



ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

BY WAY OF A RECKONING:
A retrospective for tomorrow

August 1982

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Secretary - General of the OAU



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• Addis Ababa •

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The 19th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity will take place in August 1982 at Tripoli, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

As every year the Heads of State and Government of Africa, as is the tradition, will meet to review progress made since 1963, and to steer our continent along the path of unity, solidarity and co-operation.

Yet even more than an annual gathering, the Tripoli Summit will also be an important event since it will mark the beginning of the 5th four-year period of the life of the OAU, and coincide with the end of the mandate that was entrusted to us at Khartoum in July 1978. It is therefore necessary under such circumstances to look back and appraise action undertaken within the framework of African unity, the supreme objective of the Organization of African Unity.

Nineteen years ago, thirty two Heads of State and Government of independent African States met at Addis Ababa and decided, for the purpose of satisfying the profound aspirations of their peoples to unity, to create the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with a view to co-ordinating their efforts to complete the liberation of the continent from all forms of domination, and pool their means to promote the social and economic development of Africa.

In the course of these two decades of existence, the Organization of African Unity asserted itself as, the ideal forum at which the African States in solidarity with the African peoples still under colonialist and racist domination adopted the various strategies for the liquidation of the vestiges of foreign domination, the platform where African States by virtue of their brotherly bonds used arbitration, mediation and conciliation to resolve disputes that arise between them; indeed the ideal framework within which the African States, in the face of the hard realities of under-development, committed themselves in the supreme interests of their peoples to the building of one geo-economic space in order to secure the best socio-economic development for Africa.

At the time when the Heads of State and Government of the OAU entrusted me with the running of the General Secretariat of the

Organization, one of the objectives of the Pan-African Organization, that is the total liberation of the continent from all forms of colonial and racist domination was about to be attained, and there remained only Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to rise into the sunshine of freedom. Here and there, there were conflicts and disputes between Member States that engaged the attention of the Organization, but on the whole, it could be said that problems of purely political nature were receding, to be replaced by problems of development that required urgent solutions; it was thus that without neglecting the solution of these political questions, and convinced that in the world of today the weight of a State is reckoned through the economic power it wields, we resolutely turned towards the definition, for the African States, of action likely to help them co-ordinate all their activities on the African continent and in the outside world.

The question was that of promoting the integral development of Mother Africa, to enable her to assume, within the community of nations and in the conduct of the affairs of the world, the role that her history and economic potentialities confer upon her.

Such was the pledge we made at the time of our arrival, when we actually took up the direction of the affairs of the General Secretariat of the OAU. Thus, over and beyond partisan conflicts, over and beyond the vicissitudes of political action, the inevitable misunderstandings and short-term interests, and on the basis of respect of the principles on which the Organization of African Unity was built, we believe we have served the supreme interests of Africa and of its peoples during these four years spent at the head of the General Secretariat.

The time for stock-taking has come and it behoves us to make a global presentation without neglecting the ideas we have upheld, the action we initiated, the activities we undertook in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to us, to serve with a devotion bordering on mystique, this Africa that we have always placed on a superior plane.

For this purpose we deem it necessary to discuss the situation of our continent in all fields, appraise the degree of achievement of various objectives established by the Founding Fathers, assess

progress made here and there not to mention the difficulties encountered in paving the way for large-scale action through which Africa will emerge to surmount its difficulties and assert its power.

Some would compare the OAU with that it was four years ago; with emphasis on its administrative and management difficulties; the limited prospects of its existence which reduced its activities to the holding of routine meetings, and the fact that fifteen years after its foundation the Organization of African Unity was still essentially devoted to the liberation of African territories still under colonial and racist domination and in the light of present difficulties, did not come up with a tool commensurate with the ambitions one had nourished for the continent, and thus its activities hardly went beyond the field of liberation, whereas multifarious as they must be, they must permeate all fields of common African interest and serve as a framework for multilateral co-operation for all our States which are indispensable partners in the debate about the very future of the continent.

Such however would have been a simplistic approach which for our part we would turn against, since we conceive our task to be one that should address all the jagged dimensions, without any exception, of the African problematique.

It is a matter of course that this balance-sheet is not to be seen to be to the credit of one individual alone, but rather as the action and activities of the entire Organization of African Unity for the period 1978-1982: it is the principal organs of the OAU which are the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, the General Secretariat as well as the Ministerial Conferences and Ad Hoc Committees which together shouldered the responsibilities that are theirs in the functioning of the Organization of African Unity.

May we here express our gratitude to all the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity, who in the course of these four years have all followed the activities of the Organization with all the necessary attention.

To the African peoples from the North to the South, from the West to the East of our continent who have been the constant subject

of our concern and who themselves have been very sensitive to the problems of the total liberation and the socio-economic future of Africa, we today present this balance-sheet.

To the Ministers of Foreign Affairs or External Relations of all the Member States as well as their colleagues of the other Ministries who have had to assist us in the course of our term of office, I address my sincere gratitude for the common work we have been able to do in the supreme interest of the African peoples.

As for the staff of the General Secretariat of the OAU, they have never shunned their responsibilities and have at all times, even in difficult conditions and extremely harsh circumstances fulfilled their duties. Such are the sacrifices that give credit to them and delight to us.

Thus at a time when solidarity was the pre-requisite for all who wanted to survive, all of us together and for four years have worked in a community of ideas and interest, indeed the interest of the unity of Africa. Such are milestones erected on the road to the renaissance of Africa; and indeed it suffices to retrace the course of our action, review our various reports and messages, to realize that the philosophical basis of our action at the helm of our Organization was none other than that advocated by those who have always been the consecrated apostles of the greatness of Africa and who have bequeathed to us, to all Africans, a spiritual heritage: Pan-Africanism.

AN INSTRUMENT FOR THOUGHT, CONCEPTION AND ACTION

Upon my arrival at the Headquarters of the OAU in September 1978, I inherited an administration that required to be strengthened, an establishment to be made more dynamic, and a staff that had an idea of Africa that needed to be aligned with the realities of the day. Under the circumstances my immediate task consisted in obtaining an adequate personnel within the shortest possible time, to instil into the staff as a whole the taste of work in the service of Africa, and to inject it with the ambition with which we were driven, that is to work for Africa and the Africans. It was thus necessary for each staff member of the General Secretariat at Headquarters as well

as at the Regional Offices to feel that they were at the service of the whole of Africa and not nationals of a Member State of the Organization. Thus I had to continue the task of my predecessors and to make the General Secretariat of the OAU an effective administrative tool and a think-tank for the development and the concretization of the objective of unity for the African continent.

The new political cabinet composed of the Secretary-General and his Assistants held a series of meetings and consultations to lay down the major trends to ensure the successful execution of our principal activities. I was fortunate to find in the field, Dr. Peter ONU (Nigeria), Assistant Secretary-General in-charge of Political Affairs and Ambassador Nouredine Djoudi (Algeria), in-charge of Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs, and new-comers, Mr. Paul Etiang (Uganda), who was put in-charge of the Department of Economic Development and Co-operation, Mr. Sylvestre Nsanzimana (Rwanda), who headed the new Department of Finance, and Mr. Augustine Chimuka (Zambia) who was put in-charge of the Department of Administration and Conferences.

Convinced that the vitality of an institution is not to be measured either by the tone or by the number of its resolutions, but rather by the dynamism of its working instrument that is its Secretariat, the team thus composed in accordance with resolution AHG/RES.91 (XV) adopted by the 15th Assembly of Heads of State and Government; immediately undertook the administrative reshuffle of the various services. Our purpose was clear: it is difficult to work without an adequate administrative machinery in a century where order, organization and method are the most reliable guarantees of efficiency and credibility.

It was in this spirit that upon our arrival at Addis Ababa we undertook an in-depth study of ways and means to prepare and secure adoption, by the appropriate bodies of the Structural Reform which had been pending for about ten years and had never come about. This famous Reform was adopted early in February 1979 at Nairobi and brought considerable improvement in the Organizational Chart of the General Secretariat.

Five departments instead of four were thus established each of them under the political responsibility of an Assistant Secretary-General and the technical guidance of a director assisted by Heads

of Divisions and Sections all set up in accordance with the exigencies of modern administration to become effective units for the planning, analysis and execution of the activities of the Organization of African Unity.

The Department of Administration and Conferences with its three divisions sub-divided into seven sections, covered all the activities of the Organization involving staff recruitment, and the professional life of staff members. This department thus re-organized, contributed over the last four years, with all its shortcomings, to a considerable improvement of conditions in the OAU. Under the vigilant supervision of senior officers concerned about efficiency, the staff of the General Secretariat was required to respect working hours and to perform their duties properly. Conferences and other meetings were better organized as testified by timely preparation of documents in the three working languages and their distribution to delegates for perusal before the opening of meetings. To attain these objectives the Department of Administration and Conferences did not spare any means, and increased the number of translators whilst at the same time having recourse to other technical staff from outside on short-term contracts whenever their services were required.

These considerable improvements in the performance of the Department of Administration and Conferences should not mislead us into believing that all difficulties have been surmounted. There is still the problem of equipment which requires additional effort so that the Organization could be endowed with modern technical equipment. This in turn poses the problem of financing.

The Department of Finance with its two divisions and six sections is quite adequate to meet our constant concern for modern financial management which in addition to catering for our current expenditure is geared to ensure an effective distribution and a judicious placement of income. This department, apart from controlling the operational budget of the Organization, administers funds for conjunctural operations undertaken in various fields such as the education and placement of African refugees, assistance to liberation movements and newly independent African States, as well as Member States afflicted by natural disasters. This centralization of

financial management has allowed easier control and an easier introduction of modern financial techniques in the accounting system of the Organization.

Without rushing into an undue race for the computer, we already utilize modern machines to facilitate the task of our accountants, and efforts to harmonize accounting documents at Headquarters and Regional and Sub-Regional Offices have been made for better co-ordination of financial management at the level of the entire Secretariat.

All these improvements have greatly facilitated the work of the External Auditors and the Inspector General who in their yearly reports acknowledged greater efficiency in the financial management of the Regional and Sub-Regional Offices as well as the Headquarters. Many a time, especially in their last report, have the External Auditors recorded their appreciation for the efforts made and the results obtained.

