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ORGANIZATION DE L'UNITÉ
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COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

THIRTY-SIXTH ORDINARY SESSION

23rd February to 1st March, 1981

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PROGRESS REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU
COMMITTEE OF 19



1. Before discussing the report proper on the activities of the Committee of 19, it would be necessary to recall very briefly the circumstances in which the African Heads of State decided to set up an Ad Hoc Committee on assistance to Frontline States. This Committee, first named "Committee of 10" later on became "OAU Committee of 19".

A brief historical account would enable the Council to have an overall idea of the activities of this Committee since its inception, and, if need be, take the necessary appropriate decisions.

OAU COMMITTEE OF 10

2. The Committee of 10 was set up during the Summit held in Libreville, Gabon, in 1977. Indeed, the African Heads of State indignant at the cowardly repeated acts of aggression perpetrated by the former racist regime of IAN SMITH against the civilian populations of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, the African Heads of State, reiterated the firm commitment of OAU to free the people of Southern Rhodesia from the domination of the illegal and rebel minority regime, to establish a majority Government and ensure the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of Zimbabwe. They therefore decided to set up an Ad Hoc Committee composed of Algeria, Cameroon, Liberia, Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Egypt, Lesotho, Uganda, Mauritius and Togo (Chairman), which would recommend all forms of appropriate assistance to be given to Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia.

3. This Committee of 10 thus set up drew up a plan of action and called on the Governments of the three sister States, victims

of aggression, so as to assess their material, financial, economic and military needs in order to give concrete expression to the will and the determination of African States to come first to the aid of their brothers, before turning to other foreign sources of assistance, the Committee handed to the three Governments a symbolic donation of 1 million US Dollars broken down as follows:

Mozambique	-	US\$500,000
Botswana	-	US\$300,000
Zambia	-	US\$200,000

4. A detailed and comprehensive report on these first activities of the Committee was submitted to the Summit held in Khartoum, the Sudan, in July 1978, in document CM/885(XXI). After congratulating members of the Committee on the serious work they had done, the Summit, in its resolution CM/Res.637(XXI) requested the Committee to continue to give assistance to Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, and even to extend its activities to the other Frontline States, to undertake a mission to friendly oil producing countries so as to obtain 500,000 tons of crude oil for these countries, find ways and means of securing concrete financial and material assistance from foreign sources and to undertake missions to that effect.

5. The mandate given to the Committee and reconfirmed by the Heads of State, was still being pursued despite the meagre concrete results achieved. To this end, out of the 500,000 tons of crude oil requested by the three countries, Algeria committed itself to supplying 30,000 tons. The Committee itself was not aware of other efforts made by some other states.

6. As regards bilateral assistance from African countries themselves, the Committee was informed that Nigeria had granted financial assistance to Zambia, although other States might have also granted concrete assistance without however informing the Committee.

The problem of the 30 million dollar African solidarity fund set up by the Summit in Libreville, Gabon, to be fed by voluntary contributions from OAU Member States, remained unchanged.

After the election of Mr. Edem KODJO as OAU Secretary-General who was succeeded by Mr. Anani Kuma AZAKPO-AHIANYO, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Togo as Chairman of the Committee of 10, the Committee undertook another mission; this time, to Zambia from 13 to 16 June, 1979.

The OAU delegation was composed of :

1. H.E. Mr. Anani Kuma Akakpo-Ahianyo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Togo, Chairman of the Committee of Ten and Leader of Delegation.
2. H.E. Mr. Ahmed Hatata, Ambassador of Egypt in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.
3. Mr. Jose Antonio SEBASTIAO, Director of the OAU Office in Maputo, Mozambique.
4. Hr. Simumba, Director of OAU Office in Lusaka, Zambia.
5. Mr. Eden Kokou Hegbe, Secretary, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Togo.
7. The Committee was accorded a warm and fraternal welcome by the Zambian authorities. It also had the opportunity to held discussions with the following personalities :

1. H.E. Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia.
2. H.E. Mr. Lumina, Minister of Finance and Technical Co-operation, Ag. Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. Mr. Reuben Kamanga, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of Legal and Foreign Affairs.
4. Mr. Grey Zulu, Chairman of the Sub-Committee in-charge of Defence and Security.

After lengthy conversations, members of the Committee were able to note that :

- Front Line States were facing a dramatic situation resulting from air raids and continued acts of aggression perpetrated by racist forces and the daily influx of refugees.
- Indiscriminate bombings had destroyed, schools, farms, hospitals, markets, bridges...without sparing innocent civilian populations.
- The social difficulties were considerable. The refugees, pouring in large numbers constituted an additional burden for the already over-crowded camps.

8. There was need for an urgent action to provide assistance in food, medicine, transport and help channelling the basic needs to the interior of the land-locked countries.

It was also necessary to secure immediate assistance of African States and even of African populations who should be further sensitized about the sufferings of their brothers in Southern Africa. The situation had been worsening gradually and threatened to become disastrous.

9. At the Thirty-Third Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers held in Monrovia, Liberia, in 1979, the Committee's Chairman therefore painted a sombre picture of the situation prevailing in the Front Line States.

After enumerating briefly a number of urgent measures to be taken by African States in favour of their brothers, he concluded his report in the following terms: Undoubtedly, the series of proposed means and methods will not help solve all the problems facing the Frontline Countries. They can be supplemented by appeals for all forms of external assistance. It is however,

necessary that Africa defines a framework of action and proves its determination to pursue, come what may and whatever the costs, the liberation of this part of its continent. Foreign assistance can only be supplementary. It is only on this condition that our Organization can become, in the eyes of the peoples of this continent, a credible and worthy Organization.

