CONFLICT MANAGEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF

AFRICAN UNITY IN INTRA-AFRICAN

CONFLICTS, 1963-1980

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The purpose of this dissertation is to examine and evaluate the role of the Organization of African Unity as an international organization in the solution of intra-African conflicts. For the purpose of this paper, eight conflicts from 1963 to 1980 were investigated.

Utilizing these cases, the paper (a) examines four assumptions: (1) that regional actions promote settlements by isolating soluble local conflicts from more complex ones; (2) that intrastate conflicts are more difficult to resolve by regional organizations than interstate or border disputes; (3) that most of the boundary disputes in Africa are due to the arbitrary colonial boundary demarcations; and (4) that most of the causes of the ineffectiveness in its conflict resolution is as a result of poor administrative set-up, lack of resources, and failure of its commissions to operate effectively; (b) it answered the following questions: (1) Did the O.A.U. stop, help stop, or fail to stop the fighting; (2) Did the O.A.U. settle, help settle, or fail to settle the conflict; and (3) Was there super power intervention, and if so, to what effect?

The methodology used is primarily case study method. Most attention is given to the way the O.A.U. handled the conflicts.

In an overall assessment, it must be said that the Organization in spite of its many glaring weaknesses deserves some credit. The Organization has provided a forum for African countries to settle their differences in an African framework.

Unfortunately, the list of the O.A.U.'s achievements is much shorter than that of its failings. Perhaps most lamentable has been in internal conflicts where the Organization has met with great difficulties. This apparent weakness in its conflict resolution has led to some suggestions as to how the Organization would fulfill its peaceful settlement role in intra-African conflicts.

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PREFACE

The concept that international organizations build peaceful international relations and act directly to preserve international peace and security[1] has stimulated recent scholarships in this field. In the process, two views have emerged. The first are the universalistics who assert that world peace could be attained through global organizations such as the League of Nations and later the United Nations.

The second are the regionalists view. These contend that world peace could only be attained through regional organizations. Currently these two views co-exist. Both the global organization and the regional organizations exist as a means to preserve peace. The Charter of the United Nations states that the organization exists as a means "to save suceeding generations from the scourge of war."[2] The Organization of American States was established according to its Charter "to achieve an order and justice in the continent."[3] The purpose of the Arab League,

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[1]Robert L. Butterworth, Moderation from Management: International Organizations and Peace (Pittsburg, 1978), p. 1.

[2]The Charter of the United Nations, Preamble, Paragraph I.

[3]The Charter of the O.A.S., Article I.

according to its founding Pact, "is the strengthening of the relations between the member states . . . to achieve cooperation between them and to safeguard their independence and sovereignty,"[4] while the Organization of African Unity asserts that it was created because its members were "convinced that . . . conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained."[5]

Intra-African Conflict Management by the Organization of African Unity presents a good case for analysis of international organizations from the regionalists view point. The purpose of this dissertation therefore is to examine and evaluate the role of the Organization of African Unity in intra-African conflicts. For the purpose of this study, eight conflicts are examined in order to answer the following questions.

1. Did the O.A.U. stop, help stop, or fail to stop the fighting?

2. Did the O.A.U. settle, help settle, or fail to settle the conflict?

3. Was there super-power intervention, and if so, to what effect?

In this study, the conflicts to be examined are those violent situations where the regular armed forces of a

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[4]Pact of the League of Arab States, Article II.

[5]Charter of the Organization of African Unity, Preamble, Paragraph 5.

country or community are involved and where weapons of war are used by them with intent to kill or wound over a period of at least one hour. The method adopted in this study is the case study as used by J. S. Nye.[6] Chapter One gives a general introduction of the whole paper. It tries to discuss international organizations by examining the views of the universalistics versus the views of the regionalists. This chapter acts as the pendulum on which the entire paper oscilates.

Chapter Two gives the historical background of the foundation of the Organization of African Unity. It traces the genesis of the O.A.U. back to the Pan-African movement organized by African descendants resident in the western hemisphere. It examines the ideological differences in the continent between 1960 and 1963, the aims and objectives of the founding fathers of the O.A.U. and the significance of the O.A.U. Charter.

Chapter Three examines border disputes. It first of all examines the causes of the conflicts and then the role of the O.A.U. in handling the conflict. It further evaluates the impact of external forces in the successes or failures of the O.A.U. in the handling of the border disputes.

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[6]See J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization (Boston, 1971).

Chapter Four discusses internal conflicts. It treats the Rwanda-Burundi conflict, the Congo conflict, 1964-1965, and the Nigerian Civil War. While the O.A.U. was success-ful in handling the Rwanda-Burundi conflict, it met with difficulties in the handling of the Congo crisis, and the Nigerian Civil War. This chapter tries to examine why the O.A.U. was less successful in dealing with internal con-flicts than border and inter-state disputes. It also examines the differences in external involvements in border and inter-state disputes, and the internal disputes.

Chapter Five treats the Angolan Civil War, the Chad internal rift and Libya's involvement, and the war in Western Sahara. O.A.U.'s handling of these three conflicts is not encouraging either. In the Angolan Civil War, the O.A.U. was divided and unable to stop the foreign inter-vention. Up until now, the Cubans, the military errand boys of the Soviet Union, are still operating confidently in Angola. In the Chad conflict, the O.A.U. has been very weak. The peace-keeping force organized by the O.A.U. to make peace in the area has been crippled to eternity. In the war in the Western Sahara, the O.A.U. is also faced with difficulties.

Chapter Six draws conclusions from the conflicts examined in the previous chapters ot test some assumptions that were proposed in Chapter One. This chapter also examines in general the successes and the failures of the

O.A.U. conflict resolution efforts and the factors that helped or inhibited its conflict resolution efforts. It further offers some suggestions for strengthening O.A.U.'s role in future intra-African conflicts.

The sources of this study are records of the O.A.U. proceedings, U.S. public documents in Africa, U.N. documents relevant to Africa, newspapers, scholarly journals, and books. Much effort was made to collect all these relevant materials on the subject. It is important to stress one point here. Because of the nature of African politics and bureaucratic red tape among the African bureaucrats, it is very difficult for one to get materials relevant to the O.A.U. from any of the African governments. This difficulty is heightened by lack of resources and personnel of the O.A.U.

The method used in this study is case study method based on historical methodology. The conclusions reached are as a result of analysis of the O.A.U.'s handling of the events. This study will go a long way in clearing some misunderstandings by scholars on the role of the O.A.U. in handling intra-African conflicts.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The question of peace and war has been the greatest
and ultimate concern of international politics. In his
book, Peace and War: Theory of International Relations,
Raymond Aron said, "The theory of international relations
starts from the plurality of autonomous centers of decisions,
hence from the risk of war, and from this risk it deduces
the necessity of the calculations of mean."[1]

International organizations, whether regional or
global, are new phenomena in international relations. It
was not until the end of World War I that efforts were
made at permanent organization of international coopera-
tion.[2] The first universal organization to be formed was
the League of Nations. It was created at the end of World
War I by the treaty of Versailles. According to Raymond
Aron, the League of Nations was established to end all wars
and establish peace.[3]

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[1] Raymond Aron, Peace and War: A Theory of Inter-
national Relations (New York, 1973), p. 14.

[2] David Meyers, Organization of African Unity: Conflict
Management by a Regional Organization (Los Angeles, 1973),
p. 1.

[3] Raymond Aron, Peace and War, p. 102.

The founders of the League of Nations believed that universal organization would make peace indivisible. It was under this assumption of universalism and indivisibility of peace that the League of Nations made provisions for collective security as a measure to curb aggression and bring peace to the world. In the period between World War I and the outbreak of World War II when the doctrine of collective security was dominant, advocacy of international regionalism was rare. Those who believed that peace is indivisible and that a coalition of all the non-aggressors could meet aggression anywhere on the globe were suspicious of regional organizations.[4]

But the outbreak of World War II was a mark of failure to the League of Nations. Its inability to restrain aggression and deal with events that led to World War II brought criticisms concerning the major assumptions of collective security. People started to search for better approaches that would lead to world peace. It became evident that no organization can eliminate war, be it global or regional. What was important was the procedures to handle conflicts within nations or between nations.[5]

Towards the end of World War II, one of the issues that dominated the post war international reorganization

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[4]Joseph S. Nye, International Regionalism (Boston, 1968), p. 5.

[5]William O. Douglas, Towards a Global Federalism (New York, 1968), p. 1.

was that of regionalism versus universalism.[6] Statesmen
such as Winston Churchill, prominent commentators such as
Walter Lippman, and political scientists such as Edward
Carr, were among those who believed that in the future,
considerable emphasis should be placed on regional action.
These advocates of regional organization cited the Second
World War as clear evidence of the failure of universal
organization. Regional organization was seen as a way of
overcoming status inferiority, and of warding off actual or
expected hostile reactions from the rest of the world. It
was also to serve as organs for making collective decisions.[7]
These advocates of regional organization argued that univer-
sal organization is too ambitious and cannot command the
allegiance necessary to fulfill its objectives in a world
still divided by national sovereignty. They contended that
a smaller organization restricted in a geographical sense
to states and peoples living in close proximity to each
other can provide the machinery necessary for meeting
common problems more effectively than a global agency.
According to them, many problems are essentially local and
can best be studied and shared by those in the area who are
better equipped to handle the conflict by knowledge and

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[6]Pitman B. Potter, "Universalism Versus Regionalism in
International Organization," The American Political Science
Review, 37 (October, 1943), 580.

[7]Ernest B. Haas and Edward Thomas Rowe, "Regional
Organization in the United Nations: Is There Externaliza-
tion?" International Studies Quarterly, 17 (March, 1973), 6.

experience.[8] The regionalists argued that regional organi-
zations provided groups of nations having common interests
and objectives an opportunity to cooperate, to whatever
extent they believe desirable, on matters of concern, and
also provide a directness of association which cannot be
attained through universal institutions.[9]

The debate between regionalists and universalists
temporarily came to halt following the drafting of the United
Nations Charter in June 1945. The U. N. Charter was a com-
promise between those who advocated universalism as exclusive
means of peace and security in the world, and those who
advocated regionalism as a primacy for world peace and order.
Articles 52 and 53 of the U. N. Charter assigned regional
organizations such matters relating to the maintenance of
international peace and security as are appropriate for
regional action provided that "such arrangements or agencies
and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and
Principles of the United Nations." According to the U. N.
Charter, regional groups are encouraged to arrive at
"pacific settlement of disputes . . . before referring them
to the Security Council. In Article 53, it is specifically

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[8]Stephen S. Goodspeed, The Nature and Function of
International Organization (New York, 1967), pp. 568-569.

[9]Leland M. Goodrich and David A. Kay, International
Organization: Politics and Process (Wisconsin, 1973),
p. 384.

stated that "the Security Council shall, where appropriate,
utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforce-
ment action under its authority."[10] Thus in the U. N.
Charter, a flexible framework was established within which
regional organization and the United Nations could function
together in the interest of peace. It was hoped that the
two forms of organization would prove complimentary rather
than competitive.[11]

But the adoption of the United Nations Charter did not
end the debate between universalism and regionalism. The
onset of the Cold War rendered all hopes of universal secur-
ity doubtful and led to renewed interest in regionalism.
The renewed interest in and importance attached to regional
organization led to a proliferation of literature on both
regional organization as a concept and the effectiveness
of regional organizations in world peace. Different defi-
nitions were given to regional organization by different
scholars. Norman K. Padeford defines regional organization
as an association of states, based upon location in given
geographical area, for the safeguarding or promotion of the
participants. The idea of regional association according
to him, embraces cooperation between more than two states
or political entities and is not localized to the extent of

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[10]Stephen S. Goodspeed, The Nature and Function of
International Organization, p. 571.

[11]J. S. Nye, International Regionalism, p. 6.

dealing solely with one narrowly confined issue or question such as regulation of the Congo crisis or the Suez canal.[12]

He lists several factors that may lead to the formation of regional associations. These are

    a.   Geographical propinquity,

    b.   Common racial, cultural or religious background and heritage,

    c.   Search for security,

    d.   Advancement of standard of living,

    e.   A desire to handle local or regional questions of particular interest of themselves without interference of outside parties.[13]

Padelford further classifies regional organizations into three types:

    1.   Regional economic cooperation such as European Economic Community (E.E.C.), Economic Community of West African States (E.C.O.W.A.S.), etc.,

    2.   Military security. This includes NATO, WARSAW, CEATO, CENTO,

    3.   Intra-regional politics such as the organization of American States (O.A.S.), Arab League, the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.).[14]

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[12]Norman Padelford, in International Organization: Politics and Process, edited by Leland M. Goodrich and David A. Kay, p. 384.

[13]Ibid., pp. 386-388.

[14]Ibid., pp. 388-390.

Padelford's definition and classification excludes the Commonwealth as a regional organization.

Regional organization according to Lynn H. Miller is broad enough to include all limited member associations, regardless of whether or not they are genuinely regional in the sense that they comprise states in one geographical location. Thus, the Commonwealth with members scattered all over the globe is considered a regional organization in the same way the O.A.U. or O.A.S. are considered. The common characteristic of all the regional organizations is the absence of the intention to become universalistic or nearly universalistic in scope.[15]

Werner J. Feld and Gavin Boyd in their study of regional organization focused their attention on the characteristics of regional organizations. According to them, regional organizations are characterized by discernible patterns of activities carried out for one or more purposes through some kinds of institutional framework in a geographically definable part or parts of the world. Some regional organizations may be monofunctional while others may be multifunctional.[16]

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[15]Lynn H. Miller, in Regional Politics and World Order edited by Richard A. Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz (San Francisco, 1973), p. 413.

[16]Werner J. Feld and Gavin Boyd, Comparative Regional Systems: West and East Europe, North America, the Middle East, and Developing Countries (New York, 1980), p. 482.

Professor Nye defines regional organization as one in which (a) membership is restricted in principle on a basis of geographical contiguity, and (b) this contiguity involves a proximity and compactness.[17] Nye distinguishes between regional organization and quasi-regional. The main difference between regional organization and quasi-regional organizations is that in regional organizations non-members of the geographical region are not admitted, while as in quasi-regional organizations, non-members of the geographical regions are members. The O.A.U. is a regional organization, while the Commonwealth is a quasi-regional organization. He further categorizes regional organizations according to the functions they perform: (a) military security, whose function is defense against an external military threat; (b) primarily political regional organization, which includes diplomatic and cultural activities affecting a group's security, rank, or identity; (c) primarily economic regional organization, which is concerned with the creation, acquisition or allocation of resources.

Military regional organizations tend to be quasi-regional rather than regional. Political regional organizations tend to be regional rather than quasi-regional, while economic regional organizations tend to be micro-regional.[18]

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[17]Joseph S. Nye, "Regional Institutions," in Regional Politics and World Order, edited by Richard Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz (San Francisco, 1973), p. 81.

[18]Ibid., p. 82.

The main significance of Professor Nye's study is that it classifies as regional organizations the political regional organizations such as the O.A.U. and the Arab League while the other organizations often referred to as regional organizations such as NATO, WARSAW, EEC, ECOWAS as either quasi-regional organizations or micro-regional organizations. A host of other books and articles not discussed here have defined regional organization in one way or the other.

The study of regional organizations did not end with the definition of classification of regional organizations. Other studies have been done on the role of regional organizations in the management of intra-regional conflicts. Professor J. S. Nye in his book, Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization, examined intra-regional disputes in which the O.A.S., the Arab League and O.A.U. were active. Nye poses some challenging questions to students of regional organization, especially those scholars who focus their studies on conflict management efforts of regional organizations. These questions are

     (a) Have international regional organizations created islands of peace in world politics?

     (b) Have they "encapsulated" conflicts and prevented them from becoming intertwined with insolvable global conflicts?

(c) Will they do so in the future?[19]

These questions have led to a series of studies about the management of conflicts by different regional organizations.

Assessing the intra-regional management of conflicts by regional organizations, Evan Luard contends that regional organizations have used the principle of "uti possidetis, ita possideatis" (as you possess, so you may possess) in controlling border disputes in the regions.[20] According to him, both the O.A.S. and O.A.U. have met with a great measure of success in their control of border conflicts. Although it has always been very difficult for these organizations to settle the disputes finally, they have always succeeded in isolating the conflicts and providing a favorable atmosphere for the final settlements of the disputes. He noted that with the exception of Kuwait from 1961-1963, the Arab League had failed to act at all decisively with regard to boundary disputes affecting its members.[21] In their book, Conflict Management by International Organizations, E. B. Haas, R. L. Butterworth and J. S. Nye believe that up to a reasonable measure, each of the organizations has met with successes or failures in

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[19]J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization (Boston, 1971), p. 3.

[20]Evan Luard, The International Regulation of Frontier Disputes (New York, 1970), p. 122.

[21]Ibid., p. 115.

conflict managements in their regions. According to them, the O.A.S. has been more successful in dealing with disputes of lower intensity. It has often met with success in small scale conciliation efforts. The O.A.U. was more successful in dealing with disputes in the moderate and high intensity brackets, especially in interstate confrontations. While the Arab League in an attempt to reduce dependence on the global system, focuses its interest in dealing with disputes that already spilled over into the global system.[22]

The interest in the intra-conflict management effort of the regional organizations has led to a host of other books and journals on the regional organizations' management of conflicts in general and intra-regional conflict management by different regional organizations in particular.

The Significance and Purpose of this Dissertation

The primary prupose of this dissertation is to examine and evaluate the intra-regional management of conflict by the Organization of African Unity, 1963-1980. Conflict management is conceived of as a sufficiently broad concept to include all of the major security concerns of international organizations, collective defense, peace-keeping, conflict settlement and creating conditions favorable to peaceful

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[22]Ernest B. Haas, Robert L. Butterworth, and Joseph S. Nye, Conflict Management by International Organizations (New Jersey, 1972), pp. 50-55.

relations. Africa provides a good area to test these ideas. For the purpose of this paper, the conflicts to be investigated are those conflicts that were violent in nature and whose reports were presented to the O.A.U. meeting for mediation.[23]

Under what circumstances, in what manner and how effectively has the role of the O.A.U. attempts at regional settlement of local disputes been exercised? Answers to this question and other aspects of studies on O.A.U. have led to extensive literature by scholars of regionalism on the role of O.A.U. as an intra-regional conflict management organization.

Joseph S. Nye extensively discussed the role of O.A.U. in the management of African conflicts. He came up with several observations. First, Nye contends that one of the main causes of O.A.U.'s weakness is lack of resources. According to him, "The O.A.U. in particular has suffered some attrition of its ideal resources since the halcyon days of its foundation in 1963.[24] Secondly, Nye contends

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[23]A violent conflict is "a situation where the regular armed forces of a country or community are involved (either on both sides or on one side only) and where weapons of war are used by them with intent to kill or wound over a period of at least oone hour." See J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts: Integration and Conflict in Regional Organization, p. 131.

[24]Ibid., p. 135.

that the O.A.U. has managed to help control a number of disputes and plays an important normative role in Africa.[25]

He further provides useful questions in his book, which if well utilized, will provide useful answers to the conflict management efforts of the Organization of African Unity.

Some of his questions which are found in page 15 of this paper will be used as research questions in this dissertation. The answers to these questions will provide the basis on which the O.A.U.'s role in conflict management in Africa will be evaluated.

Adda C. Bozeman in her book, Conflict in Africa: Concepts and Realities, observes that the Organization of African Unity has been inconsistent in its method of handling African conflicts.[26] She said that on controversial issues, the O.A.U. had felt free to waver and change its stands. Abrupt shifts and even total reversals of positions have been very common in the manner in which the O.A.U. has been handling African conflicts.

Andemicael Berhanykun, examining the peaceful settlement among African states and the roles of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, observes that

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[25]Ibid., p. 175.

[26]Adda B. Bozeman, Conflict in Africa: Concepts and Realities (New York, 1972), p. 39.

1. O.A.U., in its first year established two norms
   to be used in the settlement of African disputes;
       (a) Settlement through African frame-work,
       (b) Maintenance of status quo with regards
           to boundary disputes.

2. Except in the case of the Algeria-Morocco dispute,
   the involvement of the O.A.U. in the border dis-
   putes remained deliberate than one of direct
   mediation.[27]

In his own study of intra-regional conflict management

by the Organization of African Unity, Meyers came up with the

following assumptions:

1. that regional actions promote settlements by
   isolating soluble local conflict from more
   complex ones;

2. that intrastate conflicts are more difficult to
   resolve by regional organization than interstate
   or border disputes;

3. that most of the boundary disputes in Africa are
   due to the arbitrary colonial boundary demarca-
   tion;

4. that most of the causes of the ineffectiveness of
   O.A.U. in conflict resolution is as a result of
   poor administrative set-up, lack of resources,
   and failure of its Commissions of Mediation
   Conciliation and Arbitration to operate effec-
   tively.[28]

Findings from these studies confirm that although the

Organization of African Unity has met with some failures in

its handling of intra-regional conflicts in Africa, its

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[27]Berhanykun Andemicael, *Peaceful Settlement Among
African States: Roles of the United Nations and the Organi-
zation of African Unity* (New York, 1970).