The Department of Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs composed of four divisions and nine sections adequately handles the important questions entrusted to it and secures the presence of the Organization of African Unity at all international conferences that deal with questions related to the physical and intellectual future of Man. In the course of the last four years, this department has distinguished itself for its intense activities of conception in the field of Education, Culture and the Environment.

The increasing magnitude of the activities of the Labour and Social Affairs Division led the Labour Commission to request us to strengthen this division in order to enable it fulfil its functions more effectively. We believe that it is indispensable to meet such exigencies that correspond to an urgent necessity today.

The Department of Economic Development and Co-operation composed of five divisions, sub-divided into thirteen sections today stands as the most important Department in the General Secretariat of the OAU. Such an importance is conferred by the emphasis put by the Organization on the key questions of Economic Development

and Co-operation. The Department has been most satisfactory, for the General Secretariat can now more attentively monitor the economic and social development of Africa and the world whilst it undertakes indispensable economic studies and research.

However, in terms of theoretical research, efforts must be redoubled and for that purpose recourse must be made to competent African economists able to adequately fulfil the growing responsibilities of this department.

The Political Department which is composed of three divisions, sub-divided into six sections has had increased responsibilities that transcend policy for liberation to embrace much wider fields. It is this department that is responsible for monitoring world political developments and the place of Africa in the international order. As a true laboratory for conception and theory, this department, just as the Department for Economic Development and Co-operation, and the Department for Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs, has always been of particular importance in so far as the major questions of co-operation between the OAU and major international Organizations fall within its ambit.

The organization of the Regional, Sub-Regional Offices and Specialized Agencies of the Organization reflects a desire to decentralize the activities of the Organization of African Unity under a flexible supervision by the Headquarters. These various offices and agencies function as the eyes of Africa outside the continent and as operational tools within the framework of given activities on the continent.

In the course of the period 1978-1982 the adoption of the new structures of the General Secretariat of the OAU led to the increase in the number of staff at Headquarters: from 446 in 1978 the total staff at Headquarters today in 1982 stands at 652 of whom more than a hundred are professionals and policy cadres.

The staff on the whole has performed satisfactorily even if their degree of political awareness is to be strengthened particularly at a time when Africa must make decisive decisions in the battle for her renaissance, the OAU staff members must be the embodiment of the

will to reassert Africa; one must not come to the OAU to pursue a career of an international civil servant and even less to earn money, but to contribute in one's modest fashion to the fulfilment of the will to liberate and unite the continent.

More than ever, the General Secretariat, at a time when Africa embarks on a phase of general political re-organization to secure a socio-economic development, requires experienced and highly qualified personnel.

It is the duty of Member States to put at the disposal of the Secretariat those high level cadres that can perform the tasks in the manner expected of them.

It is with such a heritage that we have modernized with the means put at our disposal by the appropriate organs of the Organization, we set out to work for the attainment of the objectives of the OAU; it was necessary then to gain a better knowledge of the world in which we live, a world beset with a crisis of abstruse dimensions affecting every aspect of the lives of your peoples.

Indeed, how does one approach the task of conceiving the destiny of Africa ? How do we guarantee the total liberation of this continent and its full development without placing it in the world context ? Profound reflexion was imperative, and this we undertook in earnest whilst we raised questions in the face of the characteristics of the world map today, on the fate of Africa, on our condition and on the role that we Africans must play in the world.

Indeed, most of our countries attained political independence during the 1960's, However, by the end of the 1970's, whereas the victories won by the freedom fighters in the Portuguese territories precipitated the fall of dictatorship in Portugal and led to the liberation of five of our countries, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were still under the grip of the dominating powers. Such a situation could not last.

Economically and socially, the whole of Africa is still confronted with one of the most tragic situations, with a faltering agriculture which compels it to increase its food import, a very weak industrial sector, and a tertiary sector dominated by foreign interests. It must be recognised that there are all sorts of difficulties in all aspects of the social life of our peoples, which, two decades after their independence continue to force Africans to resort to outside assistance.

Such recourse to foreign assistance is a pointer to the weakness of our continent whose voice hardly has any impact in the conduct of world affairs.

How then do we recover that place for Africa, that is hers by virtue of her history and her geographical situation ?

It was thus that we embarked on the pursuit and acceleration of the struggle for the total liberation of the continent and on the re-thinking of the major economic orientations of Africa because the industrial revolution which should usher our continent into the contemporary world, should, in our view, be organised within the over all geographical context of Africa. Our action was therefore, geared towards the establishment of a new approach to African Unity without which Africa will not play any useful role in world affairs.

TOWARDS A NEW ECONOMIC POLICY IN AFRICA

It was thus that the idea of a New Economic Policy and a New Political Economy for Africa's development was born.

As early as October, 1978 contacts were made with Africans whose international responsibilities involved them in the development of the continent and, after consultations, it was recognised that following the negative record of the two development decades, it was necessary to make proposals to African States as to a new development strategy.

An irreversible process had just been set in motion in the quest for solutions to the problems of the African continent: it consisted in an agonising reappraisal of the socio-economic realities

of Africa and an assessment of the results of the various development strategies followed by African States, with a view to suggesting a plan for development at continental level.

A general view of the socio-economic realities of Africa leads to the objective conclusion that the continent is completely dependent on the developed countries as far as concepts and products are concerned; economic decolonisation to endure self-generated and self-reliant development would therefore be a matter of course to achieve this, it was necessary to draw lesson from the past and the present, revise all the political concepts geared towards the formation and consolidation of nation-states in Africa, transcend the short-term interests of each African country and conceive for the whole continent a continental economic community which would be the normal outcome of a successful customs union and a common market freely agreed upon.

These great designs based on simple objectives and rallying ideas gave rise to activities which the OAU General Secretariat supported by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) carried out in the economic field between December 1978 and April 1980 when the Lagos Economic Summit was held.

The Monrovia Colloquium on the theme "Development Prospects for Africa to the year 2000" was to tell the world that, conscious of the economic and social difficulties which were stifling them, Africans had decided to analyse their causes so as to devise a development strategy that would at least cover the span of one generation.

African experts meeting in the Liberian capital felt very honoured by the President of the Republic of Liberia who in his opening address unequivocally declared: "The destiny of Africa could be significantly influenced by your creative accomplishments, and we challenge you to preserve and elevate that noble destiny".

That Monrovia Colloquium of February 1978 marked an important date in the history of contemporary Africa and in the life of the Organization of African Unity: by linking the political and the economic, we came to realize that the economic future of any country

was the result of a political choice and that African countries could not be an exception to that rule; hence Africa was considered a diversified whole and the Organization of African Unity widened its fields of activity to embrace problems other than those political, and thus tie up with the ultimate objectives assigned to it by the founding fathers at its inception.

There is no need here to recall the diagnosis established by participants in the Colloquium and which can be found in the final report entitled "What Africa by the year 2000", but the conclusions are worth emphasising, for they guide our actions in the all-important area of the development of Africa and constitute a well ordered series of therapies prescribed to heal a sick body.

To spare Africa the catastrophies lurking in the horizon and to provide better living and working conditions for Africans, a radical change of economic policy and the adoption of a new strategy that would make it possible to develop the productive forces within Africa to satisfy the needs of Africans were suggested; the idea, clearly stated, was to embark on self-reliant and self-sustained development which would ensure national and collective self-sufficiency for the peoples of Africa.

To achieve this, four basic measures were suggested:

1. A new teaching of African unity: one which calls on Africans to transcend the narrow confines of the frontiers inherited from colonisation and consider the continent in its entirety, the only framework of their development; with the immense wealth which nature has bestowed on Africa, Africans should refrain from building and consolidating a host of weak States trapped in extenuating rivalries and rather build a community in which the peoples of Africa would develop to form a great nation capable of facing up to the future, conquering the African space which is today so coveted by foreign powers.

Such are the unmistakeable lessons of geopolitics and geostrategy.

2. A better utilization of scientific, technical, cultural and social values which form the undercurrents of a new development

for Africa could only be attained within an adequate cultural framework and it was for this reason that the principle of the democratization of national and regional development was formulated with a view to ensuring the participation of all the active forces in its success: no one is able to conceive a true self-reliant and self-sustaining development of Africa without a corresponding scientific and technical progress, and thus Africans are called upon to use their own values as a basis.

3. The mastery of technical and financial tools essential for development: development pre-supposes the combination of financial capital with scientific and technological progress; complex though this may be it is not outside the reach of Africans who, following the example of other countries, must find an African way of accumulating and gearing knowledge towards meeting the need for skilled and competent human resources.

4. A new orientation of international co-operation that will promote relationships between developing countries: instead of relations of dependence which make African States a source of wealth for the industrialized countries thereby impeding any genuine development of the African continent, we propose relations of co-operation between regions with almost equal level of development with a view to promoting exchange of technology that can easily be assimilated by the peoples of Africa.

Everybody knows the response of the Organization of African Unity to these conclusions.

The Thirty-second Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers held in Nairobi in the same month (February, 1979) welcomed these conclusions with great interest as reflected in resolution CM/RES.690 (XXXV) which gives specific directives to the OAU Secretary-General.

The Thirty-third Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers held in Monrovia in July, 1979, used the "Interim Report on the Economic Development and Integration of Africa" CM/RES. (XXXIII) Rev.1 as a basis for approving Africa's Development Strategy defined

within the context of the Monrovia Symposium by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in Rabat in March, 1979 and included the establishment of an Economic Community as being part and parcel of its development strategy. Mandate was given to the OAU Secretary-General to "study all questions relating to the establishment of an African Economic Community" and any relevant measures.

All the relevant documents were submitted to the Sixteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Monrovia which studied them thoroughly and took two very important decisions namely:

- The Declaration of Commitment on the major guidelines and measures to ensure national and collective self-reliance;
- The convening of an Extraordinary Summit devoted exclusively to Africa's development.

Hosted by the Federal Republic of Nigeria, this Extraordinary Summit was the consecration of the efforts made over several months to bring Africa on the way to a new economic policy, and for the Summit to be successful and meet the aspirations of Africans the relevant documents submitted had to contain concrete proposals.

The OAU General Secretariat largely benefited from the experiences and skills of the African Experts invited by OAU and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in the preparation of the documents on food and agriculture, industry, natural resources, human resources development, science and technology, transport and communications, trade, finance and energy. The contribution made by these African Experts enabled us to examine in depth the goal of the Lagos Extraordinary Summit and this is a proof that Africa should have confidence in her children and invite them when necessary for their talents to be tapped and their views heard.

