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COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Nineteenth Ordinary Session
Rabat, June 1972

CM/442

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN ON THE MANDATE,
COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE
OF THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF AFRICA

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The Assembly of Heads of State and Government in its 6th Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa decided to set up a Committee composed of seven members and elected Algeria, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Kenya, Morocco, Senegal and Sierra Leone, to review the mandate, composition and structure of the co-ordinating committee for the liberation of Africa after consultation with the liberation movements and all Member States of the OAU.

2. The Committee held four meetings during which it prepared a questionnaire which was circulated to all Member States, and interviewed the staff, of the Executive Secretariat at Dar-es-Salaam, the chairmen of the Standing Committees, and the representatives of liberation movements.

3. The first meeting was held in Addis Ababa in February 1970, and in this meeting the Committee appointed as its officials: Chairman - Senegal, Rapporteur - Sierra Leone.

4. The second meeting was held in April 1970 in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. During this meeting the Committee of Seven interviewed leaders of the liberation movements recognized by the OAU, the chairmen of the Standing Committees of the Liberation Committee and the staff of the Liberation Committee Secretariat. Useful pieces of information were obtained at that meeting. (See Annex.....)

5. The third meeting was convened in Addis Ababa in August 1970, during which the Committee noted with regret that only a few Member States had replied to the questionnaire which had been forwarded to them.

6. In the questionnaire the Committee requested Member States to express freely their views on the mandate, composition and structure of the co-ordinating committee for the liberation of Africa so that the Committee of Seven would be in the position to determine where the faults were that led to the reluctance of some Member States to support the Liberation Committee.

7. In its progress report submitted to the seventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Committee noted that it could not accomplish its work with only thirteen answers received from Member States. The members of the Committee were convinced "that with a minimum of twenty-two replies, they would be in a position to draw acceptable conclusions and thus conclude the delicate assignment entrusted to them."

8. The fourth meeting was held in April 1971, in Addis Ababa. During this meeting the Committee noted once again that the replies received from Member States were still inadequate, since out of forty-one Member States only eighteen had responded.

9. However, even though the response was discouraging, the Committee deemed it necessary to make recommendations to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government through the Council of Ministers from both the eighteen replies received and the proceedings of the interviews it had had with the liberation movements and the staff of the Liberation Committee Secretariat.

10. The Committee of Seven then exhaustively debated the overall problem of the co-ordinating committee for the liberation of Africa and noted that after expressing their views on the reason for the lack of enthusiasm by some Member States of the O.A.U. in the activities of the Liberation Committee, the various Member States which had replied to the questionnaire made suggestions on the mandate, composition and structure of the Liberation Committee. It also noted that the liberation movements, after giving historical background information on their movements requested in some cases that they be more closely associated with the deliberations of the Liberation Committee.

11. The Executive Secretariat, however, attributed this lack of enthusiasm by some Member States to political, economic, financial and institutional reasons and made suggestions aimed at improving the present structure and operation of the Secretariat.

12. The Committee submitted its report to first, the Council of Ministers meeting in its Seventeenth Ordinary Session at Addis Ababa in June 1971, and then to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in its Eighth Ordinary Session also at Addis Ababa in 1971.

13. After a lengthy discussion in the Council of Ministers and a brief one in the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the latter body, in order to give the Liberation Committee the opportunity to study and comment on the report, charged the Committee of Seven to reconsider its report in the light of the report of the following meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa.

14. At the request of Senegal, which is Chairman and with the kind approval of the Government of Uganda, the Committee met for the first time from 11th to 14th May, 1972 in Kampala.