OAU Committee of 19

19. In the face of such an alarming situation, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, after an indepth study, concluded: there is 'the need to intensify armed struggle in Southern Africa and for which a new strategy to step up the liberation struggle should be drawn up'. It therefore took the decision to enlarge the Ad Hoc Committee from 10 to 19 which it charged to reconsider the strategy for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

The Members of the enlarged committee were as follows :

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. ALGERIA | 12. NIGERIA |
| 2. ANGOLA | 13. THE SUDAN |
| 3. BOTSWANA | 14. TANZANIA |
| 4. CAMEROON | 15. CHAD |
| 5. EGYPT | 16. TOGO (Chairman) |
| 6. ETHIOPIA | 17. UGANDA |
| 7. GUINEA BISSAU | 18. ZAIRE |
| 8. LESOTHO | 19. ZAMBIA |
| 9. LIBERIA | |
| 10. MAURITIUS | |
| 11. MOZAMBIQUE | |

11. The persistent acts of aggression perpetrated against the Front Line States, the atrocities committed against innocent

civilian populations, the continuous influx of refugees fleeing devastated guerilla zone, created numerous difficulties in Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. Benevolent organizations and some non-African friendly countries tried to come to the aid of these populations in distress. But the needs were enormous, an immediate assistance from the African community itself would have therefore been welcomed. However that was not the case. This should be acknowledged and deplored. The Committee could not succeed in mobilizing the assistance of African countries. It noted that the assistance of the African Community was not always commensurate with its good-will and determination to work for the total liberation of our continent. Although some Member States, including especially Nigeria and Algeria had made commendable efforts at the bilateral level.

12. Hence after the Monrovia Summit the Committee of 19 had react strongly so as to ensure the success of the dual mandate which the Heads of State had again assigned to it, namely:

- a) drawing up of new strategy for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa,
- b) co-ordination of assistance to Frontline States, as stipulated in Resolution CM/Res.577(XXIX).

Indeed, it held several meetings at the level of Ambassador in Addis Ababa and a Ministerial Meeting in Lome in June, 1980.

MEETINGS OF EXPERTS IN ADDIS ABABA

13. At the request of the Committee of Ambassadors the Executive Secretariat of the OAU Liberation Committee, with the participation of the Liberation Movements, prepared a draft declaration on a new

strategy for the liberation of Southern Africa. The draft was condensed by Algeria, revised and amended by the Committee.

The document was entitled "Lomé Declaration on the New Strategy for the Liberation of Namibia and the Elimination of Apartheid and Segregation in South Africa," Doc.PL/DEC/32(II)/43.80/Rev.3(II) it gave the background information on the earlier strategies, the Lusaka Manifesto (1969), the Mogadishu Declaration (1971), the Accra New Strategy (1973), the Dar-es-Salaam Declaration (1975) and proposed concrete measures to end the colonial system in Namibia and eliminate Apartheid and segregation in South Africa.

This strategy was formulated in a flexible manner to allow for liberation Movements to choose their own means and tactics for the struggle.

14. With regard to the co-ordination of assistance to Frontline States, the Committee of Ambassadors also took note of OAU Member countries impotence to respond effectively to the appeals made by African countries which were experiencing difficulties. The Committee considered at length the problem with a view to finding a solution. The following recommendations were therefore formulated for the attention of the Committee of 19:

- (a) First and foremost and as a sine qua non condition, it was necessary to implement fully, resolution CM/Res.637(XXXI) relating to the 500,000 tons of crude oil, ways and means of obtaining external sources of assistance concrete material and financial assistance and missions to be undertaken in this respect, and finally the establishment of contacts with BADEA, ADB and other

project financing agencies of the Arab world to ensure an early preparation of projects of Frontline States, in respect of which a bilateral agreement has been concluded.

- (b) In this connection, it was necessary to set up urgently two or three sub-committees to undertake the proposed missions in search of external assistance.
- (c) It was necessary to recommend further that Member States, in pursuance of the obligations contained in the Charter and in the resolution adopted in Mauritius to make, as a matter of urgency, provisions in their national defence budgets for assistance to Frontline States.
- (d) Finally, it would be desirable to convene a pledging conference concurrently with the Freetown Summit to enable Member States to decide on the assistance they could provide.

MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE OF 19 IN LOME (15 - 16 JUNE 1980)

15. The Committee of 19 met at Ministerial level in Lome (Togo) from 15 - 16 June 1980 to consider proposals submitted by the Committee of Ambassadors. The meeting was chaired by Mr. Anani Kuma AKAKPO-AHIANYO, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Togo and the Committee's Chairman.

In his opening address, the Chairman of the Ministerial Council declared:

"The new strategy for the liberation of Southern should, without any doubt whatsoever, be a development strategy. It is not a matter of begging the question but of a militant conviction."

"The OAU Economic Summit, held recently in Lagos, decided to establish major regional groupings as a prerequisite to the creation of an African economic community."

"By advocating the establishment of an economic community of the Southern African States, solid base for a collective self-reliance, we are formulating a strategy which makes states in this region an impregnable bastion capable of offering the freedom fighters in Southern Africa, a sure guarantee against the apartheid regime's attacks.

"The strategy for immediate assistance is no longer of prime importance since the situation has changed following Zimbabwe's independence. The apartheid regime feeling increasingly isolated, threatens to become more and more aggressive.

