

Paris and Lisbon.

Today ten years after the formation of the OAU, we can see signs of ~~the~~ evident progress, but can also gauge the measure of the task that lies ahead. Africa is largely independent and the African people can be proud of the fact that it is in African capitals that African problems are discussed and solved. It is African ^{leaders and} officials who ~~are~~ endeavouring to untangle the many knots of our colonial heritage.

Colonial rule is largely removed from our Continent but Portugal, Spain the Smith regime and Vorster still claim title to rule ~~over~~ 30 million African people. Yet there can be no question that the struggle for liberation mounted by the people of these countries aided by independent Africa will succeed.

But though the voice/role of Africa is clearly heard/seen in African affairs, the rightful place of Africa in world affairs and world consciousness yet remains to be claimed. This is the task that lies ahead of us/OAU in its second decade.

~~This in no way detracts from the task of liberation, but is rather a necessary part of it.~~ As the struggle for liberation has gained in intensity and Africa has had to cope with her own problems, we have come ~~to~~ face to face with a self evident reality: Africa/we cannot solve African problems in isolation. Imperialism/enemies of Africa accept no limitation of theatre, of avenue of action, of method or of geography. If we are to succeed in the process of liberation, we too must reject any limitation or isolation.

The liberation of all Africa is intrinsic to the peaceful development and independence of OAU member countries. Similarly the prospects for enlarged and continued freedom for the African peoples depend upon events on all continents of the world. On the world arena, on world issues, the African voice and presence remain to be fully expressed. The imbalance in international affairs created by our subordinate status over so many years needs to be redressed, and Africa must assume responsibility. In the days of missiles and nuclear weapons, our security cannot be divorced

from that of Asia, or Europe or Latin America.

The abrogation of power to itself by the imperialist/white/developed world has meant that on this plane our fate is once more being decided by outsiders London, Paris, Washington, Lisbon Pretoria and even Rio de Janeiro are the capitals discussing and consulting on the defence of our Continent and the security of the waters around us.

The African National Congress and people of South Africa are particularly concerned because it is our country that is spearheading this new affront and denial of African self-determination and is posing a threat now, not just to the security and independence of Africa but to the Southern hemisphere.

This threat does not arise purely by virtue of the fact that apartheid is a crime against humanity, and that it is an aggression against the dignity of the Black people and particularly the people of Africa, but by virtue of the ^{level of development} stage reached by South African ^{which has not only become} capitalism. South Africa is an intrinsic part of the imperialist world, but ~~is~~ now needs to expand in its own right. Its economy based on the cheap labour pool created by the apartheid system, now requires the export of capital and needs new expanding markets outside its borders. If she is to survive as she is, South Africa needs to expand, and ~~will do so~~ unless stopped will do so - either by extending her sphere of influence through neo-colonial trade and aid agreements or by direct aggression.

The continued South African presence in Namibia, the extension of her military "frontier" to the Zambesi, her military advice and assistance to the Portuguese armies in Angola and Mozambique, the political and military threats and aggression against Zambia and Tanzania, as well as her attempts to wooing of African states and break out of her isolation all bear witness to her imperative need to expand.

We can no longer consider South Africa as merely a problem of racism or apartheid, South Africa now has the need, the intent and the military potential to commit aggression. She is unquestionably a threat to the peace and security of a very wide area and must be ^{identified} placed / recognised as such at the international and diplomatic conference tables.

Yet those who have taken it upon themselves to police the world have chosen once again to ignore the interests of the African people. With the North Atlantic detente and rapprochement in Europe/and across the Pacific, there is a intent search for tools and agents to act elsewhere. The imperialist ~~design~~ is manifest in the promotion of South Africa and South African military designs. Britain has involved South Africa in the alleged defence of the Indian Ocean through the Simonstown Agreement. Surely the defence of the Indian Ocean is a matter for the littoral states, but Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania are not consulted. India Pakistan, Ceylon and other Asian nations too are ignored. For African nations on the eastern seaboard, and for Asia any plan for the defence of the Indian Ocean must place South Africa as an enemy and not an ally.

It has been further suggested that there be a southern extension of NATO - the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation - which is to include Brazil, Argentina, Britain, South Africa and Portugal. Here again Africa and African interests are ignored, and South African intentions promoted.

As the OAU enters its second decade Africa Faces a new and magnified threat. Consideration is being given to problems of international security and disarmament, yet the threats in and to Africa remain ignored and South Africa continues to build a mighty arms industry and equip an advanced military machine. There can be no real peace, no true international security whilst Africa remains threatened.