CHAPTER - III
THE EMERGENCE OF OAU AND THE PROBLEMS OF AFRICA

Having discussed the determinants and objectives of Nigerian Foreign Policy we shall in this chapter, be concerned with the major factors in Africa that gave rise to the establishment of OAU in 1963 and the major problems confronting OAU vis-a-vis Africa today. There are bound to be limits to which this chapter can go. This is because African problems are many and very complex. Therefore, they cannot all be fully exhausted in this tiny piece.

I. RISE OF PAN-AFRICANISM

The OAU today serves both as the symbol and embodiment of age-old Pan-African yearnings that found remarkable expression in the 19th century epics of scattered African communities the world over. Pan-Africanism was a movement of self-assertion in its early days. It evolved progressively into an organized force with cultural and political claims. This dimension took shape in Africa, especially immediately after the Second World War. This finally culminated in the formation of OAU in 1963.

A short history of the Pan-African movement is necessary here before delving into the OAU since the organization derived its origin from it. But this is neither a historical nor a comprehensive summary of the
numerous, religious, political and cultural forces which gave shape to the formation of the Pan-African movement. The only point we shall make here is that, Pan-Africanism in the breadth and length of its evolution gave birth to OAU.

The roots of Pan-Africanism can be traced to the awareness that grew among Negro intellectuals in the USA of their sufferings resulting from the evils of slave trade, imperialism and racism. This awareness gave birth to a race consciousness. The Negro 'intellectuals initiated a movement to protect, safeguard and defend their rights, humanity, and exhibit their fraternity. Thus, Pan-Africanism began not in Africa but among the blacks outside Africa. It developed through a complicated Atlantic triangle of influences between the New World, Europe and Africa. In its early phase, that is from the middle of the nineteenth century uptill the early twentieth century, the people of Africa imbibed these new ideas from their studies mainly in the USA and Britain. The 'alien and exile emotions of theme is one of the principal conditions that gave rise to the growth of Pan-Africanist ideas'.

The first attempt to give the Pan-African movement an organizational modality was mooted in 1900 with the First


Pan-African Congress in London. It was in this conference, wrote Legum that, "DuBois was introduced to Pan-Africanism by its sponsor, H. Sylvester Williams, A Trinidad barrister who, so far as is known, was the first person to talk about Pan-Africanism — although in 1897 DuBois had said that if the Negroes were to be a factor in the world history, it would be through a Pan-Negro movement". Williams' chief collaborator was Bishop Alexander Walter of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, who provided an important link between this independent religious movement and Pan-Africanism. Moreover, it was at that conference that DuBois spoke his famous prophetic lines: "The problems of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line — the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the Islands of the sea".  

Unfortunately, the movement remained dormant until it was revived by DuBois after the First World War. From the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War DuBois organized Five Pan-African Conferences, all outside Africa. It was only the fifth Pan-African Conference in Manchester in 1945 that people from Africa attended. The names of those attended shall be mentioned later in the chapter. Anyway, the essential elements of Pan-Africanism as advocated by DuBois were: a complete

political equality for Negroes; national self-determination; individual liberty, and democratic socialism. DuBois did not achieve much because he relied heavily on appeals and petitions to the European governments and the League of Nations. Also the movement was limited only to the black thinking intelligentsia.

Because of his cooperation with the White Liberals and his moderate approach, his efforts did not appeal much to many Negro leaders including Marcus Garvey. Garvey himself was a militant Jamican Negro who wanted to meet and match white racism with black racism. He believed in racial purity on which he started a militant Negro Movement. Garvey advised Negroes to go back to Africa. His slogan was "Africa for Africans at home and abroad". He founded a "Negro Empire" in New York in 1920 and declared himself as the Provincial President of Africa. Though Garvey's was a real mass movement of the people with an estimated following of two million, it merely lasted for about six years. With this, the field was now left open for DuBois and his Pan-African movement. Despite his lack of radicalism, DuBois was conscious of the race problem. This was borne out of his famous statement mentioned earlier.

4. The First in London in 1900; Second in Paris in 1919; Third in London and Brussels in 1921; Fourth in London and Lisbon in 1923; Fifth in New York in 1927; and Sixth in Manchester in 1945.

Thus, when he spoke of Africa, he did not refer to the geographical entity of Africa. He referred to Negroes in Africa. Therefore, it was a Negro Movement rather than an African territorial movement. North Africa was excluded from the movement. This is because states north of the Sahara were considered closer to Europe than to Africa. Egypt was more or less considered as a passage between the continents rather than a part of Africa.

The Manchester Congress of 1945

With the end of the Second World War, the Pan African movement took an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist shape.* This became evident at the 1945 Manchester Congress. At this conference, many African leaders like Kwame Nkrumah; Jomo Kenyatta; J. Annam; Kurasky Tailor and S.L. Akintola 6 were present. In understanding the Pan-African philosophy,

* The contents of Pan-Africanism today have changed. Originally, it included all the people of African origin, and the movement aimed at racial solidarity. But now, it is mostly confined to the people of the African continent and stands for the unity of the Africans against such forces as imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and Zionism. What Sylvester Williams had started at the Pan-African Congress of 1900 at London had became a dream come true. This manifestation became evident with the institution of the OAU.

great importance must be accorded to the 1945 Manchester Conference of the movement. Because, it was for the first time dominated by African leaders. It was also for the first time that there was a demand for the autonomy and independence of Black Africa. It gave a call to all colonial and subject peoples of the world to unite. In the words of K. Madhu Panikkar, "The Fifth Congress was extremely important in the development of Pan-Africanism. Till then, Pan-Africanism was dominated by the middle classes. The Fifth Congress, which had about 200 delegates, was more democratic. Political parties, trade unions, farmers and corporators took part in the Congress. But, even more important was the fact that Pan Africanism was for the first time to become African. African delegates dominated the Congress and African nationalism and socialism became the dominant issues. It may be said that it was at the Manchester Congress of 1945 that Pan-Africanism entered into the realm of political reality... As we saw, the Negroes of the world had made Africa the "Promised Land" and developed a messianism connected with it yet with all these defects, the Congress marked a turning point...."

The Congress also demanded universal franchise, economic democracy, and condemned the rule of 'private wealth and industry for private profit alone'. The Congress for the

first time passed a resolution sympathizing with the demands of North Africa. There were the germs of their future non-alignment foreign policy in the declaration. This signified a new political dimension to the movement which all these years had been essentially a Negro solidarity movement. As a follow up action, after the conference, political activities aimed at self-determination and elimination of western rule intensified in various parts of Africa. This expanded the scope of cooperation among various African nationalist movements, involving both the Arab-speaking and the sub-Saharan Africans. With this in mind, George Padmore, described his views of the future goals of Pan-Africanism in these words:

"It rejects both White racialism and black chauvinism. It stands for racial coexistence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for the human personality... Its perspective embraces the federation of regional self-governing countries and their ultimate amalgamation into a United States of Africa...."

