

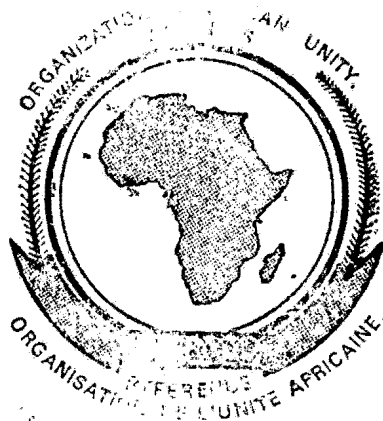
CM - 38  
CM - 42 - 56  
CM - 58, 59, 63

**ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY**

**REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE  
SECRETARY - GENERAL**

**COVERING THE PERIOD**

**SEPTEMBER 1964 TO MARCH 1965**



**Addis Ababa, September 1965**

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CM/38

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
FOURTH ORDINARY SESSION  
NAIROBI, February 1965

REPORT OF THE  
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL

PART I  
(A Synthesis Report)



A SYNTHESIS REPORT BY THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL

## INTRODUCTION

1. The Secretary General has to submit to each session of the Council of Ministers a general report on the various activities of the General Secretariat and the different organs of the OAU. Because of the size of this report, and the wide diversity of the subjects which it covers, the Secretary General feels it would be wise to begin with an explanatory introduction which will give an over-all review of the various working papers submitted for the Council's study and appraisal.
2. The following pages are devoted, as briefly as possible, to this introduction, which, it is obvious from its very nature and conciseness is intended to encourage, not to absolve, distinguished delegates from studying the detailed analysis prepared for each specific question which is to be examined in the course of your discussions.
3. In drawing up this general report, we have endeavoured to provide, as far as possible, a complete picture of our Organization's activities since the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which met in Cairo, in July 1964, and whose valuable decisions without doubt helped to confirm and consolidate all that the OAU had already achieved since it was established in May 1963.
4. It is therefore intended to review, in turn, the political, economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical activities which the General Secretariat, the Specialised Commissions and the other bodies of the OAU have been carrying out. Furthermore, a large part of this report deals with questions concerning the structure of the General Secretariat, the staff rules and financial regulations, and finally, the first ordinary budget of the Organization.
5. The number and the complexity of these questions are adequately demonstrated by the quantity of working papers submitted for your consideration. However, we feel it our duty to draw your attention

from the outset of the meeting, to the number and variety of these documents, indicating as they do that this fourth session of the Council will have a heavier task than any of the preceding meetings, so that you may make all arrangements necessary to enable you to bring to a successful and timely conclusion the important task which is yours.

6. One of the fundamental factors which emerges from the whole of the work submitted for your consideration is that in all fields of the political, economic, social and cultural sectors of our work, besides certain negative aspects which should not be ignored, there are trends, political stands, decisions, in some cases developments, which are strengthening African solidarity and unity, are determining Africa's position on the chess-board of international affairs, and which are, simultaneously, reinforcing Africa's independence and her defence against all foreign interference and other forms of danger which surround her on all sides.

#### I. ACTIVITIES IN THE GENERAL AND POLITICAL FIELDS

7. We are pleased to announce that the various institutions of our Organization have begun to carry out, for the most part with great enthusiasm, the various tasks with which they have been entrusted. However, their success is largely due to the co-operation, the good will and the energy which Member States have displayed within the context of their diplomatic activities.
8. Among the major political undertakings proposed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, we would draw your attention first to the task of decolonization. The Committee



for the Liberation of Africa, which continues to discharge a large part of this work, has met regularly and has given considerable assistance to the liberation movements. Despite certain difficulties which have been encountered, there has been a definite increase in the training of cadres in all fields and the combat-readiness of liberation movements in some territories is showing marked progress. It will, however, be noted that only relatively limited results have been achieved in forming common fronts within those territories still to be liberated. Furthermore, the Special Fund administered by the Liberation Committee has not been receiving regular contributions from Member States.

9. Resolution AHG/Res.7(I), concerning the Liberation Committee, which was adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its first ordinary session, held in Cairo in July 1964, defines the relations between the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU and the Liberation Committee by specifying that "the Administrative Secretary-General be given supervisory power over the Secretariat of the Committee".
10. In view of this decision and the fundamental importance of the powers and activities of the Liberation Committee, the Administrative-Secretary-General undertook as his first task immediately after his appointment, to study the work of this Committee and to make a detailed report to the Council of Ministers.
11. The struggle against the apartheid policy of the South African Government that is being carried on at all levels by the Organization of African Unity, as well as by the Member States, has assumed increasing significance in the international community.

Of course, the racialist government of Pretoria persists in ignoring the appeals to humanitarianism and justice that are addressed to it from all parts of the world and from all sectors of international opinion.

12. More serious still, the South African Government is intensifying its plans for war, not only by purchasing conventional arms and munitions, but also by carrying out research on and by manufacturing nuclear arms, asphyxiating gases and also products for bacteriological warfare, for all of which it has voted a budget of unprecedented size.
13. Pressure by the Member States of the OAU has already led some powers to apply an embargo, albeit limited but nevertheless symptomatic, on the sale of arms to South Africa. We must continue even more vigorously our campaign for the application of effective sanctions against South Africa, until the policy of apartheid has been totally renounced.
14. The Bureau of Sanctions, established within our Secretariat and set up in accordance with a decision by the first session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, is already at work, and is responsible for helping Member States to organize and enforce sanctions against South Africa by the implementation of all the resolutions adopted in this connection. However, for the proper functioning of this Bureau, it is desirable that all Member States should communicate to it any information liable to strengthen the boycott policy which all our Governments have undertaken to apply until victory is attained.

15. On the other hand, the Pretoria Government persists in opposing the wishes of the African peoples and in violating the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations by usurping the international territory of South-West Africa and by extending to this territory its despicable policy of apartheid. However, African solidarity coupled with our efforts on the diplomatic and legal levels are contributing more and more to the isolation of the partizans of racialism in South Africa.
16. The situation in Southern Rhodesia has also deteriorated since the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Despite the many warnings and in particular those from the British Government, Mr. Ian Smith has confirmed his threat that he would declare Independence unilaterally in Rhodesia. In order to attain his ends, Mr. Smith convened a meeting of several traditional Chiefs, who, manu militari "consented" to immediate accession to independence on the basis of the present constitution. The reaction to this attempt to confront Africa and world opinion with a "fait accompli" was rapid and firm. In accordance with the resolution of the Heads of State and Government, we immediately called upon the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Senegal to consider a special meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations. Mr. Smith now finds himself at an impasse, but we must maintain our vigilance if we wish to prevent Southern Rhodesia from becoming a second South Africa.
17. Despite the promises made by the United Kingdom to grant early independence to its three Protectorates in South Africa, all sorts

of delays and constitutional complications have been created in order to delay the process of decolonization of these territories . This attitude on the part of Great Britain is at the root of the discontent and the criticisms expressed not only by the authentic representatives of the peoples of these countries, but also by the African States and by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization.

18. Elsewhere, Portugal has been continuing as blindly as ever to wage her war of colonial re-conquest in Angola, in so-called "Portuguese"Guinea, in Mozambique and in the other territories which she is dominating and oppressing in Africa.
19. The launching of the struggle for freedom in Mozambique has caused the Portuguese forces to lose much ground, both in Mozambique and elsewhere. Far from assessing the situation on the basis of known facts and heeding the resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU, Portugal maintains a reign of terror in the hope of thus putting an end to the liberation movements which are supported by whole populations. Recent reports from Tanzania indicate that many thousands people from Mozambique are seeking refuge in neighbouring States.
20. This deterioration of the situation in the territories under Portuguese domination and the consequences thereof, in particular as regards the question of refugees, call for the undivided attention of this Council. Apart from diplomatic action, consideration should be given to the question of setting up the basic infrastructure necessary for giving substantial assistance to all those African patriots who are suffering in this unhappy situation.

## II. ACTIVITIES IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELD

An appraisal of the progress made in this field, and the presentation of the general problems, must also take into account the results achieved by the Organization through its Specialized Commissions and its General Secretariat, as well as the efforts undertaken by each Member Government or by regional groups to render rather more realistic the programme laid down by the Heads of State and Government. This programme, which aims at the co-ordination and harmonization of African economic and social life, was only outlined at the first session of the Economic and Social Commission at Niamey in December, 1963. It is, in fact, since the third session of the Council of Ministers that new factors have appeared tending to clarify the general stages of the operations implied by the programme and to give to the decision of the Member States a line which integrates them on a short or medium term basis with the over-all programme which is to be set up.

In their national development policies the African States have sought to regroup and to set up joint institutions conforming to the definition of regional groupings determined in resolution CM/Res.13(I) of the First Session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU. The regional groupings which were thus set up or reconstructed since then, like certain bilateral 'rapprochements', have adhered to the spirit of the Charter and conform to the criteria of geographic realities and of economic and social conditions common to the States, as well as to the co-ordination of the specific economic, social and cultural activities of the States concerned. In this spirit, the East African Common Services Organization (grouping Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania) has recast its co-ordinated development policy and the "Union Douanière Equatoriale du Cameroun" has provided the basis of a regional common market. The same spirit animated those States which, at Monrovia, sought to set up a customs union, and this spirit is the basis of the approach that has been made towards a Maghreb Common Market. More, perhaps, than the spirit, a decision is needed, and acts which really integrate these various movements within the framework of the OAU. Paragraph (iii) of Article II of the Functions and Regulations of the Secretariat provides for the "communication (to the General Secretariat) of instruments of ratification of agree-

possibility of co-ordinating these movements, without which co-ordination African development runs the risk of becoming crystallized in regions and this could in turn lead to balkanisation.

35. The different Specialized Commissions which cover the economic and social fields have proposed various measures and have recommended the setting up of certain bodies which, if they are taken into consideration should lead to a speedy and desirable integration in the economic and social field.
36. The Economic and Social Commission, at its Second Session, also suggested the setting up of an Ad hoc Committee of fourteen members charged with co-ordinating the African position as regards the application of the recommendations of the Geneva Conference on Trade and Development. The idea behind this suggestion is for the African States to conserve the results, meager though they be, of the Geneva Conference and to preserve them against the interests of developed countries, which wish to maintain the status quo in the field of international trade. Moreover, as a sign of its desire to achieve rapid African economic integration, the Commission has asked the Secretary-General to constitute a group of experts to study all the measures necessary for the setting up, on a national or regional and continental scale, of common markets, zones of free exchange and customs and payments unions. The outstanding feature in the terms of reference of this Commission is that, passing beyond the level of studies which would normally define the measures to be taken to ensure success, this Committee of experts has already received a mandate to study the list of products which could immediately become the object of free exchange within the Member countries of the OAU, thus laying the first concrete foundations of a continental common market.
37. Moreover, the programme of priorities adopted by the Commission for a period of three years, comprises a series of practical measures of the same kind, the application of which should hasten African economic integration, as well as co-operation and harmonization in the field of social questions.
38. In this connexion, and basing its request on the study prepared by the General Secretariat concerning the establishment of an African trades union organization, the Second Session of the Economic and

- Social-Commission has asked the Secretary General to take the necessary steps to hold a study group of all African trades unions under the auspices of the OAU. The Commission, convinced that the dangerous divisions which exist in the labour field are due exclusively to the difficulties of affiliation to non-African trades unions, seeks to offer to the unions a forum where they could agree on a common conception of the unity and independence of African trades unions, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the OAU and in particular with the principle of non-alignment. With a similar idea in mind, the Secretariat has been asked to call a conference for the unification of African youth movements. In each case, the Commission has shown clearly its desire to widen the basis of the Organization in associating with it the important potential represented by the youth and trade union movements.
39. . . . Lastly, a series of studies has been assigned to the Secretariat with the aim of defining and speeding up co-operation between African States in the social field, in professional training and in the exchange and harmonization of social legislation, all matters which could constitute a field of operations within the framework of the African Labour Office, called for at the First Session.
40. . . . As regards transport and communications problems, these will now be handled within the framework of a Specialized Commission set up for this purpose at the First Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The first meetings of this Commission had the primary object of dealing with questions concerning the structure of the Organization rather than specific fields of the Commission. However, the Commission assigned to the Secretary General a certain number of studies whose conclusions would enable it to take decisive measures at its next meeting conducive to the harmonization of African efforts in these vital fields : unification of custom tariffs, setting up of a clearing house, implementation of the Rome and Dakar Plans, co-operation in the training of cadres, utilization of artificial satellites, installation of a submarine co-axial cable, etc. . . , studies which the Secretariat is to undertake with the assistance of E.C.A.

41. Finally, the Economic and Social Commission and the Transport and Communications Commission have undertaken to specify their areas of co-operation with the international Organizations concerned in their technical fields. This indicates an awareness that, in order to achieve the desired ends in these technical fields, it is necessary to co-operate ever more closely with the various organizations which are able to channel to Africa and place at her service the multi-national aid (in the form of experts, studies, finance) which OAU, by itself, cannot at present procure. The proposals made in this field all aim at ensuring fairer, and therefore more effective, representation of the African States in the various organizations and, above all, at determining the respective rôles of the OAU and the specialized agencies of the United Nations in relation to the Economic Commission for Africa.

42. In a complete analysis of social questions, a section should be set aside for the activities of the Commission on Health, Sanitation and Nutrition. Unfortunately, this Commission was unable to hold its Second Session, having twice failed to reach the statutory quorum of two-thirds. However, there still remain the studies carried out by the Secretariat with a view to standardizing regulations in African countries in the field of health legislation, determining statutes, terminology, and training of medical personnel, and in public health activities. The necessary offices recommended by the Commission at its first session, which can be set up after the adoption of the first budget of the Organization, will be able to continue and perfect such studies in order to provide the next session of the Commission with the elements which will enable it to take decisive measures.



III. ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION,  
CULTURAL AFFAIRS AND SCIENTIFIC AND  
TECHNICAL RESEARCH

43. The evolution of African co-operation in this field is clearly demonstrated by the work of two Commissions - the Education and Cultural Commission and the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission. However, as in the case of all other specialized Commissions, the progress achieved depends upon the preliminary work done by the Secretariat. Notwithstanding financial difficulties and on the basis of resolutions passed at the first sessions of these two Commissions, the General Secretariat undertook a series of studies to serve as a guide for discussions at the second sessions. Here again, we note an undoubted evolution towards the establishment of joint institutions which will integrate the infrastructures and efforts of African countries in these vital sectors on a short or medium-term basis.
44. At its first session the Education and Cultural Commission had adopted the "Addis Ababa Plan" worked out by UNESCO with the object of speeding up the necessary progress in Africa in the field of education. In instructing the Secretary General to follow up the equitable implementation of this Plan, the Commission asked him to study, in agreement with the Union of African Information Agencies set up in Tunis in April 1963, the problems of establishing an Inter-African information agency. The Secretary General was also asked to appoint a Committee of Experts to prepare the way for an Institute for African Studies. Lastly, in view of the work done by UNESCO in Africa, the Secretary General was instructed to prepare a draft agreement on co-operation between the Organization of African Unity and UNESCO.
45. The studies undertaken by the Secretariat, which provided the working documents submitted to the Commission's second session ..../..

session held at Lagos in January 1965, therefore cover a complete field of activities, and have enabled the Commission to draw up a series of measures which, once they are adopted by the Council, will speedily permit the strengthening of African co-operation and the integration of the efforts made by all in the field of education and culture. In this connection, mention should be made of the establishment of a Committee of Experts with a view to studying problems and proposing solutions for the training of teaching staff, the improvement of their standing and conditions, and the adaptation of education to environmental needs and the aspirations of African Unity, and so on.

46. Over and above the field of studies, concrete establishments are recommended of which various aspects, even their statutes, have already been considered by the Commission. Such is the case for the two language centres giving rapid training courses in French and English, and the OAU Journal on African culture and artistic activities, which will provide a platform for writers and artists so that their activities will become part of OAU activities in general.
47. A draft statute for an African Information Agency now exists, and will soon enable African States to supervise the exchange of information and to ward off the nefarious influence of certain foreign powers.
48. The cultural work of this second session dealt mainly with the measures to be taken to promote a rebirth of African culture, in order to provide African Unity and independence with an authentic cultural basis. The Secretariat has instructions to encourage all African efforts towards the development of Africa's cultural heritage (literature, choreography, painting, African art and handiwork exhibitions, African festivals and games). In view of the importance and diversity of such a task, the Committee saw fit to recommend the establishment of an advisory council on education and culture to assist the officers of the Organisation in the pursuit of these aims.

49. It is ...

49. It is true that problems of structure are an essential part of the work of the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission. The fact is that as soon as this Commission was set up under the OAU Charter the problem of integrating the CCTA with the OAU arose. But such integration, although it went without saying, raised problems of structure which even more than scientific and technical problems claimed the attention of member States during the second session. There was, in the first place, the extension of the CCTA programme to African countries which did not form part of the former CCTA, that is, principally, North African countries. Then there was the question of the revision of the CCTA programme. Finally the question of the headquarters of this organization, which were formerly at Lagos and of which certain offices were scattered not only throughout Africa, but also in a number of European capitals, had to be decided.
50. The formulation of a programme of work and the report of the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission, in conformity with the Charter, should be left to the Programming Committee. The other resolutions of the Commission, adopted at its second session, concerned more the structure of the organization itself, although, in the terms of Article VIII of the OAU Charter this matter is the responsibility of the Heads of State and Government. However, since the Commission did pass resolutions on this matter, mention should be made of the fact that the Commission had to deal with the problem of executive bodies and the headquarters of the Commission. In this context, a resolution recommends that "Lagos, headquarters of the CCTA, should be the headquarters of the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission", while other resolutions envisage the establishment and organization of a Secretariat as the principal "administrative body of the Commission" but which "would be supervised by the Secretariat General of the OAU".

51. Finally, mention should be made of the proposal for a Scientific Council for Africa, on which each member State would be represented by a scientist, and whose duty it would be to assist the Commission permanently in its work, as well as an Executive Committee of at least ten members, which would be "responsible for the administration, programme and budget of the Commission". All which precedes the provisional arrangements suggested by the Commission for the purpose of maintaining the level of work of the old CCTA, prior to its complete integration with the OAU, presents problems which have so serious a bearing on our basic structure that they deserve very close study by your Council.

IV. ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF DEFENCE

52. . . . The Defence Commission held its second session at Freetown (Sierra Leone) from 2 to 4 February 1965, and laid the foundation for African cooperation in the field of defence.

The recommendation to set up an African Defence Organization has already been greeted with approval throughout Africa and the world as an historic proposal. In fact, thanks to this African Defence Organization, intended above all to maintain the peace and security of our continent, we possess an instrument capable of helping us to apply the decisions taken at the highest level of our Organization.

The Commission also recommended complete cooperation in the field of military training and asked the Secretary General to study the possibility and advisability of setting up a joint military academy.

The Commission also recommended the systematic exchange of military experience acquired by each of our own forces, the organization of seminars, visits, and inter-African manoeuvres.

It also suggested the inclusion in the curricula of African military colleges subjects likely to promote African unity. All these recommendations will be examined by your Council in the spirit of our Charter and of our aspirations and will constitute a valuable contribution to inter-African cooperation. This cooperation will enable us in fact to thwart all the manoeuvres and intrigues aimed at bringing about division and war on our continent, which hopes so fervently to find an atmosphere of peace, which is an absolute necessity for its development.

V. ESTABLISHMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARIAT

3. One of the subjects which has been a major concern of the Secretariat has been without doubt the preparation of the basic documents, which are the draft for the staff rules and regulations, the financial regulations and, finally, the first ordinary draft budget of our Organization.

The draft of the staff rules and regulations lays the basis of a policy for the rational recruitment and the most profitable employment of the personnel of the Secretariat. The objective is essentially efficiency and quality, which excludes any over-staffing. Competence is the criterion because, at this stage of our development, what is most important is experience, efficiency and devotion. To attract skilled personnel, it goes without saying that it is essential to offer them particularly good terms of employment, in conformity with the conclusions of the first session of the Council in August 1963, at Dakar, which stated that: "without losing sight of the financial means of our member States, an equitable remuneration worthy of international staff must be given to the personnel of this essential part of the OAU: The General Secretariat." However, and despite all this, the salaries and indemnities we have proposed are considerably less than those provided by international organizations and especially by the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The financial rules and regulations are based on provisions - doubtless simplified - in use in international organizations, which make for rational management and control of the funds at the disposal of the Secretariat. Finally, the budget, in conformity with current regulations, covers estimated expenses not only for the central administration of the Secretariat but also for the various bodies of the OAU, and has been established in accordance with minimum financial requirements for the good progress of the Organization.

54. The three points enumerated above, taken as a whole, constitute the framework of the basic structure and the budget, and are the subject of a special report submitted to the Council - a report which the Secretary General will comment in detail during the study<sup>of</sup>/substance of these important items of the agenda.

55. These are, briefly, the main aspects of the activities of the General Secretariat, the Commission, and the Ad Hoc Committees of our Organization. They are mainly the work of the Assistant Secretaries General and of the temporary secretariat staff, to whom I would like to pay public tribute from this platform for the work accomplished during the difficult months which followed the ratification of the Charter. The provisional Secretariat worked in difficult and thankless conditions, and we have met with too many difficulties and disappointments not to thank these staff members very sincerely before you all, together with the Government of His Imperial Majestic Haile Selassie I for its invaluable help in getting our Organization started in every respect, and especially in organizing its secretariat. Indeed, apart from five people appointed to direct the Secretariat by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, our present Secretariat consists exclusively of this same temporary personnel, which continues to help us in shouldering the arduous task of administration, pending the recruitment of staff coming, we hope, from all the independent states of Africa.

56. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that these activities were carried to a successful conclusion only at the cost of sacrifices, often exceptional, on the part of the very limited Secretariat Staff, which had to prepare - and often at very short notice - all sorts of documents and programmes to help the work of the numerous conferences which have been held since last September.

To give a clearer idea of the tremendous task that had to be tackled, I would point out that in less than 6 months the Secretariat has had to ensure the preparation, organization, and smooth running of the second series of meetings of the five Specialized Commission, of two extraordinary sessions of the Council of Ministers, of five sessions of the ad hoc Commission on the Congo, of two sessions of the Commission on Refugees, of two sessions of the ad hoc Commission on the Algerian-Moroccan Border Dispute, and of the current ordinary session of the Council of Ministers - not to mention all sorts of meetings and discussions held by other OAU agencies and institutions working for African development. This long list in itself give some idea of the many calls upon our personnel, and the efforts which have been made by

the restricted number of these African patriots who devote themselves in the Secretariat to the service of Africa.

57. To conclude this introduction to the report on our Organizations activities since your last ordinary session, I wish to say once again how grateful I am and how humble I feel with regard to the responsibilities entrusted to me by the Heads of State and Government, when they appointed me Administrative Secretary General of our Organization. In spite of the difficulties and frustration inherent in starting any enterprise of this kind, I should like to voice my profound faith in the future of OAU, and to express my determination to spare no effort and no sacrifice, personal or otherwise, in order that the decisions of the Heads of State and Government, together with your resolutions and the recommendations of our various bodies, may, for my part, be carried out rapidly, effectively and loyally.



REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL

POLITICAL MATTERS

Part II

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

		<u>Page</u>
- THE CREATION, ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAMME OF THE BUREAU OF SANCTIONS	CM/42	1 - 8
- THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA	CM/43	9 - 23
- SOUTH WEST AFRICA	CM/44	24 - 25
- SOUTHERN RHODESIA	CM/45	26 - 29
- HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES	CM/46	30 - 34
- TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION	CM/47	35 - 45
- TERRITORIES UNDER SPANISH DOMINATION	CM/48	46 - 47
- ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT OF THE THIRD EXTRA-ORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ADDIS ABABA	CM/49	48 - 73
- REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION ON THE ALGERO-MOROCCAN CONFLIT	CM/50	74 - 76
- COMMISSION ON PROBLEM OF REFUGEES	CM/51	77 - 80
- REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE DEFENCE COMMISSION	CM/52	81 - 82
- THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY	CM/53	83 - 87
- THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE WITH THE OAU	CM/54	88 - 101
- REPORT OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE AFRICAN GROUP TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE PERIOD JULY-DECEMBER 1964	CM/55	102 - 113
- PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL	CM/56	114 - 117

CM/42 .  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

THE CREATION, ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAMME OF  
THE BUREAU OF SANCTIONS

THE CREATION, ORGANIZATION AND PROGRAMME OF  
THE BUREAU OF SANCTIONS

I. General

1. The Bureau of Sanctions of the OAU was established in accordance with the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHG/Res.6(I) and AHG/Res.9(I)) during the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Cairo in July 1964. Operative paragraph 6 of resolution AHG/Res. 6(I), dealing with South Africa, outlines the functions of the Bureau as follows:

- "a) to plan coordination of Sanctions against South Africa among the Member States and to ensure the strictest implementation of all relevant resolutions of the OAU,
- b) to harmonize cooperation with friendly states with a view to implementing an effective boycott of South Africa,
- c) to collect and disseminate information about governmental and private, financial, economic and commercial institutions, which trade with South Africa,
- d) to promote, in cooperation with other international bodies the campaign for international economic Sanctions against South Africa by all appropriate means, in particular by countering the propaganda and pressures of the South African Government."

From operative paragraph 4 of resolution AHG/Res. 9(I), it is also clear that the functions of the Bureau in respect to territories under Portuguese domination will almost be identical to its functions with respect to South Africa.

2. Being a new organ of the General Secretariat, the Bureau was mainly concerned with the establishment of its organic parts and with the evolution of a working programme, based on the guiding principles embodied in the above quoted resolution so that a dynamic and suitable framework, in which devices which will efficiently and rapidly transform the goals and aspirations of the Member States into reality and execute the instructions of the Assembly skilfully will be created.

3. At the same time, however, it must be added that the Bureau had not neglected those activities of a short-term nature whose performance was not only a prerequisite for the Bureau but were also necessary to give it a good spring-board for future action.

4. This being the case, the Bureau was preoccupied with the following two cardinal objectives during the brief period since its inception:

- a) The construction of the most efficient organizational set-up and the evolution of a realistic and feasible work programme.
- b) The gathering of information on which the Bureau's foundation will rest, on the one hand, and which will be used for research and propaganda, on the other.

## II. The Organization and Programme of the Bureau

5. In the development of its organic parts, the Bureau of Sanctions has been guided by two considerations:

- a. The observance and interpretation of the above-mentioned resolutions.
- b. The creation of a condition in which
  - (i) the cooperation of the officers in the Bureau will be secured,
  - (ii) the production of qualitatively higher products will be ensured and,
  - (iii) the personnel needs will be at a minimum.

In this respect, the Bureau, after closely examining the above considerations, has preferred to distribute duties on a "functional" (i.e., an economist will handle all matters in economics) rather than on a "geographical" (desk officer handling everything related to a certain territory) basis.

6. As such, it is hoped that the Bureau will be divided into three sections, interrelated each emphasizing a certain aspect of the Bureau's activities (see chart):

7. A. Research and Planning Section

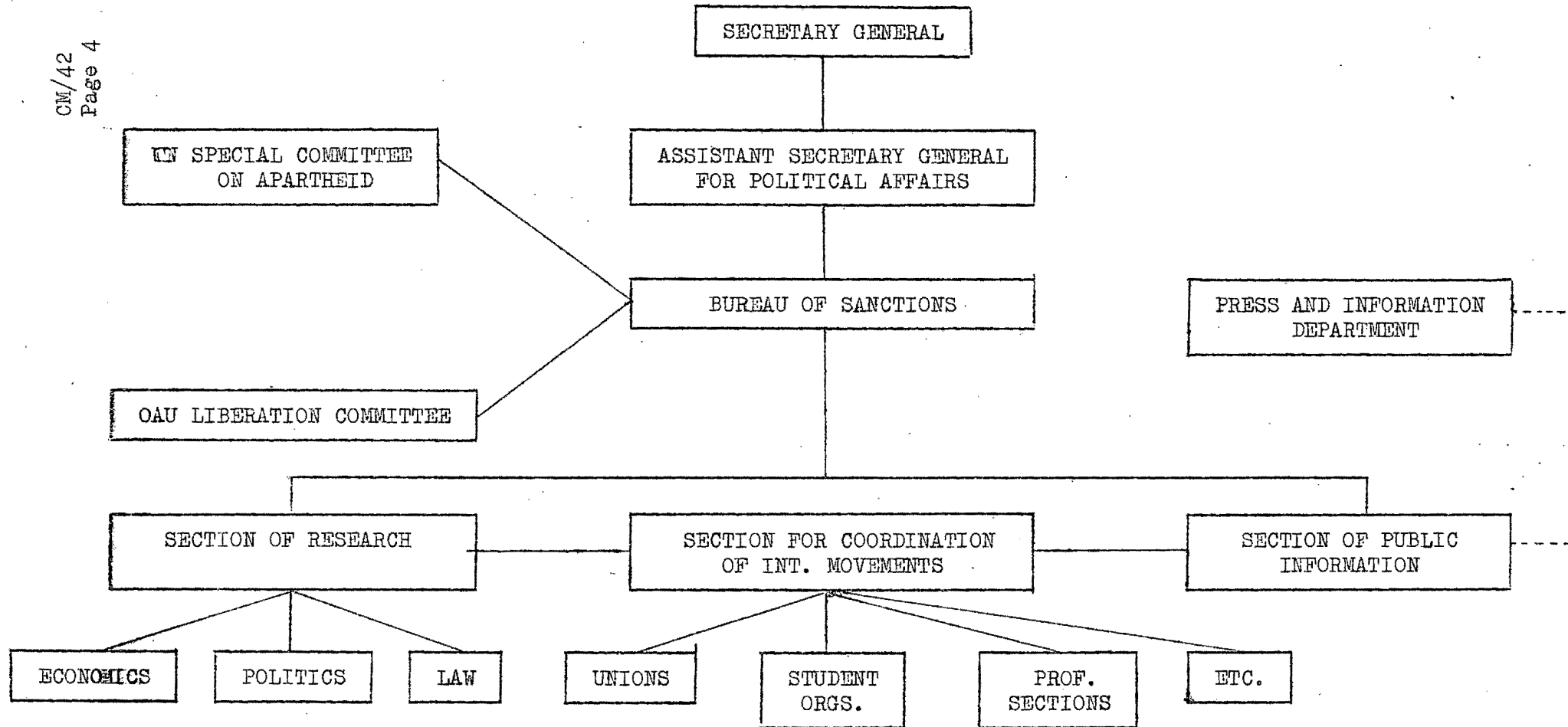
Although all Member States and sympathizing countries have totally or partially severed diplomatic, economic, commercial or financial relations with either South Africa or Portugal or both, their efforts have as far been neither coordinated nor checked. The section for Research and Planning will, therefore, be completely occupied with the production of short-and long-term policy papers which will help not only in the coordination of the efforts of Member States and sympathizing nations in the imposition of sanctions against South Africa and Portugal but which will also devise ways and means by which other nations whose relations with the two countries help the sustenance of their inhuman regimes will be either persuaded or cajoled to join the crusade against the evil regimes.

