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## HARARE DECLARATION

ON A NEW STRATEGY FOR THE TOTAL DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

AND

THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN  
SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA



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1. Since its inception, in 1963, the OAU, through its Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, has ceaselessly and successfully deployed maximum efforts towards the total liberation of the Continent from imperialist, colonialist domination and the eradication of apartheid

2. In order to maintain forceful and vigorous actions towards the attainment of its objective, the OAU has on several occasions found it necessary to review its strategies so as to identify obstacles which impede progress and to adopt a new approach to enhance the liberation struggle. In this exercise, the OAU has to take into consideration several factors and developments at regional and international levels.

3. Between 1969 and 1985, the OAU has adopted seven strategies namely;

- (i) LUSAKA MANIFESTO (1969)
- (ii) MOGADISHU DECLARATION (1971)
- (iii) ACRA STRATEGY (1973)
- (iv) DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION (1975)
- (v) LOME DECLARATION (1980)
- (vi) ARUSHA PLAN OF ACTION ON NAMIBIA (1981)
- (vii) PROGRAMME OF ACTION (ACCRA) 1985

4. The Lusaka Manifesto (1969) gave preference to peaceful solutions to achieve total independence of Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) based on African majority rule, the end of Portuguese colonialism in Africa and eradication of the obnoxious apartheid policy being practised by the white minority regime in South Africa. The Mogadishu Declaration adopted in 1971, was a response to the disdainful attitude of Portugal



and the minority regime in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and South Africa. The OAU then resolved that armed struggle was the only course left for the liberation of Southern Africa and that it should be given full support. The Accra Strategy was subsequently formulated to intensify the armed struggle, particularly in the Portuguese colonies.

5. The aforementioned three strategies bore fruit when in the mid 1970s they precipitated the liberation of the Portuguese colonies in Africa which wrested their independence from Portugal. The membership of the Organisation of African Unity was swelled by the attainment of independence of the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome e Principe, as well as Comoros, Djibouti and Seychelles.

6. The geo-political changes brought about by the independence of Mozambique and Angola prompted the OAU Council of Ministers, meeting in an Extra-ordinary Session in April, 1975, to adopt the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration which reviewed the strategy to liberate Rhodesia and Namibia and abolish apartheid in South Africa. In that declaration the OAU identified South Africa as the major obstacle to the total emancipation of Africa.

7. In the wake of Zimbabwe's independence, the OAU adopted the Lome Declaration (1980) which aimed specifically at the liberation of Namibia and the elimination of apartheid and racial segregation in South Africa by intensifying the armed struggle while leaving the door open to peaceful solution through international diplomatic efforts. The Arusha Plan of Action for Namibia (1981) and the Accra Programme of Action (1985) were both aimed at reinforcing Africa's position in the struggle for its total liberation and the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS

8. As a result of Africa's sustained political, diplomatic, financial, material and moral support, several countries have successfully wrested their independence from the imperialist colonialist powers and have become sovereign Member States of the Organisation of African Unity. They include Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome e Principe, Seychelles, Comoros, Djibouti and Zimbabwe.



9. Regarding Namibia, the OAU has continued to give its unequivocal support for the just armed national liberation struggle being waged by the Namibian People, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative. The OAU has effectively thwarted various attempts by the occupationist South Africa regime to impose an internal settlement by installing its puppet administration in Namibia. With Africa's unflinching support and that of the freedom and peace-loving members of the International Community, an internationally-accepted peaceful formula for the independence of Namibia was adopted vide UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

10. There has also been progress, with Africa's support, in the intensification of the struggle for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa. The exclusion of racist South Africa from participation at the United Nations General Assembly in 1975 spearheaded the (effective) isolation of the white minority regime whose obnoxious apartheid policy has been declared by the International Community as a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and security. The isolation of racist South Africa also extended to sports and cultural fields while an intensified campaign for imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the monitory Pretoria regime under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter has continued unabated.