The next stage of development was reached in 1958 when Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana called the first independent African-States Conference at Accra, Ghana. In the words of Panikkar, "till the Gold Coast (Ghana), became


91
independent, the Pan-African movement did not have a base in Africa. Nor did much contact exist between the English-speaking Africans and the French Africans. As we saw, the French Africans had developed their own idea of Pan-Africanism which considerably differed from the Padmore - Nkrumah varient. The contacts between the two different parts of Africa were maintained by occasional meetings in London and Paris, but as Nkrumah himself mentions, there was no meeting of minds. The most significant impact of this conference nevertheless lies in the fact that it was able to provide Pan-Africanism a base in the African continent. It also raised Pan-Africanism to the governmental level. Thus, it ceased for the first time to be a movement exclusively for the Negroes. From a race movement, it became an African territorial movement. The north Arab Africans as well as the White regime of South Africa were invited. Its activities henceforth, shifted from the western countries to the African continent.

Pan-Africanism's slogan is "Africa for the Africans". The origin of the phrase is obscure. But it was almost certainly coined in America by Sylvester Williams, a West-Indian Lawyer who envisaged the movement as one of racial solidarity. At first it was expressed through songs and poems; gradually it crystallized into an ideology for social

and political action and became a movement of intellectual protest against the iniquitous treatment of the Negroes all over the world...." Later it gained wide currency as the slogan of Garvey's 'Back to Africa' movement. But its political life began long before then, not in America but in Nyasaland and South-Africa. The person who first gave it life and meaning was Joseph Booth who was born in Derby in 1851, emigrated to New Zealand where he became a successful farmer, and came back to work in Nyasaland in 1892 as a Baptist Missionary. He befriended John Chilembwe and became the political mentor and benefactor of Nyasaland's first nationalist leader - Chilembwe who made the slogan his own.

Moreover, in the development of Pan-Africanism, different churches have played an important part. The influence of America, on the growth of a messianic vision and its corollary, an African Church is most noticeable. "The most important of these is the movement known as Ethiopianism. In the 1880's a movement, called the Watch Tower, was started in America, which believed in racial equality and the universal brotherhood of man. The cult of Ethiopianism was perhaps the first struggle towards the discovery of an African personality. It took root not in

any Negro territory but in the Union of South Africa. Since it was impossible to do so by founding a state, the church was the only other organization in which the separateness of the African could find expression.  

So far, it has not been possible to give a precise definition of the term pan-Africanism. And in the words of Indra Kaushal, "We can only attempt to give its different manifestations. It does represent a call for African unity against racial discrimination and colonial exploitation."

Any how, an attempt is made here to bring out what some of the African political leaders said about it. Nkrumah of Ghana in a speech to the conference on positive action and security said of it:

"Fellow Africans, you all know that foreign domination in Africa effectively disintegrated the personality of the African people... When I speak of Africa for Africans this should be interpreted in the light of my emphatic declaration, that I do not believe in racialism and colonialism... The concept "Africa for Africans" does not mean that other races are excluded from it. No. It only means that Africans who naturally are in the majority in Africa, shall and must govern themselves in their own countries...."

15. Kaushal, n. 8, p. 29.
According to Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first Nigerian Governor-General, and President of Nigeria in an address in London said:

"When we speak of Pan-Africanism, what do we exactly mean? To envisage its future, we must appreciate its meaning. To some people, Pan-Africanism denotes the search for an African personality. To others, it implies Negritude. While to many it connotes a situation which finds the whole continent of Africa free from the shackles of foreign domination with the leaders free to plan for the orderly progress and welfare of its inhabitants... It would be useless to define 'Pan-Africanism' exclusively in racial or linguistic terms. Since the obvious solutions would be parochial..."

And in the words of Obafemi Awolowo, "a good deal has been said and written about Pan-Africanism. No one has yet precisely defined what it means".

No one so far, has been able to give a definite meaning to what Pan-Africanism stands for. Neither can any one say exactly about the origin of the term Pan-Africanism in order not to give a wrong interpretation and meaning to it. Anyhow, our main concern here is not what Pan-Africanism means but, its contribution to the solution of African problems and the establishment of the OAU in that regard.


With independence, African states sought to coordinate their policies through governmental and non-governmental conferences with the sole object of achieving unity among themselves. For example, the aims of the protagonists of the Conference of Independent African states held in March 1958, Accra-Ghana, were:

a. To bring together independent states on the continent of Africa to discuss problems of mutual interest;
b. To consider, formulate, and coordinate schemes and methods aimed at accelerating mutual understanding of such countries;
c. To consider ways and means of safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of participating countries, namely, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic (Egypt) and of assisting dependent African countries in their efforts to the eventual attainment of self-government;
d. To discuss and plan cultural exchange and schemes of mutual assistance. This and other conferences took place before the inaugural Conferences of the OAU in Addis Ababa in 1963.


20. Ibid.
Why African Unity?

Before attempting to answer the question, it is necessary that we accept the term unity in its simplest and dictionary meaning. According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English in its second interpretation of the term Unity implies: harmony, agreement (of aims, feelings, etc.) It is in this sense that it is applicable here.

In answer to the question, it is obvious that this position may not be generally accepted as perceptions tend to differ. Nevertheless, it may suffice to say that the desire for African unity arose out of so many factors. Firstly, where-as in Asia the people do not belong to the same racial stock and are separated by natural barriers like Mountains and Seas, the people of Africa possess racial unity and geographical contiguity. Most of the African people come from the Negroid race, even though they are divided into various tribes. Similarly, the Sahara desert divided the continent into two parts - South and North, but it never affected the geographical integration of the continent. Secondly, the exploitation of all the African States by the colonial powers coupled with the humiliation suffered on racial grounds has forged a spirit of unity.
amongst the Africans. In view of the common history of long suffering and hardship under colonial powers, the people of Africa have come to acquire a feeling of oneness, hence African unity. Thirdly, on practical grounds also, the African states have felt the need for unity. Most of the African states which have attained independence are not strong enough to help their brethren under colonial rule to gain their independence through the use of force. It dawned on them that they can help in the liberation of such African states if only there is some sort of unity amongst them. Fourthly, it was realized that the newly independent states would not be able to safeguard their hard won independence and bring about the anticipated speedy economic development unless such unity could be promoted and fostered. Finally, because of the rationalization that African problems could best be solved by Africans themselves, free from external pressure and unwarranted interference.

There are certain influence that equally activated the minds of the founding fathers of the OAU to forge some type of unity or the other. They are, the Russian Revolution of 1917 which led to the unification of sixteen Soviet republics; the federation of American states; the creation of the United Nations and its 1945 Charter, especially those


principles on sovereign equality and the rights for self-determination of peoples, the belief in the dignity and worth of human beings, equal rights for both men and women, and of nations, both large and small, etc. The creation of the organization of American States also influenced them.

THE FACTORS THAT GAVE RISE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OAU IN 1963.

The following are the main factors that gave rise to the formation of OAU in 1963. Firstly, the problem of African unity. There were divergent views regarding the establishment and nature of African unity. The Casablanca group generally supported Nkrumah's views for a Union of African states with a central legislature. While the Monrovia powers led by Nigeria, believed in gradualist approach towards some form of association of African states. Apart from this, there were other issues like the Algerian-French conflict. This resulted in an insurrection against the French government. It lasted for many years.


which was to the displeasure of the African independent states who wanted an end to colonial rule in Africa.