[28]David Meyers, "Intra-Regional Conflict Management
by the Organization of African Unity," *International Organi-
zation*, 28 (1974), 345.

role in handling African conflicts has been considerable.
All of them agree that the O.A.U. has been successful in
isolating African conflicts. It has often provided a forum
for favorable negotiation between the disputing parties.
There is a general agreement from the previous studies that
the O.A.U. provides some support and confidence to the con-
firmed advocate of reliance on regionalism.

Secondly, there is a general agreement that although
cooperation for collective defense has been absent in Africa,
it is not because it cannot work. Rather, it is because
the O.A.U. member nations in their embryonic stage cannot
afford the resources to maintain such a defense force.

Third, from the studies already done and this study,
one should view the role of the O.A.U. on the standards of
African culture.

Thus, the formation of O.A.U. provided a continental
organization which translated institutionally what African
brotherhood amounted to at its greatest.[29] Therefore, a
comparison of the O.A.U.'s Pan-African objectives and its
actual accomplishments produces two conclusions: (a) the
organization has not been a total failure, but (b) neither
has it been an unqualified success.[30]

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[29]W. Scott Thompson and Richard Bissell, "Legitimacy and Authority in the O.A.U.," African Studies Review, 15 (April, 1972), 29.

[30]Paul Saenz, "The Organization of African Unity in the Subordinate African Regional System," African Studies Review, 13 (September, 1970), 217.

The primary intention of this dissertation is to describe and analyze the conflict management activities of African regional organization and to use this matreial to test the four general assumptions already stated by Meyers and answer the questions below. The answers to these questions will serve as the nucleus of the dissertation. Hence in this paper, the questions will be broken down into three dimensions:

(a) Did O.A.U. stop, help stop, or fail to stop the fighting?

(b) Did O.A.U. settle, help settle, or fail to settle the conflict?

(c) Was there super-power intervention, and if so, to what effect?

Furthermore, for the purposes of this study, conflicts managed by O.A.U. within the period under review will be classified into the two following categories:

A. Boundary disputes:

    1. Algeria versus Morocco, 1963.

    2. Somalia versus Ethiopia and Kenya, 1964-1967.

B. Frictions between African states arising from internal conflicts:

    3. Friction between Rwanda and Burundi, 1967.

    4. The Congo Civil War, 1964-1965, and the mercenary problem, 1967-1968.

5. The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970.[31]

6. The Angolian CivilWar, 1976-1976.[32]

7. Chad internal rift and Libya's involvement, 1978-1980.[33]

8. Spanish Sahara, 1975-1980.[34]

This study does not intend to investigate the O.A.U.'s role in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. This is because in these three situations, the O.A.U. does not act as a peacemaker, but as an agent of the family fighting a hostile force. Basically this dissertation will be divided into three parts. Part One includes Chapters I and II. Chapter I, which is the introduction, gives an overview of the dissertation. Chapter II deals with the historical background of the Organization of African Unity; it links the Pan-African Movement to the formation of the O.A.U. in Addis Ababa in 1963. This chapter also treats the development of ideological blocs in Africa in 1960-1962, the formation of the O.A.U. Charter, and the establishment of Specialized Commissions, especially the Commissions of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration.

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[31] J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, pp. 154-16.

[32] Zdenek Cervenka, The Unfinished Quest for Unity: Africa and the O.A.U. (New York, 1977), pp. 134-148.

[33] Ibid ., p. 69.

[34] Cecil Seggel Pangalis, International Peace Academy (New York, 1980), p. 1.

Part Two comprises Chapters III, IV and V. These deal with African internal conflicts. Chapter III treats boundary disputes while Chapters IV and V deal with frictions between African states arising from internal conflicts and also Spanish Sahara conflict.

Part Three consists of Chapter VI. Utilizing the conflicts in Africa, Chapter VI will examine

(a) The impact of the O.A.U. Charter in the organization's conflict resolution effort,

(b) The apparent cause of the successes and failures of O.A.U. in the resolution of African conflicts,

(c) The role of super powers and the United Nations in resolving or exacerbating African conflicts,

(d) Conflict resolutions by other international organizations, specifically the U.N., O.A.S., and the Arab League. It will compare and contrast conclusions about O.A.U.'s conflict management efforts and that of those other international organizations.

Finally, this paper will offer suggestions that may be valuable in O.A.U.'s future conflict efforts.

Specifically, the types of materials will include O.A.U. Summit Conference papers; African newspapers, journals, magazines; documents from the O.A.U. Secretariat and African governments; and U.S. Congressional hearings. Secondary sources will comprise books and other scholarly

materials. Attached is a partial bibliography of both
primary and secondary materials.

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[35]A table showing the OAU's performances is attached as
Appendix III.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FORMATION OF

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

(O.A.U.)

The concept of African Unity which led to the formation
of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa,
Ethiopia in May 1963, did not start with the attainment of
independence by African nations. It is the product of a
long movement, known as Pan-Africanism by African descen-
dents in the western hemisphere. According to Diallo Telli,
the former Administrative Secretary-General of the O.A.U.,
"Pan-Africanism was born out of complete alienation, physi-
cal exploitation and spiritual torment."[1]

The common experience of discrimination based on skin
color and flagrant injustices and degradation combined to
make people of African descent in both the United States and
West Indies realize that they faced the same problems and
must therefore unite to find a solution. This realization
led to an awareness of their common heritage and to a
desire for some link with their African origins.[2]

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[1]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among
African States: Limitations and Horizons of Mid-Term
Theorizing (Uppsala, 1977), p. 121.

[2]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress
and Prospects (New York, 1973), p. 4.

In fostering this nationalism, four men played very important roles from four different perspectives. The first of these men was Booker T. Washington, whose book Up from Slavery had a tremendous impact on the Negro community. Teaching his policy of "industrial education" at Tuskegee University, he convinced many Negroes that a betterment in their position could come only from within the given structure and that education would enable them to improve their economic standing. This education, specifically adapted to let him play some role in the industrial society he was to enter, could help the Negro find a better job, earn more money and thus work himself up towards economic equality.[3] But since Washington's call had no mention of political change, it was rejected by some Negroes and he later withdrew into economic and social self-sufficiency.[4]

The second person was Henry Sylvester Williams, a Negro West Indian barrister practicing in London. It was he who organized the first Pan-African Conference in London, July 23 to 25, 1900.[5] The main aims of this conference included the following:

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[3]Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery: An Autobiography (New York, 1980), pp. 148-155.

[4]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 122.

[5]A. F. Addona, The Organization of African Unity (Cleveland, 1969), p. 42.

to act as a forum of protest against the aggressiveness of white colonists; to bring people of African descent throughout the world into closer touch with one another; and ot start a movement which would secure to all African races living in Civilized countries their full rights, and to promote their business interests.[6]

The third person was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. DuBois, the founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.), articulated the concept of Negro rights in the N.A.A.C.P. journal Crisis. To DuBois, Negro nationalism meant first and foremost a cultural revival and solidarity in the Negro race.[7] It was to be the beginning of the racial concept in Pan-Africanism. DuBois believed in a unique and important role in the world assigned to the Negro race.

The fourth person was Marcus Garvey. It was Garvey who instilled into the Pan-African Movement the most fierce brand of nationalism. He established a journal called The Negro World, and also founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.). His motto was "One God, One Destiny."[8] Garvey's U.N.I.A. Declaration of Rights included the following statements: "We believe in the freedom of

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[6]Samuel L. Oluo, "The Role of the Organization of African Unity, in Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970," unpublished master's thesis, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, 1978, p. 9.

[7]W. E. DuBois, "The Pan-African Congress," The Crisis 17 (April, 1919), 271-274.

[8]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 124.

Africa for the Negro People of the World, and by the principle of Europe for the Europeans,and Asia for the Asiatics, we also demand Africa for the Africans both at home and abroad."[9]

Garvey organized the "Black Star Line" whose aim was to transport Negroes back to Africa. It was in connection with this venture and the financial mess that followed in its wake that Garvey was imprisoned for many years and finally expelled form the United States.

Between 1900 and 1945, five other Pan-African Congresses were held. The first was held in London in July, 1900. The second was held in France on February 19-21, 1919. The significance of this Congress was the spread of the spirit of Pan-Africanism to France. In 1923, another Pan-African Congress was held in London.[10]

A new and contradictory tone was to be detected in the demands voiced in the 1923 Pan-Africanist movements and the subsequent Congresses. Before the Congress ended, it passed resolutions calling for prevention of exploitation of African by foreign capitalists, abolition of slavery and capital punishment, world disarmament and abolition of war; the rights of the blacks to bear arms in their own defense;

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[9]A. F. Addona, The Organization of African Unity (New York, 1969), p. 43.

[10]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 124.

and rights of the natives of Africa to participate in the government as fast as their development permits.[11]

The Fourth Pan-African Congress was held in New York in 1927. About 208 delegates from the United States and ten other countries attended, including delegations from the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nigeria. At this time, there were more delegations from Africa. This Coungress once more requested a more active native African voice in governmental affairs, acknowledgement by colonial powers of the rights of Africans in land and resources; increased industrial development for Africa, better education, reorganization of commerce and economic interests and self-government to benefit Africans. But there was no means to obtain implementation, and with the 1929 Depression, the Congress ceased.[12]

In the late 1930's, the center of gravity of the Pan-Africanist movement shifted from the western hemisphere. It was the African leaders who studied in the U.S.A. and Europe, notably England, who gradually took over the initiative. Many of these students returned to Africa to spearhead continued action based on the movement's precepts. In some cases, leaders produced the movements, while as in others, the movement produced the leaders. Prominent among the

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[11]Ibid., p. 127.

[12]A. F. Adonna, The Organization of African Unity, p. 47.

leaders of the course of Pan-African movement in Africa are Professor Deniga of Nigeria, Joseph Casebey of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), Kwame Nkrumah of Gold Coast (now Ghana), Ladipo Solanke of Nigreia, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, and Jomo Kenyetta of Kenya. These men worked hard to put the ideas of Pan-Africanism to Africans.[13]

Then came World War II, which ignited the spirit of nationalism in Africa. The colonial powers' need for raw materials and the realization that Africa could not be left outside a world conflict swept away the imperialist go-slow habit and the old master-servant attitude was terminated.[14] Two important events came between the ending of the war and the opening of a new chapter in Pan-Africanism. The first was the Pan-African Conference held in Manchester in 1945. The second was the first Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian States in 1955, where the sense of unity of "all colored peoples of the world" found common expression.

The fifth Pan-African Congress, which began in Manchester on October 15, 1945, was the first time in the history of Pan-Africanism that the leading participants were no longer the Negroes from the western hemisphere, but

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[13]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 7.

[14]O.A.U. Perspectives: Third Regular Assembly, 1966, (Addis Ababa, 1966), p. 4.

Africans from the "homeland."[15] It was the last Pan-African Congress to be held outside the continent of Africa and a major point in the development of the concept of "Africa for Africans." From this time on, Pan-Africanism changed its emphasis. It was no longer speaking for the Colored Peoples of the World. its emphasis shifted to decolonization of the African continent.

The resolutions passed at this conference followed the pattern of radicalization followed since 1923. The delegates listed grievances against colonial powers and their policy. They labeled both political and economic policies of the colonial powers as systematic exploitation. They called on the colonial powers to practice their principles, those of Atlantic Charter and democracy (one man--one vote)[16] and to redress the situation for the benefit of the people. They ended the Congress with the following statement:

> We are determined to be free. We want education. We demand the right to earn a decent living, the right to express our thoughts and emotions. to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this one world for groups and peoples to rule themselves. . . . We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy.[17]

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[15]Joseph C. Anene, _Africa_ _in_ _the_ _Nineteenth_ _and_ _Twentieth_ _Centuries_ (Ibadan, 1966), pp. 532-533.

[16]_O.A.U. Perspectives_, p. 5.

[17]Jon Woronoff, _Organizing_ _African_ _Unity_ (New Jersey, 1970), p. 15.

By the end of the Manchester Congress, it had become clear that Pan-Africanism was growing from a protest movement by people of African descent in the West Indies and United States into an instrument of African nationalist movements fighting colonial rule. The Congress provided an outlet for African nationalism and brought about the awakening of political consciousness.[18] Pan-Africanism was becoming a mass movement of Africa for the Africans.[19]

The Movement of Nationalism in Africa

If the demands of the Pan-Africanist ideology amounted to freedom, it meant that henceforth a new impetus must be found to carry forward the Pan-Africanist dreams. Meanwhile, the leaders of Pan-Africanism turned their attention from the unwieldly Pan-Africanist Armada to steer their individual ships of state into nationalist waters.[20]

In 1946, the West African National Secretariat was established in London under Kwame Nkrumah. Discussions, which proved abortive, were initiated between Nkrumah and other Pan-Africanists on ways and means of creating a "Union of African Socialist Republics."[21]

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[18]Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana--the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (London, 1959), p. 44.

[19]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 11.

[20]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 138.

[21]Ibid., p. 140.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria established his newspaper, The West African Pilot, in Ghana. As the editor of this paper, Dr. Azikiwe used it in his battle against colonialism. As a result of the publicity by The West African Pilot, Pan-Africanism became a mass movement. In Madagascar (now Malagasy), there was insurrection against French colonial rule; in Gold Coast (now Ghana), there were continuous riots against British rule; in Algeria, there were bombings and shootings directed against French domination of Algeria; and in Kenya, the terrorist Mau Mau Society was organized against British rule.[22]

In Egypt, the revolution which took place in 1952 released Arab nationalism, bringing it to its peak by 1956, the year of the Suez Crisis. In April 1957, the North African states of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia met to build federal unity.[23]

Search for Unity

A significant meeting leading to the creation of the O.A.U. was the First Conference of Independent African States (C.I.A.S.) in Accra, in April, 1958.[24] Delegates

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[22]Irving Leonard Markovitz, African Politics and Society: Basic Issues and Problems of Government and Development (New York, 1970), p. 159.

[23]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 165.

[24]Samuel L. Oluo, unpublished master's thesis, p. 13.

from independent states in northern and western Africa attended, including Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic. The aims of the conference were fourfold:

1. To discuss problems of common interest;

2. To formulate and co-ordinate methods aimed at accelerating mutual understanding;

3. To consider means of safeguarding the independence and sovereignty of participating countries and of assisting dependent African territories in their efforts toward the attainment of self-government;

4. To plan cultural exchanges and a mutual assistance scheme.[25]

The conference demonstrated that Pan-Africanism had emerged from idealism into the field of practical politics. It showed clearly that there were African leaders determined to see Africa not only free,but united.[26] To many, the Accra Conference was a significant step towards the birth of the O.A.U., for the conference proclaimed the unity of the African nations.[27]

From December 8 to 13, 1958, another conference was held in Accra. This time, it was All African People's

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[25]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 143.

[26]O.A.U. Perspectives, p. 11.

[27]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 17.

Conference. This conference was attended by twenty-eight independent and dependent states in Africa. The two main purposes of the conference were

1. To give encouragement to nationalist leaders in their efforts to organize political independence movements,

2. To plan strategy for non-violent revolution in Africa.

As Nkrumah put it to the conference, there were four stages of political development to be sought by Africa's political leaders. These were

1. The attainment of independence,

2. The consolidation of independence,

3. The creation of unity and community among free African states,

4. Economic and social reconstruction of Africa.

The atmosphere at this conference was highly political. The African states were called upon to impose both economic and diplomatic sanctions against the government of South Africa. The conference also called for the abolition of the arbitrary frontiers drawn by the colonial masters.[28]

The Second Conference of Independent African States

The Second Conference of Independent African States was held at Addis Ababa in June, 1960. This conference

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[28]See *Official Handbook*, Conference of Independent African States, April, 1958 (Accra, Ghana, Government Printer).

produced both positive and negative results. On the positive side, it reemphasized the need for the implementation of resolutions reached at Accra.

Secondly, the participants of the Addis Ababa Conference shouldered the responsibility of evolving a policy for Africa which let the world know where they stood on such vital points as continued colonial suppression of African nationalist demands, eradication of colonial rule from Africa, racial discrimination and apartheid, as well as the means of preventing new forms of colonialism in Africa.[29]

On the negative side, the conference portended the lukewarm attitude developed towards Pan-Africanism by African leaders in the French community. Secondly, it marked the beginning of open controversy on the approach towards African unity.[30]

The period between 1960 and 1963 was characterized by regionalism, factionalism, and rauccous ideological warfare among African leaders. This chaos was epitomized in the Congo crisis of 1960 to 1962, when the continent was sharply divided in its opinion on how best to resolve the crisis, whether by Africans, or by external powers through the United Nations.[31]

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[29] O.A.U. Perspectives, p. 6.

[30] Clarence G. Conte, "Ethiopia and the Pan-African Movement 1945-1963," Negro History Bulletin, 33 (May, 1970), 124.

[31] Joseph Wayas, Nigeria's Leadership Role in Africa (London, 1979), p. 28.

In its response to this situation, the continent was split into three groups or factions: the Brazzaville Group (which felt that the U. N. should have minimized its involvement in the crisis);[32] the Casablanca Group (which felt the U. N. intervention was initially insufficient);[33] and the Monrovia/Lagos Group (which seemed satisfied with the U. N. role in the crisis).

Between 1960 and 1963, there emerged in Africa three power groups: the Brazzaville bloc, the Casablanca bloc, and the Monrovia bloc.[34]

The Brazzaville Group

The Congo crisis was not the only source of ideological split in Africa. At the end of 1959, there had been nine independent African states. By the end of 1960, the number of independent African states had risen to twenty-six. The vast majority of these were former French territories, which although independent, were still under economic conditions that made them highly reliant upon their former metropole.[35]

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[32]A. G. Mezefik, Congo and the United Nations (New York, 1960), p. 16.

[33]Ibid., p. 17.

[34]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, pp. 159-164.

[35]Benjamin Meyers, The Organization of African Unity (Los Angeles, 1973), p. 28.

Under this economic circumstance coupled with the Algerian, Congo, and Mauritanian issues, President Houphouet Boigny of the Ivory Coast summoned a meeting in Abidjan in October, 1960. Only the members of the former French West African territories were invited.[36]

Among the problems discussed in this conference were the Algerian-French War, the Congo crisis and the admission of Mauritania to the United Nations.[37] Morocco did not attend the group's meeting since Mauritania was on the agenda. Togo refused to attend unless Morocco and Tunisia were present.[38]

They reemphasized their support for Mauritania and commended the U.N.'s efforts in the Congo. The landmark of the meeting was the decision to set up a commission to investigate the possibilities of economic cooperation. In September, 1961 the organization was named U.A.M. (Union Africane et Malagache).[39]

The U.A.M. was very active in resolving conflicts between member states. In September, 1962, it resolved the

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[36]Ibid., p. 30.

[37]Cervanka Zdenek, The Unifinished Quest for Unity: Africa and O.A.U. (New York, 1972), p. 1.

[38]Patricia B. Wild, "The Organization of African Unity and the Algerian-Moroccan Border Conflict: A Study of New Machinery for the Peace-Keeping Settlements of Disputes Among African States," International Organization, 20 (Winter, 1966), 18-36.

[39]Samuel L. Oluo, unpublished master's thesis, p. 14.

border conflict between Congo and Gabon. There had been a strained relation between Congo and Gabon as a result of border disputes, which resulted in open conflict on one occasion in a soccer match between the two countries. Nine deaths were reported, and in addition, the two countries repatriated nationals of the other, contrary to the U.A.M. convention.[40]

The Brazzaville Group also attempted to resolve the conflict between Algeria and France. They sent Mamadou Dia and Diori to Tunis to meet the Algerian leaders while Senghor and Houpheout Boigny went to Paris.[41]

It also tried to settle the Leopoldville government's conflict with the Katanga province during the Congo crisis.

Although U.A.M. was not very successful in most of the settlement efforts, it initiated a "cooling off" moment in the conflicts. The U.A.M. was dissolved shortly after the formation of the O.A.U.

The Casablanca Group

The creation of the Brazzaville bloc caused dismay among some leaders of the radical African states.[42] In a

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[40]Benjamin Meyers, The Organization of African Unity, p. 32.

[41]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 160.

[42]Yassin El-Ayouty, editor, The Organization of African Unity: After Ten Years: Comapartive Perspectives (New York, 1975), p. 64.

declaration on December 24, 1960, Ghana, Guinea, and Mali in their capacity as members of U.A.S. (Union of African States), deplored the attitude taken by the Brazzaville bloc. They condemned all forms of African regroupment based on languages of the colonial powers. They therefore appealed to these Heads of States (Brazzaville Group) "to follow a higher and more healthy conception of African Unity."[43]

In an attempt to promote their views, the leaders of the radical group used the Algerian war and the Congo crisis as reasons to convene a conference in Casablanca in early January, 1961, among Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the United Arab Republic, the Provisional Government of Algeria, Libya, and oddly, Ceylon.[44] The most significant result of the Casablanca Conference was the enactment of the "African Charter of Casablanca," which outlined plans for the establishment of an international organization with permanent headquarters.[45]

By April, 1961, it had become clear that many African countries, and the two blocs in particular, had similar desire for some sort of organization to achieve unity. Unity

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[40]Sam Chimelu Chime, _Integration_ and _Politics_ _Among_ _African_ _States_, p. 161.

