

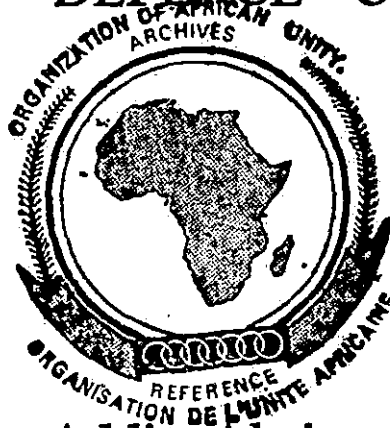
CONFIDENTIAL

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Proceedings and Report of

The

DEFENCE COMMISSION



Addis Ababa, January 1964

**ORGANIZATION OF  
AFRICAN UNITY**

SECRETARIAT  
P. O. Box 3243

ADDIS ABABA

**ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE  
AFRICAIN**

SECRETARIAT  
B. P. 3243

DEF.1/  
29 October 1963

DEFENCE COMMISSION  
First Session  
Accra, October 1963

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The meeting of the first session of the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity was held in Accra, Ghana from 29th October to 2nd November 1963. H. E. Kofi Baako, the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Ghana, was elected Chairman. H. E. Mr. Moncef Kedadi, leader of the Tunisian delegation and H. E. Mr. Fougouma Michel, the Defence Minister of Upper Volta, were also elected first and second Vice-Chairman respectively.

The Commission created two Committees. The first Committee was charged with studying the draft rules of procedure of the Commission prepared by the Provisional Secretariat. The second Committee was charged with defining the task of the Commission, namely, co-ordinating the various proposals relating to the nature, scope and extent of co-operation in Defence and Security matters which the Commission should recommend to the Council of Ministers.

Committee I having completed its work submitted to the Commission the draft rules of procedure of the Commission which was unanimously adopted. Committee II also submitted its report, which consisted of the various proposals of the Member States. Having considered the report the Commission created a small sub-committee composed of ten countries namely, Algeria, Tunisia, Uganda, Somalia, Sudan, Senegal, Upper Volta, Tanganyika, Liberia and Libya. This sub-committee was charged with considering the various proposals, and, using the proposal of Guinea as a basis of its work, submit to the Commission a draft recommendation which contained the common points of the various proposals.

Accordingly, the sub-committee submitted its recommendation to the Commission which, with slight modifications, was adopted by the Commission as the "Recommendations on the Organization and Functions of the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity," to the Council of Ministers and to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

(3) ACCRA

Provisional Agenda

1 September 1963

First Session of the

Defence Commission

Provisional Agenda

1. a. Election of officers  
b. Adoption of the Agenda  
c. Organization of the Session
2. Study and adoption of the draft rules of procedure of the Commission (for submission to the Council of Ministers)
3. Definition of task of the Commission
4. Recommendations to be submitted to the Council of Ministers
5. Date and place of next meeting
6. Other items

29 October 1963

PROVISIONAL AGENDA (GHANA)

1. Rules of Procedure for the Defence Commission of Africa.
2. Defence Organization for Africa.
3. Formation of a Union Military Command.
4. Formation of other Defence Organizations:
  - (a) Union Military Intelligence Organization.
  - (b) Union Military Planning Organization.
  - (c) Union Military Research and Development Organization.
5. Selection of locations of Headquarters and subordinate Headquarters of the Union Military Command.
6. Permanent Staff - basis of nominations from each member state.
7. Manpower and Equipment - contribution by Member States to UNION MILITARY COMMAND.
8. Foreign Bases within Africa and Military Pacts with non-African States.
9. The Defence of Africa in relation to Liberation Movements.

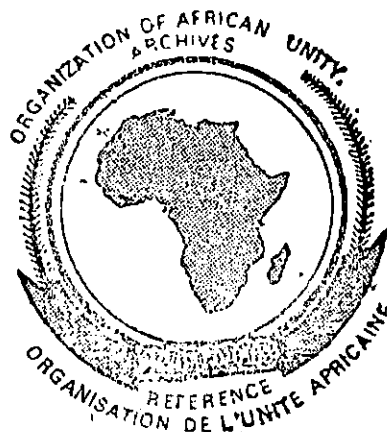
30 October 1963

Accra

NIGERIAN DELEGATION: PROPOSALS ON ITEM 3 OF THE  
AGENDA

1. African Defence Organization
2. Formation of Military Council of the Defence Organization.
3. Formation of other branches of the Defence Organization.
  - a) Intelligence Branch
  - b) Logistics Branch
  - c) Operations Branch
  - d) Legal Branch
  - e) Planning Branch
4. Basis of nomination of Permanent Staff for the Defence Organization
5. Finance, Manpower and Equipment - Contribution by Member States.
6. Foreign Bases in Africa and Defence Pact with non-African States.
7. Co-ordination of Military Assistance to Liberation Movements.

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITYDEFENCE COMMISSIONACCRA - OCTOBER 29 - NOVEMBER 2, 1963OPENING MEETING

The Plenary Session of the Defence Commission opened at the Law School, Accra, on Tuesday, October 29, 1963, at 5 p.m.

The meeting was opened by the Acting Secretary-General.

The Delegation of Ethiopia nominated the Ghana Defence Minister, Mr. Kofi Baako, for the Chairmanship. The nomination was seconded by the Uganda Delegation and Mr. Baako was elected by acclamation.

The representative of Tunisia H.E. Moncef Kedadi, the Tunisian Ambassador, was nominated by the Delegation of Ghana for the first Vice-Chairmanship and was elected by acclamation.

For the second Vice-Chairmanship, the Defence Minister of Upper Volta, Mr. Fougouma Michel, was nominated by the Delegation of Nigeria and was elected by acclamation.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

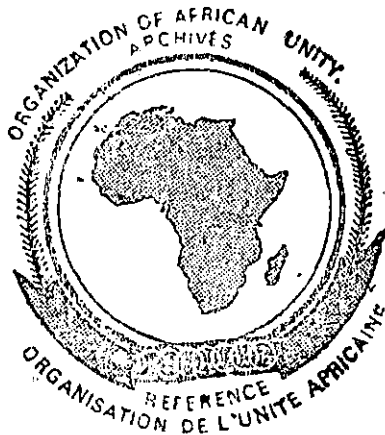
THE CHAIRMAN (Ghana Minister of Defence) welcomed the delegates on behalf of the President of the Republic of Ghana. He said the Charter of the Organization of African Unity had a great impact in the world, and emphasized the reality of Africa's progress towards unity, emancipation and prosperity. The implementation of the Charter by the organization's specialized agencies, among them the Defence Commission, indicated the depth of their commitments to the idea of African Unity. Each step towards the eventual goal, establishment of a complete union government for Africa spelled disaster for the machinations of colonialists and neo-colonialists driving them to more subtle and insidious methods.

The importance of the Commission's work could be understood only in relation to Africa's needs, today and tomorrow. The new Africa was not so distant. In 1958, there were only 8 independent states; now there are 32 and within the next few years colonialism in Africa would be completely stamped out. The Charter of the



Organization of African Unity envisaged a plan for continental Africa, promoting unity and solidarity, intensifying co-operation, eradicating colonialism and promoting international co-operation.

The Defence Commission had the responsibility of drawing up a defence plan not only for present day Africa but the continental Africa of tomorrow. GHANA believed it should be able to produce a defensive plan providing union armed forces, a supreme military command within regional Headquarters and strike force, command headquarters, and other associated organizations and to produce also an overall defence plan for Africa. The task appeared stupendous but was not impossible. Their problems were similar to those which the U.S. the U.S.S.R. China and India had to face. It could and should be done and Ghana believed that it would be done - if only for the reason that their survival as a race depended upon it.



Accra

30 October 1963

## ITEM I - ADOPTION OF AGENDA - PLENARY SESSION - SUMMARY REPORT

After discussion, THE CHAIRMAN declared the provisional agenda adopted. He remarked that to ensure adequate discussion of all the various proposals, it would be necessary for delegations to submit them to the SECRETARIAT so that copies could be supplied for the information of delegations.

ITEM 2 - ORGANIZATION OF WORK

THE SECRETARY GENERAL suggested that it might be necessary to set up committees, representative of all or some of the delegations, to dispose of the manner in which the work of the CONFERENCE should be organized.

THE HON. M.T. MBU (NIGERIA) proposed that there should be a plenary session instead of a committee at 8.30 a.m. on Friday, to facilitate the departure of delegates after the closing of the Conference on Saturday. He suggested the appointment of two committees, one to consider the draft rules of procedure and the other to deal with the substance of the work, in which military experts could participate. These two committees could submit their reports for the plenary session which, the proposed, should be held on Friday at 8.30 a.m.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that to facilitate co-ordination of the various proposals submitted by delegations, they should be supplied to the Secretariat so that all member-States could be provided with copies. His own proposal was that there should be two committees, one to deal with co-ordination of the proposals submitted by delegations and the other to deal with draft rules of procedure.

Replying to questions, THE CHAIRMAN explained that the co-ordinating committee would not be another committee but would merely receive and co-ordinate the views of delegations which would then be presented to the plenary session for discussion and approval or otherwise.

MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (CAMEROON) supported the suggestion made earlier by NIGERIA that one committee should study rules of procedure and the second should study the task of the Defence Commission. When the Committees had done their work, they could present their reports for study at the plenary meeting.

The CHAIRMAN, who said it appeared to be agreed that two committees should receive and co-ordinate proposals from member states and that the other should be concerned with draft rules or procedure.

MR. OLIVER BRIGHT (LIBERIA) said delegates had difficulty in understanding just what these committees were to do. Some of the questions with which they would deal would be not merely procedure but substantive and their work might overlap. The basic question they must consider was: What was the task of the Commission? Article 20 of the Charter referred specifically to the fact that: "The Assembly of Heads of State shall establish such specialized commissions as it may deem necessary" - including a defence commission. Was that commission already established or was the conference now to establish it? The only practical course was for delegates to produce ideas on what they wanted to have included in the Organization and to propose that in the form of rules of procedure, a treaty or a convention to the Council of Ministers, for later submission to the Assembly.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said it was hoped during the present session to formulate recommendations for the consideration of the Assembly of Heads of States, on the extent and nature of co-operation in defence and security and the first task of the Conference must be to formulate the scope of all that. The committees which the CHAIRMAN had proposed would simply analyse and co-ordinate the various proposals without necessarily commenting on any of them. The Secretariat had already submitted, five weeks ago, to member states, provisional rules of procedure for the conference. The second committee would consider suggestions made in connection with those rules and no difficulty was anticipated providing the CHAIRMAN'S proposals were accepted.

MR. SANDOUGOUT (GABON) said that the Conference must first know how many committees there were to be. He felt there should be only one, whose task it would be to study the draft rules of procedure from the Malagasy delegation and the Secretariat. Proposals of other states could not be received unless draft rules of procedure had been accepted and therefore he proposed that only one committee should be established.

THE CHAIRMAN said that he did not believe these proposals conflicted with his own. These committees would only put forward recommendations which would be subject to approval by the conference after thorough examination.

MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (Cameroun) said the Secretariat agenda has been adopted and should now be examined. He saw no reason for a co-ordination committee. He considered the task should be divided between the two committees; and a committee could not reject any proposal made by any of the member-states. He agreed that there should be two committees.

THE CHAIRMAN noted that the second item on the order of the day was the Organization of work, and said the conference should now pass to that item. It was felt that the work could be better organized by having committees to consider various proposals.

MR. FOUGOUMA MICHEL (UPPER VOLTA) said the first task was to adopt rules of procedure and to know the terms of reference of the committee. It appeared that they had not yet got a tangible legal basis for the Commission and therefore should set up two committees, one for draft rules of procedure and one to define the Commission's task.

MR. SANDOUGOUT (Gabon) said the Conference must be absolutely clear about what the second proposed committee would be working on and the questions with which it would be dealing.



THE CHAIRMAN said the task of that committee could not be different from the task of the Conference whose task was to help produce something which would be acceptable to Heads of State in relation to co-operation matters of defence and security. For that reason and because some proposals had already been made by Ministers, those matters could not conveniently be generally debated. It was for that reason that they now suggested the setting up of these committees, to study and harmonise the proposals and bring forward recommendations, but not to approve or reject them. It had been agreed that the Secretariat would ensure that each member-State received copies of the various proposals to be examined by the committees. The aim was to expedite the work without abrogating their responsibilities to the committees. It would be for the Conference to give final approval or otherwise to any recommendations brought forward.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL said many proposals on the nature and scope of defence arrangements might be put forward. In Document DEF.1/Memo.1 the Secretary had attempted to point out the various possibilities for African co-operation in defence and security matters, while not necessarily making recommendations. That document could be useful in formulating proposals. Secondly, an attempt had been made to outline characteristic features of arrangements adopted under other regional international bodies over the years. Delegates could perhaps draw lessons from these when considering how defence co-operation could best be organized.

MR. TOUGOUMA MICHAEL (Upper Volta) stated that the Conference had not yet had terms of reference from the Council of Ministers and the Heads of State. For this reason it was necessary, first, to work out rules of procedure and, secondly, to define the questions to be studied concerning defence. The results of the Conference would not be definitive and must be submitted to the Council of Ministers and accepted by them to become definitive.

THE CHAIRMAN agreed that decisions taken by the Conference would not be final decisions of the Organization of African Unity. The committees would make recommendations to the Conference, whose decisions would then go forward as recommendations to the Council of Ministers.

H.E. MONCEF KEDADI (Tunisia) proposed that one committee should study the draft rules of procedure and submit recommendations and that the second committee should deal with the other four items on the Agenda. If any substantive recommendations resulted, these could be studied by study committees.

A GHANAIAN delegate recalled that the legal status of the Commission had given rise to a two-hour discussion at Dakar, where it was finally agreed that the Commission was in de facto existence. Its terms of reference were, in fact, contained in Article II (2) of the Charter and its purpose was to find ways and means of co-ordinating and harmonising co-operation for defence and security.

THE CHAIRMAN, in reply to questions, stated that the proposals to be submitted would be proposals which member-States considered would help to produce a plan to satisfy the requirements of Article II (2) of the Charter, which called for plans to help the Organization to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the member-States and also ensure co-operation for the defence and security of member-States. The proposals to be submitted by member-States should reflect these two aspects.

In concluding discussion on this item, The CHAIRMAN stated that the consensus of opinion appeared to be in favour of the establishment of two committees to do the work of the conference, taking the Agenda as a basis, and he declared this proposal adopted.

#### STATEMENT BY THE PROVISIONAL SECRETARY-GENERAL

The PROVISIONAL SECRETARY-GENERAL then presented his progress report to the Conference. Copies of his speech were circulated to delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN said delegates would wish him, on their behalf, to congratulate the SECRETARY-GENERAL on his lucid report.

4. GENERAL DEBATE: Committee Arrangements.

THE CHAIRMAN said the Conference, having agreed to set up two committees, must now consider the composition of those committees. Normally, his own inclination would be towards a small committee of about nine members to represent all delegations; but from the general discussions it seemed it would be preferable to have a committee in which all member-States were represented. Although this might seem unwieldy it might be more helpful when matters were later discussed by the full Conference. It was proposed, therefore, that both committees should be composed of all member-States should appoint their own chairman and meet independently. It would be expected that the recommendations of the committees would be ready for discussion in plenary session on Friday. The order of the day provided that the next item should be a GENERAL DEBATE but as there has already been a great deal of debate, and so as to give the committees time to consider who should be their various representatives, he now proposed that this session should adjourn.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL suggested that as time was needed for study, they should merely organize the committees and meet subsequently for substantive discussions.

THE CHAIRMAN said the various proposals should be brought to the Secretary General who would ensure that copies were received by all member-States for discussion.

MR. GURAISS COFFIE (IVORY COAST) asked whether, since he was his country's only representative, he would be permitted to attend meetings of both committees.

The Chairman indicated that this was the position.



A DELEGATE suggested that the Conference, in its committee procedure, should adopt the procedure followed at Dakar whereby the two vice-Chairmen were the Chairmen of the two Committees, so that the two committees elected only their Secretaries.

THE CHAIRMAN said while he agreed with the spirit of the proposal, a Chairman was usually handicapped in putting forward concrete proposals, and one or two Chairmen might wish to be members of the committee and have full discussion. It was a matter to be left to the committees themselves.

MR. TOUGOUMA MICHEL (UPPER VOLTA) proposed that the Head of each delegation should send to the Secretariat a list of names of those of his delegates who would be attending each of the committees.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL suggested that the procedure proposed by the Chairman was preferable.

THE CHAIRMAN said it was a matter for delegations themselves. There could be flexibility.

MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (CAMEROUN) urged that each State should certainly have a delegate on each of these two committees.

THE CHAIRMAN indicated that that course had been agreed.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL said since all delegations would be represented on both committees the Secretariat's concern was only that at each working session of the committee there should be available accurate information regarding representation of delegations. An attendance record would be kept. The Secretariat would not be concerned to know who as the permanent representative of a delegation.

THE CHAIRMAN suggested as a compromise and to ensure continuity that as far as possible those selected to attend committees should generally continue to do so.

CONFERENCE ADJOURNED UNTIL 9.00 A.M. ON FRIDAY, 1ST NOV.



1 November 1963

PLENARY SESSIONFRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1963

A Plenary Session of the Defence Commission was held on Friday, November 1, at 9 a.m. The Chairman (Mr. Kofi Baako, Ghana Minister of Defence) was in the Chair.

Report of Committee I

MR. H. KYEMBA (Uganda), Rapporteur, read his report (Document DEF.1/Comm.I/Report 1) of the meeting of the Committee held on October 30 and presented the Rules of Procedure as agreed by the Committee.

MR. BEDO (Madagascar) asked for it to be placed on record that in the Committee the draft rules submitted by his delegation had served as a basic document for the purposes of possible amendments, and that the debate on the use of the word "plenipotentiary" as opposed to "representative" in Rule I arose on an amendment submitted by the Tunisian delegation.

The SECRETARY of the Committee (MR. S. ALEMAYEHOU, Ethiopia) replied that those facts were recorded in the Official Report.

There being no objections, the CHAIRMAN declared that the report of the Rapporteur and the Rules of Procedure were adopted.

Committee II

Pending the distribution of the printed report (Document DEF.1/Comm.2/Report 1), the Rapporteur (MR. ASIODU, Nigeria) gave a verbal report of the work of the Committee.

MR. A. CISSI DIA (Senegal) said the Report from the Rapporteur enabled them to see the way in which Committee II had worked. It was necessary, though, for all documents which had been before Committee II to be studied by all delegates to enable them to produce a resolution in full knowledge of all aspects. Without those documents the Plenary Session could not do its work properly.

The CHAIRMAN said all delegations had been represented on the Committee and therefore it was assumed that all delegations would have received individual reports. The business now before the Plenary Meeting was to consider the recommendations of Committee II as embodied in the Rapporteur's Report.

MR. DJIBO (Niger) said it was essential to allow time for study of the Committee II recommendations before delegates could make valid comments.

MR. P.C. WALWA (Tanganyika) thanked the Chairman and the people and Government of Ghana for their help and hospitality during the Conference. The Provisional Secretary-General was to be congratulated on having produced a Memorandum which has been of great assistance to the Committee. The spirit which had prevailed throughout the debates and which he hoped would be maintained had reflected the words of Mr. Baako, the Ghana Minister of Defence, in his opening address to the Conference. They all knew that men were not created to fight each other but to love each other and live in harmony. Yet human nature being what it was, men would continue to fight unless there was a great effort towards the establishment of peace. Many constructive ideas had come before the Conference on the nature, composition and policy of the proposed Defence Force and its relationship to individual States. The five papers which had been before Committee II should now undergo the normal procedure of business. Each paper should be received or rejected in principle in the first instance and those papers which were received in principle should then be discussed, item by item before adoption.

MR. MORIBA (Guinea) said the task of the Plenary Session was to consider and debate the work done by the two Committees. Committee I had produced a draft which could be discussed. Committee II had merely made recommendations on proposals from various States which certainly could not be examined in depth to achieve a synthesis for submission to the Plenary Session. Therefore, he supported the suggestion of Senegal that documents submitted by various States should now be submitted to delegates. A Plenary Meeting could not discuss mere recommendations.

The CHAIRMAN said the procedure now proposed would mean that they would return to their starting point. It was unnecessary because all delegations already had details of the proposals which had been before Committee II.

MR. GURAI COFFIE (Ivory Coast) said a brief adjournment would be sufficient to enable delegates to study the proposals. He believed the Guinea proposal ought to be carefully examined because it seemed to be the only document which might produce concrete results.

The Hon. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) said he wished to correct a possible mistaken impression. Nigeria's co-sponsorship of the revised Ghana proposals was without prejudice to Nigeria's original submission. It was not intended to withdraw the Nigerian proposals. The revised Ghana document had been put forward for discussion in the light of Nigeria's submission which closely resembled some of the Ghana proposals.

The Session adjourned for a short time, during which a number of additional documents were circulated, including the report of the meeting of Committee II (Document DEF.1/Comm.II/Report 1) and the proposals of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea (Document DEF.1/Memo./6).

When the meeting resumed, MR. A. CISSI DIA (Senegal) pointed out that according to paragraph 5 of the Report of the Committee, there was a majority view in favour of some proposals at least.

He said that ~~clearer definition was needed~~ of the functions of the Committee. The fundamental aim should be to regulate by specific means any international differences in which member-States might be involved, so as to maintain international security and justice.

It was necessary to create a civil and military organization and a permanent secretariat with an administrative headquarters; and technical assistance was needed before going on to more detailed proposals. He supported the memorandum submitted by the delegation of Guinea.

MR. DJIBO (Niger), who spoke of the danger of stalemate, said that from the outset of the Conference documents had not been circulated in time for delegations to give them prior study. Must the Plenary Meeting now continue the work of the Committee? The only apparent possibility was to refer all the documents to the Provisional Secretariat in Addis Ababa for further study.

MR. SANDOUNGOUT (Gabon) suggested that as Committee II had not successfully done its work, the various proposals those submitted by Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana and the Secretary-General should be referred back to the Committee with instructions to formulate a definite proposal to be submitted to the Plenary Session next day.

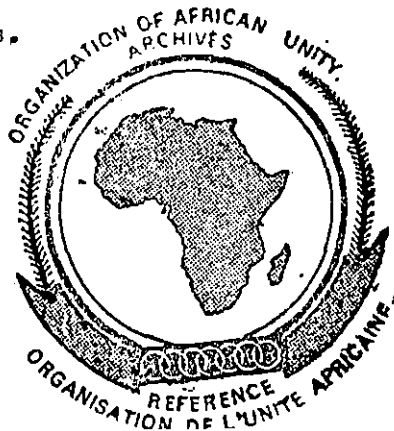
The problems created by the various proposals were of great importance, and needed serious and realistic study by member-States before the next Conference.

MR. GURAISS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) said all delegates were agreed on the necessity to set up an African Defence Ministry but they could not agree on the degree of delay there should be in setting it up. The proposals of Ghana, Nigeria, and Guinea came nearest to the proposals of the Ethiopian delegation. His delegation now supported Guinea's proposals as providing the only text which might possibly produce unanimous agreement and be capable of being put into practice in 1963 - so that at least something would have been achieved to be passed to the Council of Ministers.

The proposals of the Nigerian Delegation could only represent a second stage in the realisation of the efforts. When real co-operation had started on a programme such as that now put forward by Guinea, it would be possible to consider, as the next stage, the Nigerian proposals; and after that could come the proposals of Ghana. It was for this reason that his delegation supported the adoption of the Guinea proposals.

MR. ABDULLAHI EL HASSAN (Sudan) said he was speaking in English because the documents presented to his delegation were in that language but he hoped that at the next meeting his delegation would be able to speak in their own language. Obviously, there was a failure in the procedural machinery at the Conference. In all previous Conferences the Committee stage was for discussion and debate and the Plenary Session merely adopted agreed proposals. After meeting for two days and being unable to agree on proposals, Committee II had shifted responsibility for their work to the Plenary Meeting. It was clear that no decision could be reached there either. He believed it should at least be possible for the Conference to agree on minimum proposals and therefore he supported Nigeria's proposals for establishing a drafting committee, after the adjournment, to include delegates who had submitted proposals. That Committee should be instructed by the Plenary Meeting to reach agreement on the minimum proposals to be presented and accepted by the Plenary Meeting at its evening session. The five proposals contained some points which were acceptable to everyone but the most important question was whether or not there should be a Defence Department within the Secretariat. If there was no objection to that the next question was how it should be manned. Decision on various other points could be deferred to later meetings.

MR. M.O. CHEIKH (Mauritania) said two ideas had emerged from the debates - the creation of a United Armed Force with a planning body and regional bodies; and secondly, the creation of a body or permanent bureau - a form of Defence Committee - which would maintain contacts with member-States and undertake the necessary studies. The Conference ought to know the degree of support existing for these different ideas within the meeting in order that recommendations could be made without further delay to go to the Council of Ministers.



MR. TOUGOUMA MICHEL (Upper Volta) said he feared that if they continued their discussions in this way they might spend several more days without finding a generally acceptable solution. The various documents submitted were of differing values. If one was to be realistic one must say some of the proposals represented an ideal which could not really be achieved at the present time. He urged acceptance of the Guinea proposal to set up a co-ordinating body and an operational United Command in case of war. This would enable the establishment of the necessary co-ordinating bodies without unreasonably heavy expenditure.

MR. ASANTE (Ghana) said the Ghana delegation agreed with the suggestion that a Committee should try to reach an agreed formula for submission to a subsequent Plenary Meeting. That Committee should be guided in its discussions by the principles of the Charter and particularly by Article II which spoke of the purpose "to defend their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; and eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa". The second paragraph proposed co-ordination and harmonization of policies for defence and security. Could that be achieved by setting up a "talking organization"? Ghana believed that what had been said at Dakar was true that concrete action was necessary. Again, at Addis Ababa, it had been decided to act to promote practical co-operation and collaboration. It was no use backing out now. His delegation wanted to see an agreed structure geared to the necessities of any emergency. That was the task of the meeting. Those who would be responsible to act must know what they were to do if they were instructed by Heads of Government to go into action. He believed the work would progress if a small committee was appointed to consider all these questions and then submit proposals to a plenary session. The proposals which had been submitted by the various delegations had been conceived in the best interests of Africa and with the Charter of African Unity in mind.

MR. M. MORIBA (Guinea) said he felt the Assembly was not doing its work. Committee II had not been able to produce something on which discussion could continue. The Committee, having been given this task should have put forward a basic text to be used by the Plenary Meeting as a basis for discussion. Therefore, his delegation urged that an effort should be made to form from the proposals so far submitted by member-States some proposals which could be used as a basic text for honest discussion by all delegates.

