

**ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY**

# 1991 ABUJA SUMMIT

*A Commemorative Handbook*

Edited by Ibrahim Talba

1991 ABUJA OAU SUMMIT  
*A Commemorative Handbook*







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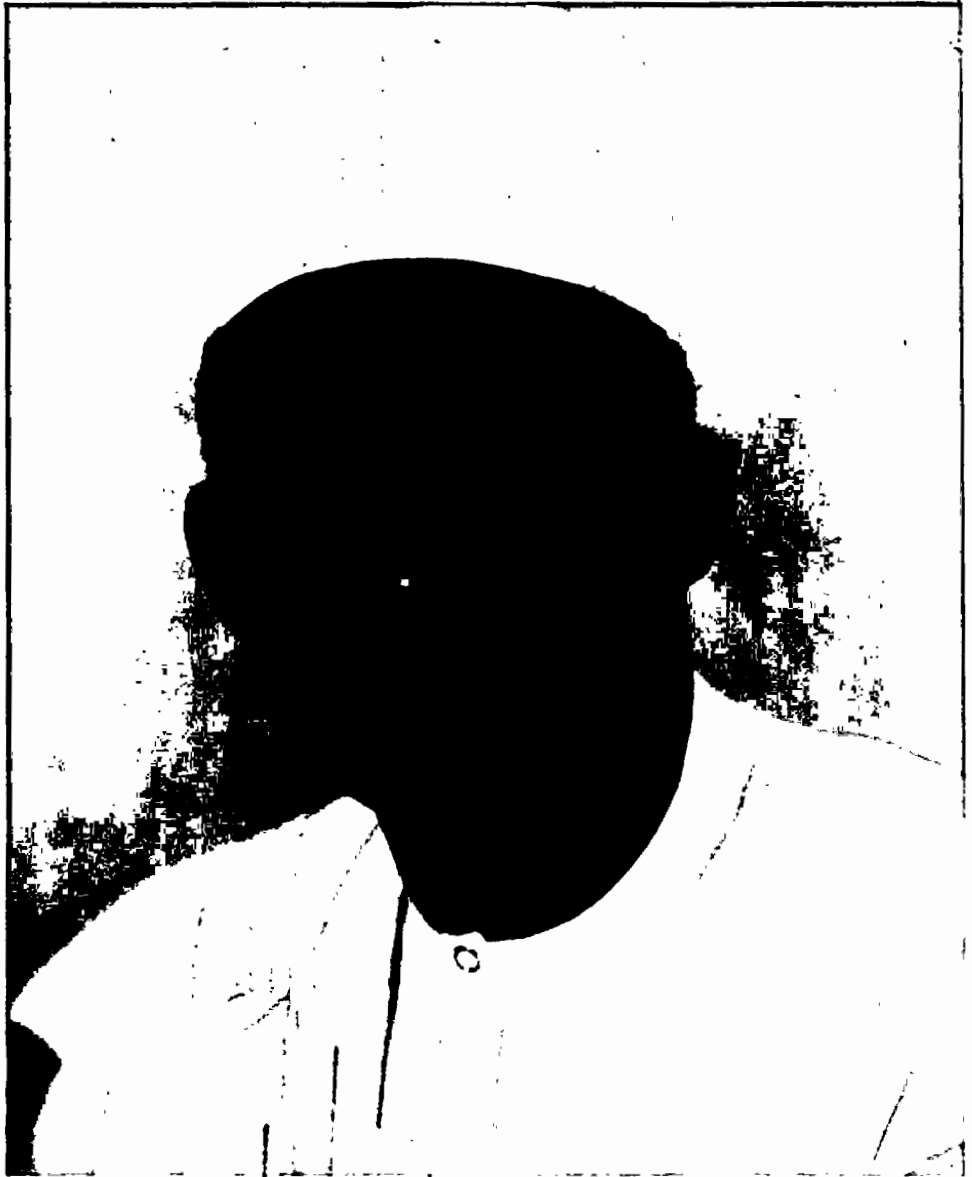
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**General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, CFR, fss, mni  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and 1991/92 Chairman of  
Organisation of African Unlty (OAU)**



**Admiral Augustus Aikhomu,  
Vice-President, Federal Republic of Nigeria**



**Alhaji Allyu Mohammed, Wazirin Jema'a  
Secretary to the Government of the Federation**



**Major-General I.O.S. Nwachukwu (rtd),  
Former Minister of External Affairs, Federal Republic of Nigeria**

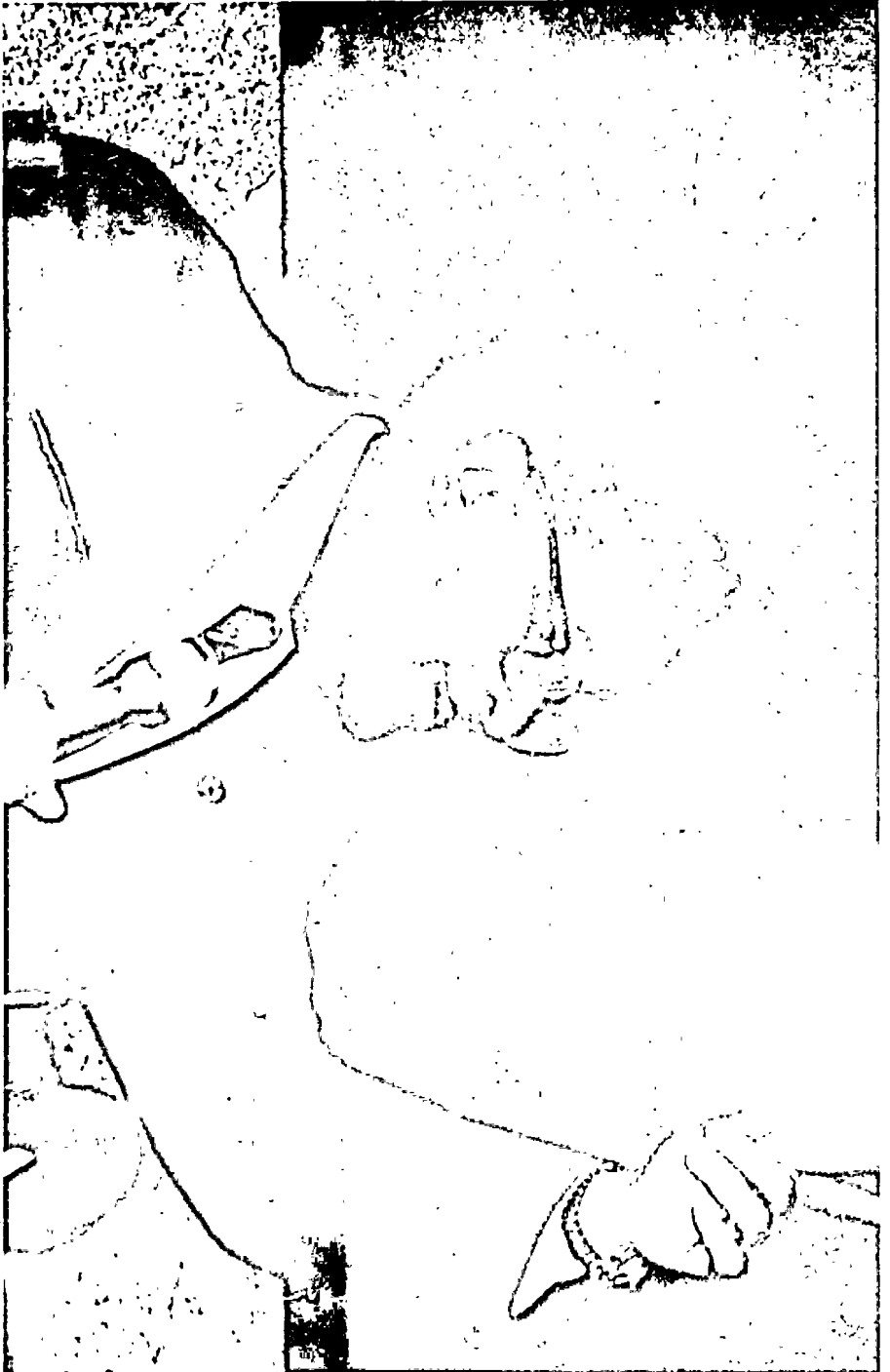


**Chief Matthew T. Mbu,  
Hon. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Nigeria**



**Major-General Muhammadu Gado Nasko (rtd)**  
**Administrator of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja**





**Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim**  
Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity



## Foreword

By

**General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, the 1991/1992 Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity**

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I am pleased to write the Foreword of the Commemorative Handbook on the 1991 Abuja Summit of the Organisation of African Unity. The Summit took place at a period of momentous continental and global events. The Berlin Wall which had physically and psychologically partitioned the world into two ideologically hostile blocs had collapsed. That event which took place in Europe affected Africa in no small way. The scramble for the new and more appealing markets of Eastern Europe and Eurasia made Africa less attractive to the economic powers and the aid givers of the West.

The Abuja Summit, therefore, came at a time when it had become imperative that Africans must take care of themselves. What was more, the Summit was a celebration of freedom and fertilisation of hope. An independent state of Namibia, was for the first time, represented among the rank and file of the member-nations of the OAU. Mr. Nelson Mandela, the president of the African National Congress, was actively present, drawing our attention to the reality of the soon-to-be achieved majority rule in South Africa. Mandela's presence in Abuja also consolidated our hope for the imminent end of the obnoxious system of apartheid, against which all the African people and their leaders had been waging relentless battles.

Abuja '91 was, therefore, a watershed for Africa. The African Economic

Community Treaty which was the product of the Summit was unprecedented and proved that Africans have come to the timely realisation that the burden of salvaging the continent from its multiferous problems lie in the hands of the Africans themselves. Abuja '91 was also a beacon of hope beyond the present, but temporary, economic and social problems, Africa must and will advance to the era of unhindered prosperity and freedom.

More significantly, Abuja '91 was a fulfilment of a dream and a wish for Nigeria and her people, for whom Africa has remained at the centre of our international policies. It is significant that during my tenure as the chairman of the OAU, I never lost sight of this entrenched policy standpoint of our nation. Therefore, our modest, but steadfast efforts at the resolution of conflicts between nations of our beloved continent during this period were informed by that philosophy.

I am indeed honoured and privileged to be a part of the historic events occurring on our dearly beloved continent, especially in this era of great challenges. It is my hope that the Commemorative Handbook on the Summit conveys these same sentiments of hope and fortitude for our embattled but blessed continent.

It is also my hope that all those who will have the opportunity to read the Handbook will identify with the wishes and aspirations of Africa and its people, and help in the realisation of the dreams of Nigeria, her leadership and people for the freedom, respect and prosperity for the whole of Africa.



**General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, CFR, fss, mni**  
President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the 1991/92 Chairman of  
the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Abuja, May 1993

# Preface

By

Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, Secretary to the Government of the Federation

It has been said many times that Africa is the centrepiece of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives — in fact, it has been said too many times that the impact and significance of that solemn declaration tends to slide into banality and the common place. Yet, nothing can ever replace the resolve of Nigeria, her people and her leaders to ensure that Africa does not only escape from her multifaceted sad problems, but also to rise above the other continents of the world.

The radiant smile of the people of any nation or region of Africa has never ceased to gladden the hearts of Nigeria. Every celebration of victory, independence or freedom in any corner of Africa is also celebrated by Nigeria. Nigeria's joy at the independence of Namibia, the continent's newest independent nation is still radiant. Our prayers over the eventual and total freedom for all the races in South Africa and the enthronement of majority rule, has not ebbed in frequency or intensity.

It is our conviction that no Nigerian can consider him or herself happy and contented until every child in Sudan be assured of a secure present and a hopeful future. And since one out of every five Africans is a Nigerian, how can he not regard every corner of the continent as home? How can she not work for the prosperity, peace and stability of every part of the continent?. Thus, if Nigeria has decided to show leadership role in the resolution of conflicts everywhere on the continent, even at the expense of the blood and tears of her people (as is the case in Liberia), it is in the belief that Africa should be kept peaceful and stable to ensure development and progress.

There is no doubt, therefore, that 1991 was a special year both for Nigeria and Africa. The significance of the Summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) that took place in Abuja, Nigeria's new capital, takes along with it a chain of symbols. First, just like Abuja is a symbol of unity for the 90 million Nigerians, the OAU Summit there represented another occasion for the reaffirmation of Africa's unity, especially in these trying times. That reaffirmation was underlined by the many epoch-making resolutions that were unanimously adopted at the summit. The most prominent and outstanding being the African Economic Community Treaty, the ratification and implementation of which will ensure Africa's recovery and advancement.

The Abuja Summit, also took place at the time of great political changes both in Africa and almost everywhere else within the world, especially with the wind of democracy blowing across the globe. Nigeria is proud to be on the threshold of these developments and equally proud to have hosted an OAU Summit where

Africans unanimously resolved to be a part of this global wind of change.

More importantly, the 1991 OAU summit at Abuja was a fitting tribute to our beloved President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida whose record of assistance to the needy African states is unparalleled, just as his roles in conflict resolution on the continent is unprecedented. The Abuja Summit was, therefore, Nigerias', and by extension President Babangida's finest hour. Further, the Summit was a great tribute to his foresight and determination to work together with other African leaders and patriots, in a noble attempt to leave a better future for our children.

It is also significant that Abuja played host to Africa before the movement of the seat of government of Nigeria to this resplendent capital. This symbolises President Babangida Administration's commitment to the centrality of African interests in our national affairs – interests which Nigeria is always willing to promote at the expense of her own interest and comfort.

There is therefore no greater way to ensure that the epoch-making 1991 OAU Summit at Abuja and all that it means in concrete and symbolic terms, are passed on from generation to generation, than through a careful and systematic documentation of the words and deeds of the actors at the summit — a document that gives a historical glance on the OAU itself, dwells on the 1991 Summit at Abuja, and projects into the future of Africa and her people. Our children and those yet unborn have an inalienable right to know how far their parents struggled in the fight to win the body and soul of Africa for Africans. The Commemorative Handbook on the 1991 Abuja OAU Summit attempts to do all these and more.

More importantly, it is a glowing recognition of the achievements of the Ibrahim Babangida's Administration in the arena of international relations. The Handbook pays tribute to the towering performance of President Babangida, when he took Africa's case to the 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York in 1991 and received a standing ovation for his brilliant presentation of Africa's case.

It is my hope that this Commemorative Handbook on the events at the Abuja Summit will aid in the greater understanding and appreciation of the great lengths to which the Ibrahim Babangida Administration has gone to ensure self-respect for Africa.

**Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed (*Wazirin Jema'a*)**  
**Secretary to the Government of the Federation**  
**Abuja, May 1993.**

# Acknowledgement

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A great number of individuals and agencies contributed immensely in the collation, editing and production of this Handbook. I am grateful to all of them.

I wish, however, to single out for special mention the immeasurable assistance and encouragement given to me by my boss, Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, Wazirin Jema'a and Secretary to the Government of the Federation. But for his support, this Handbook would have been a mere idea.

Special mention also goes to my wife Fatima, son Bala, daughters Aisha and Zainab, for their understanding during my frequent trips outside Lagos to source materials for this Handbook.

To my colleagues at the defunct Joint Implementation Committee (JIC) Secretariat—Bage, Bert, Charles, Felix, Shen, Yomi, Grillo and Maria.. I say thank you. So also to Isman, Okon, Basse and Udoh my staff at the International Organisations Department of the Political Affairs Office of the Presidency. I equally appreciate the support of the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs especially Ambassador E. Abuah.

Finally, I thank my very good friends Uche Ezechukwu, Eugene Olewunye and Gbola Osin for their invaluable editorial and production advice.

**Ibrahim Talba**  
Director (International Organisations Department)  
Political Affairs Office,  
The Presidency  
Abuja, Nigeria  
May, 1993.



## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **Organisation of African Unity:**

- History, Structure and Functions
- Profile of 1991/92 Chairman,  
President Ibrahim Babangida



# PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



1963- Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia



1964- Gamel Abdul Nasser of Egypt



1965- Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana



1966- Haile Selassie of Ethiopia

## Brief History Of The OAU

In the 19th century, people of African descent were yearning for the realisation of the dreams of a Pan-African state with distinctive cultural values for themselves. From the first Pan-African conclave in Manchester in 1900, attempts were made at channelling African aspirations for freedom, equality, justice and progress into an organised force for self assertion. Various efforts were made to establish an inter-African organisation before the consensus on the OAU charter.

In November 1958, Ghana and Guinea drafted a charter which was to form the basis of a Union of African Unity with Mali joining after. A conference was also held in Casablanca in 1961 by Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Libya, and Algeria to draw up a charter and set up an African High Command. Between 1960 and 1961 the francophone countries held three conferences. They later signed a charter in September 1961 in Tananarive to establish an African Union, OCAM.

By May, 1961, positive attempts were made to establish the union by 19 states, namely Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo Republic (ex-French) Cote d'Ivoire, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Liberia, Madagascar, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somali, Togo, Tunisia, and Upper-Volta. In January 1962 at a meeting in Lagos with Tunisia absenting and the Belgian Congo present, they set up a permanent secretariat and a standing committee of finance ministers. They also accepted a draft for an organisation of inter-African and Malagasy states.

It was in Addis Ababa, between May 23rd and 25th, 1963 that history was made. All the regional groupings finally buried all the political, linguistic and regional differences which had divided them and came to a compromise and a charter was adopted by 32 nations namely, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville) (now the Congo), Congo (Leopodville) (now Zaire), Cote d'Ivoire, Dahomey (now Benin), Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, (now Tanzania), Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, The United Arab Republic (now Egypt), and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso).

## Principles And Objectives Of The OAU Charter

Articles I and II of the OAU charter spell out its principles and objectives thus:

- A. Establishment of the Organisation of African States unity to include continental African Madagascar and other islands surrounding Africa.
- B. Aims:
  - i. to promote unity and solidarity of the African States;
  - ii. to intensify and co-ordinate efforts to improve living standards in Africa;

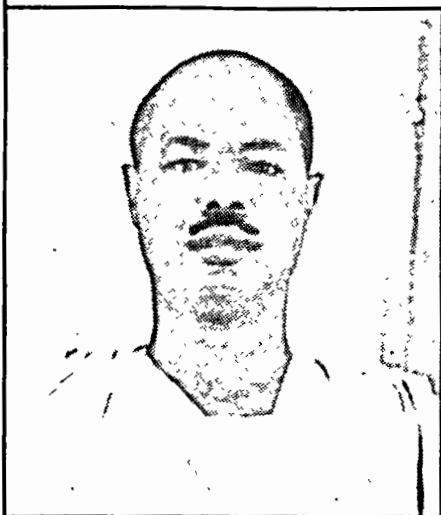
## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



1967- *Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire*



1968- *Houari Boumedienne of Algeria*

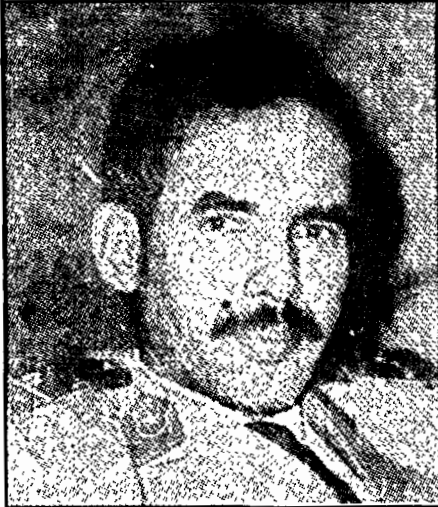


1969- *Ahmadu Ahidjo of Cameroun*



1970- *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*

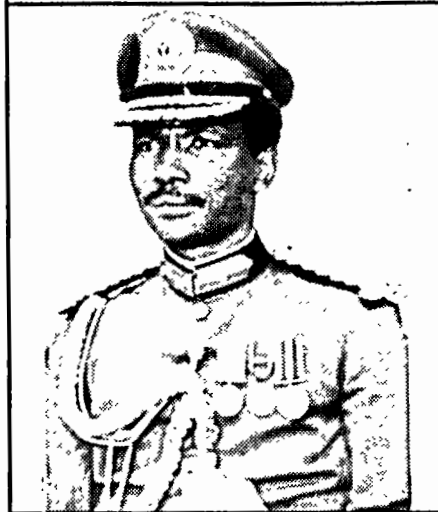
## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



1971- Moukhtar Ould Dada of Mauritania



1972- King Hassan of Morocco



1973- Gen Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria



1974- Siad Barre of Somalia

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

- iii. to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African States;
  - iv. to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa'
  - v. to promote international co-operation in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- C. In order to achieve these goals they pledged to harmonise their policies in these fields;
- i. Political and diplomatic co-operation;
  - ii. economic co-operation including transport and communications;
  - iii. educational and cultural co-operation;
  - iv. health, sanitation and nutritional co-operation;
  - v. scientific and technical co-operation;
  - vi. co-operation for defence and security.
- D. Seven fundamental principles were stated to attain these objectives:
- i. equal sovereignty for all member states;
  - ii. non-interference in the internal affairs of member states;
  - iii. respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence;
  - iv. peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration;
  - v. to condemn unreservedly in all its forms, political assassination, as well as subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states or any other state;
  - vi. absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent;
  - vii. affirm a policy of non-alignment with regards to all blocs.

## Membership

Membership of the Organisation was made open to all independent sovereign African states and neighbouring islands, numbering 51 states, namely, Algeria, Angola, Botswana, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroun, Chad, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Mali, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



1975- Idi Amin of Uganda



1976- Seewoosagur Ramgoolam of Mauritius



1977- Jean Bokassa of Central African Rep.



1978- Gaafar Nimeri of Sudan

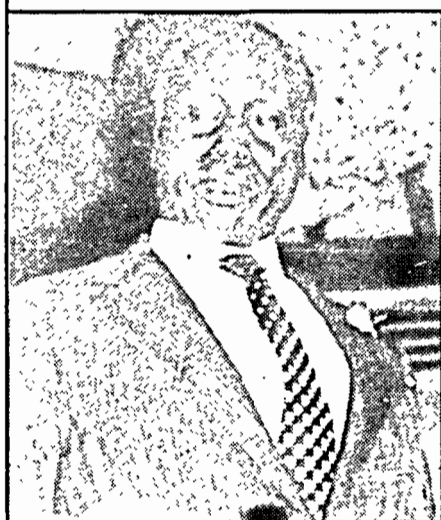
## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



1979- *William Tolbert of Liberia*



1980- *Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone*



1981- *Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya*



1982- *Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia*

## Organisation

### *(I) Assembly of Heads of State and Government*

This is the supreme organ of the organisation. It meets annually to co-ordinate policies of African States with provision for extraordinary meetings. Resolutions are passed by  $\frac{2}{3}$  majority. Procedural matters are passed by a simple majority. A chairman is elected at each meeting from among the members to hold office for one year.

### *(II) Council of Ministers*

Consists of foreign ministers or such other ministers as are designated by the governments of member states and meets twice annually with provision for extraordinary sessions. Each session elects its own chairman, prepares meetings of and is responsible to the Assembly of heads of state and government.

### *(III) General Secretariat*

This is the permanent headquarters of the OAU and is located in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital. It carries out functions assigned to it in the OAU charter and by other agreements and treaties made between member states.

Its functions are carried out through the following departments; Political, Finance, Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs, Economic Development and Co-operation, Administration and Conferences. The Secretary-General is elected for a four-year term by the Assembly of Heads of State.

*Secretary General – Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim (1991).*

The General Secretariat's address is: P.O. Box 3243, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Telephone 51700. Telex: 21046

### *(IV) Arbitration Commission*

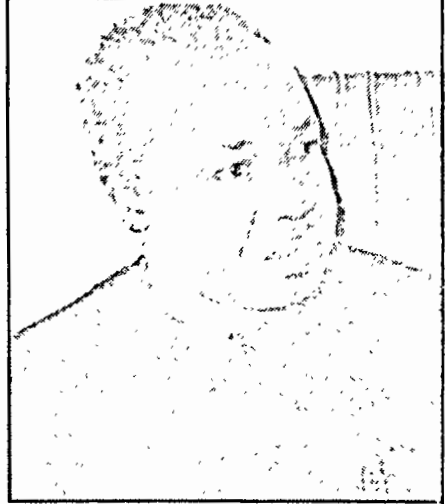
The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration was formed in 1964 at Addis Ababa and consists of 21 members elected by the Assembly of Heads of State for a five-year term. No state may have more than one member. It has a bureau consisting of a president and two vice presidents who are not eligible for re-election and hears and settles disputes among member states by peaceful means.



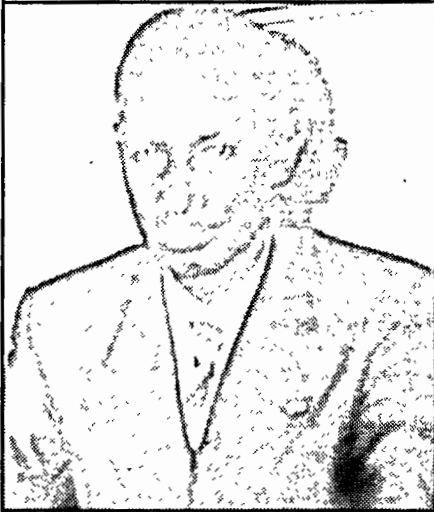
## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



1983- *Aborted Tripoli Summit*



1984- *Julius Nyerere of Tanzania*



1985- *Abdou Diouf of Senegal*



1986- *Sossou Nguesso of the Congo*

## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



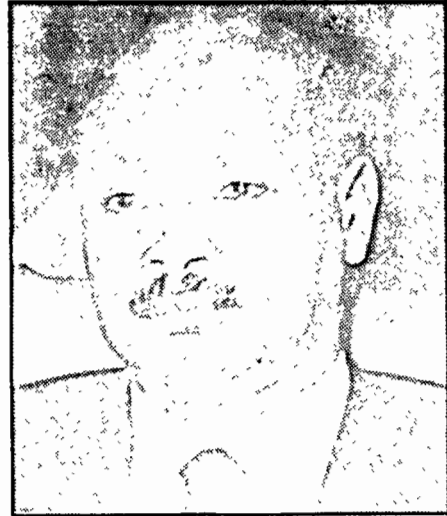
1987- *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*



1988- *Mousa Traore of Mali*



1989- *Hosni Mubarak of Egypt*



1990- *Yoweri Museveni of Uganda*

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### *(V) Specialised Commissions*

There are five specialised commissions for economic, social, transport and communication affairs, education, science, culture and health, defence, human rights and labour.

### *(VI) Liberation Committee*

There is a co-ordinating committee for the liberation movements of Africa formed in 1963 with headquarters in Dar es Salaam to provide financial and military aid to nationalist movements in dependent countries. Regional offices also exist in Maputo, (Mozambique) Lusaka (Zambia) and Luanda (Angola). The current Executive Secretary is Brigadier Hashim Mbita of Tanzania.

### *(VII) Budget*

Member states contribute in accordance with their United Nations assessment. No member is assessed for an amount exceeding 20 per cent of the yearly budget of the OAU.

### *(VIII) Specialised Agencies*

- i. African Anti Apartheid Committee, Brazzaville Congo;
- ii. African Bureau for Educational Sciences: BP 14 Kisangani, Zaire;
- iii. African Civil Aviation Commission (AFCAC), 15 Blvd de la République, BP 2356, Dakar, Senegal;
- iv. International Scientific Council for Trypanosomiasis Research and Control: Joint Secretariat, OAU/STRC 23 Marina, P.M.B. 2359, Lagos, Nigeria;
- v. Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU): P.O.Box M386, Accra, Ghana;
- vi. Pan-African News Agency (PANA): BP 4056, Dakar, Senegal;
- vii. Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU): P.O.Box 6026, Arusha, Tanzania;
- viii. Pan-African Telecommunication Union (PATU): BP 8034, Kinshasha, Zaire;
- ix. Scientific, Technical and Research Commission (OAU/STRC, 21 Marina, PMB 2359, Lagos, Nigeria;
- x. Supreme Council for Sports in Africa, BP 1363 Yaounde, Cameroun;
- xi. Union of African Railways, BP 687 Kinshasha, Zaire.

## PAST OAU CHAIRMEN



*1991- Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria*



*1992- Abdou Diouf of Senegal*

## **Profile of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, CFR, fss, mni President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and 1991/92 Chairman of the OAU**

General Ibrahim Babangida, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria and 1991/92 Chairman of the OAU, was born on August 17, 1941 in Minna, Niger State. He is one of the children of Muhammadu and Aishatu Babangida.

He began his primary education in 1950 and finished in 1956. In 1957 he gained admission into the Government College, Bida where he passed his West African School Examination in 1962.

General Babangida enrolled at the Nigerian Military Training College on December 10, 1962, passed out on April 20, 1963 and was later commissioned to the rank of Second Lieutenant. The General then proceeded to the Indian Military Academy for another course from where he graduated in April, 1964.

After graduation, he was appointed Commanding Officer of the 1st Reconnaissance Squadron until January, 1966 when he proceeded to the Royal Armoured Centre in the United Kingdom for the Young Officer's Course, which he completed on April 24, 1966. He was thereafter, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant that year. Soon after, he was back at the same Royal Armoured Centre where he bagged a certificate in Armoured Driving Maintenance the following year.

In July, 1968, he formed and was appointed Commander, 44 Infantry Battalion (The Rangers) and got elevated to the rank of captain in August of the same year. It was also during this tour of duty as Commanding Officer in the same battalion, that he earned his promotion as a major in April, 1970.

Based on his previous good performances, he was nominated for the company Commanders' course at Warminster in the United Kingdom between October and November 1970, and after a successful completion, he was appointed instructor and Company Commander at the Nigerian Defence Academy between 1970 and 1972. He commenced the advanced Armoured Officers' Course at the Armoured School in the United States on August 16, 1972 where he again passed out with flying colours on June 8, 1973. On his return, he was appointed Commander - 4 Reconnaissance Regiment and was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel in 1974- a position he held until his appointment as the inspector and subsequently the commander Nigeria Army Armoured Corps in 1975. In January 1977, he proceeded briefly on the Senior Officers' Course at the Command and Staff College, Jaji. After completing the course in July of the same year, he was redeployed to his former post as Commander of the Nigerian Army Armoured Corps where he was until 1979 when he was promoted to Brigadier.

Soon after his promotion, he attended the policy and strategic studies course at the Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) at Kuru, Jos, Plateau State. Later he went in for the Senior International Defence Management Course at the Naval



**President Ibrahim Babangida with some members of his family**

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

Post-graduate School in the United States between January and June, 1980.

On January 5, 1981, he was appointed director, Army Staff Duties and Plans and promoted a Major-General on March 1, 1983. He relinquished his appointment to become the Chief of Army Staff on December 31, 1983. General Babangida was also a member of the Supreme Military Council-the highest policy formulating body of the Government between August 1, 1975 and October 1979.

He was re-appointed to this same vital government organ when the Military took over the reins of power from the civilians on December 31, 1983, in his new capacity as the army boss. He combined both appointments until August 27, 1985, when he became President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. On assumption of office, he changed the title Supreme Military Council (SMC) to Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) of which he is the current Chairman. On October 1, 1987 President Babangida was promoted to full General.

In recognition of his services to the nation, General Babangida was conferred with one of the highest national honour awards, the Commander of the Federal Republic, CFR. Apart from the national honour he has also been decorated on five occasions - these are the Defence Service Medal (DSM); the National Service Medal (NSM); the Royal Service Medal (RSM); the Forces Services Star (FSS); and the General Service Medal (GSM).

He is married to former Hajiya Maryam King since September, 1969 and they are blessed with four children, two boys and two girls.

General Babangida has presented several military and service papers some of which are titled - "Civil/Military Relationship - The Nigerian Experience 1979" and "Defence Policy within the Framework of National Planning 1985".

Among the places he has visited are Western and Eastern Europe, North America, Middle East, Africa and Asia. His hobbies include reading, soccer and cricket.



Dr. Salim & Major General Ike Nwachukwu at the 54th Session of Council of Ministers



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## **CHAPTER TWO**

# **The 1991 Abuja OAU Summit:** **Fifty-fourth Session of Council of Ministers** **Resolutions Adopted at the Fifth-Fourth Session**

# **Introductory Note of the Secretary-General, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim**

28 May, 1991  
Abuja, Nigeria.

*Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished Ministers,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Allow me to preface my introductory remarks by joining the host authorities and particularly Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu in bidding you welcome to Abuja.

This distinguished council adjourned, last February, in the midst of the war in the Gulf. Today, the battle fronts are silent, what must follow are the processes of reconciliation and reconstruction. It is not going to be easy either for Kuwait or Iraq. I would hope, therefore, that the same unity and zeal shown to right a wrong done unto Kuwait will be demonstrated in helping both Kuwait and Iraq reconstruct and the entire Arab World reconcile, and heal the wounds inflicted by the war.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The need for reconciliation is great as well in Africa where conflicts persist and new ones emerged with increasing rapidity. When this Council met last July, the conflicts in Rwanda and Somalia had not yet erupted. With these unfortunate additions we are today, faced with eleven sets of active conflicts on the continent, excluding South Africa. There are other conflicts which are latent and could be ignited by the slightest misunderstanding. These conflicts have and continue to sap the energies and resources of our continent. They have precipitated refugees, resulted in the displacement, starvation and death of millions of people. These conflicts have caused environmental degradation and diverted people away from production and locked them into hate and destruction. We need to put an end to this calamity which has befallen our continent.

*Mr. Chairman*

The Horn of Africa is embroiled in war. The conflicts which rage on in Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan have combined to produce one of the saddest picture, of human suffering on the continent. As a region, it has the largest number of refugees in Africa and more are still trekking into exile with only a grim future of uprootedness, possible starvation and death in transit or a life of squalor in refugee camps to look forward to. I am saddened that a human tragedy of such magnitude should be allowed to continue.

The situation in Somalia remains disquieting as attempts at national dialogue have

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continued to flounder. I continue to be gravely concerned with the unfolding human drama. Hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children have been forced into squalid conditions of exile in refugee camps with no reprieve in sight. Attempts to bring together the warring parties and negotiate modalities for peace and restore normalcy have so far failed to bear fruit. I am also concerned that this continued stage of conflict and its attendant human suffering, seriously undermines the peace and security of the region and poses a threat to its long term stability. I have made this concern known to those involved Somali leaders with whom I have been able to consult. I wish to reiterate my appeal to the parties involved in the Somali conflict to subordinate their differences to the greater need of ending the war and pave the way to the restoration of peace in the country and to begin on the more daunting task of national reconciliation and reconstruction. I wish also to commend those individual countries and leaders, particularly the current Chairman of the OAU, President Yoweri Museveni, who have taken initiatives and placed their offices and services to the search for peace in the Somalia. I also wish to reiterate my appeal for urgent international humanitarian assistance to the many innocent victims who are now languishing in refugee camps without adequate shelter, food and medicines.

The Sudanese conflict remains unresolved. The raging war is leaving behind human suffering, starvation and death. On many occasions I have spoken of the serious consequences of the continuation of this conflict, not only to the welfare of the Sudanese people and country, but equally to the peace and security of the continent. In my contacts with the Sudanese government and the SPLM. I have continued to appeal for the reactivation of dialogue. I have noted, in the course of my consultations that, while the issues which divide the two parties to the conflict are not insurmountable, they could not otherwise be resolved unless they are discussed. I wish to report that I continue to see both parties committed to the unity of their country and to the principle of dialogue. I am happy also to report that both the government of Sudan and the leadership of the SPLM persist in their confidence in the OAU and the role it is and will continue to play in helping the parties narrow their differences even further and facilitate a negotiated settlement. In this respect, we hope to consolidate the progress we have made so far, building on the mutual goodwill and disposition which now exist. I wish to seize this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to the Sudanese leadership and particularly to President El-Beshir for the confidence they have placed in the OAU and in the person of its secretary-general.

The situation in Ethiopia has continued to be a matter of grave concern to Africa and the world community. In the last few weeks and especially in the last few days, we have witnessed a dramatic escalation in that conflict with its attendant repercussions in terms of loss of human life, continued suffering and destruction to property. Evidently, the unfolding situation there now has assumed a new dimension.

Bearing in mind the concrete situation then prevailing, I took the opportunity on the occasion of the opening of the OAU Liberation Committee meeting here in Abuja, on May 24, to join you, Mr Chairman, as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, to launch

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a firm and solemn appeal for an immediate cessation of hostilities and to urge the parties to the conflict to negotiate an end to the war. In my appeal, I have also expressed the hope that the London talks would be used by the parties as a turning point for the establishment of peace and security in Ethiopia. I have followed up this appeal by dispatching, yesterday, a special delegation to London to underscore the OAU'S profound concern over the situation and our full support for the talks aimed at ending the conflict. This delegation, which is led by Ambassador Haggag, the Assistant Secretary-General, will follow the peace talks and will affirm, through appropriate channels, our readiness and disposition to contribute, in whatever way possible, towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict and the greater challenge that lies ahead in terms of a return to normalcy, reconciliation and subsequent reconstruction.

In my appeal to the parties to the conflict, I have also strongly called upon them to respect the international character and importance of Addis Ababa, the headquarters of our organisation, the OAU, the seat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and other international institutions. I have made it clear that any escalation of the conflict, involving the city of Addis Ababa, will have far reaching consequences for the nationals in that city and also for the large international community residing there.

In the light of the foregoing, we have received, with relief and expectation, the news that a ceasefire agreement has been reached, yesterday. We welcome this agreement which represents a very significant step forward in the efforts to bring an end to the war in that country. Evidently, the OAU has a particular and special interest in the restoration of peace, security and stability in Ethiopia for it is from Addis Ababa that our organisation is operating. We, therefore, call for the consolidation of the ceasefire and look forward to the creation of conditions which would ensure that peace, security, stability and reconciliation prevail in Ethiopia which has, for too many years, been engulfed in internecine and fratricidal conflicts of one form or another.

*Mr. Chairman,*

While the situation in Liberia remains volatile, I am encouraged by the efforts being made by the ECOMOG and ECOWAS generally to restore peace and normalcy in the country and to promote dialogue and national reconciliation. I am at the same time worried by the current internationalization of the conflict by its spread into Sierra Leonean territory. The violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sierra Leone represents a serious escalation and expansion of the conflict which not only mitigates against its speedy resolution but places in serious jeopardy, the prospects for a durable peace and stability of the entire region.

During my visit to West Africa earlier this month; I consulted broadly with Presidents Eyadema, Babangida, Houphouet Boigny, Lansana Conte and Momoh on the situation in the region and the efforts of ECOMOG and ECOWAS to facilitate and end to the Liberian conflict or to stem its enlargement. Those consultations rekindled my hopes for restoring peace to Liberia, reinforced my belief that regional frameworks, arising out of a regional consensus, hold much potential in facilitating

settlement of regional conflicts. I took advantage of my visit to underscore the need for greater cohesion among the member countries of ECOWAS. I also reiterated OAU's support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Sierra Leone.

I left West Africa at the time very much encouraged by the determination of those leaders to persist in their efforts to promote a peaceful settlement. I continue to hope that those parties involved in the conflict will see the wisdom for dialogue. For in the final analysis, it is the very people in whose name they are supposed to be fighting who are suffering the most with the persistence of the conflict. I wish, at the same time to renew my appeal to the international community for the much needed humanitarian assistance in the form of food and medicine, especially now that the security situation has ease appreciably and the country is relatively accessible.

*Mr. Chairman,*

After much delay, the process towards the resolution of the Western Sahara question seems now back on course. Last month, the United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution approving the plan for the holding of a referendum in the territory. The OAU will cooperate with the United Nations in supervising the referendum. Consultations are on to determine the nature, extent of that cooperation including the identification of personnel for that purpose. The progress made by the adoption of that Security Council resolution is an important one. But beyond the adoption of that resolution lies the need to ensure that the process of holding the referendum begin soon and is conducted without any hindrance.

*Mr. chairman,*

In February, I reported on the diplomatic initiatives which had been undertaken or were then underway to find a peaceful settlement to the conflict in Rwanda. I spoke in particular of the meeting between President Museveni of Uganda and Habyarimana of Rwanda which took place on February 17, in Zanzibar as well as of the Dar-Es-Salaam regional summit which have just been concluded and the firm undertakings entered into by the leaders of the region to persist in their search for a negotiated settlement and a stable and lasting solution to the refugee problem. In further manifestation of the commitment of these countries to the cause of peace in the region, thanks to the mediation efforts of President Mobutu of Zaire, it was possible to sustain the momentum for dialogue and goodwill generated by the Dar-Es-Salaam summit and finally to reach agreement on a formal ceasefire between the two parties to the conflict. The ceasefire agreement was signed at N'sele in Zaire, on March 29, 1991, by the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front and a representative of the mediator. I was privileged to attend and sign the agreement on behalf of the OAU.

The agreement represented a significant step. It underlined the commitment of the parties to move away from military confrontation and embrace a course of negotiation. It also embodied an undertaking by the OAU to help the parties cease hostilities, build confidence, narrow their differences further and ultimately put in motion a process of

dialogue and creation of a group of neutral military observers under the supervision of the secretary. The observer group is composed of fifteen officers each from Burundi, Uganda, and Zaire to be joined by five officers each from the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. This team of neutral observers was charged with the responsibility of observing the ceasefire and to report on instances of its violation by the parties. I appointed Brigadier Hashim Mbita, the Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, as my representative to head the team.

What remains to be done is to fully secure the peace process which has been achieved in Rwanda so far as a major breakthrough on which we must build both politically and institutionally. It has demonstrated that it is possible to put together and sustain a political initiative to deal with conflicts in Africa. It has also demonstrated that, with the courage to summon the requisite political will, it is possible to elaborate political frameworks and mechanisms within which conflicts can be considered, contained and hopefully finally resolved. But this is possible only when it is preceded and indeed, underwritten by political decisions by the parties involved to submit to peaceful settlement as well as of the other countries especially those within proximity to support the peace process.

We did initially encounter some problems mainly of a logistic and legal nature. From the legal standpoint, the Government of Rwanda raised two issues, namely, the selection of a country to replace Tanzania which could not serve as a member of the military observer group as provided in the N'sele ceasefire agreement and the interpretation of the relevant provisions of the ceasefire agreement regarding the role and participation of the parties in the conflict in the activities of the military observer group. Despite these initial difficulties, I am happy to report that the work of the group is proceeding reasonably well. My representative was able to appoint his headquarters staff and deploy the units in the observation sectors. He was able to sign an agreement on the status of the military observer group in Rwanda with the Rwandese Government on the May 4, 1991. I wish to report that, thanks to the cooperation extended by the government, it was possible to deploy the military observer group in the Byumba, Mutara and Ruhengeri operational sectors in the Northern part of Rwanda.

Since the eruption of this unfortunate conflict, many governments outside our continent have shown their support for the OAU efforts in helping to find solution to the conflict. Some of them have gone further than the affirmation of political support. The Belgian Government, for example, has repeatedly declared both publicly and privately its disposition to provide concrete assistance to facilitate the operations of the neutral military group. As yet however, we have not been appraised of the concrete type of assistance to be provided. At the same time, the government of France has formally communicated to us their pledge to provide two million French francs in kind to support our operations. I wish to thank them all for their positive disposition. In particular, I wish to thank the Government of France for its concrete pledge of assistance and the Government of Belgium for the anticipated assistance.

*Mr Chairman*

The situation in Angola holds promise. In only a few days to come, a ceasefire will be signed in Lisbon thus confirming an earlier agreement initialed in early May. The coming into effect of a ceasefire agreement will not only put a definite end to the senseless and ravaging war which was imposed on that country but also pave the way to national dialogue and reconstruction. Settlement in Angola holds also promise for the larger peace in the region. I wish, in this respect, to express the hope that the momentum for peace, triggered by this agreement, will be sustained and consolidated so as to ensure that the hope of a peaceful and unified Angola, which is now on the horizon, will be speedily realized. I wish to commend both parties to this unfortunate conflict for the wisdom and foresight they have displayed in arriving at this agreement. I wish, in particular, to pay tribute to President Eduardo Santos and the government of Angola for their perseverance and commitment to the process of peace even, sometimes, in the face of the most blatant and persistent provocations. In the final analysis, it is this spirit which has been critical in facilitating the Lisbon agreement. I wish, in this respect, to pay tribute to the United States, the Soviet Union and Portugal for their role in brokering the agreement. I hope they will show greater readiness to see to it that the peace process now beginning is not undermined and that ultimately the Angolan people will be allowed to put the sad chapter of war behind their backs and redirect their energies and resources away from destruction and towards the realization of the vast development potential of their tormented country.

*Mr. Chairman,*

While the situation in Mozambique is not as yet promising. I am encouraged however, that both parties to the conflict remain committed, in principle, to the avenue of peace and continue with their negotiations. The Lome round of negotiations have so far proved to be a sustainable framework for dialogue and hence a viable route to a peaceful settlement. I wish to express the hope that those involved will continue to deploy all effort to ensure that a stable, lasting solution to the conflict in Mozambique is found. I wish to pay deserving tribute to the Mozambican Government and to President Chissano, in particular, for his perseverance and commitment to a peaceful solution. Ultimately, it is this goodwill and perseverance which continue to sustain the dialogue and which will underwrite a political settlement. I hope those with influence and leverage over the RENAMO will prevail upon them so that the negotiations now in progress are not undermined or stalled any longer.

*Mr. Chairman,*

I now turn to the situation in South Africa has repeatedly acknowledged that some important and positive changes have taken place in South Africa. We welcomed the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, even if many more remain incarcerated. We welcomed the unbanning of ANC, PAC and other anti-apartheid groups even though many apartheid legislations continue to proscribe their political activities. We did also welcome other measures including the meetings between the

ANC and the apartheid government. As an objective, we commend it and we could wish nothing better for South Africa. But it remains a stated objective which is not corroborated by any appreciable progress in the field of negotiations. The tabling for repeal by the apartheid parliament of the land, population registration and group areas acts have understandably rekindled hopes and optimism among the oppressed black majority for a let up in the apartheid grip. Quite understandable, however, is the positive reaction it has generated in many countries including those in Africa and the clamour for the repeal of sanctions it has generated within the European Economic Community. I am, however, concerned that such unilateral moves could hamper and retard the process of change which has begun in South Africa.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Africa is not impervious to reason nor is it insensitive to change. We have collectively stated our willingness to exercise the necessary flexibility in respect of the situation in apartheid South Africa including reconsideration of sanctions when circumstances so warrant. We have said that, once there is, in demonstrable evidence, an irreversible process towards the total elimination of apartheid and establishment of a non-racial unitary and democratic South Africa, Africa will be ready to welcome that country in its comity of nations. This is a standing and collective position of Africa as articulated in the Harare declaration. This position is also shared, in principle, by the international community and enshrined in the United Nations consensus declaration on apartheid. Consistent with our wish to urge on the process towards change, we have encouraged the black majority along the path of negotiations whenever possibilities for dialogue exist. This has been the position of Africa as far back as 1969 when the Lusaka Manifesto was adopted. Africa negotiations. We would, therefore, be the first to insist that negotiations should take place in South Africa, and if genuine negotiations were to begin and take root, we would equally be among those who would urge that incentives be given to that process as both a recognition of the progress made and as an insurance against reaction. Indeed, it is appropriate to debate the future of the sanctions regime taking into account the positive changes that have occurred in South Africa and with due consideration for the continued prosecution of the struggle against apartheid.

*Mr. Chairman,*

We do, indeed, recognize that there are some changes. Some of the principal legislations of apartheid are slated for repeal and there is now an increased measure of political activity arising from the unbanning of political groupings. Indeed Mr De Klerk has continued to promise more changes and continues to claim commitment to change. However, the facts on the ground would urge caution. May I point out in this regard that the consultations, which have been undertaken between the ANC and the Government, have largely been about talks.

Furthermore, even if all principal legislations are repealed, the fundamental question of the constitution which embodies the philosophical premise of apartheid remains



outstanding. It is a cardinal issue. For even when those legislations disappear, unless there is a fundamental revision of the constitution, apartheid will only be in abeyance and not eliminated.

We have come a long way in the struggle against apartheid. As a world joined by common humanity, the international community declared apartheid a crime against humanity. In demonstration of its deep abhorance of that obnoxious system, the world instituted measures to force the di-hard racists in apartheid South Africa to abandon their evil ways. Economic sanctions were a manifestation and pillar of that policy. Indeed, this was in complement of the internal struggles, including armed, which were being waged by the oppressed majority inside South Africa. This combination of pressure of internal resistance and international sanctions raised the price of apartheid and ultimately forced Mr De Klerk to begin talking of change. The changes so far undertaken are a direct result of the synergy of struggle. Needless to say, it is this very synergy which is now more than crucial to sustain this process, to consolidate the gains made and to eventually underwrite the negotiations for a new constitution for the country.

But whatever one may say about the debate on sanctions, time has come for Africa to re seize the initiative and dictate the pace instead of reacting to the agenda of others. We should reassess the situation and see whether, indeed, we need a review of policy and whether the necessity of sanctions has waned or not. To remain ambivalent in our words and deeds will only give solace and credence to the detractors of Africa's freedom and further divide our ranks. Whatever emerges out of this re-evaluation, it would be tragic if Africa is to be seen as contributing to undermining the international consensus against apartheid. By logic of the same argument, we should not be seen to be oblivious to change and possibly miss an opportunity for constructive involvement in the evolutionary process now under way in South Africa. Ultimately, what we need is unity of action and one voice. Whichever course of action we take, it must be a common one, arrived at collectively.

*Mr. Chairman,*

As the people of Africa yearn for peace, their brethren in Palestine yearn for a homeland as they do also for peace. The Israeli Government continues to trample underfoot the Palestinian rights in total defiance and disregard for international opinion. I remain concern that, as Israel persists in its occupation of Palestinian territory as well as Arab lands and progresses with the alteration of the demographic composition of these lands through establishing new settlements, it will only worsen an already explosive situation. We call for urgent international action to elaborate a political framework within which the Palestinian and Middle-East problems can be comprehensively dealt with. For ultimately, a stable and lasting solution does not lie in aggression and occupation but in a political framework which recognizes the right of all states in the region to exist within secure and internationally recognized borders. It must also be one which, at the same time, refuses to acquiesce in aggression and recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to self determination including the right

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to homeland. To this end, we continue to urge finalization of the consultations and the paving of the way for the convening of an international conference on the Middle-East.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The people of Africa and those in the Arab world are inextricably linked by blood, history, geography and thousands of years of interaction. These bonds were founded on the mutuality of interest and solidarity is all the more needed to sustain those bonds and to forge unity and common interests. Stronger Afro-Arab co-operation must be the manifestation of that solidarity. Accordingly, we intend to pursue vigorously those of our common programmes with the Arab League which are in process. I would like to seize this opportunity to extend my congratulations to Dr. Esmat Abdel-Maguid, the newly elected Secretary-General of the league of Arab States for his election and efforts for reconciliation among the member states of the Arab League. It is our intention to pursue vigorously our relations of co-operation with the League. Moreover, and with the transfer of the Arab League headquarters back to Cairo, the General Secretariat has begun arrangements to shift our executive secretariat to the Arab League to Cairo as well.

We have come to Abuja for a rendezvous with history. Ten years ago in Lagos, Africa adopted the Lagos plan of action and its final Act. In 1980, our member States committed themselves, individually and collectively, to the principle of collective self-reliance. It was a commitment to strengthen the existing regional economic communities and to create new ones where they do not exist so as to pave the way for the establishment of the African Economic Community. The treaty, which will be signed, is a clear demonstration of the fulfilment of these commitments. It constitutes an embodiment of the political will to co-operate that is required in order to realize the objectives which the OAU member States set for themselves to attain in the 1990s. This is a significant achievement for the OAU. It is an important leap into the 1990s particularly since the imperatives of current fundamental changes and developments which are taking place in the world require of us to relaunch our collective political resolve in order to survive the under-currents of the economic doldrums of our continent.

Since February this year, the General Secretariat has continued with the work on the draft treaty establishing the community before its submission to our heads of States and governments. In addition, the General Secretariat continued to carry out desk research on the studies relating to the various protocols which shall be annexed to the treaty. This is a major exercise which requires in-depth studies and research both at the desk and in the field. I am glad to report that with the assistance of the UNDP, and together with the co-operating secretariats of the ECA and ADB, we have now recruited a team of consultants whom we have fielded out and who are currently visiting the headquarters of the regional economic communities and the intergovernmental organizations in each of the regions. The team of consultants will be accompanied by their counterparts from the OAU, ECA and ADB secretariats. They will collect the data which is relevant to the terms of reference for their studies. We

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have, in addition, asked the consultants to hold discussions with governments of the region in order to get their views. Following the outcome of their studies and consultations, it is expected that they will prepare a comprehensive draft protocol on the relationship between the future community and the regional economic groupings.

As envisaged, some of the principal objectives of the community shall consist, first and foremost, of strengthening, harmonising and co-ordinating the activities of the existing regional economic communities. They will, in addition, study and recommend the modalities for the rationalization of the activities of other inter-governmental organizations in each of the regional economic communities such as: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), The Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA), the Economic Community of the Central African States (ECCAS) and the Arab Magreb Union. These and other related studies will be submitted to Council through the Permanent Steering committee during the third quarter of this year.

### *Mr. Chairman,*

During the fifty-third session of the Council, I reported about the preparatory arrangements for holding a high level meeting on the co-operation between the OAU and the United Nations system. I am now pleased to inform the Council that the meeting was held in Addis Ababa, from April 2-5, 1991. The report of this meeting is contained in a document before the Council. The meeting recommended a number of measures which will ensure closer co-operation between the two organizations, and particularly as regards the UN support to OAU's efforts to build the African Economic Community. In this connection, it was agreed that the United Nations System - wide organization and its agencies will take due account of OAU's priorities and requirements relating to the African Economic Community in preparing their respective work programmes. The UN system will, in addition, assist the OAU in various other sectoral activities in the field of Food and Agriculture, Environment and Development, Science and Technology as well as dealing with the question of refugees, displaced persons and emergency situations.

### *Mr. Chairman,*

I would like to single out an important area of co-operation between the OAU and the UNDP, at a time when the UNDP is currently involved in the preparation of its fifth programme cycle for the period 1991 - 1996. The OAU General Secretariat has taken keen interest in the work of the UNDP especially as regards its regional development components of assistance to Africa. It is in this connection that the OAU participated in the preparatory meeting of the UN agencies and African Inter-Governmental Organizations which was held in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, in February this year. The OAU underlined the need for the United Nations and its agencies to co-operate with the OAU in order to ensure the rationalization, co-ordination and programming of UN development assistance to African economic integration groupings within the context and framework of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community. The

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General Secretariat will continue to follow-up this matter so that UNDP development assistance to the regional economic communities and to the OAU shall be aligned with the need to support the programmes related to integration.

Last year, I spoke of the UNDP sponsored project to improve the services and functioning of the printing unit. Your excellencies will have noticed a marked improvement in the quality of print in the documents before you. This is a result of the computerization of the printing unit and completion of the installation of the plant. The unit is now in full operation and was officially commissioned on May 20, 1991. I wish, once again, to thank the UNDP for this and the continuing assistance in other areas, especially the computerization and the improvement in the managerial and administrative skills of the staff of the organization.

In the field of human resource development and population issues, I have already reported on the establishment of a unit on population and development in the Secretariat. The unit is now preparing the groundwork including consultations with relevant international organizations in order to convene the first session of the OAU Population Commission in the second half of this year. With regard to the question of human resource development, the General Secretariat is working very closely with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the Pan-African Employer's Confederation (PAEC), the East and Southern African Management Institute (ESAMI) and the ILO in order to explore possibilities for setting up regional productivity centres. This, it is hoped, will be eventually merged into an African centre for management, productivity and entrepreneurship development, supporting directly the integration process.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The signature of the treaty and the consequent fusion of the African Economic Community with the OAU will, of course, entail fundamental review of the Secretariat in terms of its agenda, mandate and structure. It will require a re-appraisal of the effectiveness of the existing institutional set-up within the Secretariat and a re-assessment of the human resource capacity now available so as to see its potential in dealing with the new challenges before the organization. Apart from the Economic Community matters, it will be necessary, in addition, to take cognizance of the new perspectives emerging in Africa and which the OAU will have to address. I have in mind here the new issues such as human rights, environment, conflict resolution, democratization and others, which will have to be dealt with comprehensively if the African Economic Community is to take off and function. In this exercise of appraisal, I realize that there are those responsibilities which rest within the competence of member States and those which are for the General Secretariat. At our level, we have begun to think hard on how we see the future OAU within the context of these new challenges and the kind of manpower, institutional and structural reforms or adjustments which will be required. For this purpose, I have set up a task force on the future role and structure of the General Secretariat to study and advise within the new imperatives. The full report on the matter will, subsequently, be submitted to the

Council of Ministers.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Africa is increasingly afflicted by the consequences of the degradation of the environment. The survival of Africa will depend upon her ability to reverse the current trend of degradation of the continents natural resources and life support system and cleaning up of our urban centres. Poor health problems arising from poor sanitation, water pollution, deforestation, poor land husbandry and other threats to environmental stability are linked to poverty and underdevelopment. The efforts to safeguard our environment will, therefore, be meaningful if they are linked to the whole question of development.

It will also be necessary to ensure that the preservation of the environment is recognized as a key component of development and integrated in our respective national development plans and programmes. But sustainable environmental policy must be one which promotes growth and development and places, at the disposal of the common man in Africa, viable options. These viable options such as alternative sources of energy, better farming methods, preserving the balance of the ecosystem with improved yields are all only possible with development. This, therefore, makes it imperative that, as Africa prepares for the Brazil environment conference in 1992, emphasis should be put on the dual approach of Africa to the issue of preserving the environment. It must be linked with the elimination of global poverty and to development generally. To sustain this position in the face of so much likely opposition, we must firm up our preparation of a common position as a group as soon as possible.

With the adoption of the Bamako commitment on environment and development this January, Africa has begun on the right course of linking environment to sustainable development. also, the adoption of the Bamako convention on the banning of the import of hazardous wastes into Africa and the control of their transboundary movement was a milestone in the efforts to stem the pollution of our environment. I, therefore, urge those countries which have not signed the convention to do so and those which have done so to deposit their instruments of ratification as soon as possible.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Last year, I reported on my consultative visits to member States. In the course of the past year, I have continued with these visits. I have found them to be invaluable in affording me not only the opportunity to consult with the leadership but also to see the countries and the people. To see, at closer range, their problems and appreciate their efforts. These visits, which have so far taken me to thirty five countries, have shown me the full magnitude of the problems and their commonality to Africa. This has, in turn, reinforced my conviction that, given the common nature of our problems, Africa can solve them only through a common, integrated approach. I am happy to say that this, I found also, to be the view commonly held by all the leaders I was privileged to meet.

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In March this year, I paid visits to the Comoros, Mauritius, Kenya and Seycheles Islands. In all these countries, I was able to consult with president Djohar, Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth, President Moi and Rene respectively on the situation in Africa and the world at large and what the OAU can do to face the multiplicity of challenges before our continent. I benefited greatly from their wise counsel. I also held lengthy discussions with the ministers and top officials of these countries. In the three Indian Ocean States, I was encouraged by their determined efforts to consolidate the bonds which link them to Mainland Africa and jointly with Madagascar to play an active role in the PTA through the organization of Indian Ocean States. I urged them to bring Mainland Africa into even greater focus in Islands.

In Comoros, in particular, I appreciated the efforts of the people struggling to shirk the legacy of the mercenarism and steadily building in its place the foundations of democratic rule. I left encouraged by the progress made so far and confident that the Comoros is finding her feet again and on the road to national unity and consolidation of democratic government. During my trip to the Comoros, the issue of Mayotte was brought to my attention by the Comorian leadership. I would also like to report that the opposition leaders, whom I was able to meet, also insisted on the Comorian sovereignty over the restoration of the island of Mayotte. This is evidence of the extent to which the people of the Comoros are united over the issue. The ad-hoc committee on Mayotte will convene, in the course of the session of council, to consider this issue. It is my hope, particularly in view of the new changes taking place in the world, that greater co-operation and understanding will be demonstrated by the Government of France so that the issue of the return of Mayotte to the Comoros can be resolved.

In April, I paid a visit to Burundi where, in addition to meeting and holding consultations with President Buyoya and members of his Government, I was able to attend the Donors Conference on the repatriation and resettlement of Burundi refugees. During my visit there, I was much inspired by the political courage demonstrated by the leadership in putting an end to divisive politics and determining to pursue vigorously the cause of unity and national reconciliation among its people. If the programme of repatriating the refugees is finally successful, we will have begun to write a new political chapter in our history as a people. Burundi will, of course, need financial assistance to handle the repatriation and resettlement of the returnees.

*Mr. Chairman,*

In my last year address, I spoke of the efforts we are deploying to regularize the recruitment and administrative system within the General Secretariat. With the adoption of the new staff rules and regulations, we have continued to seek better methods of recruitment, placing emphasis of professional competence and on the need to gradually effect greater balance of representation of member states. Internally, we have managed to identify posts for internal promotion and personnel movements as a means of better utilization of the manpower we have. Greater efficiency and rational utilization of the human resources will naturally impact positively on savings.

While we endeavour to demand efficiency on the part of the staff, we intend to

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couple it with improved working conditions, including remunerations. This is inescapable if, as an organization, OAU will be able to attract new and highly motivated talent or retain those already employed. This is made all the more urgent by the new challenges which we are going to face. If we are to fully handle the challenges of economic integration, conflict resolution and others, we will certainly require a very high calibre of staff, highly competent and motivated and properly remunerated.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Conflicts bear directly on the socio-economic state of the continent. The phenomenon of refugees, extreme poverty and social upheavals are inversely proportional to the state and level of conflicts in many of our countries. As we embark on the new phase of economic liberation, we must, in addition to consolidating our many gains, also liberate our energies and resources now locked in wasteful conflicts that afflict our continent. We shall only be able to do so if we establish a synergy in our efforts and strategies generally. We must link strategies and process of economic development with those of conflict resolution and pursue them in tandem. We must accept that, if conflicts on our continent seem endemic and have consistently defied solution, it is not to say, therefore, that they are indefinitely intractable. Rather, it is to say that there have been deficiencies either in the realm of political undertakings and commitments on the part of member states or in the mechanisms available for conflict resolution.

There is, therefore, an urgent need for a new outlook. This outlook must entail a deep rethinking on the political priority we give to conflict resolution and the means we place at its disposal. This outlook must equally involve imagination and dynamic approach to the issue as a whole. It must involve bold initiatives. The decision taken by this distinguished council, last February, to set aside token financial appropriation in the budget to fund efforts at conflict resolution was a significant political statement. While the money will fund Secretariat activities in this respect, the need for a mechanism - more elaborate and more empowered to deal with conflict resolution - remains an imperative which needs your consideration in due course.

*Mr. Chairman,*

This Council is meeting at a crucial juncture in the history of our continent and the world as a whole. We are meeting at a time when a new world order is emerging. The politics of cold war have given way to co-operative relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. Eastern Europe is undergoing fundamental change. We are already seeing some indications of what this new world order will look like. The recent war in the Gulf and its ongoing repercussions bear important lessons. But the challenge before this council is to see what role Africa will play in the fashioning of the New World order. We must insist that, whatever emerges eventually, it must be an order hinged on legality and the scrupulous respect for the principles of international law. It must be an order which recognizes the indivisibility of peace and

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prosperity and one which will challenge the world to genuine interdependence. Africa must be permitted to benefit from the improved international political climate. A peace dividend accruing from this new order must be a commitment of the world, in particular of the economically developed North, to the eradication of poverty.

But for Africa to enjoy the full benefits of this new emerging order, it must be prepared to re seize the initiative and prove to the world that we are committed and ready to deploy our full energies and resources to conflict resolution and to a united assault on poverty and underdevelopment.

*Mr. Chairman,*

In my report on the fundamental changes taking place in the world and their implications to Africa tabled before the Summit last year, I talked about the imperatives and challenges before Africa. I talked about the urgent need for Africa to respond to the challenge of working together. A key element in an African response to these changes, I saw to be our unity and collective action. The anticipated signing of the treaty establishing the Economic Community subsumes that spirit and embodies Africa's resolve to rise to the challenge of collective self-reliance. It has been a long journey of ten years since the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act. What the treaty represents is not only a framework for co-operation or simply a mechanism for integration or just a blue print for collective self-reliance. Indeed, it is all these. But above all, its signature will be statement of solemn political commitment to work together, to pull together. It will be a commitment to end conflicts, to put an end to the scourge of refugees, to promote human rights and to encourage further democratization. For only then can the building of the community stand a chance. The world will be watching to see Africa emerge triumphant. Certainly, Africa cannot afford another missed chance. I remain very optimistic that Africa will rise to the challenge and confound the skeptics. This is our challenge and we have the ability, the will and resources to do it.

I thank you.



## Resolutions Adopted by the Fifty Fourth Session of the Council of Ministers

27 MAY - 01 June 1991 Abuja, Nigeria.

CM/Res.1333—1362(LIV)

<b>RESOLUTION NO.</b>	<b>TITLE</b>
Cm/Res. 1333 (LIV)	Resolution on the situation of refugees and displaced persons in Africa.
Cm/Res. 1334 (LIV)	Resolution on the situation in the Middle-East.
Cm/Res. 1335 (LIV)	Resolution on the question of Palestine
Cm/Res. 1336 (LIV)	Resolution on the Special Emergency Famine in Africa.
Cm/Res. 1337 (LIV)	Resolution on the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the OAU Labour Commission.
Cm/Res. 1338 (LIV)	Resolution on the OAU Ad-Hoc Administration Tribunal.
Cm/Res. 1339 (LIV)	Resolution on Reparation for exploitation and slavery in Africa.
Cm/Res.1340 (LIV)	Resolution on Somalia
Cm/Res. 1341(LIV)	Resolution on the Action Committee on Raw Materials.
Cm/Res. 1342 (LIV)	Resolution on the implementation of the declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.
Cm/Res. 1343 (LIV)	Resolution on Afro-Arab Co-operation
Cm/Res. 1344 (LIV)	Resolution on Africa Fund
Cm/Res. 1345 (LIV)	Resolution on Funding the five year programme of work for the African Centre for Fertilizer Development.
Cm/Res. 1346 (LIV)	Resolution on the Precarious Financial Position of the Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU), The Pan-African Telecommunications Union (PATU) and the Pan-African News Agency (PANA)
Cm/Res. 1347 (LIV)	Resolution on South Africa
Cm/Res. 1348 (LIV)	Resolution on Ethiopia
Cm/Res. 1349 (LIV)	Resolution on the Vote of Appreciation and thanks to Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Under-Secretary

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- General of the United Nations and out-going Executive Secretary of the ECA, in appreciation of his work.
- Cm/Res. 1350 (LIV) Resolution on the Uruguay Round for Multilateral Trade Negotiations
- Cm/Res. 1351 (LIV) Resolution on the All Africa Trade Fair
- Cm/Res. 1352 (LIV) Resolution on the Establishment of OAU National Associations.
- Cm/Res. 1353 (LIV) Resolution on the second United National Transport and Communication Decade in Africa.
- Cm/Res. 1354 (LIV) Resolution on the implementation of the Regional African Satellite Communication System (RASCOM)
- Cm/Res. 1355 (LIV) Resolution on the Co-operation Agreement between the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth.
- Cm/Res. 1356 (LIV) Resolution on the Bamako Convention on the ban on the import of hazardous wastes into Africa and on the control of trans boundary movements within Africa.
- Cm/Res. 1357 (LIV) Resolution on the Co-operation Agreement between the OAU and the Pan-African Union of Science and Technology (PUST)
- Cm/Res. 1358 (LIV) Resolution on the implementation of strategies adopted in the wake of the symposium on African Women, Food Self-sufficiency and the Economic Recovery of Africa.
- Cm/Res. 1359 (LIV) Resolution on the Approval of the establishment of the African Literacy Centre.
- Cm/Res. 1360 (LIV) Resolution on the implementation of the African Decade for Child Survival, Protection and Development.
- Cm/Res. 1361 (LIV) Resolution on Africa's preparation for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.
- Cm/Res. 1362 (LIV) Vote of Thanks.

## **Resolution on the Situation of Refugees and Displaced Persons in Africa**

**CM/Res. 1333 (LIV)**

The council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary session, in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General and the activity report of the OAU Commission of Fifteen on the plight of refugees and displaced person in Africa.

Considering that influx of refugees and displaced persons continued to occur in various parts of Africa and place extra burden on the countries of assylum.

Noting with grave concern the ever widening gap between the assessed needs of the refugees and displaced person on the one hand, and the resources made available by the international community on the other, to meet these needs.

Noting with appreciation the efforts being deployed by Member States to promote voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and rehabilitation of returnees and displaced persons;

Noting the sacrifices made by the countries of asylum, despite their economic difficulties, to give asylum to refugees and displaced persons in the spirit of African solidarity and co-operation.

Convinced that voluntary repatriation constitutes a lasting solution to the problem of refugees in Africa.

Aware of the fact that the elimination of the root of the problem of refugees will lead to a global solution to this deplorable situation.

Noting further with appreciation the activities of the international community, especially the office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in conjunction with governmental, non-govrenmental and voluntary agencies in favour of refugees and displaced persons:

Takes Note of the report of the OAU Commission of Fifteen on refugees and the report of the Secretary-General;

Expresses its gratitude to the Member States which have been granting asylum and extending assistance to Refugees and displaced persons;

Appeals to Member States to comply with the provisions of the 1969 OAU Convention relating to the Status of Refugees in Africa and, furthermore, Appeals to those countries that have not yet done so to ratify the Convention as soon as possible;

Appeals Once More to the donor community to increase its resources to meet the assessed needs of refugees and displaced persons to promote voluntary repartriation, resettlement and rehabilitation of these persons, and to eliminate the root causes of the problem of refugees;

Congratulates Member States which have taken steps to promote the voluntary

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return, resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees person and Appeals to other Member States concerned to strive to promote conditions conducive to the voluntary repatriation of refugees;

Requests the African Group both in Geneva and New York, in close collaboration and co-operation with the OAU Commission of Fifteen on Refugees, to redouble their efforts in conducting sensitization campaigns relating to the plight of refugees and displaced person in order to revive the political will of the international community for increased assistance to refugees and displaced persons;

Expresses its appreciation to the office of the UNHCR for its contribution in alleviating the plight of the refugees problem in Africa and URGES it to increase its assistance to these refugees.