As should be expected, having frustrated the machinations of Africa's enemies, the Lagos Summit adopted a Plan of Action and a Final Act which did honour to Africa and Africans and proved to the entire world that Africans were determined to work out for their

continent, a development strategy to meet their aspirations. This was a very important step towards the establishment of the New World Economic Order which must safeguard the interests of all the nations and peoples of the world community.

A careful reading of the preamble of the Lagos Plan of Action would show the importance of this document is, not only for Africa but also for the world as a whole. The African Leaders, drawing lessons from the two development decades and considering the negative impact of the increased compartmentalisation of their respective countries, decided to organize their economies around development poles transcending the frontiers of their States. Such an arrangement of the transnational economic space will surely favour Africa's economic take-off and reduce the dependence of African countries on industrial powers.

It is therefore easy to understand why there has been reservation and even hostility in certain international circles against the Lagos Plan of Action. The World Bank in its Berg Report, sometimes took positions diametrically opposed to the objectives of the Lagos Plan, by advising Africa south of the Sahara to pursue an economic policy which will increase its dependence on the developed Western World. It is now incumbent on Africans themselves to decide on whether they want to steer the continent out of under-development by breaking off from the present economic order and resolutely embarking on the path of self-sustained and self-reliant development as indicated by the Lagos Plan of Action, or whether they want to perpetuate the continent's role of supplier of raw materials and a market for the manufactured products of foreign powers by renouncing the official commitment in the Monrovia Declaration.

The implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action and the success of the Final Act merely constitute the beginning of a difficult struggle for Africa's development and this should be well understood if we are to be able to forestall all manoeuvres to distract Africans from this plan for re-construction within the framework of an African Economic Community. It is obvious that the Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act transcend a mere multilateral co-operation and are in fact aimed, through the integration of the economies of all the

African countries, at establishing economic conditions, as a prelude to the political unification of the continent.

Whereas it is gratifying that the Eleventh Extraordinary Session of the United Nations General Assembly has accepted to incorporate the Lagos Plan of Action within the Third International Development Strategy, the fact still remains that it is the duty of the Africans to implement their Plan by establishing the mechanisms to ensure the expected results.

To this end, the establishment of sub-regional economic communities seems to be the best approach towards the ultimate setting up of an African Economic Community. Like ECOWAS which has brought together sixteen West African States, the Southern African States have transcended the Co-ordinating Conference for the Development of Southern Africa, and joined the East African States to form a Preferential Trade Area, the beginning of an Economic Community of East and Southern Africa.

Central Africa also intends to follow suit and bold initiatives have already been taken by the Heads of State of that sub-region, meetings of Experts and Ministers have been held this year and a Draft Treaty establishing the Economic Community of Central African States has already been prepared. However serious handicaps have emerged here and there, which would have to be eliminated if the official commitment made by the ten Central African Heads of State in December 1981 in the Libreville Declaration is to yield any concrete result.

There is hope that the last African sub-region, namely Northern Africa which is bound together in a common civilization by so many historical, demographic and cultural factors, will, in turn, form an economic community after settling the temporary differences between its States.

It is therefore within the context of the Lagos Plan of Action that the African sub-regions are organizing themselves in the economic field and this plan serves as the basis for the development of the various sectors of the African economy. Thus, all sectoral meetings organized by the OAU drew the general orientations essential for the African economy from the Lagos Plan of Action.

Such co-operation within the framework of the OAU and the ECA should not conceal national insufficiencies. The Lagos Plan of Action is not as widely circulated as it should be in the OAU Member States and National, Economic Development Planning Organizations do not seem to give it all the necessary attention.

The Lagos Plan of Action can be implemented and achieve its objectives only if every OAU Member State agrees to consider it as the basis for its national and African economic policy.

At the OAU General Secretariat, we strove, as soon as it was adopted, to make it the guiding framework for conducting our activities at international negotiations for a new World Economic Order. Whenever we have had occasion to make Africa's voice heard at UNDP, UNESCO, ILO, FAO and LDC fora, we stressed the need to harmonize the African policies of these organizations with the essential objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action.

The same applied to the Cancun International Conference which, according to its sponsors, was to re-activate the North-South Dialogue for the establishment of a new World Economic Order. The symposium organized by the OAU General Secretariat with the Club of Rome on "Co-operation between Africa and its partners within the International Community" was part of efforts to devise a new approach for international co-operation and for a development strategy through the establishment of large economic communities. Emphasis was laid on the development of national productive forces within the framework of sub-regional groupings under the umbrella of a large African Economic Community.

The two essential sectors, namely the industrial and agricultural sectors, were examined by the appropriate bodies and the United Nations Specialized Agencies. The General Assembly in Resolution 35/50, proclaimed that the 1980s the Industrial Development Decade in Africa. The Economic Commission for Africa, the FAO, and the World Food Council, in close co-operation with the OAU, carried out studies to define a period of 3 years for the agricultural sector within the FAO Regional Food Programme for Africa.

Thus, in a resolve to forge its own future and refusing to lag behind in a world of crisis and be exposed to difficult conditions, Africa has set forth its objectives to ensure its survival; but the question is how to achieve these objectives and how to organize the very process of development. The point at issue is that of Labour Organization in Africa that is a new political economy to sustain the development envisaged for Africa in the Lagos Plan of Action.

This is where Africans must make efforts at theory-building and draw lessons from the experience of capitalist and socialist States in order to propose a system of production, distribution and consumption of wealth.

In the first place, what kind of wealth should we produce ? The answer to this question lies in assessing the essential needs of all the African people so as to avoid the production of gadgets which only waste raw materials.

How do we organize the production of these essential goods ? The answer to this question lies in working out a new type of labour relations embodying a new concept of "macro-economy" and "enterprise economy".

The traditional debate between the partisans of the market economy in which prevail the principles of free private means of production and exchange the regulating role of the profit market as an economic vehicle on the one hand and on the other, the advocates of the planned economy which involves the pooling of means of production and exchange, centralised planning, and the search for the general interest, should be of help to Africans, in their formulation of a better economic policy for the success of the development of Africa.

It is now more than ever, that the present trends of the world economic situation favour the pursuit of the efforts towards the development of one single African geo-economic space.

In the face of a long crisis, with an estimated figure of 28.5 million unemployed in 1982 for the OECD member countries alone,

each State seeks to find the solution best suited to securing its survival without concern for the interests of others. A new protectionism resulting from a ruthless economic war is developing as can be seen from the continuous imposition of restrictions by States; in these States, free trade and, the very concept of the reconquest of the domestic markets which underlies the policies for the economic boost of the major industrial powers are a sufficient proof that Africa has nothing to expect from a foreign-oriented development and that it should organize itself according to its potentialities and its own needs. As published in the periodical called "South", 1982 is one of the most disastrous years for the raw materials with 28 per cent fall in the price of rubber, 37 per cent in the price of cotton, 54 per cent in the price of sugar... the pattern of the terms of trade in 1982 is an indication of the difficulties awaiting the raw material producer countries i.e. over 9.5 per cent for the manufactured goods, approximately 8.7 per cent for the non-ferrous metals and only 6.6 per cent for the agricultural raw materials. Consequently, there is no question of any of our States undertaking and succeeding in its efforts to build a modern and prosperous economy. It is only within the regional framework that all our countries, taken as one entity, can develop an industry capable of competing with those of the developed countries.

Finally, Africa's renaissance and strength depend on a continental industrial revolution which should embrace all the modern industrial sectors with nuclear power which as a driving force will enable Africans to take their rightful place at the conference table and negotiate with the World Powers on an equal footing.

This new economic policy based on industrialization will require the formulation of new policies for the organization of all economic activities. Our theoretical research should, therefore, be geared towards this end without ever losing sight of traditional Africa's socio-cultural realities which are devoid of all destructive individualism. Hence such a new approach to the organization of work should not only regard man as a means of producing wealth but also as the prime beneficiary of wealth produced. The new economic policy and its corollary, the new political economy, are both at the service of man.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE AFRICAN

Every policy should be in the service of man and his total fulfilment; this objective implicitly contained in the Charter of the OAU confers heavy responsibilities on the main organs of the Organization in the preparation and implementation of a social policy based on the protection of the African person and his development in all directions.

Thus, within the framework of development prospects of Africa, we have made it our programme to guarantee the African person his place in the modern society; in this field we benefited from the directives of the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government which could not remain indifferent to the various living and working conditions of Africans.

In the field of Health, the African continent, despite the progress made in the control of major endemic and infectious diseases, remains one of the regions still affected by diseases already eradicated in other regions of the world and some diseases, like leprosy, once eradicated, reappear through lack of prophylactic measures.

In fact, the medical equipment of the African continent is far from being adequate to ensure the indispensable primary care to the people; infant mortality exceeds 250‰ in many regions, life expectancy is the lowest of all regions of the world; these are unbearable realities which should not be obviously concealed by considerations of "population explosion" in Africa and which should compel Africans to draw up a better health policy.

For this purpose, in various studies and reports, we stressed the regional strategy aimed at attaining the social objective of "Health for all by the year 2000". As better hygiene and health is linked to the progress of Science and Technology, hence to economic development, it is imperative to reserve an important place in our development plans for all the factors which contribute to the achievement of a better health for Africans, without which our people will not have the indispensable physical force and intellectual aptitude to sustain the sacrifices and development efforts.

This "Health for all by the year 2000", besides, cannot but be seen as being an integral part of a new population policy.

The present growth of the African population seems to give rise to fears among leaders of nations affected by a fall in the birth-rate, which seems to us a normal conclusion of a well-known socio-economic process: with an annual rate of natural increase estimated at 2.9%, the African population should double by the Year 2000, and by the Year 2000, exceed one billion people. These are forecasts which should not at all worry African leaders but rather encourage them in the search for better solutions to place this huge potential work force in the service of the development of Africa.

In the immediate future, food security and medical protection pose an acute problem and it is at this stage that Africans should do some hard thinking over the matter: the solution which consists in implementing, in an inconsiderate way the birth control policy conceived by the enemies of the renaissance of Africa should be reviewed for the benefit of a population policy based on self-sufficiency in food and primary medical care.