CHAIRMAN	-	Senegal
RAPPORTEUR	-	Sierra Leone
MEMBERS PRESENT	-	Algeria, Ethiopia, Kenya Morocco, Senegal and Sierra Leone
ABSENT	-	Central African Republic
OBSERVERS	-	Ghana, Libya, Uganda

15. The meeting was officially opened by Mr. Obua-Otoa, Head of the African Division in the Ugandan Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

16. As in former meetings the Committee in its fifth session was guided by the concern to make useful recommendations in order to increase the efficiency of the Liberation Committee so as to awaken, and in some cases restore the faith of Member States in the Liberation Committee. After considering the views and observations of the Liberation Committee on the report of the Committee of Seven submitted to the Eighth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (see Report of Liberation Committee) the Committee of Seven arrived at the following conclusions contained in this report which the Committee now submits to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government through the Council of Ministers for their consideration and approval.

A. Mandate of the Liberation Committee:

The Committee of Seven decided to retain its stand which is that the mandate of the Liberation Committee as defined by the first Assembly of Heads of State and Government is valid and calls for no modification. It notes also that the Liberation Committee felt the same way.

The Committee of Seven maintains, therefore, that the Liberation Committee should continue to "be responsible for harmonizing assistance from African States and for managing the operation fund to be set up for that purpose."

The functions of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa will continue to be those laid down in its present Rules of Procedure "Rule 3, Paragraphs 1 - 7".

B. Composition of the Liberation Committee:

(i) Guided by the three main criteria which were taken into consideration in May 1963, at the time of the appointment of the members of the Liberation Committee, which were: countries bordering territories under foreign domination, experience acquired in guerilla warfare during the struggle for independence, and availability of significant material means allowing substantial aid to liberation movements, the Committee of Seven recommends that the Liberation Committee be enlarged from eleven to twenty-one to include:

- (a) Permanent members which shall consist of the eleven permanent members appointed on the basis of the 1963 criteria which are still valid,

and four members to be elected by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the basis of these criteria;

(b) Six non-permanent members appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on rotational basis for a period of two years according to geographical representation:

- 2 representing the West,
- 2 representing the Central and Southern States,
- 1 representing the East, and
- 1 representing the North.

Non-permanent members shall be eligible for re-election.

The Committee did not think it expedient to accept the view of the Liberation Committee which is that all members be permanent. The Committee of Seven is convinced of the necessity to give the opportunity to all Member States to participate actively in the work of the Liberation Committee. It also recalls that one of the common criticisms on the Liberation Committee has been that it was a closed club.

(ii) Conditions required to become a member of the Liberation Committee:

All Member States of the OAU with the exception of any African State which finds itself either for reasons beyond its control or which has deliberately decided to place

itself in conditions whereby it cannot have an independent policy vis-a-vis the regimes of Lisbon, Pretoria and Salisbury will be qualified to be a member of the Liberation Committee.

C. Structure

1. The Executive Secretariat:

- (a) The Executive Secretariat will comprise of one Executive Secretary and three Assistants elected for a period of four years by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the recommendation of the Liberation Committee. The Executive Secretary and his Assistants shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of Member States of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and the first election shall take place in 1972, at the time of the election of the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU and his Assistants. Both the Executive Secretary and his Assistants shall be eligible for re-election.
- (b) The Executive Secretary shall be any African from a Member State of the OAU fulfilling all the required conditions of competence, honourability and dedication to the cause of Africa. He should be acceptable to the members of the Liberation Committee and the host country.

- (c) The appointment of the four members of the Executive Secretariat should be in accordance with the geographical distribution and on the basis of a member per region.
- (d) In accordance with previous decisions, the Executive Secretariat should remain an integral part of the General Secretariat and should abide by the Staff Rules and Regulations as well as the Financial Rules in force at the General Secretariat. This clause is without prejudice to other recommendations made later in this report for a stricter control of funds.

The Committee of Seven would like to underline the fact that it considers the above recommendations to be the most practicable under the present circumstances.

The Committee of Seven also considers the Liberation Committee's recommendation to retain the present structure unsatisfactory.

2. The Standing Committee

(i) The Liberation Committee shall have three Standing Committees:-

- (a) Committee of General Policy and Information,

(b) Committee of Defence to which will be attached the military experts and instructors responsible for the problems of training as well as any other technical question.