[44]The Casablanca Conference, _The_ _African_ _Charter_ _of_ _Casablanca_ (Casablanca, 1961).

[45]Adekunle Ajala, _Pan-Africanism_, p. 30.

was not in dispute. It was the method by which this unity could be achieved that was the dividing issue.

The Monrovia Conference

In an attempt to unify the blocks in Africa, the President of Liberia, the Prime Minister of Nigeria, and the Prime Minister of Sierra Leone jointly sponsored a conference of the leaders of the Independent African States. The conference was held in Monrovia, capital of Liberia, in May, 1961, and was attended by twenty-two out of the twenty-seven African countries that had become independent by the date.[46] The purpose of the conference was for the promotion of inter-African cooperation.[47]

In January, 1962 the Second Conference of the African Heads of State and Government was held in Lagos, Nigeria. This time too, the Casablanca Group was absent. A draft chapter consisting of some forty-three articles in addition to the preamble was drawn up. It was also at this conference that Addis Ababa was chosen to host the third conference of the African Heads of State and Government.[48]

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[46]The five states that did not attend were United Arab Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Maili and Morocco. They all belonged to the Casablanca block.

[47]T. O. Elias, "The Charter of the Organization of African Unity," American Journal of International Law, 59 (1965), 243.

[48]Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "The Addis Ababa Conference," International Conciliation, 5461 (January, 1964), 6.

Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A.)

As early as 1954, attempts had been made by Kenneth Kaunda to organize representatives of political parties in Central, Southern and East Africa to establish machinery for cooperation among the countries. This effort was forestalled by the British immigration authorities who refused permission for delegations from Kenya, South Africa and other countries to enter Northern Rhodesia.[49]

In 1958, at the request of Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, representatives of political parties from East and Central Africa met at Mwanza, Tanganyika to form the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (P.A.F.M.E.C.A.).[50]

In 1962, the outlawed African African National Congress (A.N.C.) and Pan-African Congress (P.A.C.) of South Africa joined P.A.F.M.E.C.A. and it became the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A.).[51]

The purpose of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A. was to help African nationalists to achieve independence. It also played an important role in seeking cooperation among the new nations

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[49] Leslie Rubin and Brian Weinstein, Introduction to African Politics: A Continental Approach (New York, 1974), p. 230.

[50] Ibid., p. 231.

[51] The Organization of African Unity: A Short History (Addis Ababa, 1977), p. 3.

south of Sahara, and for the idea of Pan-African unity until the O.A.U. came into existence in 1963.[52]

The Formation of the Organization of African Unity, May, 1963

To get all the African blocks to meet at Addis Ababa for the third conference of the African Heads of State and government was not an easy task. The period following the close of the Lagos Conference was one of continent-wide lobbying.[53] There was apprehension among some leaders that the Casablanca bloc and others might decline to attend the conference, and the attempt to create the Organization for Unity in Africa would fail. In his dedicated effort to see Africa a united continent, Emperor Haile Selassie I sent out a delegation headed by Acting Foreign Minister Ketema Yifru and a team of foreign ministry officials to urge, cajole and induce leaders to attend a proposed Addis Ababa summit meeting to be held in May, 1963. In response to this, African leaders with exception of those of Morocco assembled in Addis Ababa to form an organization where African problems would be discussed on African framework. At the end of this conference, African leaders were to sign a charter that would act as guiding principles to the organization.

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[52]A. F. Adonna, The Organization of African Unity, p. 63.

[53]Samuel L. Oluo, unpublished master's thesis, p. 16.

Two important conferences preceded the signing of the Addis

Ababa Charter. They were

1. The Preparatory Conference of Foreign Ministers,

which opened on the 15th of May and ended on the 23rd of

May, and

2. The Summit Conference of Heads of States, which

opened on the 23rd of May and concluded its proceedings

on the 25th of May with the formal signing of the Charter

of the Organization of African Unity.

Both conferences are important in the attempt to find

out the motivations for the contents of the charter.

It was the Preparatory Conference of Foreign Ministers

that produced the compromise which enabled the Summit Con-

ference to take place. It put together all the agenda from

the different blocs and different countries and came up

with a workable agenda for the Summit Conference.[54]

On May 23, 1963, African Heads of State assembled in

African Hall in Addis Ababa, all motivated with the spirit

of African unity. Their primary motive was to promote unity

and solidarity among African states. With the ideological

rift in Africa, the Congo crisis, the Algerian-Moroccan

conflict, and Somali-Ethiopia-Kenya border disputes brewing,

the arbitrary demarcation of African frontiers by the

colonial masters, the super power nations of the world

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[54]SGIA/PLEN/3, Proceedings of Summit Conference (Addis, Ababa, 1963), p. 3.

hovering over the African continent, African leaders knew full well that the organization was going to be faced with problems.[55]

The O.A.U. Charter

The O.A.U. is structured and governed by the charter which was signed by thirty-one nations on May 25th, 1963. The charter consists of a preamble and thirty-three articles.[56] The preamble contains the convictions, hopes, and ideals of the leaders of African nations by reminding the world that "it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny" and highlighted the fact that "freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives . . . of the African people."[57] Because of their concern with their recently won independent states, they agreed that "conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained." The authors of the charter were "determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states."

The portion dealing with "territorial integrity" is intended to insure acceptance of existing borders which had been established by the colonial powers.

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[55]"Notes of the Month: Ghana and the O.A.U.," World Today, April 22, 1966, p. 130.

[56]See Appendix I for the O.A.U. Charter.

[57]Mack L. Gibson, Jr., et al., The Organization of African Unity and Peace-Keeping (Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 12.

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government meeting in its First Ordinary Session in Cairo from July 17 to 21, 1964 passed the following resolutions:

Considering that border problems constitute a grave and permanent factor of dissention,

Conscious of the existence of extra-African manoeuvres aimed at dividing African states,

Considering further that the borders of African states, on the day of their independence, constitute a tangible reality.

Recalling the establishment in the course of the Second Ordinary Session of the Council of the Committee of Eleven charged with studying further measures for strengthening African Unity,

Recognizing the imperious necessity of settling, by peaceful means and within a strictly African framework, all disputes between African states,

Recalling further that all Member States have pledged, under Article VI of the Charter of African Unity, to respect scrupulously all principles laid down in paragraph three of Article III of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity,

1. Solemnly reaffirms the strict respect by all Member States of the organization for the principles laid down in paragraph three of Article III of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity;

2. Solemnly declares that all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence.[58]

The charter establishes the organization and delegates the power, functions, and responsibilities within the O.A.U. Article II lists the purposes of the O.A.U. and provides several points which are essential on peace-keeping operations. These are

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[58]Resolutions Adopted by the First Conference of Independent African Heads of State and Government AHG/Res. 19 (1) (Addis Ababa, 1963).

1. To promote the unity and solidarity of the
African States;

2. To defend their sovereignty, their territorial
integrity and independence.

In order to ensure that these principles are accomplished, the member states agreed to coordiante general
policies addressing several matters which impact on this
study.

Article III establishes the principles of the organization, from which the O.A.U. derives its authority for
involvement or non-involvement in African conflicts. The
seven principles are

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 negotiation,
mediation, conciliation or arbitration;

5. Unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of
political assassination as well as of subversive activities
on the part of neighboring states or any other state;

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.

The principle of peaceful settlement of disputes: "member states pledged themselves to settle all interstate disputes by peaceful means "led to Article XIX, which established the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.[59]

O.A.U. Structure

The O.A.U. is organized into the following bodies:

1. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government,

2. The Council of Ministers,

3. The General Secretariat,

4. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration,

5. Provisions for other permanent and ad hoc committees and commissions.

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government

It is the "supreme" or policy making organ. In fact, as experience has shown, it has been the most effective decision-making group within the O.A.U. It meets regularly once a year, but it can be, and has often been called into extraordinary sessions with the advance approval of two-thirds of the members. Assembly decisions require two-thirds majority of the members, except for procedural questions which need only a simple majority.

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[59]See O.A.U. Charter in the Appendix.

The Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers, according to Article XII of the charter, consists of the Foreign Ministers of member states, although other ministers designated by their governments are allowed to take the place of the Foreign Minister. This group meets twice a year with one meeting scheduled just before the Assembly meeting. The Council of Ministers prepares for the meeting of the Heads of State and Government, takes action on matters referred to it by the Assembly, acts on decisions of the Assembly and supervises the General Secretariat.

The General Secretariat

It is the only full-time institution of the O.A.U. The Secretariat is responsible for executing all decisions made at the meetings; prepares the budgets, maintains liaison with other international groups operating in Africa; and prepares annual and special reports for use by the Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the Specialized Commissions.[60] The policy-making power of the Administrative Secretary-General (as the O.A.U. Secretary is called) is very much limited by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It is also handicapped by lack of trained personnel.

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[60]U. S. Department of State, The Organization of African Unity (Washington, 1973), p. 3.

Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration

The peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration is one of the seven principles of the Organization of African Unity. Based on this principle, Article XIX, "Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration" was adopted. The enacting article establishes a legal obligation binding all members to settle their disputes peacefully.[61]

The commission consists of twenty-one members elected by the Assembly for a period of five years and eligible for reelection. It is placed under a Bureau, i.e. a President and two Vice-presidents, elected by the Assembly from among the members of the commission. The commission's jurisdiction is restricted to disputes between members. The definition of the duties of the commission is unclear. "The commission shall have jurisdiction over disputes between states only if the parties involved agree to enlist its services: should one of them refuse, the matter is to be referred to the Council of Ministers."[62]

Once there was mutual consent to the jurisdiction of the commisison, it was necessary to determine which mode of settlement to use. Mediation could be introduced by the

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[61] John Markakis, "The Organization of African Unity: A Progress Report," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 4 (October, 1966), p. 140.

[62] Ibid., p. 141.

President of the commission. In mediation, the parties
are not bound to accept the proposals of the mediators
and in no way sacrifice their sovereignty.

A matter could be referred for conciliation by means
of a written petition giving the grounds of the dispute.
In conciliation, there is a provision for fact-finding and
holding of hearings. Nevertheless, the duty of the board
is only to clarify the issue in dispute and to endeavor to
bring about an agreement between the parties upon mutually
acceptable terms.

The most effective form of settlement is arbitration.
The machinery and procedure are much more complete. In
arbitration, none of the arbitrators could be nationals
of the parties, domiciled there or in their service. The
judicial and formal nature of arbitration is essential as
a guarantee to the states of a just decision, based on law,
since this is the only mode of settlement that is directly
binding without the subsequent approval of both parties.[63]
Article XXVIII provides that "recourse to arbitration shall
be regarded as submission in good faith to the award of
the Arbitration Tribunal." No provision is made, however,
for imposing execution by the Council or Assembly. Nor is
there any type of punishment to any state that violates the
decision of the Arbitration Tribunal.

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[63]Jon Woronoff, <u>Organizing African Unity</u>, pp. 178-179.

Other Permanent Commissions

Article XX of the charter authorizes the formation of Specialized Commissions. Numerous commissions were established, but in 1966 the number was reduced to three:

1. Defense,

2. Economic, Social and Transport,

3. Scientific, Technical, and Research.

Ad Hoc Commission

Ad Hoc Commissions have been convened on many occasions for specific disputes. One was first used in 1963 during the Algerian-Moroccan border conflict. Since then, ad hoc commissions have been performing the functions of the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration.

CHAPTER III

BOUNDARY DISPUTES

It is a known fact that border conflicts and irreden-
tist movements have been causes of friction and of war
between nations. It was the unification of Germany and
subsequent settlement of the Franco-German border in the
nineteenth century that contributed to the pattern of
alliances and armament races and subsequently led to the
first world war.[1]

In more recent times, boundary disputes have been the
causes of conflict between China and the Soviet Union,
China and India, India and Pakistan. It is therefore not
surprising that such disputes would lead to the most explo-
sive conflicts of interest in Africa.[2]

When the Summit Conference of Independent African
States met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in May, 1963, several
events served to remind the assembled dignataries that
borders posed pressing and urgent problems.[3] The absence

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[1]Vernon McKay, editor, African Diplomacy: Studies in
the Determination of Foreign Policy (New York, 1964), pp.
7-8.

[2]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 143.

[3]Saadia Touval, "The Organization of African Unity and
the African Borders," International Organization, 2 (1967),
103.

of King Hassan of Morocco from the conference in protest
against the participation of Mauritania which Morocco
claimed as its territory and Somalia's territorial claims
against Ethiopia and Kenya, were all reminders to the
African leaders that the organization was going to face
border conflicts.[4]

Other African leaders at the conference spoke of
border problems. President Kwame Nkrumah used it as a case
for his argument for political union on a continental scale,
when he said, "Only African unity can heal this festering
sore of boundary disputes between our various states."[5]

So realizing the arbitrary border demarcations by the
European colonists, the African leaders tried to make just
one of the many factors, the colonial frontiers, the sole
criteria to impede a wave of territorial claims. States
were concerned with border problems, as revision of bounda-
ries would open a Pandora's box of troubles. They worked
for the proclamation by the O.A.U. of a general norm
calling for the preservation of existing boundaries. For
if the original or deeper boundaries were restored, no
African state would be left in its present shape and some
would crumble into multitude of nation or smaller units,
making Africa a truly "Balkanized" continent.

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[4] Proceedings of the Summit Conference of Independent
African States (Addis Ababa, May 1963), Vol. 1, Section 1.

[5] Proceedings, Vol. 1, Section 2, Document CIAS/Gen/
INF/36, p. 7.

In the words of Modibo Keita, the President of Mali,

> We must take Africa as it is, and we must renounce
> any territorial claims, if we do not wish to intro-
> duce what we might call black imperialism in Africa.
> . . . African unity demands of each one of us com-
> plete respect for the legacy that we have received
> from the colonial system, that is to say: mainte-
> nance of the present frontiers of our respective
> states.[6]

As the leaders themselves knew it, no state was really immune to territorial or political dispute and scarcely any had a homogeneous racial and religious composition. Therefore it was in the best interest of Africa to make the O.A.U. a place where such difficulties might be discussed to obtain a settlement or at least a hearing from the rest of Africa.

Even when the majority of the assembled leaders wished to legitimize all borders inherited at independence, they refrained from including such provision in the charter in the interest of preserving consensus for the new organization. Instead of an explicit endorsement of the inherited borders, the charter, in Article III (3) affirms the principle of "respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of each state." States such as Morocco and Somalia that were promoting territorial claims did not accept this article as legitimization of the territorial status quo.[7]

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[6]Proceedings, Vol. 1, Section 2, Document CIAS/Gen/INF/33, p. 2.

[7]New York Times, October 15, 1963.

The charter provided no clear guidelines. Even the protocol of the Commission of Meditation, Conciliation and Arbitration, which was designed for dealing with disputes, was not adopted until July 1964, and its members were not appointed until October 1965.

Thus, within a short period, the O.A.U. was to be besieged by border conflicts and internal conflicts. Border disputes began during the first years of the organization's existence. They were particularly important for its future status as an agency for conflict management.

All the conflicts had the following characteristics in common:

1. They were disputes between sovereign states;

2. They escalated into armed conflicts;

3. They involved a claim by one party on histoical, cultural, ethnic or religious grounds to a segment of the other, a claim which the latter party regarded as a threat to its sovereignty and territorial integrity.[8]

Algerian-Moroccan Boundary Dispute

The first dispute to be brought before the O.A.U. involved Algeria and Morocco. A few months after the Organization of African Unity was founded in May 1963, war broke out between Algeria and Morocco over a boundary

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[8]Berhanykun Andemicael, Peaceful Settlement Among African States, p. 5.

dispute that had been dragging on between these countries for some time.

The origin of this dispute lay in colonial history, but the immediate causes for the 1963 clash lay on the national interest of the two countries. On the side of Morocco it was irredentism, and on the side of Algeria it was the attractions of the mineral resources on the disputed territory.

The governments of Algeria and Morocco inherited a difficult boundary problem from the era of the French colonial administration. Morocco was a sovereign state in 1830 when the French conquered Algeria. Before then, there were no fixed boundaries between these two Moslem countries. Between 1830 and 1912, France concluded a number of boundary agreements with the government of Morocco, but these agreements did not clarify the boundary situation. In the treaty of Lalla Maghnia (1845) both France and Morocco agreed that there was no need for a border demarcation because a "country which is founded without water is uninhabitable and a delimitation thereof would be superfluous."[9] In 1912, the French-Moroccan Treaty establishing a French protectorate over Morocco also failed to clarify the boundary situation.

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[9] Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 143.

So when Morocco became independent in 1956, its border with Algeria remained partially defined. With the discovery of oil in the Algerian Sahara, the boundary problem between Algeria and Morocco became more complicated.[10]

In order to promote the exploitation of the economic resources in the Sahara, the French government created the Common Organization of the Saharan Regions (O.C.R.S.) in 1957. This organization originally included Mauritania, the Sahara region of Algiers, Soudan (Mali), Niger, and the Chad, and was administered by a French Delegate General. The statute of the O.C.R.S. was revised in 1959 and 1960 following the granting of autonomy and later independence to the territories of French West and Equatorial Africa. O.C.R.S. was abolished following the Ewan Agreement of March 19, 1962, which granted independence to Algeria. It was replaced with a joint Franco-Algerian Saharan Organisme. The Organisme was created to exploit the mineral resources of Algeria in the Sahara, and Algerian leaders made it clear that it had no intention of sharing the exploitation of these resources with any other country other than France.[11]

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[10]Patricia B. Wild, "The Organization of African Unity and the Algerian-Moroccan Border Conflict: A Study of New Machinery for the Peace-Keeping Settlement of Disputes Among African States," International Organization, 20 (Winter, 1966), 22.

[11]William Zartman, "The Sahara--Bridge or Barrier," International Conciliation, 541 (January, 1963), 15-18.

Between 1956 and 1962, the Moroccan government refrained from negotiating with France over the defined border area, asserting that the frontier settlement should await Algerian independence. However, in July 1961, a secret agreement was concluded between the King of Morocco, Hassan II, and the head of the Algerian Provisional government, Ferhat Abbas. This agreement recognized the problems created by the arbitrarily imposed boundary demarcation by France and both countries promised to solve their border problem by negotiation. A joint Algerian-Moroccan Commission was to be established that would seek a solution.[12]

According to Saadia Touval, Morocco's interest in the mineral resources of Tindouf was the principal factor influencing Morocco's policies in the area.[13]

In July, 1962, Algeria became independent. Unfortunately Ferhat Abbas and other members of his government were rapidly eliminated form positions of control and a young "revolutionary" government under Ben Bella seized power. This regime was not willing to negotiate or even to admit a boundary dispute existed. Tensions were high and relations were strained. Despite promises of normalization, no steps were taken to avert the crisis.[14] The conflict

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[12]The Times (London), November 26, 1963.

[13]Saadia Touval, The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa (Massachusetts, 1972), p. 26.

[14]Jon Woronoff, Organizing African Unity, p. 337.

expanded. Russia and Egypt supplied Algeria with arms, while Morocco sought for arms from France, Spain and the United States. On October 14, 1963, fierce fighting erupted between the regular forces of the two states; Moroccan soldiers occupied parts of the disputed territory and battle deaths were estimated to be about one hundred.[15]

Many African leaders expressed concern over the war. There was fear that the United States' ties to Morocco, Soviet ties to Algeria, and French interests in the Saharan resources could cause foreign intrusions into the area.

Handling of the Conflict by the O.A.U.

In mid-October 1963, Algeria and Morocco negotiated for a cease-fire, but it failed. Then came an Arab League move, which also failed. Surprisingly, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President Modibo Keita of Mali succeeded in persuading King Hassan of Morocco and President Ben Bella of Algeria to meet with them on October 25, 1963 at Bamako to conclude an agreement. Initially, Morocco was not favorable to an African solution of the conflict because of O.A.U. charter's emphasis on the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the attitude of the vast majority of the O.A.U. member states favoring the preservation of existing de facto

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[15]Patricia Wild, "The Organization of African Unity and the Algerian-Moroccan Border Conflict," p. 25.

boundaries. But toward the end of October, Morocco became more favorable to settlement by O.A.U. as the United States, France and Spain had refused her requests for new arms.[16]

A summit meeting between the two disputing heads of state (King Hassan of Morocco and President Ben Bella of Algeria) and the two mediating heads of state (Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Modibo Keita of Mali) was held at Bamako, Mali on October 29 to 30, 1963. At this meeting, an agreement was reached between the parties and a cease-fire was agreed on to take effect on November 2, 1963. The parties agreed to an establishment of a demilitarized zone to be patrolled by an Ethiopian-Malian Observer Commission. Unfortuantley, fighting continued past the announced deadline for cessation of hostilities. As a result of a continued fighting, Morocco explored the possibility of convening the U. N. Security Council through the auspices of France and the United States. Both nations advised the Moroccan government to seek satisfaction through the O.A.U.[17] A cease-fire was finally effected in mid-November, 1963, and the dispute was referred to an extraordinary session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers.

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[16]David Meyers, Organization of African Unity, p. 111.

[17]Mack L. Gibson, Jr., et al., The Organization of African Unity and Peace-Keeping, p. 132.