8. Specifically, this section will be required:

- a. to periodically communicate research and policy papers to Member Governments,
- b. to notify them, from time to time, of changes affecting the situation in South Africa or Portuguese territories,
- c. to request relevant information from Member Governments for the purpose of assessing their problems in the imposition of sanctions,
- d. to communicate with other organizations with the same mission so as to exchange information and opinion,
- e. to prepare materials for a scholarly journal which will be the main organ of the Bureau and which will, it is hoped, have a wide circulation in the academic world,
- f. to prepare material for at least two seminars which, it is hoped, will take place in the capitals of the major trading partners of Portugal and South Africa.

PROPESED ORGANIZATION CHART FOR THE BUREAU OF SANCTIONS OAU

CM/42  
Page 4



9. B. Section for the Coordination of Anti-apartheid and Anti-Portuguese Policy Movements

It is a known fact that there are many private organizations, foundations and unions in the world who are opposed to both the policies of South Africa and Portugal. The Bureau has already received communications from some of them, and also hopes to explore the possibility of mobilizing others in the propaganda campaign against the two countries. The duty of this section will, therefore, be to band labour, students and other unions, foundations and professional organizations and similar and other international, regional or national organizations under one banner in the crusade against the regimes of oppression. Particular attention will be paid to movements within the territories of the major trading partners of the two countries. It is hoped that they will be used to disseminate information and propaganda, stage public demonstrations in objection to the policies of their countries and, in the case of labour unions, to refuse to handle material which is either destined for South Africa and Portugal or is coming from them. If the Bureau deems it necessary that some external missions must be maintained in a few strategic places to exploit the use of these movements completely. The external missions need not be staffed by Africans; nor should they be paid by the OAU. On the other hand, some financial aid should be given to the most valuable and strategic missions.

10. C. The Public Information Section

This section will be responsible for insuring that considerable publicity is given to the struggle against South Africa and Portugal. With a view toward demoralizing the two countries concerned and showing to the rest of the world that the African cause will surely be triumphant, the section will make sure that information is disseminated on all developments and their successes. In order to give maximum information so that international public opinion will be give a true picture of the nature of the fight, in order to contradict the propaganda of these two countries and in order to gain sympathy and support, maximum information will be disseminated outside Africa by means of press, radio, television, films, periodicals and booklets.



11. On the other hand, the Bureau wants to make it known that the duties of this section will not be limited to South Africa and Portugal only. It is collecting, and in time hopes to collect more, information about private and public companies and individuals which trade or do business with, for or in South Africa and Portugal. From time to time, this section will publish the names of these companies, individuals and States in the world press in an effort to apply moral pressure on them until they cease to trade with and to do business in or for South Africa or Portugal.

12. As indicated above, the Bureau had allocated a larger share of its time to the problems of organization and programmes. Nevertheless, it had not completely refrained from indulging in other activities. The following is a list of its achievements:

- a) It has completed three papers (two on South Africa and one on Portugal, which, at an exploratory stage, analysed the possibilities, problems and implications of sanctions.
- b) It sent a circular letter to all the major trading partners of South Africa with the object of impressing upon them the implications of the various decisions of the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, making it clear to them that the Pretoria regime owes its power to the flourishing trade that it conducts with them, pointing out the fact that the regime can be forced to come to its senses only through some external intervention, and warning them that any procrastination or hesitation on their part in the imposition of sanctions will aggravate the situation and become detrimental to international peace.
- c) It sent a circular letter and a questionnaire to all Members of the OAU with a view to finding out what steps had been taken by them in implementing the various recommendations for the total economic and political sanction against South Africa, asking them what problems they had faced in the implementation of sanctions and inquiring whether the OAU could help in alleviating some problems arising from the implementation of sanctions.

- d) In the same letter and questionnaire, the Bureau inserted a section on young South African refugees in which it inquired whether the Member States were ready and willing to grant scholarships and jobs to young South African refugees present in their country or outside their territory, if and when requested by the OAU. (See Appendix for results).
- e) An urgent appeal was made to the major oil and rubber producing states to cease as a matter of urgency their supply of oil, petroleum products and rubber to South Africa, pointing out to them that they are in fact helping an inhuman regime to stay in power and warning them of the severe consequences of the continuation of trade.
- f) It prepared memoranda and draft resolutions for the Nineteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and sent them to the Executive Secretary of the African Group at the United Nations so that they will be submitted to the United Nations by the African Group. These resolutions recommended, as a matter of urgency, the complete cessation of all economic, political and commercial relations with South Africa. It also sent a circular letter to all Latin American, Asian and Socialist countries to support the resolution to be submitted by the African States and to join African countries in the imposition of sanctions even if the United Nations fails to decide on imposing sanctions against South Africa.
- g) It has tried to establish contacts with and enlist the cooperation of some international organizations, foundations and unions. It must be admitted, however, that such attempts have not been made with as many as desirable because of the lack of time and because the Bureau was not certain as to what kind of association it should have with them.

The main problem, and the major cause of hesitaton on the part of the Bureau, was financial. The Bureau did not have the legal backing of the above mentioned resolutions to embark on any kind of financial arrangement

whereby the OAU could promise to support some of these organizations. In any case, the Bureau had no way of separating the more serious of the organizations from the others. As stated previously, however, some consideration should be given, in principle, to the question of rendering financial assistance to some strategic groups.

13. In addition, the Bureau of Sanctions had made it a point to work closely with the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, the OAU Liberation Committee, the Permanent Secretariat of the African Group at the United Nations and Mr. Renald Segal, the convenor of the London International Conference on Economic Sanctions Against South Africa.

14. Yet, it would not be fair to conclude this report without mentioning the difficulties that were faced by the Bureau. By and large, these difficulties were connected with and stem from its infancy and inexperience; it is hoped that such difficulties will be overcome in the shortest possible time, especially since the Bureau has been trying to contact other institutions, like the Bureau of Boycotts of the Arab League, in an effort to capitalize on their experience and to greatly decrease the period necessary for the development of an entirely mature institution.

15. Mention must also be made of the dearth of information that the Bureau possesses. This can be partly but not totally attributed to the age of the Bureau since most of the notes of inquiry that emanated from it have not been acknowledged. If the Bureau is to function efficiently, it would be helpful if Member States advised it on certain events that have occurred within or outside their territories in respect to the two countries, and passed any information that they think would be helpful to the Bureau.

16. Lastly, the relationship of the Bureau with organizations and foundations which share the same aspirations and principles must be raised again, since the solution to this particular problem cannot be decided upon by the Bureau without the specific instruction of the Council of Ministers. Should the Bureau promise financial aid to some of the organizations? If so, should the Bureau attempt to closely control and direct the activities of such organizations or should it make the relationship quasi-institutional?

CM/43  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

I GENERAL:

1. There has been no marked amelioration in the explosive and dangerous situation in South Africa since the racist Pretoria regime is still perpetrating its insane policy without paying heed to the pleas of the United Nations, several Heads of State and Government and world public opinion. The tension that was born during the Rivonia trials has not improved. In fact, the Verwoerd regime, which is bent on the realization of its "Bantustan" scheme and the complete separation of ethnic groups seems to have accelerated the pace of the enforcement of its inhuman and repressive legislation by its brutal and ruthless police forces and its henchmen.

2. The draconian legislations which the Pretoria regime has systematically introduced during the years are still in force so that the very ~~small~~ minority of whites will benefit from the fruits of 87% of the country while the African majority will be confined to 13% of the destitute part of the territory without any hope for economic, social, political and cultural development, living in reserves under sub-human conditions and perennially serving the small white community. Indeed, the Government has enacted and is contemplating the enactment of further repressive and harsher measures.

3. The Group Areas Act is still being cruelly implemented so that the complete separation of ethnic groups will be realized in the shortest possible time. As a result, the number of Africans that have been supplanted from homes and habitats they had occupied for generations is increasing at a frightful speed. Other repressive laws, including the

Bantu Laws Amendment Act, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill, the General Law Amendment Act, Proclamation 400 of 1960 and the Suppression of Communism Act are also still in force.

4. The ninety-day detention clause of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 which provided for the arrest and detention of persons without warrant and without trial for periods of ninety days at a time has been suspended as from 11 January 1965, after it was widely and constantly attacked within and outside South Africa as morally indefensible, legally as a negation of the rule of law and medically as torture. The effect of its suspension is illusory, however, since the Government is still empowered to do almost the same thing under Proclamation 400 and Section 4 of the General Law Amendment Act. In any case, the Government can introduce it again at any time since the Minister of Justice, Mr. Balthazar Vorster, had declared that he "will not hesitate to bring the clause back if the safety of the country demands it. Whether it will be introduced or not depends entirely on the subversive elements."

5. The South African Government also continues to build up its armed forces at a feverish pace. This is evident from the record budget for 1964/65 that has been allocated for what the South African Government euphemistically calls "legitimate self-defence". The "defence" budget was increased by \$72,800,000 over the 1963/64 figure to \$294,000,000. The enormity of the amount and the danger of the build-up can be assessed only if it is realized that the "defence" budget of South Africa had nearly quadrupled and the expenditures on police increased by over one-third during the period between 1960-61 and 1963-64.

6. The amount is being used not only to purchase arms and ammunitions from outside but also to do research in nuclear weapons, poison gas and bacteriological warfare. It is clear that the South African Government will be militarily self-sufficient in the near future.

7. As such, much weight should not be given to the recent British embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. It is true that the action taken by the Labour Government is a moral, and perhaps political, blow to

South Africa. But it should not be presumed that it goes any further than that since South Africa will not be weakened by it. In any case, it is feared that South Africa may, in the future, secretly get its arms and ammunitions from other western powers, especially France and Italy.

## II RECENT REPRESSIVE LEGISLATIONS:

8. The General Law Amendment Act of 1964 which was passed in June 1964 extended the operation of Section 4 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 for one more year. Section 4 of this law (also known as the "Sobukwe Clause" because Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan Africanist Congress had been detained under its provisions) gives the Minister of Justice the power to detain indefinitely all persons serving ~~terms~~ of imprisonment after they had completed their terms of sentence. This means that even on acquittal a person is liable to be detained indefinitely if the Government so desires.

9. Furthermore, this same law enlarges the provisions of the previous legislation by making it a crime, punishable by heavy penalty, including death, to participate in any military training in the Republic of South Africa or even to "attempt, consent or take any steps to undergo", or "incite, instigate, command, aid, advise, encourage or procure" any other person to undergo military training. Like previous legislations, the 1964 Act is retroactive to 1950.

10. The same Act also makes it a crime for a person who is a witness to refuse to answer questions asked by the court even if, in answering, he may incriminate himself. A witness is also forced to answer questions even if he is a defendant in the same case. Unlike previous legislation which provided for the holding of a person who refused to answer questions only for a period of eight days, the present Act makes refusal to answer questions a crime punishable by up to twelve months of imprisonment. What is more, the witness can be jailed again and again in the event of further refusal.

11. At the same session of the South African Parliament, the Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyances Amendment Act was adopted. This Act entitles only South African citizens or individuals "lawfully admitted to the Republic for permanent residence therein and ordinarily resident in the Republic" to enroll and practice as attorneys. In addition, it has given certain circumstances under which the State will have the power to revoke the licences of attorneys and strike their names off the roll. This only means that the despotic regime is completely controlling the legal profession so as to frighten lawyers and attorneys from taking up cases in which the defendants are involved in a political and legal struggle fighting for their rights against the Verwoerd regime.

12. As before, the principal repressive legislation, under which thousands of innocent people have been arrested, tried and convicted, is the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.

13. "Communism" is defined by the Pretoria regime as any doctrine "which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Republic by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, by unlawful acts or omission or by threats of such acts or omissions or by means that include the promotion of disturbances or disorder, or such acts or omissions or threats" or "which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Union, the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement of any objects" mentioned earlier in the same section. But this definition simply means that the individual or group which opposes the Government or finds its policies repugnant is a communist, irrespective of whether or not he has sympathy for the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Perhaps the best critique of the definition is given by Lord Gardiner, Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom, who aptly commented: "It is not inappropriate to comment that if the Government passes a law which discriminates against non-Europeans, that is not "Communism", but if anybody protests against that law in a manner which causes disorder, that is "Communism"". Lord Gardiner Comments further: "... whether you are a communist or not, you are a communist if the Governor-General says you are".



14. The use of the Suppression of Communism Act became even more prolific after the infamous Rivonia trials and the subsequent acts of violence and sabotage. In its frantic attempt to quash any strains of liberalism among the white population, the Pretoria regime has banned, detained or harrassed white citizens, although most of them commanded high respect in their society and had no inclination towards communism.
15. Leaders of the Liberal Party, professors and the leaders of the National Union of South African Students, elderly citizens who, though politically inactive, had personal friends among Africans, clergymen, barristers and other professionals, were arrested although they had no sympathy for communism or never relished the idea that violence is a good means in the struggle for freedom. In short, they had become "Communists" and "criminals" because the dictates of their conscience forbade them from exalting, defending and subscribing to the 'Master-Race' philosophy and the Hitlerite techniques of the State.
16. At this juncture, it should be mentioned that the Government started to implement the Suppression of Communism Act extensively especially after it was known that a new organization (variously known as the African Resistance, African Freedom Movement, National Committee for Liberation, National Liberation Committee and the Socialist League) had come into existence sometime in July 1964 to fight for freedom and redress. Reportedly, the AFM consisted of a small group of white intellectuals and students who were fed up with the repulsive, strigent and racist measures of the Pretoria regime and its unmitigated refusal to come to its senses.
17. This is not all. In yet another of its barbarous attempts to kill the conscience of the liberals, to make them unaware of the Government's heinous policies and practices and to shatter their will to resistance, the South African Government has decided to publish a list of communists periodically. The lists have contained officials of universities and other government-subsidized institutions of higher education, barristers who had defended Africans or their friends, religious men who had spoken against the atrocities of the apartheid regime, writers, painters,

journalists and other intellectuals. Any person who is in the list has to have his name removed from the list or else he will be liable to be arrested, detained and persecuted. In addition, all such people will be forbidden to continue their professional activities unless they want to be harrassed by the henchmen of the Verwoerd regime.

18. The persecution of a large number of white citizens by the Pretoria regime, some of whom wielded great reference from their respective societies, coupled with the fear and suspicion of these innocent people by the Government spells three things. First, it raises the question as to why, in the words of Opposition Leader Sir de Villiers Graaf, the "underground activities are getting the alarming measure of support they appear to have done from both Black and White." Secondly, it shows a change for the worse in the policy of the Government since the brunt of repression is now being borne not only by the leaders and members of known and banned organizations and movements like the ANC, PAC and POQO, but also by innocent persons who are neither leaders nor supporters of known political movements. In the typical manner of a despotic regime which realizes that its demise is at hand, the Verwoerd regime has banned, arrested, restricted or detained many innocent people, thereby making them lose their jobs and means of livelihood, and increasing the tension in the country and bringing it close to the dreadful prospect of a bitter and violent conflict. Thirdly, it may mean that perhaps the number of white people who are finding the Verwoerd regime repugnant and who, compelled by the dictates of their conscience, are being forced to participate in underground activities or aid those fighting for their freedom, is increasing.

19. The apartheid regime has also extended the scope of the laws that grant to the Minister of Justice the right to ban or put under house arrest or other forms of restrictions all individuals who are known or suspected by the Government to be active supporters of banned organizations. Since almost all parties and organizations which enshrine principles contrary to apartheid are banned, this means that almost all persons who oppose the Government's fundamentalist principles are banned, put under house arrest or restricted.

20. Persons who are banned or restricted under the law of apartheid cannot become members of certain organizations, attend public gatherings, communicate with any listed or banned persons, or receive any visitors other than an advocate or an attorney who is directly concerned with their affairs. In addition, they have to report to designated police stations at specified times and cannot change domicile or residence without prior notification to and without consent of the police.

21. The broad and arbitrary powers that the Minister of Justice possesses, subject to no judicial review, have been widely utilized in the past. For example, 196 persons were banned from September 1, 1963 to October 9, 1964. On January 28, 1964, the Minister of Justice stated that in 1963, 175 persons (39 whites, 11 coloured, 27 Asiatics and 98 Africans) had been restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act.

22. Perhaps the most prominent person who has been the victim of this law has been the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and President of the ANC, Chief Albert Luthuli, who has, to-date, been served with four banning orders. The last one, which was served on May 23, 1964, will be effective until May 1969.

23. The savagery of the provisions of the banning orders and the range of people affected by the banning orders have tremendously increased since 1952, when the first laws were imposed. After the publication of a statement by Chief Albert Luthuli in foreign papers, commenting on the Rivonia trials, the impression has been gathered that the Government is contemplating making the banning orders even more rigorous.

24. Another of the odious practices of the Pretoria regime which has become the source of grave concern around the world, is the increasing number of secret trials, despite the denials of the Verwoerd regime. In all these secret trials, the defendants are not allowed to retain counsel.

25. An analysis of the figures shows that, when the defendants were allowed counsel, there had been a large number of acquittals. This being the case, it is to be wondered whether there would have been more acquittals if all defendants in these secret trials had been able to obtain counsel.

26. A significant aspect of all security trials that merits attention is the fact that sentences have been extremely severe. The monthly magazine, Forward, which covered 115 political trials, concluded between 1963 and the first half of 1964, states that out of 1315 persons whose destinies were at stake, 44 were sentenced to death, 14 to life imprisonment and 894 to a total of 5713 years of jail on an average of nearly six years and five months. One was sentenced to six cuts.

27. The severity of the above sentences can be understood only in the light of the "guilt" of several of the people in the above-mentioned group. They were largely accused of belonging to, or furthering the aims and purposes of banned organizations, particularly the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

28. Lastly, mention must be made of the fact that the South African Government has, in a subtle way, started a calculated implementation of certain actions designed to ultimately destroy the freedom of the press since Prime Minister Verwoerd accused the English-language newspapers of treason on April 7, 1964, and hinted that the Government would not restrain itself from taking action to protect itself.

29. On May 19, 1964, the South African Press Commission released a large document castigating foreign press and news agencies for unfair coverage of the South African scene, especially in the field of politics and race relations. The report also recommended the creation of a Statutory Press Council with vast and discretionary powers for the "self control and discipline" of the South African press and journalists. The Commission's report caused a lot of indignation in and outside South Africa, and on May 14, 1964, the Commission's proposals were

described by the I.P.I. of Zurich as "a step toward the political control of the press." It added that the envisaged Press Commission can "not be a safeguard of the freedom of the press but an infringement of that freedom. The compulsory registration of journalists would constitute a permanent threat to their livelihood and freedom of operation. Such a measure would seriously interfere with the flow of uncensored news."

30. Universal condemnation of its intentions did not deter the South African Government from harrassing opposition newspapers and journalists. Since last July, Focus, a commentary which operates from Rondebosch, was banned and "unbanned". The liberal political journal, Contact, was maligned by the South African Government by the successive bannings served on its editors, denying them the right to journalistic practice.

31. It is evident, therefore, that the policies of apartheid are still being ruthlessly applied by the further whittling down of the fundamental freedom of almost all the people of South Africa.

### III. TRIALS AND CONVICTIONS OF OPPONENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA FROM JULY 1964 TO FEBRUARY 1965

32. In its frantic attempt to crush and subdue the progressive elements within the Republic, the Pretoria regime has recklessly continued to conduct the trials and convictions of a large number of persons indiscriminately under its security laws. This has happened despite the persistent calls of both the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations upon the Verwoerd regime to bring to an end these trials which make a mockery of traditionally respected and universally observed norms and procedures of law.

33. It must be emphasized that the accused are, for the most part, kept in custody and solitary confinement and tortured, so that they may give incriminating evidence against themselves or to make them "confess" against their friends.

The trials are usually summary trials and some are held in camera. In several cases, even evidence was taken in camera. In addition, most of the accused could not secure counsel, either because they had been in custody for a long period of time without bail and, perhaps, because their friends and relatives had also been restricted or jailed, or because the atmosphere of the trial had not been conducive for the acquisition of counsel.

34. There were about 50 political trials, involving about 295 persons, during the period of this review. Three of the accused were sentenced to death. The others are to be imprisoned for a total of about 1200 years.

35. But perhaps the trial that provoked the most bitter resentment of world public opinion and which showed what rude contempt the South African Government reserved for world public opinion and the pleadings of the world's most prominent leaders and organizations was the Port Alfred sabotage trial of Mr. Vuyisili Mini, Mr. Wilson Khayinga and Mr. Zinakili Mkaba, three African trade union leaders from Port Elizabeth.

36. They were charged in Port Alfred on twenty counts, including seventeen of sabotage, six of recruiting men for military training in foreign countries and the murder of one Sipo Mange, who was slated to become a state witness in several sabotage cases.

37. They were found guilty of the murder of the state witness; of addressing meetings of the ANC to recruit members for military training outside South Africa; the cutting of 42 telephone wires and two telephone poles during the period 21 October 1962 to 16 January 1963, and the possession of 23 bombs. All three were condemned to death on March 16, 1964, and the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court rejected their appeal on October 2, 1964.

38. Upon their condemnation, the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid took note of the sentence in its report of 23 March 1964 to the Security Council and the General Assembly and asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations to approach the South African Government with a protest.

39. On March 27, 1964, the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization appealed to the South African Government "to spare the lives of those facing execution or death sentences for acts arising from their opposition to the Government's racial policies."

40. The South African Government replied to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in its usual contemptuous manner and, despite appeals made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Special Committee on Apartheid, the Pope, President Nasser who sent a telegramme through the United Nations on behalf of all the non-aligned countries then assembled at Cairo, the then-Premier Khrushchov, and several other prominent leaders of the world and over 2000 letters and cablegrams from all over the world, the three men were executed on October 11, 1964.

41. Following the execution of the three nationalist leaders, the Special Committee on Apartheid issued a communique strongly condemning "the brutal and criminal action" of the Verwoerd regime which "constituted not only a defiance of world public opinion but also a flagrant violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, especially the Security Council resolution of June 9, 1964". The communique further warned the international community of the grave consequences of the policy which is being pursued by South Africa and appealed to all the states, especially to those countries which, by maintaining economic or diplomatic relations with South Africa, had a special responsibility in the matter, to take energetic measures conforming with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

42. The African Group at the United Nations also issued a communique after hearing from Ambassador Achkar Marof of Guinea, Chairman of the Special Committee, that the appeals against the conviction and the sentence of the three trade unionists were rejected. It declared that the rejection of the appeal constituted a flagrant violation of United Nations resolutions and a direct defiance of Africa and the authority of the United Nations.

43. The group further requested a delegation, composed of the Chairman and the representatives of Ethiopia and the United Arab Republic, to convey to the Secretary-General of the United Nations its profound shock and indignation

and to entreat with him to ask all Member States, especially the commercial and financial partners of South Africa, to use all their influence to save the lives of the three trade unionists.

44. It is evident - from these, and several previous cases - that the racist regime has reserved only its scorn and defiance for the numerous appeals to stop these trials which are reminiscent of the Hitler era in Germany, and that the general explosiveness of the situation in South Africa has not improved.

#### IV. SANCTIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA:

45. It is evident that the South African Government obdurately adheres to its monomaniacal dogmatism mainly because it fully realizes that any amount of sanctions - be they economic or diplomatic - will not affect its power-structure and disturb its system which allows for the fatal exploitation of one race by another, unless the western powers also become active participants in the crusade against it.

46. As such, the insane regime has developed a quixotic propaganda stunt whereby it depicts itself as the defender of Western civilization against imagined enemies. Claiming that it is the bastion of western civilization, the Verwoerd regime has unleashed a propaganda campaign in which it declares that its downfall will be the beginning of the end of western civilization and democracy!

47. The bitter truth that any efforts of sanctions must have the blessings and the active participation of the United Kingdom and the United States must be mentioned at the outset. In addition, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium must also participate in the imposition of sanctions. The above-mentioned countries are responsible for about 75% of South Africa's trade.

48. The Empire of Japan has also betrayed the sense of solidarity that the Afro-Asian countries are displaying and whole-heartedly cherishing, for pecuniary reasons and because the South African Government has, for its own convenience and until it gets what it wants from that country, preferred to recognize and treat the Japanese people as whites.



49. It must also be emphasized that, unless the pressure being presently exerted on the Western powers is sufficiently enhanced, it seems unlikely that the above-mentioned trading partners of South Africa will change their present policy in regard to total, economic, political and diplomatic sanctions, since they argue that such measures can be taken only in the case of war or near-war conditions.

50. As such, it is advised that the African effort to bring a solution to the problem of apartheid should not be limited to imposing pressure on South Africa only. The facts are clear. The South African problem has opened a fresh chapter and, at present, it is not only South Africa which is responsible for perpetrating violence, despotism and hatred, but also those States which, for monetary reasons or otherwise, condone the actions of the Verwoerd regime and are blind to the consequences of its apartheid policy. Ways and means - political, diplomatic and economic - should therefore be considered by the African States to cajole or persuade the above powers to join the crusade against barbaric despotism. Equal emphasis should be placed on this aspect of the problem and as on the other.

51. The intransigency and the obstinacy of Portugal in not giving its colonies their rightful independence and the existence of white-minority rule in Rhodesia also add colour to the South African problem since the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia afford it an unfortunate "cordon sanitaire" against attack.

52. The visit to Lisbon by Dr. Hilgard Muller, the South African Foreign Minister, in October 1964, cannot but arouse anxiousness and justifiable suspicion on the part of Africans, since it may have resulted in an unholy alliance to attempt to frustrate African aspirations - especially since Dr. Muller had declared that he had discussed "mutual problems" with the Portuguese authorities.

53. As a result, it is imperative that the African liberation movements be accelerated, so as to give these territories, which are keys to the partial solution of the South African problem, independence in the shortest possible time.

59. At the time of the writing of this report, it is difficult to assess the impact made by the findings and recommendations of both the Special Committee and the Expert Committee since the Nineteenth Session, beleaguered by the issue of voting rights under Article 19, has not been able to progress much in its other duties. The Bureau of Sanctions of the OAU has drafted a resolution, based on the findings of the above Committees and of its own, which after being examined and revised by the African Group at the United Nations will be presented to the General Assembly. It is also hoped that the Four Foreign Ministers will present another resolution to the Security Council during this year.

60. It has also been difficult to determine whether or not the Member States of the OAU had, as recommended, strictly implemented the various resolutions of the OAU concerning apartheid. A questionnaire was sent to all Member States by the Bureau of Sanctions for this purpose, among other things. To-date, only four countries have transmitted answers to the various sections of the questionnaire. Apparently, some of the Member States did not receive the said questionnaire, although it was mailed on November 30, 1964, since a few declared that they had not received it and asked for another copy of the same questionnaire after the Bureau sent out a circular telegramme asking all Member States which had not answered to transmit their answers as soon as possible.

61. As a result, the Bureau has resorted to gathering the necessary information from official and unofficial sources, and has found that a few more countries have carried out their obligations. Again, the evidence cannot be treated as the sterling truth for two reasons. In the first place, some of the figures are unofficial and should be treated with some discretion. Secondly, they are outdated and it would not be fair to judge the relations of an African State with South Africa with figures obtained from a period of time when most of the OAU and United Nations resolutions were non-existent.

CM/44  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

SOUTH WES AFRICA

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The situation in South West Africa has not ceased deteriorating.

The gratuitous contempt shown by South Africa for the Resolution of the General Assembly and its refusal to accept the decisions of the International Court of Justice and submit any sort of report whatsoever on its mandate have exasperated the delegates at the United Nations.

It is of public notoriety that the South African administration in South West Africa is committing the most inhuman atrocities against the people of South West Africa. There are not only the arbitrary arrests, illegal detention and torture of the freedom fighters, forced deportation of whole communities, the separation of families and the disruption of collective life that are depriving the Africans of the most fundamental human dignity. The least that one can say is that the rule of law is non-existent in South Africa.

The military budget has also sky-rocketed. It went from 85 million American dollars in 1961, to 168 million in 1962, and 240 million in 1963. The most dangerous part of the military organization in South Africa is the process of integral "Afrikanerisation".

The African people consider the attitude of the Western powers towards South Africa to be a touch-stone, enabling them to determine, once and for all, which ones are Africa's friends.

Bearing in mind the development of this situation, the United Nations have adopted a Resolution calling upon the members of the United Nations, "which have particularly close and cordial relations with the Government of South Africa, to exercise, most urgently, all their influence on the Government to have it behave in conformity with the obligations imposed upon it by the Charter of the United Nations and comply with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations".

Moreover, since the virtual annexation of South-West Africa and the extension of the system of Government based on apartheid and the domination of the indigenous population by the white minority, within the country, and by the racist Government of South Africa, externally, is thoroughly illegal and immoral, it constitutes a violation of the mandate granted South Africa by the League of Nations and the Charter of the United Nations.

It will be remembered that in 1964 the European Legislative Assembly of South West Africa had approved the proposals of the "ODENTAAL" Commission, envisaging the "bantustanisation" of the territory. Thus, the method of legalized slavery was extended to the territory under mandate.

Until this very day, the attempts made under the international trusteeship system of the United Nations in favour of South West Africa have met with no positive reaction from the Vorwoerd Government.

At the request of the Conference of Independent African States, which met in Addis Ababa in June 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia had brought a complaint before the International Court of Justice, the 30 November 1960, accusing South Africa of violating the provisions of the mandate agreement.

Despite the trial and the various interventions of the United Nations, South Africa has persisted in violating the provisions of the mandate agreement and rejects the competence of the International Court of Justice. The Pretoria Government, since it has not been able to apply the "ODENTAAL" plan, which consisted of dividing the territory under mandate into a huge white zone and ten indigenous areas, is seeking to use new methods to extend the South-African "bantustanisation" plan to South West Africa.

CM/45  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Since the Third ordinary session of the Council of Ministers, the political situation in Southern Rhodesia has deteriorated further.

Mr. Ian Smith, leader of the Minority settler Government, held discussions in London with Sir Alec Douglas Home, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The joint statement issued at the end of their discussions stated in part:

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government must be satisfied that any basis on which it was proposed that independence should be granted was acceptable to the people of the country as a whole.

"The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia accepted that independence must be based on general consent and stated that he was convinced that the majority of the population supported his request for independence on the basis of the present constitution and franchise.

"The British Prime Minister took note of this statement but said that the British Government has as yet no evidence that this was the case. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia recognised that

"the British Government was entitled to be satisfied about this and said that he would consider how best it could be demonstrated so that independence could be granted.

"The British Prime Minister said that the British Government would take account of any views which might be freely expressed by the

population on the issues involved, but he must make it plain that the British Government reserved their position".