#### PRESENT SITUATION

##### Namibia

11. In spite of international diplomatic effort by the OAU through the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and other bodies, the implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions 435 (1978) and 601 (1987) remains at an impasse. The intransigence of the racist South Africa regime, aided and abetted by the Reagan Administration and the Government of Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom, as well as the Governments of France, West Germany and Japan, has blocked Namibia's accession to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty.



The illegal exploitation of Namibia's rich mineral resources - diamond, uranium, coal - notwithstanding Decree No. 1 by the UN Council for Namibia, has continued by South Africa, Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, Canada and the USA. South Africa has consolidated its illegal grip on Namibia by its annexation and militarisation of the entire territory, including Walvis Bay. South Africa has also continued its policy of trying to create tribally-based political parties in a vain attempt to undermine and challenge the internationally-recognised SWAPO, the vanguard of the genuine aspirations of the Namibian People. The United Nations has therefore failed to assume its responsibilities over Namibia in spite of the readiness and commitment of SWAPO of Namibia to implement the internationally-accepted peaceful formula for the independence of the territory.

#### South Africa

12. In South Africa itself the situation has further deteriorated as the racist Pretoria regime is still consolidating its apartheid system through the daily humiliation, degradation, oppression and repression of the African people in defiance of international public opinion. At the same time the fascist regime of Pretoria is pursuing its policy of destabilisation and interference, through terrorism and subversion, in the internal affairs of peace-loving neighbouring independent African States. Worse still, the Pretoria regime has mounted an unprovoked aggression and full-scale war against independent and sovereign Angola, member State of the OAU, which shares no common border with South Africa. Coupled with its illegal occupation of Namibia, racist South Africa's objective is to reverse the gains of Africa's liberation struggle by pushing back the borders of freedom which the independence of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe glaringly brought to the doors of racist South Africa and occupied Namibia.

#### OAU's STRATEGY AGAINST COLONIALISM

13. Having reviewed its past strategies which were adopted to suit each geo-political change in the process of the liberation struggle, and faced with the current situation in Southern Africa the OAU, through the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, has found it once again



necessary to formulate a new strategy to give fresh impetus to the struggle for the total liberation of Africa and the eradication of apartheid and racism in all its forms. The reassessment of policy is a demonstration of OAU's full commitment to this unequivocal and positive objective.

14. As clearly enunciated in the Dar-es-Salam Declaration of 1975, there are two main areas of conflict in Southern Africa, namely, the confrontation with colonialism and the conflict with the system of apartheid which has rightly been declared by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of world opinion is pure colonialism by South Africa which also operates a racist society. Thus, the OAU has to deal with the white minority Pretoria regime as a colonialist power and as the architect of apartheid.

15. In Namibia, the OAU objective therefore remains that of terminating South Africa's illegal occupation in order to achieve self-determination and independence of the territory under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation, SWAPO. Concerning South Africa, the objective is to eradicate apartheid bring about the total elimination of racial discrimination and pave the way for the establishment of a democratic and non-racial society. The OAU is therefore resolved to attain its objectives in Namibia and South Africa by employing the double-strategy of intensified armed struggle while pursuing diplomatic efforts for a peaceful resolution.

#### NAMIBIA

16. The OAU's unequivocal position on Namibia coincides with that of the United Nations whose efforts to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation continue to receive the unqualified support of the Continental Organisation. As already stated in the Dar-es-Salam Declaration 1975, the OAU and the United Nations hold the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia sacrosanct and are therefore opposed to its fragmentation or bantustanisation. Both Organisations recognise SWAPO as the legitimate and authentic representative of the Namibian People.



For these reasons, the OAU reaffirms its commitment to the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) as the only peaceful formula for Namibia's accession to independence. The OAU further reiterates its position that the application of the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter is the only peaceful way to ensure South Africa's exit from Namibia.