On this issue, several projects, in the Lagos Plan of Action to avoid the degradation of food production, should be pursued within the framework of a genuine rural development; similarly, the place of health in the process of the socio-economic development of the continent, as suggested by the African Charter of medical development, should be upgraded.

Any excessive reference to external assistance in these two essential fields of existence of the African peoples should, a priori, be excluded: the ever-growing deficit in African food production leaves the Africans at the mercy of food-exporting countries which are more than ever decided to use the food weapon in their two-pronged strategy of world domination and regulation of the African population; the capital strategic importance, which the food arm assumes should prompt Africans to exercise strict chemical and phytosanitary control of food products dumped on the continent; the Machiavellian will of some external forces to reduce the population

growth of Africa should also prompt the Africans to appraise the danger of the medical assistance programmes which often hide malicious intentions.

Thus in the important field of population and health policy, vigorous action will have to be taken by African leaders who, so far, do not seem to give this immense asset that people constitute all the necessary attention and sometimes allow themselves to be influenced by those who fear that an adequately populated Africa may become a power to reckon with.

It is impossible to restore the power of Africa without the contribution of a sizeable population and men of action. The future belongs to youthful and vigorous peoples with a healthy birth-rate, and it should be hoped that in the years to come, the OAU and all the Member States will pay greater attention to world population trends and the way those of the African population compare to them.

For within this population lie the human resources, whose creative capacity if better organised and better utilised will enable the continent to secure the scientific and technological independence without which it is doomed to remain the ground for the expansion of the other nations; in other words Africans must review their major orientations in Education and Teaching so that their objectives are kept in line with the resolve to trigger off the industrial revolution on the continent.

Indeed, the OAU General Secretariat, in quest of an in-depth approach to self-reliant and self-sustained development, decided to explore the ways and means by which Science and Culture influence development; such an approach which falls within the date of the proclamation of the Algiers Manifesto and particularly 1976, date of the adoption of the Cultural Charter of Africa, enabled us to situate culture in the problematique of development.

At present, education has regressed considerably on the continent: the cultural heritage and moral traditions of traditional Africa are laminated for the perpetuation of alien values which

depersonalise Africans, the school seems to provide an education unrelated to the objectives which should be those of the enlightenment of man on the realities surrounding him, and geared to the resolving of difficulties facing man and to the preparation of the future for the coming generations; it would thus appear that the school does not play its role and does not contribute at all to moulding the competent human cadres able to promote the economic rise of the continent.

To remedy this situation, we urged Member States to undertake a process of thought leading to bold decisions : the promotion of a new Africanisation and democratisation strategy of knowledge; the seminar of African Directors of Planning held in Dakar in January 1980, laid stress on the reform of the education and training system in Member States.

Such a review is needed to break off from the "extraversion" and mimicry trend which is developing in contemporary African societies.

The Symposium organised in January 1981, in Libreville on the theme "Science and Culture as basis of development" tried, on its part, to remedy these shortcomings through an original thought on the state of creativity in Africa, a deplorable state indeed, which arises from the non-existence of a decisive scientific promotion policy.

Development demands the union of several factors and especially an alliance between Science, Technology and Political power which should organize education accordingly, make all efforts to overcome obstacles in the path of the development of education and encourage inventive spirit and personal improvement.

The development of education implies the eradication of illiteracy but there is still the problem of the medium of instruction, and African States should hold consultations to adopt, at the sub-regional level, languages which could cover large geocultural spaces and reduce the linguistic fragmentation of our peoples; national languages, the privileged tool of political unification, always emerged from a multitude of idioms and were

imposed by the builders of modern States, to push peoples to integrate into a sizeable entity and to depend politically and economically upon each other. Africa cannot escape this rule and, as of now, the work of the most conscientious African linguists must consist in determining the languages for the politicians to impose and in consolidating these languages by enriching them with external borrowings or the coming of new words.

The encouragement of inventiveness, intellectual speculation and personal improvement raises the question of the future of Science and Technology in Africa; though complex, scientific and technological progress is within the grasp of Africans on condition that the teaching of Science and Technology is given the place it deserves in the education of the African; the scientific and technological renaissance of Africa calls for the establishment of scientific research institutes, technological application laboratories and in the main, infrastructure where the best talents could develop; considering the huge investments needed for the establishment and management of such infrastructure and that it is difficult for one State alone to provide the resources necessary, African States can develop their scientific research and technological invention capacity at the sub-regional or continental levels.

These idees-forces led us to organise in Addis Ababa in January this year, in collaboration with the African universities, UNESCO and the ECA, the meeting of Vice-Chancellors and Presidents of African Universities on the theme "Higher Education in Africa and the Lagos Plan of Action"; the participants clearly understood that it was their duty to remove the African University from the ghetto where it has wallowed, to place it in the service of the development of the continent after carrying out the necessary reforms.

Future subregional or continental meetings of African Ministers of Education will consolidate educational reforms already achieved with a view to ensuring a more important place for Science, Technology, Arts and Crafts.

For our part, in the implementation of the bold conclusions of the Libreville Symposium and those of the meeting of the African Scientific Council, we have decided to make the Organization of African Unity the framework for the promotion and development of Science and Technology in Africa.

For this purpose we benefited from the assistance of several African intellectuals of high repute in the formulation of three concrete proposals which we submitted to the supreme organs of the OAU for the establishment of an Inter-African Cultural Fund, the African Scientific Renaissance prizes, and the First Congress of Scientists in Africa.

The idea of an Inter-African Cultural Fund meets the objectives of the Cultural Charter of Africa, and the Thirty-Third Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, meeting in Monrovia in July 1979, had favourably received it in Resolution CM/RES.758 (XXXIII); the adoption of the Statutes of the Fund in 1980 gave it a legal standing and already some organizations of the United Nations System, such as the UNESCO, did not hesitate to grant subventions through the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture.

The objectives aimed at in the use of this Fund's resources are of vital importance for the cultural independence of Africa which today runs the risk of seeing its identity disappear and integrate itself, under the influence of a Euro-American subculture, into a different civilisation; through the establishment of the Fund, Africans would create the socio-cultural conditions which should stimulate men willing to realise great designs : the discovery of a glorious past and the contribution of Africa to the birth and development of civilisation in the world.

The "African Scientific Renaissance Prize" aims at emphasizing the immense technological resources and heritage of African peoples, promoting research and stimulating creativeness in Africa as a whole; it is after observing that scientific and technological research is indispensable to development and that in Africa, more than anywhere else, politicians have the responsibility for its

promotion that the OAU, after the manner of other Organizations, embarked on this enterprise; to bring Member States to establish, within the sub-regional or continental framework, infrastructure which will enable talented Africans to develop, and to put their ingenuity in the service of their peoples.

The African Scientific Renaissance Prizes are of two categories :

- (a) Dedication prizes : will be awarded to African intellectuals, Scholars, engineers and research workers who, by their discoveries and inventions, have contributed most effectively to the development of Africa in the economic, social, scientific, technological and cultural fields and whose work has been decisively outstanding in the time of their generation;
- (b) Promotion prizes : will be awarded to African research workers or innovators who have done original scientific work to enhance Africa's mastery over certain fields of scientific knowledge or know-how.

These two categories of Prizes will encourage African intellectuals in research work and will contribute, undoubtedly, to the development of African know-how.

The first Congress of Scientists in Africa scheduled for this year falls within this perspective : it will be the opportunity for African scientists to determine, themselves, the essential contribution to be made to the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action.

This mobilisation of the African Scientific Community and technological skills is of cardinal importance if Africa must secure the successful implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action; and the Congress will serve:-

1. to draw attention to the need for African States to define appropriate scientific and technological policies and for this purpose, the Congress will have to make concrete proposals;

2. to organize and develop African regional and sub-regional co-operation in the fields of Science and Technology;
3. to prepare a Pan-African Scientific Charter and Scientific Plan of Action in line with the Lagos Plan of Action;
4. to consider what could be the status of African Scientists as well as their problems and the working conditions;
5. to evaluate the scope of different African Scientific associations; in the medium and long term, follow up work will have to be ensured particularly through:
6. the periodical and regular organization of other Congresses;
7. the establishment or strengthening of African Scientific Associations of all disciplines and the establishment or strengthening of a co-ordinating machinery with an OAU Observer Status;
8. the establishment of an African Academy of Science;
9. the implementation of the recommendations of the Libreville Symposium and particularly the establishment of "Centres of Excellence".

Finally, we wanted to make the African Scientists Community as a whole responsible collectively and collegially, insofar as only a multi-sectoral and trans-disciplinary approach can have a significant effect on the African development process.

Moreover, why not follow the example of many States by utilising for the benefit of the African renaissance, the scientific

and technological intellectual skills of the immense African diaspora spread out in the world ?

This first Congress of Scientists in Africa will promote the reunion of the sons of the same continent who, today, place their creative capacities in the service of other nations; it will arouse in them the ambition to contribute, through intellectual contributions to the resurrection of Africa.

Through all these activities, it becomes clear that the ultimate objective of the Organization is, above all, to make Africans participate in their own development and to become the main beneficiaries: as is the social marginalisation of the major part of African peoples should be avoided; to do so the changes that should take place in African societies for their modernisation, can only be achieved by the entire social fabric and strata; such a radical overhauling of socio-economic structures and mentalities require in-depth sociological studies and investigations.

For this reason, with the International Institute of Labour Studies of the ILO and with the assistance of the UNDP, the OAU General Secretariat launched, as from November 1980, a Pluriannual Programme on the social implications of the Implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action, three main lines of research were identified:

- the social prerequisites of the implementation of a policy of self-sufficiency in food: it is a question of determining the influence of agrarian structures, production systems, production techniques for models of food consumption on the African agricultural production and determine the changes likely to enhance the realisation of the food self-sufficiency policy recommended by the Lagos Plan of Action;
- the strengthening of the under-privileged social categories which are the young, the women, the disabled and the old: it is a matter, here, of undertaking studies which will serve African States in the formulation of a development policy

which uses deliberately the inexhaustible work force which is constituted of women and young ones while integrating the disabled into the development process and ensuring a better security for old people;

- the impact of science, technology and energy for the development of African countries: it is the question, here, of studies on the social implications of the scientific and technological progress which calls for deep changes in the vision of the world and in the mentality of Africans.