MR. M.A. ARRALLEH (Somalia) felt that any adjournment now would serve no useful purpose. It was for the Council of Ministers and Heads of State to take decisions but it was for the Conference to agree on means of furthering the military defence of Africa. No progress would be made unless they worked logically. He felt that the paper submitted by Mauritania had not received sufficient attention. During two days delegates had been discussing African defence without considering the real requirements of African defence. They were working backwards. The Mauritania document taken with the Guinea proposals offered an opportunity for progress combined with a measure of realism; and therefore Somalia would vote for the substance of the Guinea proposals but in fact would support an effective African Military Command which must be small, realistic, and capable of achievement at the present time.

MR. FOCHIYE JEAN (Cameroun) supported the Somalia delegate's view and suggested that the proposals by Guinea and Mauritania should be used to prepare a text as a basis of future discussion.

A number of procedural suggestions were made by delegates. They included the setting up of a committee comprising representatives of States which had submitted proposals, and a committee of States which had not submitted proposals. It was stressed by several delegations that unless any committee which set up was given a specific text as the basis of its work, it could not make progress.

The CHAIRMAN emphasised his view that given a spirit of harmony, the differences between the various proposals and delegations could be still further narrowed down.

MR. K.B. ASANTE (Ghana) urged that unanimity was essential and that a majority vote would not achieve any useful purpose.

The CHAIRMAN adjourned the session at 1.30 until 5 p.m. so that in the meantime delegations which had submitted proposals could meet privately to see whether they could find common ground on which agreement might be reached.

When the meeting resumed at 5.30 p.m., a note was circulated by the Chairman showing certain of the points of similarity in the proposals submitted by Ethiopia, Mauritania, Ghana, Nigeria and Guinea. In reply to a question by Mr. Mbu (Nigeria), The CHAIRMAN explained that his notes had been prepared hurriedly and did not include as much detail as might otherwise have been given. They were, however, a fair and comprehensive analysis of the proposals by the various member-States.

MR. COFFIE (Ivory Coast), who thanked the Government and people of Ghana for their hospitality during the Conference, said he thought that the meeting was now on the way to a compromise solution. The proposals submitted by Guinea should be considered as the foundation of the edifice which member-States wanted to construct.

MR. LUBOWA (Uganda) pointed out that Rule 15 as adopted by the Council of Ministers at Dakar provided, among other things, for a political, legal and defence department of the General Secretariat and made provision for the Secretary-General to create divisions and sub-divisions as he might deem necessary with the approval of the Council. Therefore, a defence department such as was envisaged in the proposals submitted by the various delegations was already provided for by Rule 15 of the Council of Ministers. Thus, the task now before the meeting was to put flesh to the skeleton to form a body.

MR. A. CISSI DIA (Senegal) said if they could agree on the fundamental principle, it would merely remain for them to find the means of doing a positive job. He suggested that the Guinea proposal be taken as the basic text, with the suggestion of the Tanganyika delegate being kept in mind. The resulting document could be presented to the Plenary Meeting later in the day or next morning, enabling the Assembly to do a positive job.

MR. ASANTE (Ghana) said the Guinea text presented in proper form what was largely agreed opinion and further progress could be made, as suggested by the Senegal delegate by inviting the Guinea delegation to introduce agreed points or by forming a small committee to achieve an agreed text for submission to the session.



MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (Cameroun) said it appeared that members had now begun to understand one another. If the Guinea proposal was accepted as a basic text, alterations and amendments could be made and this offered a way out of the deadlock that had been created. Delegations who had made proposals should get together to produce a new text by Saturday morning.

MR. GURAIIS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) agreed with the suggestion to form a small committee to which the Guinea, Ghana, and Ivory Coast delegates could explain their views. Those three delegations could then withdraw and the committee could discuss what had been said.

MR. A. CISSI DIA (Senegal) suggested that the committee which they were discussing might conveniently consist of eight members. This would be neither too large nor too small and having heard the idea of the three delegations, it could then try to produce an acceptable text.

MR. M.B. MICHEL (Burundi) said while the draft protocol presented by Ethiopia was similar to the Ghana proposals, Ethiopia's draft protocol was a more legal and detailed text. If the aim was to provide for the defence of African Unity it was necessary to provide something which would achieve unity in command. That principle must be represented.

MR. GURAIIS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) said a definitive text was most likely to be produced as suggested by taking the Guinea proposal as the basic text with the text of Ethiopia, Guinea and Mauritania, enabling points of disagreement to be eliminated and points of agreement brought in.

MR. ASANTE (Ghana) pointed out that so far no proposals had been formally withdrawn. He suggested that any proposals presented which did not take into consideration the various views expressed would not meet with unanimous approval. It would be wrong to assume that all the views which had been expressed would be taken into consideration in presenting the final text. In the unlikely event of a failure on the composite draft there might be no alternative but to forward all drafts to the Council of Ministers.

The HON. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) pointed out that there were close similarities between the document produced by Guinea and the text which he himself had produced earlier so that there was certainly no wide conflict. The only addition by Guinea was in relation to what should be done by the Commission in case of threatened aggression by member-States and by a non-member-State of the Organization. The Permanent Secretariat now envisaged by Guinea had already been envisaged by Nigeria in Article 5 (1) of its earlier document.

MR. M. MORIBA (Guinea) said men made laws for their own needs but the opposite was never true. Laws never made men. That fundamental principle should be kept in mind in choosing the Guinea text as a basis for discussion. The Assembly did not limit its discussions. It was the Committee which was being limited by the idea that it was absolutely necessary to find an agreed text.

MR. O. BRIGHT (Liberia) said the proposals of Ethiopia, Mauritanian Ghana, Nigeria and Guinea were not similar as some delegates sought to suggest. Harmonisation of these various views would take several hours at least and it would be necessary for the resulting document to be studied by the Plenary Session sentence by sentence.

Lengthy discussion ensued concerning the composition of the proposed small committees, the procedure to be followed and the documents to be remitted to it. Following a proposal by MR COFFIE (Ivory Coast), it was eventually agreed that the new committee would meet forthwith comprising representatives of the delegations of Uganda, Liberia, Senegal, Tanganyika, Madagascar, Algeria, Mali, Sudan and Somalia and that all the documents should be before it. The plenary session thereupon adjourned until 9 a.m. next day, Saturday, November 2nd.

Accra

2 November 1963

PLENARY SESSION  
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2nd 1963  
FINAL SUMMARY REPORT

A Plenary Session of the Defence Commission was held on Saturday, November 2, at 9 a.m. The Chairman of the Conference (Mr. Kofi Baako Ghana Minister of defence) was in the Chair.

ANGOLA

Mr. LENGEMA (Leopoldville Congo) expressed the thanks of his delegation to the Government and people of Ghana for their assistance and hospitality during the Conference. He did not intend to speak on domestic events in his country, which, thanks to the solidarity and co-operation of African States, had been able to maintain her independence and territorial integrity and to regain peace and stability.

He wished now to draw the attention of the meeting to events on the frontier of Angola. The Angolan people were now fighting to gain their independence, backed by the solidarity and support provided by the Congo. For some time threats had been developing along the Angola frontier. The Portuguese were now proceeding with a project planned over a long time to obstruct the canal by sinking three large ships to create a blockade and cutting access to the sea, so that the Congo's new waterway would be made useless. This threat was now official because at a press conference at Santo Antonio do Zeire de Acon, the Portuguese Navy authorities had stated they had enough vessels in Angola to maintain such a blockade. That threat endangered peace which was so essential to the development of the continent and could create a precedent which might lead to the danger of re-colonization of the African Continent. All possible assistance would be extended to their brothers in Angola in their struggle.

It was ~~essential that a united front be presented in accordance with~~ the decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference. His delegation had wished to submit this situation to the Conference for necessary decisions to be taken.

The Hon. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) said the threatened action could cause a serious situation in which member-States could be involved. The information now given had been passed to Heads of State and it was to be assumed that a critical study of the whole situation was being made. He cited the preamble of the Charter and Articles II and III as covering the situation raised by the delegate of Congo, Leopoldville. The Nigerian delegation believed that among the cardinal principles on which the Organization was based was the determination to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of member-States. The Government of Congo, Leopoldville by helping their Angolan brothers were acting in concert with the spirit of the Charter. Therefore, the Nigerian delegation felt that the Conference, in session might wish to send an appropriate message with the Report to the Heads of State, calling upon them to condemn the action threatened against the Republic of Congo.

Mr. O. BRIGHT (Liberia) said everyone would be in sympathy with what had been said by the delegate of Congo, Leopoldville. Any threat of force or blockade against Congo, Leopoldville was something which none could condone and all should condemn. Attention should be drawn to the fact that this threatened action represented violation by Portugal of the United Nations Charter, with a request that the situation be brought before the Security Council if that course was deemed necessary.

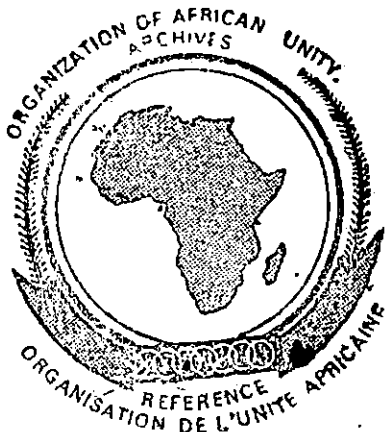
The CHAIRMAN asked whether the Nigerian delegation would consider the proposal for action to the United Nations.

The Hon. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) said his delegation had that course in mind as a second step and had envisaged a text along the following lines:

"Conference, in session, calls upon the Assembly of Heads of State to condemn unequivocally the threatened action by the Government of Portugal and points out that such threatened action is in direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations and is in breach of Article 2 (4) of the Charter; and reminds the Government of Portugal that any threat against any member-State would be regarded as a threat against all member-States of the Organization of African Unity, and calls the attention of the United Nations to this threat by the Government of Portugal".

THE GHANA DELEGATE said apart from the suggested political approach there was no positive suggestion as to what could be done or suggested to the Council of Ministers or Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity to prevent or counteract this threat by the Portuguese Government who, in fact, disregarded anything put forward to the United Nations. This was one of the points Ghana had tried to bring forward in the initial stages of the debates of the Commission. A threat could be external and internal and not against only one member but against the whole Organization. This threatened action could possibly develop into a stepping-stone for action against all-African Unity; Congo, Leopoldville was the heart of Africa and any set-back there would have to be accepted as a serious blow. As well as the course of action already proposed the meeting might consider whether, if Portugal did not accept the approach of the Heads of State on the United Nations a more positive course of action could be taken.

Mr. MORIBA (Guinea), who supported what had been said by the delegate from Ghana, stated that the choice was between Africa and the colonialists. The Organization of African Unity should not miss out on a chance of taking all necessary measures diplomatic, political and even armed action - to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Congo or of any African nation which was threatened by any form of colonialism.



Mr. ARRALEH (Somalia) maintained that the attitude of Portugal violated the spirit of the United Nations Charter. When confronted with a definite threat to a fellow African State added to the indignity already suffered by the people of Angola, the duty of the delegates as a Defence Commission was to take definite action to show Portugal that they were prepared to go beyond the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. A. CISSE DIA (Senegal) urged that in addition to presenting the resolution to the Heads of member-States, it should go to their representatives at the United Nations, thus gaining prominence before world opinion. Positive action must be taken to ensure condemnation of the action of Portugal.

Mr. COFFIE (Ivory Coast) remarked that the resolution must be in general terms, since it was the Heads of State who must take the final decision.

Mr. JEAN (Cameroun), who supported the other delegations, said that on their return home, to support what the Conference was doing, all delegations should present to their Governments the declaration by Congo, Leopoldville.

THE MAURITANIA delegate pointed out that Portugal had already been condemned morally, but that until material action was taken Portugal could still threaten the destruction of a member-State. In addition to maintaining the moral condemnation of Portugal, he proposed that the Committee of Nine accompanied by military experts, should make an on-the-spot investigation in the Congo and report on the urgency of the situation and the measures to be taken by member-States.

Mr. BRIGHT (Liberia) drew attention to the Commission's limitations and proposed that the Portuguese action should be brought to the attention of the Security Council as a violation of Article 2 (4) of the U.N. Charter.

THE GUINEA delegate asked the Chairman to close the discussion so that the resolution could be prepared. He said that every delegate was aware of the dangers threatening not only the Congo, but Africa as a whole.

Mr. MBU (Nigeria) cautioned the Commission against exceeding its mandate by dictating to the Heads of State,

THE CHAIRMAN replied that the resolution would be in the form of a recommendation or advice to the Heads of State and not dictation.

Discussion of this item then closed and the Nigerian delegation was entrusted with formulating the resolution.

#### DRAFT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE COMMISSION

Copies of the Draft Recommendations for the Defence Commission, formulated as a result of the meeting of Committee III the previous evening, were then circulated in document DEF 1/Comm 3/Rept 1.

Several delegates questioned the accuracy of the document as representing the decisions of the Committee. Mr. BRIGHT (Liberia), however, felt that the document was basically one upon which there could be agreement. In view of the doubts which were expressed, the meeting adjourned for a short time to enable the points at issue to be clarified.

When the meeting resumed at 12.45 p.m. a revised copy of document DEF. 1/Comm 3/Report 1 entitled "Draft Recommendations for the Commission for the creation of the Defence Commission" was issued.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL apologised for the delay which had been caused to the Commission by the error of including the procedural paragraphs in the original draft. It had wrongly been assumed that they should be included. The Secretariat had done its best in circumstances which were not very propitious and the error was a matter merely of form rather than of substance.

Mr. DIA (Senegal) Rapporteur who said that the Committee had agreed unanimously on the text which had now been issued thanked the members of the Secretariat for their work. The text submitted by Guinea had formed the basis of the Committee's work and the documents submitted by Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Mauritania as well as the amendments proposed by various delegations, had been taken into account. Thus the definitive text was a compromise and like every compromise, it was not perfect.

The aim of the Committee was to present a synthesis which would be accepted with unanimity, which would make it possible again to show the world that Africa was politically mature and had found for ever its unity and solidarity.

THE CHAIRMAN observed that the revised document was captioned "Draft Recommendations for the Commission for the creation of the Defence Commission", which meant that the Commission was not yet in existence whereas all the Commissions of the Organization of African Unity had in fact been established.

Mr. ASANTE (Ghana) said that Ghana would defer to the majority view so that whatever proposals went forward, they would represent the collective wisdom of the entire Commission. It was natural to expect that whatever version was finally adopted by the meeting, it would be the lowest common denominator of the various suggestions which had been made. The Ghana delegation wished formally to withdraw the revised Ghana proposal and to resubmit for record purposes their original proposals as contained in the earlier documents. Subject to an amendment to the title of the draft Recommendations he thought that they would meet with general acceptance.

Mr. MORIBA (Guinea) said that his delegation wished to make certain amendments, the first of which arose from the fact, which the Chairman had pointed out, that a Defence Commission had already been established and had been ratified by Parliaments of the member-States. He wished to delete Article I and considered that Article III (3) needed amendment, for the reason that when the Heads of State decided to do something, the Defence Commission could not refer the matter back to them.



The CHAIRMAN said it had been suggested that the title of the document should be changed to read "DRAFT PROTOCOL DEFINING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE DEFENCE COMMISSION" and secondly, the Guinea delegation suggested that Article I had no purpose since the Committee had already been established. The suggestion was that the Ghana delegation would provide their regular proposals for record purpose. It was normal practice to accept that proposal so that the Conference could submit to the Council of Ministers a text which was accepted by the whole meeting and which, by its nature, would indicate to them how the work of the meeting has been carried on and the suggestions which had been put forward.

H.E. MONCEF KEDADI (Tunisia) suggested as a procedural matter that since two of the delegations involved in submissions had expressed opinions on this proposed document the other three delegations who had been concerned in submitting texts might be asked at this point to give their opinion.

MR. ASANTE (Ghana) said his delegation fully agreed with the suggested procedure. What had been said by the Upper Volta delegate clearly summarized the intention of Ghana. It was not Ghana's intention to re-introduce the document for discussion but only for record purposes; and they were happy and they were happy to use the committee's document as a basis for discussion. That document could be taken step by step and suggestions could be brought forward which would enable the work to be completed. His delegation now withdrew its motion for an adjournment (which should have been put to a vote immediately).

MAJ. GEN. IYASSU (Ethiopia) said his delegation wished to accept the draft submitted by the Committee in its entirety apart from one point-that the document's title should be amended as suggested by the delegations of Upper Volta and Guinea,

A DELEGATE said any proposal to amend the document should from now on be considered very seriously. He was not in agreement with the suggestion of the Upper Volta delegate that as well as the draft recommendations the meeting should send to the Council of Ministers all the proposals which had been submitted by delegates. He could not understand how the meeting could allow the Council of Ministers to study problems which, in his opinion, had not been studied by each of the member-States. Therefore, he proposed that the Council of Ministers should see only the Draft Rules of procedure as already approved and, secondly, the draft recommendations to be accepted.

MR. GURAI COFFIE (Ivory Coast) said on the question of the inclusion of the proposals in the report of the Secretary-General, if this was done well it could be helpful. The proposals of different member-States should be included. He agreed that the present text was not quite what was required. His delegation therefore proposed that it be stated that the Defence Commission created by Article 20 of the Charter had met in Accra and after deliberation had made recommendations to the Council of Ministers in relation to various headings - Headquarters, Functions and powers of the Commission, etc., and there should be third paragraph that the Commission should promote co-operation in its field between member-States.

MR. M.O. CHEIKH (Mauritania) said in its approach his own delegation had worked more on the basis of ideas than definite opinions. The substance of the document was good but there were one or two points of criticism. He believed that proposals of other delegations would be included with the report but he did not think it was necessary to write them in to the work of the Committee.

MR. ASANTE (Ghana) said as there appeared to be general agreement on the document it should be possible at this stage to limit the amount of comment. Perhaps they might agree, on the title, preamble and Article 1.

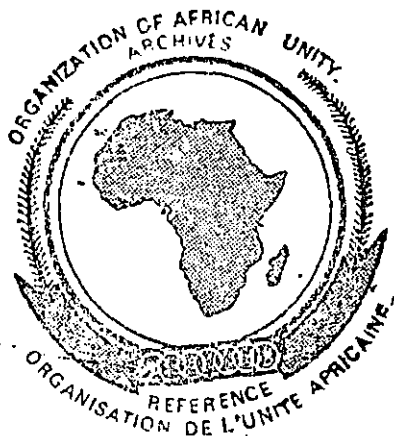
MR. A CISSI DIA (Senegal) supported the suggestion of the Ghana delegation and thought that Guinea should say at once whether or not they agreed to accept the draft which had been submitted. If so the meeting could then go through the document, Article by Article.

The Chairman asked whether the Senegal delegation wished to move formally that the Paper be adopted and its proposals received one by one.

MR. A. CISSI DIA (Senegal) formally moved accordingly and the paper was adopted.

MR. A CISSE DIA (Senegal) said now that the Commission had adopted the draft, it was necessary to go through it Article by Article to permit any amendments to be made. On the previous day's session the meeting had been guided by the experience of the Uganda delegate who had participated in the work at Dakar, who had spoken about the legal position in regard to the creation of the Commission. If there was any doubt about the legal position there was no reason why the title should not be changed.

MR. MORIBA (Guinea) said he was not himself a lawyer, but if the Charter of the Organization of African Unity had been signed by all Heads of State of Africa in May 1962 in Addis Ababa and ratified by the respective governments, could it not be considered as a legal and valid document for the African people? If the Commission had no legal existence then the validity of the Charter itself would be brought into question.



MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (Cameroun) suggested that now that the text of the sub-committee document was adopted it was a waste of time to continue to discuss it. The Commission had been created and ratified by the Charter of Addis Ababa. The discussion ought to continue only in relation to small points of detail.

MR. O. BRIGHT (Liberia) said the interpretation appeared to depend upon the text - whether one took the English or French version. It was not a problem which could be resolved now, at this meeting. It was for the Heads of State to correct the position. He felt the meeting should now go on to discuss the articles and sub-sections on which agreement was possible.

The CHAIRMAN said if they took as the heading "Functions and Powers of the Commission" it would be merely a heading and whatever might be decided by the Council of Ministers would not affect that title.

H.E. MONCEF KEDADI (Tunisia) said the Charter had created the Commission and the meeting was now entrusted with the organization of the Commission. The title should be: "Draft Protocol submitted by the Defence Commission".

MR. A CISSI DIA (Senegal) suggested that the meeting should adopt the last proposal of the Tunisian delegate, which would enable them to go ahead and expedite their work.

The title, as amended, was adopted.

MR. GURAISS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) suggested that any document which was going to be submitted ought to be made up of recommendations rather than articles; also, as these were to be recommendations, there ought not to be any preamble.

The draft recommendations were the subject of extensive discussion, during which a number of amendments were proposed and some were incorporated. Finally, on the motion of Mr. BRIGHT (Liberia), the amended text of the recommendations was unanimously adopted.

It was agreed that the recommendations of both Committee One (Rules of Procedure) and of Committees Two and Three (Draft Recommendations for the Defence Commission) should form the basis of the report to be submitted to the Heads of State and that the various proposals which had been submitted by delegations during the meeting of Committee Two should accompany the report as annexures.

ANGOLA (RESOLUTION)

MR. MBU (Nigeria) presented the following text of the resolution as prepared by the Nigerian delegation:

The Defence Commission, having considered the complaint by the delegation of Congo (Leopoldville) against the aggressive threats of the Government of Portugal to blockade the mouth of the River Congo,

realising that the Portuguese threats against Congo (Leopoldville) are in retaliation for the help which that country is providing for the Angola nationalists and Revolutionary Government in pursuance of Articles 2 (1)(d), and 3(6) of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity,

convinced that Portuguese threats endanger the peace and security of the whole of Africa and violate Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter reaffirming the will of member-States to take collective measures in the defence of their territorial integrity and independence;

- (1) recommends the Heads of States and Governments to condemn the aggressive threats of Portugal against the Republic of Congo (Leopoldville),
- (2) requests member-States to consider presenting a joint complaint to the Security Council of the United Nations when appropriate,
- (3) invites member-States to watch the situation closely and to consider appropriate collective measures in the event of the Government of Portugal carrying out its threats,

Some minor amendments were proposed but were not pressed. MR. COFFIE (Ivory Coast) suggested that a "statement" or "declaration" should be substituted for "complaint" at the beginning of the resolution, but MR. LENGEMA (Congo Leopoldville) confirmed that he had made a complaint and not merely a statement.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

#### DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING

THE CHAIRMAN reminded delegates that by Rule 6 and 8 of the Rules of Procedure, the Commission would meet once a year during the last quarter of the year and its sessions would be held at the Headquarters of the Organization or at such other place as the Commission, by simple majority, might decide. Through the Council of Ministers and the Secretariat, delegations would be informed of the date and place of the next meeting.

#### CLOSING OF THE CONFERENCE

MR. BRIGHT (Liberia) said it would be inappropriate for delegates to leave the Conference without expressing their gratitude to all those who had made their work possible and successful. He thanked the Government and people of Ghana and all who had contributed to their hospitality. He thanked the Chairman for having expedited the progress of the Conference.

The Imperial Ethiopian Government had made a tremendous contribution to the Organization of African Unity, not only in bringing all factions in Africa together, but in undertaking responsibility of organizing a Secretariat and keeping the Organization running, as well as bearing great expense.

MR. MBU (Nigeria), who expressed his delegation's thanks to the Government of the Republic of Ghana for the excellent facilities they had provided, to all delegations for their helpfulness in reaching common or agreed conclusions.

to the Chairman, to the Secretariat and to the Government of Ethiopia for their contributions to the success of the Conference, said he was happy at the end of it they were departing not disconsolate or disarrayed, but as members of the same great family of African States.

Tributes to the Government of Ghana and to everybody who had helped to make the Conference a success were paid also by MR. MORIBA (Guinea) and H.E. MONCEF KEDADI (Tunisia).

MR. GETACHEW (Ethiopia), who thanked the Chairman for his conduct of the proceedings and all the delegates for their co-operation and conciliation to reach the expression of African solidarity at which the Conference had arrive, and which had made it possible to reach conclusions agreeable to all, said it was not only the duty, but also the pleasure, of his Government continuously to help and contribute to the continuity and the reaffirmation of African unity.

In his closing address, the CHAIRMAN thanked delegates for their co-operation which had enabled the Conference to accomplish its work in a spirit of unanimity and harmony. They had never disagreed on the fundamental issue that the defence and unity of Africa must be achieved by all means. The accomplishments of the Conference might not be adequate for the future, but they were at least a solid basis on which to build. In this regard the Conference had been a success.

The Ghana delegation, like all others, appreciated very much the help and assistance afforded by the Government and people of Ethiopia in furthering the objectives of African unity.

Ghana was pleased that the delegates had come to Accra. The President of the Republic was happy that the Conference had proceeded in a spirit of African unity and solidarity and he had invited the delegates to be his guests at a reception later in the day. In concert with othe leaders, the President of the Republic was doing everything to ensure that colonialism and imperialism were completely liquidated from the Continent of Africa and that in their place would be established a society of contentment based on harmony among its people.

The Conference was declared closed at 3.45 p.m.

30 October 1963

COMMITTEE ONE: RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE DEFENCE  
COMMISSION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

The Committee met at 3 p.m.

Election of officers:

MR. FERID EL HADDAD of Tunisia, was elected Chairman and  
MR. H.K.M. KYEMBA, of Uganda, was elected Rapporteur.

Rules of Procedure

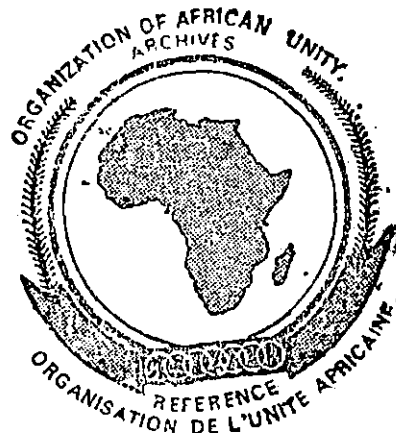
The Committee considered (a) the draft Rules of Procedure prepared by the Secretariat, (b) a list of amendments thereto submitted by the Tunisian delegation and (c) the set of draft rules submitted by the Madagascar delegation, on all of which the Chairman invited delegates to express their views.

On the proposal of MR. S. CHALE, Tanganyika, it was agreed to take as a basis for discussion the draft Rules of Procedure prepared by the Secretariat, the draft proposals submitted by Madagascar being used as a basis for possible amendment.