Another important fact that agitated the minds of African leaders was the humiliating Congo imbroglio which showed the ineffectiveness of the UN in its peace-keeping efforts. This brought to light the influence of the western powers in the functioning of the UN especially when it has to deal with issues involving their interests and outside their geographical spheres. This Congo crisis, forced the African leaders to think of setting up a Military High Command to deal with such like situation in future. In short, Nkrumah suggested it to Nasser who on account of one reason or the other turned it down. There was also the Palestine issue where Israel was accused of being an agent of the imperialist powers. This was due mainly to its intransigent attitude towards the issue. The problem of blocism whether based on cultural, linguistic, geographical


or colonial affinity was highly resented. This was in reaction to the behaviour of the Brazza-ville states. It contributed greatly to the adherence to non-alignment and its principles by the African states.

Secondly, the issue of the poverty and the underdevelopment of the continent was also there. The continent was so wretched that its sorry sight stares at the faces of African leaders particularly after many years of colonial exploitation. A way out was sought as individual states could not do anything on their own. The success of overcoming these economic woes therefore depended on cooperation among the African states, without which, the continent and its peoples would be condemned to perpetual poverty, underdevelopment, and dependence.

Then, there was the issue of apartheid and racial discrimination. This was seriously denounced by African leaders. They were for an end to this in-human man-made problem especially when the Belgians, the Portuguese, and the racist South Africa colluded to perpetuate this. African leaders felt it an insult to the African personality and quickly urged for ending it.

The Namibian situation also incensed Africans, as the South African government not only flouted the UN Mandate regarding the administration of the territory but also, continued their exploitation of the mineral resources of the
area with the support of the Western countries like the USA, UK, Germany, etc.

Another was the issue of Rwanda-Urundi. The Belgian government wanted to keep the two territories divided while, African leaders and the people of these areas wanted unification.

There was also the case of French nuclear tests in the Sahara desert. All the African states were against the nuclear testing and exposure of Africa to radioactive fallout.

**IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES**

The OAU was formed against the backdrop of the ideological differences existing in the continent among the African states.

The Monrovia group with twenty members was larger than the Casablanca group with six members. The strength of the Casablanca group lay in its ideology. The members of this group were against all forms of colonial control, from colonialism to the effects of neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism was defined by the Third All African Peoples Conference held in Cairo in 1961 as, "the survival of the colonial system in spite of formal recognition of political independence... an indirect and subtler form of domination by political, economic, social and military or technical
The Casablanca group advocated the policy of non-alignment between the two power blocs and seemed committed to socialism. This radical ideology was reflected in the writings of some of these leaders. But the most important point of disagreement between the Casablanca and Monrovia groups was their approach to the concept of African Unity. As stated earlier, Nkrumah of the Casablanca group laid emphasis on the political aspect which favoured rapid movement towards a continental union. He wanted a political union as a prelude to the economic integration of the continent. This resulted in the Casablanca group establishing various committees to coordinate political, economic, military and social activities under the auspices of the Casablanca Charter and its protocol.

The Monrovia association, on the other hand, preferred economic and technical developments to precede political union, at least at that early stage of the independence of African states. It felt that the European cooperation was needed to achieve economic growth. That is why it was against political integration. Probably these ideological


103
differences were accentuated by the heterogeneous colonial background of the African continent. The heterogeneous colonial background left behind a conflictual legacy.

There was the Moroccan claim over Mauritania because of which Morocco objected to the UN membership of Mauritania. There were border issues also - the Moroccan and Algerian dispute over their frontiers; the Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya border problems; Somalia nationalism that led to the demands for a greater Somali; the Ghana and Togo imbroglio where Ghana was claiming the Ewe territory of Togoland. There was also the allegation by Tunisia of Egyptian attempt to assassinate Bourguiba, the president. Equally, there was the accusation against Guinea by Cameroon of harbouring the Moumie's rebels. Finally, there was the jealousy over apparent claims of African leadership. Many of the African leaders resented the impression that Nkrumah was staking a claim to lead the whole of the continent. This was because he seemed to be interfering in the internal affairs of other African states.

Notwithstanding the divergent politico-economic perceptions and preferences a strenuous effort was made to reconcile these at a conference in Lagos at the beginning of 1962 and rapprochement among the groups became possible due to appeals from well-meaning leaders especially from Haile Selassie of Ethiopia with his towering and fatherly personality in the continent. As a result, they accepted
his call to attend a meeting of independent African states in Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OAU

As a result of an appeal made in December 1962 by the Inter-African and Malagasy Organization - the Afro-Malagasy Union (AMU) for the creation and establishment of an organization of African nations, a Summit Conference of Independent African Countries was held at Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital from May 15-25 1963. Before this, a preparatory conference of Foreign Ministers of these nations was held in May 15-23. This body was given the task of formulating plans for the establishment of the said African Union. For the realization of this idea, a Committee was constituted headed by the Senegalese Foreign Minister. Among other things the Select Group was called upon to study all the proposals brought to it including the Casablanca Charter, the Lagos Charter, a Plan submitted by President Nkrumah of Ghana, and a draft Charter as prepared by the Government of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. The committee failed to effect a compromise amongst the


divergent positions. Hence, the recommendations of the Foreign Ministers to the Heads of State and government to consider the draft charter presented by Ethiopia and suspension of other proposals till the next conference of the Foreign Ministers. The Casablanca Charter was a real blueprint for political union which went to the extent of establishing, though on paper, a unified African High Command. Mean-while, the Monrovia Group advocated a conservative position which was in accord with its Lagos Charter adopted in December 1962. The Monrovia powers stood for an African union that would provide a broad framework for cooperation based on the active participation of all sovereign countries. Conversely, Nkrumah was for an immediate political union. He felt that because of the vulnerability of African states to the whims and machinations of the neo-colonialist powers.

To work out a compromise charter, the heads of State and government, being alive to the pressure of African and international public opinion, appointed a Special Committee of Foreign Ministers to study all the proposals. As a consequence of the deliberations of this committee, a new charter of the OAU was agreed upon and was signed by thirty-two states on May 25 1963. It was more or less the Ethiopian draft.

With the establishment of the OAU in 1963, the differences between the Brazzaville, Casablanca; and Monrovia groups were greatly narrowed down. It also signalled the coming to an end of both the Monrovia and Casablanca groups. The Brazzaville group though dead, still maintains some economic ties among the member states. Appendix six shows the founder member of OAU alphabetical order.

OBJECTIVES OF OAU

The organization has the following objectives:

1. (A) To promote the unity and solidarity of African States;
   (B) To coordinate and intensify cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
   (C) To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
   (D) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa;
   (E) To promote international cooperation having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. To these ends, the Member-States shall coordinate and harmonize their general policies, especially in the following fields:
   (A) Political and diplomatic cooperation;
(B) Economic cooperation, including transport and communications;
(C) Educational and cultural cooperation;
(D) Health, sanitation and nutritional cooperation;
(E) Scientific and technical cooperation; and
(F) Cooperation for defence and security.

PRINCIPLES OF OAU

The Member-States in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:
1. The sovereign equality of all Member-States;
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States;
3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independent existence;
4. Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiations, conciliation or arbitration;
5. Unreserved condemnation in all its forms, of political assassinations as well as subversive activities on the part of neighbouring states or any other states;
6. Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent;
7. Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

37. Ibid., Article III, p. 9.
MEMBERSHIP

In terms of articles I and V of the Charter, "Membership in OAU is open to all independent sovereign African States and neighbouring Islands".