### Resolution on the situation in the Middle East

CM/Res 1334 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of Africa Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27 to June 1, 1991.

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity on the situation in the Middle East as contained in document CM/1664 (LIV);

Guided by the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charters of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations and the common determination of the African and the Arab Peoples to pull their resources in defence of the independence and restoration of their legitimate basic rights;

Noting with grave concern that the connivance between the Zionist Regime in Isreal and the Apartheid System in South Africa at spreading international terrorism against the Palestinians in occupied Arab lands and the majority of the population in South Africa and their suppression;

Recalling that the Palestinian question is the main cause of the conflict in the Middle East;

Reaffirming that the violation by Israel of the sanctify of Arab lands, air space and territorial waters, constituted a threat to international peace and security.

Considering the efforts made to establish peace in Lebanon within the context of the Taif Agreement.

Recalls all the resolutions previously adopted by OAU Assembly of Heads of States and Government; and Council of Ministers, and Expresses its full support.

Demands the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Southern Lebanon in conformity with Resolution 425 of the United Nations Security Council;

Calls upon all States, international organizations and investment institutions to abstain from lending any support to Israel for its acts in these territories and from maintaining any co-operation with that country, likely to enable it exploit the resources of these territories, and Demands Israel to put an end to its acts of violation;

Requests the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to follow the

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development in the situation in the Middle East and report to the non Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers.

Recalls all the previous resolutions and recommendations adopted by various sessions of the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments and the Council of Ministers of the OAU on the question of Palestine;

**Strongly condemns** the continued inhuman acts perpetrated by Israel against the citizens of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories such as deportation and detention, slaughter of women and children, destruction of homes, confiscation of land and property and the desecration of holy places, **Exhorts** the international Community to intervene in order to put an end to these inhuman acts which constitute a flagrant violation of human rights in Palestine;

**Strongly condemns** the expansionist settlement policy pursued by Israel in occupied Palestine including Jerusalem and settlement of immigrants Jews in occupied Arab territories, and **Calls Upon** the Soviet-Union and the United States of America, in accordance with their declared position, to take the necessary actions to stop the settlement of migrant Jews in Palestinian and Arab occupied territories.

**Hails** the resistance of the Palestinian people to the Israeli occupation, the intensification of Palestinian people's uprising in the face of the brutal repression perpetrated by the Israeli authorities as well as the sacrifices made by the Palestinian people under the leadership of their sole legitimate representative, the PLO, in order to recover them.

### Resolution on the question of Palestine

CM/RES. 1335 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session, in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27 to June 1 1991.

Having considered the Report of the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity of the Question of Palestine as contained in Document CM/1665 (LIV).

Recalling the resolutions adopted by the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments and the previous sessions of the Council of Ministers on the Question of Palestine.

Further recalling all resolutions of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement on the Question of Palestine.

Reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole and legitimate representative, so that they would recover their territories and exercise their full national rights.

Following with attention the Palestinian popular uprising "INTIFADE", in the occupied territories in order to put an end to the Israeli occupation and attain the inalienable national rights for the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state

with Jerusalem as its capital.

**Noting with deep concern** the acts of systematic state terrorism practised by Israel against the Palestinian people and their leadership for the Palestinian people and to the Arab Countries which are victims of Israeli aggression.

**Further Reaffirms** the common struggle of the African and Arab Peoples and the urgent need to promote Afro-Arab Solidarity;

**Strongly Condemns** the Israeli refusal to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity and the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of August 12, for the protection of civilians in times of war;

**Strongly Condemns** also the settlement of Jews in the occupied Arab Territories;

**Demands** the withdrawal of Israeli from all the occupied Arab Territories, and considers null and void all measures taken by Israel in these territories aimed at changing their original characteristics and exploiting their resources;

**Demands** the early convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly with the participation of the permanent Members of the Security Council and the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on an equal footing, and **Supports** efforts deployed in this regard.

**Expresses Satisfaction** at the process of national reconciliation and peace in Lebanon and its hope in reconstruction; inalienable rights to return to their homeland, to recover their property in Palestine, to self-determination without outside interference, and the establishment of their independent and sovereign state with Jerusalem as capital;

**Demands** that Israel withdraws immediately and unconditionally from all the occupied Palestinian territories;

**Calls On** the United Nations to secure international protection for the Palestinian population; and to take all the necessary measures to put an end to the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories;

**Requests** the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 681/1990 to invite all States party to the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention to hold a conference aimed at providing protection for the Palestinian people under Israeli occupation and ensuring compliance with the provisions of the Convention on the part of the Israeli occupying forces in Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem and other occupied Arab territories;

**Demands** the early convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly with the participation of Permanent Members of the Security Council and all the parties concerned, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in the said Conference and equal footing, and **SUPPORTS** efforts being deployed in this regard;

**Calls On** the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity to follow-up the developments of the Palestinian Question and submit a report thereon at the forthcoming Session of the OAU Council of Ministers.

## **Resolution on the Special Emergency Assistance Fund for Drought and Famine in Africa**

CM/ReS. 1336 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27 to June 1, 1991.

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the activities and operations of the Special Emergency Assistance for Drought and Famine in Africa, contained in document CM/Rs. 672 (LIV).

Recalling the aims and objectives establishing the Special Agency Assistance Fund for Drought and Famine in Africa and operational modalities.

Recalling Further resolutions CM/Res. 1289 (LIV) and CM/Res. 1315 (LIV).

Bearing in mind the recommendations of the Twelfth Ordinary provision of the Policy Committee of the Special Emergency Assistance Fund for Drought and Famine in Africa, held from May 17, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Deeply concerned by the continued critical situation of the financial resources of the Fund:

**Takes Notes** of the Report of the Secretary-General on the issue;

**Endorses** the recommendations and decisions of the Policy Committee of the Fund and **Urges** the Secretary-General and the Policy Committee to intensify their efforts in the mobilization of new financial resources for the Fund;

**Reiterates Its Appeal** to all Member States to contribute voluntarily to the Fund and to those that have made pledges to honour their commitments:

**Exhorts** Member States, beneficiaries of the Fund to ensure that regular reports are submitted on the implementation of the projects by the Fund;

**Decides** to renew the membership of the Policy Committee of the Special Emergency Assistance Fund for Drought and Famine in Africa as follows: Algiers, Angola, Gambia, Kenya, Libya, Malawi, Mauritania, Namibia, Niger, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Rwanda and Zambia, and that the mandate of the incoming Member States will enter into force from the Thirteenth Session of the Policy Committee scheduled to be held in December, 1991 for a period of 3 years.

**Requests** the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of this resolution to the Fifty-fifth Session of the Council of Ministers.

## **Resolution on the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the OAU Labour Commission**

CM/ReS. 1337 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

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Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the proceedings of the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the OAU Labour Commission (Doc.CM/1674 (LIV)).

Taking into account the recommendations of the Labour Commission contained in its resolutions LC/Res. 160 (XIV) to LC/RES. 170 (XIV):

Takes Note of the Report of the Secretary-General and Approves the conclusions of the Fourteenth Ordinary Session of the OAU Labour Commission;

Urges Member States to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations of the OAU Labour Commission;

Calls Upon the relevant international organizations which cooperate with the OAU in the area of relevance to the Labour Commission to pursue their efforts in Africa while keeping in view the recommendations of the Labour Commission.

Requests the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of the recommendations of OAU Labour Commission.

### Resolution on the OAU Ad-Hoc Administrative Tribunal

CM/Res. 1338 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-Fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27 to June 1, 1991.

Having considered the Report of the Secretary-General on the OAU Ad Hoc Administrative Tribunal (Doc. CM/1678 (LIV)).

Taking into account the provisions of the Rules of procedure of the OAU Ad Hoc Administrative Tribunal (Doc CM/170/Rev.2 (IX):

Takes Note of the Secretary-General's report on the question;

Expresses Its Appreciation to Justice DIALLO MAMADOU of the Republic of Guinea, for the competence and devotion displayed by him during his mandate;

Invites Kenya to nominate a judge to the OAU Administrative Tribunal to replace the judge from Guinea whose mandate is about to expire.

### Resolution on Reparation for Exploitation and Slavery in Africa

CM/Res. 1339 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in its Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27 to June 1, 1991.

Recalling the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

Taking into account the long years of exploitation of Africa through slave trade and colonialism.



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Concerned that those crimes committed against Africa and Africans in the Diaspora have largely contributed to its present economic and social underdevelopment.

Noting that other groups which were subjected to similar scourges and injustice have received ample reparation and attention.

Desirous to ensure that those powers responsible for the centuries of damage to Africa take measures to make reparation for the exploitation and slavery of Africa:

Decides to establish a group of Eminent Africans and Africans in the Diaspora in the relevant fields to set out clearly the extent of Africa's exploitation, the liability of the perpetrators and the strategies for achieving reparation;

Requests all African States, Africans, Africans in the Diaspora and others in a position to do so, including the relevant international organizations and bodies to cooperate fully with the Group on the successful discharge of its functions.

Requests the OAU Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the immediate empanelling of the group and for its smooth functioning;

Further Requests also the OAU Secretary-General to submit an action-oriented report to the Council at its Fifty-sixth Session.

### Resolution on Somalia

CM/Res. 1340 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session, in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Reaffirming the principle of sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Member States as enshrined in Article 2, Paragraph C of the Charter, as well as the Principle of intangible territorial integrity of the Somali Republic:

Considering the serious political developments in Somalia which threaten the Unity of the Somali Republic:

Reaffirms the indivisibility and the territorial integrity of the Somali Republic.

Determines that any attempt to subvert the territorial integrity, unity, and the inviolability of the Somali Republic is unacceptable, null and void;

Calls Upon the Somali National Movement to rescind its decision of secession and work for the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the Somali Republic.

Supports the initiatives of Egypt, Djibouti, the Sudan and Uganda together with any other sisterly countries in convening a national reconciliation conference at an early date and Mandates the OAU Secretary General to undertake a good offices mission to help all parties arrive at any agreement to safeguard the national unity and territorial integrity of the Somali Republic and ensure peace and political stability in the country.

Urges all Somali national movements to participate fully in the National Reconciliation Conferences;

Calls Upon the international community to extend urgent humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia with a view to alleviating their plight.

## Resolution on the Action Committee on Raw Materials

CM/Res1341 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27 to June 1, 1991.

Recalling the Constitution of the Action Committee on Raw Materials (ACRM) of the Group of 77 at its first meeting held in Abuja in April, 1989.

Conscious of the need to co-ordinate efforts and intensify co-operation among developing countries in the exploitation, processing and utilization of raw material resources in such a manner as to promote self-reliance and enhance trade among themselves.

Noting that only Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria and Togo have so far signed the Constitution of ACRM and that other African countries are yet to do so:

Invites all Member States of the OAU, who have not already done so, to sign the Constitution establishing the ACRM to ensure the full realisation of the Committee's objectives;

Underlines the need for Member States of OAU to participate at meeting of ACRM in order to develop common projects for execution within the ECDC/TCDC framework.

Requests member countries of the ACRM to forward the names of their focal to the ACRM Secretariat in Nigeria.

Calls On the United Nations system to continue to lend its financial and technical support to ACRM for the implementation of its programmes.

## Resolution on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa

CM/Res 1342

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1 1991.

Recalling resolution AHG/RES. 11 (I) adopted by the Conference of Heads of States and Government in Cairo in 1964 relative to the Denuclearization of Africa.

Recalling further resolutions CM/Res. 3 (I) adopted by the First Session of the Council of Ministers.

Reaffirming all resolutions on General Disarmament adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and the Council of Ministers since the inception of the OAU.

Taking Note of Resolution 1652 (XVI) of the General Assembly of the United

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Nations which called upon all States to respect the Continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone.

**Convinced** that the evolution of the international situation is conducive to the implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa (1964) as well as the relevant provisions of the OAU Declaration on Security, Disarmament and Development (1968).

**Having considered** the report of the Group of Experts set up jointly by the OAU and the UN which held its first meeting in Addis Ababa from May 6 — 10, 1991:

**Decides** to set up an inter-governmental group of African experts to study this report in greater detail with a view to examining the modalities and elements for the preparation of a Treaty on the Denuclearization of Africa:

**Requests** the UN Secretary-General in consultation with the OAU Secretary-General, to convene a second meeting of the Group of Experts designated by the UN in co-operation with the OAU:

**Decides** to convene a joint meeting of the two groups of experts during the second meeting of the UN/OAU Experts;

**Further Decides** to place on the agenda of its Fifty-seventh Ordinary Session in the item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa".

## Resolution on Afro-Arab Cooperation

CM/Res/1343 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27, to June 1 1991.

**Having Considered** the report of the Secretary-General.

**Bearing in mind** the Declarations and the Programme of Action adopted by the first Afro-Arab Summit held in Cairo, Egypt from March 7 — 9, 1977.

**Determined** to promote and strengthen Afro-Arab Co-operation in all fields.

**Recalling** its Resolutions CM/RES. 1210 (L), CM/Res. 1250 (LI) and CM/Res. 1306 (LII):

**Takes Note** of the introductory note of the Secretary-General on Afro-Arab Co-operation;

**Requests** the Secretary-General to pursue his consultations with the League of Arab States and other parties involved with the aim of implementing co-operation programmes already approved, and in particular the organisation of the First Afro-Arab Trade Fair, the project to establish an Afro-Arab preferential Trade Area as well as other programmes relating to culture and information.

**Accepts** the proposal of the two OAU/League of Arab States Secretaries and the Host Country, Tunisia, to postpone to 1993, the organization in Tunis of the First Afro Arab Trade Fair, **Decides** that budgetary appropriation which had been allocated for this project should be retained for the financial year under consideration and Urges

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member States to fully co-operate in the organization of the said trade fair;

Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in close collaborations with his counterpart of the League of Arab States, with a view to convening at the earliest convenience, the Twelfth Ordinary Session of the Permanent Standing Commission on Afro/Arab Co-operation planned for Algiers in consultation with the Government of Algeria.

### Resolution on Africa Fund

CM/RES.1344 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27 to June 1, 1991;

Noting with appreciation the role played by the late Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in the establishment of the Africa Fund.

Recognizing further the important role that the Fund has been playing since its inception in 1986, through its political and moral support to the Frontline States and Liberation Movements of Southern Africa, as well as its financial and economic assistance to them within the means available to it;

Warmly Welcomes the constructive contribution of the Africa Fund in favour of the Front Line States at a time when their economies are adversely affected by the effects of the economic sanction and other forms of international pressure against the racist Pretoria regime;

Expresses its appreciation to all members of the donor community who have so far generously contributed to the Fund;

Appeals to all nations of the world, particularly to the international donor community, and to organisations and individuals who are in a position to do so, to contribute generously once more to the Africa Fund, so that it can continue the mandate assigned to it by the Non-Aligned Summit Meeting at Harare in September, 1986.

### Resolution on Funding the five years programme of Work for the African Centre for Fertilizer Development

CM/RES.1345 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, — June 1 1991;

Recalling the important role accorded to agricultural development in the Lagos Plan of Action (for Economic and Social Development) adopted by the Second Extra-ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1980;

Recalling Resolution CM/RES.840 (XXXVI) on the Establishment of an African

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Centre for Fertilizer Development adopted by the Council of Ministers at its Thirty-sixth Ordinary Session held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1981;

Recalling the Agreement signed in 1983 between the OAU and the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe for the establishment of the Headquarters of the African Centre for Fertilizer Development in Harare:

Noting that the Convention establishing the African Centre for Fertilizer Development became operational in 1987:

Noting further that the Board of Directors of the African Centre for Fertilizer Development (ACFD) which is constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Convention, has approved a Five Year Programme of Work and Budget for the ACFD at its Third Meeting held at its Headquarters in Harare, in April, 1991:

Appeals to the International Donor Community to make generous contributions to ensure the successful implementation of ACFD's Five Year Programme of Work and Budget:

Calls Upon Member States which have not yet done so to sign and ratify the Convention.

Bearing in mind the UN General Assembly Resolution S-13/2 and, in particular, the stipulation of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (1986-1990) in which the African countries and the international community committed themselves, inter alia, to give priority attention and increased resources to the rehabilitation and development of food and agriculture in Africa.

Concerned by the continued deterioration of the food and agriculture situation in Africa:

Affirms that the OAU considers the ACFD to be an important part of a long-term strategy for the implementation of the Lagos Plan of Action and the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development;

Commends the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe for implementing the Agreement for the Establishment of the Headquarters of ACFD in Harare;

Expresses its appreciation to the OPEC Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the International Fertilizer Development Centre (IFDC) for the financial and technical assistance so far rendered to the ACFD;

Requests the Secretary-General of OAU and the president of IFDA, assisted by the Chairman of the Boards of Directors of IFDC and ACFD, to launch a fund-raising campaign in support of ACFD's Five Year Programme of Work and Budget; and

**Resolution on the Precarious Financial Position of**

- (i) The Pan-African Postal Union (PAPU),**
- (ii) The Pan-African Telecommunications Union (PATU) and**
- (iii) The Pan-African News Agency (PANA)**

CM/Res. 1346 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Recalling its various resolutions, establishing PAPU, PATU and PANA as specialised institutions of the OAU.

Cognizant of the important role these specialized agencies were designed to play in promoting cooperation and furthering the principles and objectives of the OAU Charter;

Considering the important role the OAU specialized institutions are to play in promoting economic co-operation and integration within the frame-work of the African Economic Community:

Aware of the need to provide these Specialized Agencies with adequate resources to enable them carry out their programmes:

**Calls Upon** all Member States who have not yet done so to formalize their membership in these institutions;

**Invite** all Member States of PAPU, PATU and PANA to honour their financial obligations by paying their arrears before the end of 1991 and to honour all decisions of these institutions;

**Emphasizes The Need For** All Member States to pay their assessed contributions to PAPU, PATU and PANA, as and when due;

**Request** the OAU Secretary-General to report to the Council at its Fifty-sixth Session on the implementation of this resolution.

**Resolution on South Africa**

CM/RES.1347 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, the Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27 to June 1, 1991;

Recalling the Harare Declaration on the question of South Africa adopted by the OAU Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa in Harare, Zimbabwe, on August 21, 1989:

**Futher** Recalling the Declaration on Apartheid and its destructive consequences in Southern Africa adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 16th Special Session in December, 1989:

**Reaffirming** their solution on South Africa CM/Res. 1318 (LIII) adopted at the 53rd

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Session in February, 1991;

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Southern Africa, the report of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa as well as the briefings by the ANC and PAC on the current developments inside South Africa:

Cognisant of the fact that the limited policy measures announced thus far by Mr. F.W. de Klerk are a direct result of internal and international pressure, especially the armed struggle, economic sanctions and political isolation:

Noting with deep concern that the inhuman and obnoxious system of apartheid and its myriad of repressive laws have not been abolished and are still intact:

Gravely concerned over the continued brutal repression, continued arrests, incarceration of political prisoners and political trials of opponents of apartheid:

Deeply concerned about the continued murderous activities of hit squads of the regime against opponents of apartheid and the orchestrated wave of violence sweeping through South Africa:

Further gravely concerned that the recurring violence resulting largely from the continued existence of apartheid poses a threat to the creation of a climate conducive to negotiation:

Noting further with grave concern the growing military co-operation between the Pretoria regime and some countries, such as Zionist Israel and the territory of Taiwan, particularly the collaboration in the recent production and testing of nuclear missiles by that regime:

Indignant at decisions by some countries to lift or relax sanctions and other forms of pressure, and at the increasing violations of the UN Oil Embargo against South Africa:

Noting with satisfaction the growing determination of the oppressed and dispossessed people of South Africa to rid themselves of the scourge of apartheid, and establish a democratic, non-racial and unitary state.

Further noting with satisfaction the overwhelming demand by the oppressed and dispossessed majority for the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a genuine non-racial democratic constitution:

Condemns the continued incarceration of political leaders and activists, as well as the growing brutal acts of repression perpetrated by the Pretoria regime;

Strongly condemns the Pretoria regime for orchestrating, co-ordinating and abetting the destructive wave of violence engulfing South Africa, particularly the African townships around Johannesburg;

Condemns the Pretoria regime for its bad faith and unwillingness to fully implement its undertakings under the Groot Schuur and Pretoria Minutes, including the release of all political prisoners and arrangements for the safe return of exiles by April 30, 1991;

Notes With Satisfaction efforts by the national liberation movements, internal and international progressive forces to intensify the struggle and mobilise support for the elimination of apartheid;

Welcomes the historic joint meeting held by the ANC and PAC in Harare,

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Zimbabwe, from April 15 — 16, 1991, as a milestone in the struggle to end racial oppression;

Commends the historic joint meeting held by the ANC and PAC in Harare Zimbabwe, from April 15 — 16, 1991, as a milestone in the struggle to end racial oppression;

Further Calls on the international community, especially OAU Member States, to extend increased assistance to the national liberation movements to consolidate their position in South Africa, and to enhance their pursuit of the struggle;

Reiterates Africa's preference to end the apartheid system through genuine negotiations as provided for in the Harare Declaration and the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa;

Further Reiterates Africa's determination, in the absence of a negotiated settlement, to continue to support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa on all fronts, including the armed struggle;

Calls Upon those countries which have lifted or relaxed sanctions and other forms of international pressure against the regime to consider their positions;

Further Calls Upon the international community to maintain sanction against the Pretoria regime in line with the UN Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa;

Calls On continental and international sports bodies, in their relations with South African sports bodies, to act in a manner consistent with the political objectives of the OAU as defined in the Harare Declaration;

Strongly Condemns the establishment of diplomatic relations and various other contacts with the Pretoria regime and Calls Upon countries engaged in such activities to urgently reconsider their decisions, and to put an end to such actions;

Further Condemns the migration of some Eastern Europeans to apartheid South Africa, which only serves to prop up the Pretoria regime;

Strongly Condemns the growing military and nuclear co-operation between the Pretoria regime and Zionist Israel, as well as that regime's military co-operation with the territory of Taiwan, and accordingly calls for the strict observance of the United Nations Arms Embargo Against South Africa as demanded in Security Council Resolution 418 (1977);

Condemns the increasing violations of the UN oil embargo against South Africa, and Requests all States to adopt effective measures to broaden the scope of the embargo in order to ensure the complete cessation of the supply and shipping of oil and petroleum products to South Africa, whether directly or indirectly;

Calls On All Member States to maintain their common position, and continue with the complete isolation of the regime as well as the maintenance of sanctions and other forms of pressure until apartheid is eradicated.



## Resolution on Ethiopia

**CM/Res. 1348 (LIV)**

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27, to June 1, 1991:

**Having considered** the report of the Secretary-General on the Activities of the Organization, in particular on the conflicts plaguing the continent;

**Recalling** the provisions of the Charters as well as relevant resolutions pertaining to settlement of conflicts by peaceful means and on the need to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States;

**Bearing in mind** the urgent need for peace and security as prerequisite for development and integration of Africa;

**Taking into account** the unfortunate conflict that has ravaged Ethiopia for decades;

**Bearing in mind** the unique character of Addis Ababa as the Headquarters of the OAU, and also the Headquarters of the UN Economic Commission for Africa;

**Anxious to ensure** that the necessary conditions prevail for the smooth running of the OAU Headquarters;

**Noting with satisfaction** the avowed intention of the present administration of Ethiopia to carry out consultations with a view to establishing a broader-based interim Government pending the conduct of free and fair elections: **CM/Res. 1348 (LIV)**

**Calls On** all the parties in the Ethiopia conflict to put in maximum efforts to ensure the return of durable peace and security through a policy of national reconciliation;

**Urges** the present administration to carry out as soon as possible its intended consultations;

**Appeals to** all the parties concerned to join in working for the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Ethiopia;

**Recommends to** the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to establish a Committee of Heads of State including the incoming Chairman to assist in achieving the above-mentioned objectives. **CM/Res. 1349 (LIV)**

**Resolution on the Vote of Appreciation and Thanks to Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Under Secretary-General of the United Nations and Out-going Executive Secretary of ECA, in Appreciation of his Work**

CM/Res. 1349 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of Africa Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

**Noting with satisfaction** "the Vote of Appreciation and Thanks addressed to Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Under Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Executive Secretary of the ECA, contained in Resolution No. 722 (XXIV) of the ECA Conference of Minister and in Resolution No. 21 (XXIV) of the Conference of Minister of the ECA entitled "Naming the new Conference Centre of the ECA Adebayo Adedeji Conference Centre in Addis Ababa":

**Noting with appreciation** the numerous contributions made by Professor Adebayo Adedeji for the promotion of the economic and social development in Africa:

**Decides to endorse** resolutions 21 (XXIV) of ECA Conference of Ministers held in Addis Ababa from May 9 — 13, 1991.

**Resolution on the Uruguay Round for Multilateral Trade Negotiations**

CM/Res. 1350 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session, in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991:

**Having considered** the report of the Eleventh Session of the Conference of Africa Ministers of Trade contained in Document E/ECA/TRADE/91/12/CM/1667 (LIV);

**Recalling** that the current Uruguay Round negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was launched in September, 1986;

**Gravely concerned** that so far the negotiations have not sufficiently addressed Africa's problems and concerns;

**Deeply concerned** also about the immense lack of transparency that characterise the formal and informal consultations within the Uruguay Round;

**Regretting** the fact that the OAU does not have Observer Status within the fora of the GATT negotiations, despite efforts made by the Secretariat towards that end;

**Bearing in mind** that the international economic and commercial environment continues to deteriorate and that commitments on Stand-still and Rock-back made in Punta del Este Declaration and renewed at the Mid-term Review have not been honoured by the developed countries.

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Aware of the breakdown of the Brussels Ministerial Meeting of December, 1990 and the recent decision of the Trade Negotiations Committee to resume the Uruguay Round Negotiations.

Noting the outcome of the recommendations that emerged from the recent High Level African Brainstorming Session on the Uruguay Round in Arusha - United Republic of Tanzania held from April 12 — 13, 1991.

Endorses the Resolution of the Eleventh Session of the African Ministers of Trade on the Multilateral Trade Negotiations;

Requests the Secretary-General of the OAU to open contacts with the Director-General of the GATT on the concerns of Africa, in the final phase of the negotiations, especially the question of transparency in the negotiations;

Further Requests The Secretary-General to re-apply to the competent organs of GATT for Observer Status for the OAU, to enable it co-ordinate Africa's position in the regular meetings of GATT bodies;

Calls Upon the UNDP/UNCTAD Project RAF/87/157 "Support to Africa in the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the external sector of African countries" to continue to provide maximum technical support to African countries till the conclusion of the negotiations;

Expresses gratitude to the UNDP and UNCTAD for the financial and technical support provided under the Project RAF/87/157;

Invites the UNDP to increase its financial support to Project RAF/87/157 to enable it lend the required support to African countries until the end of the Uruguay Round and afterwards to consider extending the project so that the results of the Round could be implemented.

## Resolution on the All-African Trade Fair

CM/RES. 1351 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27 to June 1, 1992.

Having considered the report of the Eleventh Session of the Conference of African Ministers of Trade, contained in Document E/ECA/TRADE/9112 (CM/1667) (LIV);

Recalling the OAU Council of Ministers Resolutions, CM/RES.127 (IX) institutionalizing the All-Africa-Trade Fair and the commitment of African governments to launch a permanent "Buy African Goods" campaign within the framework of the All-Africa Trade Fair in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action;

Further recalling the decision of the Eighth Session of the Conference of African ministers of Trade held in Brazzaville - Congo, to accept the offer of Zimbabwe to host the Sixth All-Africa Trade Fair;

Notes with appreciation the efforts being deployed by the Government of Zimbabwe and members of the organising Committee to ensure a successful outcome of the

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### **Sixth All -Africa Trade Fair;**

**Takes notes of the Report of the Eleventh Session of the Conference of African Ministers of Trade;**

**Expresses its gratitude to the Government of Zimbabwe for having offered to host the sixth All-Africa Trade Fair;**

**Takes note that September 2 — 10, 1992 are the dates for the sixth All-Africa Trade Fair which is scheduled to take place in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe;**

**Invites all Member States to sensitise all socio-economic operators, including the private sector to participate actively in the Sixth All-Africa Trade Fair;**

**Requests all Member States and the Secretariat of the OAU to deploy all efforts to secure financial and technical contributions for the Fair from the EEC under the Lome IV Convention;**

**Urges also other institutions, specialized agencies, bilateral and multilateral donors to extend their assistance to Africa towards the successful mounting of the Sixth All-Africa Trade Fair;**

**Accepts with appreciation the offers of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Government of the Cote d'Ivoire to host the Seventh and Eighth All-Africa Trade Fairs, respectively.**

## **Resolution on the Establishment of OAU National Association**

### **CM/RES. 1352 (LIV)**

**The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991:**

**Having considered the Report of the Secretary-General on the Proposed Establishment of OAU National Associations, Doc. 1668 (Liv);**

**Recalling the importance of popularizing the principles, aims and objectives of the OAU Charter, the Lagos Plan of Action and the treaty Establishing the African Economic Community among all segments of the African population as recommended in the Declaration of the 26th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the World;**

**Mindful of the centrality of the popular participation in Africa efforts towards recovery and development as enunciated in the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation and in the Declaration of the Twenty-sixth Ordinary Session of the OAU Heads of State and Government in July 1990 as well as the principles enshrined in the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community;**

**Adopts the Report of the Secretary-General and the recommendations therein, and**

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**Requests the Secretary-General to take into consideration the views expressed by the Council on this matter as contained in the Report;**

**Requests Member States yet to do so to assist in the establishment of National OAU Associations by encouraging their nationals from all walks of life to participate in the establishment and functioning of such commission or associations;**

**Urges that, as far as possible these associations should be self-financing;**

**Calls upon Member States to keep the Secretary-General informed of any action undertaken towards the establishment and functioning of the national associations;**

**Requests the Secretary-General to assist Member States in the establishment of these association in accordance with their national laws and to report periodically on the implementation of this resolution, including the activities of the associations.**

## **Resolution on the Second United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa**

**CM/Res. 1353 (LIV)**

**The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991;**

**Having considered the Report of the Secretary-General on the preparatory activities towards the launching of the Second United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, Doc. CM/1670 (LIV);**

**Recalling Resolutions CM/Res. 738 (XXXIII) Rev. 1, CM/Res.800 (XXXV) and CM/Res. 889 (XXXVII) on the First United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa;**

**Conscious of the importance of the transport and communications sector in promoting the physical and economic integration of the Continent;**

**Hails the decision of the United Nations General Assembly to proclaim 1991-2000 the Second Transport and Communications Decade in Africa;**

**Expresses its appreciation to the UNDP, the UN Specialized Agencies, Africa Regional Organizations and the International Community for their positive contribution and assistance to facilitate the preparation for the Second United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa;**

**Approves the global and sub-sectoral aims and objectives, the strategy, directives and institutional mechanism which made it possible to prepare the Second Transport and Communications Decade in Africa.**

**Also approves the second Decade Programme as adopted by the Conference of Ministers of Transport and Communications and Planning;**

**Launches an appeal to the United Nations to officially proclaim 1991 - 2000 the Second Transport and Communications Decade in Africa during the Forty-sixth Regular Session of the General Assembly;**

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**Urges** Member States to establish and make operational, as quickly as possible, their national co-ordination committees if they have not yet done so;

**Also launches an appeal** to IBRD, UNDP, BIRD and the international community, to provide the necessary financial and technical assistance for the implementation of the objectives of the Second Decade;

**Calls upon** the Secretary-General to submit regular reports to the Council of Ministers on the implementation of the Decade Programme.

### **Resolution on the Implementation of the Regional African Satellite Communication System (RASCOS)**

CM/Res. 1354 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from 27 May to 1 June, 1991:

**Having considered** the Report of the Secretary-General on RASCOS, Doc. MC/1671 (LIV);

**Recalling** Resolution CM/Res. 506 (XXXVII) which, among others, called upon the OAU, ECA, ADB and ITU to conduct a feasibility study on the use of satellite communications for common carrier communications;

**Further recalling** resolution CM/Res. 1172 (XLVII) on the development of telecommunications in Africa;

**Aware of the need** to extend telecommunications facilities in rural and isolated areas of African countries so as to promote the integration of the rural economy into the mainstream of national economic activities;

**Mindful of the importance** of telecommunications facilities in facilitating intra-African trade;

**Takes note of the Report** of the Secretary-General on the RASCOS Study;

**Expresses its thanks** to ADB, ITU, UNESCO, UNDP and the Governments of Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany for their contribution towards the financing of the study;

**Endorses** Resolution RASCOS/01 of the Special Conference of African Ministers of Telecommunications which, among others, states that Africa has decided to embark on the gradual implementation of RASCOS and Takes Note of the generous offer of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to host the Headquarters of the RASCOS Organizations;

**Decides** that the ultimate objective of the RASCOS project should be the establishment of dedicated satellite system for Africa;

**Appeals to the Committee of Country Experts** to promote the close involvement of African Experts and Telecommunications Organizations in the implementation of the RASCOS project so as to enable them gain the necessary on-the-job-description;

**Requests** ITU to continue to do its utmost in giving support for the implementation

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of the RASCOM project including taking into account the cost of provision of support services for the project;

Appreciates the financial contribution already made by some Member States towards the RASCOM transitional stage and Appeals to other countries to pay their contributions soon in order to keep the time frame of the transitional stage;

Further requests the General Secretariat of the OAU to follow-up the implementation of the project.

### **Resolution on the Cooperation Agreement between the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth**

CM/Res. 1355 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1991.

Having Considered the report of the Secretary-General on the Draft Co-operation Agreement between the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth, Doc. CM/1679 (LIV);

Considering the common objectives pursued by the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth in their efforts to strengthen international co-operation;

Considering that a Co-operation Agreement between the OAU and the Commonwealth would enable the two organizations to co-ordinate and harmonize their activities in all areas of common interest;

Take Note of the Secretary-General' Report on this issue;

Adopts the Co-operation Agreement between the OAU and the Commonwealth;

Authorizes the OAU Secretary-General to sign the Agreement with the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth.

### **Resolution on the Bamako Convention on the Ban on the Import of Hazardous Wastes into the Continent and Control of their Trans-Boundary Movements within Africa**

CM/Res. 1356 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Having Considered the report of the Secretary-General of the OAU (Doc. CM/1673 (LIV) on the Pan-African Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development held in Bamako - Mali from January 23 to 30 1991.

Recalling Resolutions 1153 (XL VIII) on the Dumping of Nuclear and Industrial Wastes in Africa and CM/Res. 1199 (XLIX) on the Basel Convention on the Control of all forms of Hazardous Wastes;

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Recalling further Resolution CM/Res. 1225 (L) on setting-up of a working group composed of legal and technical environment experts to draw up an African Convention on the Control of all forms of Hazardous Wastes in the Continent.

Mindful that the objectives of the Bamako Convention are to adequately address Africa's interests and concerns in response to the loopholes contained in the Basel Convention:

**Takes Note** with satisfaction of the Secretary-General's report on the issue;

**Expresses Its Appreciation** to ECA, UNEP, Greenpeace International and the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee for their cooperation;

**Requests OAU Member States** who have not yet signed and ratify the Convention to do so, so as to bring it into force;

**Requests the Secretary-General** to ensure the widest publicity on the Convention;

**Encourages Member States** to organize national and sub-regional seminars with a view to disseminating information on the Convention.

### **Resolution on the Co-operation Agreement between the OAU and the Pan-African Union of Science and Technology (PUST)**

CM/Res/1357 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Recalling the previous Resolutions CM/Res. 1048 (XLIV) and CM/Res.1121 (XLVII) on the Pan-African Union of Science and Technology,

Recalling its Resolution CM/Res.1228 (L) requesting the Secretary-General:

**Adopts the Co-operation agreement** between the OAU and the PUST;

**Authorizes the Secretary-General** of the OAU to sign the Agreement with the Secretary-General of PUST.

### **Resolution on the Implementation of Strategies Adopted in the wake of the Symposium on African Women, Food Self-Sufficiency and the Economic Recovery of Africa**

CM/Res. 1358 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991,

**Having Considered the Report** of the Secretary-General on the Symposium on African Women, Food Self-sufficiency and the Economic Recovery of Africa con-



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tained in Document CM/1677(LIV);

Recalling the undertakings given in the Lagos Plan of Action and in Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery in connection with the role of women in food production and self-sufficiency;

Aware of the need for Member States to rehabilitate African agriculture, especially in the area of food production by setting out programmes of special assistance targetted at women working in agriculture:

Approves the strategies emanating from the OAU Symposium on "African Women, Food Self-Sufficiency and Africa's Economic Recovery" and Urges Member States to ensure the implementation of these strategies and prepare periodic reports on the progress made in this field;

Urges Member States to reaffirm their commitment to programmes set up to boost food production to achieve food self-sufficiency in Africa;

Expresses its sincere gratitude to ILO, WHO, UNIDO, UNFPA, UNICEF and FAO for the financial and technical assistance extended to the symposium;

Requests the Secretary-General of the OAU to submit to the 56th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers a report on the implementation of the relevant recommendations adopted by the Symposium.

### **Resolution on the Approval of the Establishment of the African Literacy Centre**

CM/Res.1359(LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, from May 27, to June 1, 1991,

Recalling its earlier Resolutions CM/Res.800(XXXV), CM/Res.1294(LII) and CM/Res.1295(LII), on Continuing Adult Education;

Recalling the objectives set out in the Lagos Plan of Action on adult education and training;

Recalling also the World Conference on Education For All held in Jomtien (Thailand) from May 5-9, 1990;

Determined to bring about a considerable reduction in the rates of adult illiteracy in Africa by the year 2000;

Resolved to strengthen the co-operation between Member States in adult education and training and to harmonize policies in that regard within the framework of the African Economic Community;

Having Considered the report of the OAU Secretary-General (Doc. CM/1676(LIV) on the Implementation of Resolution CM/Res.800(XXXV) on Continuing Adult Education:

Takes Note of the Report and the recommendations of the Meeting of Experts held in Nairobi, Kenya, on February 14 and 15, 1991;

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**Approves to open in Niamey (Niger) an autonomous pilot centre for adult education and training to be run by the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education and Training, (AALAE);**

**Expresses its Deep Gratitude to the Government of the Republic of Niger for having accepted to host the Centre and for offering to provide the facilities necessary for its smooth running;**

**Calls Upon the Director-General of UNESCO, the Secretary-General of the OAU and the Secretary-General of AALAE to give their material and financial support for an early implementation of the project;**

**Warmly Congratulates the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) on its laudable efforts deployed in the elimination of illiteracy in Africa and its determination to contribute substantially to the running costs of the pilot centre;**

**Requests the OAU Secretary-General to submit a Progress Report on the project to its Fifty-sixth Ordinary Session.**

### **Resolution on the Implementation of the African Decade for Child Survival, Protection and Development**

CM/Res. 1360 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Bearing in mind resolutions and declarations adopted by the OAU on the Decade of the African Child, especially as they pertain to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, Primary Healthcare and Education, as well as other child related issues;

Noting with concern the continuing serious problems confronting African economies, which adversely affect the situation of children;

Stressing the need for African countries to include in their budgets programmes to support human development in Africa;

Emphasizing the urgent necessity for all Member State to include the Declaration of the World Summit for Children and the Plan of African in their development plans;

Acknowledging the valuable efforts being made by Member States to initiate national plans of Action within the frame work of the African Decade for Child Survival, Protection and Development 1990-2000,

Noting that the World Summit Plan of Action requests UNICEF to prepare, in close collaboration with relevant specialized agencies and other United Nations organs, a consolidated analysis of the plans and actions undertaken by individual countries and the international community in support of the child-related development goals for the 1990s;

**Urges the Member States to take appropriate steps to implement the United Nations**

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Convention on the Rights of the Child and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and urges those Member States that have not already done so to ratify the said legal documents;

**Calls upon all Member States to ensure the commemoration of the Day of the African Child on June 16 as a means of enhancing the awareness of the needs and protection of children;**

**Urges all Member States to do their utmost to include in their budget, programmes to improve the situation of their children, particularly in the fields of health and education;**

**Recommends that efforts be pursued by Member States to strengthen Primary Healthcare systems and sustain in the achievements of the Universal Child Immunization Programmes;**

**Requests all Member States to take all necessary measure for the implementation of the Plan of Action of the World Conference on Education for all with a view to accelerating efforts to meet the basic educational needs of the children and women;**

**Urges all Member States, relevant United Nations agencies, Inter-governmental Organizations and Non-governmental Organizations to prepare appropriate plans of action by the end of 1991 as called for in Paragraphs 34 and 35 of the Summit Plan of Action;**

**Further Appeal to the international community, donor countries and organizations, to make adequate resources available for the purpose of achieving Summit goals;**

**Calls for the convening in 1992 of an International Donor's Conference on assistance to African Children in order to accelerate the process of funding programmes for the survival, protection and development of children;**

**Requests the Executive Director of UNICEF to ensure full support for the implementation of the Summit plan of Action, and for the convening of the 1992 International Donor's Conferences;**

**Commends the initiating and participating countries as well as the United Nations Agencies for the successful holding of the World Summit for Children;**

**Requests the OAU Secretary-General to monitor progress made by Member States in implementing this resolution and submit progress reports to the Fifty-sixth Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers;**

## **Resolution on Africa's Preparation for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development**

CM/Res. 1361 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Nigeria, from May 27, to June 1, 1991.

Recalling its Resolution CM/Res. 1261 (LI) on co-operation in the field of environment, particularly, its operative paragraphs 1, 5 and 6;

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**Concerned by the ecological crisis facing the African Continent and which is an impediment to a sustainable development;**

**Aware of the continuous degradation of the African environment resulting from the destruction of forests, drought and desertification, soil erosion, salinity and deterioration of water resources, loss of biological species, air and water pollution as well as climatic changes and the depletion of the ozone layer which have jeopardized the economic and social development of the continent and life itself;**

**Aware of the fact that poverty, the deterioration of human health conditions, demographic pressure and ecological degradation, in general are closely linked and that environmental protection in Africa should, in this context, be viewed as forming an integral part of the development process.**

**Recalling the various plans and directives on the environment emanating particularly from the 1979 Monrovia Declaration, the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action, the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (1986-1990), the Cairo Programme of the African Ministerial Conference on Environment of 1985, the Kampala Plan of Action and Declaration of the First African Regional Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development of 1989 and the Bamako Commitment of Environment and Development of 1991;**

**Noting that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development scheduled to be held in Brazil in June 1992 constitutes an opportunity for the international community to evolve strategies and decide upon measures likely to reverse the effects of ecological degradation within the context of increased national, regional and international efforts and to promote a sustainable development in all countries.**

**Conscious of the fact that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development of 1992 forms part of a negotiating process aimed at establishing global co-operation through the commitment of all countries in the management of the environment with a view to ensuring sustainable economic and social development;**

**Noting that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development will be held at Heads of State and Government level;**

**Convinced that efforts aimed at ensuring sustainable development cannot be successful without the political commitment and the mobilization of all the active populations of the Continent;**

**Considering that the results expected from the 1992 Brazil Conference is of vital interest to Africa and, for that matter, it should participate fully in it:**

**Takes note of the information provided to the Council by the OAU General Secretariat, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, UNSO management and United Nations Environment Programme on the process leading to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development scheduled for Rio de Janeiro from June 1 - 12, 1992;**

**Urges Member States to participate actively in the process of negotiation leading to 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, by especially, participating in the various scheduled meetings in Cairo (July 11 - 16, 1991), in**

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Geneva (August 12 to September 6, 1991), in New York (March 1992);

**Calls on Member States attending the Cairo Conference to ensure that all the interests of Africa are duly taken care of in the final decisions to be taken in Brazil in 1992 and, notably, a substantial increase in the required resources to enable Africa to implement fully the decisions to be adopted at the Rio Conference;**

**Calls on the Member States to reaffirm that the UNEP's Regional Office for Africa be strengthened and adequately supported by increased financial resources to discharge its functions from its Headquarters in Nairobi to enable Africa to implement fully the decisions to be adopted at the Brazil Conference;**

**Requests the Secretary-General of the OAU to pursue jointly with the Executive Secretary of the ECA, the Executive of UNEP the preparations of the African region and take all the necessary steps to safeguard the African common position, both during the preparatory meetings as well as during the Conference itself;**

**Urgently calls upon the United Nations, specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system to support the OAU in efforts to prepare Africa for the Brazil Conference by providing the necessary technical and financial assistance;**

**Recommends that the Heads of State and Government's participate in the Rio de Janeiro Summit Conference to underscore the importance of the conference and promote the interests of the African Continent;**

**Request the Secretary-General of the OAU to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution to the Fifty-fifth Ordinary Session of the Council.**

### Vote of Thanks

CM/RES. 1362 (LIV)

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in its Fifty-fourth Ordinary Session in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria from May 27, to June 1, 1991

Deeply touched by the kind invitation of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria extended to the OAU in July, 1990,

Considering the excellent material preparations made for the Session and the fraternal welcome accorded to delegations,

Grateful to the dynamic people of Nigeria and their Government for the great sacrifice they have made to ensure the success of the Session at this period of economic crisis:

**Expresses its profound gratitude to the President, the Government and people of Nigeria for the great sacrifices they have made;**

**Thanks them for their hospitality for which the African tradition is famous;**

**Expresses its fervent desire that the City of Abuja will continue to grow and prosper for the greatest benefit of the people of Nigeria.**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **The 1991 Abuja OAU Summit: Twenty-Seventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU**



**President Babangida Poses for a Group Photograph with Visiting Heads of State and Government**

## Twenty-Seventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government

### **Statement by His Excellency Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President of the Republic of Uganda and 1990/91 Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at the its 27th Summit, Abuja, Nigeria**

*Your Excellencies, the Heads of State and Government,  
Your Excellency the UN Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of  
ECA.*

*Distinguished Heads of Delegations,  
Your Excellency the OAU Secretary-General,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is a great honour and pleasure for me to address this August Assembly in this beautiful city of Abuja. I bring you warm greetings from the government and people of Uganda.

Nigerian hospitality is proverbial. We appreciate the strenuous efforts that have gone into the preparation of such elaborate conference arrangements. The beauty and harmony of the surroundings of Abuja are an added bonus helping to create the proper atmosphere. I sincerely thank your Excellency President Babangida for your warm reception and personal consideration given to our well-being while here. But, above all, I thank you for the initiative which you took to invite and bring us all together.

In convening this conference in Abuja, we pay tribute to the steadfast and constructive role played by your gallant country in international and particularly African affairs under your dynamic and able leadership.

I wish to pay tribute to the General Secretariat of the OAU for the commendable work they have done since our last meeting in Addis Ababa in July, 1990. I also wish to express my thanks to our foreign Ministers for the work they have done over the last one week in preparing for our meeting today, to say nothing of the work they have done throughout the year in the service of Africa and her people.

Let me at this juncture take this opportunity to express my profound thanks and appreciation to your Excellencies for the assistance and co-operation you accorded me in the exercise of the responsibilities you entrusted unto me as Chairman of our Organisation for the past one year. The tasks have been formidable and yet the problems ahead remain all the more challenging and intractable.

In executing the mandate you entrusted to me, the General Secretariat of our Organisation and particularly our Secretary-General, H.E. Salim A. Salim has been most helpful. I also pay tribute to the Executive Secretary of the ECA Professor



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Adebayo Adedeji for the selfless and invaluable service he has rendered to Africa. Professor Adedeji is retiring shortly. We shall miss him greatly. We wish him well in his future endeavours.

You will have by now read the report of the Secretary-General. That report gives a detailed account of the activities undertaken during the last year. It also gives an activity programme for the year to come. The financial implications contained in that report oblige us all Member States to pay both arrears and assessed contributions as a matter of urgency. I have in the course of the past year appealed to member states to pay up so that the organisation can fulfil its mission. I wish to renew this appeal.

Your Excellencies will recall that during my acceptance address in July last year when I assumed current chairmanship of our organisation I identified the following as some of the major priority areas to which I would direct my attention:

- (a) Africa's external debt and commodity crises
- (b) Promotion of Africa's economic integration
- (c) Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy
- (d) Eradication of apartheid
- (e) Peaceful resolution of the numerous internal and inter-state conflicts in Africa.

This agenda remains as valid today as it was one year ago.

*Your Excellencies and distinguished delegates,*

Since July, 1990, political crises in Africa have hardly dissipated. Indeed, vicious wars have been fought over that period in a number of countries including Liberia, Somalia and Ethiopia. A consoling factor, however, has been that for once, Africa appears determined to move towards finding African solutions to Africa's problems. As far as conflict resolution is concerned, this was most vividly demonstrated by the initiatives of ECOWAS in Liberia, and the efforts of the governments of East and Central Africa in regard to the conflict in Rwanda. Further, although the IGADD Declaration on Peace and Security of its adoption, consultative mechanisms have been initiated for possible future action.

Similarly, the wind of change in favour of democratic systems of governance has assumed practical expression over the past year. In a number of countries, the African people have demanded democratic participation and have succeeded in forging change. Whilst in some countries such change was violent, in others leadership succession has been peaceful and orderly.

Indeed, the International climate today is dominated by issues of democracy. I strongly subscribe to the view that the establishment of democracy is a necessary condition for stable economic development. However, we must at all times resist the temptation to prescribe models of democratisation for all cultures and regions. Political systems should of themselves promote popular participation in the develop-

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ment process, guarantee human rights, freedom of the press, observe the rule of law and ensure accountability of those in public office.

Your Excellencies will recall our debate on the issue of democratisation last July. On that occasion we adopted a Declaration on the political and socio-economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world. Last month I was privileged to host and participate in the African Leadership Forum in which issues of security, development and co-operation in Africa were discussed. The Forum was convened jointly by General Olusegun Obasanjo, Chairman of the African Leadership Forum, H. E. Mr. Salim A. Salim, OAU Secretary-General and Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Under-Secretary-General of the UN and Executive Secretary of the ECA. It was a momentous event involving leaders from all over the continent and all corners of the globe.

The purpose of the Kampala Forum was to discuss and recommend a process that will provide a framework simultaneously for security and democracy which is essential for stability, economic integration and transformation of African countries. It reached some conclusion and made recommendations contained in the Kampala Document. I am happy to present this document to your Excellencies and I hope you will adopt it. Initiatives such as these are always useful and welcome.

*Your Excellencies and distinguished delegates,*

Since our last meeting, events in Southern Africa have not changed significantly except for the February 2, 1991 announcement by Mr. De Klerk that he would repeal the Land Act the Group Areas' Act and the Population Registration Act.

The OAU Ad-Hoc Committee of Heads of State on Southern Africa met twice - First in Kampala in September, 1990 and then in Harare in February, 1991. At both meetings the situation in Southern Africa was reviewed. The Committee set the pace for African and the international community especially at its last meeting in Harare, when it repeated its call for the maintenance of international measures against South Africa, including sanctions, until the inhuman system of apartheid is completely dismantled. Any lifting of sanctions before that would not only be premature but decidedly dangerous. The repeal of the pillars of apartheid does not and cannot in any way be interpreted to mean that apartheid has been eliminated. This is just a process. The constitution of South Africa is the basic foundation of apartheid and until that constitution is changed and replaced by involving the majority of South African people, apartheid cannot be said to have been eliminated. In particular, the principle of one man one vote must be put in effect before we can write the epitaph of apartheid.

I note with regret, however, that European Community countries have voted to lift sanctions and others including some amongst our rank are contemplating doing so.

While it remains the prerogative of this assembly to review the issue of sanctions, I would wish to renew my appeal to your Excellencies to stick to and abide by the Harare Declaration and the UN Consensus Declaration that sanctions against Pretoria be maintained. In the meantime we should continue to encourage the process of

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dialogue between the liberation forces and the South African Government until the process of elimination of apartheid is irreversible and the majority of the people of South Africa are involved in the democratic process.

In any case the African people of South Africa will maintain the sanctions through their uprising regardless of what they want. This can be most effective if the liberation movements inside South Africa can forge a united front against the Pretoria regime.

The question of South Africa is closely linked with that of Africa's liberation struggle. Liberation movements in South Africa still need our collective assistance. It is in the light of this that I received in Kampala, the Secretary-General of the ANC and the President of PAC.

Let me pay tribute to the leaders of the Front-line States for their tireless efforts to find a solution to the problems of Southern Africa.

It is gratifying to note considerable progress made in the peace talks between the Governments of Angola and Mozambique and their respective oppositions. Three days ago I was privileged to witness the signing of the ceasefire agreement between the Government of Angola and UNITA in Lisbon. This was a fitting occasion marking an end of a bloody and wasteful civil war. We pray that the same thing will happen soon in Mozambique so that the people in that country can also enjoy peace and embark on the process of development.

Resolution AHG/Res. 199 (XXVI) of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government mandated me to continue with efforts at bringing about reconciliation between Mauritania and Senegal in their dispute which started in April, 1989.

You will by now have received my full report on the dispute from the Secretary-General. I despatched a fact-finding mission composed of Egypt, Togo, Zimbabwe and Uganda (chairman) plus the OAU Secretary-General. This mission visited both countries in August, 1990 and held fruitful talks with the leadership of both countries. The Ministerial Commission on the dispute met in New York on October, 3, and reported to me on the progress.

In November, 1990 I mandated the then President of Mali, Moussa Traore to mediate between the two sides. He convened a meeting of the foreign ministers of the two countries in Bamako in December. The meeting was very successful and both sides expressed satisfaction at the progress made. Both sides reported that they were committed to the restoration of normal relations.

I despatched my foreign minister in January this year to both capitals to further encourage the two countries to continue with the Traore Initiative. In meeting with Presidents of both countries, the results were very encouraging as both Presidents expressed confidence that, with time the dispute will be solved. I have now written to both Presidents to encourage them in the normalisation of relations. I am very optimistic that with time this dispute will be solved.

In this regard I wish to express my deep appreciation to the Inter-African Ministerial Commission on this dispute namely: Egypt, Nigeria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe for a job well done.

On the question of Western Sahara, I kept in close contact with the Secretary-

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General since, as this assembly is aware the resolution of this conflict is a joint enterprise of the UN and the OAU. I received in Kampala last October the then Under-Secretary-General of the UN, Ambassador Farah who briefed me on the UN plan to hold a referendum in the territory. The UN Secretary-General is in close touch with both Morocco and Polisario as well as the leaders in the region who have all agreed to co-operate with the UN and OAU and to respect the results of the referendum.

Following the UN Security Council Resolution 690 (1991) which established the UN mission for the referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) and following UN General Assembly approval of the MINURSO budget, it is now expected that the referendum on Western Sahara will be held early next year.

MINURSO is expected to start its work in September this year. It is estimated that MINURSO will cost some US \$200 million including the repatriation programme. The cost is to be borne by member states in accordance with Article 17 (2) of the Charter. In manpower terms, approximately 900 international civilian personnel will compose a civilian unit; 300 police officers for the security unit (CIVPOL); a military unit with a strength of 1,695, including 550 military observers and infantry of 700.

With regard to the Chad-Libya dispute, I made personal contacts with both parties and considerable progress was made. I am now happy to report that both parties have agreed to arbitration by the International Court of Justice. Both sides have to abide by the ruling of the Court I salute the leaderships in both countries for their co-operation and statesmanship.

The situation in Liberia continues to attract our concern. I closely associated the OAU with the ECOWAS peace initiative in the numerous contacts I made with various leaders of ECOWAS last August. In this connection I kept all the heads of state informed of the extent to which the organisation was involved.

When ECOWAS decided to set up a peace-keeping force (ECOMOG) I appealed to all member states of the OAU to lend financial and material support to the ECOMOG Fund which had been set up by the ECOWAS Chairman. I also appealed to the international community through the UN Secretary General for moral and material assistance towards the ECOWAS initiative. I was honoured to attend the 27th November 1990 Extraordinary Summit of ECOWAS at Bamako, Mali at which meeting a comprehensive solution to the Liberian conflict was worked out. Following another successful meeting of ECOWAS in Lome, Togo, I wish to express the hope that warring factions in Liberia will see the wisdom of restoring peace and tranquility to their country.

Peace and stability continue to elude the Horn of Africa. I have endeavoured to promote dialogue between Sudan and Ethiopia with a view to enhancing understanding between these two brother states and also to bring an end to the fighting in their respective countries. I have proposed to the leaders of the two countries to meet and iron out differences. These meetings were planned twice to take place in Kampala but have not materialised. I shall continue with my effort within the framework of the IGADD Declaration.

We have also watched Somalia drift into anarchy as a result of the civil war in that

country. I wrote to the Chairman of IGADD to suggest that this civil war should be solved within the framework of IGADD. I also received in Kampala a representative of the provisional government in Mogadishu after which I addressed an appeal to the various factions in Somalia to meet in a national reconciliation conference. In this connection I wish to pay tribute to the Republic of Djibouti, among others, for the initiative she has launched in trying to bring the warring Somali factions together. Lately I dispatched my foreign minister to Djibouti where he met the Prime Minister of the Transitional Government. I also asked him to put the full weight of the OAU behind the Djibouti initiative.

*Your Excellencies,*

I shall now briefly address myself to the conflict in Rwanda. As your Excellencies are aware, a group of Rwanda refugees, many of who lived in Uganda, attacked their country. This was very regrettable especially bearing in mind that I was current Chairman of OAU. I was very concerned about this and I tried to assist my Brother the President of Rwanda. I initiated bilateral as well as regional meetings. We met in Mwanza, Gbadolite, Cyanika, Zanzibar and finally in Dar es Salaam where, in a regional conference, a comprehensive solution to the Rwanda refugees was concretised in the Dar es Salaam Declaration. The Dar es Salaam Summit was attended by the leaders of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire, The OAU Secretary-General has been actively involved in all these talks. I thank them all for their efforts. In particular, I wish to pay tribute to President Mobutu of Zaire for his untiring efforts to solve this problem especially in his capacity as mediator.

As a result of his effort a ceasefire agreement between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwanda Patriotic Front was signed in Kinshasa on march 29th. A Military Monitoring Team, under the auspices of the OAU Secretary-General, is now in place and President Mobutu is supervising the dialogue between the two parties.

*Your Excellencies and distinguished delegates*

Events in the Middle East captured most of the world's attention during much of the period under review. When we adjourned last July, it was unimaginable that events in the Gulf would move so dramatically and tragically. I need not recount what happened as all of us were witness to that sad chapter in history.

I took a keen personal interest in the search for a solution to this conflict. I received in Kampala the emissaries for the governments of Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait as well as the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference Organisation and PLO leader Mr. Yassir Arafat.

In conjunction with the OAU Secretary, we appealed to the presidents of Iraq and the USA, on behalf of Africa, for a cessation of hostilities in order to avoid further loss of life and property.

The Heads of State of the Ad-Hoc Committee of the OAU on South Africa, at their 6th Ordinary Session in Harare on Febuary 7th 1991, also reviewed the grave situation in the Gulf and regretted the negative consequences of the conflict in particular and

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the impact on the defenceless children, women and other vulnerable groups and called for the intensification of efforts to provide emergency humanitarian assistance to all the people affected by the armed conflict.

While today we breathe a sigh of relief that the armed conflict is over we must take stock of what happened and also express the hope that in the aftermath of this war, the world will exert genuine and sustained efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and particularly the Palestinian question.

In this regard I have undertaken a number of consultations with a number of my colleagues, notably President Mubarak of Egypt and PLO leader Mr. Yassir Arafat. We deplore Israel's occupation of Arab land and Israel, oppression of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. We also call for a halt to Jewish emigration which is at the expense of Palestinian interests. We wish to reaffirm the need to convene an international conference on the Middle East to include all parties concerned and especially the PLO - the authentic representative of the Palestinian people

Our last summit meeting dwelt quite at length on the question of children. The first World Summit for Children took place in New York.

On 4th December 1990 I also wrote to the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, H.E. Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani urging him to make a voluntary contribution to the 3rd Replenishment of IFAD's Resources and to IFAD's special programme for sub-Saharan Africa.

Res. AHG/Dec. (XXIV) mandated me to continue with the effort already made and explore all possible avenues for possible solving of Africa's debt crisis. I pursued these efforts vigorously. This matter was constantly in the fore front of all my communications with the international community and in any meetings with various world leaders from the creditor community. The process of sensitising the world community about Africa's debt crisis must be a sustained one.

The same resolution above called for the convening of a seminar to evaluate the debt relief measures. I offered to host the seminar in Kampala. The 9th Ministerial meeting of the Contact Group deliberated at length on this seminar and agreed to continue with efforts to hold it during the last quarter of 1991 in Kampala. I have submitted a separate report on the activities of the Contact Group on Africa's External Debt Crisis.

During the year many changes have taken place. But the most significant thing is that amidst all these changes Africa's economic condition has continued to decline. Africa experienced a painfully protracted period of economic retrogression despite the enormous sacrifices made towards structural adjustment reforms and economic transformation. This has inflicted serious decline in the already grim living standards of our people. The average African is poorer today than he was ten years ago. There is less food per person today than a decade ago. Infant mortality is a staggering 120 out of every 1,000 children born alive. Sixty-five per cent of adult population can neither read nor write. A mere 23 per cent of Africans have access to clean drinking water. Africa has one doctor for every 24,500 people in a sea of a diseases. One African migrant out of five is a refugee and one refugee out of every two in the world is an African.

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Amidst all this, Africa continues to suffer from depressed commodity prices, decline in terms of trade, upsurge in protectionist measures, an escalating and excruciating debt burden, rigidities and distortions in fiscal and monetary policy influences, especially in relation to multilateral financing institutions.

Resolution AHG/Res. 196 (XXVI) of our last meeting, inter-alia, called upon the World Bank and other development partners in the international community to provide all possible support towards the creation of a 'global coalition' for Africa. It requested the World Bank to take the lead, along with the African Development Bank in a world-wide effort to mobilise additional concessional resource flows for Africa including but not limited to:

- (i) a second three-year Special Programme of Assistance for Africa for the period 1991-1993;
- (ii) replenishing the African Development Fund (ADF) at levels significantly exceeding the present levels of ADF-5;
- (iii) allocating 50 per cent of IDA-9 resources to African countries'
- (iv) developing suitable instrumentalities for the financing needs of the African Middle-income countries;
- (v) supplementing the current paucity of private capital flows to Africa.

It also request the IFIs along with the African Development Bank to redouble international effort at obtaining more far-reaching debt-relief, including:

- (i) reviewing the Toronto approach with a view to expanding its scope and its coverage to include middle-income countries;
- (ii) extending the World Bank Group's IDA-financed debt-buy back facility to cover more countries;
- (iii) exploring further means of rationalising debt service, relating it to need and ability to pay.

Sadly, none of what we wished for above was done except the putting in place of a process for establishing the global coalition for Africa. I salute President Masire of Botswana, Co-Chairman of the GCA, for his untiring efforts in this regard.

It is against this background therefore that I presented the African case at the second UN Conference of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in Paris last September as mandated by the 26th Session of Heads of State and Government (refer to AHG/Res. 194 (XXVI)). At that conference I asked the international community to reach an agreement on a package of measures for Africa's economic recovery. These measures would include the following elements:

- (a) A comprehensive debt strategy for Africa and especially the LDCs including measures for the improvement of the Toronto Options to attain substantial reduction of both debt stock and debt-service payments to official creditors, including measures to alleviate the burden of multilateral debt of the LDCs.
- (b) Commitment of the international community to increase in real

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term, the level of external concessional resource from both bilateral and multilateral sources to support the short and long-term structural transformation programmes in LDCs, and in particular to redouble their ODA levels by 1995 with a view to reaching the new proposed target of 0.2 per cent in their GNP by the end of 1990s.

- (c) Viable and concrete incentives in the industrialised countries designed to promote foreign direct investment, and transfer of technology to the LDCs.
- (d) Removal of tariffs, quotas, and other non-tariff barriers as well as ensuring deliberate special and preferential access to markets of all processed and semi-processed exports of LDCs.
- (e) Creation of more stable commodity prices in markets as well as provision of adequate, and prompt compensatory financial arrangements.
- (f) Strong support for sub-regional and regional economic integration between and among LDCs as well as other developing countries.

I submitted a similar case on your behalf when on October 1st, 1990 I addressed the UN General Assembly in New York. In my address I requested that a special effort be mounted by the world community, through the UN, to increase resources for investment in education in Africa. This is one of the surest ways to lay a foundation for the scientific and technical revolution which Africa must now accomplish in order to bring about self-sustaining development.

Secondly, I called upon Africa's creditors, including the multilateral institutions, to adopt realistic attitudes that are effectively compatible with Africa's long-term development and growth needs.

Thirdly, I made a special appeal to all members of the UN to re-examine the conduct of international trade, so that it is free and fair to all participating countries. The time is long overdue to reverse the decline in the terms of trade of developing countries.

Fourthly, I urged multilateral institutions to adopt more flexible macro-economic policies that recognise the limits of current economic knowledge and which emphasise long-term development and not merely short-term stabilisation.

I also had occasion to address the European Parliament in Strasbourg on March 13th this year in the capacity of current Chairman of the OAU. Less than one month before that I had had the privilege to address ACP/EEC Joint Assembly in Kampala. The message I gave on both occasions was equally clear.

First of all I called upon the EEC members to ratify the Lome IV Convention as soon as possible so that Africa, especially, can have access to quick disbursement and import funds. I also identified four main problems that have kept Africa backward:

- (i) Lack of ideological independence whereby instead of addressing real African issues like the development of productive forces such



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- as science, technology and modern management skills, Africa was concerned with East-West conflict.
- (ii) Reliance on production of raw materials whose prices are unstable and meagre.
  - (iii) The Foreign Debt of over 270 billion dollars. This is almost equal to Africa's GDP and three times Africa's total value of exports in 1990. Unless, therefore, some of these debts are cancelled and less strenuous terms are negotiated for others, Africa will sink into unprecedented depths of despair, starvation, instability and blood-letting.
  - (iv) Small markets. The way forward for Africa lies in economic and political unity. The realisation of Africa's growing marginalisation must teach us to look more within Africa. Regional economic organisations like the PTA and ECOWAS are useful building blocks for transformation. Ultimately there will be no alternative to an African Economic Community. The importance I attach to regional economic groupings kept me very interested in the performance of our existing regional economic institutions.

In this connection I was honoured to represent the OAU at the 10th Anniversary Commemorative Summit of SADCC in August 1990 in Gabarone, the 9th Summit of PTA Authority in November in 1990 in Mbabane and the First Extraordinary Summit of ECOWAS in November 1990 in Bamako.

### *Your Excellencies and distinguished delegates,*

Africa's Priority Programm If Action for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986-90 (UN-PAAERD) came to an end in December 1990. The conduct of a final review and appraisal of the implementation of the UN-PAAERD and, by implication, APPER will be undertaken this year in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution A/45/1820 of November 1990.

The OAU Council of Ministers in February 1991 mandated the Permanent Steering Committee to meet in April 1991 and to formulate a strategy designed to facilitate Africa's participation in the review of UN-PAAERD 1986-90 and the design of the successor arrangement beyond 1991. This meeting did not take place. However, it is my hope that the projected September 1991 meeting will elaborate an African position on the final review appraisal of UN-PAAERD.

It is imperative and urgent that a medium-term successor arrangement in support of Africa's development and socio-economic transformation be arrived at.

Besides, for sustained and consolidated economic recovery, Africa needs an enabling environment at the domestic and, more specially so, at the international level. This is particularly so because the impact of UN-PAAERD on African countries has been dismal. While many African countries have vigorously pursued appropriate policy reforms, including IBRD/IMF supported structural adjustment programmes,

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the response of the international community especially in the crucial issues of debt, resource flows, commodities and market access has not been commensurate with commitments envisaged in UN-PAAERD.

*Your Excellencies and distinguished delegates,*

In 1980, African leaders met in Lagos and adopted the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos — a blue-print for Africa's development. In the Final Act of Lagos of 1980, the Heads of State and Government authorised the establishment of a Ministerial Committee to work out a Draft Treaty establishing an African Economic Community. The Committee was to submit the draft treaty for adoption and signature at the regular summit of 1981. This expeditious time-frame was not met due largely to the need for elaborate feasibility and preliminary studies that had to be undertaken by the OAU Secretariat.

I pay special tribute to the Permanent Steering Committee. It will be recalled that following the adoption of Resolution AHG/Res. 190 (XXVI) of the 26th Session of our Summit Meeting last July, the permanent Steering Committee was directed to complete its work as soon as possible and submit it to the 53rd Session of the Council of Ministers. The Permanent Steering Committee submitted the Draft Treaty to the 53rd Session of the Council of Ministers which passed it unanimously and recommended it for adoption and signing by the Current Assembly Session.

Resolution AHG/Res. 190 (XXVI) above also mandated me as Current Chairman to conduct the necessary consultations with your Excellencies as to the most appropriate time and condition for its signing.

I wrote to your Excellencies on March 26th, 1991 in this regard with the recommendation that the treaty be adopted and signed during our present Session at Abuja. I hope we shall sign this treaty during this session.

The 53rd Session of the Council of Ministers recommended that the Current Chairman draw the attention of your Excellencies to the importance of Article 28 of the Treaty which calls inter-alia on Member States to strengthen the existing regional economic communities and to establish new ones where they do not exist in order to ensure the gradual establishment of the Community, I communicated to your Excellencies in this regard.