In spite of the above communiqué and in flagrant disregard of the wishes of over 4 million Africans, Mr. Ian Smith proceeded with his plans of "demonstrating" to the British Government of the extent of his "support for independence on the basis of the present constitution through a meeting (Indaba) of chiefs and headmen. This "method" of testing public opinion was preceded by careful preparations such as the calling up of national reservists of the army and rounding up and detention of nationalists. As could be expected, the motley collection of about 600 tribal chiefs and headmen, who, in effect, are in the pay roll of Mr. Ian Smith, "agreed" to immediate independence for Southern Rhodesia.

Immediately after the "Indaba" declaration, the new British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, invited Mr. Ian Smith to come to London for further discussions on the situation in Southern Rhodesia. When Mr. Ian Smith made clear to the British Prime Minister of his unwillingness to go to London, Prime Minister Wilson had published the text of a statement which he had sent to Mr. Ian Smith on October 25th, 1964. The statement said:

"The British Government look forward to the day when Southern Rhodesia can take her place as an independent sovereign state within the Commonwealth. The decision to grant independence rests entirely with the British Government and Parliament and they have



solemn duty to be satisfied that, before granting independence, it would be acceptable to the people of the country as a whole. Indeed the present Government of Southern Rhodesia has already recognised that independence must be based on general consent and that the British Government is entitled to be satisfied about this.

"The British Government trust therefore that the progress of Southern Rhodesia will proceed on constitutional lines. Nevertheless, in view of reports that there might be a resort to a unilateral declaration of independence, they find it necessary to declare that serious consequences would follow from such an act. The British Government cannot believe, that once the consequences have been made clear, the Government and people of Southern Rhodesia will take an irrevocable step of this kind.

"A mere declaration of independence would have no constitutional effect. The only way Southern Rhodesia can become a sovereign independent state is by an Act of the British Parliament. A declaration of independence would be an open act of defiance and rebellion and it would be treasonable to take steps to give effect to it".

Again, in spite of the above statement, the minority settler Government appears to be bent on pursuing its goal of a unilateral declaration of independence whereby the settler minority, which constitute only 5% of the entire population, could continue to arrogate to themselves complete domination of the political, economic and social life and

pattern of Southern Rhodesia and, of course, turn it ultimately into another South Africa

It is encouraging to note the stand taken by the non-aligned States Conference, at Cairo, on the question of Southern Rhodesia. The final declaration stated : "The participating countries urge all States not to recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia, if proclaimed under the rule of the racist minority, and, instead, to give favourable consideration to according recognition to an African nationalist Government in exile, should such a Government be set up. To this effect, the Conference states its opposition to the sham consultation through tribal chiefs envisaged by the present minority Government of Southern Rhodesia."

As the Council will learn from the reports of the distinguished Foreign Ministers of Tanzania and Malawi, the efforts of the Governments of Malawi and Tanzania in offering their good offices to the Nationalist parties in Southern Rhodesia" so as to bring about a united front of all liberation movements for the rapid attainment of their common objective of independence" has, unfortunately, not been successful. In fact, since the last session of the Council, more "Nationalist" parties seem to have been set up, thereby making the attainment of a united front even more difficult.

Finally, the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Senegal and the African Group at the United Nations might submit reports on this question to the Council.

CM/46  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
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Nairobi, February 1965

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

High Commission Territories

I. General:

1. Although the United Kingdom had promised to give independence to its three protectorates in Southern African and although some constitutional progress has already been made in each of the territories, it is evident that the British Government has not been fast enough in carrying out its promises. This has become a source of discontent to, and has provoked criticism from, not only the indigenous population of these territories but also African states and the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization.

2. On November 3, 1964 the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization adopted a resolution declaring that the British Government had not taken "effective measures" to carry out its promises and, despite objections from the British representative, called on the British Government to take "immediate actions" to transfer power to freely-elected representatives of these territories. Although this resolution was attacked by the British representative as "unrealistic and unbalanced," it was adopted by 18 votes to nil with 5 abstentions.

3. Unfortunately, reports on the political developments within the territories reveal that frictions within the liberation movement themselves has contributed to the delay and difficulty encountered by the people. In Basutoland, elements among the populations appear to be flirting with the Verwoerd regime. In Bechuanaland, it has not been possible to reconcile the two major parties so as to form a common front and the two parties have continued to denounce each other as not being the true representatives of the population. Swaziland has also its problems but it is encouraging to note that the three major parties have formed a "joint council of Swaziland Political Parties."

II. Basutoland:

1. As foreshadowed in a statement to Parliament by Mr. Sandys, the then Colonial Secretary, on May 13, 1964, a constitutional change has occurred by which the office of High Commissioner for Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland has been abolished. The office was previously combined with that of the British Ambassador to South Africa. At the same time, the post of Resident Commissioner for Basutoland has been elevated to give him a status equal to that of a Governor. Like the Commissioners for Bechuanaland and Swaziland, this Resident Commissioner for Basutoland will now be directly responsible to the Secretary of State for colonial affairs.

5. Although during the London Constitutional Conference of May 1964, the British Government had promised that "every effort will be made to ensure that the first elections are held before the end of 1964," elections have been postponed until early 1965 and, at the time of the writing of this review (February 9, 1965), no elections had taken place because Basutoland authorities claim that "the necessary and adequate preparation of the efficient electoral machine" has not been made ready yet.

6. Basutoland's major parties, and especially the Basutoland Congress Party, have accused Britain of using this excuse to delay Basutoland's independence indefinitely. The B.C.P. and some other parties also refused to meet and draw the rules of an electoral law because they believed this to be a government scheme to involve them in delaying the elections.

7. In addition, the B.C.P. blamed the local administration and some chiefs for some attacks made on some of its leading members and called upon the British Government to restore peace and order, and to set a definite date for holding general elections in the Protectorate since this "Organized Thuggery" was part of a political intrigue designed to postpone elections indefinitely.

8. It is heartening to note, however, that Mr. Cecil King, the British representative to the U.N. Special Committee on Decolonization, had declared on October 26, 1964 that Britain was willing to give Basutoland its independence in eighteen months.

#### II. Bechuanaland:

9. Bechuanaland seems to be nearer its goal than the other two protectorates. General elections will be held starting March 1, 1965 and Bechuanaland will then achieve semi-autonomy. Besides, it is hoped that complete independence will come in September 1966. Until then, however, the British Commissioner will retain special responsibilities in external affairs, defence, internal security and public service. In addition, he has some reserved power which will be used only under exceptional circumstances, if at all.

10. The existing rift within the liberation movement at present and the charges and counter-charges that the parties are hurling at each other seems to be a potential danger to the smooth transfer of complete power.

11. Another disquieting matter which merits mention is the fact that some members of the leadership in the protectorate have announced that, because of its special economic interests, it is their intention to make Bechuanaland strictly neutral towards South Africa, after it gets its independence, without prejudicing its rights and obligations as a member of the O.A.U.

#### IV. Swaziland:

12. Swaziland managed to pass successfully over its first constitutional crisis when the Swazi National Council (which had this blessing and the backing of the Paramount chief Sobhuza II), which had opposed and challenged the legality and practicality of the constitution proposed by the British Government as an Order-in-Council on January 3, 1964, accepted the provisions of the said constitution and agreed to cooperate with the local administration and to take part in the elections.

13. The elections were held in June 1964 and the Paramount Chief and his supporters won a land-slide victory. As a result, the British Government has promised that, like Bechuanaland, Swaziland will attain independence in the shortest time possible.

14. The new Legislative Council met for the first time on September 5, 1964 and adopted a motion, presented by the leader of the dominant Imbokodvo party, Prince Makhosih Dlamini, for the immediate creation of a commission which will prepare a new constitution reflecting the responsibilities of the Government to Parliament.

15. Unconfirmed reports from within and outside Swaziland disclose that the ruling party and the Ngwenyama are inclining towards Verwoerd and prefer the status of a Bantustan) in order to thwart the attempts of liberal and radical elements and parties to take over the Government."

16. The ruling party denies that there has existed any open or secret relationship with the Pretoria regime. In the above-mentioned meeting of the Legislative Council, Prince Makhosih declared: "I will say for once and for all that neither the Ngwenyama, nor any other member of the Imbokodvo party has been in contact with the South African Government."

Relationship vis-a-vis South Africa.

17. It has been a truism to say that the three protectorates face a threat in South Africa. The Verwoerd regime has unleashed a propaganda campaign, through radio and booklets, in order to persuade them to accede to Verwoerd's Bantustan Scheme. They are also, at present, economically dependent on the Pretoria regime since they only form little islands in a South African Sea.

18. Yet, the threat is more apparent than real and will remain so unless the United Nations refuses to act on its words. The United Nations has unequivocally told the Verwoerd regime that any attempts on its part to annex the territories will be regarded by the United Nations as an act of aggression. The U.N. Special Committee has also reiterated the same position on November 3, 1964.

19. Aware of the fact that the three territories cannot exist for long as politically independent entities as long as they remain economically dependent on South Africa, the Special Committee has also asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations to study the ways and means by which the three protectorates will be assured of economic independence and to provide them with the necessary economic and technical assistance which will help them in attaining this goal.

20. As such, the danger of their being swallowed up by South Africa can-not come from South Africa but, from the jealousies and suspicions of the parties in each territory.



CM/47  
15 February 1965

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TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE DOMINATION

Territories Under Portuguese Domination

I. General:

1. Periodic reports on the situation in Angola, Mozambique and the territory known as Portuguese Guinea reveal that Portugal is still conducting its war of extermination against the various nationalist movements as it stubbornly maintains its morally indefensible, legally unacceptable and politically intolerable, state and absurd thesis that the territories are only overseas provinces of the Portuguese state and that the legal principle of "Self-determination" meant only that "..... agreement and consent of the population to a certain political structure, type of state and administrative organization."

2. According to reports acquired during the period of this review, it seems that the reign of terror that had been inaugurated by Portugal has reached its peak and has tolled millions in lives and property. Recent reports from the United Republic of Tanzania, for example, reveal that more than 10,000 people from Mozambique had to flee to that Republic in search of refuge from the scourge of colonialist murders as the Portuguese armies rampaged the countryside burning out African homes and settlements leaving behind death and destruction where they have been. It is also reported that the majority of those who had crossed the border for sanctuary were orphaned children and widowed women.

3. The atrocious campaign to liquidate Africans is not limited to Mozambique but also extends to both Angola and the territory known as Portuguese Guinea. Reports from Angola on one of the nights in which the Portuguese murder-squad stormed a village state that women, children

and sick-men (including blind men) were indiscriminately cut-down by the assassins. Similar reports have also been received from the territory known as Portuguese Guinea.

4. It is clear that, even in areas under its control, the Portuguese Government runs a garrison-state and it has come to be more and more compulsory that everyone should carry passes of different types such as the CARTAO DE IDENTIDADE (Identity Card), the BILHETE DE IDENTIDADE (Identity tickets) and Poll Tax Receipts which have to be endorsed by employers daily. The inhabitants of the territories are therefore conducting their lives and day-to-day movements under the shadow of death since they are always under the watchful eyes of trigger-happy Portuguese soldiers who are only too obliged and ordered to shoot at anybody that arouses their suspicions.

5. Portugal has been consistently adamant to comply with the various resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, the appeals of the African States and world public opinion because it is confident of the benevolent neutrality, if not direct aid, of the western powers - especially the member-states of NATO. Like South Africa, its partner in evil, it suffers from pseudo-messiahanic syndromes which make it insist that its NATO allies should not idly see it being eliminated from Africa since that would be the beginning of the end of Western Civilization and values.

6. This unflinching position is coupled with a threat that Britain and the United States should not count on Portugal's support in the Cold-war unless, reciprocally, they back her in retaining her African territories. To this effect, Dr. Franco Nogueira, the Portuguese Foreign Minister recently declared that "the winds of change that are blowing across Asia and those disturbing Angola are of the same nature. Portugal is fighting indigenous guerilla in her provinces of Angola and Guinea. The situation in South-East Asia and the Middle

East is similar. An appeal for allied solidarity must be heeded in both cases and it must be clearly understood that if some suggest we should consider the wind blowing against Guinea as irreversible, they cannot later ask us to accept as reversible the winds blowing in Cyprus and Aden. "This means that Portugal has lately introduced a new thesis which equates the fight of the nationalists in its colonies with the turmoil that is beleaguering Cyprus, Laos or Vietnam.

## II. Assessment of the various Liberation Movements

7. Generally speaking, the reports received by the OAU from official and unofficial sources have given the Organization the favourable impression that the various liberation movements have made satisfactory progress in their war against imperialism. For the period under review, this seems to have been especially true of the liberation movements in Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique where, in the first case, the nationalists seem to have now effectively occupied about two-thirds of the territory and, in the second, where FRELIMO has matured and reached a new stage in its fight and, intensifying its activities, had taken to the offensive since September, 1964.

8. Yet, there were some disturbing internal conflicts within each liberation movement. The main source of difficulty seems to have been the non-existence of a co-ordinated common-front which the Liberation Committee of the OAU has deemed necessary for waging a winning war and which was, on several occasions, stressed as an imperative by the Secretary-General of the OAU. As a result, it has been found necessary to treat liberation movements in each territory by themselves since, by treating them in toto, some relevant facts may be missed.

### A. Angola

9. The problems in Angola were two-fold. There were:

- (a) The difficulties of the GRAE of Mr. Holden Roberto arising from
  - (i) the paucity of resources and military equipment, and
  - (ii) its relationship with the Government of Congo (Leopoldville), and
- (b) the relationship of FNLA and MPLA

10. In September 1964, Mr. Holden Roberto reported to the Liberation Committee of the OAU that his Government-in-exile was plagued by the absence of arms, materials and funds and that, as a result, the morale in the Angolan Liberation Army was low since the freedom fighters had felt that they had been forsaken by independent Africa. Since assistance has been lately given to the GRAE, however, the problem may have been solved.

11. In addition, Mr. Holden Roberto declared that the Congo (Leopoldville) Government not only was collaborating with the Portuguese and had opened the Congo-Angolan frontier, thereby placing the GRAE in a precarious position, but also had totally discontinued its co-operation with the GRAE since no supplies of arms or materials had been received ever since the change in the Congolese Government and since no GRAE officials had been able to approach and discuss matters with it. The leader of the GRAE further requested the Liberation Committee "to approach the Congolese Government so that assistance could be channelled to him without difficulty." The Committee decided to send the Executive Secretary of the Secretariat of the Liberation Committee, Hon. Sebastian Chale to the Congo to assess the situation and the needs of the Angolan fighters.

12. The relationship between the FNLA (the party that has formed the GRAE) and MPLA seems to have been resolved from the outside, although a reconciliation between the two movements themselves would have the more desirable solution.

13. MPLA has protested to the Liberation Committee that it has been the subject of a two-sided persecution - i.e. from both the Congo (Leopoldville) Government and the GRAE.

14. They continue to claim that they are the only real representatives of the people of Angola and that the GRAE, which "has used fascist methods and tribal policy" is nothing but an "imperialist" creation formed at the instigation of former Congolese Premier Cyrille Adoula. It is known, however, from both official and unofficial sources that only the rump of MPLA remains as a party since some of its members had deserted it and joined the ranks of the FNLA, and the rest are not involved in any military activities.

15. As a result of its inherent weakness, the Liberation Committee which had concluded that "the FNLA is the strongest and most effective and indeed the only real fighting front in Angola" has recommended that other movements should be discouraged and that aid should be given only to GRAE.

16. MPLA, however, is still struggling for recognition and has applied to appeal to the Council of Ministers. The Liberation Committee has granted MPLA the right to appeal to the Council of Ministers.

17. As indicated earlier, this external solution of recognizing and aiding only one of the movements is not the most plausible panacea to the problem. It would still be better to advise, even pressure, MPLA to join ranks with the FNLA and form a common front. The existing division, as has been stressed by the Secretary-General, can only be a boon to the enemy.

#### B. Mozambique

18. The problem in Mozambique is very light as compared to Angola and, as a result, the struggle for liberation has met with continued progress. FRELIMO has in fact taken the offensive around September 25, 1964.

19. The other two movements, UDENAMO and MANU, led by Mr. Gumane and Mr. Chelambe respectively, have continued to talk with FRELIMO'S leadership in an effort to form a common-front as advised by the Liberation Committee and the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU. Recently, for example, Mr. Chelambe spoke with Mr. de Santos in the absence of Dr. Mondlane, the President of FRELIMO.

20. **Since** FRELIMO is the strongest movement, it is hoped that the other two will join it. Their willingness to be assimilated by FRELIMO and form a common front must be taken as a step in the right direction.

21. Nevertheless, even FRELIMO has its own problems. In the first place, no common front has been formed as yet and the talks may not materialize into anything. Secondly, certain elements within FRELIMO have informed the Liberation Committee that they had no confidence in the leadership of Dr. Mondlane anymore.

22. On hearing this complaint, the Liberation Committee has informed the representatives of FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam to warn Dr. Mondlane of the internal problems and to ask him to return to Dar-es-Salaam to deal with them.

23. On September 25, 1964 FRELIMO declared the beginning of an armed insurrection. Later on Dr. Mondlane announced that it was FRELIMO's intention to found a revolutionary government in Mozambique territory after "a portion of Mozambique had been liberated." The Central Committee of FRELIMO was also to shift its headquarters to the liberated area.

24. Reports received at about that time indicate, however, that the initial campaign of the struggle had not met with much success since the Portuguese Government had met it with counter-offensive causing much damage in life and property. The reason behind this may have been the paucity of the military equipment, food and finance at the hands of the nationalists.

2 25. Dr. Mondlane has asked ~~for more money and equipment for the~~ expansion and intensification of the training of people who join his organization and it is hoped that the promising start will come to a fruitful end.

### C. Portuguese Guinea

26. In this territory, the main problem has been the non formation of a common front by the two major parties - PAIGC and FLING. While the PAIGC has made steady progress, the other party, suffering from internal dissension within its ranks and a change of leadership, seems to have suffered some set-backs.

27. The Presidents of Guinea and Senegal had tried to assist the two movements in the formation of a common-front. Despite continued efforts made to encourage the two groups and despite FLING's willingness to join PAIGC, no union has actually occurred and FLING is still conducting a separate movement.

### III. Portugal, The United Nations Organization and African Countries

28. Like South Africa, Portugal has consistently refused to pay heed to any of the resolutions of the United Nations, emanating either from the Security Council or the General Assembly. During the period under review, the most important product from the United Nations concerning Portugal and her colonies has been the findings and recommendations of the committee of Twenty Four which was formed by the General Assembly on June 24, 1964.

29. Based on these findings and recommendations, the Special Committee adopted a resolution condemning Portugal for its "Continued refusal" to implement the historic "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" (General Assembly resolution 1514 of December 14, 1960), and to draw to the immediate attention of the Security Council the "deteriorating situation" in territories under Portuguese domination.



30. Further, the committee noted or adopted the following:
- (a) It noted with concern the activities of foreign, economic and other interests in the territories and declared that they were detrimental to the political aspirations of the indigenous population. The Committee has requested one of its sub-Committees to study the activities of these interests.
  - (b) It resolved to request the Secretary-General to invite the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and other specialized agencies concerned to consider the possibility of extending medical and other assistance to the increasing number of refugees from the territories.
  - (c) The Committee reaffirmed that, to facilitate the peaceful solution of the problem of territories under Portuguese domination, it was necessary for Portugal to implement all previous United Nations resolutions on the question - especially the measures advocated in Security Council resolution S/5381 of 31 July 1963 which requests Portugal to i) immediately recognize the right of the people under her domination to self-determination, ii) cease immediately all acts of repression and to withdraw all its military forces which were employed for that purpose iii) negotiate on the basis of the right of self determination with authorized representatives of the various political parties within and outside the territories with a view to transferring power to freely-elected political institutions and representative ~~ative~~ of the people (iv) to grant independence immediately thereafter to all the territories under its administration in accordance with the aspiration of the peoples."

31. The resolution of the Special Committee was sponsored by Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, United Republic of Tanzania and Yugoslavia.

32. It should be noted that Portugal had declined an invitation by the Special Committee to participate in its discussions.

33. From official and unofficial sources, the OAU has gathered that the vast majority of African States are faithfully implementing the decisions embodied in the various resolutions of both the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and the Council of Ministers. Reports reveal that, on many occasions, representatives of African States to many international conventions, including the International Union of Telecommunications, the International Labour Organization and the General Assembly of the United Nations, had preferred to walk out to either sitting with the Portuguese and South African representatives or listening to them. These dramatic walk-outs, symbolizing the African determinations not to recognize the two states as belonging to the "civilized family of nations" until they give their brethren their rightful freedom, has tremendous moral and political pressure on both the two countries and those others that ~~condone their perfidious practices and should be exploited further.~~

34. The Bureau of Sanctions of the Secretariat had sent circular notes to the member-states requesting them to furnish information on the measures they had taken in the implementation of the various resolutions of the OAU, with special reference to the Cairo resolution of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHG/RES 9(1)).

35. To date only 2 countries have replied formally indicating compliance "in letter and spirit" with all the resolutions. These countries are: Ethiopia and Rwanda.

36. Further, according to a report made to the Security Council the following African Countries have indicated the measures they had taken regarding Portugal: Dahomey, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and the United Arab Republic.

The action taken by the above-mentioned countries are in line with the OAU resolutions.

37. There remains, however, one disquieting matter. Despite all the above-mentioned action taken by African States, a Portuguese monthly bulletin published by the INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTATISTICA in May 1964 indicates the fact that Portuguese trade with independent Africa constituted 3.1% and 2.9% of her total imports and exports, respectively. The countries, included in the Bulletin as maintaining trade with Portugal, were Algeria, Congo (Leo.) Madagascar, Morocco, Nigeria and the United Arab Republic.

38. This may be explained in two ways if the above-mentioned countries do not really have the alleged commercial ties. In the first place, Portugal may have received the products of the above-mentioned countries and sent hers to them through third parties without the actual knowledge of the African countries concerned. Secondly, the figures may have been pure fabrications designed to demoralize the African Common-front and to falsely propagandize to the rest of the world that some African countries are clandestinely trading with her irrespective of their external promises.

In any case, communications have been directed to these Member-States in order to ascertain the veracity of this information.

39. Portugal is preparing to mitigate the possible effects of a complete African boycott by making various arrangements with the other leper of the Family of Nations - South Africa. She has, so far, made a pact with South African Airways to enable South African planes to fly to Lisbon via Luanda. The Portuguese airlines T.A.P. already flies the route, stopping at Sao Thome and Bissau for refuelling. Furthermore, plans have been made ~~for building an airport with modern facilities on one~~ of the Cape-Verde Islands and South Africa is supposedly contributing to the tune of 150 million Escudos.

40. Even more important, Dr. Hilgard Muller, the South African Foreign Minister and, his Portuguese counterpart, Dr. Franco Nogueira signed an important economic agreement, affecting trade and communications links between the two countries as well as Angola and Mozambique, during the former's "unofficial visit" to Lisbon in October, 1964.

41. Although it has not been possible to find the details of the "unofficial" visit, suspicions are high that a mutual defence pact has also been signed, despite the denials of Dr. Muller.

42. Although the African cause has had several sympathizers among nations, it has not been possible to impose sufficient and effective pressure to bear on Portugal because the Western powers - especially those members of NATO - have not been able to translate their good-will to African aspirations into co-operation. Portugal has been stubborn so far because it operates its foreign policy on the principle that her NATO allies will not abandon her. So much so, it was recently reported that Portugal is thinking of pulling out some of its forces out of NATO so as to turn it to the attack on the nationalists - and this in addition to the healthy suspicion that some NATO arms and supplies are being used in the territories that she is dominating.

43. As in the Case of South Africa, it will therefore be advisable to consider actions that will affect not only Portugal but also that would make the partners of Portugal reconsider their positions and policies.

CM/48  
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TERRITORIES UNDER SPANISH DOMINATION

Territories under Spanish Domination

1. Between August and October 1964, contacts were made between all the Political movements in and out of the Canary Islands and final Resolution was adopted by them "capable of embodying and expressing the nationalistic and legitimate revolutionary opinion and the imperative aspirations of the Archipelago",

This Resolution created the Movement for the self determination and the independence of the Canary Archipelago (MPAIAC) which shall be based in Algeria. The Resolution also inter alia declares the appointment as Secretary-General of the Political Bureau and of the General Secretariat, Mr. Antonio Cubillo," who was until present the Secretary-General of the MAC (Canary Autonomist Movement) and Delegate to Algeria, who will continue in the functions of representative to the Algerian Republic, to the African Governments and Organizations (OAU), continental and inter-continental conferences and to the United Nations, if need be".

2. The OAU has written to Mauritania, Morocco and Algeria requesting information on the political situation in Rio de Oro, IFNI and the Canary Islands and also concerning refugees from these territories, if they exist in their respective countries.
3. The Secretariat is waiting for the report of the Liberation Committee's Sub-Committee, composed of Senegal, Guinea and Algeria, that went to Gabon to see into the refugees problem of the Equatorial Guinea.
4. The OAU has also requested the Liberation Committee to contact all the Nationalist Movements of the Equatorial Guinea based

in different parts of Africa (such as Accra, Algeria etc..) to meet and form a United Front (like Canary Islands) in order to facilitate and expedite the independence of the said territory.

5. The OAU Secretariat is at present studying the reports of Nigeria (REF. VS/69 DOC.2) and Gabon and Cameroun (REF.IVS/C9/DOC.8) submitted to the Liberation Committee as requested by the latter in connection with Equatorial Guinea.

CM/49  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT OF THE THIRD EXTRA-ORDINARY  
SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ADDIS-ABEBA

- First Part : Third Extra-ordinary session
- Second Part : First meeting of the ad hoc Commission
- Third Part : Second Extra-ordinary meeting of the ad hoc  
Commission
- Fourth Part : Fourth Extra-ordinary session
- Fifth Part : Third meeting of the ad hoc Commission



ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT OF THE THIRD EXTRA-ORDINARY  
SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, ADDIS ABABA

1. The Third Extra-ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers opened at 3.30 p.m. on 5 September 1964 at Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, under the Chairmanship of H.E. Mr. Camille Alliali, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Ivory Coast.
2. All the member States of the Organization of African Unity, thirty-four in number, plus Zambia, as observer, were present at this session.
3. The oath of office was administered to H.E. Diallo Telli, Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, by His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia.
4. The Secretary-General then made a statement to the Conference dealing inter-alia with the increasingly important part that the OAU was called on to play in inter-African and international relations.
5. His Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia delivered an address in which he reminded the Conference that, in its deliberations, it must always bear in mind the interests of the Congolese people.
6. After a short adjournment to allow His Imperial Majesty to withdraw from the Conference Hall, the Secretary-General read his administrative report.
7. On the proposal of the Tunisian delegate, the Secretary-General was instructed to prepare the draft agenda, drawing on the suggestions already made by the Member States to the Secretariat.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.

8. On the following day, 6 September, the meeting opened at 10.15 a.m. The Secretary-General submitted as the draft agenda of the Third Extra-ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers: "The Congolese problem, its repercussions on neighbouring States and the entire African continent."

9. After a short discussion, the draft agenda was adopted, following which the Chairman indicated how the business of the Conference would be organized.
10. The first speaker on the list, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali, (the country that had requested the convening of this Session) made a six-point proposal to the Conference (see verbatim records of the meetings).
11. The Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo then described the difficulties being encountered by his country and the main reasons for this situation.
12. Following this statement, and after a two-hour adjournment, the meeting was resumed; the Chairman, acting in accordance with the almost unanimous wishes of the Conference, asked the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to give further details in supplementation of his previous intervention.
13. H.E. Moise Tshombe thereupon took the floor again and submitted the following three proposals to the Conference:
  - a) To allow African States that wished to help his country to respond to his appeal by sending troops who would be stationed in areas already pacified;
  - b) To establish a special commission to settle the differences with the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi;
  - c) Foreign countries should abstain from helping those who were opposing his Government.
14. The Nigerian delegate then proposed to the Conference a six-point solution to the Congolese conflict (see verbatim records of the meetings).

15. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and of the Kingdom of Burundi asked the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to specify for the benefit of members of the Conference his country's complaints against their respective Governments.
16. The Conference then decided, on the proposal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, who invoked the Algero-Moroccan precedent, to hear the three parties concerned, namely, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), and the Kingdom of Burundi.  
  
The meeting rose at 2.45 p.m.
17. When the meeting was resumed at the end of the afternoon, the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo spoke at length and in detail of the interference by his neighbours (the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi) in the internal affairs of his country.
18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) in his reply:
  - a) Refuted all the accusations made by the Congolese Prime Minister, merely admitting the presence in his country of political refugees from the Congo (Leopoldville);
  - b) Stated that, as he saw it, the cause of the conflict between the two countries was purely ideological.
19. He moreover requested the Conference:
  - a) That all citizens of the Congo (Brazzaville) residing in Leopoldville should have the right to return to their country of origin;
  - b) That an OAU commission of inquiry should be immediately sent to the Congo (Brazzaville);

- c) He stated that his Government was, on the other hand, prepared, if so requested, to hand over to the OAU those members of the CNL (Counseil national de libération) who were at that time in the Congo (Brazzaville).

The meeting rose at 8.30 p.m.

20. The meeting was resumed at 11.5 p.m., and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Burundi, in his reply to Mr. Tshombe;
  - a) Admitted that his country received Congolese political refugees, but for purely humanitarian reasons;
  - b) Drew attention, on the other hand, to the propaganda demonstrations against his country organized by the Leopoldville authorities;
  - c) Entirely approved of the idea of establishing a special commission to visit the three countries.

The meeting rose at 12.40 a.m.

21. At 10.15 a.m. on 7 September, the Guinean Minister for Foreign Affairs made a long statement in which, inter alia, he rejected any military solution to the Congolese problem.
22. The delegate of Kenya in turn submitted various proposals. In particular, he approved of the establishment of a special commission and, on behalf of his Government, proposed Nairobi as the meeting place for such a commission and informed the Conference that his Prime Minister, H.E. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, would agree to take the chair at a meeting of this nature (see verbatim records of the meetings).
23. The Tunisian delegate then traced the development of the Congolese crisis from its origin and the part played by the United Nations in this matter. He suggested, as an immediate step, that the recruiting of mercenaries should be stopped.

The meeting rose at 1.50 p.m.