Liberation Movements recognized by OAU are granted observer status which enables them to put forth their case and thus influence decisions taken in their favour. These Liberation movements are - SWAPO (The South West African Peoples Organization), ANC (The African National Congress of South Africa), PAC (The Pan-African National Congress of South Africa).

Article XX of the Charter created six Specialized Commissions. This article was, however, amended in 1969, as a result four Specialized Commissions were left. They are:

A. Labour Commission.
B. The Economic, Social, Transport and Communication Commission
C. The Defence Commission, and

OAU also set up Ad-hoc Commission in its peace-keeping efforts.

38. OAU ; OAU Short History (Addis Ababa : OAU Press and Information Division, 1983), pp. 4-5.
INSTITUTIONS OF OAU

The Pan-African institution shall be expected to accomplish its purposes through the following principal organs:

A. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government;
B. The Council of Ministers;
C. The General Secretariat;
D. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. Appendix seven shows the hierarchical structure of OAU institutions.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the Supreme Organ of the Organization. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to Africa with a view to coordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the organization. It may, in addition, review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

The assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year. At the request of any Member State and on approval by a two-thirds majority of the

40. See Article IX, p. 10.
Member States, the assembly shall meet in an extra-ordinary session.

In all its meetings and summits, it is expected that,
(a) Each Member State shall have one vote; (b) All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the organization; (c) Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States of the organization, and (d) two-thirds of the total membership of the organization shall form a quorum at any meeting of the assembly.

Moreover, the assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure for any successive meeting or meetings.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

According to Article XII of the Charter; "The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States, and for the conduct of its affairs shall meet at least twice a year. Equally, when requested by any Member State and approved by the two-thirds majority of all Member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session".

In relation to its functions, the Council of Ministers, shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and

41. Ibid., Articles X and XI, p. 11.
Government which shall entrust it with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembly. Finally, the Council of Ministers shall take cognizance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decisions of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall coordinate inter-African Cooperation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly in conformity with Article 11 of the present Charter.

While in session, (a) each Member State shall have one vote; (b) all resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the Members of the Council of Ministers, (c) Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council of Ministers shall form the quorum for any meeting of the Council. In relation to its meetings, the council shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT

The Headquarters of the OAU General Secretariat is located at African Unity House in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The General Secretariat is the permanent OAU organ whose

42. Ibid., p. 11.
43. Ibid., See Article XIII, pp. 11-12.
44. Currently, the OAU Headquarters has been temporarily shifted to Abuja-Nigeria. The Nigerian Government is building a new Headquarters of the OAU at its national capital, Abuja due to the uncertain political climate existing in Ethiopia. In 1991 the Annual meeting of the organization was held in Abuja-Nigeria for the same reason.
task is to service OAU meetings, implement decisions and resolutions adopted by OAU Heads of State and Government; maintain the organization documents and archives, and generally speaking, conduct the day to day work of coordination among Member States in all fields stated in the Charter.

The Secretariat is headed by a Secretary-General appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Whosoever is appointed to the post shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat. According to Article XVII "there shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government". Their term of office is for four years. They may be reappointed for another term of office.

There are five hundred and ninety six (596) staff members of the Secretariat. Out of these one hundred and fifty two (152) are of professional category. They come from over forty (40) independent States of the continent who work at the Headquarters and in the regional and sub-regional offices.

The working languages of the OAU are Arabic, English and French, these being the official languages of the Member States.

45. The OAU Charter, Article, XVII, p. 12.
FUNCTIONS AND CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, THE ASSISTANT AND OTHER STAFF

Article XVIII of the Charter states that: "The functions and conditions of service of the Secretary General or the Assistant Secretaries General and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government". And, "in the performance of their duties, the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the organization". Moreover, "each member of the organization undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities".  

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

According to Article XIX, the Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means, and to this end decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and conditions of service shall be defined by a separate

46. Ibid., Article XVIII, p. 13.
protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The said protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.

**PREPARATION OF THE OAU BUDGET**

The OAU Budget is prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General and approved by the Council of Ministers. The funds are contributed by the Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the UN with the condition that no single country can be required to contribute more than twenty percent of the yearly budget of the organization.

**II. MAJOR PROBLEMS OF AFRICA CONFRONTING OAU**

Africa in the contemporary world is the poorest and the most problem-ridden continent. OAU was formed to tackle these issues collectively by the African nations, because the major problems faced by the African countries are common due to the unique historical factors that have operated in the whole of Africa. The major problems before OAU have been discussed under the following heads: (I) Political Instability; (II) Inter-State conflicts; (III) Liberation Movements, Racialism and Apartheid; (IV) Economic underdevelopment; (V) Neo-colonialism, Cultural Imperialism and Security.
I. POLITICAL INSTABILITY

Many newly independent nation states in Africa have been politically unstable and their national units have been under threat. This is mainly the outcome of the plurality of African states and societies in terms of diversity of populations, and tribal divisions, which complicate ethnic and cultural differences. Tribalism, we may say, has tended to negate the concept of the nation-state. We are not surprised therefore to note that most African states like Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Nigeria, etc., were plagued either by secession, separatist movements, or by revisionist expansionist activities that were targeted at the creation of, for example, Greater Ghana or a Greater Somalia etc. But, if the goal of Pan-African Unity is to be achieved in its totality, African states must for that reason guard against balkanization of their countries. That is why Member States of the continental movement have been against it when ever and wherever it has occurred.

The first secessionist attempt occurred in Katanga in Congo. It, of course, was externally engineered. The African states never supported it, especially, as it resulted in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the then Prime Minister of independent Congo. The second attempt was by Eritrea in Ethiopia supported by external forces and is still continuing till this day despite the attempts by the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam to settle it through
military might.

Then, there was the Biafran rebellion in Nigeria. African states were so concerned about it that majority of the OAU Member States excluding Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Gabon, Tanzania and Zambia were hostile towards the secession. These four countries felt it necessary to side with the rebelling side (Biafra). The rest of OAU members feared that, if this movement was allowed to succeed, it might trigger off similar activities in their own states which may not be to their liking and interests as most of them were heterogeneous societies like Nigeria. However, this led to a civil war in Nigeria from 1967-70. The rebellion was crushed. It was the first secessionist war in Africa that successfully concluded in favour of unity. The rebel area has since been reintegrated into the mainstream of the nation. The one in Congo (Now Zaire) did not end immediately. It reappeared again in 1964. We are not so sure whether it has finally ended.

Note: Mengistu Haile Mariam has abdicated his office due to the mounting pressure of the separatist forces and, the threat of capturing the captial-Addis Ababa which they subsequently succeeded in doing.

47. The former Katagan insurgents attacked Shaba (formerly Katanga) province twice in 1977 and 1978 from their base in northern Angola, where they had taken refuge during the civil war periods.
Then there was the Chadian civil war which led to loss of much life and property and tended to defy any solution. The warring factions most of the time violated several peace accords reached after protracted negotiations brokered by Nigeria and OAU. This domestic upheaval was also encouraged by France who supported one of the factions involved in the dispute. The problem was finally solved. Political instability has manifested itself in some other forms like the proliferation of military rules and one party governments which has stunted the growth of healthy political institutions responsive to the diverse problems of the people. According to Jim Norwine and Alfonso Gonzales, "Shortage of elite political leadership, ethnic divisions and the lack of over-arching political philosophies have led most nations in the region to choose either military rule or one party government. Both styles perpetuate favouritism, nepotism and emphasis on status quo. The number of military governments has increased remarkably... Some military governments have engaged in political excesses, prolonged internal conflicts and even oppression of the people".