The adoption and signing of this treaty will be a crowning experience. This is in fact the most critical issue of our time for Africa. It has far-reaching socio-economic as well as political implications for our countries individually and collectively. It represents a complete embodiment of the collective African philosophy on economic integration in these contemporary times as well as the articulation of mechanisms for the achievements of such continental integration.

There are 29 proposed protocols to be annexed to and which form an integral part of the Treaty. These are to be a product of detailed studies by experts. In the course of the coming months they will endeavour to work on such protocols with due regard to priorities for the implementation of the Community Treaty.

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*Your Excellencies and distinguished delegates,*

Let me conclude. The litany of Africa's ills is awesome, painful and agonising. Three centuries and more of history marked by foreign intervention, domination and exploitation left Africa backward, apathetic and stagnant. While the rest of the world is on its way to modernisation, Africa remains a virtual museum piece. The challenge is as clear as it is daunting. To meet it we need vision, faith, courage and dogged perseverance.

The importance of the fundamental changes taking place in the world today and their implications for Africa cannot be over-emphasised. The global trend is decisively toward the creation of larger, stronger and more mutually beneficial economic entities. In some cases political union for the consolidation of economic integration is starkly within reach in a matter of a few years. As the Assembly of Heads of State and Government has recognised in declaration AHG/Decl. 1 (XXVI), this emerging international order threatens to irretrievably marginalise Africa and its peoples. In this regard, as with our own experience in the managing of separate and fragmented economies, time is of the essence in the establishment of a continental Economic Community.

The drawing up of this Treaty has shown unmistakable courage on our capacity to meet new challenges. We are now on the threshold of new awakening. Africa's dismal economic performance in the 1980 and the resultant adverse effects on our politics and societies have more than ever before, underscored the need to move swiftly towards continental economic integration.

Seldom have our meetings attracted such attendance or raised much hope. The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community is an important milestone in the history of our Organisation has been a long journey from Lagos to Abuja — spanning a period of more than ten years. It is just and proper therefore that the Lagos Plan of Action — Africa's blue-print for the future — conceived in Nigeria, should be concretised and consummated with the signing of the Community Treaty on Nigeria Territory.

Actions of today mould our tomorrow. We can turn our back to the sun and cast long shadows on the lives of generations to come or we can let light penetrate and illuminate the dark patches of our mind so that we can build on this solid new foundation we have just erected. The choice is ours. I congratulate you all and I give you best wishes.

## Twenty-Seventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government

### Address by the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, CFR, fss, mni at the 27th Ordinary Assembly of OAU Heads of State and Government, Abuja on Monday, June 3, 1991

*My Brother Heads of State and Government,  
Distinguished Secretary-General of the  
United Nations (UN),  
Distinguished Secretary-General of the  
Organisation of African Unity (OAU),  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.*

#### For A Greater And Self-Reliant Africa

I would like to thank you for the great and inestimable honour you have bestowed on me and my country. As I assume office as Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), I would like to assure you that I shall do my best to justify the confidence reposed in me and my country. I am certain that, with your co-operation and support, we shall succeed in our joint endeavours not only to make Africa greater and self-reliant but also to lay an enduring foundation for democratic culture and processes on the continent.

My Brother Heads of State and Governments, I wish, on your behalf, to pay special tribute to our Brother, President Yoweri Kagutu Museveni of Uganda, my distinguished predecessor in this exalted office.

His wide experience in social and political engineering in his great country has been faithfully applied to solving the numerous and onerous problems of our continent. We in West Africa, in particular, have benefitted and continue to benefit from his wise and sober counsel and exemplary leadership role.

Furthermore, I wish to pay tribute to our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, and his staff for their immense contributions to the consolidation of African unity and also for their laudable achievement in making the General Secretariat a relevant tool for change in Africa. Our special gratitude also goes to our brother and compatriot, Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Under Secretary-General of the United Nations, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, for his outstanding contributions to the economic development of our continent.

#### Changing International Landscape

Africa has gone and has come a long way since the founding of our organisation in May 1963. This reflected in our achievements in the political, economic, social, cultural, diplomatic, defence and security tasks we set for ourselves about three

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decades ago. With the independence of Namibia, we have finally accomplished one of the main purposes of our organisation as set out in Article II, Section(d) of its charter, namely "to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa." This remarkable achievement notwithstanding, the reality of the present-day situation is that Africa still has unfinished task of the total emancipation of Africans on the continent and in the African Diaspora. Although the independence of Namibia has closed one chapter in the history of our determined and principled struggle for self-determination and decolonisation, it has opened another — that is, the struggle for internal political reforms and liberalisation, for the elimination of apartheid and kindred forms of racial discrimination and denial of human rights. The task before us now is to speed up our onward march towards the unity and solidarity of our continent and the welfare of our peoples.

But this is no easy task. Much remains to be done. For example, African development problems have also remained intractable, in spite of the enormous amount of energy and material resources expended on them by our countries. Well thought-out strategies and plans for addressing these problems (such as the Lagos Plan of Action) have been adopted at continental, regional and national levels, but they have been poorly implemented. Even where national and regional structures, aimed at promoting trade, economic development and co-operation for our mutual survival are in place, they still do not work well. And they will not work unless we resolve to look more seriously into these problems, map out new strategies with courage and determination, convinced that we are doing so in the overall interest of our continent. After 28 years of the existence of our Organisation, we should for once be bold enough to dismantle, where necessary, natural and artificial structures that have hindered us from achieving maximally our goals for effective and meaningful political and economic co-operation among our various countries and regions.

A people that cannot stand on its own feet is not free. It is, therefore, a matter both of necessity and of deliberate policy that we have made self-reliance a cardinal principle as well as a strategy in our own on-going experiment in structural adjustment for economic recovery and socio-economic transformation. We believe that the ability of African states to develop strong and resilient economic and technological basis, is a function of our freedom to define our priorities and goals. It is also a function of our ability to mobilise and use our own human and material capabilities without interference from outside. Through the strategy of self-reliance, and by pulling our resources together, we will be able to create sufficient wealth not only to solve our numerous problems of underdevelopment, but also to influence the course and outcome of events in the emerging new world order.

Whether we will succeed in achieving these aspirations will depend to a considerable extent on whether or not we will be able to fulfil the expectations of our people as well as ensure the security and stability of our societies. As we all are aware, the consequences of our unfulfilled expectations can have serious social consequences, including popular upheavals which have threatened the stability of many of our countries. No doubt, it is the fear of this eventuality that has prompted well-meaning

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African statesmen to study the linkages among security, stability and development with a view to applying their relevant aspects to the African situation.

The Middle East is undergoing profound change: and there are already signposts for new power relationships in the area. Nevertheless, the issue of a homeland for the Palestinians remains the heart of the Middle East problem. The Palestinians must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination. In the same vein, I urge all states in the region to hold an international conference with a view to finding a just and lasting solution.

We are also today witnessing monumental changes in the international system. Perhaps the most significant events are the end of the cold war and the re-unification of Germany. Again, we are witnesses to the democratisation of Eastern Europe, the increasing tempo of economic integration of Western Europe and the economic ascendancy of Japan. All these developments have great consequences and implications for the search for a new world order, particularly for us in Africa. We earnestly hope that this new atmosphere will translate into increased co-operation for our development efforts. In such a new world order, Africa cannot and should not remain static.

Meanwhile, we must resolve to meet this new challenge, in order that the benefits of those events do not elude us. Therefore, we must remain faithful to the objectives of the African Economic Community. On my part, I shall do my utmost to make a modest beginning in the next one year, so that we can be proud that we have contributed in making Africa more relevant. Indeed, during my tenure and with your support and co-operation, I intend to work towards the early realisation of our dreams for the African Economic Community. It is one institution which we should together resolve to build as it holds the promise for a greater tomorrow for our continent.

Today, we reach an important milestone in Africa's quest for continental economic integration. Shortly, we shall sign the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. We must reinforce our commitments to the Treaty and re-dedicate ourselves to ensure the success of the Community.

### Regional Security

My Brother Heads of State and Government, we have allowed far too many factors, for too long, to destabilise Africa. In most cases those elements of destabilisation are the type that could be easily and amicably resolved through dialogue. Today, the quest for peace and stability in our individual countries and indeed in the whole continent is of paramount interest to all of us. Peace and stability are pre-conditions for regional security. We should, therefore, strive to eliminate or transform to positive ends the many factors which tend to destabilise Africa. We of course know that many countries in Africa are plural societies; but so are many countries of the world. After all, no one country can be said to be homogenous in the absolute sense. But ours is a special case. Statism, sometimes economic and other interest groups present actual or potential threats to internal law and order, lives and property, stability, and orderly development. Rather than condemn ourselves to the destabilising activities of these interests

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we should put in place policies and measures aimed at harnessing their energies for building a strong and virile nation.

We must not pretend that we have an easy task before us on this vital issue of nation-building. The problem of nation-building is a major and complex one for a post-colonial continent like Africa. Indeed, colonisation of Africa and the consequent pillage of its human and material bases for development clearly indicate that our ability for addressing the problem of nation-building has been severely decapitated from the beginning. This explains in part, why a combination of external and internal threats has rendered African countries powerless to fully confront the problem of nation-building.

In short, the problems of how to satisfy the aspirations of our peoples, build a strong and viable social community and at the same time defend our sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, are inextricably inter-twined. I urge this august body to see the resolution of these problems as the most important items in our unfinished agenda for the 1990s and beyond. In the past, repression and the use of force seemed to provide the quick, though temporary, solution to the deep-rooted dynamics of nation-building. However, recent experience, as a result of the progressive growth in political consciousness and knowledge of human psychology has shown that repression and the use of force can create more problems for statesmen. In some cases, such conditions can even result in heightened social antagonism and civil wars.

From our own experience, we know that civil wars are the worst of all wars. We know that it is not always easy to win the war within a given period, and we also know that even where it is won, winning the peace could be problematic. While war rages on, national life is dislocated; development grinds to a halt; and millions of our nationals become unwilling refugees and displaced persons. The Liberian case comes readily to mind. Accordingly, I urge you all, in the name of humanity and the traditional African ethos of familyhood and shared community life to avoid civil wars and the carnage they necessarily encourage.

On your behalf, I wish to convey our gratitude to ECOWAS for the initiative of setting up ECOMOG. We are also grateful to the OAU and the United Nations for their support. Happily, some degree of stability has been restored to Liberia. However, a lot still needs to be done. Once again, I wish to appeal to all Liberians to think of the suffering of their people, and to join hands in the important task of national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Border disputes also often lead to war. Our founding fathers, in their collective wisdom, attempted to provide a solution to these problems. They decided to respect the borders existing on the achievement of national independence. These set up an OAU Commission on Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, as a framework within which to resolve border problems by peaceful means. The establishment of an OAU Boundary Commission should reinforce the existing machinery for the prevention and settlement of border disputes.

A durable solution to the problems of civil wars and inter-African conflicts may not be easy to evolve. Perhaps, member states should, first, agree to impose on themselves

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some limitation on their sovereignty in order to permit some regional action to be taken. This is more so in a situation where there is total collapse of government, law and order in a member-state. Such a regional arrangement should be wide enough to cover intra-African conflicts.

In order to reinforce regional security, we should also establish an African Defence Fund; which could be used to finance our collective peace keeping efforts in the continent. When created, this fund would be financed essentially from contributions and donations from member-states. It is also envisaged that friends of Africa will support our collective effort in promoting regional security.

### South Africa

I now come to the situation in South Africa. We can all look back to the 1960s with some satisfaction that we have succeeded in liberating our continent from colonial rule.

I welcome the delegation from South Africa. They are here to enrich our deliberations, and help us in the search for the way forward through the complex maze of apartheid South Africa.

In this hall, all Africa is complete. Two years ago, this feat was impossible. Then, Messrs Nelson Mandela, Clarence Makwetu and their colleagues were in South African prisons, well away from us. Our hearts could reach out to them. But there was no way we could feel them in the flesh. That is the way of apartheid. It separates families. It separates races. It draws a colour line between peoples. It was so in Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. It is so in South Africa. I salute the leaders and peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia for defeating apartheid.

In the 1990s we should look forward with renewed hope that South Africa will become free for all South Africans. Our long struggle has opened the prospects of realisation of a non-racial society. But the growing violence in South Africa now threatens the emergence of such a democratic society. The violence in South Africa must stop; it has gone far enough. All South Africans should set aside the bitterness of yester-years and build a new non-racial society.

I call on President F.W. de Klerk — whose courage is not in doubt — and his Government, to remove the remaining apartheid legislations and to allow majority rule in South Africa. He should check the excesses of his security forces. He should build bridges across the colour line so that mutual confidence will grow. In this endeavour, Black South Africa should organise itself to meet the challenges of a new South Africa. I also call on Chief Buthelezi, Clarence Makwetu and Nelson Mandela to join hands to forge a united front to protect the helpless masses.

This Organisation stands ready to convene a meeting of all shades of political interest in South Africa to facilitate their pulling together as one people with one destiny. The world expects us to give leadership. We shall give it.

The prospect of a new South Africa depends on the continued use of all forms of pressure on the administration in South Africa. The decision we shall reach on this matter should re-confirm to the world that we, as leaders, are absolutely concerned



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with the well-being of our people and that we respect human dignity. Furthermore, our decisions should be such as to make us come to terms with the realities of today.

I have no doubt that our Organisation will appropriately respond to the repeal of core legislations of apartheid. The reality of our present situation is that Mr. Nelson Mandela and other black South African leaders live inside South Africa. I believe that we, as an Organisation should now take the struggle to the doorstep of the racist regime.

Let me emphasise that this is not a clarion call to lift all sanctions against South Africa. We shall carefully assess every stage in the evolution of South Africa to a democratic and non-racial society before reaching a definite decision on the future of sanctions.

### **International Indebtedness**

My Brother Heads of State and Government, on the issue of international indebtedness to and by Africa, the truth is that the legacy of the past weighs too heavily on the present and casts shadow on our future capacity to develop our economies. There was the triple tragedy of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which has now spanned nearly six hundred years. There is the enormous current debt overhang to external creditors. This debt is now increasingly recognised by all sides as being unpayable on the basis of any credible African external earning projection over the foreseeable future. And there are signs that net external aid flows to the region, predicated on existing creditor policies, will be anything but at best marginal.

However determined and courageous the action of individual African countries to continue meeting their external debt repayment obligations, two programme initiatives for economic and financial survival for the continent as a whole seem now imperative. In the absence of a desirable, comprehensive and substantial outright reduction in the debts magnitude, creditor countries must, at a minimum, support a complete suspension of the debt service for a very long period. In that context, there are good lessons of international experience to be learnt from programmes provided to the then indebted countries by the League of Nations during the inter-war years. The second is for Africa as a whole to fight in all possible ways the just battle for international reparations against the centuries of humiliation and exploitation to which it had been subjected.

In the contemporary historical context, Africa is neither asking for something new, nor extraordinary, or unjust. All we ask is to be treated as other peoples have been treated: that the admission of wrong-doing must be accompanied by restitution. We demand that it be recognised by all that reparations represent the missing link in our difficult quest for international justice, peace and progress. The battle will be long and arduous; but we must remain undaunted in its successful prosecution. The first step is for us here and now to adopt a continental position on the principle of international reparation to Africa. There would then be need to set up a high-powered committee to study the ramifications of the accepted principle; to work out the broad legal, diplomatic and political modalities of the programme and its implementation. For us,

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that should be the proper starting point of a meaningful New World Order.

Before we take our argument to the world stage, we need to carefully collect and record the evidence, so that even the most unsympathetic judge or jury will have no choice but to rule in favour of Africa. Furthermore, we need to understand that, on this issue, Africans are embarked on a journey of rediscovery and of solidarity with Africans in the Diaspora; for we are linked as much by our history of exploitation as by a common future of hope. We therefore need to reach out to them because we share a common destiny.

### Internal Structural Reforms

Nevertheless, even after Africa may have succeeded in redressing the past injustices against it, its development process would not be sustainable unless and until it develops an enduring internal capacity and mechanism for managing change in a rapidly changing world. There is no lasting substitute for a profound and painful commitment at home to reconstitute our societies, to reform our political systems and to restructure our economies. From our own experience, it is important for African leaders not to underestimate the enormity of the tasks involved.

First, perhaps unlike other regions of the world during their own transformation process, Africa is now faced with the simultaneous problems of economic restructuring and of creating free and democratic institutions for social expression. Second, these dual challenges are to be addressed in the contexts of economic uncertainty, resource insecurity, high political tension and unrealistic social expectations. Third, incapacitated by the heavy chain of external indebtedness, Africa must nevertheless rise to the new aggressive foreign trade competitiveness and the uneven but rapid advance towards internationalisation of the world economy.

From various reform experiments going on in the region, we now begin to recognise the various ingredients that might give us a fighting chance of success. Perhaps, the most vital is the capacity of a people to analyse their own problems, articulate feasible options and write their own policy agenda. Africa must strengthen its management capacities in all their ramifications. Next, is the importance of building upwards piece by piece from the various component units and grassroot institutions. Policy thrusts must be focussed on working with the people, rather than patronising them with enclave-based projects. There is also the strategic imperative of relying on flexible policy instruments which operate automatically across the board and minimise discretionary bureaucratic powers. There must be sensitivity to issues of social equity, poverty alleviation, justice, rule of law, human rights, cultural diversity and environmental protection.

Populist demands cannot be ignored; but pressures for unsustainable and improperly-targeted free or subsidised services must be moderated by the public-sector resource realities. Good governance is to be conceived as a combination of credible politics and sound economics. Appealing rhetorics are no substitute for solid policies; and collective behaviour by powerful interest groups should not be mistaken for objective long-term national interest. In all event, it is always useful to build some

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cohesive political coalition and minimum social consensus around a core of national values and common objectives, while recognising genuine differences in management style by competing national leaders.

Generally, we do not believe that the fundamental problems of underdevelopment in Africa can be addressed through ideological wranglings. We also do not share the tempting distraction from some assumed contrasts between structural adjustment and structural transformation. To us, one is implicit in the other; and both should bear conceptual, logical sequential and symbiotic inter-relationship.

There is no such thing in practice as a flawless market or a perfect socio-economic system. There are failures inherent in both private market and the public domain. There is nothing in economic liberalisation conceptually which negates the need and necessity for rational economic planning and for selective protection under conditions of underdevelopment. Again, as many African countries are beginning to discover, the more a state deregulates, the more it would in fact need to monitor and guide the system — a form of regulated management. The main differences lie in the character of intervention, the nature of instruments employed to intervene, and the qualitative sophistication of the intervention modality. Less state intervention also does not necessarily diminish the undesirable volume of unearned incomes, or the pernicious traffic of parasitic operators on the state apparatus. Economic rent-seeking activities may simply be changing their character, channel and manifestation.

But those external agencies, institutions and power centres which seek to write our reform agenda in the mould of their own world view, need to be reminded that they are doing damage to our long-term interests as well as theirs. The seemingly endless list of 'conditionalities' for real international resources redistribution can only truncate our recovery process and breed international distrust. We recognise our own internal weaknesses. We accept the unpleasant truth that our past spending, consumption pattern and life style contributed somewhat to our present economic and financial predicaments. On their part, however, our external mentors need to be constantly reminded that they were neither neutral nor innocent of our inherited political, social, economic and financial distortions.

For our generation of African leaders and system managers, the real issue now is, how we can grapple the initiative for redefining our own policy options, rather than simply react to and complain about the unwarranted external pressures. At home, that translates to properly home-grown and well articulated programmes of adjustment and transformation. Externally, it impels us to spell out the comprehensive conditions for a true New World Order in which Africa can achieve proper human dignity in the evolution of world civilisation.

### **Power And Leadership**

Sovereignty was indeed wrested from us as a people. That fact is rooted in our history. Equally undeniable however is the fact that with the acts of recovering that sovereignty, in that uneven process known as decolonisation, African leadership in general did not give much thought to the logic and justice of re-investing that

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sovereignty in its people. Through ideological and nationalistic posturings and the naked manipulation of ethnic differences, African leadership has tended to narrow the base of power. The result had been the personalisation of power and the mystification of the process of leadership and governance to the exclusion of millions of their fellow citizens.

Even without the lessons of corrective scenarios being enacted before us in other parts of the world, we must recognise that the time has now come to re-examine the concept and practice of power and leadership on our continent. In short, the cost of maintaining structures of dictatorship, including the energy dissipated and the blood expended in warding off challenges to the monopoly of power all over our continent makes it imperative and democracy is not only an attractive option but a rational and inevitable one. This is one act of our internal reparations which leadership on this continent can no longer evade.

Today, the clamour for democratisation and party pluralism is on the ascendancy in Africa. As leaders, we must accept and comply with the wishes of those whom we represent. No amount of force can forever stifle the right of the governed to decide, at periodic, free and fair elections, the fate of any government. The free choice of leaders by the governed is the essence of representative government.

Therefore, as we face the twenty-first century, it is incumbent upon us to unite our people under the banner of democratisation, a process which includes rather than excludes; and one which conserves our resources for development, rather than wastefully expends them on self perpetuation. Our peoples are yearning for peace and meaningful development. We should not deny them the opportunity to participate in governance or refuse to use our scarce resources on projects and programmes that would enhance their living conditions.

The ravages of civil unrest right across our continent, the consequent retardation of creativity for our human potential, the intolerable flow of millions of our humanity turned refugees for their own lands — all in the contestation between power and freedom — constitute a permanent rebute of our political judgement and will. That yet elusive stability dictates new modes of social relationships which cannot be found in dictatorships, either of the civil or the uniformed brand. The only viable alternative is a sincere embrace of the democratic option. Let us take the resolve now, and commit ourselves to the dismantling of all apparatus of unrepresentative power, setting a date before the end of this century for its achievement.

With this inwardly directed act of reparation, we acquire the moral strength and confidence to redress our history in every other sector of our interaction with the rest of the world. The dawn of the twenty-first century is breaking just over our horizon; let us walk towards it on our willing feet, not wait to be dragged into its blinding light on knees of evasion.

These are challenges which we should collectively resolve to tackle in this decade so that our continent could be totally free from racial discrimination. We should work for a peaceful and secure continent, and create a conducive atmosphere for accelerated economic development. We should work relentlessly towards the establishment of the

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African Economic Community through which we could harness our abundant natural resources to build a prosperous society.

There cannot be a better venue than Abuja with its beautiful scenery, quiet atmosphere and cool weather to discuss these issues. Let us therefore use the opportunity of our presence in this growing city not only to review our past, but also to agree on major policy issues that are crucial to our determined efforts for freedom, equity and social justice for our people. I am confident that given our previous experience of handling issues of paramount importance to the continent we should at the end of this summit come out with concrete plans of action that would be of great relevance to our quest for peace, stability and orderly development in the continent.

My Brother Heads of State and Government, these are crucial issues we must address to make Africa more relevant henceforth.

Long Live Africa,  
Long Live the Organisation of African Unity.

I thank you for your attention.

## Only Unity Can See Africa Through

*(Being an Address by Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim Secretary-General of the O.A.U. at the 27th Summit of the Organisation in Abuja.)*

Allow me to address my very first words of thanks to President Ibrahim Babangida and his government and through them to the people of Nigeria as a whole for the warm hospitality they have accorded us and for all the efforts they have made to ensure that this summit takes place under such propitious conditions in this new federal capital of Nigeria, Abuja, which is a symbol of unity, determination and progress. The excellent working facilities, which have been put at our disposal, are the end-result of the considerable efforts and sacrifices made by the authorities of the host country and a reflection of the commitment of Nigeria, its people and leaders to the ideals, objectives and principles of our continental organization. It is, therefore, with pleasure that I wish to express my deep gratitude to him.

I also wish to congratulate most sincerely President Ibrahim Babangida on his election as chairman of the organization and assure him the co-operation of the entire secretariat in the performance of his task. I further wish to seize this opportunity to pay tribute to the outgoing Chairman, President Yoweri Museveni, for the commendable efforts he has made in the service of the organization during his term of office. I would particularly like to thank him for the support he has provided me in the performance of my duty and for his readiness to assist on all and every occasion. Indeed, I would like to place on record my particular appreciation for his readiness at all time-day and night-to provide me with counsel and advice whenever circumstances so necessitated.

### *Mr. Chairman*

Following your procedure, this is a regular session of your summit. However, it is exceptional in nature in view of its historic importance. We are not engaging in any exaggeration if we were to assert that we are witnessing the rebirth of the organization. The solemn signing of the treaty to establish the African Economic Community, which we witnessed yesterday, will be recorded in the annals of the history of our continent in the same manner as the signing of the OAU charter in 1963 – close to thirty years after the establishment of the OAU. Our Organization has evolved from an institution that concentrated mainly on the political liberation of the continent to one that now focuses more attention on the integrated socio-economic development of Africa.

Like every other historic endeavour, the establishment of the African Economic Community will be an arduous task. It will be sustained through efficient and patient efforts and a pragmatic and progressive approach. We must, in no circumstance, be discouraged by the time frame provided for its realization. The most important stage in the establishment of the community is, in my view, the preparatory phase, during which efforts will have to be made to prepare the ground and set process in motion. In this respect, a number of preparatory activities, which will affect the proper conduct

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of the entire process of establishing the community, need to be carried through.

It is important for member states to quickly comply with the formalities connected with the ratification of the treaty so as to enable us embark on its implementation.

It is equally important to quickly get down to the actual drafting of the various protocols to the treaty, particularly those with a priority status. The permanent steering committee has drawn up a work programme to that effect. At the institutional level, the general secretariat intends to organize, in the course of the current financial year, one or more sessions of the Ad hoc OAU Charter Review Committee in order to suggest amendments to the charter in the light of the new provisions of the treaty. The review exercise should culminate in the adoption of a revised OAU charter.

During the sessions of the Ad hoc OAU Charter Review Committee, I also intend to use the opportunity to propose some institutional reforms aimed at improving the functioning of our organization and at equipping it with the means to cope with its new responsibilities. As reported to you during your last session in Addis Ababa, these measures would include the establishment of a mechanism to reinforce OAU's ability in conflict management, anticipation and resolution. Such a mechanism would envisage modalities for responding speedily and efficiently to a conflict situation where the organization's role can be crucial in terms of putting an end to the conflict or at the very least, provide a breathing space in order to allow for a cooling off period and facilitating the process of a negotiated resolution.

With regard to the present structures of the General Secretariat, it is clear that the General Secretariat is, at the moment, not sufficiently equipped with necessary human resources to live up to its new responsibilities. There is, therefore, need to undertake structural reforms with a view to reinforce the managerial and professional capacity of the General Secretariat. I am of the view that we need to adopt a gradual approach which takes into account the phase-by-phase establishment of the community. We would be forestalling a lot of difficulties and be cost-effective if we approached it in this manner. The structures of the organization should, in other words, develop as responsibilities accrue. Consequently, for the time being, the General Secretariat has to apply itself assiduously to improving on its co-ordination and follow up capacities. It is my intention therefore, to set up a co-ordination and follow up unit within the General Secretariat with the currently available manpower. The unit will co-ordinate the activities of the various departments of the Secretariat in connection with the establishment of the community.

Moreover, I have already set up a task force within the Secretariat to package a graduated plan for the restructuring of the General Secretariat. Such a plan will be prepared with due consideration of the mission assigned to the organization in connection with the progressive establishment for the community. It will also include the new areas of responsibility that now lie with the organization in the field of conflict resolution, security and stability of Africa. Our proposals will be submitted to the next ordinary session of the Council of Ministers. Finally and in view of the fact that the community will be buttressed by the regional economic groupings, it is necessary, I believe, to establish a mechanism to monitor the establishment of a monitoring

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committee made up of the OAU Secretary-General and the Chief Executives of the Regional Economic Groupings.

*Mr. Chairman,*

These are the proposals and observations that I deemed appropriate to submit for consideration by your distinguished assembly. All that is now left is for me to congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, and all your peers, the heads of state and government and heads of delegation, on this historic occasion. By signing the Abuja Treaty yesterday, you renewed your faith in the ideals and objectives of our continental organization, thus reinforcing it. You have rekindled the Pan-Africanist sentiment by giving it a concrete dimension. You have further provided the people of Africa with a major project and a point of focus for the future.

By signing the treaty to establish the African Economic Community, you have established a pact of solidarity among the countries and people of Africa. In adopting such a decision, your desire has been to ensure that OAU becomes more than ever, the concern of all.

*Mr. Chairman,*

During your summit last July, in Addis Ababa, you agreed that your ordinary sessions will henceforth convene on the first Monday of June. This session is taking place in compliance with that decision. Indeed and over and above the fact that such a decision was warranted for purposes of organization, it was of greater importance in view of the fact that it was one of the first steps in the painstaking enterprise initiated in order to streamline the activities of our organization.

This undertaking, together with the decision to set up a committee on conferences, have been a source of encouragement to the Secretariat which has continued with its thorough in-house review aimed at improving the administrative and financial operations of the Secretariat. In this connection, the Secretariat has strived to instil greater discipline in the management of the manpower and financial resources in its employ by complying strictly with the rules and regulations of the organization. It has also strived to operate in a manner commensurate with the directives of the policy-making bodies of the organization and to apply the required austerity to its functioning with due consideration for the economic constraints facing member states.

Since it is our firm belief that the performance of the Secretariat depends on proper administrative and financial management and in view of the fact that new and important responsibilities have been assigned to our organization with the establishment of the African Economic Community, we are determined to pursue our efforts and to work hand in hand, with the member states in transforming our continental organization into an efficient tool for the promotion of co-operation and entente among African countries. And in this, we shall count on the support of member states so that the resources required by the organization for the performance of its mission could be provided. I am duty-bound in this regard to raise the issue of the critical financial situation of our organization and to recall that, as of today, less than



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twenty-five per cent of the regular budget for the financial year, 1990/1991, which ended four months ago, has been paid. As a result of this, the total amount of arrears has now reached the staggering figure of 52,268,240.00 dollars. I therefore, wish to seize this singular opportunity to again make an urgent appeal to those member states which are not up to date in their contributions to the OAU budget to take the necessary steps to honour their financial obligations to the organization. The issue of fulfilling budgetary commitments is of crucial importance for without adequate resources, the organization cannot be in a position to cope with its manifold responsibilities.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The situation in South Africa is still a cause for concern. Since your last summit, a number of events have occurred in that country, in Africa in general, and in the rest of the world which call for the attention of your distinguished assembly.

In South Africa, there was the statement made by Mr. De Klerk on the 1st of February, this year, with respect to the abolition of certain cornerstone legislations of apartheid. These measures, when implemented, will clearly constitute a significant development in confronting the foundations of apartheid. This statement, which was made a year after the measures taken in the wake of Nelson Mandela's release, was welcomed by the world community. The issue of sanctions was now raised in a different context in view of these developments.

In Africa, we have witnessed the erosion of the common position adopted by the continent, through our organization, on this matter. Indeed, it is no secret any more that a growing number of African countries are pursuing relations in one form or another with South Africa. At the international level, we have all followed, with regret, the recent developments in the relations between countries of Eastern Europe and South Africa. We also followed the debates within the European Community which culminated in the recent decision to lift part of the sanctions imposed on South Africa.

The OAU ad hoc committee on Southern Africa met in Harare, last February, and recommended that sanctions be maintained against South Africa until the process of dismantling the apartheid system becomes irreversible. It further recommended that the question of sanctions be considered by the present session of your assembly. The ad hoc committee also dwelt on the issue of violence in South Africa between the officials of the ANC and Inkatha and encouraged them to pursue their efforts to end the violence which has assumed explosive proportions in Black townships. The committee further called on the Liberation Movements to close their ranks and pursue a united front against the apartheid régime. We were thus encouraged by the conclusions of the recent encounter of the National Executive Committees of the ANC and PAC which took place in Harare, on 15th and 16th April, 1991. In the course of that meeting, the representatives of both movements dwelt at length, on the issue of violence and adopted measures to de-escalate the state of violence. They also agreed to hold a patriotic congress, in Cape Town, in the month of August this year. This congress is expected to bring together, all the patriotic forces of the country with the ultimate goal of achieving unity in action.

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Today, the oppressed people of South Africa and the international community as a whole, are looking up to your assembly and awaiting Africa's collective response to the new situation. Your distinguished assembly will, in its wisdom, determine the most appropriate means of assisting the people of South Africa, at this crucial phase, in the struggle against apartheid.

I am confident that this assembly will strive to establish an unequivocal position based on the fact that the objective is to dismantle apartheid and establish a non-racial and democratic society in South Africa and that the pressure of sanctions exerted on South Africa is one means of achieving this objective. Such a position should be grounded on the requirements inherent in the pursuit of the struggle against apartheid and concurrently take into account the new political landscape emerging in South Africa and the need to assist the process. The views of the liberation movements, in this respect, would be most helpful and would enable you to adopt an appropriate position. Your distinguished assembly will definitely not fail to appeal to all the parties involved in South Africa to shelve their differences and violence and get involved in the sincere pursuit of dialogue. It is my hope that your assembly will adopt a position that enhances the credibility of our organization and the unity, solidarity, and cohesion among member states. Only by adopting such a unified position can Africa re seize the initiative it has always had in the struggle against apartheid.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Since your last session in Addis Ababa, the world has gone through a major crisis in the Gulf region following the Iraqi invasion and occupation of Kuwait. The crisis evolved into a war. The Gulf crisis and the resultant outbreak of hostilities had serious repercussions on international relations. We did, at the time, deplore the conflict which was particularly devastating for a region where peace was precarious and the situation already complex. It was, therefore, with relief that we learnt that ceasefire came into force, diplomacy has reestablished itself and efforts are being made to rebuild what was destroyed and to restore confidence which the crisis had seriously shattered. It is our most sincere hope that the Arab countries, to which we are attached in so many ways, will quickly recover from this sad experience and direct their efforts at restoring an atmosphere of entente, reconciliation and cooperation. Such a state of affairs will moreover, allow for cooperation between the countries of the Arab world and Africa to be relaunched.

A lot has indeed, been said about this Afro-Arab cooperation which has failed to live up to expectations. It might just be that it was not approached in a manner that would harness all the energy and goodwill existing on both sides. The forthcoming session of the Standing Commission on Afro-Arab Cooperation is of particular importance in this regard. This meeting which Algeria has offered to host, should therefore, be carefully prepared and serve as an opportunity for establishing the basis for reactivating Afro-Arab cooperation.

*Mr. Chairman,*

With the cessation of hostilities in the Gulf, hopes were rekindled on the prospects

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for a just and lasting solution to the painful question of Palestine. Africa has always provided an unwavering support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their authentic and legitimate representative, for the restoration of their inalienable rights in conformity with the relevant resolution adopted by the international community. It has consistently called for the unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories. It has also condemned Israel's policies of changing the demographic composition of the occupied territories.

We remain confident in the ability of the international community to find a just and lasting solution to this question, which is at the very root for the insecurity and instability prevailing in the Middle-East for more than four decades now. Indeed, at a time when respect for human rights and the rights of people is increasingly becoming a major tenet of international relations, the international community is duty-bound to rise to its responsibility with respect to those who have been denied their rights for so long.

### *Mr. Chairman,*

The role of the United Nations in the search for a solution to this question and to other ills that afflict our planet is an irreplaceable one: Our continent, which has emerged on the international scene through this unique forum, has placed its faith and hopes in this instrument for peace and cooperation in the world. The African countries have always provided their support in furthering the ideals and pursuing the objectives of the United Nations both within the General Assembly and in the various committees as well as in the Security Council. Despite its acute problem in the field of development and in the construction of modern states, Africa has emerged on the international scene as a force for peace.

As you are aware, the mandate of the United Nations Secretary-General will expire at the end of this year. Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, who has served the organization with devotion, commitment, and distinction, has made it known that he does not intend to seek a third term. On the basis of this understanding, several ideals have been advanced as to his replacement. Naturally, Africa has shown special interest in this matter.

The important and prestigious post of Secretary-General of the United Nations has been occupied by eminent personalities from various parts of the globe. No African has, as yet, had the honour or privilege to serve the organization at that level. It is my firm belief that there are many Africans with diplomatic and political experience and endowed with managerial skills who are able and capable of carrying out the duties attached to this top international position. The competence, skill, devotion and experience of these eminent Africans place them in a good position to lead the United Nations. It is my hope, therefore, that the international community will favourably consider the election of an African to this post. I am also fully aware of the fact that elections to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations do not follow the principle of rotation among the various regions of the world. Yet, it will be difficult to understand that, with all the talents, skills and ability that a number of African sons

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and daughters possess, an African should be by-passed for this position. It is, therefore, my fervent hope that Africa will be given a chance to make its own input, at that level of responsibility, in the conduct of world affairs and the security council, particularly the permanent members thereof, will consider any African candidate in this light.

*Mr. Chairman,*

During its last session in Addis Ababa, your assembly expressed its deep concern over the numerous areas of tension on our continent and their effect on Africa's stability, security and development. Since Addis Ababa, we have made some progress in the efforts to resolve these conflicts peacefully.

The Western Sahara conflict is a case in point. There is now a move towards a lasting solution since the UN Security Council decided, on April 29 this year to set up the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara and after the General Assembly appropriated the necessary funds for this purpose all the conditions have accordingly been met to enable the referendum to be organized in Western Sahara in accordance with the peace plan initiated by our continental organization. Indeed, it was within this assembly during your 19th Ordinary Session in 1983, that a peace plan for Western Sahara was packaged. This plan, which appears in Resolution AHG 104 provides for the organization of a peaceful and fair referendum on self determination for the people of Western Sahara, a referendum without any administrative or military constraint, under the auspices of the OAU and the United Nation. This plan was subsequently endorsed by the UN General Assembly.

Since then, patient and sustained efforts have been deployed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in close consultation with the OAU chairman in office at the time. These efforts culminated in the formulation, by the United Nations' Secretary-General and the current chairman of OAU, of a set of settlement proposals accepted by the two parties in the conflict and together with the implementation plan devised by the United Nations Secretary-General, were unanimously approved by the Security Council on June 27, 1990.

I have had preliminary consultations with the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the practical steps to be adopted in order to enable our organization to carry through the responsibility assigned to it with respect to the implementation of the plan which will spread over a period of forty weeks. An initial appropriation of US\$500,000 was approved by Council to cover OAU's participation. However, it is possible that expenses to be incurred by the OAU will be higher. I am sure that I can in any case, rely on the policy-making bodies of our organization to provide the resources to enable the OAU perform in a worthy and efficient manner, such an important mission which involves bringing a bloody conflict to an end and restoring peace, stability and entente among member states. At this juncture, I wish to pay a well deserved tribute to the esteemed Secretary-General of the United Nations for his painstaking efforts which made the present plan possible.

His commitment and resourcefulness has won the respect and admiration of us all.

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*Mr. Chairman,*

The decision taken by Libya and Chad to refer their dispute to the International Court of Justice, thus bringing to an end, a situation that had poisoned the relations between the two member countries was a development of particular satisfaction to our organization. In like manner, we welcomed the recent steps taken by Senegal and Mauritania to resolve their conflict peacefully and within an African context. Finally, we have warmly welcomed the cease-fire agreement signed in Lisbon between the government of Angola and UNITA. I would like to commend the government and people of Angola for this major achievement which brings to an end one of the most protracted conflicts in Africa. This agreement will now pave the way towards national reconciliation in Angola and create the atmosphere of peace and security that is required for reconstruction and socio-economic development in that country. The signing of the historic agreement is of a major political significance that goes beyond the borders of Angola. It constitutes a remarkable example of national reconciliation of which we are all proud and express our most sincere hope that it will be emulated by all other conflicting parties in Africa. It is also our hope that the serious and commendable efforts made by the government of Mozambique, under the leadership of President Joaquim Chissano, to achieve peace and national reconciliation, will be crowned with success.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Despite the increasing effort being made to find peaceful solutions in Africa, there is still a proliferation of such conflicts, both horizontally and vertically, with the attendant enormous losses in human and material terms. These conflicts have resulted in a continued persistence of a climate of insecurity and instability in our continent. These conflicts generate an increasing number of refugees and displaced persons which further compound the plight of the large number of refugees already existing and worsen the human tragedy in our continent.

The situation is most disturbing in the horn of Africa where conflicts have been raging in Ethiopia and Sudan coupled with the most depressing humanitarian problems experienced in some regions of those two countries. I would like to take the opportunity to appeal to all member states as well as other members of the international community to provide humanitarian assistance that is commensurate with the needs of the victims of drought, famine and conflict situations in Africa.

Regarding the situation in Sudan, attempts at mediation and negotiation have not as of now, produced significant results. I have on my part encouraged the parties concerned to embark on the search for a peaceful solution to their conflict. I have also placed at their disposal, the good offices of the General Secretariat so as to facilitate the resumption of negotiations. Both the government of Sudan and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement have expressed their willingness to resume dialogue. It is my sincere hope that such a dialogue will be restored in the near future in this connection. I have been very encouraged by the demonstrable confidence resposed in

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the OAU by the government of Sudan. As for the current conflict prevailing in Ethiopia, I had occasion to appraise Council of my profound concern as well as the steps I had taken with a view to contributing to the cessation of hostilities and the beginning of negotiations aimed at putting in place a process towards national reconstruction. The council of ministers, on its part, issued an appeal to the conflicting parties to observe the cease-fire agreed upon among themselves in London, to put an end to hostilities in order to avoid further unnecessary loss of life and destruction of property and to respect the international character of the city of Addis Ababa which is the headquarters of our continental organization as well as the ECA and hosts a great number of other international institutions.

This august assembly is aware of the latest developments which have unfolded in that country. It is my earnest hope that a new climate of understanding, unity, national reconciliation and solidarity will be created so that the people of Ethiopia can be rid of, once and for all, the nightmare of civil strife which has tormented them for so long. This is certainly the challenge facing the proposed conference involving all parties, scheduled to be held July 1, this year. We hope that the parties will confront this challenge with courage, vision, perseverance and tolerance. A genuine democratic process of national reconciliation, embracing all parties, will open a new chapter in the history of that country in ending the agony and suffering which have, for many years, afflicted the Ethiopian people.

### *Mr. Chairman,*

In Somalia, the attempts at mediation, deployed by the then current chairman, President Museveni, as well as President Mubarak and President Aptidon, aimed at bringing together the various factions have not produced the desired results. On my part, I had tried to get in touch with the various belligerents, but unfortunately, was faced with the problem of communication with and within Somalia. The situation in Somalia demands the urgent attention of the African and world communities. Immediate relief measures are needed. But above all, there is an urgent and compelling requirement for the various parties in that country to enter into a national dialogue which should result in the end of the conflict, restore normalcy, forge national reconciliation and promote national unity and solidarity. In Liberia, the hopes that arose from the Bamako Summit after the signing of the cease-fire agreement by all the parties concerned, together with the optimism created by the Lome and Banjul meetings, which culminated in the convening of an all party conference in Liberia, were unfortunately dashed. Instead of achieving a breakthrough in the Liberia conflict, we have, in the last few months, witnessed the unfortunate deterioration of the situation with the subsequent violation of the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of Sierra Leone, a neighbouring country to Liberia.

Only greater cohesion and unity of purpose and action, among the member countries of the region, will enable us to emerge from this tragic and unfortunate situation. It is my hope therefore, that during this African family gathering, we will seize the opportunity to ensure that Africa, and more specifically the countries of the

region, adopt a concerted approach and a coherent stand so that the people of Liberia could be assisted in overcoming their differences and embarking on the path to national reconciliation and reconstruction. I am, therefore, appealing to the wisdom and goodwill of each and everyone so that our present encounter could witness a reconciliation among our brothers and sisters in Liberia.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Since your last session, another crisis, apart from the conflict in Somalia, developed in Rwanda in early October, last year. The General Secretariat monitored the situation in the country very closely. In the early stages of the crisis, the countries of the region made commendable efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. These efforts culminated in the signing of cease-fire agreement on March 29, 1991 between the government of Rwanda and the Rwanda Patriotic Front in the presence of President Mobutu who was mandated by his peers of the region to mediate in the conflict and whose personal efforts and commitment made the N'sele agreement possible. I was personally privileged to be associated with that occasion. In pursuance of the provisions of the cease-fire agreement, a group of neutral military observers had to be deployed to monitor and observe the implementation of the cease-fire. The group of observers was placed under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the O.A.U. I submitted a detailed report to the Council of Ministers on the efforts we undertook, with the deployment of the group of neutral military observers. I should like to stress that the presence of the observers constitute an important factor in confidence building. But the successful resolution of the conflict require the cooperation and commitment of the parties to the conflict as well as the understanding and support of the countries of the region.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The continued existence of these conflict situations in Africa, coupled with the dramatic changes and events that have been experienced in several countries of the continent graphically demonstrate the problems, frustrations and expectations in Africa. During your last summit in Addis Ababa, you engaged in meaningful debates on the process of democratisation in our continent. The assembly had then adopted a solemn declaration in which it reaffirmed Africa's commitment to further democratization, her support for human rights and her determination not only to find a peaceful solution to the conflicts but also to dedicate itself to furthering the socio-economic upliftment of her people. The issues on your agenda call for thorough debates in this respect. It is obvious today, that we can only rely on our own resources. We therefore, have to dwell seriously on the type of means we have to use to come out, on our own, from the present empass in which we find ourselves. To achieve our purpose, we need peace and stability. In this respect, may I call the wise observations of Africa's elder statesman, President Houphouet-Boigny, who told me last month in Abidjan, when I called on him, that, if in the case of the developed countries peace is necessary, in our case, it is indispensable. To establish a climate of peace in our continent, we have to

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seriously focus on the conflicts that now sow death and misery in some of our countries and wreak havoc on our economies. We should also strive to build democratic institutions that are solid and able to sustain the socio-economic development of our continent. We should promote a culture of democracy rooted in respect for our differences, take cognizance of our cultural values and promote tolerance. We should also uphold the work ethic and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Schools and universities have primordial roles to play in this respect.

It is my hope therefore, that this distinguished assembly will engage in a frank and sincere debate on the crucial issues connected with establishing peace and stability in Africa and furthering the integrated socio-economic development of our continent. It is also my sincere hope that this debate will take place in an atmosphere of brotherhood, tolerance and solidarity.

I thank you.



**Statement of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez De-Cuellar to the Twenty-Seventh Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, Abuja, Nigeria, June 3, 1991**

*Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished Heads of State and Government,  
Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I am particularly pleased to be here in Abuja, Nigeria's new and modern capital, and to have this opportunity to address once again, this distinguished Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

The President of Nigeria, His Excellency, General Ibrahim Babangida and the Government and people of Nigeria, have been exceptionally gracious in the welcome and the hospitality they have accorded to me and my wife as well as to the members of my team.

I am deeply grateful.

The outgoing chairman of the OAU, His Excellency, President Yoweri Museveni and I have been in close contact over the past year on issues of common concern and interest to the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations. I should like to pay tribute to his remarkable chairmanship of your organisation and I would like to say how much I appreciate his co-operation, his counsel, and support.

My good and long-time friend, Salim Ahmed Salim has also been a source of support and advice. His exemplary achievements as Secretary-General of the OAU, follow a distinguished career in the service of his country which he represented brilliantly at the United Nations. I should like to thank him for his co-operation and to wish him continued success in his high office.

The United Nations and Africa have a long tradition of co-operation and collaboration. The last three decades were marked by the consolidation of independence and the challenges of economic and social developments.

Regrettably, the socio-economic situation and near-term-prospects of the majority of African countries, have continued to deteriorate.

The severe economic conditions in many African countries are being exacerbated by many factors, including the recessionary trends in the global economy and the recent Gulf crisis.

Although nearly two-thirds of the countries in Sub-Sahara Africa are carrying out stabilization and structural adjustment programmes, these efforts have yet to produce positive results in the absence of a supportive external environment.

In the immediate and medium term, these policies have highlighted the danger of

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achieving stabilization without development, exacerbating the downward economic spiral in which many countries are currently trapped.

There is now a growing consensus in the international community on the need for a fresh approach to resolve the economic and social problems in Africa. Such an approach will have to include a new focus on broad-based development of human resources, the acquisition of technology at an accelerated pace, and the rehabilitation and further extension of essential infrastructure. These efforts will require a substantially increased flow of resources. In this context, development aid and a significant reduction in debt and debt-service will be crucial. It would be tragedy indeed, if adjustment with growth could not be achieved, because the international community failed to provide the necessary financial resources to support the efforts of the African countries.

Through a renewed emphasis on diversification, many African countries have recently made concerted efforts to reduce their dependence on a limited number of commodities. Progress, however, has been slow, particularly because of limitations on market access, and difficulties in obtaining appropriate technologies.

One of the most important features of this summit will be the signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community. This represents the commitment of African countries to establish a firm foundation for the acceleration of their economic growth and development. The economic integration of Africa by widening the size of the domestic markets should stimulate the development of local industries, promote diversification of production and exports, and allow economies of scale to be realized in many industries.

The task ahead is a challenging one. It will involve the setting-up of complex structures, moving from sub-regional economic integration groupings and harmonizing their work and elaborating relevant protocols in the areas of trade and finance, agriculture, industry, science and technology.

The United Nations system has collaborated with the OAU secretariat in finalizing the draft treaty establishing the African Economic Community. In view of the importance attached to this matter, representatives of our two secretariats met in Addis Ababa last April and agreed on ways and means of enhancing the co-operation between the United Nations and the OAU in order to facilitate implementation of the treaty.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Later this year, the General Assembly will be carrying out a review of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Recovery and Development.

When it was adopted in 1986, the programme raised great expectations since it was the first time that the African countries themselves had developed a comprehensive programme of priorities for the economic development and progress of the continent as part of a unique compact between Africa and the international community to support these efforts. This will be a timely opportunity for the African countries to review their own efforts as well as their priorities and in a more focused manner in

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nature and quality of international support that would be required to help achieve their objectives.

It is important that the new arrangements that we agree upon later this year provide for sustained economic growth and development for the countries of Africa.

Another issue which requires the urgent attention of African leaders is the need to arrest the environmental degradation of our world, particularly in this continent, while ensuring sustainable growth and development of its economy. There is now universal agreement that the protection of the environment is closely linked to economic, social and cultural development. The Earth Summit which will take place next year at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil will be of critical importance for the future of humanity. A primary goal of the summit will be to lay the foundation for a global partnership between developing and developed countries, based on mutual needs and common interests, so as to ensure a secure future for our planet.

The stakes for Africa, and for the rest of the world, will be high. African countries will need to carefully prepare for the Conference to ensure that their concerns are fully reflected in its deliberations and final outcome.

*Mr. President,*

I continue to be concerned about the vulnerability of developing countries in general, and the African countries in particular, to natural disaster and emergency situations. During 1991, there has been a substantial increase in refugees and displaced persons in Africa as a result of natural disasters and civil strife. While the international community has tried to cope with the increased requirements for emergency assistance, a solution can only be found if the root causes of the problem are analysed and effectively addressed.

It is here that African leadership and wisdom must be fully brought into play to ameliorate the suffering of millions.

The humanitarian assistance programmes of the organizations of the United Nations system require hundreds of millions of dollars annually. If we are able to reduce the possibilities of man-made disasters and limit the impact of natural disasters, these resources can be channelled towards long-term development needs of Africa.

I have followed with great concern, recent developments in and relating to Ethiopia. These developments have further aggravated the emergency humanitarian assistance requirements in Ethiopia. It is imperative that the international community respond to this development promptly and effectively to avert further suffering and dislocation. I am issuing today, an urgent appeal for international assistance for United Nations efforts in this regard. In the meantime, I have asked that all agencies use existing stocks for humanitarian assistance.

I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep sense of appreciation to Professor Adebayo Adedeji, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, who will soon leave his post after nearly two decades of dedicated service to Africa and the United Nations.

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Professor Adedeji has been at the helm of ECA for more than half of its existence and has left an indelible mark on the work and objectives of the Commission. He has made significant contributions to successive initiatives to address and to improve Africa's economic and social situation. I am pleased to have this opportunity to congratulate him, in his native land, for a job well done, and to wish him success in his future undertakings.

*Mr. President, Excellencies,*

I would not like to conclude my statement without referring to an important issue which, you will all agree, is on the minds of many of you; the election of my successor to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations, which I have had the privilege of serving for ten years now.

In that context, let me recall that a basic premise of the United Nations has always been a respect for the principle of geographic rotation among the member states. So far, only two regions-Africa and Eastern Europe have not benefitted from this. It is, therefore, only natural in my opinion, that the international community should welcome the candidacy of an African and give it its due consideration.

Everyone knows that your continent, despite its enormous economic and social difficulties, has readily co-operated with the United Nations in all its activities. Africa has also in its midst, a number of highly qualified and eminent personalities, who are fully recognized on the international scene.

Africa, therefore, deserves to be given a chance.

It is everyone's hope and desire that the new international political environment will be conducive to the peaceful resolution of such long-standing questions as the Middle East, Cambodia and Afghanistan. With respect to the Middle East, I have repeatedly underscored the need for a comprehensive settlement of the complex issues facing the region, as a deterioration of the situation will have repercussions elsewhere. Let me add that any settlement must necessarily take into account the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

I am confident that the United Nations and the OAU will continue to walk a common path towards a world of peace, of freedom, of justice and well being for all the peoples of the world.

I know that Africa has a great deal to offer and I believe that the African contribution, and African leadership will be crucial in charting new paths towards a better world.

I thank you.

## **Africa's Agenda in the Next Twelve Months**

*(Text of Address by the President of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida to the Press on the New Africa's Agenda, Abuja, June 4, 1991)*

As you are fully aware, Nigeria was yesterday, conferred with the great honour and responsibility of steering the affairs of our continent in the next twelve months. In my address to the august Assembly of OAU Heads of State and Government, I gave assurance that Nigeria and I would do our best to justify the great confidence reposed in us.

I have called you here this afternoon for two reasons. First, to familiarise you with the nature of the tasks before Nigeria during our chairmanship and to present a provisional programme of action for tackling them.

Secondly to solicit your support, assistance and guidance in the discharge of these duties. As the watchdog of society, you have an invaluable role to play in ensuring that Africa's cause is properly enunciated and understood by Africans themselves and by the international community.

Ladies and gentlemen, Africa is at the crossroads. However, the Abuja Summit is a watershed. It ushers in a new era of economic integration and cooperation. This new era presupposes the drawing up of different strategies from the ones we have employed thus far.

You will recall that I enumerated in my speech yesterday, the challenges which face Africa as follows:

- The dismantling of apartheid and the creation of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.
- The restoration of peace and security in the continent.
- The creation of a conducive atmosphere on the continent for accelerated economic development, particularly through the faithful adherence to the principles of the African Economic Community.

In pursuance of the creation of a democratic and non-racial society in South Africa, Nigeria will do its utmost to bring an end to the violence in that country and facilitate the formation of a patriotic front of all black organisations.

Furthermore, I will encourage the OAU to, as I had earlier said, take the struggle deeper into South Africa. I hope that by the end of our deliberations, the mechanism of how to accomplish this will emerge.

Nigeria will intensify our assistance in providing legal and political advice, as well as financial support to the liberation movements in South Africa at this crucial period.

As regards sanctions, we must maintain the pressure on South Africa but must hold ourselves ready to initiate change when change is necessary. It will depend on De Klerk and his government.

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I will devote most of my energies to the cause of African economic integration. Luckily, we have already established the African Economic Community. I shall deploy all measures to ensure an early ratification of the treaty and faithful adherence to its principles.

While the question of democratisation is within the sovereign rights of each country, I dare say that all African leaders have a collective responsibility to put in place a new democratic order that will ensure a smooth change of leadership, as well as the genuine participation of their peoples in the political process. Stability and development are directly related to the nature of political order. Besides, the internal conflict in many African countries arises from the perception of some sections of the populace that they are excluded from the political competition, and by implication access to power. Without being perceived to be interfering in the internal affairs of sister African countries, I shall encourage my brother Heads of State and Government to courageously embark on full fledged democratisation, if possible, drawing from the Nigerian experience.

The OAU Council of Ministers has taken a good initiative to set up a Group of Eminent Africans and Africans in Diaspora to examine the extent of Africa's exploitation and the responsibility of the perpetrators. During the period of my chairmanship, I will ensure that the committee gets down to business and come up with strategies for achieving reparation for the wrong done to our people. That is an important task for my chairmanship.

Africa has received tremendous support from all regions of the world in its bid for the post of the United Nations Secretary-General. Africa has many qualified and eminent persons to occupy the post and indeed, the UN Secretary-General confirmed this in his address to the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government yesterday. I shall deploy all my energies to ensure the success of Africa's candidature.

The task before us is enormous. Africa expects us to provide leadership in the next twelve months. With the support of all, we will not fail.

**Closing Statement by the President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, CFR, fss, mni, at the 27th Ordinary Assembly of OAU Heads of State and Government, Abuja, on Thursday, June 6, 1991**

*My Brother Heads of State and Government,  
Distinguished Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity,  
Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen.*

After three days of deliberations on issues of critical importance to the future of our great continent, we have come to the end of the 27th Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). It is, of course, a perception we all share, that this has been a unique, indeed historic, Summit. No doubt, the credit for its successful outcome must, Dear Brothers and Colleagues, go to everyone of you, not only for your distinguished presence but also for your effective participation. I believe that posterity will never forget that here, in Abuja, we charted a new direction for Africa.

Time will not permit me to pay individual tribute to all of you, my Brother Heads of State and Government, for your tireless endeavours in the cause of the unity and progress of Africa. However, it is only fitting to remember, at this epoch-making Summit, the respected Head of State of Cote d'Ivoire, President Houphouet-Boigny, one of the founding fathers of our dear organisation. He remains a committed advocate of African solidarity and cooperation. I would like to assure this august assembly that the amiable doyen planned to be here but was unable to do so because of ill health. On your behalf, I convey to him our sincere best wishes for his speedy recovery and continued good health.

My Brother Heads of State and Government, as this Summit draws to a close, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves for the concrete results achieved. We can now leave Abuja knowing that we have taken the decisions which are vital to meet the major challenges facing our continent. Once more, I commend your collective devotion and commitment to the cause of Africa. I urge you to continue, with renewed determination, to promote its economic progress and political stability.

As you are aware, we have adopted a Declaration on South Africa - the Abuja Declaration - which provides a framework for action against apartheid. This should contribute to the creation of the necessary climate conducive to negotiations. We have accepted the need to put an end to violence in South Africa, and to encourage the formation of a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces, as part of our efforts to accelerate change in that country. We have also decided to maintain sanctions as a

## **Twenty-Seventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government**

means of pressure on South Africa.

We are ready, however, "to review the situation in South Africa, taking into account concrete steps by the Pretoria regime to remove all obstacles to negotiations, as well as putting an immediate end to the on-going violence". With this declaration, Africa has embarked on the final onslaught against apartheid. Under my chairmanship, I shall pursue vigorously the mandate to take the struggle deeper into South Africa. Let us all now be firm in our resolve so that victory can be achieved in good time.

### **Conflict Situations**

In our interventions, we all expressed deep concern about the spate of civil wars and inter-state conflicts in our continent. We are alarmed at the untold human tragedy caused by these conflicts, and the incalculable set-back to our development process. One of the key issues which our Summit has been able to highlight convincingly is the relationship between security, stability, cooperation and development. We have, therefore, correctly emphasised the need for the restoration of peace and security in our continent. We renew our call on the people of Liberia, Somalia and Ethiopia to sink their differences, and embrace dialogue for the purpose of the early return of peace and normalcy to their respective countries.

### **Reparation**

This Summit has focused special attention on economic questions. The experiences in our countries have shown that even our best efforts and considerable sacrifice for structural economic adjustment have not arrested the decline in our economic fortunes. It is clear that one of the fundamental constraints against our present development efforts is traceable to the effects of the slave trade and colonial exploitation. Consequently, we have decided to set up a Group of Eminent Africans and Africans in the Diaspora on this question. Brother Heads of State and Government, under my chairmanship, I intend to give this effort all necessary encouragement.

### **African Economic Community**

By signing the treaty establishing the African Economic Community, we have taken the decisive step towards economic integration, development and cooperation in Africa. The historic event was the fulfilment of a long-held dream to harness Africa's full potentials. We should ratify the treaty without delay. We must go beyond that, we must commit ourselves to implement faithfully, the provisions of the treaty.

### **Democratization**

My Brother Heads of State and Government, the positive views that we expressed in this assembly on the question of democratization in Africa reflect our maturity to recognise the need to accept changes, in the interest of peace and stability. No doubt,



## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

this subject is within the sovereign rights of each country. However, from our discussions, I believe that we have accepted our collective responsibility to build a democratic culture to guarantee the genuine participation of our peoples in the political process. I salute by Brother Heads of State and Government who have already embarked on this course. They definitely can count on our support and encouragement.

### External Debt

My Dear Brother Heads of State and Government, our concern about the magnitude of Africa's external debt was strongly expressed at this Summit. With its crippling effects on our economies, we have renewed the justifiable call on our development partners and creditors to show a better understanding of our plight through enhanced debt forgiveness and debt reduction. This crucial problem will continue to receive my priority attention.

### UN Secretary General

I cannot end this address without paying tribute to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Perez de Cuellar, for his outstanding service to the United Nations and the international community. The interest which he has shown in matters dear to Africa bears testimony to his concern for humanity. During his tenure, cooperation between our organisation and the United Nations deepened considerably to our mutual benefit. I am sure that you will all join me in commending him for his contribution to world peace and security, and in particular, to the African cause.

The open declaration which Dr. Perez de Cuellar made before us in favour of an African candidate to succeed him as Secretary General of the United Nations reveals clearly his sense of justice and fairplay. We have agreed, my dear Brother Heads of State and Government, that Africa has capable and respected candidates who are eminently qualified to fill the post. I urge you to pursue the strategies which, we have resolved, will secure the post for Africa.

My Brother Heads of States and Government, the time has come for us to return to our respective homes to tackle other equally important responsibilities. But the end of this meeting is not really an end. Rather, it is the beginning of a re-awakening, the re-birth of Africa determined to hold its own in the comity of nations. It is my firm belief and hope that the decisions and agreements that we reached during this Summit, and the spirit that informed those decisions, should reverse the threat of the marginalisation of Africa.

The challenges facing our organisation are indeed formidable. But with your support and wise counsel, we shall succeed. I hereby renew my earlier pledge to do my best to justify the confidence you have reposed in me with my election as chairman of our organisation.

I now have the pleasure to declare closed the 27th Ordinary Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity.

Long Live the Organisation of African Unity!

## Twenty-Seventh Assembly of Heads of State and Government

Long Live the African Unity.

### **Tribute by President Ibrahim Babangida to Nigerians on June 3, 1991, for their Support and Patriotism, during and after the just Concluded OAU Summit in Abuja**

Fellow Citizens,

When yesterday, I formally declared closed the 27th Assembly of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Heads of State and Government, I did so with a sense of fulfilment and the full satisfaction that Nigeria as host to the Summit, had once again demonstrated her unrivalled commitment to the cause of African unity. There was no better way to show such a commitment than the dedication, discipline, zeal and enthusiasm with which you discharged the various assignments given to you during the Summit. This is patriotism par excellence for which I am justifiably proud.

During the past few weeks and indeed, months for some of you, it has not been possible to live your normal lives or follow your regular daily routines. This is because you were enlisted into the army of patriots charged with facilitating the successful prosecution of the 27th OAU Summit. I am pleased that you have discharged your duties admirably well.

Right from the day Nigeria got the mandate to host the Summit, this administration was determined to face the challenges of hosting the conference and to set examples of African hospitality and tradition of friendliness for others to follow in the years ahead. We were also resolved to ensure that the bureaucratic lapses, confusion and other inadequacies that sometimes characterize some conferences of this magnitude did not feature in any area and at any stage of the Summit. In this regard, I was convinced and I have been proved right that I would get the full support and cooperation of all the agencies involved. I was hopeful and indeed assured that you, the critical supporting staff, would play your parts in ensuring the success of the Summit. Of course, you have been, I must say, the core of the network of interactions that determined the success of the Summit.

From what has so far been said or written about the events of the past few days, the pre-Summit ministerial sessions and the Summit itself, it is beyond doubt that the 27th OAU Summit has been a major success. I agree with those who regard it as a well deserved tribute to the meticulous preparations that we have all made and indeed a practical testimony to your patriotic zeal, impressive commitment to duty, perseverance and the projection of excellence. To be sure, it is a clear demonstration of our collective resolve to make whatever sacrifices are required, from time to time, to ensure that we succeed in carrying out specific assignments which add up to uplift our nation and advance the aspiration of the black race.

I cannot recount or reconstruct my joy at seeing you all, moving up and down or firmly at your duty posts, performing your assigned functions with utmost devotion and diligence. I am proud of you all.

## ASSURANCE

Let me assure you, however, that the level of success attained and recorded was due in part to your greater awareness of the past. From this experience, you have become another past whose success must inform the future. Once more, each time I looked round and saw you at work I felt proud that we have learnt so much from the past, very proud that you put forth your best and satisfied that the future would be greater in all positive respects.

To me, your performance in the past few days has shed more light on the mood of the nation. You have no doubt shown the world that Nigerians are awake and up to our responsibility. We must remain alert and keep our resourcesfulness afresh. We must remain mindful, as always, of the need to strengthen the sources of our strength and overcome possible weakness through self analysis and creative criticisms. By so doing, we can foster better performance in the future.

Once again, I thank you most sincerely for a job well done. Your performance has boosted our march to a greater tomorrow. You must remember that great nations and great people do not boast, they perceive life and events themselves so squarely. Let us be prepared to face the challenges ahead.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

# **African Economic Community Treaty**



President Babangida signing the AEC Treaty

# TREATY ESTABLISHING THE AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

ABUJA, NIGERIA JUNE 3RD, 1991

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**Preamble**

We, the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU);

The President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

The President of the People's Republic of Angola

The President of the Republic of Benin

The President of the Republic of Botswana

The President of the Republic of Burkina Faso

The President of the Republic of Burundi

The President of the Republic of Cameroon

The President of the Republic of Cape Verde

The President of the Central African Republic

The President of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros

The President of the People's Republic of Congo

The President of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire

The President of the Republic of Djibouti

The President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

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The President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia  
The President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea  
The President of the Republic of Gabon  
The President of the Republic of Gambia  
The President of the Republic of Ghana  
The President of the Republic of Guinea  
The President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau  
The President of the Republic of Kenya  
The King of Lesotho  
The President of the Republic of Liberia  
The Leader of the 1st of September Revolution of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya  
The President of the Republic of Madagascar  
The President of the Republic of Malawi  
The President of the Republic of Mali  
The President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania  
The Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius  
The President of the Republic of Mozambique  
The President of the Republic of Namibia  
The President of the Republic of Niger  
The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria  
The President of the Republic of Rwanda  
The President of Sahrawi Democratic Arab Republic  
The President of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe  
The President of the Republic of Senegal  
The President of the Republic of Seychelles  
The President of the Republic of Sierra Leone  
The President of the Republic of Somalia  
The President of the Republic of the Sudan  
The King of Swaziland  
The President of the United Republic of Tanzania  
The President of the Republic of Tchad  
The President of the Republic of Togo  
The President of the Republic of Tunisia  
The President of the Republic of Uganda  
The President of the Republic of Zaire  
The President of the Republic of Zambia  
The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

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MINDFUL of the principles of international law governing relations between states;

BEARING IN MIND the principles and objectives set forth in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity;

CONSCIOUS of our duty to develop and utilize the human and natural resources of the continent for the general well-being of our peoples in all fields of human endeavour;

RECOGNIZING the various factors which hinder the development of the continent and seriously jeopardise the future of its peoples;

HAVING REGARD to the various resolutions and declarations adopted by our Assembly in Algiers in September 1968, in Addis Ababa in August 1970 and May 1973 providing that the economic integration of the continent is a pre-requisite for the realization of the objectives of the OAU;

HAVING REGARD to our decision taken in Libreville in July 1977 endorsing the Kinshasa Declaration adopted by our Council of Ministers in December 1976 concerning the establishment of an African Economic Community, an objective to be attained in successive stages;

CONSIDERING the "Monrovia Declaration of Commitment on the Guidelines and Measures for National and Collective Self-Reliance in Economic and Social Development for the Establishment of a New International Order" and which, inter-alia, calls for the creation of an African Common Market as a prelude to an African Economic Community;

CONSIDERING FURTHER the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos of April 1980 reaffirming our commitment to establish, by the year 2000, an African Economic Community in order to foster the economic, social and cultural integration of our continent;

FINALLY CONSIDERING our declaration made on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the OAU and, in particular, the reaffirmation of our commitment and our determination to take the necessary steps to accelerate the establishment of the proposed African Economic Community;

NOTING that the efforts already made in sub-regional and regional sectoral economic cooperation are encouraging and justify a larger and fuller economic integration;

NOTING the need to share, in an equitable and just manner, the advantages of cooperation among member states in order to promote a balanced economic development in all parts of the continent;

***Have decided to establish an African Economic Community constituting and integral part of the OAU and hereby agree as follows:***

CHAPTER I

Definitions

ARTICLE I

For the purpose of this Treaty,

- (a) "Treaty" shall mean the present Treaty;
- (b) "Protocol" shall mean an instrument of implementation of the Treaty having the same legal force as the latter
- (c) "Community" shall mean the organic structure for economic integration established under Article 2 of this Treaty and constituting an integral part of the OAU;
- (d) "Region" shall mean an OAU region as defined by Resolution CM/Res.464 (XXVI) of the OAU Council of Ministers concerning the division of Africa into five (5) regions namely North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa;
- (e) "Sub-region" shall mean at least three (3) states of one or more regions as defined in paragraph 1(d) of this Article;
- (f) "Member States" shall mean a member state of the Community;
- (g) "Third States" shall mean any state other than a Member State;
- (h) "Assembly" shall mean the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU as provided for in Articles 7 and 8 of this Treaty;
- (i) "Council" shall mean the Council of Ministers of the OAU as provided for in Articles 7 and 11 of this Treaty;
- (j) "Pan-African Parliament" shall mean the parliamentary assembly established under Articles 7 and 14 of this Treaty;
- (k) "Commission" shall mean the Economic and Social Commission of the OAU as provided for under Articles 7 and 15 of this Treaty;
- (l) "Committee" shall mean any specialized technical committee established under Articles 7 and 25 of this Treaty or in pursuance thereof;
- (m) "Court of Justice" shall mean the Court of Justice of the Community constituted under Articles 7 and 18 of this Treaty;
- (n) "Secretariat" shall mean the General Secretariat of the OAU provided for in Articles 7 and 21 of this Treaty;
- (o) "Secretary-General" shall mean the Secretary-General of the OAU as provided for in Article 23 of this Treaty;
- (p) "Customs Duty" shall mean protective customs duties and charges having equivalent effect, levied on goods for their importation;
- (q) "Export Duties and Taxes" shall mean export duties and charges having equivalent effect, levied on goods for their exportation;

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

- (r) "Customs Duties and Taxes" shall mean all duties and taxes as defined in paragraphs (p) and (q) of this Article;
- (s) "Non-Tariff Barriers" shall mean barriers which hamper trade and which are caused by obstacles other than fiscal obstacles;
- (t) "Intra-Community Trade System" shall mean the system under which advantages are accorded to the goods referred to in Paragraph 1, Article 33 of this Treaty;
- (u) "Goods in Transit" shall mean goods being transported between two Member States or between a Member State and a Third State and passing through one or more Member States;
- (v) "Barter Agreement" or "Compensatory Exchanges" shall mean any agreement under which goods and services imported into a Member State may be paid for in full or in part by direct exchange of goods and services;
- (w) "Fund" shall mean the Solidarity, Development and Compensation Fund of the Community established pursuant to Article 80 of this Treaty; and
- (x) "Person" shall mean a natural or legal person.