This Pluriannual Programme to which we attach great importance fits in with our concept of a genuine development which demands the full and entire participation of peoples concerned thus making the peoples themselves responsible for the best answer to their thirst of knowledge and justice: the success of an African development policy presupposes the radical change of the internal organization of African societies and this social approach requires sociological studies and researches.

But how do we make African peoples participate fully in their development and full emancipation if constraints of all types are set up to check their efforts ? At the Monrovia Symposium, voices were raised to state precisely "that neither development nor political stability is possible if the individual and collective rights are marginalised, if the fundamental liberties which go hand in hand with justice and solidarity are not taken into consideration".

In reality, the worsening of the socio-economic situation of the African continent went hand in hand with the marginalisation of fundamental liberties, either individual or collective, and increased social inequality: the very seriousness of the question of refugees who, today, exceed 5 million individuals in Africa, while representing more than 50% of the number of refugees in the world, bears witness to this.

And this because the clear-sighted Heads of State and Government seized the liaison between the democratisation of political life and development that the Organization of African Unity prepared an "African Charter of Human and People's Rights".

This Charter is composed of a preamble recalling the fundamental texts and previous commitments of an initial part which deals with Human and People's Rights and Duties, a second part which comprises safeguard measures and particularly an African Commission of Human and People's Rights.

It makes it possible to ensure Man, in Africa, the security necessary for the development and emancipation of all his faculties; it also makes it possible to prevent genocide which threatens some peoples particularly in Southern Africa where the apartheid regime has fixed the enslavement of non-whites, as its objective.

It is now up to Member States to take their responsibilities, to sign the Charter and especially to respect the terms of the Charter, thus opening the way to the organization of political democracy without which one cannot talk of the democratisation of development.

This approach to the place of Man in contemporary African societies, relates once more to the community and solidarity vision of traditional Africa.... link of a long chain including the dead, the living and future generations, the African does not consider himself, in the struggles for life, as an isolated individual condemned to see in his fellow human being an eternal competitor but rather a brother of every human being.

The role of the OAU, therefore, consisted, during these last years, in preparing the ground for the consolidation of feelings of conviviality in African societies and that every social organization be in the service of Man.... this task should be pursued for what is at stake is the credibility of independent Africa vis-a-vis the racists of Southern Africa and the whole world.

THE POLICY OF THE FUTURE

It is on the basis of the purposes of the Organization of African Unity, stipulated in the Charter of 1963, that the policy of the Organization is determined, a policy which, despite the vicissitudes inherent in any international organization, appears to be the right one for the future.

An attentive reading of the Charter makes it clear that the fundamental aim of the Organization is to ensure the independence and unity of Africa against the outside world and, this ultimate objective obviously guided the political activities of the various organs during the nineteen years of existence of the OAU; the independence of African territories under colonial and racist domination presupposes the co-ordination of the efforts of peoples still colonised, with those of the independent States; Unity calls for the harmonisation of the general policies of African States within the framework of a vast policy of understanding and co-operation among equal and sovereign States.

The respect of the cardinal principle of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the inalienable right to independent existence of each State, enabled Africa and the OAU to overcome incalculable difficulties raised by the questioning of the delineation of boundaries inherited from colonisation; the initial years of the existence of the OAU were marked by territorial disputes some of which led to real armed conflicts between Member States; in those cases, after futile bloodshed, wisdom prevailed and diplomacy enabled the belligerents to find peace again, an indispensable factor for enriching co-operation: during the last years, other similar disputes have led Member States to have recourse to arms causing heavy losses in human lives and considerable material damage to each other; these are actions which violate both the purposes and principles which are the strength of the Organization of African Unity.

Besides, it should be expected that within the set of these re-groupings of political nature, courageous response will be given to the legitimate desire of divided peoples to re-group.... It is in this direction that the Organization of African Unity should direct its efforts and defuse all these bellicose situations which, in future, may deteriorate into bloody conflicts between Member States

whose co-operation and solidarity will indisputably contribute to the success of national liberation struggles on the continent.

Today, the Organization of African Unity can take the advantage of having won brilliant victories over colonisation and racism in Africa; the score of States which, since 1963, have joined the Founding States bear witness, if necessary, to this victorious distance covered.

But, to attain these objectives, independent Africa showed an "unreserved devotion to the cause of total emancipation of African territories still not independent", as requested by the Charter, without hesitating to go beyond the disputes of all sorts and differences, to form a limited front in the face of the threats emanating from colonising powers. It is from this united front in the face of the external enemy in its policy of colonial and racist domination that the four African strategies of struggle for the eradication of colonialism in Africa, were formulated.

After the fall of the British colonial empire in East Africa and the independence of British protectorates in Southern Africa what remained, in 1969, was to bring about the withdrawal of Portuguese colonialists from Angola, Mozambique and their other colonies in Africa to wrench from the British, the genuine independence of Zimbabwe and from South Africa the freedom of Namibia and the eradication of apartheid, the Lusaka Manifesto adopted in 1969 on Southern Africa spelt out in clear terms the stand of Africa in the face of the political development in the South sub-region of the continent; despite the divisive manoeuvres of Pretoria, independent Africa remained true to the principles stipulated in the Lusaka Manifesto which was then up-dated by the Mogadishu Declaration. The very importance of this Mogadishu Declaration resides in the exigency for majority rule in Zimbabwe, in its categorical rejection of any dialogue with South Africa and Portugal, in the denunciation of the criminal multiform assistance which NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) Member States provided to Lisbon and Pretoria; in Mogadishu, Africa showed to the world its determination to remain united in its fight for the liquidation of colonialism and racism on the continent.

The Accra Strategy, a logical sequel to the Mogadishu Declaration, organized, as from 1973, the diplomatic isolation of Lisbon, intensified the armed struggle in its colonies such that, decried at the international level and suffering defeats in Africa, the Portuguese dictatorship collapsed under the blow of a demoralised army; the collapse of the tyranny in Portugal heralded the end of the lusitanian empire in Africa and this removal of the barrier which seemed to protect the racists of Southern Africa led independent Africa to prepare a new strategy for the freedom of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

The Dar-es-Salaam Declaration in April 1976 was the appropriate reply of the OAU to the South African manoeuvres: it emphasised the union and cohesion of Africa in the face of colonialism and racism in Southern Africa, called for the strengthening of the armed struggle against the illegal regime established by the whites in Zimbabwe, increased diplomatic and material support of Africa to SWAPO in its war of national liberation and recommended the eradication of apartheid in South Africa by all means.

The moment the responsibility of the General Secretariat fell to us, two years after the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration, considerable progress was made in the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa from the colonial and racist yoke.

In Zimbabwe, the ZAPU and ZANU supporters intensified the guerilla war inside their country where, repression followed repression and where the white racist regime, upon advice of its friends outside Africa, tried to work for an internal solution which would nullify the victory of the freedom fighters.

In Namibia, the SWAPO fighters solidly implanted in their country and benefiting from the support of the popular masses, held in check a South African occupation army equipped with very sophisticated modern arms.

In South Africa itself, the people worn out by an increasingly strengthened repression, engaged, under the direction of various under-ground movements, a new phase of anti-apartheid struggle campaign which culminated into the SOWETO shooting during which hundreds of Africans were killed.

We had to follow with extreme attention the development of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and give to the freedom fighters the militant, diplomatic and material support of the Organization of African Unity. We assumed this noble task by conviction and duty without hesitating for a moment to place at the disposal of the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa all the means Africa, the OAU and friends from outside Africa, provided to them.

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, in the strict respect of the mandate entrusted to it by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, applied itself to support financially, materially and morally the Liberation Movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity; during its bi-annual sessions, all the aspects of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa were considered without the Committee intervening in the disputes between the different movements. On the contrary, it advocated the co-ordination of their struggle strategies.

The years 1978, 1979 and 1980 coincided with the ultimate phase of the freedom of Zimbabwe and vigilance had to be redoubled to thwart the manoeuvres of all types designed by the friends of South Africa to avoid the total downfall of the white illegal regime: the repeated acts of aggression of the illegal regime against Zambia and Mozambique, even the so-called internal solution based on the alliance between white racists and some African political leaders of the country were short circuited by an effective diplomatic action and an increased support to national Liberation Movements of Zimbabwe; it was the only way to consolidate their position at the approach of future negotiations which African countries, Members of the Commonwealth, imposed on the United Kingdom at the Lusaka Conference of August, 1979.

It was under the pressure of the Frontline States that the British Government accepted, after long delay tactics, to shoulder as the trustee, its responsibilities and organize the Lancaster House Conference; the OAU saw to it that ill-intentioned pressures did not compel the Frontline States to accept any kind of solution.... it should be reckoned that, supported by thousands of fighters, the Patriotic Front, sure of its victory, made concessions enabling the

Conference to end with the signing of the Lancaster House Agreement but the very duration of the Conference (10 September - 17 December 1979) was indicative of the bitterness of the negotiations and the complexity of the difficulties to be surmounted.

Now that Zimbabwe has recovered its independence, let us leave it to history, with the necessary detachment to pronounce judgement on the various dramatis personae of the tragedy which caused tens of thousands of our brothers and sisters of this country to be killed; nevertheless, during the decisive moment when the fate of the African people of Zimbabwe was being decided, the Organization of African Unity strove to stand to the expectations of the National Liberation Movements; at the appeal of the appropriate organs of the Organization, Member States, despite financial constraints, contributed to the campaign for general elections during which the sovereign people of Zimbabwe opted for freedom... undoubtedly that victory, the fruit of enormous sacrifices willingly endured by the people of Zimbabwe, shows Africans, that the scale of history will always tilt in favour of peoples struggling for their independence, and that it is most imperative that the Organization of African Unity should resolutely pursue its policy of unflinching devotion to the cause of the total liberation of the African continent.

The independence of Zimbabwe has considerably modified the dynamics of the liberation of Southern Africa and it should be expected that the South African racist leaders, confounded by the victory of the nationalist forces in Zimbabwe, would deny independence to Namibia.

Needless it is to trace back the history of the resistance of the people of Namibia to all forms of foreign domination and to state precisely the heavy toll they paid and continue to pay for this struggle; however, the establishment of the Organization of the People of Ovambo (OPO) in 1957, changed into the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in 1960, and that the Organization of African Unity would give this struggle an international dimension.

It was under the constant pressure of the Pan-African Organization that the General Assembly officially put an end in 1966, to the South African mandate over Namibia and still under the vigilant eye of the OAU, that the International Court of the Hague, seized of the matter by Liberia and Ethiopia, confirmed in 1971 the illegality of the South African occupation.