This therefore is a multi-dimensional problem. African economic crisis has created a situation of political instability. Thus, after twenty five years of the

continents' efforts at improving the socio-economic situation, the problem of under-development is very much 49 with the continent. This has increased inter-ethnic or inter-religious conflicts. It is a well known fact that when rival groups compete for power and control of the state or governmental affairs, it leads to conflicts or external military intervention from big or global powers. In this process, the security of the state becomes jeopardized. This happened in Zaire, Chad, Sudan, Nigeria, Uganda, Angola, etc. They provide examples of the security problems faced by African states at the time of civil wars, civil insurrections and intense power struggles often prolonged by external interventionist powers.

II. INTER-STATE CONFLICTS

Under this sub-heading we include border problems 50 between African states. These are colonial legacies. These came about due to the partitioning of the continent in 1884-1885 during and after the famous Berlin Conference amongst the imperialist powers. The consequence of this were an arbitrary bifurcation of Africa and her peoples ignoring cultural, linguistic and historical affinities. An


example of this was the separation of a part of the Ewe tribe of Ghana which was adjusted as part of Togo republic. This has resulted in border clashes and is an irritant in the relations between the two countries.

There is presently, the unending war between Ethiopia and Somalia, Somalia and Kenya. But the most serious in terms of waste of resources is that between Ethiopia and Somalia. Somalia has been clamouring for a greater Somalia, by unifying the Ethiopian and Kenyan Somalians together with their parent Somalia. This frontier problem is continuing till this day despite the standing OAU declarations of maintaining a status quo by recognizing the borders as were left behind by the colonial masters. Moreover, the Members themselves agreed to accept and allow the borders to stay as they were after independence of these states. This position was in tune with Article III of the OAU Charter.


52. A thaw situation is currently existing between Ethiopia and Somalia due mainly to the domestic upheavals in both countries resulting in Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and Siad Barre of Somalia abdicating their offices and are now in exiles.

Moreover, there is the issue of the annexation of the African Egyptian territory by Israel during the June 1967 Egypt-Israeli war that humiliated Egypt and, "dealt a severe blow to Arab prestige". The escalation of this problem later brought about the oil embargo on Israel and her western supporters by the OPEC, unprecedented in the history of the third world states and organization if its consequences are to be taken note of.

Another connected issue is that of subversion. This emerged soon after the attainment of independence by most African states. It was caused mainly due to disunity among the liberation movements at the time of liberation wars. It also has an undertone of tribalism. Most of these movements had the backing of the major tribes as their leaders come from either one or the other existing major tribes. This was so in Mozambique and in Angola where Jonas Savambi with the US, Zaire, and South African backing created terror amongst the rural population which happened to be overrun by them. It has rendered these countries weak while the hard earned money is used for arms purchases. Instead of carrying on developmental activities, war consumes most of the attention. It in itself has the effect of rendering the OAU Liberation Committee ineffective.

There is also the problem of refugees which in part is the consequence of the liberation movements, subversive activities, natural disasters like flood, earthquakes, epidemics, cyclons, and especially droughts. It can also be said that political instabilities in some of the continental states add to this problem. According to the report of the UN High Commission for Refugees, more than one million people had been uprooted from twelve African countries by April 1970. This was exclusive of those who were displaced by civil war, nomads leaving their impoverished homelands and aliens expelled from former places of residence. This, if not checked, might worsen the domestic situation in the harbouring states. As a result of its magnitude in Africa, it found a place in the OAU Charter and resolutions. It is out of the realization that if neglected by African states, the plight and fate of those concerned would be very disastrous.

III. LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, RACIALISM AND APARTHEID

When OAU was formed in 1963 more than half the African countries had obtained freedom. The Charter itself was signed by 32 African countries. Thus the process of decolonization of Africa was nearly halfway through and

55. Article 1, Convention on Refugees Problems in Africa. It was signed by twenty-four states vide; OAU: Documents C.M./267/RCV. 1.
from 1963 to 1983 another 20 countries became free and joined the OAU. So during this period of study the major issues were the question of Namibia, the western Sahara, and the racial regime of South Africa and its policy of apartheid. Both Nigeria and OAU had to take up positions that helped to hasten the process of decolonization of Africa and the end of racialism in Africa. Since 25 June 1975 when Mozambique got her independence from the Portuguese colonial power, other countries like Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Zimbabwe in 1980 had all got their independence through the efforts of liberation movements based in their territories. Namibia got theirs also after much struggles of SWAPO and the UNO in 1990. Only South Africa is yet to be free. Both ANC and PAC both of South Africa are still struggling to free their territory from the clutches of apartheid and racism. And the major problems these liberation movements face have been that of rivalry between the various movements in the same territory resulting in lack of coordination of efforts. Other problems they faced had been that of inadequate finance and materials. At times they are not even available when most needed.

Namibia had been a UN trustee territory. In 1945, the Union of South Africa retained control of the mandated territory without an agreement to create a trusteeship within the UN Charter. The South African government thus, "usurped the territory and, introduced apartheid system".
They embarked upon economic exploitation of the territory 56 for the interests of the whites in South Africa. This situation forced the UN to terminate the mandate in order that it might deprive the racist regime of the legal basis of their administration. This was followed by the UN Security Council Resolution 385(1976) which, condemned the "continued illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia by South Africa". Ever since, there had been efforts by the South-West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) to regain the control of their territory and put an end to the economic exploitation. In this way, OAU had been extending its unflinching, total and unequivocal support to the liberation movement in its efforts to win independence and sovereignty for Namibia. It recognized SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative liberation movement in Namibia for the interest of Namibia and its people.

The UN and the Security Council had in so many other resolutions extended support to SWAPO. The UN Secretary-General was once quoted on August 29 1983 as saying, that, "We have never before been so close to finality on the


58. The OAU took the issue of the illegal occupation of Namibia and the exploitation of its rich mineral resources by the South African government with the help of countries like the USA and UK to the International Court of Justice where it obtained justice for SWAPO.
modalities of implementing Resolution 435 (1978)". Until recently, some western powers, the so-called "Contact Group" (USA, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada) time and again tried to scuttle the Resolution 435 by introducing a new element, the demand for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Presently, Cuban troops had been withdrawn leading to Namibian independence and, the signing of the Peace accord with the Angolan government and the rebel Angolan group (UNITA).

Then there is the problem of Western Sahara. This was the outcome of the occupation of Western Sahara by Morocco and Mauritania though Mauritania later renounced its claim over part of the territory. This was the after effect of the illegal "Madrid accord" of 1975. Due to this accord, Spain suddenly withdrew from the territory without handing over to any one in particular. The consequence of this was the division of the territory between Morocco and Mauritania despite the protestations of the Polisaro Front. Polisaro was the existing nationalist movement in the territory and is also adjacent to Algeria. This SADR/Morocco issue is still there though Morocco at last has agreed to a UN


sponsored referendum to ascertain the will of the people for either independence or joining Morocco.