## CHAPTER II

### Establishment, Principles, Objectives, General Undertaking and Modalities

#### ARTICLE 2

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES hereby establish among themselves an African Economic Community (...)"

#### ARTICLE 3

#### PRINCIPLES

THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, in pursuit of the objectives stated in Article 4 of this Treaty solemnly declare their adherence to the following principles:

- a) equality and inter-dependence of Member States;
- b) solidarity and collective self-reliance;
- c) inter-state cooperation, harmonization of policies and integration of programmes;
- d) promotion of harmonious development of economic activities among Member States;
- e) observance of the legal system of the Community;
- f) peaceful settlement of disputes among Member States, active coopera-

## African Economic Community Treaty

tion between neighbouring countries and promotion of a peaceful environment as a pre-requisite for economic development;

- g) recognition, promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights; and
- h) accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development.

### ARTICLE 4

#### OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Community shall be:

- a) to promote economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies in order to increase economic self-reliance and promote an indigenous and self-sustained development;
- b) to establish, on a continental scale, a framework for the development, mobilization and utilization of the human and material resources of Africa in order to achieve a self-reliant development;
- c) to promote cooperation in all fields of human endeavour in order to raise the standard of living of African peoples, and maintain and enhance economic stability, foster close and peaceful relations among Member States and contribute to the progress, development and the economic integration of the continent; and
- d) to coordinate and harmonize policies among existing and future economic communities in order to foster the gradual establishment of the Community.

2. In order to promote the attainment of the objectives of the Community as set out in paragraph 1 of this Article, and in accordance with the relevant provisions of this Treaty, the Community shall, by stages, ensure:

- a) the strengthening of existing regional economic communities and the establishment of other communities where they do not exist;
- b) the conclusion of agreements aimed at harmonizing and coordinating policies among existing and future sub-regional and regional economic communities;
- c) the promotion and strengthening of joint investment programmes in the production and trade of major products and inputs within the framework of collective self-reliance;
- d) the liberalization of trade through the abolition, among Member States, of Customs Duties levied on imports and exports and the abolition, among Member States, of Non-Tariff Barriers in order to establish a free trade area at the level of each regional economic community;
- e) the harmonization of national policies in order to promote Community activities, particularly in the fields of agriculture, industry, transport



- and communications, energy, natural resources, trade, money and finance; human resources; education, culture, science and technology;
- f) the adoption of a common trade policy vis-a-vis Third States;
- g) the establishment and maintenance of a common external tariff;
- h) the establishment of a common market;
- i) the gradual removal, among Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital and the right of residence and establishment;
- j) the establishment of a Community Solidarity, Development and Compensation Fund;
- k) the granting of special treatment to Member States classified as least developed countries and the adoption of special measures in favour of land-locked, semi-landlocked and island countries;
- l) the harmonization and rationalization of the activities of existing African multi-national institutions and the establishment of such institutions, as and when necessary, with a view to their possible transformation into organs of the Community;
- m) the establishment of appropriate organs for trade in agricultural and cultural products, minerals, metals, and manufactured and semi-manufactured goods within the Community;
- n) the establishment of contacts and the promotion of information flow among trading organizations such as State commercial enterprises, export promotion and marketing bodies, chambers of commerce, associations of businessmen, and business and advertising agencies;
- o) the harmonization and coordination of environmental protection policies; and
- p) any other activity that Member States may decide to undertake jointly with a view to attaining the objectives of the Community.

## ARTICLE 5

### GENERAL UNDERTAKING

1. Member States undertake to create favourable conditions for the development of the Community and the attainment of its objectives, particularly by harmonizing their strategies and policies. They shall refrain from any unilateral action that may hinder the attainment of the said objectives.
2. Each Member State shall, in accordance with its constitutional procedures, take all necessary measures to ensure the enactment and dissemination of such legislation as may be necessary for the implementation of the provisions of this Treaty.
3. Any Member State which persistently fails to honour its general undertaking under this Treaty or fails to abide by the decisions or regulations of the Community may be subjected to sanctions by the Assembly upon the recom-

recommendation of the Council. Such sanctions may include the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership and may be lifted by the Assembly upon the recommendation of the Council.

## **ARTICLE 6**

### **MODALITIES FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMUNITY**

1. The Community shall be established gradually in six (6) stages of variable duration over a transitional period not exceeding thirty-four (34) years.
2. At each stage, specific activities shall be assigned and implemented concurrently as follows:
  - a) **First Stage:**  
Strengthening of existing regional economic communities and, within a period not exceeding five (5) years from the date of entry into force of this Treaty, establishing economic communities in regions where they do not exist;
  - b) **Second Stage:**
    - i) at the level of each regional economic community and within a period not exceeding eight (8) years, stabilizing Tariff Barriers and Non-Tariff Barriers, Customs Duties and internal taxes existing at the date of entry into force of this Treaty; there shall also be prepared and adopted studies to determine the time-table for the gradual removal of Tariff Barriers and Non-Tariff Barriers to regional and intra-Community trade and for the gradual harmonization of Customs Duties in relation to Third States;
    - ii) strengthening of sectoral integration at the regional and continental levels in all areas of activity particularly in the fields of trade, agriculture, money and finance, transport and communications, industry and energy; and
    - iii) coordination and harmonization of activities among the existing and future economic communities.
  - c) **Third Stage:**  
At the level of each regional economic community and within a period not exceeding ten (10) years, establishment of a Free Trade Area through the observance of the time-table for the gradual removal of Tariff Barriers and Non-Tariff Barriers to intra-community trade and the establishment of a Customs Union by means of adopting a common external tariff.
  - d) **Fourth Stage:**  
Within a period not exceeding two (2) years, coordination and harmonization of tariff and non-tariff systems among the various regional economic

communities with a view to establishing a Customs Union at the continental level by means of adopting a common external tariff.

**e) Fifth Stage:**

Within a period not exceeding four (4) years, establishment of an African Common Market through:

- i) the adoption of a common policy in several areas such as agriculture, transportation and communications, industry, energy and scientific research;
- ii) the harmonization of monetary, financial and fiscal policies;
- iii) the application of the principle of free movement of persons as well as the provisions herein regarding the rights of residence and establishment; and
- iv) constituting the proper resources of the Community as provided for in paragraph 2 of Article 82 of this Treaty.

**f) Sixth Stage:**

Within a period not exceeding five (5) years:

- i) consolidation and strengthening of the structure of the African Common Market, through including the free movement of people, goods, capital and services, as well as, the provision herein regarding the rights of residence and establishment;
- ii) integration of all the sectors namely economic, political, social and cultural; establishment of a single domestic market and a Pan-African Economic and Monetary Union;
- iii) implementation of the final stage for the setting up of an African Monetary Union, the establishment of a single African Central Bank and the creation of a single African Currency;
- iv) implementation of the final stage for the setting up of the structure of the Pan-African Parliament and election of its members by continental universal suffrage;
- v) implementation of the final stage for the harmonization and coordination process of the activities of regional economic communities;
- vi) implementation of the final stage for the setting up of the structures of African multi-national enterprises in all sectors; and
- vii) implementation of the final stage for the setting up of the structures of the executive organs of the Community.

3. All measures envisaged under this Treaty for the promotion of a harmonious and balanced development among Members States, particularly, those relating to the formulation of multi-national projects and programmes, shall be implemented concurrently within the time period specified for the attainment of the objectives of the various stages outlined in paragraph 2 of this Article.
4. The transition from one stage to another shall be determined when the specific

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objectives set in this Treaty is pronounced by the Assembly for a particular stage, are implemented and all commitments fulfilled. The Assembly, on the recommendation of the Council, shall confirm that the objectives to a particular stage have been attained and shall approve the transition to the next stage.

5. Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding paragraph, the cumulative transitional period shall not exceed forty (40) years from the date of entry into force of this Treaty.

### CHAPTER III

## Organs of the Community

### ARTICLE 7

#### ORGANS

1. The organs of the Community shall be:
  - (a) the Assembly of Heads of State and Government;
  - (b) the Council of Ministers;
  - (c) the Pan-African Parliament;
  - (d) the Economic and Social Commission;
  - (e) the Court of Justice;
  - (f) the General Secretariat; and
  - (g) the Specialized Technical Committees.
2. The Organs of the Community shall perform their duties and act within the limits of the powers conferred on them by this Treaty.

### ARTICLE 8

#### THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

##### Composition and Powers

1. The Assembly shall be the supreme organ of the Community.
2. The Assembly shall be responsible for implementing the objectives of the Community.
3. To this end, it shall;
  - a) determine the general policy and major guidelines of the Community, and give directives, coordinate and harmonize the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and social policies of Member States;
  - b) take any action, under this Treaty, to attain the objectives of the Community;
  - c) oversee the functioning of Community organs as well as the follow-up of the implementation of its objectives;

- d) prepare and adopt its rules of procedure;
  - e) approve the organizational structure of the Secretariat;
  - f) elect the Secretary-General, his Deputies and, on the recommendation of the Council, appoint the Financial Controller, the Accountant and the External Auditors;
  - g) adopt the Staff Rules and Regulations of the Secretariat;
  - h) on the recommendation of the Council, take decisions and give directives concerning the regional economic communities in order to ensure the realization of the objectives of the Community;
  - i) on the recommendation of the Council, approve the Community's programme of activity and budget and determine the annual contribution of each Member State;
  - j) delegate to the Council the Authority to take decisions in pursuance of Article 10 of this Treaty;
  - k) refer any matter to the Court of Justice when it confirms, by an absolute majority vote, that a Member State or organ of the Community has not honoured any of its obligations or has acted beyond the limits of its authority or has abused the powers conferred on it by the provisions of this Treaty, by a decision of the Assembly of a regulation or the Council;
  - l) request the Court of Justice, as and when necessary, to give advisory opinion on any legal question; and
  - m) in carrying out its function hereunder, exercise any other powers granted to it under this Treaty.
4. The Assembly shall be assisted by the Council in the performance of its duties.

## ARTICLE 9

### MEETING

1. The Assembly shall meet once a year in regular session. An extra-ordinary session may be convened by the Chairman of the Assembly or at the request of a Member State provided that such a request is supported by two-thirds of the members of the Assembly.
2. The office of the chairman shall be held every year by one of the Heads of State and Government elected by the Assembly after consultation among Member States.

## ARTICLE 10

### DECISIONS

1. The Assembly shall act by decisions.
2. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph (5) Article 19, decisions shall be binding on Member States and organs of the Community, as well as regional economic communities.
3. Decisions shall be automatically enforceable thirty (30) days after the date of

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their signature by the Chairman of the Assembly, and shall be published in the official journal of the Community.

4. Unless otherwise provided in this Treaty, decisions of the Assembly shall be adopted by consensus, failing that, by a two-thirds majority of Member States.

### ARTICLE 11

#### THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

##### Composition, Functions and Powers

1. The Council shall be the Council of Ministers of the OAU.
2. The Council shall be responsible for the functioning and development of the Community.
3. To this end, it shall;
  - a) make recommendations to the Assembly on any action aimed at attaining the objectives of the Community;
  - b) guide the activities of the subordinate organs of the Community;
  - c) submit to the Assembly the proposals concerning programmes of activity and budget of the Community as well as the annual contribution of each Member State;
  - d) propose to the Assembly the appointment of the Financial Controller, the Accountant and the External Auditors;
  - e) prepare and adopt its rules of procedure;
  - f) request the Court of Justice, as and when necessary, to give advisory opinion on any legal questions; and
  - g) carry out all other functions assigned thereto under this Treaty and exercise all powers delegated to it by the Assembly.

### ARTICLE 12

#### MEETINGS

1. The Council shall act by regulations.
2. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph (5) of Article 18 of this Treaty, such regulations shall be binding on Member States, subordinate organs of the Community and regional economic communities after their approval by the Assembly. Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, regulations adopted as aforesaid shall forthwith have a binding effect in the case of delegation of powers by the Assembly pursuant to paragraph 3(j) of Article 8 hereof.
3. Regulations shall be enforceable automatically thirty (30) days after the date of their signature by the Chairman of the Council and shall be published in the official journal of the Community.
4. Unless otherwise provided in this treaty, regulations shall be adopted by consensus or, failing that, by two-thirds majority of Member States.

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### **ARTICLE 13**

#### **REGULATIONS**

1. The Council shall act by regulations.
2. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph (5) of Article 18 of this Treaty, such regulations shall be binding on Member States, subordinate organs of the Community and regional economic communities after their approval by the Assembly. Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, regulations adopted as aforesaid shall forthwith have a binding effect in the case of delegation of powers by the Assembly pursuant to paragraph 3(j) of Article 8 hereof.
3. Regulations shall be enforceable automatically thirty (30) days after the date of their signature by the Chairman of the Council and shall be published in the official journal of the Community.
4. Unless otherwise provided in this Treaty, regulations shall be adopted by consensus or, failing that, by two-thirds majority of Member States.

### **ARTICLE 14**

#### **THE PAN-AFRICAN PARLIAMENT**

1. In order to ensure that the peoples of Africa are fully involved in the economic development and integration of the Continent, there shall be established a Pan-African Parliament.
2. The composition, functions, powers and organization of the Pan-African Parliament shall be defined in a protocol providing thereof.

### **ARTICLE 15**

#### **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION**

##### **Composition and Participation**

1. The Commission shall be the Economic and Social Commission of the OAU.
2. The Commission shall comprise ministers responsible for economic development, planning and integration of each Member State. They may be assisted, as and when necessary, by other ministers.
3. Representatives of regional economic communities shall participate in meetings of the Commission and its subsidiary organs. The modalities and conditions of their participation shall be prescribed in the protocol concerning relations between the Community and African regional and sub-regional organizations and Third States. Representatives of other organizations may also be invited to participate as observers in the deliberations of the Commission.

**ARTICLE 16**

**FUNCTIONS**

The Commission shall carry out the following functions:

- (a) prepare, in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, programmes, policies and strategies for cooperation in the fields of economic and social development among African countries on the one hand, and between Africa and the international community on the other, and make appropriate recommendations to the Assembly, through the Council;
- (b) coordinate, harmonize, supervise and follow-up the economic, social, cultural, scientific and technical activities of the Secretariat, of the Committees and any other subsidiary body;
- (c) examine the reports and recommendations of the Committees and submit the same, together with its observations and recommendations to the Assembly, through the Council, and ensure their follow-up;
- (d) make recommendations to the Assembly, through the Council with a view of coordinating and harmonizing the activities of the different regional economic communities;
- (e) supervise the preparation of international negotiations, assess the results thereof and report thereon to the Assembly through the Council; and
- (f) carry out all other functions assigned thereto by the Assembly or the Council.

**ARTICLE 17**

**MEETINGS**

1. The Commission shall meet at least once a year in Ordinary Session. It may be convened in Extraordinary Session either on its own initiative or at the request of the Assembly or the Council.
2. The Ordinary Session of the Commission shall be held immediately before the Ordinary Session of the Council preceding the Session of the Assembly and at the same venue of such Session.
3. The Commission shall prepare and adopt its rules of procedure.

**ARTICLE 18**

**COURT OF JUSTICE**

**Constitution and Functions**

1. A Court of Justice of the Community is hereby constituted.
2. The Court of Justice shall ensure the adherence to law in the interpretation and application of this Treaty and shall decide on disputes submitted thereto pursuant to this Treaty.
3. To this end, it shall:
  - (a) decide on actions brought by a Member State or the Assembly on grounds



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of the violation of the provisions of this Treaty, or of a decision or a regulation or on grounds of lack of competence or abuse of powers by an organ, an authority or a Member State; and

- (b) at the request of the Assembly or Council, give advisory opinion.
4. The Assembly may confer on the Court of Justice the power to assume jurisdiction by virtue of this Treaty over any dispute other than those referred to in paragraph 3(a) of this Article.
  5. The Court of Justice shall carry out the functions assigned to it independent of the Member States and the other organs of the Community.

### ARTICLE 19

#### DECISIONS OF THE COURT

The Decisions of the Court of Justice shall be binding on Member States and organs of the Community.

### ARTICLE 20

#### ORGANISATION

The Statutes, membership, procedures, and other matters relating to the Court of Justice shall be determined by the Assembly in a protocol relating to the Court of Justice.

### ARTICLE 21

#### GENERAL SECRETARIAT

##### Composition

1. The Secretariat shall be the General Secretariat of the OAU.
2. The Secretariat shall be headed by the Secretary-General assisted by the necessary staff for the smooth functioning of the Community.

### ARTICLE 22

#### THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

##### Functions

1. The Secretary-General shall direct the activities of the Secretariat and shall be its legal representative.
2. The Secretary-General shall:
  - (a) follow up and ensure the implementation of the decisions of the Assembly and the application of the regulations of the Council;
  - (b) promote development programmes as well as projects of the Community;
  - (c) prepare proposals concerning the programme of activity and budget of the Community and upon their approval by the Assembly ensure the implementation thereof;
  - (d) submit a report on the activities of the Community to all meetings of the Assembly, the Council and the Commission;

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- (e) prepare and service meetings of the Assembly, the Council, the Commission and the Committees;
- (f) carry out studies with a view to attaining the objectives of the Community and make proposals likely to enhance the functioning and harmonious development of the Community. To this end, the Secretary-General may request any Member State to furnish him with all necessary information; and
- (g) recruit the staff of the Community and make appointments to all posts except those referred to in paragraph 3(f) of Article 8 of this Treaty.

### ARTICLE 23

#### APPOINTMENTS

1. The Secretary-General and his assistants shall be elected by the Assembly in accordance with the relevant provisions of the OAU Charter and the rules of procedure of the Assembly.
2. The Financial Controller and the Accountant shall be appointed by the Assembly for a term of four (4) years renewable once only.
3. In the appointment of staff of the Community, and in addition to the need to ensure high integrity and competence, consideration shall be given to equitable geographical distribution of posts among all Member States.

### ARTICLE 24

#### RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STAFF OF THE COMMUNITY AND MEMBER STATES

1. In the performance of their duties, the Secretary-General and his Assistants, the Financial Controller, the Accountant and the Staff of the Community shall be accountable only to the Community. In this regard, they shall neither seek nor accept instructions from any government or any national or international authority external to the Community. They shall refrain from any conduct incompatible with the nature of their status as international officers.
2. Every Member State undertakes to respect the international character of the duties of the Secretary-General, his Assistants, the Financial Controller, the Accountant and other officers of the Community and undertakes not to influence them in the performance of their duties.
3. Member States undertake to cooperate with the Secretariat and other organs of the Community and to assist them in the discharge of the functions assigned thereto under this Treaty.

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### **ARTICLE 25**

#### **SPECIALIZED TECHNICAL COMMITTEES**

##### **Establishment and Composition**

1. There is hereby established the following Committees:
  - (a) The Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters;
  - (b) The Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs;
  - (c) The Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters;
  - (d) The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment;
  - (e) The Committee on Transport, Communications and Tourism;
  - (f) The Committee on Health, Labour and Social Affairs; and
  - (g) The Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources.
2. The Assembly shall, whenever it deems appropriate restructure the existing Committees or establish other Committees.
3. Each Committee shall comprise a representative of each Member State. The representatives may be assisted by advisers.
4. Each Committee may, as it deems it necessary, set up subsidiary committees to assist the Committee in carrying out its work. It shall determine the composition of any such subsidiary Committee.

### **ARTICLE 26**

#### **FUNCTIONS**

Each Committee shall within its field of competence:

- (a) prepare projects and programmes of the Community and submit them to the Commission;
- (b) ensure the supervision, follow-up and the evaluation of the implementation of decisions taken by the organs of the Community;
- (c) ensure the coordination and harmonization of projects and programmes of the Community;
- (d) submit to the Commission, either on its own initiative or at the request of the Commission, reports and recommendations on the implementation of the provisions of this Treaty; and
- (e) carry out any other functions assigned to it for the purpose of ensuring the implementation of the provisions of this Treaty.

### **ARTICLE 27**

#### **MEETINGS**

1. Subject to any directives given by the Commission, each Committee shall meet as often as necessary and shall prepare its rules of procedure and submit them to the Commission for approval.

**CHAPTER IV**

**Regional Economic Communities**

**ARTICLE 28**

**STRENGTHENING OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES**

1. During the first stage, Member States undertake to strengthen the existing regional economic communities and to establish new communities where they do not exist in order to ensure the gradual establishment of the Community.
2. Member States shall take all necessary measures aimed at progressively promoting increasingly closer cooperation among the communities, particularly through coordination and harmonization of their activities in all fields or sectors in order to ensure the realization of the objectives of the Community.

**CHAPTER V**

**Customs Union and Liberalization of Trade**

**ARTICLE 29**

**CUSTOMS UNION**

Member States of each regional economic community agree to progressively establish among them during a transitional period specified in Article 6 of this Treaty, a Customs Union involving:

- (a) the elimination, among Member States of each regional economic community, of customs duties, quota restrictions, other restrictions or prohibitions and administrative trade barriers, as well as all other non-tariff barriers; and
- (b) the adoption by Member States of a common external customs tariff.

**ARTICLE 30**

**ELIMINATION OF CUSTOMS DUTIES AMONG MEMBER STATES OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES**

1. During the second stage, Member States of each regional economic community shall refrain from establishing among themselves any new customs duties and from increasing those that apply in their mutual trade relations.
2. During the third stage, Member States shall progressively reduce and eliminate finally among themselves, at the level of each regional economic community, customs duties in accordance with such programme and modalities as shall be determined by each regional economic community.
3. During each stage, the Assembly, on the recommendation of the Council, shall take

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the necessary measures with a view to coordinating and harmonizing the activities of the regional economic communities relating to the elimination of customs duties among Member States.

### **ARTICLE 31**

#### **ELIMINATION OF NON-TARIFF BARRIERS TO INTRA-COMMUNITY TRADE**

1. At the level of each regional economic community and subject to the provisions of the Treaty, each Member State shall, upon the entry into force of this Treaty, progressively relax and ultimately remove quota restrictions, and all other non-tariff barriers and prohibitions which apply to exports to that State, of goods originating in the other Member States, at the latest, by the end of the third stage and in accordance with paragraph 2 of this Article. Except as otherwise provided or permitted by this Treaty, each Member State shall thereafter refrain from imposing any further restrictions or prohibitions on such goods.
2. Subject to the provisions of this Treaty, each regional economic community shall adopt a programme for the progressive relaxation and ultimate elimination, at the latest by the end of the third stage, of all quota restrictions and prohibitions and all other non-tariff barriers that apply in a Member State, to imports originating in the other Member State; it being understood that each regional economic community may subsequently decide that all quota restrictions, other restrictions and prohibitions be relaxed or removed within a shorter period than that prescribed in this paragraph.
3. The arrangements governing restrictions, prohibitions, quota restrictions, dumping, subsidies and discriminatory practices shall be the subject of a Protocol concerning Non-Tariff Trade Barriers.

### **ARTICLE 32**

#### **ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMON EXTERNAL CUSTOMS TARIFF**

1. During the third stage, Member States shall, at the level of each regional economic community, agree to the gradual establishment of a common external customs tariff applicable to goods originating from Third States and imported into Member States.
2. During the fourth stage, regional economic communities shall, in accordance with a programme drawn up by them, eliminate differences between their respective external customs tariffs.
3. During the fourth stage, the Council shall propose to the Assembly the adoption, at Community level, of a common customs and statistical nomenclature for all Member States.

**ARTICLE 33**

**SYSTEM OF INTRA-COMMUNITY TRADE**

1. At the end of the third stage, no Member State shall, at the level of each regional economic community, levy customs duties on goods originating in one Member State and imported into another Member State. The same prohibition shall apply to goods originating from Third States which are in free circulation in Member States and are imported from one Member State into another.
2. The definition of the notion of products originating in Member States and the rules governing goods originating in a Third State and which are in free circulation in Member States shall be governed by a Protocol concerning the Rules of Origin.
3. Goods originating from Third States shall be considered to be in free circulation in a Member State if (i) the import formalities relating thereto have been complied with, (ii) customs duties have been paid thereon in that Member State, and (iii) they have not benefitted from a partial or total exemption from such customs duties.
4. Member States undertake not to adopt legislation implying direct or indirect discrimination against identical or similar products originating from another Member State.

**ARTICLE 34**

**INTERNAL TAXES**

1. During the third stage, Member States shall not levy, directly or indirectly, on goods originating from a Member State and imported into any Member State, internal taxes in excess of those levied on similar domestic products.
2. Member States, at the level of each regional economic community, shall progressively eliminate any internal taxes levied for the protection of domestic products. Where by virtue of obligations assumed under a prior agreement signed by a Member State, that Member State is unable to comply with this Article, it shall notify the Council of this fact and shall not extend or renew such agreement when it expires.

**ARTICLE 35**

**EXCEPTIONS AND SAFEGUARD CLAUSES**

1. Notwithstanding the provisions of Articles 30 and 31 of this Treaty, any Member State, having made its intention known to the Secretariat of the Community which shall inform Member States thereof, may impose or continue to impose restrictions or prohibitions affecting:
  - (a) the application of security laws and regulations;
  - (b) the control of arms, ammunitions and other military items and equipment;
  - (c) the protection of human, animal or plant health or life, or the protection of public morality;
  - (d) export of strategic minerals and precious stones;

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- (e) the protection of national treasures of artistic or archaeological value or the protection of industrial, commercial and intellectual property;
- (f) the control of hazardous wastes, nuclear materials, radio-active products or any other material used in the development or exploitation of nuclear energy;
- (g) protection of infant industries;
- (h) the control of strategic products; and
- (i) goods imported from a third country to which a Member State applies total prohibition relating to country of origin.

2. The prohibitions or restrictions referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall in no case be used as a means of arbitrary discrimination or disguised restriction on trade between Member States.

3. Where a Member State encounters balance-of-payments difficulties arising from the application of the provisions of this Chapter, that Member State may be allowed by the competent organ of the Community, provided that it has taken all appropriate reasonable steps to overcome the difficulties, to impose, for the sole purpose of overcoming such difficulties, quantitative or similar restrictions or prohibitions on goods originating in the other Member States for such period as shall be determined by the competent organ of the Community.

4. For the purpose of protecting an infant or strategic industry, a Member State may be allowed by the competent organ of the Community, provided it has taken all appropriate reasonable steps to protect such industry, to impose, for the sole purpose of protecting such industry, quantitative or similar restrictions or prohibitions, on similar goods originating in the other Member States for such period as shall be determined by the competent organ of the Community.

5. Where the imports of a particular product by a Member State from another Member State increase in a way that causes, or is likely to cause, serious damage to the economy of the importing state, the latter may be allowed by the competent organ of the Community to apply safeguard measures for a specified period.

6. The Council shall keep under regular review, the operation of any quantitative or similar restrictions or prohibitions imposed pursuant to paragraphs 1, 3 and 4 of this Article and shall take appropriate action in this connection. It shall submit, each year, to the Assembly, a report on the aforementioned matters.

### **ARTICLE 36**

#### **DUMPING.**

1. Member States shall prohibit the practice of "dumping" within the Community.

2. For the purpose of this Article, "dumping" shall mean the transfer of goods originating from a Member State to another Member State for them to be sold:

- (a) at a price lower than the usual price offered for similar goods in the Member State from which those goods originate, due account being taken of the differences in conditions of sale, taxation, transport expenses and any other factor affecting the comparison of prices;

- (b) in conditions likely to prejudice the manufacture of similar goods in the Member State.

**ARTICLE 37**

**MOST FAVOURED NATION TREATMENT**

1. Member States shall accord one another, in relation to intra-community trade, the most-favoured-nation treatment. In no case shall tariff concessions granted to a Third State be pursuant to an agreement with a Member State more favourable than those applicable pursuant of this treatment.
2. The text of the agreements referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be forwarded by Member States parties thereto, through the Secretary-General, to all the other Member States for their information.
3. No agreement between a Member State and a Third State, under which tariff concessions are granted, shall be incompatible with the obligations arising out of this Treaty.

**ARTICLE 38**

**RE-EXPORT OF GOODS AND INTRA-COMMUNITY TRANSIT FACILITIES**

1. During the third stage, Member States shall facilitate the re-export of goods among them in accordance with the Protocol concerning the Re-export of Goods.
2. Member States shall grant one another freedom of transit through their territories to goods proceeding to or coming from another Member State in accordance with the Protocol concerning Intra-Community Transit and Transit Facilities and in accordance with the provisions of any intra-community agreement to be concluded.

**ARTICLE 39**

**CUSTOMS COOPERATION AND ADMINISTRATION**

Member States shall, in accordance with the Protocol concerning Customs Cooperation, take all necessary measures for harmonizing and standardizing their customs regulations and procedures in such a manner as shall be appropriate for ensuring the effective implementation of the provisions of this Chapter and facilitating the movement of goods and services across their frontiers.

**ARTICLE 40**

**TRADE DOCUMENTS AND PROCEDURES**

For the purpose of facilitating intra-community trade in goods and services, Member States shall simplify and harmonize their trade documents and procedures in accordance with the Protocol concerning the Simplification and Harmonization of Trade Documents and Procedures.



**ARTICLE 41**

**DIVERSION OF TRADE ARISING FROM BARTER OR COMPENSATORY EXCHANGE AGREEMENT**

1. If, as a result of a barter or compensatory exchange agreement relating to a specific category of goods concluded between a Member State or a person of the said Member State, on the one hand, and a Third State or person of the said Third State, on the other, there is substantial diversion of trade in favour of goods imported under such agreement and to the detriment of similar goods of the same category imported from and manufactured in any other Member State, the Member State importing such goods shall take effective steps to correct the diversion.
2. In order to determine whether a diversion of trade has occurred in a specific category of goods within the meaning of this Article, consideration shall be given to all the relevant trade statistics and other data available on such category of goods for the six-month period preceding a complaint from an affected Member State concerning diversion of trade, and for an average of two comparable six-month periods during the twenty-four (24) months preceding the first importation of goods under the barter agreement or compensatory exchange agreement.
3. The Secretary-General shall refer the matter to the Council for consideration and submission to the Assembly for decision.

**ARTICLE 42**

**TRADE PROMOTION**

1. In order to attain the objective of the Community set out in sub-paragraph 2 (m) Article 4 of this Treaty, Member States agree to undertake the trade promotion activities stated below in the following areas:

**(a) Intra-Community Trade**

- (i) promote the use of the Community's local materials, intermediate goods and inputs, as well as finished products originating within the Community;
- (ii) adopt the "All-Africa Trade Fair of the OAU", as an instrument of the Community trade promotion;
- (iii) participate in the periodic fairs organized under the auspices of the "All-Africa Trade Fair of the OAU", sectoral trade fairs, regional trade fairs and other trade promotion activities of the Community;
- (iv) develop an intra-community trade information network, linking the computerized trade information systems of existing and future regional economic communities and individual Member States of the Community; and
- (v) with the assistance of the Secretariat, study the supply and demand patterns in Member States and disseminate the findings thereon within the Community.

**(b) South-South Trade**

- (i) promote the diversification of Africa's markets, and the marketing of Community products;
- (ii) participate in extra-community trade fairs, in particular, within the context of South-South cooperation; and
- (iii) participate in extra-community trade and investment fora.

**(c) North-South Trade**

- (i) promote better terms of trade for African commodities and improve market access for Community products;
- (ii) participate as a group in international negotiations within the framework of GATT and UNCTAD and other trade-related negotiating fora.

2. The modalities of organizing trade promotion activities and trade information systems of the Community shall be governed by a Protocol concerning Trade Promotion.

**CHAPTER VI**

**Free movement of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment**

**ARTICLE 43**

**GENERAL PROVISIONS**

1. Member States agree to adopt, individually, at bilateral or regional levels, the necessary measures, in order to achieve progressively the free movement of persons, and to ensure the enjoyment of the right of residence and the right of establishment by their nationals within the Community.
2. For this purpose, Member States agree to conclude a Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Right of Establishment.

**CHAPTER VII**

**Money, Finance and Payments**

**ARTICLE 44**

**MONETARY, FINANCIAL AND PAYMENT POLICIES**

1. In accordance with the relevant Protocols, Member States shall, within a time-table to be determined by the Assembly, harmonize their monetary, financial and payments policies, in order to boost intra-Community trade in goods and services, to further the attainment of objectives of the Community and to enhance monetary and financial

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cooperation among Member States.

2. To this end, Member States shall:

- (a) use their national currencies in the settlement of commercial and financial transactions in order to reduce the use of external currencies in such transactions;
- (b) establish appropriate mechanisms for setting up multilateral payment systems;
- (c) consult regularly among themselves on monetary and financial matters;
- (d) promote the creation of national, regional and sub-regional money markets, through the coordinated establishment of stock exchanges and harmonizing legal texts regulating existing stock exchanges with a view to making them more effective;
- (e) cooperate in an effective manner in the fields of insurance and banking;
- (f) further the liberalization of payments and the elimination of payment restrictions, if any, among them and promote the integration of all existing payments and clearing mechanisms among the different regions into an African Clearing and Payments House; and
- (g) establish an African Monetary Union through harmonization of regional monetary zones.

### **ARTICLE 45**

#### **MOVEMENT OF CAPITAL**

1. Member States shall ensure the free movement of capital within the Community through the elimination of restrictions on the transfer of capital funds between Member States in accordance with a time-table to be determined by the Council.

2. The capital referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article is that of Member States or persons of Member States.

3. The Assembly, having regard to the development objectives of national, regional and continental plans, and upon the recommendation of the Commission and after the approval of the Council acting on the recommendation of the Commission, shall prescribe the conditions for the movement within the Community of the capital funds other than those referred to in paragraph (2) of this Article.

4. For the purpose of regulating the movement of capital between Member States and Third States, the Assembly, upon the approval of the Council, acting on the recommendation of the Commission, shall take steps aimed at coordinating progressively the national and regional exchange control policies.

**CHAPTER VIII**

**Food and Agriculture**

**ARTICLE 46**

**AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND FOOD PRODUCTION**

1. Member States shall cooperate in the development of agriculture, forestry, livestock and fisheries in order to:
  - (a) ensure food security;
  - (b) increase production and productivity in agriculture, livestock, fisheries and forestry, and improve conditions of work and generate employment opportunities in rural areas;
  - (c) enhance agricultural production through locally processed animal and plant products; and
  - (d) protect the prices of export commodities on the international market by means of establishing an African Commodity Exchange.
2. To this end, and in order to promote the integration of production structures, Member States shall cooperate in the following fields:
  - (a) the production of agricultural inputs, fertilizers, pesticides, selected seeds, agricultural machinery and equipment and veterinary products;
  - (b) the development of river and lake basins;
  - (c) the development and protection of marine and fishery resources;
  - (d) plant and animal protection;
  - (e) the harmonization of agricultural development strategies and policies at regional and Community levels, in particular, in so far as they relate to production, trade and marketing of major agricultural products and inputs; and
  - (f) the harmonization of food security policies in order to ensure:
    - (i) reduction of losses in food production;
    - (ii) the strengthening of existing institutions for the management of natural calamities, agricultural diseases and pest control;
    - (iii) the conclusion of agreements on food security at the regional and continental levels;
    - (iv) the provision of food aid to Member States in the event of serious food shortage; and
    - (v) the protection of regional and continental markets primarily for the benefit of African agricultural products.

**ARTICLE 47**

**PROTOCOL ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE**

For purposes of this Chapter, Member States shall cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol on Food and Agriculture.

**CHAPTER IX**

**Industry, Science, Technology, Energy, Natural Resources  
and Environment**

**ARTICLE 48**

**INDUSTRY**

1. For the purpose of promoting industrial development of Member States and integrating their economies, Member States shall within the Community harmonize their industrialisation policies.
2. In this connection, Member States shall:
  - (a) strengthen the industrial base of the Community, in order to modernize their priority sectors and foster self-sustained and self-reliant development;
  - (b) promote joint industrial development projects at regional and Community levels, as well as the creation of African multinational enterprises in priority industrial sub-sectors likely to contribute to the development of agriculture, transport and Communications, natural resources and energy.

**ARTICLE 49**

**INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

In order to create a solid basis for industrialization and promote collective self-reliance, Member States shall:

- (a) ensure the development of the following basic industries essential for collective self-reliance and the modernization of priority sectors of the economy;
  - (i) food and agro-based industries;
  - (ii) building and construction industries;
  - (iii) metallurgical industries;
  - (iv) mechanical industries;
  - (v) electrical and electronic industries;
  - (vi) chemical and petro-chemical industries;
  - (vii) forestry industries;
  - (viii) energy industries;
  - (ix) textile and leather industries;

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- (x) transport and communications industries; and
- (xi) bio-technology industries;
- (b) ensure the promotion of small-scale industries with a view to enhancing the generation of employment opportunities in Member States;
- (c) promote intermediate industries that have strong linkages to the economy in order to increase the local component of industrial output within the Community;
- (d) prepare master plans at regional and Community levels for the establishment of African multinational industries particularly those whose construction cost and volume of production exceed national financial and absorptive capacities;
- (e) strengthen and establish, where they do not exist, specialized institutions for the financing of African multinational industrial projects;
- (f) facilitate the establishment of African multinational enterprises and encourage and give financial and technical support to African entrepreneurs;
- (g) promote the sale and consumption of strategic industrial products manufactured in Member States;
- (h) promote technical cooperation and the exchange of experience in the field of industrial technology and implement technical training programmes among Member State;
- (i) strengthen the existing multinational institutions, particularly, the African Regional Center for Technology, the African Regional Centre for Design and Manufacture and the African Industrial Development Fund;
- (j) establish a data and statistical information base to serve industrial development at the regional and continental levels;
- (k) promote South-South and North-South cooperation for the attainment of industrialization objectives in Africa;
- (l) promote industrial specialization in order to enhance the complementarity of African economies and expand the intra-Community trade base, due account being taken of national and regional resource endowments; and
- (m) adopt common standards and appropriate quality control systems which are crucial to industrial cooperation and integration.

### **ARTICLE 50**

#### **PROTOCOL ON INDUSTRIES**

For the purposes of Articles 48 and 49 of this Treaty, Member States agree to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol on Industries.

**ARTICLE 51**

**SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

**1. Member States shall:**

- (a) strengthen scientific and technological capabilities in order to bring about the socio-economic transformation required to improve the quality of life of their population, particularly that of the rural populations;
- (b) ensure the proper application of science and technology to the development of agriculture, transport and communication, industry, health and hygiene, energy, education and manpower and the conservation of the environment;
- (c) reduce their dependence and promote their individual and collective technological self-reliance;
- (d) cooperate in the development, acquisition and dissemination of appropriate technologies; and
- (e) strengthen existing scientific research institutions and, where they do not exist, establish new institutions.

**2. In the context of cooperation in this field, Member States shall:**

- (a) harmonize, at the Community level, their national policies on scientific and technological research with a view to facilitating their integration into the national economic and social development plans;
- (b) coordinate their programmes in applied research, research for development and scientific and technological services;
- (c) harmonize their national technological development plans by placing special emphasis on local technologies as well as their regulations on industrial property and transfer of technology;
- (d) coordinate their positions on all scientific and technical questions forming the subject of international negotiations;
- (e) carry out a permanent exchange of information and documentation and establish community data networks and data banks;
- (f) develop joint programmes for training scientific and technological cadres, including the training and further training of skilled manpower;
- (g) promote exchanges of researchers and specialists among Member States in order to make full use of the technical skills available within the community; and
- (h) revise the educational systems in order to better adapt educational, scientific and technical training to the specific development needs of the African environment.

**ARTICLE 52**

**SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRAMMES**

Member States shall take all necessary measures to prepare and implement joint scientific research and technological development programmes.

**ARTICLE 53**

**PROTOCOL ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY**

For the purposes of Articles 51 and 52 of this Treaty, Member States agree to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of Science and Technology.

**ARTICLE 54**

**ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES**

Member States shall coordinate and harmonize their policies and programmes in the field of energy and natural resources.

To this end, they shall:

- (a) ensure the effective development of the continent's energy and natural resources;
- (b) establish appropriate cooperation mechanisms with a view to ensuring a regular supply of hydrocarbons
- (c) promote the development of new and renewable energy in the framework of the policy of diversification of sources of energy;
- (d) harmonize their national energy development plans;
- (e) articulate a common energy policy, particularly, in the field of research, exploitation, production and distribution;
- (f) establish an adequate mechanism of concerted action and coordination for the collective solution of the energy development problems within the Community, particularly, those relating to energy transmission, the shortage of skilled technicians and financial resources for the implementation of energy projects of Member States; and
- (g) promote the continuous training of skilled manpower.

**ARTICLE 55**

**ENERGY**

1. Member States shall cooperate in the following fields:

- (a) Mineral and water resources
- (b) Nuclear energy;
- (c) New and renewable energy.

2. They shall further:

- (a) seek better knowledge and undertake an assessment of their natural resources potential;
- (b) reduce progressively their dependence on transnational enterprises in the development of such resources, particularly through mastering exploration techniques; and
- (c) improve methods of pricing and marketing raw materials.



**ARTICLE 56**

**NATURAL RESOURCES**

In order to promote cooperation in the area of natural resources and energy, Member States shall:

- (a) exchange information on the prospection, mapping, production and processing of mineral resources, as well as on the prospection, exploitation and distribution of water resources;
- (b) coordinate their programmes for development and utilization of mineral and water resources;
- (c) promote vertical and horizontal inter-industrial relationships which may be established among Member States in the course of developing such resources;
- (d) coordinate their positions in all international negotiations on raw materials;
- (e) develop a system of transfer of know-how and exchange of scientific, technical and economic data in remote sensing among Member States; and
- (f) prepare and implement joint training and further training programmes for cadres in order to develop the human resources and the appropriate local technological capabilities required for the exploration, exploitation and processing of mineral and water resources.

**ARTICLE 57**

**PROTOCOL ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES**

For the purposes of Article 54, 55 and 56 of this Treaty, Member States shall cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol on Energy and Natural Resources.

**ARTICLE 58**

**ENVIRONMENT**

1. Member States undertake to promote a healthy environment. To this end, they shall adopt national, regional and continental policies, strategies and programmes and establish appropriate institutions for the protection and enhancement of the environment.

2. For purposes of paragraph 1 of this Article, Member States shall take the necessary measures to accelerate the reform and innovation process leading to ecological rational, economically sound and socially acceptable development policies and programmes.

**ARTICLE 59**

**CONTROL OF HAZARDOUS WASTES**

Member States undertake, individually and collectively, to take every appropriate

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step to ban the importation and dumping of hazardous waste in their respective territories. They further undertake to cooperate in the transboundary movement, management and processing of such wastes produced in Africa.

## ARTICLE 60

### PROTOCOL ON THE ENVIRONMENT

For the purposes of Articles 58 and 59 of this Treaty, Member States shall cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol on the Environment.

## CHAPTER X

### Transport, Communications and Tourism

## ARTICLE 61

### TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. In order to achieve a harmonious and integrated development of the continental transport and communications network, Member States undertake to:

- (a) promote the integration of transport and communication infrastructure;
- (b) coordinate the various modes of transport in order to increase their efficiency;
- (c) harmonize progressively their rules and regulations relating to transport and communications;
- (d) encourage the use of local material and human resources, standardization of networks and equipment, research and the popularization of infrastructural construction techniques as well as adapted equipment and materials;
- (e) expand, modernize and maintain transport and communications infrastructures by means of mobilizing the necessary technological and financial resources;
- (f) promote the creation of regional industries for the production of transport and communications equipment; and
- (g) organize, structure and promote, at regional and Community levels, passenger and goods transport services.

2. To this end, Member States shall:

- (a) draw up coordinated programmes to restructure the road transport sector for purposes of establishing inter-State links and the construction of major trans-continental trunk roads;
- (b) prepare plans to improve, re-organize and standardize the various rail networks of Member States with a view to their inter-connection and construct new railways as part of the Pan African network;
- (c) harmonize:
  - (i) their policies on maritime, inter-State lake and river transport;
  - (ii) their air transport policies;

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- (iii) their programmes on the training and further training of specialized cadres in transport and communications;
- (d) modernize and standardize their transport and communications equipment in order to permit Member States to be linked with one another and with the outside world;
- (e) promote proper integration of air transport in Africa and coordinate flight schedules; and
- (f) coordinate and harmonize their transport policies at regional and Community levels in order to eliminate non-physical barriers that hamper the free movement of goods, services and persons.

### **ARTICLE 62**

#### **COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES IN THE FIELD OF TRANSPORT**

1. Member States shall encourage the establishment of Community and African multinational enterprises in the fields of maritime, rail, road, inland water-ways and air transport.
2. The expression "Community and multinational enterprises" and the legal status thereof shall be as defined in the relevant Protocol.

### **ARTICLE 63**

#### **POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS**

1. In the field of posts, Member States undertake to:
  - (a) establish a Pan-African Postal Network;
  - (b) adopt a policy of rationalization and maximization of conveyance of mail;
  - (c) ensure that the post has a legal status, an efficient management system and the resources necessary for providing reliable services to meet customer demands; and
  - (d) create customer-oriented and competitive services.
2. In the field of telecommunications, Member States shall:
  - (a) develop, modernize, coordinate and standardize their national telecommunications networks in order to provide reliable inter-connection among Member States;
  - (b) establish a Pan-African system of communications by satellite in order to improve telecommunications, particularly in rural areas.
3. Member States further undertake to provide efficient and regular post and telecommunication services within the Community, and to develop close collaboration among Post and Telecommunications administrations.
4. In order to attain the objectives set out in this Article, Member States shall also encourage the establishment of private companies for post and telecommunications services.

**ARTICLE 64**

**BROADCASTING**

1. Member States undertake to:
  - (a) coordinate their efforts and pool their resources in order to promote the exchange of radio and television programmes at bilateral, regional and continental levels;
  - (b) encourage the establishment of programme exchange centres at regional and continental levels. In this connection, Member States shall strengthen the activities and operations of existing programme exchange centres; and
  - (c) use their broadcasting and television systems in order to further close cooperation and better understanding among their peoples and, in particular, to promote the objectives of the Community.
2. Member States further undertake to collect, disseminate and exchange meteorological information at the continental level, particularly with regard to the development of early warning systems for the prevention of natural disasters and for ensuring safety in aerial, coastal and inland navigation.

**ARTICLE 65**

**TOURISM**

1. For the purpose of ensuring the harmonious and profitable development of tourism in Africa, Member States undertake to:
  - (a) strengthen intra-African cooperation in tourism, particularly through:
    - (i) the promotion of intra-African tourism;
    - (ii) the harmonization and coordination of tourism development policies, plans and programmes; and
    - (iii) joint promotion of tourism products representing Africa's natural and socio-cultural values.
  - (b) promote the establishment of efficient tourism enterprises adapted to the needs of the African people and attractive to foreign tourists, through:
    - (i) the adoption of measures designed to promote investment in tourism with a view to the establishment of competitive African tourist enterprises;
    - (ii) adoption of measures designed to develop and utilize human resources for tourism in Africa; and
    - (iii) strengthening or establishment of high-level tourism training institutions where necessary.
2. Member States shall adopt all requisite measures for the development of African tourism that takes due account of the human and natural environment and the well-being of the African peoples and which contribute effectively to the implementation of the continent's political and socio-economic integration and development.

**ARTICLE 66**

**PROTOCOL ON TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATIONS AND TOURISM**

For the purposes of this Chapter, Member States undertake to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol on Transport, Communications and Tourism.

**CHAPTER XI**

**Standardization and Measurement Systems**

**ARTICLE 67**

**COMMON POLICY ON STANDARDIZATION AND MEASUREMENT SYSTEMS**

1. Member States agree to:
  - (a) adopt a common policy on standardization and quality assurance of goods and services among Member States;
  - (b) undertake such other related activities in standardization and measurement systems that are likely to promote trade, economic development and integration within the Community; and
  - (c) strengthen African national, regional and continental organizations operating in this field.
2. For the purposes of this Chapter, Member States agree to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol concerning standardization, quality assurance and measurement systems.

**CHAPTER XII**

**Education, Training and Culture**

**ARTICLE 68**

**EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

1. Member States shall strengthen cooperation among themselves in the field of education and training and coordinate and harmonize their policies in this field for the purpose of training persons capable of fostering the changes necessary for enhancing social progress and the development of the Continent.
2. For the purposes of paragraph 1 of this Article, Member States undertake to:
  - (a) improve the efficiency of existing educational systems by promoting the training of trainers and using appropriate methods and aids;
  - (b) cooperate in the strengthening of existing regional and Community training institutions and where necessary, establish new institutions, preferably through the strengthening of appropriate existing national and regional

institutions;

- (c) prepare, coordinate and harmonize joint training programmes with a view to adapting them to development needs thereby ensuring progressively self-sufficiency in skilled personnel;
- (d) promoting the systematic exchange of experience and information on education policy and planning; and
- (e) take appropriate measures to stop the brain-drain from the Community and encourage the return of qualified professionals and skilled manpower to their countries of origin.

**ARTICLE 69**

**CULTURE**

Member States shall:

- (a) pursue the objectives of the Culture Charter for Africa;
- (b) promote and propagate indigenous African cultural values;
- (c) make every effort to preserve and recover their cultural heritage;
- (d) ensure that development policies adequately reflect their socio-cultural values in order to consolidate their cultural identity;
- (e) exchange their cultural programmes and their experiences, particularly, in art, literature, entertainment, sports and leisure activities; and
- (f) promote and develop sports programmes and activities at all levels as factors of integration.

**ARTICLE 70**

**PROTOCOL ON EDUCATION, TRAINING AND CULTURE**

For the purposes of this Chapter, Member States agree to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol on Education, Training and Culture.

**CHAPTER XIII**

**Human Resources, Social Affairs, Health and Population**

**ARTICLE 71**

**HUMAN RESOURCES**

1. Member States agree to cooperate with a view to developing, planning and utilizing their human resources.
2. To this end, they undertake to:
  - (a) adopt and promote a common policy on planning, programming, professional training and harmonize their employment and income policies;
  - (b) coordinate their policies and activities in the fields of training, planning and career guidance and counselling;

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- (c) improve their information and recruitment services in order to facilitate, in particular, the search for, and recruitment of African experts;
- (d) encourage consultancy agencies to promote the use of Africa experts and the development of local consultancy services; and
- (e) adopt employment policies that shall allow the free movement of persons within the Community by strengthening and establishing labour exchanges aimed at facilitating the employment of available skilled manpower of one Member State in other Member States where there are shortages of skilled manpower.

### **ARTICLE 72**

#### **SOCIAL AFFAIRS**

1. Member States agree to ensure the full participation and rational utilization of their human resources in their development efforts with a view to eliminating other social scourges plaguing the continent.

2. To this end they undertake to:

- (a) encourage the exchange of experiences and information on literacy, vocational training and employment;
- (b) harmonize gradually their labour and social security legislations with a view to eliminating poverty and promoting balanced socio-economic development within the Community;
- (c) take necessary measures for the survival and development of the child and the protection of the child against abuse, neglect and exploitation;
- (d) provide disabled persons with adequate training likely to facilitate their social integration and enable them contribute to the attainment of the objectives of the Community;
- (e) create conditions conducive to the training of young school leavers, and other youth, in order to enable them to be gainfully employed;
- (f) adopt, coordinate and harmonize their policies with a view to ensuring a decent life for the aged; and
- (g) harmonize their efforts to put an end to the illegal production, trafficking and use of narcotic drugs and psycho-tropic substances and formulate sensitization and rehabilitation programmes in this field.

### **ARTICLE 73**

#### **HEALTH**

1. Member States agree to promote and increase cooperation among themselves in the field of health.

2. To this end, they shall cooperate in developing primary healthcare, promoting medical research, particularly in the field of African traditional medicine and pharmacopoeia.

**ARTICLE 74**

**POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

1. Member States undertake to adopt, individually and collectively, national population policies and mechanisms and take all necessary measures in order to ensure a balance between population growth and socio-economic development.
2. To this end, Member States agree to:
  - (a) include population issues as central elements for formulating and implementing national policies and programmes for accelerated and balanced socio-economic development;
  - (b) formulate national population policies and establish national population institutions;
  - (c) undertake public sensitization on population matters, particularly, among the target groups; and
  - (d) collect, analyze and exchange information and data on population issues.

**ARTICLE 75**

**WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT**

1. Member States agree to formulate, harmonize, coordinate and establish appropriate policies and mechanisms for full development of the African women through the improvement of her economic, social and cultural conditions.
2. To this end, Member States shall take all measures necessary to ensure greater integration of women in development activities within the Community.

b1.

**ARTICLE 76**

**PROTOCOLS ON HUMAN RESOURCES, SOCIAL AFFAIRS, HEALTH AND POPULATION**

For the purposes of this Chapter, Member States undertake to cooperate in accordance with the provisions of the Protocols on Human Resources, Social Affairs, Health and Population.

**CHAPTER XIV**  
**Cooperation in Other Fields**

**ARTICLE 77**

**HARMONIZATION OF POLICIES IN OTHER FIELDS**

Subject to the provisions of this Treaty, Member States agree to consult with one another, through appropriate Community organs, for the purpose of harmonizing their respective policies in other fields for the efficient functioning and development of the



Community and for the implementation of the provisions of this Treaty.

## **CHAPTER XV**

### **Special Provisions in respect of Certain Countries**

#### **ARTICLE 78**

#### **SPECIAL PROVISIONS IN RESPECT OF BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, NAMIBIA AND SWAZILAND**

1. Member States, recognizing the exceptional situation of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland within the Community and their membership in the Southern Africa Customs Union, agree to grant them temporary exemption from the full application of certain provisions of this Treaty.
2. For this purpose, Member States shall adopt a Protocol on the Exceptional Situation of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland.

#### **ARTICLE 79**

#### **SPECIAL PROVISIONS IN RESPECT OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

#### **Landlocked, Semi-Landlocked and Island Countries**

1. Member States, taking into consideration the special economic and social difficulties that may arise in certain Member States and especially the least developed, landlocked, semi-landlocked and island countries, shall grant them, where appropriate, special treatment in respect of the application of certain provisions of this Treaty, and shall accord them any other assistance that they may need.
2. The special treatment and assistance referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article may consist, *inter alia*:
  - (a) temporary exemptions from the full application of certain provisions of this Treaty; and
  - (b) assistance from the Fund.
3. For purposes of this Chapter, Member States agree to adopt a protocol on the situation of the least developed, landlocked, semi-landlocked and island countries.

## **CHAPTER XVI**

### **Solidarity, Development and Compensation Fund**

#### **ARTICLE 80**

#### **ESTABLISHMENT**

1. A Solidarity, Development and Compensation Fund of the Community is hereby established.

**ARTICLE 81**

**OBJECTIVES AND STATUTES OF FUND**

1. The Statues of the Fund shall be established by the Assembly in a Protocol relating thereto.
2. The Statues shall determine, inter alia, the objectives, the authorized capital stock, resources of the Fund, contributions of Member States, the currencies in which contributions shall be paid, the functioning, organization and management of the Fund and any other related matter.

**CHAPTER XVII**  
**Financial Provisions**

**ARTICLE 82**

**REGULAR BUDGET OF THE COMMUNITY**

1. The annual regular budget of the Community, which constitutes an integral part of the OAU regular budget, shall be prepared by the Secretary-General and approved by the Assembly upon the recommendation of the Council.
2. The budget shall be funded by contributions made by Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the OAU. Upon the recommendation of the Council, the Assembly shall determine the conditions under which the financial contributions of Member States may be supplemented or, where necessary, replaced by the proper resources of the Community.

**ARTICLE 83**

**SPECIAL BUDGETS**

Special budgets shall be made available, where necessary, to meet the extra-budgetary expenditure of the Community. The Assembly shall determine the contributions of Member States to special budgets of the Community.

**ARTICLE 84**

**SANCTIONS RELATING TO NON-PAYMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS**

1. Upon the decision of the Assembly, any Member State of the Community having arrears in the payment of its contribution to the budget of the Community, shall not have the right to vote or participate in taking decisions of the Community if the amount of its arrears is equal to, or is in excess of the contribution payable by such State for the last preceding two financial years. Such Member State shall cease to enjoy other benefits arising by virtue of this Treaty as well as the right to address meetings. In addition, it shall lose the right to present candidates for vacant posts within the

Community and shall not be eligible for office in the deliberative organs of the Community. The Assembly may, where necessary, impose other sanctions on a Member State for non-payment of contributions.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article, the Assembly may suspend the application of the provisions of the said paragraph if it is satisfied, on the basis of a satisfactory explanatory report by the Member State through the Secretary-General, that the non-payment of contributions is due to causes and circumstances beyond the control of the said Member State.

3. The Assembly shall decide on the modalities for the application of this Article.

**ARTICLE 85**

**FINANCIAL RULES AND REGULATIONS**

The Financial Rules and Regulations of the OAU shall govern the application of the provisions of this Chapter.

**ARTICLE 86**

**BOARD OF EXTERNAL AUDITORS**

The selection procedure, terms of appointment, and duties and responsibilities of the Board of External Auditors shall be defined in the financial rules and regulations.

**CHAPTER XVIII**

**Settlement of Disputes**

**ARTICLE 87**

**PROCEDURE FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

1. Any dispute regarding the interpretation or the application of the provisions of this Treaty shall be amicably settled through direct agreement by the parties to the dispute. If the parties concerned fail to settle such dispute, either party may, within a period of twelve (12) months, refer the matter to the Court of Justice.

2. The decision of the Court of Justice shall be final and shall not be subject to appeal.

**CHAPTER XIX**

**Relations between the Community and Regional Economic Communities, Regional Continental Organizations, African Non-Governmental Organizations and other Socio-Economic Organizations and Associations**

**ARTICLE 88**

**RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES**

1. The Community shall be established mainly through the coordination, harmonization and progressive integration of the activities of regional economic communities.
2. Member States undertake to promote the coordination and harmonization of the integration activities of regional economic communities from which they are members with the activities of the Community, it being understood that the establishment of the latter is the final objective towards which the activities of existing and future regional economic communities shall be geared.
3. To this end, the Community shall be entrusted with the coordination, harmonization and evaluation of the activities of existing and future economic communities.
4. Member States undertake, through their respective regional economic communities, to coordinate and harmonize the activities of their sub-regional organizations, with a view to rationalizing the integration process at the level of each region.

**ARTICLE 89**

**RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND AFRICAN CONTINENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

The Community shall closely cooperate with African continental organizations, including, in particular, the African Development Bank and African Centre for Monetary Studies in order to ensure the attainment of regional and continental integration objectives. It may conclude cooperation agreements with these organizations.

**ARTICLE 90**

**RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND AFRICAN NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**

1. The Community, in the context of mobilizing the human and material resources of Africa, shall establish relations of cooperation with African Non-Governmental Organizations, with a view to encouraging the involvement of the African peoples in the process of economic integration and mobilizing their technical, material and financial support.

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2. To this end, the Community shall set up a mechanism for consultation with such Non-Governmental Organizations.

### **ARTICLE 91**

#### **RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS**

1. The Community, in the context of mobilizing the various actors of socio-economic life, shall establish relations of cooperation with socio-economic organizations and associations including mainly, producers, transport operators, workers, employers, youth, women, artisans and other professional organizations and associations with a view to ensuring their involvement in the integration process of Africa.

2. To this end, the Community shall set up a mechanism for consultation with such socio-economic organizations and associations.

## **CHAPTER XX**

### **Relations between the Community, Third States and International Organizations**

#### **ARTICLE 92**

#### **COOPERATION AGREEMENTS**

1. The Community may conclude cooperation agreements with Third States.

2. In the pursuit of the objectives, the Community shall ensure the establishment of relations of cooperation with the United Nations System, particularly, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, specialized agencies of the United Nations and any other international organization, with a view to attaining the objectives of the Community.

3. Cooperation Agreements to be concluded pursuant to the provisions of Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article shall be submitted to the Assembly for approval upon the recommendation of the Council.

## **CHAPTER XXI**

### **Relations between Member States, Third States, Regional and Sub-Regional Organizations and International Organizations**

#### **ARTICLE 93**

#### **AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY MEMBER STATES**

1. Member States may conclude economic, technical and cultural agreements with one or several Member States, and with Third States, regional and sub-regional organizations or any other international organization, provided that such agreements

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are not incompatible with the provisions of this Treaty. They shall transmit such agreements to the Secretary-General who shall inform the Council thereof.

2. In the event of incompatibility of agreements concluded prior to the entry into force of this Treaty among Member States or between the Member States and Third States, sub-regional or regional organizations or any other international organization, with the provisions of this Treaty, the Member State or Member States concerned shall take the appropriate steps to eliminate such incompatibility. To this end, Member States shall, where necessary, assist each other and adopt a common position.

### **ARTICLE 94**

#### **INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS**

1. Member States undertake to formulate and adopt common positions within the Community on issues relating to international negotiations in order to promote and safeguard the interests of Africa.

2. To this end, the Community shall prepare studies and reports designed to help Member States to better harmonize their positions on the said issues.

### **ARTICLE 95**

#### **PROTOCOLS ON CHAPTERS XIX, XX AND XXI**

Member States hereby agree to conclude the Protocol relating to Chapters XIX, XX and XXI of this Treaty.

### **CHAPTER XXII**

#### **Miscellaneous Provisions**

### **ARTICLE 96**

#### **HEADQUARTERS OF THE COMMUNITY**

The Headquarters of the Community shall be one and the same as that of the OAU.

### **ARTICLE 97**

#### **WORKING LANGUAGES**

The working languages of the Community shall be the same as those of the OAU.

### **ARTICLE 98**

#### **LEGAL STATUS**

1. The Community shall form an integral part of the OAU.

2. In his capacity as the legal representative of the Community the Secretary-General may, on behalf of the Community:

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- (a) enter into contracts; and
  - (b) be a party to judicial and other legal proceedings.
3. Subject to prior approval of the Council, the Secretary-General may, on behalf of the Community:
- (a) acquire and dispose movable and immovable property;
  - (b) borrow; and
  - (c) accept donations, bequests and gifts.

### **ARTICLE 99**

#### **THE TREATY AND THE PROTOCOLS**

This Treaty and the Protocols shall form an integral part of the OAU Charter.

### **ARTICLE 100**

#### **SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION**

This Treaty and the Protocols, shall be signed and ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the OAU.

### **ARTICLE 101**

#### **ENTRY INTO FORCE**

This Treaty shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of the instruments of ratification by two-thirds of the Member States of the OAU.

### **ARTICLE 102**

#### **ACCESSION AND ADMISSION**

1. Any Member State of the OAU may notify the Secretary-General of its intention to accede to this Treaty.
2. The Secretary-General shall, upon receipt of such notification transmit copies thereof to all Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of Member States which shall transmit their votes to the Secretary-General. Upon receipt of the required number of votes, the Secretary-General shall transmit the decision of admission to the concerned Member State.

### **ARTICLE 103**

#### **AMENDMENT AND REVISION OF THE TREATY**

1. Any Member State may submit proposals for the amendment or revision of this Treaty.
2. Proposals for amendment or revision shall be submitted to the Secretary-General who shall transmit the same to Member States within thirty (30) days of receipt thereof

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at the Headquarters of the Community.

3. The Assembly, upon the advice of the Council, shall examine these proposals at its next meeting within a period of one year, following notification of Member States in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article.

4. Amendments, or revision shall be adopted by the Assembly by consensus or, failing that, by a two-third majority and submitted for ratification by all Member States in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. They shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of the instruments of ratification by two-thirds of the Member States with the Secretary-General of the OAU.

### **ARTICLE 104**

#### **WITHDRAWAL**

1. Any Member State wishing to withdraw from the Community shall notify by giving one-year notice in writing, to the Secretary-General who shall inform Member States thereof. Upon the expiration of such a period, that Member State shall, if the notice is not withdrawn, cease to be a Member of the Community.

2. During the period of one year referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article, any Member State wishing to withdraw from the Community shall comply with the provisions of this Treaty and shall be bound to discharge its obligations under this Treaty up to the date of its withdrawal.

### **ARTICLE 105**

#### **DISSOLUTION**

The Assembly may decide to dissolve the Community and determine the terms and conditions of sharing of the latter's assets and liabilities.

### **ARTICLE 106**

#### **DEPOSITORY OF THE TREATY**

1. This Treaty, drawn up in four (4) original texts in the Arabic, English, French and Portuguese languages, all four (4) texts equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the OAU who shall transmit a certified true copy thereof to the Government of each signatory State.

2. The Secretary-General shall notify Member States of the dates of deposit of the instruments of ratification or accession and shall upon the entry into force of this Treaty register the same with the Secretariat of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, WE, Heads of State and Government of Member States of the Organization of African Unity have signed this Treaty.

*Done at Abuja, Nigeria on the Third of June  
Nineteen Hundred and Ninety One.*



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

# **Africa's Case at the United Nations**



**President Babangida presents Africa's case at the 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York**

## **Address of the OAU Chairman, President Ibrahim Babangida at the 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly**

*Mr. President,*

It is a great honour for me to address this Assembly, both as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and as the Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In these capacities, may I congratulate you on your election as the President of this 46th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election is no doubt a great tribute to our talents and a recognition of the contributions of your country to the ideals of the United Nations. I am confident that, under your able guidance, the deliberations of the Session will be brought to a fruitful conclusion.

I wish, also, to pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, His Excellency, Guido de Marco of Malta, for the able manner in which he conducted the affairs of the last Session.

I would like to express my profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cueller, who, in the past ten years, has put his sterling qualities at the service of the organisation. His outstanding contributions as an advocate of peace and his support for the cause of the under-privileged have endeared him to the international community. As his term of office draws to a close, I wish him good luck in his future endeavours.

*Mr. President,*

From a membership of 51 in 1945, the United Nations has grown to an organisation of 166 states, with the admission, at this Session, of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Marshall Islands, as well as the Republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. I join in the warm welcome that has been extended to them.

In the four and a half decades of the existence of the United Nations, the prospects for building a safe and secure world for all mankind have never been brighter. The end of the Cold War, the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, the encouraging agreements concluded by the United States and the Soviet Union in the field of nuclear disarmament, coupled with the latest unilateral measures announced by President George Bush, the progress achieved in the resolution of regional conflicts and the growing convergence of views on democratisation and its linkage with development, have all combined to create a more conducive climate for genuine international cooperation. The challenge to the international community, therefore, is to seize this opportunity to establish a new world order in which the United Nations will be the instrument for

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the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security, for the harmonisation of the interests of all states and for the promotion of global prosperity. This new world order must be collectively designed and collectively defined.

*Mr. President,*

Africa, like other parts of the world, is adjusting to recent dramatic global developments. Our people are taking a critical look at the conduct of politics and the changes necessary to bring about stability, security and development. For this reason, the issues of democratisation, of human rights, and of popular participation in the political and economic processes, have assumed important dimensions in the deliberations of the OAU.

In June 1991, the OAU, meeting at its Summit in Abuja, the new Nigerian capital, deliberated again on these issues. The Summit resolved that African countries should fully embrace the democratic culture to enable our people to enjoy fundamental human rights and participate effectively in decisions that affect their lives and well-being. Indeed, models of democratisation naturally must vary and must take into account the differing cultures and other environmental factors. Each country is, therefore, evolving its variant of democracy at different pace of development.

In Nigeria, for example, the Transition to Civil Rule Programme is a carefully-phased process in which democratic government is expected to proceed with political learning, institutional adjustment and the re-orientation of political culture. By the end of 1992, we would have held elections to all tiers of government and completed the transition programme which was launched in 1986. Other approaches to democratisation, especially the National Conference variety, have entailed the rapid displacement of incumbent managers of State by transitional leaders who, in turn, will commence the process of transition.

*Mr. President,*

Economic development nurtures democracy. On the other hand, underdevelopment is a threat and obstacle to democracy. We commend the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for their decision to build democratic societies. We also note the significant financial and economic assistance which the Western industrialised countries and Japan have decided to offer them. This, Mr. President, is in direct contrast to the virtual neglect of African efforts. If this neglect and this indifference continue, disillusionment may arise with democracy in the face of persistent and extreme economic hardship.