Under these circumstances, one can appraise the extent of repression to which the Namibian people are subjected and whose territory, legally placed under the direct UN Administration, remains, nevertheless, under South African occupation.

In fact, as the political situation in South Africa developed in favour of the National Liberation Movements, the South African Government very much attached to the immense resources of Namibia and to the main geostrategic position of the territory, organized and promoted a solution in the country: on the one hand Pretoria dispatches its armies, equipped by the West against SWAPO, recognized by the UN General Assembly as the "sole authentic representative of the Namibian people", on the other hand it encourages an internal organization of the political power for the so-called internal parties without any real representativity, all the more so since real power is wielded by the South African Administrator General.

It is to break the obstinacy of the South African Government to maintain its grip over Namibia through odious repressions, that the Organization of African Unity pronounced itself clearly for an increase in its diplomatic and military support to SWAPO whose popular audience and armed resistance are the determining factors in the failure of the internal solution.

The two years preceding our arrival at the head of the General Secretariat were characterised by intense international pressure to bring Pretoria to a negotiated solution, the setting up of a Contact Group in 1977 of the five Western Countries, members of the Security Council (United States, United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Canada), aimed at trying to obtain the

independence of Namibia through negotiations and Resolution 435 adopted in 1978 by the Security Council constituted an acceptable document for SWAPO and the Africans; despite its agreement in principle, the Pretoria Government pursued its policy of occupation using, with regard to SWAPO and the population, inhuman extortions such as looting, burning of harvest, wholesale killing of livestock, kidnapping and rape of young girls, torture and assassination of opponents and by trying to trump-up a so-called internal political system.

The situation was therefore blocked and it was necessary for African States to raise their voices at the UN: at the Organization of African Unity, resolutions on Namibian people at the time when Pretoria was resorting to all subterfuge to hinder every process leading to independence by peaceful means; the Frontline States, on their part, held a number of meetings with a view to reviving negotiations for the independence of Namibia.

But it was that moment which Pretoria chose to carry out regular operations of murderous aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and to organize attempts of destabilisation in other African States of the region; soon a Committee of Ten, later of Nineteen States, was established to propose and co-ordinate the assistance policy of independent Africa to the Frontline States, victims of aggressive activities of Pretoria; it was within the framework of this Committee of Nineteen and the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa that a new Liberation Strategy for Southern Africa was drawn up and adopted by the OAU after the victory scored by the people of Zimbabwe.

Stress was laid on the intensification of the armed struggle of the Namibian people without, however, closing the door to UN sponsored negotiations; as for Pretoria, it pursued its attempt to weaken SWAPO through terrorist acts carried out inside the Angolan territory and by pseudo-elections, set up a complicated

constitutional machinery led by the Democratic Alliance of Turnhalle.

At the OAU, the condemnations did not take long to be aired and African pressures brought the "Contact Group" to advise the South African Government to participate in Geneva in January 1981 in a conference of all parties under the aegis of the OAU.

But, the South African delegation, strong with the support of a new American Administration, came to Geneva not to negotiate but to delay the process leading to the liberation of the people of Namibia: the conference that embodied hope aborted, following the battle of words which the Pretoria delegation had voluntarily raised.

The OAU Council of Ministers of February 1981 took note of these manoeuvres of Pretoria, and, recalling to the UN its responsibilities, called for mandatory sanctions to be imposed by the Security Council against the Pretoria regime; we have had to denounce the objective complicity of some powers, members of the Security Council, with the South African racist regime when they used their right of veto to prevent the adoption of the resolution recommending sanctions against Pretoria; however, assured of the support of independent Africa, the OAU and all peace and justice loving peoples, the Namibian people pursued their heroic struggle, dealing severe blows to a powerfully equipped enemy but, compelled to practise the forward flight by intensifying the war often carried in Angola during extremely murderous operations.

These recent developments of the Namibian situation marked by the stiffening of the South African stand and the extension of the war result from the ambiguity of the policy, of some Big Powers with regard to South African terrorism. The Contact Group of the five Western Countries which tries to clear the ground leading to the independence of Namibia should exert pressure on South Africa

so that the latter accepts the cease-fire and free and democratic elections based on the principle of one man, one vote.

Under the present circumstances, Africa should pursue its diplomatic and material assistance to SWAPO by continuing to exert pressure on the Contact Group of the five Western Countries, on the UN so that together they bring Pretoria to come to terms and by providing SWAPO with all the financial and material assistance it needs to increase its military operations against the occupying South African troops which, in South Africa itself, are faced with increasing difficulties.

Independent Africa and the Organization of African Unity have never renounced their sacred mission of resolute struggle against apartheid, the most ignoble mode of human exploitation which exists in the world with violence and terrorism as instruments of governing. However, it was during these recent years as the peoples of Southern Africa liberated themselves gradually from the colonialist and racist empire that the racists intensified their repression against the South African people hostile to apartheid; the activity of the OAU therefore, consisted in increasing its campaign of external isolation of the apartheid regime and assisting, by all means, the South African National Liberation Movements.

The geo-political and geo-strategic importance of South Africa for the Western powers made the activities of the OAU difficult for it is a stake of cardinal importance in world politics, enjoying the support of the military industrial surroundings of the West and is equipped with an army of more than 480,000 troops, equipped and trained to quell internal revolts and carry out acts of aggression in neighbouring countries.

However, the isolation of South Africa should be carried out in all fields and, for this purpose, in collaboration with the UN, the Organization of African Unity and the African States as a whole, have had to denounce the collusion of Pretoria with the Western powers in various fields ranging from economy to culture through industry, trade, nuclear power, sports without forgetting the military field; it is obvious that the constant increase in western investments in South Africa, where the annual capital income often reaches 25%, constitutes clearly an assistance to the apartheid regime and the OAU is perfectly right in condemning the measures of making flexible the restrictions on

the guarantees given by Western governments to export to South Africa; Republic of Germany, France, Italy and Israel with Pretoria, which helped the apartheid regime to secure nuclear weapons, it points clearly to the duplicity of Western leaders, whose objective is to ensure that Pretoria enjoy military supremacy likely to guarantee its security in the face of independent Africa.

It was indispensable that resolutions were adopted to step up sanctions against South Africa but independent Africa, faced with enormous economic difficulties, seems to import more and more South African food products, thus increasing the commercial penetration of South African monster in some forty OAU Member States; the opposition of the Western countries, members of the UN Security Council, to the implementation of sanctions against South Africa at the meetings of April 1981, led the OAU and the UN to organize, from 20-27 May 1981, in Paris, a Conference on the strengthening of sanctions against Pretoria; the OAU should follow the implementation of measures proposed but its activities at the level of the national public opinion in the Western countries should be reinforced by a closer collaboration with the anti-apartheid committees existing in all the Western countries. The General Secretariat strove to establish relations with some of these committees so as to sensitize all the racial strata and all socio-professional categories about the predicament of the South African people.

But, in addition to this mobilization of the world opinion, the OAU should within the African continent itself, mobilize the great masses against South African racism and the support it gets throughout the world; it is upon the governments of Member States that falls the responsibility of this sacred task of proving the effective solidarity of their people with the South African people; similarly their responsibility is determining in the present phase of guerilla war led by South African Patriots in their struggle for liberation.

The guerilla war, forced upon the Liberation Movements of South Africa by a regime determined to perpetuate itself through terror and barbarism, demands considerable material means and unflagging diplomatic support which only independent Africa and the Frontline States, the principal protagonists, are capable of providing the South African freedom fighters. In this respect the OAU should spare no efforts, avoid no sacrifices in marshalling, within the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, multifarious support for the African National Liberation Movements and the Frontline States, the rear-base for the South African nationalities.

The existence of apartheid is a constant affront to the dignity of the black African; it is a mirror reflecting back to the leaders of independent Africa, the image of the horrors of colonial domination in all their forms; its elimination will be the crowning success of the ultimate phase of African Liberation process initiated in 1975. The OAU must muster all its strength to contribute to this crowning glory in the most vigorous manner.

Built on a racist foundation in the heart of Africa and deriving assistance in various forms from foreign powers, the South African apartheid regime, as a horrible system of domination and exploitation of Africans, must not be perpetuated. The OAU must leave no stone unturned in this direction.

Efforts must be made to demystify any South African policy that tends to perpetuate apartheid. Indeed some of the so-called "enlightened" white South Africans are trying to win whites, Indians and coloureds to their side in defence of their privileged interests against the Africans who are promised cosmetic changes. Such a subterfuge must not mislead the well-informed African. Independent Africa and the OAU which have, time and again condemned the bantustanization policy must view with utmost indifference the reforms which the South African Government, trapped in its own contradictions, is seemingly introducing.

It is first and foremost the duty of the South African people led by their liberation movements recognized by the OAU to guide independent Africa in the assessment of the current developments in their country. Since 1970, the racial situation, in spite of the country's economic growth, has deteriorated to such an extent that more than 25 % of the black labour force is unemployed, the annual rate of inflation has risen to over 15 %, hundreds of thousands of unemployed and underemployed have been herded into arid rural areas declared "independent". Such a mass pauperisation incite the African masses to resist through frequent uprisings, the emergence of new political organizations, periodic industrial action and increased guerilla activities.

In the circumstances and faced with a regime determined to resort to any means to survive, the OAU Member States must close their ranks, support the South African National Liberation Movements

in all the forms of struggle of their choice. That is the best means, and indeed, the only way of influencing radical changes in South Africa. It is our conviction, at any rate, that independent Africa through the OAU must constantly assert and set the strength of its oneness of purpose against the proponents of Apartheid for the emergence of a legitimate state in Africa.

But how will the world public opinion accord credibility to our opposition to the South African regime if we ourselves do not abide by the principles which form the strength of the OAU ? How do we contain the forces of domination and exploitation if the principle of self-determination, which forms an integral part of public international law; is trampled into dust by African States ? The primary cause of so controversial an issue as Western Sahara lies in the desire of some Member States of the Organization to turn a blind eye to the very sacred principles which brought our own states into being. Numerous meetings held during the past few years have failed to resolve the situation which is tangled up in political and legal considerations. It is in this perspective that should be viewed our decision to write to the representatives of RASD, in compliance with Article XXVII of the OAU Charter, informing them that an absolute majority of OAU Member States had decided in favour of their admission to the membership of the Organization. A special memorandum on the issue has been submitted separately. Who wishes to apprehend the true nature of the issue, should therefore refer to the memorandum before making a priori condemnations.