16. After giving a general picture of the situation then prevailing in Southern Africa, the Chairman of the Committee of 19 underscored the new aspects of the liberation struggle reaffirmed that South Africa is aware that by destabilizing the Frontline States it weakened at the same time the bases of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, and concluded the following:

"Undoubtedly, today, the new strategy for the struggle in Southern Africa, for the independence of Namibia, for the establishment of a majority regime in South Africa, is a strategy of global development."

"In the working document submitted for consideration of the Committee, we pointed out three sectors in which active and mutually beneficial co-operation could be initiated. These are the fields of development of land communication and telecommunications infrastructures, financial infrastructures and the implementation of joint projects which could lead to a gradual setting up, among States, of a free trade area culminating finally in a regional economic integration."

"These different programmes, in our view, aimed at two basic objectives":

- (a) to promote the economic potential and the basis for future regional development;
- (b) reduce, or even gradually eliminate the dependence of some Frontline States on South Africa through the establishment of the bases for an effective collective self-reliance. It is understood that it is essentially the responsibility of the Frontline States themselves to indicate the appropriate approach to be adopted as well as the nature and size of the assistance they expect from us.

17. It was necessary to quote these long excerpts from the speech of the Chairman of the Committee of 19 because it enabled the Court to grasp the various aspects of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and opened new perspectives in the search for assistance in favour of the Front-line States. The concrete proposals contained therein will be dealt within a document submitted by Togo and which will be mentioned at a later stage.

18. Besides the "Lomé Declaration", the Ministerial Council of Lomé adopted all the recommendations made by the Committee of Ambassadors and decided to set up two sub-committees to undertake missions to some States and Organizations to collect material and financial assistance and the required oil supply for the Frontline States.

The following countries were elected to serve on the two sub-committees :

(a) Sub-Committee on material and financial assistance.

- i) Togo (Chairman)
- ii) The Sudan (Rapporteur)
- iii) Nigeria (Member)

(b) Sub-Committee on the supply of oil:

- i) Algeria (Chairman)
- ii) Cameroon (Rapporteur)
- iii) Zaire (Member)

The Lomé meeting also had to consider and take a decision on a third document submitted by Togo entitled "Draft Programme for Co-ordinating Assistance to Frontline States." Doc.PL/DEC/32(II)/41.80 (see Annex No. 4).

The Togo Draft failed to take into account the limited resources of the majority of OAU Member States, which prevented some members from paying their regular contributions to the budget of the Organization, or financing specific operations for the maintenance of peace on the continent and tackling the problem of assistance to the Frontline States from new angles, namely:

- to ask Member States for only a minimum of assistance mainly in the form of voluntary contributions;
- to further make the African populations aware of the painful problem of apartheid and to involve them further in the efforts being deployed by Governments to improve the fate of their brothers in Southern Africa. The African populations must be made to feel concerned about the liberation struggles taking place on our continent;
- to prevent South Africa from destabilising the Frontline States by gradually reducing their dependence on Pretoria through the consolidation of their economies and the organization of an economic regrouping nucleus of the future community of Southern African States.

20. The Togo document was received favourable by the Ministerial Council, which, after unanimously congratulating the Togolese delegation on its efforts and its effective contribution, made the following observations:

- the proposals contained in the document are, undoubtedly very worthy;

- some ideas, however, dealt with areas solely within the competence of Governments and should therefore be first considered by them;
- the proposals should also be studied by the Liberation Committee.

It was therefore decided that the document should be forwarded by the General Secretariat to Member States and the Liberation Committee for consideration and comments before being discussed by the Council of Ministers at its February 1981 Session.

Point 9 on the agenda of the Thirty-Sixth Session of the OAU Liberation Committee held in Arusha (Tanzania), from 19 to 23 January 1981 dealt with the document presented by Togo. The Liberation Committee decided after considering the issue that the document be reviewed and harmonized by the Committee of 19 in the light of the changes which occurred in Southern Africa.

It is however comforting to note that the main ideas in the document presented by Togo were taken up by the Maputo Conference. Taking into account this new factor, the need to bring the document up to date as expressed by the Liberation Committee was a reasonable proposal.

22. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Freetown (Sierra Leone) in July, 1980 approved all the recommendations made by the Lome Meeting.

Sub-Committee of 19 on Financial and Material Assistance
to the Frontline States
DOC. CM/1091 (XXXVI)

23. During the Lome meeting, the Committee of 19 decided to establish two sub-committees to find ways and means to obtain from sources

outside Africa, a concrete financial and material assistance, and to undertake a mission to brotherly oil producing countries so as to obtain the 500 ,000 metric tons of crude oil needed by the (three) Frontline States".

The first Sub-committee was chaired by Togo and was requested to look for financial and material assistance. The Second Sub-committee chaired by Algeria was to report on the activities of this second Sub-committee.

The Sub-committee on financial and material assistance to the Frontline States held a meeting of Experts in Addis Ababa from 17 to 19 September 1980.

The Sub-committee was fully conscious of the importance and urgency of the tasks entrusted to it and did not ignore the difficulties inherent in this kind of responsibility. After an in-depth analysis of the situation, it decided a number of missions should be undertaken to a number of aid giving countries and organizations.

That programme of missions was drawn-up in a manner to ensure its easy and timely implementation.

24. The Sub-committee was informed by the Secretariat that according to a decision taken by the Council of Ministers in Freetown a Pledging Conference should be convened during the present budget session of the Council. Member States would be asked to state specifically the kind of aid they were likely to give.

The Chairman of the Sub-committee (Togo) informed its Members that the Togolese Government had decided to contribute



voluntarily US \$ 100,000 as an aid to the Frontline States. The Sub-committee expressed its profound gratitude to the Government and people of Togo for this noble gesture and expressed the hope that other Member States of the OAU would follow Togo's example during the Pledging Conference.