The Bamako meeting marked a turning point in the diplomatic evolution of the conflict by paving a way to an African settlement.[18] The agreement at Bamako provided that the O.A.U. was to call an early meeting of the Council of Ministers to set up a Commission of Arbitration. On November 15, 1963, the Council of Ministers met at Addis Ababa. This extraordinary session, November 15 to 18, was so critical for the future of Africa that it drew the thirty-two members of the organization. Addressing the meeting, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia warned the foreign ministers that "Africa's ability to deal with her own problems, free of outside interference or influence is in the balance. Failure would deal a crippling blow."[19]

The Council of Ministers endorsed the Bamako Agreement. They invited the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Morocco to present their cases. After hearing opposing views, the Council reiterated O.A.U. Charter principles and appealed to the disputants to resolve their differences by peaceful means within an African context. In compliance to Bamako accord, the Council appointed an ad hoc commission of seven states to arbitrate the dispute.[20]

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[18]Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity as a Mechanism for Mediation Between African States," unpublished research paper, University of Pittsburg, April, L978, p. 7.

[19]The Times (London), November 16, 1963.

[20]Robert O. Mathews, "OAU 10th Anniversary," Africa Digest (London, 1973), p. 357.

With the establishment of the commission, there was an interest on the part of many delegations in using the occasion to assert the authority and preeminence of the organization in African conflicts in the hope that in the future such disputes might be brought directly to it as a matter of course. Thus the Council resolution laid down what it hoped would be the basic rule for all such disputes:

> [The Council] reaffirms the unwavering determination of the African States always to seek a peaceful and fraternal solution to all differences that may arise among them by negotiations and within the framework of the principles and the institutions prescribed by the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.[21]

With the commission set, the border dispute was no longer a matter for soldiers or diplomats. The tasks of the O.A.U. Ad Hoc Commission and the Bamako Cease-Fire Commission that was brought under the O.A.U. framework were two-fold: first, to prevent further combat, and second, to assist the disputants in achieving a settlement to their conflict.

The O.A.U. Ad Hoc Commission was successful in the first task even though the results were slow in coming. With some difficulty, the Bamako Commission succeeded on February 20, 1964 in facilitating an agreement between the Foreign Ministers of Algeria and Morocco to withdraw their troops to the positions they occupied before the outbreak

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[21]ECM/Res. Vol. 1, Section 1.

of hostilities, thus creating a demilitarized zone along the border and the strategic highlands of the Figuig area.[22]

On May 29, 1964, an ambassadorial committee of the two countries which had been meeting since May 25th, announced a number of agreements:

1. Free passage of persons and property between the two countries which was halted during the conflict, would be resumed;

2. As of June 18th, nationals of the two countries who had been expelled from either country during the hostilities in October, 1963, could return to their previous domiciles;

3. The victims of the events of October, 1963 would be compensated;

4. The property of the victims would be returned;

5. All necessary assistance would be granted to the victims so that they might resume their normal activities;

6. All restrictions placed by the government of either country on the liberty of nationals of the other country would be lifted.[23]

The Ad Hoc Commission continued on its work in the conflict. It was evident that the conflict had been contained. That the O.A.U. was able to gain the confidence

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[22]Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity," pp. 225-226.

[23]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, pp. 225-226.

of the parties to the dispute was an achievement in itself considering the fact that the O.A.U. succeeded where others failed.

But the second task of the O.A.U. Ad Hoc Commission (achieving a settlement), was not an easy one. The first difficulty was that the commission was not a body of arbitration, as proposed in Bamako, for neither Algeria nor Morocco would have accepted a binding decision on the territorial dispute. So no settlement could be imposed on sovereign states.

Secondly, it was excessively difficult for the commission to fix the responsibility for the outbreak of the hostilities. The titles and claims of both parties were mutually exclusive. Algeria insisted that the whole area had been part of its territory as independence and demanded respect fo the "colonial frontiers." Morocco invoked empirical historicity, and insisted that the recognition of a territorial problem and willingness to negotiate had been laid down in the Hassan II-Ferhat Abbas Agreement and still bound Algeria.[24]

Assessment of O.A.U.'s Successes or Failures in the Algerian-Moroccan Conflict

The role of O.A.U. in the resolution of the Algerian-Moroccan border conflict is significant because it was the

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[24] Jon Woronoff, *Organizing African Unity*, p. 431.

first conflict brought to the O.A.U. immediately after its formation in 1963.

1. The fact that Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia, who was then the current chairman of the O.A.U., and President Mobido Keita of Mali tried and succeeded in persuading King Hassan of Morocco and President Ben Bella of Algeria to meet with them on October 25, 1963 at Bamako to conclude an agreement, is a big achievement and honor to the organization.

2. The extraordinary session achieved considerable diplomatic success because of the tactical way it handled the disputants' claims.[25]

The O.A.U. helped to stop the fighting. The commission, on many occasions, was able to pacify the disputants. In 1966, when tension mounted again at the frontiers between the two nations following the Algerian nationalism of mines in the area, African leaders once more reminded both countries that their conflict was hurting Africa at a time when unity was needed to face challenges in Rhodesia. Again both states expressed their confidence in the Ad Hoc Commission and agreed to allow officers from Ethiopia and Mali to make on-the-spot inquiries if further incidents occurred.[26]

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[25] Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity," P. 9.

[26] David Meyers, The Organization of African Unity, p. 113.

In 1967, tension once more became high at the disputed border between the two countries, and reached a point of combat. African leaders again appealed to both countries to resolve their differences. In 1968, at the O.A.U. summit meetings in Algiers, King Hassan personally led the Moroccan delegation, allowing him to meet with the Algerian President Bouedienne in both formal and private sessions. A new stage in their relations was created when the countries agreed on joint development of Algerian mineral resources.[27]

The O.A.U. must be given credit for isolating the conflict which helped in ending the fighting. The Bamako cease-fire which was legitimized by the Council of Ministers and the Ad Hoc Commission, helped limit tensions in 1966 and restore peace in 1967. But the O.A.U. did not provide settlement to the conflict. It rather created an atmosphere favorable to the settlement of the conflict.

a. It made it possible for the leaders of the two disputing countries to come together and settle their differences mutually under the auspices of the commission and an African framework.

b. The O.A.U. facilitated progress in the subsequent bilateral negotiations on the border dispute which led to the conclusion in January, 1969 of a general treaty of solidarity and cooperation between Algeria and Morocco.

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[27]Saadia Touval, The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa, p. 201.

In May, 1970, the two countries concluded an agreement of the boundary question and the conflict was finally settled.[28]

What was the role of the superpowers' intervention in the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute? The superpower nations played significant roles in the Algeria-Morocco conflict. The United States, France and Spain played important roles in isolating the conflict and creating a favorable atmosphere for the O.A.U.'s handling of the conflict. In October, 1963, these three western powers refused Morocco's request for new weapons and advised Morocco to submit to the O.A.U.'s settlement of the conflict.[29]

Secondly, when Morocco wanted to bring the issue of the border conflict to the United Nations Security Council, the United States, France and Spain discouraged Morocco and advised her to seek settlement within the framework of the Organization of African Unity.[30] It is also believed that the Soviet Union encouraged Algeria to abide by the Bamako accord.[31]

Thus the decision of the superpowers to let African leaders handle the Algeria-Morocco conflict helped in the

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[28]Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 17 (1969-1970), 24125.

[29]David Meyers, The Organization of African Unity, p. 111.

[30]Patricia B. Wild, "The Organization of African Unity and the Algerian-Moroccan Border Conflict," p. 28.

[31]Ibid., p. 29.

realization of the African machinery for peace-keeping and for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The United Nations also supported the handling of the Algeria-Morocco conflict by the O.A.U., thereby creating a favorable psychological environment in which the O.A.U. and the parties in the dispute could operate. This strengthened the authority of the O.A.U. and of its claim that African problems should, as far as possible, be settled within an African context.

Ethiopia-Somalia-Kenya Border Conflicts, 1964-1967

Shortly after the October, 1963 conflict between Algeria and Morocco, fighting also flared in the Horn of Africa. This dispute arose as a result of partition by France, Britain, Italy and Ethiopia in 1897 which divided Somalia into five units: French Somaliland, the Haud and Ogaden regions of Ethiopia, British Somaliland, Italian Somalia, and the Northern Region of Kenya.[32] Thus Somalila, like many other African nations, was sliced into pieces by colonial masters without ethnic, religious or geographical considerations.[33]

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[32]I. M. Lewis, "Recent Developments in the Somali Dispute," African Affairs," 66 (April, 1967), 104.

[33]Mestin W. Meriam, "The Background of the Ethio-Somalian Boundary Dispute," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 2 (1964), 215-216.

In 1908, Ethiopia and Italy, which colonized Somalia, signed an agreement to delimit their boundaries. In 1911, a commission formed by representatives of the Ethiopian and Italian governments, delimited the border.[34] The Somalis were not happy at the Balkanization of their people. In 1957, Aden Abjulla Osman, President of the Somali National Assembly, and Abjullah Issa visited Addis Ababa to discuss amicably the relations between the two countries and bridge the gap between the parties. Although they did not arrive at any useful conclusion, they expressed their desire for harmonious relations.[35]

In July, 1960, the British and Italian colonies united and became independent as the Somali Republic. The aspiratoin to form a state based on Somali nationhood emerged, and the reunification of the Somali people became a major goal of the government and a fundamental tenet of nationalist ideology.[36] Somalia is the only country in Africa whose state is based on a single ethnicity. So the Somali people, in seeking her people that are in Ethiopia and Kenya, are not claiming territories of their neighboring

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[34]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 150.

[35]Saadia Touval, The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa, p. 213.

[36]David Meyers, The Organization of African Unity, p. 114.

states. What it is asserting is the right to self-determination of the Somali communities concerned.

At the Monrovia Conference of Independent African Heads of State in May, 1961, and at the African Sumit Conference in Addis Ababa in May, 1963, the Somali-Ethiopian dispute came up. But in none of the meetings was the dispute seriously looked into; consequently, conditions between Somalia and Ethiopia deteriorated.

The territorial dispute between Somalia and Kenya did not start to receive attention until 1962, when the Somalis informed a crown commission they wished to secede from Kenya and join Somalia. The British refused to take this decision against Kenyan opposition. In July and August, 1962, Jomo Kenyatta and Ronald Ngala representing the two political parties in Kenya (KANU and KADU) separately visited Mogadishu, Somalia, for talks with Somalia leaders about their border problems. Although these delegations were warmly received in Somalia, the talks could not bridge the gap between their respective viewpoints. Kenya strongly warned Somalia not to meddle with the problems of N.F.D. (Northern Frontier District) as the N.F.D. problem was a domestic Kenyan affair.[37] Somalia, on the other hand, demanded immediate re-unification of all the Somalis. The issue of Somali people in Ethiopia and Kenya led to

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[37]Saadia Touval, The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa, p. 214.

suggestions in 1962 for expansion of P.A.F.M.E.C.S.A.
(Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern
Africa) to include Ethiopia and Somalia. This was not
possible as Somalia would join such a federation only if
all the Somalis were reunited under Somalia.

> The Somali Republic, though otherwise more than
> willing to do so, can only enter into a political
> federation on the prior condition that the constitu-
> ent part, comprising all Somalis who wish to be
> reunited, is established before the Republic enters
> into the proposed federal relationship. . . . It
> is absolutely necessary therefore, that all constitu-
> ent boundary arrangements should be settled before an
> act of federation is passed.[38]

Efforts were made to maintain good relations between
Somalia and Kenya, but unfortunately the Shifta[39] activities
intensified and Kenya-Somalia relations deteriorated rapidly
and became uncontrollable. In January, 1964, fighting broke
out between Somalia and Ethiopian armed forces. The
fighting was particularly heavy and there were reports of
over 700 deaths.[40]

The O.A.U. Involvement

As in the case of the Algerian-Moroccan conflict the
first question to arise concerned jurisdiction. Somalia,

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[38]The Somali Republic and African Unity (1963), p. 13.

[39]Shifta--Somali trained guerrillas who fought for the reunification of the Somalis.

[40]Castagno, "The Somali-Kenyan Controversy: Implications for the Future," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 2 (November, 1964), 186.

being conscious of the determination of the African leaders
to maintain the status quo, informed the Administrative
Secretary General of the O.A.U. of the fighting, but pre-
ferred the issue to be discussed by the U. N. Security
Council. Somalia's request for the Security Council was
not favorably received by the U. N. Secretary General.[41]
The case was referred to the O.A.U., which as a regional
organization, should have jurisdiction over disputes among
African states.[42]

On February 9, Ethiopia formally requested that an
extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers be con-
vened to consdier a complaint of Somali aggression. Such
a session was to meet at Dar-es-Salaam on February 12, 1964
to consider another situation in East Africa, and with reluc-
tance it added the Somali-Ethiopian dispute on the agenda.[43]

When the debate opened in Dar-es-Salaam, Ethiopia and
Kenya emphasized the political roots of the disputes and the
principles involved. Both called on the council to help
end the fighting and to consider measures which would pave
the way to a permanent solution on the basis of "respect
for the territorial integrity of states" and acceptance of

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[41]U. N. Doc. S/5536.

[42]The New York Times, February 10,1964.

[43]Saadia Touval, The Organization of African Unity and
the African Borders, p. 112.

existing borders.[44] The Somali delegate refused to be drawn into the discussion of the wider issues and demanded that Somali territories currently administered by Ethiopia and Kenya be returned to Somalia. To maintain their claim, they maintained that all Somalis were

> members of a single Somali nation. Somali is our language, spoken from the Gulf of Aden to the Northern Frontier District, Islam is our culture, Pastoralism our way of life. We want to reunite with our brothers with whom we can evolve an administration suited to our way of life.[45]

Somalia further requested that the council call for a cease-fire and send observers to supervise it. A committee of twelve including Ethiopia, Somalia, Morocco, Dahomey, United Arab Republic, Cameroon, Liberia, Ghana, Upper Volta, Sierra Leone, and Mauritania was appointed to draft a resolution on the Somali-Ethiopia dispute. The Council's resolution referred in its preamble to the question of jurisdiction, proclaiming that "the unity of Africa requires the solution to all disputes between Member States be sought first within the Organization of African Unity." The resolution called for a cease-fire, the cessation of hostile propaganda, and negotiations for a peaceful settlement of disputes. It further called upon "all African States with diplomatic or secular missions in Ethiopia and Somalia

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[44]Ibid., p. 113.

[45]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 150.

to do their best to assist in the implementation of the cease-fire."[46]

On the Somalia-Kenya dispute, the council also passed a resolution calling on the governments of Somalia and Kenya to take steps to settle the dispute, "in the spirit of paragraph four of Article III of the charter." But the council did not give any specific suggestion on negotiations as it had done with respect to the Somalia-Ethiopia dispute. It only asked the parties to refrain form hostile propaganda and decided to place the dispute on the agenda of all subsequent sessions of the council "until a final settlement has been achieved."[47]

A cease-fire was negotiated but fighting resumed shortly afterwards. At this juncture, the President of Somalia asked for an O.A.U. peace-keeping force to be established at the frontier. At the regular meeting of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers, the question of the peace-keeping force requested by Somalia was brought up, but was defeated because of Ethiopia's strong opposition to the request and secondly, because of the huge cost that such an operation would involve.

The O.A.U. Council of Ministers, unwilling to create a peace-keeping force, and unable to persuade Somalia to

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[46]O.A.U. Document, ECM/Res. 3 (11).

[47]O.A.U. Document, ECM/Res. 4 (11).

abandon her territorial claims, passed a very weak and meaningless resolution congratulating the two governments for having ordered a cease-fire (when it fully knew it was not being honored), and again asked them to open direct negotiations.[48] In another resolution, Somalia and Kenya were also asked to do the same.[49]

At the request of President Abboud of Sudan under the auspices of the O.A.U., representatives of both Somalia and Ethiopia met for talks in Khartoum. At this talk a more successful cease-fire was arranged. Both countries agreed to withdraw their troops six to nine miles from the border, under the supervision of a joint commission.[50] For about three years the situation remained static. Although some sporadic guerrilla warfare and tense hostile relations continued, direct military confrontations were avoided.

In 1967, the situation improved greatly and a hope for peace between the three countries became evident. Three factors were responsible for the advent of peace hope in 1967.

a. The coming into power of Mohammed Egal as the new Prime Minister of Somalia. Egal wanted peace and

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[48]O.A.U. Document, CM/Res. 16.

[49]O.A.U. Document, CM/Res. 17.

[50]Jon Woronoff, Organizing African Unity, p. 352.

progress of Somalia more than he wanted war.

b. The Six Day War in the Middle East which substantially reduced Middle Eastern aid to Somalia.

c. The United States, the major supporter and supplier of arms to Ethiopia, was reconsidering foreign commitments, and may have put pressure on the Emperor to seek a settlement.[51]

It is not surprising then that during the O.A.U. 1967 summit meeting, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia successfully brought together the leaders ofSomalia and Kenya for a compromise. The O.A.U. Assembly of Heads of State and Government passed a declaration on the Somalia-Kenya dispute, congratulating both parties for accepting a peaceful settlement to their dispute.[52]

In October of the same year, the two countries signed a "Memorandum of Undrestanding" at Arusha and decided to reestablish diplomatic relations.[53]

Assessment of O.A.U.'s Successes or Failures

The role of the O.A.U. in resolving the Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya territorial dispute was modest, if one

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[51]David Meyers, The Organization of African Unity, p. 118.

[52]O. A. U. Document, AHG/St. 1 (IV). See also Ian Brownlie, editor, Basic Documents on African Affairs (Oxford, 1971), pp. 362-363.

[53]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, P. 232.

considers O.A.U.'s role in the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute. In the Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya territorial conflict, the O.A.U. did not convene an extraordinary meeting to look into the conflict. Even the already summoned extraordinary meeting scheduled to meet in Dar-es-Salaam to discuss the issue of mutiny in East Africa, reluctantly put the Somali-Ethiopian-Kenyan dispute in the agenda.

In the Somalia-Ethiopia conflict, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution calling for a cease-fire, and urged the two countries to refrain from all hostile actions.[54] But no actoin was taken to follow up the resolution. The O.A.U. could not organize a peace-keeping force, nor could it persuade Somalia to give up its claims in the territory. Even worse was the resolution on the Somalia-Kenyan conflict. It simply called on both to refrain from provocative acts and asked the two countries to settle their differences in the spirit of the charter.[55]

In the Somalia-Ethiopian-Kenyan conflict, the O.A.U. did not help in ending the fighting. Although it passed resolutions asking members to settle their differences peacefully, it could not provide any positive mode for the implementation of the resolutions. It only called upon "all African states with diplomatic or consular missions

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[54] Andemicael Berhanykum, Peaceful Settlement Among African States, p. 10.

[55] O.A.U. Document ECM/Res. 4 (11).

in Ethiopia and somalia to try their best to assist in the implementation of the cease-fire." Even in the case of Somalia and Kenya, it said nothing other than to call on the governments of both countries to take steps to settle the dispute "in the spirit of paragraph four of Article III of the Charter."

The O.A.U. did not provide a settlement to the dispute, it only provided a suitable environment for contacts between the disputing states.[56] Through the auspices of the O.A.U., some African leaders such as President Abboud of Sudan and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia worked hard to bring the parties together for peaceful settlement. Despite the efforts made by these two African leaders (Abboud of Sudan and Kaunda of Zambia), to settle the dispute, and despite the fact that agreements were reached in 1967 for normalization of relations between Somalia and her two neighboring states, the Somalia-Ethiopia conflict came up again at the O.A.U. tenth anniversary summit meeting in 1973. The question was therefore referred to a special committee to try and reconcile the two parties before the summit began. The sepcial committee also met with failure. At the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, an O.A.U." "good offices" committee consisting of Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia, Tanzania, Sudan, Mauritania, Cameroon and Lesotho, was appointed under

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[56]J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, p. 156.

the chairmanship of General Gowon of Nigeria to reconcile the two neighbors.[57] The committee visited the disputing countries during the year, but neither the visit nor the appeals from other African leaders brought the dispute any closer to a settlement.[58]

Representatives of the United States, Britain, West Germany and France met at Washington on January 21st, 1978 to discuss the Somalia-Ethiopian conflict. They called on both parties to settle their differences not at the battle field, but through peaceful negotiation.[59]

On January 23, Somalia issued a statement accepting the peace call from the western countries, while Ethiopia denounced the western peace call as hypocritical.[60]

On March 9, 1978, Somalia announced that it would withdraw its troops from the Ogaden region, and called on Ethiopia to withdraw all foreign forces (Soviets and Cubans) at the Horn of Africa. Since then, the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia has continued to linger on and the O.A.U. seems to be getting tired of it. In August, 1980, a meeting of the O.A.U. Commission on the dispute opened

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[57] "The Tenth Anniversary of the O.A.U.," African Contemporary Record (New York, 1973-1974).

[58] Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity," p. 18.

[59] African Research Bulletin Series, January 1-31, 1978, p. 4703.

[60] Ibid., p. 4704

in Lagos, Nigeria, to discuss how to settle it. After

hearing from both parties, the committee adopted a six-

point resolutoin that was strongly pro-Ethiopia. The

recommendations included the recognition, reaffirmation,

implementation, and application of the principles of Article

III, No. 3: "respect for the sovereignty and territorial

integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to

independent existence."