Much ink has been spilled since our declaratory act which we believe in all conscience, was in fulfilment of our duty and, without placing ourselves above the decision-making bodies of the Organization of African Unity, we are convinced that we acted within the limits prescribed by the Charter. It is now the turn of the decision-making bodies to take the measures needed to evolve a solution in consonance with the Charter and the sacred principle of self-determination of peoples, without which States of the world would become the helpless preys to annexations of all sorts.

Namibia, South Africa, Western Sahara constitute decolonization problems that put the entire African continent to test but which can be the rallying points of the OAU Member States if positions are

adopted in accordance with the basic principles of the Organization.

That is certainly not the case with Chad where a civil war, aggravated by multi-faceted external influence, was devastating a member State of the Organization. The OAU had to use its good offices to restore peace in Chad, without placing that State, independent and sovereign, under the tutelage of the Organization. Unceasing efforts have been exerted over the last four years to prevail upon the Chadian leaders, under the auspices of the OAU, to work out a solution of understanding that would restore peace and stability to their country. Kano, Lagos, Lome, Ndjamena, Nairobi and Kinshasa have been so many venues of meetings at all levels to discuss the Chadian problem which, in the final analysis, could only be resolved through real unity and reconciliation between the various political and military forces of the country.

Unity and reconciliation can only result from a new policy that makes free and democratic elections the basis for accession to power and presuppose a resolute commitment of the various political and military factions in Chad to refrain from the use of arms to settle the dispute.

It must be acknowledged that it has not been easy for the Organization of African Unity to work in the spirit described above. The various external influences from all the points of the globe that were evident in Chad, the divergent approaches advocated by the Member States of the Organization of African Unity to settle this thorny problem, are so many factors which have complicated an already complex issue and which seem to allow arms to prevail over negotiations.

Under the circumstances, the Organization of African Unity could no more than serve as a Peace-keeping force between the various Chadian factions and that was the role of the Inter-African Peace-keeping Force, the establishment of which bears testimony to independent Africa's determination to mould her own destiny without the interference of external forces.

Whatever the outcome of the tragic situation in Chad, important lessons can now be drawn :

- the OAU should refrain from involvement in a civil war until

the parties to the conflict appeal to it to ensure the observance of agreements that they might have freely entered into;

- the OAU should seriously study the complex issues of establishment, financing and deployment of African Peace-keeping Forces. The Chadian experiment proves that there are enormous problems of financing, logistics, command, deployment to which African Governments have never given thought and which, by their complex nature, render ineffective a military corps dispatched to a country in civil war.

The experience of the Inter-African Peace-keeping Force in Chad at the same time brings to the fore the problem of Africa's Security in the event of threats of foreign aggression. The OAU must turn its attention to this vital question in order to adopt decisions that take account of the balance of forces at the level of the world.

By and large, however, we should deplore the lack of interest in Africa and among Africans in geopolitical and geostrategic studies pertaining to the problems of security. There is no denying that some countries keep all military matters to themselves, without often apprehending all their dimensions, under the pretext that they are national defence secrets. In our opinion, the time has come for Africa and Africans to develop a strategic doctrine and a defence policy without the involvement of the outside world but taking into account the outside world and the continent's position in world politics.

It is the responsibility of African States to identify their potential enemy and organize themselves to deter any possible aggression by that enemy.

There cannot be a defence policy, a strategic doctrine without a clear identification of the potential enemy. In the broad diplomatic interaction going on at the level of our globe, each of the world powers is aware of the dangers threatening it, but in Africa the very lack of attention to strategy make leaders believe that the World is governed by altruistic forces. There is therefore an absolute and urgent need to fathom the dangers weighing on the continent and draw the necessary political and strategic conclusions. This is one of the essential fields of research open to the OAU and it should embark upon it with the unfailing support of the Member States.

All these issues of primary importance lead to the question of the review of the OAU Charter in such a manner as to adapt it to the realities based on the concrete experience acquired over the twenty years of the Organization's existence.

Experience has indeed shown that the basic documents and structures deriving from the Charter need to be revised and for this purpose, a Charter Review Committee has been set up. There are enormous tasks to be performed to bring the States to accept new provisions by consensus. This long and exacting work must be pursued so that the Charter of the Organization of African Unity may serve to cement the activities of the Organization.

When speaking about Chad, I touched on the need to establish the OAU Defence Force. The Organization should have an instrument of intervention whose existence, organization, and deployment will have their legal bases in the Charter.

The Office of the Current Chairman of the Organization which, by the force of circumstances, has come to stay, as an essential organ for the conduct of OAU's activities, must find its place in the Charter with its clearly-defined terms of reference.

There is need also to establish a crisis management structure, an organ which, in times of crisis, can meet promptly to take executory decisions. The very idea of such a crisis management organ seems to have gained much favour with the Heads of State and Government of Member States, many of whom do elaborate on it at times in their statements. The example of the United Nations Security Council may be followed without, however, according pre-eminence to some States within the Organization.

Last but not least, the role of the Secretary-General should be spelt out with utmost clarity, the terms of his election better defined and his independence much more assured.

It is obvious that the review of the Charter is a difficult task

requiring Member States to agree, without undermining their sovereignty, to equip the Organization with a broader capacity for effective intervention. A reviewed and updated Charter, when adopted, will reinvigorate the Organization and enable it perform more efficiently the present immense tasks of co-ordinating the policies of more than fifty Member States.

The African policy of the Organization of African Unity should break out of trodden paths and show itself as the collective will of the Member States to give Africa vis-à-vis the outside world the image of a continent determined to speak with one single voice to the outside world for Africa's cooperation with the outside world cannot be beneficial to Africans unless African States, together, weave relations of multilateral co-operation with their external partners as is the case with Afro-Arab Co-operation.

On the instructions of the policy-making bodies of the Organization, we have attached cardinal importance to this co-operation whose major props had been determined by the Joint Afro-Arab Ministerial Conference convened in Dakar in April 1976 and by the Afro-Arab Summit held in Cairo in March 1977. However, political consideration coupled with the diplomatic developments of the Israel-Arab conflict have not made it possible for us to fully implement the co-operation programme that had been drawn up.

Be that as it may, the policy of co-operation between Africans and Arabs seems to derive from the similarity of the numerous common interests which bind Africa and the Arab World together.

Geography has generated relations of complementarity between the African and Arab Worlds, which must be developed in mutual respect.

History, inspite of all its misadventures for Africans, seems to compel both parties to undertake several common actions together to restore their dignity.

Even culture has brought Africans and Arabs so closely together that it is impossible to trace out divergent paths for the two parties.

Present world politics give Africans and Arabs the objective reasons to work together and co-operate with each other.

South African racism has been imposed on an African environment against Africans; similarly zionism has been established on an Arab soil by immigrants hostile to Palestinian Arabs.

The solidarity between the Zionists and the proponents of apartheid goes as far back as the Balfour Declaration as evidenced by the friendship between Chaim Weizmann and General Smuts, and we Africans cannot forget the fact that the large Jewish community in South Africa has set itself up as the defender of the atrocious apartheid regime and that hundreds of its members do fight beside the Israelis during Israel-Arab wars.

Israelo-South African co-operation is comprehensive, covering all fields as shown by the economic, scientific and industrial treaty signed in April 1976, by Prime Ministers Vorster and Rabin and the comments on it by the Star newspaper and the ANC. As for the Star : "It is obvious that this treaty goes beyond the usual co-operation and trade agreements signed at the end of an official visit of a personality to a friendly country ... the treaty covers, in the main, exchange of raw materials and military technological know-how which the two countries need desperately. For both, the question is virtually that of survival. That is probably the strongest motive..." The African National Congress issued a press release which reads : "This visit is the demonstration and outcome of a long process of co-operation between two States which constitute a very serious threat to world peace. Israel is to the Middle East as South Africa is to the African continent. The visit confirms their close collaboration in the economic, political and military fields. We have no doubt that this co-operation extends to the nuclear field with a view to preparing a war against neighbouring countries and a confrontation with the national liberation movements".

It is certain that the Tel-Aviv-Pretoria axis provides the two expansionist and racist states with the means to equip themselves with nuclear weapons and that with the collaboration of Taipei, Israel, South Africa and Taiwan form a secret triumvirate with the purpose of conducting advanced research into the technique of manufacturing powerful vehicles to carry nuclear war-heads.

Since it is absolutely clear, without any assertion to the contrary, that the expansionist policy of Israel and the terrorist and racist policy of Pretoria constitute threats to the survival of the Arab and African peoples, the African and Arab States must, through the OAU and the League of Arab States, promote and expand the scope of their cooperation in the economic, political, military and scientific fields. Faced with enemies resolutely determined to use nuclear weapons without discrimination, the African and Arab States have the duty to transcend their differences; and work together to develop a meaningful programme of cooperation and collaboration in the interest of their peoples.

It is in this spirit that the General Secretariats of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States have drawn up a joint programme of work setting out the practical and urgent actions to be taken. The Coordinating Committee of Afro-Arab Cooperation which met in Khartoum on March 13 and 14, 1981, discussed the programme and is convinced that the proposed actions are likely to foster a lasting Afro-Arab Cooperation. Similarly, the Standing Committee, the spear-head of Afro-Arab cooperation, has resumed its meetings after a few years of slumber.

It is hoped, however, that the machineries set up to give effect to the Afro-Arab Cooperation programme will be revised in terms of their structures in order to make them more efficient and operational.

The revision has been contemplated at two levels: firstly at the level of the Standing Committee, which would be the Central and pivotal political body and, at the level of the working groups, the technical bodies, whose modes of operation and structures have to be spelt out. The Coordinating Committee should have a certain measure of flexibility and meet periodically to draw up programmes of cooperation, make recommendations and monitor the entire spectrum of activities in the context of Afro-Arab Cooperation instead of the working groups which experience has shown to be inefficient and inexpedient. The two Secretariats wish, therefore, to propose for consideration by the competent bodies of their respective Organizations, that a mechanism, more operational and flexible, composed of

specialized African and Arab bodies, preferably of similar or complementary vocation be set up. Such a technical consultative committee would meet periodically to identify priority areas for sectoral cooperation projects, study and determine the modes of joint funding and report to the Coordinating Committee.