24. On resumption of the meeting at 3.50 p.m., several delegates listed to speak took the floor in turn to affirm, inter alia, the necessity of establishing a special commission.
25. The Chairman then designated the members of the drafting committee, namely: Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, the Central African Republic, Tanzania, and Tunisia, to consider the various proposals made by the Member States and prepare a draft resolution to be submitted the following day to the Conference members.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

26. The Drafting Committee met at 10 p.m. under the chairmanship of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania; Mali was appointed Rapporteur. The Committee sat until 5 a.m.
27. At 11 a.m. on 9 September, at a plenary session, the Rapporteur of the Drafting Committee read his report, in which he pointed out, inter alia, that the Committee had based its draft on the proposals made by Mali and Nigeria.
28. The Conference then decided to consider the draft resolution, for adoption, paragraph by paragraph.
29. After a very long discussion, the Conference adopted all the paragraphs of the draft, with substantial alterations.
30. The Conference met at 1.20 a.m. on 10 September and the Chairman submitted for the consideration of the Conference a final amendment to the draft resolution already adopted paragraph by paragraph; the amendment dealt with the question of military or other assistance that might be given to the Government of the Congo (Leopoldville) by the Member States of the OAU.
31. It was decided to take a vote on this amendment; the amendment was rejected, 9 votes being cast in favour and 9 against, with 15 abstentions, 1 member (Madagascar) being absent when the vote was taken.

32. The Conference then appointed the members of the ad hoc Commission and its Chairman, the Hon. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya.
33. Ethiopia, Nigeria and Tunisia, for different reasons, expressed reservations against serving on this Commission. They nevertheless finally accepted the proposal of the Conference.
34. A vote was then taken on the draft as a whole; the draft was carried by 27 to none, with 6 abstentions, 1 member (Madagascar) being absent when the vote was taken.
35. Before adjourning, the Conference then decided, on the proposal of Kenya, to include the question of Southern Rhodesia on the agenda of the Extra-ordinary Session and then unanimously adopted a resolution on the question submitted by fifteen Member States of the OAU.
36. The Secretary-General then read the special memorandum on the financial situation of the Secretariat.
37. At 4.20 a.m. on 10 September the Chairman declared the Third Extra-ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers closed.

ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT OF THE WORK OF THE FIRST SESSION  
OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION ON THE CONGO, NAIROBI

1. In conformity with the decisions adopted by the members of the Commission at Addis Ababa on 11 September 1964, the First Session of the ad hoc Commission met at Nairobi on 18 September under the effective Chairmanship of H.E. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya. All the members of the Commission, with the exception of Tunisia, were present, as well as those mainly concerned and mentioned in the Council of Ministers Resolution of 10 September, namely the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Foreign Ministers of the Kingdom of Burundi and the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville).
2. The Chairman opened the First Session of the Commission at 5.00 p.m. in the City Hall, Nairobi. After welcoming the delegations, the Chairman stressed the importance and delicacy of the task entrusted to the Commission.
3. The Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU then read his report (CL/2(II)).
4. On a proposal by the Foreign Minister of Ghana, the meeting was adjourned, to be resumed on the following day, 19 September, at 10 a.m.
5. On 19 September, during a private meeting of the heads of delegations and the General Secretariat, the Chairman summarized the personal conversations that he had meanwhile had with the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
6. At 12.25 p.m., in plenary session, the Commission proceeded to adopt the draft agenda (CL/1(II)), items 4 and 5 of which refer in particular to "National reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo" and "Normalization of relations between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and her neighbours, especially the Kingdom of Burundi and the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville)". The Statutory Chairman was then given the liberty to choose the Rapporteur from among the delegation of Kenya. With regard to the rules of procedure of the

Commission, the Administrative Secretary-General, repeating the terms of his report, suggested the adoption of the rules of procedure of the Council of Ministers "en bloc". It was so decided, subject to the sole condition, that, if necessary, the rules of procedure of the Council of Ministers should be adapted to the special duties assigned to the ad hoc Commission.

7. In the afternoon of 19 September, and in order to conform to the working method decided on in the morning, only the heads of the delegations met; the meeting was exclusively devoted to hearing the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi.
8. On 20 September, the Commission met in plenary session and the Chairman gave a brief resume of the private meetings held on the previous day and stressed the points of agreement reached by the Commission.
9. An important point became clear from all the interventions made by the different delegations : the necessity of consulting and questioning the combatants.
10. The same day the Commission adopted, before adjourning, a resolution (CL/3(II)) inviting the representatives of the three Governments to transmit to the Secretariat reports making concrete proposals concerning the items on the agenda :
  - a) National reconciliation;
  - b) Normalization of relations between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbours, especially Burundi and the Congo (Brazzaville).
11. The Commission did not meet on 21 September. On that day the representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi left Nairobi.
12. At 10.30 a.m. on 22 September, the session was resumed under the effective chairmanship of H.E. the Prime Minister of Kenya. The Commission proposed to discuss two important points :



- a) Whether the combatants at the time in Nairobi and whom the Commission would meet were bona fide representatives of the insurgents;
  - b) Whether the visit to be made by the Commission to the three countries concerned should not be preceded by the despatch of a smaller group to prepare the way for the ad hoc Commission.
13. The Chairman then closed the meeting and instructed the Administrative Secretary-General to consult the various Delegations and fix a convenient date for the departure of the Commission for the three countries concerned.
14. On resumption of the Session in the afternoon, the Chairman proposed 1 October as the provisional date for the Commission's departure for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
15. The delegates then discussed the question of sending a delegation from the ad hoc Commission to the President of the United States at Washington.
16. After a long discussion, 24 September 1964 was fixed as the date of departure for the United States.
17. During the same meeting, the Commission received the representatives of the combatants. At the Chairman's request they appeared individually before the Commission; they stated that they belonged to the CNL Group (Conseil national de libération - National Liberation Council) and that they represented their leaders Christophe Gbenye and Gizenga.
18. After this hearing, the representatives of the combatants left the hall and, before adjourning, the Commission adopted the final resolution (CL/4(II)) on the preparatory work of the Commission. In this resolution it was decided :
- a) To discontinue the preparatory phase of the work of the Commission until the beginning of October;
  - b) To empower its Chairman, assisted by the OAU Secretariat, to take any initiative aimed at fulfilling the Commission's mandate;
  - c) To send a special delegation to the United States immediately.

ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT ON THE SECOND EXTRAORDINARY MEETING  
OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION AT NAIROBI

1. The OAU ad hoc Commission on the Congo held an Extra-ordinary meeting at Nairobi on 27 and 28 November 1964, under the chairmanship of H.E. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya.
2. The following countries were represented at the meeting: Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, UAR, Upper Volta, Cameroun and Tunisia. The representative of Somalia was expected before the end of the meeting.
3. On 27 November, in plenary session, the Chairman gave a resume of the major activities of the ad hoc Commission and the events leading to the landing of paratroopers at Stanleyville.
4. In the afternoon of 27 November, the Commission went into closed session. It approved the Chairman's report.
5. On 28 November, the ad hoc Commission, referring to the recent events in the Congo, strongly condemned and protested against the foreign military intervention in the Congo of the Government of the United States of America, Belgium, the United Kingdom, and all those who made this aggression possible.
6. Bearing in mind, on the other hand, the messages sent by Heads of State and Government, the ad hoc Commission decided to recommend the Secretary-General to convene an extra-ordinary Conference of Heads of State and Government at Addis Ababa on 18 December, preceded by preparatory meetings of the Council of Ministers on 16 and 17 December 1964.
7. The OAU ad hoc Commission on the Congo furthermore decided to make a provisional report to the Secretary-General of the OAU in pursuance of paragraph 6 of the resolution adopted at Addis Ababa by the Council of Ministers on 10 September 1964.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE FOURTH  
EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,  
NEW YORK (USA) 16-21 DECEMBER 1964

1. In concluding the work of its Second Session on 28 Novembre 1964 at Nairobi (Kenya), the ad hoc Commission on the Congo, after a thorough analysis of the verbal report by its Chairman (see Annex No.3) published a press release (see Annex No.1) in which it vigorously condemned "the military intervention in the Congo of the Governments of the United States of America, Belgium, the United Kingdom, as well as all those who had made the Stanleyville aggression possible".  
  
Stressing the very grave situation existing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and bearing in mind the messages received from several African Heads of State and Government (see Annex No.2) "the OAU ad hoc Commission decided to recommend the Administrative Secretary-General to convene an extra-ordinary conference of Heads of State and Government at Addis Ababa on 18 December 1964, preceded by a preparatory meeting of the Council of Ministers on 16 and 17 December" (item 6 of the press release).
2. The ad hoc Commission moreover decided to make a provisional report to the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU in pursuance of paragraph 6 of Resolution ECM/Res.5(III). This report, which would sum up the work of the ad hoc Commission from its establishment, would stress once again the necessity of finding solutions that would lead to the following results :
  - a) The withdrawal of all mercenaries from the Congo without delay;
  - b) The immediate cessation of foreign military intervention in the Congo;
  - c) Cease-fire by all combatants;
  - d) A general amnesty for all persons implicated in the recent events;
  - e) The despatch of a Commission of inquiry from the ad hoc Commission to the Congo (Leopoldville), the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Kingdom of Burundi;

- f) A meeting at the earliest possible date of a round-table conference of all the Congolese leaders of all the parties concerned under the auspices of the OAU;
- g) The organization of free elections under the control of the OAU throughout the Congo (Lopoldville).
3. The provisional report (see Annex No.4) of the ad hoc Commission submitted to the Administrative Secretary-General on 2 December 1964 was sent to all the Member States of the OAU with, as annexes, all the documents giving details of the work, and the questions deliberated by the Commission since its establishment.
4. First of all, bearing in mind the time needed to convene the extraordinary meeting of the Heads of State recommended by the ad hoc Commission, the Administrative Secretary-General sent the following telegram to all the member States on 28 November:
- "AD HOC COMMISSION CONGO UNANIMOUSLY RECOMMENDS HOLDING EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ADDIS ABABA ON 18 DECEMBER PRECEDED BY PREPARATORY MEETING COUNCIL OF MINISTERS 16 DECEMBER STOP IN VIEW OF SHORT TIME AVAILABLE GRATEFUL CABLE REPLIES REGARDING TWO MEETINGS SECRETARIAT OAU ADDIS STOP HIGHEST CONSIDERATION".
5. At this stage it was necessary to obtain the two-thirds quorum provided for under Rule 7 of the Rules of Procedure of the Council of Ministers of the OAU. Under the terms of this Rule only those replies can be counted as positive in establishing a quorum that accept all the proposals of the ad hoc Commission as transmitted by the Administrative Secretary-General. It is to be noted that replies received by the Secretariat as from 1 December 1964 were in answer to a message dated 27 November sent to all African Heads of State by His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia. This message, which does not mention either a date or a place, recommends an extraordinary meeting of the Heads of State and Government "to make a broad exchange of views on the present painful situation of the brother State of the Congo (Leopoldville)".

6. On 10 December, that is to say less than one week before 16 December, the Administrative Secretary-General had not received the two-thirds quorum necessary to convene the summit conference.

On the same day the Executive Secretary of the African Group to the United Nations sent the Administrative Secretary-General the conclusions of a meeting of African Ministers held on 8 December.

In fact, on that day, twenty African Ministers for Foreign Affairs meeting in New York at the Headquarters of the Executive Secretariat of the African Group decided to recommend "that the meeting of the Council of Ministers proposed by the ad hoc Commission should be held on 15 and 16 December at the United Nations, New York where the majority of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs were, and to instruct the Secretary-General to put this suggestion before all the Member States for consideration".

7. At the same time as the Administrative Secretary-General informed all the Member States by cable that by 10 December the two-thirds quorum had not been obtained for the summit conference of 18 December, and that consequently neither the latter meeting nor the meetings of 16 and 17 December, which were merely to prepare for it, could take place, the following message was sent to all Member States:

"HONOUR INFORM YOU THAT UNDER TERMS TELEGRAM RECEIVED TODAY FROM EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AFRICAN GROUP UNITED NATIONS GHANA CONGOBRAZZA NIGER NIGERIA ZAMBIA SUDAN GABON UAR MALI SOMALIA MALAWI UGANDA ETHIOPIA SIERRA LEONE TOGO CAMEROUN GUINEA SENEGAL BURUNDI AND LIBERIA MEETING IN NEW YORK PROPOSED QUOTE THAT EXTRAORDINARY COUNCIL PROPOSED BY AD HOC COMMISSION NAIROBI BE HELD ON 15 AND 16 NOVEMBER AT UNITED NATIONS NEW YORK UNQUOTE STOP GRATEFUL CABLE OPINION YOUR GOVERNMENT SECRETARY GENERAL OAU AS WELL AS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AFRICAN GROUP 211 EAST 43RD STREET NEW YORK HIGHEST CONSIDERATION".

8. The wording of this telegram in fact takes account of the fact that twenty States who put forward the suggestion of 8 December did not constitute the quorum required for the convening of an extra-ordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers and that thereby the opinion of other Member States was necessary. Moreover, by 14 December, positive replies from four other States were sent to the General Secretariat.
9. Under these conditions, the concrete proposals of the twenty Member States was therefore accepted and the Administrative Secretary-General, pursuant to Rule 17 of the Council of Ministers - which states that the agenda of an extra-ordinary session shall comprise only items submitted for consideration in the request for convening the extra-ordinary session - submitted a draft agenda, which comprised, apart from the administrative report, only the preparation of the Conference of Heads of States and Government.

In fact, it was the proposal of the twenty ministers, dated 8 December, to place before the Council of Ministers in New York the same items that they would have to deliberate if they had met at Addis Ababa on 16 and 17 December, as the ad hoc Commission had recommended in its comunique, in which the Council of Ministers was envisaged only as a "preparatory" meeting of the extra-ordinary Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

10. The Council of Ministers, meeting in its Fourth Extra-ordinary Session in New York on 16 December 1964 unanimously decided to alter the agenda proposed by the General Secretariat.

The agenda was to be entitled:

"report of the ad hoc Commission on the Congo".

11. The Council of Ministers gave full consideration to the provisional report of the ad hoc Commission and took cognizance thereof.
12. On 21 December 1964, Resolution ECM/Res.7(IV) was adopted by the Council of Ministers. In particular, the Resolution:

- a) Reaffirmed the whole of Resolution ECM/Res.5(III) of 10 September 1964 and, in particular, stressed paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8 of that Resolution;
  - b) Extended the mandate of the ad hoc Commission and requested it to see to the application of all measures advocated by the Council with a view to settling the Congo problem;
  - c) Appealed to the Security Council to condemn the recent foreign military intervention and recommend an African solution to the Congo problem.
13. Moreover, on 30 December 1964, the Security Council adopted a resolution relying on the Organization of African Unity to continue its efforts to achieve national reconciliation in the Congo.
14. On 11 January 1965 the Secretary-General of the OAU received a document from Rome entitled "My proposals for a solution to the Congo problem" signed by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, former Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (the text of which is annexed).
15. The General-Secretariat of the OAU informed the Chairman of the ad hoc Commission of the work done by the Council of Ministers in New York and of the decisions that resulted therefrom as well as of the Security Council's resolution of 30 December 1964.
16. The Chairman of the ad hoc Commission informed the General-Secretariat on 15 January 1965 of his decision to convene a meeting of the ad hoc Commission for 29 January.
17. The General-Secretariat duly informed the nine members of the holding of the Third Session of the ad hoc Commission at Nairobi on 29 January 1965.

ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT OF THE THIRD MEETING  
ON THE OAU AD HOC COMMISSION ON THE CONGO  
(Nairobi 29-30 January 1965)

1. The President of the Republic of Kenya opened the first meeting of the third session of the OAU ad hoc Commission on the Congo, on Friday 29th January at 10 a.m.
2. In public meeting, the Chairman of the ad hoc Commission stated, in particular, that his appeal for national reconciliation in the Congo had not met with any response, due to the constant presence of white mercenaries in that country, and that the object of convening the session was appointment of a sub-committee which would be entrusted to visit Congo (Leopoldville), Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi.
3. The Chairman had likewise submitted to the members of the Commission a written report on the meeting between the three East African Heads of State and Mr. Christopher Gbenye, leader of the revolutionary government in the Congo.
4. The meeting was then resumed in closed session at 11.30 a.m. The Commission studied the draft agenda proposed by the Chairman, including in particular Item 3, the appointment of a sub-committee to visit Leopoldville, Brazzaville and Bujumbura.
5. The delegate of Tunisia, referring to the Resolution of Addis-Ababa adopted by the Council of Ministers on 10th September 1964, said that the ad hoc Commission in toto should visit the three capitals, and that the establishment of a sub-committee would run counter to the spirit and the letter of the above mentioned Resolution.
6. The Chairman felt that the departure for the Congo should be first of all prepared in detail, and that a prior study of the plans for action would have to be undertaken. If they were going to the Congo, the members of the Commission should first of all agree on what they were going to say.



7. The Chairman then summed up the position since the adoption of the last resolution of the OAU Council of Ministers in New York.
8. He concluded that, before going to the Congo, an atmosphere of peace must be created.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

9. The Chairman then read aloud telegrams received from Mr. Tshombe, (inviting the Commission to go to Congo (Leopoldville)) from Mr. Gbenye, and from the Government in Brazzaville, all three of which were addressed to the Chairman.
10. The Chairman suggested to the Commission that Mr. Tshombe's invitation should be accepted.
11. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ethiopian Government pointed out, for his part, the responsibility which would fall upon the Organization of African Unity if the Commission were to fail in its task. Any failure must be avoided, and responsibilities must be faced. The Commission had received two invitations: one from Congo (Leopoldville), the other from Congo (Brazzaville), asking it to visit those two countries. The Commission must accept and go to the spot and judge the true situation for itself, drawing whatever conclusions were indicated.
12. Similary, the delegate of Cameroon called upon the Commission to fulfil its task as defined in the Resolution of 10th September 1964 adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at Addis-Ababa, and to send its members immediately to the three countries in question. To that end, a delegation consisting of a Rapporteur and an Assistant Secretary-General could be sent to the three capitals (Leopoldville, Brazzaville and Bujumbura) to prepare, together with the respective Governments, for the forthcoming visit of the ad hoc Commission.
13. The delegate of the UAR, in keeping with the ideas already put forward by the Chairman of the ad hoc Commission, pointed out that respect for Point 5 of the Resolution of Addis-Ababa dated 10th September 1964 was subject to respect by the Congo (Leopoldville) Government for the first four paragraphs of that same Resolution.

14. The delegate of Nigeria replied that was a wrong interpretation, and that the sending of the ad hoc Commission was not subject to any condition. He added, moreover, that the existence of the OAU was in jeopardy if one of its members gave extensive help to a rebellion and, what was more, stated so in public.
15. The delegate of Upper Volta recalled that this was the third time that the Commission had met, but still no progress had been made in its work. It should therefore meet the legitimate Government with a view to a round-table conference, but it must have the assurance of the Leopoldville Government that complete safety would be guaranteed. The work of this important Commission must be guided only by the general principles of international law and respect for the sovereignty of States.
16. The delegate of Somalia was of the opinion that the Commission had no alternative, in view of the increasingly deteriorating situation in the Congo. It should go there immediately, provided with guarantees from the Leopoldville Government.
17. The refusal of Mr. Tshombe to meet the nationalists made the Commission's task a very delicate one, in the opinion of the delegate of Guinée. The physical presence of the Commission in the Congo would therefore yield no positive result and would in no way alter the position. He agreed with the Chairman and the UAR delegation that sending the Commission to the Congo would imply respect for the other provisions of the Resolution.
18. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ghana said that, in principle, he would not oppose sending the Commission, but felt that the journey should be prepared in advance. To that end, he proposed a preliminary meeting between the representatives of the Leopoldville Government and the revolutionary leaders or their representatives, to take place at a meeting of the ad hoc Commission at Addis-Ababa on Friday, 5th February. (Addis-Ababa was discarded, owing to Queen Elizabeth's visit to Ethiopia).

The delegate of Ghana thought that in view of the uncertainty of the position in the Congo, national reconciliation could only be brought about outside the Congo. He therefore supported the Cameroon proposal.

19. The delegate of Nigeria was not altogether against the proposal put forward by Ghana, but thought that the Commission should first set a date for completing its task. He requested the Secretary-General to get in touch with all the parties concerned, and asked the Commission to call upon all member countries of the OAU to stop interfering in the internal affairs of the Congo and to respect the OAU and Security Council Resolutions. In conclusion, he asked the Secretary-General to make use of publicity so that the world, and especially the Congolese people, should be kept informed of the activities of the OAU.
20. His Government's attitude towards the "Congolese nationalists" was guided more by respect for the principles of the OAU Charter than by purely national interest.

The Government of Nigeria, therefore, had not paid its contribution to the OAU because, quite simply, it did not approve certain acts of member States which interfere in the internal affairs of his country.

His Government, he said, had recognized all the successive governments of the Congo since its accession to independence, and had not failed to condemn the attitude taken by Mr. Tshombe at the time of the Katanga secession.

21. The delegate of Nigeria then stated that his Government was increasingly anxious concerning the assistance given to the rebel government in the Congo. He recommended that help be extended to any member of the OAU which found itself in difficulties and which expressly requested such help. It was not for any member of the OAU to dictate to another State what it ought to do.

22. As proposed by Cameroon, the delegate of Somalia suggested an important amendment. As well as a Rapporteur of the Commission and an Assistant Secretary-General, he proposed the establishment of a sub-committee consisting of three States members of the Commission, to show international opinion that the Commission was doing everything in its power to bring its task to a successful conclusion.
23. The proposal to send a sub-committee of three members, accompanied by a Rapporteur and an Assistant Secretary-General, was put to the vote and adopted.
- The meeting rose at 7 p.m.
24. At the beginning of the meeting held on 30th January 1965 at 10.30 a.m., the Chairman placed before the Commission the request of the delegates of Tanzania and Uganda to be admitted to the conference hall as observers. To avoid establishing an awkward precedent, the Commission politely rejected the proposal.
25. The Chairman then read aloud a telegram sent to the Commission by Mr. Tshombe, announcing the appointment of an ambassador to the Commission for the current session.
26. Following this brief intervention to settle a question of procedure, the Chairman summed up the results obtained the previous day and proposed to the Commission three States to be members of the sub-committee, to wit: Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria.
27. The Foreign Minister of Guinea completely and categorically refused the nomination of his country as a member of the sub-committee, and unreservedly opposed the terms of reference of that sub-committee. He gave way, however, to the Chairman's insistence, while still refusing to accept the principle itself.
28. Ghana likewise asked the Chairman to withdraw his country's name from the provisional list. The Chairman likewise refused.
29. The matter of the composition of the sub-committee having been settled, it now remained to define its terms of reference. In that connexion, the Nigeria delegation put forward a draft.

30. The draft was studied exhaustively and a Point D was proposed by the Ethiopian delegation to complete the draft, as follows:  
"The sub-committee shall report to the ad hoc Commission before the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Ministers".
31. The Ethiopian amendment was accepted by Nigeria, which drew up the original draft.
32. Meanwhile, prior to the adoption of the Nigerian draft as amended by Ethiopia, Ghana had submitted to the members of the Commission a draft resolution providing for the sending of a sub-committee after the proposed meeting in February.
33. Somalia suggested a compromise amendment to these two proposals, to the effect that "the sub-committee may, if it sees fit, invite and hear outside the Congo the various Congolese leaders whom it considers able to help it in its task".
34. As several delegations were of the opinion that the adoption of such an amendment might be interpreted as delegating the full powers of the ad hoc Commission to the sub-committee, the amendment proposed by Somalia was rejected.
35. The Ethiopian proposal (Point D, to be added to the Nigerian draft) was subsequently put to the vote and adopted.
36. The Nigeria draft as a whole, as amended by Ethiopia, was put to the vote. It was adopted, and became Resolution CL/8(III) of the ad hoc Commission (annex).
37. During the study of the Ghana proposal (annex), Nigeria warned the ad hoc Commission of the awkward results which the adoption of that text might entail. Nigeria therefore entirely rejected the proposal put forward by Ghana.
38. The delegate of Tunisia suggested a compromise amendment to the Ghana draft, and the Commission adopted it.

The draft submitted by Ghana, as amended by Tunisia, became Resolution CL/9(III) of the ad hoc Commission.

39. Summary of main decisions

- a) The sub-committee established will itself draw up the programme of its visit to Leopoldville, Brazzaville and Bujumbura, and will submit its report before the next meeting of the Council of Ministers.
- b) The ad hoc Commission will meet on 12th February 1965 at Nairobi (Kenya) in order to meet the representatives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Congolese revolutionary leaders, or their representatives, to try to achieve a national reconciliation.
- c) The ad hoc Commission will meet at Nairobi to prepare and complete its report to the forthcoming meeting of the Council of Ministers.

40. The Chairman of the ad hoc Commission declared the third session closed on 30th January 1965 at 5 p.m.

2/5  
1965  
(1965) 70

RESOLUTION  
OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION

The Ad Hoc Commission of the O.A.U. on Congo meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, on the 29th and 30th January, 1965, under the distinguished Chairmanship of the President of the Republic of Kenya, H.E. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta has agreed as follows :-

In order to facilitate an early visit of the Ad Hoc Commission to the three capitals of Leopoldville, Brazzaville and Bujumbura, in accordance with its mandate, a sub-committee of the Commission composed of representatives of Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria, and accompanied by the Rapporteur and an Assistant Secretary-General of the O.A.U. is hereby appointed with the following terms of reference :

A. Congo Leopoldville

- (i) To discuss with and obtain agreement of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo on arrangements for an early visit to Leopoldville by the Ad Hoc Commission.
- (ii) To obtain from the Congolese Government a guarantee of safe conduct for all members of the Commission for the duration of their visits to the Democratic Republic of Congo.
- (iii) To inform the Government of the arrangements being

made by the Commission to visit Brazzaville and Bujumbura in accordance with operative paragraph 5b of the Addis Ababa resolution of 10th September, 1964.

- (iv) To obtain a guarantee from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo that facilities will be made available to enable the Commission to have discussions with Congolese political leaders who the Commission considers will be able to assist it in its task.

B. Congo Brazzaville

- (i) To discuss and obtain agreement of the Government of Congo of arrangements of an early visit to Brazzaville by the Ad Hoc Commission.
- (ii) To inform the Government of arrangements being made by the Commission to visit Leopoldville and Bujumbura in accordance with operative paragraph 5b of the Addis Ababa resolution of 10th September, 1964.
- (iii) To obtain a guarantee of the Government of Congo Brazzaville that facilities will be made available to enable the Commission to have discussions with Congolese political leaders who the Commission considers will be able to assist it in its task.

C. Burundi

- (i) To discuss and obtain agreement of the Burundi Government of arrangements of an early visit to Bujumbura by the Ad Hoc Commission.
- (ii) To inform the Burundi Government of arrangements being made by the Commission to visit Congo/ Leopoldville and Brazzaville in accordance with operative paragraph 5b of the Addis Ababa resolution



made by the Commission to visit Brazzaville and Bujumbura in accordance with operative paragraph 5b of the Addis Ababa resolution of 10th September, 1964.

- (iv) To obtain a guarantee from the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo that facilities will be made available to enable the Commission to have discussions with Congolese political leaders who the Commission considers will be able to assist it in its task.

B. Congo Brazzaville

- (i) To discuss and obtain agreement of the Government of Congo of arrangements of an early visit to Brazzaville by the Ad Hoc Commission.
- (ii) To inform the Government of arrangements being made by the Commission to visit Leopoldville and Bujumbura in accordance with operative paragraph 5b of the Addis Ababa resolution of 10th September, 1964.
- (iii) To obtain a guarantee of the Government of Congo Brazzaville that facilities will be made available to enable the Commission to have discussions with Congolese political leaders who the Commission considers will be able to assist it in its task.

C. Burundi

- (i) To discuss and obtain agreement of the Burundi Government of arrangements of an early visit to Bujumbura by the Ad Hoc Commission.
- (ii) To inform the Burundi Government of arrangements being made by the Commission to visit Congo/ Leopoldville and Brazzaville in accordance with operative paragraph 5b of the Addis Ababa resolution of 10th September, 1964.

- (iii) To obtain a guarantee of the Government of Burundi that facilities will be made available to enable the Commission to have discussions with Burundi leaders who the Commission considers will be able to assist it in its task.

D.

The sub-committee shall report its findings to the Ad Hoc Commission before the next meeting of the Council of Ministers.

RESOLUTION OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION

The Ad Hoc Commission of the O.A.U. on the Congo, meeting in Nairobi on the 29th and 30th January 1965 under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta President of the Republic of Kenya,

Having in mind the national reconciliation recommended by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. on 10th September 1964, has decided:

To invite the representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Congo/Leopoldville and the Congolese Revolutionary leaders or their representatives to meet the Ad Hoc Commission in Nairobi - Kenya, on Friday, 12th February 1965.

CM/50  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION  
ON THE ALGERO-MOROCCAN CONFLICT

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION  
ON THE ALGERO-MOROCCAN CONFLICT

Almost immediately after its inception the OAU was seized with the Algero-Moroccan border conflict. As a result by virtue of paragraph II of Article XII of the Charter of the OAU and in accordance with the request contained in the Joint Bamako Declaration of 30 October 1963, the First Extra-Ordinary Meeting of this Council, which took place from 15 to 18 November 1963, in Addis Ababa, created the ad hoc Commission on the Algero-Moroccan conflict by Resolution ECM/Res.1(I).

The purpose of the Commission was to implement the terms of the above referred Bamako Joint Declaration.

In accordance with the said Resolution, the terms of reference of the ad hoc Commission were sub-paragraphs a) and b) of Article IV of the Bamako Agreement, namely:

- a) to ascertain responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities;
- b) to examine the substantive border problem between Algeria and Morocco and submit concrete proposals to both Parties for the definite settlement of their dispute.

The Commission was also directed by this Council to report back to it on the results of its work. Charged with this mandate the Commission has had eight sessions between November 1963 and February 1965 and has reported twice to this Council on the progress of its work.

The first progress report covering the period between November 1963 and February 1964, during the course of which the Commission had had three sessions, was presented to this Council during its Second Ordinary Meeting in Lagos, 24-29 February 1964. The report of the Commission was adopted by this body by Resolution CM/Res.18/(II).

Thereafter, in continuance of its work, the Commission had met twice of which it presented a detailed progress report to this Council during the Third Ordinary Session in Cairo, 13-17 July 1964. The said report was adopted by this body by Resolution CM/Res.37(III), which states, inter alia:

"Reaffirms its confidence in the ad hoc Commission and requests"  
"it to continue its task with all necessary diligence until the"  
"complete fulfilment of its mandate, in accordance with the "  
"Charter of the OAU, the Bamako Declaration and Resolution "  
"ECM/Res.1(I) adopted by the Council of Ministers at its "  
"Extra-Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa. "

Thereafter, the Commission has had three sessions. The first of these was held in Khartoum from 16 to 24 September 1964. At the end of the Khartoum Session, having completed the study of all the relevant documents in its possession, the Commission prepared a Draft Recommendation in line with paragraph b) of its terms of Reference and submitted the same to the Parties.

In submitting the said Draft Recommendation to the parties, the Commission requested them to prepare their respective opinions on the said Draft, and present the same to the Commission during its next session which was held last October 1964.