(c) Committee of Administration and Finance

Each Member State represented in the Liberation Committee, shall be a member of at least one, but, certainly not more than two committees, and shall be elected on rotational basis by the Liberation Committee.

(ii) Each Standing Committee will be presided over by a Member State and administered by an Assistant Executive Secretary. The Assistant Executive Secretary shall be answerable to the Liberation Committee through the Executive Secretary.

(iii) Each Assistant Executive Secretary responsible for a Standing Committee shall have some knowledge of and experience in his field of activity.

(iv) The Assistant Executive Secretary in charge of defence shall preferably be a senior military officer with solid background knowledge in military strategy and possibly with personal experience in the organization of guerilla warfare. This officer shall be assisted in his duties by two officers of a lower rank, viz.

(a) An officer specialized in training and operations at the Chief-of-Staff level, who shall be well versed in

the organization and at least have theoretical training in guerilla warfare and peoples struggles,

(b) An officer specialized in the field of logistics, management and control of all sorts of military materials. He shall possess personal experience in this respect at the Chief-of-Staff level in his country.

(v) The Executive Secretary is responsible for the co-ordination of the work of the Standing Committees. He is answerable to the Liberation Committee and shall keep the members of the Liberation Committee regularly informed of his activities and those of his Assistants, so as to create an adequate and effective machinery.

(vi) The Committee of Seven after considering its last recommendation to reduce the meetings of the Liberation Committee to one annually, now recommends for political and propaganda reasons and in order to maintain interest in the liberation struggle, that the Liberation Committee meet twice a year in ordinary session and in extraordinary sessions whenever the need arises.

(vii) The Standing Committees shall meet once every three months and hold extraordinary meetings when necessary. They shall make recommendations to the Liberation Committee on matters relating to them and ensure the implementation of the decisions taken by the Liberation Committee.

(viii) Member States of the Liberation Committee should ensure that their representation both at meetings of the Liberation Committee and its Standing Committees is regular and of a sufficiently high level so as to give to their deliberations and in particular the decisions, the necessary weight and authority.

(ix) Delegations of Member States to meetings of the Liberation Committee shall include a military officer so as to ensure greater efficiency in the work of the Committee and better understanding of the military aspect of the struggle concerned.

(x) The quorum required for the meetings of the Liberation Committee to start should be compulsory until the close of these meetings in order to put an end to the current practice whereby vital decisions are adopted without the quorum required.

The Committee of Seven disagrees with the Liberation Committee to have only one Standing Committee, since the membership is to be enlarged and the duties of the Liberation Committee have been separated for greater efficiency.

23. Representation of Liberation Movements

(a) Observers status shall be granted to all liberation movements recognized by the OAU. These movements will be represented in meetings of the liberation committee and its Standing Committees. Each movement will be represented by two representatives of the highest level. However, when matters

concerning a particular movement are discussed, the Committee will determine the attendance of this or that liberation movement at the request of the liberation movement concerned.

(b) The Committee of Seven strongly recommends that, in order to render their efforts meaningful and effective, the liberation movements recognized by the OAU and operating in the same territory should establish common fronts.

(c) It notes also with satisfaction the recognition by the Liberation Committee of the necessity for the Liberation Movement to be more closely associated with its work.

4. Combat Posts

(i) The Committee leaves to the discretion of countries bordering the combat zones, the establishment of combat posts where there are none.

(ii) The Committee of Seven recommends that the expenses of maintaining these Combat Posts be borne by the host country who shall determine the staff after consulting with the liberation movement(s) concerned.

(iii) Duties of the Combat Posts:

- To assess the conditions of the struggle by liberation movement(s) operating in their respective zones;
- To receive and distribute military material and equipment sent to the Liberation Movements;
- To ensure liaison between the Liberation Movements and the host Government;

- to advise, if necessary, the various liberation movements operating in their zones;
- to give a regular account of activities of the post to the Liberation Committee.