#### **THE OAU STRATEGY ON APARTHEID**

17. The OAU reaffirms its perception and analysis that it is impossible for free Africa to acquiesce in the continued denial of human equality and human dignity which is represented by the philosophy and system of apartheid in South Africa. The OAU is therefore dedicated to the principle of full equality for all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour. The OAU reaffirms, like the United Nations, its opposition to the regime in South Africa, not because it is white, but because it rejects and fights against the principles of human equality and national self-determination.

18. Faced with racist South Africa's intransigence to maintain its white supremacist system, the OAU is obliged to assume its responsibility and to intensify the campaign for the isolation of the South African regime by the International Community. Free South Africa therefore reaffirms its position to maintain and expand the economic, political and cultural boycott of South Africa until it abandons its obnoxious apartheid policy which remains a threat to world peace and international security. The OAU further reaffirms its belief that the vehicle for change in South Africa is the oppressed majority African population led by their National Liberation Movements. As a pre-requisite for negotiation with the Liberation Movements of South Africa, the racist regime should immediately and unconditionally release the incarcerated nationalist leaders, Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners and detainees.



19. In order to achieve the total isolation of racist South Africa and force it to abandon its apartheid policy and illegal occupation of Namibia, the OAU reaffirmed its decision to co-ordinate concerted means of sanctions against the racist government of South Africa. The effective boycott of the Pretoria regime in trade and other links should therefore focus on:

- (a) prohibiting the import of agricultural and industrial goods as well as minerals;
- (b) closing African ports and airports to ships and planes;
- (c) forbidding South African planes to overfly or land in the territories of all African States.

20. The OAU further renews its appeal to all governments to break diplomatic consular and economic relations with racist South Africa and to cease any other form of encouragement to the policy of apartheid. In this connection, governments like those of the United States of America, the United Kingdom France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, which are the major trading partners of the apartheid regime, should be made to choose between their friendship for the African people and their support of the oppressors of the black majority in South Africa and Namibia. In order to widen the scope of sanctions against racist South Africa, the OAU:

- (i) CALLS on the International Community and the industrial nations to impose a ban on the purchase of Krugerrand, gold products from apartheid South Africa and APPEALS to anti-apartheid groups in Western Europe and industrial countries to organise pickets outside banks and jewellers dealing in South African gold;
- (ii) REGARDS oil as a weapon of war which enables the Pretoria regime to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia and entrench apartheid in South Africa, and  
  
CALLS on oil producing countries and ship owners to impose total embargo on sale and transportation of oil and petro-chemical products to apartheid South Africa;



- (iii) APPEALS to international financial institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and Switzerland to deny apartheid South Africa all bank loans, credit and trade facilities in order to tighten the financial noose around the white minority regime;
- (iv) CALLS on and ENCOURAGES the National Liberation Movements to intensify the armed struggle by extending the scope of their targets to include infrastructures which are vital to the economy of the apartheid regime.

21. Conscious of the important contribution made by Africa's friends and supporters all over the world in the quest for the liberation of the Continent, Continent, the OAU once again launches a fervent appeal to them to continue and intensify their support for the liberation of Namibia and for the ending of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa. While being cognizant of the fact that South Africa stands as the final major obstacle to Africa's march to total liberation, the OAU reaffirms its unflinching determination to realise the freedom and independence of Namibia and the total destruction of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

22. Consequently, the OAU once again underscores the importance for all independent African States to remain firmly united, retain the initiative in their own hands and intensify the pressure on South Africa's apartheid regime which is now operating from a position of declining strength. The OAU further envisages intensified pressure in the following areas:

(a) Political Front

- (i) ENJOINS the National Liberation Movements in South Africa to co-ordinate their efforts by establishing common action fronts where ever necessary so as to strengthen the effectiveness of their struggle and the rational use of the concerted assistance given to them;



(ii) URGES the National Liberation Movements to expand and intensify areas of co-operation with other democratic forces, labour unions, civic and anti-apartheid organisations inside their respective territories, since they are fighting a common enemy, the racist South African regime.

(iii) APPEALS to the National Liberation Movements to be wary of the enemy's tendency to divide both the political organisations and trade unions on ideological basis.