The Representative of Angola informed the Sub-committee that although his country was exempted from contributing to the regular budget of the Organization of African Unity, the Government of Angola had decided to pay five percent of its assessed contribution to the annual budget of our Organization. The Sub-committee expressed its warm thanks to the Government of Angola for this gesture of good-will which would be certainly appreciated by Member States.

25. OAU Mission to States and Aid Institutions

The Sub-committee was faced with several problems in drawing up the mission programmes. After long discussions, it took certain decisions it thought reasonable. Taking into account the large number of countries and institutions to be visited, it was decided that, to save time and make a specific report to the Council of Ministers at its present session, five delegations of the OAU should be constituted to undertake the missions.

Three delegations were to be headed by each of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Member Countries constituting the

the Sub-committee, accompanied by Senior Civil Servants of two other States by a representative - coordinator of the Frontline States, representative of the Liberation Committee and the OAU General Secretariat. The two other delegations were to be headed by the Ambassador of Nigeria in New York and the Ambassador of Togo in Paris appointed to Aid Institutions so as to save time and money. A last delegation might be led by an Ambassador of the Sudan to BAD and BADEA.

In choosing the countries to be visited, the Sub-committee took into consideration the experience acquired in the past and decided to appeal to those States which generally gave financial and moral support to Liberation Movements in Southern Africa, that is, to Scandinavian and Socialist countries. Oil producing Arab countries were also included in the list taking into account their financial possibilities, the understanding and good will they had always shown in their approach towards African problems and the assistance they give to Africans.

26. The mission programme adopted provided for five missions and for an additional one, possibly to the following countries and institutions:

1. Mission to the Scandinavian countries under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Togo, with a representative of Angola as the coordinator of the Frontline States;
2. Mission to Socialist countries, under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, with a representative of Zambia as coordinator of the Frontline States;

3. Mission to Arab countries, under the leadership of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, with a representative of Botswana as coordinator of the Frontline States;
4. Mission to United Nations Institutions with headquarters in the U.S.A. under the leadership of the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the UNO, with a representative of Mozambique as coordinator of the Frontline States;
5. Mission to the United Nations and other institutions with headquarters in Western Europe, under the leadership of the Ambassador of Togo in Paris, with a representative of Mozambique as coordinator of the Frontline States.
6. Mission to the BAD and the BADEA under the leadership of the Ambassador of the Sudan. At the initial stage, this mission formed part of that to be undertaken to Arab countries.

27. According to the programme laid down, all these missions were scheduled to end on 15 December 1980 and the reports on the missions deposited on 31 December 1980 latest. Unfortunately that programme could not be respected for several reasons. First of all the time allotted was too short. Then the unfavourable international situation made the visits untimely in some regions.

It was in case, for example, with the mission to Arab countries where war broke out between IRAC and IRAN and the tension prevailing in the region made it impossible to envisage such visits presently. It would be appropriate to postpone these visits for a calmer and more propitious period. To that end a statement was made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, leader of that delegation.

28. The mission to the Socialist countries also was postponed "sine die" at the request of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, leader of the delegation. In fact the latter felt that considering the holding of the Conference on Assistance to the States of Southern Africa, "Second Southern African Development Coordination Conference" (SADCC)(2) held in MAPUTO, Mozambique at the end of November 1980, and attended by donor States and agencies, besides, taking into account the fact that the UN General Secretariat had appealed to the same donors for an International assistance to Zimbabwe, the OAU mission to the same donors at that period seemed ill-timed. But he concluded that if the said mission were to take place at all, it should have two-pronged objective namely:

- a) first of all inform and sensitise the donor countries and agencies on the real situation prevailing in Southern Angola because a fair and precise information was probably the most important thing for the moment;
- b) then look for assistance.

This two-pronged objective thus clearly defined by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria could, undoubtedly, have in itself justified the OAU mission which, besides, fell

within the context of the mandate given by our Heads of State Government to the Committee of 19. But finally the visit to the Socialist countries did not take place.

MISSION TO SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

29. The mission to the Scandinavian countries was scheduled to start from 21 November to 2 December 1980. But the holding on the same dates of the MAPUTO (Mozambique) Pledging Conference to be attended by Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Scandinavian countries, led to the postponement of the mission. The Chairman of the Committee of 19 and leader of the OAU delegation had sent two representatives to the MAPUTO Pledging Conference to get in touch with the Foreign Ministers of the Scandinavian countries in order to fix new dates. It was agreed that the OAU mission could take place one and a half months later. Indeed, the mission took place from 25 January to 2 February 1981. But for State reasons and African responsibilities, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Togo, Chairman of the Committee of 19, could not, at the last minute, head the OAU delegation himself. It was composed of the following:

1. Mr. Cheaka A. Toure, Directeur du Cabinet of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Togo, Leader of Delegation;
2. H.E. Aboubacar Gamba Gobir, Ambassador of Nigeria to Stockholm;
3. H.E. Elamin Abdel Latif Elamin, Ambassador of the Sudan to Stockholm;
4. H.E. Assiongbon Agbenou, Ambassador of Togo to the Federal Republic of Germany and the Scandinavian countries;

5. H.E. Dermane Ali, Ambassador of Togo to Paris;
6. H.E. Olga Lima, Ambassador, Director of African Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Angola, Coordinator of Frontline States;
7. H.E. K. Kangoa, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Zambia, Observer of Frontline States;
8. Mr. Ngung Mpwotsh, Representative of the OAU General Secretariat.