Rule 1

THE SECRETARY of the Committee (MR. S. ALEMAYEHOU, Ethiopia) explained that in preparing the draft Rules of Procedure, the Provisional Secretariat had followed the Rules of Procedure of the Council of Foreign Ministers, so that the two sets of Rules would not conflict.

In Rule 1, an amendment was submitted by Tunisia to substitute 'Representatives' for 'Plenipotentiaries'. THE SECRETARY explained that this Rule was one of the cases when the working of the Charter had been followed.





THE CHAIRMAN, in submitting the amendment, explained that 'Representatives' was a much more general expression than 'Plenipotentiaries' which could be too restrictive a word.

MR. BÉDO (Madagascar) drew attention to the merits of Rule 1 in the draft Rules submitted by his delegation. The Chairman replied that it did not introduce anything new. He agreed, however, that clarification might be useful to clarify the nature of the work and the functions of the Commission.

By a majority, the proposed Rule 1 submitted by Madagascar was rejected and Rule 1 as proposed by the Secretariat was adopted.

#### Rule 2

There being no objection, Rule 2 was adopted.

#### Rule 3

An amendment was submitted by the Tunisian delegation to delete paragraph (i) of Rule 3, which, the Chairman explained, was covered by the very title of the Organization.

The amendment was carried and the amended Rule 3 was accepted.

#### Rule 4

THE CHAIRMAN suggested that Rule 4 to some extent duplicated Rule 1 and, therefore, was unnecessary.

THE SECRETARY explained that in any Rules of Procedure, representation was an important matter; and in this case, too, the wording of the Charter had been followed.

MR. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) said that composition and representation were such important factors that the definition should be precise. He felt that the Rule was somewhat vague and that the number of delegates in a delegation should be specified.

THE SECRETARY replied that the question of numbers was an embarrassing one. Governments could not be asked to limit the size of their representation, because on one occasion when the request was made that delegations should comprise a maximum of four, some had arrived with

as many as fifteen. He preferred to leave the matter flexible rather than make it rigid.

MR. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) pointed out that there was quite a difference between delegates and advisers and that to obviate embarrassment, a distinction between them might be drawn. It might be possible to specify four delegates and advisers for a delegation, but he would not insist on this.

MR. DIOUF (Senegal) favoured the addition to Rule 4 of the Madagascar proposal that each Minister or Plenipotentiary could be assisted by an adviser.

LT. COL. SEKOU TRAORE (Mali) said it should be specified that experts and others who had to assist Ministers and Plenipotentiaries should be nationals of the countries represented by the delegations. Each Minister should be able to be assisted by national experts.

MR HARRIMAN (Nigeria) said he sympathised with that proposal but felt that it would be going too far to dictate to a political establishment in a national government what sort of person should be sent with its delegation.

THE RAPPORTEUR agreed that it might be embarrassing to specify certain principles for various delegations to the Defence Commission. It should be left as much as possible to the discretion of Member States to decide whom to send.

THE CHAIRMAN, summarising the discussion, suggested that the points which had been raised could be met by adding at the end of Rule 4 the following sentence:- Each Minister or Plenipotentiary may be assisted by experts were simply technicians.

This amendment was agreed to and Rule 4, as amended, was adopted. It was pointed out that the work 'Ministers' at the end of line two of Rule 4 should be in the singular.

Rule 5 was accepted.

#### Rule 6

THE GUINEA delegate said he did not understand why the Commission should meet in February to discuss the following year's budget. He thought that the meeting for this purpose should be held at the end of the year.

MR. BEDO (Madagascar) proposed that the Commission should meet twice a year, in the same way as the Council of Ministers.

THE SECRETARY replied that it was necessary for the Council of Ministers to meet twice yearly because it was the overall body above the Commissions, whereas the Commissions were specialised bodies. In addition, it would be difficult to arrange two meetings yearly for each of the five commissions, which, together with the two meetings of the Council of Ministers and the meeting of the Heads of State, would involve thirteen meetings a year, the expense of which member governments could not always afford. One meeting a year for the Defence Commission was adequate.

MR. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) agreed that it was not necessary for the Commission, which was merely the policy making body, to meet as often as the "High Command".

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) pointed out that if the need for extraordinary sessions arose, Rule 7 covered them. Otherwise, one meeting a year should be sufficient. He did not know why it was suggested that the Defence Commission should meet in February. Its time of meeting should be related to the time when other Commissions met, so that two or three Commissions did not meet in the same month.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) proposed an amendment to provide that the Defence Commission should meet once a year during the last three months of the year.

THE GUINEA delegate proposed an amendment that the Defence Commission should meet once a year, the date and place to be fixed by the present meeting.

MR. A.T. WHITE (Liberia) suggested that the meeting should be held in either October or November so that the Secretariat would have a chance to disseminate information concerning the budget to the various countries and get approval from them before it went to the Council of Ministers.

Several delegates stated that the date of the meeting of the Commission must depend upon the date of meeting of the Council of Ministers.

LT. COL. SEKOU TRAORE (Mali) favoured acceptance of the original draft of Rule 6 and said that when the dates of the other meetings were known, they could all be synchronised.

MR. DEBRAN (Ghana) said that if the meeting were held during the last quarter of the year, the host country would have flexibility in fixing the date. He repeated his amendment that the Commission should meet once a year during the last quarter of the year.

THE CHAIRMAN felt that it should be possible to agree to such a flexible proposal.

THE SECRETARY, replying to a question, stated that the next Budgetary Commission of the Council of Ministers would meet in February.

MR. APEDO-AMAH (Togo) expressed the view that the Defence Commission should meet during the next six months, before the Council of Ministers.

THE SECRETARY, replied that with four other meetings of Commissions, plus meetings of the Foreign Ministers and Heads of State within the next six months, such a proposal would be practically impossible for the Secretariat.

These difficulties having been explained, Rule 6 was finally adopted, as amended to provide that the Defence Commission would meet once a year during the last quarter of the year.

Rules 7 and 8 were adopted.

#### Rule 9

An amendment was submitted by the Tunisian delegation to delete "but the Commission may decide by simple majority whether any of its meetings shall be public". The Chairman explained that, in view of the secret character of the Commission's discussions, it was felt that all meetings should be held in private.

MR HARRIMAN (Nigeria) suggested that there were occasions when the maximum publicity was desirable, and the proviso which it was sought to delete would safeguard the position when it was necessary to exercise discretion.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) who supported the amendment, pointed out that until the Commission's recommendations were accepted by the Council of Ministers, it was premature to talk to the public. He favoured secret meetings of the Commission.

MR. HARRIMAN (Nigeria), who urged discretion to permit of open meetings, recalled yesterday's open session to which the Press were invited and stated that there might be other occasions when a ceremonial opening was desired. It was not wrong to have plenary sessions open to the Press.

THE MALI delegate supported the Tunisian amendment and proposed that in the event of its rejection, the Commission should decide by absolute majority instead of simple majority whether any of its meetings should be public.

MR. CHALE (Tanganyika) said that as a compromise, he supported the view of the Mali delegation that the decisions should be taken by absolute majority.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) agreed with the spirit of compromise and proposed that formal openings could be public but all other meetings private.

THE GHANAIAN amendment that all meetings would be held in private except for the formal opening session was accepted, and Rule 9 as thus amended was adopted.

#### Rule 10

THE MALI delegate asked which African language would be used.

THE SECRETARY replied that the Rule followed the wording of the Charter. Any African languages - e.g. Arabic, Amharic or any other - could be used and it was not necessary to specify them. Article 29 stated that the working languages of the Organization and all its institutions should be, if possible, African languages, English and French. The Rule therefore followed the wording of the Charter. Rule 10 was adopted.

#### Rule 11

MR. WHITE (Liberia) pointed out the precedent that a principal person - e.g. the Minister of Defence - of the host country acted as

Chairman, as in the case of Ghana at today's meeting. He advocated the continuance of this principle.

MR. CHALE (Tanganyika) supported the Liberian point of view.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) suggested that in the event of the same country acting as host for two years running, another person should be appointed Chairman. The Rule did not offend the precedent which had been set, but it made it possible to choose another chairman if necessary.

MR. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) agreed that the Rule should remain as it was but felt that there was a conflict in the latter part of it which stated that the officers in question were not eligible for re-election. It would, for example, prevent the election of an able Chairman whom it might be desired to elect for a second year at a meeting held in another country.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana), who suggested that there was nothing to prevent a man subsequently being elected to a different office, said that he considered the wording to be good.

Rule 11 was adopted without amendment.

Rules 12, 13 and 14 were adopted.

After Rule 14 had been declared adopted, MR. WHITE (Liberia) recalled that at the plenary session earlier in the day, many delegates complained of not receiving the agenda even though the Secretariat claimed to have sent it to the Embassies eight weeks ago. Since eight weeks was not long enough, he proposed an amendment to substitute "ninety days" for "thirty days".

THE CHAIRMAN ruled that Rule 14 had been adopted and discussion on it could not be reopened, even though the objection to it might be justified. If Mr. White wished to pursue the matter, he could raise it at the plenary meeting later in the week.

#### Rule 15

An amendment was submitted by the Tunisian delegation to add at the end of sub-paragraph (iv) "with the exception of basic questions and still within the limits of the instructions from the Council of the Conference".

THE CHAIRMAN explained that the purpose of the amendment was to avoid giving to the Commission powers equal to those of the Council of Ministers, the status of the Commission being consultative only.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) considered the amendment unnecessary and said that the Rule provided for the inclusion of unfinished business on the agenda for subsequent meetings.

MR. HARRIMAN (Nigeria) felt that sub-paragraph (iv) should be deleted.

THE CHAIRMAN re-stated his delegation's view that the Commission should not place on its agenda items that were solely within the competence of the Council of Ministers.

MR. WHITE (Liberia) proposed an amendment to ensure that the agenda included "items which the Commission decides to place on its agenda of an emergency nature and within the limits of instructions given by the Conference and the Council".

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) did not see the need for "emergency nature" because this was provided for by Rule 7 Emergency matters would be dealt with at extraordinary sessions and not ordinary sessions.

MR. WHITE (Liberia) stated that emergencies could arise even whilst a conference was in progress but Mr. DEBRAH (Ghana) pointed out that they could always be dealt with under the item "other business".

THE SECRETARY replied that that was provided for under sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii).

MR. CHALE (Tanganyika) moved that sub-paragraph (iv) should be left as it was and this proposal was supported.

Rule 15 was adopted in its original form.

#### Rule 16

MR. WHITE (Liberia) said that today's experience showed that 15 days' notice was too short and he therefore proposed an amendment to substitute "sixty days".

THE SECRETARY replied that it was impossible to give as long as sixty days' notice of extraordinary items.

Rule 16 was adopted.

Rules 17 to 28 were adopted

Rule 29

An amendment was submitted by the Tunisian delegation to provide for an absolute majority rather than a simple majority, the CHAIRMAN explaining that a simple majority had less strength than a resolution adopted by an absolute majority.

THE MADAGASCAR delegate supported the amendment.

THE SECRETARY explained that this was another instance in which, to avoid trouble, there should be conformity with the Rules of Procedure adopted by the Council of Ministers. The Rule had been drafted accordingly.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) favoured the existing wording and said that in a meeting of 10 members, six was both an absolute and a simple majority.

THE CHAIRMAN quoted several examples to support the case for amendment, including the political aspect.

THE SECRETARY recalled that in Dakar the point had been discussed by the Council of Ministers for over two hours and it had been decided that to expedite the work of the institutions of the Organization, a simple majority was better.

THE CHAIRMAN did not insist upon the Tunisian amendment and Rule 29 was adopted in its original form.

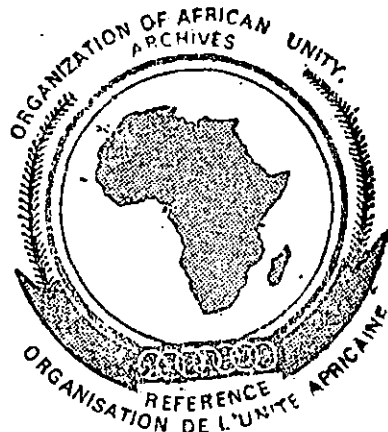
Rules 30 to 32 were adopted.

Rules 33

An amendment was submitted by Tunisia to provide that "Voting will take place by secret ballot" which would mean the deletion of the existing wording of the Rule.

MR. DEBRAH (Ghana) favoured voting by a show of hands and did not see the purpose in having motions on the order paper decided by secret ballot. If a delicate political problem arose, a delegate might wish to explain his vote, but the amendment would prevent this.

THE RAPPORTEUR agreed and pointed out that Rule 34 covered voting by secret ballot as and when that was desired by the Commission.





The amendment was rejected and Rule 33 was adopted.

Rule 34 was adopted.

Rule 35

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether it was not preferable to follow the usual procedure that when there was equality of voting, the Chairman could give the casting vote.

THE SECRETARY explained that each country had one vote and that the Chairman was, of course, a member of a delegation. If he were given another vote, this would mean that his delegation had two votes, thus violating the principle of one vote for each country.

Rule 35 was adopted.

Rules 36 and 37 were adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked the delegates for their attention to the work of the Committee and for their efficient contributions in helping the Organization, for which future generations would certainly thank them.

The meeting ended at 6.25 p.m.

30 October 1963

REPORT OF THE RAPPORTEUR OF COMMITTEE I  
ON THE DRAFT RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE  
DEFENCE COMMISSION

In accordance with the term of reference given to it by the Plenary Session of the Defence Commission namely:-

"To study and adopt the rules of procedure of the Defence Commission".

The first Committee started its business at 3.00 p.m. by electing the Tunisian Delegate Mr. Ferid El Haddad as Chairman and the delegate of Uganda, Mr. H. Kyemba, as its Rapporteur. All member states were present.

The Committee had before it two draft Rules of Procedure: One prepared by the Provisional Secretariat and another prepared by the delegation of Madagascar. The Tunisian Delegation also put before the Committee certain proposed amendments to the draft of the Provisional Secretariat.

The Chairman started by reading to the Committee the two drafts, copies of which had been distributed to the member of the Committee.

There was then some debate as to which of the drafts would be the basis of discussion for the Committee. After some exchange of views it was agreed that the Committee should proceed with the draft of the Provisional Secretariat. The Chairman then proceeded to go through the draft, article by article and asking for any views, justifiable objections, amendments or otherwise before each article was taken as adopted.

Rule 1:

There was some debate on the choice of the word Plenipotentiary as opposed to Representative. After some discussion the Madagascar delegation withdrew his objection and the original wording was adopted:

Rule 2: Adopted.

Rule 3: Sub-paragraph (i) of Rule 3 was rejected but sub-paragraphs (ii) and (iii) were adopted.

Rule 4: The Mali Delegation wished to insert a clause to the effect that only nationals of the various countries should be experts or advisers to the meeting. It was however, agreed that the choice of advisers should be left to the discretion of the member Governments. A last sentence was added to the Rule 4 and reads: "Each Minister or Plenipotentiary to be assisted by experts." "An" was also added to the section referring to "Or ... other Minister."

Rule 5: Adopted.

Rule 6 was the subject of some debate. It was agreed that meetings of the Commission should be taken in relation to other Commissions and that meeting too often was undesirable, too expensive and even difficult to arrange in the light of the meetings of other Commissions and Conferences. It was agreed that the Rule 6 should be adopted with the insertion of the clause ... "during the last quarter of the year."

Rule 7 and 8 were adopted.

Rule 9 was amended to read "All meetings of the Commission should be held in private except the formal opening."

Rule 10-14 were adopted.

Rule 15 was the subject of some debate and after a lively exchange of views by the Liberian, Ghana and Tunisian Delegations, the original was adopted.

Rule 16-28 adopted.

Rule 29: There was some discussion on the Tunisian proposal to insert "absolute" instead of "simple" majority. It was, however, agreed that the original should be maintained.

Rules 30-37 were also adopted.

1 November 1963

COMMITTEE TWOTHURSDAY 31 OCTOBER 1963

The Committee met at 9.20 a.m. with His Excellency MONCEF KEDADI (Tunisia) in the Chair.

The proposals of the Ghana delegation were submitted in the following documents:-

Formation of Union Armed Forces (document DEF.1/Memo.3, addendum).

Union Defence Organization (document DEF.1/Memo.3, addendum 2).

Union Military Command (document DEF.1/Memo.3, addendum 3).

BRIGADIER ANKRAH (Ghana) said he wished to correct a misunderstanding which might have arisen from his speech on the previous day. He had learnt that when he used the word "deterrent" in relation to the strike force, it had been translated to mean the nuclear deterrent. He had used the word simply with its normal English meaning, of something to deter or to cause people to pause for second thoughts before taking action and not in relation to a nuclear deterrent.

BRIGADIER BARWAH (Ghana), in presenting the proposals of his delegation, said they were happy to know that the points on which delegates were agreed were far more numerous than those on which they were not agreed. Even where there were differences, they were concerned rather with terminology and the degree of co-operation. Everybody agreed that some form of active co-operation was necessary.

Ghana's intention was to have one military organization controlled by one military authority responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State. This would secure for the Organization of African Unity the maximum strength and military efficiency.

The Defence Commission should comprise the Ministers of Defence of member States, ~~their accredited representatives or plenipotentiaries~~ designed by the Governments or States.

It was proposed that there should be powers whereby member-States might be prepared to offer military assistance towards the total liberation of Africa and for recommendations to be made to the Assembly and the Council of Ministers on the correct siting of military bases and installations and concerning methods of transportation and the movement of troops for the defence of Africa.

The Defence Commission should nominate commanders for the Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command Headquarters and Regional Command Headquarters. It would issue policy directives to the Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command Headquarters and approve plans for operations, training recommendations, equipment and weapon standardization. It would approve the formation of other military organizations to help or foster the cause of Union military operations any where on the Continent of Africa and would recommend appropriate steps against any military threats to the security of the Union. The Defence Commission should have a working Secretariat at its permanent meeting place.

The Ghana delegation proposed that the Defence Commission should recommend, here and now, the formation of a Supreme Command Headquarters which should be responsible to the Defence Commission for the collective security of the Continent of Africa.

The only difference between the proposals submitted by Ghana and those of other delegations was that whereas under the Ghanaian proposal certain functions would be co-ordinated within the military command system; the other proposals envisaged these functions being co-ordinated by a civilian body within the Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity.

The Ghana delegation considered their proposals both realistic and practicable. The only thing which could be said against them was that they entailed a financial burden upon member-States, but this applied to any proposals.

A strategic reserve force, to be raised by contributions from member-States, was necessary now.

MR. GURAISS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) said the documents submitted by the delegations of Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia and Mauritania should all be considered as future working documents. He noted that the Committee had

passed straight to consideration of the last paragraph of the agenda and he thought they ought to deal with the definition of the Committee's task. His delegation favoured the formation of the technical study committee, to consider matters of union defence, which could submit, through the Secretariat, proposals for consideration by African countries. Thus, at their next meeting, delegates would be well informed on all aspects. Clearly, it would not be possible to take final decisions on matters of such importance at this stage.

The CHAIRMAN said his impression was that the item covering definition of the Committee's task had been considered by the First Committee, enabling this Committee to move on to recommendation Two.

MR. OLIVER BRIGHT (Liberia) said Article II of the Charter provided for examination of the policy of non-alignment with blocs. Although the whole African continent could not align itself with any world bloc, States in Africa were friendly with States in other continents and some of those countries provided forms of aid-support to African States. If a High Command were established from whence would come the resources to establish it on a level with already established blocs? For example, was Africa prepared and in a position to deter aggression of the modern type, involving the use of inter-continental ballistic missiles? And could African States fight those countries from whom they were receiving aid? The European continent and the United States had a great interest in Africa and it was from those countries that most of the equipment for the armed forces came. Were those countries now to be asked to provide equipment to be used against them?

MR. ANDREW KUEVIDJAN (Togo) said Article II of the Charter provided a clear definition of the task of the Defence Commission. It was a question of what could be achieved through the specialised agencies they were in a position to set up. While the people of Africa were prepared to make great sacrifices, any proposals on defence must be realistic and to begin with the security effort would have to be modest in scope and not go beyond the limits set by the Heads of State. Certainly Togo would support any constructive proposals to maintain African sovereignty and integrity, but it was not possible to think in terms of establishing a powerful deterrent force.

CAPTAIN PALLARD (Gabon) wholeheartedly supported the views of Liberia and Togo. It was impossible to digest in the time available all the documents issued. They should be accepted as working instruments for full study and at the next meeting delegates of each State could then express their views on a solid basis.

LT. COL. D. LANSANA (Sierra Leone) said while the paper produced by the Ghana delegation must represent an ultimate goal there were formidable obstacles to its early achievement. He did not think it was possible with the present availability of financial and other resources.

MR. BAHIZI (Congo-Leopoldville) said all delegates were united in wanting to assure the defence of Africa but at present no one could foresee all that was involved. Delegates should examine the essential differences between the two proposals - a unified military command or creation of a military council - and choose the least expensive. It was pointless to send forward recommendations which, however useful, were impracticable because of lack of finance. His delegation believed the present goal should be a defence organization and that the idea of a unified command should be left for the future.

HON. M. T. MBU (Nigeria) said the purpose of Article II of the Charter was the defence of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of member-States. There was wisdom behind this concept. There was already agreement on some form of military assistance between member-States and acceptance in principle of the provision of military training facilities; and there could be agreement in principle on the exchange of military ideas between member-States. He himself had already emphasised that the financial resources of member-States and their individual ability to contribute to the defence effort must be a vital factor. Although his delegation did not underestimate the value of establishing a unified high command there were immense practical difficulties; and progress could only be made on a realistic assessment of the situation. In this sense the Ghana proposal was too lavish.

It would cost millions of pounds. They had to consider not only the degree of mobility essential in modern war but also the equipment of forces with nuclear devices. Could the African states expect to operate a nuclear - equipped strike effort? Some of the air forces of African States were as yet only at an early stage of development.

Commendable as they were, the Ghana proposals were unrealistic at the present stage. Nor should it be over-looked lightly that they called almost, not for a limitation of sovereignty, but for a substantial loss of sovereignty by member states. This was an issue of such importance that the meeting could not commit members of the Council of Ministers upon it.

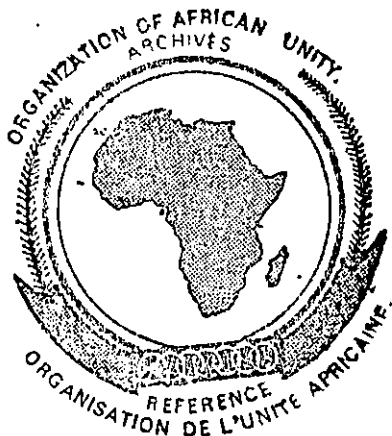
At present, the material resources were lacking even to contemplate an organization of the magnitude envisaged by Ghana. Therefore, Nigeria had tried to submit practical proposals which were less costly and details of which were given in the Nigerian memorandum.

The proposals did not need to be formidable. No immediate external aggression was contemplated against either a member-State of the Organization or any other State. Such action would be inconsistent with the United Nations Charter.

The members of the Organization wanted to be able to walk with their heads erect in any councils of the world and to be able to say that they had agreed on plans purely to secure the defence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of member-States.

The CHAIRMAN explained that a number of delegations were endeavouring to formulate proposals for submission at the afternoon session of the Committee. To facilitate progress, he proposed to adjourn the meeting as soon as the present list of speakers had been completed.

CAPT. SARAZIN (Senegal) explained that because of insufficient information, his delegation had not been able to formulate proposals and it was too serious a matter on which to improvise.





The proposals of Ghana and of Nigeria were contradictory rather than antagonistic towards each other. The view of Senegal was that progress must be made in stages: to jump too far at one move would entail risks for the future. Therefore, Senegal supported the Nigerian proposal to establish first a military council, which later would set up a military Union force. A permanent Secretariat would be required to harmonise the force and produce uniformity.

The Niger Delegate quoted Article 2 of the Charter of the Organization and said that it was necessary first to define the common policy for defence and the principles on which it would be based. The Ghana proposal was of tremendous scope but not impossible. The greatest need was the financial resources to set up such an organization. The Nigerian proposal was limited to a smaller organization which was within the means of member-States.

The first need was to discover where the possible enemies were to be found, to take stock and to set up a permanent establishment concerned with organization. In seeking a compromise formula, the delegation of the Niger supported the proposal of Mauritania...

MR. MICHEL (Upper Volta) said that there was no shadow of doubt that all member-States were animated by the desire to establish a united, increasingly strong and prosperous Africa. Upper Volta was in favour of a simpler system which would express their eager desire to defend their beloved Africa, providing for a permanent Secretariat with limited staff and with contacts with all member-States concerning measures to be taken in the military field.

LT. RAKOTAMALALA (Madagascar) stated that the broadest meaning of defence required not only military measures, but political and administrative steps. He hoped that after delegations had been able to study the various proposals with higher authorities in their countries, it would be possible to formulate effective and efficient proposals for African defence which in due course could be adopted by the Council of Ministers and Heads of State.

A MOROCCAN DELEGATE suggested that time was being lost and efforts wasted in discussions which were not within the competence of the Committee. Morocco supported the Ghana proposal and requested delegates to take it as a basis of discussion. Attention should be directed to the formation of Union armed forces.

MR. LUBOWA (Uganda) suggested that the proposals which had been submitted should be seen in two stages, with the Nigerian proposal as a short-term basis and the Ghana proposal as the long-term arrangement. He thought that everybody had accepted the long-term proposal, with the proviso that finances did not at present permit their implementation.

BRIGADIER ANKRAH (Ghana) stated that his delegation did not wish to make any further observations at this stage.

THE GUINEA DELEGATE supported the views of Ethiopia, Algeria, Liberia and the Congo (Leopoldville). He said that to guarantee co-operation, a permanent body should be set up, connected with the general Secretariat in Addis Ababa, to be in charge of implementing all decisions of the Commission and in charge of the budget when it had been adopted by the Foreign Ministers or Heads of State.

MR. MEKASHA GETACHEW (Ethiopia) said it was his delegation's intention to circulate draft proposals in the form of the protocol for a treaty, for consideration by delegates.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL emphasised that the Commission was working within limitations of time. In formulating recommendations, there need not be unanimity. Delegations and governments could not be expected to commit themselves at this stage to any general conclusions reached. Rather the committee should consider its work as an assistance to Heads of State; and any proposals must be purely formative.