Racialism and Apartheid have been the most in-human manifestations of European imperialism and colonialism in Africa. The worst and continuing example of these has been the white minority rule in South Africa. This practice has generally condemned the world over due to its naked denial of political, economic, social and cultural rights to the majority of the South Africans. The African struggle to gain these fundamental rights resulted in the imprisonment of eminent freedom fighters like Nelson Mandela and others, while some people like Walter Sissilu, etc., went into exile to escape the repressive actions of this evil empire. Press was gagged and political groups like ANC, etc. were proscribed. All these repressive policies of the racist regime have been rightly called a crime against humanity as it is contrary to the belief in "Universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language or religion", which is the bedrock of the principles and purposes of the UN.

Note: The proscription of ANC and others has been rescinded with the start of dialogue with the South African minority regime that will usher in a non-racial democratic government in that territory.

OAU and non-aligned states including friends of the oppressed and dispossessed peoples like the former USSR and other socialist states etc. demanded immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the South African troops from the Namibian territories it occupied. These states have resolutely also condemned the military, political and economic adventurism and destabilization efforts of the racist South African regime against independent states of the sub-region like Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and the Seychelles. The South African government thus elevated terrorism to the level of state policy. And for a long time now, it waged an undeclared war against the peoples of Angola with the tacit US support under the pretext of defending Africa against communism.

IV. ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Africa was the last of the continents to be decolonized, with South Africa still in the clutches of the white rule. In the same way and for the same reasons. Africa has lagged behind other continents in industrialization and economic development. As a result

62. Since 1986-87 remarkable changes had taken place within Southern Africa. First and foremost, Namibia had gained its independence. Secondly, the blatant military aggression by the South African regime into the Frontline States had minimized if not stopped. Finally, the colonial exploitations of the sub-region had reduced.
Africa remains abysmally poor and grossly exploited. And the prospects for economic development and the vast majority of the African people achieving reasonable standards of living in the near future are bleak. This is because Africa heavily indebted and dependent on the west for capital, technology and trained manpower etc. has become the victim of western neo-colonialism in which even political freedom has become illusory, with some experts being of the opinion that Africa never really moved out of the phase of colonialism.

One of the worst problems facing Africa has been the extremely slow growth of agriculture. This has led to a negative co-relation between food production and population growth. Food production in Africa increased at a minimal rate. For example, in 1980 it was only 0.2 percent; it was 1 percent in 1981. While in 1981-83, it still remained at 0.2 percent. During this period population growth was constantly as high as about 3 percent which was more than the food supply could cope with.

The food situation is worsened by natural disasters like drought, flood, famine and desertification. In this way, for survival the continent has needed external aid. The most affected areas are Ethiopia, Chad, Burkina Faso, Mozambique, Somalia, Niger, Zaire.

63. See, Time Magazine (New York), 21 December 1987, pp. 36-43.
The result of this problem is the migration of population creating refugee problems in some countries, malnutrition and starvation as witnessed in Ethiopia and Somalia recently. Drought could be said to have caused the worst havoc. Africa in the first half of 1970’s was struck by famine across a broad belt of the continent. This highlighted Africa’s helplessness, further reducing its capabilities. If the Biafran and Rwandan-Burundian civil Wars were already Malthusian solutions of social and economic problems, the drought, that brought a sudden Southern expansion of the Sahara into the Savannah Region from Senegal to Somali, also reduced population by 1,00,000 in 1973 alone, and in the words of UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, "threatened entire countries with extinction".  

In political terms, the effect of this drought on formerly active states (such as Senegal, Mali, Niger and Ethiopia) has been to strain their external relations, and has made it difficult for them to control the oppositions within. Like the Biafran War and the petroleum crisis, the famine has severely tested the ability of the member states of the OAU to plan together and support one another. The low agricultural productivity has led to malnutrition and malnutrition and starvation.

64. Since July 1992, it is reported and estimated that, about two hundred Somalians die everyday due to starvation.

unemployment problems. But in most African states, only eleven have a population of more than ten million, and thirty have less than five million. Nigeria is the continent's largest state population-wise. It has an estimated population of 100 million in contrast to all others.

Leaving out children, the disabled and the aged, the active population, that is those who can work, constitutes about 60-70 percent of total population. Further, fast rate of growth in population is outpacing growth in food production and health facilities making any economic development meaningless.

Unemployment is now on the increase. This came about as a result of the qualitative increase in the population; schools, colleges and university turn out of young people without the necessary avenues of employment. In the 1970s "the level of unemployment in Africa was about ten million. While the size of covert unemployment is 53 million. This includes 46 million from the rural areas. Thus in Africa, the working peoples' general educational level and skill standards are of much importance but, these indications are very low even throughout the world".

According to Jim and Alfonso, "health and human resources issues form yet another cluster of impediments to development. Malnutrition, disease, high infant mortality, and low life expectancy cause debilitating problems. The area has the world's highest child death rate and lowest life expectancy. Improved health conditions, coupled with cultural factors (male dominance, importance of large families, security in old age), are contributing to rapid population increase in the region. Thirdly, rapid urban growth accompanies the population explosion". Thus, health problem has become one of the important issues facing the continent. The level of health facilities is still very low. The situation is even worse in the rural areas. It all means that, various states in Africa are yet to bring health facilities to the doorsteps of the people. The number of doctors and para-medical staff per one thousand is quite negligible. Anyhow, it could be said that much efforts had been made in this regard since independence in the early 1960s by most of these nations, yet much is still left to be desired.

Education is another area where progress has been slow. One of the contributing factors to educational problem is the inadequacy of the financial resources that the government of African states devote to it. Despite the efforts made since the 1960s by these states, much more is

left to be done about. Moreover, the contribution towards education in African states from the international community has not been sufficient to prevent a loss of momentum which is further accentuated by the inadequate cost-effectiveness of educational systems. The high unit costs are usually due to excessive wastage and dropout rates which in turn are due mainly to social or educational factors. They are, "pupil-teacher ratios; under-qualified teachers; lack of satisfactory school text books; materials and equipment etc". Moreover, inspite of all the educational reforms undertaken in Africa during the past two decades, many educational institutions still carry the imprint of external influences especially, that left behind by the colonial masters. Despite independence no thorough review of the system had been undertaken which should have enabled the authorities to tailor the educational systems to suit the local needs and situations. In this way, these have remained unadapted to the prevailing socio-economic and cultural objectives of African states.

The consequences of this has been that vast majority of the young people who have left school are unable to integrate harmoniously into the society particularly in rural areas. They have therefore, swelled up the ranks of the marginal population groups in urban and semi-urban areas.

areas. At the same time, "countless young secondary school graduates and to some extent, graduates from higher institutions, have absolutely no hope of finding employment commensurate with their specialized training and do find themselves doomed to unemployment before having a chance to begin any sort of working life".  

Despite all these shortcomings, it may be said to the credit of African states, that since 1960s and up to the early 1980s, substantial increase in education has been made. "The increase in enrolments between 1960 and 1982 amount to 355 per cent for primary education, 875 per cent went to secondary education, and 902 per cent was for higher education. This marked expansion is an important aspect of the progress made in education in Africa. Thus, African states devoted 4.7 per cent of their GNP in 1981 as against 2.7 per cent in 1960. For primary education in 1960, only one out of 45 African states had an enrolment ratio for the six to eleven year-old population group of more than 75 per cent. Only nine of the enrolment ratios were equal to or higher than 50 per cent; by 1980 their numbers had risen to 15 and 29 respectively".