The delegation was received successively in Copenhagen (Denmark, 25-26 January), OSLO (Norway, 26-27 January), Stockholm (Sweden, 27-29 January) and Helsinki (Finland, 29-30 January). It was given a warm welcome by local authorities of each and every country visited. After the customary courtesy calls, the delegation had working sessions with the leaders of those countries. The discussions, which were always held in an atmosphere of mutual trust and understanding, focussed invariably on two main items, namely:

- a) The assistance programme as defined by the Government of each of the countries visited and explanations on the purpose of the visit of the OAU Committee of 19;
- b) The political situation in Africa, particularly the situation in Namibia and the Chad question.

A) DISCUSSION ON ASSISTANCE:

30. It was necessary to point out that in the four countries visited, discussions were preceded by a systematic presentation of the assistance policy and programme for the Third World, programme which, also, concerned a limited number of countries

mainly in Asia and Southern Africa.

31. The fact that they were willing to present their assistance policy even before taking cognizance of the aim of the OAU mission was indicative of the concern of Scandinavian countries to show to advantage the spontaneous assistance they had always given to Frontline States. It was also a way of justifying beforehand the direction of that assistance and the reason for the choice of beneficiary countries.

32. In fact, the Scandinavian countries always had an assistance policy considered as "progressive" by the developing countries although very selective. Progressive because as a matter of preference it was granted to Liberation Movements and particularly to Frontline States. But limited and selective because of the need to avoid dissipation of efforts and especially reduce management costs of the already inadequate assistance.

33. Thus, the assistance programme of the Scandinavian countries to some extent covered the following countries:

In Asia

Denmark: India, Bangladesh; Norway: India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Vietnam; Sweden: India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Laos, Vietnam; Finland: Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand;

In Africa

Denmark: Tanzania, Kenya, Zimbabwe, SWAPO, ANC; Norway: Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, SWAPO, ANC; Sweden: Angola, Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, ANC, SWAPO; Finland: Egypt, Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Namibia, Burundi, The Sudan, Somalia, Mozambique, Ethiopia.

35. It therefore, appears that only the Frontline States were beneficiaries of regular assistance from the Scandinavian countries as a whole. The other African countries are classified in the second category.

36. Only Finland has relations, besides Asia and Africa, with some countries of Latin America (Honduras, Nicaragua) and Syria in the Middle East.

37. Two-thirds of the assistance^{went} through bilateral cooperation and one third for multilateral and through the United Nations Specialized Agencies.

38. Besides, the assistance was subject to a systematic planning over a period of one to five years according to countries and nature of the aid required. This gave the impression of inflexibility about which our hosts reassured us, leaving us to understand that there were some possibilities of relaxing conditions if necessary.

39. The delegation of the Committee of 19, had on each visit to give the background information of the "Committee of 19", highlighting the basic reasons that prompted the OAU to undertake the mission. The tragic situation in the Frontline States and the limited resources of African States justified the appeal to the international community to meet the needs of the States concerned and speed up the process of total liberation of Africa.

40. The delegation also highlighted the efforts made individually by African States.

41. The emergency humanitarian assistance required covered health, educational, socio-cultural and other fields.

42. On each occasion, the Scandinavian representatives were very receptive to the grievances aired and promised to take them into consideration in drafting their assistance programmes. But for the immediate future and on account of the systematic planning of assistance to be given it seemed impossible for our hosts to take any concrete decisions except to make a report for future discussions in the Parliament for a possible emergency assistance.

43. The delegation also stressed the special nature of the aid in comparison with the usual assistance and various offers made at the last Southern African Development Coordination Conference held in Maputo, Mozambique.

44. Finally, and in order to facilitate accessibility to new resources, the delegation suggested the establishment of a Special Fund in each Scandinavian State. The Fund would be fed by contributions from various sources: firms, private individuals, non-governmental organizations, philanthropic organizations. The amounts collected would therefore, meet the appeal of the OAU. This suggestion seemed to elicit a favourable response from our hosts.

B) POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS:

45. The mission was surprised to note the persistent interest of their Scandinavian counterparts in African political problems. For, conscious of the fact that all efforts were to be concentrated on the question of assistance, no one attached much importance to political discussions although it is true that it could fall within the competence of other people. However, on each occasion the host delegations showed their happiness that finally the opportunity was given to them to discuss African problems directly with a delegation of the OAU, as a supra-national political institution.

The impatience and enthusiasm they manifested in their readiness to discuss African political affairs bespoke of their regrets over inadequate contacts with the OAU despite their sincere sympathy for the African cause, especially as evidenced by their assistance to the liberation struggle.

46. Discussions focussed on two issues:

1) The situation in Namibia after the failure of the Geneva Conference. Our counterparts expressed openly their bitterness over the negative result of the Geneva Conference and specified that the SWAPO and OAU had tried their very best to bring about a happy outcome of the situation. Unfortunately, the Apartheid regime failed to catch the olive branch offered to it. They reiterated their constant support for the struggle of the Namibian people and the efforts of five Western countries of the contact group until final victory.

47. The OAU delegation also deplored the results of the Geneva Conference and reaffirmed Africa's determination to support the Liberation Movements until final victory.

48. While requesting the continued and already appreciable support of the Scandinavian countries, the OAU delegation renewed its confidence in the five countries of the contact group for a new peace initiative.

49. 2) The second issue which was constantly brought up for discussion was that of Chad. The OAU Delegation, while displaying caution over this matter, nevertheless, availed itself of the opportunity to confirm the political will of the OAU to find an African solution to this unfortunate problem.