But the O.A.U. could not meet with any success as far

as the settlement of the dispute was concerned.[61] Also

important in the dispute between Somalia and her two

neighboring states was the role of super-power nations.

At the initial stage of the conflict, the United States

supplied arms to Ethiopia while the Soviet Union supplied

arms to Somalia. But it is interesting to note that both

the United States and the Soviet Union advised the disputing

parties to seek a solution through the O.A.U. Although both

the Soviet Union and Cuba changed sides and decided to help

Ethiopia, the Cuban forces, it has often been argued, are

there to stop Somalia's incursion in Ethiopian territory.[62]

Another important institution that contributed to

isolating the conflict was the United Nations. At the

initial stage, when Somalia was skeptical of the role of

[61]African Research Bulletin Series (August 1-31, 1980),
p. 5886.

[62]Africa Report (July-August, 1980), p. 25.

the O.A.U. in the conflict, it appealed to the U. N.
Secretary General for the conflict to be handled by the
U. N. Security Council. The Secretary-General was not
favorable to this request and advised that the conflict be
handled by the O.A.U. in what he called "try the O.A.U.
first."[63]

The O.A.U. was not a total failure in the Somalia-
Ethiopia-Kenya conflict. It provided a valuable forum
where the parties in dispute presented their cases to a
third party. The O.A.U. was able to isolate the conflict.
The O.A.U. also abated the conflict for about three years.
Between 1964 when the O.A.U. Council of Ministers started
mediation till 1967 when Somalia and her two neighboring
countries entered into peace agreement, the O.A.U.'s
action was able to contain the fighting.

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[63]See U. N. Document S/5536.

[64]Evan Luard, editor, The International Regulations of
Frontier Disputes (New York, 1970), p. 130.

CHAPTER IV

O.A.U.'s HANDLING OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS

Although the Organization of African Unity was
besieged at its embryonic stage by border conflicts, the
African leaders who gathered at Addis Ababa to sign the
O.A.U. Charter on May 25, 1963 were aware that sooner or
later, the organization was going to face problems arising
from internal conflicts. It was not long before internal
conflicts started to explode. The role played by the
O.A.U. in solving internal problems has been limited
because the governments facing the internal conflicts
have always refused the O.A.U. involvement in what they
regarded as strictly domestic problems. Secondly, internal
conflicts in themselves have been regarded as, to a con-
siderable extent, beyond the realm of international law.
International law and international organizations were
held to govern the relations between states. What the
states did within their own frontiers, was regarded as a
question within the domestic jurisdiction of each country
and was supported by the principle of "non-interference"
as enshrined in Article III, No. 2 of the O.A.U. Charter.[1]

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[1]Evan Luard, editor, The International Regulation of
Civil Wars (New York, 1972), p. 19.

This chapter will examine the role of the O.A.U. in handling situations of interstate tension arising from internal conflicts in Rwanda/Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Nigeria. Chapter Five will do the same for Angola, Chad, and the Spanish Sahara. While the situations in the first five states were internal problems per se, the problem in the Spanish Sahara involved the principle of "self-determination," a principle that was always invoked by the Biafrans during the Nigerian Civil War.

Friction Between Rwanda and Burundi

The friction between Rwanda and Burundi can be divided into three stages:

1. The 1963 insurgency launched by Rwanda government under the control of the Bahutu majority by Rwandese (Bautusi), followed by reprisals from Bahutu on the Batutsi population in Rwanda;[2]

2. The 1963 crisis caused by attempts by some leaders of the Bahutu majority in that country to overthrow the monarchy which had been blamed for assisting in the perpetuation of Batutsi supremacy;

3. The 1966 tension betwene Rwanda and Burundi which was alleged to have resulted from refugees' activities.[3]

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[2] Robert O. Mathews, p. 437.

[3] Berhanykun Andemicael, The OAU and the UN, pp. 204-205.

Internal disorders within Rwanda in 1959 and again in 1961-1962 led to the flight of a large number of Tutsi to Uganda, Tanzania, Congo (Leopoldville), and Burundi where they were settled in refugee camps along the Rwanda borders. Some of these refugees formed a secret organization known as the Inyenzi, and with the help of Burundi government, sought to restore the Tutsi monarchy in Rwanda in 1963. The attempt was unsuccessful, and consequently, led to a new wave of killings. About 18,000 Watusi tribesmen were killed.[4]

The Rwandese government charged Burundi with permitting Batutsi guerrillas to infiltrate into its territory in order to overthrow the government. The Burundi government denied the allegation and instead accused Rwanda of conducting "wide-scale slaughter" of the Batutsi population in Rwanda.

The Burundi government requested the Secretary General of the United Nations and the Administrative Secretary General of the O.A.U. to intervene. The United Nations Secretary General sent officials of the United Nations operations in Congo to visit the two countries. These officials submitted their findings to the Secretary General of the United Nations. Both countries were requested to prevent renewed reprisals against the Batutsi and to

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[4]"Genocide in Rwanda," Africa Institute Bulletin, 2 (1964), 96.

maintain regular contact with the U. N. Secretary General's special representatives.

The O.A.U., faced with the Algerian-Moroccan dispute, and being at its embryonic stage, was in no position to play a significant role in the 1963 Rwanda/Burundi conflict.[5] Therefore, it became the responsibility of the U. N. to assist in the situation. The U. N. bodies, especially the U.N.H.C.R., succeeded in calming the situation.[6]

The second stage was the October, 1965 abortive coup d'etat in Burundi conducted by a group of Bahutu military officers and politicians. This provoked an uprising by Bahutu peasants and consequently led to a considerable reprisal. A large number of Bahutu tribesmen were killed. The killing provoked outcries from various international humanitarian organizations, including the International Labor Organization (I.L.O.).[7] The O.A.U. did not play any significant role at this stage. It only discussed the refugee problem.

In 1966, tension mounted again in the area. In September, 1966, Rwanda brought the problem to the third

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[5]Berlanykun Andemicael, The OAU and the UN, p. 18.

[6]David Meyers, "Organization of African Unity," International Organization, 28 (1974), 358.

[7]Keesing's Contemporary Archives, 15 (1965-1966), 21113, 21234.

session of the O.A.U. Assembly. Burundi also complained
to the O.A.U. of the activities of refugees in Rwanda.
After hearing from both countries, the O.A.U. Assembly
decided to request President Mobutu of Congo (Leopoldville)
to mediate between the two countries. Three meetings held
in April, 1967 between the two sides led to agreement on
controlling the activities of refugees and the issue was
reported settled to the O.A.U. Summit conference.[8]
Although the O.A.U. as a body did not provide settlement,
it isolated and abated the conflict for three years until
April, 1972 when another Bahutu uprising in Burundi pro-
voked massive reprisals and was regarded by member states
as being primarily internal.

O.A.U.'s Handling of Rwanda/Burundi Conflict

As was stated earlier, the O.A.U.'s mediating efforts
in this conflict were mild. In the 1963 crisis the O.A.U.,
being highly occupied with the Algerian-Moroccan border
dispute, played no role in controlling the conflict. it
made no efforts at all to bring the conflict either to the
Council of Ministers, nor did it discuss the conflict at
the O.A.U. Summit meeting. In the 1965 conflict, the
organization did not play any significant role. In the
1966 conflict, the O.A.U. played a significant role

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[8]J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, p. 158.

through President Mobutu. In response to O.A.U.

Assembly's request and in the spirit of the Kinshasa

Agreements, President Mobutu was able to persuade the

leaders of Burundi and Rwanda to meet with him in March,

1967 in Congo (Leopoldville). While in Congo, both coun-

tries agreed to remove possibilities of subversive

activities by refugees.[9]

The O.A.U. through the efforts of President Mobutu

was able to isolate and abate the conflict. Although the

O.A.U. as a body did not provide a settlement to the con-

flict, through its moral support to President Mobutu a

settlement was reached. In addition, the O.A.U. was able,

through its commission on refugees, to prohibit subversive

activities by the refugees.[10]

The Congo Civil War, 1964-1965

The first substantial and primarily internal conflict

to be handled by the Organization of African Unity was the

Congo crisis (1964-1965). It was a complex and difficult

problem and has always been described as a "touchstone"

in African politics.[11] In January, 1963 the Katangan

secession was ended by the United Nations force (O.N.U.C.),

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[9]Berhanykun Andemicael, The OAU and the UN, p. 19.

[10]Ibid., p. 20.

[11]Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity,"
pp. 204-205.

and Moise Tshombe, the leader of the secessionist Katanga,
went on voluntary exile in Europe. In April, 1963 Cyrille
Adoula, the premier of the Congolese central government,
proclaimed a government of national reconciliation, which
included the representatives of the Katanga Province, but
excluded all the former supporters of Patrice Lumumba.[12]
Adoula divided the country into twenty-four provinces.
This method of decentralization transferred the real power
to the tribal chiefs, and consequently led to tribal
clashes. The provincial governments became powerless while
the authority of the central government evaporated. The
economy was in a terrible shape and the central government
fast losing control over its army. There was widespread
dissatisfaction with the Congolese government of Premier
Cyrille Adoula and President Kasavubu.

Towards the later part of summer, 1963 Ghenye and
many supporters of the murdered Lumumba fled to Brazzaville
in a sanctuary offered them by the new government in Congo
Brazzaville.[13] These Soviet backed rebels set up the
National Liberation Committee (Conseil National de Libera-
tion C.N.L.) in Congo Brazzaville. So when President
Kasavubu adjourned the parliament for failure to provide
a new constitution, it provided an avenue for the Soviet

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[12]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, pp. 204-205.

[13]David Meyers, The Oranization of African Unity,
p. 174.

led radical nationalists, the political heirs of Lumumba,
to reorganize and rebel against the central government.

By January, 1964, the rebels attacked and took control of

Kwilu province and by June, 1964, the rebellion spread

over to Kivu, Kwilu and North Katanga.[14] By the end of

June, 1964, when the last batch of the U. N. troops were

withdrawn from the Congo, a crisis was booming large.

Also during the last days of June,1964, Tshombe left

Madrid to begin a triumphant journey back to the Congo.

Following the deterioration of the situation in the Congo,

Cyrille Adoula, the prime minister, resigned.[15] To con-

tain the problems in Katanga and recruit mercenaries and

former Katanga gendarmes to be used against the Conseil

National de Liberation, Kasavubu appointed Moise Tshombe

to form a new government. But the legality of Tshombe's

government rested on very shaky foundations.[16] President

Kasavubu's appointment of Tshombe as Prime Minister

accentuated the ideological factor in the conflict to such

an extent that the situation became transformed into a

full scale civil war with considerable interference from

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[14]R. C. Pradhan, "The O.A.U. and the Congo Crisis,"
African Quarterly, 5 (April-June, 1965), 31.

[15]"Questions Relating to Africa: Matters Concerning
the Situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo,"
United Nations Year Book (1964), p. 95.

[16]Catherine Hoskyns, Case Studies in African Diplomacy
I: The Organization of African Unity and the Congo Crisis,
1964-65 (Dar-es-Salaam, 1969), p. 8.

abroad. At the same time as Tshombe formed his regime, the rebels proclaimed a provincial government of the National Liberation Committee, headed by Craston Soumailot. By August 5, 1964, the rebel forces had won control of Kisangani, known then as Stanleyville.[17]

With increased military assistance from the United States and Belgium, coupled with foreign mercenaries he recruited to bolster the army, Tshombe attempted to regain the lost territory. The fighting became bloodier and the whole country was sinking deeper into chaos every day. The problem of concern to most African states, as many of them were deeply distressed to see the man they identified with non-African interests assume leadership in the Congo. Relations between the two got worse.

O.A.U. and the Congo Crisis

Not long after Moise Tshombe returned to Congo, the first Assembly of Heads of State and Government was held in Cairo. President Kasavubu had been invited by the Egyptian government. At the Council of Ministers meeting, it was understood that Tshombe was to accompany Kasavubu to the Cairo Summit Meeting. This aroused adverse sentiments in the meeting and after long and heated debate, Kasavubu was asked not to include Tshombe in the Congolese

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[17]Adekunle Ajala, Pan-Africanism, p. 206.

delegation to the 1964 Summit Meeting.[18] Enraged by the
decision of the Council of Ministers, Tshombe boycotted
the meeting. The council's action was interpreted as inter-
ference in Congo's internal affairs. President Tsivanana
of Madagascar felt that since Tshombe represented the
legitimate government of Congo, he should be allowed to
attend the summit.

> I am a democrat who respects the domestic affairs
> of other countries. . . . Tshombe is the Prime
> Minister of the Congo in accordance with the will
> of the Congolese people, and we have no business
> interfering with the internal affairs of that
> country, for every African state is free to choose
> the regime it wishes.[19]

But as has been argued, the council's action, although
seeming to interfere with the internal affairs of Congo,
was rather a reaction against Tshombe than a well thought
out position concerning O.A.U. jurisdiction in internal
affairs.[20]

By the month of September, 1964, the situation in
Congo had deteriorated and there was a clamor for the
O.A.U. to deal with the problem. An extraordinary meeting
of the O.A.U. was called at Addis Ababa on September 5-10,
1964, and Tshombe was to attend. Tshombe took his case to

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[18]"There Is Work for O.A.U.," West Africa, 2492 (March,
1965), 249.

[19]"The Second Conference of the Organization of Afri-
can Unity, The Foreign Ministers' Conference," Africa
Institute Bulletin, (September, 1964), p. 258.

[20]David Meyers, The Organization of African Unity,
p. 175.

the organization and hoped to get the moral and material backing of the African community.[21] At the meeting, Tshombe requested African troops to replace the mercenaries. He had already approached Ethiopia, Liberia, Malagasy, Nigeria and Senegal for assistance.[22] Tshombe wanted to use the issue of military assistance from African states as a pretext to continue his recruitment of mercenaries.

At the meeting, African states divided into two ideological groups--the radicals and the moderates, which had different motives in approaching the Congo issue. The radical states urged a political solution in order to strengthen the rebels whose position was worsening. They insisted on the immediate withdrawal of mercenaries and American aid so that the rebels would join the national reconciliation government. They knew very well that the military strength of the rebels was down the drain.[23]

After six days of debate, a final agreement was reached. Convinced by the "solemn undertaking" of the prime minister fo the Congo "to guarantee the security of combatants who lay down their arms," a resolution was passed by the council. The council

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[21]Jon Woronoff, Organizing African Unity, p. 365.

[22]New York Times, August 18, 1964.

[23]A. F. Addona, The Organization of African Unity, P. 164.

Requests especially all those now fighting
to cease hostilities so as to seek, with the
help of the Organization of African Unity, a
resolution that would make possible national
reconciliation and the restoration of order in
the Congo;
Appeals to all the political leaders of the
Democratic Republic of the Congo to seek, by all
appropriate means, to restore and consolidate
national reconciliation.[24]

The issue of the mercenaries became a thorn in the

flesh. Tshombe wanted toops from friendly African coun-

tries to replace the mercenaries, while the radicals

objected to any condition to be attached before the removal

of the mercenaries. To the radical states, the mercenaries

were enemies to Africa, and a threat to the continent. The

sentiment of the radical states on the issue of the mercen-

aries was endorsed by the council, especially since they

were "principally recruited from the racist countries of

South Africa and Southern Rhodesia." The council therefore

called on Moise Tshombe "to stop immediately the recruit-

ment of mercenaries and to expel as soon as possible all

mercenaries of whatever origin who are already in the

Congo as to facilitate an African solution." The council

refused Tshombe's request for military assistance.[25]

A special conciliation commission headed by Jomo

Kenyatta was appointed. It comprised the following states:

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[24]Ian Brownlie, editor, Basic Documents on African
Affairs (Oxford, 1971), pp. 534-536.

[25]"Learning to Live with Tshombe," West Africa, 2467
(September 12, 1964), 1033.

Ethiopia, Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Upper Volta,
Nigeria, Somalia, the United Arab Republic and Tunisia.
The commission was mandated to carry out the following:

1. To help and encourage the efforts of the Congo-
lese Government in the restoration of national reconcilia-
tion; and

2. To help harmonize relations between the Congo and
its neighbors, especially Burundi and Congo (Brazzaville).[26]

Although the resolution was a compromise among the
O.A.U. Members States, it tended to rely heavily on the
good will of Tshombe for its full implementation. The
commission was not given any details as to the roles the
O.A.U. envisaged. The O.A.U. did not provide any machinery
to attain the cease-fire, nor did it specify the procedure
for the withdrawal of the mercenaries.

The O.A.U. Special Conciliation Commission for the
Congo had its first meeting on Septembre 18, 1964, at
Nairobi, Kenya. Despite Tshombe's strong objections it
heard from both parties--the representatives of the central
government and the representatives of the C.N.L. The com-
mission felt that in order to restore peace in the Congo,
there should be a total end to foreign intervention. So
the commission sent a delegation to Washington to request
an end to American military intervention. Tshombe

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[26]Ian Brownlie, Basic Documents on African Affairs,
p. 536.

immediately protested that the commission had gone beyond

its mandate, and President Johnson refused to meet the

delegation. In the words of Sam Chime, "Thus the group

was left kicking in a vacuum."[27] In a statement issued

from the U. S. State Department, the spokesman declared

that "We could not discuss our aid to the Congo without

the participation of the Congo Government, at whose request

our aid is given." In effect the United States was bringing

to the notice of the African delegation that the Organiza-

tion of African Unity was interfering in the internal

affairs of an African state. The widening gap between

the commisison and the Congolese government, coupled with

the rising success of the mercenary-led Congolese army

over the insurgents, made the chances for a cease-fire

non-existent. In an attempt to force the U. S. government

to stop giving aid to Tshombe, the rebel soldiers under

Ghenye held foreigners at Stanleyville hostage. The safety

of the Stanleyville hostages caused great concern to the

Western press. Jomo Kenyatta undertook to negotiate for

the release of the hostages. But on November 24, while

the negotiation was on, there was a joint military action

by Belgium, the United States and Great Britain, known as

the "Stanleyville drop."[28]

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[27]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 236.

[28]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unfinished Quest for Unity, p. 89.

The "Stanleyville drop" aroused public opinion and public resentment among the African states. To the Africans, the presence of Belgian paratroopers and American rescue mission was an attempt to perpetuate Belgian colonialism in Africa. They described it to an ariborne version of "gunboat diplomacy."[29]

As the crisis rose to a new height, the Ad Hoc Commission met on November 27-28, 1964, to arrange for an extraordinary session of the O.A.U. Assembly on December 18th, to discuss the new developments. The idea to convene such a summit meeting was opposed by the majority of member states and was finally dropped. With the division in the O.A.U. Member States and a deadlock in the O.A.U. Ad Hoc Commission, the chairman of the commission urged that the Congo crisis be brought before the United Nations.

On December 1, 1964, the day Belgium and the United States notified the Security Council that the rescue operation in the Congo had been completed, African states and four non-African states, including Afghanistan, Cambodia, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider as a matter of urgency, the condition created by the Stanleyville operation. In the Security Council, the representatives of eighteen

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[29]Robert Weiss, Congo 1965--Political Documents of a Developing Nation (New Jersey, 1967), p. vii.

African nations accused the United States of duplicity and
and flagrant violations of the O.A.U. Charter.[30] Most of
the African states rejected the U. S. thesis that the
Stanleyville operation was a humanitarian act. They
accused the three western countries--Belgium, the United
States and Britain--of closing their eyes when the mercen-
aries killed 40,000 civilians at Stanleyville.[31]

Concurrently with the session of the Security Council,
the O.A.U. held an emergency meeting at New York from
December 16-20, 1964. Although all the members of the
O.A.U. Council of Ministers who were present at the meeting
expressed their abhorrence of the Stanleyville drop, they
became divided in their attitude to the Tshombe's regime.
The Nigerian delegation, together with most of the repres-
sentatives of the Francoprone African countries, defended
the legality of Tshombe's action. According to the
Nigerian delegate, "Since the Stanleyville operation had
been authorized by the country's legal government, it
could not be regarded as a foreign interference."[32] The
division in the O.A.U. over the Congo crisis was made
evident in the resolution adopted at the meeting. It
merely "disapproved" the "Stanleyville drop." It could

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[30]United Nations Yearbook, 1964, p. 96. See also S/
6078, S/6081, United Nations Security Council Proceedings,
December, 1964.

[31]U. N. Document S/6076.