(b) Diplomatic Front

The OAU, determined to keep the door open to diplomatic efforts to end colonialism and eradicate apartheid and all forms of discrimination:

(i) URGES the International Organisations to put further pressure on the white minority regime of South Africa to pull out of Namibia and end its apartheid policy,

(ii) CALLS UPON the UN Secretary-General to expedite, without further delay, the implementation of all previous relevant UN Resolutions on Namibia, particularly UN Security Council Resolutions 435 (1978) and 601(1987),

(iii) CALLS UPON the UN Security Council and the International Community to invoke and apply the provisions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter as the only peaceful means to extirpate the scourge of apartheid in South Africa and expedite Namibia's independence,

(iv) INVITES the allies and trading partners of South Africa to sever diplomatic, economic and other relations with the apartheid regime.



(c) Armed Struggle

Cognizant of the fact that the violation of the arms embargo on South Africa and the co-operation of some Western and industrialised countries in the fields of high technology have enhanced the defence capability of the fascist Pretoria regime, the OAU:

- (i) CALLS UPON the National Liberation Movements to intensify the armed struggle since apartheid is a violent system and the white minority regime understands only the language of force,
- (ii) INVITES OAU Member States and the International Community to increase material, financial and military assistance to the National Liberation Movements who have been forced to fight for their people's dignity and respect,
- (iii) APPEALS to all OAU Member States to regularly pay their contributions to the Special Fund for the liberation of Africa,
- (iv) URGES the National Liberation Movements to mount more frequent and co-ordinated attacks on well selected targets, such as installations and infrastructures which are used by the enemies to further their objectives of colonisation and oppression.

(d) Mobilisation of Support

The OAU:

- (i) INVITES anti-apartheid groups in Western Europe to intensify mobilisation of support and make apartheid an election issue in their respective countries,
- (ii) URGES OAU Member States which have not done so to expedite formation of anti-apartheid groups at national level and ensure co-ordination of their activities with the National Liberation Movements and the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee;



- (iii) APPEALS to OAU Member States to popularise anti-apartheid campaign at grassroot level and organise fund-raising activities in support of armed liberation struggle, especially on Africa Liberation Day, 25 May of every year.

(e) Dissemination of Information and Propaganda

The OAU recognises the important role which the press plays in the process of helping Africa to harmonise its assistance and work towards the common goal of total liberation of Africa. It therefore expresses the need to maximise the dissemination of information, outside Africa, in order to give the international opinion a true perspective of the liberation struggle in Africa, counter enemy propaganda and gain outside sympathies. The successes of the National Liberation Movements must be given the widest publicity possible by the media in each Member State with the maximum cooperation of the Pan-African News Agency, PANA, and the Information Services of the National Liberation Movements. High priority must be given to information inside and outside the territories. The OAU therefore,

- (i) URGES African States to provide broadcasting facilities to the National Liberation Movements;
- (ii) CALLS UPON the Executive Secretariat and the National Liberation Movements to issue regular bulletins on their activities and circulate to OAU Member States.



(f)

Assistance to Frontline States

The OAU reiterates its previous decisions concerning assistance to the Frontline States, to enable them consolidate their economy and defence in order to withstand racist South Africa's acts of destabilisation. The assistance needed ranges from professional personnel, such as teachers, doctors, nurses, engineers to material and equipment. The OAU further reaffirm the Programme of Action adopted by the Twentieth Assembly of Heads of State and Government regarding the defence of the Frontline States, namely:

- (a) to consider seriously the effect of South African diplomatic offensive and aggression;
- (b) to take measures to stem the tide, including the creation of an internationalist force to sustain the defences of such Frontline States that require such assistance;
- (c) to call an international conference of OAU Member States and progressive States with a demonstrable commitment to African liberation, to consider ways and means of equipping the internationalist force and containing South African aggression.

23. Consequently, the OAU, recalling all the previous relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council and the OAU, on South Africa and Namibia, reaffirms the decision of the Ninth Extra-ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers in 1975.