economic sanctions are practical.

We note that some African states neighbouring these territories due to problems left by colonialism have found it expedient to retain economic and other links with Portugal, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. We hope that this is a temporary phenomenon and that the rest of Africa will help these states to solve those problems which could make them easy prey to economic blackmail by these fascist governments.

Financial aid. Our hopes were raised greatly by the eloquent and militant speeches made at Addis Ababa, pledging unlimited assistance of all kinds to the freedom fighters. But by the end of a year the aid actually given has proved inadequate. The question of the quantity of aid given is very urgent in view of the belligerent declarations made, increased military budgets and purchases of arms made by the White minority Governments and in Southern Africa and the colonial-fascist government of Salazaar. The problem arises from what appears to be an impiric attitude which governs the distribution. Great improvement could result if allocations were made permanently regularly and given on the

basis of the programmes and budgets of the Liberation Movements, rather than as occasional handouts unrelated to the actual needs of the situation.

Other forms of aid. On the programme of establishing training camps for freedom fighters not much has been done to give effect to the pronouncements made and decisions taken at Addis Ababa. We urge that a constructive and revolutionary approach be made to tackle this urgent need which will be an important factor in the liberation of the remaining dependent territories.

Other pressing problems:

We urge that you give attention to the problem of refugees and political leaders who today live in the African independent States. In this respect we would recommend the establishment of a Refugee Relief Programme, and the provision of proper travel documents than can facilitate the travel of the exiled political leaders within the continent and abroad. The travel documents so far issued have not proved successful in this regard.

Most of the aid from the OAU mentioned above has been given through the Committee of Nine but there appears to be some difficulties. This Committee does not seem to provide for an effective liaison between the OAU and the Liberation Movements. It is true hearing is given to freedom fighters in the form of "petitioning", but there is no machinery for direct and regular contact through which the freedom fighters could ascertain the views of the Committee that decides on issues affecting them. As a result certain decisions have had the effect of creating suspicion by the manner in which they have been arrived at. In many cases the liberation movements are not informed of the decisions taken. It is necessary that access of the liberation movements to the OAU be facilitated and the assessment of the views and feelings of the liberation movements be made effective.

Responsibilities. Your Excellencies, our people and our organisations are conscious of the importance of the assistance the OAU and individual African States have made and are making towards the struggle for freedom of the unliberated part of Africa. But it is our view that it will be disastrous for our countries to believe that this help is the decisive element in our struggle. In the interests of Africa we must constantly

... that the liberation of our country

remember this crucial and universal fact that the liberation of any country is and must be above all the responsibility of the people themselves and the results of their own efforts and sacrifice. This vital fact respected by everyone of our organisations is the foundation stone on which the assistance given to us can be built up.

On the other hand we consider it of vital importance not to forget the African character of our struggle . Being the Freedom fighters of our people, we are also fighters for Africa. We fight for the total liberation, the unity and progress of the African people. It is here where the double character of our responsibility lies. Therefore at this crucial hour when dark clouds threaten to veil the Addis Ababa sun and plunge into darkness the aspirations of our people we reaffirm our confidence in your determination, wisdom and vigilance. We feel encouraged in advance and assured that you, our elder brothers in the continent will during this Conference open a new chapter in the history of Africa, in the service of total liberation, unity and progress of our people ---against all kinds of foreign domination.

In conclusion, Mr. President, permit us to express an earnest desire that the oppressed African people will not hesitate to continue exerting courageous efforts for the achievements of our cherished goals.

Great tasks and difficulties still lie ahead. We must be clear about the fact that the forces of oppression never accept defeat. Our common struggle for freedom and unity is still confronted by difficulties of great magnitude. Our enemies will not hesitate to capitalise on weaknesses. Unity based on our earnestness of purpose is the only effective weapon by which we can and must defeat the vulgar, disruptive intrigues of our aggressive common enemy.

Since no force on earth can obstruct the march of this continent to freedom and unity we must urge the masses of our people throughout the continent to heighten their vigilance and prepare themselves for the tasks ahead.

Once again we greet the 1st anniversary of the OAU as a .. milestone in our continuing struggle to win what is most dear to us,  
FREEDOM AND UNITY.

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S. AFRICA	1.	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, .....	( A.N.C. )
"	2.	PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS , .....	( P.A.C. )
S.W. AFRICA	3.	S.W. AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION .....	(S.W.A.N.U.)
"	4.	S.W. AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION .....	(SWAPO )
BRITISH PROTECTORATES	5.	BASUTOLAND CONGRESS PARTY .....	( B.C.P. )
"	6.	BECHUANALAND PEOPLE'S PARTY .....	( B.P.P. )
"	7.	SWAZILAND PROGRESSIVE PARTY .....	( S.P.P. )
"	8.	NGWANE LIBERATION MOVEMENT .....	(N.L.M. )
S. RHODESIA	9.	ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION .....	( ZAPU .)
"	10.	" AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION .....	( ZANU )
ANGOLA	11.	POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR LIBERATION OF ANGOLA .....	( M.P.L.A. )
MOZAMBIQUE	12.	LIBERATION FRONT OF MOZAMBIQUE .....	(FRELIMO)
"	13.	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION OF MOZAM- BIQUE .....	( UDENAMO)
"PORTUGUESE GUINEA & C. VERDE ISLAND	14.	AFRICAN PARTY FOR INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA & CAPE VERDE ISLANDS .....	( P.A.I.G.C )
SOMALIA COAST	15.	LIBERATION FRONT OF SOMALIA COAST .....	(F.L.C.S.)
EQ. GUINEA	16.	NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF EQUATORIAL GUINEA	(M.L.N.G.E)