

**DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA MADE BY THE ASSEMBLY
OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION
OF AFRICAN UNITY AT THE
TWENTIETH ORDINARY SESSION HELD
IN ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA FROM 12 TO 15 NOVEMBER 1984**

1. A century has passed since the European powers met in Berlin to partition, and apportion to themselves, the Continent of Africa. At that meeting they decided which peoples of this Continent would be the subjects of which colonial power. For more than a hundred years our peoples have, therefore had a common task of removing the yoke of colonial domination and winning for themselves an independent place, and independent voice, in the world community
2. It is through struggle, sometimes bitter struggle, that progress has been made. There are now fifty-one (51) members of the Organization of African Unity, four hundred and eight million people of this Continent have now freed themselves from external rule. But the task is not yet complete. Political independence has been won these peoples, but all the independent nations are still engaged in the struggle to give new meaning to Africa's freedom, and to establish Africa's place in world politics and culture, and in the international economy.
3. Yet Africa's political struggle is not over. Some thirty million people are still subjected to racist minority and colonial rule in South Africa and Namibia. The racist rulers of South Africa see that country as a regional power, and their rule as dominant over the whole Southern African region. To maintain that power, and that minority rule, the racists rely upon the ever-increasing use of violence against the peoples of Southern Africa.
4. While this situation continues, no African can be really free. No independent African State can claim that its sovereignty and independence is assured. As a Continent, Africa is, therefore, still not in a position to assert Africa's rightful place in the world system of international relations.

5. The total liberation of Africa, and especially the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, thus remains as an urgent and central objective for all the nations and peoples of Africa, both singly and collectively.
6. Africa's united resolve to achieve total liberation stems from our peoples' determination to assert the dignity of all people, everywhere, and to establish the right of Africa's people to determine their own destiny. It is a commitment to the common humanity of mankind and Africa's right both to contribute to, and to share in, the fruits of world development. The Organization of African Unity is the instrument we have created and are using to promote those goals.
7. The countries of South Africa and Namibia cannot be excluded from Africa's commitment to its freedom and its own future. The struggle against Apartheid, and the struggle for Namibian independence, is part of the total struggle for African freedom. These struggles, therefore, involve the interest of all African nations, and all Africa's peoples. Africa's responsibility to contribute to the successful prosecution of these struggles is inherent in Africa's claim to the rights which belong to all men, and which are spelt-out in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights.
8. It is in the interest of Africa's enemies to divide and paralyze our Continent, and thus to make it incapable of giving meaningful support to the continuing struggle for liberation in Southern Africa. The OAU, at this Summit Meeting, recognizes these dangers, and recommits itself to unity, and to solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa in a common quest for Africa's total liberation.
9. The continued existence of Apartheid, and of colonial domination of Namibia, provides both a heartland and a bridgehead for the forces which are opposed to the reality of Africa's independence and to Africa's declared intention to participate in world affairs on the basis of equality. If the dignity of one man is denied because he is Black, the dignity of all Black Peoples is denied. And if the dignity of Black Men is denied, the dignity of all men is denied; humanity is one, and the world is indivisible.
10. Africa's interests and world interests, therefore, demand that Apartheid be defeated and destroyed.

11. The Apartheid system is inherent violent. It continues to repress the peoples' legitimate aspirations to freedom, justice, equality and majority rule. It turns its people into foreigners in their own country. Through the policy of bantustanisation it divides the country and tries to destroy the unity of South African people.
12. The Apartheid system in collusion with enemies of Africa foments and launches armed bandits into the countries of Southern Africa, the criminal and terrorist activities of the armed bandits constitute the main thrust of South African regional policy of destabilization.
13. The so-called internal reforms which have been widely challenged by the South African people and international community are nothing more than the denationalization of the Black majority in order to preserve Apartheid.
14. With the support of some Western powers the Apartheid regime is using the situation in the region to try to obtain an international respectability that it has never had. As long as racist South Africa maintains relations of domination over the Black People of South Africa and Namibia, it is impossible for the independent African States and the international community as a whole to cooperate with the Apartheid rulers on the basis of equality and respect.
15. Some African countries inherited economic and communications links with South Africa from colonialism. Due to these legacies, such nations maintain relations with South Africa on the best terms which they can obtain at any one time. South Africa uses these relationships for political blackmail whenever this seems to South Africa to be an advantage for its cause.
16. Colonialism and racist minority domination cannot be reformed into systems which are consistent with the freedom and the aspirations of Africa. They must be ended. Alterations to the forms of the oppression, such as those proposed by South Africa from time to time for Namibia, and such as those seen recently implemented within South Africa, have been the single purpose of perpetuating and entrenching minority domination. They have been recognized as irrelevant by the people of Namibia, and rejected by the people of South Africa. They are rejected also by the Organization of African Unity.

17. It is in this context that the independent states of Southern Africa, both individually and collectively, have done and continue to do their utmost to uphold and promote the liberation objectives of the Organization of African Unity. Through co-operation among the Frontline States, and through SADCC, they are working at great cost to themselves to defend their independence and to reduce their economic dependence on the Apartheid State. The contacts which their circumstances force them to maintain with South Africa cannot and should not be used by others as an excuse for establishing or expanding economic or political contact with the forces of racism in South Africa.
18. It is also this context that Africa is committed to resisting, and ultimately defeating, the efforts to force our countries into any relations with racist South Africa. We shall resist the economic, political and military pressures which are being used by South Africa and its friends to terrorise, intimidate, and blackmail individual African countries and to reduce still further their freedom of action.
19. Africa will be satisfied with nothing less than majority rule in an independent and united Namibia, and majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The whole experience of Africa's history, and of world history, confirms that only self-determination for the people of Namibia and South Africa can create for Southern Africa an opportunity for peace and stability or remove the threat to international peace and security which now emanates from this area.
20. The Organization of African Unity as a whole, and all our individual States, therefore, recognize a special responsibility to give the maximum possible support to the Independent States of Southern Africa as they struggle to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of South African aggression, destabilization and subversion. We recognize that any reverses suffered in this part of Africa, as in any other, are reverses suffered by all of us, for they are used by the enemies of Africa's freedom and dignity as new bridgeheads for compromising the independence of our Continent as a whole.
21. In their struggle to free their countries and their peoples from colonialism and racism, the Liberation Movements of Namibia and South Africa are leading the freedom struggles of the peoples of those countries and also working for the freedom

of Africa as a whole. We recognize these movements as representative of their peoples, who deserve our full and unequivocal support.

22. In the light of the intransigence, ruthlessness, and consistent brutality of the Apartheid regime, both within South Africa and Namibia, we uphold the right of the Liberation Movements and the people they lead to take up arms in pursuance of the struggle for freedom. We continue to express our preference for a peaceful resolution of the Namibian and South African questions as stated in the Lusaka Manifesto. But we are convinced that the peaceful negotiations can only succeed when the Pretoria regime had convincingly demonstrate its acceptance of both the principle and the inevitability of majority rule. One such demonstration would be the unconditional release of imprisoned Liberation Movement leaders, and the subsequent negotiation with the genuine representatives of the South African and Namibian peoples.

23. At this meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the organization of African Unity, we reaffirm our full support to the liberation forces of the Southern zone of our Continent. We reiterate our commitment to the struggle to secure the total isolation of the criminal Apartheid regime of Pretoria, and the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against it.

24. We call upon the rest of the world to join us in this endeavor to achieve the total liberation of African and peace in our Continent.