(iv) It goes without saying that any reports which these Combat Posts might send to the Liberation Committee can in no way exempt the Committee from sending military investigating missions whenever the need arises.

(5) ~~Special~~ Special Fund:

The Committee of Seven gave special attention to the serious problem of non-payment of contribution to the Special Fund of the Liberation Committee. It considered that, if Member States continued to refrain from paying their contributions, any re-organization of the Committee, however perfect, will remain ineffective and doomed to fail.

The Committee of Seven, therefore, recommends to the Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to give this problem the due attention it deserves and to take appropriate decisions.

(6) Control of Funds:

- (a) The funds given to the Liberation Movements should be in hard currency and transferable to bank accounts in their names.
- (b) As far as possible, the Liberation Movements should open bank accounts in the city where the Liberation Committee has its headquarters; not less than two persons should sign the cheques;
- (c) Cheques issued to the Liberation Movements should be crossed and made out in the name of the Liberation Movement.

- (d) The General Secretariat should exercise closer supervision of the funds put at the disposal of the Executive Secretariat.
- (e) A Commission of inquiry shall be instituted on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee to inquire into the conduct and asset of any officer found guilty by the OAU Auditors of misappropriation of the Committees funds. Such Commission shall be set up by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.
- (f) The signatories to cheques shall be the Finance officer and the Internal Auditor at the Liberation Committee Secretariat.
- (g) The Internal Auditor shall be in the position to question any request for payment and advise against such payment. He shall, however, not refuse payment requested by the administrative head or his deputy, but can only make such payment after the administrative head or his deputy has submitted a written statement demanding such payments.
- (h) For all expenditures which amount to more than East African 50/-- the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee shall issue cheques.
- (i) A financial statement showing expenditure incurred by the Executive Secretariat shall be submitted to the Finance and Administrative Committee once every three months.

7. Special Committee of 17 Military Experts:

The Committee of Seven recommends the adoption of an order of priority with regards to the granting of assistance to the liberation movements on the basis of reports prepared by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Seventeen military experts such as those submitted to the 15th Session.

The Committee of Seven further recommends that appropriate measures be taken to reactivate the Committee of Seventeen Military Experts to allow it to bring an effective assistance to the efforts of the liberation movements.

8. Recruitment of Military Instructors:

The Military experts to serve in the OAU training camps must be recommended by the Standing Committee for Defence and approved by the Liberation Committee.

9. Military Supplies:

The most senior military personnel in the Executive Secretariat shall make periodic checks on the military supplies available to the liberation movements at the OAU arms depots and see that the liberation movements are supplied with adequate and appropriate arms and equipment.

10. General Recommendations:

(i) The Committee is of the view that these recommendations if accepted and implemented will increase the efficiency of the Liberation Committee, but also acknowledges that a dedication to the liberation cause is definitely needed for any success to be achieved.

(ii) This report was unanimously adopted by all the members of the Committee of Seven present.

11. Other Business:

Under this item the Chairman informed the Committee that he had received a cable from the Chairman of the Liberation Committee requesting a joint meeting between the Committee of Seven and the Liberation Committee.

After discussing the matter, the Committee decided against the joint meeting for the following reasons:

- (1) According to its terms of reference, the Committee of Seven was charged by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to review its report in the light of the report for the following meeting of the Liberation Committee. This it had done and there was no point in meeting with the Liberation Committee again.
- (2) In any case the Committee cannot change its report which had already been adopted.