Accordingly the Commission met once more in Algiers and Rabat. During that session the Commission heard only preliminary observations of each of the parties on the Draft Recommendation, and in compliance with the wish of the parties, the consideration of the final written observations were deferred until a later date.

The final written observations of both parties were transmitted to the members of the Commission in due time so that they may study the problem before the Commission's meeting. The last session of the Commission which was intended for the preparation of the final Recommendation having taken into consideration the written observation by the two parties was due to meet here in Nairobi during the last ten days.

A complete report of the Commission on its mandate is expected to be presented by the Chairman of the Commission to this body during this Session.

CM/51  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

COMMISSION ON PROBLEM OF REFUGEES



COMMISSION ON PROBLEM OF REFUGEES

The Commission on the Problem of Refugees in Africa held two meetings since the last session of the Council. The first was held in Addis Ababa on 10th September 1964 to discuss developments on the Burundi-Rwanda border resulting from Refugee movements. Having heard statements from the distinguished Foreign Ministers of Burundi and Rwanda on the issue, and after a thorough discussion of the Problem the Commission, unanimously adopted a recommendation in which the Commission, in particular, appealed to both parties "to use all their influence and all their authority so as to stop the activities of refugees which might affect adversely their good neighbourly relations".

The last session of the Commission was held from November 16th to December 7th 1964. During this session, the Commission made extensive fact-finding tours of over 25 refugee areas and camps in Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi at the expressed invitation of the respective countries. The Secretary General was represented by a senior Officer of the General Secretariat, who acted also as the Secretary of the Commission.

REFUGEES IN UGANDA

There are well over 100,000 refugees in Uganda coming from the Sudan, Rwanda and Congo (Leopoldville). This three-pronged influx of refugees from the three countries mentioned above has made the refugee problem in Uganda particularly acute. The adverse effects of the ever-increasing influx of refugees on the economic, social and even political development of Uganda was thus stressed by the Prime Minister, Dr. Milton Obote, in his address at the opening session of the Commission at Kampala. In the various refugee camps visited by the Commission, the Uganda Government, with assistance from the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees and other voluntary national and international organizations, is doing its best to feed, clothe and look after the medical, educational and cultural needs of the refugees. But it appeared that, even then, it was too much for Uganda to cope up with the problem without increased assistance from outside, both materially and financially.

### REFUGEES IN BURUNDI

There are over 60,000 Rwanda refugees and about 20,000 Congolese refugees in Burundi. Here again, in spite of the generous assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees, the adverse effect of the influx of refugees is felt even more by a small and densely populated Burundi.

### REFUGEES IN TANZANIA

The Tanzania Government is properly taking care of the 10,000 refugees from Mozambique who are settled around Lindi as well as the 13,000 Rwandese and the 300 Congolese refugees. The Commission was gratified to note that some of these refugee camps were provided with water supply, electricity and even a dancing hall ! On the whole Tanzania seems to cope up with the influx of refugees. It is possible, therefore, that these refugees, who do not wish to return to their countries of origin, could be given the opportunity to settle permanently in Tanzania. But here again a substantial outside assistance is required to help Tanzania help the refugees.

The influx of refugees has posed a formidable problem and difficulty to the Countries of asylum. The influx of more refugees disrupted the economic and social development of these countries. It meant more money to have the refugees settled, to provide them with food, clothing and other basic needs; the recruitment of more security personnel to maintain law and order as well as to patrol the border areas in order to prevent incidents between refugees and the security forces of the countries of origin, etc. These expenses, of course, do not take into account the concealed expenses in salaries to personnel, transportation, plots of land given to refugees and such other concomitant expenses. Such a burden on the economy and the basic social services of developing countries with scarce resources has incalculable adverse effect on their general development.

The countries of origin, on the other hand, should start forthwith to create favourable conditions for the return of the refugees and their normal participation in the affairs of the country as free and full-fledged citizens. To this end the Commission has recommended :

"That countries of origin seriously consider setting up, where this has not already been done, national investigating teams to examine the fears which force people to flee their countries and to consider ways and means of eliminating such fears.

"That Governments of countries from which the refugees come should make proclamation through the Administrative Secretary General of the OAU welcoming the refugees to return home.

"That copies of the proclamation be handed to the refugees by the countries of asylum.

"That refugees who return home should be granted their normal rights and privileges as citizens of their countries.

"That in a spirit of reconciliation, African Unity and Solidarity an amnesty be granted to refugees who were liable to prosecution but who undertake faithfully and conscientiously to live peaceful lives, avoiding all violence".

Finally, it goes without saying that the best solution to the refugee problem is the return of the refugees to their countries of origin. From the various statements of the refugees and their memoranda received by the Commission, it is clear that almost all the refugees wish to go back to their countries.

The formidable difficulty, however, seems to be the problem of security and guarantees from the countries of origin to the refugees. On the one hand the refugees stated that they were not prepared to believe whatever the Governments of their countries of origin declared and on the other hand the latter seemed not to be sure whether the refugees, once they returned home, would live peacefully. Such uneasy attitudes on both sides would necessarily require the intervention of a third party, which, of course, is the OAU, which could work out a formula, acceptable both to the refugees and to their countries of origin, that will facilitate the repatriation of the refugees.

In this connection, the brunt of the burden, both administrative and financial, is bound to be borne by the office of the Secretary General of the OAU and it was with this in mind that the Commission has recommended that the Secretary General "be empowered to include a sum in the budget of the OAU to help in providing assistance to refugees".

Up to now various national and international organizations have been rendering material, financial as well as administrative assistance to African refugees. Among them must be mentioned the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (OXFAM), the Swedish Agency for International Assistance (NIB) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees (UNHCR). The Secretary General of the OAU has had fruitful contacts with these organizations, which have expressed their willingness to continue their assistance to African refugees in close collaboration with the Office of the Secretary General of the OAU.

Because of the wealth of experience the UNHCR has had in assisting African refugees and because of its intention to increase the volume of such assistance the Secretary General has deemed it proper to strengthen its contacts with the UNHCR. Consequently, the Secretary General sent his deputy, H.E. Mohamed Sahnoun, to Geneva to discuss with the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees ways and means of co-ordinating the efforts of UNHCR and the OAU in assisting African refugees in their repatriation and re-settlement.

The UN High Commissioner for refugees has informed the deputy Secretary General that the Executive Committee of the Commission has, at its last session in Rome, decided to allocate at least half of the \$3.2 million budget for 1965, to refugees in Africa. Moreover, in view of the cumulative experience the office of the UNHCR has had in its dealings with refugee problem in Africa, the Secretary General has welcomed the assistance of two UNHCR legal experts, who were sent to the General Secretariat, to give their advise on the draft Convention in the light of their experience. The draft Convention relating to the states of refugees together with pertinent comments and observations of the Secretary General are laid before the Council for its consideration.

CM/52  
15 February

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
ON THE DEFENCE COMMISSION

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
ON THE DEFENCE COMMISSION

1. The Second Session of the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity met in Freetown (Sierra Leone) from the 2 to 4 February 1965.

His Excellency Sir Albert MARGAI, Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, acting in his capacity of Minister of Defence, presided over the official opening of the Conference and was elected Honorary Chairman.

2. The Officers of the Conference were elected as follows:

H.E. A.G. DEMBY, Minister of Land, Mineral Resources and Labour of Sierra Leone, Chairman;

H.E. KEITA Fodeba, Minister of Defence of Guinea, Vice-Chairman;

H.E. E. BORU, Head of the Delegation of Ethiopia, Vice-Chairman;

H.E. A. KODECK, Member of the Delegation of Kenya, Rapporteur.

3. The Commission adopted the agenda as proposed to them by the General Secretariat.

The Commission then listened to the Report of the Secretary-General, presented by His Excellency Mr. Mohamed SAHNOUN, Assistant Secretary-General, and adopted the report.

4. The Commission then took note of the changes made in its agenda by the Council of Ministers. A proposal was made by the Guinean Delegation with a view to amending Rules 7, 16 and 18 of the Rules of Procedure, so as to reduce the quorum from the original two-thirds to the absolute majority. This proposal was adopted.

5. The Commission then proceeded to examine item 4 of the Agenda, reading: "Examination of the military aspects of African Unity covered by the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government". (AHG/Res. 10(I)). During the discussion on this item, the Delegation

of Sierra Leone submitted a draft resolution, which was supported by several delegations, but which did not obtain more than 16 votes for, 2 against and 9 abstentions when it was voted on. The draft was thus rejected.

6. The Delegation of Nigeria also submitted a draft resolution, jointly with Ethiopia, which was later withdrawn.
7. A Drafting Committee, consisting of the Central African Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Tunisia, was appointed. This Committee subsequently put forward a draft resolution which was adopted with minor changes by 26 votes in favour and 5 abstentions.
8. This resolution recommended the creation of an African Defence Organization and entrusted the Council of Ministers with determining the modalities for its use. This resolution also provided that the Defence Department in the General Secretariat shall be re-inforced by a Committee of Defence Experts.
9. Following this, the Commission moved on to item 5 of its agenda, which dealt with an examination of the concrete measures to be taken with a view to concerted cooperation among the African countries in the field of defence. The draft resolution put forward by Mali and Sierra Leone was adopted unanimously. This resolution called upon the Administrative Secretary-General, among other things, to study the possibility and advisability of establishing a Joint African Military Academy. This resolution also recommended cooperation in teaching and a systematic exchange of the knowledge gained from the experience acquired by the Armed Forces of each African State.

CM/53  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY



THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE ACCRA ASSEMBLY

1. A report (CM.34(III)) has already been submitted to the Third Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, held in Cairo (UAR) from 13 to 17 July 1964, by the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity, in which it outlines the chief reasons for the offer made to the Organization of African Unity of the sponsorship of the forthcoming meeting of the Accra Assembly "and why it would be appropriate and timely for the Organization of African Unity to assume the sponsorship" of this meeting."
2. At its Third Ordinary Session, the Council of Ministers examined the request of the Accra Assembly and adopted a resolution on that matter (CM./Res.39(III)).
3. In this resolution, the Council of Ministers, after having noted that the Accra Assembly represented a fresh approach to the advancement of world peace, called upon the Secretariat of the Accra Assembly to provide all worthwhile information on the financial expenditures incurred in connection with the previous meeting in Accra and on its method and policy of extending invitations.
4. With the agreement of the two Secretariats, the General-Secretary of the Accra Assembly came to Addis Ababa to consult with the competent members of the OAU Secretariat, concerning the ways and means of implementing the resolution (CM./Res.39(III)), and the way in which the matter should be put before the Fourth Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, laying particular stress on the financial implications of the forthcoming meeting of the Accra Assembly.

5. Moreover, at the express request of the General Secretariat of the OAU, the General-Secretary of the Accra Assembly forwarded a document to the former . . . important excerpts from which follow, dealing principally with the cost of the previous meeting and the ways and means of organising the forthcoming Accra Assembly.
  
6. The Council of Ministers decided in the same resolution, to refer the request of the Accra Assembly to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government for examination. Decision on this matter was taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Cairo. It is not feasible to submit the matter to the Second Session of Heads of State and Government, which is to be held in Spetember 1965, since the forthcoming meeting of the Accra Assembly is scheduled for July 1965.

"A. Financial estimates for the 1965 Assembly

The 1962 Accra Assembly cost the Government of Ghana 100,000 pounds sterling. This included capital equipment in the way of simultaneous interpretation equipment (now turned over to the Government of Ghana), typewriters, duplicating equipment, etc., translation and interpretation services, air passages of about 120 participants and 20 experts, secretarial services and printing.

It is expected that with the experience gained by the Secretariat in organising such a Conference, the cost of the 1965 Assembly will be less. There will, however, be one additional item - the cost of continuation work following the Assembly - without which the Assembly itself would not be of much use. This item of expenditure has hitherto been borne principally by the Government of Ghana and through contributions from a few Governments of Non-Aligned Nations and individuals and organizations.

Below is a rough estimate of the cost of the 1965 Assembly under broad heads:

	<u>Pounds Sterling</u>
I. Capital Equipment	800
II. Interpretation and Translation Services	2,000
III. Secretarial Service	1,000
IV. Transport (passages for 140 participants and secretarial staff)	40,000
V. Hospitality (boarding and lodging of 350 participants, experts and observers, and secretarial staff)	10,000
VI. Stationary	2,000
VII. Printing costs (publications of conclusions and other papers during and after the Assembly)	8,000
VIII. Continuation work	<u>20,000</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>84,400</u>

These figures are based on the scaled-down actual 1962 Assembly.

B. Suggested method of raising funds for the Assembly

The Secretary General suggests that funds for financing the 1965 Assembly should be raised as an extra charge on Member Governments of the OAU, i.e. as an additional commitment to any financial commitments Member Governments may already have to the Organisation. This amount is exceedingly small in relation to the useful world-wide publicity the Assembly would give to the OAU and the demonstration of African Unity it would reflect, particularly with 1965 being the International cooperation Year.

Although it is intended to make a general appeal to Non-Aligned Governments and individual members of the international public for contributions towards the financing of the 1965 Assembly, it would be recognised that this is an uncertain source of income and much reliance cannot be placed upon it. It is therefore suggested that Member Governments of the OAU should undertake to

raise funds for the total cost of the Assembly by levying payments of 2,500 pounds sterling per each Member State. Member Governments willing to contribute more than this amount are, of course, welcome to do so. In view of the foreign exchange problems in some Member States, payment in local currencies will be accepted, provided they are made through Ghana Embassies and High Commissions in the contributing countries.

To give a greater significance to this contribution in relation to the 1965 Assembly as a meeting organised towards achievement of world peace, security and disarmament, it is suggested that payments should be made out of the military allocations of Member States, as was done in the case of the first Accra Assembly financed by the Government of Ghana. This will contribute greatly to the impact the Assembly will have on world opinion.

C. Tenue of the Meeting

It would be recalled that the first Accra Assembly, organised in June 1962, was held in Accra. It is the view of the International Council of the Accra Assembly that the 1965 should be held in East Africa. Nairobi has been suggested, and the three East African countries, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda should act as joint hosts.

Informal discussion held with some Kenya Ministers indicate their willingness to play host to the Assembly. A formal request to the three member countries of the OAU to play host is, in the meantime, being addressed to their Governments.

D. Date of the Assembly

It is envisaged that the meeting would take place about the third week of July 1965. This period has been suggested to prevent conflict with other international conferences scheduled for 1965, such as the Conference of the Universities and the Quest for Peace, scheduled to take place in Rome, and the annual Peace Congress organised by the World Council for Peace. This consideration is important since a number of individuals who might be invited to attend the Assembly would also be already committed to attend these conferences.

An alternative period would be August 1965, before the OAU Conference scheduled for September 1965. Final choice of the date would depend on how soon the OAU decides on the various matters involved in their sponsorship of the Assembly, and how much time the Secretariat would require after that to prepare the Assembly.

E. Preparation of the Assembly

Any decision taken by the Council of Ministers in favor of sponsorship of the Assembly should include a mandate to the Secretary-General of the OAU to decide on all matters affecting the preparation of the Assembly in consultation with the General-Secretary of the Accra Assembly. Any political issues which might have repercussions on the general African foreign policy should be referred to the current President of the Council of Ministers for decision in consultation, where necessary, with the Heads of State or Governments of the host countries.

What should be avoided is vague and general resolutions which which do not indicate any direction from which action could be initiated."

CM/54  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE WITH THE OAU

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE WITH THE OAU

1. Operative paragraph 2 of Resolution AHG/Res.7(I) dealing with the "report of the Liberation Committee" and adopted at Cairo on 21 July 1964, during the First Ordinary Session of the African Heads of State and Government, specified the relationship between the Secretary-General of the OAU and the Liberation Committee by deciding that the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU be given supervisory power over the Secretariat of the Committee".
2. This being the decision, and aware of the vital importance of the Liberation Committee's duties and activities in the fulfilment of the aims, purposes and aspirations of the OAU, the Administrative Secretary-General, on assuming office and inspired by the mandate entrusted to him by the above-mentioned resolution, made a declaration of policy to the effect that it was his firm intention to make an unremitting effort to see that the OAU resolutions pertinent to decolonization are effectively and rapidly carried out.
3. As such he felt it his duty to make his first official visit to the Headquarters of the Liberation Committee at Dar-es-Salaam, from 22-25 September 1964, to examine the organisational and operational set-up of the Secretariat of the Liberation Committee. Accompanied by the Assistant Secretary-General, Ambassador M. Sahnoun, he contacted the Chairman of the Liberation Committee, H.E. Mr. Oscar Kambona, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Head of State and the two Vice-Presidents of the Republic, the Executive-Secretary of the Liberation Committee, Hon. Sebastian Chale, the authorities of the United Republic of Tanzania, the African Ambassadors accredited to Dar-es-Salaam (most of whom are their country's representatives to the Liberation Committee) as well as the leaders of all the National Liberation Movements present in Dar-es-Salaam.

4. In the course of the numerous discussions which the Secretary-General had the opportunity to hold with the Head of State, H.E. Mr. Julius Nyerere, as well as with other authorities of the United Republic of Tanzania, and in particular with H.E. Mr. Oscar Kambona, Chairman of the Liberation Committee, it was possible to gather a number of extremely useful opinions and concrete proposals formulated by all the parties concerned.

This important work cannot but facilitate the task of the Secretary-General and his colleagues in carrying out their responsibilities in the essential field of African Liberation.

5. The Executive Secretary, Hon. Sebastian Chale, gave the Administrative Secretary-General a detailed, oral report of both the moral and financial situation of the Liberation Committee and its Secretariat. The Administrative Secretary-General asked the Executive Secretary to send him advance copies, for his information, of the reports that the latter decided to present to the Fifth meeting of the Liberation Committee to be held in Cairo starting 8 October 1964.
6. The Administrative Secretary-General had the opportunity to hold lengthy conversations with all the African Ambassadors during an intimate meeting organized for this purpose. The African diplomats made numerous, relevant suggestions to the Administrative Secretary-General on the work of the Liberation Committee and its Secretariat, and discussed valuable information on ways and means of increasing the efficiency of the overall work of these two organs.
7. The Administrative Secretary-General subsequently held substantial and useful meetings with all the leaders of the Liberation Movements then present at Dar-es-Salaam. These movements are : ANC and PAC from South Africa, SWAPO from South-West Africa, ZAPU and ZANU from Southern Rhodesia, FRELIMO from Mozambique, MLC from Comoro Islands and FNLA from Angola.



8. ~~These discussions showed that an important task had been accomplished~~ by the Liberation Committee despite difficulties experienced in the initial stages. The training of both Military and Political cadres has been accelerated, and the striking power of the Liberation Movements has noticeably improved. It is, however, to be noted that progress in achieving a common front of action within each territory engaged in the struggle is rather limited if not sometimes nil and, as is emphasized by the Cairo Resolution, there are, unfortunately, in many countries under colonial domination, two or more rival Liberation Movements whose antagonisms are sometimes so marked that they overshadow the essential element in the common objectives of the Organizations concerned, namely : the National Liberation struggle directed against the foreign occupying power.

In his interviews with the leaders of the Liberation movements, the Administrative Secretary-General emphasized the necessity for the rapid achievement of common fronts of action in conformity with the relevant recommendations of the Cairo Summit Conference. The Administrative Secretary-General, who considers the formation of these unified fronts as one of the vital pre-requisites for ensuring the effectiveness of the Liberation struggles, strongly emphasized his intention to use all his power of persuasion to discourage divisions, whatever be the reason behind them, and, on the other hand, to encourage unity of action among the patriots engaged in the sacred struggle against the foreign occupying power.

9. The greatest handicap of the Secretariat was no doubt the lack of a clear definition of its terms of reference and of its exact place among the various institutions and organs of the OAU approved by the Heads of State. In this connection, the last Cairo resolution and the Functions and Regulations of the General Secretariat, particularly Rule 3, which confirms that "The General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity is the Secretariat of the Assembly, of the Council of Ministers, of the Specialized Commissions and other organs of the Organization of African Unity", leave no possible doubt concerning the status of the General Secretariat, and its normal role as the executive organ of the Liberation Committee.

10. The Administrative Secretary-General therefore hoped to obtain the full and entire co-operation of the Members of the Liberation Committee and of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania so as to meet the obligations devolving on him by virtue of Resolution AHG/Res.7(I) and Rule 3 of the Functions and Regulations of the General Secretariat. Such assistance and co-operation on the part of the authorities of the United Republic of Tanzania and of the Members of the Liberation Committee were already generously bestowed on the Administrative Secretary-General and his staff during his recent mission to Dar-es-Salaam. For this reason, the Administrative Secretary-General made a particular point, at the close of his most encouraging mission, of expressing his gratitude and very sincere thanks to President Nyerere, the Members of his Government, the directorate of the Executive Secretariat, and all the African diplomats, who strove, each in his particular field, to make his mission at once so useful and so heartening.
11. In this context of intimate and brotherly co-operation, for the greater good of the OAU, the Administrative Secretary-General proposes to take every step to facilitate to the utmost of his ability the vital work of the Liberation Committee, whose prime importance is unanimously recognized by all African Leaders.
12. It was for this reason that the Administrative Secretary-General had submitted a Memorandum, containing drafts rules and regulations that take into account the fundamental provisions of the Rules of Procedure of the Council of Ministers and the General Secretariat of the OAU as specified in Resolution AHG/Res.7(I) of the Cairo Conference and Rule 3 of the Functions and Regulations of the General Administrative Secretariat, for the examination and approval of the members of the Fifth Meeting of the Liberation Committee, held in Dar-es-Salaam from 17 October to 22 October 1964.

- ~~13. The Committee, however, decided to postpone this important issue governing the relationship of the OAU General Secretariat on the one hand, and one of its executive branches, the Liberation Committee, on the other, until another session.~~
14. On the other hand, mention must be made of the fact that same members of the Liberation Committee had imparted to the Secretary-General the definite impression that they interpret the Cairo resolution in its strictest sense with the implication that the Administrative Secretary-General should not have any real controls over the activities of the Executive Secretariat of Liberation Committee. In this respect, it is advisable to refer to paragraph B of item 6 of the Minutes of the 5th Session since that paragraph reflects the atmosphere in which the whole issue of the relationship of the OAU Administrative Secretary-General with the Liberation Committee and its Executive Secretariat was discussed.
15. This has created a situation in which an executive organ of the OAU Secretariat had become a virtually autonomous and independent institution. This situation has not only, at present, hampered harmonious relations between the OAU Secretariat and the Liberation Committee and limited co-operation between them to the minimum, as evidenced by the fact that the Administrative Secretary-General had not been notified of the activities and mandate of some of the sub-committees of the Liberation Committee, as, for example, in the case of the Liberation Committees' fact-finding mission to French Somaliland, but may lead to the deterioration of the extant effort within the liberation movement itself for which the Committee was created by Member States of the OAU.
16. Resolution AHG/Res.7(I) should not be strictly interpreted as in the case of a legal suit. Rather, in the examination of the relationship of the OAU Secretariat with the Liberation Committee and its Executive Secretariat, recourse must be made to the spirit, mission and general purposes of the OAU. The analysis of the aforementioned relationship cannot be limited to one resolution, let alone to the letter of that resolution. Any such analysis should be based on a general reflection

of the spirit of that and other similar resolutions and of the intentions and hopes of the Member States in creating a machinery to execute their instructions emanating either from their respective Heads of State and Government or their Foreign Ministers. This being the case, there is no question that the Liberation Committee and its Secretariat are but executive organs of the OAU. The Liberation Committee cannot be an independent institution since its raison d'être stems from the above-mentioned purposes, aims and hopes of the African States which physically manifest themselves in the OAU.

17. Adoption of the provisions of the new Rules of Procedure would without any doubt make it possible to avoid the recurrence of the confusion that had handicapped the activities of both the Liberation Committee and its parent-organization, the OAU, and create an atmosphere in which the Liberation Committee would work under optimum conditions of combined clarity, regularity and efficiency.
18. The Administrative Secretary-General, therefore submits this report and its annex to the Council of Ministers so that they may examine the existing state of affairs and make the necessary decision that would usher in the conditions that will make harmonious relations and synchronised efforts possible.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE  
LIBERATION OF AFRICA

COMPOSITION

Rule 1

The Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa is composed of the representative of Algeria, Congo (Leopoldville), Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, ~~Senegal~~ Uganda, United Arab Republic and United Republic of Tanzania

Rule 2

The Headquarters of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa shall be in Dar es Salaam

FUNCTIONS

Rule 3

i) The Committee shall be responsible for harmonising all assistance provided by african countries for the struggle for liberation and for managing the Special Fund set up for this purpose.

ii) The Committee shall propose to the Council of Ministers the necessary fund and the apportionment among member states of their contributions to the Special Fund.

iii) The Committee shall take cognizance of any question referred to it by the Council of Ministers or by the Assembly.

iv) The Committee shall encourage liberation movements to co-ordinate their efforts in order to establish common action fronts wherever necessary so as to strenghten the effectiveness of their struggle and the rational use of the concerted assistance given to them.

v) The committee shall offer its good offices to conflicting liberation movements for reconciliatory purposes.

vi) The Committee shall be responsible to the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

vii) The Committee examines the Programme and the Budget established by the Executive Secretary supervised by the General Administrative Secretary, and recommends their approval to the Council of Ministers.

## REPRESENTATION

### Rule 4

Each Member State shall be represented on the Committee by a delegation led by a Minister concerned or a Plenipotentiary designated by this State.

### Rule 5

The Government of each Member State shall communicate to the Secretariat in advance the list of the duly accredited members of its delegation

## SESSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

### Rule 6

In its ordinary sessions The Committee shall meet once a year. During its ordinary annual sessions, the Committee examines its Programme and Budget for the next fiscal year, and recommends them approval to the Council of Ministers. The fiscal year of the Committee shall be from 1st June to 31st May of the following year.

### Rule 7

The Committee shall meet in extraordinary session when requested by any Member State and with the agreement of two-thirds of the members.

Rule 8

The sessions of the Committee shall be held at the Headquarters of the Committee or at such other places at the Committee may decide by two-thirds majority.

PUBLIC AND CLOSED MEETINGS

Rule 9

All meetings of the Committee shall be held in closed sessions except if Members of the Committee decide otherwise by two-thirds majority

WORKING LANGUAGES

Rule 10

The languages used by the Committee shall be, if possible, African languages, as well as English and French.

CHAIRMAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN AND RAPPORTEURS

Rule 11

At the beginning of each session, the Committee shall elect, by secret ballot and simple majority, a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman and one rapporteur, whose terms of office shall terminate at the commencement of the next ordinary session.

Rule 12

The Chairman opens and closes the meetings, submits for approval the records of the meetings, directs the debates, grants the use of the floor, submits to vote matters under discussion, announces the results of votes, rules on points of order in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

Rule 13

In case of vacancy or absence of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman shall act in his place.

AGENDA

Rule 14

i) The provisional agenda shall be drawn up by the Executive Secretary in agreement with the Administrative Secretary General, and communicated to Member States at least 15 days before the opening of ordinary sessions.

ii) The provisional agenda for ordinary sessions shall comprise, in particular: a) the report of the Executive Secretary, in agreement with the Administrative Secretary General;

b) items which the Council of Ministers or the Assembly of Heads of State and Gouvernement decide to place on the agenda of the Committee;

c) items which the Committee decides to place on its agenda;

d) items proposed by Member States;

e) other business.

iii) The Agenda of an extraordinary session shall comprise only of items submitted for consideration in the request for convening the extraordinary session.

#### QUORUM AND DEBATES

##### Rule 15

The quorum shall be made up of two-thirds of Members of the Committee.

##### Rule 16

No representative shall have the floor without the consent of the Chairman. The Chairman shall grant the use of the floor in the order in which it has been requested; he can call to order any representative when his statement is not relevant to the matter under discussion.

#### RESOLUTIONS

##### Rule 17

Proposed resolutions, motions or amendments shall be presented in writing to the Secretariat, who shall circulate copies to representative. However, the Council may authorise the discussion of a proposal not previously distributed. Proposed resolutions and motions shall be examined in the order of their submission.

A motion or a proposed resolution may be withdrawn by the original mover prior to its being submitted to the vote. Any representative may reintroduce a motion or proposed resolution that has been withdrawn.



POINTS OF ORDER

Rule 18

During the debate, a representative may raise a point of order and the point of order shall be immediately decided by the Chairman in accordance with the Rules of Procedure. A representative may appeal against the ruling of the Chairman. The appeal shall be immediately put to the vote and decided upon by simple majority.

A representative may not, in raising a point of order, speak on the substance of the matter under discussion.

TIME LIMIT

Rule 19

The Committee may limit the time allowed to each speaker on any question. On procedural questions, the Chairman shall limit each intervention to a maximum of five minutes. When debate is limited and a representative exceeds his allotted time, the Chairman shall call him to order without delay.

CLOSING OF LIST OF SPEAKERS

Rule 20

During the course of a debate, the Chairman may announce the list of speakers and, with the consent of the Committee, declare the list closed. The Chairman may, however, accord the right of reply to any representative if, in his opinion, a speech delivered after he has declared the list closed, justifies this decision.

CLOSURE OF DEBATES

Rule 21

When a matter has been sufficiently discussed, any representative may move the closure of the debate. Two representatives may speak in favour of the motion and two against the motion, after which the motion shall be considered approved if it has a simple majority in its favour. When the debate on an item is concluded because there are no other speakers, the Chairman shall declare the debate closed.

ADJOURNMENT OF DEBATE

Rule 22

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the adjournment of the debate. In addition to the proposer of the motion, one representative may speak in favour of the motion and one against the motion, after which the motion shall be immediately put to the vote.

SUSPENSION OR ADJOURNMENT OF THE MEETING

Rule 23

During the discussion of any matter, a representative may move the suspension or adjournment of the meeting. No discussions on such motions shall be permitted and they shall be immediately put to the vote.

ORDER OF PROCEDURAL MOTIONS

Rule 24

Subject to Rule 19, the following motions shall have precedence in the following order over all other proposals or motions presented:

- i) to suspend the meeting;
- ii) to adjourn the meeting;
- iii) to adjourn the debate on the item under discussion;
- iv) for the closure of the debate on the item under discussion.

VOTING RIGHTS

Rule 25

Each Member State shall have one vote.

MAJORITY REQUIRED

Rule 26

All resolutions shall be determined by absolute majority of the Members of the Co-ordinating Committee.

VOTE ON RESOLUTIONS

Rule 27

After the debate has been closed, the Chairman shall immediately put to the vote resolutions with all amendments. The vote shall not be interrupted except on a point of order related to the manner in which the vote is taking place.

VOTE ON AMENDMENTS

Rule 28

When an amendment is moved to a proposal, the amendment shall be voted on first. When several amendments are moved to a proposal, the Committee shall first vote on the amendment furthest removed in substance from the original proposal and, then, on the amendments next furthest removed therefrom, and so on, until all the amendments have been put to the vote. If one or several amendments are adopted, the amended proposal is then put to the vote. If no amendments are adopted, the proposal shall be put to the vote in its original form. A proposal is considered as an amendment to a text if it adds or removes parts therefrom or modifies it.