THE CHAIRMAN summarised the general views of the delegates, some favouring a unified command with headquarters located in an African country and having attached to it all the necessary bodies. Other delegates preferred a military council within the framework of the Secretariat to gather and transmit information to member-States, which appeared to be a less expensive project more capable of being achieved. These two proposals were not necessarily contradictory and some compromise solution might prove possible within the existing limits of time, manpower and money. It was not necessary to go for one proposal or the other. They should seek agreement on something which was generally acceptable and which could be worded in a general way for submission to the Assembly of Heads of State.

The Conference adjourned until 3.00 p.m.

The Conference resumed at 3.15 p.m.

BRIGADIER BARWAH (Ghana) said his delegation had now consulted other delegations and had found there were many points of agreements in the different proposals and few points of disagreement. To expedite the work of the Committee, the Ghana delegation therefore now proposed:

(1) That a small permanent military headquarters be formed at the same location as the Organization of African Unity Secretariat, as an interim measure, charged with the functions outlined by all delegations; (2) That the Headquarters should be empowered to carry out planning and liaison duties of the Defence Commission and recommend to that Commission methods of raising troops in times of emergency; (3) That Regional Headquarters be established with only a small staff adequate for such functions as might be delegated to it by the Main Headquarters; (4) That a formation of other military branches necessary for the effective functioning of the defence organization be established.

The HON. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) expressed his delegation's gratitude to the delegation of Ghana for their genuine effort to accommodate the views expressed by other delegations. The revised Ghana proposals went a long way towards reaching a compromise and the Nigerian delegation found these latest proposals in conformity with the viewpoint which it had itself sought to present. He offered a consequential amendment on document 4 (the Nigerian Memorandum):-

In paragraph, Page 3 of the English Text the wording should be amended to read "The Military Council will be responsible to Heads of State through the Defence Commission for any military action proposed".

With the acceptance of this amendment, under the revised Ghana proposals there would be a Committee of Experts who would seek, as soon as the Commission had risen, to translate what the Committee had tried to achieve into practical terms. This Committee should be drawn from the proposed four regions - North Central, East and West Africa. On that basis his delegation supported Ghana's revised proposal and wished to be associated as co-sponsor with that document.

MR. ETOBE (Cameroun) said it was necessary to determine who were the enemies of Africa - firstly, external and then internal enemies. As it might be necessary for the Council to deal with disputes between members of the organization the first objective should be to guarantee peace among its members. For example, the present Algeria-Morecco crisis should not be possible and steps should be taken to hasten drafting of a protocol as provided under Article 19 of the Addis Ababa Charter for the approval of member-States. Some African States were weaker than others.

The CHAIRMAN intervened to point out that the Cameroun delegate was making a very general discussion but in fact the general aspects had been dealt with already and further discussion should be limited to examination of the proposals now before them.

LIET. ETOBE (Cameroun) said it seemed that the question of internal domestic peace had been rather over-looked and he wished to stress it. As some States might have aggressive intentions there should be a conciliation body to assist in settling such disputes. A non-aggression pact would provide for this, with provision if necessary for the intervention of the Organization, when approved by a two-thirds majority. There was also a need for power to act in case of subversion or where support was given to subversive groups in neighbouring states.

The LIBYAN delegate thanked the Ghana Government for its efforts in preparing for the meeting of the Defence Commission and for the revised proposals, which reflected a good spirit. His delegation hoped for agreement on constructive proposals which would assist the African States in their progress.

THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC delegate said it appeared that the general view was towards lowering the duties of the Commission to the lowest possible degree. An ideal Charter had been presented by the Ghana delegation with a lesser possibility suggested by Nigeria indicating this tendency to seek to lessen the powers and responsibilities of the Defence Commission. His delegation proposed (1) in case of ordinary meetings the function would be to achieve measures of co-operation between member-States mentioned by the Nigerian delegation (2) in case of

extraordinary meetings, whether at the request of two-thirds of the members or at the request of Heads of State, the Defence Commission should have a precisely defined objective for which it could convene and submit solutions for submission to Heads of State. Here the duties of the Defence Commission would be similar to those of the Economic, Cultural and Health Commissions under the Charter of African Unity.

The MOROCCAN DELEGATE said that as he did not want any animosity between Algeria and Morocco, he wished the delegate from Cameroun to withdraw his reference to the situation between those two countries. It was not a matter which could be determined or settled by the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN added that the atmosphere so far had been extremely friendly and it was preferable not to refer to matters which might worsen the situation.

LIEUT. ETOBE (Cameroun) withdrew his statement.

MR. GETACHEW (Ethiopia) introduced the draft protocol prepared by his delegation which, he said, derived from the amity, understanding and compromise which had characterised the deliberations throughout. Judging from the debate of the past two days, the need was clearly to establish something that was within the reach of member-States taking into consideration present-day realities in Africa. The draft protocol accommodated all the points of view which had been expressed and it should secure the support of all delegations. If approved, it could be submitted first to the Foreign Ministers and then to the Heads of State at their meeting in Tunis in June, 1964.

MR. BRIGHT (Liberia) felt that the Committee would soon be able to formulate a proposal to put before tomorrow's plenary session. The Ethiopian draft protocol was more in line with the mandate under the Charter.

He pointed out that although the United Nations Charter permitted regional pacts and groupings, it prohibited the establishment of a command or union that would use force except in ways determined by the United Nations. The Liberian delegation fully supported the Ethiopian proposal, which was in no way mandatory and simply provided a working basis from which to establish something more positive.

MR. MBU (Nigeria) suggested that the time was approaching when the Committee might reach a decision. The Ethiopian proposal was not inconsistent with anything which had been said, but it should be considered in conjunction with the new proposal from the Ghanaian delegation, which fell into line with the proposals submitted during the morning by his own delegation.

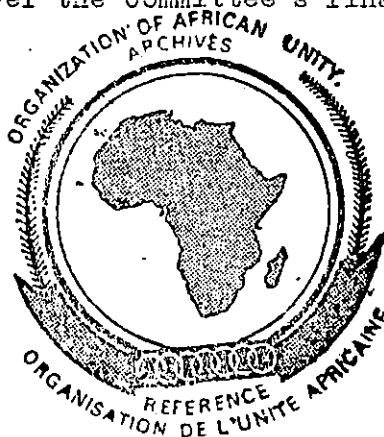
The CHAIRMAN replied that his main concern was to accelerate progress but that the majority of delegates were waiting until the Ghana proposals were circulated before expressing a final decision upon them.

BRIGADIER ANKRAH (Ghana) pointed out, in reply to the Liberian delegate, that the United Nations Charter did not preclude the formation of the Organization of African Unity to preserve the security of the Continent of Africa.

MR. LUBOWA (Uganda), who congratulated Ghana on its revised proposals, said that they were the greatest compromise so far and the meeting need not waste time in merely putting them into the correct language. The major issue was to finalise the revised edition of the Ghana proposal.

LT. COL. SEKOU TOURE (MALI) welcomed the compromise which have resulted in the basis of a workable document for submission to the plenary session. The problem of African defence were of great concern not only for the Defence Commission but for others. It was not possible to provide defence on a continental scale and the present aim must be to provide a workable scheme likely to approve acceptable to Heads of State. Of the various proposals put forward, those from Ghana and Nigeria appeared most acceptable and his delegation approved both and hoped it would be possible to combine them in a form acceptable to the plenary conference.

The HON. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) said since his earlier comment on the Ethiopian document he had studied it in more detail and it appeared to encompass more the functions allotted to Committee One and less in substance of the task of Committee Two. As there appeared to be some encroachment by Committee Two on the work of another committee he invited the Ethiopian delegation to consider whether the document should continue to be discussed. Whatever the Committee's final decision it could not



proceed to write even a draft protocol but had rather to present recommendations in outline to the Plenary Meeting for that body to reduce approved recommendations into a report or draft protocol for submission to the Council of Ministers. If what was now proposed was accepted it might be advisable later to appoint a drafting committee of those who had drafted and submitted proposals, among them Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Mauritania to try to produce a document for presentation to the Plenary Session.

MR. MEKASHA GETTACHEW (Ethiopia) said his delegation had no intention of withdrawing the document submitted for consideration. It was the duty of the Committee to consider all proposals and then produce a draft acceptable to the majority. There were divergencies of opinion among the many delegations who had expressed views on the definitions of the task of the Defence Organization envisaged. "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet". The difference between the term "High Command" and "A small permanent Military Headquarters" was only a change of name, not of substance. The Charter contained no provision for collective security, still less functions related to such matters. What would this small permanent military headquarters do? Was such an organisation called for at present? Its functions could easily be undertaken under present Secretariat arrangements. The Committee ought not to be held to ransom by two organizations which did not subscribe to the majority view.

MR. GURAISS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) said Nigeria and Ghana had done much basic work and had studied basic defence problems more deeply than others. Some delegations had known nothing about this project until reaching Ghana but had listened with interest to the comments by Ghana and Nigeria. A compromise had been reached, but there could no question of approving any text without his Government's approval. All documents submitted could be regarded as working documents for full study and consideration by individual States prior to delegates expressing views at subsequent meetings. Heads of State when meeting in Addis Ababa had said matters should not be hurried. Did the present situation require the setting up of such an organization now? Might not a decision be delayed a few months to permit full study?

The CHAIRMAN said in any case the Commission must submit recommendations to the next meeting to the Council of Ministers and Heads of State and there could be no question of leaving this meeting without some kind of result having been achieved.

MR. GURAIS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) stated that there had not been time to study the documents before the meeting, and time was needed for the respective countries to study them.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL explained that the function of the Committee was not to present conclusive recommendations but to formulate such recommendations as could be formulated generally, so that they could be presented through the Council of Ministers to the Heads of State. Any recommendations which were made would be submitted to member-States for comment before consideration by the Council of Ministers.

The CHAIRMAN added that the Council of Ministers would be meeting at Lagos in February, when it would consider the report of the Committee's work.

MR. BRIGHT (Liberia) said that he was somewhat disappointed in Ghana's revised proposals, which in reality were the same as those submitted earlier except that ambiguous language had been used to make them appear different. The Liberian objection throughout was to the establishment of any kind of unified command or military forces. By the Charter of the Organization, the functions of its independent member-States was to "co-ordinate and harmonise their general policies". It made no mention of collective security.

He repeated his contention that Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations prohibited the use or threat of armed force against another State except in self-defence or in the execution of collective measures authorised by the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations. If the Organization of African Unity formed any type of command with



established troops, it would be practically useless; and if its purpose was to use force, it would be in direct contravention of the obligations of member-States as members of the United Nations.

MR. BRIGHT, who urged that all these things should be kept on a small scale, felt that the existing organization in Addis Ababa catered for present needs and could easily be expanded if necessary.

MR. MBU (Nigeria) expressed the view that the Ethiopian proposal was a marked divergence from the functions of the Committee. The impression should not be given that the Committee had no locus standi in carrying out any functions. The Committee was trying to give life to the Defence Commission. If it failed, it must report to the Council of Ministers that the task was above the individual and collective intelligence of its members.

He pointed out that the Nigerian document did not propose the establishment of a High Command. His delegation simply said that there should be a central planning body to work under the hierarchy of the Secretariat and composed of experts who could meet from time to time to consider and sift military intelligence and report either through the Defence Commission to the Heads of State or to the Council of Ministers, as the case might be, and for them to say what action member-States should take.

Any cost entailed by such an advisory body would be infinitesimal. If, in time, the Heads of State felt that their resources could cope with setting up a permanent armed force, it would be up to them to say so.

Too much emphasis should not be placed upon the interpretation of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, which did not deny United Nations members the right of defence before action was taken by the Security Council. Nobody had suggested preparing proposals to attack other States. The sole object was to ensure

the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of member-States of the Organization. The big advantage of the Nigerian proposal was that it would leave it to member-States to elect whether to send the forces which they had undertaken to provide in cases of emergency or to refuse to do so if the incident involved was one on which they could not agree. The Nigerian proposal allowed room for manoeuvre, whereas the Ghanaian proposal did not.

The CHAIRMAN remained the delegates that in view of the reception being held at 6.30 p.m., the meeting must soon finish. If delegates agreed, the various proposals could be considered after the reception by the suggested working party to try to devise a formula for submission to tomorrow's plenary session.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL suggested that the Ethiopian and Nigerian proposals, which were not mutually exclusive, could be included in the Committee's report.

MR. L. LUBOWA, M.P. (Uganda) said the proposal now put forward was accommodated in the structure of the provisional or permanent Secretariat to be established after the main conference. The Defence Department would contain two divisions, one for fullest co-operation, the other for assistance to the liberation movement. It would be manned by a Director and officers and as experts they might recommend another structure. The Council of Ministers had approved the draft and it was for the Committee to fill the gap. That was the aim of the Ghana and Nigeria proposals.

MR. OLIVER BRIGHT (Liberia) said any small sub-Committee set up to study the various proposals now should contain not only those who had put forward proposals but other Members also, so as to achieve a neutral and objective view. He believed the suggestion by the Secretary-General was the most suitable course since it was doubtful if any Committee discussion could now reconcile the opposing views of Ghana and Ethiopia.

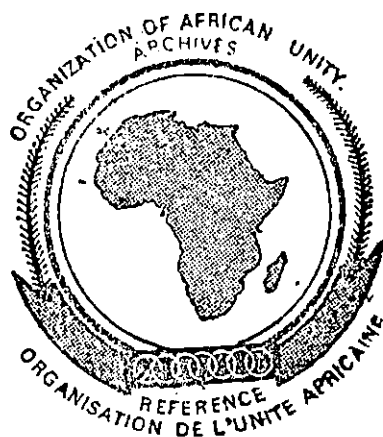
The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to indicate whether it favoured a working party composed of the members who had been suggested.

After some discussion on the composition of a small committee, the HON. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) said if it would help the drafting committee, his delegation was willing to be excluded from it. It would create an unfortunate precedent if there was any suggestion that "pockets" or particular groupings were occurring within the Committee.

After further discussion it was decided that the report to be submitted to the Plenary Session on Friday morning should include all the proposals which had been submitted to Committee Two.

The CHAIRMAN thanked delegates for their co-operation and the delegation of the U.A.R. for providing interpretation facilities into one of the African languages.

THE COMMITTEE WAS THEN CONCLUDED



30 October 1963

COMMITTEE 2 - SUMMARY REPORT

The SECRETARY-GENERAL declared open the First Meeting of Committee 2 of the Commission of Defence of the Organization of African Unity.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS:

The SECRETARY-GENERAL invited nominations for officers.

MR. GETACHEW MEKASHA (Ethiopia) said in view of the work to be done by the Committee he felt the person most able to help in expediting the work was Ambassador Moncef Kedadi, Leader of Tunisian Delegation, Vice-Chairman of the Defence Commission, who was known to them as an able and efficient person.

MR. L. LUBOWA, M.P. (Uganda) seconded the proposal.

There being no other nominations, the SECRETARY-GENERAL declared Ambassador Moncef Kedadi elected to the Chair.

AMBASSADOR MONCEF KEDADI took the Chair:

The CHAIRMAN invited nominations for the post of Secretary.

MR. OLIVER BRIGHT (Liberia) said in view of the importance of the post he had pleasure in nominating Mr. Philip Asiodu of the Nigerian delegation.

The proposal was formally seconded:

There being no other nomination, THE CHAIRMAN declared Mr. Asiodu elected as Secretary of the Committee.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL said the Committee's primary task was to make recommendations to the Plenary Conference. Already once proposals had been received and these would be discussed. The Conference had before it the question of defining the scope and nature of defence and security arrangements.

MR. OLIVER BRIGHT (Liberia) said the documents submitted and especially that by the Officer in charge of the Provisional Secretariat had been extremely valuable. The Officer's document had been complete and informative, and the Conference owed him its thanks and appreciation.

Any effective defence or security arrangement must involve the acceptance of certain obligations and some abrogation of sovereignty. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity in Article 19 made provision for mediation, conciliation and arbitration. Article 20 foresaw the establishment of a Defence Commission. This was not mandatory but permissive. That Commission would not come into existence until ratification by Heads of State at a later date. He therefore proposed that the result of their deliberations should be incorporated into a draft treaty or convention for later ratification by the Assembly of Heads of State thereby making each State liable to its obligations.

A DELEGATE asked whether the aim was now to make proposals on defence or proposals on the form of agenda.

The CHAIRMAN said the Committee must first provide a definition of the task before them and make recommendations for submission to the Council of Ministers, so that they must study all problems affecting the scope and nature of the Defence Commission.

MR. GETACHEW MEKASHA (Ethiopia) said the task of defining the work had not been eased by the previous Conference of Foreign Ministers which had not indicated clearly what should be done. The first task now was to draw up certain principles in the light of the present situation. It was difficult to envisage, in a defence organization, a unified command with all its consequences. He did not believe the member States were prepared to enter organizations similar in nature to NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Such organizations, with unified command and integrated forces, were impossible in African at present. African defence forces would continue in the foreseeable future to consist of national units under national command. Should those forces be called into action more unified command might then be essential and be decided upon.

It was not realistic to suggest following Article 40 in relation to inter-African disputes or meeting aggression by one African State against another, or to envisage any such action in relation to the liberation of African countries still remaining dependent. They might agree to the use of African defence forces in case of aggression or threat of aggression against a free African State by a non-African power. Equally, any decision to place African defence forces under United Nations command for example in the Congo, would be welcome.

Many practical steps were possible in co-operation in relation to standardization of equipment and uniformity of military units with exchange of information (not vital to the security of an individual African country) about military installations. This would contribute to the creation of an African spirit upon which the future of African Unity is greatly depended. There could be co-ordinated defence plans, joint military programmes and other similar arrangements.

The ALGERIAN Delegate fully agreed with the view of ETHIOPIA on the work of the Committee. It was necessary to provide an exact definitions of the work before them. His delegation believed the Defence Commission must, above all, have an Executive body. The Committee's main task was to provide continuity of the Assembly's work in setting up an operative body. Certainly start could be made towards closer working between African States on military matters.

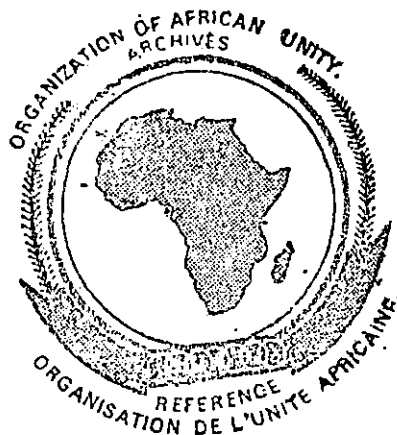
MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (Cameroun) said the function of the Committee should be to study a range of problems to be submitted by the Provisional Secretariat to member States.

The CHAIRMAN emphasized that there was as yet no question of taking decision. The Committee would merely make proposals.

MR. GURAISS COFFIE (Ivory Coast) supported the view of the ETHIOPIAN and NIGERIAN Delegations as being realistic and offering a chance to make a start.

BRIGADIER C.M. BARWAH (Ghana) said the Committee could not divorce itself from the ideas of the Addis Ababa Charter and the many declarations by Heads of State at the Addis Ababa Conference to seek to realise their ultimate goal. That could not be achieved without unity but only by a strong defence policy. The Emperor had made it clear that steps must be taken to establish an African defence system with a military plan for the defence of the whole continent within a collective framework, with provision for assistance where any African State was threatened with aggression. The President of Ghana had made it abundantly clear that it was possible, here and now, to forget a political union based on a defence; but a common defence system with an African High Command was necessary to Africa's security. Therefore the GHANA delegation urged that the Committee should decide on an organization which would be an executive organ to achieve a defence system for Africa. Without that they could not implement any future organizational planning. The Committee must determine whether there should be a command system a form of military force and Intelligence body or something else. Once that was settled the details could follow.

LT. THIAM EL HAD (Mauritania) clarified details of the document which his delegation had submitted, drawn up in the spirit of the Charter to provide a defence system. At present Africa quarrelled with no country and was equidistant between each bloc. Africa condemned the idea of blocs and favoured universal peace; but it was necessary to face realistically the situation of the world and provide protection against subversive penetration and aggressive intervention. The fact that some African countries were weaker than others meant there was need for real co-operation. Members of the Organization of African Unity accepted the principles of the Charter but the Defence Commission could not act to aid any attacked country unless it had explicit instructions. There must be measures to discourage member-states from aggression against others and every member-state must be willing to provide troops and materials for the organization, with each state retaining command of its own troops.



THE LIBERIAN Delegate said there was agreement on the need for co-operation in defence but differing views on the measure of co-operation. His delegation wholeheartedly supported ETHIOPIA'S view. Any committee to co-ordinate these various views should operate within the framework of the Organization of African Unity Secretariat. There were already departments in the legal, economic and social educational and cultural fields and similarly a military department within the secretariat could undertake functions of the kind outlined by the ETHIOPIAN Delegate. The problem raised by the MAURITANIAN Delegate was a very real one but the Heads of State had been far-sighted in providing Article 22 establishing a Commission of conciliation, mediation and arbitration. What kind of organization within the Secretariat was being proposed by the NIGERIAN Delegate?

THE HON. M.T. MBU (Nigeria) said it was a question of harmonising and co-ordinating general aspects in relation to defence and security. The Officer in charge of the Secretariat was to be congratulated on his work in providing a basis for consideration covering many examples of defence co-operation throughout the world which could form a guide in their studies. It was a very vital political necessity that the type of command should be acceptable to all member-states. He cited in detail the particular advantages and disadvantages of the two types of defence co-operation - a unified type of command and a central planning system. The latter would not involve assignments or integration of forces and each nation would retain control over its own forces, ordering them into action if necessary at the request of the central planning headquarters. He saw many problems arising in the setting up of a supreme command, including the question of sovereignty as well as financial, manpower, equipment and logistic problems; also problems of unified training for assigned forces in peace time and disposition of troops under a supreme commander.

The Committee might accept that there should be a permanent body in the Secretariat dealing with defence, and having the task of handling the administrative structure of the organization. It need not be a major body, but should be centrally situated and staffed by members of all three services. There could be regional committees composed of Service Chiefs of Staff of regions who would formulate plans for possible military action covering the four regions - West Africa, East Africa, North Africa and Central Africa.



Also some Government planning staff should form part of the Secretariat. These could consist of representatives of member-states. A properly equipped and effectively commanded strike force could serve as a deterrent. It would be necessary to have from member-states information on the contribution they could make to the military structure. The General Regional Planning Commission should outline a regional command structure enabling rapid deployment of forces. If the approach was to be realistic, the financial aspects, too, could not be disregarded.

BRIGADIER. J.A. ANKRAH (GHANA) said that the whole object of establishing a defence commission was to ensure the present and future defence of Africa. They must consider not the probabilities but the possibilities. Everyone knew the difficulties in planning a defence system for so huge a continent as Africa. Were they all to think of questions of internal sovereignty or were they going to co-operate in ensuring the security of every independent state in Africa? They must face the question: "How are we to defend ourselves against any potential enemy within or without"? The NIGERIAN delegation favoured a Defence Secretariat embodied in the Addis Ababa Headquarters. By centralizing most of the Secretariat in the same building, they would not be formulating a defence plan. The task was to accept the formation of certain organs to secure the defence of Africa or establish security there. Therefore, GHANA proposed a Defence Council, including specialists like Heads of Army, to deal with political control, and a union reserve force, army navy and air force, as a strike force. This would be a nucleus, for example, in the Congo, available to meet any threat. If that was not immediately possible, then the objective should be an immediate strike force.

A joint Service Military Command Headquarters sited close to the Headquarters Secretariat could be arranged on a regional basis and must involve the possibility of an individual regional commander using troops in defence of African interests but with responsibility to the Supreme Commander. Conforming to military custom, there would be a commander at every level.

Clearly, standardization and uniformity of equipment and organizational procedures posed many difficulties which could only be tackled through an agreed body. There should be, among other organizations, a military intelligence organization with responsibility for co-ordinating military security and intelligence activity throughout Africa, collecting information for counter-action or to assist in future activities within Africa. A military planning organization would be responsible for planning the strategic siting of military bases, installations and depots and developing communication networks with reference to military requirements. They would produce plans for immediate liberation of still-dependent African States or information for the Committee of Nine. Also, GHANA proposed a military research and development organization to avoid duplication of military material production.

To function as a military defence system, there must be government control. GHANA thought in terms of a unified Africa, with an organization to which contributions would come to be used to Africa's best advantage; and the Defence Council should provide direct political liaison with the Joint Regional Services Command Headquarters. Regional commanders must have power to deal with minor incidents within their region without awaiting authority to act. Also, GHANA proposed immediate action to rid Africa of all foreign military bases.

GHANA'S full plans could provide a basis for discussion and she would welcome counter-proposals.

MR. L. LUBOWA, M.P. (UGANDA) said the vital aspect of GHANA'S proposal was finance. The finance required for the Council of Nine was not yet sufficient and it would be useless to start a project such as GHANA now proposed without adequate financial resources.

The proposals of the ETHIOPIAN delegate were more practicable at present. A Military Council would be a start and there should be a Military Defence Department in the Secretariat. This could accommodate GHANA'S proposals since there could be within it intelligence and military planning groups. The choice lay between a High Command or a Military Council. He believed the Committee should consider how they could arrange such a department within the Secretariat, under a Military Council, as a pioneer effort in African Unity.

The LIBERIAN delegate said one difficulty about the Ghana proposal was that a basic principle of the Organization of African Unity was equality and the sovereignty and independence of States. Under the GHANA proposal a High Command would have power to take military action. Just two or three people could send an individual country to war without that country having a voice in the decision; and the consequences of war in a nuclear age were great. Also, the heavy cost would disrupt the present African effort in development. LIBERIA favoured the views of ETHIOPIA and NIGERIA towards an organization within the framework of the Secretariat on a modest scale which could be expanded as opportunity demanded and finances permitted.

MR. FOCHIVE JEAN (CAMEROUN) said if unrealistic proposals were passed to Heads of States the Conference would not have reached its goal. One proposal before them was for an integrated striking force with all its attributes. ETHIOPIA, supported by NIGERIA and UGANDA, had proposed something more flexible. An integrated force might be the final goal of Africa but it could not be a beginning.

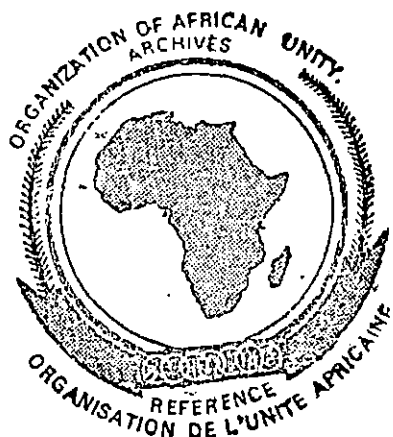
BRIGADIER ANKRAH (GHANA) intervened to point out to the delegate that the Supreme Command would be responsible to the Defence Council who in turn would be responsible to the Council of Ministers and to Heads of States and it was not practicable for anybody within that command to commit any forces without proper sanction.