Aware of this inter relationship between democracy and development, many countries in Africa are pursuing economic reform side by side with the restructuring of the political processes. Self-reliance is the cornerstone of our new thinking on economic reform. At the individual country-level, we have embarked upon structural adjustment programmes designed to liberalise our economies. Through deregulation, we expect the private sector to play the leading role in revitalising our economies. At the continental level, we adopted last June, at our Summit in Abuja, the Treaty

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establishing the African Economic Community, with the objective of creating an integrated Common Market. Our goal is a fully developed Africa, able to feed itself, capable of being the engine of its own growth and able to participate entirely in the world economic system.

*Mr. President,*

Structural adjustment in Africa, without a conducive international environment, seems incapable of turning our economy around and ensuring the stability of our polity. It must be said that Africa's efforts have not received the requisite international support.

May I recall, that in June 1986, the United Nations adopted a Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development (UNPAAERD) that covered the period from 1986 to 1990. A review of the Programme showed that its implementation was most unsatisfactory. Hence, the overall performance of the African economy since 1986 has been dismal. The reasons can be attributed mainly to the debt burden, the collapse of commodity prices, the low-levels of resource-flows from the developed countries as well as natural calamities.

Disappointed by the poor performance of UNPAAERD, African countries decided to present a New Agenda of Action for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, rather than approach the international community for UNPAAERD II. The Agenda envisages that the African Gross Domestic Product as a whole must grow by at least 6% per annum in real terms, in order to enable the continent to double per capita income by the year 2015. This level of growth will require \$30 billion in resources during 1992.

We expect that the international community, in cooperation with Africa, will now strive to see that the New Agenda is implemented in accordance with Africa's needs and aspirations. The international community must accept the principle of shared responsibility and full partnership with Africa, and firmly commit itself to giving far more support than it did during the period of UNPAAERD. Africa is not, and should not, be made an irrelevant variable in the world development equation. The United Nations must play a decisive role in Africa's quest and determination to overcome its stalled development.

May I emphasize that Africa's indebtedness is the single major obstacle to development in the continent. The debt problem is a central element of Africa's critical economic situation. Africa's debt is crippling. The realities are as startling as they are depressing. Africa's total debt equals 102.3 per cent of its GNP and more than 300 per cent of its total exports. On average, thirty per cent of the continent's export earnings is used to service debt. For the Least Developed Countries, the percentage is more than double the average. We cannot continue in this way.

*Mr. President,*

There is an urgent need for practical dialogue between the creditor nations and debtor nations on the debt crisis. Let us consider the idea of debt forgiveness for credible and sustained structural adjustment programmes. Let us consider the idea of

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debt forgiveness for credible environmental protection programmes. Let us consider the idea of debt forgiveness for credible democratisation processes.

Beyond the issue of debt, what Africa needs is a special financial package, a kind of Marshall Plan, which would demonstrate the sincerity of the developed world for the plight of Africa, right historical wrongs and set the world on the path of a new order that is just and equitable.

*Mr. President,*

In recent times, the world has been concerned about major environmental problems, such as the depletion of the ozone layer, global warming, acid rain and hazardous and toxic waste dumping. Africa's environmental problems of drought, deforestation, desertification and erosion, are no less severe than the environmental degradation which, in developing countries, is closely linked with poverty and underdevelopment. The promotion of economic and social development, therefore, constitutes an essential factor in the protection of the environment.

As we look forward to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, we urge the international community to commit itself fully to the pursuit of environmentally-sound technology which will be available to all countries. In order to realise that commitment, the conference should set up an international mechanism to implement a truly global programme of action. Such a programme should embrace all aspects of the threat to the environment, without prejudice to the development aspirations of Africa and other developing regions.

*Mr. President,*

The positive and dramatic changes in the world have facilitated the resolution of some regional conflicts. We are, however, concerned that a number of other conflicts, whose contribution threatens international peace and security, remain unresolved. We urge all countries concerned to avail themselves of the present international climate to seek peaceful solution to their disputes, under the aegis of the United Nations and of their regional organisations.

The Organisation of African Unity continues to seek ways to improve its machinery for resolving African conflicts and for bringing enduring peace to our continent. Currently, we are seeking solutions to the conflicts in the Sudan, Somalia and Rwanda. As chairman of the OAU, I am personally engaged in these processes.

At the sub-regional level, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) continues to be actively involved, at great cost to its members, in helping the people of Liberia bring peace to their country. A special ECOWAS Committee was established in July to take a fresh look at ways and means of advancing the peace process in Liberia. We are gratified that agreement was reached by all parties to the conflict to encamp and disarm the warring factions, and to establish an electoral commission to conduct legislative and presidential elections.

Let me use the privilege of this occasion, to once again, appeal to our brothers in Africa to bury the hatchet, and seek peaceful settlement of the problems that have torn

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them and their countries apart.

*Mr. President,*

This Assembly has for over thirty years, supported the aspirations of the people of South Africa for the establishment of a non-racial democratic society. In line with that position, the Assembly declared apartheid a crime against humanity and proceeded to recommend the imposition of sanctions on the South African regime. These years of international pressure, and the struggle of the people of South Africa, have had a great impact on the thinking and, consequently, the policies of the Government of South Africa.

At the last OAU Summit, we took cognizance of the positive changes that had taken place in that country. We welcomed them. The United Nations must take great satisfaction and pride in its own significant contribution to bringing about the changes. Lovers of freedom and all those who suffered, and all those who are still suffering, as well as those who paid the supreme sacrifice, must be commended on the progress made towards the dawn of a new order in South Africa.

South Africa is yet to arrive at the final destination. The international community must, therefore, remain vigilant until the goals of freedom, justice, and a non-racial and democratic society are achieved in South Africa.

*Mr. President,*

We note the effort to stamp out communal violence, resulting in the meeting which took place in Johannesburg on September 14, 1991, during which a National Peace Accord was signed by the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party. We commend all those responsible for this agreement.

We recognise that cooperation between a new South Africa and countries with the requisite potentials, can act as a catalyst for economic growth and development. Africa is prepared to welcome a new, non racial and democratic South Africa as a respectable member of the comity of nations and to establish normal and fruitful relations with it.

*Mr. President,*

More than at any time in the past, the Middle East is now on the threshold of a major peace effort. Recent developments, particularly the agreement to convene a Peace Conference, have indeed, strengthened our conviction that the road to peace in the region is through negotiation and not war. We congratulate all those who are working tirelessly for the convening of the Peace Conference. It behoves all parties to the conflict to demonstrate their desire for peace. We, therefore, appeal to them to spare no effort in order to arrive at a just and durable solution that will guarantee peaceful co-existence in the region.

*Mr. President,*

During the Gulf War, the world was gripped with fear over the possible use of chemical weapons. We in Africa have always emphasized that nations should not only

forswear the use of these weapons, as stipulated in the 1925 Geneva Protocol, but should also support the complete probation of their development, production and stockpiling, as well as their elimination from the arsenals of those who possess them. We, therefore, call for the urgent conclusion of the Chemical Weapons Convention. We note with satisfaction the agreement reached so far between the United States and Soviet Union in the field of nuclear disarmament. We congratulate President George Bush for the far-reaching initiatives he announced a few days ago and we equally welcome the prompt response by President Mikhail Gorbachev. These acts of statesmanship represent a significant milestone in the efforts to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

*Mr. President,*

We in Africa have taken concrete steps in the pursuance of long-standing declaration to make our continent a nuclear-weapon-free zone. Africa is equally concerned about the increasing proliferation of conventional weapons. Given their destructive capacity, their threat to international peace and security, and the enormous human and financial drain which they constitute to all nations, especially the developing countries, the international community should begin, in earnest, to address the question of the arms race in conventional weapons in a constructive and non-discriminatory manner.

*Mr. President,*

In a few years time, the United Nations will mark its Golden Jubilee. In the four and half decades of its existence, it has provided the forum for defusing tensions through dialogue, even where it could not resolve the issues. It has been the catalyst for the ending of colonialism and for the realisation of the fundamental rights of peoples for self-determination and independence.

The United Nations Charter embodies principles which are fundamental to the achievement of peace. It is our duty, therefore, to strengthen the Organisation. In doing so, we must strive to adapt its major organs to the realities of today and to demands of tomorrow.

*Mr. President,*

It is time to address, in a serious manner, the composition of the Security Council. It is one major organ of the United Nations that needs to be democratised, its number of 15 has become inadequate, in view of the expanded membership of the United Nations since 1965 when the Security Council was last enlarged. The limitation of the permanent membership to the present 5 has become both anachronistic and unrepresentative.

The logic of democracy cannot be confined within the borders of individual states, but must, of necessity, be applicable to the operation of international organisations. It is, therefore, our considered opinion that there is need to expand the membership of the Security Council and to admit additional permanent members representing all the



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regions of the world.

*Mr. President,*

The deep commitment of African States to the United Nations has been demonstrated over the years. As a further mark of that commitment, the OAU has presented a list of distinguished candidates for consideration to serve the Organisation in the capacity of Secretary-General. Africa's case for the office of Secretary-General has been misinterpreted to mean special pleading. Our case is based on competence and justice. Africa is set to give to the world her best in the pursuit of the lofty goals which informed the establishment of the United Nations. Africa, therefore, calls on the rest of the world to apply proper sense of justice in considering the appointment of a new United Nations Secretary-General. We strongly believe that the next Secretary-General should be an African.

*Mr. President,*

For us in Africa, a new world order should give primacy to the United Nations, which should be revitalised to fulfil its mandate under the Charter as the principal instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. It should be a forum for harmonising the interests of the strong and the weak. All countries must recognise the universal applicability of international law because the future of humanity ultimately depends on that recognition.

In addition, for the new world order to be truly equitable, all members of the United Nations should commit circumstances of most countries in the Third World puts at great risk lasting harmony in inter-state relations. The division of the world into a rich minority and a poor majority poses a threat to international political relations. This has given us all new hope. Let us, also, eliminate the rigidities in international economic and financial relations.

*Mr. President,*

We are nine years to the end of a momentous century that has witnessed wars, liberation and man's conquest of space. Let us create a new world order that would be beneficial to all. Let all nations resolve to make this last decade of the century:

- a decade of peace
- a decade of security and stability,
- a decade of racial harmony, and
- a decade of development.

I thank you all.

**CHAPTER SIX**  
**The 1992 Dakar Summit**



President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and the 1992/93 Chairman of the OAU

## **Africa's Hour of Destiny**

*Being an address by His Excellency, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, CFR, FSS, mni, President, Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces, Federal Republic of Nigeria, and the outgoing Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), at the 28th Assembly of Heads of State and Government, 29 June-1 July 1992 at Dakar, Senegal*

*Brother Heads of State and Government,  
Distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
Distinguished Secretary-General of the  
Organization of African Unity (OAU),*

*Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It gives me great pleasure to be in this beautiful city of Dakar, for the third time in five months. The warm reception and generous hospitality extended to us by our Brother, President Abdou Diouf, his Government and the good people of Senegal has been a true reflection of our African tradition. For this, we are grateful. It is, indeed, the confidence which Africa continues to repose in you, Mr. President, and in your country, that made us accept your kind invitation to meet here for this Summit.

Permit me also, Dear Brothers to pay a special tribute to Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, our distinguished Secretary-General for the service he has given to me and to our organization in this past year. He is a great asset to our continent.

In the last twelve months, we have witnessed the continued manifestation of the changes brought about by the collapse of the post-war international system. Some of these changes have been positive. Over all, these changes, which have largely occurred in the political realm, have the potential for inaugurating a more orderly and stable political system. However, this is only possible if they are well-managed and properly channelled. While change is a fact of life, we should not be complacent about its motivating factor and the direction which it leads. Creative statesmanship and concerted international action will be required in, dealing with the emerging trends in global affairs.

Africa is not, and cannot, be immune to the political developments taking place in the world. We are now part of what is generally referred to as the global village. One of the lessons we have to draw from the present global situation is that change, if not

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well-managed and properly channelled, soon takes place in a chaotic and violent manner. The quest for democracy and freedom, for instance, is now so universal that no amount of repression can hold it in check for too long. Nevertheless, each society must embrace this universal and irrepressible principle of governance on the basis of its own unique experience, bearing in mind in all cases that the will of the people must not be subverted.

Another lesson is the fact that we should not allow ourselves to fall victim to senseless and rabid nationalism, such as is now being given full play in other parts of the world. The confusion and carnage which the expression of this form of narrow nationalism engenders, once again, validates the good sense in the recognition of the sanctity of borders inherited by the founding fathers of our organization.

We must all strive to maintain this principle as we cannot afford, nor survive, the carnage and mayhem which the lack of respect for it has engendered elsewhere. Let us all resolve, once again, that for us in Africa, the entire continent is our home. Every African, irrespective of his nationality, must be made to feel welcome wherever he finds himself on this continent. Let the world learn from Africa that it is possible for people of diverse ethnic, language, religious and cultural backgrounds to live together in harmony and in shared common values.

Yet another lesson to be drawn from the unfolding events in our time is the futility of mindless violence in the resolution of political disputes and conflicts. Armed struggle, embraced and applied when no other options are available, undoubtedly has a role to play in bringing about people's freedom and independence.

In Africa, this kind of armed struggle has indeed been instrumental, in many instances, in eradicating the scourge of colonialism and racist rule. However, in the wake of the significant developments which have taken place in our world, new strategies are becoming more efficacious. Africa, to be credible and relevant, must try these new options.

Brother Heads of State and Government, the score sheet of our continent since our last meeting, at summit level, reflects a host of positive entries and some difficulties.

### Situation in South Africa

Last year witnessed the signing of the National Peace Accord and the formation by the major liberation movements of a United Patriotic Front. Then followed in December 1991 the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) which gave us all hope of a promising 1992.

In keeping with the mandate of the 27th Summit and the Ad Hoc Committee of our Organization, a ministerial-level monitoring group was dispatched to South Africa. The object of this mission which was led by Nigeria, was to assist in reducing violence in the townships and to observe the proceedings of the second plenary session of (CODESA II) which took place from 15 to 16 May and to monitor the situation generally. The Monitoring group, comprising representatives of Algeria, Congo, Uganda, Zimbabwe and the OAU Secretariat, held wide-ranging consultations with all

the major parties in South Africa.

Contrary to the expectations of many, CODESA II did not quite achieve its original objective of formally adopting the reports of the various working groups and installing an interim government of national unity.

Be that as it may, a lot of grounds was covered in the negotiations aimed at bringing about a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa. Our distinguished Secretary-General will report more fully on developments, as they relate to South Africa.

Unfortunately, the inability of the CODESA II to realise the aim of establishing a transition government led to a situation in which the pre-conference high expectation was replaced by frustration and dampening of the spirit.

We must, nevertheless, continue to urge all the parties in that country to concert their efforts quickly to bring about the new South Africa of our collective desire. One area that continues to militate against the on-going reforms in South Africa is the township violence which remains unabated. Indeed, all those who have watched on television or read about the massacre at Boipatong less than two weeks ago, must have been horrified by the degree of man's inhumanity to man manifested in that attack.

We condemn this act in the strongest terms. We again call on the South African government to resume its primary responsibility for maintaining law and order.

Our Organization is setting in motion the process of referring the issue of violence in the South African township to the Security Council of the United Nations, a process I discussed with the Secretary-General Boutros Ghali in Abuja only two days ago. We, however, believe that all the parties in South Africa also have a stake in this matter and they must prevail on their followers and supporters to give peace a chance. The time has come to say enough is enough and to demand of our brothers that unity which also constitutes the bastion of defence against unrelenting opponent.

In the name of Africa, we appeal to our brothers, Nelson Mandela, Clarence Makwetu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lucas Mangope and Comrade Nefolovodwe to join hands together and effectively prevent retrograde elements from taking advantage of our division to perpetrate mindless violence on our people.

A divided house is a weak and dangerous temptation to the opponent. It will therefore be appropriate either to invite all of them to this summit or for a small group of Heads of State of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa to convene a peace meeting outside South Africa involving our brothers in South Africa.

### **Conflict Situations**

Elsewhere on our continent, the past year witnessed intensified effort to resolve the festering regional conflicts. We undertook diplomatic missions to Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Uganda and Kenya in search of solutions to the conflicts which continue to ravage the Horn of Africa as well as East and Central Africa.

Special envoys were also dispatched, and other diplomatic initiatives taken in regard to the crisis in the Sudan.

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### Somalia

The Somalia conflict continues to remain a blight of Africa. That country, once a symbol of homogeneity and unity in Africa, has now been crippled as a result of the civil war. We urge all the Somali factions to bury the hatchet and rebuild their country. Similarly, we urge the international community to help the process of reconciliation and reconstruction in Somalia. Before the adopting of Resolution 746 in the Security Council, we underscored, inter alia, the carnage and untold human sufferings caused by the fratricidal war in Somalia, calling on all the factions to cease hostilities immediately and to maintain the jointly negotiated cease-fire. The current peace efforts under the auspices of the United Nations, OAU, League of Arab States and the OIC, must be allowed to succeed.

### Sudan

Recently, our efforts have yielded some positive results in regard to the Sudanese conflict. In late May to early June, all the parties to the conflict in the Sudan, including representatives of the government, met in Abuja where they reached some agreements on the way forward. May I use this forum to, once again, commend the Sudanese leadership for this act of statesmanship and courage. Durable and credible solutions can only be achieved through the process of negotiations. Often, this process is tortuous and long drawn out. However, in the final analysis, it holds out the possibility of a final settlement. Sudan must resolve and survive its crisis intact. The principles of democracy, tolerance and fairness, among others, are principles which the Sudanese themselves must consider in the search for an acceptable formula for national reconciliation.

### Liberia

Efforts to resolve the Liberian crisis continue apace. The implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, as reaffirmed in Geneva, continues. The deployment of ECOMOG troops throughout Liberia is an important step towards the holding of the elections during which Liberians themselves must choose their own leaders. The deployment of the ECOMOG soldiers of peace, unfortunately, witnessed some incidents in which some of them paid the supreme sacrifice. We must all deplore the circumstance which led to their untimely and avoidable death. We all owe the families of these brave men a debt of gratitude and collective sympathy. It is unfortunate that those sent to defend the unity and integrity of a sister African state should lose their lives in the process. The people of Liberia deserve peace, and we must all exert our efforts to help them enjoy that peace. All the parties in Liberia must now fully implement the ECOWAS Peace Plan which remains an objective, credible and neutral plan for bringing peace to that country.

## **Ethiopia**

Other conflict spots in Africa have also seen some positive developments. Ethiopia, that sister African country which is a beacon of African's pride and glory, is in the process of implementing measures that are aimed at ensuring permanent peace. My visit there, last February, to consult with my Brother, Ato Meles Zenawi, afforded me the opportunity to assess things on the spot. I also took advantage of that visit to call on the General Secretariat of our Organization and to lay the foundation stone for additional office and conference facilities.

## **Rwanda**

I am encouraged to believe that the cease-fire agreement negotiated by Central African leaders between the Rwandan Government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front can now be made to work. I commend the peace efforts recently made in Paris between the Rwandan Government and Rwandan Patriotic Front, and urge them to persevere in their search for peace and reconciliation in their country.

## **Western Sahara**

The OAU stands ready to cooperate with the United Nations in resolving all outstanding difficulties. In this regard, I call on Morocco and Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) to throw their weight fully behind all the necessary arrangements, under the UN Security Council Peace Plan to ensure the success of the referendum.

## **Economic situation**

Brother Heads of State and Government, even as we note these relative successes in ridding our continent of the scourge of conflicts, the balance sheet on the economic side remains unchanged, and disheartening. Despite concerted efforts by Africa to adjust its economy structurally, the rigidities and distortions in the international economic and financial system continue to retard our progress. We have repeatedly called upon those who constitute a small fraction of the world's population, but enjoy a disproportionate amount of our global resources, to reform the system.

The call for democracy and the call for popular participation will ring hollow if those called upon to practise or enjoy these principles cannot survive in the first place. Africa's economic condition is deteriorating, not because of the lack of efforts on our part to reverse the situation, but because of the formidable array of forces ranged against us. Cooperation and genuine partnership are required to pull our continent up from this quagmire of under-development.

The single most important factor which continues to stifle Africa's growth and



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development is the crushing debt burden which the continent continues to shoulder. As we have said in other fora, the idea of debt forgiveness and cancellation must be given serious consideration. Genuine democratization processes and credible environmental programmes, among others, should be rewarded with debt forgiveness and cancellation.

Our collective decision to move ahead with the New Agenda for the development of our continent in the 1990s must not be allowed to be still-born. Let us resolve, therefore, to fulfil our obligations under the New Agenda as we urge support from the rest of the international community. The mid-term review of the New Agenda will be due in 1996, and Africa must ensure full participation at the meetings of the Permanent Steering Committee devoted to adopting strategies for the review.

Brother Heads of State and Government, still on Africa's economic crisis, we should congratulate ourselves for signing the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), one year ago in Abuja. This treaty must come into force, and its implementation must commence as quickly as possible. I urge member states that have not done so already, to ratify the treaty.

In this regard, I have been encouraged by the positive response I received to the personal messages I sent to you all urging you to take the necessary constitutional measures for ratification. The AEC is our collective instrument for self reliance. Nothing should therefore be allowed to delay its full implementation.

### Environment

Brother Heads of State and Government, Africa's voice was loud and clear in the recently concluded United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) which took place in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. Parts of our continent, especially the South, are currently being ravaged by drought, the worst in this century. International action for Water Resources Management and Development in Africa was accepted as a basis for effective management of our environment.

The scourges of deforestation, desertification and drought, which have been afflicting our continent, were addressed. Similarly, we were again able to re-emphasise that Africa is not a dumping ground for toxic and hazardous wastes. The despoilation and depletion of the African forest and the ozone layer must be checked. Once again, we urge those whose multinationals contribute to the pollution of the African environment to exhibit the necessary spirit required in containing this menace. Africa's quest for development must not, however, be unnecessarily held hostage to the imperatives of a so called sound environment. A fine balance needs to be struck between concern for the environment and the challenges of development.

### Reparation

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, the call for reparation and restitution to Africa, is a genuine and legitimate call. Indeed, since 1980 when one of my predecessors addressed the United Nations General Assembly, we have been re-

echoing this call within the hallowed chambers of the United Nations. The Group of Eminent Persons has just been empanelled here in Dakar to prepare our position on this important matter. Until our final objective is achieved, we must not be tired of demanding restitution for the pillage committed in Africa.

### **Health and Social Problems**

In the social sphere, one of the consequences of the declining economies of Africa is the increase in the incidence preventable and curable diseases.

AIDS pandemic continues to ravage a number of African countries despite efforts at prevention through public education. AIDS is a serious threat to the health and lives of many Africans, and we must recognize it as such. African health ministers have recently elaborated a declaration in Abuja which, among other things, emphasizes prevention through intensified campaign of public education on this pandemic. Let us resolve to implement the programme.

### **United Nations**

Brother Heads of State and Government, my visit to the United Nations headquarters, during the 46th Session of the General Assembly, was utilized to articulate Africa's concerns and position on major issues of our time. Two days ago, I had the opportunity again of repeating Africa's concern and aspirations for the United Nations in my discussions with our Brother, Dr. Boutros Ghali when he visited us in Abuja.

The United Nations is, indeed, undergoing a renewal in the wake of the end of the cold war. Africa must be prepared to play its role in the emerging World Order, especially as we were not in a position to contribute to the birth of the old order which is now discredited. In doing so, we must insist on the avoidance of selective treatment of issues of concern to the world, such that some receive for attention while others are relegated to the background.

To be credible, durable and universal, the envisaged New World Order must be collectively defined, collectively designed and collectively defended. The major Councils of the World, notably the Security Council, World Bank and IMF, must be reformed and restructured to reflect present realities. The new global agenda must be negotiated and agreed by all. This is the essence of democracy which we all now cherish and hold dear.

By a propitious turn of events, our collective demand, last year in Abuja, to see an African emerge as the next Secretary General of the United Nations, has become a reality. The election of Dr. Boutros Ghali, a distinguished and illustrious son of Africa to that exalted office, is a triumph of African diplomacy. His election is a living testimony to the fact that Africa can succeed when it is determined. Dr. Ghali is presiding over the United Nations Secretariat at a time when major changes are occurring in the world. It is our duty to give him all the support he requires. Mr.

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Secretary General, we promise you that support.

### Arrears of Contributions

Brother Heads of State and Government, the financial position of our Organization continues to give cause for concern. Our distinguished Secretary-General has repeatedly drawn attention to the precarious financial position of our continental Organization.

At a time when the Secretariat is being called upon to take on additional responsibilities, it is ironical that we cannot even meet our basic financial obligation to the Organization. Much as we have tried to avoid an application of the relevant rules of the Organization, it appears that other options are fast running out. We may therefore have to resort to the necessary sanctions. My colleagues and Dear Brothers, need we do that to ensure our Organization's financial stability? Let us resolve today to pay all our outstanding arrears of assessed contributions to our Organization and its agencies.

The problems which we have reviewed and our efforts at providing a lending hand in their resolution to teach some enduring lessons regarding:

### The World Order

The unification of the two Germanies, the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the explosion of the Republic of Yugoslavia together with the scraping of the WARSAW Pact are all changes in the post World War II World Order which left the societal structure of that order largely unaffected

Through these changes, it had become possible to see the limits of state and constitutional orders and to understand these institutions as expressions of societal interests which can take on new institutional forms as they discard unceremoniously what had taken on the attributes of eternal references. We must learn the lessons which Europe is now learning; states and their constitutional apparatus are not and cannot be antagonistic to the societal interests that give birth. Civil society is not the football of the state, no matter how monolithic the latter may appear to be. This is the lesson contained in the demise of the USSR. We in Africa would be prudent if we review our rather overweening confidence in state power.

This in our view is what has explained why the institutions which represent the dominant interests of the international civil society have been more resistant to change in the direction of more justice and equity in international relations. Indeed we should be prepared for more paranoid defence of civil economic interests which were impolitic to defend on their face value during the era of the Cold War. There is more brazen disregard of logic, reason and principles in the world that is assuming its fierce form before our very eyes. If there is any time in which Africans must espouse the wisdom in collective self-reliance this is the time. Charitableness is ending not beginning at home and we in Africa must produce more charitableness in our dealings

with one another.

### **African Conflict Situations**

Our peace making and peace-enforcing initiatives in the regions and countries reviewed have impressed on us the need to keep in mind the difference between the two operations. What we have learnt about the difference between the making of peace and the enforcing of peace are applicable both at home and abroad. To make peace may lead to the intensification of the war before the conditions supportive of peace are produced. We must be prepared therefore to accept this possibility and diplomatic efforts must develop the nuances appropriate to this contingency. Most importantly peace making operations cannot, by the problems they produce, be undertaken as pacification campaign. They must be seen as commitments that are long-term and fraught with problems both at home for the peace makers and for the embattled society.

The corollary of this insight is the need to classify peace making initiatives in terms of the strategic objectives dividing groups into warring parties. Societies in which the issues that divide are inequality in the sharing of power between members of ruling elites must be treated differently from societies in which the issue is the alienation of groups from the state and the consequent mobilization of the disaffected for secession from the body politic; these two must be treated differently from societies in which insurgent groups have mounted war for the overthrow of the ruling governments and for the establishment of new paramourty.

We have learnt also while it is necessary to create a taxonomy of conflict objectives so it is necessary to classify countries in terms of conflict situations. The tardiness in addressing conflicts and inefficiencies in our conflict management strategies are not unrelated to our lack of theoretical sophistication in the analysis of conflict situations.

We must distinguish between societies in which grievances are expressed within the law and those where protests have taken the form of riots. These two must be differentiated from societies in which civil disobedience is organised to seek specific redresses in the constitution and management of politics. There are also societies in which redistribution of power resources is central to the politics of the day. These societies again must be separated from those in which disaffection has taken on the form of insurgency mobilised to destroy the state.

Any of the three conflict objectives itemized above can give rise to any or all of the four conflict situations we have noted. And the intractability of peace making and peace enforcing enterprises may indeed be produced by changes in conflict situation.

Our current and future peace making and peace enforcing undertakings in the areas and countries we have reviewed will project from our ability to incorporate some of these theoretical insights in our diplomatic efforts. Indeed Europe and the United nations can profit from our reflections on our conflict management experience in Liberia, Sudan, South Africa, Somalia and Ethiopia.

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### Africa's Economic Situation

It is in this problem area that Africa has all to teach Africa — this may seem a paradoxical form of stating our problem with Africa's place in the world civil society. Solutions to Africa's economic problems have been put in forms of policy initiatives the implementation of which would create the momentum for sustainable development. Our experience has shown the inefficacies of this method.

Only faithfulness in implementing development recipes has only brought home the fact that Africa's economic inputs do not produce predicted outputs. Despite concerted efforts by Africa to adjust its economy structurally, the rigidities and distortions in the international economic system continue to retard its progress. The recipes call for more inflow of capital on responses to economic reform. The process of international economic relations however continues to drain Africa of its scarce capital. The analysis calls for industrialisation yet the process of industrialisation results in debt burdens that abort industrial enterprises. The economic prescription instructs African governments to manage demand as part of the process of creating their national means and the much needed surpluses of economic growth; yet the implications of the demands for democracy in Africa call for massive inflow of development capital from the Developed Industrial Market Economies. This at a time when there is not even a trickle from these economies — indeed there is a reverse flow of capital. Africa must come up with a New Agenda based upon a root-up analysis of its economic conditions. A new economic science must be produced to eliminate our economic situation and guide policy initiatives. African economic self-reliance is now not a choice but a necessity which survival compels and teaches.

### Conclusion

Brother Heads of State and Government, the Africa of our collective aspiration and hopes is yet to emerge, despite our determined efforts. Yet, we must not give up hope. To re-echo another illustrious son of Africa in the Diaspora, we must "keep hope alive".

In this regard, let us work towards a renascent Africa, occupying its rightful place in the global family of nations. The challenges facing Africa are many and varied. We must, however, face these challenges with great determination and fortitude. As we peer into the future, let us take heart in the knowledge that ours is a continent with a glorious past and a great future. Indeed, there once was an Africa that stood its ground in the scheme of things.

Brother Heads of State and Government, let us, today, collectively resolve to build:

- a. An Africa that is politically stable, democratic and plural.
- b. An Africa that secures the economic welfare and social well-being of its peoples.
- c. An Africa that contributes effectively to the negotiation and implementation of the New World Order.

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- d. An Africa that protects its environment even as it seeks the fruits of development.
- e. An Africa that is totally unfettered by the scourge of racism; and finally.
- f. An Africa that is at peace with itself from the Cape to Cairo, and from Dakar to Mogadishu.

**Long Live Africa!**

**Long Live Organization of African Unity!!**

**Let there be Cooperation and Unity in Africa.**

**I thank you.**

## Statement of the OAU Secretary-General, Dr. Salim A Salim

*Your Excellency President Abdou Diouf  
Current Chairman of the Organization,  
Your Excellencies Head of State and Government  
and Head of Delegation,  
Distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
Excellencies,  
Distinguished Delegates,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Allow me, at the very outset, to join our distinguished host, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, in welcoming you to Dakar and to wish you successful deliberations. I would also wish to place on record my most profound gratitude to the outgoing Chairman, President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida of Nigeria, for the very able and dynamic leadership he provided the Organization during the past year. In particular, I want to thank him for the unflinching support he extended to the General Secretariat and for the ready encouragement, counsel and guidance he put at my disposal as well as the personal support he extended to me. His indefatigable involvement in the search for solutions to the many conflicts in the continent stands as eloquent testimony to his own personal commitment and that of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the cause of the continent. Once again, I wish to thank your Excellency and the Government of Nigeria most sincerely. I equally want to express my appreciation for the cooperation extended by all the members of the outgoing Bureau.

*Mr. Chairman*

I take heart at the fact the Chairmanship of our Organization passes on to another indefatigable fighter for the cause of freedom and justice and for the dignity of Africa. President Abdou Diouf has spared no effort in applying himself to the cause of this continent. He has effectively carried on the tradition of Senegal as a frontline fighter for human freedom and justice. I and my colleagues in the General Secretariat look forward to working very closely with Your Excellency and with your colleagues in the incoming Bureau.

*Mr. Chairman*

Only yesterday a terrible blow was struck in our hearts by learning of the assassination of the President of Algeria, H.E. Mohammad Boudiaf. He fell victim to the violence of intolerance against which he resolutely fought so that Algeria can prosper in peace and harmony. As we mourn his passing away, I wish to express the strong hope that the continent of Africa will rise against the forces of violence and intolerance, in order that we can live in peace. Africa, a continent so rich in diversity of race, colour, religion and beliefs should learn from this yet another sad experience

and more to strengthen a culture of tolerance drawing strength from the diversity of the continent. I wish, in this regard, to echo the sentiments expressed by President Ibrahim Babangida and Abdou Diouf, yesterday, on behalf of the Assembly, in extending our most heartfelt condolence and solidarity to the Government and people of Algeria as well as to the bereaved family.

*Mr. Chairman*

I wish, on a happier note, to welcome President Yasser Arafat amongst us and to reiterate the unflinching support of the OAU for the struggle of the Palestinian people for their inalienable right of self-determination and independence.

*Mr. Chairman*

In the instruction to my report, which was circulated to the Council and made available to this Assembly, I dwelt at length with the many issues before the continent. I shall, therefore, in this instance, limit myself to a few remarks of a general nature. Your Assembly is convening at a very critical phase in the history of independent Africa. You meet when we are celebrating victory against the tyranny of colonialism and waging final and decisive onslaught against institutionalized racism in South Africa. With very few exceptions, our countries are, on the average, thirty years old. It has not been a smooth journey but we have made important achievements. Our leaders seized the challenge of independence and created nations and institutions of government to run them. We have, against many odds, preserved our independence and managed to preserve continental unity. We have made important achievements in terms of social and human advancement, even if the development needs of our people still remain acute.

But whatever we have been able to achieve together in substantive terms — that is decolonization, continental unity and forging a common identity — have been as a result of unity of purpose and of action. Today, that unity of purpose and action is all the more needed. The configuration of the world political situation has undergone fundamental transformation. Cold war has ended and Africa no longer has the geo-strategic interest to the great powers in a world devoid of cold war. The changes in former Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have brought new problems and opportunities. The exigencies of meeting the needs of Europe has now led to a competition for resources for humanitarian assistance and investments much to the detriment of Africa.

In sum, Africa has to establish a strategic importance for itself in the world. To create a strategic importance for itself so as to become a player in world politics, our continent must address itself to the many burning issues which now undermine the capability of the continent to assert itself. The imperatives of ending apartheid, of ensuring further democratization and managing transition, ending endemic conflicts and of bringing economic development must now form the core of the new agenda for the continent. It is an agenda which requires the total mobilization of all our resources including the active involvement of the women and youth of Africa. It is an agenda to create an Africa of the future which we must will to the coming generations — a free,



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united, democratic and prosperous Africa.

### *Your Excellencies*

We have been encouraged by the progress which has been made in the process of bringing down the structure of apartheid. Our hopes persist that the people of South Africa — of all races — will continue in their coalition for change, so that ultimately, that country can emerge, in unity and democracy, as an important addition to the African ranks. We are outraged by the recent massacre of innocent civilians at Boipatony and very concerned by the threat of Mr. de Klerk to reimpose the state of emergency instead of taking firm measures to end violence and to create conditions conducive to the continuation of the negotiations. I still hope, nonetheless, that it will be possible to overcome the present difficulties and restore the negotiation process on course. In the meantime, the decisions of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa taken in Arusha, last April, must continue to guide us in the handling of relations with the Government of South Africa.

### *Mr. Chairman*

Apart from the foremost imperative of ending apartheid, which is rooted in the belief in our own freedom, we must seek also to liberate ourselves from the oppression of the many problems facing the continent. One of these problems which, in my view, requires urgent attention is that of conflicts, which are decimating our populations and aggravating our peoples' suffering and poverty. In both of my report to the Council of Ministers and the introduction to it, I spoke at length on the scourge of conflicts and their devastating consequences to our economies and societies. I spoke of the deprivations, suffering, hate and division which these conflicts have engendered in our societies. I spoke of innocent men, women and children who are uprooted and thrown into the misery, insecurity and uncertainty of exile as refugees. I spoke of the young children who are maimed, mutilated and orphaned; whose tender lives are violently ended by conflicts. I spoke of how inexcusable, it is in all conscience, for anyone to remain insensitive or indifferent to so much suffering and death, to so much destruction in our continent. Above all, I spoke of the serious handicap which conflicts present in our efforts at development and the need for Africa to set up a procedure or mechanism for the prevention, management and resolution of the conflicts.

I wish to inform this august Assembly that the council had an intensive, wide ranging and profound exchange of views on the question of conflicts as well as on my proposal for a mechanism which was placed before it. While the recommendation arising from this rich and very useful exchange of views, on the matter, is before this Assembly, I wish, nonetheless, to note that I found overwhelming acceptance of Member States on the imperative for Africa to address itself seriously on the issue of conflicts. There was also general consensus in support of the principle of establishing a mechanism within the OAU. Various views exist on some institutional and operational details of such a mechanism and the recommendation of the Council on the matter is a product of the rich diversity of view which was prevalent in the discussions.

*Mr. Chairman*

The proposals on the conflict resolution, which I made to the council underline my own deep faith in the ability of our Organization to make a difference to the people of Africa. I know Africa possesses the resources and the will to triumph. It has the ability to reach deep into its innerself, to summon its genius and industry and apply them to the resolution of its problem. I believe Africa can and must be able to resolve its own conflicts and not yield that right to outsiders. No other region in the world has yielded this right to foreigners outside the context of collective action within the United Nations. We should preserve our dignity and our pride. We, in Africa, have the advantage of having the OAU. We should use it creatively and more effectively and we should strive even harder to re seize the initiative in determining the destiny of the continent.

There are new realities in the continent. The world is changing and Africa has to and wants change. The disposition is there. What we need is to provide leadership, to chart out the proper strategies and sensitize the people to the objectives we seek to achieve. We need courage and vision in order to move into new areas. There may still be hesitancy to venture into new spheres for the fear of the unknown. This is quite understandable. Yet it is most encouraging to take cognisance of the fact that a disposition to start the process is clearly evident.

*Mr. Chairman*

Africa is still going through economic problems of immense magnitude. Our countries are still victims of an unfavourable international economic environment with its attendant repercussions of the excruciating debt burden, negative resource flows, endemic poverty and under-development generally. Yes, economic needs are still very acute indeed. Yet, our countries have made great efforts and their labour had begun to show the first sign of bearing fruit. Bold and creative economic policies have halted economic decline and restored modest growth to the continent. In the political sphere, our countries have taken the task of further democratization seriously. We see the continent blossoming with new life and political activity. Our governments, more and more, are responding to the challenge of giving this new life and political activity, a context in which it can be expressed and articulated. Diversity of view is now becoming a positive force, underlying the whole dynamic of development of our continent. In short, we are seeing a revival in the continent — of a new awareness on the part of the people and our governments and a common desire to enter into constructive partnership for development.

*Mr. Chairman*

As governments and people of Africa are forging this partnership for change, the OAU has found itself fortunate enough to be associated in this process. The demands on the Organization are increasing along with confidence in it. We have been invited to observe elections in several countries. The great expectations from this Organization underlie the deep faith which the people of this continent have in it. The people

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of Africa believe — and rightly so — that this Organization, being the embodiment of their collective will, can and must play the determinant role in deciding the fate and future of the continent. The people of Africa have great ambition for the Organization: they want it to achieve. Likewise we, in the General Secretariat, have and must have ambition for the continent. We believe our people have the capacity, the ability and the determination to persevere and to achieve. Our ambition is to see that that ability and determination finds complement in our activities. Our ambition is to see that Africa and its people triumph in freedom, unity, prosperity and in dignity.

### *Mr. Chairman*

We have a right to envisage and look forward to an Africa more peaceful, united and prosperous. Africa has the capacity, the resources and now the disposition to achieve this objective. Our people have the will to triumph. Africa is in a new era. Great opportunities are presenting themselves and new vistas for cooperation among our countries and people are opening up. There is, in a very real sense, a movement in the continent. We can feel it, we can see it. The leadership of our continent, at all levels, need to redouble efforts so as to inject the kind of political will which will nurture and sustain the momentum of this movement. The movement will have to be sustained by a keen sense of mission, of selflessness and by a pioneering spirit. It will require the same zeal and passion for a future of this continent, in freedom, unity and prosperity which guided the founding fathers of this Organization. I wish, in this respect, to pay great respect and a deserving tribute to H.E. President Houphouët Boigny whose presence with us has added a special meaning to this august assembly.

### *Mr. Chairman*

I have, in the last few years, been very much encouraged by this movement. Africa is clearly being noticed, in the world, not exclusively as a continent prone to conflict and condemned to eternal poverty and backwardness and one whose people have succumbed to total despair. We have been noticed also as a continent which can inspire hope and one which can take itself seriously. The movement for further democratization, the new realism which has been brought into the management of our economies, genuine and sustained efforts at conflict resolution, are engendering new hope in the continent. Our governments and people are rising to this challenge of collective leadership. Even the cynics, in the continent and abroad, are taking note of the emerging continent. In a very real sense, Africa is on the right and Afro-pessimism is in the retreat. We should now put Afro-optimism on a higher offensive.

### *Mr. Chairman*

When our leaders met to found this Organization in 1963, it was in the context of a different world. They set themselves out to achieve what were deemed the priorities of the time. Remnants of colonialism and racialism were an anachronism in a continent which was emerging into freedom. The mandate of decolonization was rightly given to the OAU and member states dedicated themselves fully to this mission and devoted immense resources. Our Organization aligned its policies and structures

to this objective. Today, almost thirty years later, we are proud of the results of that determination of the continent to fight for freedom. Our members have risen from thirty-two, in 1963, to fifty-one members of this Organization, today, and apart from the unfinished business of ending Apartheid South Africa, we have accomplished the mission of bringing political independence to the continent.

The OAU now faces new challenges. Political independence must be underwritten by economic prosperity and democracy to consolidate and survive. We now, therefore in a sense need an OAU which can work to erect the new structures to hold our independence together. It is now a new world and in a sense, therefore, we need a new OAU — one which is more relevant and equipped to meet the challenges of this new different and complex world in which Africa has to operate.

### *Your Excellencies,*

The agenda before this Assembly is a clear reflection of the challenges before Africa. It comprises issues which constitute the new agenda for our Organization. We can not effectively deal with the problems of economic cooperation and integration. AIDS pandemic, refugees, natural disasters, such as the drought of unprecedented magnitude now ravaging Southern Africa or deal with issues of Human Rights, the environment, poverty and development, without a new determination, as a continent to work together. These are shared problems, they must be solved jointly. This Assembly must provide an opportunity to think together on how we can do so. This Dakar Summit, under the able and dynamic chairmanship of President Abdou Diouf, should be able to take the required decisions and live up to the expectations of the people of our continent.

I thank you.

## Address by Dr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali, United Nations Secretary-General

*Mr. Chairman,  
Distinguished Heads of State and Government,*

The United Nations is now, more than ever before, playing a pivotal role in the pursuit of peace with justice, in the promotion of democracy and human rights, and in the search for enhanced economic conditions and human betterment.

The increased reliance of the international community on the United Nations was demonstrated at the historic summit meeting of the Security Council, held in New York on 31 January 1992.

In the final Summit Declaration, the Security Council reaffirmed its commitment to collective security and resolved to take concrete steps to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in disarmament, arms control and preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The Summit further recognized that peace and prosperity were indivisible and that lasting peace and stability required effective international cooperation for the eradication of poverty and the promotion of a better life for all in a larger freedom. At the Council's request, I have prepared an analysis and recommendations concerning ways of strengthening and making more efficient the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping. I personally attach great importance to this report and commend it to your attention.

In order to promote the resolution of conflicts, the Security Council has placed renewed emphasis on Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, which deals with regional arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security. In the case of Somalia, it has emphasized in successive resolutions the need for cooperation between the United Nations, the OAU and other regional organizations in the search for a solution to the conflict.

As a result of our joint efforts, the warring factions in Mogadishu signed a cease-fire agreement on 3 March 1992. I am pleased that this agreement has been holding since then. And though the mechanisms for the protection of the delivery of humanitarian assistance are still under discussion, the Security Council has approved the deployment of United Nations cease-fire observers.

In order to help the millions of innocent people who have suffered as a result of the conflict, the United Nations, its agencies and NGOs have made arrangements for large-scale humanitarian assistance programme, together with a mechanism to ensure its delivery. It is extremely important that those exercising power in Somalia put the interests of the country and its people before personal or tribal concerns. Peace and stability must be restored to Somalia without further delay.

The United Nations is also working with the OAU and other regional organizations on arrangements for convening a conference on national reconciliation and unity in

Somalia. This should provide a pattern for future cooperation and establish a means whereby the United Nations can help to enhance the role of regional organizations in contributing to peace-keeping efforts.

It is also imperative that non-governmental organizations should be associated with such efforts in order to facilitate national reconstruction, rehabilitation and development.

Last April, I appointed Ambassador Mohammed Sahnoun of Algeria as my Special Representative for Somalia in order to provide over-all direction for United Nations activities in Somalia. Ambassador Sahnoun needs no introduction to the OAU, an organization he served with great distinction during its first decade of existence.

I know that Your Excellencies have followed with keen interest and concern the evolution of the situation concerning Libya. Since the adoption of the relevant Security Council resolutions, I have made every possible effort, through my contacts with all the parties concerned and at the highest levels, in order to contain the situation. My special envoy made several visits to Tripoli and met with Colonel Qaddafi. I myself received the Libyan Minister of Foreign Affairs on several occasions as well as other high-ranking Libyan officials. I intend to pursue every effort, as Secretary-General of the United Nations and in accordance with the mandate given to me by the Security Council, to facilitate a settlement.

As regards Western Sahara, the divergent views and different interpretations of some of the main elements contained in the settlement plan for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara have prevented the United Nations from making progress on a number of key issues, particularly that of the criteria for eligibility to vote in the referendum. Earlier this month, the members of the Security Council welcomed the fact that the two parties had agreed to engage in discussion with my Special Representative H.E. Mr. Yacoub Khan, with a view to reactivating the settlement plan.

Such discussions have taken place recently and have proved useful. It was also considered important to maintain the MINURSO personnel currently deployed in Western Sahara in order to monitor the cease-fire.

As regards South Africa, I was in contact, during the last four days, with Nelson Mandela, the Special Representative of Buthelezi and the Minister for Foreign Affairs in South Africa, Pik Botha. I urged them to resume the negotiations. The discussions I had with them are positive and I will report to the Security Council upon my return to New York.

There have lately been some promising developments relating to Mozambique. The United Nations will participate as an observer in the final phase of the direct talks between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO which will include a cease-fire and transitional arrangements leading to elections.

United Nations involvement is also envisaged in the elections and in the verification of the transitional arrangements. Contingency planning is already underway by the relevant United Nations agencies to respond to the problems of returnees and displaced persons as well as the demobilization and the reintegration into society of the military force of the two sides.

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As regards Liberia, the Yamoussoukro Agreement continue to offer the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections. It is imperative for all parties to the conflict in Liberia to respect and implement the Accords and to refrain from actions which endanger the security of neighbouring states. The United Nations will continue to support the Accord and the efforts of ECOWAS in Liberia.

Despite formidable obstacles, the peace process in Angola has progressed well. Multi-party elections are scheduled to take place at the end of September. The United Nations has agreed to observe the elections and its presence in the country has been enlarged for this purpose. With the recent expansion of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission led by my Special Representative to Angola Ms. Margaret Anstee, more than 500 United Nations observers are assisting in the transition. Moreover, a great effort is being made to assist in the demobilization of troops and the return of refugees. This historic opportunity for national renewal must succeed. Any attempt to impede or delay the process or to revert to past practices would not be acceptable. It is extremely important that in the months ahead all Angolans should join together in a determined and resolute effort to achieve all the goals in the "Acordos de Pas".

The recent initiative by the outgoing chairman of the OAU to help resolve the conflict in Southern Sudan has improved chances for peace and stability in the region. No progress was achieved in the peace talks between Government and SPLA/SPLM which took place in Abuja last month. However, it is hoped that the two sides will continue their search for a peaceful resolution of the conflict. As always, the United Nations stands ready to contribute to the peace process, as appropriate.

### *Mr. Chairman*

In recent years, a remarkable and commendable process of democratization has spread throughout much of Africa. Democracy is central to the maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of sustainable economic and social development. Democracy aims at the rule of law, it involves the strengthening of institutions of popular participation, political pluralism and the defence of human rights, including those of minorities.

Let me here pay special tribute to President Abdou Diouf for his initiative in convening a conference in Dakar last month on democratic transition in Africa. The Dakar Declaration adopted at this conference underlines the importance Africa attaches to the democratic process and the determination of African leaders to continue to move forward in that direction.

Next November, a Regional Conference on Human Rights in cooperation with the United Nations, will be held in Tunisia. I urge all the member states of the OAU to participate in this important symposium.

Today, promoting democracy and strengthening democratic institutions is an essential aim of the United Nations. We are attaching particular importance to technical cooperation activities which provide assistance to governments at their

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request in many areas, including expert help with democratic elections, constitutional law, drafting national legislation affecting human rights, and training of legal and other public officials. There is now a focal point for electoral assistance within the United Nations Secretariat to process requests and to coordinate the United Nations response. Currently, the United Nations is involved in processing requests for or carrying out verification missions in over 14 African countries.



**Draft Decision and Resolutions at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the 28th Ordinary Session, 29 June – 1 July, 1992**

AHF/Draft/Dec. 1 (XXVIII)

**Draft Decisions on a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution**

The assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting at its Twenty-eight Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal, from 29 June to 1 July, 1992.

**Gravely Concerned** with the proliferation of conflicts in Africa and the immense suffering which they have brought to the people of Africa as well as their adverse implications for the security and stability of Africa and the socio-economic development of the continent:

**Recalling** that it was in the light of this concern that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, in its declaration on the political and socio-economic situation in Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world, adopted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in July 1990, expressed the need to renew the determination to work together towards the peaceful and speedy resolution of conflicts on the continent:

**Convinced**, therefore, of the need to take appropriate measures aimed at conflict prevention, management and resolution within the OAU in accordance with the principles and objectives of the Charter:

**Having Considered** the report of the Council of Ministers on its deliberations on the report of the Secretary-General on conflicts and his proposal for a mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution:

**Decides:**

1. **To adopt in principle** the establishment, within the framework of the OAU, a mechanism for preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa.
2. **To request** the Secretary-General under the authority of the bureau of the 28th Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to undertake an indepth study on all aspects relating to such a mechanism including institutional and operational details as well as its financing.
3. **To invite** all member states to submit to the Secretary-General as soon as possible their views, comments and proposal on the proposed mechanism.
4. **To request** the Council of Ministers in light of the study to be undertaken by the Secretary-General and of views, comments and proposals of member states to elaborate concrete recommendations on the proposed mechanism, and submit them for the consideration and decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Twenty-ninth Ordinary Session.

**Draft Resolution on the African Economic Community**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-eight Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal from 29 June to 1 July, 1992.

**RECALLING** the signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community in Abuja, Nigeria on 3rd June 1991.

**REAFFIRMING** its commitment to the principles and objectives of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, the Lagos Plan of Action, its Final Act and those of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

**RECALLING** further its earlier resolutions on the African Economic Community, namely Resolution AHG/Res. 161 (XXIII), AHG/Res. 179 (XXV), AHG/Res. 190 (XXVI) and AHG/Res. 205 (XXVII).

**BEARING IN MIND** the statement made by the Secretary-General of the OAU and particularly the call made to all member states which have not yet ratified the treaty establishing the African Economic Community to do so as soon as possible.

**NOTING** with satisfaction the report of the Secretary-General on the progress made in the implementation of the Treaty and the preparation of protocols to be annexed to the treaty.

**REAFFIRMING FURTHER** the urgent need to rationalize the existing inter-governmental organizations dealing with economic integration and cooperation in Africa in a manner that is consistent with the provisions of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

**ALSO WELCOMING** Decision No. A/Dec. 12.7.91 of the 14th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS of July, 1991 which designated ECOWAS as the sole Economic Community in West Africa for the achievement of regional economic integration.

**WELCOMING** Resolution No. PTA/AUTH./4 Annex 1 of the 10th Ordinary Session of the Authority of Member States of the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) January 1992 to transform the PTA into a common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa by merging PTA and SADCC in conformity with the PTA Authority Resolution No. PTA/AUTH/X/4 ANNEX 1.

**MINDFUL** of the need for other regions which have not yet adopted similar decisions as mentioned above to do so in order to avoid wasteful duplication of efforts in economic integration processes.

**RECALLING** earlier calls on the Secretary-General of OAU, the Executive Secretary of the ECA and the President of ADB to further strengthen their cooperation by formulating concrete joint programmes for the implementation of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

**AWARE** that there are other international organizations which are carrying out economic integration and cooperation programmes and other related activities in Africa, and that these should render support to the OAU General Secretariat in the implementation of the treaty and in the preparation of its protocols within the framework of the work-programme of the Joint OAU/ECA/ADB Secretariat:

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

1. **Congratulates** the member states which have already ratified the treaty establishing the African Economic Community and calls upon those which have not yet done so to expedite the ratification of the treaty in order to accelerate and consolidate African economic integration and cooperation;
2. **Calls on** all member states to undertake the popularization of the treaty at national level and to increase the awareness of the importance of regional economic integration and cooperation in Africa;
3. **Requests** the Secretary-General of the OAU, the Executive Secretary of ECA and the President of ADB to draw up a joint work programme for the implementation of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community and the preparation of relevant protocols, and to submit periodic reports thereof to OAU summits through the Permanent Steering Committee and the OAU Council of Ministers accordingly;
4. **Expresses its appreciation** to the UNDP for its support to the OAU in relation to the establishment of the African Economic Community during the Fourth Programme Cycle, and **REQUESTS** the latter to continue to do so for the implementation of the treaty and its protocols by providing adequate financial and human resources in a coordinated manner within the framework of programmes agreed upon by the Joint OAU/ECA/ADB Secretariat;
5. **Appeals** to international organizations, funding agencies, and particularly the UNDP and other agencies of the United Nations system and NGOs to support Africa's economic cooperation and integration programmes within the framework of priorities set by the regional economic communities themselves;
6. **Further requests** the Secretary-General of the OAU in collaboration with the Executive Secretary of the ECA and the President of the ADB to work closely with OAU member states, the Executive Heads of the Regional Economic Communities in order to rationalize African inter-governmental organizations (IGOs) in accordance with the provisions of the treaty and to submit periodic joint reports thereof to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to the OAU;
7. **Expresses its appreciation** to the current chairmen of the existing Regional Economic Communities in Africa and **REQUESTS** them to further enhance the rationalization of African IGOs in their respective regions in order to ensure optimal utilization of resources, to avoid duplication and to put the Regional Economic communities on a sound foundation on which the African Economic community shall stand;
8. **Pays tribute** to the out-going Chairman of the OAU, H.E. General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for the tremendous efforts he made during his chairmanship in promoting the objectives of the African Economic Community on the continent and in international fora;

## The 1992 Dakar Summit

9. **Mandates** the current Chairman of the OAU, H.E. President Abdou Diouf in consultation with his colleagues, to provide the political impetus towards the implementation of the treaty and this resolution;
10. **Requests** the Secretary-General of the OAU to take urgent measures to accelerate the preparation of the draft additional protocols to the treaty particularly those whose importance had been stressed by the Permanent Steering Committee;
11. **Requests** the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to follow up the implementation of this resolution and report thereof to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government periodically.

### **Draft Resolution on the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-eight Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal, from 29 June to 1 July 1992.

**Considering** the annual activity report of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, submitted by the chairman Dr. Ibrahim A. Badawi El Sheik in conformity with Article 54 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

**Recalling** that the Charter of the Organization of African Unity declares that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations by the African peoples.

**Recalling** also the entry into force of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on 26 October 1986 and the Declaration on the political and socio-economic situation in Africa and the on-going changes in the world, adopted by the Twenty-sixth Ordinary session of the Assembly of the heads of State and Government in July 1990.

**Convinced** that the ability of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights to work effectively is essential for the promotion of Human Rights in Africa and hence the importance of providing it with all possible human and material resources it needs to carry out its work.

**Considering** that pursuant to Article 1 of this Charter, the member states of the Organization of African Unity, parties to the present charter, shall recognize the rights, duties and freedoms enshrined in this Charter and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect to them:

- A. **Fifth Annual Report on the Activities of the Commission**
  1. **Underlines** the importance of ensuring respect for human and peoples' rights with the view of enhancing peace, stability and development in Africa.
  2. **Reaffirms** the necessity of promoting popular participation in the process of government and development in the context of a political atmosphere which guarantees human rights and the observance of the Rule of Law.

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3. **Commends** the cooperation of the African states with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in the implementation of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.
4. **Requests** the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to consider, in collaboration with the Advisory Committee on Administrative, Budgetary and Financial matters, possible ways and means to respond to the requirements of the African Commission to implement its programme of activities.
5. **Takes note with appreciation** the Fifth Annual Report on the activities of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and authorizes its publication.

### **B. Overdue Reports**

1. **Expresses** its deep appreciation to the states parties which have submitted their initial periodic reports, Egypt, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Zimbabwe, Senegal and Cape Verde.
2. **Urges** the states parties to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which have not yet submitted their initial reports to submit them as soon as possible.
3. **Requests** that the states should report not only on legislative measures, but also on other measures taken to give effect to each of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed by the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and on the problems encountered in giving effect to these rights and freedoms.
4. **Encourages** states parties which encounter difficulties in preparing and submitting their periodic reports to seek help as soon as possible from the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights which will arrange for assistance in this task through its own or other resources.

### **C. Promotional Activities**

1. **Urges** all states parties to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights to reflect the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed by the African Charter in their law and practice;
2. **Requests** that all states parties should implement Article 26 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights by establishing national institutions with responsibility for promoting and protecting human and peoples' rights where they do not exist and strengthening all such institutions;
3. **Further Requests** that all member states should implement Article 25 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights by ensuring, inter alia, that human rights is included in the curriculum at all levels of public and private education and in the training of all law enforcement officials;

4. **Invites** states parties to ensure that the right of individuals to receive information and to freedom of expression recognized and guaranteed by Article 9 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights is fully respected;
  5. **Calls upon** all states parties to report on these questions in their periodic reports to African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights;
  6. **Requests** the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights to report on the implementation of this resolution.
- C. Ratification of the African Charter**  
**Notes with satisfaction** that many member states of the OAU have ratified the Charter and **Calls on** those which have not yet acceded to it to do so as soon as possible.

**Draft Resolution on the Summit on the Economic Promotion of Rural Women. Presented by Senegal**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-eight Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal from 29 June to 1 July, 1992.

**Recalling** UN General Assembly Resolution 44/78 on "Improving the Situation of Women in Rural Areas" and Resolution 46/99 on the "Implementation of the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women",

**Recalling further** ECOSOC Resolution 1991/64 on the Summit on the Economic Advancement of Rural Women",

**Recognizing** the critical role of rural women as food producers and architects of household food security,

**Noting** however with deep concern the continuing rise in the number of rural women in poverty,

**Reiterating** in this context its commitment to working to create conditions in which rural women can develop their full potential and thus foster equitable, balanced and viable development:

1. **Welcome** the high level participation in the Summit on the Economic Advancement of Rural Women held from 25 to 26 February, 1992 in Geneva;
2. **Expresses** its deep appreciation to the Queen of Belgium and to the First Ladies of Colombia, Egypt, Malaysia, Nigeria, Senegal and Turkey who together launched this initiative;
3. **Commends** IFAD and other international institutions which organized and/or provided technical support for the summit;
4. **Endorses** the Geneva Declaration for Rural Women adopted by the summit:

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5. **Underlines** the importance of ensuring effective follow-up to the summit recommendations with the minimum aim of halting further increase in the number of women in absolute poverty;
6. **To this end calls on** the international community, the United Nations System of Organizations and other regional and sub-regional Organizations to take necessary measures to implement the recommendations of the Geneva Declaration.

### Draft Resolution

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal, from 29 June to 1 July, 1992.

**Recalling** that between the XVI and XVIII centuries, the Island of Gorée was a symbol of the slave trade, the site of affliction, and denial of the most fundamental human rights;

**Recognizing** that Gorée has become a real centre for pilgrimage by Blacks in Diaspora,

**Considering** the cultural, historic and ethnic dimension of Gorée and the determination of the Senegalese Government to make it a symbol of tolerance, remembrance and particularly of dialogue between different civilizations and cultures,

**Recalling** that the World Heritage Committee approved during its second session held in September 1978 the inclusion of the Island of Gorée on UNESCO's list of World Heritage and that an international campaign to safeguard the Island was launched by UNESCO on 22 December, 1980,

**Considering that** the Government of Senegal decided to erect on Africa's farthest point into the Atlantic, a monument, the Gorée-Almadies Memorial, to remind humanity of the greatest genocide in history, the slave trade, and to bring together communities involved in this undertaking of sad memories to reflect in a spirit of solidarity and international brotherhood,

**Encouraged** by the support given by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for the memorial project during the Assembly of Heads of State and Government held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 27 and 28 July, 1986,

**Bearing in mind** the appeal of the Twenty-sixth Session of the UNESCO Conference held in Paris, from 15 October to 7 November 1991 aimed at mobilizing the international community for the Gorée-Almadies Memorial Project,

**Considering** that the Gorée Almadies project will host a socio-cultural centre dedicated to the youth, an international museum for human rights and remembrance and an international centre for research and information on slave trade, the history of the Atlantic from the XIth to the XIXth century and its consequences on dialogue, the quest for peace and the interpretation of cultures:

1. **Notes with satisfaction** Senegal's initiative to erect the Gorée-Almadies Memorial and commends the Senegalese Government for initiating a project of such a symbolic and Pan-African dimension;

2. **Fully supports** this project which now belongs to all African States as a symbolic project celebrating the continent's regained dignity;
3. **Expresses thanks** to UNESCO and its Director-General for their contribution towards the implementation of the project and requests them to pursue their action to give the Gorée-Almadies project international renown;
4. **Appeals** to all states, North and South, Black communities wherever they may be and international finance, cooperation, scientific and intellectual institutions to give active and concrete support to the Gorée-Almadies Memorial Project;
5. **Requests** the OAU Secretary-General in collaboration with the UNESCO Director-General to monitor the project and report to the Council periodically.

### **Draft Resolution on the Houphouet-Boigny UNESCO Peace Prize**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session Dakar, Senegal, from 29 June to 1 July, 1992,

Considering the role UNESCO plays in the promotion of education, culture, science and communication in Africa,

Considering the priority which the 25th UNESCO General Conference establishing, in accordance with the UNESCO Constitution, the Felix Houphouet-Boigny Prize for the search for Peace by the international Community,

Considering that UNESCO remains the privileged partner of African states in matters pertaining to education, science, culture and technology development strategies in Africa:

1. **Exhorts** the UNESCO Director-General to pursue his action aimed at the strengthening and enhancing the influence of the Organization;
2. **Commends** the UNESCO Director-General for the initiative taken by UNESCO to establish the Felix Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize, of which the first two laureates, Messrs Nelson Mandela, President of the ANC and Frederik W. de Klerk, President of the Republic of South Africa, were, during the presentation of the award, jointly honoured by the international community in the presence of President Abdou Diouf at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in February, 1992;
3. **Underscores** the importance for the international community to work for the strengthening of the universality of UNESCO through the participation of all states in the activities of the Organization and, in this regard, **Appeals** to states which are not yet members of UNESCO to join the Organization, and to the governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland and Singapore to resume their membership of UNESCO within the context of the principle of universality that should govern this specialized agency of the United Nations system.



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### **Draft Resolution Recommended by the Contact Group on Africa's External Debt Crisis and the Functioning of the Follow-Up Mechanism**

The Assembly of Heads of States and Government meeting in its Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal, from 1 to 3 July, 1992,

Recalling the African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis adopted by the Third Extraordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 3 November to 1 December 1987,

Recalling Resolutions AHG/Res. 134(XX), 150 (XXII), 175 (XXIV), 181 (XXV), Dec 2 (XXVI) and Resolutions CM/Res. 614 (XXX), 760 (XXXIII), 1110 (XLVI), 1195 (XLIX) on Africa's External Debt Crisis,

Recalling further the persistent Africa's debt crisis despite the different economic programmes initiated by member states often not without considerable social, economic and political difficulties,

Noting that although re-scheduling agreements offer the necessary conditions for improved productive investment climate, they are inadequate in terms of solving Africa's debt crisis,

Recognizing the need for an effective coordination, consultations and exchange of information among African countries, in cooperation with the creditors, in order to find fair and equitable solutions to the African debt crisis,

Gravely Concerned over the increased Africa's external indebtedness, debt servicing burden and persistent reaffirming deterioration of the socio-economic situation in Africa,

Reaffirming its commitment to the African Common Position on the External Debt Crisis and its conviction of the opportunities of an international conference to resolve, among others, Africa's external debt crisis,

1. Congratulates H.E. General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and out-going chairman of the OAU for his relentless efforts in sensitizing the international community on Africa's external debt crisis;
2. Mandates the current chairman of the OAU to monitor and intensify the sensitization of Africa's creditors, including multilateral institutions and major creditors with the view to persuading them to participate actively in the search for lasting solutions to Africa's external debt crisis and, to this end, Requests the Contact Group to continue to assist and advise the current chairman in the execution of his mandate;
3. Endorses the recommendations made by the Eleventh Ministerial Meeting of the Current Group contained in Report No. CM/1724 (LVI) on the structural reform of the Contact Group;
4. Requests African states to transmit to the OAU Secretary-General information relating to measures taken within the context of the African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis and to strengthen

- cooperation in the fields of the exchange of information and experiences with regard to debt management of the debt and international negotiations;
5. **Recommends** that the Joint Secretariat composed of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the African Development Bank (ADB) and the African Centre for Monetary Studies (ACMS) be strengthened in order to effectively help the OAU Contact Group in the exercise of its mandate;
  6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to take every necessary measure to implement this resolution and to submit a report thereon to the Twenty-ninth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

**Draft Resolution on the Legal Status of The Pan-African News Agency (PANA)**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government, meeting in its Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal, from 29 June to 1 July, 1992,

**Recalling** the Declaration IM/Dec. 1 (I) establishing the Pan-African News Agency, and approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in 1978 (AHG 89 (XV)),

**Having considered** the recommendation made by the Sixth Ordinary Session of the Conference of African Ministers of Information held in Abuja (Nigeria) 24-25 April, 1992 to restructure the Pan-African Ministers of Information held in Abuja (Nigeria) 24-25 April, 1992 to restructure the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) on the basis of the recovery plan presented by UNESCO, as contained in Resolution CIM/Res 1 (VI) by the said Conference,

**Desirous** to transform PANA into a viable and competitive continental news agency without prejudice to the overall continental objectives that initiated its creation:

1. **Endorses** the recommendation adopted by the Conference of African Ministers of Information to restructure the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) and authorizes the Conference of African Ministers of Information to review the legal status of PANA accordingly;
2. **Calls on** all member states to financially, morally and politically support the continental agency during the three-year transitional period.

**Draft Resolution on the Strengthening of Cooperation and Coordination among African States**

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in its Twenty-eighth Ordinary Session in Dakar, Senegal, from 29th

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to 1st July, 1992,

**Aware** of the external and internal challenges that can hinder the harmonious, serene and sustainable development of the continent and the building of a free and democratic civilian society in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of African peoples,  
**Recalling** the previous resolutions stressing the need to strengthen solidarity, coordination and consultation among the member states on the basis of mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs and the support for the causes of freedom, justice and peace,

**Reaffirming** its attachment to the purposes and principles stated in the Charter of the OAU and the provisions of Article II sub-paragraph (I), Article III sub-paragraphs 2, 3 and 5 and Article VI relating to the strengthening of solidarity and the non-interference in the internal affairs of Member States:

### **Decides**

1. **TO CALL UPON** the member states to respect the principle of good neighbourliness and prohibit the use of their territories by individuals or groups which try to harm other OAU member states;
2. **NOT TO ALLOW** any movement using religion, ethnic or other social or culture differences to indulge in hostile activities against member states as well as to refrain from lending any support to any group that could disrupt the stability and the territorial integrity of member states by violent means, and to strengthen cooperation and coordination among the African countries in order to circumscribe the phenomenon of extremism and terrorism;
3. **TO ENHANCE** consultations so as to make the values of tolerance, moderation and solidarity prevail in inter-African relations and avert any discord.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **1991 Abuja Summit: Verdict of the Media**



President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, the 1990/91 OAU Chairman at the Abuja Summit

**VERDICT OF THE MEDIA:  
BEFORE THE SUMMIT**

## Nigeria-OAU Pact

**N**igeria and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) have signed an agreement in Abuja to host the next Heads of State and Government Summit of the organisation in the new federal capital at the end of May.

Known as "The hosting agreement", it contains provisions for the kind of facilities that Nigeria is expected to put in place to be able to receive the Heads of State and other important dignitaries expected to attend the economic integration summit.

The agreement was signed on behalf of the OAU by its Assistant Secretary-General, Ambassador Brownson Dede, while Ambassador Abraham Tukur, chief of protocol, Ministry of External Affairs, signed on behalf of Nigeria.

Meanwhile the Minister of External Affairs, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd) has announced that a "presidential fiat" would be issued for the successful hosting of OAU and ECOWAS summits

— WEST AFRICA, 22–28 APRIL, 1991

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## OAU Liberation Committee, (I) & (II)

**P**rimarily, the OAU set up the Liberation committee with the most important reason of liberating those parts of Africa still under colonial domination at the time it was set up.

The question then arises if the committee and by implication the OAU, has recorded significant success in its drive to liberate Africa from colonial rule.