[32]United Nations Yearbook, 1964, p. 98.

not condemn Belgium, the United States, and Britain for
the operation. In fact it indirectly endorsed the legality
of Tshombe's regime by requesting its cooperation to work
with the O.A.U. Commission on the Congo towards national
reconciliation. The Security Council in its own resolu-
tion, recommended an African solution to the problem and
called on the powers involved to cooperate with the O.A.U.
Thus, the Security Council, by accepting this resolution,
had handed the Congo crisis back to the O.A.U.[33]

The Ad Hoc Commission held two more meetings, without
any achievement. They finally agreed to send their report
to the Council of Ministers to inform them that they had
reached an empasse. The Congo crisis was dropped from the
O.A.U. agenda when in October, 1965, President Kasavubu,
seeing that the rebellion which led to the "marraige of
convenience" between him and Tshombe was over, relieved
Tshombe of his office. Tshombe went to self-imposed exile
in Spain, from where he continued to plan for another
return to power. On June 30, 1967, the British aircraft
in which Tshombe was traveling from Ibizza to Mallorca,
was hijacked and forced to land in Algeria. President
Mobutu requested the return of Tshombe to the Congo for
custody and trial. But world opinion was against the
kidnapping so the Algerian government thought it prudent

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[33]David Meyers, The Organization of African Unity,
p. 179.

to retain custody of Tshombe. After two years in prison,
it was reported that Tshombe died in prison on June 30,
1969.[34]

Assessment of O.A.U.'s Role in the Management of 1964-1965 Congo Crisis

The resolution of the Congo crisis was a great test
for the Organization of African Unity. The O.A.U. could not
bring peace to the Congo and resolve its political problems.
The organization could not stop the fighting. The members
were highly divided and their concern was for a particular
outcome to the conflict rather than with simply stopping
the fighting and achieving any peaceful settlement.

The organization could not isolate the conflict.
Because of the division within the O.A.U. neither the
western countries (Belgium, the United States, and Britain),
who were aiding the central government, nor the four
African states (Algeria, Sudan, Ghana, and the U.A.R.),
nor the U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China, who
were aiding the rebels, were specifically condemned.[35]
The organization was very naive in dealing with the Congo
crisis. Knowing full well that the western countries were
aiding the central government while four African countries
plus the U.S.S.R. and China were aiding the rebels, why

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[34]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unfinished Quest for Unity,
p. 94.

[35]A. F. Addona, The Organization of African Unity,
p. 164.

did the commission decide to send a delegation to the
U. S. alone? This is one of those naive assumptions of
certain African politicians who believe that international
relations can be conducted on a "friend-enemy" basis. As
indicated by Jomo Kenyatta, the chairman of the commission,
it was intended that their friends--the Americans--should
be persuaded first before they could approach those who
were not friends.[36] But if the commisison actually knew
what it was doing and the politics it was playing when it
sent delegates to Washington to dissuade the United States
from sending aid to the Congolese central government, it
could have also sent delegates to the U.S.S.R. and China
to ask them to stop aiding the rebels. Furthermore, it
could have tried to dissuade the four African countries
from aiding the rebels. In that case, Washington could
not have turned its back on the delegates as it did, nor
could Kasavubu and Tshombe react the way they did.

The O.A.U. could not settle the conflict. Because of
the division in the organization, no procedure for settle-
ment could be arrived at. The organization was as much
at war within itself, as was the Congo. There was a sharp
division between the moderates and the conservatives
within the organization.

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[36]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among
African States, p. 238.

The O.A.U.'s attitude created loopholes for super power involvement in the Congo crisis.[37] Although the U.S.S.R. and China aided the rebels, the role of Belgium, the United States and Britain helped more in exacerbating the conflict. Apart from their aid to the central government and help in the recruitment of mercenaries, their intervention thruogh the "Stanleyville drop" at the time when Africans were trying to find a solution to the conflict, was not to the best interest of peace. It led to intense fighting in which some foreigners and many more Congolese were killed.

Perhaps the most significant result of the Congo crisis was that it marked the reemergence of the groupings which were cancelled out in the 1963 Charter. It also showed Africans how divisiveness can tear the organization in pieces. Finally, the Congo crisis taught the African leaders that their interest would best be served if they acted collectively in the organization. Since the Congo crisis, no African crisis (except for Southern African regimes) has been allowed to be dealt with outside the African framework.

The Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970

While the Organization of African Unity was recuperating from the shocks of the Congo crisis, another crisis

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[37]J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, p. 257.

erupted in Nigeria. The Nigerian Civil War was perhaps the gravest situation in independent Africa since the Civil War in Congo. Although it is very difficult to identify the causes of the conflict, many scholars agree that the causes were political in nature.[38]

On May 30, 1967, the former Eastern Region of Nigeria declared itself independent under the name of Biafra.[39] The Federal Government of Nigeria regarded the declaration as an act of rebellion and mobilized troops to crush the rebellion. On July 6, 1967, shots ran out along a dusty road in Eastern Nigeria. The Nigerian Civil War had begun. Both sides were confident. Briefing a large press conference about the war, General Gowon, the head of state of Nigerian Federal Government told the world that he had undertaken a "short surgical political action." Victory was forecast in days, rather than weeks.[40] But the war lasted months rather than days.

As the war escalated, it became more than ever an African affair. Thus there were mounting pressures for action by the Organization of African Unty. But for the O.A.U., the decision to discuss the Nigerian question was

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[38]Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity," p. 29; Berhanykun Andemicael, The OAU and the UN, p. 31.

[39]"The Declaration," Ojukwu Biafra (Enugu, May 30, 1967), pp. 193-196.

[40]Time Magazine, September 1, 1967.

a difficult one, because two main principles of the O.A.U.
Charter were put to the test.

1. The principle of non-interference in internal
affairs (Article III, paragraph 2) constantly referred to
by Nigeria; and

2. Respect for the inalienable right to independence
(Article III, paragraph 3), insisted upon by Biafra.[41]

As the war continued through the summer, an increas-
ing number of African leaders pressed for the situation to
be discussed at the O.A.U. summit meetings due to be held
in September in Kinshasa. But the meeting of the Council
of Ministers, which usually precedes that of the Assembly
of Heads of State and Government, did not propose the
Nigerian situation for the Assesmbly agenda. Even when the
Assembly of Heads of State and Government met, due to the
Federal Government of Nigerian's insistence that the
Nigerian conflict was an internal affair of Nigeria, the
O.A.U. did not at first discuss the issue. Realizing that
if they dispersed without a word on the Nigerian conflict
they would provide the O.A.U.'s critics with arguments
against the usefulness of the organization, the Assembly
decided to tackle the problem. When it took up the Nigerian
conflict, it only discussed the issue for a very short
period and passed a resolution which was worded so as to

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[41]Yassin El-Ayouty, The Organization of African Unity
After Ten Years: Comparative Perspectives (New York,
1976), p. 153.

avoid any suspicion of intervention in Nigerian affairs.
It began the resolution by reaffirming respect for the
sovereignty of member states. In the resolution, the
member states and government recognized the situation as
"an internal affair, the solution of which is primarily
the responsibility of the Nigerians themselves" and
resolved to send a consultative mission of six heads of
state (Cameroon, Zaire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, and
Niger) to the head of the Federal Government of Nigeria
to assure him of the Assembly's desire for the territorial
integrity, unity, and peace of Nigeria.[42]

Neither in the discussions, nor in the resolution,
was there any mention of Biafra's right to self-determina-
tion. The O.A.U. refused to discuss the cause of the war,
but rather affirmed its opposition to secession. The
numbers of the dying Nigerians made no difference to the
organization. The Consultative Committee membership
represented a careful balance of the different attitudes
towards the Nigerian conflict, and was by far the highest
ranking body ever to represent the interest of the African
community. But it is surprising to discover that when the
community visited Nigeria it had nothing to offer for

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[42]O.A.U., 4th Ordinary Session of Assembly of Heads of
State and Government (Kinshasa, September, 1967), Resolu-
tion ANG/Res. 51 (iv).

[43]Samuel L. Oluo, unpublished master's thesis, p. 64.

peaceful negotiations other than to confer with General
Gowon and assure him of the Assembly's support.[44]   The
news that the Consultative Committee could not visit and
discuss with the Biafran leaders nor offer any meaningful
suggestions for the termination of the conflict attracted
sharp reaction from Biafra.   An official broadcast by Radio
Enugu on November 24, 1968, stated that "by deciding to
consult with only one party to the dispute, the O.A.U.
had demonstrated its lack of objectivity and doomed itself
to failure right from the start."[45]   The O.A.U. was accused
of "condoning genocide" and of proving itself "a rubber
stamp" by merely endorsing General Gowon's warning that
their own countries would disintegrate if they did not
rally to his support.[46]

The O.A.U. Consultative Committee could neither
arrange for peaceful settlement of the conflict, nor stop
the fighting.   But despite the fact that it has been argued
by many that the Consultative Committee's misison to
Nigeria was a dismal failure, the unanimous support this
committee gave the Federal Government served some useful
purposes.   First, it strengthened the resolve of the non-
African powers who wished to identify with Nigeria;

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[44]Report on the O.A.U. Consultative Mission to Nigeria
(Apapa Lagos, 1967), p. 3.

[45]Africa Report, January, 1968.

[46]Biafra, Ministry of Information, November 25, 1967.

secondly, it allowed those who did not want to become more directly involved to plead that that was a matter for the O.A.U.; finally, it inhibited those who were tempted to aid secession.[47]

Since the Consultative Committee did not bring anything new, fighting continued as usual. But both leaders left open the possibility of negotiations. Unfortunately, the O.A.U. failed to utilize the peace requests by the two leaders. In early 1968, Biafra started to use the issue of genocide as an instrument to arouse international sympathy. Between April 15 and May 20, 1968, four members of the O.A.U.--Tanzania, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Zambia-- recognized Biafra as a sovereign state.[48] The recognition of Biafra as an independent state by these four African nations brought division in the O.A.U. and threatened to destroy the frzgile alliance that had existed since 1963. It also reawakened world consciousness in the Nigeria/Biafra war. But that time was ripe for some sort of discussion was not perceived by the O.A.U. Overtures were now made for peace from both sides.

When it became clear that the O.A.U. was in no position to negotiate peace in the Nigerian conflict, Arnold

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[47]John Stremlau, The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967-1970 (New Jresey, 1977), p. 130.

[48]Ibid., p. 110.

Smith, Secretary to the Commonwealth, initiated a peace move to resolve the difficulty. In May, 1968, both parties met at Kampala, Uganda, under the auspices of the Commonwealth. The peace talk was opened by President Obote of Uganda, who called for an agreement on the cessation of hostilities as a basic preliminary for a broader understanding.[49]

The Kampala talks were off to a bad start and finally ended in dismal failure. It brought the two sides no closer together. The positive result was to show that negotiations were indeed possible and to remind the O.A.U. of its responsibilities. For the organization had forgotten that its primary duty was to maintain a presence and follow the situation closely so as to offer its services at the right time.[50]

The appalling condition of the Biafran population aroused world-wide concern and made further African inaction impossible. In July,1968, the O.A.U. Consultative Committee was reconvened in Naimey, Niger. On July 16, General Gowon addressed the assembled members. He told them that "the rebel leaders and their foreign backers are playing politics with the whole question of human suffering to their diplomatic and military advantage."

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[49]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unifinished Quest for Unity, p. 100.

[50]Samuel L. Oluo, unpublished master's thesis, p. 71.

He further added that "a unilateral cease-fire on humanitarian grounds would not, in any way, relieve the sufferings fo the innocent victims of our tragic war."[51]

On July 18, 1968, the Biafran leader, Colonal Ojukwu, addressed the Consultative Mission. His speech was not made public, but from the press conference he had at Abidjan (Ivory Coast) on July 21, 1968, one can assume that he was impressed by the way the O.A.U. had dealt with important issues. He said,

> Provided the spirit of sincerity and honesty
> which was evident in Naimey continues, provided
> Africa is left on its own to grapple with the
> problems posed by our difficulties, I think
> there is hope. Judging from the way the confer-
> ence started moving, I think there would be
> permanent peace or at least temporary peace.[52]

Following the Naimey talks, representatives of the Federal Government and Biafra met in Naimey on July 20, 1968 under the chairmanship of President Diori of Niger and agreed on the following agenda for the Addis Ababa peace talks, namely:

1. Arrangements for a permanent settlement;

2. Terms for the cessation of hostilities; and

3. Proposals for the transport of relief supplies to civilian victims of the war.

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[51]Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Information, Press Release No. F1317, "Statement by His Excellency Major-General Gowon to the Resumed Conference of the O.A.U. Consultative Committee in Naimey," JUly 16, 1968.

[52]Africa Research Bulletin, August 5, 1968, p. 1124.

Followign the Naimey agreement, the second round of
O.A.U. peace talks began in Addis Ababa under the chair-
manship of Emperor Haile Selassie. After five weeks of
intensive negotiations, no progress had been made. The
Addis Ababa peace conference, like its predecessors, was
lost in a quagmire of delays, stalling, intransigencies
and ill-will. Even the mutually agreed objectives of
setting up relief corridors was no longer visible. Finally
the peace conference adjourned on September 8, without
having found any solution. In assessing the causes, it
is possible that the failure may have been the failure
not so much of the Nigerian or Biafran negotiators, but
of the O.A.U. to bring pressure to bear on both sides.
The chance was there and it was missed.

With the failure of the Addis Ababa conference, all
hopes for peace in Nigeria were now focused on the O.A.U.
Assembly about to meet in Algiers in September, 1968. When
the Assembly met, the Nigerian/Biafran issue was brought
up once more. Unfortuantely for Biafra, British and
American diplomacy was working behind the scenes to per-
suade members of the O.A.U. that Biafra was finished. They
brought pressure and financial inducements which worked.[53]
The Assembly, after a hasty debate, passed a resolution
appealing to both sides to declare cease-fire; to

[53]Frederick Forsyth, The Making of an African Legend:
The Biafra Story (Great Britain, 1977), p. 250.

secessionist leaders to cooperate with the Federal author-
ities "in order to restore peace and unity in Nigeria;"
and to the Federal Government to declare a general amnesty
and to cooperate in the speedy delivery of humanitarian
supplies to the needy.[54]

At this assembly, the O.A.U. was once more exhibiting
its weakness. There was no deadline, no plan for imple-
mentation and no supervisory machinery for the cease-fire.
It was not clear what role the O.A.U. would play in
ensuring security. And despite weeks of discussion, no
plan was recommended for providing relief. Once again,
the organization had avoided the shock and possible dis-
integration effects of a direct confrontation.

The O.A.U. Assembly extended the Consultative Commit-
tee's mandate in their efforts for peaceful solution to
the conflict. Yet the Consultative Committee remained
inactive for months. Finally, the meeting of the Consul-
tative Mission on Nigerian Conflict was held in Monrovia,
Liberia, from April 17-20, 1969. The committee, after
three days of negotiation, dismissed without breaking the
deadlock. It only reaffirmed its support for a united
Nigeria and called on both parties of the Civil War to
accept, in the supreme interest of Africa, a united Nigeria.[55]

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[54]O.A.U. Assembly Resolution AHG/Res. 54 (V), 13-16,
September, 1968.

[55]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unifinished Quest for Unity,
p. 105.

On September 6, 1969, at Addis Ababa, the O.A.U. at
its sixth Assembly of Heads of State and Government had
its last initiative on the settlement of the Nigerian con-
flict. The conference adopted a resolution urging both
sides in the Nigerian Civil War to call a cease-fire and
negotiate for a united Nigeria.[56] Once more African
leaders passed resolutions without providing machinery
for the implementation of the resolutions. The conflict
was settled when Biafra surrendered and Ojukwu abdicated
and went into exile in the Ivory Coast.

Assessment of O.A.U.'s Role in Nigerian/Biafran War

In the Nigerian Civil War, the O.A.U. could not stop
the fighting. It failed to negotiate any mechanism of
disarmament. Instead of providing an atmosphere of dis-
arming the fighting forces, the O.A.U. only contended
itself with issuing condemning communiques against Biafra.
The attitude of O.A.U.'s Consultative Mission can be
regarded more as aggravating the situation than softening
the tension in the area.[57] Even before the actual war
broke out in July, 1967, the drama in Nigeria was suffi-
cient enough to attract the attention of the O.A.U. in
the area. The events in 1966, in which the leaders of

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[56]AHG/Res. 58 (VI), 1969.

[57]Dent Martin, "Nigeria: The Task of Conflict Resolu-
tion," World Today, 24 (July, 1968), p. 270.

the former Eastern Nigeria alleged that about 30,000
people of Eastern origin had been killed, were brought
to world attention. Surprisingly, when these points
were debated, the organization watched the conflict from
the sidelines throughout. If the O.A.U. had intervened
at this stage, it might have been much easier for the
organization to help reconcile the conflicting views before
the disputants traded damaging insults, staked their pres-
tige and entrenched their positions.[58]

The organization could not provide any settlement to
the conflict. The conflict was settled at the war front.
The conflict in Nigeria could have been settled before the
outbreak of the war. The situation was not irrepressible
had the O.A.U. accepted its responsibility as a peace-making
organization, and acted to bring the two parties together
for a meaningful negotiation for the sake of that same
Nigerian unity that the O.A.U. professed she sought to
maintain. The O.A.U.'s policy--that of Africa--had been
one of excessive timidity and missed opportunity due to
its conservative nature. Throughout the crisis, there had
been moments of deadlock when a concerted effort could have
brought the opposing sides closer together. Even as Biafra
weakened, the O.A.U. could have stepped in to impose
negotiations which would have shortened the war and saved

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[58]Emman Udonkuku, "The Organization of African Unity,"
P. 38.

the lives of some people. Yet the O.A.U. contended itself with resolutions that were never to be implemented nor even followed up.

The O.A.U. could not isolate the war. While non-African powers were supplying arms to both sides, the O.A.U. could not stop its members from taking sides. The weakness of the O.A.U. made foreign intervention possible and exacerbated the conflict.

The role of the foreign powers in the Nigerian Civil War leaves much to be desired. The inability of the O.A.U. to insulate African problems from extra-regional intervention made Nigeria an open field for unilateral third-party interventions by extra-African states.[59]

The British government, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the United Arab Republic supplied arms, including aircraft and heavy artillery, to Nigeria, while Biafra got its supply from France and Portugal.[60] Thus, the role of foreign powers, especially that of Britain, the Soviet Union, France and Portugal helped in exacerbating the conflict.

But despite everything, the O.A.U. was not a total failure in its handling of the Nigerian conflict. Although it could not stop the fighting, it did not isolate the

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[59] Frederick Forsyth, The Making of an African Legend, p. 19.

[60] J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, p. 159.

conflict nor could it settle the conflict. It served a useful purpose in preserving the unity of Nigeria as one political community. Two important lessons emerged from the conflict: (1) the Nigerian experience persuaded all O.A.U. members to accept the authority of the O.A.U. concerning the settlement of their disputes of whatever origin and magnitude; and (2) it served as a lesson to other groups in Africa that no matter the nature of the dispute, O.A.U. will never accept secession. It strengthened the principle of non-interference as it is enunciated in paragraph 2 of Article III of the O.A.U. Charter.[61]

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[61]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unfinished Quest for Unity, p. 109.

CHAPTER V

THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR 1975-1976

> Our failure to find a solution here [in
> Angola] confirms that the Organization of African
> Unity (O.A.U.) has no power to shape the destiny
> of Africa. Power is in the hands of the Super-
> Powers, to whom we are handing Africa by our
> failure.[1]
>
> --President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

The Angolan Civil War of 1975-1976, which almost

devastated the stability of the Organization of African

Unity, is a product of the failure of Portugal to estab-

lish a legitimate government in its colony (Angola) before

granting her independence.

The military coup in Portugal in April, 1974, began

the collapse of the Portuguese empire in Africa.

> In Angola, on November 11, 1975 (Angola's
> independence), Portugal's last governor-general
> folded his flag and sailed out of Luanda. Having
> failed to associate Africans with the construction
> of the administration of the territory or to allow
> Africans to organize and politicize within terri-
> tory-wide associations, the Portuguese tried to
> compensate for centuries of neglect by creating a
> broad scoped transitional government. This transi-
> tional government included all three of Angola's
> ethnically based liberation movements--the M.P.L.A.
> (Movemento Popular para Libertacao de Angola), the
> U.N.I.T.A. (the National Union for the Total

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[1]_African Contemporary Record_ (ACR) Vol. 7 (New York,
1974-75), pp. 221-226.

Independence of Angola), and F.N.L.A. (the National Front for the Liberation of Angola).[2]

Portugal could not produce any national political solution in Angola. It failed to oversee the dissolution and merger of three liberation armies into a common national army. Portugal was unable to conduct the Angolan election that it had scheduled to set up a politically legitimate government. Portugal therefore created a power vacuum in Angola.[3]

Angola's nationalist movements moved into this power vacuum. Spurred on by external backers, they sought power thruogh a military solution. The result was the escalation of conflict before Angola achieved statehood. In the words of John Marcum, "The world's great powers fanned the flames in a frenetic contest for privileged political and economic relations."[4]

Although the goal of a unified Angolan state received widespread rhetorical support within the forums of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, neither of these collectivities was organized to impose a peaceful solution, and Angola was to provide a test for

[2]Colin Legum, After Angola: The War Over Southern Africa, The Role of the Big Powers (New York, 1976), p. 85.

[3]John Marcum, "Angola: Division or Unity," in Southern Africa in Crisis, edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meara (Bloomington, 1977), p. 136.

[4]Ibid., p. 137.

O.A.U. effectiveness in 1976.[5] The division in the
Angolan liberation movements was not unlike those of
the other movements in unliberated African territories.
But several factors produced a serious international
situation in the Angolan case.