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MR. GERVAIS COFFIE (IVORY COAST) asked whether it was necessary to define the future form of the defence organization or to create now a technical or administrative body to study all the problems. He thought there was not enough time for the Conference to take a firm decision on something involving so many basic principles. They might usefully limit their discussions to considering the practical problems of the establishment of a technical body and the related problems. Such problems could also be studied by individual States thoroughly and in depth, enabling further progress to be made at subsequent meetings, perhaps within six months.

THE HON. M.T. MBU (NIGERIA) said the alternatives before them must be studied realistically. A unified command system might appear to be more efficient but the practical necessities it involved seemed at present beyond their reach. Instead of a unified command, Nigeria favoured a Military Council. Discussion of a unified strike force might take them beyond the scope of the present Charter. Articles 2 and 20 specifically related to this aspect. The Ghana proposal seemed to suggest that there was already in existence a Union of African States. That had not yet come and delegates therefore must base their discussions on the present situation. Those serving on a Military Council would be top military men charged with reviewing from time to time the various situations in Africa.

In considering alternatives cost was a major factor. If the Committee of Nine was encountering financial difficulties, for example, how well could African States meet the burden of a concept of troops, equipment and logistics under a High Command organization? Full discussion of para. 5 of the document submitted by the Nigerian delegation could produce a picture of the practical possibilities. There was much merit in the idea of a union task force but at present available means were inadequate for that.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL said the discussion had been valuable but one aspect had not had adequate consideration. In the Charter there was no provision for collective security. That kind of provision held that aggression by one State against another was aggression against all the members, who would come to the assistance of the victim. Any such collective security arrangement must be viewed in relation to the United Nations collective security provisions, because under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, although member-States were permitted measures for collective self-defence, there were limitations; and action must be authorized by the Security Council.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked delegates for their co-operation in the discussion.

MR. GETACHEW MEKASHA (ETHIOPIA) proposed that, as there had been full debate, the Committee might now consider appointing a small sub-committee to draft recommendations. The delegates of the Ivory Coast and Togo opposed the Ethiopian proposal and urged that the debate should continue.

The Ethiopian delegate then withdrew his proposal for a sub-committee.

The Committee adjourned until 9 a.m. on Thursday.

1 November 1963

FIRST SESSION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY DEFENCE COMMISSION

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 2

CHAIRMAN: H.E. MR. MONCEF DEDADI

RAPPORTEUR: MR. P.C. ASIODU

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The terms of reference of the second Committee were items 3 and 4 of the Agenda of the Conference namely:

- (i) Definition of the task of the Commission; and
- (ii) Recommendations to be submitted to the Council of Ministers.

2. The Committee dealt with its agenda during three sessions on October 30 and October 31.

3. Three documents were before the Committee at the beginning of its discussions:-

- (i) Memorandum DEF. 1/MEMO/1 by the Officer-in-Charge of the Provisional Secretariat which described various types of arrangements for co-operation in defence and security matters and drew attention to the relevant provisions in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.
- (ii) Document DEF. 1/AGENDA/2 by the delegation of Ghana.
- (iii) Document DEF. 1/AGENDA/3 by the delegation of Nigeria.  
Both documents from the delegations of Ghana and Nigeria contained proposals expanding the first item before the Committee, namely: 'Definition of the task of the Commission'.
- (iv) Memorandum DEF. 1/MEMO/2 by the delegation of Mauritania on the task before the Commission.

4. During the discussions in the Committee three more documents were formally tabled:

- (i) Memorandum DEF. 1/Memo/3 with Addenda 1 and 2 by the Delegation of Ghana;
  - (ii) Memorandum DEF. 1/Memo/4 by the Delegation of Nigeria
  - (iii) Memorandum DEF. 1/Memo/5 by the Delegation of Ethiopia.
- Subsequently the Ghanaian Delegation presented a revised version of its proposals contained in Document DEF 1/Memo/3 Revision 1 which was co-sponsored by the Nigerian Delegation.

5. In the course of the debate on the various proposals some delegations stressed that the Commission could not take any binding decisions and could only make recommendations to the Council of Ministers. This was also the consensus of the Committee. Certain delegations, amongst other things, urged the establishment of Union Armed Forces under a Unified Command and of other Union Defence Organizations as necessary. On the other hand the majority emphasised the need for realism in the face of limited financial and material resources and preferred an arrangement allowing for Centralised Planning, Co-operation in training and the exchange of military information, and technical assistance and so forth. A number of delegations were also anxious to ensure that the Defence Commission did not create obligations with respect to collective security arrangements which extended beyond the provisions and purpose of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

6. At the conclusion of its work the Committee decided to refer the three proposals still before it to the Plenary. The three proposals are contained in:

- (i) Document DEF. 1/Memo/3/ Revision 1 by the Delegation of Ghana.
- (ii) Document DEF. 1/Memo/4 by the Delegation of Nigeria entitled "Formation of a Military Council of the African Defence Organization"; and
- (iii) Document DEF 1/Memo/5 by the Delegation of Ethiopia entitled: "Draft Protocol for the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity."

7. In conclusion it may be observed that many delegations noted that significant areas of agreement on basic principles emerged during the discussions in the Committee. The three documents mentioned in the preceding paragraph are attached as Annexes I, II and III of this report.



2 November 1963

Draft Protocol for the  
Defence Commission of the  
Organization of African Unity

PREAMBLE

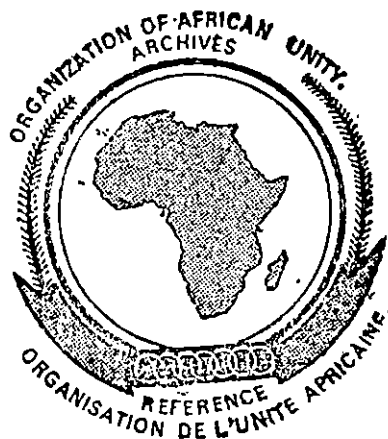
The Parties to this Protocol, the Member States of the Organization of African Unity, reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization and their desire and dedication to live in peace with all peoples and all governments; and likewise to afford assistance to each other in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in maintaining international peace and security and in resisting any act or threat of aggression, or policy of aggression.

The Member States of the Organization of African Unity desiring to achieve the above purposes, hereby resolve to unite their efforts for co-operation for a collective self-defence, and have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I  
Establishment

The Organization of African Unity shall establish under and in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and, in particular, with the provisions of Article XX of the same, a permanent Defence Commission, (hereinafter referred as "the Commission") which shall be governed by the provisions set forth hereunder.

63-31



ARTICLE II

Headquarters

1. The headquarters of the Commission shall be those of the General Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity.
2. The defence department of the Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity shall serve as records office to the Commission and shall be responsible for its records and all administrative texts. It shall be charged with the execution of all decisions of the Commission as approved by the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

The Commission shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of Member States. It shall be answerable to both the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

ARTICLE III

Representation

The Government of each Member State shall be represented in the Commission by a Delegation of not more than five, headed by the Minister concerned or other Ministers or by a Plenipotentiary duly designated by the Government.

ARTICLE IV

Functions and powers of the Commission

1. The primary responsibility of the Commission shall be to act as the organ of consultation, preparation and recommendation body for the collective and or individual self-defence of the Member States against an act or threat of aggression from outside the continent.

2. The Commission shall take cognisance of any question referred to it by the Assembly and or the Council of Ministers.
3. In accordance with the directives of the Assembly and or the Council of Ministers, the Commission shall promote inter-African co-operation in all defence matters, which may include the implementation of any directions issued by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in cases of acts or threats of aggression, and recommend the same to the Member States; and for this purpose it shall formulate and provide co-ordinated policy guidance of a military nature and shall promote comprehensive measures, which may include unified defence plans, standardization of military training and procedures, military production and supply of equipment and facilities, and infrastructural programmes.
4. So as to achieve more effectively the objectives of the Member States, the Commission shall render its advices, plans and recommendations to the Member States so that the Member States, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist any act or the threat of aggression.
5. To facilitate its defence functions, the Commission may create such subordinate bodies, administrative or technical and regional agencies as it deems expedient.

2 November 1963

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ORGANIZATION AND  
FUNCTIONS OF THE DEFENCE COMMISSION  
OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN  
UNITY

PREAMBLE

The Member states of the Organization of African Unity reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization and their desire and dedication to live in peace with all peoples and all governments; and likewise to afford assistance to each other in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in maintaining international peace and security and in resisting any act or threat of aggression, or policy of aggression.

The Member States of the Organization of African Unity desiring to achieve the above purposes, hereby resolve to unit their efforts for cooperation for a collective self-defence.

The Defence Commission established by Article XX of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity shall be governed by the following provisions:

Recommendation I

Headquarters

The Headquarters of the Commission shall be those of the General Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity.

Recommendation II

Functions and Powers of the Commission

1. The primary responsibility of the Commission shall be to act as the organ of consultation, preparation and recommendation for the collective and or individual self-defence of the Member States against any act or threat of aggression.
2. The Commission shall deal with any question referred to it by the Assembly and or the Council of Ministers.
3. In accordance with the directives of the Assembly and or the Council of Ministers, the Commission shall promote inter-African co-operation in all defence matters, which may include the implementation of any directives issued by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in cases of acts or threats of aggression, and recommend the same to the Member States; and for this purpose it shall formulate and provide co-ordinated policy guidance of a military nature and shall promote comprehensive measures, which may include unified defence plans, standardization of military training and procedures, military production and supply of equipment and facilities, and infrastructural programmes.
4. So as to achieve more effectively the objective of the Member States, the Commission shall render its advices, plans and recommendations to the Member States so that the Member States, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist any act or the threat of aggression.
5. To facilitate its functions, the Commission may create such subordinate bodies, administrative or technical and regional agencies as it deems expedient.

Recommendation III

Functions of the Defence Department

The Defence Department of the Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity shall be the Executive Organ of the Defence Commission. It shall be charged with the execution of all decision of the Commission as approved by the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall also be responsible for its records and all administrative texts.

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6 September 1963

RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE DEFENCE COMMISSION  
OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

COMPOSITION

Rule 1.

The Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity is composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of Member States.

Rule 2.

The Defence Commission is answerable to the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

FUNCTIONS

Rule 3.

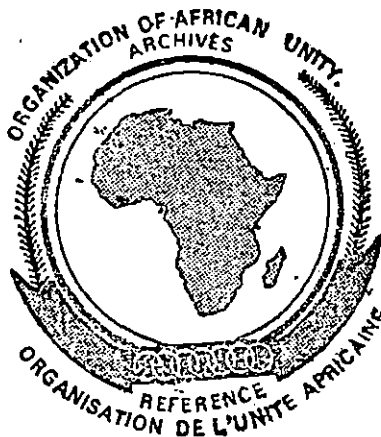
- (i) It takes cognisance of any question referred to it by the Assembly and the Council of Ministers.
- (ii) It promotes inter-African co-operation in defence matters in accordance with the directives of the Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

REPRESENTATION

Rule 4.

Each Government shall be represented on the Commission by a Delegation led by the Ministers concerned or an other Minister or by a plenipotnetiary designated by the Government. Each Minister or Plenipotentiary may be assisted by experts.

63-40



Rule 5.

The Government of each Member State shall communicate to the Commission in advance through the Administrative Secretary-General, the list of its duly accredited members of delegation.

ORDINARY SESSIONS

Rule 6.

The Defence Commission shall meet once a year during the last quarter of the year. At its annual session, it shall consider and approve, inter alia, its programme and budget for the next Fiscal Year.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSIONS

Rule 7.

At the request of a Member State and subject to the agreement of two-thirds of the Members, the Commission shall meet in Extraordinary Session.

PLACE OF MEETING

Rule 8.

The Sessions of the Commission shall be held at the Headquarters of the Organization or at such other places as the Commission may decide by simple majority.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE MEETINGS

Rule 9.

All meetings of the Commission shall be held in private with the exception of the formal opening.

WORKING LANGUAGES

Rule 10.

The working languages of the Commission shall be, if possible, African languages, French and English.



CHAIRMANSHIP, ELECTION AND TERM OF OFFICE

Rule 11.

The Commission shall, at the commencement of each session, elect, by secret ballot and simple majority, a Chairman, two Vice-Chairmen and a Rapporteur whose terms of office shall terminate at the commencement of the next Ordinary Session. These officers are not eligible for re-election until all other representatives have held office.

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 a vote matters under discussion, announces the results of votes, rules on points of order in accordance with the Rules of Procedure.

VACANCY OR ABSENCE

Rule 13.

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

AGENDA

Rule 14.

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

Rule 15.

The provisional agenda of an Ordinary Session shall comprise, in particular:-

- (i) the report of the Administrative Secretary-General;
- (ii) items which the Assembly decides to place on the agenda of the Commission;
- (iii) items which the Council decides to place on the agenda;
- (iv) items which the Commission decides to place on its agenda;
- (v) items proposed by Member States;
- (vi) other business.

Rule 16.

The Agenda of an Extraordinary Session convened by the Administrative Secretary-General at the request of a Member State, provided this request has been approved by the required two-thirds majority, shall be communicated fifteen days at least before the opening of the Session.

Rule 17.

The Agenda of an Extraordinary Session shall comprise only items submitted for consideration in the request for convening the Extraordinary Session.

## QUORUM AND DEBATES

### Rule 18.

A quorum shall be made up of two-thirds of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity.

### Rule 19.

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 20.

Proposed resolutions, motions or amendments shall be presented in writing to the Administrative Secretary-General who shall circulate copies to representatives. 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 21.

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 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 22.

The Commission 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 23.

During the course of a debate the Chairman may announce the list of speakers and, with the consent of the Commission, 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 makes this desirable.

CLOSURE OF DEBATE

Rule 24.

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 25.

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

SUSPENSION OR ADJOURNMENT OF THE MEETING

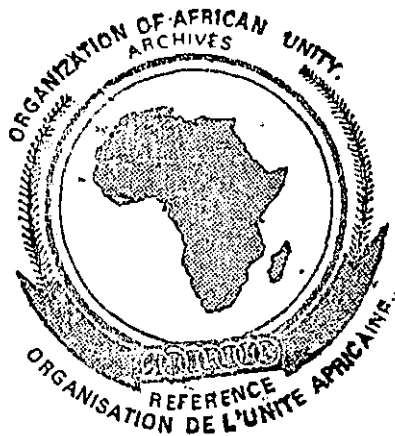
Rule 26.

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

ORDER OF PROCEDURAL MOTIONS

Rule 27

Subject to Rule 21, the following motions shall have precedence in the following order over all other proposals or motions before the meeting:



- (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 28.

Each Member State shall have one vote.

#### MAJORITY REQUIRED

##### Rule 29.

All resolutions shall be determined by simple majority of the members of the Commission.

#### VOTE ON RESOLUTIONS

##### Rule 30.

After the debate has been closed the Chairman shall immediately put to the vote resolution 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.

#### VOTING ON AMENDMENTS

##### Rule 31.

When an amendment is moved to a proposal, the amendment shall be voted on first. When two or more amendments are moved to a proposal, the Commission shall first vote on the amendment furthest removed in substance from the original proposal and then on the amendment next furthest removed therefrom, and so on, until all 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 32.

Parts of a proposal, resolution or a 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 33.

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 beginning with the State whose name is drawn by lot by the Chairman. After a vote any representative may request the use of the floor to explain his vote.

##### Rule 34.

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

##### Rule 35.

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

#### COMMITTEES

##### Rule 36.

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

#### AMENDMENTS

##### Rule 37.

These Rules of Procedure may be amended by the Commission by simple majority of its Members subject to the approval of the Council of Ministers.

Accra

30 October 1965

Statement of Ato Kifle Wodajo, Officer-in-Charge of the  
Provisional Secretariat of the Organization of African  
Unity, to the first session of the Defence Commission.

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished delegates,

May I take this first opportunity to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, upon your election to the Chairmanship of this first historic session of the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity. Under your wise leadership and competent guidance there is no doubt as to the Commission's accomplishing by the end of the session all the task it has set before it. Our congratulations and good wishes are likewise extended to the vice-chairman and the rapporteur.

May I also be permitted to express, on behalf of the Provisional Secretariat, my deeply felt gratitude to the people and the Government of Ghana for helping the Secretariat to organize the first Session of the Commission. In the first few years in the life of our Organization it is to be expected that the Secretariat would have to stand in need of the assistance of the host Governments in whose countries conferences of the Organization are to be held. But I must say that the help the Secretariat has received from the Government of Ghana has exceeded the Secretariat's already unreasonable demands. In this respect, I feel that the Secretariat ought to let the delegations know that the Government of Ghana is bearing the major portion of the costs involved in the preparation of the conference.

Before I deal with the *raison d'être* of this conference, I am sure delegations might want me to say a few words about the state of implementation of the resolutions of the Summit as well as those of the last conference of the Foreign Ministers. I would also like to address a few remarks on some of the activities of the Provisional Secretariat.

There is no doubt of the great impact already exerted by the Conference of the Heads of State and Government and the activities of our Organization on international life. The momentum generated by the Summit Conference, the renewed vigour of the African Group at the United Nations have helped to focus unprecedented attention on African questions. Almost in one voice African delegations are demanding at the United Nations that member states not only condemn crimes such as colonialism and apartheid perpetrated against Africa, but here and now they show disposition and readiness to do something about them. Gone are the days when the peoples of Africa would have remained content with pious declarations of good intentions; and here and there perhaps with some meaningless gestures of help. Africans are now demanding that the backbone of apartheid, - its economic sustenance from the outside- should be broken. In Southern Rhodesia, African spokesmen are asking that there should be no question of white settlers receiving from the United Kingdom the attributes of independence. Nor should there be any questions, with the dissolution of the Federation, as to the Government of Southern Rhodesia receiving arms and air-craft which, as is well known, they will not use for legitimate self-defence as there is no threat to them from the outside. As regards the other sore spots of colonialism Africans are telling the World Organization that discussions in this respect should relate to practical measures of transferring the powers of government to the peoples themselves.

These are some of the challenges which the African countries are submitting to the conscience of the Community of Nations. These are some of the questions which African countries are submitting to the sympathetic understanding of the World Community.

To these questions Africa expects unequivocal response. If the member states of the United Nations want the friendship of Africa they can no longer remain indifferent and complacent in the face of these probing questions.

Thus, Mr. Chairman and Excellencies, if you ask me what the outstanding impact of our efforts since last May has been, right away and without hesitation, I will say that it is the success we have had so far in articulating and defining in unison the problems of, and challenges posed by Africa to the international community! Furthermore, African delegations at the United Nations have left no doubt as to what will be the alternative if these problems are not solved positively while there is time.

In accordance with the decision of the Heads of State and Government and at the request of African delegations, the Security Council met last July to consider specifically the questions of Portuguese colonialism and South African apartheid. The African Foreign Ministers who at the request of the Summit Conference represented the entire continent spoke in no uncertain terms that these vexing questions should be solved once and for all. To this end they demanded that the Security Council should impose diplomatic and economic sanctions on the governments of Portugal and South Africa.

It is appropriate to mention here the resolution adopted by the Security Council last July requesting all states to refrain from offering the Government of Portugal any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the peoples under its domination.

The Security Council Resolution on the question of apartheid strongly deprecated racial discrimination in South Africa, calling on its government to abandon its policies of racial separation, and asking all countries to stop selling or shipping arms and ammunition to the Republic of South Africa.

The Security Council again met last September, at the initiative of the Government of Ghana and at the request of all African governments, to consider the situation that could arise in Southern Rhodesia with the envisaged transference to the Southern Rhodesian Government "unrestricted control of a powerful army recruited on a racial basis, and an air-force, similarly recruited, of an extensive size".



The draft resolution, co-sponsored by Ghana, Morocco and the Philippines, which, in addition to inviting the United Kingdom Government not to transfer any powers and attributes of sovereignty to Southern Rhodesia until a fully represented government had been established, would have called in particular on Great Britain not to transfer control of the so called Federal army and air-force with their equipment to the Government of Southern Rhodesia was vetoed down by the United Kingdom.

This, however, did not and could not stop the momentum of the anti-colonial struggle in the United Nations. The General Assembly with an overwhelming vote has recommended all the measures which the Security Council had rejected in respect to Southern Rhodesia. This and the coming weeks will see a full-fledged debate in the General Assembly on apartheid and on the report of the United Nations Committee on Decolonization. The latter's report contain extensive information on recent developments in colonial areas in Africa as well as specific recommendations on the Portuguese Colonies, the High Commission territories, Gambia and other non-self governing territories. It is expected that the Assembly will endorse these recommendations in their essentials.

If these African delegations have succeeded in having forced unprecedented debate on African questions, if they have imparted a sense of urgency to the United Nations member states on the necessity for actions, their success is in no less measure due to the considerable support they have received from practically the entire Asian, Latin American and Socialist Group of countries and to some extent from some European countries. We all know who these countries are; and I need not mention them by name. But I think we owe it to ourselves that in our Organization we should from time to time publicly express our gratitude for the support we have received from these countries.

The United Nations has been only one of the means at our disposal for the prosecution of our immediate objective - the total and unconditional liberation of our continent. Although the United Nations is a very

important and indispensable means for the realization of our objective, we have also recognized the limits of its usefulness and have therefore resolved to render direct assistance to the liberation movements.

The committee of nine Member States which was set up to co-ordinate the liberation movements has had two meetings; one last July in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, and very recently in New York. The Council of Foreign Ministers studied and adopted at its last conference a detailed report submitted by the Committee.

Voluntary contributions from Member States to the Fund have been most encouraging. Above and beyond governmental contributions, the Secretariat has addressed an appeal to all Member Governments to support the setting up of national committees in their respective countries with the view of encouraging public subscriptions to the Liberation Fund. In this respect the Secretariat has high hopes that public campaigns for such fund-raising purposes will have invaluable educational and psychological effects in addition to producing financial resources from which liberation movements could be assisted.

Ever since last May and more particularly since the last conference of the Foreign Ministers, the Provisional Secretariat has been a going concern. The Ethiopian Government has generously made available the necessary funds, facilities and services for the Provisional Secretariat. The Secretariat is now housed in a spacious building in the centre of Addis Ababa.

The Secretariat has also benefitted considerably from the services of the Experts' Committee. The Committee has already had two meetings. In its first meeting held in Addis Ababa from July 12th to July 24, 1963, the Committee worked on the Provisional Agenda for the first meeting of the Council of Ministers, the Rules of Procedure of the Council of Ministers and of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. In its second meeting the Committee likewise worked on the Provisional Agenda for the five Specialized Commissions of the Organization of African Unity as well as on their Rules of Procedure.

The Experts' Committee will have its next meeting in the fourth week of December, in which it is expected once more to consider the provisional agenda for the second session of the Council of Ministers, the programme of work and documentation of the Commissions for the next year and the budget of the organization.

There are now established in the Provisional Secretariat the following departments: the Legal Department, the Political Department, the Economic and Social Department and the Education and Cultural Department. These departments are currently engaged in studying, sifting and preparing documents and working papers for the various meetings of the Specialized Commissions.

The Education and Cultural Commission is tentatively scheduled to meet in Congo-Leopoldville during the fourth week of November. This will be followed by the Economic and Social Commission to be held in Niamey, Niger. The Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission will meet in Cairo early next year, followed by the Scientific, Technical and Research Commission in Algiers.

The importance of these first series of meetings of the Specialized Commissions is self-evident; they will all be breaking new grounds in defining the scope of their activities in their respective fields of competence.

Mr. Chairman, now in what follows I would like to make a few comments on the business at hand. In the preparation of documentation for this conference, the Provisional Secretariat was handicapped by the fact that there were no standing instructions which could have guided the Secretariat.

On matters of co-operation in defence and security, apart from what has been provided in Article II paragraph 1 (c) and paragraph 2 (f) relating to the purposes of the Organization, and Article XX which establishes a Defence Commission, there are no other provisions which bear on the nature, scope and the extent of the co-operation in defence and security matters which the Organization should adopt. Neither the conference of Heads of State and Government, nor the First Session of the Council of Ministers passed decision which relate to the definition of the nature of the co-operation in defence and security matters; and which at the same time could become a guidance to, and a framework for any study which the Secretariat could submit in this connection.

On the other hand the functions and the duties of the Secretariat were such that the Secretariat could not on its own initiate a study which will necessarily involve certain implications of policies. As you are all aware, matters of policies are certainly within the competence of delegations.

The memorandum of the Officer-in-charge represents what the Secretariat could do under the circumstances. It would be observed from the Memorandum that an attempt has been made in the first part to point out the different possibilities which either alternatively, or in a combination, could be adopted by the Organization in creating a system of co-operation in the field of defence and security. It is certainly up to the conference to base its recommendations on these or some other possibilities.

The attention of delegations is in particular drawn to the fact that in any possible system of co-operation in defence and security matters, the possible relations of such a system with the Collective Security arrangement of the Security Council has to be worked out carefully, especially with regard to the obligation of African States under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations.

An attempt has also been made to acquaint delegations with the characteristic features of the defence arrangements of some of the most important international regional Organizations.

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies : if I may be permitted once again to indulge in an exercise of self-congratulations, I would venture to say that the success the African Countries have achieved since last May is very encouraging. Africa is speaking with one voice at the United Nations. If this is not a cause for rejoicing, what else could be ?

We have, nevertheless, to look forward; what we have travelled on the path of Unity and the struggle against colonialism is only a short way.

Finally in reference to our duties in this very first and historic session of the Commission, may I submit to your consideration that it devolves on you to give definition to the nature, scope, and the extent of the co-operation in defence and security matters which our Organization should adopt.



29 October 1963

SPEECH BY MR. KOPI BAADO, MINISTER OF DEFENCE  
AT THE MEETING OF THE DEFENCE COMMISSION OF  
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AT THE LAW  
SCHOOL, ACCRA ON TUESDAY, 29TH

Honourable Ministers, Your Excellencies,  
Members of Delegations:

May I, thank the Conference of the Defence Commission for nominating me as the Chairman of the Conference on behalf of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, welcome you all to Ghana for this first meeting of the Defence Commission of the Organization of African Unity.