To answer this question, it is necessary to look at the colonial map of Africa before the committee was born...

The picture today is that only South Africa is still under domination by a clique of a minority settler group. Even then, there are signs that the liberation of South Africa is only a few kilometres away. In the circumstances therefore, the OAU, through its liberation committee must be highly commended.

Finally, we need to draw attention to the near silence over the issue of Western Sahara. Although it has been admitted into the OAU, positive efforts have not been made adequately to get Morocco pull out her forces or at least reach a political compromise with the Polisario. Until this is done, we see Western Sahara as one of the countries yet to be liberated on the African continent.

—*THE DEMOCRAT Editorial: Thursday May 23, 1991  
and Friday May 24, 1991.*

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## “Towards a More Relevant Africa”

**W**hy is the OAU summit going to be in Nigeria? Because the OAU heads of government thought it was about time to rotate the summit away from Addis Ababa, to give it a breath of fresh air, shall we say, and Nigeria was suggested, and the last summit of the OAU agreed and so we are holding the summit in Nigeria, in Abuja, to be more precise.

**What are the main themes that are likely to come up?**

Well we are working on a theme which we would want to have the OAU Secretariat agree with. The theme from Nigeria' point of view is to be “Towards a more relevant Africa”.

**Relevant to what?**

Relevant to the new international political mood.

**How can that work in practice?**

We haven't yet cleared this with the OAU. It's Nigeria's theme which we intend will serve the OAU and I believe, in the end, the OAU will approve of it. What it will entail, could be found in the present feeling amongst African countries that Africa is slowly being marginalised away from the rest of the world, politically and economically and we Nigerians believe that we should focus the discussion at the summit on things that will make Africa more relevant in international politics. We should look at subjects like improving the economy of Africa, seeing the quick demise of apartheid in South Africa, making Africa more competitive in the new race for capital inflow, environmental protection, the drug issue, the enthronement of democracy in Africa, and also the upholding of fundamental human right principles.

**What is being done?**

As you know, for about 10 years now, Africa has been working in and around Lagos Plan of Action. One of the major establishments which our plan of action suggests is the African Economic Community. The treaty has been worked out, and the council of ministers of the OAU at the last meeting approved it and recommended it to our heads for adoption in the summit. What it entails will be to be more viable, using our resources as much as we can, improving our position in the world market and strengthening the African economy in general.



## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

**But an African Common Market is a major undertaking. What is the timetable for this?**

It is suggested it would take about 30 years or so to evolve, but that for me is a long shot, too long a time. I think we will realise this much quicker and the realities of the moment will suggest and dictate to us a much quicker time scale than 30 years.

**You mentioned democratisation and human rights. Would there be some concrete new proposals on these?**

We intend to do that. We intend to make some new proposals and also reinforce the existing ones.

**What about the reparations issue?**

We intend to bring it up at the summit and papers have been prepared which will be presented by some Nigerian and African scholars in preparation for adoption by the OAU, hoping of course, that the international community would support our claim.

**Have you had any reactions at all from the international community on this yet?**

Not as governments, but as individuals and organisations that have shown sympathy for our case.

**You also mentioned South Africa and the elimination of apartheid. What is the current situation on lifting sanctions?**

What we agreed at the Commonwealth was not to compensate intentions, but to hold ourselves prepared to move when Mr. de Klerk and his regime moves. That is to say when he's removed all the main pillars of apartheid based on the promise he made to the international community. I would also like to stress our position on that. Nigeria recently, in a pronouncement by President Babangida, did say that we would be prepared to leave the initiative at the next OAU summit for the lifting and the review of sanctions, if and only if Mr de Klerk meets those conditions that he's set for himself, which we all accept.

**What is behind the African candidature for the UN Secretary General?**

The purpose is to give service to the international community. We say that every region of the world has had an opportunity to serve in that capacity except Africa, and we will bid for it, and ensure that our candidate will be as good as anyone, if not better than most. Africa should have the opportunity to serve in that capacity.

**Does Nigeria have a candidate?**

Yes we do. Nigeria does have a candidate and we have begun to talk to our friends and to those we think can assist. But it is too early to say who. We are carrying out a quiet but effective campaign.

**Will the summit produce a single candidate?**

There are two schools of thought, one is that Africa should produce one candidate, and the other says we should have more than one; a maximum of two, and this of course is welcomed by the last election in which Salim Ahmed Salim was the candidate for Africa. When he was vetoed there was no fall back and a compromise candidate was found in the present incumbent (who is doing an excellent job).

**Isn't there a way of taking soundings to make sure there is no veto?**

Of course yes. We have been talking to our friends and so far there is no indication that our candidate will be vetoed. If anything he's held in very high esteem within Africa and

the wider world. I must make a comment here. We've heard and read opinions suggesting that rotating the job among regions should be a principle, but excluding Africa from it should not be a tradition either. I'd like to say this particularly because of skeptics who think that Africa isn't in any position to produce a secretary-general. We have men of quality who are capable, who run organisations, countries and institutions, even within the UN itself... and we think at this point in time when the UN needs a total overhaul, a redirection to achieving the goals we set ourselves in the new world order which leaders of the world over have been talking about, that a candidate of the calibre we're talking about would help in the context of possible UN restructuring.

**Would not an African seat on the Security Council be better than having the UN Secretary-General?**

The job of UN secretary general should not preclude the Security Council seat that would be left to African committees to decide. In the case of the Secretary-General, Nigeria is proposing a candidate. If we had to make a choice, I would hope the appropriate choice would be made. But I don't think it is fair to consider it at the moment. We would not want to pre-empt decisions which would be likely to come a lot later in any case.

**What effect has the Liberia crisis had on ECOWAS?**

The Liberian crisis has brought ECOWAS states much closer together, the ties are much stronger, the understanding better, more so the need for regional and collective security. Fire in one state could mean fire extended to other states. So all people in ECOWAS should then join hands to kill the fire before it spreads. That understanding is very, very clear, but the recent incursion from Liberia into Sierra-Leone stresses the need for collective security. Because who knows, it could spread to other countries and if we don't stop it in Liberia and arrest it quickly in Sierra-Leone, our sub-regional security might be undermined. So to that extent the Liberia question has brought us very close together, the understanding is better and all of us now realise the need for collective security.

**Has the problem on the Sierra-Leone border brought near the day when the ECOMOG may have to vote against Charles Taylor?**

As you know, ECOMOG is a peace-keeping force. Except Charles Taylor attacks ECOMOG, there would be no justification for ECOMOG to fight Charles Taylor. So for as long as Charles Taylor is not fighting any unit of ECOMOG, he can rest assured he can continue to talk peace, and assist himself and the rest of the Liberia people to find a lasting solution to their problem.

**But there is no evidence that he or some of his people are behind this incursion into Sierra Leone?**

It has been alleged. I believe that Sierra Leone can take care of that, and they have.

But Nigeria is assisting them.

We have a battalion there. And I believe we won't stand by and allow the welfare of our troops to be jeopardised. If Charles Taylor's troops attack the Nigerian contingent in Sierra-Leone, clearly they would get a hiding for it.

**Can we see a possible permanent ECOMOG force emerging from this experience, even once the whole Liberian thing is over?**

The problem here would be cost. How do you maintain such a force on a permanent basis?

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

Our economies are so weak, and this particular operation is biting deep into our finances. What I can see established is the fact that all ECOWAS states should hold themselves ready at any time, to collectively stop any rebellion that is going to threaten the stability of the sub-region. That is not to say of course, we would interfere in the internal affairs of member states, but when any incursion or rebellion is going to destabilise the sub-region and cause carnage affecting the lives and property of the people in that sub-region, our heads would have the responsibility to stop such abuse.

**Where do you feel the ECOWAS treaty needs revising?**

One direction I know that ECOWAS treaty would have to go sooner than later, is to have a very strong political arm to it. Right now, it is mainly economic. With the goings on in Liberia and the need now for a very strong economy in the sub-region, the political arm of the treaty would have to be reviewed and strengthened in order to give that other impetus to achieving the objectives set by the founding fathers of ECOWAS. That is, to have a united, economically strong ECOWAS and a politically aware and strong sub-region.

*Interview with Major-General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd),  
Minister of External Affairs*

*WEST AFRICA, 27, May-June, 1991*

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## The OAU and Border Disputes

**T**he creation of African states in their present forms, as national entities, was the handiwork of European colonisers who at the infamous Berlin conference of 1884, carved out empires from Africa without due regard to the traditional, geographical and the social character of the areas.

While the arrangement suited the colonisers, it considerably deformed the true nationalities of a number of areas and their communities.

When the OAU was established, its founding fathers accepted the legitimacy of the colonially drawn up boundaries with the hope of minimizing disputes over them in the years ahead.

Unfortunately, this approach has not gone far in solving border disputes and claims on the continent. The Ogaden war provides a good example of the strength of border disputes in undermining good relations between and among African countries. Nigeria has seen several severe attacks from her neighbours with Cameroun providing a worse example.

The OAU should stick to its principle of respecting the border lines handed down to us by our colonial masters. As unfortunate as they were, we cannot but accept them as realities and as the safest valve so far in minimizing border conflicts.

*THE DEMOCRAT Editorial: Tuesday May 28, 1991:*

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## OAU Has Come a Long Way — *IBB*

**P**resident Ibrahim Babangida at the weekend in Abuja took a deep reflection on the Organisation of African Unity's ability in achieving socio-economic and political co-operation among African countries in the last three decades and concluded that the organisation has come a long way.

He added that since its inception in May 1963, Africans had witnessed a gradual but sure emancipation of all nations in the continent, except one, from colonial outfit to independent states.

*NATIONAL CONCORD*, Tuesday, May 28, 1991.

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## Europe '92 and OAU Summit

**‘W**ith the fruition of the European Common Market via Europe '92 Africa has a sample of what it takes to surmount the insurmountable in order to achieve relevance”.

**Tunji Olaopa,**  
*NIGERIAN TRIBUNE*: Wednesday, May 29, 1991.

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## We are Ready — *Nwachukwu*

**‘L**et me from the onset say that Nigeria is ready to host the OAU summit, the council of Ministers and the OAU Liberation Committee meeting...”

“With regards for venue, I should say, we are set to go; with regard to accommodation I want to confirm that we are ready to receive our guests. But I must warn that Abuja is a new city and therefore you would not expect to have everything you'll need or you'll find in an older and more established city”.

*THE PUNCH*: Thursday, May 30, 1991.

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## Nasko Appeals For Cooperation

**F**ellow residents of the Federal Capital Territory, it is my great pleasure to address you briefly through this medium on two big international events which are coming up shortly here in Abuja.

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

\* First of all, I wish to seize this opportunity to express my profound appreciation of the manner in which you have been conducting your affairs as hard-working, peace-loving and law abiding citizens.

\* You have always been alert to your civic and social responsibilities, and you have, through your actions, reflected the true character of Abuja as the symbol of our national unity. Indeed, the progress so far achieved in the development of Abuja rests on the congenial atmosphere of peace, stability and co-operation created by all of you. This situation has made it possible for Abuja to host successfully many important national and international conferences. For your commendable efforts and co-operation with the authorities of the Federal Capital Territory, I thank you immensely.

\* As many of you are already aware, Abuja will be playing host to two very important international conferences. The first is the OAU Summit which is expected to be attended by 52 Heads of State and government from Africa. In addition, several important international figures, representatives of international organisations and foreign journalists are expected to be in Abuja for the Summit as from this week.

\* This summit will be the biggest international event ever held in our new Federal Capital. It is therefore going to be more demanding than all other conferences which Abuja has hosted. As usual, I can count on you to extend our traditional hospitality to our guests. I expect you to be polite to all our guests, to show proper decorum in your manner of dress and to be good ambassadors of Abuja in your interactions with our august visitors. You should gladly go beyond your usual traditional hospitality to make our African brothers and sisters feel at home in our midst.

\* The OAU Summit will last from June 3-5 and will be followed shortly after by the ECOWAS Summit. Both Summits are preceded by preparatory meetings of officials and ministerial conferences.

\* In preparation for both Summits, the Federal Capital Territory should have a clean, tidy, and beautiful look. To that end, the Federal Capital Authorities have embarked on a massive clean-up exercise.

\* I wish to appeal to all of you to join in this exercise. It should be a continuous daily exercise until the end of the Summit and beyond. Each household is expected to clean up its premises and any adjoining undeveloped spaces. Every establishment — private or public — should do likewise and ensure that Abuja wears a befitting face as a new capital. I am confident that you will carry out this exercise with total dedication. I am positive, too, that you will assist in various other ways to ensure the success of the two summits.

\* Finally, to ensure a free flow of traffic for the visiting heads of state and government, the road leading from the Airport junction up to Kukuaba round-about will be closed to public transport on June 1, 2 and 6 when our august visitors will be arriving or departing Abuja. All in-coming traffic from outside Abuja should use the Zuba junction road along the Northern Expressway.

\* I trust that this little sacrifice will be gladly borne by all of us for the safety and security of our distinguished guests.

\* Thank you all.

*ABUJA CONCORD, May 28, 1991*



President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana at the Abuja Summit

**VERDICT OF THE MEDIA:  
DURING THE SUMMIT**

## Welcome

**I**n the name of everything that enhances African Unity and brotherhood, we welcome our respected African leaders to Nigeria and indeed our new (transitional) Federal Capital, Abuja, for the 27th Assembly of Heads of State and Government which begins today.

As they gather to discuss the essence of our symbiotic relationships and common destiny, we would like to remind them of some of the essentials that form the basis for their mission in Abuja.

In the first place, the signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) could not have come at a better time than now... In Europe, Asia, Africa and America, various agreements aimed at enhancing co-operation and mutual development are being signed.

In this light the 27th Summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Abuja must be seen as a historic event. Historic not because the Summit is holding outside Addis Ababa, the OAU headquarters, but because the outcome of the Abuja Summit will determine whether the continent can march into the next century as a more united and stronger body.

*ABUJA NEWSDAY: Front Page Comment  
Monday, June 3, 1991.*

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## Africa, Awake

**T**his morning, the serenity of the new Federal Capital City of Abuja will be broken by the multiple echoes of sirens heralding the arrival of African Heads of State for the 27th Summit of the Organisation of African Unity. Outside the inaugural meeting of the organisation in Addis Ababa in 1963, perhaps no other assembly of African Heads of State can lay claim to similar momentousness as the Abuja meet...

Today, Africa is on a different kind of crossroad...

Our continent has become the favourite reference point of racist aspersions about misrule, incompetence, hunger, disease and poor economic management. Our hard earned political independence has been diluted by decades of excessive dependence on others for the basic tools for mastering our environment and changing our reality.

As our leaders gather in Abuja, it ought to be clear to them that at no time has Africa needed to act together than in the present circumstances. The Abuja meeting should work out realistic strategies for creating the material conditions for freedom and integration of African peoples.

*DAILY TIMES Editorial: Monday, June 3, 1991.*



## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

is now enjoying the comfort of the sheets inside a Malian prison.

Mengistu Haile Mariam overthrew the government of Emperor Haile Saleissie on 12 September 1974. Immediately after the revolution which gave hope to millions of African people that a new set of patriotic soldiers were emerging in Africa to give meaning to democracy in the continent, Mengistu manipulated the arrest of handsome General Aman Andom named Head of State after the coup from Eritrea. The poor General was executed few days later. General Aman Andom's successor General Teferi Benti was gunned to death in a cabinet shoot out by Mengistu in 1975. By late 1975, Mengistu's fellow revolutionary Major Atenafu Abate was assassinated on the orders of the pocket tyrant and buried like a dog in a cemetery in Addis-Ababa.

On Saturday, 23 November, 1974, the following people were summarily executed in the courtyard of the main civilian prison in Addis-Ababa:

Akhilu Habte Wold, Liz Endal Katchew Makonnen, Rear-Admiral Eskander Desta, Ras Asrate Kassa, Ras Mesfu Shileshi, Lieutenant-General Abiye Abebe, Lieutenant-General Kebabe Gebre, Dr. Tesfery Gebre-Ezzy, Tegers Yetashe-work, Akalework Habte Wold, Colonel Solomon Kadir, Lieutenant-General Yima Shibeshi, Lt-General Debebe Hail-Mariam, Major-General Seyoun Gedle Giorghis and Tefessa Lenima.

Mengistu turned to progressive organisations in Ethiopia and murdered nearly all their leaders. Under Mengistu Haile Mariam's tyranny, Ethiopia indeed cut off her own head in the words of Blair Thompson. Today, dictator Mengistu is on the run after reducing his country, Ethiopia into a land of frustration, death, despair and misery. He is now said to be enjoying the comfort of a ranch he had purchased in Zimbabwe with millions of dollars of his poor and starving country-men and women. Nemesis will surely catch up with him.

Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo is coming. We welcome this sit tight in office who has sent many of his colleagues and his compatriots to their graves before their time. He masterminded the assassination of Sylvanus Olympio at the gates of the United States Embassy in Lome in 1963. Olympio had been accused of not raising the salaries of his country's soldiers. Eyadema installed a civilian regime headed by Nicholas Grunit-sky. Two years later in 1965, Eyadema moved in with his troops to announce a coup d'etat. He has been in power in that unfortunate country ever since.

In 1972, a French trained paratrooper Mathiew Kerekou led a group of soldiers to the Presidential palace and had the President and his entire cabinet arrested and deposed. Though Kerekou eventually surrendered to the forces of democracy in his country, it took the people of Benin Republic 19 years before they could liberate themselves from the clutches of an upstart military 'revolutionary'.

Campaore of Burkina Faso will be one of our guests at Abuja. It is still fresh in minds how this man murdered his bosom friend.

Conteh of Guinea will also be here. He has remained in power since 1984 with no visible programme of returning his country to democratic rule. He has since 1984 got rid of his fellow conspirators that had staged the 1984 coup in Guinea with him.

There is Mobutu Sesse Sekou still there in Zaire. He may be one of our august visitors, attending the OAU Conference. Half the population of his intellectual class has been murdered since his getting to power over 27 years ago. He had his hands in the gruesome

and barbaric murder of Africa's true sons Patrice Emery Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo and John Okito. He pursued traitor Moïse Tshombe until the latter ended up in an Algerian jail.

Apart from the bloody repression of their citizens, African leaders have over the years been lining their pockets with corruption. Walter Bertschinger writing an article in the NEW AFRICA magazine had the following to say on African leaders and their corrupt deals with Switzerland banks:

"Millions of pounds of African money end up in numbered Swiss bank accounts ...

Switzerland is best known for its mountains and skiing, its chocolates and cheese and also for the prones of Zurich. Foreign currency, totalling billions of US dollars is illegally shipped out of Africa each year draining national economies essential for social and economic development. These countries are then forced to raise loans on world markets, thus perpetuating the system of economic dependence ...

Secrecy applies to the total amount of African money held in Swiss banks. But it is estimated to be in the region of 300 billion dollars. Often transferred via Middle-Eastern countries, about 90 per cent of the African money ends up in one of the three main private banks — The Union Bank of Switzerland, the Swiss Bank Corporation and Credit Suisse. The very same banks, showing total financial impartiality, also have excellent relations with the South African regime."

The African tyrants are coming. President Ibrahim Babangida must tell them that Africa is already fed up with erratic sit-tighters in office whose reigns have brought nothing but tragedy and disaster to an otherwise great continent.

President Babangida must tell his colleagues that Africa has already passed the stage of the Idi Amins, the Bokassas and the Macias Nguemas of this world. These were the men who once maimed and killed in the name of power. David Lamb writes the following of Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea:

"Macias ruled Equatorial Guinea from independence in 1968 until he was ousted by his cousin in 1979 and executed. Western human rights organisations estimated that 50,000 Guineans were murdered during that time. Another 100,000 Guineans escaped into exile. Macias, a member of the majority Fang tribe, directed most of his brutality against the Bibis, the best educated and wealthiest of the country's ethnic groups. A Catholic turned atheist, he celebrated Christmas eve in 1975 by ordering the shooting and hanging of 150 prisoners in the national soccer stadium. During the spectacle, loudspeakers blared a recording of *"Those were the days."*

Periscope submits that Nguema's cousin who overthrew and executed him in 1979 has himself refused to vacate power. The vicious circle of tyranny is on again in Equatorial Guinea. This dictator will be in Abuja for tomorrow's OAU Conference possibly flown down in Nigeria's Executive Jet.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, June 2, 1991.

## The Legitimacy Question

If all goes according to plan, most heads of government of the fifty-one member-states of the OAU will converge in Abuja this week for their 27th ordinary summit meeting. A big question that will hang in the ornate hall of the conference centre is, who are the leaders representing?

In fourteen African countries today, the ruling military regimes seized power through a coup. These are in Mauritania, Guinea-Conackry, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Fasso, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Burundi and Lesotho.

By our count, another six regimes came to power by way of a coup, but have since tried to civilianise themselves by holding elections. These are in Egypt, Libya, Togo, Niger, Congo and Zaire. Two African countries, Morocco and Swaziland, are ruled by absolute monarchs and one, Comoros, has a regime installed by mercenaries. The revolutionary regimes in Angola and Mozambique took over power by force of arms.

Three civilian presidents in Africa, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Abdine Abn Ali of Tunisia and Albert Rene of Seychelles, came to power through military coup. The president of Somalia, Ali Mahdi Mohammed, arrived at his current position after a savage war, Dr. Amos Sawyer of Liberia was imposed by ECOMOG. The legitimate government of Western Sahara has been exiled by Moroccans, and at the time of writing, there is no government in Ethiopia.

There are eighteen African countries where the regimes were installed through a system of regular election. Of these, the legitimacy of President Dauda Jawara was tainted by Senegalese intervention in 1981. There is strong suspicion that the regimes in Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Cameroun, Gabon, Kenya and Malawi would not have won elections if they were very free and fair. Sao Tome, Cape Verde and Namibia's multi-party democracies, while sound, are too young to be judged. President Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone is a soldier dressed in civil garbs.

*CITIZEN, June 3, 1991*

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## Costs of a Summit (Money well Spent)

It promises to be the biggest summit in the history of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In a grand style, Nigeria is hosting African heads of state and delegates for the first time since the OAU was founded 28 years ago. The country is set to affirm its leadership position and its claim as the "giant of Africa". And she has committed several hundreds of millions of naira to the 27th summit taking place in Abuja, Nigeria's new capital between 24 May and 6 June. The new Federal Capital Territory (FCT) now wears a new look. The road from Abuja Airport to Garki, FCT's central district has been dualised with a special entrance gate at Garki. Trees such as gmelina and nim have been hurriedly

planted along the airport road. Street light poles have sprung up too. Contracts for the city's beautification have been executed. Major renovation of old facilities have been completed. Everything now speaks of grandeur and opulence. Abuja smells of petro-naira and dollars.

Garki, Wuse, Maitama, Asokoro and Kubwa, all centres of activities during the summit have recorded significant transformation in the past couple of months.

In Garki, the roads have been polished and remarked with paints. The motor park on Festival Road which is the presidential route has been relocated within the Federal Secretariat Complex. Emergency mobile traffic control light boxes have been installed at strategic locations in Garki, Wuse and Maitama. To ensure regular traffic flow, men of the Federal Road Safety Commission have been drafted to Abuja from all zones in the country to replace traffic wardens.

In addition, 150 BMW patrol motorcycles with communication gadgets were also bought. These are now stored in the premises of the German construction firm.

Besides, all Conference Vehicle Unit (CVU) cars have been mobilised for the Abuja summit. The transport sub-committee of the summit's Joint Implementation Committee, *African Concord* learnt, is hiring some private cars at N500 per day (7 a.m. to 5 p.m.) and N90 an hour for overtime. External Affairs source told *African Concord* that most civil servant car owners have registered with the committee.

SCOA Nigeria Limited has reportedly bought some Peugeot 505 cars for hire services.

To forestall air traffic congestion, private or presidential aircraft bringing summit delegates are expected to park at Abuja, Minna, Kaduna, Kano and Jos airports, about 25 minutes flight from the summit venue.

Aviation Ministry has worked out a special flight schedule to guide airline operation during the summit. From 1 June, domestic operators could fly from their home bases as well as from Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Minna, Port Harcourt and Sokoto. Flights begin at 7 a.m. and end at 7 p.m.

Arrangements for accommodation, security and communication have been completed. One hundred blocks of four flats were built in Asokoro and Kubwa districts of FCT. *African Concord* learnt that each block cost N1.5 million. Thus, in collaboration with the Federal Capital Development Authority and the Federal Housing Authority, the Federal Government is believed to have spent about N600 million on the 400 housing units. The houses have been certified comfortable for delegates and other participants.

By 26 May, private guests at the NICON-Noga Hilton Hotel would be checked out. Its 720 rooms would be commandeered for the summit. The hotel's prestigious 30 presidential suites, 40 royal suites, 20 ambassadorial suites and eight pent house suites have been reserved for heads of state. Similarly, Abuja Sheraton Hotel and Towers have been reserved for the summit. The hotel's 650 rooms have been booked with effect from 23 May. Private guests have since been ejected.

Another hotel reserved for use during the summit is Agura Hotel. Its 140 rooms would be occupied by journalists, both local and foreign.

In line with OAU's standing rules, Nigeria has provided accommodation for heads of state of participating countries and four other delegates each. Twenty-five others would be accommodated but each country would bear the cost. Countries with more than 30 delegates

would have to make accommodation arrangements outside the existing government facilities for the extra delegates.

Adequate security arrangements have been made for the hostels and housing estates. *African Concord* learnt that men of the elite Brigade of Guards, State Security Service, the Nigerian Intelligence Agency and Nigeria Police Force in and around Abuja would keep vigil throughout the summit.

By 23 May, a day before the start of the Liberation Committee meeting engineers of Julius Berger Nigeria Limited struggled frantically to complete the Abuja ultra modern conference centre. Construction on the 3,000 capacity centre started in February. Sources said the construction company got a blank cheque from the Presidency to build a befitting centre beside the old one before 15 May and present the bill later.

Highly placed sources in the company however told *African Concord* that the contract for the construction of the dome-shaped conference centre was subsequently negotiated at N540 million. The two conference centres now have a new fence, new parking lot a gate house, a fountain and architectural landscaping. Communication gadgets in the centre include closed circuit television, audio and translation phones. It has a 1500 capacity main auditorium, a mini auditorium and committee meeting rooms.

On 23 May, External Affairs Minister, Major General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd) briefed journalists on the state of affairs at Abuja. He said that arrangements for the summit have been completed and that Nigeria was fully prepared to host African leaders. He maintained that the conference centre was ready for use even though construction work was going on in the complex.

The historic occasion began 24 May with the meeting of OAU Liberation Committee. The council of ministers meeting has been scheduled for 27 May. Its agenda include examining the reports of the secretary-general on Southern Africa and the co-ordinating committee's report on the liberation of Africa.

Major Gen. Ike Nwachukwu hinted 23 May that at the summit between 3 and 5 June, there will be a plenary session and signing of economic treaties. Major issues to be discussed, he said, include how to improve Africa's battered economy, liberation struggles in South Africa and the needs for a co-operation and understanding among Africans as well as the role the ECOWAS Monitoring Group, ECOMOG in the West African sub-region.

The wind of democracy blowing across the continent such as witnessed in Cameroun, Togo, Benin Republic, Liberia, Ethiopia, Zaire and Somalia, may however, cause a low turnout of delegates at the summit as heads of state who have domestic problems would prefer staying at home to risking attending the Abuja summit. It is feared that embattled President Paul Biya of Cameroun, Liberia's interim president, Amos Sawyer and Sierra Leonean President, Joseph Momoh may not attend the summit. Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi said he would attend only if he was allowed to make an alternative security arrangement for his stay Nigeria.

Ike Nwachukwu, acknowledged the grim picture but he brushed aside the possibility of Africa's political crises marring, the summit, saying Nigeria expects 51 heads of state for the summit which would be held in grandeur and opulence hitherto unseen in OAU's history.

President Ibrahim Babangida who will be stepping in as OAU chairman, as successor to

President Yoweri Museveni, is hopeful that many African leaders would turn up.

His hope is hinged on special envoys he had sent out early May to all the capitals of OAU member states to ensure a full house. As it is, all now appears set for the 5,000 delegates expected at the 27th summit of the OAU.

*AFRICAN CONCORD, 3rd June, 1991*

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## Salim calls for Monitoring Panel

**O**AU Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday in Abuja proposed the establishment of a monitoring committee comprising the chief executives of the regional economic groupings and himself to facilitate the take-off of the African Economic Community (AEC).

He also urged member-states to comply with the formalities connected with the ratification of the treaty so as to "enable us embark on its implementation".

*NEW NIGERIAN: Wednesday, June 5, 1991.*

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## IBB Sets Agenda

**P**resident Ibrahim Babangida yesterday set out his provisional programme of action which he wants to implement as the Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to tackle the African continent's problems.

In his maiden world press conference as the OAU chairman in Abuja yesterday, President Babangida said he would devote most of his energies to the course of African economic integration.

He said since the African Economic Community has been established, he would deploy all measures to ensure an early ratification of the treaty and cultivate faithful adherence to its principles.

On democracy, the chairman said, "I shall encourage my brother heads of state and government to courageously embark on full-fledged democratisation, if possible drawing from the Nigerian example,..."

*NEW NIGERIAN: Wednesday, June 5, 1991.*

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## African Leaders, as you fly out of Abuja

**T**he 27th OAU summit has just ended at Abuja, our new Federal Capital. By early afternoon today most of the foreign delegates would have left for their respective countries. But as the various heads of delegation fly out of Abuja, it is desirable, indeed vital, that they further reflect not just on the problems they discussed, not just on the beautiful communique they issued, but more critically on their inner and genuine resolve to provide efficient and lasting solution to the major obstacles confronting Africa.

There is no denying the fact that many African leaders have been allowing their personal, selfish interests to undermine their sacred obligations to their respective nations and people.

What, we believe, is needed now is a reversal of this leadership attitude and orientation. There is the urgent need to address the crucial issue of Africa's development with both a clear vision as to what needs to be done and the sincere and energetic implementation of these desirable objectives.

Development of course is something that is best achieved through unity. Individual African countries will find it cheaper, more efficient and faster to develop, if they come together. In this regard we welcome the setting up at the Abuja summit, of an African Economic Community.

Because of its enormously positive potentials for Africa, the new continental economic association is bound to be subjected to all forms of sabotage by those countries in Europe and America which will always want to see a subservient, disunited and disorganised Africa.

By appending their signatures, at Abuja last Monday, to the treaty giving birth to the association, African leaders had signified their goodwill towards the new body. However, signifying goodwill through signatures will not be sufficient. What is further required is the readjustment of priorities, jettisoning of bad habits, the development of a real capability to resist the temptations and baits of foreign powers and above all, an unwavering commitment to the genuine cause of Africa and its people.

Yes, as African leaders fly out of Abuja, they should reflect on all these points, with good intentions, in order for our dream for a vastly improved Africa, to be a reality.

*THE REPORTER front page: Thursday, June 6, 1991.*

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## African Economic Community: What Prospects?

**W**ith the signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community at the Abuja's current summit by member Heads of State of the Organisation of African Unity last Monday, a monumental landmark seems to have been achieved in the 28-year experience of the organisation.

The African experiment at regional economic integration through a federation of existing sub-regional economic groupings is a realistic and feasible approach for the continent.

...African leaders must demonstrate the political will, internal discipline and realism necessary to make the treaty signed work...

*NEW NIGERIAN* Editorial: Thursday, June 6, 1991.



**VERDICT OF THE MEDIA:  
AFTER THE SUMMIT**

and barbaric murder of Africa's true sons Patrice Emery Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo and John Okito. He pursued traitor Moishe Tshombe until the latter ended up in an Algerian jail.

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**I**f all goes according to plan, most heads of government of the fifty-one member-states of the OAU will converge in Abuja this week for their 27th ordinary summit meeting. A big question that will hang in the ornate hall of the conference centre is, who are the leaders representing?

In fourteen African countries today, the ruling military regimes seized power through a coup. These are in Mauritania, Guinea-Conackry, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Fasso, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Burundi and Lesotho.

By our count, another six regimes came to power by way of a coup, but have since tried to civilianise themselves by holding elections. These are in Egypt, Libya, Togo, Niger, Congo and Zaire. Two African countries, Morocco and Swaziland, are ruled by absolute monarchs and one, Comoros, has a regime installed by mercenaries. The revolutionary regimes in Angola and Mozambique took over power by force of arms.

Three civilian presidents in Africa, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Abdine Abn Ali of Tunisia and Albert Rene of Seychelles, came to power through military coup. The president of Somalia, Ali Mahdi Mohammed, arrived at his current position after a savage war. Dr. Amos Sawyer of Liberia was imposed by ECOMOG. The legitimate government of Western Sahara has been exiled by Moroccans, and at the time of writing, there is no government in Ethiopia.

There are eighteen African countries where the regimes were installed through a system of regular election. Of these, the legitimacy of President Dauda Jawara was tainted by Senegalese intervention in 1981. There is strong suspicion that the regimes in Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Cameroun, Gabon, Kenya and Malawi would not have won elections if they were very free and fair. Sao Tome, Cape Verde and Namibia's multi-party democracies, while sound, are too young to be judged. President Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone is a soldier dressed in civil garbs.

*CITIZEN, June 3, 1991*

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## Costs of a Summit (Money well Spent)

**I**t promises to be the biggest summit in the history of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). In a grand style, Nigeria is hosting African heads of state and delegates for the first time since the OAU was founded 28 years ago. The country is set to affirm its leadership position and its claim as the "giant of Africa". And she has committed several hundreds of millions of naira to the 27th summit taking place in Abuja, Nigeria's new capital between 24 May and 6 June. The new Federal Capital Territory (FCT) now wears a new look. The road from Abuja Airport to Garki, FCT's central district has been dualised with a special entrance gate at Garki. Trees such as gmelina and nim have been hurriedly

planted along the airport road. Street light poles have sprung up too. Contracts for the city's beautification have been executed. Major renovation of old facilities have been completed. Everything now speaks of grandeur and opulence. Abuja smells of petro-naira and dollars. Garki, Wuse, Maitama, Asokoro and Kubwa, all centres of activities during the summit have recorded significant transformation in the past couple of months.

In Garki, the roads have been polished and remarked with paints. The motor park on Festival Road which is the presidential route has been relocated within the Federal Secretariat Complex. Emergency mobile traffic control light boxes have been installed at strategic locations in Garki, Wuse and Maitama. To ensure regular traffic flow, men of the Federal Road Safety Commission have been drafted to Abuja from all zones in the country to replace traffic wardens.

In addition, 150 BMW patrol motorcycles with communication gadgets were also bought. These are now stored in the premises of the German construction firm.

Besides, all Conference Vehicle Unit (CVU) cars have been mobilised for the Abuja summit. The transport sub-committee of the summit's Joint Implementation Committee, *African Concord* learnt, is hiring some private cars at N500 per day (7 a.m. to 5 p.m.) and N90 an hour for overtime. External Affairs source told *African Concord* that most civil servant car owners have registered with the committee.

SCOA Nigeria Limited has reportedly bought some Peugeot 505 cars for hire services. To forestall air traffic congestion, private or presidential aircraft bringing summit delegates are expected to park at Abuja, Minna, Kaduna, Kano and Jos airports, about 25 minutes flight from the summit venue.

Aviation Ministry has worked out a special flight schedule to guide airline operation during the summit. From 1 June, domestic operators could fly from their home bases as well as from Lagos, Kano, Kaduna, Jos, Minna, Port Harcourt and Sokoto. Flights begin at 7 a.m. and end at 7 p.m.

Arrangements for accommodation, security and communication have been completed. One hundred blocks of four flats were built in Asokoro and Kubwa districts of FCT. *African Concord* learnt that each block cost N1.5 million. Thus, in collaboration with the Federal Capital Development Authority and the Federal Housing Authority, the Federal Government is believed to have spent about N600 million on the 400 housing units. The houses have been certified comfortable for delegates and other participants.

By 26 May, private guests at the NICON-Noga Hilton Hotel would be checked out. Its 720 rooms would be commandeered for the summit. The hotel's prestigious 30 presidential suites, 40 royal suites, 20 ambassadorial suites and eight pent house suites have been reserved for heads of state. Similarly, Abuja Sheraton Hotel and Towers have been reserved for the summit. The hotel's 650 rooms have been booked with effect from 23 May. Private guests have since been ejected.

Another hotel reserved for use during the summit is Agura Hotel. Its 140 rooms would be occupied by journalists, both local and foreign.

In line with OAU's standing rules, Nigeria has provided accommodation for heads of state of participating countries and four other delegates each. Twenty-five others would be accommodated but each country would bear the cost. Countries with more than 30 delegates

would have to make accommodation arrangements outside the existing government facilities for the extra delegates.

Adequate security arrangements have been made for the hostels and housing estates. *African Concord* learnt that men of the elite Brigade of Guards, State Security Service, the Nigerian Intelligence Agency and Nigeria Police Force in and around Abuja would keep vigil throughout the summit.

By 23 May, a day before the start of the Liberation Committee meeting engineers of Julius Berger Nigeria Limited struggled frantically to complete the Abuja ultra modern conference centre. Construction on the 3,000 capacity centre started in February. Sources said the construction company got a blank cheque from the Presidency to build a befitting centre beside the old one before 15 May and present the bill later.

Highly placed sources in the company however told *African Concord* that the contract for the construction of the dome-shaped conference centre was subsequently negotiated at N540 million. The two conference centres now have a new fence, new parking lot a gate house, a fountain and architectural landscaping. Communication gadgets in the centre include closed circuit television, audio and translation phones. It has a 1500 capacity main auditorium, a mini auditorium and committee meeting rooms.

On 23 May, External Affairs Minister, Major General Ike Nwachukwu (rtd) briefed journalists on the state of affairs at Abuja. He said that arrangements for the summit have been completed and that Nigeria was fully prepared to host African leaders. He maintained that the conference centre was ready for use even though construction work was going on in the complex.

The historic occasion began 24 May with the meeting of OAU Liberation Committee. The council of ministers meeting has been scheduled for 27 May. Its agenda include examining the reports of the secretary-general on Southern Africa and the co-ordinating committee's report on the liberation of Africa.

Major Gen. Ike Nwachukwu hinted 23 May that at the summit between 3 and 5 June, there will be a plenary session and signing of economic treaties. Major issues to be discussed, he said, include how to improve Africa's battered economy, liberation struggles in South Africa and the needs for a co-operation and understanding among Africans as well as the role of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group, ECOMOG in the West African sub-region.

The wind of democracy blowing across the continent such as witnessed in Cameroun, Togo, Benin Republic, Liberia, Ethiopia, Zaire and Somalia, may however, cause a low turnout of delegates at the summit as heads of state who have domestic problems would prefer staying at home to risking attending the Abuja summit. It is feared that embattled President Paul Biya of Cameroun, Liberia's interim president, Amos Sawyer and Sierra Leonean President, Joseph Momoh may not attend the summit. Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi said he would attend only if he was allowed to make an alternative security arrangement for his stay Nigeria.

Ike Nwachukwu, acknowledged the grim picture but he brushed aside the possibility of Africa's political crises marring, the summit, saying Nigeria expects 51 heads of state for the summit which would be held in grandeur and opulence hitherto unseen in OAU's history.

President Ibrahim Babangida who will be stepping in as OAU chairman, as successor to

President Yoweri Museveni, is hopeful that many African leaders would turn up.

His hope is hinged on special envoys he had sent out early May to all the capitals of OAU member states to ensure a full house. As it is, all now appears set for the 5,000 delegates expected at the 27th summit of the OAU.

*AFRICAN CONCORD, 3rd June, 1991*

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## Salim calls for Monitoring Panel

**O**AU Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim yesterday in Abuja proposed the establishment of a monitoring committee comprising the chief executives of the regional economic groupings and himself to facilitate the take-off of the African Economic Community (AEC).

He also urged member-states to comply with the formalities connected with the ratification of the treaty so as to "enable us embark on its implementation".

*NEW NIGERIAN: Wednesday, June 5, 1991.*

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## IBB Sets Agenda

**P**resident Ibrahim Babangida yesterday set out his provisional programme of action which he wants to implement as the Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to tackle the African continent's problems.

In his maiden world press conference as the OAU chairman in Abuja yesterday, President Babangida said he would devote most of his energies to the course of African economic integration.

He said since the African Economic Community has been established, he would deploy all measures to ensure an early ratification of the treaty and cultivate faithful adherence to its principles.

On democracy, the chairman said, "I shall encourage my brother heads of state and government to courageously embark on full-fledged democratisation, if possible drawing from the Nigerian example,..."

*NEW NIGERIAN: Wednesday, June 5, 1991.*

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## African Leaders, as you fly out of Abuja

**T**he 27th OAU summit has just ended at Abuja, our new Federal Capital. By early afternoon today most of the foreign delegates would have left for their respective countries. But as the various heads of delegation fly out of Abuja, it is desirable, indeed vital, that they further reflect not just on the problems they discussed, not just on the beautiful communique they issued, but more critically on their inner and genuine resolve to provide efficient and lasting solution to the major obstacles confronting Africa.

There is no denying the fact that many African leaders have been allowing their personal, selfish interests to undermine their sacred obligations to their respective nations and people.

What, we believe, is needed now is a reversal of this leadership attitude and orientation. There is the urgent need to address the crucial issue of Africa's development with both a clear vision as to what needs to be done and the sincere and energetic implementation of these desirable objectives.

Development of course is something that is best achieved through unity. Individual African countries will find it cheaper, more efficient and faster to develop, if they come together. In this regard we welcome the setting up at the Abuja summit, of an African Economic Community.

Because of its enormously positive potentials for Africa, the new continental economic association is bound to be subjected to all forms of sabotage by those countries in Europe and America which will always want to see a subservient, disunited and disorganised Africa.

By appending their signatures, at Abuja last Monday, to the treaty giving birth to the association, African leaders had signified their goodwill towards the new body. However, signifying goodwill through signatures will not be sufficient. What is further required is the readjustment of priorities, jettisoning of bad habits, the development of a real capability to resist the temptations and baits of foreign powers and above all, an unwavering commitment to the genuine cause of Africa and its people.

Yes, as African leaders fly out of Abuja, they should reflect on all these points, with good intentions, in order for our dream for a vastly improved Africa, to be a reality.

*THE REPORTER front page: Thursday, June 6, 1991.*

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## African Economic Community: What Prospects?

**W**ith the signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community at the Abuja's current summit by member Heads of State of the Organisation of African Unity last Monday, a monumental landmark seems to have been achieved in the 28-year experience of the organisation.

The African experiment at regional economic integration through a federation of existing sub-regional economic groupings is a realistic and feasible approach for the continent.

...African leaders must demonstrate the political will, internal discipline and realism necessary to make the treaty signed work...

*NEW NIGERIAN* Editorial: Thursday, June 6, 1991.



**VERDICT OF THE MEDIA:  
AFTER THE SUMMIT**



**Mr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali, the Egyptian-born Secretary-General of UNO**

## The Triumph of Nigeria's Diplomacy

**T**he success of the OAU Summit in Abuja, last week, must be understood as a reflection of certain far-reaching transformations that have taken place in the conduct of our foreign policy since 1985. First, the Babangida foreign policy machinery, perhaps more than anyone before it, has been most active in its communications and dialogue with other African countries.

The diplomatic peak which the Babangida administration reached last week will not be easy to maintain. But then, one of IBB's trademarks has been the ability to do just those things they said would not be done.

Nnamdi Obasi,  
*SUNDAY CONCORD*: June 9, 1991.

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## A Tribute to Success

**T**he just concluded 27th Ordinary Assembly of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Heads of State and Government in Abuja was, in many ways, a historic event...

The leaders put in long extra hours...

In the end, those who stand to gain immensely from the events of the past few days in Abuja, would not all be those of our generations. A foundation was laid in Abuja this past week and on it will be built a stronger Africa, an economically integrated Africa, which guarantees our future as we enter the 21st century.

Yemi Ogunbiyi  
*SUNDAY TIMES*, June 9, 1991.

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## OAU Summit: The Abuja Success Story

**W**hen the idea of holding the 27th Ordinary Summit of the Organisation of African Unity, (OAU) in Nigeria's new capital, Abuja, was mooted last year, it was received with a measure of anxiety and reservation both within and outside the country.

The arguments against the proposal were at once formidable. It was the first time in almost a decade that an OAU summit would be held outside Addis Ababa, the organisations headquarters.

By the time the Abuja summit wound to a close last Thursday, however, any and every

doubt regarding its success had been completely dispelled. In place of the misgivings expressed amongst all those who attended, especially the Heads of State, that this indeed had been the best organised and one of the best attended OAU summits.

*SUNDAY CONCORD, June 9, 1991.*

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## The Abuja Summit

**T**wo issues stand out from the 27th Summit of heads of government and state of the Organisation of Africa Unity just concluded in Abuja. The African Economic Community Treaty and President Ibrahim Babangida's call to democracy in Africa. The significance of the Treaty to the summit is perhaps best demonstrated in Libya and Ghana, that had to leave Abuja after signing it.

President Babangida was painfully blunt with his colleagues when he condemned tyranny in many African states, repression and the use of force. No better gathering than the Abuja meeting needed a lecture in the virtues of democracy and supremacy of the will of the people.

*NIGERIAN TRIBUNE Editorial: Monday, June 10, 1991:*

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## OAU Summit: Babangida's Historic Mandate

**A** major highlight of the Organisation of African Unity's recently concluded summit in Abuja, was the election of President Ibrahim Babangida as the new chairman of the continental body. Whatever else it may signify, General Babangida's election to the exalted office must be seen as yet another acknowledgement of Nigeria's continuing contribution to the cause of Africa's progress and development. And perhaps even more importantly, the election is a recognition of the President's demonstrated abilities as a competent and decisive political leader.

Our expectation and indeed that of millions of other Nigerians and Africans is that president Babangida's chairmanship will mark a distinct watershed in the history of both the OAU and the entire continent. We wish him a resounding success and urge all men and women of goodwill across Africa to cooperate with him towards the realisation of our collective aspirations.

*A NATIONAL CONCORD Editorial: Monday, June 10, 1991.*

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## In a Flux

**T**he small pockets of resistance started in 1989. Gradually protesters became more organised and within months the agitation for political change gathered momentum. In some nations, pro-democracy demonstrations have been extremely violent, sweeping away some sit-tight leaders.

In Ethiopia, after 14 years of autocratic rule, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, the latest African leader to be drowned by the wave of pro-democracy agitations fled Ethiopia. Barely a week after his departure, the rebels overran the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa and took control of the country.

Leaders of the victorious Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) pledged last week in London to form a transitional government that would usher in multi-party democracy.

A similar scenario had earlier been enacted in Somalia. After years of fighting on the fringes, rebels of the United Somali Congress attacked Mogadishu, Somali's capital and sacked the government of President Siad Barre. The President managed to escape from a military bunker where he was holed up the rebel's attack. Somalia, is however, not at peace yet as it faces a secessionist threat.

All over Africa, a grenade of change is on the rage and like the domino effect, sit tight leaders have been falling.

Last March, in Mali, thousands of students and workers stormed the streets of Bamako in protest against the dictatorship of President Moussa Traore. What the protesters got in return was an unprecedented military clamp-down which left more than 100 people dead.

So grave was the carnage that even Traore's own soldiers had to revolt against his leadership. On 26 March, the military overthrew Traore's 23 years old regime, and immediately set up a government of national reconciliation. Mali's new leader, Lt. Colonel Ahmadu Toure, 43, has already pledged to restore democracy within nine months. In Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda, President of the country since independence has also bowed to demands for political pluralism and democratic elections.

Recent agitations in the tiny West African state of Togo have however, failed to produce an outcome similar to that of Mali. On two occasions in April, a general strike organised by opposition groups to commit President Gnassingbe Eyadema to fundamental political changes, shook the 24 year old regime. The ensuing jitters made President Eyadema concede to all the demands of the opposition, except those that sought to oust him from power.

In Cameroun, the pro-democracy demonstrations which began last year still rage on. In April, students of the University of Yaounde demanded among other things, freedom for all political prisoners, and a national conference to jaw-jaw on the country's political future. Although President Paul Biya, has survived the challenges to his rule, he has made some concessions to the opposition, including allowing the flowering of political parties. Elections are being planned, but President Biya has refused to give in to the opposition call for a national conference.

Significantly, the adoption of political pluralism in some African countries, has spelt doom

for some ruling parties. In quick succession, late last year, the ruling parties in Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe lost to their rivals. In Benin Republic, former leader, Mathieu Kerekou lost to his main rival, Nicephore Soglo. Until the very last, Kerekou had been confident of victory and had expressed the wish to run a responsive government if returned to power.

But by far the most remarkable dimension to the unfolding political changes in Africa is the seeming resilience of long-serving African leaders in the face of mounting opposition. For good reasons, many analysts have wondered how such notable leaders like Zaire's Mobutu Sese-Seko, Kenya's Daniel Arap Moi, Felix Houphouet Biogny of Cote d'Ivoire have remained unscathed by the raging agitations. It is not difficult to fathom their staying in power. In Kenya, in the face of pro-democracy demonstrations last July, President Arap Moi ordered a clampdown on opposition figures. Since then the President has never relented in his determination to stifle dissent by whatever means.

Mobutu's own strategy has been to initiate constitutional talks that effectively removed the wind off the sail of pro-democracy agitators.

The President's plan, unfolded last July, involve a three point programme which aimed at limiting future politics to three political parties. The plan also included a constitutional period. If Mobutu keeps his promise, multi-party elections would be held later this year.

The clamour for change in Africa has brought to the fore questions on the role of the Organisation of African Unity.

In some analysts' opinion, the OAU can no longer pretend that it has no mandate to help bring about the kind of change envisioned by the majority of Africans.

*AFRICAN CONCORD, 10 June, 1991*

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## The Journey So far

**S**OMALIA boils, Ethiopia is in turmoil. Both nations are at the brink of disintegrating, Eriterans are declaring a state of autonomy, excising the northern province from Ethiopia. The Oromo Liberation group are demanding independence for the central and western regions. Somalis are steps ahead. The Somali National Movement (SNM) has already declared independence in the northern part of the country and appointed a President and his deputy.

These divisions and internecine wars in Somalia and Ethiopia, both in the Horn of Africa tell tales of a fresh balkanisation of the continent, a climax of three decades of strifes, upheavals, wars. They have transformed the continent into the world's largest hotbed of violence, of carnage.

From north to south, east to west, violence, disputes, the scars, the evidence of wilful destruction sketch the African landscape. In West Africa, Senegal and Mauritania are still licking the wounds of weeks of avoidable violence arising from border clashes. In Liberia, the vestiges of a senseless civil war still star everyone in the face. In Sierra Leone, an

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

embattled President Joseph Momoh is hoping to contain insurgents, some of whom pillaged and plundered Liberia.

In the northwest, Morocco's belligerent posture and illegitimate claim over Western Sahara make peace a rarity there. Sporadic outburst of guns and artillery exchanges between Morocco's military and the militant, irrepressible Polisario Front, the legitimate claimants of Western Sahara (Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic), remain a sad reminder of Africa's limitless intra-regional strifes.

In the south, apartheid remains a reality but black-on-black violence outrages even the most undiscernible minds. Africa's border disputes, intra-state upheavals and other strifes despoil the spirit and ideals of the founding fathers of the continent. In under 28 years, Africa has fought the highest number of wars, has the highest number of infant mortality, the worse forms of drought and famine. It is the only region in the world whose people have the shortest life-span.

Wars, strifes and chaos have left Africa with the highest number of refugees in the world—five million. The wars in the Horn boasts the largest figure. There are refugees from the Liberia war, from the Chadian war, from Ethiopia's long running battle. The Mauritania/Senegal clash swelled the number while the Sudanese endless civil war churns out hundreds of displaced people daily.

Last week in Abuja, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim added to the ringing voices of concern. These conflicts have caused environmental degradation and driven people away from production and locked them into hate and distraction.

The conflicts in Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan have combined to produce one of the saddest pictures of human suffering in the continent". Is Africa a vision derailed?

Twenty-eight years ago, the continent's founding fathers foresaw these raging conflicts. They took cognisance of likely disputes arising from the continent's colonial inheritance. They recognised that attempts to re-draw the inherited national frontiers in post-independence era, would precipitate chaos. In their infinite wisdom, they agreed to let each state adopt its inherited frontiers as boundaries.

That was in Addis Ababa in May, 1963. Then, as the 32 heads of independent African nations, they had signed the Organisation of African Unity charter. They overcame sharp ideological differences of the continent's differing blocs; the Brazzaville, the Monrovia and the Casablanca, to found a uniting, regional organisation the OAU.

It is now 28 years since the OAU charter was signed. Today, the OAU has 51 members and the organisation's role in the continent has expanded considerably. The OAU has sought, within the principles of its charter, to settle disputes between member states and civil strifes within countries. But the charter and its resolutions, have been more in the breach than in the observance.

How has the OAU fared in its 28 years? Several problems — settlement of disputes, human rights and economic issues, decolonisation— have faced African leaders. And the OAU, within the political atmosphere in which it is operating, has been striving to achieve the objectives enunciated in the organisation's charter.

Article three of the charter frowns at the interference in the internal affairs of member countries. Thus, the organisation has been able to do very little in ending the civil wars that have been raging in several African nations.

The organisation has, however, used a variety of techniques to control conflict among member countries. These techniques include summit diplomacy, adhoc committees, good offices committees and presidential mediation.

The emergence of three contemporary tyrants or dictators; Uganda's Idi-Amin, Francisco Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea and Jean Bokassa of the Central African Republic compelled the OAU to focus on human rights issues.

However, one area which the OAU has made significant impact is decolonisation. Today, all African countries, except South Africa and the Western Sahara are independent. Through its moral, financial, diplomatic and materials support, to the liberation movements, especially those in former Rhodesia, Namibia and the former Portuguese territories, the OAU not only made decolonisation an active issue in world politics, but also gave the liberation struggles continental and global legitimacy.

Yet, there is room for a lot of improvement.

*AFRICAN CONCORD June 10, 1991*

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## Salute the New OAU Chairman

**T**he Vanguard congratulates the new OAU chairman, President Ibrahim Babangida for his statesman-like conducting of the OAU conference which has been generally acknowledged as a great success. In all these matters, the inimitable IBB was the young Big Brother playing a deft hand and coming up trumps. The man did Nigeria proud.

The new OAU Chairman should therefore see his role as a once in-a-life-time chance to contribute to the amelioration, if not solve, the blackman's burden, namely, poverty, insecurity, denial of civil liberties and self-determination, ignorance and disease.

...Hopefully, the newly established African Economic Community would provide the chairman the right opportunity to initiate steps that could change these ugly trends.

The OAU must now put on a new and dynamic look. We believe that IBB has the will and the resources to put these through and the best place to start is Nigeria.

Good Luck.

*VANGUARD Editorial Thursday June 11, 1991*

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## OAU Guests React

**T**he beauty of Abuja and Nigerian hospitality dazzled delegates and observers at the just concluded 27th OAU summit.

A cross-section of them interviewed were full of praises for the Nigerian government and people.

The First Lady of Botswana, Mrs Gladys Masire, told us she was very impressed with the activities of youths and women through the NDE and Better Life Programmes.

Mrs. Lisse Binta, a translator at the OAU Secretariat, described Abuja as one of the best cities she has seen.

She is particularly enamoured by the undulating landscape and the surrounding hills.

Mrs. Binta told us her love for Nigeria is so great she would not mind being part of it.

Her words: "I love to share with them because they are nice, simple and easy-going."

Ambassador Suleiman Hemed, Chief of Protocol in Tanzania's foreign ministry, also praised the Nigerian government for providing standard facilities for the summit.

But Mr. Pierre-Clavre, an interpreter at the OAU secretariat, was not impressed with the communication system.

He complained that he spent 20 minutes on the telephone, trying to speak with a friend but failed to get through.

And much as Mrs Ruth Bamela Engo, a senior liaison officer in the United Nations Director-General's office, is pleased with the services the Sheraton Hotel and Towers in Abuja rendered her -especially the vintage African dishes - she is sad that most jobs in the city are done manually.

Engo considers this unbecoming of a city of Abuja's status and recommends that the Better Life and similar programmes be geared more towards improving the living standards of the people.

Talking about Nigerians, Brigadier Hashim Mbita, Executive Secretary, OAU Liberation Committee, said "they are fast, kind, gentle and understanding."

He is highly impressed with the rapid development of Abuja and commends President Ibrahim Babangida's administration for it.

The president of Sierra Leone, Major-General Joseph S. Momoh, summed up the feelings of many Africans who attended the summit.

"Very many thanks for looking after us so well. Hope to be back."

*ABUJA NEWSDAY, June 12, 1991.*

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## Abuja after the Summit

**I**n spite of the fears, doubts and pessimism that preceded Nigeria's bid to host the 27th Summit of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, it sailed through last week in Abuja.

It is no longer news that most African leaders, delegates and observers have described the

summit as the most successful in the history of the 28-year old organisation.

The signing of the African Economic Community (AEC) treaty will go down in history as one of the most remarkable achievements of the 1991 summit.

As proud Nigerians send congratulatory messages to government for a summit well hosted, it is pertinent to draw some useful lessons from the summit.

In the first place, while we agree that we were made to prepare for the summit within six months, it is relevant to point out that some extra-ministerial departments in the new Federal Capital Territory, Abuja should be advised to wake up from their slumber.

The summit has also clearly shown that "almighty" NEPA can supply electricity even amidst a roaring storm. We observed that during the summit, light was stable even when it was raining heavily. NEPA should therefore evolve a durable mechanism to supply uninterrupted electricity as it did during the summit.

And this: We observed that street light, especially in Wuse and Maitama Districts, was sustained by mobile generating plants during the summit. It is time the electrical engineering unit of the FCDA provided permanent street light in the city. That's one of the duties the unit is paid to do.

It had been praises galore for the efficiency of the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL) before and during the summit. Not so with the Abuja Environmental Protection Board (AEPB). It is unfortunate that the board was sleeping so much on duty that it look a presidential intervention to clean up the city for the summit.

The summit has therefore afforded the board the opportunity to put its house in order.

Lest we forget, the Federal Road Safety Commission has been shouting itself hoarse about the need for the traffic light in the city. But the authorities have been saying the city is not ready for this yet.

This is why we are confounded by the mobile (battery-regulated) traffic light hurriedly installed in some strategic areas before the summit. It is unfortunate that all of them had packed up before the summit opened.

This is the time for the authorities concerned to reconsider the FRSC's proposal for traffic light.

We also wish to ask, in the circumstances: who is to maintain the multi-billion naira Abuja International Conference Centre? It is indisputable that Julius Berger has done a beautiful job. But will the centre be well maintained after the summit?

We urge the authorities to take maintenance of this and other public utilities seriously. The Abuja OAU Summit has opened our eyes to this urgent need. After all, maintenance culture is an integral part of the Structural Adjustment Programme.

*ABUJA NEWSDAY, June 12, 1991*

## What Girls Do For Money

*How they harvested hard currency from OAU summiteers*

**I**t is amazing what girls do for money these days. The last OAU summit in Abuja provided another theatre for girls to chase money desperately. Well, maybe it was all part of the lavish reception for the eminent guests who turned up for the summit.

The number of female Nigerian delegates that attended the summit compels you to ask if they all qualified to attend or were okayed as accessories.

The race among Abuja girls for men with hard currency has become increasingly embarrassing. Three days after the summit, I met three girls at one of the five star hotels in the city. They had left Lagos for Abuja to see how they could use their charming looks to make money from the summiteers. One of them was a school mate who chose to withdraw from school. All efforts by her parents to get her back to school had proved abortive. She is no doubt a pretty girl who is good in parading her looks to good advantage.

I engaged her in a discussion. But while I was discussing professional issues, she was busy counting the men she moves with and the class of men she prefers. She even confided in me that the summit fetched her at least 1000 pounds sterling cash and that she had no regrets for going out with the eminent guests.

I asked her what she would do if she contracted AIDS. Her reply: "There is nothing like AIDS"

And you begin to wonder what money has become that many ladies have decided to look for it the most deadly way. Why has the craze for the good things of life blinded us to the deadly consequences of prostitution? Are the men who patronise these free women still sane? What happened to appeals from health and other authorities that we should control our sexual urge?

*ABUJA NEWSDAY, June 12, 1991*

## OAU Unity Song

*Composed by Funmi Adams*

There is a land of many nations  
The beauty of the world  
Where all the people share the same notion  
To come together as one

She is called AFRICA  
The land of sunshine  
The name is AFRICA  
The land of treasure

AFRICA! AFRICA!!

How great you are  
Great you remain

You are welcome to NIGERIA  
As we host the OAU  
And we assure you of the best  
Of our hospitality

PRESIDENT BABANGIDA  
Welcomes you to NIGERIA  
The people of NIGERIA  
Welcome you to NIGERIA

AFRICA! AFRICA!!

You are welcome to NIGERIA!!  
The Organisation of African Unity  
Is here to bind us  
And not divide us

AFRICA! AFRICA!!

United we are  
United we remain.

*ABUJA NEWSDAY, June 12, 1991*

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## Beyond Abuja

**T**he just concluded Abuja Summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will be the subject of discussion and rave reviews for some time to come.

The opulence, glamour and glitter of Abuja have accordingly provoked unrestrained hyperboles, self-congratulatory back-slapping and a somewhat reckless hubris as if Abuja is a rite of ablation that cleanses Africa of all blemishes. The summit has been described as "the most well-attended" as if the bandits masquerading as saviour-leaders have ever turned down any invitation to a lavish party, especially when the big spender is

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inviting.

Others described it as "the new direction" while some enthused that it was 'the dawn of democracy in Africa.' In the heat of the new excitement, every expression sounds new; but history reveals that these very same expressions have described 26 previous summits of the OAU.

For Nigeria, it has been described as yet a sign that we've come of age in the ability to organise such an intricate event. But if we jog our memory a wee bit, we'll remember that splashing out has never been one of our weak points. Didn't we "successfully" host the Festival of Black and Africa Arts and Culture, FESTAC, Second All African Games, and the Cup of Nations? Was it not on account of these track records that we vied to host the World Cup?

The Summit has also inevitably evoked its own jokes amongst our detractors! They now say that we can't resist the urge to spend (some cynics say spray) whenever we rake in some good oil money. They insinuate that when we earned money from the booms of 1973 we went on a spending spree-FESTAC etc. They are now saying that the money we earned during the pre-Gulf War speculations is what we've splashed out in Abuja.

This dark humour has provoked some people to ask if we could not have had a less ostentatious, and yet successful OAU summit, particularly given the crippling three-digit inflation ravaging Nigerians? Could a sober and austere summit not have captured the sombre and dire economic condition of the continent?

When these questions were being raised, it occurred to me that those who raise them have missed the central focus of the Abuja spectacle. And that is, that the leaders who gathered in Abuja themselves constitute the very problems of Africa.

And so when Babangida, the confessed democrat among them, leads his battle for democracy and human rights in Africa, will it stop Raji Rasaki from stomping at a newspaper house whenever he suffers some constipation? Is it Kenneth Kaunda or Arap Moi or Paul Biya that will lead the new democracy crusade in Africa? Is it blood thirsty Blaise Campaore or Mubutu Sese Seko or Eyadema that will lead in the drive for human rights?

Who among the saviours who gathered in Abuja is not guilty of scandalous graft and wholesale conversion of their nations' resources into private fortunes and estates hidden somewhere in Europe? Who among them has not let his nation's economy in the ruinous condition than he met it? Who among them has any view, economic ideas and management insight to offer his nation? Who among them does not visit the people with indiscriminate oppression and victimisation, more atrocious than is possible in apartheid South Africa?

I am sorry if I don't share the optimism elicited by the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, AEC. My optimism was immediately squelched by the thought of what became of the Lagos Plan of Action.

The euphoria that accompanied the Lagos Plan of Action still rings in my ear, but the hope it raised has long faded. I nevertheless share the views that we should turn our back to the bunglings of the past, and look ahead; that Abuja should portend a new beginning, and awakening.

But I am persuaded that to begin anew is to begin at the beginning. And that beginning is to rid Africa of the Bourbons that converged at Abuja. To that extent I am consoled that,

at least, Babangida brought home to them the stark fact that their time is up.

Let's hope that the continent's tyrants will take the hint, so that as they ratify the AEC treaty, more and more of them will gracefully retire themselves and let Africa breathe.

By Pini Jason

VANGUARD, June 14, 1991

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## For New Africa

**T**he average African is poorer today than he was ten years ago. There is less food per person today than a decade ago. In fact, mortality is a staggering 120 out of every 1,000 children born alive. Six to five per cent of adults can neither read nor write. A mere 23 per cent of Africans have access to a clean drinking water. Africa has one doctor for every 24,500 people in a sea of diseases. One African migrant out of five is a refugee and one refugee out of every two in the world is an African". So declared Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni, the immediate past chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)... It is our opinion that the summit can only be truthfully assessed on the basis of the decisions taken to reverse the situation.

By far, the most significant decision of the summit was the one setting up the African Economic Community (AEC).

*THE GUARDIAN-Editorial: Friday, June 14, 1991.*

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## Mubarak Expresses Faith in New OAU Leadership

**P**resident Hosni Mubarak of Egypt has expressed total confidence in the ability of President Ibrahim Babangida to lay a solid foundation for the take-off of the African Economic Community during his tenure as Organisation of African Unity chairman. The Egyptian leader said the community would give Africa another chance to tackle underdevelopment and poverty on the eve of the 21st century and further enhance South-South cooperation.

President Mubarak's special envoy, Ambassador Aziz Seif El-Nasr, who brought a special message to Dodan Barracks yesterday, said Egypt was optimistic that President Babangida's chairmanship would also see the end of apartheid in South Africa and the

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resolution of the Palestinian problem.

President Mubarak's message noted that the OAU Summit in Abuja made all Africans proud...

NEW NIGERIAN: Friday, June 14, 1991.

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### The African Condition

**A**NYONE who had hoped that the recent OAU summit in Abuja would infuse some spirit into a weak and forlorn continent, must have been disappointed as usual. As rituals go the summit was delivered splendidly. Nigerians were entitled to a measure of self-congratulation for successfully hosting the summit. Given our predilection to bungle even the simplest of tasks, Nigerian officials were entitled to pat themselves on the back that there was no major disaster. For weeks after the summit, it was this fact rather than any major accomplishment that informed talk about it. Abuja was gleaming in new Mercedes Benz cars; hotels, the conference venue and other places, acquired a new spirit and polish. Nearly everything, one hears, was imported; from mobile traffic lights to flags. Nobody knows how much all these cost. The Financial Times correspondent who dared to suggest that the summit as well as Nigeria's adventure in Liberia gobbled a staggering \$3 billion was bundled and deported. So much for accountability and the talk of Nigeria having the freest press in Africa. (The Guardian group of newspapers which was ordered shut by a state governor on very dubious grounds must have learnt the object lesson on how hollow this myth was). No one appears to have considered that these actions gravely contradicted what is supposed to be a new move towards democracy and freedom, issues which informed much of the discussion at the summit. Evidently, the beautiful ones are yet to be born.

But then, our summits are always rich in the absurd and the laughable as we tend to see them not as an opportunity to achieve concrete results, but reasons to put on a show. Pomp and ceremony often suffice as achievement.

But then, our summits are always rich in the absurd and not much can beat the fact of Kenyan President, Arap Moi prematurely leaving a summit in order to go and lay the red carpet for South Africa's President Frederic de Klerk in Nairobi. And yet, this was a summit that was preoccupied with South Africa and laying the ground rules for dealing with that still benighted land. Coming from Kenya, that action was not at all surprising for after all the Kenyan leadership has provided base for some of the most reactionary, rightwing causes in the continent, from supporting the MNR blood-hounds in Mozambique to open trading with South Africa. To drive home the point that such behaviour is impermissible, the ANC pointedly refused to entertain the address of the Kenyan government sent to its congress last week. That response was at once a measure of the movement's growing confidence as the government-in-waiting and warning to outsiders including Africans given to insufferable paternalism that they would have learnt to accept that Black South Africans are now poised

to control their destiny.

The OAU summit was not all about distractions of the Moi genre. Signatures were appended to a blue print for economic union at a date well into the next century by everyone present including a representative just emerging from the bush of the newly triumphant Ethiopian rebel movement.

No one had a right to expect that the summit would wave a magic wand to solve Africa's social and economic problems. Given their intractability, the problems would take quite some effort. But what was betrayed by the summit, by the actions of our leadership, is an abysmally low level of appreciation of the nature of these problems. To take but one example: in response to the democratic winds blowing across the globe, many African leaders have embraced pluralism. Many are cynically bringing into being as many political parties as possible without deepening the democratic content of society or allowing it to inform and affect their own behaviour. Even where there appear to be honest efforts at a democratic renewal, the difficulties which led to post-independent grief are being glossed over.

This is but one index of the deepening crisis of Africa's condition. The regression of intellect, the drain of some of its best brains to the citadel of foreign economic and intellectual power is coming at a time when spirited and informed efforts are needed to contain the ideological and economic assault that could justify a new colonialism. Certainly, in the words of Prof. Ali Mazrui during an exchange with the editorial board of *The Guardian* last week, Africa and, indeed the Black World, is confronted by a new form of paternalism; of a global apartheid, begotten by the end of the cold war, which sees us as inconsequential to the fate of the world. But, must we continue to seem to be inconsequential in determining our own fate? It is to this extent that the OAU summit at Abuja was a hollow ritual. It is why African peoples have to find new voices, new forms of organisations and a new commitment.

Analysis by Sully Abu  
*AFRICAN GUARDIAN, July 15, 1991*

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## “Sins” of OAU

**T**he warning dished out to media chief executives by two ministers, just before the OAU meetings started in Abuja, unfortunately, had the desired effect — depriving many juicy or unsavoury stories of publication when something could still be done about it. But the concern of these two top government officials was to ensure that no newspaper or magazine in Nigeria carried anything that might embarrass the federal administration.