50. The Chairman of the delegation seized the opportunity to emphasize the enormous task accomplished by the President of the Republic of Togo, Chairman of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on Chad, from the outbreak of hostilities, with the dangerous crossing of the Chari River, through the many meetings held in Lome. While the OAU was pursuing its efforts towards a general peace in Chad, the delegation requested the Scandinavian representatives to await the outcome of the current multiple consultations

held at the level of African Heads of State.

51. The Swedish delegation briefly touched upon the Western Sahara question and felt that the Swedish Government was waiting impatiently for a unanimous stand on the part of the OAU. The Chairman of the OAU delegation recalled briefly the work of the "Ad Hoc Committee" whose conclusions ^{were} still valid.

2 CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE MISSION

51. At the end of that long journey through the four Scandinavian countries, the delegation was in a position to make the following observations and proposals:

53. 1) The "Committee of 19" should not only be maintained but should become the "spokesman" of the OAU as regards political sensitisation of donor countries and agencies giving aid to Frontline States and Liberation Movements.

To this end, the contacts it must establish with the donors will not be simply regular but also repeated and frequent enough to yield a significant and concrete results.

- 2) This mission was looked upon by the Governments visited as a proof of the collective will of Africa to assume its own responsibilities, because it is the first time that the OAU, as an Organization, is sending missions within the framework of general assistance for struggling African countries.

MISSIONS TO INTERNATIONAL DONOR AGENCIES

54. Three OAU delegations were scheduled to visit International donor agencies. The first mission was headed by the Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the UN. The second, to ADB and BADEA, was headed by a Sudanese Ambassador, and the third by Togo's Ambassador to Paris.

55. The mission to organizations having their headquarters in the United States was to take place after the 1980 Session of the UN General Assembly. In the meantime however, the Head of the delegation, Ambassador of Nigeria, with other Ambassadors to the UN undertook two trips, first to participate in the TAIF Islamic Summit and then to the Non-Aligned Conference in New Delhi, India. The mission was therefore postponed to a later date.

56. The visit to the ADB and BADEA could not be carried out as scheduled. Consequently, the Chairman of the Committee of Nineteen asked these two organizations to provide him with a progress report on the development projects of the Frontline States, for submission to the Council of Ministers. The information gathered is contained in an annex to the present report (Annexes 4 and 5).

57. The mission to agencies with Headquarters in Europe has just been completed. The results were very encouraging. The delegation led by Togo's Ambassador to Paris went to FAO, WFP and IFAD in Rome and to UNESCO and AGECOOOP in Paris. All the agencies visited informed the Delegation that they were only waiting for concrete projects to be submitted to them.

58. The Togolese Ambassador to Paris who headed the delegation was, for official reasons, replaced by his colleague in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, with whom he had earlier undertaken the mission to the Scandinavian countries. For the second leg of the mission, the delegation went to WHO and the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva, Switzerland, UNIDO in Vienna (Austria) as well as the OPEC Special Fund and the EEC in Brussels, Belgium.

59. In Geneva, the delegation was heard on 5 February 1981 by the WHO Director-General, Mr. Mahler in the presence of Dr. Quenum, Regional Director for Africa. The latter had held a thirty minute discussion with the delegation prior to being heard by the Director-General. The preliminary discussion made it possible to work out the best ways of approaching the problem of material and financial assistance for the Frontline States. During the working session, the Director-General explained to the delegation that over and above the normal assistance granted by WHO to the Frontline Countries, there was no provision in the Organization's Constitution whereby additional funds could be released but WHO would do its utmost to participate as far as possible in this humanitarian action of the OAU.

60. On 6 February 1981, the delegation was received at the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees by the High Commissioner assisted by Mr. Maxime Zoliner, a Senior Official at the HCR, in the presence of Mr. Aziz, OAU representative in Geneva. The reception was very cordial. The HCR officials listened very attentively to the delegation's explanations. Having intimated that the HCR had always exerted an exceptional effort in favour of African countries in general - 50% of the world's refugees are found in Africa - the High Commissioner said that an important preparatory conference was scheduled, to be held in April in conjunction with the OAU. He also commended the frank and close collaboration of the OAU. He then promised to offer further assistance to the Frontline States.

60. In Vienna, Austria, the delegation was received on 9 February 1981 at the Vienna International Centre by Mr. CARRE, Deputy Executive Director, in the absence of Dr. KHANE, the Executive Director. Messrs HACINI, LUNQUAM, SELASSIE and FIGUEIREDO participated in this working session. The briefing by the delegation was received with great interest. Discussions with the officials were followed by talks with the technical departments. In a general manner, UNIDO expressed its willingness to offer assistance to the Frontline States, the only obstacle however being the Organization's limited resources. An additional effort would however be made in the area of industrial training. Furthermore, UNIDO would propose to the OAU a form of cooperation which would consist in the financing certain UNIDO programmes for the Frontline States with funds to be collected by the Committee of Nineteen.

61. The delegation took advantage of its stay in Vienna to have a brief working session with the OPEC Special Fund. The officials of the Fund expressed regrets for not being in the position at present to make firm promises but declared their readiness to cooperate with the OAU in future in the implementation of specific projects of the Frontline countries.

62. In Brussels, Belgium, the delegation first met the Ambassadors of the African Group and those of the Frontline states on 11 February 1981, in the presence of Mr. KAMBA, OAU Representative in Brussels. This was followed by discussions held with members of the Commission of European Communities. The Ambassadors of Nigeria (Mr. AFOLABI), Sudan (Mr. SIDDIG), Togo (Mr. DAGADOU) and the OAU Representative (Mr. KAMBA) also participated in the discussion. During these talks, Mr. FOLLEY, Deputy Director-General representing Mr. CHEYSSON, Director-General of Development Aid, made rather firm promises regarding the following:-

- Emergency assistance
- Food Assistance
- Co-financing of projects

The EEC Commission felt it could also make some efforts within the context of the Lome Convention by speeding up procedures governing assistance and the provision of experts.