The great event at Addis Ababa, barely five months ago, culminating in the signing of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, must have created Africa's first real impact in international politics and established in the minds of ordinary people throughout the world the reality of Africa's forward march towards unity and therefore towards emancipation, prosperity, self-respect and dignity. The implementation of the Charter which has taken the form of the work started by the Organization's specialized Agencies, of which this Defence Commission is one, is indicative of how deeply we feel committed to the idea of African Unity, and to what extent we are taking ourselves and should continue to be taken seriously by the world in this regard.

Each step forward towards our great goal and eventual success, that is, the establishment of a complete Union Government for Africa, spells disaster for the machinations of the colonialists and neo-colonialists, and determines them at the same time to devising more subtle and more insidious methods for our frustration and undoing, or failing that to resorting to desperate measures. This is one important perspective in which the work of this Commission must be viewed.

The importance of the work of the Defence Commission can be understood only in relation to the needs of present day African as well as Africa of tomorrow, that is, of Africa when the whole Continent will be free and independent of foreign rule and influences. The New Africa, we must remember, is after all not so far distant, as people were tempted to imagine a few years ago. In 1958 there were only 8 African independent states, but today, barely 7 years after, there are 32. There is little doubt that within the next few years colonialism will be completely stamped out on this Continent.

A plan for the whole Continental Africa is what the Addis Ababa Charter must be understood to have envisaged, and therefore what the Organization of African Unity was fashioned to achieve. That is what, I think, in the Preamble of the Charter, the 32 Heads of African States and Governments categorically resolved "to reinforce the links between our States by establishing and strengthening common institutions". That is also why, I think, among its purposes, the Organization was required "to promote the Unity and solidarity of the African States; to co-ordinate and intensify their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; to eradicate all forms of colonialism; to promote international co-operation having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

Article II of the Charter charges the Organization with the responsibility of ensuring that the Sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the States forming the Union are safeguarded. To this end we are called upon to co-ordinate and harmonise our general policies in co-operation, for defence and security. Our Commission is the Defence

Commission, the Specialized Agency, set up under Article 22 of the Charter and charged with the particular responsibility of drawing up a Defence Plan for the needs not only of present day Africa but of the whole Continental Africa of tomorrow, its Union and the States forming the Union. In Ghana's view the Defence Commission should be able to produce an Africa Defence Plan which will provide among other things the following:-

A Union Armed Forces consisting of Union Army, Union Navy, a Union Air Force and a Union Strike Force.

We propose for consideration that the Command Structure of the Union Armed Forces be as follows:

A Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command Headquarters, Four Joint Services Regional Headquarters, District or Regional Headquarters which are at present the Highest military Headquarters of Member States and Strike Force Command Headquarters. We also propose for consideration the establishment of a Union Military Intelligence Organization, and the creation of a Military Planning Organization charged with the responsibility of planning the strategic siting or re-siting of military bases - installations, depots, etc. throughout Africa.

Planning the establishment of Communication networks within the framework of the overall development of Africa with special reference to military defence requirements.

Producing military plans for immediate liberation of dependent States of Africa.

Producing military plans for the overall defence of Africa.

There is also a vital need for the establishment of a Military Research and Development Organization to co-ordinate the exploitation for Africa's uninterrupted logistic cover to the Union Armed Forces.



We cannot pretend that the task confronting this Commission is by any standard an easy one. It is stupendous, almost bewildering, considered in terms of size and the total areas involved; in terms of facilities for communications, language difficulties, and attendant administrative problems; in terms of men, money, and materials. But being bewildering and stupendous is not the same thing as being impossible. The present problems of Continental Africa cannot be dissimilar from the problems which either the United States of America or U.S.S.R. or China or India had to face. If these countries succeeded in coping with their problems, then I submit that there cannot be any reason why we should not. The task confronting this Defence Commission, and indeed the whole Organization for African Unity is necessary, indeed inevitable. We believe that it can be done, that it should be done, that it will be done in spite of any difficulties, at least for the simple reason that our whole survival as a Race is dependent upon its success.

Honourable Ministers, Members of Delegations, we have up to Saturday, 2nd November, to accomplish the tasks assigned to us; which means that every minute now is essential for the success of the serious deliberations that lie ahead of us.

The procedure for our deliberations have already been laid down by the Secretariat at Addis Ababa and will be followed. Regarding the programme for our work, I am submitting for your consideration and approval the following:

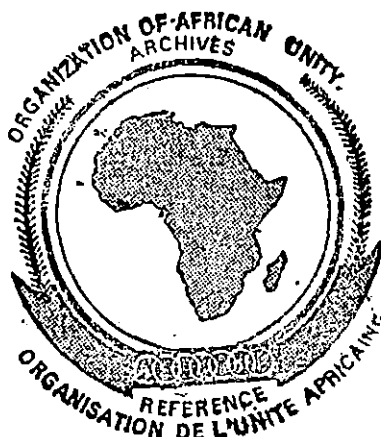
Wednesday, 30th October

9.00 a.m. - 12 noon

Plenary Session (Law School)  
Election of Officers  
Adoption of Agenda  
Organization of Session

3.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.

Committee Stage



Thursday, 31st October

9.00 a.m. - 12 noon	Committee Stage
3.00 p.m. - 6.00 p.m.	Committee Stage

Friday, 1st November

9.00 a.m. - 12 noon	Committee Stage
3.00 p.m.	Akosombo
8.30 p.m.	Play by Arts and Culture Institute (Open Air Theatre Commonwealth Hall - Legon)

Saturday, 2nd November

9.00 a.m.	Committee Stage
3.00 p.m.	Closing Session
7.00 p.m. 8.00 p.m.	Reception by Osagyefo the President of the Republic of Ghana.

Although Membership of this Commission is intended under the Charter to be largely of "Ministers concerned or other Ministers "Plenipotentiary", it will be observed that much of the detailed work involved is specialized. It will be advisable therefore to leave these to the experts of the delegations to work on them at the Committee Stages of our proceedings and then submit their recommendations at the final stage for consideration and approval by the whole Commission.

Honourable Ministers, Members of Delegations, may I, on behalf of Osagyefo the President and on my own behalf, wish you every success in your deliberations.

Thank you.

24 October 1963

Memorandum of the Officer-in-Charge  
of the Provisional Secretariat to the  
First Session of the Defence Commission:

1. Consistent with the purposes of the Charter of African Unity, the Defence Commission as one of the Specialized Commissions of the Organization is presumably charged with the promotion and co-ordination of co-operation among the Member States in defence and security matters.
2. Thus, Article II of the Charter of African Unity states as one of the purposes of the Organization the defence of the "sovereignty", "territorial integrity and independence" of the Member States.

Further, paragraph 2 of the same Article inter-alia states that:

"to these ends, Member States shall co-ordinate and harmonize their general policies in the following fields:  
.....  
(f) Co-operation for defence and security".

3. Article XX of the Charter establishes a Defence Commission.
4. Apart from what is explicitly provided for in the Charter, there is no decision by the Conference of Heads of State and Government or of the First Session of the Council of Ministers relating to the definition of the nature, scope and the extent of co-operation in defence and security matters which the Organization should adopt. Furthermore, neither the summary records of the proceedings of the Summit nor those of the Foreign Ministers' Preparatory Conference shed light on the thinking of Member Governments.

- 2 -

For the purposes of reference, however, extracts from the statements of Heads of State and Government pertaining to co-operation in defence and security matters are herewith attached.

5. Under these circumstances, it devolves on this first session of the Defence Commission to make such specific recommendations on the nature, scope and the extent of the co-operation in defence and security matters as are necessary with the view of their adoption by the Organization. Needless to say, such recommendations would call for fundamental policy decisions on the part of Member Governments.
6. The following is an attempt to facilitate the work of the conference in arriving at the necessary recommendations by pointing out the different possibilities which either alternatively, or in combination could be adopted by the Organization in creating a system of co-operation in the field of defence and security.

Additionally, descriptions of various mutual defence arrangements and co-operation under international regional organizations are included for information.

7. These possibilities are:
  - a) A loose type of co-operation for the exchange of military information with respect to the standardization of military training and procedures, the production of military equipment and supply, and the provision of the requisite infrastructural facilities. Such an arrangement could include the possibility of making available training facilities on reciprocal basis.

- 3 -

- b) A defence arrangement based on the principle of collective security, in which aggression against a member-state is considered as aggression against all, and in which provisions are made to punish the aggressor.

In view of the fact that all the members of the Organization of African Unity are also members of the United Nations; the possible relations of this latter type of co-operation with the collective security arrangement of the United Nations should be worked out with due regard to the obligations of member states under Article 51 of the Charter.

Under the Charter of the United Nations, member states are permitted to take measures for individual and collective self-defence. But these measures exclude enforcement action by a Regional Organization without the prior authorization of the Security Council.

- c) A defence arrangement and co-operation primarily aimed at aggression that could come from outside the continent.
- d) Co-operation in military matters with the view of assisting liberation movements in the colonial areas of Africa.
- e) Arrangements to complement the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations. A current analogy could be made in this respect with the recent decision of the Scandinavian Countries designating for United Nations peace-keeping operations part of their standing armed forces. Such men and officers as are made available for United Nations service are expected to receive special training with the view of preparing them for the performance of their special duties.

Outlined hereunder are the main characteristics of the arrangements for defence co-operation of some of the most important international regional organizations.

The American System:

(i) The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance

The Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947) also referred to as the Rio Pact, is a defence arrangement for an Inter-American peace and security co-operation.

Thus Article 3 section 1 of the Pact provides:

"The High contracting Parties Agree that an armed attack by any State against an American State shall be considered as an attack against all the American States and, consequently, each one of the said contracting Parties undertakes to assist in meeting the attack in the exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations."

Section 2 of the same Article 3 adds:

"On the request of the State or States directly attacked and until the decision of the Organ of Consultation of the Inter-American system, each one of the contracting Parties may determine the immediate measures which it may individually take in fulfillment of the obligation contained in the preceding paragraph and in accordance with the principle of continental solidarity. The Organ of Consultation shall meet without delay for the purpose of examining those measures and agreeing upon the measures of a collective character that should be taken."

- 5 -

Article 6 of the Pact further provides:

"If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American State should be affected by an aggression which is not an armed attack or by an extra-continental or intra-continental conflict; or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America; the Organ of Consultation shall meet immediately in order to agree on the measures which must be taken in case of aggression to assist the victim of the aggression or in any case, the measures which should be taken for the common defence and for the maintenance of the peace and security of the continent."

The Pact, therefore, creates explicit mutual defence and security commitments, in which it is agreed by the Member States that an armed attack against one is an attack against all, whether the attack originates within or outside the American system. The Member States have further promised to meet such an attack individually and or in concert.

The Organ of Consultation, which is also an integral part of the OAS, consists of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The Organ meets in case of an armed attack to determine the existence of an aggression and to decide on the measures to be taken by Member States; which measures may include the use of armed force;

Thus Article 8 Provides:

"For the purposes of this Treaty, the measures on which the Organ of consultation may agree will comprise one or more of the following: recall of chief of diplomatic relations; breaking of consular relations; partial or complete interruption of economic relations or of rail, Sea, Air, postal, telegraphic, telephonic and radio-telephonic or radiotelegraphic communications; and use of armed force."

Article 9 adds:

"In addition to other acts which the Organ of Consultation may characterize as aggression, the following shall be considered as such:

- a) Unprovoked armed attack by a State against the territory, the people, or the land, sea, or air forces of another State;
- b) Invasion, by the armed forces of a State, of the territory of an American State, through the trespassing of boundaries demarcated in accordance with a treaty, judicial decision, or arbitral award, or, in the absence of frontiers thus demarcated, invasion affecting a region which is under the effective jurisdiction of another State."

(ii) The Inter American Defence Board (1942)

This arrangement represents a system of defence co-operation with the following functions:

"The Mission of the Inter-American Defence Board shall be to act as the organ of preparation and recommendation for the collective self-defence of the American continent against aggression, and to carry out, in addition to the advisory functions within its competence, any similar functions ascribed to it by the Advisory Defence Committee."



- 7 -

Note Should be taken of the fact that the Board's primary function is solely to recommend measures to be taken by Member States for Collective Security. Unlike the Rio Pact, the Member States under this arrangement have no obligation to carry and execute its recommendations. Further, the Board deals only with the defence of the hemisphere and a conflict between Member States does not come within its jurisdiction. Moreover, the Board has no authority to organize forces or establish a unified command. However, the board is permanently in session and at work on plans for the co-ordination and recommendation of Collective defence measures.

B. The Arab League Defence Pact:

Article 2 of the Pact Provides:

"The Contracting States consider any (act of ) armed aggression made against any one or more of them or their armed forces, to be directed against them all. Therefore, in accordance with the right of self-defence, individually and collectively, they undertake to go without delay to the aid of the State or States against which such an act of aggression is made, and immediately to take, individually and collectively, they undertake to go without delay to the aid of the State or States against which such an act of aggression is made, and immediately to take, individually and collectively, all steps available, including the use of armed force, to repel the aggression and restore security and peace. In conformity with Article 6 of the Arab League Pact, and Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, the Arab League Council and UN Security Council shall be notified of such act of aggression and the means and procedure taken to check it.

Accra

- 8 -

Article 3 continues:

"At the invitation of anyone of the signatories of this treaty the Contracting States shall hold consultations whenever there are reasonable grounds for the belief that the territorial integrity, independence or security of anyone of the parties is threatened. In the event of the threat of war or the existence of an international emergency, the Contracting States shall immediately proceed to unify their plans and defensive measures, as the situation may demand."

Article 4 of the Pact adds:

"The Contracting States, desiring to implement fully the above obligations and effectively carry them out, shall co-operate in consolidating and co-ordinating their armed forces, and shall participate according to their resources and needs in preparing individual and collective means of defence to repulse the said armed aggression."

In the event of an armed attack, commitments for mutual assistance are made explicit in Article 2 above.

A Joint Defence Council (Article 6) consisting of the Foreign Ministers of Member States has been established to implement the provisions of Articles 2, 3 and 4 above.

- 9 -

A Permanent Military Commission consisting of the General Staffs of Member States has been established to assist the Joint Defence Council in its military requirements including plans for unification of the armed forces of Member States. The Joint Defence Council is supreme in the execution and realization of all defence matters, under the supervision of the Council of the Arab League.

C. The Warsaw Pact:

The main feature of the defence arrangement is contained in Article 4 which reads:

"In the event of an armed attack in Europe on one or more of the States Parties to the Treaty by any State or group of States, each State Party to the Treaty shall, in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, shall afford the State or States so attacked immediate assistance, individually and in agreement with the other States Parties to the Treaty, by all the means it considers necessary, including the use of armed forces. The States Parties to the Treaty shall consult together immediately concerning the joint measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security."

The Member States have thus provided for a qualified commitment for mutual assistance in that, assistance by the other States shall be preceded and subjected to consultations and agreements among themselves before they afford automatic assistance to the state attacked.

Further the Members have provided in Article 5 that:

"The Contracting Parties have agreed to establish a unified command, to which certain elements of their armed forces shall be allocated by agreement between the Parties."

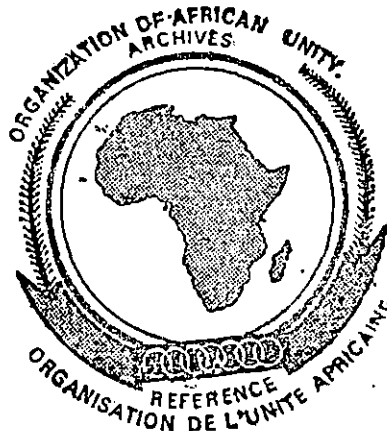
The establishment of a unified command is envisaged; although it is subject to further agreements among the parties. Finally, the parties have provided for a Political Consultative Committee to carry out the provisions of the Treaty.

D. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization:

Article 5 of this Treaty provides:

"The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by article 51 of the United Nations Charter, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force."

Unlike the Warsaw Pact, the collective and individual assistance envisaged here by the Member States is automatic in case of an armed attack and is not subject to further agreements.



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Article 9 provides:

"The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters, concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defence committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5."

Although a number of other organs have evolved since, as mentioned hereunder, the Council still remains as the supreme authority for the determination of all questions. Member States are represented on the Council by permanent representatives.

The Military Committee consisting of the Chiefs of Staffs of all Member States acts as the chief military advisor of the Council.

In the course of further integration the following international commands have been created:

- (i) The European Command extending from Norway to Turkey with its headquarters near Paris;
- (ii) The Atlantic Ocean Command, covering the North Atlantic, with its headquarters in Virginia.

Although, the Atlantic Ocean Command directs no permanent peacetime forces, the former commands integrated divisions that constitute the first permanent international force existing today.

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E. Western European Union:

An arrangement which does not fit the patterns described above is the Western European Union defence arrangement whose main activities focus on the control of armed Forces, the exchange of military information and the control of the level of armaments of the Member States. Thus the Agency for the Control of Armaments scrutinizes national statistical and budgetary data and inspects production plants and depots with a view to preventing the manufacture of certain weapons by certain Member States.

F. CENTO and SEATO

No reference has been made to the defence arrangements of CENTO (formerly the Baghdad Pact) and SEATO, for reasons that they have political and military objectives which are not exactly analogous to those of the Organization of African Unity.

9. Conclusions:

- a) Attention is drawn to the fact that it devolves on this Session of the Defence Commission to define the scope, nature and the extent of the co-operation in defence and security matters which the Organization should adopt.

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- b) Attention is further drawn to the obligations of Member States under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations in any possible arrangement based on the principle of collective security and collective enforcement actions.
- c) The competence of the principal organs of the Organization in matters relating to the settlement of disputes should be carefully studied. Particularly, this Commission should study the Draft Protocol on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, copies of which are appended to the present memorandum.

In any possible arrangement involving collective security, it is necessary that the competence of the appropriate organ capable for the determination of cases of aggression or situations involving threat to the peace should be defined. In this respect note should be taken of the fact that under the Charter of African Unity no explicit provisions for sanctions have been provided for.

APPENDIX I

The following are extracts from the statements of Heads of State & Government relating to co-operation in defence and security matters.

CAMEROON

H.E. Ahmadou Ahidjo :

".....  
There also remains the matter of co-operation in spheres other than the political and economic ones I have just touched upon.  
..... There exist within the groups already installed specialized organizations for defence, transport or telecommunications. Failing a merger of these which at the present time seems difficult or simply premature, we could envisage a periodical consultation between management or execution boards so as to achieve subsequent harmonization and unity....."

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

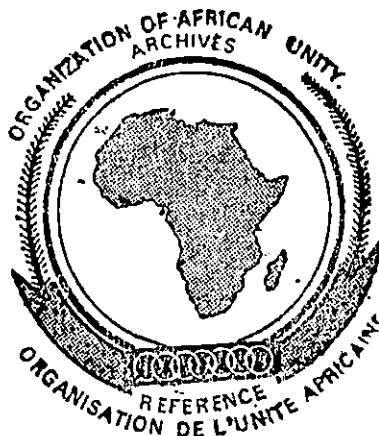
H.E. Fulbert Youlou :

".....  
To this end, it is desirable to establish a "Monroe Doctrine" for Africa, that is to say to secure Africa against any direct interference by a non-African power in the same way that North and South America have acted with regard to their own continent  
....."

ETHIOPIA

H.I.M. Haile Selassie I :

"....."  
Steps must be taken to establish an African Defence System. Military planning for the security of the continent must be undertaken in common within a collective framework...





Provisions must be made for the extension of speedy and effective assistance when any African State is threatened with military aggression. We cannot rely solely on international morality....."

GHANA

Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah :

".....  
Unite we must, without necessarily sacrificing our sovereignties, big or small, we can here and now forge a political union based on Defence..... an African Central Bank ..... we need a Common Defence System with an African High Command to ensure the stability and security of Africa ....."

GUINEA

H.E. Sekou Toure :

".....  
Finally, it is essential that the conference lays down a dead line for foreign domination in Africa, after which date our armed forces should intervene directly in the legitimate defence of the African continent against aggressors ....."

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

H.E. Philbert Tsiranana :

".....  
We shall achieve our purpose by bringing into play our common spirit of active co-operation ..... co-operation opens for us a vast field::foreign policy ..... defence ..... and nutrition ....."

MALI

H.E. Modibo Keita :

".....

It is therefore necessary that we should put an end in a concrete manner to factors prompting division; respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity of each state should be made by ..... a multilateral non-aggression Pact. The conclusion of such an agreement would strengthen inter-African relations, reduce outside interference in this domain, and open up happy prospects for African co-operation in the field of defence and security .....

NIGER REPUBLIC

H.E. Diouri Hamani :

".....

To this end - and in conclusion ..... the delegation of the Republic of Niger proposes that the members of this Conference should not separate without having taken the following concrete measures:..... the organization of a collective defence and security system .....

SENEGAL

H.E. Léopold Senghor :

".....

We must be cautious, moving forward step by step and stage by stage. I fear that we should be heading rapidly for disaster if we tried to construct a federation - or even a confederation with its own parliament and military command at the first attempt .....

SOMALI REPUBLIC

H.E. Aden Abdullah Osman :

".....

One of the major tasks confronting us today is to articulate our common aspiration for unity into a political framework acceptable to all.

Three main alternatives should be considered. The first is to develop a system of periodic consultations among African Governments for the purposes of concerting their foreign and military policies, and raising the economic and social level of the African people.

The second alternative is the establishment of an Inter-African Organization dedicated to the same purposes, and having its own budget and legal personality.

The third alternative is the creation of an African Union or Federation, with a single foreign policy and diplomacy, a common defence system, a common economic planning, and a unified currency.

There are very important differences among the three alternatives.

Under the first, each Member State, while committed to co-operate with the others, remains free to decide its policies according to its own judgment.

Under the second, each Member State, within the limits of the Charter of the Organization, is bound by majority decisions, and undertakes to contribute to the expenses of the Organization in proportion to its national budget.

The third alternative is radically different from the others in that, while the degree of autonomy and sovereignty retained by individual States depends upon the terms of the Constitution, each of them is represented internationally by the Federal or Union Government.

What is, then, the solution best suitable to Africa today?

.....  
At this stage, however, I wonder whether the African States would be prepared to surrender their recently acquired sovereignty to a central government. In our view, such a momentous decision should be reached only at the end of a process of evolution. We should begin with less binding forms of association. These would enable us to acquire the habit of working together towards the solution of common problems, and would gradually prepare us for the adoption of closer bonds.  
....."

TUNISIA

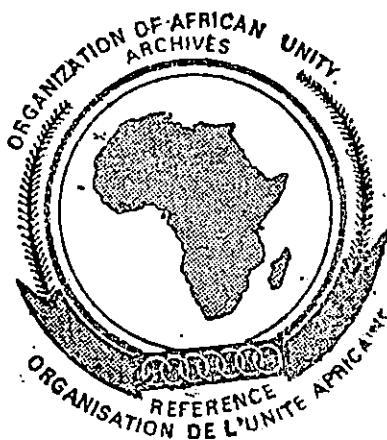
H.E. Habib Bourguiba :

".....  
It is not out of some vague feeling of scepticism that, for our part, we wish to proceed gradually .....  
we wish to avoid haste and the errors which often lead to disappointment and finally to despair .....  
If we can avoid these dangers, the African union of countries may provide an original solution to the problem of "Unity in Diversity".....  
At a single stroke, our efforts ..... and our collective work in defence of peace throughout the world will be strengthened ....."

UGANDA

H.E. Apollo Milton Obote :

".....  
I hold the view that however nice one may feel as a complete master in one's own house the time has come, indeed almost overdue, for African Independent States to surrender some of their sovereignty in favour of an African Central Legislature and Executive Body with powers over those subjects where devided



control and action would be undesirable. I to such  
subjects as the establishment of an African Common Market  
..... Collective Defence .....  
and a Common Monetry Zone ....."

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

H.E. Gamal Abdel Nasser :

".....  
Other problems we face from outside the continent call for the  
same thing. Military pacts will not fall by themselves as  
Autumn leaves .....  
Africa faces the battle which calls for an organizing mind and  
dynamic nerves ....."

ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Council of Foreign Ministers

ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE  
AFRICAINNE

Conseil des Ministres  
des Affaires Etrangères

COMMITTEE 1  
Sub-Committee 2  
7 August 1963

DRAFT PROTOCOL FOR THE COMMISSION  
OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Article I

The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, which is instituted in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and, in particular, with the provisions of Article XIX of the same, shall be governed by the provisions set forth in the present Protocol.

SECTION I - GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article II

The Commission shall be composed of fifteen members (15) proposed by the Council of Ministers and appointed by the Conference of Heads of State and Government.

This appointment shall be made from a list of candidates drawn up by the General Administrative Secretariat, on the basis of two (2) or more candidates from each Member State.

Article III

Members of the Commission shall be appointed for three years (3), Their appointment shall be renewable.

During their period of office they shall be subject neither to deposition nor to dismissal, except in the case of force majeure, and they shall enjoy diplomatic immunity when exercising their functions.

Grants payable to the members of the Commission during the exercise of their functions shall be determined by the Council of Ministers.

Article IV

On expiry of their normal period of appointment the members of the Commission shall remain in office until the next Conference of Heads of State and Government.

Article V

In the case of impeachment or on the death of a member of the Commission, his replacement shall be provided in conformity with the provisions of Article II of this Protocol.

Article VI

The period of office of a replacement member ends with that of the members in office at the time of his appointment.

Article VII

The Commission shall appoint a President and a Vice-President from among its members for a period of three years (3).

Article VIII

The headquarters of the Commission shall be those of the General Administrative Secretariat of the OAU.

Article IX

The Administrative Secretariat of the OAU shall serve as records office to the Commission. It shall be responsible for its records and all administrative texts.

Article X

The Commission shall take cognizance of disputes between States, and between States only.

Article XI

Each Member State of the OAU may submit to the Commission any dispute which it considers prejudicial to good relations between Member States of the Organization.

Article XII

A case submitted to the Commission may only be settled by the Commission itself.

The signatory powers of this Protocol shall undertake to commit no act of a nature to aggravate a situation which has been referred to the Commission.

Article XIII

The Commission shall be free to adopt such working methods as it deems to be necessary and expedient, and shall establish appropriate rules of procedure.

SECTION II - MEDIATION

Article XIV

The parties shall appeal to the mediators only when attempts at settlement through diplomatic channels have been exhausted.

Article XV

The role of the mediators shall be confined to the settlement of disputes by means of persuasion only.



Article XVI

When a dispute between States is referred to the mediators, the latter shall meet within fifteen days (15) at the headquarters of the Commission, or in any other place, on the express condition that such place shall afford them every guarantee of safety and free exercise of their functions.

They may in the course of discussions move from one place to another should they deem it necessary.

Article XVII

The compromise recommended by the mediators shall be subject to appeal.