The Formation of Liberation Movements in Angola

The two initial liberation movements in Angola,
M.P.L.A. and U.P.A. (to be later known as F.N.L.A.), were
both activated in 1961. On February 6 of that year, the
radical M.P.L.A. under Agostinho Neto instigated an uprising
in Angola. The M.P.L.A. uprising was ill-fated. It was
brutally put down and the leaders were imprisoned. Those
who escaped imprisonment left the country, so from 1961,
M.P.L.A. began to operate in exile.[6]

From 1961 thruogh 1963, the Angolan insurgency was
led principally by the National Front for the Liberation
of Angola (F.N.L.A.) based in the Bakongo area of the north
and led by a Bakongo politician, Holden Roberto.[7] F.N.L.A.
grew in strength and in April, 1962, it proclaimed a
government in exile, G.R.A.E. (Governo Revolucionario de

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[5]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 263.

[6]"Africa Year Book and Who Is Who, 1977," London, African Journal Ltd. (1976), p. 240.

[7]John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume II, p. 146.

Angola em exilo). In 1963, the newly formed A.L.C.

(African Liberation Committee) of the O.A.U. was holding

its first meeting in Dar-es-Salaam when the government of

the Democratic Republic of Congo announced it was formally

recognizing G.R.A.E. This placed the committee in an

awkward situation in Angola. However, it decided to send

a delegation to conciliate between G.R.A.E. and the

M.P.L.A.[8]

In a very short time, F.N.L.A. lost its revolutionary

momentum in the face of stepped-up counterinsergency,

including effective Portuguese use of air power, land mines

and fortified villages. The F.N.L.A. could no longer count

on the unquestioning support of the Bakongo--whose nation-

alism was the earliest--because of their unhappy experience

at the hands of F.N.L.A. soldiers and leadership.[9]

The fortunes of the two liberation groups in Angola

slowly changed. Regrouped in Congo-Brazzaville under Dr.

Neto's leadership, M.P.L.A. loyalists mounted a signifi-

cant guerrilla campaign in the Cabinda enclave by mid-

1964. As for the G.R.A.E., despite the continued support

of the O.A.U. (at the O.A.U. summit in Cairo in 1964, its

leader, Holden Roberto was accorded the full rights of a

delegate), and its new found friendship with China, its

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[8]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among
African States, p. 263.

[9]Colin Legum, After Angola, p. 10.

fortune waned. With the ascendancy of Tshombe in Congo, Leopoldville, things went worse for the G.R.A.E.[10]

Furthermore, internal troubles developed within the rank and file of the G.R.A.E. While Holden Roberto was enjoying the honor accorded him by the O.A.U. at the Cairo Summit, his foreign minister, Jonas Savimbe, resigned from G.R.A.E. to form the u.N.I.T.A. which became the Third Revolutionary Movement in Angola. It was also at the Cairo Summit of the O.A.U. that M.P.L.A. started to receive favorable consideration from the O.A.U. The earlier decision to accord recognition to Holden Roberto's G.R.A.E. (now F.N.L.A.) was reconsidered and A.L.C. was asked to share aid between G.R.A.E. and M.P.L.A. As if to ensure that the M.P.L.A. would gain ascendancy, the O.A.U. appointed a committee of three to this effect.[11] At the special session of A.L.C. at Dar-es-Salaam, the committee decided to accord special treatment to M.P.L.A. on equal footing with G.R.A.E. But the Nairobi Council of Ministers Conference in March, 1965 overturned the decision and reverted to the Cairo formula for reconciliation. Thus, the O.A.U. was vacillating over Angola.

When the Portuguese empire came crashing down in 1974, Angola posed a special and difficult problem. The

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[10]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 265.

[11]Ibid.

dissension between the Angolan Liberation movements became
a crucial topic in the 1974 negotiations with the Portu-
guese government over Angola's independence.[12] The O.A.U.
Liberation Committee mobilized all available diplomatic
resources, and assisted by the Heads of State of Countries
where the movements were based (Zaire, Tanzania, Zambia,
Congo, Leopoldville), succeeded in making the movements
agree on negotiating jointly with the Portuguese govern-
ment. At Penina on January 5, 1975, they set Angola's
independence day as November 11, 1975. The M.P.L.A.,
U.N.I.T.A., and the F.N.L.A. meeting in Mombasa under
the chairmanship of President Kenyatta of Kenya signed an
agreement pledging to "end all types of hostilities and
propaganda which may impede frank and sincere collabora-
tion, and to create a favorable climate of close coopera-
tion and mutual respect."[13] A transitional government was
formed including the three Liberation Movements. But the
agreement was not going to last long. In February,
fighting broke out in Luanda at the M.P.L.A. headquarters,
and in March, F.N.L.A. attacked the M.P.L.A. at Luanda.

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[12]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unfinished Quest for Unity,
p. 140.

[13]African Year Book and Who Is Who, p. 243.

Why It Was Difficult to Reconcile
the Various Angolan Movements

First, there were deep ideological and ethnic cleavages between the groups. The M.P.L.A., whose leadership was Marxist in orientation, also derived support from the urban intelligentsia of all communities (including Mesticos and Portuguese). It also received support from the Soviet bloc, Cuba, Yugoslavia, China, Sweden, and the left wing parties in Portugal. F.N.L.A. had its own support from the United States of America, China, North Korea and at the initial stage, the O.A.U. U.N.I.T.A. received its support from the United States and South Africa.[14]

Second, apart from the ideological differences, Angola's immense potential resources were a powerful attraction for the super-powers. Angola's natural resources include oil, diamonds, copper, gold, aluminum and iron ore. The United States, Portugal, Canada, Japan, West Germany and France controlled vast interests in the oil resources of Angola. South Africa's economic interests regarded the hydro-electric comp x on the Cuene as of great importance. South Africa also had strategic raesons for interesting itself in the Angolan situation since Angola borders on Namibia.[15]

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[14]Christoper Stevens, "The Soviet Union and Angola," African Affairs, 75 (April, 1976), 143.

[15]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 266.

So with ideological and ethnic rivalries and the collapse of the transitional government in July 1975, a stage was set for an internecine struggle. The transitional government was a victim of intermovement rivalry and external intervention.[16] M.P.L.A. and F.N.L.A. renewed their armed conflict with redoubled intensity. By June, the U.N.I.T.A. was drawn into the struggle. Enjoying an initial military advantage due to Chinese, Rumanian, and Zairean support, Hodlen Roberto's forces occupied the coffee country of the Bakongo north seeking F.N.L.A. ascendancy through military action. Finally able to organize freely in Luanda and its Mbudu hinterland, Agostinho Neto's M.P.L.A. implanted itself firmly within its own regional zone and started to receive arms and financial help from the Soviet Union.[17]

As early as January 1975, the United States National Security Council's "40 Committee" had authorized a covert American grant of $300,000 to the F.N.L.A., whose preference for a "military solution" and ostentatious spending spurred the Soviets in turn, to increase their support for the M.P.L.A.[18]

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[16]John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume II, p. 155.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Arthur Jay Klinghoffer, The Angolan War: A Study in Soviet Policy in the Third World (Colorado, 1980), p. 82.

U.N.I.T.A., which had counted on partisan politics
for its basis of power because of its population support,
found itself being squeezed out of contention by its
better-armed rivals. With some belated assitance from
Zambia and Zaire, U.N.I.T.A. began building its own army.
And in July 1975, the United States, eager to block the
Soviet-backed M.P.L.A. from power, began funnelling arms
and money to both the F.N.L.A. and the U.N.I.T.A. In
August, South African troops occupied hydroelectric facil-
ities near the Namibian border, and Cuban instructors began
appearing among M.P.L.A. troops. At this point, China
stepped aside.[19]

The United States' involvement in the Angolan conflict
drew criticism and outcries from both the public and the
liberal members of both the Senate and the Congress.

> American intrusion in the Angolan conflict is
> the biggest blunder in the history of its relations
> with Africa, and may be the most serious foreign
> policy miscalculation it has ever made.[20]

> --Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Congressman

In July 1975, the National Security Council responded
to the C.I.A. option paper and approved a fourteen million
dollar covert paramilitary operation in Angola. Kissinger

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[19]John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume II,
P. 155.

[20]Colin Legum, "A Letter on Angola to American Liber-
als," The New Republic, 31 (January, 1976), 15.

needed to stop the unravelling fo the political-economic
order, which had been disrupted by the demise of the
Portuguese colonial empire. He also wanted ot nip in the
bud any future challenges to western interests that radical
Africans could make with the support of the Soviet Union.[21]
But Ford-Kissinger-Zairian attempts to install F.N.L.A./
U.N.I.T.A. proved abortive. There are many reasons why
Unitied States' efforts failed in Angola. First, the Ford-
Kissinger-Zairian attempt failed because Holden Roberto
of the F.N.L.A. tried to take by arms what he could not
win by political means, and because the Zairian army, a
necessary ally, was corrupt and inefficient.

Second, there was no political will in the United
States to support intervention in Angola.

Third, the United States underestimated "the defen-
sive negative reaciton of key African leaders to the
presence of South African military on the side of F.N.L.A.
and U.N.I.T.A."[22]

Finally, the Ford-Kissinger offensive failed because
the United States Congress, remembering Vietnam, ran
leary of covert operations that would commit the government

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[21]Arthur Jay Klinghoffer, The Angolan War, pp. 85-90.

[22]Courtland Cox, "Western Strategy in Southern
Africa," U. S. Military Involvement in Southern Africa
(Boston, 1978), p. 45.

in unpredictable ways.[23]   It blocked further escalation of United States' involvement in Angola with the Clark Amendment to the 1976 Defense Appropriations Bill.[24]

The military conflict in Angola continued to increase. Two rival governments were proclaimed on Angola's independence day, November 11, 1975. The first was in Luanda, where Agostinho Neto of the M.P.L.A. proclaimed a new regime; the other in Huambo, where Jonas Savimbi of U.N.I.T.A. set up a coalition regime with the F.N.L.A. under his presidency.[25] From then on, events moved on to their denouement. F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A. forces, aided by foreign arms, South African troops, the mercenaries from Western Europe, and the United States started to turn the battle in their favor.[26] Under these circumstances the M.P.L.A. forces undertook two measures. First, it arranged an increase in its supply of Soviet arms. Secondly, it invited Cuba to send in a force of 10,000 men to assist the M.P.L.A. forces. The Cuban forces not only

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[23]Kenneth Ingham, "Angola," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1976 Book of the Year (London, 1976), p. 123.

[24]Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 31 (1975), 885.

[25]Kenneth Ingham, "Angola," p. 125.

[26]John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume II, p. 155.

stopped the advance of the opposing forces, but laid the foundation for a total victory.[27]

The M.P.L.A. also entered into deals with the U. S. multinational corporatoin, Gulf Oil, and as early as September 1975, the Gulf Oil Corporation was paying the quarterly royalties due to Angola, worth sixteen million dollars into the M.P.L.A.'s account.[28]

The massive involvement of foreign influence now began to create serious fissures in the O.A.U. Not only that, but the recruitment of large members of European and American mercenaries on the side of the F.N.L.A. forces offended African sensibilities. Together with the campaign of the South African army, these developments now forced many African states to take a definite stand. U. S. President Gerald Ford sent a circular letter to African states, pointing to the dangers of Communist involvement in Angola and trying to persuade them to condemn the involvement of the Russians and Cubans. The Nigerian government published President Ford's letter, and in a publicized reply, characterized the note as an attempt at "arm twisting," an "insult to the intelligence of African nations, and a scorn to the dignity of black men."[29] From then on, the

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[27]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among African States, p. 269.

[28]Colin Legum, After Angola, p. 12.

[29]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unifinished Quest for Unity, p. 146.

the Nigerian government led the so-called progressive
group on the Angolian issue. The Nigerian government
backed up their stand by recognizing the M.P.L.A. govern-
ment as the legitimate government of Angola and as truly
representing the interest of the Angolan people.

Before the O.A.U. Summit, which was summoned to dis-
cuss Angola's deteriorating situation, the Soviet Union's
press made their stand on Angola clear. In an article,
"Angola, Its Friends and Enemies," Izvestia, Soviet news-
paper, wrote that the Soviet Union accepted giving aid to
M.P.L.A. at the request of both the M.P.L.A. and the O.A.U.
to stop the splinter groupings who have entered into a
criminal alliance with the sworn enemies of the national
interests in Angola.[30]

There were other countries which did not share the
so-called progressive group's views. Zaire was one of
them. Zaire had been apprehensive about the prospects of
the emergence at her borders of another Socialist/radical
state to join the Congo, with which Zaire already had
problems.

At the extraordinary summit of the O.A.U. called in
Addis Ababa on January 10, 1976 to discuss the Angolan
issue, forty-six states attended. Two resolutions were
put before the summit. The first was sponsored by Nigeria

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[30]"Angola, Its Friends and Enemies," African Report,
21 (1976), 9.

with the backing of twenty-one other states. The other
resolution, presented by Senegal, was also co-sponsored
by twenty-one states.[31] Ethiopia and Uganda remained
neutral.

The formal reasons were that Ethiopia was hosting the
meeting, while Idi Amin from Uganda was the current
chairman of the organization and in this capacity had to
maintain neutrality.

The Nigerian resolution linked the Angolan issue
with the whole of the South African problem, consistent
with its earlier statement that "the current event in
Angola must be seen in its right perspectives not just
as fighting between factions in Angola, but as fighting
between fascist South Africa with their backers and
M.P.L.A." The resolution further condemned the armed
aggression "against Africa by troops of the fascist and
racist regime of South Africa in collision with F.N.L.A.,
U.N.I.T.A. and mercenary bands and 'resolved' to oppose
by all means, political, diplomatic, and military, South
African and imperialist aggression in Angola."[32] Support-
ing the resolution were Algeria, Benin, Burundi, Cape
Verde, Camoros, Congo, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau,

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[31]Colin Legum, "A Letter on Angola to American
Liberals," p. 16.

[32]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among
African States, p. 270.

Equitorial Guinea, Libya, Mauritius, Madagascar, Mali,
Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Sao Tome, Somalia, Sudan,
Chad, and Tanzania. The Senegalise-sponsored resolution
"unequivocally condemned the intervention of South African
troops in Angola," but it also denied "all other forms of
foreign intervention and intrusion in the internal affairs
of Angola whatever their motivations and origins." It
maintained that "Angolan problem being an African problem
must be resolved within the framework of the O.A.U."[33]
The sponsors of this resolution were Botswania, Cameroon,
Ivory Coast, Egypt, Gambia, Gabon, Upper Volta, Kenya,
Liberia, Lesotho, Malawi, Morocco, Mauritania, Rwanda,
Central African Republic, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland,
Togo, Tunisia, Zaire, and Zambia.[34]

The summit ended as it began--in a deadlock, with half
the members calling for immediate recognition of the
M.P.L.A. as the legal government, and the other half still
insisting on the need for a Government of National Unity.
While there was virtual unanimity on the need to condemn
South Africa's role and to demand withdrawal of its troops,
the members were evenly divided between those wishing to
condemn all forms of external intervention and those
wishing to endorse the positive role of Russia and Cuba,

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[33]_Ibid._, p. 345.

[34]Sam Chimelu Chime, _Integration and Politics Among African States_, p. 271.

whose intervention, it was argued, was justified by the
need to defend Angola from the racist South Africa and
other imperialists.[35]

The basic problem was that while the O.A.U. had recog-
nized the three liberation movements, some member states
now recognized only the M.P.L.A. government. Moreover,
despite the formal legitimacy of the F.N.L.A. and U.N.I.T.A.,
there was no overlooking their collusion with the conti-
nental pariah--South Africa.

The O.A.U. could not very well ask the Angolan people
(under the M.P.L.A.) to stop fighting the South African
troops who had invaded their country. This was the main
strength of the Nigerian proposal. For the Cubans might
equally well have been regarded as interlopers were it
not for the moral legitimacy which fortified the formal one
of the legality of the M.P.L.A. government for those who
recognized that regime.[36]

On the thirteenth day of January, 1976, the O.A.U.
summit came to a close without any conclusive agreement
on how to resolve Angolan conflict.

Was the O.A.U. a total failure in the resolution of
Angolan conflict?

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[35]"Angola Interview: Agostinho Neto, President of
M.P.L.A.," Africa Report, 21 (1976), 2-4.

[36]John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume II,
p. 155.

Although many African delegations were disappointed by the inconclusive meeting, it would be a mistake to regard the extra O.A.U. summit as a "total failure" just because it did not make any resolutions. The African leaders coming to Addis Ababa were surely aware of the limitations of the O.A.U. It is not a supra-national organization capable of imposing the views of a majority on a minority, still less of imposing them by punitive measures.[37] Like the United Nations, the O.A.U. can act effectively only when the great majority of its members are firmly agreed on a particular policy. Although no resolutions were passed, the unanimous opposition of O.A.U. members to foreignintervention, despite the variety of the emphasis on its East or West sources, clearly emerged as the most important consensus reached at the meeting. Its weight soon began to show.

a. South Africa withdrew its forces from the Angolan territory, while the leader of U.N.I.T.A., Jonas Savimbi, continued to dissaciate himself from all connections with South Africa.

b. Within a month of the extraordinary summit that disbanded without a conclusive resolution, the M.P.L.A. government had been recognized by a majority of the O.A.U.

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[37]Zdenek Cervenka, The Unifinished Quest for Unity, p. 147.

members and was formally admitted as the forty-seventh
member of the O.A.U. on February 11, 1976.[38]

c. At the request of some O.A.U. members, the United
Nations' Security Council met on March 31 to consider
African charges against South Africa of aggression and
interference into the domestic affairs of Angola, adopted
Resolution 387 (1975), the operative paragraphs of which
read as follows:

The Security Council

1. Condemns South Africa's aggression against the
    People's Republic of Angola;

2. Demands that South Africa scrupulously respect
    the independence, sovereignity and territorial
    integrity in Angola;

3. Demands also that South Africa desist form the
    utilization of Namibia to mount provocative or
    aggressive acts against Angola or any other
    neighboring state;

4. Calls on South Africa to meet the just claims
    of Angola for full compensation for damange and
    destruction inflicted and for the restoration
    of the equipment and materials which its invad-
    ing forces seized; and

5. Requests the Secretary-General to follow the
    implementation of the resolution.[39]

On March 31,1976, the six-power text was adopted by the
council by nine votes to zero, with five absentions
(France, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United States).

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[38]John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution Volume II,
p. 156.

[39]Zdeneck Cerventra, The Unfinished Quest for Unity,
P. 148.

China did not participate in the vote.[40]   In the words of
Sam Chime, "The Angolan crisis signalled the resiliance
of the Organization of African Unity."[41]

Deep as the ideological cleavages might have been,
and despite the strong motivations of power politics and
national interest among the parties concerned, all the
African states subjected the issue to an African settle-
ment.

The O.A.U.'s achievement in the Angolan conflict is
more remarkable if one remembers that the deadlock between
the states was complete in a year of the chairmanship of
Idi Amin--one of the most controversial figures the
continent has ever produced, the prospect of whose term of
office inspired less than solidarity among the African
states.

It should be worth recalling that a decade earlier, a
group of O.A.U. Heads of State, appointed as Members of a
Conciliation Commission over the Congo crisis, was left
cooling their heels in Washington where President Johnson,
by refusing them the courtesty even of an audience, stulti-
fied the modest African strivings to oppose unsanctioned

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[40]Year Book of the United Nations, Vol. 30 (New York,
1976), p. 177.

[41]Sam Chimelu Chime, Integration and Politics Among
African States, p. 273.

external involvement in the affairs of the continent.[42]

The O.A.U. failed in that instance to uphold the cardinal

principle agreed by African policy--that foreign powers

should be firmly kept out of internal African conflicts.

In Angola, though still divided, African states were led

by Nigeria to resist foreign intervention on the side of

South African interests.

The O.A.U.'s achievement in the Angolan conflict must

not be overstated. In terms of conflict management,

O.A.U. was a failrue in the Angolan Civil War. First, the

O.A.U. failed to settle the conflict. The conflict was

settled on the battlefield. Second, by failing to arrive

at a conclusive resolution during the extraordinary summit,

the O.A.U. helped in exacerbating the conflict. Finally,

the O.A.U. failed to stop foreign intervention in its

totality. While it opposed South Africa and western powers

involvement, it condoned the Russian and Cuban involvement

in the internal affairs of an African state.

Chad's Internal Rift and Libya's Involvement, 1978-1980

Chad had experienced the longest civil war in the

history of Africa. The origins of the political decay

in Chad go back two decades, to the abolition of

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[42]Catherine Hoskyns, Case Studies in African Diplomacy: 1, The Organization of African Unity and Congo Crisis 1964-1965 (Dar-es-Saalam, 1969), p. 24.

competitive politics in 1961, and the wide-scale purges of the mid-1960's.[43]

Chad attained independent nationhood in 1960 under the leadership of Francois Tombalbaye. Tombalbaye's efforts to accumulate power and manage the republic set the pattern for subsequent Chadian political behavior. To protect his administration, he relied on widescale repression and purging of politicalopponents.[44] In 1963, he imposed a state of emergency throughout Chad. Through time, the purges outpaced reconciliation and exacerbated existing interethnic and regional factions and set the stage for the violence that was to erupt later on. Furthermore, there was widespread mismanagement and corruption.