63. In short and as can be observed, all the various missions to the international donor agencies were welcomed everywhere and firm promises were made for assistance in the more or less near future. This first contact was thus an important step towards the implementation of the terms of reference entrusted to the OAU delegation. With regard to the other missions, the Sudan could not for some cogent reasons lead the delegation to the Arab countries because of the prevailing situation in the region arising from the Iraq-Iran war.

Notwithstanding the positive response from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Fund in Washington, the mission which was to be led by Nigeria, could not be carried out for reasons enumerated earlier in this Report.

The situation was the same with regard to the mission to the Socialist countries. While sincerely regretting these setbacks the Chairman of the Committee of Nineteen hoped these missions would take place as soon as possible so as to make it possible to have a more comprehensive assessment of the Committee's terms of reference.

Nevertheless, one could already affirm that on the whole, the missions were successful judging from the following two basic conclusions:-

- 1) The first conclusion is that regular contacts with Governments and donor agencies has proved to be necessary for gathering more accurate information on the situation in the Frontline States and their real areas of need. This seems to be crucial because it is an essential

prerequisite in the normal process of arousing the awareness and interest of these Governments and agencies with regard to the problems of the Frontline States.

- 2) The second, as pre-condition for the first, is the need to maintain the Committee of Nineteen which should now be regarded as a permanent body of the OAU responsible for establishing contacts with and sensitizing donor States and agencies. It is only a far-reaching work of sensitization and motivation that can elicit a positive and practical reaction from donor States and Agencies.

In this regard the missions accomplished are sufficient evidence. This is because the representatives we met really felt concerned about the African cause especially after being contacted by the Pan-African Organization itself.

In short, the Committee of Nineteen must henceforth be taken more seriously and its members must assume their full responsibilities towards the States struggling for the total liberation of Africa.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In submitting this report on the activities of the Committee of Nineteen since the Thirty-Fourth Session of the Council and the Freetown Summit Conference, the Chairman of the Committee is grateful at the substantial work done since the enlargement of the Committee of Ten to a Committee of Nineteen.

Indeed, the missions to the governments and international institutions have not only helped in translating into concrete actions the resolutions taken at the last meetings, but have also made it

possible to better identify and define the actual role the "Committee of Nineteen" will have to play.

It must be recalled that in Monrovia (1979), this Committee was given a two-fold mandate:-

- The formulation of a strategy for the total liberation of Namibia and the eradication of apartheid in South Africa and
- The search for material and financial assistance resources for the Frontline countries.

In other words, the mandate was both political and economic.

With regard to the political aspect of the mandate, the Committee of Nineteen feels it has accomplished its assignment by formulating a new strategy for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, which was unanimously adopted at the Freetwon Summit (1980).

As regards economic assistance, the "Committee of Nineteen" has to a large extent carried out its mandate by sending delegations to friendly governments and Specialized U.N. Agencies.

As stated earlier in this Report, Togo carried out all the missions entrusted to it, namely:-

A) In the Scandinavian countries:-

Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland

B) To Agencies based in Europe:-

- FAO, WFP, IFAD (ROME)
- WHO, UNHCR (GENEVA)
- UNIDO, OPEC (VIENNA)
- EEC (BRUSSELS)
- ACCT, UNESCO (PARIS)

Though it has not been possible for the Committee to announce the total amount of funds collected after the missions, it can however be affirmed that the assistance to the Frontline States will increase by all means.

In fact, all our partners have pledged either to diversifying their assistance to the States concerned or increase their normal donations. The difficulties encountered in obtaining immediate and concrete assistance seem to arise from two factors:-

- First the donor States or agencies have already closed their assistance budget for the current year. All new allocations must be approved by either Parliament, Council or the General Assembly, a procedure that could be initiated only at very specific periods.
- Secondly, the States and Organizations contacted strongly regretted the lack of concrete projects to enable them evaluate better the nature and level of aid solicited. The Chairman of the "Committee of Nineteen" is the first to note this deficiency and regretted that in spite of the numerous appeals made, the Frontline States have not yet submitted concrete projects to some of their members appointed as coordinators within the sub-committees set up for the missions envisaged.

We hope that the experience and the results obtained will enable us fill these gaps.

Finally, we would like to point out that to date, no State has communicated its comments on document PL/DEC/32 (II) 41.80 of Togo as requested under item 15 of the report of the 5th Ordinary Session of the OAU Committee of Nineteen on assistance to Frontline States (Document CM/1045 XXXV) distributed in Freetown.

It is necessary to update this document for some of the proposals contained therein are already being implemented; an example is the Maputo Conference on the coordination of development aid for the Frontline States in the field of communications and transport.