Their recommendation shall be written and shall be given within thirty days (30) of their first meeting.

This period may, however, be extended by a further thirty days (30) if the mediators deem it necessary.

SECTION III - CONCILIATION

Article XVIII

The conciliators shall hear questions within fifteen days (15) of their submission.

Article XIX

Disputes shall be submitted to the conciliators by means of single or joint petition.

The petition shall include a summary explanation of the object of the dispute.

Article XX

The conciliators may undertake any enquiry or hear any person capable of giving information concerning the dispute submitted to them.

Article XXI

The conciliators hearing a dispute shall be allowed a maximum of three months (3) to reach a decision.

SECTION IV - ARBITRATION

Article XXII

Appeal for arbitration shall be understood as submission in good faith to the decision of the arbitrators.

Article XXIII

The arbitration procedure shall comprise two stages; enquiry and hearing.

The written enquiry shall consist in the production of statements and counter-statements and of any act or document submitted by the parties.

Certified true copies of the texts produced by one of the parties shall be communicated without delay to the other.

The hearing shall consist in the verbal elaboration of the parties' cases before the arbitrators.

It shall always be held in the presence of both parties.

Article XXIV

The arbitrators shall convene at the end of the period of enquiry save in the case of exceptional circumstances.

Article XXV

Hearings shall be conducted by the President. They shall be held in camera unless the Commission decides to the contrary.

The record of proceedings, signed by the President and one Secretary, shall alone be authoritative.

SECTION V - FINAL PROVISIONS

Article XXVI

This Protocol shall be an integral part of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

It shall be ratified by each of the Signatory States in accordance with the appropriate constitutional procedure.

Article XXVII

The instruments of ratification shall be deposited at the headquarters of the Administrative Secretariat of the OAU.

Subsequent depositions of ratifications shall be made by means of written notification to the Administrative Secretariat of the OAU.

Each Member of the OAU shall be notified by the Administrative Secretariat of every registration of an instrument of ratification.

Article XXVIII

This Protocol shall take effect upon receipt by the Administrative Secretary-General of the instruments of ratification of two-thirds (2/3) of the Signatory States.

Notification thereof shall be made by the Secretary-General to all Signatory States.

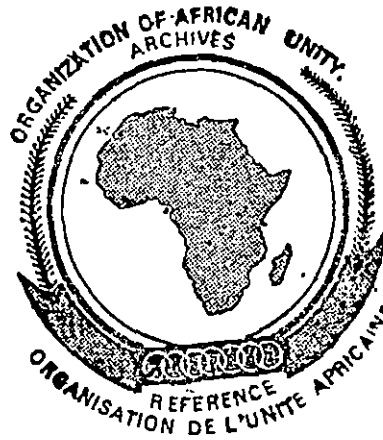
Article XXIX

This Protocol may be amended or revised in conformity with the provisions of Article XXXVIII of the Charter of the OAU.

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In faith whereof, we, the Heads of African States and Government have signed this Protocol.

Done in .....



DEF. 1/MEMO./1/Carr.1  
Accra

29 October 1963

CORRIGENDUM

Paragraph 3 should read:

Article XX of the Charter provides for the  
establishment of a Defence Commission.

30 October 1963

DEFENCE COMMISSIONMEMORANDUM: MAURITANIA DELEGATION

As its name implies, this Commission has been constituted in order to work out the defence of Africa during peace time, and set in train ways and means by which the various States can defend themselves in case of attack.

This task would be clearer from the very outset, if our enemies were indicated the resources at the disposal of each State set down and the joint organization capable of co-ordinating these resources and determining the joint line of action to be pursued were established. It would then be necessary to:-

- (1) indicate clearly and determine the position of possible enemies;
- (2) Make a list to the resources of each State with a view of co-ordinating them for action;
- (3) establish organizations which will have the permanent task of dealing with these matters.

A. OUR ENEMIES(a) EXTERNAL:

At present Africa is not in open war with anyone, and intends to remain aloof from both blocs. She does not even have any desire to create an African bloc as against the two existing blocs, because she is opposed to the policy of blocs which is contrary to her ideas of peace and co-operation in the world. However quite apart from her own ideal, she is bound to take account of the situation in a world divided into antagonistic ~~imperialist~~ blocs;

in whole as well as in part. Therefore she must of necessity reconcile the need to co-operate with these blocs with her own defence against any penetration by them, whether this be surreptitiously done under the guise of friendship or by open and violent aggression.

Africa is still far too vulnerable even in some areas which are independent, because her present state of poverty and the weakness that results from it forces her to accept co-operation on terms that are quite obviously unfair. Unless Africa's solidarity is effective, obvious and real, she cannot at present question the unfortunate conditions which have been imposed upon her. And when some day she feels that she can throw them over-board, we shall have another Suez or Bizerta. Therefore if we really desire to achieve over-all continental solidarity which will provide an initial solution to this problem, the weakest among us must have a sense of confidence, because our organization will have been established through permanent bodies and a procedure capable of placing the resources of the various states without delay at the disposal of those which may be faced with difficulty. The foreign enemy in question would at the very outset be discouraged by these precautionary measures.

(b) Domestic Enemies:

All the Member States of the O.A.U. have accepted the principles set out in Article 3 of the Charter. But experience has shown that in spite of this a particular member has violated these very principles by attacking another member. Our purpose here is not to examine this conflict, since this Commission has no express mandate to do so, and moreover in its early stages the O.A.U. must as far as possible avoid dangerous shoals and merely try to find in an actual example a lesson that may help in visualising the future. The possibility of a Member State attacking another must not be ruled out in any consideration

.../...

of the future. This means we must bear in mind the possibility of having to take measures against a possible enemy from within, after we shall have defined our position. Such measures would be interesting in another sense, namely, that they would discourage Member States who had any aggressive intentions on other Member States, and would therefore provide disciplinary measures for all the States under the Charter.

B. RESOURCES

It would not be enough merely to determine who our enemies are, unless we also point out to them the resources that might be used against them if necessary. Therefore it is important to make a list of the resources at the disposal of our respective States, which may be placed at the service of the organization in case of need, and indicate what time-lag is necessary before they can be put into effect.

C. PERMANENT BODIES

The question of stating in clear precise terms who the enemy is and making a list of resources is a full time job which requires permanent bodies with as much specialised knowledge as possible. And so we should like to suggest the setting up of a Permanent Secretariat with Headquarters and Specialised Services which would in addition to the problems raised above, take care of general problems such as the existence of national organizations and relations with similar international organizations. The O.A.U. Charter has raised all these problems under the general heading of "Defence" and "Security". Since in the first place the Charter can be interpreted only by the Conference of Heads of State and in the second place our Commission would not have the slightest effect until all the conditions enumerated above are fulfilled, we have the right and the duty to study these problems and submit the results of our study to the Council of Ministers and the Conference of Heads of State.



31 October 1963

UNION MILITARY COMMAND - PROPOSALS

BY GELANA

1. Formation of Military Command

It is proposed that the Union Defence Council (Defence Commission) be empowered to form a Military Command System as follows:-

- (a) A Union Joint Services Supreme Command Headquarters which shall be responsible for the Defence of the Union.
- (b) Four Joint Services Regional Headquarters responsible for the Defence of specific regions.
- (c) One Union Joint Services Strategic Reserve Command which shall be in a state of readiness to counter Military threats anywhere in Africa.

See Appendix

2. Terms of Reference

(a) UJSSC Headquarters

This Headquarters shall be responsible to the Union Defence Council (Defence Commission) for all Defence matters of the Union as detailed in the function of the Command.

(b) JSR Headquarters

These Headquarters shall be responsible to the UJSSC Headquarters for all defence matters of the region assigned to each.

(c) UJSSRC

This Command shall be responsible for maintaining, training and organizing a Union Strategic Force which shall be deployed only on direct orders from the Union Defence Council (Defence Commission) to deal with any emergencies in Africa which may be considered to constitute a Military threat to the Union.

3. Functions

- (a) The UJSSC Headquarters shall be responsible to the Union Defence Council (Defence Commission) for all Defence matters as follows:-
- (i) Defence Planning
  - (ii) Military Training Policy and advice
  - (iii) Control of Defence operations including co-ordination of liberation efforts.
  - (iv) All aspects of Military Intelligence including counter Intelligence, espionage, etc.
  - (v) Personnel administration and advice on Manpower requirements and national or state contributions.
  - (vi) Logistic Planning and support.
  - (vii) Organization, re-organization, etc., of Union Forces and advice on organization, re-organization, etc., of National Forces.
  - (viii) Weapons and Equipment development, standardization, re-equipment of Union Forces, etc.
  - (ix) Advice on economic exploitation of natural resources for Defence requirements.
  - (x) Financial Advice on defence budgeting including national contributions and expenditure.
  - (xi) Advice on Military requirements on all aspects of communications, names: electronic, radio, road, rail water and and air communications.
  - (xii) Liaison with other Councils, Committee, etc. of the Union.
- (b) The JSR Headquarters shall have the same functions as the UJSSR Headquarters but limited in scope to those aspect of the functions of the latter delegated to them.
- (c) The UJSSRC shall have the functions listed below in addition to those aspects of the functions, of UJSSC Headquarters delegated to it:-
- (i) Command of the Union Strategic Force.
  - (ii) The deployment of the Union Strategic Force when ordered to do so by the Union Defence Council (Defence Commission) in the interest of the security of any part of the Union (including any part of Africa to be guaranteed military protection by the Union.

4. Structure

(a) The UJSSC Headquarters shall comprise the following:-

(i) Command Element

Supreme Commander  
Deputy Supreme Commander - Land Forces  
Deputy Supreme Commander - Navy  
Deputy Supreme Commander - Air Force

(ii) Staff

The functional requirements suggest the following staff departments on joint service basis:

Planning  
Training  
Operations  
Intelligence  
Weapons and Equipment Development  
Personnel Administration  
Logistics  
Organizations  
Communication  
Economic exploitation for defence  
Financial and Military Budgeting  
Liaison  
Legal  
Information

(b) The JSR Headquarters shall each comprise the following:-

(i) Command Element

Regional (Military) Commander.  
Deputy Regional Commander - Army  
Deputy Regional Commander - Navy  
Deputy Regional Commander - Air Force.

(ii) Staff

The Joint services staff shall be similar to the staff of the UJSSC Headquarters but its size will depend on the scope and extent of delegated functions.

(c) The UJSSRC shall comprise of

(i) Command Element

Force Commander

Deputy Force Commander - Army

Deputy Force Commander - Navy

Deputy Force Commander - Air Force

(ii) Staff

The staff shall be joint service, organized similarly to the staff of JSR Headquarters with bigger "operational" staff and fewer advisers.

5. Manner of Establishment

(a) It is proposed that both the Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command, Headquarters and the Four Joint Services Regional Headquarters be formed as follows, after the Defence Commission has approved of forming them:-

(i) The location of each Headquarters be agreed upon.

(ii) The Command Element be appointed or nominated.

(iii) The Commanders and Deputy Commanders designate constitute a committee or committees or experts - with the requisite advice made available to them - to work out the details of their staff requirements based on the suggestions.

(b) It is further proposed that the Union Joint Services Strategic Reserve Force be formed as soon as possible after approval by the Defence Commission as follows:-

(i) The Commander designate and his three Deputies to be appointed or nominated.

(ii) The location of the Headquarters be agreed upon Leopoldville or some other City in Central Africa will be suitable

(iii) The Command Elements of all the Headquarters be charged with the responsibility of working out the details of the component elements of the Strategic Force and the basis of national contribution to it.

UNION JOINT SERVICES SUPREME MILITARY COMMAND

HEADQUARTERS

COMMAND ELEMENT

SUPREME COMMANDER

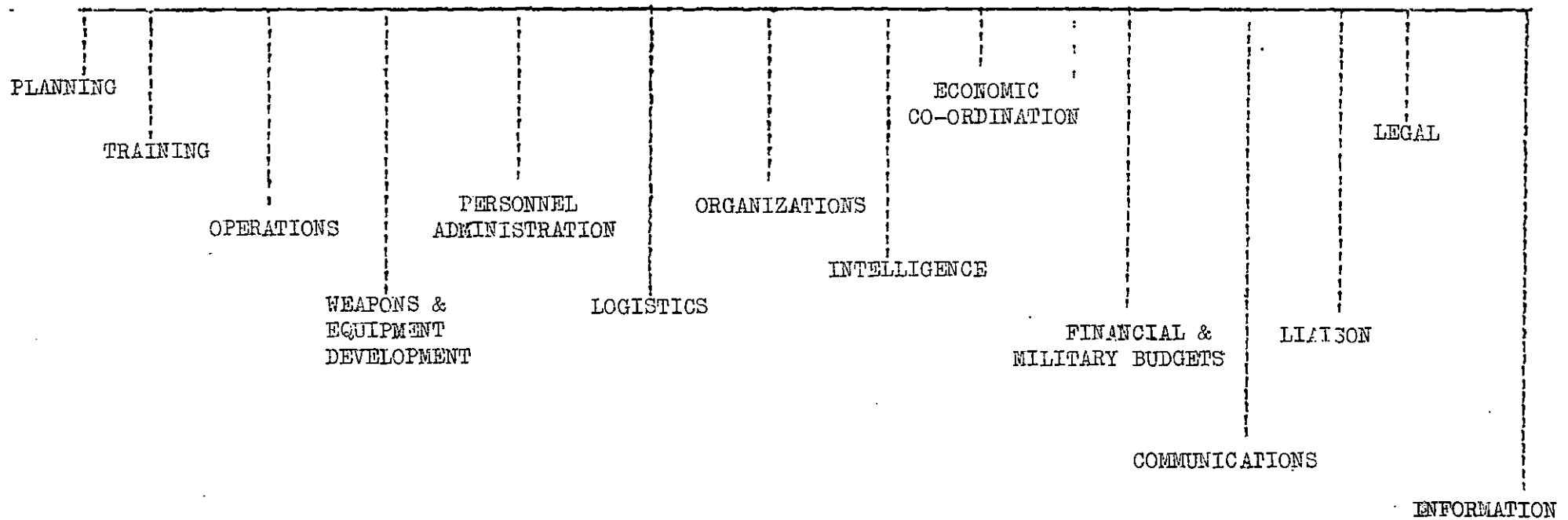
DEPUTY COMMANDER - ARMY

DEPUTY COMMANDER - NAVY

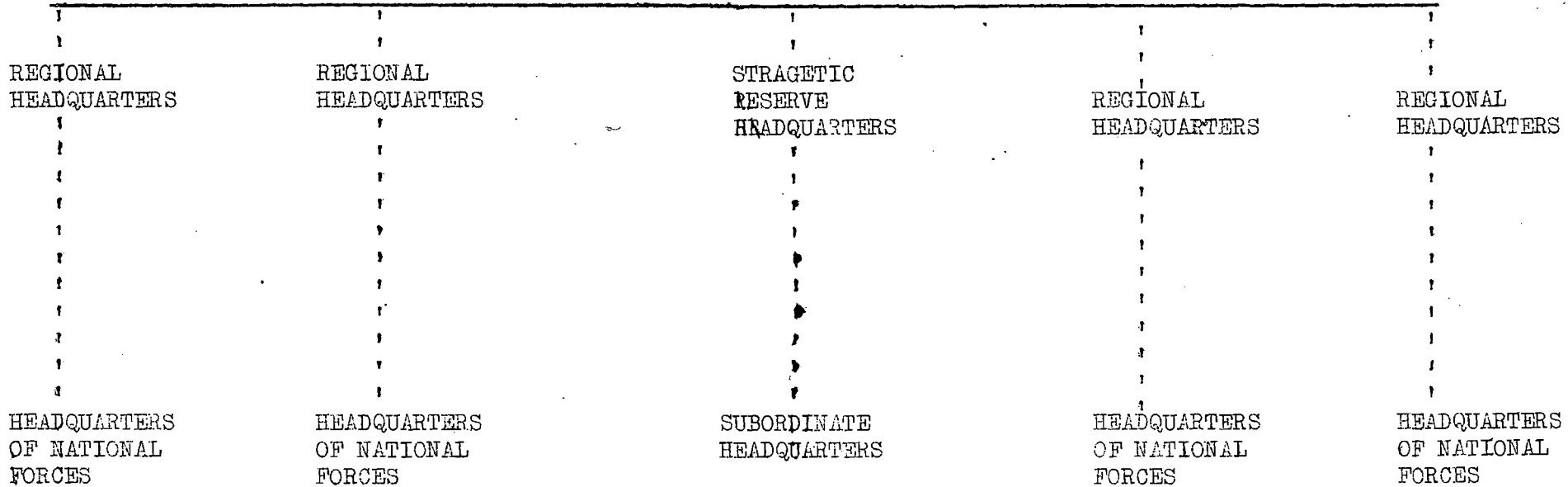
DEPUTY COMMANDER - AIR FORCE

JOINT SERVICES STAFF

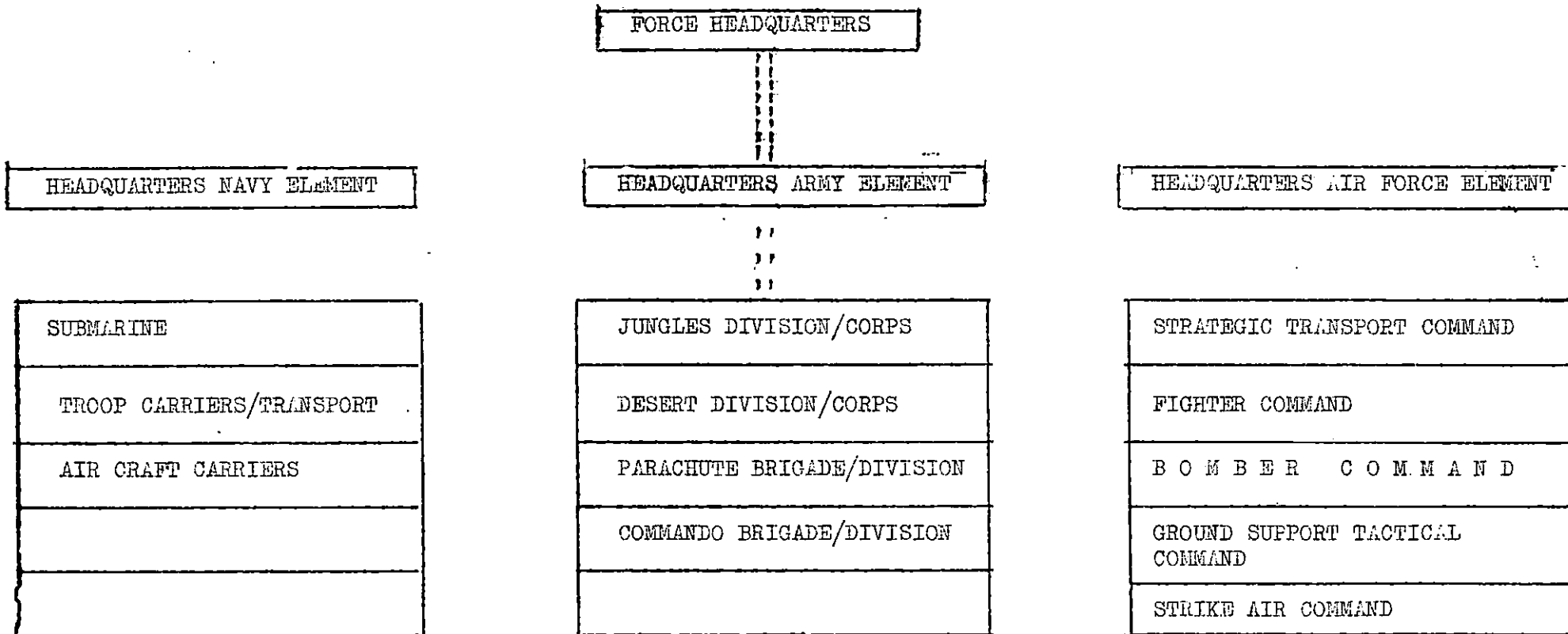
CHIEF OF STAFF



SUPREME HEADQUARTERS



UNION JOINT SERVICE STRATEGIC RESERVE FORCE



National contributions should be limited to no less than one battalion and no more than one brigade of Army or Naval and Air Force equivalent in personnel, arms and equipment. Contribution in cash may be made in lieu where a nation cannot provide the minimum force required.

30 October 1963

PROPOSALS BY GHANA1. FORMATION OF UNION ARMED FORCES

It is proposed that Union Armed Forces be formed consisting of the following:-

- (a) Union Army
- (b) Union Navy
- (c) Union Air Force
- (d) Union Strike Force

It is proposed as a matter of urgency that a Union Strike Force consisting of a well balanced strike force of all arm and services capable of deployment in any part of Africa at any given time to counter specific threats. This force should have adequate land, sea and air mobility.

2. MILITARY COMMAND STRUCTURE

It is proposed that the command structure of the Union Armed Forces be as follows:-

- (a) A Union Joint Service Supreme Military Command Headquarters.
- (b) FOUR Joint Services Regional Headquarters.
- (c) Districts or National Headquarters which are at present highest military Headquarters of member states.

Annexure "A" attached shows the proposed groupings of National Headquarters into Regional Commands.

- (d) Strike Force Command Headquarters.



3. COMMANDERS

In keeping with military customs the world over it is proposed that commanders above national State levels be appointed by the Union Defence Council. Every Commander so appointed will be given definite instructions in his letter of appointment clearly stating his powers, duties and responsibilities and, where necessary, tenure of office.

4. STANDARDIZATION AND UNIFORMITY

It is proposed that the Union Armed Forces aim ultimately at complete standardization of and uniformity in the following:

- (a) Organization
- (b) Equipment
- (c) Training
- (d) Procedure
- (e) Another field in which pronounced differences exist.

5. SECURITY ORGANIZATION

It is proposed that a Union Military Intelligence Organization be established and charged with responsibility for co-ordinating all military security and intelligence activities throughout Africa.

6. MILITARY PLANNING ORGANIZATION

It is proposed that a Union Military Planning Organization be established and charged with responsibilities as follows:

- (a) Planning the strategic siting or resiting of military bases, installations, depots, etc. throughout Africa.
- (b) Planning the establishment of communication net-works within the frame work of the overall development of Africa with special reference to military defence requirements.

- (c) Producing military plans for the immediate liberation of the dependent states of Africa.
- (d) Producing military plans for the overall defence of Africa.

7. MILITARY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

It is proposed that a Union Military Research and Development Organization be established and be charged with the responsibility of co-ordinating the exploitation for Africa's un-interrupted logistic cover to the Union Armed Forces.

8. POLITICAL CONTROL

It is proposed that the Union Government exercise political control over the Union Military Command through the Union Defence Council (Commission).

- (a) Union Defence Council to be the highest "Politico-military" council with the same powers and responsibilities vis-a-vis the Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command Headquarters as National Defence Councils have vis-a-vis their National Armed Forces.
- (b) Regional Defence Committees to provide on the spot liaison and political direction to the Joint Services Regional Command Headquarters.
- (c) National or State Defence Committee to provide on the spot liaison and political guidance to the District National Headquarters.

It is further proposed that these Governmental control Councils should have permanent staffs with specific mandates to take certain decisions in emergencies.

9. FOREIGN MILITARY BASES

It is proposed that immediate action be taken to rid Africa of all foreign military bases.

ANNEXURE 'A' TO  
PROPOSALS

PROPOSED REGIONALIZATION OF  
UNION MILITARY COMMAND

1. For ease of Command and Administration, it is proposed that Africa should be divided into Military Commands as follows:

(a) Western Regional Command - This covers:

CAMEROONS	MALI
DAHOMY	NIGER
GHANA	NIGERIA
GUINEA	SIERRA-LEONE
IVORY COAST	TOGO
LIBERIA	UPPER VOLTA
SENEGAL	

with Headquarters in (DAKAR) SENEGAL

(b) Northern Regional Command:- This covers:

ALGERIA  
MAURETANIA  
MOROCCO  
TUNISIA  
SUDAN  
U.A.R.  
LIBYA

with Headquarters in (TUNIS) TUNISIA.

(c) Central Regional Command - This covers:

CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)  
CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)  
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC  
CHAD  
GABON  
RUANDA

with Headquarters in (STANLEYVILLE)  
CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE).

(d) Eastern Regional Command - This covers:

ETHIOPIA  
MADAGASCAR  
TANGANYIKA  
SOMALIA  
UGANDA

with Headquarters in (DAR-ES-SALAAM)  
TANGANYIKA.

31 October 1963

PROPOSALS BY GHANA  
UNION DEFENCE ORGANIZATION

1. Formation & Composition of Defence Commission which was established by the Addis Ababa Charter and composed of the following:-

Ministers of Defence of Member States  
their accredited representatives, or  
plenipotentiaries designated by their  
Governments or States.

It is proposed that the Defence Commission be known as the Union Defence Council. (see diagram attached)

2. Functions & Powers

The Defence Commission was charged with

- (a) all questions of Defence Matters affecting Member States
- (b) taking cognisance of any operation referred to it by the Assembly of Heads of State and Council of Ministers;
- (c) the promotion of inter-African co-operation in defence matters in accordance with the directives of the Assembly and Council of Ministers. It is recommended that the Union Defence Council be given additional powers to
  - (i) propose to the Assembly and Council of Ministers the procedure which must be followed in order that Member States might be prepared to offer Military assistance towards the total liberation of Africa;
  - (ii) submit recommendations to the Assembly and Council of Ministers, on the correct siting of Military bases, installations, and of the means of transportation, movement of forces, for the defence of Africa;

- (iii) recommend the formation of the Union Armed Forces;
- (iv) Nominate Commanders for the
  - (a) Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command Headquarters;
  - (b) Regional Commanders Headquarters;
- (v) issue Policy Directives to the Union Joint Services Supreme Military Command Headquarters;
- (vi) approve of the plans for operations, training recommendations, equipment and weapon standardisation submitted by the UJSSM Command Headquarters;
- (vii) approve of the formation of other Military organizations, which will help or foster the course of the Union Military Operation anywhere on the continent of Africa, e.g.
  - (a) Union Defence Planning Organization.
  - (b) Union Military Intelligence Organization.
  - (c) Union Military Research and Development Organization
- (viii) recommend to the Assembly and Council of Ministers, to take appropriate steps against any military threats to the security of the Union;
- (ix) submit to the Assembly through Council of Ministers for their consideration all Military Matters which the Council shall deem of sufficient importance to warrant immediate attention of that higher body.