VOTE ON SEPARATE PARTS OF A PROPOSAL

Rule 29

Parts of a proposal, resolution or motion shall be voted on separately when so requested. If this is done, the text resulting from a series of votes shall be put to the vote as a whole. If all operative parts of a proposed resolution or motion have been rejected, the proposal shall be considered to have been rejected as a whole.

METHOD OF VOTING AND EXPLANATION OF VOTE

Rule 30

Votes will be taken by raising the hand, but any representative may request a roll-call vote which shall be taken in the alphabetical order of the names of the Member States beginning with the State whose name is drawn by lot by the Chairman. After ~~closure~~ <sup>closure</sup> of debate or after a vote, any representative may request the use of the floor to explain his vote.

Rule 31

There shall be a secret vote for elections, and also in such special circumstances as the Council may determine by simple majority.

Rule 32

In the event of equality of votes in issues other than elections, the proposal is deemed to be rejected.

COMMITTEES

Rule 33

The Committee may establish such ad hoc committees and temporary working groups as it may deem necessary.

Rule 34

The standing committees of the Co-ordinating Committee shall be the following:

- i) General Policy
- ii) Defence;
- iii) Finance.

These three standing committees shall be composed each of three members of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

SECRETARIAT

Rule 35

The Secretariat of the Committee established in Dar es Salaam shall carry out the Committee's decisions. It shall work under the general direction of the General Administrative Secretary of the Organization of African Unity and its terms of service shall be determined by Statutes and the rules of procedure of the General Administrative Secretariat.

AMENDMENTS

Rule 36

These rules of procedure may be amended by the Committee by simple majority of its members.

CM/55  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February

REPORT OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE  
AFRICAN GROUP TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE PERIOD  
JULY-DECEMBER 1964

The present report will deal in succession with :

1. Operating problems of the Secretariat
2. The financial situation of the Secretariat
3. The draft budget for the year 1965

I

OPERATING DIFFICULTIES

In the report made on the occasion of the OAU Conference of Heads of State and Government in Cairo in July 1964, we had occasion to define the activities of the Permanent Secretariat in New York and to specify the manner in which it intended to carry out such activities. It is our intention here to draw attention mainly to the operating difficulties that have arisen during the past months.

These problems are connected with the operating procedures of the group, personnel, relations with the United Nations and the equipment of the Secretariat offices.

a) Experience has shown that the Group meets on the average two or three times a week. This is a result of the fact that each Mission has been given the absolute right to convene meetings of the Group and to determine itself the date on which these meetings shall be held, without either the Chairman of the Group or the Executive Secretary being able to intervene to co-ordinate requests for meetings. At the instance of the Secretariat, the Group thought the problem could be solved by fixing regular meetings for the second and fourth Wednesdays of each month. This procedure proved ineffective, in that the missions, stressing the urgency of the questions to be presented to the Group, were always able to convene meetings in the meantime.

It seems to us that the only effective solution would be to give the Chairman for each month and the Executive Secretary power to co-ordinate requests for meetings and to assess the urgency of the problems to be presented to the Group, in consultation, of course with the Mission that requests the meeting.

A solution must be found to the situation rapidly; the great number of meetings, in fact, totally immobilizes the Secretariat, which spends all its time at the meetings of the Group and cannot, in view of the restricted personnel strength, carry out its other activities.

b) The Secretariat personnel has been reduced to the lowest possible number. As a result of the frequency of Group meetings, which has been stressed above, it is clear that greater activity cannot be expected from the Secretariat.

If the Group and the General Secretariat wish to see greater activity at New York level on the part of the Permanent Secretariat it would be desirable to increase the personnel accordingly.

In our opinion, it would be desirable to appoint at least one Deputy Executive Secretary as soon as possible; he might be a useful assistant to the Executive Secretary.

Special mention must be made of the interpretation service. As the Group is bilingual and sometimes wishes to hold private meetings outside the United Nations, to ensure the maximum secrecy for the decisions taken, it is essential for the Secretariat to have a qualified interpreter capable not only of translating the Secretariat documents but also of interpreting at private meetings.

We have already had occasion to mention this problem many times. The interpreter must be given an adequate salary comparable to that to which he would be entitled if he were recruited by the United Nations.

Otherwise, it goes without saying that the person concerned would prefer to apply to the United Nations, for there is no human reason why, with equal ability, there should be disparity in salary.

c) The fact that there are no official relations between the OAU and the United Nations slightly hampers the activities of the Secretariat in New York.

We have already drawn attention to this problem in our July report. We deeply regret that, as a result of certain misunderstandings, the question of OAU recognition by the United Nations was not included on the Agenda of the 19th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

The next Council of Ministers of the OAU should take a clear decision on this subject, to be binding on all missions of OAU member-States to the United Nations.

In itself, the question of such recognition raises no particular difficulty and we have already prepared a special report on this subject.

d) It seems to me that we have enough space in the Secretariat Offices and it is not immediately necessary to request more spacious offices, which by the way, would be very expensive.

The equipment of the Secretariat should be supplemented. Most of it was presented by the U.A.M., with exception of the four articles indicated by asterisks in the list below. This list shows the breakdown of the equipment by room:

I        RECEPTION HALL

EMPTY

II       SECRETARIAT ROOM

2     Chairs  
1     Metal desk, single pedestal  
1     Typing table, metal  
2     Typist's chairs, revolving  
2     Metal filing cabinets (4 drawers)  
\*1    Duplicator, "Gestetner"  
\*1    Photocopy machine, "3M Company"  
\*1    Small metal table (3 drawers)  
1     Typewriter, "Underwood"  
1     Electric typewriter "I.B.M."



III CONFERENCE HALL

2 Conference tables  
5 Metal racks  
20 Chairs

IV 1st OFFICE

1 Desk  
2 Armchairs  
1 Armchair revolving  
1 Sofa  
1 Tea-table, square

V 2nd OFFICE

1 Wooden Desk  
1 Armchair  
1 Chair

VI 3rd OFFICE

1 Metal desk  
1 Armchair, revolving  
1 Chair

VII 4th OFFICE

EMPTY

VIII STORE

1 Metal cupboard  
1 Chair

IX \*1 Official car, Falcon Futura 1964

As will have been noticed, the conference hall is not sufficiently equipped to receive the thirty-five present members of the OAU. It would be desirable to increase the number of chairs available in the conference hall.

Assuming that it were necessary to seat two persons per delegation, the Secretariat would have to have seventy chairs, or fifty more than it has at present.

The waiting-room is completely empty and needs to be equipped to make the Secretariat offices presentable.

Unless a considerable increase in the personnel is envisaged, it is not necessary to equip the fourth office for the moment.

## II

### THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE SECRETARIAT

AT 30 NOVEMBER 1964

#### A. Receipts at 30 November 1964

When the Council of Ministers adopted the Secretariat budget at Lagos, the OAU had thirty-four members. Each member's share having been fixed at \$2,000.00, the Secretariat budget was to have been  $\$2,000.00 \times 34 = 68,000.00$ .

Since the meeting of the Council, the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar has reduced the number of OAU members by one. The actual budget of the Secretariat is therefore reduced to  $\$2,000.00 \times 33 = \$66,000.00$ .

On 30 November 1964, the contributions actually paid in to the Secretariat treasury were as follows:

ALGERIA	\$2,000.00
BURUNDI	2,000.00
CAMEROUN	2,000.00

<del>CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC</del>	\$2,000.00
CHAD	2,000.00
CONGO BRAZZAVILLE	2,000.00
CONGO LEOPOLDVILLE	2,000.00
DAHOMEY	2,000.00
ETHIOPIA	2,000.00
GABON	2,000.00
GUINEA	2,000.00
GHANA	2,000.00
IVORY COAST	2,000.00
LIBERIA	2,000.00
LIBYA	2,000.00
MADAGASCAR	1,495.67
MALI	2,000.00
MAURITANIA	2,000.00
MOROCCO	2,000.00
NIGER	2,000.00
NIGERIA	2,000.00
RWANDA	2,000.00
SENEGAL	2,000.00
SIERRA LEONE	2,000.00
SOMALIA	Nil
SUDAN	2,000.00
TANZANIA	2,000.00
TOGO	2,000.00
TUNISIA	2,000.00
UPPER VOLTA	2,000.00
UGANDA	2,000.00
UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC	2,000.00
KENYA	2,000.00

Plus the balance in respect of a reception  
given by the Group and paid into the  
Secretariat treasury by MALI, namely

1,418.00  
\$64,913.67

T O T A L

B. Expenditure at 30 November 1964

Expenditure made in conformity with the budget adopted in Lagos can be broken down as follows:

1) Personnel	\$ 21,875.00
2) Rent	11,568.78
3) Equipment	3,931.07
4) Office supplies	3,831.12
5) Stamps, telegrams, telephone	2,304.12
6) Operation of the vehicle and equipment maintenance	795.66
7) Subscriptions for newspapers and telex	1,366.28
8) Transportation and mission expenses	2,322.33
9) Deficit on the provisional budget (only Somalia made no payments in respect of this budget)	<u>1,096.64</u>
T O T A L: \$ 49,091.00	

C. Balance at 30 November 1964

Taking account of the preceding remarks, the balance of the Permanent Secretariat account at 30 November 1964 was:

Receipts	\$ 64,913.67
Expenditure	<u>49,091.00</u>
B A L A N C E: \$ 15,822.67	

D. Remarks

1) The current budgetary year will close on 28 February 1965. If the present rate of expenditure is maintained (which is scarcely probable in view of the resumption of activity with the General Assembly) the above balance would suffice to cover the Secretariat's operational expenses during the three remaining months. However that may be, it is essential for the budget for the following year to be adopted before the end of February, to avoid operating difficulties.

2) The above balance is not the actual balance of the Secretariat account. Certain expenditure has been borne by the Executive Secretariat that should normally be charged to the budget of the OAU General Secretariat at Addis Ababa.

This refers to transportation and Mission expenses and expenses relative to the printing of the organization's basic documents decided on by the Acting Secretary General of the Organization, the costs for which were advanced under the item "Office supplies" in the budget of the Executive Secretariat. Taking account of this expenditure, which should normally be repaid to the Executive Secretariat by the General Secretariat, of contributions not yet paid by certain countries into the budget of the Secretariat and of the loss of earnings entailed by the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the real Secretariat balance would be:

Present balance	\$ 15,822.67
Transportation and mission expenses	2,322.33
Printing of basic documents	1,065.75
Loss of earnings entailed by the union of Tanganyika - Zanzibar	2,000.00
Contribution not yet paid in by Somalia	2,000.00
Contribution not paid by Madagascar to the regular budget	504.13
Contribution not paid by Somalia to the provisional budget	<u>510.00</u>
ACTUAL BALANCE	\$ 24,224.88

This balance bears witness to the austerity with which the Secretariat budget has been managed.

3) However, it should be stressed that since the Secretariat has borne out of its budget expenses that were not initially envisaged (namely transportation and mission expenses, printing of documents) and has suffered

a loss of earnings owing to the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, it has not been able to make other useful expenditure and, in particular, to set up a library in the Secretariat and to complete the furnishing of certain parts of the offices. This expenditure will be carried over to the next budget unless the General Secretariat repays to us the sums mentioned above.

III

DRAFT BUDGET FOR THE PERIOD 1 MARCH 1965 TO 28 FEBRUARY 1966

A. Bearing in mind the experience of the past year, the Secretariat considered that it should submit the following draft budget:

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>ALLOCATION</u>
Chapter 1	Personnel expenditure	\$
	a) Responsible personnel with diplomatic status	
	1 Executive Secretary	\$ 16,440.00
	1,370.00 x 12 =	\$ 16,440.00
	1 Deputy Executive Secretary	
	800 x 12	9,600.00
	b) Executive personnel	
	1 Interpreter/management secretary	
	600 x 12	7,200.00
	1 Secretary stenographer-typist, telephone operator	
	450 x 12	5,400.00
	1 Driver/messenger	
	360 x 12	4,320.00
	c) Social security payments (family allowances, employer's contributions leave, medical care)	
	<u>Pro memoria:</u> To be provided pursuant to the staff rules adopted for the OAU General Secretariat	
	TOTAL	\$ 42,960.00

Chapter II

	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>ALLOCATION</u>
	Equipment expenditure	
a)	Rent of the offices 785 x 42 x 12	\$ 9,425.00
	Residence of the Executive Secretary 500.00 x 12	<u>6,000.00</u>
		\$ 15,425.00
b)	Recurrent costs	
	cables and telegrams	3,000.00
	stamps	1,500.00
	telephone	1,800.00
	office supplies	5,000.00
	insurance, maintenance and operation of the vehicle	1,500.00
	Subscription for newspapers and teleprinter	<u>3,000.00</u>
	TOTAL:	\$ 15,800.00
c)	Entertainment	5,000.00
	TOTAL EQUIPMENT	15,425.00
		15,800.00
		<u>5,000.00</u>
		\$ 36,225.00

Chapter III

	Transportation and mission subsistence allowances (transportation of personnel documents and mission expenses on the United Nations scale	5,000.00
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Chapter IV

	Additional equipment	
a)	furniture	2,000.00
b)	library	<u>1,000.00</u>
	TOTAL	\$ 3,000.00

<u>Recapitulation</u>	Chapter I	Personnel	\$ 42,960.00
	Chapter II	Equipment	36,225.00
	Chapter III	Transportation	5,000.00
	Chapter IV	Additional equipment	<u>3,000.00</u>
		TOTAL	\$ 87,185.00

B. REMARKS

1) As will be noticed, in most of its items this budget purely and simply reproduces the preceding budget. The new items constitute either an adjustment in the field of personnel made necessary by the operation of the Secretariat or provision for expenditure that had been deleted from the preceding budget, but which the Secretariat was nevertheless obliged to make during the year, such as transportation of personnel, documents and receptions etc...

2) The social security payments have been mentioned pro memoria which means that the General Secretariat will have to include them, taking account of the regulations applying to the OAU General Secretariat personnel. The inclusion of these charges is absolutely essential, as they are particularly heavy in the United Nations.

3) The amount included for the Deputy Executive Secretary is merely an estimate. It goes without saying that this sum will have to be adjusted to the scale in force in the OAU General Secretariat. It is to be recalled that, as far as the Executive Secretary is concerned, the decision was taken by the Council of Ministers in Lagos to bring his salary in line with that of the Counsellor of the Nigerian Mission at New York. The salary included for the interpreter is the minimum granted in this profession.

4) The amount of the budget shows an increase as against the preceding budget. However, if one bears in mind the fact that the OAU will soon have thirty-five members, the contribution of each one will be:



\$ 87,185

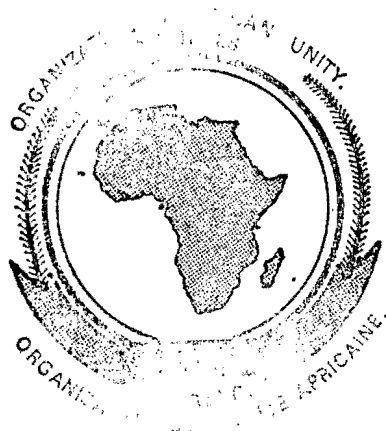
\$ 2,491.00

35

that is to say, approximately \$2,500.00 per State, which represents a slight increase of \$500.00 over last year's contribution, which was 2,000.00.

François SENGAT-KUO

Executive Secretary  
of the United Nations African Group



CM/56  
15 February 1965

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth session  
Nairobi, February 1965

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Measures taken in the implementation of the Resolutions of the First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and the Third Ordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers.

A. POLITICAL MATTERS

The Administrative Secretary-General, following the instructions of the Heads of State and Government and the Council of Ministers, has taken action in respect to the following resolutions.

1. CM/Res.31(III), AHG/Res.5(I) and AHG/Res.6(I) on Apartheid and Racial discrimination in South Africa

The Administrative Secretary-General has fulfilled the wishes of both the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government by establishing the Bureau of Sanctions. In pursuance of the other sections of the above-mentioned resolutions, the Bureau of Sanctions has sent circular-notes to the major trading partners of South Africa, to all oil-producing and to all rubber-producing countries of the world that export their products to South Africa warning them of the danger that exists in South Africa and pleading with them to cease forthwith their trade relations with that country before the explosive situation there becomes detrimental to international order. The Bureau has also sent circular notes and a questionnaire to all Member States of the OAU requesting them to transmit to it all information on the steps taken by them in the implementation of the various resolutions of the OAU dealing with the problem (see Progress report on South Africa).

2. CM/Res.34(III) and AHG/Res.9(I) on territories under Portuguese domination

Similar steps to those taken in pursuance of the preceding resolution have also been taken in respect to this resolution.

3. CM/Res.32(III) and AHG/Res.7(I) on the Liberation Committee

The Administrative Secretary-General travelled to Dar-es-Salaam and held talks with several authorities concerned with the Liberation of the Continent. A report on the various meetings and discussions is submitted herewith as an annex.

4. CM/Res.33(III) and AHG/Res.8(I) on South Rhodesia

The Secretary-General has followed developments in Southern Rhodesia closely. On September 27, 1964, when the situation became critical, the Secretary-General sent telegrammes to both the Algerian and Senegalese Foreign Ministers to contact each other with a view of requesting an urgent meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations as early as possible. He also sent a telegramme to the Executive-Secretary of the African Group at the United Nations asking him to inform the African Group so that they may assist the two Foreign Ministers.

5. AHG/Res.10(I) on Union Government for Africa

The Secretariat has taken steps to inscribe on the Agenda of the meetings of all specialized commissions the study of the question under their respective competence.

6. CM/Res.36(III) on the Problem of Refugees in Africa

The Commission has continued its work and has drawn draft convention which was circulated to Member State of the OAU for their comments and observations. The final text of the draft convention is now submitted to the Council for its consideration.

7. CM/Res.38(III) and AHG/Res.11(I) on the Denuclearization of Africa

The Secretary-General has sent a note to the Permanent Secretary of the African Group at the United Nations asking him to bring to the attention of the African Group the text of the above Resolution so that the matter could be included in the Agenda of the Nineteenth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly for approval and for convening an international Conference aimed at concluding an agreement to that effect.

8. CM/Res.41(III) and AHG/Res.13(I) on Africa's representation within the various organs of the United Nations

So far, only twenty-three States have signed the ratifying the proposed amendments to the Charter of the United Nations, namely : Algeria, Cameroun, Chad, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic and Upper Volta.

A reminder regarding the above Resolutions was sent by the General-Secretariat of the OAU to the other twelve States that had not ratified the amendments to the Charter of the United Nations. The countries are : Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Malawi, Mauritania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Zambia.

9. CM/Res.39(III) on the Accra Assembly

The General Secretariat has studied all information submitted by the Secretariat of the Accra Assembly regarding the financial expenditures incurred in connection with the previous meeting at Accra as well as on its methods and policy of extending invitation and has written a report which is now submitted to the Council of Minister (see Progress report).

10. CM/Res.44(III) and AHG/Res.14(I) on the Afro-Asian Conference

In pursuance of Section 2 of Resolution AHG/Res.14(I), the Administrative Secretary-General has informed the Indonesian Government of the decision taken by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

11. AHG/Res.17(I) on the Financing of the United Nations Peace operations

The Administrative Secretary-General has as directed in Section 2 of the Resolution, transmitted copies of the resolution to all Member States of the United Nations and to the Secretariat of the United Nations Organization.

12. AHG/Res.18(I) on the relationship of the Revolutionary Government of Angola and the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA)

Although not directly instructed by the Heads of State and Government, the Administrative Secretary-General had found it part of his duty to use his good offices in the general effort to bring a reconciliation between the GRAE and MPLA. To this end, he had travelled to the United Republic of Tanzania and stressed the fact to the representatives of the two groups, and indeed to all African Liberation Movements, that they had to form a common front so that their struggles would bear fruit.

CM/58

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth Ordinary Session  
Nairobi, February 1965.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL

- Institutional Matters -

PART IV

CM/58  
February 1965

1. Since the Council met at its Third Ordinary Session, Northern Rhodesia attained Independence as the Republic of Zambia on October 24th, 1964. The Republic of Zambia duly applied for admission to the OAU. Its application having received immediate and enthusiastic endorsement from more than one-half of the Member States, Zambia became the 35th Member of the OAU as of 7 November 1964.
2. In line with the decision of the Council, as adopted by the First Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, CCTA was integrated with OAU as of 1 January 1965. The former CCTA is now a part of the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission. (See Report of the Administrative Secretary General on integration of CCTA with OAU).
3. The Administrative Secretary General assumed his duties in August 1964. The four Assistant Secretaries-General also assumed their duties in the same month. The Administrative Secretary General took the occasion of the convening of the Third Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa to take his oath of office on 5 September 1964.
4. It is to be recalled that the Council of Ministers at its Third Session requested "the Government of Ethiopia to approve the secondment to the Organization of African Unity of the staff members of the Provisional Secretariat, on their current conditions of service, until the Secretary General submits his budget and appoints a permanent staff" (CM/Res.46(III)).
5. The Government of Ethiopia kindly obliged the request and the General Secretariat continues to be staffed by professionals and civil servants seconded to the Provisional Secretariat. It is to be noted that with the transformation of the Provisional Secretariat into the Permanent General Secretariat, it was necessary to recruit more professionals. Here again, the Government of Ethiopia has helped by putting at the disposal of the Secretariat a number of professionals. There are now in the General Secretariat seventy-five staff members (Professional and General Service) of which sixty-eight are seconded by the Government of Ethiopia.



Staff Rules and Regulations

6. The draft budget and the draft Staff Rules and Regulations are submitted to the Council in documents CM/41 and CM/39. It is obvious that the Administrative Secretary General cannot start recruitment for permanent appointment until such time as the Council has approved the terms of employment and standards in accordance with which responsibilities of personnel and their remuneration will be classified.
7. Reference is made to paragraph 92 of the Provisional Secretary General's report to the Third Session of the Council (Part II of CM/24 (III)) wherein he stated that the response of Member Governments to the call of the Secretariat in interesting prospective candidates was disappointing. It is hoped that given the Council's authorization publicizing the terms of employment, standards and financial remuneration etc., will help to interest prospective applicants.
8. The primary preoccupation of the Secretariat since August 1964 has been the implementation of the cumulative decisions of the Assembly, the Council and the Specialized Commissions. It is obvious that the Secretariat could not have started serious work of a long-term nature until such time as the nucleus of a permanent staff was recruited and adequate financial resources were made available to the Administrative Secretary General. However, the Secretariat has started, in the meantime, planning of long-term projects for the Specialized Commissions - plans based on recommendations of the Commissions - and provisions for their financing have been made in the budget proposals submitted to the Council.
9. The second major aspect of the work of the Secretariat in this period can be characterized as institution building. The result of this work is now before the Council. The Secretary General has submitted to the Council draft staff regulations, financial rules and regulations and salary classification. These draft rules and regulations have been worked out with a view to attracting highly qualified Africans to serve in the Secretariat. It must be stressed that there is the immediate need of accelerating recruitment so as to get by the end of March 1965 - at the latests by the end of May 1965 - a group

10. In drafting the staff and financial regulations of the Organization, the Administrative Secretary General was guided by a number of broad considerations of policy.

First and foremost, these draft rules were drawn up with the consideration that they must be both economical to administer and most conducive to an efficient and streamlined operation of business. The economic aspect of administration was thus an over-riding and vital consideration. The second policy consideration in this respect which underlined the Secretary General's thinking was the paramount consideration of making the conditions of employment of the Secretariat such as to attract qualified and talented Africans.

Any administrative set-up, in the final analysis, is as good as the people working in it. It is needless to emphasize that the smooth running of the administrative machinery of the OAU will depend on the quality of its personnel. It will be observed that the draft staff and financial regulations lay down standards for recruitment, salary scales and post-classification as well as specifying other benefits accruing to staff members. This inevitably involved making certain policy choices, and the draft rules were drawn up with an eye to the best interests of the Organization, the available financial and human resources in Africa, and more significantly to the resources which African governments would be ready to make available to the Organization.

11. Staff Recruitment.

As regards the question of recruitment specifically, the Administrative Secretary General was guided by the following reasoning:

(i) First and foremost, the terms and conditions offered by the OAU - salary and benefits - should be such as to attract highly qualified African personnel who would normally be considered for top civil service posts in their respective governments, or in any international organization.

(ii) As much as possible, preference should be given to government civil servants over persons occupying political posts in their respective countries. This was based on the assumption that civil servants, accustomed as they are to exercising non-political functions, have the necessary qualities that are the hall-mark of an international civil servant - a non-political attitude and reflexes.

(iii) It was felt that other promising potential sources of personnel for the OAU are the African universities and institutions of higher learning. Given the right kind of incentives, faculty members and outstanding students could be persuaded to join the OAU staff. Promising African graduate students could also be found in many foreign universities.

(iv) As a recruitment guide, a happy balance would have to be worked out between considerations of quality and considerations of making the Secretariat of the OAU as widely representative as possible of all African nationalities. With this in view, Member governments should be persuaded to submit a large number of nominees from whom the Secretary General could make his own choice based purely on ability and qualifications. A Secretariat widely representative of all African countries is in a way symbolic of the very purpose of the Organization of African Unity.

(v) At least the first few years in the life of the Organization, it would be advisable to employ personnel only on a short term basis, and whenever appropriate, on a project basis. This policy should continue until such time as the Secretariat will have developed adequate experience in evaluating the qualifications of prospective applicants. Only then should the Secretariat entertain as a general policy, giving out permanent and long-term contracts. If, on the other hand, the Secretariat starts out by offering permanent appointments, it is possible if for no other reason than the lack of experience, that

the Secretary General might end up with some personnel who later on might be found disappointing in their actual performance. It would seem that a policy of offering short-term contracts during the first few years would afford the Organization an opportunity to accumulate experience for establishing criteria for the future for evaluating the qualifications of personnel; and more significantly, such a policy would give the Secretary General some time to observe the actual performance of these staff members and perhaps offer permanent appointments to some who, in his opinion, are most deserving.

2. The staff regulations of the OAU embody the basic rights, duties and obligations of its staff as well as the broad principles of personnel policy for the staffing and administration of the Secretariat. These rules should be all-embracing, applying to personnel recruited for professional category posts as well as to the general service personnel.

3. The question of making appropriate recommendations in respect to salary levels and related allowances was the most complicated part of the task of the Administrative Secretary-General in drafting the staff rules. As has been noted already, to a very large extent, the future of this Organization depends on its prospects of getting well qualified personnel of high integrity. This in turn depends on how much incentive - in salary and other conditions of work - the Organization could offer. Perhaps, up to a certain point and more particularly to the highly motivated youth, the Organization could offer a unique opportunity for service and an outlet for their idealism. But these would be a small group of rare individuals. One cannot hope to build an organization such as the OAU on idealism alone.

4. The OAU will inevitably have to be in the market for top talent, in competition with governments and other international organizations. In order for the OAU to maintain its competitive position, it is absolutely necessary for it to be in a position to offer commensurate conditions. But this is only one side of the problem. The other side is whether or not an OAU budget based on accepted international salary scales would be within the financial resources available to the

15. The best approach in this regard, in the opinion of the Administrative Secretary-General, at least for the immediate future, would seem to be to adopt a policy that would be more or less competitive with the United Nations, and in particular with the ECA, and also one that would take into account the availability of resources.
16. With the recognition that the resources of the Secretariat will have to remain limited for sometime, the Administrative Secretary General has felt that unless special financial arrangements are made, operational activities in the economic, social and scientific fields should be severely limited as much as possible. The role of the Secretariat in the opinion of the Administrative Secretary General should be kept strictly to one of co-ordinating. This role could, however, be gradually expanded; and it is conceivable to envisage the establishment of more operational activities in two or three years' time. But for the moment, what matters most in the appreciation of the Administrative Secretary-General, is that the activities of the Secretariat be guided by a strict consideration of what can best be accomplished usefully and adequately now. This is as it should be, for there is always a wide gulf separating aspirations from reality.
17. Financial Rules and Regulations.

The financial rules and regulations which are submitted to the Council, were drawn up in accordance with the Charter of the OAU, the Rules of Procedure of the Council of Ministers, and the Functions and Regulations of the General Secretariat of the Organization. Provisions have also been made for generally accepted methods and principles of accounting and safe-guards. Much of what has been found relevant from the UN Financial Rules and Regulations has been incorporated.
18. As can be seen from the regulations themselves, double safe-guards have been placed on the utilization of funds made available to the Secretary General by the Council of Ministers. To begin with, a system of internal auditing has been envisaged.

In this connection, it is proposed that the Administrative Secretary General be authorized to set up from time to time such additional measures of internal safety as are required. As regards external auditing, it is recommended that the Council establish a Board of Auditors consisting of five experts to be designated by Member governments. The Council therefore requested to take decisions on the aspects at the present session.

19. It is to be noted that the proposed financial relations also embody generally accepted budgetary procedures. Provisions have, in particular, been made for:

(i) the creation of a revolving Working Capital Fund. It is hoped that this Fund will provide the Secretary General at all times, the required finances for those necessary but unforeseen activities of the Organization. The Administrative Secretary General by special and specific resolutions will be authorized to utilize this Fund at times when, due to delays in receipt of normal contributions or, due to unforeseen circumstances, he is called to meet certain obligations.

(ii) The Administrative Secretary General according to the proposed financial regulations has the authority to submit supplementary estimates to cover some types of extra-ordinary and unforeseen expenses. For example, the following contingency could be envisaged. After the Council has approved the Budget for one given year, it could be that, due to circumstances, the basic rates of wages for personnel in the General Service category, or rates for utilities might change, thus affecting the original assumptions on which some parts of the budget are based. In that event provisions have been made to the Administrative Secretary General to meet these additional obligations from the Working Capital Fund and further submit supplementary estimates of the additional costs to the following Session of the Council of Ministers, so that on approval they will be charged against the Budget of the preceding fiscal year and restored to the Working Capital Fund.

0. The advisability of recommending the creation of a committee of government representatives to advise the Administrative Secretary General on his budget proposals has been considered seriously. It seems that there are valid reasons for this proposal. Such a Committee could in effect become a useful liaison between the Council of Ministers and the Secretariat. With this in view, it is hoped that the Council will endorse the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary General.
1. The question of which currency should be used for accounting purposes, and further, in what currency Member Governments should pay their contributions was considered in particular for economic and financial reasons, it is proposed that the US dollar should be used as the basic unit of accounting. Secondly, it is recommended that contributions of Member Governments, both to the Budget and to the Working Capital Fund, should be paid in internationally convertible currencies.
2. These were then some of the considerations taken into account in drawing up the draft staff rules and financial regulations for the Organization.
3. OAU Conferences.