Thus, the Coordinating Committee, as a body empowered to discuss the entire Afro-Arab Cooperation policy, was able to consider the following topics at its last sessions:

- policy orientations likely to inject dynamism into Afro-Arab Cooperation;
- various projects relating to the establishment of a cultural fund and an Afro-Arab Cultural Research Centre, the convening of an economic conference with representatives of the private sector and the setting up of an Investment Guarantee Fund.

It should be recognized that political motives have prevented the Afro-Arab cooperation from attaining the objectives set by African and Arab Heads of State and Government and that there is the need to define, within the framework of a Convention, the major guidelines of that cooperation. However, the basic idea behind this cooperation, namely the pooling of African and Arab efforts to tide over all present difficulties, must be used to formulate a new policy of cooperation between Africa and the countries of the North on the one hand, and countries of the South on the other.

Indeed, cooperation between Africa and the industrialized states of the North too often perpetuates the bonds of dependence established during the colonial era. Each former colonial power endeavours to preserve as much as possible what was its African private ground and, other powers, in search for markets for their industries, formulate cooperation policies that are of no real benefit to Africa. Without going into areas falling within the sovereignty of each African State, one may, within the framework of OAU and ECA, formulate a vast cooperation policy between Africa and the developed world. This, in my view, is the best way of carrying out vast industrial development

projects taking the whole African geographical area as one entity that should be developed. On several occasions, we have noticed that the level of the negotiating power of African States taken individually is very low, whereas, collectively OAU Member States can exert tremendous influence on the developed countries at major international conferences. Only a cooperation policy formulated collectively by African States can really make it possible for them to benefit from the assistance given to them by the developed world for their over-all development.

The same is true of cooperation between Africa and other developing countries. Useful development experiments are currently being conducted in some Asian and Latin American countries and, without forgetting the vital role of the industrial redeployment strategy of the advanced capitalist countries, African countries can draw the necessary lessons from them and establish relations of technical cooperation with countries which have really embarked on the road of industrialization. The United Nations Organization, through its regional economic commissions seems to some people, to be a better framework for this cooperation. However, the Organization of African Unity, for its part, should be endowed with a planning and organizational mechanism for this type of cooperation which, in the final analysis, could be more beneficial to Africa.

It is therefore imperative that Africans, first and foremost, acquire modern technology for their development and, without forgetting the advanced technology which they still need more time to assimilate, they can easily master the traditional technologies and, then invent their own new techniques, suitable to their economic needs....., technical cooperation between Africa and the industrializing countries of the South appears, therefore, as the best possible means of promoting a genuine technical exchange among countries with less technological gap.

All these problems of Afro-Arab cooperation and technical cooperation between Africa and the outside world are but specific aspects of a foreign policy which African countries as a whole considering their vulnerability and their fragility, must formulate together and implement for the well-being of their peoples.

It is precisely in this direction that African countries must be urged to show flexibility in their attachment to the principle of absolute sovereignty and agree on the main points of a common foreign policy for Africa.

Africa has its say in world major events and, for it to make an impact on the international community, Africa must speak the same language which can only be expressed through the Organization of African Unity. We strongly believe that the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity can serve as a laboratory for the study of major world political problems to which, unfortunately, African countries, for obvious reasons, often attach a rather relative importance.

The tortuous paths of African politics must not obstruct the view of the Africans whose eyes must be turned to the whole universe so as to better understand the major radical changes that are in the offing and to which they must contribute through their actions. This political vision demands that the OAU General Secretariat take bold decisions and actions, that it ties planning with the effective implementation of a policy for Africa's recovery.

CONCLUSIONS:

At the end of this four year term in the service of Africa, we shall never cease to proclaim that the key idea which has always guided our action was aimed at strengthening African Unity so that the continent may, in the new world policy taking shape before us and considering its specificity, be provided with the means to defend the interests of its peoples. Today, more than ever, and to the annoyance of those who would like to get off politics, the question of Unity remains top priority and what is required is the Political Unity of Africa.

In this connection, the Organization of African Unity has an historic role to play in launching the process of the political unification of the continent. In our humble opinion, this role consists in:

1. inculcating into each Member State the idea of complementarity of African countries at the sub-regional and regional levels; no African State, however vast and populated it may be, can measure up to the dimension of the modern world;
2. assisting Member States to remove the artificial boundaries which constitute obstacles to the establishment of relations among their peoples. This is the only way of bringing together the many divided peoples who are aspiring to this Unity;
3. preventing the states from constituting themselves into economic entities dependent on the outside world; this is meant to frustrate the enslavement policy of the big powers in their design to make Africa their expansion agent;
4. encouraging the African states to form a wider entity and to depend politically and economically on one another.

Each Member State of the OAU has an historic role to play. This means that it should concern itself with the interests of the Community of the African peoples and, to this end, endeavour to educate their nationals on the need for African Unity. This responsibility of each OAU Member State should be expressed through the resolute struggle against the development of micro-nationalism and chauvinism which compel Africans to consider their brothers from other countries as strangers who are often ill-treated and manhandled at the slightest provocation. What is needed today is a coherent and practical vision for the future of Africa. In the face of the present world situation characterised by crises, there is the need for a type of society which suppresses anxieties and stimulates hope in all the strata of the African populations.

After more than twenty years of independence the last phase of which started in 1975, Africa should usher in the period of its reconstruction based on the fundamental interests of its peoples so as

to find the best solutions to the question of the biological survival of the Africans. There is the need for decisions to be taken and it is on the basis of our concept about man and his finality that these decisions should be formulated; the Organization of African Unity being nothing but the crucible of the Member States, has the duty to uphold the respect of Africa and to serve as the custodian of the principle for the respect of the personality of mankind.

It is for this reason that, pursuant to the wishes expressed by the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Organization, we exerted every effort to ensure that an African Charter on Human and People's Rights serve as the basis for the relations between the individuals and the state: the success of any policy for Africa's renaissance calls for the support of a vast majority of the African people who alone are capable of enduring the changes in life style and in the necessary conditions of work. The industrial revolution which should usher our Continent in the modern world cannot be achieved without the help of Science and Technology, two essential factors whose development requires a wide freedom of thought, planning and action in the service of man within the contemporary African Societies. Scientific and technological advancement has always been the work of intellectuals, technicians and scientists who enjoyed the freedom of imagination, the freedom of discovery and the freedom of invention.

The Organization of African Unity has had to rethink the major socio-economic orientations of Africa by taking the African space and the African population as a single geo-economic area to be conquered and developed by Africans. It is in this perspective that the future development plans and programmes to be drawn by Africans for their countries should be pursued; for, the limited nature of the national market of each African country renders illusory every means of supporting the economic take-off by the local demands. It is necessary that Member States of the Organization of African Unity demonstrate their political will to implement the Lagos Plan of Action by signing the treaties, first establishing the sub-regional economic communities and then a wider African Economic Community: free movement of goods, persons and capitals should constitute the prelude to

the establishment of an economic community within which the national economic policies and legislations will be harmonised. The destiny of the continent lies in this specific field in which it is possible for the OAU Member States to pool their efforts so as to ensure the survival of the African peoples, and "Time", which according to a Chinese proverb "does not forgive what is being done against it" is however running short for a prompt and bold action to be taken with a view to creating a vast African economic space organised around development poles transcending territories.

The Organization of African Unity also endeavoured to assist in the harmonisation of African diplomacies in the face of foreign powers; instead of abandoning the African States which, motivated by their national interests, emerge in divided ranks on the international diplomatic arena, the Pan African Organization, served as the framework for agreements for a "coherent African diplomacy" which strongly prevailed over major international issues. Such a diplomatic policy should be pursued beyond ideological divisions so as to forestall all types of manoeuvres aimed at dividing the African States....such a policy for diplomatic consultations should be maintained with an eye to keeping the continent away from tensions between the Capitalist West and the Socialist East. This common diplomatic approach should be demonstrated through the refusal by the African States to support the external policy of foreign powers and the defence of the interest of Africa and African everywhere in the world.

However, to achieve our objectives, Africa should formulate an ambitious diplomatic policy and in the present day world, the only means of achieving this is to devise a security policy based on a clearly defined strategic doctrine. In this connection Africa is wrong in thinking that the major strategic issues and the major problems of world security do not concern it especially at this time when we are witnessing the re-emergence of geo-politicians in the developed world. Africans should remember that the great expeditions for overseas expansion by the colonial powers and the two world wars were preceded by geo-political surveys, and, therefore, the Organization of African Unity has the duty to follow the trends of this geo-political thought which carries the germs of confrontation between certain States of the North and Countries of the South.

The General Secretariat, in cooperation with appropriate Ministries of Member States, has the responsibilities of defining the doctrine for African strategy against the foreign powers and identify the tasks of an OAU Defence Force so as to better ensure the independence and the Security of the African Peoples..... The big powers would balk at no sacrifice to equip themselves with a defence policy commensurate with their interests and, consequently, in their strategy to maintain their world supremacy, they assigned themselves the objective of extending their tentacles over the oceans covered by trade routes vital for their economies and whose floors contain fabulous riches. This is to say that the Security of Africa lies in the air and in the ocean and that Africans are duty bound, within the framework of the OAU, to establish, sooner or later, a Continental Emergency Force capable of repelling any aggression against Africa by any foreign power.

In the perspective of the present world political scene, we note with a lot of bitterness the weakness of Africa and Africans compelled to endorse, without question the major decisions and the major guidelines drawn by the policy making centres located outside Africa. However, we did our best to ensure that Africa, through the OAU, become the necessary partner and associate of the big powers. At this moment when destiny is calling upon us to prepare the grounds for the future of the continent, we remain convinced that the renaissance of Africa demands that OAU become a more dynamic Organization, an Organization which transcends national sovereignties; a trans-national authority which responds to the deep aspirations of African Peoples for Unity, without which our future cannot be guaranteed anywhere.

Today, more than ever, the time has come for the emergence of Pan-Africanism, a Pan-Africanism based not only on enthusiasm and lyricism but mainly on reason: reason to live together, to cooperate and to survive together in the face of the present realities; in short, a Pan-Africanism based on what I would call a "Rationalised Pan-Africanism".

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