### 3. Permanent Secretariat for the Union Defence Council

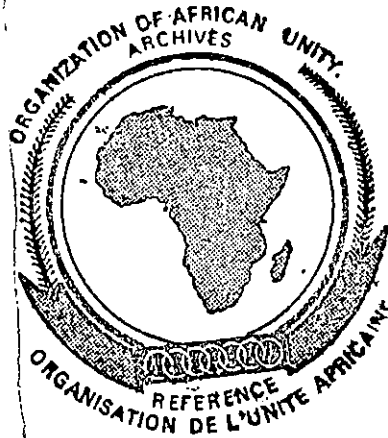
A permanent Secretariat shall be set up at the Headquarters of the Union Defence Council base, which shall consist of the following:-

- (a) A permanent Deputy General Secretary - this officer shall be a civilian, who will be responsible for the administration or co-ordination of the entire work of the Council.

.../...

- (b) An Assistant Secretary to assist the Deputy General Secretary in the execution of his duties.
- (c) A requirement for Interpreters, Typists, Clerks and Orderlies, as follows:-
  - 2 Clerks (French and English)
  - 2 Stenographer Typists (French and English)
  - 2 Interpreters " " "
  - 2 Orderlies.

The function of this Secretariat is to disseminate instructions approved by the Union Defence Council to the appropriate Headquarters concerned.



30 October 1963

PROPOSALS BY GHANA

FOREIGN BASES AND MILITARY PACTS

1. Foreign Bases

Since the pressure of circumstances and the urge to liberate the dependent states of Africa still under colonial, neocolonial and minority settler regimes are paramount in our objectives, it is considered that any defence organization / planning must deal rigidly with the question of Foreign Bases on the African Continent.

All details of known and unknown foreign bases must be ascertained and submitted to the Heads of State or Council of Ministers.

There are also Foreign Standing Armies in some of the Independent States which constitute a threat to the Union security.

It is therefore strongly recommended that:

- a) Every effort must be made by the Heads of State and Government or the Council of Ministers, to find means to abrogate all Military Pacts with foreign powers.
- b) Practical steps to be taken by the Heads of State and Government to advise member states as to how these Foreign Standing Armies could be eliminated within the shortest possible time.

31 October 1963

PROPOSALS BY GHANAMILITARY PLANNING ORGANIZATION

1. This is the highest Military planning body responsible to the Defence Commission for

- (a) Planning Strategic and Tactical deployment of Organization of African Unity Military Forces.
- (b) Planning the Strategic siting or resiting of military bases, installations depots, etc., throughout Africa.
- (c) Planning the establishment of communication networks within the framework of the development of Africa with special reference to military defence requirements.
- (d) Producing military plans for the immediate liberation of dependent states of Africa.
- (e) Producing military plans for the overall defence of Africa.

2. Composition

It shall be composed of 9 Military Experts (Army Navy and Air Force) to be nominated by the Defence Council (Commission).

The members of the Military Planning Committee shall serve a term of office for 2 years.



It is recommended that this Committee be formed as soon as possible to enable the Supreme Headquarters to function effectively.

3. Regional Defence Co-ordinating Committees

The Military Planning Committee will be served by Regional Defence Co-ordinating Committees. The responsibilities of the Regional Defence Co-ordinating Committee shall be to co-ordinate overall defence plans within the Regional Military Command.

31 October 1963

PROPOSALS BY GHANAJOINT INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION1. Military Intelligence Committee (JIC)

This is the highest intelligence body within the Union Military Command. It deals solely with intelligence. Its meetings will take place at the Supreme Headquarters.

2. Composition - It is composed of:-

- a) Supreme Commander
- b) Deputy Commanders (NAVY, ARMY, AIR FORCE)
- c) Regional Commanders (WESTERN, NORTHERN CENTRAL AND EASTERN SECTORS).
- d) Representatives from
  - (i) Economic and Social Commission;
  - (ii) Education and Cultural Commission;
  - (iii) Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission;
  - (iv) Research, Scientific and Technical Commission.

3. Representation

All member states will be represented by not more than one member from each subsidiary organ of the Union Government.

4. Functions

Its functions are:

- (a) Collection of all information required for defence planning.
- (b) Provision of intelligence on all matters of common interest.
- (c) Co-ordination of all security measures and intelligence throughout Africa.

5. Responsibilities

The JIC is responsible to the Defence Council (Commission) for the highest direction of intelligence and security. It is served by a Secretariat and a Joint Intelligence Staff (JIS). Each subsidiary organ of the Union Government will nominate a member to serve on the JIS. Each member so nominated must be trained in intelligence duties.

6. REGIONAL JOINT INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE (Reg. JIC)

The JIC is served by regional JICs in the Western Norther, Central and Eastern Regions of the Union Military Command. The Regional JIC is responsible to the Regional Defence Co-ordinating Committee for all intelligence and security matters within the region.

7. LOCAL INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE (LIC)

This is the Intelligence organization of member states.

8. LIAISON

Liaison between member states and the subsidiary organs of the Union Government will be maintained through Liaison Officers appointed by member states or the subsidiary organs for liaison duties or through their accredited representatives.

Accra

30 October, 1963

MILITARY RESEARCH AND  
DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

1. The military research organization will be composed of scientists and military experts who will be charged with the responsibility of utilizing all existing arsenals and future ones in the Union for developing and producing munitions for the Union Armed Forces.
2. It is recommended that the SUPREME COMMANDER of the Union Military Command Headquarters advises the Defence Council on the composition of the Military Research and Development Organization.



31 October 1963

REVISED PROPOSALS BY GHANA

1. A small permanent military Headquarters be formed at the same location as the O.A.U. Secretariat as an interim measure and charged with the functions as outlined by Delegates,
2. That the Headquarters should be empowered to carry out planning and liaison duties of the Defence Commission and to recommend to the Defence Commission methods of raising troops in time of emergency.
3. That Regional Headquarters be established with only a small staff adequate for such functions as may be delegated to it by the main Headquarters.
4. The formation of other military organizations necessary for the effective functioning of the Defence Commission.

31 October 1963

REVISED PROPOSALS BY GHANA

CO-SPONSORED BY NIGERIA

1. A small permanent military Headquarters be formed at the same location as the O.A.U. Secretariat as an interim measure and charged with the functions as outlined by Delegates.
2. That the Headquarters should be empowered to carry out planning and liaison duties of the Defence Commission and to recommend to the Defence Commission methods of raising troops in time of emergency.
3. That regional Headquarters be established with only a small staff adequate for such functions as many be delegated to it by the main Headquarters.
4. The formation of other military organizations necessary for the effective functioning of the Defence Commission.



31 October 1963

NIGERIAN PROPOSALSFORMATION OF A MILITARY COUNCIL OF  
THE AFRICAN DEFENCE ORGANIZATION

Article II of the Charter of African Unity states, as one of the purposes of the Organization, the defence of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of the Member States; and to this end, Member States shall co-ordinate and harmonize their general policies in co-operation for defence and security.

2. Examples of different types of defence co-operation abound throughout the world. Their structure and weak points can also form a guide to a healthy and active form of co-operation envisaged in the Charter. It is, however, of vital importance for the political issue of the type of Command to be acceptable to all member States to be worked out.

3. Basically, there are two types of Defence co-operation:

- (1) Unified Command: This system provides for a Supreme Commander with headquarters not directly responsible to any one country. This, obviously, involves the surrender of some sovereignty by the participating countries since they are unable to impose their individual wishes on the action of the Supreme Commander, even though they have and will be required to contribute in terms of money, manpower and equipment. The next problem is that some international means of administering the organization would need be worked out and this can be either by setting up a Committee of Foreign or Defence Ministers or by appointing one country's Defence Foreign Minister as the Overlord. Whilst this system is advantageous in that it is workable and swift, it is beset with various problems:

.....2/..

- (a) Will member States be prepared to surrender some sovereignty to a Supreme Commander with an Executive Power?
- (b) Are member States financially strong to maintain permanently allotted troops under Unified Command?

(II) Central Planning System: This system does not involve the assignment or integration of Forces. It merely required an agreement to provide national Forces for combined action. In effect, it means that each nation has control of its Forces and orders them for action on receipt of requests from the Central Planning Headquarters. The Forces may even be at the disposal of a Commander, but orders for action by each national unit has to be taken by the country concerned. The advantage of this system is that a member State is not committed to an action which it is not in full agreement with. Its defence is that there is delay in giving orders which may sometimes render the Force incapable of meeting a threat spontaneously.

4. Any system of Defence Co-operation to be adopted should take cognisance of the following basic points:

- (a) Institutions cannot be imported like a commodity but could be modified to satisfy the needs of member States in accordance with Article II of the Charter of African Unity;
- (b) The implications of setting up a Unified Supreme Command headed by a Supreme Commander;
- (c) The implications of assigning a permanent forces at the disposal of the Supreme Commander;
- (d) The financial resources of member States and the ability to contribute manpower and equipment to meet the system of Defence Co-operation envisaged;
- (e) The vast logistic support involved even during the planning stage;
- (f) Problems of having a unified training for the assigned Force during peace time;
- (g) The disposition of the troops under the Supreme Commander;

5. Bearing these factors in mind, my delegation recommends:-

.... / 3 .....



(i) Establishment of a Permanent Military Secretariat:

It is recommended that the Permanent Military Secretariat should be a branch of the Headquarters of the Organization of African Unity Secretariat responsible for the administration of the military structure of the Organization. It should not be a large body. The Military Secretariat should be staffed by members of the three Services.

(ii) Function of the Secretariat:

The Military Secretariat will be responsible for the general planning of Defence requirements in accordance with the policy laid down by the Council of Ministers through the Military Council. It should be the planning channel through which the Regional Planning Committee should send their recommendations and plans to the Military Council. It will also deal with the administrative work of the branches under it.

The following branches will form part of the Military Secretariat:

- (a) Intelligence;
- (b) Plans;
- (c) Logistics;
- (d) Legal;
- (e) Operations;

(iii) Branches of the Military Secretariat:

- (a) Intelligence: This is a secret Military agency which thinks ahead, collects, collates and disseminates Military intelligence.
- (b) Plans: This branch plans ahead any Military operation envisaged, bearing in mind the recommendations of Regional Committee.
- (c) Logistics: This branch deals with detailed planning of supplies of any future operation.
- (d) Legal: This branch deals with the aspect of discipline involving troops from member States.
- (e) Operation: This branch is only necessary during emergency, and on the appointment of a Supreme Commander. This will be the staff which the Supreme Commander will take out to the area of the operation where he will set up his Headquarters.

(iv) Central Military Council:

The Central Military Council shall be composed of the Chiefs of Defence Staff of each Member State. They will meet periodically to discuss policy and plans of any situation confronting Africa as recommended to them from the Regional planning Committees. The Military Council of the Organization shall be the supreme Military authority responsible for Defence of the continent. The Military Council will be responsible to Heads of State through the Council of Ministers for any military action proposed.

(v) Regional Planning Committees:

The continent of African and its surroundings will be subdivided into the following Regional Sub-Committees:

- (a) West Africa;
- (b) North Africa;
- (c) Central Africa;
- (d) East Africa.

These Regional Planning Committees should be composed of Chiefs of Staff of member States in each Region, and should be concerned to discuss and formulate plans for military action in respect of their Region. These Regional Committees or Planning Committees should not be permanent, but should be the regional organ of the Military Council. Such Committees could also be convened at short notice to plan and recommend executive action for specific operations.

(vi) Assigned Forces:

Such a Military Command, although not a permanent Military Force, must act as a deterrent. To be a deterrent, it must show itself to have adequate force available and ready at short notice under efficient command in the field.

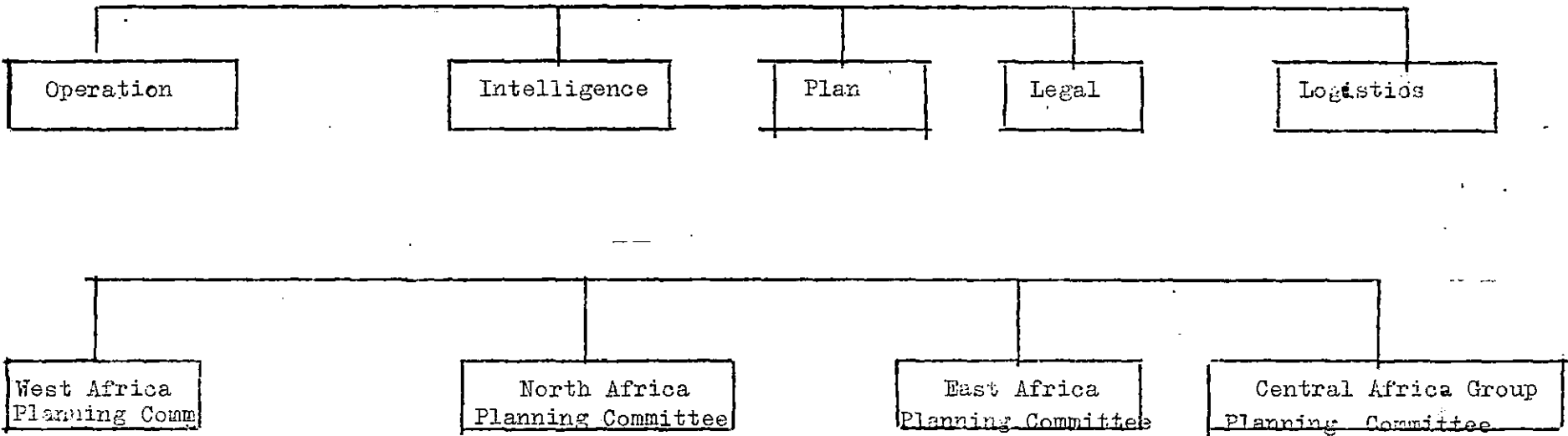
It is therefore necessary to have firm assurances from Member States what size force they are prepared to make available as a contribution to the military structure.

(vii) Command:

Command of any force put into the field will vary according to the task. The commander would be nominated by the Military Council, with political approval.

AFRICAN DEFENCE ORGANIZATION

CENTRAL MILITARY COUNCIL  
GENERAL SECRETARY



31 October 1963

Ethiopian Proposal  
Draft Protocol for the  
Defence Commission of the  
Organization of African Unity

PREAMBLE

The Parties to this Protocol, the Member States of the Organization of African Unity, reaffirm their faith in the purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations Organization and their desire and dedication to live in peace with all peoples and all governments; and likewise to afford assistance to each other in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity in maintaining international peace and security and in resisting any act or threat of aggression, or policy of aggression.

The Member States of the Organization of African Unity desiring to achieve the above purposes, hereby resolve to unite their efforts for co-operation for a collective self-defence, and have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Establishment

The Organization of African Unity shall establish under and in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and, in particular, with the provisions of Article XX of the same, a permanent Defence Commission, (hereinafter referred as "the Commission") which shall be governed by the provisions set forth hereunder.

ARTICLE II

Headquarters

1. The headquarters of the Commission shall be those of the General Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity.
2. The Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity shall serve as records office to the Commission and shall be responsible for its records and all administrative texts.

ARTICLE III

Composition

The Commission shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of Member States. It shall be answerable to both the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

ARTICLE IV

Representation

The Government of each Member State shall be represented in the Commission by a Delegation of not more than five, headed by the Minister concerned or other Ministers or by a Plenipotentiary duly designated by the Government.

ARTICLE V

Duties and Powers of the Commission

1. The primary responsibility of the Commission shall be to act as the organ of consultation, preparation and recommendation body for the collective and or individual self-defence of the Member States against an act or threat of aggression be it continental or extra-continental.

2. The Commission shall take cognisance of any question referred to it by the Assembly and or the Council of Ministers.
3. In accordance with directives of the Assembly and or the Council of Ministers, the Commission shall promote inter-African co-operation in all defence matters, which may include the implementation of any directions issued by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in cases of acts or threats of aggression, and recommend the same to the Member States; and for this purpose it shall formulate and provide coordinated policy guidance of a military nature and shall promote comprehensive measures, which may include unified defence plans, standardization of military training and procedures, military production and supply of equipment and facilities, and infrastructural programmes.
4. So as to achieve more effectively the objectives of the Member States, the Commission shall render its advices, plans and recommendations to the Member States so that the Member States, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist any act or the threat of aggression.
5. To facilitate its functions, the Commission may create subordinate bodies and regional agencies under its guidance and direction, which may include Military Staff Committee to advise and assist on all questions relating to the Commission's military requirements; Defence, Financial and Economic Committee to study in co-operation with the Military Staff Committee the industrial resources and capacities in order to guide and recommend programmes for the most economic correlated production to the Member States as a group and individually; and such other bodies as Communications, Coordinating, and Aeronautical research bodies.



ARTICLE VI

Voting

1. Each representative of Member States in the Commission shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Commission on all matters shall be determined by simple majority of the Members of the Commission present.

ARTICLE VII

Quorum and Meetings

1. The Commission shall meet in regular annual ordinary sessions in the month of \_\_\_\_\_ (Every Year.)
2. At the request of a Member State and subject to the approval of the same by two-thirds of the Members, the Commission shall meet in extra-ordinary sessions.
3. For both ordinary and extra-ordinary sessions, a quorum and up to two-thirds of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity shall be required.
4. The session of the Commission shall be held at the Headquarters of the Organization or at such other places as the Commission decides by a simple majority.
5. All meetings of the Commission shall be held in private; unless by a simple majority, the Commission decides otherwise.

ARTICLE VIII

Chairmanship, Election and Term

Office and Vacancy

In accordance with the Rules of Procedure of the Defence Commission, which shall form an integral part of this Protocol, the Commission shall, at the commencement of each session, elect, by secret ballot and simple majority, a chairman, two vice-chairmen and a rapporteur, whose respective terms of office shall

terminate at the commencement of the next ordinary session. In case of vacancy or absence of the Chairman, one of the Vice-chairmen shall act in his stead.

These officers are not eligible for re-election until all other representatives have held office in turns.

#### ARTICLE IX

##### Functions of the Chairman

In accordance with these Regulations, the Rules of Procedure of the Defence Commission, the decisions of the Commission, and other provisions which may be adopted, the functions of the chairman shall be:-

1. To represent the Commission before the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Council of Ministers, and before other organs and agencies which have dealings with the Commission.
2. To conduct the activities of the Commission, convoke and preside over the sessions of the Commission, conduct its discussions and to carry out its decisions.
3. To designate under authority delegated by the Commission such subsidiary bodies, ad hoc or permanent, and to name their members in accordance with the directions of the Commission.
4. On behalf of the Commission, to present the budget necessary for the activities of the Commission to the Assembly of Heads of State and the Council of Ministers, and to authorize the expenditure of the same.

He may delegate his powers to one of the Vice-Chairmen.

#### ARTICLE X

##### Compatibility with U.N. Charter

This Protocol does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting or modifying in any way the rights and obligations under the United Nations Charter of the Member States hereto



which are Members of the United Nations; likewise this Protocol does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting or modifying in anyway the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

#### ARTICLE XI

##### Interpretation and Amendment

1. Any questions which may arise out of the interpretation or application of this Protocol shall be decided upon by a simple majority vote of the Members of the Commission duly convened.
2. After this Protocol has been in force for five years, or at any time thereafter, the Member States hereto shall, if any of them makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General, consult together for the purpose of amending or reviewing this Protocol, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity; including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security; provided however that the said amendment or reviewing of this Protocol shall not be submitted to the Council of Ministers for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of the purpose of the request and a period of six months has elapsed.

#### ARTICLE XII

##### Ratification and Deposition

1. This Protocol which shall form an integral part of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, shall be ratified by each of the Signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.
2. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited at the headquarters of the Administrative Secretariat of the

Organization of African Unity. Subsequent depositions of ratifications shall be effected by means of written notification to the Administrative Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity. Each Member State of the Organization of African Unity shall be notified by the Administrative Secretariat of every registration of an instrument of ratification.

ARTICLE XIII

Effectiveness

This Protocol shall take effect upon receipt by the Administrative Secretary-General of the instruments of ratification of two-thirds (2/3) of the Signatory Member States. Notification thereof shall be made by the Secretary-General to all Member States of the Organization of African Unity, including the transmission of duly certified copies to the Member States.

ARTICLE XIV

Accession and Adherence

In accordance with Article XXXVIII of the Charter of the OAU, any independent sovereign African State may become a party to this Protocol.

IN FAITH WHEREOF,

have signed this Protocol.

Done in

this                      day of                      196

Signatory State

Minister

- 1.
  - 2.
  - 3.
- etc.

Accra

1 November 1963

PROPOSALS OF THE DELEGATION OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

Definition of the Functions of the Defence Commission:-

Having regard to Article II (paragraph 2) of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and taking into consideration current circumstances in Africa and the present state of organization of our national armed forces, the functions of the Commission may be defined as follows:

- A) Normal peace time: In order to ensure the necessary co-operation between the armed forces, as regards:
- exchange of military and other information;
  - training of military cadres (states having military schools or academies could offer to undertake the training of officers and specialists from other countries or to organize courses of staff training or war schools);
  - military sport: an African Committee for Military Sport (A.C.M.S.) might be created similar to the International Council of Military Sport (I.C.M.S.);
  - art and culture;
  - national military manoeuvres to which observers from other countries would be invited;
  - national and military ceremonies to which officers of other countries would be invited;
  - periodical contacts between military units of the armed forces of member states for the exchange of information in different fields (strategy, logistics, military training, discipline and justice, etc.)

B) In the case of conflicts involving the use of Armed Forces

- a) Between Member States of the O.A.U.: following intervention of the Commission of Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration, the establishment of an emergency force for the maintenance of peace in the area in question, on the recommendation of the Council of Foreign Ministers.
- b) Between Member States of the Organization of African Unity and any other non-Member State: immediate establishment, following decision of the Conference of Heads of States and the Government concerned of an African armed force under unified operational command for the defence of the country attacked.

A permanent organization to be called the Executive Committee of the Organization of African Unity. attached to the Administrative General Secretariat charged with the execution of all decisions made by the Commission after approval by the Council of Foreign Ministers and by the Conference of Heads of States.

The Executive Committee of the Defence Commission would be directed by one of the Assistant Secretaries-General, as provided by the Charter (Article 17), with the assistance of specialized officers from Member States.

LIST OF DELEGATES

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COUNTRY	NAME OF DELEGATE
1. ALGERIA	Capitanine Bakhti Lieutenant Lardi Mr. Tayebi Mohamed Salah
2. BURUNDI	Mr. Micom Bero Michel
3. CAMEROUN	Mr. Fochive Jean Commander Senenoue Minio Diplomate Lieutenant B.T.T. obe
4. CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	--
5. CHAD	Mr. Kriga Mahamar Capt. Malloum Felix Commander Ngatovbo Djogo
6. CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)	--
7. CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE)	Mr. Marcel Lengema Mr. Bahizi Mr. Jose Marie Patacus Mr. Marcel Ngabo
8. DAHOMEY	Mr. Kinde, State Secretary for African Affairs Mr. Bandeira, Gen-Sec. of Defence Mr. Sagbo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Capitaine Albey

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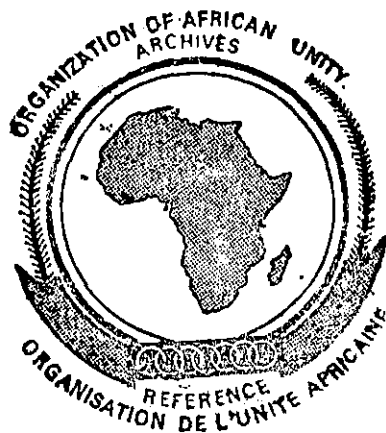
COUNTRY	NAME OF DELEGATE
9. ETHIOPIA	Maj. Gen. Iyaasu Mengesha, Minister, of State for Defence Ato Getachew Mekasha Lt. Col. Tamrat Tessema Maj. Tariku Negatu Maj. Yilma Alemu
10. GABON	Mr. Sandoungout Cap. Pallard Lt. Ba Oumar
11. GHANA	Mr. Kofi Baako Brig. J.A. Ankrah Brig. C.M. Barwah Group Capt. M.A. Otu H.E. Ambassador Debra Mr. K. D. Binte W.W.K. Vander puye Mr. J.A. Esuni
12. GUINEA	Mr. Magassouba Moriba Capt. Diallo Alpha Oumar Capt. Keita Cheich Mohamed
13. IVORY COAST	Mr. Gurais Coffie
14. LIBERIA	Hon. Robert A. Brewer Hon. C. Willington Cambell Col. Albert T. White Mr. Oliver Bright
15. LIBYA	Lt. Co. Saleh Asbeih Maj. Abdel Salam Shakshuki Maj. Hassan Senossi

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COUNTRY	NAME OF DELEGATE
16. MALAGASY	Mr. Bedo, Chief of the Bureau of the Presidency Lt. Rakotomalala
17. MALI	Mr. Mamadou Diakite Lt. Col. Sekou Traore Lt. Bougari Sangare
18. MAURITANIA	Mr. Mohamed Ould Cheikh, Sec. Gen. of National Defence Lt. Thiam El Had Lt. Louly
19. MOROCCO	Col. Chena Abdelkader Lt. Raouf Rachid
20. NIGER	Mr. Yacouba Djibo, Minister of Defence Mr. Barkire Alidou, Service Director Mr. Bala Arabe
21. NIGERIA	Hon. M.T. Mbu L.O. Harriman V.A. Adegoroys P.C. Asiodu Cap. J.E.A. Ney Leut. Col. R.A. Adebayo F.I. Adesanoye
22. RWANDA	--
23. SENEGAL	Mr. A. Cissi Dia Capt. E. Sarazin
24. SIERRA LEONE	Lt. Co. D. Lansana

COUNTRY	NAME OF DELEGATE
25. SOMALIA	Col. Mohamed Siyad Amb. Mohamoud Abdi Avaleh
26. SUDAN	Mr. Abduliahi El. Hassan
27. TANGANYIKA	Mr. P.C. Jalawa Mr. S. Chale Mr. C.A. Cuttiuha
28. TOGO	Mr. Andrew Kuevidgan Lt. Koffi Congo Mr. G.A. Apedo
29. TUNISIA	E.B. Moncef Kedadi Ferid Haddad Moncef Esseid
30. UGANDA	Mr. L. Lubowa, M.P. Mr. H.K.M. Kyemba Capt. D.L. Ogwano
31. U.A.R.	Lt. Gen. Mohammed Tawzi Brig. Mohammed Fathi Khodeir Mr. Sulah El Deer El Shanarawy
32. UPPER VOLTA	Mr. Tougouma Michael Lt. Mautaro Kodiengu





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1964-01

# Proceedings and report of the Defence Commission

Organization of African Unity

Organization of African Unity

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