Apart from the implementation of the resolutions of the various bodies of the Organization as outlined in the report relating to the Specialized Commissions, and in other accompanying memoranda, the Secretariat has intensified its work in making arrangements for all the meetings of the various bodies of the OAU, and in preparing working papers and research documents.
4. Since the Council met in its Third Ordinary Session, the Secretariat has serviced:
  - (i) The Third and Fourth Extra-Ordinary Sessions of the Council convened in connection with the Congolese situation;
  - (ii) Five Sessions of the Specialized Commissions of the Organization;

- (iii) Three Sessions of the ad hoc Commission on the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute;
- (iv) Five Sessions of the ad hoc Commission on the Congo;
- (v) Two Sessions of the Commission on the Problem of Refugees in Africa.

The Administrative Secretary General would like to avail himself of this opportunity to extend his sincere thanks to the following Member Governments which have hosted the various meetings of the Specialized Commissions and ad hoc bodies of the Organization: Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Uganda and the UAR.

The importance and the number of meetings of the various bodies of the OAU has overstretched the present human and financial resources of the Secretariat. The implementation of the resolutions and recommendations of the Assembly, the Council and the Specialized Commissions has brought about the urgent need for immediate recruitment of professionals and also for an increase number of meetings of experts, etc.

As has been the pattern during the last two years, the Specialized Commissions will have their third-round of sessions sometime in the early part of autumn 1965. The success of the Third Sessions of the Specialized Commissions will depend on the availability and on the speed with which the Secretary General will be able to recruit highly qualified specialists in the various fields of the Secretariat's activities. Much will also depend on the available financial resources.

#### OAU Emblem

It is to be recalled that the Council had requested the Administrative Secretary General "... to appeal to African Artists to submit sketches of emblems for the OAU". (CM/Res.45(III)). In line with this, the Secretary General contacted all Member governments soliciting their support in publicizing the contest for an OAU emblem.



9. The Council had further recommended that the sketches of emblems received by the Secretariat be submitted to the Educational and Cultural Commission for consideration and advise. The Administrative Secretary General submitted a memorandum to the Second Session of the Educational and Cultural Commission in which among other things he informed the latter that the response from African artists has not been too encouraging, (to date, the Secretariat has received seven sketches) and suggesting more direct means, such as through paid advertisements and provisions for a cash award.

10. The recommendation of the Educational and Cultural Commission on this matter are submitted to the Council of Ministers. It would seem that the time is long overdue for the Organization to have its own emblem. It is hoped that the Administrative Secretary General will be in a position to submit to the Ordinary Session of the Council the sketche/sketches which win(s) the preliminary or elimination contest.

11. Financial Aspect

A recapitulation of the financial situation of the Organization has been submitted in document CM/59. Although the great majority of the Member Governments have paid their contributions, the Administrative Secretary General would like to bring to the attention of the Council that most contributions were paid after repeated urgings. Even at this stage, the Administrative Secretary General has not collected all assessed contributions. It is necessary to point out here that if such an experience is to be repeated, the Administrative Secretary General will find it extremely difficult to meet obligations in time.

2. It will be recalled that the Assembly established, on the recommendation of the Council, an interim budget for the period August 1964 - 28 February 1965 to the amount of US \$280,000.--. But at the time the interim budget was established, a number of decisions of the Cairo Sessions of the Assembly and the Council which entailed considerable expenses were not provided for as these decisions were taken after the interim budget was adopted.
3. First and foremost, the Assembly decided in its first Session to establish two Specialized Commissions. The Commission of African Jurists, and the Commission of Transport and Communications. The Assembly further decided to establish within the Secretariat two bureaux in charge of co-ordinating sanctions against South Africa and Portugal. Another decision of the Assembly, which was not foreseen at the time the budget was adopted was the appointment of four Assistant Secretaries-General. Again another eventuality for which no provision was made in the interim budget was that the Secretariat might be called to convene Extra-Ordinary Sessions of the Council of Ministers.
4. After taking into account the action necessary to implement these decisions which called for immediate action, and after assessing, in particular, the financial implications arising from the decisions of the last Assembly, the Administrative Secretary-General presented to the Third Extraordinary Session of the Council supplementary estimates covering the interim period of 1 August 1964 to 28 February 1965.
5. These supplementary estimates took also into account the financial implications of the decisions of the Third Extra-Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers. On the recommendation of the Administrative Secretary General, the Third Extra-Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers approved a supplementary budget of US \$177,439.28.

36. To date, the Secretariat has received US \$178,491.22 from the interim budget and US \$99,217.88 from the supplementary budget. The Secretariat has yet to collect US \$183,693.06. Under such circumstances, the Secretariat would have been unable to meet all its obligations if immediate payment were requested of it. However, some of its creditors have agreed to defer request for payment until such time as the Secretariat is in a position to meet all its obligations. Needless to emphasize, the Member Governments which have not paid their contributions should make special efforts to effect payment at the latest by the end of March.

CM/59

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth Session  
Nairobi, February 1965

REPORT OF ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL

PART V

- Financial Statement covering  
the period 1 August 1964 -  
28 February 1965

Financial Statement by the Administrative Secretary General  
for the period 1 August 1964 to 28 February 1965

1. It is to be recalled that, with the appointment of the Secretary General by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Ethiopian Government was discharged as of August 1, 1964 of its generous undertaking to underwrite the financial expenses of the Organization. An Official Auditor of the Ethiopian Government examined the financial books of the Secretariat at the end of July 1964 which then showed a balance of US \$22,329.96, after provisions were made for meeting outstanding obligations. Hence the new financial period from 1 August 1964 to 28 February 1965 for which this financial report has been prepared, indicates a beginning balance of US \$22,329.96 brought forward from the period the Secretariat was operating under a budget established by the Ethiopian Government.
2. On the recommendation of the Council of Ministers, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government established an interim budget for the period of 1st August 1964 to 28 February 1965 in the amount of US \$280,000.--. The Third Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, after reviewing a special financial report submitted by the Administrative Secretary General on the financial implications of that Session as well as of the implications of other decisions of the Assembly for which no provisions were made in the interim budget, approved a supplementary budget in the amount of US \$177,439.28. The attached statement of contributions shows the contributions of each Member State both to the interim and the supplementary budgets respectively.
3. It will be recalled that the provisional staff members of the Organization have been seconded, in accordance with the decision of the Assembly, by the Ethiopian Government on the basis of Ethiopian civil service conditions until such time as the Administrative Secretary General recruited permanent staff on the basis of his budget proposals. Consequently, salary scales have remained at the level of the Ethiopian civil service.

5. In addition to the Statement of Contributions, two related statements of Revenues and Expenditures are also herewith attached. While the Statements are intended to account for the source of revenues and expenditures of the Organization during this financial period, the Statement of Revenues and Expenditures for the month of February 1965 also reflect the present financial situation of the Organization as regards both actual and accrued revenues and, actual and outstanding obligations.

## ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED AND OUTSTANDING  
TO THE INTERIM BUDGET OF O.A.U. AS OF FEBRUARY 20, 1965.

On the recommendation of the Council of Ministers the Assembly of Heads of State and Government voted a budget of US \$280,000 for the period from 1st August 1964 to the end of February 1965. Column A below shows the share of contribution of Member States according to the O.A.U. scale of assessment. The Third Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers approved a supplementary budget in the amount of US \$177,439.28. Column B shows the contributions of each Member State to the Supplementary budget.

MEMBER COUNTRIES	OAU - 1964 Scale of Assessment	Assessed Contribution		Received Amount		Contribution Outstanding
		A	B	A	B	
ia	4.90	13,720.00	8,694.52	-	-	22,414.52
di	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,542.00	-
bon	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,413.32	64.49
al African Republic	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	4,143.51	-
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,189.49	288.32
(Brazzaville)	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,387.75	90.06
(Leopoldville)	3.44	9,642.00	6,103.91	-	-	15,735.91
ey	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	4,143.51	-
pia	2.45	6,860.00	4,347.26	-	-	11,207.26

MEMBER COUNTRIES	SCALE OF Assessment	RECEIVED		AMOUNT		Contribution Outstanding
		A	B	A	B	
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,437.91	-	3,527.90
	4.41	12,348.00	7,825.10	12,348.00	7,825.10	-
a	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,477.81	-
Coast	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,477.81	-
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	4,158.00	-	4,807.81
ia	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,477.81	-
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	-	3,477.81
ascar	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,273.15	204.66
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,477.81	-
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	-	3,477.81
ania	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,365.07	3,477.81	122.93
ce	6.86	19,208.00	12,172.33	19,208.00	12,172.33	-
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	4,159.55	-
la	10.30	28,840.00	18,276.24	-	-	47,116.24
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	4,144.00	-
	2.45	6,860.00	4,347.26	6,789.96	4,302.60	114.70
Leone	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,747.60	-
a	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,143.56	334.25
	3.44	9,860.00	6,103.91	9,860.00	6,103.00	.91



	Scale of Assessment	Assessed Contribution		Received Amount		Contribution Outstanding
		A	B	A	B	
	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	3,477.81	-
ia	2.45	6,860.00	4,347.26	-	-	11,207.26
a	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,504.64	3,517.50	-
l Arab Republic	12.26	34,328.00	21,754.05	-	-	56,082.05
l Republic of Tanzania	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,547.64	-	3,418.17
Volta	1.96	5,488.00	3,477.81	5,488.00	4,143.05	-
	100%	280,000.00	177,439.28	178,491.22	99,217.88	183,693.06

STATEMENT OF REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES

FOR THE PERIOD 1 AUGUST 1964 to 31 JANUARY 1965.

	August	September	October	November	December	January
<u>ES:</u>						
Balance brought forward from previous period	22,329.96	13,137.06	12,640.21	9,235.99	30,377.05	30,297.92
Contribution from Member States	-	17,838.03	10,237.91	79,196.62	29,427.17	100,811.59
Income from travel and subsistence	871.58	-	5,221.98	-	450.00	-
Tax and Pension Deposit	475.24	412.14	553.88	583.98	651.98	847.45
Recovery of Salary Advances to Staff	142.00	389.12	449.52	866.82	790.00	1,862.78
<b>TOTAL Revenues</b>	<b>23,918.78</b>	<b>31,776.36</b>	<b>29,104.51</b>	<b>89,883.42</b>	<b>61,696.20</b>	<b>133,819.74</b>

	AUGUST	September	October	November	December	January	Total
Wages	5,135.17	3,821.80	5,730.19	5,873.60	7,758.11	6,232.39	34,551.27
ance	480.00	4,780.00	3,100.00	800.00	3,120.00	800.00	13,080.00
ce	550.80	343.29	820.00	672.00	820.00	840.00	4,046.00
l and Special Services	462.32	1,747.40	3,860.40	2,412.54	6,530.82	2,456.38	17,469.88
and Subsistence	-	-	-	10,948.60	1,664.00	51,613.05	64,225.65
d Clothing	-	-	-	192.40	-	-	192.40
les	-	1,464.90	-	12,528.00	-	-	13,992.90
Upkeep of les & fuel	346.62	755.12	1,233.12	746.52	1,201.32	839.65	5,122.36
and Other pment	118.35	2.00	367.12	6,938.87	105.00	1,038.90	8,570.25
Printed Forms and les	39.01	1,533.40	868.52	471.51	5,743.47	1,388.15	10,044.09
Upkeep of Equipment	32.32	3.10	31.72	318.00	155.14	-	540.26
Premises and Equipment	-	2,600.00	1,585.18	5,224.00	1,997.00	771.76	12,177.94
Upkeep of Premises	6.00	-	226.49	147.70	219.06	56.00	655.25
, Fuel and Water	-	-	182.60	128.98	685.91	137.66	1,135.15
Telephone and Charges	-	-	-	10,399.73	634.92	20,900.84	31,935.49
and Postage of Goods	10.80	-	-	-	-	-	10.80
sion & Remittance Charges	6.40	6.40	6.40	88.64	25.44	14.00	1,472.98
pecified Expenses	102.80	155.48	590.34	78.10	235.82	.80	1,163.34
ther Medical Supplies	-	-	96.40	-	-	136.50	232.90
Salaries	3,491.11	1,923.23	1,170.00	1,600.76	821.66	1,500.58	10,507.34
<b>TOTAL Expenditure</b>	<b>10,781.71</b>	<b>19,136.13</b>	<b>19,868.48</b>	<b>59,569.94</b>	<b>31,717.67</b>	<b>89,578.66</b>	<b>230,652.55</b>
<u>ues &amp; Expenditures carried forward</u>	<u>13,137.06</u>	<u>12,640.21</u>	<u>9,235.99</u>	<u>30,377.05</u>	<u>30,279.92</u>	<u>44,241.06</u>	

CM/59

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

STATEMENT OF REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE

MONTH OF FEBRUARY 1965 .

REVENUES:

(all figures in US dollars)

Balance brought forward from January 1965	44,241.06
Contributions received from Member States during February	<u>34,289.09</u>
Total Revenues received and on Balance:	<u><u>78,530.15</u></u>

EXPENDITURES:

Salaries and Wages	10,098.64
Car Allowances	840.00
House Allowances	1,200.00
Refunds of income taxes and pension deposits	4,293.06
Professional and special services	8,807.43
Travelling and subsistence	7,187.39
Repair and upkeep of motor vehicles	1,058.46
Stationery, printed forms and other office supplies	1,949.03
Repairs and upkeep of equipment	16.00
Rentals of premises and equipment	7,800.00
Repairs and upkeep of premises	20.80
Light, Power, Fuel and Water	127.84
Postage, Telephone and Telegramme Charges	369.50
Bank Commission and Remittance Charges	10.84
Various unspecified expenses	2.10
Drugs and other medical supplies	21.90
Nairobi - Fourth Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers	<u>20,855.00</u>
Total Expenditures	<u><u>64,657.99</u></u>

NET OF REVENUES RECEIVED AND ACTUAL EXPENDITURES:

add: Outstanding Contributions from Member States	183,693.06
Recoverable Expenditures	<u>3,338.00</u>

Balance of Actual and Accrued Revenues to meet  
Outstanding Obligations ..... 200,903.22

PROVISION FOR OUTSTANDING OBLIGATIONS:

Ethiopian Air Lines	27,118.12
Imperial Board of Telecommunications	55,270.56
Kampala Refugees Commission Conference	3,297.00
Payment to Economic Commission for Africa for previous Conferences	9,191.27
Defence and Health Commission Conferences	12,298.54
Ad hoc Commission on the Algero-Moroccan Border Dispute (Addis Ababa).	19,766.60
Purchase of an official car for the Administrative Secretary General	4,576.54
Stationery, printed forms and other office supplies	2,000.00
Light, Power, Fuel and Water	207.84
Office rent for the month of February	2,600.00
Bank Commission and Remittance Charges	400.00
O.A.U. Review No.2	3,200.00
Unforeseen and Extra-ordinary expenditures	<u>5,000.00</u>
Total Revision for Outstanding Obligations	<u>144,926.47</u>
Unencumbered Balance as of February 28, 1965	<u>55,976.75</u>

CM/63

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth Ordinary Session  
Nairobi, February 1965

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY GENERAL

PART III

The activities of the Specialized Commissions

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS  
Fourth Ordinary Session  
Nairobi, February 1965

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION

1. The Economic and Social Commission of the OAU was established under the provisions of Article XX of the Charter of the Organization for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of the Member States in these fields, which are vital for the development of the whole continent. This explains why, even before its first session, the Heads of State and Government appointed two committees of experts, which were given the task of laying down the framework for the activity of that Commission.
2. The terms of reference of the economic committee was to study the following items:
  - (a) the possibility of establishing a free trade area between the various African countries;
  - (b) the establishment of a common external tariff to protect the emergent industries and the setting up of a raw material price stabilization fund;
  - (c) the restructuralization of international trade;
  - (d) the means of developing trade among the African countries by the organization and participation in African trade fairs and exhibitions and by granting transport and transit facilities;
  - (e) the co-ordination of means of transport and the establishment of road, air and maritime companies;

- (f) the establishment of an African Payments and Clearing Union;
- (g) a progressive freeing of national currencies from all non-technical external attachments and the establishment of a Pan-African monetary zone; and
- (h) the ways and means of effecting the harmonization of existing and future national development plans.

3. The committee on social affairs had as its terms of reference to prepare a report for the first session of the Commission on the following items, which strengthen the co-operation among the African States themselves:

- (a) the exchange of social and labour legislations;
- (b) the establishment of an African Youth Organization;
- (c) the organization of an African Scouts Union and an annual continental jamboree;
- (d) the organization of an annual African Sports Games;
- (e) the organization of vocational training courses in which African workers will participate;
- (f) the establishment of an African Trade Union.

4. As can be seen, this programme is extremely general and embraces all of the main concerns which should result finally in an African integration in the economic and social fields. This explains why, as of its first session, the Commission adopted, as its terms of reference state, the group of tasks that the Assembly of Heads of State had put before the two committees of experts. After having studied in detail these terms of reference, the first session proceeded to draw up a list of priorities, which showed a preference for certain activities, whose accomplishment would pave the way for the subsequent implementation of the general programme. Thus, the Secretary-General and the Secretariat of the ECA were entrusted with the preliminary studies for the establishment of a free trade area, the progressive establishment of a common external tariff,



the drawing up of inter-African conventions on transport and communications, the setting up of an African Telecommunications Union, a Payments and Clearing Union, a monetary zone and a central bank of issues, as well as the co-ordination of national development plans. In the social field, the executive body should concentrate its studies on the problems of vocational training, urbanization, youth organizations and the setting up of an African trade union organization.

5. At its second session, the Commission was concerned with obtaining background material with which it could grasp the general outline of its programme, as well as the overall time-table and the portion of decisive actions required from each one of the parties upon which the implementation of the general programme depends: national governments, regional groups, the Organization of African Unity through its specialized commissions and its General Secretariat.

6. Although, for the moment, there are no spectacular achievements in the economic and social fields, what has been stated above shows clearly the determinant role which can be played by the technical studies which are indispensable for these achievements solidifying African unity. Every step in the technological progress relies on information which clarifies for all the basic data of the problem and gives a glimpse of the guiding lines which harmonize the action of all. It can be seen that the General Secretariat responsibilities in the implementation of the terms of reference laid down by the Heads of State are considerable, since it must make available to the Commission and the Member States documentation which will allow them to take the decisions and precautions imposed by common action. This assumes, in the Secretariat, a human and technical infrastructure which can successfully accomplish the wide range of tasks upon which success is built.

7. This was understood very well by the first session of the Economic and Social Commission which, in resolution ECOS/18/Res.4, suggested, after having set forward the list of priorities, the need for adequate structures, without which it would be almost impossible to implement the programme. That is because all achievements in this field require a technically competent staff, to say nothing of the convening of a

certain number of expert committees and seminars, or even the setting up of ad hoc commissions, all of which calls for considerable financial resources. The Organization, unfortunately, does not dispose of these funds; although, it is true that the Commission has entrusted the ECA with a considerable portion of these preliminary studies and surveys, because this organization, since it has come into being, has been able to direct towards Africa a tremendous international potential.

3. But, even though the Secretariat has benefited greatly from this, it does not lighten, to the extent desired, the burden of responsibilities and, thereby, the means of action which devolve on the Organization of African Unity as a body for conceiving plans and the General Secretariat, also, as the body that must carry them out. Due to a lack of funds and a lack of qualified staff, the task of the Secretariat in meeting its responsibilities was most arduous.

4. The above explanations do not at all mean that the accomplishments were entirely lacking, which would have jeopardized the growth of the organization, taking into account the importance of economic and social affairs in the overall system of the Organization. They rather help bring into perspective the conclusions of this report, that is, the solutions which arise from the future prospects of a record which is far from being negative. For, in evaluating the progress made in this field, the efforts undertaken by each one of the member governments to integrate its development with the whole must be taken into consideration, along with the studies of the General Secretariat or any other organization which prepares the political bodies for taking important decisions.

5. The African States, in their national development policies, have been trying to regroup themselves and to establish common institutions, in accordance with the definition of regional grouping laid down in resolution CM/Res. 13 (I), of the first session of the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. Of course, a number of regional groupings existed before the O.A.U., but they have reconsidered their policy and general outlook, bearing in mind the fundamental principles of the Charter. The regional groupings that have been formed since then, or have been restructured, as well as the drawing together of States on a bilateral basis, have in this respect obeyed the criteria of geographic realities and economic, social and cultural data common to these States, as well as those of the

organization of economic, social and cultural activities peculiar to the States concerned. The restructuralization of the Joint Services Organization of East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania) or the Cameroun Equatorial Customs Union (Congo-Brazzaville, Chad, Gabon, Central African Republic and Cameroun), starting points for regional common markets, must be seen in this light. The States which met in Monrovia to attempt to set up a customs union were imbued with the same spirit, and this spirit can be found at the source of the steps which will not be long in bringing about a Maghreb common market. Even certain bilateral agreements, such as those between Guinea and Sierra Leone, spring from the principle of the harmonized development of countries sharing common geographic and economic realities.

1. Unquestionable progress is being made in these various movements which must be placed on the credit side of the whole Organization, although most of these efforts are not structurally integrated in the Organization. In point of fact, item 3 of Rule 2 of the Functions and Regulations of the General Secretariat provides for the communication of the instruments of ratification of the agreements concluded between member States. If these provisions are strictly applied, it will be possible for the efforts of these regional groupings to be brought more dynamically into the framework drawn by the O.A.U. and to be more amenable to co-ordination which, in the medium run, will lead to integration on the continental scale. What is certain is that the hazards of solidification of the development in a regional context, thereby, the dangers of Balkanization, will be reduced to the strict minimum.

The fact remains that all the preliminary studies required to work out the details and, starting from the difficulties of the economic and social programme, conclude in the need for development on a continent-scale, the creation of joint institutions to integrate trade, agriculture, industry, transport and African Social life. These studies, undertaken by the General Secretariat, most often on the basis of ECA technical documents, state just as clearly how inevitable the regional struggle is in the search for continental development. Going one step further in the case, for example, of the defence of African interests in the field of international trade, some suggestions were made which entail immediate co-ordination on the level of the whole continent.

preliminary work, taken as a whole, which constitutes the contribution of the General Secretariat to the decisions of the Specialized Commissions, draws attention to the measures which must be taken in order to prevent regional development from becoming an end in itself and, in so doing, even restrict the scope of the harmonization sought by the Charter of the O.A.U.

13. Working on the basis of these documents, as well as other studies provided by the Member States, in particular the United Arab Republic, whose contribution in this respect has been considerable, the various specialized commissions concerned with the economic and social aspect suggested a series of measures and recommended that certain institutions be created which, if they were taken into consideration, should very rapidly lead to the integration of the continent. Since, in many respects, these measures and institutions are, with some amendments, those that were suggested in the conclusions and documents drawn up or collected by the General Secretariat, it is unnecessary to go into detail about the contents of these documents. Thus, by looking through the results of the Specialized Commissions it is possible to evaluate the general outline of the preparatory work undertaken by the General Secretariat and the decisions it resulted in, all of which constitutes the progress made since 1963. In the analysis of the work of the Specialized Commissions there are also a certain number of directives which, when properly understood, indicate the precautions and the step necessary to preserve the results achieved and to improve the general economic situation in Africa.

14. The Economic and Social Commission held its second session in Cairo (United Arab Republic) from the 18 to 22 January 1965. The following member countries were present: Algeria, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Leopoldville, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Malawi, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Uganda and Zambia. A total of 26 Member States.

After having adopted its Rules of Procedure, as amended by the Council of Ministers at its Third Session, the Commission proceeded to study the following items, the conclusions being set forth in the various resolutions.

I. In the Economic Field:

15. The study of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development once again held the attention of the Commission. This was because some of the recommendations of this conference such as those concerning the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured products coming from African countries, were only applied to an extremely limited extent. On the other hand, in the field of long-term development financing and temporary disequilibrium the results obtained by the Conference require immediate measures by the African countries, if they wish to gain the greatest possible advantage from international assistance. Finally, with regard to a fair number of recommendations adopted by the Conference, and which are looked upon by the African countries as a barely acceptable minimum, the developed countries, which stand to gain from the maintenance of the status quo, made reservations which call for a special strategy by the African States. It is for all these reasons that the African States must be particularly vigilant if they wish to keep and improve upon the little they were able to obtain in Geneva.

Resolution ECOS/Res.14 (II) set up, for this purpose, an ad hoc Committee of fourteen members, consisting of the twelve African States elected in Geneva as members of the United Nations Council on Trade and Development and two newly independent African States: Malawi and Zambia. The terms of reference of this Committee provide that it will take the necessary measures implied by this common African strategy in the vital field of trade and development, and that it will submit its results to the General Secretariat, so that every Member State can follow the development of the issue and take the necessary measures to coordinate the African positions.

16. It was also, above all, with a view to coordinating African efforts that the Commission was called upon to study the problems of continental and regional economic integration in Africa. After having reviewed the main forms of integration: free trade areas, customs unions, common markets and economic union, the Commission adopted the essential items in the report of the General Secretariat and, to this purpose, instructed the Secretary-General to appoint a group of experts to study the concrete measures which would lead to rapid economic integration. The terms of

reference of this group of experts, which is as complex as the problem they are entrusted with solving, concerns the following fields: with a view to establishing a free trade area for the African continent, to determine the measures needed to liberalize trade, starting with duties and other restrictions, at the same time it will specify the precautions making it possible to co-ordinate the national plans in such a way that the goods to be traded can be more cheaply produced. Another precaution that the committee will be called upon to take is connected with the granting of mutual, automatic credit, which comes under the functions of the African Payments Union, whose establishment as a means of stimulating trade drew the attention of the Commission.

With a view to eliminating certain obligations that are incompatible with the form of economic integration envisaged by the African countries, the group of experts shall, moreover, have to undertake a critical study of the articles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), so as to point out to the African States those fields in which their combined efforts could lead to the successful conclusion of the indispensable negotiations.

This committee will also be expected to draw up a list of products which could immediately come under free trade among the African States, thus initiating a decisive step towards the establishment of an African common market. Another item of no less importance in the basic concerns of the committee is the examination of the particular problems which arise from the association or membership of certain African States in the existing extra-African economic blocs. The purpose of this is to prevent the advantages and discrimination entailed in these economic blocs from hindering African economic integration.

17. It is impossible to set up a free trade area without co-ordinating the sectors of development. Referring to the terms of the Secretary-General's report on the co-ordination of national plans in Africa, the Commission called upon the Secretary-General to study the ways and means of rapidly achieving coordination in the fields of agriculture and industrial development, the development of the infrastructures, as well as social and cultural development. The concern here is, necessarily, to come up with decisions that make it possible to standardize economic policies, in particular through the establishment of African institutions.

18. The setting up of the ad hoc Committee and above all, of the Committee of experts, constitutes a decisive step by the O.A.U. towards a harmonized development of all parts of the continent. This job is extremely important and, in many respects, exceeds the technical and material resources of the Organization. For this reason, the Commission, aware of the constantly increasing volume of international assistance that can be directed towards Africa by the ECA and other international organizations, and noting the real cooperation which already exists between the Secretary-General of the Organization and the specialized agencies of the United Nations, instructed the Secretary-General, in Resolution ECOS/Res.17(II), to negotiate co-operation agreements with these various agencies. The aim here is to define the general framework for the co-operation with each one of these agencies and thus to obtain guarantees that international assistance will contribute to a rapid accomplishment of Africa's objectives in the economic and social fields.

## II. In the Social Field:

19. The General Secretariat had been instructed by the first session to proceed with a series of studies with a view to harmonizing the efforts of the social regulations in Africa. Due to the lack of funds and competent services it was necessary to concentrate on only some of the items in this vast programme. On the basis of this selection, which constitutes a modicum of detailed studies on several questions on the list of priorities, the Commission set out, in its resolutions, some immediate measures which would increase the application of the principles of the Charter in the social field.

This is true of the important issue of establishing an African trade union organization. The significance of this problem is illustrated by the fact that, when the OAU was founded, the Heads of State had placed this among the social musts and that, subsequently, the Council of Ministers, meeting at its Second Session in Lagos (Nigeria), in Resolution CM/Res.24(II), entrusted the Economic and Social Commission with studying all the aspects of the issue.

20. Acting on the conclusions of the report of the General Secretariat, which was based on an objective analysis of the official documents, statutes and rules of procedure of the A.T.U.C. and the A.T.U.F. (the two principal, Pan-African associations of trade unions presently existing), the Commission called upon the Secretary General in Resolution ECOS/Res.7(II), to offer facilities to all the African trade union organizations, so that they could meet under the auspices of the OAU to seek, together, the solutions for the unity of the African trade movement. This resolution suggests the basic lines for this solution, since the Commission expressed its conviction that the split existing at the present time in the trade union movement was due solely to the affiliation of the trade unions to international, non-African organizations, and that, furthermore, it calls upon the trade unions, assembled under the aegis of the O.A.U., to be inspired by the principles of the Charter of the O.A.U. and, in particular, the principle of non-alignment, when seeking a joint basis for the unity and the independence of their trade unions.

21. The basic idea illustrated by this resolution is to associate more intimately in the achievements of the OAU the living forces represented by the trade unions, in particular, and the non-governmental organizations, in general; the Administrative Secretary-General has been requested to prepare the conditions under which they shall be allowed to have a consultative status. The Commission was prompted by this same idea when, in Resolution ECOS/Res.12 (II), it called upon the Secretariat of the O.A.U. to convene a meeting of the competent authorities in the youth organizations of all the African countries with a view to drawing up a statute for a Pan-African Youth Organization, which would enter into the framework of the Charter of the OAU. This would consist of integrating all the African youth activities, such as the festivals, work camps, and jamborees in a broader movement that would prepare them better to identify themselves with the ideals of African unity, and to become the starting point for cooperation on the level of all the living forces of the continent.

22. Thus Resolution ECOS/Res.10(II) also deals with African co-operation and its rationalization when it urges the Secretary-General to carry out a survey of existing proposed technical and vocational training institutions on the African continent so as to promote the exchange of



students and trainees, thus really creating a Pan-African spirit. Still in the field of vocational training, a study is required concerning the establishment of a centre for higher technical and vocational training, under the auspices of the OAU, and concerning the development of an exchange programme for technicians from African countries, thus paving the way for the establishment of an inter-Africa technical assistance. Finally, taking note of the integration of the CCTA in the OAU, and, in particular, of its Inter-African Labour Institute, the Commission suggested that, through a restructurization of the Institute, the Secretariat could place at the disposal of the Organization a service which, in the very near future, would enable a harmonization of social legislation.

The series of lectures, seminars and assorted studies requested of the Secretary-General in these fields, if accomplished, would constitute a decisive step towards the pooling of efforts, which is the only solution for the rapid development and the genuine independence of Africa.

### III. In the Field of Transport and Communications:

23. The general problems arising in this field had already been considered by the first session of the Economic and Social Commission. The programme that was drawn up then envisaged effective co-operation in the field of land, air and sea transport, through the foundation of African companies and organizations, as well as the establishment of an African Telecommunications Union for all of the African countries. But, the importance of these matters led the Heads of State and Government, during their first session in Cairo (July 1964), to set up a Specialized Commission on Transportation and Communications.