Transport and communication has remained essentially colonial and grossly inadequate. Motorable roads, run first.

69. Ibid., p. 7.
from the sites of mineral deposits or agricultural production to the sea-ports. These roads assured the colonialists the export of raw materials and the delivery of their goods into the heart of the continent. Africa still remains qualitatively and quantitatively the poorest in terms of transport and communication infrastructure. According to Jim Norwine and Alfonso Gonzales, the reasons for these inadequacies and the consequences are as follows: (A) "Numerous weaknesses in transportation and communication infrastructure slow sub-Saharan development; (B) The new African nations have failed to give high priority to the improvement of the transport systems they have inherited. Often they lack financial resources and technical expertise to do so. (C) The region's telecommunication infrastructure growth rate is the world's poorest; (D) The region's mass media systems are poorly developed, unevenly distributed, and as yet too fragile to support speedy development". In this way, the mass of Africa's people continue to live in rural areas, is isolated, barely literate and has scant opportunities for contact with the outside world. Villagers find themselves marginalized in their very own nations. They are obstructed from fully becoming involved in the required and vast mobilization of energies which the situation nevertheless really demands. They would have easily taken part if only they were aware on how to start doing so. Despite the predominance of radio, the emergence

of television and newspapers, the majority of Africans particularly in the rural areas are yet to avail themselves of these modern privileges. The various African governments and its agencies are yet to create the impact and awareness to enable the people especially the rural dwellers to know the role mass communication could play in the development of the continent.

The transportation system amongst the African countries, and within these states is so poor that it is easier to fly to Paris or London than to reach some of the interior areas of the continent. It costs more to carry freight from Abijan (Cote d'Ivore) to the neighbouring district of Burkina Faso (Upper Volta) than to carry the same freight from Abijan to Marseilles. On account of this, much importance is now attached to the construction of trans-African highways. There is the "Trans-Sahara which link up Algeria, Mali and Niger; the Trans African Latitudinal - Nigeria, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Zaire, Uganda and Kenya; the West African - Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivore), Ghana, Togo and Benin and; the East African-Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia and Botswana".

72. Yuri Popov, n. 62, p. 44.
To have some idea of the extent of economic under-development in Africa it is relevant to quote Professor Adebayo Adedeji the ECA Chief on the present economic condition in Africa: "With the continuing sluggish performance in overall output and the high level of unemployment and population growth, there were hardly any improvements to be expected in the incomes of the majority of the African population. The overall living conditions on the continent continued to deteriorate as incomes fell and essential goods and services became harder to come by. Food production deteriorated sharply, the continent's foreign debt burden grew to over $200 billion, and prices for primary commodities such as coffee, tea, and cocoa tumbled". Most of those affected include twenty six of the thirty six least developed countries of the world.

In the words of Jim Norwine and Alfonso: "Massive economic problems plague the region's development. Most national economies remain under-developed, with annual per capita incomes among the world's lowest. Twenty nations in sub-Saharan Africa are placed within the world's poorest nations category with annual per capita GNP incomes of less than $400 (World Bank 1985). About 70 per cent of the region's people live on the edge of poverty, and world bank officials consider current economic conditions grim and the outlook bleak (World Bank 1983). Several sub-cluster

73. Times of India (New Delhi), January 6 1988; See also, Times of India, December 20 1987.

136
problems help to create this situation. (A) Population growth is faster than food production. The world development report 1983 (World Bank 1983) showed an average annual 2.8 per cent population growth with food production increasing a mere 1.5 per cent. Most farming remains at subsistence levels. (B) The region's nations continue to depend on one or a few export commodities". 74

V. NEO-COLONIALISM, CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND SECURITY

Neo-colonialism is the "control by powerful countries of former colonies, or less developed countries by economic pressure". The end of colonialism and the gaining of political freedom have not resulted in the liberation of the African people. Far from helping Africa towards economic development the former colonial powers and other developed nations have made Africa the victims of new form of domination and dependence which is economic, technological and cultural due to their superior economic and industrial strength backed by their military might and technological superiority. This domination has taken various forms.

As already referred to in the context of Nigeria, all the African countries had to be dependent on the developed countries for capital, technology, machinery, skilled manpower. They were also dictated by the west on trade.


However, the most serious form of domination has been the role of the multinationals. It is the multinationals who have largely helped the racist and the Zionist regimes in South Africa, Namibia and Israel. In collaboration with the racist regime in South Africa, the transnationals and the imperialist powers are only guided by the motives of deriving maximum profits on their investments and, at the same time maintaining control over highly important sources of raw materials. The multinationals prey on the African states whether independent or dependent. For example, despite the UN resolutions barring foreign corporations from Namibia, they still control a large part of Namibia's economic activity.

In 1973-74, fifty four per cent of Namibia's tax income went automatically to the coffers of the racist regime. Also, most of these multinationals are based in South Africa, the USA, and Britain. The multinationals or transnationals account for about ninety per cent of the total output of Namibia's mining industry. Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa holds a virtual monopoly over the mining of diamonds. The Tsumeb Corporation limited, which belongs to US capital, accounts for eighty per cent of Namibia's production of base metals.

And in the words of Oye Ogunbadejo,

"many African states are courted by the Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and the Great Powers largely on account of the locally available strategic minerals. True, the importance of these minerals could sometimes be exaggerated or grossly politicized by some of the Great powers as a deliberate facade to advance their geopolitical interests. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the basic point about the usefulness of the minerals to the defence and high-technology industries in many of the industrialized countries....

It boils down that, transnationals completely dominate Namibia's mining industry. All this, despite the UN Security Council Resolution 283 of 29 July 1970, which called upon all States to restrain private companies from investing capital or acquiring concessions in Namibia. At least eighteen transnationals had begun mining operations in Namibia by 1973. Thirty four more companies were actively engaged in prospecting. This group included sixteen South African, eleven American, and three British transnationals. The activities of the transnationals in South Africa and Namibia strengthen the racist regime, and therefore, help it to prevent the gaining of independence by the oppressed and deprived peoples of Namibia and the liberation of the people of South Africa from the apartheid regime, which the UN and other international organizations have repeatedly characterized as a crime against humanity.

Thus far, they control mining and manufacturing industries, large plantations vital to African finances, the foreign and even the domestic trade of many African countries. These imperialists keep the overwhelming majority of young emerging African states within their currency zones.

Another neocolonial manifestation is subversion by the imperialist powers who have pursued a global strategy, by which they aim at halting the advancement of African states towards strengthening their independence, stopping them from becoming self-sufficient and progressive; and to see that their dominant political and economic position in Africa is not weakened. They are now finding it difficult in the continent, so they do not limit their activities to any local tasks, such as saving the regime in Zaire; securing a neo-colonialist solution to the problem of Namibia, or safeguarding the rule of the racist and apartheid government in South Africa. They have been involved in direct and overt interference in the internal affairs of a number of African states like Zaire, Chad, Ivory Coast, etc. They also try to entangle the African states in a network of military bases and make it a bridge head from where they can carry out their military operations against countries of the Middle East.