Faithfully submitted,

Latyr Kamara
Ambassador of Senegal to
Ethiopia

CHAIRMAN

Philip Palmer
Ambassador of Sierra Leone
to Ethiopia

RAPPORTEUR

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Nineteenth Ordinary Session
Rabat, June 1972

CM/442
Annex I

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN

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At its Twelfth Ordinary Session held in Addis Ababa in February 1969, the Council of Ministers adopted Resolution CM/Res.175(XII) on the Liberation Committee. This Resolution recommended, inter alia, that the Administrative Secretary-General, in conjunction with the Sub-Committee of Experts appointed by the Advisory Committee on Budgetary and Financial Matters, should:

- (a) Investigate the root cause of non-contribution by Member States to the Special Fund and the reasons accounting for the loss of enthusiasm in the Liberation Committee;
- (b) Examine the problems confronting the Liberation Committee and present such recommendation as would help the Committee in the execution of its assignment;
- (c) Invite the attention of the Executive Secretariat of the Liberation Committee to the need for adoption of an improved accounting system;
- (d) Investigate the problems which beset the functioning of the Executive Secretariat.

This indicates that, for some time past, the activities of the Liberation Committee have occasioned somewhat sharp criticisms, which found expression in particular, at the Twelfth Session of the Council of Ministers and at the Sixth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Furthermore, the situation of the Liberation Committee, subjected as it is to criticism, borders on the dramatic, since more than two-thirds of the Member States refuse to pay their contributions to the

Special Fund designed to provide material and financial assistance to the Liberation Movements.

If this situation should continue to prevail, it would threaten to paralyse completely the activities of this select instrument for the liberation of those regions of our continent that are still in subjection.

It is against this background that the Council of Ministers, meeting in its Thirteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, decided once again to discover the causes of this crisis of confidence that has arisen between certain Member States and the Liberation Committee, so as to do everything possible to achieve greater effectiveness in the liberation struggle. The Council of Ministers then recommended, as you are aware, Resolution CM/Res.205(XIII) to the Sixth Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which, in its turn, approved the setting up of a committee of seven member countries of the Organization, to be entrusted with the task of conducting a study on the mandate, structure and composition of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, after consultations with the Liberation Movements and with all Member States of OAU. The following countries were appointed to serve in this connexion: Algeria, the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Morocco, Kenya, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

The first session of the Committee of Seven, convened in Addis Ababa in February 1970, on the eve of the Fourteenth Session of the Council of Ministers elected the following officers:

Chairman: Senegal and Rapporteur: Sierra Leone.

This Session also applied itself to considering the working methods and approach necessary to ensure that this study on the mandate, structure and composition of the Liberation Committee could be carried out in the best possible conditions and with the fullest objectivity. Thus the necessity was established of drawing up and dispatching questionnaires to Member States of the Organization and to the Liberation Movements.

The last session of the Committee of Seven, which was held in Dar-es-Salaam, (Tanzania) provided an opportunity to interview all the

leaders of the Liberation Movements recognized by OAU, and to hear the Chairman of the Liberation Committee as well as the Executive Secretary of that Committee and his Assistants. A considerable amount of working material was collected.

The third session of the Committee of Seven, which was scheduled to be the last before this Fifteenth Session, concentrated on summing up the data collected, in order to draw the necessary conclusions. It was, however, realized that the replies of Member States, amounting to only thirteen, could not serve as an adequate basis for determining the predominant feelings within the Organization regarding the problem facing us; nevertheless the replies received were considered and the members of the Committee are convinced that, with a minimum of twenty-two replies, they would be in a position to draw acceptable conclusions and thus conclude the delicate assignment entrusted to them.

It is therefore very clearly apparent here, that the only obstacle encountered by the Committee of Seven in its work has been the inadequate reaction by Member States to the questionnaires already circulated to them. That is why, once again, we address an appeal to those members of the Council who have not yet answered the questionnaires to do so as promptly as possible, for the existence of the Liberation Committee will remain paralysed until such time as the Committee of Seven is able to prevail upon all Member States to contribute enthusiastically to the Special Fund for the Liberation of Africa. I am convinced that the Council will appreciate this heavy responsibility.

In the light of these observations, the Committee of Seven proposes to meet after the Sixteenth Session of the Council of Ministers, in order to present its final report to the Seventeenth Session of the Council. Pending that eventuality, however, the Committee of Seven recommends:

- (1) That the Council of Ministers should exercise a tighter political control over the activities of the Liberation Committee;

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