DECISION ON THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE
COMMITTEE ON ASSISTANCE TO FRONTLINE STATES

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Sixteenth Ordinary Session, in Monrovia, Liberia, from 17 to 20 July 1979,

Having considered the prevailing situation in Southern Africa and the great need for the intensification of the armed struggle,

Aware of the necessity of setting-up a new strategy to strengthen the liberation struggle,

DECIDES:-

1. TO ENLARGE the Membership of the Committee on Assistance to Frontline States from ten to nineteen Member States comprising the following Member States:-

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Algeria | 11. Mauritius |
| 2. Angola | 12. Mozambique |
| 3. Botswana | 13. Nigeria |
| 4. Cameroon | 14. Sudan |
| 5. Chad | 15. Tanzania |
| 6. Egypt | 16. Togo |
| 7. Ethiopia | 17. Uganda |
| 8. Guinea-Bissau | 18. Zaire |
| 9. Lesotho | 19. Zambia |
| 10. Liberia | |

2. That the enlarged Committee in addition to dealing with the question of assistance to Frontline States, will review the existing strategy in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

2. That the enlarged Committee in addition to dealing with the question of assistance to Frontline States, will review the existing strategy in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.
1. REQUESTS the Committee of Ten on Assistance to Frontline States to remain seized of the Economic and Military problems of Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia arising from rebel Rhodesia's continued aggression and to extend its activities to other Frontline States;
2. REQUESTS FURTHER the Committee of Ten to undertake a mission to friendly oil producing countries with a view of raising the 500,000 tons of crude oil needed by the three Frontline States and decided by the first meeting of the Committee held in Libreville;
3. URGES all Member States of the OAU to contribute generously towards the 30 million US Dollar African Solidarity Fund established by the OAU Heads of State and Government at the 14th Summit meeting in Libreville, Gabon;
4. URGES FURTHER all Member States of the OAU to consider the granting of all forms of assistance, on a bilateral basis, to the three Frontline States;
5. Mandates the Committee of Ten to find ways and means of securing concrete financial and material assistance from extra-African sources and conduct missions to that end;
6. REQUESTS the Chairman of the Committee of Ten and the Secretary-General of the OAU to contact, after due consultations with the Frontline States, SADEA, ADEP and other Project Implementation Agencies in the Arab world in order to speedily finalize projects already agreed upon on a bilateral basis;

7. EXPRESSES its sincere gratitude to the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria for its decision to contribute 30,000 tons of crude oil towards the target of 500,000 tons;
8. REQUESTS the Chairman of the Committee of Ten and the OAU Secretary-General to report to the Thirty-Second Session of the Council of Ministers on the implementation of this resolution.

RESOLUTION ON ASSISTANCE TO FRONTLINE STATES

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Thirty-Fifth Ordinary Session in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 18 to 28 June 1980,

Taking note of the report of the Fifth Ordinary Session of the OAU Committee of Nineteen on Assistance to Frontline States contained in document CM/1045 (XXXV),

Recalling resolution AHG/Res. 80 (XIII) adopted by the Heads of State and Government in Mauritius, stating inter alia, "that any attack by the racist regimes against any Frontline State shall be deemed to be an attack on independent Africa as a whole",

Recalling also resolutions CM/Res.577 (XXIX), CM/Res.637 (XXXI) and AHG/Doc 112 (XVI) Rev.1,

Conscious of the sacrifices made by the Frontline States in their struggle for the total liberation of the continent:

1. ADOPTS the report of the Committee of Nineteen, and endorses the recommendations therein;
2. INVITES the Committee of Nineteen in collaboration with the Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa to continue its work, including the assessment of the situation in the neighbouring countries;
3. UNDERTAKES firmly again to give material and financial assistance to all the Frontline States;
4. APPEALS to all peace-loving countries of the world to grant assistance to the Frontline States, namely:- Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and thus combine their efforts with those of the African countries in order to strengthen the struggle against the racist Pretoria regime;
5. CALLS on all regional and international organizations to continue to give priority assistance to the Frontline States.

CM/1104 (XXXVI)

ANNEX 4

5239 MINEAC TO

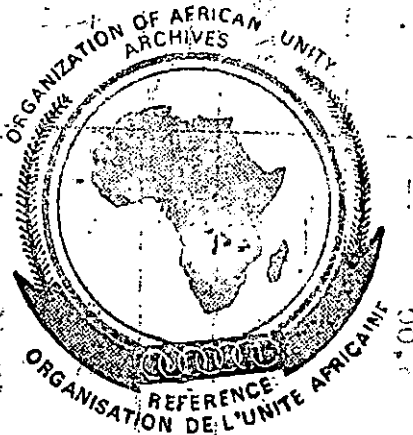
BADEA KM.

5239 MINEAC TO

ATT: H.E. ANANI KUMA AKAKPO-AHIANYO
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND
COOPERATION
LOME - TOGO
TLX NO 161/140

TLX NO 386 OF 7/2/1981

RE YOUR TELEX OF 29 JANUARY STOP HAVE HONOUR TO INFORM YOU
THAT BADEA ASSISTANCE TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND
FRONTLINE STATES IS BROKEN DOWN AS FOLLOWS:-



COUNTRY	PROJECT	AMOUNT IN MILS. OF DOLLARS	ARAB SPECIAL FUND FOR AFRICA	PROJECT UNDER CONSIDERATION	TOTAL IN US\$
ANGOLA	Modernization of the Benguela Railway	10.00	13.244	Fisheries	23.244
BOTSWANA	Campaign against foot and mouth disease	2.2	-	-	-
BOTSWANA	Airport	7.25	5.40	Energy	14.85
LESOTHO	Maseru International Airport	6.00	2.80	-	12.70
MOZAMBIQUE	Wood processing factory	10.00	27.00	-	37.00
SWAZILAND	-	-	4.20	-	4.20
TANZANIA	Maize fields	5.00	-	-	-
TANZANIA	Production of bricks and tiles	10.00	-	-	-
TANZANIA	Road project	8.00	14.20	-	37.20
ZAMBIA	Road project	10.00	12.70	-	22.70
TOTAL		72.35	79.54		151.89

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1981-02

Progress Report of the Chairman of the OAU Committee of 19

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