

Joint memorandum to the African Summit Conference of Heads of States by the representatives of African National Liberation Movements in non-independent territories: Addis Ababa, 21 May 1963.

This volume ends on a memorandum not a speech. Yet this segment of written oratory, a preparatory document held in the archives of the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cape Town, could be seen both as the summation of liberatory speeches and the advent of a form of fossilised rhetoric. At some stage indeed in the rhetorical manufacturing of public ideas discursive forms solidify into stock phrases and momentous pronouncements into monumental commonplaces. This process does not necessarily detract from their power to move, inform or elevate (the three standard aims of any speech properly conceived) but it changes the nature of public argument. It opens the door to bureaucratic propaganda and routine speech writing. However the passage from live oratory to the written document as a means to persuade was first noted by Napoleon: in his Instructions given to the newly founded school for cadres (École Polytechnique) he pointed out that "if the Ancients relied on the magic of the spoken word, we, the Moderns, put our trust in written documents" — and so doing he invented, as a tool of government on a large scale, the compulsory administrative report, a rhetorical form that was to become a mainstay of any modern State's preferred interaction with the governed. This Memorandum is the first bureaucratic shape given to the live, magical, spoken oratory of Africa's Liberation.



We, the representatives of African national liberation movements in the non-independent territories of our motherland, Africa, humbly submit this joint memorandum to our brothers and fellow freedom-fighters, the Heads of African Independent States meeting here in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

1. All Africa must be liberated now! Empty words and pious resolutions will not suffice. This Summit Conference of African Independent States should issue an ultimatum to all colonial and racist powers in Africa to start immediately the transference of power to the African peoples in the respective non-independent territories or else face the consequences. It should be made absolutely clear that where the ultimatum is not heeded the African Independent States shall intervene directly.

2. No African country or nation is really free until all Africa is free. Accordingly, we urge most strongly that in all African Conferences no forms of discrimination or differentiation of status should ever be entertained among us African peoples. We are all African freedom fighters. The fact that we are not yet free is not due to any lack of the revolutionary spirit in our movements. It is due to the oppressive tactics of the imperialists as well as some historical and political realities in our territories. We urge sincerely that in this Summit Conference we be accorded a status commensurate to our position as brothers and comrades of the other African freedom fighters who have already won their independence. We request that the opportunity be given to us to participate in and address the Summit Conference as associate members.

3. We propose that a body known as the African Liberation Bureau be now set up in an agreed Capital of an African Independent Nation. The functions of the African Liberation Bureau would be the following:

a. To coordinate the struggle for African liberation in all non-independent territories.

b. To receive, distribute and transport funds and other forms of aid, including military equipment and personnel, on behalf of the African National Liberation movements.

c. To administer the Refugees Relief programme for our African brothers and sisters and their children from war-torn and otherwise victimised African territories. These refugees are in desperate need for food, housing, medical attention and schools for the children. We urge that aid to alleviate their hardships be pledged at this conference.

d. To ensure the security and protection of leaders and personnel of African national liberation movements operating outside their respective countries due to harsh conditions at home.

e. To organise the training of personnel for administrative, military and diplomatic services.

f. To coordinate information, propaganda and research for total African liberation.

4. The site of the African Liberation Bureau should be geographically close to the still non-independent territories to facilitate the movement of equipment and personnel to the theatre of liberation operations. The African

Liberation Bureau may organise regional offices as needs for such offices necessitate.

5. We request that every political party in power in an independent African country should pledge a specific sum of money or material aid, including military equipment for specified value, to be delivered at regular intervals to African national liberation movements through the African Liberation Bureau. We believe, of course, that giving such sums of money or material aid through the African Liberation Bureau does not necessarily absolve the African Independent States from giving further aid directly to individual movements as needs arise. We also urge that all African Independent Governments must be prepared to permit the transportation of military equipment through their respective countries to the theatres of liberation operations, and to receive and store such equipment on behalf of the liberation movements should situations so necessitate.

6. We propose that a Committee whose members are drawn from the Independent African States and working through the African Liberation bureau should be set up to confer with the leaders of the African liberation movements of all shades of opinion in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, St. Tomé and Príncipe, Southern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, French Somaliland, Comoro Islands, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland with a view to enhancing the formation and strengthening of united liberation fronts in the respective territories for the rapid achievement of the goal of total African liberation.

7. Shortage of manpower is a most serious handicap in the liberation movement and in the struggle against neo-colonialism both in the independent non-independent countries. Training institutes for administration, military personnel and diplomatic services as well as schools for the refugees' children are most desperately needed. We propose that every university, training institute or academy in Africa should also be requested to set aside at least 100 places every year for youths from the non-independent territories.

8. The power of the press and all other forms of information must never be overlooked. At least one nationalist paper printed and published by the political liberation front or movement in each non-independent country is absolutely essential. We urge the African Liberation States to pledge that they shall donate at least one press and after make available information media to the non-independent territories through the proposed African Liberation bureau. We also call for an African Freedom News Agency to be organised by the African Liberation Bureau. At the same time we request the African Inde-

pendent States not to allow dissemination of news and press releases against African liberation.

9. We urge most strongly that all African countries be vigilantly on guard against neo-colonialism which continues to mar the Africans' hard-won independence. To this end we fully support the steps being taken to establish the African Common Market and Payments Union as well as common defence arrangements and the harmonisation of monetary zones. We also welcome the proposal to establish an African Development Bank and propose that another Bank to be known as the All African Central Reserve Bank be established to come to the aid of deserving African Nations that may from time to time find themselves in recurrent Budget difficulties.

10. We would like to remind the delegates to this Summit Conference of the African Heads of States of the resolution passed in 1960 by the Conference of African Heads of State calling for the economic, diplomatic and consular boycott of South Africa as well as the refusal of landing rights and servicing of South Africa's aircrafts and vessels. We urge our brothers to implement the spirit and the letter of that resolution as indeed all the resolutions to be passed at the Summit Conference. We further urge that the terms of this resolution be extended to include the fascist regime of Portugal, the racist settler regime of Southern Rhodesia and the imperialist Britain. We also recommend strongly that African member-nations of the British Commonwealth withdraw from that organisation if the United Kingdom continues to suppress the African people. Also those African nations with bilateral relations with France should sever those relations unless France liberates her remaining colonial areas.

Lastly we wish to call the attention of the Heads of African Independent States to the existence of political organisations sponsored by colonialist powers and functioning within African Independent States. We urge strongly that steps be now taken to eradicate such organisations immediately.



Introduced by Ph.-J. Salazar and transcribed by Tobie Taljaard.

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Eduardo Mondlane's copy of the signatures affixed to the memorandum by the representatives of participating African National Liberation Movements:
Addis Ababa, 21 May 1963.