24. It is important to note at this point the circumstances leading up to the convening of the first session of this Commission, because, to a large extent, they explain the results of the work.

For the purpose of founding the African Telecommunications Union, the Government of the United Arab Republic had taken the necessary steps to convene a Pan-African and Malagasy Post and Telecommunications Conference in Cairo, in October 1964. The decision of the Heads of State to establish a specialized commission several days before that

conference was to be opened, transformed it into the first session of the OAU Transportation and Communications Commission.

25. The first resolution adopted by this commission, naturally, set forth its views on the primary problem of founding the African Telecommunications Union. The Commission admits, in effect, that such a union is unnecessary, since it considers itself to be, as a Specialized Commission "the sole competent Organization for studying, in a spirit of African development as a whole, the decisions and the programmes of co-operation and progress in those technical fields". Furthermore, anxious to ensure that its programme would be fully implemented, the Commission called upon the Administrative Secretary-General to set up three bureaux in the Secretariat, in charge, respectively, of post, telecommunications and transport, for the purpose of implementing the decisions and the programmes adopted by the organs of the Commission.

26. Taking into account the circumstances leading to the convening of this meeting, the delegates, most of whom were specialists in the fields of post and telecommunications, concentrated their attention solely on the fields of communications.

Thus, the various programmes, comprised in the technical portion of their meeting, refer to the improvement of the African infrastructure and the cooperation and coordination of efforts in the field of post and telecommunications.

27. Among the necessary studies that are requested of the General Secretariat let us mention a study on the most economical itineraries for telephonic and telegraphic communications between the Member States of the OAU, a series of studies on the economic aspects of laying a coaxial submarine cable, the economic and technical problems connected with using artificial satellites in Africa, and the feasibility of installing a system of transmission by micro-waves, linking the Member States with one another, all of this using as its point of departure the "Rome and Dakar Plans". Some of the other studies assigned to the General Secretariat are even more technical, such as

the setting of maximum rates between the African countries and the unifying of terminal and transit shares between African countries.

28. Finally, to take account of the primary role assumed by certain international organizations, especially the ITU, in the drawing up of the "Dakar Plan" and various other national and regional programmes, the Commission made a series of recommendations with a view to strengthening the representation of the African States in the international organizations concerned with communications.

With regard to the ITU, the Member States of the OAU were called upon to submit proposals to the General Secretariat of that body with a view to increasing the number of seats in the Administrative Board of the ITU from 25 to 28, so that the number of seats held by Africa would be raised from 4 to 7. With regard to the Universal Postal Union (UPU), an appeal was made to the African countries elected to the Fifth Universal Postal Congress to exercise the functions which they have assumed effectively and to delegate their representatives to the meetings of the above-mentioned bodies.

29. Although it is regrettable that the Commission, since sufficient qualified personnel was not available, could not take the measures necessary for the study of a programme in the field of transportation, through the recommendations of the small sub-committee appointed for that purpose, and whose recommendations were not adopted by the Commission, the General Secretariat has obtained a certain amount of basic data to guide it in the submission of rather advanced studies on the establishment of Pan-African companies of navigation and air companies, as well as the harmonization of the signals and highway regulations, all of which are extremely important questions.

30. The prospects opened up for Africa by this first stage in the work are tremendous and are of prime importance for any achievements in the economic and social fields. The future will depend essentially on the technical and financial resources the Organization will dispose of to accomplish the tasks that have been laid down by the Commission. No

less important, will be the basic discipline which will, from now on, make all efforts on the national and international level turn towards integration on a continental scale. The proposals made by the General Secretariat, as much for the working programme as for the setting up of the department for Economic and Social Affairs (administration and staff) only represent the minimum necessary for such an undertaking. The necessary progress for the promotion of the economic independence of Africa can only be guaranteed if this strict minimum is available. Naturally, the role of the Member States and of the regional groups always remain important because Progressive integration of the efforts of each towards progress in general, that is to say the result of the struggle against the division of Africa, depends solely on them.

REPORT ON THE FIRST SESSION OF THE HEALTH,  
SANITATION AND NUTRITION COMMISSION

A. Report on implementation of Resolutions and  
Recommendations of the First Session of  
Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission

31. Since the Second Session of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission has failed to meet despite two attempts, the Secretariat feels that Member States may wish to have brief comments on the action taken so far on recommendations and resolutions of the First Session of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission which met in Alexandria, United Arab Republic, from 10 to 15 January, 1964.

32. The Session's recommendations and resolutions fall under three major groupings :

- (i) Relations with the World Health Organization and other related international bodies;
- (ii) Terms of Reference;
- (iii) Rules of Procedure.

The resolutions and recommendations of the Commission, as adopted with slight amendments by the Council of Ministers and finally approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, have been circulated to all member countries, with other documents of the Cairo Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The following table gives particulars of the various recommendations and the action so far taken by the Secretariat.

I. Relations with World Health Organization

RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE HEALTH SANITATION AND NUTRITION COMMISSION	IMPLEMENTATION OR ACTION TAKEN
That the W.H.O. be congratulated on its activities in Africa	1. This resolution has been forwarded to the Director General with an appropriate covering note from the OAU Secretariat
That the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission of OAU and the WHO should actively co-ordinate their activities and programmes through a formal agreement with a view to achieving maximum efficiency and economic use of available resources - human and material	2. Preliminary discussions between an officer and the Secretariat of OAU and the Director-General as well as other senior officials of WHO had taken place in Geneva. Consequently, a paper is prepared for consideration by the Second Session of the HSN Commission.
That every effort be made to encourage exchange of information, results of research and whenever necessary personnel exchange between the Commission and WHO and other interested international bodies	3. Included in the proposed draft agreement between the OAU and WHO to be considered by the Second Session of the Commission.
That the principle underlying the operative parts of this Resolution be applied in the relationship of this Commission with other international and inter-state Organization, including FAO, UNICEF, etc..	4. Similar action as in the case of WHO to be implemented on the basis of decision taken by the Second Session of the Commission in regard to the type of agreement to be signed with WHO.
That the activities of the WHO be complemented substantially by the HSN Commission of the OAU in the fields of Health, Sanitation and Nutrition which are at present not covered by it.	5. Action proceeding accordingly. Functions of Health Division in the Secretariat and other programmes of the HSN Commission fully cover this recommendation.
That approach be made to the WHO to include specific important measures in the activities of the Regions concerned.	6. Already forwarded to WHO for appropriate consideration and action. Full implementation by WHO expected after the conclusion of a formal agreement between the two Organizations.
That a list of the diseases annexed to the Resolution be forwarded to WHO for implementation.	7. Has been forwarded to WHO.
That consideration be given in due	8. Subject for discussion at ...

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That south Africa be excluded from the membership of the proposed Africa Office of WHO.

9. Resolution already transmitted to WHO. Further discussion with WHO in due course.

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II. Terms of reference

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Resolutions and recommendations of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission,

Implementation and Action taken

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That, in the future, such regional groupings should be constituted on geographical basis in such a way as to facilitate eradication programmes of endemic and epidemic diseases and to guarantee the health protection of all the peoples of Africa.

1. The Secretariat has prepared a short note suggesting the UNECA of the Continent for consideration by the Second Session of the HSN Commission.

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That a public Health Division be established within the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity.

2. The Division has begun functioning since the appointment of a specialist in a public health field. The expert is at present on loan from the Government of Ethiopia. A proposal for the staffing pattern, as well as the corresponding duties and responsibilities, envisaged for the Division will be submitted to the Second Session of the HSN Commission for information and necessary comments.

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That this Public Health Division of the Secretariat be charged among other things with the following functions and be organized as follows :

3. Considered and included in the proposal mentioned above.

- a) A Bureau of Documentation and Information
- b) A Pool of experts be established.

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That the Secretary-General of the OAU convene, two months before the meeting of the Commission of Health, Sanitation and Nutrition, a working party to which all Member States of the Organization will be invited with a view to preparing the plenary session of the Commission.

4. Explanation has been given by the Secretary-General in a circular memorandum as to why it has not been possible to implement this particular item in respect to the attempted Second Session of the HSN Commission.

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3. In addition to the table given above a number of working papers have been prepared in respect of the major recommendations and resolutions of the Commission. This was done in the hope that these working papers will provide a basis for discussion and consideration of the various subjects when the Commission meets formally in its Second Session. However, special comments might be useful in respect of some of the major resolutions.

4. Relations with the World Health Organization :

This subject is fully discussed in Secretariat paper HSN/10(II) intended for consideration at the Second Session of the Commission. Attention is specially invited to the resolution of the Commission at its First Session in Alexandria at :

The Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission of the OAU and WHO should actively co-ordinate their activities and programmes through a formal agreement with a view to achieving maximum efficiency and economic use of available resources - human and material".

The basis of co-operation and the means of effecting the necessary agreement have been examined thoroughly and discussed between the OAU Secretariat and the Director-General of WHO. These discussions have revealed that the OAU would welcome the establishment of closer working relationships between the two organizations and would be prepared to consider the establishment of a suitable agreement either between the headquarters of the two Organizations or between the OAU Secretariat and the WHO Regional Office concerned.

Necessary papers have been prepared for consideration by the Second Session of the Commission, so that a decision may be given as to the type of agreement required. As additional information, texts of agreement between WHO and the League of Arab States, and between the Organization of American States and the American Health Organization (which is the WHO Regional Office in the American Hemisphere) are attached.

Common WHO Regional Office for African States :

Attention is invited to recommendation No.8 of the First Resolution of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission at its meeting at Alexandria, 14 January 1964, which reads as follows :

that consideration be given in due course to study the possibility of establishing a common African Office of the World Health Organization".



7. Member States are aware that the Council of Ministers, meeting in Lagos, Nigeria, from 24 to 29 February 1964, for its Second Session, having considered the recommendations of the Health, Nutrition and Sanitation Commission, resolved, inter alia, as follows :

Noting that, as at present defined, the African Region of the WHO does not include several Member States of the Organization of African Unity, Calls upon Governments of the African States which do not now belong to the African Region of the WHO to take the step necessary for their transfer to the African Region".

In pursuance of this resolution which was adopted by the Assembly Heads of State and Government at its last Session at Cairo, the Secretariat discussed the modalities of implementing such a resolution with the WHO. The latter organization has advised that under the Constitution of the WHO, the 11th Assembly is empowered from time to time to define geographical areas which it is to establish a regional organization; that if African States which do not now belong to the African Region of the WHO wish to be transferred to the existing region in Africa, it would be necessary for such countries to press individual requests to the Director-General, in sufficient time to enable him to transmit the request to the World Health Assembly which convenes in Geneva on 4 May 1965.

Establishment of a Health Division in the OAU Secretariat :

In implementation of the recommendation of the Alexandria meeting of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission on this subject, Member States will wish to know that the Secretariat has secured the services of a Public Health Specialist who has been assigned to the Secretariat for the purpose of establishing the Public Health Division. This expert is engaged, among other things, upon the exercise of determining the scope, staffing, work programme of the Health Division so as to provide for the Bureau of Documentation and Information as well as the establishment of a pool of experts as required in the Alexandria resolution. Details of the proposals regarding the formal establishment of that Division are contained in a paper prepared for consideration by the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission at its next meeting.

B. Report on failure of Second Session  
of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission

0. Rule 14 of the Rules of Procedure of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission, as approved by Assembly of Heads of State and Government, provides that :

the provisional agenda shall be drawn up by the Administrative Secretary-General and communicated to Member States at least 30 days before the opening of the Ordinary Session".

Accordingly, on 14 November, the provisional agenda was despatched to all member countries, with a circular memorandum which indicated that the date and place of the Commission's Second Session would be 18 December, 1964, Addis Ababa. The memorandum also explained why it had not been possible to convene "a working party" as required in paragraph 3 of Resolution 1.(I) of the Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission at its First Session at Alexandria.

As responses from Member States regarding the meeting of 18 December, 1964, were rather slow, the Secretariat sent a further cablegram on the 7 December, 1964, to all Member States informing them again of the dates and places proposed for the meeting of the Health Commission and other Commissions of the OAU.

Again, finding very few near the opening date of the Commission's meeting and that not many delegations had arrived, the Secretariat once more sent cables on the following terms, to all Member States which had still not responded by 17 December, 1964 :

4. OAU Health Commission starts Session December 18 Addis Ababa as scheduled. Please inform in 24 hours if country is to be represented".

The following countries sent their delegations to Addis Ababa :  
Algeria, Cameroun, Congo (Léopoldville), Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania and United Arab Republic.

The following countries failed to send their respective representatives :

Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Kenya, Libya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Tunisia, Upper Volta and Zambia.

Countries such as, Libya, Rwanda, Chad and Zambia did in advance send their inability to attend while countries such as : Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia and Upper Volta never replied at all.

On 13 January 1965, the Secretariat sent the following cable message to all Member States of the OAU :

42. Second session of Health Sanitation and Nutrition Commission failed December eighteenth for lack of quorum stop Must meet before Council of Ministers meeting opening late February stop Kindly inform by cable before January twentyseventh if your Government will be represented at Session of Commission now planned February eighteenth 1965 at Addis Ababa stop Your co-operation most essential stop Documents on way by post stop Highest consideration" SECGEN OAU - 13.1.65.

The Secretariat waited until January 30, 1965, and sent again the following cable message to Member States which failed to reply :

100. Our telegram 42 of thirteenth January stop Please inform by immediate telegram if your Government will be represented at next session of Health Sanitation and Nutrition Commission at Addis Ababa eighteenth February stop You are one of few countries that have not yet replied stop Highest consideration" SECGEN OAU - 30.1.65.

The Member States to which the above cable No.100 was addressed are the following countries : Algeria, Burundi, Central African Republic, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Sudan, Togo, Upper Volta, Congo (Léopoldville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory-Coast, Kenya, Liberia.

Finally, the Secretariat was obliged to cancel the meeting on February, 1965, by sending the following cable to all Member States :

06. Regret inform you that owing same reason as before proposed meeting of Second Session of Health Sanitation and Nutrition Commission cannot now be held stop Highest consideration" SECGEN OAU - 5.2.65.

5. The following countries sent cables informing the Secretariat of their intention to attend the planned meeting :  
Algeria, Cameroun, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia, and Ghana. The following countries replied to the Secretariat of their regrets : Central African Republic, Gabon, Chad, Togo and Upper Volta while the following Member States never replied : Burundi, Congo (Léopoldville), Ethiopia, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Libya, Madagascar, Sudan.

THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL COMMISSION

47. Like other Specialized Commissions of the Organization of African Unity, the Educational and Cultural Commission was created by article XX of the OAU Charter. There was already in active existence, a regular meeting of Ministers of Education held for the continent of Africa by UNESCO: this has now been absorbed within the Educational and Cultural Commission vide resolution EDC/31/Res.4 (I). The Commission held its First Session in Leopoldville, in the Democratic Republic of Congo from 3rd to 8th January 1964. The following States attended: Algeria, Burundi, Cameroun, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Upper Volta, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Uganda, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Togo, Tunisia and United Arab Republic.

48. The fields in which this Commission is competent to operate are ones in which national governments are deeply involved and extensively active. The position is made more difficult by the results of previous varied trends of development and present growth differentials amongst African States. However, the Commission is gradually establishing itself through pan-African activities. In its First Session for example, it adopted the UNESCO Addis Ababa Plan - a comprehensive continent-wide educational development plan with common targets applicable to all States taking part (vide resolution EDC/28/Res.1 (I) Part I.

49. At the same Session, the Commission decided on the establishment of a Pan-African News Agency, charged with: "collecting and disseminating truthful, objective and impartial news about Africa in the African and world press, radio and televisions" - (vide resolution EDC/29/Res.2 (I)). The Second Session, to which a fuller reference is made elsewhere below, received a report from the Union of African News Agencies as was requested in the resolution under reference.

50. The First Session also, by taking a step further to the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government taken in Addis Ababa as Supplementary Resolution B on Education and Culture to establish an Institute of African Studies, requested the Administrative Secretary-General by resolution EDC/30/Res.3 (I) to set up a Committee of experts to examine and report on the fields of operation and the administrative machinery of such an institution. Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria and Sudan were invited to serve on this Committee.

51. Relations with international organizations which were already involved in educational and cultural matters in Africa, formed part of the discussions and decisions taken by the First Session of the Commission. In particular, the Commission accepted that: "the work carried out by UNESCO in the fields of education and culture is of particular importance". In recognition of this continuing involvement of UNESCO in educational and cultural matters in Africa which are the concern of this Commission, a draft agreement between OAU and UNESCO - to cover formal relationship in these matters - was prepared and placed before the Second Session. The Second Session referred the draft to a joint committee consisting of

six members from the Scientific Technical and Research Commission and six from it to examine and report on it. During discussions in the Session and in the meetings of the Joint Committee a Representative of UNESCO (who was present as an observer) expressed general views about the draft agreement. Dahomey, Mali, Nigeria, UAR, Uganda and Sierra Leone represented this Commission. The draft agreement will now be referred to Member States of OAU for comment and/or amendment then to the Director-General of UNESCO, and subsequently it will be tabled before the Council of Ministers.

52. Before passing on to the remaining proceedings of the Second Session of this Commission (which have not yet been endorsed by the Council of Ministers) it is worth recalling here the Commission's Terms of Reference contained in the Preamble and Part I of resolution EDC/28/RES/1(I).

Besides undertaking Pan-African activities of a purely educational and cultural nature, the Commission has also been empowered to encourage, initiate and sustain educational and cultural activities with the dual objective of "raising the standard of living of the peoples and which at the same time pave the way for African Unity",

53. The Second Session, besides taking the decisions already alluded to above, instructed that the Administrative Secretary-General should set up Committees of experts "for examining and proposing solutions to the main problems brought up for discussion at his Session. (vide resolution EDC/DR Res/5 (II)). This is to be undertaken over a period of more than one year. For the period March 1965 - May 1966 two Committees have been included in the Draft Budget to deal with:

- a. Teacher Training and reappraisal of the status of the teaching profession;
- b. Curricula reform with a view to making education more adapted to the needs of local environment and African Unity and African aspirations.
- c. Language problems in Africa.
- d. Schooling of nomadic populations.
- e. Higher education
- f. Educational finance
- g. Illiteracy in Africa
- h. Educational and vocational guidance.

54. The Secretariat had reported to the Second Session that response from artists on the OAU had been negligible, and that financial inducement appeared necessary to attract more designs from artists. The Commission agreed to this. Financial provisions have been included in the draft budgetto cover prizes and incidental charges.

55. As to the problems of removing language barriers, the Commission requested the Administrative Secretary-General to carry out a survey of existing training centres for "principal African languages" (vide resolution EDC/D.Res.6(II)). Meanwhile, Member States were requested provisionally to give priority to the teaching of English and French.

56. On the Cultural plane, the Commission recommended that the Administrative Secretary-General should do "everything in his power to encourage and assist the organization of all cultural and practical activities likely to promote African Unity". These included:



- The establishment and development of African artists (playwrights, novelists, dancers, musicians, painters etc.)
- Exhibitions of African Art and handicrafts
- Festivals of African Drama
- Festivals of African Music
- A congress of African Historians
- Inter-African Games.

57. On the remaining decisions taken during the Second Session of the Commission, there is one which, it is considered, should be brought to the attention of all Member States of the OAU. In its resolution No. EDC/Dr. Res.5(II) the Commission recommended to the Administrative Secretary-General "to draw the attention of the Council of Ministers to the need of having a common machinery to give expert educational advice to Member States to the solution of common problems". In view of the different stages reached in educational, economic and social development by Member States of the OAU, this recommendation to set up a sort of OAU Educational Advisory Board is considered to be important as a means of affording African help to fellow Africans who through circumstantial accident, may not be as developed as some of us are.

This could also be the beginning of an OAU Educational Service that could be expanded to administer the channelling of aid (external or internal) to needy places in Africa.

58. The Third Session of the Commission is scheduled to take place in Nairobi, Kenya.

59. The tasks that face the Educational and Cultural Commission are most pressing, intricate and costly -- especially in the educational field.

The national governments, with their meagre resources, are already doing as much as they can manage -- but a lot more is yet to be done. The OAU, and the Commission has not only got to supplement these efforts, but also to initiate moves and focus attention on aspects in the educational and cultural fields, which would accelerate and multiply the results achieved.

60. The OAU and the Commission in particular will have to encourage and facilitate the early or timely attainment of the targets set in the Educational development in Africa, as outlined in UNESCO, Addis Ababa plan.

61. The Educational and Cultural Commission has to address itself responsibly to the task of training more teachers. The Primary and Secondary level of education have to be made available to most, if not all, the school-age children. But this cannot be done easily if the present shortage of teachers continues amongst OAU Member States. This lack of adequate primary and secondary education is in turn, applying an invisible brake to development in economic, social and industrial fields. The Commission has rightly called for an improvement in the status of teachers. This is necessary and urgently needed if the teaching profession has to attract more school-leavers and retain those who are already in it. An increase of primary and secondary school teachers and subsequently of secondary school-leavers would have a progressive and multiplier-effect not only in educational matters, but also in such important fields as industry, agriculture and administration.

62. The Commission will also have to apply its energies to rationalizing the establishment and development of institutions of higher education and professional training to ensure adequate coverage over the continent, and to avoid wasteful duplication. Although this is a matter in which national governments are very deeply involved, nevertheless, it is in the interests of economy and logic that some harmonization of and planning for institutions of higher learning and professional training be done by the OAU.

63. The Commission should also look into possibilities of expanding training facilities within the educational curricula, in such fields as agriculture, masonry, carpentry and artisans, which increase opportunities for employment amongst school leavers. A considerable amount of work has already been done by individual national governments in this respect, but increased effort is still required to expand formal vocational training in educational institutions.

64. The Commission may also need to mount a research programme designed to achieve re-orientation in the educational systems and teaching methods for example:

- (i) reforms in curricula;
- (ii) teachers' aids eg. books, visual aids, apparatus etc.
- (iii) reforms in teaching methods.

In the cultural fields, the Commission would need to search for and unearth the African Culture that has been forcibly buried under the yoke of Western and other foreign social habits. It will need to give an "Africanness" to existing pervaded African Cultures, before they lose completely their African Origin. It will also need to direct (though

without dictating) the development of the traditional and cultural aspects of the Africans with due respect and accommodation to indigenous loyalties and tendencies.

65. The fields of operation of the Educational and Cultural Commission have been outlined. The tasks to be performed are pressing, but the resources for accomplishing them are scarce. It is up to the Commission to so shape itself as to be able to carry out its duties expeditiously, cheaply and effectively.





69. The Commission also decided by resolution STR/37/Res.3(I) to set up an Executive Committee and a Secretariat whose functions are self-explanatory. Up to date, the General Secretariat has been fulfilling these functions. It also agreed to establish a "Scientific Council Of Africa" as its advisory and consultative Body. In order to give recognition to eminent African Scientists, the Commission agreed to set up an African Academy of Sciences.

70. The process of integrating the former CCTA into this Commission, as previously recommended by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, formed part of its decisions (vide resolution STR/39/Res.5(I)). This is, however, a subject of a separate report submitted to this session's Council of Ministers. It is worth mentioning that amongst the decisions taken in this connection, the Commission recommended that : "The integration of CCTA... should not await final decisions on the transfer of assets and jurisdiction, which will continue to be discussed between former members of CCTA and OAU". The implication of this recommendation, which was subsequently approved by the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government should be noted. The former CCTA is now part of the OAU's Commission on Scientific, Technical and Research matters as from 1st January 1965.

71. Other decisions which were taken at this session are referred to under the proceedings of the Second session of the Commission, which follow below. These were connect with the setting up of an ad hoc Committee to draw up a work programme of the Commission for the next three-year period, a selection of a Panel of Scientists to examine the programme of the former CCTA and to visit its bureaux, and relationship with the United Nations and other international organizations operating in the same fields, as the Commission.

72. The following countries attended the First session of the Commission : Algeria, Cameroon, Congo (Leopoldville), Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Upper Volta, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Togo, Tunisia, Uganda and United Arab Republic.

73. The Commission held its Second session from 21st to 26th January in Lagos, Nigeria. The following countries attended : Algeria, Cameroon, Chad, Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta and Zambia.

74. In accordance with Rule 2 of the Rules of Procedure of the Commission, the decisions reached at the second session are due to be placed before the Council of Ministers for endorsement. But, without prejudice to the deliberations and conclusions of the Council of Ministers on those, it is considered that they should be mentioned here simply as part of the proceedings of the second session of the Commission.

75. It is stated above that at its First session, the Commission instructed the Administrative Secretary-General to set up an ad hoc Committee to recommend to it a programme of activities for the next three years (vide resolution STR/38/res.4(I)). The following six countries were invited to serve on the committee :

Algeria, Ghana, Nigeria, Mauritania, Sudan and Senegal. Only the first four sent representatives. It is to be noted that the future programme of the former CCTA was examined and amended in some parts in order to extend it to States not previously covered by the former CCTA.

76. By resolution STR/39/Res.5(I), the Commission had instructed the Administrative Secretary-General to set up a Panel of Scientists to visit the bureaux of the former CCTA to ascertain their scientific content, to examine their future programme and suggest a scale for financing existing projects of former CCTA to ensure continuity. The following countries are invited to serve on the Panel : Ghana, Mali, United Arab Republic, Uganda, Congo (Leopoldville) and Ivory Coast. The last named was not represented, while Congo (Leopoldville) attended only the beginning of the business. It is to be noted that after the second session of the Commission had read the Panel's report, and after it had heard the views of the members of the Panel, it decided that the Panel should not proceed with the projected visits to the bureaux of former CCTA. These and other relevant aspects to the integration of the former CCTA into the OAU are covered in a separate report as stated elsewhere.

77. It is recalled that amongst the powers requested for by the Commission (vide resolution STR/35/res.1(I)B.v) and subsequently approved by the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, was one to enable it "To collaborate with international scientific and technological organizations in matters of mutual interest". One of the United Nations specialized Agencies, viz. UN's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, has been engaged in scientific matters in Africa for sometime in the interest of its members, 35 of whom are also Member States of the OAU. It had been previously decided that OAU should enter into formal agreement with UNESCO for co-operation and mutual assistance in the relevant fields. The agreement would not be with individual Commissions but would be with OAU - the Commissions concerned being mentioned appropriately. The draft agreement was due to be tabled before the Second session of the Educational and Cultural Commission, which was to meet a few days after the Second session of this Commission. Since the agreement, when finalized, would also cover scientific matters and hence would involve this Commission, and in order to take advantage of the meeting of the Commission's Second session, it was decided to place a draft agreement between OAU and UNESCO on the session's agenda. The draft agreement was subsequently discussed amongst delegates and also with the Representative of UNESCO who attended the session as an observer. The session decided to refer the draft agreement to a joint committee of this Commission and of the Educational and Cultural Commission. Ghana, Liberia, Algeria, Senegal, Kenya and Togo were elected to represent this Commission. Subsequently, the draft agreement, which is now to be referred to Member States and the Director-General of UNESCO will be tabled before the Council of Ministers.

78. Some of the decisions taken by the Second session concern the Commission's executive administrative and advisory organs. By resolution STR/DR.97(II) (Session's reference numbers) the Commission recommended that "Lagos, the CCTA Headquarters, should be the headquarters of the STRC". (Scientific, Technical and Research Commission). Thirteen States voted for the resolution, four against and nine abstained. In another resolution, STR/DR.98(II), adopted by the Session, the Commission



agreed to the establishment and composition of (a) a Secretariat - which shall be "subject to the general supervision of the General Secretariat" of the OAU - as "the principal administrative organ and headquarters of the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission", (b) a Scientific Council of Africa consisting of one eminent scientist from each country charged with "formulating the scientific, technological and research programmes of the STRC and for co-ordinating and harmonizing the programmes of the various national scientific councils within its terms of reference", (c) an Executive Committee of at least ten members, which "shall be responsible for the everall administration, programming and budgeting of the STRC". Interim arrangements were agreed upon to serve until 1st July 1965 when the Administrative Secretary-General is expected to have carried out the permanent arrangements.

79. By resolution STR/DR.99(II), the Commission agreed that bureaux of the former CCTA which are located outside Africa, should be "brought back to Africa", and that "Countries interested in having any of the offices should apply to the Secretary-General with full facts in support of their claim. The Secretary-General should take the matter to the Council of Ministers for their decision".

In the same resolution, the Commission agreed that "A survey, based principally on the scientific infrastructure, should be carried out with a view to a more rational distribution of all ex-CCTA bureaux between Member Countries".

80. The foregoing are some of the decisions taken at the First and Second sessions of the Commission. The third session will be held in Cairo, UAR.

81. As for the future activities of the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission, the report adopted for its programme indicates the general trends to be followed. Emphasis is expected to be placed on improvement on and expansion of productivity in natural resources, for example in agriculture (in all its aspects), minerals and sea and fresh water products. In view of the low standards of living

presently obtaining in most parts of Africa, this is a task that must be pursued objectively, energetically and consistently on both the continental and national fronts, if this state of affairs is to be corrected.

82. Development in industry and technology should also to be stopped up on a continental basis. Shared scientific workshops for fixing standards and specifications of materials, for testing samples and for keeping reference records can be established. Such centres would also provide provision apparatus which African scientists can use individually or for exchanging information during seminars or symposia.

83. The second session also took the very important decision to catalogue and codify research centres and research activities currently obtaining in Africa. Also, a list of scientific research workers and laboratory technologists is to be prepared. Both of these are to be kept up to date. Due to the scarcity of funds and of qualified scientists, this move, if properly used, could lead to a rationalization of research activities in Africa and the exploitation of available facilities to the maximum for the benefit of all Africans. It is a wise move in the right direction.

84. After the above process have been completed, it may be necessary to consider possibilities of establishing shared research centres, either by expanding selected national centres, or by creating new ones, for example in agricultural research to study plants and animal yields and disease controls; in nuclear research to develop nuclear power for peaceful (especially medical) use; and in mineralogy research. These are costly proposals in terms of capital and manpower, hence the need to have them shared on a continent-wide basis. It is necessary to emphasize once again that research activities, to be cheap, must be shared amongst all Member States of the OAU, and, for them to bear abundant fruits, they must be tackled in a co-ordinated and orderly manner on both the continental and national fronts. In this connection, the Committee on

the Commission's work programme "felt that the entire research programme of the Commission cannot be realized without the help of National Research Councils which must therefore be set up as soon as possible where these do not exist now. This will help to establish both horizontal and vertical links between member countries". The effective dovetailing of continental and national research activities would accelerate the achievement of results and therefore all those concerned are requested actively to encourage and facilitate this process.

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1965-09

# Report of the Administrative Secretary- General covering the period September 1964 to March 1965

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