---


79. Anatoly Gromyko, n. 72, pp. 190-191.
East. The methodology used in carrying out this policy varies from creating a pro-western puppet regimes, forming alliances with the growing national and comprador bourgeoisie, to making maximal use of reactionary nationalism as in Somalia and Egypt, in order to divert those countries from the progressive path.

Other steps followed in the chain of their activities include; inflaming inter-tribal, national and inter-state hostilities, encouraging separatist, chauvinistic and expansionist ideas and movements in any way possible. They have also provoked border conflicts, supported reactionary governments, destabilized progressive regimes, and drawn the African states into aggressive military blocs. The situation is quite volatile which is worsened by the socio-economic problems of the continent which help in materializing their nefarious activities. These are performed to force the African nations to reject their progressive efforts which would continue to make them and their existence dependent on these Western neo-colonialist and imperialist powers and states.

They have also tried to undermine African unity. They have openly sought to harness atleast some of the OAU member states to the policies of the NATO. For example, in 1977, a military political mini-bloc of seven French-speaking states

was formed in West African sub-region obviously to undermine the progressive efforts of the OAU in doing away with foreign inspired groups. In 1978, with the backing of these imperialist powers still, an intra-African force was created to carry out police function for NATO in Zaire during the Shaba imbroglio. In this way, they have been setting up Africans against their fellow Africans.

Another manifestation of neo-colonialism is the mercenaries or 'Soldiers of Fortune'. In Nigeria during the 1967-70 civil war mercenaries fought along with the Biafrans. The same situation was witnessed in Congo, and in Mozambique, Benin, Guinea, Angola, Sychelles and the Comoros Islands. The proportion which this problem has assumed is alarming and frightening as it has become a new weapon of destabilization in the hands of the imperialist powers, and therefore a threat to the existence of smaller states in the continent. In Africa, the racist regime supported by some western capitalist states, has become the main sponsor of such acts.

Colonialism and its aftermath has created a unique cultural conflict in Africa. On the one hand the independent African nation are trying to assert the identity of local, regional and pan-African cultures and on the other hand the cultural imperialism of the west is invading Africa on a massive scale through the western controlled mass media.
This has given rise to terms like African Socialism, African personality, Africanization of all foreign things, and the institutionalization of the Festival of African Arts and Culture held first in 1969 in Senegal and Nigeria in 1977 to perpetuate the spirit of pan-Africanism. Under the auspices of the OAU, an inter-governmental Conference on cultural policies (AFRICA CULT) was organized by UNESCO in 1975, in Accra-Ghana. In this Conference, it was reaffirmed that, cultural development is not simply a qualitative corrective to economic development. But that, it is the key to a real improvement in the quality of life and a major and lasting means of achieving the human goals of development.

But this principle is far from being put into practice. The development projects still do not match the real needs of the population because the preliminary diagnosis was made without involving them, without drawing on their experience and aspirations, in the identification of their own needs and in the planning and implementation of those projects.

Again, the failure to recognize the importance of culture is also reflected in the serious inadequacy of the economic, human, material and technical resources made available for the purpose. It is a fact that, the proper management of scarce resources would, require suitably trained personnel. In the course of the training, the people involved in development should be made aware of the cultural aspects of their work. But this has not been so.
In this way, it has become one of the most serious bottlenecks impeding the development of African countries. With the realization of these very important facts, more concerted efforts aught to be made to overcome all these obstacles, hindrances, bottlenecks and problems.

Neo-colonialism has created security problems for the African nations. The security and existence of African states has been threatened by reckless intervention of the USA, France, etc., in the internal affairs of these states. This has, ushered the induction of sophisticated and lethal weapons into the continent in the name of protecting their interests, as it happened in Zaire in 1961-62, 1964 and 1967, and in Chad, etc., or under the pretext of protecting the continent from the influence of communism as in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, etc. Particularly threatening is the military strength of the South African government with the help of countries like the USA, Israel, Britain and others; and, its efforts at coercing and subjugating clandestinely and militarily the front-line states, as mentioned earlier, to weaken them and force them to accept and be in line with its apartheid and racial policy. This situation has forced these frontline states to be mere spectators to the happenings in view of their dependence on South African sea routes for the export and import of their goods and commodities.
These frontline states, through the OAU, the UN, the non-aligned forum, collectively and individually, have been persuading the international community to stop providing aid, comfort, succour, and lay an embargo on the racist South African government particularly; and to advise other African states like Zaire, Lesotho, Ivory Coast, etc., who are being lured into contrived friendship or subtle collaboration with the Pretoria regime, not to fall into the trap.

The destructive capability and the nature of the sophisticated weapons inducted into the continent has become very alarming. South Africa is believed to have developed nuclear bombs with the help of the western states and Israel. African states had hoped on the successful and comprehensive arms control which will lead to the release of resources for the much desired development. It is of great import to mention that, the world now spends almost $1 trillion annually on defence expenditure while total external indebtedness of Africa and the rest of the third world is now estimated to be above $ 950 billion. Africa's share of the debt as mentioned earlier is about $ 200 billion.

The issue of nuclear wastes is equally important. With the nuclear tests in the Sahara desert in 1961, Nigeria was in the forefront of opposition to these tests. But because of financial inducement, some African states like Guinea-Bissau, Sierre-Leone, Cameroon, etc. have started "Mortgaging the destiny of the future generations of African children to nuclear radiation. This is a hazardous adventure on the part of these leaders that threaten the lives of African peoples and marine life in Africa's territorial waters. Because of the dumping of nuclear wastes, African continent is now living in a nightmare. It is shocking to note that some African states are colluding and conniving with the western industrialized world and the multi-national corporations in bartering their territories and the lives of their citizens.

In conclusion, it may be noted that, Africa is a continent with a plethora of problems. In the words of David Lamb; "the immense problems retarding Africa's development are: War and famine, super power intervention and border disputes; failing economies, inadequate leadership, ideological differences, human rights violations, political instability, soaring birth rates".

82. General Babangida's address, n. 49, p. 9.
Some of these problems gave rise to the formation of OAU, the continental association with the expectations that it shall serve as an effective machinery for the solution of these difficult issues which, if left with the individual states may never be solved. While some of these issues have been solved, others have eluded solution or became more complicated, and many more have been added.

In the process, the Pan-African body and the entire African continent remain saddled with problems. This has belied the hope reposed on the union as it has failed, consciously or unconsciously, and directly or indirectly, to solve these problems. The institution is not wholly to be blamed as there are so many issues internally and otherwise that have enhanced its weakness. Nevertheless, these problems have contributed in no small way to the underdevelopment and dependence of the continent, as it exposes them to certain susceptibilities amounting to shortcomings in the foreign relations of these states. Nigeria believes in the total progress and development of the continent and hopes to play a leadership role in the African region. She has always been in favour of the progressive efforts of the organization aimed at eliminating these problems. This brings it to the forefront of the organization and African issues which in the process influences its voting pattern in the union. Nigeria agreed with the perceptive remark of Modelski that, the establishment of a regional system like
the OAU, was a great African phenomena that culminated with the coming into being of the "UMO which realized that regional systems can go a long way in preserving order as characterized by the peace of Westphalia in 1648 which emanated from the coming into existence of international system in the 1940s.