Information Minister, Chief Alex Akinyele, had told journalists not to publish any story which could be described as explosive, controversial, or detrimental to the nation's image. His colleague, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, followed up by appealing for calm, should students' riot or any other explosive situation crop up, during the OAU Summit meetings.



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And so it was that hotel rates and food fees went through the roof in Abuja since May 22, 1991, and have refused to come down.

Not that Abuja was ever near-cheap, where hotel rooms or buka food were concerned. But the traders obviously believed they would be foolish if the influx of foreigners and visitors was not exploited. Restaurants like Anogema Food and Snacks Centre, De O's Restaurant, Jama'a Restaurant and Kitchen Aesthetics changed prices to suit the number of people streaming in to eat and they were not alone.

Eating joints in two of Garki District's Shopping Centres followed suit such that a plate of *eba*, which had gone for N5.00 before the Summit season, went up to N10.00. Other food like jollof rice, white rice, beans and yam porridge which were marked a little higher than *eba*, went completely off the "menu card." In a few places, the quantity of the food went down at the same time as the prices went up.

Pieces of meat which were going for one naira, went as high as three naira. Pieces of goat meat ordinarily sold for two or three naira became half the size for the same price. Pounded yam which one could get for N7.00 went up to N10.00 and N12.00 with two tiny pieces of meat. To be even half-way satisfied, you had to demand "extra food and extra meat, fish" or other "obstacles" you fancied.

During the OAU Summit season, you had to have real money to go out to a restaurant, ready to do competition with the various foreign visitors and other Nigerians, who happened to be in town. By the time you settled down to extra this and extra that and left the place, you would have spent closer to N20.00, whereas, you could make do before with N10.00, without drinks. Of course, the fact that you paid more for less food did not translate to better quality food during this period.

Hotels were much worse. To a journalist who came into town on May 25 and stayed at a guest house within the town, they were simply unbelievable. By the time he went back the next day to Sunny Guest Inn, there was no more space and the hotel rates had gone up by as much as N50-70. With that new price, he was offered something at their annex at Nyanya, on the outskirts of the town, but he had to refuse. Silver Pot Rendezvous and others did the same, hiking their hotel rates because they knew they would, nevertheless be solidly booked.

Many would be tempted to ask why no paper carried the report of these goings-on at the time but the answer is simple, "It would have been unpatriotic", one journalist said, when the enquiry was made. "Don't you remember what Akinyele said at that briefing?"

Akinyele said: "If you don't write it, none will know," in response to the question posed by the representative of a private newspaper house as to what government had done to ensure that potentially explosive domestic issues did not get out of hand during the Summit period. Either the Minister did not understand the question or he didn't wait to hear it all but his reply was a pep-talk on patriotism and the time to indulge in it.

OAU has come and gone but the high prices haven't; thanks to Alex Akinyele, Ike Nwachukwu and patriotic Nigerian journalists.

NEWBREED, July 15, 1991

## Abiola's Triumph

**M**oshood Abiola, publisher of the Concord group of newspapers emerged from the International Conference Centre, venue of the OAU Summit in Abuja, last Monday, smiling broadly. He was happy that the African leaders had joined his campaign to make the Western powers pay reparation to Africa for centuries of exploitation of the continent.

The OAU had approved the setting up of a committee to liaise with some of the Africans in the diaspora to work out specific guidelines on the matter. President Ibrahim Babangida the new OAU chairman, pledged to give the reparation cause, spearheaded by Abiola, "all the necessary encouragement". He blamed the present developmental constraints in West Africa on slave trade and colonial exploitation.

Abiola told *NewsWatch* at Abuja that although the African leaders agreed to take up the issue, he himself would not let the tempo slow down.

Some African leaders, and scholars, have sought to link the issue of reparations to the continent's debt burden. They suggested that the West should be asked to write off Africa's huge debt of about \$350 billion, as a compensation for their colonisation and slavery in Africa. Barbe Conable, president of the World Bank rejected this idea saying it was "morally unjustifiable" to seek to link reparations with the debt crisis. He said it was "unlikely" that creditor nations would accept this suggestion just because of Africa's past.

Abiola, who hosted a world conference on reparations early this year, remains undaunted. He said last week he was still confident that the demand by Africa for compensation from the West, would be met. He said he was encouraged not just by the fact that the OAU had waded into the matter, but because the UN had laid down the criteria for the payment of reparations, as was recently witnessed in the case of Kuwait versus Iraq. "If Iraq must return the loot from Kuwait under a general resolution", he argued, "so must the British and Americans return the loots from the museums". According to him, six of the UN resolutions on Iraq were general resolutions laying down "conditions for any nation that loots treasures of another to return it".

Abiola further cited Japan, which was paid reparations by American and European governments after World War II, and Israel, which received over \$700 billion from Germany, for the mass murder of Jews. He said it was easy for the Congressional Black Caucus in the US to prove, through official records, that over 169 million Africans taken as slaves by the West, died during a period spanning 354 years. About 130 million others, he said, perished at sea, as they were being transported from Africa to the Western nations.

Apart from slavery, the Concord boss said colonialism had also ruined Africa's economy. Precious raw materials, cash crops and priceless historical art facts, he pointed out, were stolen from the continent during the colonial period.

*NEWSWATCH, June, 17, 1991*

## No Change

A greater part of the last week's OAU Summit in Abuja, was devoted to the issue of sanctions against South Africa. Among the African leaders, three main groups emerged: some favoured continued sanctions against Pretoria; some opted for partial lifting of the sanctions; and some others wanted the sanctions lifted.

Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwean prime minister, and President Ibrahim Babangida, were some of the front-liners in the first group. Their position was that, since international economic sanctions had proved a very useful instrument in forcing the hands of the South African minority government to abandon some of the inhuman apartheid policies, the pressure, should be kept up, not relaxed. This, too, was the view held by representatives of the Pan African Congress, PAC, one of the major liberation movements in South Africa. They had asked the African leaders in Abuja to intensify their economic pressure on the racist regime.

Some of the leaders chose the middle-ground. They wanted partial lifting of sanctions as a goodwill gesture to President Frederik de Klerk, who they credit for some of the positive developments in the country. To encourage de Klerk to do more, they reasoned, it was better to waive some of the crippling sanctions. There is also the fact that many western nations have, in recent times, re-established trade links with Pretoria. This development, they said, was most likely to neutralise whatever impact the continued boycott of Pretoria by African nations could have.

The African National Congress, ANC, considered the most powerful liberation movement in South Africa, was said to have leaned towards this view. Tourism and sports were the two areas the organisation, represented by its deputy president, Nelson Mandela, was reported to have shown a willingness to strike out from the economic sanctions list.

A handful of the African leaders, saw no use of continued boycott of Pretoria by the rest of Africa. Cote d'Ivoire, which led this group, said it believed that bringing de Klerk closer to the rest of Africa, could change things faster than keeping him in the cold.

The differences among the three positions were eventually narrowed. Mandela told *Newswatch* towards the closing of the summit, that there existed no differences between his organisation and other anti-apartheid movements on the question of sanctions. "Those saying we have wavered on the issue of sanctions are trying to create a wedge in our understanding with other anti-apartheid groups", he said. Mandela reaffirmed his belief in the effectiveness of sanctions, saying the country's currency, the rand, had fallen.

The African Heads of State and Government, on their own, finally resolved that "all sanctions must remain in place until the system of apartheid has been ended". They also agreed to continue to provide the South African liberation movements with "the necessary financial and material assistance". Acknowledging that there have been "some positive developments" towards the abolition of apartheid, the leaders promised to review their position when the racial system has been completely erased in South Africa.

For the rest of Africa, the issue of encouraging the growth of democracy was also raised. Babangida, the new OAU chairman, who spearheaded this campaign, said it was the responsibility of the various African governments to work out the details of democratisation

within the ambit of their own sovereignty. He ruled out the possibility of the intervention of the OAU in the internal affairs of any member country, for the purposes of enthroning democracy. Babangida would rather that African leaders copied from the Nigerian example of peaceful transfer of power from the military to civilians, which he said, was "three years ahead of Eastern Europe".

*NEWSWATCH, June 17, 1991*

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## One Giant Step Forward

**T**he star event of the four-day 27th Summit of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, was the signing of the treaty establishing the African Economic Community, AEC. The treaty signed by 32 African heads of state, June 3, was the climax of a 23-year search for economic integration in Africa.

Objectives of the AEC are the promotion of economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies; establishment of a framework for the development, mobilisation and utilisation of the human and material resources of Africa; promotion of cooperation in the field of human endeavour to raise the standard of living of African peoples; and the co-ordination and harmonisation of present policies among existing economic communities and those of future ones.

The treaty provides for the strengthening of the existing regional economic communities and the establishment of other communities in regions of the continent in which they do not exist; liberalisation of trade through abolishing customs duties, the establishment of a common market, and the gradual removal of existing obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital.

The idea of an African common market, was first mooted at the 1968 OAU summit in Algiers, Algeria. The issue was again discussed in Addis Ababa two years later. Both attempts were aborted by the effects of the cold war between the Soviet Union and the United States which polarised the continent along ideological lines. Another attempt at the Libreville OAU summit 14 years later, failed largely because of the same ideological divide.

The foundation that resulted in the present positive stage was laid 11 years ago in Lagos when the organisation adopted the Lagos Plan of Action, LPA, in April 1980. The LPA reaffirmed the commitment of African leaders to the establishment by the year 2000 of an African economic community to foster the economic, social and cultural integration of Africa. The LPA coincided with similar attempts in Europe, Asia and America towards the establishment of stronger economic blocs.

Last week's signing of the AEC treaty may appear belated though it came at a time of growing fears among African leaders that the continent risked being isolated in the face of stronger economic groupings elsewhere. Within a decade of the signing of the LPA, the economic situation in Africa has deteriorated. Today, Africa, weighed down with a

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population of more than 600 million, is bogged by an external debt of \$350 billion which approximate more than 80 percent of its gross domestic product, GDP, and 320 percent of its export earnings. Between 1980 and 1986, Africa's total per capita income, declined by 5 per cent. Within the same period, according to the World Bank, the number of available jobs declined by 16 per cent while the labour force increased by 2.7 per cent annually resulting in 22 million unemployed, and 95 million under-employed Africans. A World Bank report released late last year, says Africa is the only region of the world where the number of people living in poverty would, if current trends remain unchecked, increase at the turn of the 20th century.

In implementing the AEC treaty, Africa has existing structures to fall back on. These include the Maghreb Union, the Economic Community of Central African States, ECCAS, the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, the East African Economic Community, EAEC, and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, SADCC and the Preferential Trade Areas, PTA. Though they were intended to form the bedrock of a more enduring continental economic grouping, the deteriorating economic situation of Africa in the last decade showed that a more determined integration programme, was imperative. For instance, despite the presence of these sub-regional unions, intra-African trade formed less than 5 per cent of total African trade because most African countries depend on European markets for their trade. These are some of the continental economic problems which AEC is expected to resolve.

But despite the fact that African economies will be enhanced through the AEC, there are growing fears that it may be short-lived. Those who express these fears point to the loss of 50 per cent of the African share of the world market since 1970. For instance, the World Bank has estimated that had Africa maintained its 1970 market share of non-oil commodities, the continent would, even in the face of price fluctuations today, be receiving more than N90 billion annually in export revenue. Low level of efficiency is identified as the cause of loss of Africa's market share, and by implication, the absence of competition with other regions in the world. Today, cost of doing business in, and with Africa is at least 50 per cent higher than in other regions. "The situation has to change", according to Barber Conable, president of the World Bank. According to Conable, African leaders will have to further adjust their economies in order to improve the continent's economic efficiency.

Perhaps, the main cause of apprehension is the unending political instability in the continent. Since 1960, civil wars and trans-border conflicts among African countries have worsened the refugee situation in Africa. Added to this is the constant change in governments which, in most cases, put the brake on development efforts. Another aspect of this instability is manifested in the current wind of pro-reform agitations to unseat long-serving African leaders. Last week, Conable said these demands were legitimate though the World Bank was not prepared "to involve itself in the internal political affairs of African countries or introduce new political conditionalities in its work".

The 97-page AEC treaty appears workable. Aside from its objectives which observers say are achievable if member states of the OAU adhere to them, articles 78 and 79, grant special concessions to Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland in recognition of their exceptional situations. The four countries are granted temporary exemption from the full

application of provisions of the treaty. There are also provisions for settlement of disputes between member nations, dissolution of the community and penalties for defaulting in dues payments. But these, according to observers, are not necessary if African leaders do not establish an effective means of resolving disputes.

The AEC will be established in six stages over a period of 34 years, with a full-fledged African Common Market, ACM, with an African Central Bank and a single currency planned to be functioning by the year 2031. The first and second stages, which will terminate in 2004, are the establishment of a continental customs union and the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers to intra-AEC trade. Between 2004 and blooming of the ACM, it is expected that the free movement of persons within the community would have been in place.

There is the possibility that this will heighten the suspicion of smaller African states with less-vibrant economies. It already has, considering that similar suspicions aborted a closer union within ECOWAS member-states. If the AEC treaty survives the first two stages, then its chances of enduring would be high. But in the face of dwindling economic fortunes of many African countries, a lot of work must be done. Conable said as much last week: "The 21st century may not be better unless there is a singleness of purpose on the issue of integration."

*NEWSWATCH, June 17, 1991*

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## The Sanctions Saga

**"W**e are ready to review the situation in South Africa, taking into account concrete steps by the Pretoria regime to remove all obstacles to negotiations, as well as putting an immediate end to the on-going violence." The above statement, part of the Abuja Declaration on South Africa issued by the heads of state, was warmly welcomed by the South African government.

Despite the OAU's reaffirmation of its support for sanctions at Abuja, Pretoria has been quick to identify a more conciliatory tone in the organisation's final position on South Africa, hinting that a broader dialogue with black Africa may soon be possible. President F.W. de Klerk's visit to Nairobi is unlikely to be South Africa's only foray north of the Limpopo this year, and there is already speculation that President Babangida will see a trip to South Africa as part of his chairman's mandate "to take the struggle deeper into South Africa." Failing that, de Klerk could be in Lagos soon. Babangida's actions however, will be taken in consultation with the frontline leaders, the PAC and ANC and the OAU's ad hoc committee on South Africa.

Prior to the summit, there had been suspicions that Nigeria was amongst those states ready to lobby for a lifting of at least some sanctions in response to the reforms introduced by de Klerk and that this might be reflected in Babangida's chairmanship. There is certainly a

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caucus within the OAU prepared to do business with South Africa, but few were as blunt as Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi, who claimed the ANC's approach to sanctions was now anachronistic and should be abandoned if the organisation "does not trail behind when others take the initiative."

Perhaps sensing a shift in Africa's position, PAC Secretary for External Affairs, Mr. Gora Ibrahim, used his platform during the ministerial summit to reiterate the need for sanctions and to warn against the dangers of de Klerk being given too much credit too soon. Nothing less than "the eradication of apartheid" would suffice. The resolution adopted by the ministerial council on South Africa may have been robust enough for the PAC's tastes, but the organisation may be less happy with the final text of the Abuja Declaration. There was reportedly considerable disagreement between the ANC and PAC on what signals should be sent from Abuja. Long consultations under the aegis of the frontline states produced a compromise. The announcement during the summit of the abolition of the Group Areas and Land Acts was a sharp reminder that de Klerk is still on top of the game.

In addition to South Africa, President Ibrahim Babangida's closing address focussed on three other trouble spots:

- On Ethiopia, a committee of heads of state from neighbouring countries, namely Kenya, Sudan, Somalia and Djibouti, was set up under the chairmanship of the current OAU chairman to assist the parties in Ethiopia in the process of a return to normality, stability and security in the context of national reconciliation. Hopes were raised further when the leader of the Ethiopian delegation told the summit that Ethiopia for the first time in 30 years was "at peace" and assured the African leaders that everything was under control.

- On Somalia, the OAU secretary-general was mandated to undertake a good offices mission to help all the parties arrive at an agreement to safeguard Somalia's national unity and ensure peace and stability in the country. The OAU called on the Somali National Movement (SNM) to rescind its decision of secession and work for the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of the country.

WEST AFRICA, June 17-23, 1991

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### Gleam and Glitter

*The OAU summit was sparkling. African leaders signed the African Economic Treaty. But can the OAU Secretariat get the funds for implementing the provisions of the treaty?*

**B**ut for a few incidents, the conduct of the 27th ordinary assembly of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Abuja was very smooth. The Libyan delegation living up to its radical billing, walked out on the first day of the summit. But the walk-out was ineffective and largely theatrical.

After signing the protocol and the treaty establishing the African Economic Community,

the Libyan delegation notified the press that it was walking out and proceeded. The Libyans said that they did so because Nigeria was used as transit to evacuate Libyan dissidents trained by the United States. The dissidents were stationed in Chad before the change of government there.

Between the leaders of Uganda and Rwanda, misgivings were expressed. Rwandan leader, Juvenal Habyarimana introduced the brickbats. He accused his Ugandan counterpart, Yoweri Museveni of encouraging aggression against Rwanda; insinuated that Rwandese territories had been claimed by Uganda; accused Museveni of unbridled pursuit of hegemony in the sub-region and concluded that Uganda had become a 'natural' dumping ground for surplus Rwandese population.

President Museveni explained that those President Habyarimana referred to as aggressors were rebels, since they were Rwandese. He wondered "if the whitemen's language we use has not affected our ability to properly identify things." President Museveni said that the Rwandese leader referred to the rebels as aggressors to justify the presence of foreign troops in his country.

He denied that Uganda had any interest in maintaining hegemony, noting that Ugandan territories "carved" into Rwanda by the colonial authorities were more than those of Rwanda carved into Uganda. He advised President Habyarimana to seek to control his country's population "so as to eliminate the surplus."

Also, a disagreement between a Zairean security man and his Nigerian counterpart led to an unfortunate bloodlet, minutes before the end of the summit. The Zairean was part of an advance security team that arrived at the conference centre before President Mobutu Sese Seko arrived for the closing session. Nigerian security officials who manned the final entrance into the main auditorium of the conference centre refused the Zairean entry, apparently because he was carrying arms.

For a moment they argued over this. Then, both parties lost their patience and a scuffle ensued. The next moment, blood was on the face of the Zairean security man. President Sese Seko who later arrived at the scene refused to enter the auditorium. President Omar Bongo of Gabon joined Sese Seko shortly. Soon President Babangida arrived, alarmed, obviously at the bloodlet. He apologised.

These "skirmishes" apart, the summit began with lofty expectations and impressive preparations. The preparations particularly had been wholesome with amazing results. The imposing annexe to the original International Conference Centre, venue of the summit was designed, constructed and furnished in six months, costing a foreigner's life and a huge sum of money. Each delegation received a reception that would make any king envious.

At least two Mercedes limousines, apart from a convoy of cars and a bus, were attached to each delegation. A guard of honour was mounted at the airport, at the city's gate, at Nicon Noga Hilton Hotel where all the heads of state were accommodated and at the conference centre. There was also a presentation of colourful durbar. Nicon Noga's nine kitchens were kept busy round the clock for the duration of the summit. About 600 meals of 18 tons worth were prepared each day.

Much of the deliberations were behind closed door. An outline of the summit's agenda had already been drafted by the council of ministers. In the main, all the honie work had been done, especially on the treaty establishing the African Economic Community. The



## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

heads of state and government simply signed the document. Discussions on the problem in South Africa dominated the sessions, escalating crises in Africa was examined, measures towards security and stability in the continent earlier discussed in Kampala, Uganda was also presented.

Democratisation was highlighted, further support for liberation movements, relevance of continued sanctions against South Africa, the debt crisis in Africa, reparations to Africans for centuries of slavery and exploitation and Africa's yearning to occupy the seat of the secretary-general of the United Nations (UN). The sessions also listened to different assessment of Africa by some experts.

The Secretary-General of the OAU, Salim Ahmed Salim described the preparatory phase of the economic community as the most important stage. He urged African leaders to "get down to the actual drafting of the various protocols to the treaty, particularly those with a priority status." He highlighted the unpreparedness of the OAU secretariat to pursue the new responsibilities demanded by the treaty. He requested for the establishment of a monitoring committee on the economic community made up of the OAU secretary-general and chief executives of the regional economic groupings.

Barber Conable, President of the World Bank reminded African leaders that they were captains of troubled ships. "Low-income Africa is the only region of the world where the number of people living in poverty would, if current trends continue, increase by the year 2000; it is the only region whose debt is now greater than its total economic output," he told the summit.

He said the World Bank was aware of the daunting challenge that faced Africa and was evolving the social dimensions of the adjustment programmes and other measures to assist Africa.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Javier Perez de Cuellar warned the international community against ignoring the severe economic conditions in Africa. He deplored the lack of support from the industrialised world to African countries implementing the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). "Although nearly two-thirds of the countries in sub-saharan African are carrying out stabilisation and structural adjustment programmes, these efforts have yet to produce positive results in the absence of a supportive external environment."

He preached development aid and a significant reduction in Africa's debt and debt service. "It would be a tragedy indeed if adjustment with growth could not be achieved because the international community failed to provide the necessary financial resources to support the efforts of the African countries."

He extolled the African Economic Treaty but warned that the work ahead was arduous and challenging. He said that in view of the challenges confronting Africa, the General Assembly intended to review the United Nations Programme of Action for African Recovery and Development. He urged African leaders to find a solution to the pocket of civil strifes across the continent in order to bring the escalating cases of refugees in Africa under control.

The enormity of the problems, the wide ranging decisions it had to take compelled the summit to extend sitting by an extra day. At the end of it al, the summitters resolved to set

## Verdict of the Media

up a committee of heads of state comprising Nigeria, (as Chairman), Kenya, Djibouti, Somalia and Sudan to mediate and resolve the Ethiopian crisis.

Also, report on the dispute between Senegal and Mauritania was adopted. The Rwandan crisis was placed on the shoulders of the Zairean leader, Mobutu Sese Seko. The summit noted Mobutu's role, and encouraged him to continue to mediate. The summit also adopted an Abuja declaration on "a framework for action against apartheid. "We have accepted the need to put an end to violence in South Africa, and to encourage the formation of a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces, as part of our efforts to accelerate change in that country. We have also decided to maintain sanctions as a means of pressure on South Africa."

Its resolution on reparation was summarised by President Ibrahim Babangida: "It is clear that one of the fundamental constraints against our present development efforts is traceable to the effects of the slave trade and colonial exploitation.

Consequently, we have made a legitimate demand for reparation ... Accordingly, we have decided to set up a group of Eminent Africans and Africans in the Diaspora on this question."

The summit called on development partners and creditors to show better debt forgiveness and debt reduction. It also articulated strategies to ensure that an African candidate succeeds as the UN secretary general. The summit however failed to agree on which candidate to pick. Perhaps the lack of consensus on which candidate to pick is not deserving of much worry since the summit rose, believing that the treaty it signed was its greatest achievement.

The high point of the summit was the signing of the African Economic Treaty. President Babangida described the signing of the treaty as "a re-awakening." Museveni said it was an important milestone. The community itself is a distance expected to be accomplished in 34 years. It will span six stages involving tariffs, customs duties, customs union, harmonisation of tariff and non-tariff systems among regional economic groups, an African common market, free movement of people, goods, capital and services.

The picture that is painted of the final stage of the process is one of Africa with a single central bank, a single currency, a political union. The problem perhaps is that it is an ideal built solely on hope!

The secretariat of OAU may find it difficult implementing the provision of the treaty. It only received 25 per cent of members contributions last year.

Undoubtedly, the problem of conflicts and civil wars in Africa need the most urgent solution. That view received a consensus at the Abuja summit. Hunger and poverty and disease will begin to diminish in Africa if peace is won and people can cultivate their farmlands. Such hope was expressed in Abuja also.

Africans who seem to be impatient with the speed of transition in Africa outrightly dismiss such summits of the OAU as needless jamboree. They would grieve over the tonnage of food consumed, the hard currency wasted in buying princely cars, the largely unrewarding tradition of such summits, the artificially and lack of frankness in assessing problems.

Yet the Abuja summit, perhaps won some converts who are beginning to think that Africa needs such opportunities to keep talking to itself and articulate positions on global issues.

*AFRICAN CONCORD, June 17, 1991*

## OAU fall-outs

**T**he Abuja summit had come and gone. What it has left is heaving. And panting. And of course retrospection on the good, the bad and the risible: The fall out.

Uganda's Yoweri Museveni had passed the baton of the OAU to Babangida. But not without stealing the summit show. Museveni shone throughout the summit for his outstanding brilliance. He eclipsed the flotsam and the not-too jetsam of the summiteers. Those who under-estimated the intellectual capacity of the erstwhile rebel leader, had the shock of their lives. Where African leaders carved a niche for reading prepared speeches, Museveni spoke extempore. And where his colleagues earned a reputation for reading their audience to sleep, Yoweri held the summit audience captive, rapt and engrossed. He did not only speak extempore, the man spoke so intelligently that his sound knowledge of the African problem made a bunkum of his countryside rebel stratagem which neatly roused Milton Obote out of the Ugandan stable.

Zairean octopus, Emperor Mobutu Sese Seko came. He saw. And the man went. But not so his security guard. The poor chap encountered our "ebullient and agile" security men. And the dudes were themselves: "no-nonsense." They left a souvenir on the head of the Zairean: deep gaping cut which issued live blood. The poor chap was deaf to all entreaties that he should surrender his pistol before walking into the plenary hall. He didn't; and he had it coming. Kudos to our security men. It didn't matter if their action that day delayed the closing ceremony for over an hour. And certainly it didn't matter if diplomatic immunity suffered any draw-backs. To hell with diplomacy. What mattered was that a presidential Aid-de-Camp had no business accompanying his liege with a lethal metal. He should have known better.

Tanzanian President, Ali Hassan Mwinyi had a terrible experience at the airport. A slight communication lapse between the Tanzanian pilot and control tower diverted his Boeing 737 to the passenger wing of the Abuja International Airport, about a kilometre away from the Presidential Wing where IBB, his ministers, a Guard of Honour and a presidential convoy were patiently waiting to receive him. When the plane taxied to a stop at the rowdy tarmac, a short, squat man alighted reluctantly; apparently nonplused by the calibre of people around to receive him. A confused and indecisive protocol official exchanged quizzical looks, not knowing what to do. "This is the Tanzanian President" one of them whispered. Another countered "No. This is not Nyerere." This man apparently was very many years behind time, to think that Nyerere still bestrode Tanzania.

Mwinyi walked disappointingly into the delegate's lounge, leaving protocol officials outside arguing whether "the man" was a foreign minister, or he was the president. I chipped in to confirm that he was the president. And I noticed a lady protocol officer near me was the most disturbed. Apparently she was in charge of catching the small flies (delegates) at the passenger wing. And now a big one (President) had mistakenly landed in her weak net. She looked pissed off, not knowing what to do. "Someone will lose his job" an airport official said, worsening her already sickened looks. She would have mended battered protocol if she had courteously and apologetically asked the presidential delegation to return on board for the pilot to taxi to the appropriate wing. She didn't.

Instead she beckoned to a driver, jumped into a Saloon car and sped like lightening

towards the presidential wing. I was told, security was on the *Qui Vive* when the car shot its way into the presidential airport and the lady hopped out like it happens in the movie, broke all protocol and rushed to the lounge to tell the President (IBB) that there was a mislanding.

A convoy of two 3-door Mercedes for the Tanzanian President was hastily directed to go to the passenger wing and fetch Mwinyi. Half-way, however, protocol noticed a failing in the airconditioning system of the presidential limo. Helter-skelter, the Tanzanian plate number had to be unscrewed off the limo and transferred to another. But by the time the convoy arrived the passenger wing, Mwinyi and his retinue had been smuggled back on board and the plane was just taxiing to the Presidential wing. The convoy had to make a hasty retreat. That was a protocol in the pell-mell for you.

Now to Comoros' Mohammed Djohar. Environmental detrimental determinists cannot be any truer. Islanders, they say, have an idiosyncratic disposition; distinct from those of the hinterland. Mohammed Djonar proved that point. He arrived in a chartered Okada aircraft, fully clad in a "Comoran suite" with a long chefy cap that seemed to tapper into the high heavens. Grinning from ear to ear.

Djohar was the first Head of State to receive the cosy presidential reception painstakingly organised for the summit makers. At the city gate where the FCT Minister, Gado Nasko, was to present him with the key to Abuja, the man gave a fore-taste of the Comoran idiosyncrasy: The African drum so much got the better of him that he almost out-danced the cultural troupes ironically performing to his delight. Blame him?

And there was a Perez in the cooler. Outgoing UN secretary general Perez De Cueller's Boeing plane, either mistakenly taxied to the wrong wing (the Presidential Wing) or at the time he arrived he was most evidently unprepared for. When the UN scribe alighted from the aircraft with his smiling wife clung to his arm, protocol was a medley lot — not knowing whether the man should be accorded presidential reception or not. However, after some consultations, protocol brusquely decided to whisk the man into the Presidential lounge. No gun salute for Un scribe.

And then Sudan and Burkina Faso dignifyingly hitch-hiked. Even nobility, they say, sometimes condescend to play the pauper. Like hitching a ride. In the air that is. The brotherly benevolence of Libya brought the foreign ministers of Sudan and Burkina Faso to the summit. Libya played the good affluent neighbour by making two stop-overs at Sudan and Burkina Faso, to offer the foreign ministers a lift. You could see gratitude on their countenance as they gracefully came down from the posh salmon-eyed Sa-dds Libyan Jet. For over one week the jet napped and siestaed at the Abuja International Airport, waiting to return the trio. Having affluent neighbours can be dignifying, you know.

But poor Sir Dauda Jawara of Gambia, Maria Pereira and Manuel Pintoda Costa of Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, respectively, were ferried in a chartered Okada aircraft to Abuja. No one to play the affluent neighbour.

The three of them shared a 21 gun salute — seven each: instead of 21 apiece. Poor them, won't you say. The summit had come and gone. But the memories linger.

## Bye-bye, Abuja

It was perhaps sadly appropriate that the closing ceremony of the Abuja summit should be marred by an ugly clash between a Zairean bodyguard and Nigerian securitymen. One should not make too much of the incident. Security at the summit was in general handled very efficiently, a difficult job performed with affability by hard-pressed officials who did not let Nigeria down. But the summit could not come and go without a little blood being spilt on the red carpet. For all the talk about peace and unity at Abuja, there was a tetchiness about the whole event which was quite at odds with the homilies emanating from the conference floor. It showed up in the discussions on sanctions against South Africa, where the OAU struggled manfully (but unsuccessfully) to paper over the cracks, and in the ongoing feud between Uganda and Rwanda. It thrived on a poor flow of information. If you don't brief people properly, they will be inclined to believe the worst.

The OAU has always been a soft target for cynics. A club for dictators, a toothless bulldog, a redundant talkshop — the insults trip easily off the tongue. The current enthusiasm for multi-party democracy in Africa has sharpened the criticism. Twenty-eight years from its creation, the OAU is being asked to keep a closer watch on its more dubious members, to make real its commitments to democratisation and human rights in Africa. This is not 1963 and pious statements on pan-African unity will no longer pass muster.

On the eve of the summit, there was an excellent round-table on Nigerian television devoted to the question of democracy in Africa. The consensus amongst the assembled pundits was that 30 years from independence, with the struggle against colonialism now long won, full democracy was an imperative. Democracy did emerge as a central theme at Abuja. Museveni, Salim Salim and Babangida took up the tune with varying degrees of eloquence and conviction and visiting World Bank President Barber Conable's address was peppered with punchy home truths on "the question of governance". But try as it might, Abuja could not convey a sense of urgency. How many of his guests did Babangida speak for when he claimed that: "we have accepted our collective responsibility to build a democratic culture, to guarantee the genuine participation of our people in the political process?" President Paul Biya, still holding out against the call for a national conference despite the threat of Cameroon's imminent disintegration? Fl-Lt Jerry Rawlings, nervously coming to terms with a burgeoning opposition in Ghana? The presence in Abuja of President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo was a reminder that while Mengistu, Siad Barre, Traore and others may have gone, the OAU will still make room at the table for regimes every bit as unpalatable. Doubtless it will be the same in Lome next year, although current events in Togo suggest that Gnassingbe Eyadema, hardly one of Africa's most convincing democrats, may not be around to play host.

The Abuja summit cannot be accused of ducking Africa's problems. They were there in sharp relief in Salim Salim's unhappy resume of Africa's unfinished business, in the address given by Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, and in numerous other speeches and statements, some combative and purposeful, others merely hand-wringing. But laying bare the problems has always been easy-finding concrete solutions is quite another matter. For all the hype surrounding the AEC treaty and the talk of "reawakening" and "rebirth", Abuja

threw up little of substance.

As far as the OAU is concerned, it was ever thus, or so I am told. From Nigeria's point of view, the Abuja summit was "historic" because it took place in Abuja. One can easily get into a long, sterile debate on the rights and wrongs of the hosting issue. All kinds of figures have been floated regarding the cost of the exercise and there have been strong echoes of Cote d'Ivoire's basilica row, critics doubting the wisdom of investing huge sums in an event which was of only passing interest to Nigerians. It is all rather reminiscent of the arguments which erupt when a city puts in a bid to stage the Olympics.

Leaving that issue aside, how well did Abuja, or Julius Bergerville, as some might want to dub it, perform its duties as host? Pushed in front of a TV camera, this humble journalist professed himself proud to be "at a five-star event in what will one day be a five-star capital". Hmm. Others likened their stay in the Federal Capital Territory to a season in hell. The truth lies somewhere in between.

The events in Addis Ababa inevitably prompted speculation that the OAU might consider shifting base, at least temporarily, to Abuja. President Babangida claimed (disingenuously?) that the thought of an OAU based in Abuja "has never crossed my mind".

Others were less bashful.

There could be no sadder postscript to the summit than the arrival at a rain-drenched airport of a Nigerian Airways plane bearing OAU personnel fleeing the Ethiopian capital. Worn out after interminable delays getting out of the country, they brought tales of immense personal hardship. It was a savage reminder that Africa's problems had not been put on hold for the duration of the summit and that the OAU itself cannot remain aloof from them.

*WEST AFRICA, June 17-23, 1991*

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## IBB Thanks Nigerians

**W**hen, yesterday, I formally declared closed the 27th Assembly of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Heads of State and Government, I did so with a sense of fulfilment and the full satisfaction that Nigeria as host to the summit, had once again demonstrated her unrivalled commitment to the cause of African unity. There was no better way to show such a commitment than the dedication, discipline, zeal and enthusiasm with which you discharged the various assignments given to you during the summit. This is patriotism par excellence for which I am justifiably proud.

Thank you.

*Excerpts from President Babangida's special tribute to Nigerians on the 27th OAU Summit (June 7, 1991) published in the NATIONAL CONCORD, June 18, 1991:*

## OAU Opinion Poll

- (1) Emeka Chimmaroke (Lawyer): "I think the Summit was a very successful one".
- (2) Ayodeji Oyedokun (Road Marshal): "...it is a testimony to the fact that Nigeria can handle any continental affair successfully".
- (3) Idahosa Asowata (Journalist): "It was a big success. ...it took us only six months to prepare for the Summit, but it was as if we had been preparing for decades".
- (4) Mallam Yusuf R. Adams (Unionist): "Babangida and the External Affairs Minister deserve praises for the successful hosting of the Summit".
- (5) Mr. Lazarus Zaka Gaza (Politician): "Politically and economically we have enlisted the confidence of other African countries..."
- (6) Tanko Makama (Engineer): "...the summit has also given us an opportunity to disabuse the minds of foreigners about the bad things said about Nigeria and Nigerians".

*Special Feature by NATIONAL CONCORD,  
Tuesday, June 18, 1991.*

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## New Era For OAU?

**A**frican leaders have now agreed to accept the challenge posed by the European Economic Community (EEC) and North American economic integration. At the just-concluded Abuja summit of the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the leaders signed a treaty establishing an African Economic Community (AEC).

Addressing the summit, President Ibrahim Babangida who was unanimously elected chairman of the OAU declared that the emergence of the treaty represents the opening of a new chapter in the life of the OAU.

He said that by signing the treaty, African leaders had demonstrated their sincerity to their commitment to ensuring the success of the new-found community. Therefore, he urged his fellow African leaders to remain faithful to the objectives of the community, while pledging that he would do his utmost to make a modest beginning in the next one year under his tenure as OAU Chairman.

The AEC came into being sequel to decades of resolutions and declarations adopted by the OAU summits beginning from Algiers in September 1968, Addis Ababa in August 1970 and May 1970 where African leaders resolved to pursue the socio-economic integration of the African continent as a pre-requisite for the realisation of the objectives of the OAU.

These resolutions and declarations were advanced in Libreville in July 1977 when the OAU endorsed an earlier declaration in Kinshasa by OAU council of ministers of December 1976, which called for the establishment of an African Economic Community. This was

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

cooperation among our various countries and regions:

Today, we reach an important milestone in Africa's quest for continental economic integration. Shortly we shall sign the treaty establishing the African Economic Community. We must reinforce our commitments to the treaty and re-dedicate ourselves to ensure the success of the Community.

*WEST AFRICA, July, 22-28, 1991*

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## OAU and Sanctions

**T**his week's mini-summit of the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) closed in Abuja with a clear resolve to intensify pressures on the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Deliberations by the Heads of State had been dominated by recent shift by the United States and its allies including Japan which are now warming up to the government of President de Klerk.

Instead of softening its position, the OAU opted for the sustenance of sanctions, clearly unimpressed by the anti-apartheid reforms now underway in the racist enclave.

This came hardly as a surprise. Recent revelation of secret funding of anti-ANC groups by De Klerk's henchmen has fouled the air in talks between the ANC and government. It is uncertain how this can be reversed by the mere cabinet changes announced by De Klerk.

When the talks are restarted and a Constituent Assembly is inaugurated alongside an interim administration, the OAU will inevitably find it fit to lift sanctions not before.

*THE VANGUARD, August, 1991*

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## Summit: Economiums Galore for Nigeria

**I**t was all praises for the Federal Government at the weekend by the OAU secretariat for its most inconvenient preparations for the on-going 28th Summit of the continental body.

"I have never seen anything like this in the 27 years' history of our organisation and when it is considered that Nigeria only accepted to host this year's summit only few months ago, then the Nigerian government deserves nothing but a big path on the back", declared Ambassador (Brown) Dede (OAU assistant Secretary-General).

**Olu Akerele (Abuja Diary)**  
*NATIONAL CONCORD*

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Other enabling strategies include trade liberalisation through abolition among member states of customs duties levied of imports and exports and the abolition among member states, of non-traffic barrier in order to establish a free trade area at the level of each regional economic community the gradual removal among member states of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital and the right of residence and establishment; and the establishment of a common market.

By signing the draft treaty, member states undertake to create favourable condition for the development of the community and the attainment of its objectives, particularly by harmonising their strategies and policies and shall refrain from any unilateral action that may hinder the attainment of the said objective.

The high contracting parties also agreed that the community shall be established in six stages of variable duration over transitional period not exceeding 34 years. As spelt out in the draft treaty, the first stage shall have a duration of not exceeding five years from the commencement of the treaty and shall be devoted to the strengthening of existing regional economic communities in regions where they did not exist.

The second stage covers three main sections all within a stipulated period of eight years. It involves stabilising of tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers, customs duties and internal taxes at the level of each regional economic community, and the study, towards eventual timed removal of tariff barriers and non-tariff barriers to regional and intra-community trade and for the gradual harmonisation of customs duties in relation to the states. The second section involves the strengthening of sectoral integration at the regional and continental levels in all areas of activity while the third section covers the co-ordination and harmonisation of activities among the existing and future economic communities.

The third stage, designed to span a period of 10 years, involves the establishment at the level of each regional community, of a free trade area through the observance of the time table for the gradual removal of Tariff Barriers and Non-Tariff Barriers to intra community trade and the establishment of a customs union by means of adopting a common external tariff.

The fourth stage is designed to span only two years and involves the co-ordination and harmonisation of tariff and non-tariff systems among the various regional economic communities with a view to establishing a customs union at the continental level by means of adopting a common external tariff.

A four-year period which is scheduled for the fifth stage is slated for the establishment of an African Common Market whereas the sixth stage which is scheduled to cover five years is slated for the consolidation and strengthening of the structure of the African common market; integration of all the sectors; implementation of the final stage for the setting up of an African Monetary Union, African Central Bank and the creation of a single African currency; and implementation for the setting up of the structure of the Pan African Parliament and election of its members by continental universal suffrage.

Other schedules of the sixth stage include the implementation of the final stage for the harmonisation and co-ordination process of the activities of regional economic communities; implementation of the final stage for the setting up of the structures of African multi-national enterprises in all sectors; and the implementation of the final stage for the

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

an integrated common market in Africa exclusive. At the summit, 32 heads of state, five prime ministers and 13 leaders of delegation to the 27th Ordinary Session of the OAU, signed a draft treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

In Conable's opinion, the signing of the document is an important first step but it is even more important that concrete pragmatic measures be taken by African countries to implement the treaty and make the idea of the community a reality.

Delighted by the success of the signing of the treaty, President Ibrahim Babangida the new OAU chairman, solemnly swore that during his tenure within the next one year, he would work to make a humble beginning towards ensuring the early realisation of the dreams of the community.

As enunciated in Article Three of the draft treaty, the high contracting parties to the treaty swore solemnly to adhere to the principles of equality and inter-dependence of member states; solidarity and collective self reliance; inter-state co-operation, harmonisation of policies and integration of programmes; promotion of harmonious development of economic activities among member-states; and observance of the legal system of the community.

Other principles upheld by the high contracting parties include peaceful settlement of disputes among member states, active co-operation between neighbouring peaceful environment as a pre-requisite for economic development; recognition, promotion and protection of human and people's rights in accordance with the provisions of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, and accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development.

The objectives of the AEC, according to the draft treaty shall be, among four others, to promote economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies in order to increase economic self reliance and promote an indigenous and self-sustained development.

Another objective shall be to establish, on a continental scale, a framework for the development, mobilisation and utilisation of the human and material resources of Africa in order to achieve a self-reliant development.

The third objective shall be to promote co-operation in all fields of human endeavour in order to raise the standard of living of African peoples, and maintain and enhance economic stability, foster close and peaceful relations among member states and contribute to the progress, development and the economic integration of the continent.

The fourth of its objectives shall be to co-ordinate and harmonise policies among existing and future economic communities in order to foster the gradual establishment of the community.

As a way of creating the required enabling environment for the realisation of the Community's objectives, the high contracting parties are mandated by the draft treaty to ensure, by stages, the strengthening of existing regional economic communities where they do not exist, the conclusion of agreements aimed at harmonising and co-ordinating policies among existing and future sub-regional and regional economic communities, and the promotion and strengthening of joint investment programmes in the production and trade of major products and input within the framework of collective self-reliance.

Nigeria made the first move June 5, when it dispatched a Nigeria Airways aircraft on the evacuation mission to Addis Ababa. The plane was held and later released by the new transitional government in Ethiopia "for refusing to fill a flight plan." The episode contributed to the extension for 24 hours of the summit which was scheduled to end June 5. The presence of a three-man Ethiopian delegation mid-way into the summit headed by David Yohannes was meant to show that normalcy had returned to Ethiopia and an appeal for the return of OAU officials. Yohannes's all-is-calm appeal was given the lie by an ammunition dump explosion in Addis Ababa which killed more than 200 people.

The evacuation exercise added fuel to recent speculations that Nigeria would be prepared to host the OAU secretariat. Its decision to host the 27th summit and the expansion of the international conference centre, ICC, in Abuja were part of the arrangements. It appears to be to Nigeria's advantage that the activities of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, EPRDF, worsened the security situation in Ethiopia. Today, Nigeria can lay claim to having the best facilities to accommodate officials of the OAU and their relatives. In pursuing this aim, government has so far kept things close to its chest. Ike Nwachukwu, the foreign affairs minister, two weeks ago said Nigeria did not plan to snatch the OAU secretariat but "we will not close our eyes to a threat to its staff and their relatives." The worsening security situation had been paramount on the minds of delegates to the summit when it opened last month. Addis Ababa, being a diplomatic centre, fears were expressed that loss of lives among diplomats there may discredit and tarnish Africa's image.

While that situation lasts, the evacuees, happy to be away from the theatre of war, are settling down in Asokoro. Though most of them, including children, said they were homesick, they nonetheless expressed their willingness to stay on. If the feeling of the evacuees matters, Addis Ababa would be bidding good bye to its status as Africa's diplomatic centre.

*NEWSWATCH, June 24, 1991*

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## OAU Dismantles Roadblocks

**W**hy are there so many road blocks between Accra and Lagos, or between Dakar and Abidjan? Why is it so difficult for a businessman to transport his goods from Mombasa to Kampala and from Dar-es-Salaam to Lusaka? asked Barber B. Conable, President of the World Bank in his address to the 27th Summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) June 4.

As Conable said: "I have been struck that it is often easier for me — a "Mzungu" (foreigner)—to travel from one African country to another, than it is for an African. Surely, as we stand on the threshold of the 21st century we can move beyond this kind of obstructionism".

Indeed, at the OAU summit in Abuja, African leaders did agree to move beyond the barriers which have hampered inter-African trade, and which have rendered the dream for

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

decide, at periodic, free and fair elections, the fate of any government", adding that, "the ravages of civil unrest right across our continent, the consequent retardation of creativity for our human potential, the intolerable flow of millions of our humanity turned refugees from their own lands", are all an indictment on the political judgement and will of African leaders.

Therefore, Babangida called African leaders to re-examine the concept and practice of power and leadership on the continent. "In short", the cost of maintaining structures of dictatorship, including the energy dissipated and the blood expended in warding off challenges to the monopoly of power all over our continent, makes it imperative that democracy is not only an attractive option but a rational and inevitable one".

Despite this unequivocal declaration, when Babangida was asked at a world press conference at the summit how he would effect a change in the style of Africa's leadership without running foul of the "non-interference doctrine" of OAU charter, the diplomatesse of his responses betrayed the enormous legal burden which the challenges of democratization places on OAU leadership

Other highlights of the summit included the adoption of the reparation issue on the agenda of the OAU, the setting up of committees on Ethiopia, and the OAU Foreign Ministers Council on South Africa.

*THE NIGERIAN ECONOMIST, June 24, 1991*

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## Is Abuja Now OAU Secretariat?

*All indications point to it but officials insist Nigeria has not "hijacked" the seat of the organisation*

**T**he question making the rounds in diplomatic circles in Abuja these days is whether the new Nigerian capital has become the headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU. It was an issue that engaged the attention of an unofficial delegation from Ethiopia's new rulers to Abuja during the last OAU summit. In short order, more than 200 dependants of OAU officials were on June 6, evacuated into the new federal capital from Addis Ababa. The evacuees are at present housed at the OAU village in the Asokoro section of Abuja. The village was one of the facilities built by the Nigerian government to house some of the delegates to the 27th summit.

Indications that the OAU secretariat will be moved, at least temporarily, from Addis Ababa, its headquarters since 1963, was given June 3 by Ibrahim Dagash, OAU's director of information. Dagash told *Newsweek* that the move became necessary because of the hazy political climate following the ouster of President Mengistu Haile Mariam late last month. "We are concerned about the security of families of OAU officials." Dagash said, adding that non-essential staff of OAU secretariat were asked to proceed on leave. Three countries - Nigeria, Kenya and Togo had - indicated their preparedness to temporarily host the secretariat.

further consolidated later by the OAU's "Monrovia Declaration", which called for the creation of an African common market as a prelude to an African Economic Community.

It was in this spirit that the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos of April 1980 was enunciated re-affirming OAU's commitment to establish, by the year 2000, an African Economic Community as a means of fostering economic, social, and cultural integration of the continent.

In view of this gradual, but steady build-up, African leaders and indeed the world community were delighted with the hitch-free endorsement of the treaty at Abuja. Barber Conable, the World Bank's president said it was a triumph by Africans over the age-old obstructions which have been erected within African countries.

According to him, much as the signing of the draft treaty was an important first step, it would be even more important for African leaders to "take concrete and pragmatic measures to implement the treaty and make the idea of an African Economic Community a reality".

In his report to the summit, the immediate past OAU chairman President Yoweri Museveni said that OAU's initiatives at resolving conflicts within the continent are hamstrung by an uncanny preference by warring parties for "extra-continental forces", adding that, in this way, initiatives by OAU chairman on regional conflicts are often shoved aside in preference for external influence. Museveni contended that the OAU chairman's position must be given greater powers which would imbue him with meaningful role in resolving regional conflicts. In line with this also was his call for greater executive role for the OAU Secretariat.

It was Museveni who mostly highlighted African continent's greatest dilemma — the debt burden. In his argument, unless some of Africa's foreign debts were cancelled, and less strenuous terms were negotiated for others, Africa would sink into unprecedented depths of despair, starvation, instability and blood letting.

He disclosed that in 1990 Africa's external debts almost equalled Africa's Gross Domestic Product or three times the value of Africa's exports for the year.

This situation, he said, is caused by Africa's \$270 billion dollar debt burden coupled with smaller markets for Africa's products, and the reliance by the continent on mere production and export of raw materials whose prices are fast declining and for most part unstable.

President Museveni said that Africa's over-concentration of focus on the East-West ideological battle, instead of concentrating on their own technological and economic development, has affected the growth of the continent. He stressed also that Africa's development depends on regional economic and political stability and that regional organisations such as the Preferential Trade Area (PTA's) of Eastern and Southern Africa, and ECOWAS are useful building blocs for the evolution of change on the continent.

Where Museveni and Babangida cross-mingled ideas on issues bordering on the continent's interests, was particularly on the growing question of political participation in African countries, popularly called democratization agitations.

Museveni said Africa's political system should promote popular participation in development and guarantee human rights and freedom of the press. Babangida said almost the same concerning teeming dictatorship structures across Africa. ..

Babangida dealt hard knocks on African countries which stifle the democratic will of the people. He warned: "No amount of force can forever stifle the right of the governed to

## Comoros

**Official Title:** Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros

**Head of State:** President Ahmed Abdullah

**Capital:** Moroni

**Official Languages:** Arabic, French (Comoran, Likala widely spoken)

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes

**Area:** 2171 sq km

**Population:** 475,000

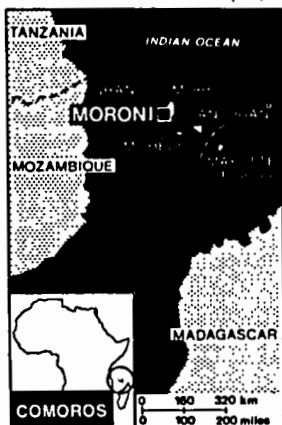
**GNP per capita:** \$480

**GNP real growth:** 0.4%

**Trade Balance:** N.A

**Foreign Debt:** N.A.

**Major Exports:** Cloves, yiang-ying, varilla, perfume oils, coffee, cocoa



## Congo

**Official Title:** Peoples Republic of the Congo

**Head of State:** President Charles Lissouba.

**Capital:** Brazzaville

**Official Languages:** French (Kongo, T'eké, Sanga, Lingala spoken)

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes

**Area:** 349,650 sq km

**Population:** 2.3 million

**GNP per capita:** \$1,010

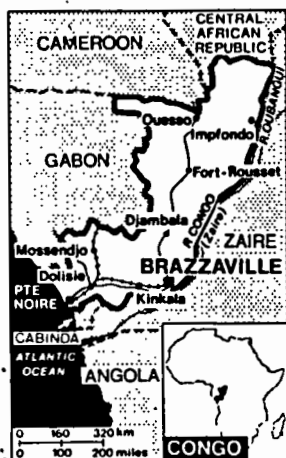
**GNP real growth:** 3.1%

**Trade Balance:**

**Foreign Debt:** \$5.1 billion

**Major Exports:** Crude Petroleum, timber

**Mission in Nigeria:** NI:L



## Central African Republic

**Official Title:** Central African Republic

**Head of State:** President Andre Kolingba

**Capital:** Bangui

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 Centuries

**Area:** 622,984 sq km

**Population:** 3.0 million

**GNP per capita:** \$390

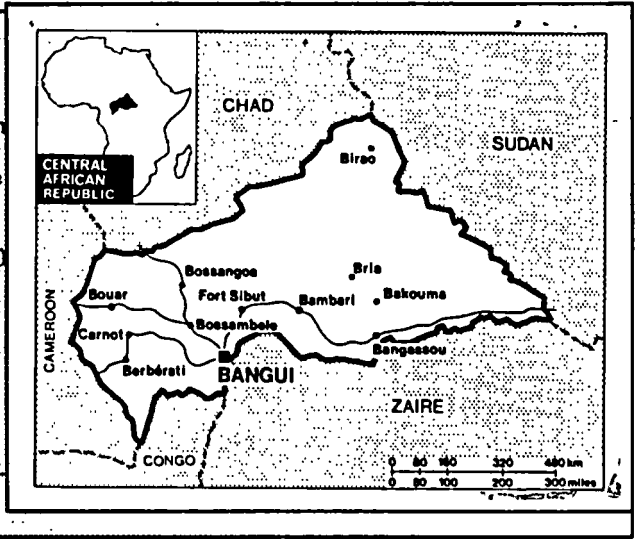
**GNP real growth:** -0.5%

**Trade Balance:**

**Foreign Debt:** \$901 million

**Major Exports:** diamonds, Coffee, timber, cotton

**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL



## Chad

**Official Title:** Republic of Chad

**Head of State:** President Idriss Derby

**Capital:** N'Djamena

**Official Languages:** French (Arabic and various African languages spoken)

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 Centuries

**Area:** 1,284,000 sq km

**Population:** 5.7 million

**GNP per capita:** \$190

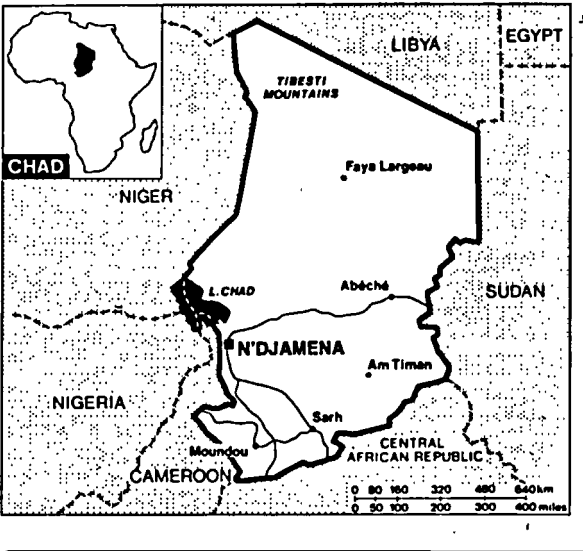
**GDP real growth:** -1.1%

**Trade Balance:**

**Foreign Debts:** \$492 million

**Major Exports:** Raw cotton, meat and live animals, fish, oil cake, hides and skins, nation, guns and resins.

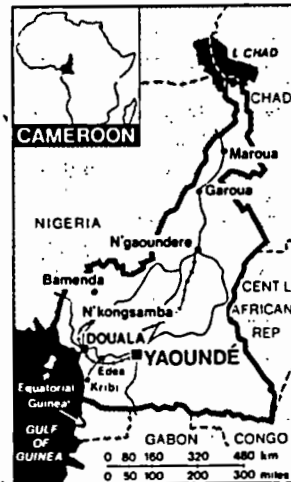
**Mission In Nigeria:**



## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

### Cameroun

**Official Title:** Republic of Cameroun  
**Head of State:** President Paul Biya  
**Capital:** Yaoundé  
**Official Languages:** French, English (various African languages spoken)  
**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 475,442 square km  
**Population:** 11.7 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$960  
**GNP real growth:** 3.0%  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Foreign Debts:** \$6 billion  
**Major Exports:** Crude petroleum, coffee, cocoa, aluminium, wood, cotton  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 5 Femi Pearse Street, V/Island, Lagos.



### Cape Verde Islands

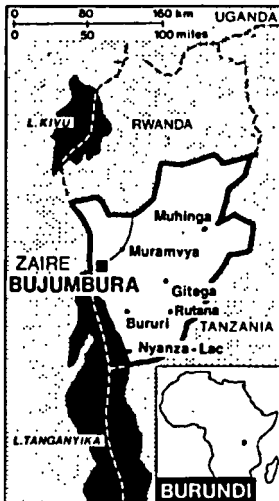
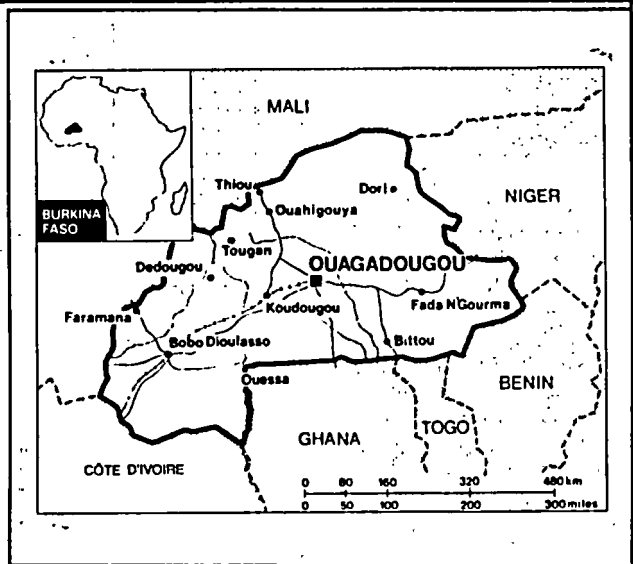
**Official Title:** Republic of Cape Verde  
**Head of State:**  
**Capital:** Praia  
**Official Languages:** Portuguese (Creole widely spoken)  
**Currency:** Cape Verde Escudo (CVEsc) = 100 centavos  
**Area:** 4,033 square km  
**Population:** 371,000  
**GNP per capita:** \$890  
**GNP real growth:** 2.2%  
**Trade Balance:** N.A  
**Foreign Debt:** N.A  
**Major Exports:** Frozen and fresh fish, livestock, vegetables, coffee, salt and entrepôt trade  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL





## Burkina Faso

**Official Title:** Burkina Faso  
**Head of State:** Captain Blaise Compaoré  
**Capital:** Ouagadougou  
**Official Language:** French  
 (More, dioula, Gourmantche, Peul widely spoken)  
**Currency:** CFA franc = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 274,200 square km  
**Population:** 9.0 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$330  
**GNP real growth:** 1.3%  
**Reserve:** \$305 million  
**Foreign Debt:** \$834 million  
**Major Exports:** Raw cotton, live animals, karité nuts, hides and skins, rubber products, sesame seeds.  
**Mission In Nigeria:** Norman William Street, Ikoyi, Lagos.

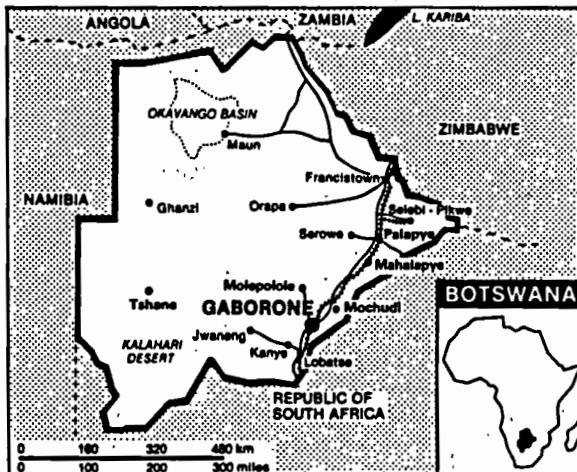
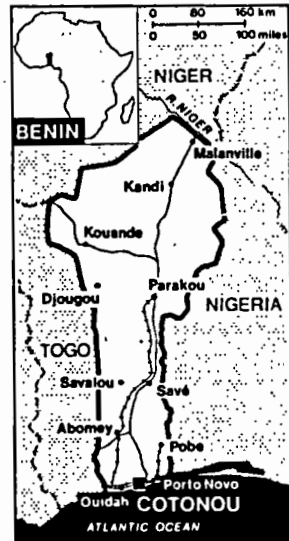


## Burundi

**Official Title:** Republic of Burundi  
**Head of State:**  
**Capital:** Bujumbura  
**Official Languages:** French, Kirundi  
 (Kiswahili widely spoken)  
**Currency:** Burundi franc (BFr) = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 27,834 square km  
**Population:** 5.4 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$210  
**GNP real growth:** 3.4%  
**Reserve:**  
**Foreign Debt:** \$906 million  
**Major Exports:** Coffee, tea, cotton fabrics  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL

## Benin

**Official Title:** Republic of Benin  
**Head of State:** President Nicéphore Soglo  
**Capital:** Porto Novo  
**Official Languages:** French (Fon, Yoruba, Bariba widely spoken)  
**Currency:** CFA franc = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 112,622 square km  
**Population:** 4.7 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$360  
**GNP real growth:** -0.1%  
**Foreign Reserve:** \$69 million  
**Foreign Debt:** \$1.4 billion  
**Major Exports:** Cocoa, cotton fibre, palm products, coffee  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 4 Abudu Smith Street, Victoria Island, Lagos



## Botswana

**Official Title:** Republic of Botswana  
**Head of state:** President Dr. Quett K.J. Masire  
**Capital:** Gaborone  
**Official Languages:** English (Setswana widely spoken)  
**Currency:** Pula (P) = 100 thebe  
**Area:** 557,570 square km  
**Population:** 1.3 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$2,040  
**GNP real growth:** 8.4%  
**Foreign Reserves:** \$3.4 billion  
**Foreign Debt:** \$516 million  
**Major Exports:** Diamonds, meat, copper/nickel, textiles  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL

# Profile of Member States

## (As at December 1992)

### Algeria

**Official Title:** Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria

**Head of State:** President Belaid Abdelsalam

**Capital:** El Djazir (Algeria)

**Official Languages:** Arabic (Berber, French widely spoken)

**Currency:** Algerian Dinar (AD) = 100 centimes

**Area:** 2,381,741 sq. km

**Population:** 25.1 million

**GNP per capita:** \$2,060

**GNP real growth:** 2.1%

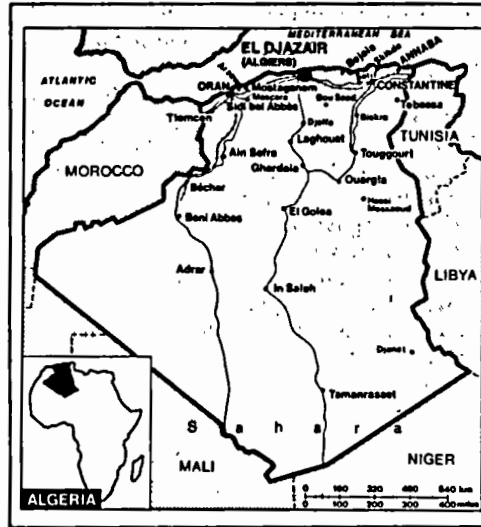
**Foreign Reserve:** \$2.7 billion

**Foreign Debt:** \$23.4 billion

**Major Exports:** Hydrocarbons (crude petroleum, petroleum products, condensates, natural gas), wine, tobacco, foodstuffs

**Mission In Nigeria:** 26 Maitama Sule St.

**S>W>** Ikoyi Lagos



### Angola

**Official Title:** Peoples Republic of Angola  
**Head of State:** President José Eduardo dos Santos

**Capital:** Luanda

**Official Languages:** Portuguese (various African languages spoken)

**Currency:** Kwanza (Kw) = 100 Lwei

**Area:** 1,246,700 sq. km

**Population:** 10 million

**GDP per capita:** N.A

**GDP real growth:** N.A

**Trade Balance:** N.A

**Foreign Debt:** N.A

**Major Exports:** Crude petroleum and derivatives, coffee, diamonds, sisal, iron-ore, timber and cotton

**Mission In Nigeria:** 5 Kasumu Ekemode St, Victoria Island, Lagos.



**APPENDIX**  
**– Profile of Member States**  
**– Profile of Nigeria**



President Ibrahim Babangida and his wife pose with Dr. & Mrs. Peres de Cueller

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

### Madagascar

**Official Title:** Democratic Republic of Madagascar  
**Capital:** antananarivo  
**Official Languages:** Malagasy, French  
**Currency:** Franc Malagache (FMG) = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 587,041 sq km  
**Population:** 11.6 million  
**GDP per capita:** \$230  
**GDP real growth:** — 1.9%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$3.9 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Coffee, Vanilla, cloves.  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL

The map of Madagascar shows the island's outline with major cities marked: Antananarivo (capital), Antsirabe, Toamasine, Mananjary, Manakara, Fort Dauphin, Tuléar, Morondava, and Majunga. Neighboring countries Tanzania and Mozambique are shown to the west, with the Mozambique Channel and Indian Ocean labeled. A scale bar at the top indicates distances in kilometers (0, 80, 160, 320, 480) and miles (0, 50, 100, 200, 300). An inset map shows Madagascar's location within the African continent.

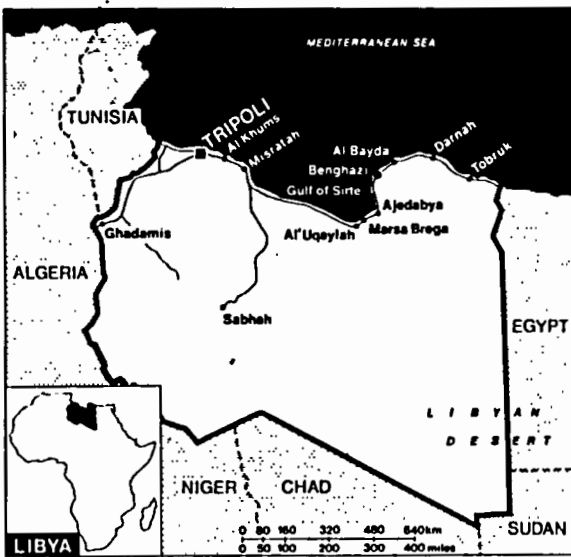
The map of Malawi shows its location in southern Africa, bordered by Tanzania to the north, Zambia to the west, and Mozambique to the south. Major cities are marked: Lilongwe (capital), Mzuzu, Nkhosakota, Salima, Dedza, Mangochi, and Blantyre. An inset map shows Malawi's location within the African continent. A scale bar at the top indicates distances in kilometers (0, 50, 100) and miles (0, 50, 100).

### Malawi

**Official Title:** Republic of Malawi  
**Head of State:** President Ngwazi Dr. Hstings Kamuzu Banda  
**Capital:** Lilongwe  
**Official Languages:** English, Chichewa (Tumbuka, Yao, Lonwe spoken)  
**Currency:** Kwacha (K) = 100 tambala  
**Area:** 118,484 sq. Km  
**Population:** 8.5 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$200  
**GNP real growth:** 0.9%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$1.5 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Major Exports:** Tobacco, tea, sugar, maize, coffee.  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL

## Liberia

**Official Title:** Republic of Liberia  
**Head of State:** President Amos Sawyer  
**Capital:** Monrovia  
**Official Languages:** English (Golla, Kpelle, Km widely spoken)  
**Currency:** Liberian Dollar (L\$) = 100 cents  
**Area:** 111,369 sq km  
**Population:** 2.6 million  
**GNP per capita:** N.A.  
**GNP real growth:** N.A.  
**Foreign Debts:** \$1.9 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Iron ore, timber, diamonds, coffee  
**Mission In Nigeria:** Plot 162 Idejo Street, Victoria Island, Lagos



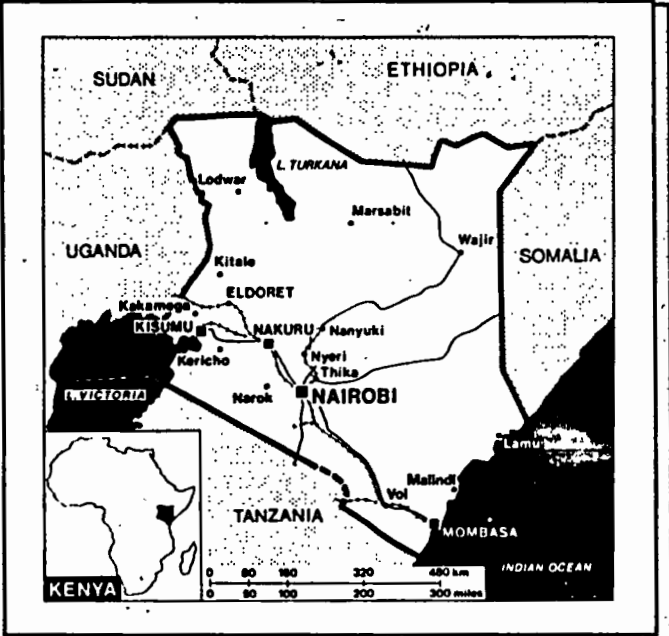
## Libya:

**Official Title:** Socialist People's Libyan Arab Great Jama — hiriya  
**Head of State:** Col. Muammar Qadafi  
**Capital:** Tripoli  
**Official Languages:** Arabic (Berber, French, English spoken).  
**Currency:** Libyan Dinar (LD) = 1000 dirhams  
**Area:** 1,761,132 sq km  
**Population:** 4.5 million  
**GNP per capita:**  
**GDP real growth:** — 3.0%  
**Foreign Debt:** —  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Crude oil, refined petroleum products  
**Mission In Nigeria:** Idowu Taylor Street, Victoria Island Lagos.

1991 Abuja OAU Summit

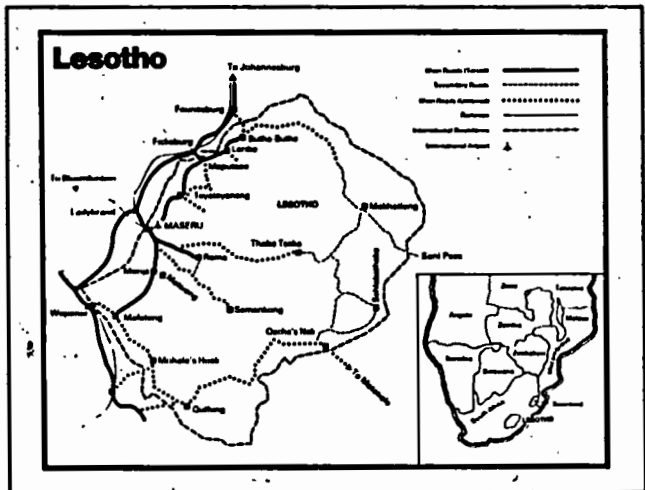
**Kenya**

Official Title: Republic of Kenya  
 Head of State: President Daniel Arap Moi  
 Capital: Nairobi  
 Official Languages: Kiswahili, English (Kikuyi, Luo, Kikamba, Kiluhya widely spoken).  
 Currency: Kenya Shilling (Ksh) = 100 cents  
 Area: 582,646 sq km  
 Population: 24.2 million  
 GNP per capita: \$370  
 GNP real growth: 1.9%  
 Foreign Debts: \$6.8 billion  
 Trade Balance:  
 Main Exports: Coffee, tea, petroleum products, fruit, vegetables, cement.  
 Mission In Nigeria: 52 Queens Drive, Ikoyi, Lagos



**Lesotho**

Official Title: Kingdom of Lesotho  
 Capital: Maseru  
 Currency: Maloti (M) = 100 lisente  
 Area: 30,355 sq km  
 Population: 1.8 million  
 GNP per capita: \$530  
 GNP real growth: 4.9%  
 Foreign Debt: \$390 million  
 Trade Balance:  
 Main Exports: Diamonds, wool and mohair  
 Mission In Nigeria: NIL





## Guinea

**Official Title:** Republic of Guinea

**Head of State:** President Lansana Conte

**Capital:** Conakry

**Official Languages:** French (various African languages spoken)

**Currency:** Guinean Franc (Gfr)

**Area:** 245,957 sq. km

**Population:** 5.7 million

**GNP per capita:** \$440

**GNP real growth:** N.A.

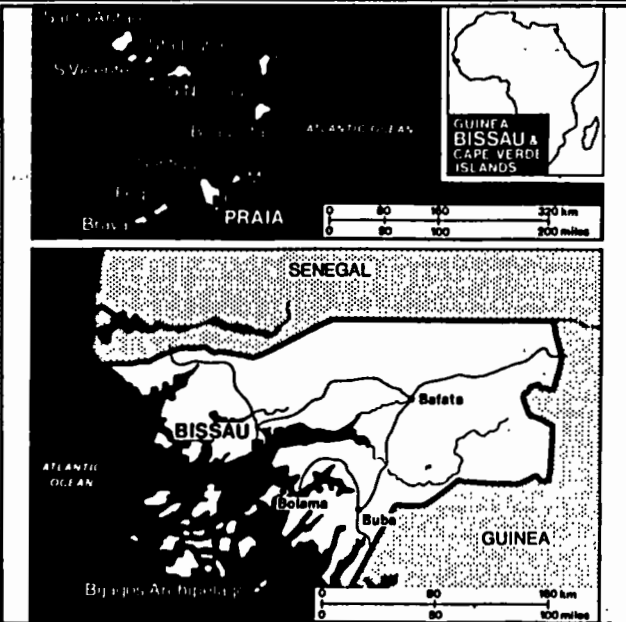
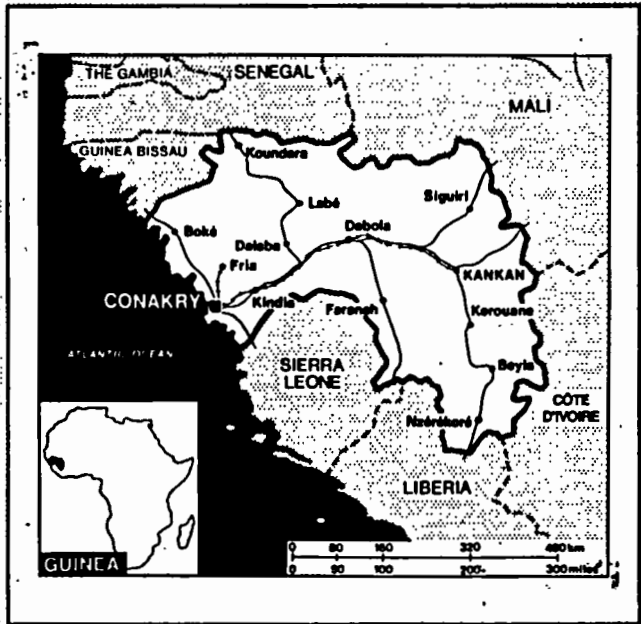
**Foreign Debts:** \$2.4 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Major Exports:** Alumina, Bauxite, coffee

**Mission In Nigeria:**

8 Abudu Smith Street, Victoria Island, Lagos.



## Guinea-Bissau

**Official Title:** Republic of Guinea-Bissau

**Head of State:** President Joao Bernardo Vieira

**Capital:** Bissau

**Official Languages:** Portuguese (Creole, Balante widely spoken)

**Currency:** Guinea Peso (GP) = 100 centavos

**Area:** 36,125 sq km

**Population:** 980,000

**GNP per capita:** \$180

**GDP real growth:** N.A.

**Foreign Debt:** \$834 million

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Groundnuts, palm produce, cashew.

**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL

## Gambia

**Official Title:** Republic of the Gambia

**Head of State:** President Sir Dauda Kairaba Jawara

**Capital:** Banjul

**Official Languages:** English (French, Mandinka, Wolof, Fula spoken)

**Currency:** Dalasi (D) = 100 bututs

**Area:** 11,295 sq km

**Population:** 875,000

**GNP per Capita:** \$260

**GDP real growth:** 0.7%

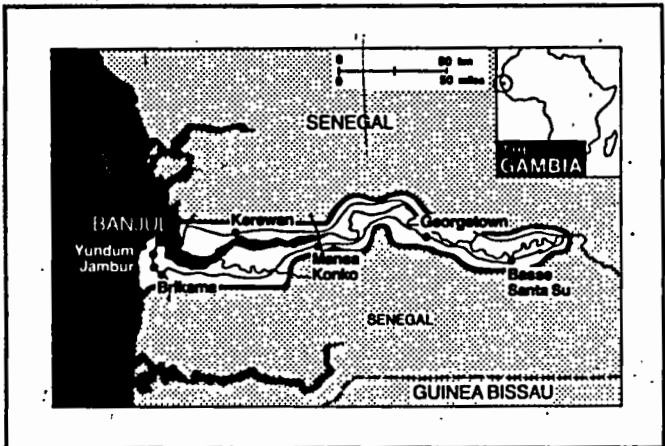
**Foreign Debts:** N.A.

**Trade Balance:** N.A.

**Main Exports:** Groundnuts

**Mission In Nigeria:**

162 Awolowo Road, Ikoyi.



## Ghana

**Official Title:** Republic of Ghana

**Head of State:** President Jerry John Rawlings.

**Capital:** Accra

**Official Languages:** English (Twi, Fante, Ga, Ewe, Dagbani widely spoken)

**Currency:** Cedi (C) = 100 Pesewas.

**Area:** 239,460 sq km

**Population:** 14.9 million

**GNP per capita:** \$390

**GDP real growth:** — 1.4%

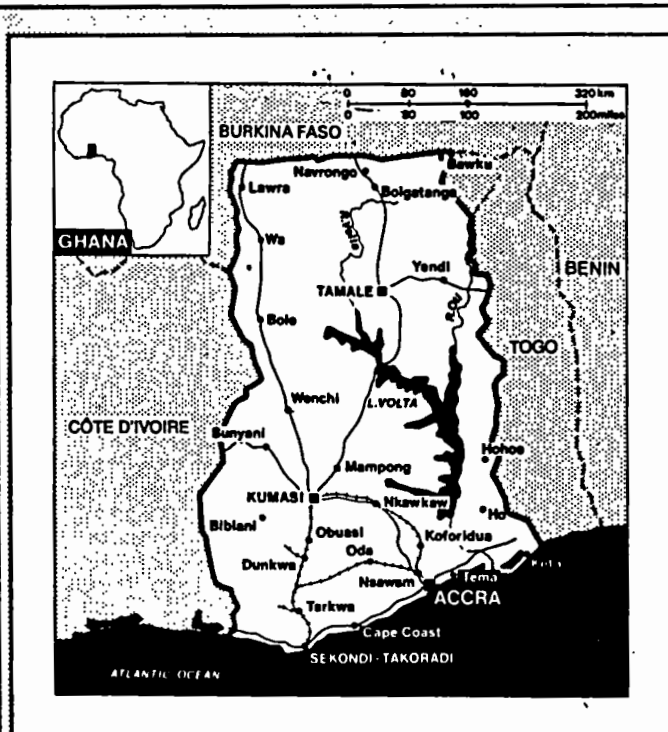
**Foreign Debts:** \$3.5 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Cocoa, gold, manganese, diamonds

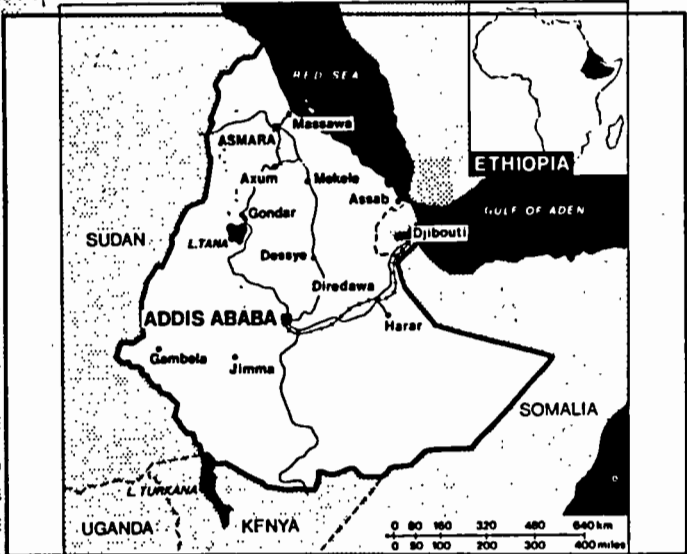
**Mission In Nigeria:**

21/23 King George V Road, Onikan, Lagos.



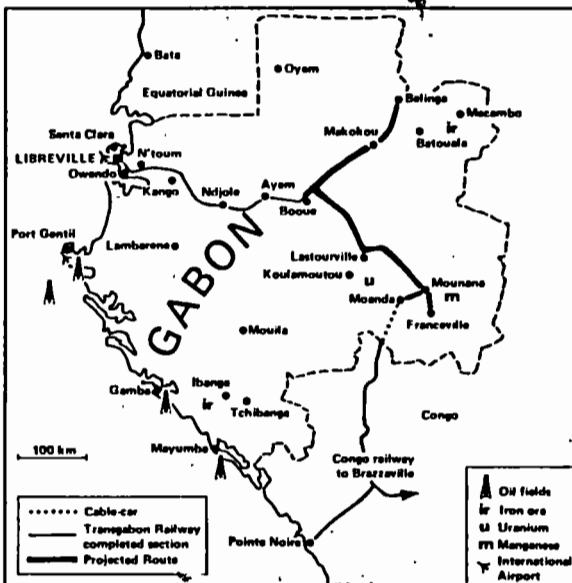
## Ethiopia

**Capital:** Addis Ababa  
**Currency:** Birr = 100 cents  
**Area:** 1,780,450 sq km  
**Population:** 51.2 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$120  
**GNP real growth:** -0.2%  
**External Debt:** \$3.3 billion  
**Trade Balance:** - \$146m  
**Main Exports:** Coffee, hides, and skins, pulses  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 97 Ahmadu Bello Road, Victoria Island, Lagos.



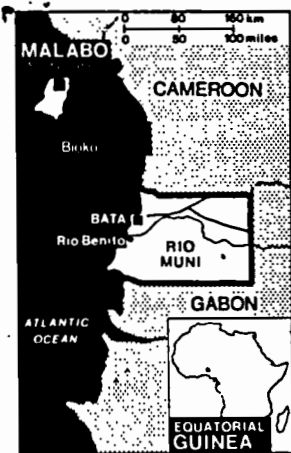
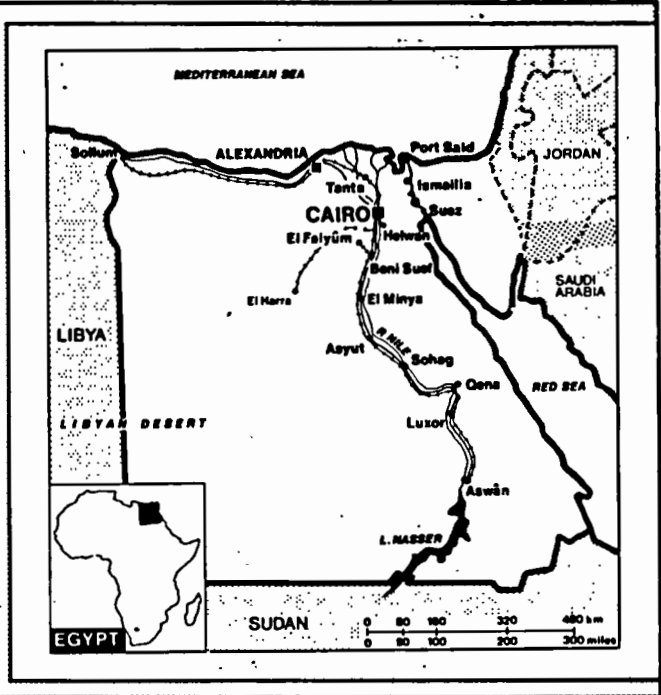
## Gabon

**Official Title:** Republic of Gabon  
**Head of State:** President Omar Bongo  
**Capital:** Libreville  
**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes  
**Official Languages:** French (Fong widely spoken)  
**Area:** 267,667 sq km  
**Population:** 1.2 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$3,300  
**GNP real growth:** 0.9%  
**External Debt:** \$3.6 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Petroleum, timber, manganese, uranium.  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 8 Norman William Street, Ikoyi, Lagos.



## Egypt

**Official Title:** Arab Republic of Egypt  
**Head of State:** President Hosni Mubarak  
**Area:** 1,101,499 sq km  
**Population:** 52.1 million  
**Capital:** Cairo  
**Official Language:** Arabic  
**Other Languages:** English, French  
**Currency:** Egyptian Pound (£) = 100 piastres  
**GNP per capita:** \$600  
**GNP real growth:** 4.1%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$39.9 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Crude oil, raw cotton, oil products, cotton yarn  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 182B Kofo Abayomi Str., V/I, Lagos



## Equatorial Guinea

**Official Title:** Republic of Equatorial Guinea  
**Head of State:** Col. Teodoro Obiang Nguena  
**Capital:** Malabo  
**Official Language:** spanish (Fang widely spoken)  
**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centies  
**Area:** 28,051 sq km  
**Population:** 417,000  
**GNP per capita:** \$330  
**GNP real growth:** N.A  
**Foreign Debt:** N.A  
**Trade Balance:** N.A  
**Main Exports:** Cocoa, coffee, wood  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 7 Bank Road, Ikoyi, Lagos

## Cote D'Ivoire

**Official Title:** Republic of Côte d'Ivoire  
**Head of State:** President Félix Houphouët-Boigny  
**Capital:** Yamoussoukro (Political), Abidjan (economic)  
**Official Languages:** French (Baoulé, Dioula, Bete widely spoken)  
**Currency:** French CFA = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 322,463 sq km  
**Population:** 11.9 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$750  
**GNP real growth:** 0.5%  
**Trade Balance**  
**Foreign Debt:** \$18.0 billion  
**Main Export:** Cocoa, coffee, timber, petroleum products, textiles and cotton  
**Mission In Nigeria:** 3 Abudu Smith Str., V/I, Lagos.



## Djibouti

**Official Title:** Republic of Djibouti  
**Capital:** Djibouti-Ville  
**Currency:** Djibouti Franc (Dfr) = 100 centimes  
**Area:** 23,310 sq km  
**Population:** 427,000  
**GNP per capita:** N.A.  
**GNP real growth:** N.A.  
**Foreign Debt:** N.A.  
**Trade Balance:** N.A.  
**Major Exports:** Skins and leather, cereals.

## Senegal

**Official Title:** Republic of Senegal

**Head of State:** President Abdou Diouf

**Capital:** Dakar

**Official Languages:** French (Ouolof, Serer, Dambara widely spoken)

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes

**Area:** 196,192 sq km

**Population:** 7.4 million

**GNP per capita:** \$710

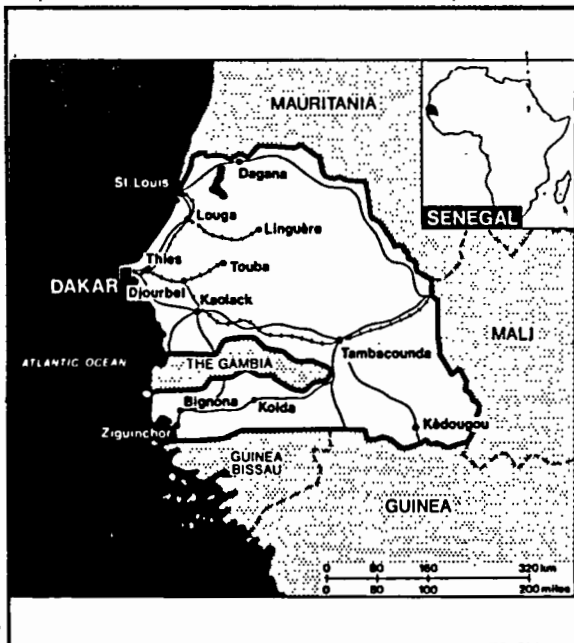
**GNP real growth:** 9.6%

**Foreign Debt:** \$3.7 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Groundnut products, petroleum products, phosphates, fish

**Mission In Nigeria:** 14 Kofo Abayomi Street, Victoria Island, Lagos.



## Seychelles

**Official Title:** Republic of Seychelles

**Head of State:** President France Albert Rene

**Capital:** Victoria

**Official Languages:** Creole (French, English also spoken)

**Currency:** Seychelle Rupee (SR) = 100 cents

**Area:** 453 sq km

**Population:** 68,000

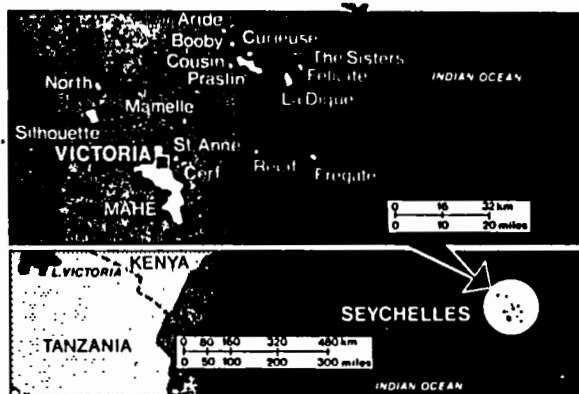
**GNP per capita:** \$4,670

**GNP real growth:** 3.2%

**Foreign Debt:** N.A.

**Trade Balance:** N.A.

**Main Exports:** Copra, fish, cinnamon.



## Rwanda

Official Title: Republic of Rwanda

Capital: Kigali.

Official Languages: Kinyarwanda, French  
(Kiswaluli widely spoken)

Currency: Rwanda Franc (Rwfr) = 100 centurics

Area: 26,338 sq km

Population: 7.1 million

GNP per capita: \$310

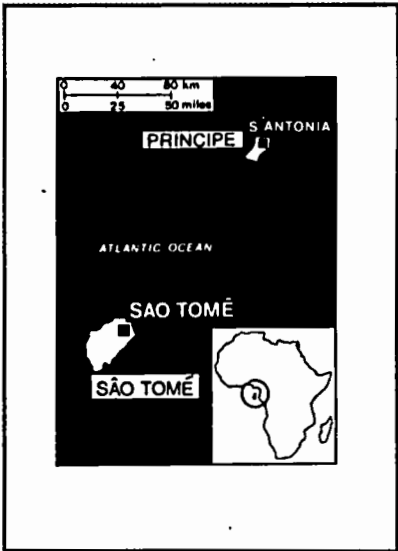
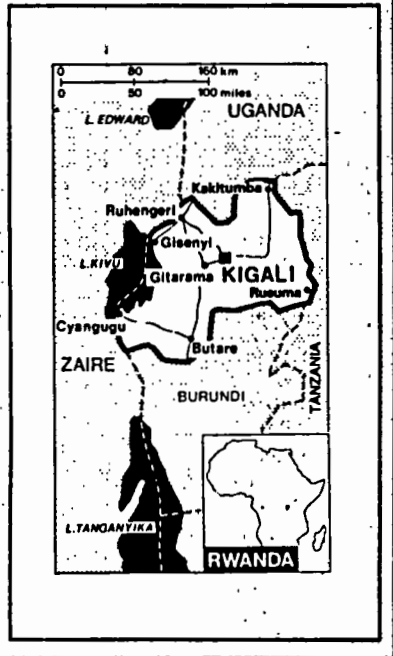
GNP real growth: 1.0%

Foreign Debt: \$741 million

Trade Balance:

Main Exports: Coffee, tungste and tin ores, tea,  
quinquina, pyrethrum.

Mission In Nigeria NIL



## Sao Tome & Principe

Official Title: Democratic Republic of Sao  
Tome & Principe

Head of State: Dr. Manuel Pinto da Costa

Capital: Sao Tome

Official Languages: Portuguese (Forro widely  
spoken)

Currency: Dobra (Db) = 100 centavos

Area: 964 sq km

Population: 117,000

GNP per capita: \$400

GNP real growth: N.A.

Foreign Debt: N.A.

Trade Balance: N.A.

Main Exports: Cocoa, copra, palm kernel,  
coffee

## Niger

**Official Title:** Republic of Niger

**Head of State:** President Mahamma Ousmane

**Capital:** Niamey

**Official Languages:** French (Hausa, Tuarog, Djerma, Fulani, Arabic also spoken)

**Currency:** French CFA = 100 centimes

**Area:** 1,267,000 sq km

**Population:** 7.7 million

**GNP per capita:** \$310

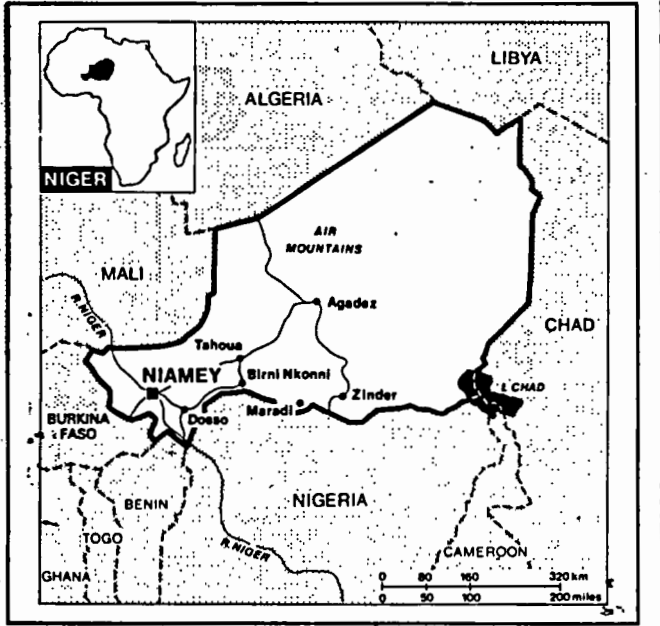
**GNP real growth:** - 2.4%

**Foreign Debt:** \$1.8 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Uranium concentrates, live animals, vegetables & skins, cotton, animal products.

**Mission In Nigeria:** 15 Adeola Odeku Str, V/I.



## Nigeria

**Official Title:** Republic of Nigeria

**Head of State:** President Ibrahim Babangida

**Capital:** Abuja

**Official Languages:** English (Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, and other languages widely spoken)

**Currency:** Naira (N) = 100 kobo

**Area:** 923,768 sq km

**Population:** 90 million

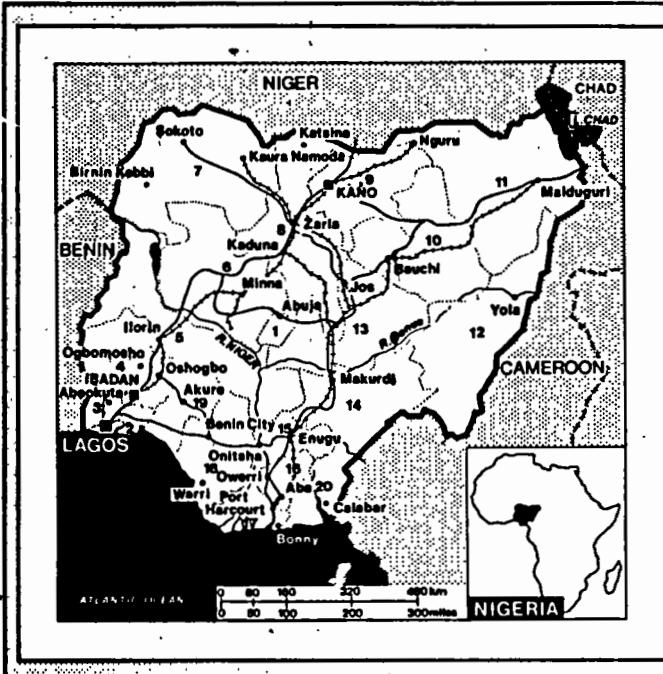
**GNP per capita:** \$290

**GNP real growth:** 0.1%

**Foreign Debt:** \$36.1 billion

**Trade Balance:**

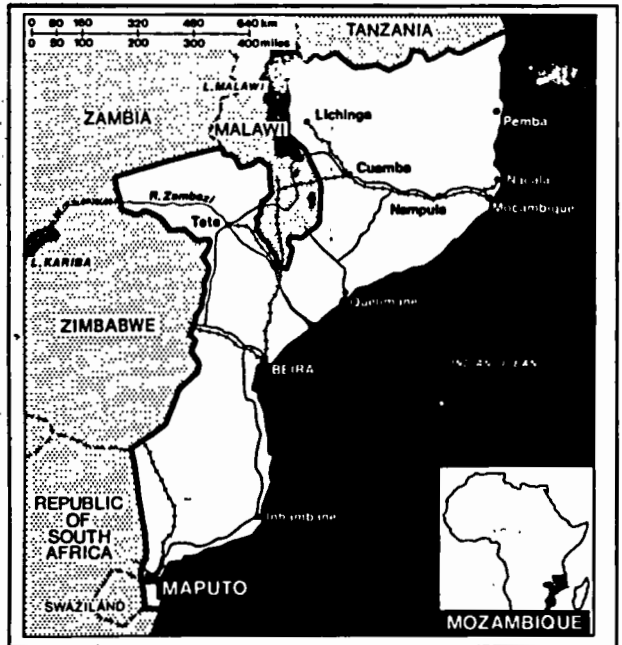
**Main Exports:** Petroleum and derivatives, cocoa, rubber, timber, manufactured goods





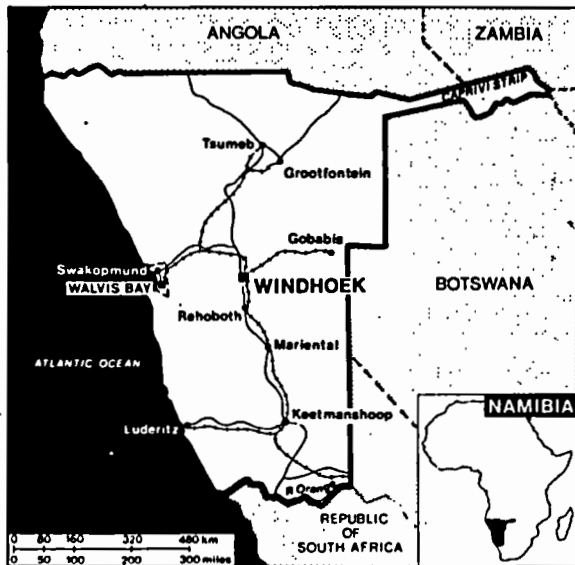
## Mozambique

**Official Title:** Peoples Republic of Mozambique  
**Head of State:** President Joaquim Chissano  
**Capital:** Maputo  
**Official Languages:** Portuguese (Ronga, Shangaan, Muchope widely spoken).  
**Currency:** Metical (MT) = centavos  
**Area:** 783,030 sq km  
**Population:** 15.7 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$80  
**GNP real growth:** N.A.  
**Foreign Debt:** \$4.7 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Prawns, petroleum products, raw cotton, cashew nuts  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL



## Namibia

**Official Title:** Republic of Namibia  
**Head of State:** President Sam Nujoma  
**Capital:** Windhoek  
**Official Languages:** English, Afrikaans.  
**Currency:**  
**Area:** 823,620 sq km  
**Population:** 1.8 million  
**GNP per capita:** N.A.  
**GNP real growth:** N.A.  
**Foreign Debt:** N.A.  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Uranium, Diamonds, other minerals, fish, meat and cattle.  
**Mission In Nigeria:**



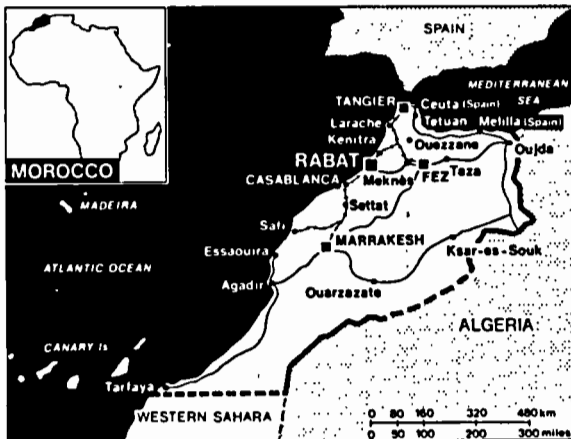
## Mauritius

**Official Title:** Mauritius  
**Head of State:** HM Queen Elizabeth II  
**head of Government:** (Governor-General) sir Veerasamy Ringadoo.  
**Capital:** Port Louis  
**Official Languages:** English, French (Creole, Hindi, Urdu, Chinese, Tamil spoken).  
**Currency:** Mauritian Rupee (MR) = 100 cents  
**Area:** 1865 sq km  
**Population:** 1.1 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$2,250  
**GNP real growth:** 3.2%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$939 million  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Sugar, clothing, tea.



## Morocco

**Official Title:** Kingdom of Morocco  
**Head of State:** HM King Hassan II  
**Capital:** Rabat  
**Official Languages:** Arabic (Berber, Spanish, French spoken)  
**Currency:** Moroccan Dirham (DM) = 100 francs  
**Are:** 711,000 sq KM  
**Population:** 25.1 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$950  
**GNP real growth:** 2.3%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$23.3 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Phosphates, phosphoric acid, citrus, fruits, clothing, fertilisers, fish, carpets, vegetables  
**Mission In Nigeria:**  
 27 Karimu Kotun Street, V/I, Lagos



## Mali

**Official Title:** Republic of Mali

**Head of State:** President Alfa Oumar Konare

**Capital:** Bamako

**Official Languages:** French (Bambara, Senoufo, Arabic, Dofon also spoken)

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes

**Area:** 1,240,192 sq km

**Population:** 8.5 million

**GNP per capita:** \$270

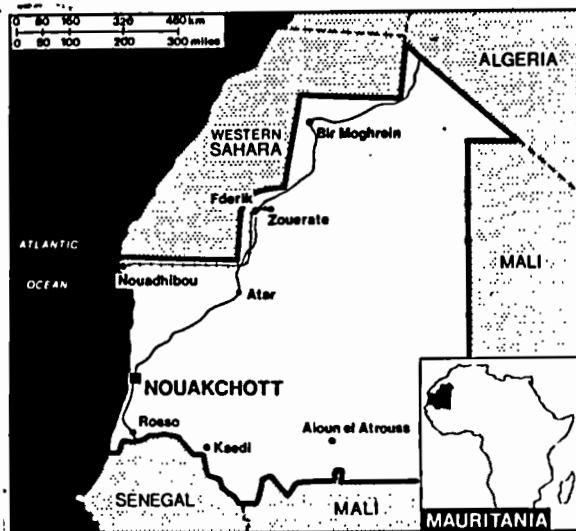
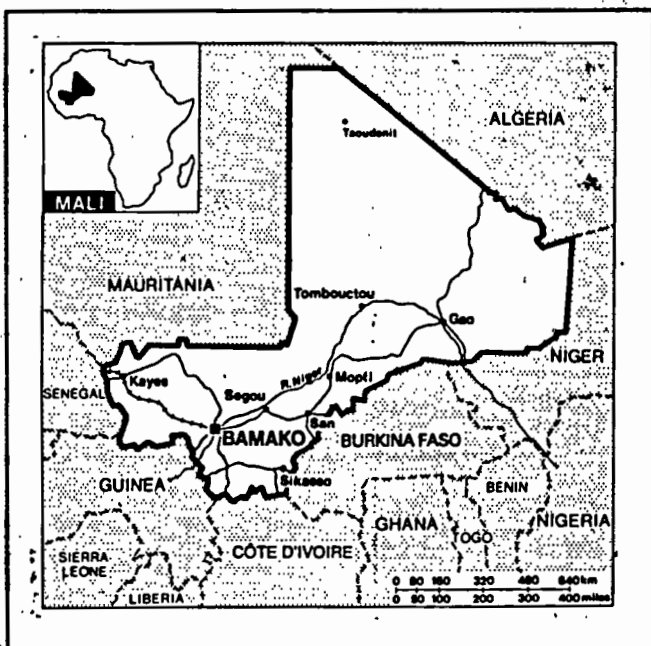
**GNP real growth:** 1.7%

**Foreign Debt:** \$2.4 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Cotton and cotton products, groundnuts, live animals, fish.

**Mission In Nigeria:**



## Mauritania

**Official Title:** Islamic Republic of Mauritania

**Capital:** Nouakchott

**Official Languages:** Arabic, French (Hásaaniya, Pulaar, Wolof also spoken).

**Currency:** Ouguiya (Oug) = 5 Khoums

**Area:** 1,030,700 sq km

**Population:** 2.0 million

**GNP per capita:** \$500

**GNP real growth:** -0.6%

**Foreign Debt:** \$2.2 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Fish and fish products, iron ore

**Mission In Nigeria:**

**NIL**

Ben Enwonwu, Dele Jegede, Yusuf Grillo, Obiora Udechukwu, Okpu Eze and others are internationally recognised Nigerian Fine and Applied Artists. Nigerian arts and crafts sell across the world.

Nigeria is one of the most hospitable countries of the world with several internationally rated hotels and hospitality centres. Like other Africans, the Nigerians' sense of hospitality is proverbial, allowing visitors the first place in personal and institutional interactions. The Nigerian society is indeed inviting to foreigners for either business or tourism purposes. The conducive political economic, social, and cultural environment combine with relatively high level of infrastructure to provide a red carpet for investors.

Rano, Katsina, Gobir, Bagauda and Biram among others; the Junkun and Nupe states; the Yoruba and Bini Kingdoms; the Igbo democracies and trading groups like the Arochukwu and many others. The societies developed sophisticated political and social systems that lasted many years before the interruption by colonial rule.

There are over 300 linguistic groups in Nigeria with peculiar ethno-cultural traits, arts and culture, from which modern Nigerian artists draw inspiration. Music, dance, poetry and oratory in the Nigerian traditional societies exist as an organic ritualistic whole giving rise to such modern artistry as the masquerade theatre, (Mmanwu) among the Igbo, Egungun among the Yoruba, Ekpo among the Efik and Kwagh Hir puppetry among the Tivs. Traditional minstrel in Yoruba and Igholand still survive today.

Modern Nigerian writers such as Professor Wole Soyinka who won the 1986 Nobel Prize for Literature, Professor Emmanuel Obiechina, Cyprian Ekwensi, Chinua Achebe, Gabriel Okara, Ola Rotimi, Chukwuemeka Ike, John Munonye, J.P. Clark, Femi Osofisan, late Christopher Okigbo among many others rank among the world classics but draw their inspiration from traditional society. Literary consciousness is still growing in Nigeria and promises to blossom into a literary haven. There is an Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) and a Nigerian Centre of International Pen.

In theatre and music the likes of late Hubert Ogunde, Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi, Femi Osofisan have achieved international acclaim. The film industry is relatively young with over 200 cinema houses. Nigerian film makers are rising to the task. Late Hubert Ogunde, Eddie Ugbomah, and Adebayo Salami are pioneers in the film industry. There are also many soap operas and comedies which show on television stations across the country.

Nigeria is a touristic country by nature. The Badagry, Lekki and Bar Beach in Lagos, the Zuma rock in Abuja, the Obudu Cattle Ranch, The Yankari Game Reserve, the Ikogosi springs, The Olumo rock, the Mambilla, Adamawa and Jos Plateau, are all natural touristic attractions. Several traditional festivals also offer tourists a good return for their money, such as the Mmanwu Festival in Enugu, the Argungu fishing festival in Sokoto State, Eyo festival in Lagos, Osun Festival in Oshogbo and several yam festivals and boat regattas. There are several museums and monuments such as the war museum at Umuahia and National Theatre, Lagos. Nigeria hosted the Second World Festival of Black and African Arts (FESTAC) in 1977. There is a standing National Troupe which tours the world for spectacular performances.

Nigerian music and dance is a mixture of tradition and modernity. The highlife (Ikwoirikwo), Fuji, Kalangu, Apala music and many others have been accepted by the international audience. Nigerians are also involved in afro, rock, reggae, funk and calypso music. Afro-beat King Fela Anikulapo Kuti is a world acclaimed musician. So also are Osita Osadebe, Oliver de Coque, Rex Jim Lawson, Ebenezer Obey, Sunny Ade, Dan Maraya Jos and Mamman Shata. The Nigerian Performing Musicians Employers Association (PMAN) organises annual international music festival and awards.

African country, Egypt and fraternising with South Africa but resumed the ties in 1992 when the conditions warranted it. Nigeria recognises the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and all freedom fighters, the world over. With the African continent almost entirely free, Nigeria's foreign policy focus changed to economic diplomacy initiated by Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, Nigeria's Foreign Affairs Minister for many years. The focus of this policy option is to match national economic gains with international associations. Nigeria has made significant achievements on the international scene. Her soldiers have served and are still serving in several peace keeping operations and observer missions around the world. She is spearheading the peace efforts in Liberia as the major sponsor of the ECOMOG operations. A Nigerian, Professor Adebayo Adedeji served for many years as the United Nation's Under-Secretary General for Africa and Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Another Nigerian, Dr. Adcoye Lambo served as the Deputy Director-General of the World Health Organisation. The Secretary-General of Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, is another accomplished Nigerian diplomat. Two Nigerian jurists have served in the international court of justice. Nigeria's new capital city, Abuja hosts the secretariat of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Nigeria has also held severally, the chairmanship of both the OAU and ECOWAS. She also held for several years the chairmanship of the Anti-Apartheid Committee at the UN. Nigeria's one time permanent representative at the UN Major-General Joe Garba (rtd) also served as the President of the UN General Assembly. Nigeria also held the presidency of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries for many sessions.

Nigeria was at the forefront of the campaign for an African membership of the UN Security Council. Nigeria is also a champion of the North-South dialogue, the G15 Summit and the African Economic Community. Though her international diplomatic exploits continue to be lurked by internal economic problems, Nigeria's foreign policy profile since independence has been highly dynamic.

## **Culture and Tourism Development**

For sometime, it was a common practice to link the evolution and development of societies in Africa to some kind of external immigration from either the Far East or other Hamitic/Semitic race. The Hamitic hypothesis of African cultures and societies has long been proved wrong. Human societies and cultures have been found to exist in the region even in pre-historic times and the developments usually referred to were really recent internal and external migrations which affected history significantly and not the origin of such societies.

The earliest human cultures and civilisation in the territories occupied by present day Nigeria were those found at Iwo Eleru 1,000 B.C. the Nok Culture 500 B.C., Igbo-Ukwu 9th Century A.D., Ife 800 A.D., Bini 1400 A.D., Tsoede 16th Century A.D. and many others.

These cultures and civilisations developed several political entities such as the Kanem Bornu Empire along the Chad Basin; the Hausa city states of Daura, Kano,

- eventual elimination of the parallel market
- stimulation of non-oil export and reduced reliance on oil revenue
- enhancement of Nigeria's competitiveness abroad along with improved creditor/supplier confidence
- deregulation and liberalisation of exchange and trade controls
- increased inflow of government revenue
- removal of subsidies.

Nigeria has taken several measures to achieve the SAP objectives but the response of the economy has not been encouraging. The floatation of the naira has drastically affected its value which collapsed from about one naira to one US dollar in 1986 to over N25 to one dollar in 1993. Over 24 significant legislations such as the National Industrial Policy, Second-Tier Foreign Exchange market, Export Credit Guarantee and insurance Decree No 22 of 1988, Privatisation and Commercialisation Decree No. 25 of 1988, Nigeria Enterprises Promotion Decree No. 54 of 1989 among others have been put in place to revise the anomalies in the Nigerian economy. Monetary and fiscal measures have also been severely tinkered with but the SAP which was introduced as a temporary measure has shown no ability to redress the imbalance in the structure of the economy. The country's external debt is still over \$30 billion with service obligation of over 40 per cent of external income.

Nigeria has been relisted from a middle income country to be a prominent member of the poor countries. But like Dr. Tariq Hussain, the World Bank representative in Nigeria observed, Nigeria would survive the current imbalance in its economy. The Transition Council is battling to set the economy on its right path before a new civilian regime emerges in August, 1993.

## Foreign Policy Developments:

As a new nation in 1960, Nigeria's closest international link was understandably with Britain, the erstwhile colonial masters. The colonial government made no formal arrangements to launch the new sovereign state into the committee of nations. It was left to Nigeria to decide her own friends and course of international diplomacy.

Nigeria chose the non-aligned option and along with other Third World countries like India, Indonesia, Yugoslavia, Egypt, Ghana and Guinea opted out of the cold war between America and Western Europe on the one hand and the Soviet Union and her satellite states and allies on the other.

In 1963, Nigeria joined other independent African countries to found the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community for West African states in 1975. As the country with the largest concentration of Blacks the world over, Nigeria had the inevitable role of Africa's leader. From the start, Africa was made the centrepoint of her foreign policy. The fight for the full decolonisation of Africa thus kept Nigeria's foreign policy attention for over two decades. She is also at the forefront of the fight to terminate apartheid in South Africa. In 1973, Nigeria along with other African countries severed diplomatic relations with Israel for maltreating a fellow

1980 crude oil contributed \$26 billion to the national purse, accounting for about 95 per cent of foreign exchange income.

With the oil revenue came a drastic change in the taste of Nigerians in favour of imported luxury goods. Conspicuous consumption at national and individual levels became a national lifestyle supported by an unrealistic exchange rate of the naira. Agricultural output was further depleted by a rural to urban migration as all roads led to the sprawling cities of Lagos, Ibadan, Kaduna, Kano, Jos, Enugu, Aba, Onitsha etc which hosted the new industries and their auxiliary services. The nation also embarked on ambitious development plans. By the end of the decade Nigeria became a net importer of food. Over 50 per cent of local consumption of cereals such as maize (20%), wheat (90%), (50%) etc and other essential commodities were now supplemented with imports. By the 1980s agricultural products accounted for barely 2 per cent of total exports and 27 per cent of GDP.

The weakness of the Nigerian economy was thus to be exposed by the oil glut of the 1980s which led to massive swings in the international crude oil market. The real price of oil which had more than doubled from 1978 - 1981, peaking at six times the 1973 level, started drifting downwards, collapsing at its pre-1973 level in 1988 at below \$11 per barrel. Though occasional upward swings resulting from OPEC stabilisation measures helped keep up the price of oil, the boom of the 1970s was evidently not on its way back. Crude oil income fell from \$26 billion in 1980 to \$6.3 billion in 1986. So also did the prices of non-oil commodities in the international market.

With a collapsing income and very high import bill Nigeria resorted to the international money market to pay for her imports. The economy was thrown to a serious structural imbalance and the foreign creditors started asking for a say in the running of Nigeria's economy.

At the domestic scene, industrial production was constrained by the shortage of foreign exchange to import raw materials and spare parts. The GDP worsened from a negative growth rate of 2.633 per cent in 1981 to a negative of 10.70 per cent in 1983. Government's resort to deficit budgeting financed by extensive borrowing from the money market did not help matters. The country's balance of payments deficit rose from N3 billion in 1981 to N3.5 billion in 1984. By 1988 external debt stood at N30 billion with a \$26.2 billion stock of public or publicly guaranteed debt in 1987. Several policy measures one of which was the battering of Nigerian oil through counter-trade did not help either.

To salvage the situation, the government introduced in 1986, an economic recovery package christened the Structural Adjustment Programme, (SAP) complete with IMF style austerity measures. The objectives of SAP include putting into place,

- a market determined exchange rate of the naira
- more rational resource allocation in the economy
- more efficient utilisation of foreign exchange
- stimulation of domestic production
- the promotion of autonomous capital inflow



attention of the military regime that took over power in 1983 was to sanitise the political and economic system. But on August 27, 1985, the General Ibrahim Babangida regime took over from Major General Muhammadu Buhari and set the country on a new course of economic and political transition.

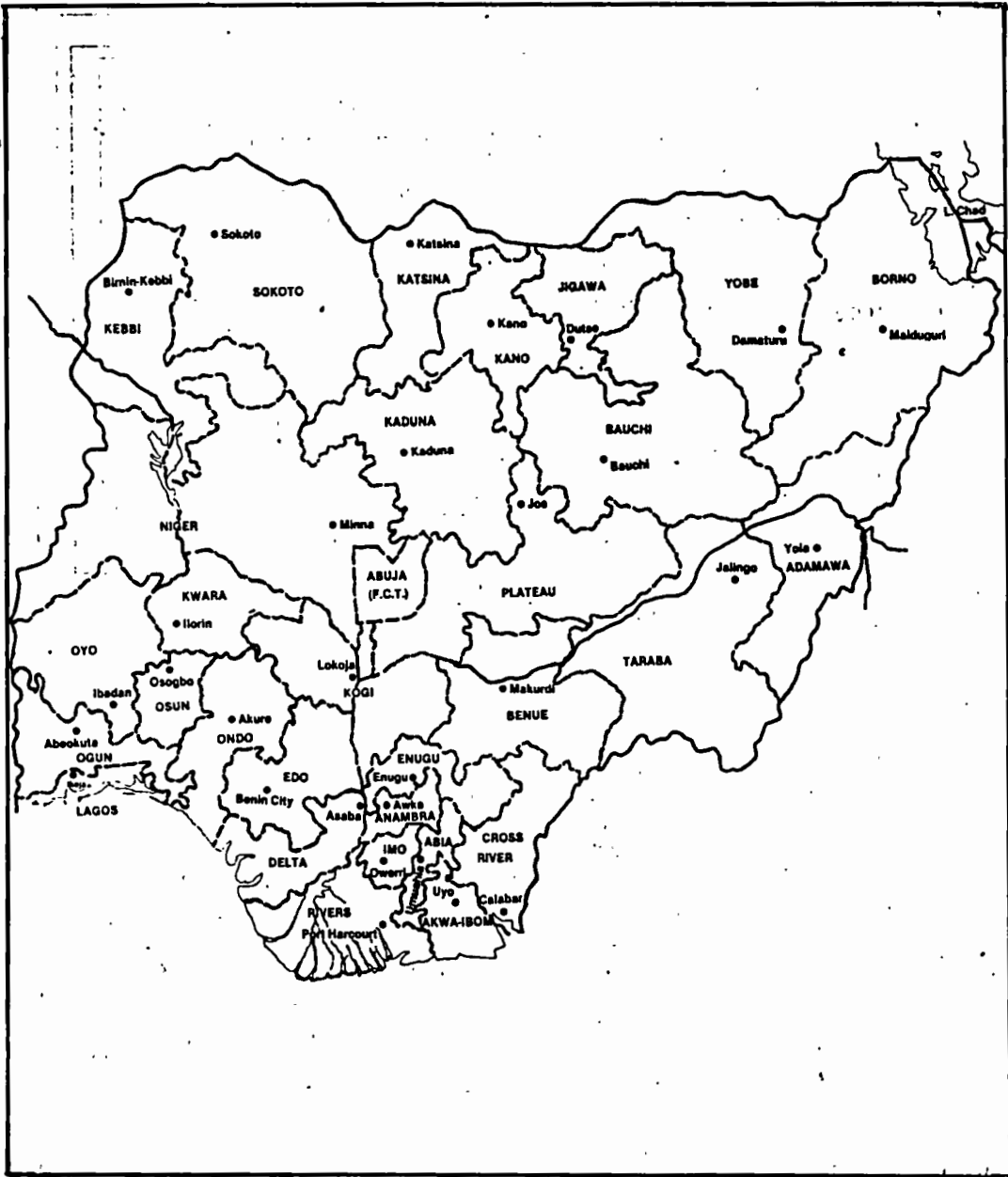
The political transition took off in 1986 with the setting up of the political Bureau which was mandated to fashion a new political course and arrangement for Nigeria. The work and report of the Bureau led to the political Transition Programme that has been consistently pursued by the regime with a schedule designed to terminate on August 27, 1993. Other democratic institutions set up to assist generate a new political culture include MAMSER, the National Electoral Commission, the National Population Commission (NPC), Code of Conduct Tribunal, Constitution Review Committee the Centre for Democratic Studies etc. A two party structure made up of the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention were also put into place. The Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) was dissolved in December 1992 and replaced by a National Defence and Security Council (NDSC). A Transition Council headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan also took over the affairs of government in January, 1993 while civilian governments are already functioning in the local governments and states after successful democratic elections.

Other steps taken since 1985 to advance Nigeria's political growth include the creation of additional states and local governments to make 30 and 589 respectively. A Constituent Assembly approved a new constitution for the country in 1989 and the Federal Capital moved to Abuja in December, 1991. A national census was also conducted in 1991 which arrived at a provisional population figure of 88.5 million for Nigeria. The mechanism for the last lap of the Transition programme - the presidential election is at advanced stage and the country is poised to return to civilian democracy by August 27, 1993.

## **Economic Growth:**

At independence in 1960, agriculture was the mainstay of the Nigerian economy. Up to 1970 about 70 per cent of Nigeria's labour force was employed in the agricultural sector. Most tropical crops grew in Nigeria such as oil palm, kola nuts, groundnuts, cotton, cocoa etc as export crops, and cassava, yam, rice, plantain, beans etc for domestic consumption. In the first decade of independence agricultural products export earned between 65 per cent and 75 per cent of the foreign exchange income and 40 per cent of the GDP. For sometime, Nigeria was the world's largest exporter of groundnuts - about 36 per cent of the world total; second largest exporter of cocoa - about 20 per cent of the world total and 18 and 11 per cent of world supply of cotton seeds and vegetable oil, respectively. Manufacturing activity was little.

The discovery of oil at the eve of Nigeria's independence (1958), was to alter this scenario. By 1970 crude oil export had beaten agricultural export by 57.6 per cent to 53 per cent in foreign exchange takings. With the oil boom of the 1970s also came increased manufacturing activities especially in the area of import substitution industries. the national economy grew at an average of 7.5 per cent in the 1970s. By



Political map of Nigeria showing 30 states and Abuja Federal Capital Territory

## Nigeria: A Profile

The Federal Republic of Nigeria became a sovereign nation on October 1, 1960 when she obtained her flag of independence from Britain. Nigeria, is the largest concentration of Black people in the world, occupying an area of 923,768 square kilometres on the 3° and 15°E longitude and 4°N and 14°N latitude. To her West is the Republic of Benin, the Cameroun Republic in the East and the Republics of Niger and Chad to the North. To her South lies the Gulf of Guinea with a vast coastline which includes the Bights of Benin and Bonny.

A tropical country, the vegetation thins from the mangrove swamps on the coast through the rain forests, giving way to Savannah grassland and semi desert conditions to the North.

### Political Growth:

Nigeria is arguably a British political amalgam; otherwise, the territories that make up present day Nigeria comprise over 300 ethno cultural groups which interacted among themselves at informal levels especially through trade before the arrival of Europeans to the West Coast of Africa. Great Empires which stretched vast territories through conquests held sway at various times in the pre-colonial period but did not wield a single political umbrella over the entire area until the partition of Africa gave this region of the continent to the British in 1885.

The British ruled Nigeria through separate administrative machineries until 1914 when Lord Lugard amalgamated the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria into one administrative unit to which his later wife Flora Shaw gave the name, Nigeria.

Colonial administrative misdemeanour engendered a new nationalist feeling which by the end of the Second World War in 1945 had resulted to a strong agitation for a sovereign nation state of Nigeria. The subsequent struggle for independence led the British to politically hands off Nigeria in 1960.

At independence, Nigeria was made up of three regions - North, East and West. Three political parties, the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), National Council of Nigeria and the Camerouns (NCNC) and the Action Group (AG) formed on ethno-linguistic lines contested the independence election. The NPC in coalition with the NCNC controlled the central government while each party held sway in its region of influence. Political acrimony among the parties and electoral malpractices at the post independence election in 1964 necessitated a military intervention in January, 1966. The political instability resulting from that intervention and subsequent coups took the country through a 30 month civil war which ended in January, 1970. The political structure of the country was altered with the creation of a 12 states structure in 1967 and 19 in 1976.

In 1979, the country returned to civil rule, jettisoning the parliamentary system of government for the Presidential system with a five political party structure. The Second Republic was to last for only four years when the army took over again on December 31, 1983 on account of the misdemeanour of the political class. The

## Zimbabwe

**Official Title:** Republic of Zimbabwe

**Head of Government:** Prime Minister Robert Mugabe

**Capital:** Harare

**Official Languages:** English (Chishona, Sindebele, widely spoken)

**Currency:** Zimbabwe Dollar (Z\$) = 100 cents

**Area:** 391,109 sq km

**Population:** 9.8 million

**GNP per capita:** \$640

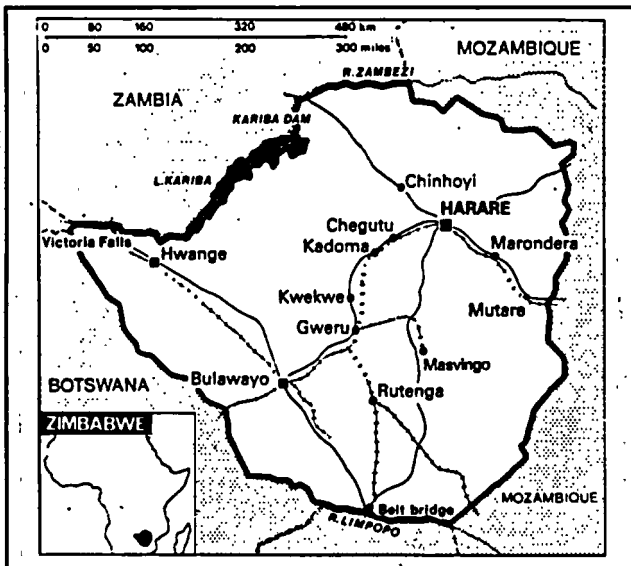
**GNP real growth:** 0.7%

**Foreign Debt:** \$3.2 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Tobacco, iron and steel, gold, sugar, ferro-alloys, maize, rickel, cotton, asbestos.

**Mission In Nigeria:**



## Zaire

**Official Title:** Republic of Zaire

**Head of State:** Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko

**Capital:** Kinshasa

**Official Languages:** French (Lingala, Kiswahili, Tshibuba, Kikongo spoken)

**Currency:** Zaire (Z) = 100 makuta = 10,000 sengi

**Area:** 2,345,409 sq km

**Population:** 37.3 million

**GNP per capita:** \$220

**GNP real growth:** - 2.2%

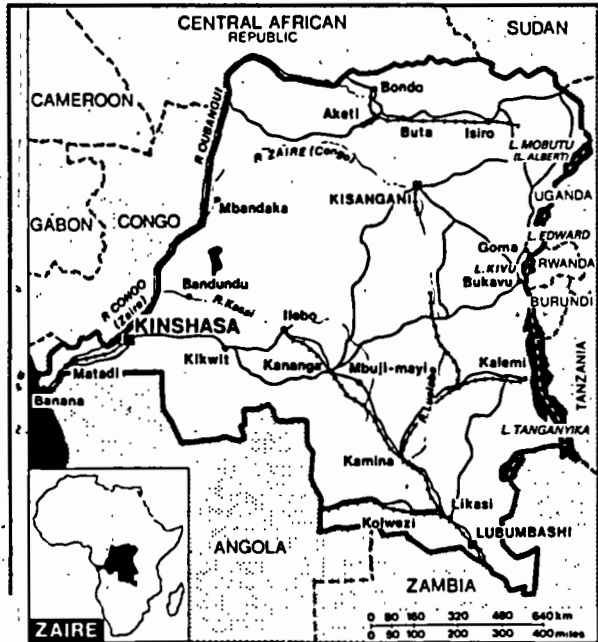
**Foreign Debt:** \$10.1 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Copper, crude petroleum, diamonds, cobalt, coffee.

**Mission In Nigeria:** 23 A

**Kofo Abayomi Street, V/I, Lagos**



## Zambia

**Official Title:** Republic of Zambia

**Head of State:** President Federick Chiluba

**Capital:** Lusaka

**Official Languages:** English (Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, Lozi widely spoken)

**Currency:** Kwacha (K) = 100 nqwee

**Area:** 752,614 sq km

**Population:** 8.1 million

**GNP per capita:** \$420

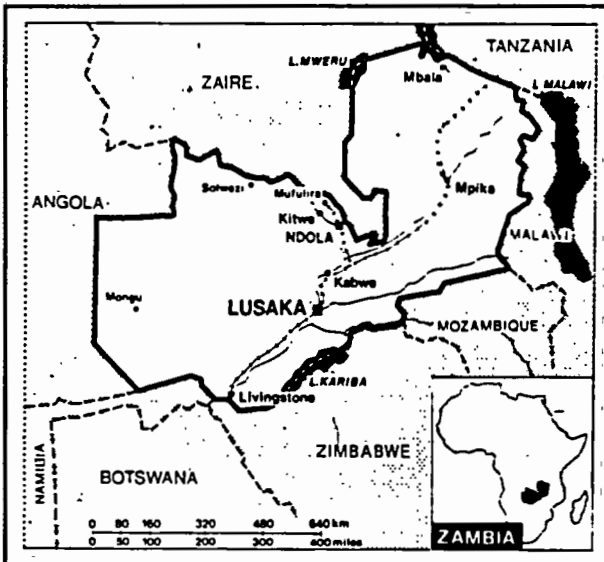
**GNP real growth:** - 1.9%

**Foreign Debt:** \$7.2 billion

**Trade Balance:**

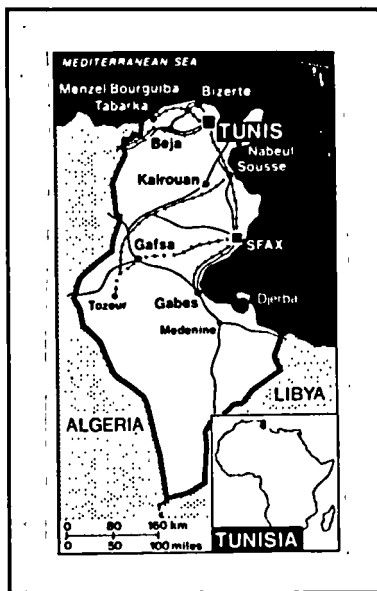
**Main Exports:** Copper, cobalt, zinc, lead.

**Mission In Nigeria:** 11 Keffi Str., ikoyi, Lagos.



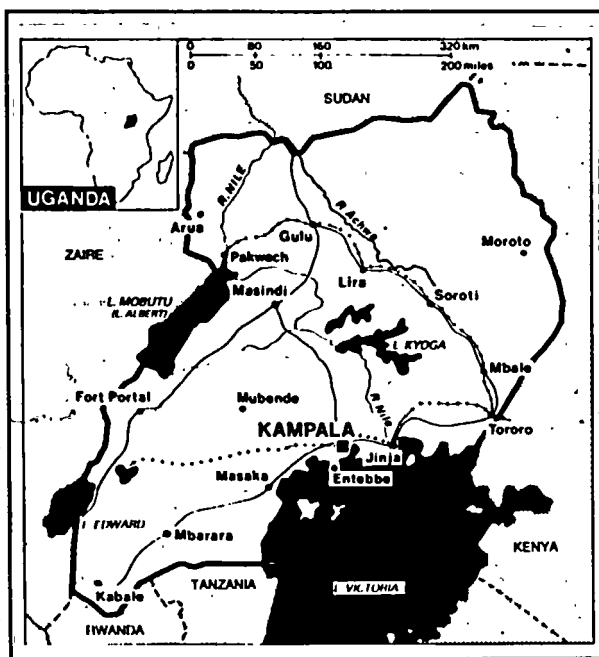
## Tunisia

**Official Title:** Republic of Tunisia  
**Head of State:** President Zine Ben Ali  
**Capital:** Tunis  
**Official Languages:** Arabic (French widely spoken)  
**Currency:** Tunisian Dinar (TD) = 1000 millimes  
**Area:** 163,610 sq km  
**Population:** 8.1 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$1,440  
**GNP real growth:** 3.2%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$7.5 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Petroleum & products, textiles, fertilisers, inorganic chemicals, phosphates  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL



## Uganda

**Official Title:** Republic of Uganda  
**Head of State:** President Yoweri Museveni  
**Capital:** Kampala  
**Official Languages:** English (Luganda, Kiswahili spoken)  
**Currency:** Ugandan Shilling (Ush) = 100 cents  
**Area:** 236,036 sq km  
**Population:** 16.3 million  
**GNP per capita:** \$220  
**GNP real growth:** - 2.4%  
**Foreign Debt:** \$2.7 billion  
**Trade Balance:**  
**Main Exports:** Coffee, cotton, maize, tea.  
**Mission In Nigeria:** NIL



## Tanzania

**Official Title:** United Republic of Tanzania

**Head of State:** President Ali Hassan Mwinyi

**Capital:** Dar es Salaam

**Official Languages:** English, Kiswahili

**Currency:** Shilling (Tsh) = senti

**Area:** 945,087 sq km

**Population:** 24.5 million

**GNP per capita:** \$80

**GNP real growth:** N.A.

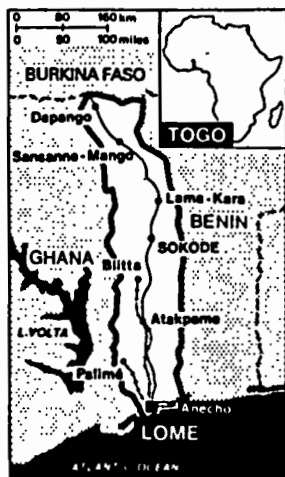
**Foreign Debt:** \$5.9 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Coffee, cotton, cloves, sisal, diamonds

**Mission In Nigeria:**

45 Ademola Street, S.W., Ikoyi, Lagos.



## Togo

**Official Title:** Republic of Togo

**Head of State:** President Gnassingbe Eyadema

**Capital:** Lome

**Official Languages:** French (Ewe, Kabre widely spoken).

**Currency:** Franc CFA = 100 centimes

**Area:** 56,785 sq km

**Population:** 3.6 million

**GNP per capita:** \$410

**GNP real growth:** — 0.1%

**Foreign Debt:** \$1.3 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Phosphats, cement, cocoa, cotton, coffee.

**Mission In Nigeria:** Plot 976 Oju-Olobun Street, Victoria Island, Lagos

## 1991 Abuja OAU Summit

### Sudan

**Official Title:** Republic of Sudan

**Head of State:** President Omar Hassan al-Bashir

**Capital:** Khartoum

**Official Languages:** Arabic (English, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamtic also spoken)

**Currency:** Sudanese Pound (S<sub>0</sub> = 100 piastres)

**Area:** 2,505,813 sq km

**Population:** 25.1 million

**GNP per capita:** N.A.

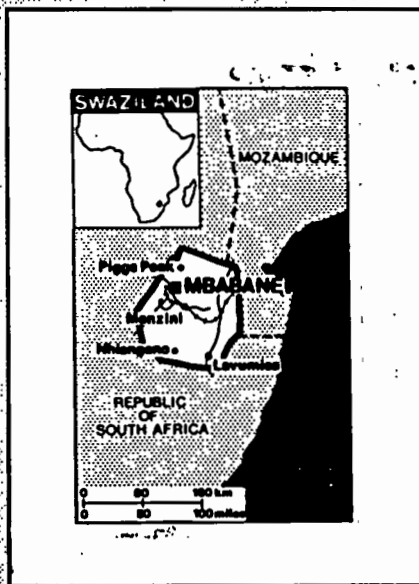
**GNP real growth:** N.A.

**Foreign Debt:** \$15.4 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Cotton, groundnuts, sesame, gum arabic, sorghum/durra.

**Mission in Nigeria:** 2B Kofo Abayomi Street, V/I, Lagos.



### Swaziland

**Official Title:** Kingdom of Swaziland

**Capital:** Mbabane

**Official Languages:** English, Siswati

**Currency:** Lilangeni (plural Emalangeni — E) = 100 cents

**Area:** 17,353 sq km

**Population:** 797,000

**GNP per capita:** S810

**GNP real growth:** 2.2%

**Foreign Debt:** N.A.

**Trade Balance:** N.A.

**Main Exports:** Sugar, wood pulp, chemicals, canned/fresh fruit.



## Sierra Leone

**Official Title:** Republic of Sierra Leone

**Head of State:** Captain Valentine Strasser

**Capital:** Freetown

**Official Languages:** English (Krio, mende, Temre widely spoken)

**Currency:** Leone (Le) = 100 cents

**Area:** 72,325

**Population:** 4.1 million **GNP per capita:** \$240

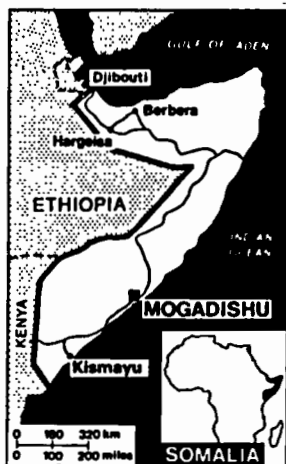
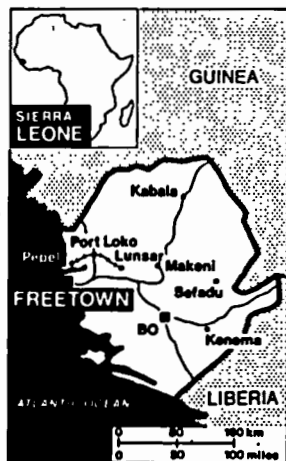
**GNP real growth:** 0.0%

**Foreign Debt:** \$1.2 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Diamonds, cocoa, coffee, mife, bauxite

**Mission In Nigeria:** 31 Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim Street, Victoria Island, Lagos.



## Somalia

**Official Title:** Somalia Democratic Republic:

**Capital:** Mogadishu

**Official Languages:** Somali, Arabic (English, Italian also spoken)

**Currency:** Somali Shilling (Sosh) = 100 centesimi

**Area:** 752,541 sq km

**Population:** 7.8 million

**GNP per capita:** \$120

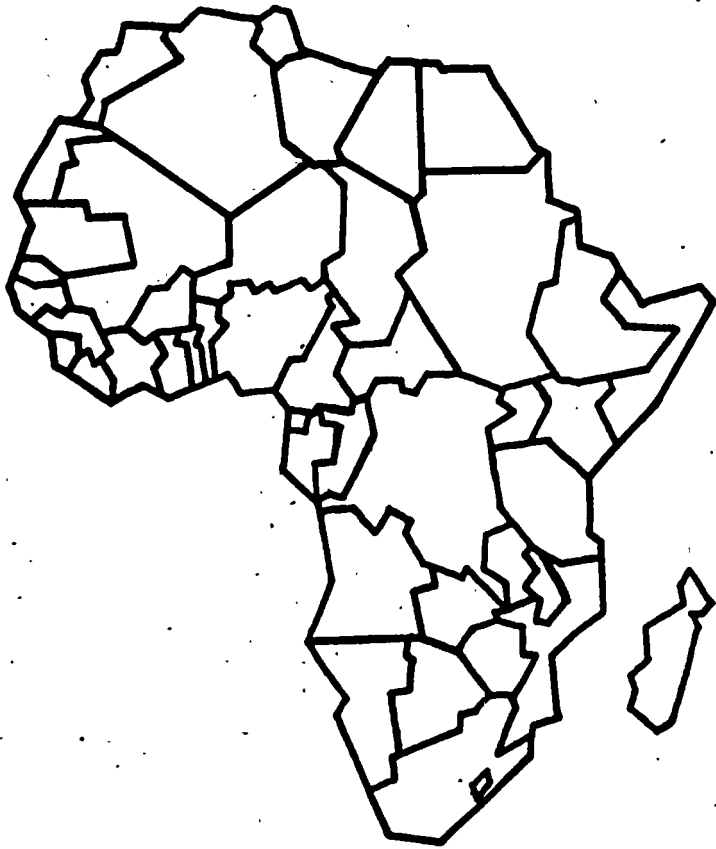
**GNP real growth:** — 0.1%

**Foreign Debt:** \$2.4 billion

**Trade Balance:**

**Main Exports:** Livestock, babanas

**Mission In Nigeria:** Plot 1270 Adcola Odeku Street, V/I, Lagos.



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