In 1968-1969, Chad's problem became externalized. The first was in 1968 when France dispatched toops to quell the disturbances in the eastern part of Chad and reform the administration. The second was in 1969 when Qadhafi of Libya, utilized the rebellion in eastern Chad to claim, and then occupy, the two hundred mile strip of Northern B.E.T. (Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti),[45] potentially rich with

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[43]Samuel Decalo, "Chad" The Roots of Century Periphery Strife," <u>African</u> <u>Affairs</u>, 79 (1980), 491.

[44]David Bonbright, "Conflict Resolution in Chad," unpublished paper presented to International Peace Academy, Workshop on Conflict Management by the O.A.U. (New York, October 3 to November 2, 1980), p. 6.

[45]B.E.T., one of the prefectures in Chad.

mineral resources.[46] There was confusion everywhere in Chad. In 1975, the southern elements of the Chadian army staged a coup d'etat and Tombalbaye was killed. A new government was formed and Felix Malloum became the leader. The new government announced a major reconciliation drive for national unity. But not long, the Malloum government succumbed to the pattern of the Tombalbaye years--rebel elements rallied or rebelled according to their own interests and the central government became mired in a fight to survive. Inefficiency, corruption and personal insecurity continued to characterize the Malloum government.[47]

With the withdrawal of the French support forces in 1975, Chad entered a new phase. The parameters of conflict became very fluid, suggesting constant fusion and fission among rival para-military forces. Today's friend became tomorrow's enemy and vice versa.[48] In February 1978, Hissen Habre, a strongly anti-Libyan leader from the far north, joined the Malloum government and brought his guerrilla army with him to N'Djamena. In August 1979, Habre turned his army against Malloum. D'Djamena was reduced to a ghost town and all national administration

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[46]Samuel Decalo, "Chad," p. 502.

[47]David Bonbright, Conflict Resolution in Chad, p. 7.

[48]Rene Lemarchand, "Chad: A Precarious Peace Breaks Out," Africa Report, (March-April, 1982), p. 16.

ended, a condition which persisted into mid-1980.[49]

Nigeria initiated a mediation effort on behalf of the

O.A.U. These took the form of series of conferences,

first in Kano and later in Lagos, Nigeria. Out of the

two conferences in March and April 1979, the Kano Accord

was reached by the various factions involved in the dis-

pute.[50] A provisional government was formed with Goukhani

Woddeye as the leader. Other members of the provisional

government included Hissene Habre and General Djogo.

At Kano, Nigeria received the mandate to monitor a

demilitarization of N'Djamena and the surrounding one

hundred miles. A temporary peace was attained. This was

indicative of the willingness of the warring factions to

accept diplomatic methods for solving their problems.

One hundred and fifty Nigerian peace-keeping forces were

sent to Chad in March, and by June, it had reached eight

hundred soldiers. But the Nigerian peace-keeping effort

was undermined by political developments at the second

Kano conference when Goukhani Woddeye refused to recognize

the several Chadian splinter groups which had not been

present at the first Kano conference.[51]

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[49]David Bonbright, Conflict Resolution in Chad, p. 8.

[50]U. Joy Ogwu, "The O.A.U. and Intra-Regional Con-
flict Management: The Special Role of a New Machinery for
Peace-Keeping," Nigerian Forum, (May, 1981), p. 112.

[51]David Bonbright, Conflict Resolution in Chad, p. 18.

Fighting broke out again in N'Djamena between the armed forces of Goukhani Woddeye and Hissene Habre over the role of Libya and the fate of the Aozou strip along the Libyan border, occupied illegally by Libya since 1972.[52] It became a matter of a blatant fight for power. In N'Djamena, all was up for grabs and the various parties involved were maneuvering, forming alliances that were unnatural and most unlikely. Ahmet Acyl, the Foreign Minister and supporter of Libyan existence in the Chad was reinforcing Goukhani Woddeye, the Frolinat leader, with Libyan arms and Libyan forces.[53]

O.A.U.'s Handling of the Chad Civil War

The situation in the Chad became of great concern to the O.A.U. members. President Eyadema of Togo, the then chairman of the O.A.U., with M. Edem Kodjio, Secretary-General of the O.A.U. and his aides flew to N'Djamena on April 6, 1980 to try to arrange a truce between the warring factions. Parties to the accord agreed on April 7th to

1. A generalized ceasefire throughout Chad beginning on April 8, 1980 at noon local time;

2. The setting up of a neutral committee of representatives from Cameroon, Liberia, Nigeria, and Togo and observers from France to determine the

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[52]"Chad," *Africa Research Bulletin*, (March 1-31, 1980), p. 5611.

[53]"Time for U. N. Action on Chad," *West Africa*, 3272 (April 7, 1980), 604.

lines behind which each side must withdraw.
The zone between the demarcation lines to
be considered a neutral committee; and

3. A request that the Togolese President continue
in Liaison with the current President of the
O.A.U., contacts aimed at putting together
quickly a Pan-African force intended as a
buffer force in Chad.[54]

But like other cease-fire efforts, this cease-fire
attempt also proved abortive. Fighting begain again at
the dawn of April 9. The neutral observer team intended
to delimit the cease-fire line could not materialize.
Libya intensified its supply of arms to both Colonel
Kamongue, the leader of the Southerners, and Ahmat Acyl,
while Hissen Habre received arms from Egypt through Sudan.
The Chad problem became more complicated when France with-
drew its forces from the area. So the Organization of
African Unity decided to send a peace-keeping force to
Chad to end the conflict.[55] But by June 1980, Libya
announced its merger with the Chad and a new government
led by Habre-Gonkhani was formed. It was called the Shawa
government and Nigerian peace-keepers were asked to leave
Chad.[56] New fighting ensued in Chad. President Numeiri
of Sudan led further efforts at peace-keeping throughout
the summer of 1980 with a proposal that a new all-party

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[54]"Chad: Fifth Cease-Fire a Failure," Africa Research Bulletin, (April 1-30, 1980), p. 5644.

[55]Ibid., p. 5645.

[56]Ibid., p. 19.

conference be convened in Lagos. This was accepted after a bitter clash over Chad's representation at the O.A.U. Council of Ministers meeting in Monrovia, Liberia.

On August 21, 1980, the Lagos Peace Accord was signed by ten out of the eleven Chadian factions. It declared a cease-fire and called upon the Chadians to form a transitional government by November. All native armies were to be disbanded under the supervision of an inter-African force. A commission was formed and this commission was composed of two principal elements:

1. The Independent Monitoring Commission; and

2. The O.A.U. Peace-Keeping Force.

The monitoring commisison was headed by the O.A.U. Secretary-General and under the "moral authority" of the chairman of the transitional union government. The peace-keeping force was to be supplied by the Republic of Benin, Brazzaville and Guinea. Each was to provide a five hundred-man military contingent to serve as a peace-keeping force for the implementation of the Lagos Accord under the mandate of the O.A.U. resolution.[57]

Unfortunately the good intentions of the O.A.U. could not materialize because of the following problems.

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[57]Lt. General Henry K. Johnson (Ret.), "O.A.U. Resolution Setting UP the Monitoring Commission on Chad," Peace Academy Workshop on the Conflict Management of the O.A.U. (New York, 1980), p. 11.

1. Logistics: The commission's inability to airlift troops of the peace-keeping force was a major hinderance to the efficient and effective operation of the commission.

2. Finance: There was no budgetary appropriation to enhance the operation of the commission.

3. Lack of strong commitment to the Lagos Accord: The uncooperative attitude on the part of the host government on one hand, and some member countries on the other, in a large measure, created numerous problems and obstacles for the smooth and effective operation of the commission. Some members took sides by supporting certain Chadian warring factions contrary to the fundamental principles of the Lagos Accord.[58]

Consequently, fighting continued and even got worse. In an effort to stop the fighting in Chad, a peace conference under the aegis of the O.A.U.'s ad hoc subcommittee was held in Lome (Togo) on October 18 and 19, 1980. The subcommittee was composed of Togo, Guinea, Congo and Benin. It put up a five-point plan which it believed could help in stopping the fighting.

1. The acceptance of a cease-fire, the date to be fixed by the conflicting parties;

2. The sending of a neutral African force to Chad;

3. The liberation of prisoners of war by both sides;

4. Suitable sanctions to be drawn up to be taken against which ever party that violates the cease-fire; and

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[58]Ibid., p. 3.

5. Elections to be organized in Chad.[59]

The proposition was adopted in principle by both M. Queddei and M. Habre, the leaders of the conflicting forces in the Chad but with some radical counter claims. The subcommittee's efforts were blocked by the counter claims; consequently the conference ended without success. However, both parties left their representatives at home to continue discussions at the Foreign Minister meeting of the subcommittee under the chairmanship of President Eyadema.[60] Despite all these negotiations, war has continued in the Chad.

Assessment of O.A.U.'s Role in Handling Internal Rift in Chad

O.A.U. was very ineffective in handling the conflict in Chad. The organization could not stop the fighting. Despite all plans for a peace-keeping force to be stationed in Chad to disengage the fighting forces, the O.A.U. met with failure. The ineffectiveness of the O.AU. in Chad sharply exposed the extent which the O.A.U. lacks the power to maintain peace, stability and security in the region. It is generally accepted that the failure of the O.A.U. mediation and conciliation in Chad which subsequently

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[59] "Organization of African Unity: Chad Peace Conference (Lome)," Africa Research Bulletin, 17 (October 1-30, 1980), 5811.

[60] Ibid., p. 5812.

led to the proposal for a peace-keeping force inevitably points to the need for a credible force to deal with threats to the peace.[61]

The O.A.U. could not settle the conflict. All efforts by different individual heads of state such as the heads of state of Nigeria, Togo, and Sierra Leone to have the conflict settled peacefully proved abortive. The problem in resolving the Chadian conflict stems from many factors. First, the parameters of conflict in the Chad are very fluid. Secondly, there are many factions in Chad and these factions are notoriously fluid and unstable.[62]

The Organization of African Unity could not isolate the conflict in Chad. There were many competing external interests that helped much to exacerbate the conflict. The principal subregional actor in Chadian affairs is Libya, which has persistently meddled in Chad since independence. There are two identifiable Libyan goals: first, to gain recognition of the Mussolini-Laval Boundary Agreement,[63] and second, to extend Islamic, hence Libyan influences in central Africa. Sudan and Egypt have also been active in exacerbating the conflict. While Libya supplies arms and manpower to one section of the fighting forces, Sudan and

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[61]U. Joy Ogwi, "The O.A.U. and Intra-Regional Conflict Management," p. 113.

[62]Rene Lemarchard, "Chad," p. 16.

[63]The Mussolin-Laval Boundary Agreement is a non-ratified Franco-Italian boundary treaty which extended

Egypt do so to the opposite side. The significant global (extra-regional) actor in Chad is France. Since independence, France has continued to play a determining role in the national development of Chad. Diplomatically, France has been active behind the scenes. The role of Libyans becomes more important when you consider French-Libyan relations. France sells important arms and nuclear technology to Libya and the Libyan invasion of Chad in June 1979 received air support flown by Libyan pilots in French-made Mirage bombers.[64] By supplying Libya with technology and French-made Mirage bombers used in the Chad invasion, France was exacerbating the conflict.

The role of the United Nations in the Chad internal conflict has been that of giving moral support to the O.A.U. to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

The War in Western Sahara

One of the conflicts that has presented great problems to the Organization of African Unity is the war in Western Sahara between Morocco and the people of the Western Sahara--the Sahrawis. The war in Western Sahara stems from two contending interpretations of the legal status of that

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Southern Libya some two hundred miles further south into Chad's B.E.T. prefecture and into Norther Niger. For more details, see David Bonbright, Conflict Resolution in Chad, P. 10.

[64]David Bonbright, Conflict Resolution in Chad, p. 13.

territory; first, that the territory is a group of prov-
inces of the kingdom of Morocco under the terms of the 1975
Treaty of Madrid between Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania,
and by virtue of historic precedent; second, that Western
Sahara is the rightful territory of the Sahrawis Arab
Democratic Republic (SADR), proclaimed February 27, 1976,
by virtue of the right to self-determination expressed
in the charters of both the U. N. and the O.A.U. reaffirmed
in particular by numerous U. N. and O.A.U. resolutions on
Western Sahara.[65] Morocco and Mauritania claimed ownership
of Western Sahara by invoking histrocity, while the
Sahrawis invoke the principle of self-determination.

Western Sahara is an arid region occupied by nomads
of Sahrawi origin. The region was colonized by Spain
under the terms of the Conference of Berlin (1884-1885).[66]
In 1958, the irridentist movement, spawned by the right-
wing Istiqulal party, was officially endorsed by King
Mohammed V and this was viewed by Moroccans as an incorpor-
ation of Western Sahara along the Mauritania and border
regions of Algeria into a "Greater Morocco." But when
Morocco saw that Spain was not willing to give up Western
Sahara to the Moroccan government, she opted for the
eviction of the Spanish administration from the Sahara under

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[65]Cecil Seggel Pangalis, "Conflict in Western Sahara,"
unpublished document for the International Peace Academy
(New York, 1980), p. 1.

[66]Ibid., p. 2.

U. N. auspices. The issue of Western Sahara was hotly debated in the U. N. General Assembly. U. N. General Assembly Resolution 2072 (XX) was passed on December 16, 1965, and Spain was requested to liberate Spanish Sahara as a matter of urgency.[67]

Unfortunately, there were impediments to the sovereignty of Western Sahara. First, there were conflicting claims and interests in the region between Morocco and Mauritania. Second, the existent of rich mineral deposits in the region was still of great interest to Spain. Consequently, Spain was not willing to let Western Sahara go. But as Morocc and Mauritania continued to pressure the U. N. General Assembly, another Resolution 2229 (XXI) was passed on December 20,1966. The resolution called on Spain to respect the views of the indigenous population of the territory and to allow them to exercise freely their rights to self-determination.[68]

In an attempt to continue its domination of the Sahara, Spain promulgated a decree establishing a General Assembly of Spanish Sahara known as Yema'a. This comprised a group of feudal lords loyal to Spain.[69] The United

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[67]U. N. General Assembly Res. 2072, Supp. 14 (A/6014, 1967), p. 60.

[68]U. N. General Assembly Res. 2229, 21, General Assembly Official Record, Supp. 16 (A/6316, 1966), pp. 72-73.

[69]Thomas M. Frank, "The Stealing of the Sahara," American Journal of International Law, 70 (1976), 694.

Nations General Assembly was not pleased with it and resolutions passed in the U. N. between 1966 and 1973 re-emphasized the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination in the territory.[70]

In 1974, Spain indicated to both Morocco and Mauritania that it was going to conduct a plebiscite for the people of Sahrawi. Morocco accepted the idea but insisted that the people of Sahrawi were in the plebiscite to choose union with Morocco or remain a Spanish colony. Furthermore, Morocco and Mauritania expressed their support for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara.[71] But when Morocco realized U. N.'s supervising of the plebiscite would rob it (Morocco) of its intention to own Western Sahara, Morocco backed out of the support for the plebiscite and started to reassert her historic claim of the territory.

The Sahrawi people also wanted independence. The two liberation movements, the P.U.N.S. (Partido de la Union Nacional Saharani) and the Polisario which opposed P.U.N.S. as a tool of the Spanish, all sought independence. On Morocco's initiative, the General Assembly passed Resolution 3292 (XXIX) on December 13, 1974, postponing the plebiscite. The resolution also mandated a U. N. Visiting

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[70]U.N. G.A. Res. 2428, 23; GAOR Supp. 18, U.N. Doc. (A/7218, 1968), G.A. Res. 2591; U.N. Doc. (A/7630, 1969); U.N. Doc. 9030 (1973).

[71]Thomas M. Frank, "The Stealing of the Sahara," p. 705.

Mission to the region and requested an advisory opinion from the World Court.[72] The U.N. Visiting Mission toured the region from May 8 to June 8, 1975.[73] The Mission provided the Polisario the first opportunity to publicize its organization and its cause. From the reception accorded the U.N. Visiting Mission by the Sahrawi people, there was no doubt that the Sahrawis wanted independence.[74]

The ruling of the World Court in response to the quest for an advisory opinion by the U.N. General Assembly was published on October 16, 1975.[75]

> The materials and information presented to the Court show the existence, at the time of Spanish colonization, of legalities of allegiance between the Sultan of Morocco and some of the tribes living in the territory of Western Sahara. They equally show the existence of rights, including some rights relating to the land which constituted legal ties between the Mauritanian entity, as understood by the Court, and the Territory of Western Sahara. On the other hand, the Court's conclusion is that the materials and information presented to it do not establish any ties of territorial sovereignty between the Territory of Western Sahara and the Kingdom of Morocco or the Mauritanian entity. Thus, the Court had not found legal ties of such a nature as might effect the applicaitonof Resolution 1514 (XV) in the decolonization of Western Sahara and in particular of the principle of self-determination through free

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[72]Cecil Seggel Pangalis, _International Peace Academy_, p. 6.

[73]Thomas M. Frank, "The Stealing of the Sahara," p. 707.

[74]_Ibid._, p. 708.

[75]Cecil Seggel Pangalis, _International Peace Academy_. p. 8.

and genuine expression of the will of the terri-
tory.[76]

Thus, the Court recommended that the ties between
the Western Sahara and Morocco and Mauritania respectively,
did not support either of these countries' claims to
sovereignty over the Western Sahara. The Court therefore
recommended self-determination for the Sahrawis and
rejected emphaticlly the assertion that automatic retro-
cession can take precedence over the inhabitants' rights
to self-determination.[77] Dissatisfied with the court's
decision, King Hassan of Morocco announced "Operation
Sahara," projected abroad as a "green or peace" march but
presented as the massirat fath (victory march) inside
Morocco. The real aim of this march by Morocco was to
take control of the Bou Craa phosphate mines.[78]

Surprisingly, in November 1975, Spain changed its
stand on the Western Sahara and asked for a trilateral
agreement between Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania. On
November 11, 1975, these countries met at Madrid. They
rejected the right of the Western Saharan people to self-
determination.[79] Spain agreed to turn over the territory

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[76]United Nations, "Advisory Opinion on Western Sahara,"
International Court of Justice Report, 12 (1975), 13-14.

[77]Thomas M. Frank, "The Stealing of the Sahara," p. 711.

[78]Ibid., p. 230.

[79]Thomas M. Frank, "The Stealing of the Sahara," p. 715.

of Western Sahara to a joint administration of Morocco and
Mauritania on February 28, 1976.

In order to avoid rule by Morocco and Mauritania, the
Sahrawis unilaterally proclaimed independence with the
name "the Sahrawis Arab Democratic Republic" (SADR) with
Polisario as its legitimate political force.[80] Sahrawis
took this action because they feared that with the cessa-
tion of the northern part of its territory to Morocco and
the southern part to Mauritania by Spain in 1976 in accor-
dance with the Madrid Agreement, the international
community would recognize the Madrid Agreement and sanction
it. In January 1976, Spain withdrew from the Western
Sahara and handed over the de facto government to Morocco
and Mauritania in accordance with the Madrid Agreement.
The withdrawal of Spain led to more conflicting claims to
the territory by Morocco and Mauritania.[81]

In the autumn of 1976, war broke out between Polisario
Front Independent Movement and Morocco. The Polisario
movement was backed by Algeria, while the United States
backed Morocco.[82] The Polisario also attacked Mauritania.
Soon, Polisario carried the war into the Mauritanian

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[80]Isla Maclean, "Polisario Knocks on the O.A.U.'s Door,"
West Africa, 3283 (June 23, 1980), 1109.

[81]B. W. Hodder, Africa Today: A Short History to
African Affairs (New York, 1977), p. 29.

[82]"Western Sahara," Africa Report, (January-February,
1977), p. 31.

territory and by 1977, the capital city of Mouakchott was under attack. As a result, Morocco and Mauritania signed a defense pact in 1977 and 10,000 troops were stationed in Mauritania.[83]

But in 1978, following the fall of the Mauritania government as a result of a coup d'etat in which President Moktar Ould Daddah was replaced by Lt. Colonel Mustapha Ould Salek, the crisis was immediately defused. And in August 1979, Algeria, as the principal supporter of Polisario, signed an accord with Mauritania.[84] From thenon, the relations between Morocco and Mauritania became bad and Mauritania withdrew its claims on the Western Sahara.

O.A.U. and the Western Sahara Conflict

In the Spanish Sahara, it was the General Assembly instead of the O.A.U. which invovled itself in the referendum issue with the rival states. The reason for this may be that until 1976 when Spain pulled out of Western Sahara, the problem in the Western Sahara was that of decolonization. Spain was the focus of attack. But even when Spain withdrew from the territory in January 1976, and it became an African affair, the O.A.U. still moved cautiously. The O.A.U. did not call a special summit to discuss the

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[83]Cecil Seggel Pangalis, *International Peace Academy*, p. 16.

[84]*Ibid.*, p. 36.

Western Sahara. At the Lome summit conference, the O.A.U. failed either to discuss it or schedule a meeting to discuss it.[85]

But with the Council of Ministers' meeting at Port Lois, Mauritius in June, 1976, the issue of Western Sahara became of paramount importance to the O.A.U. Although on this occasion the Moroccan and Mauritian governments succeeded in persuading the Mauritian government to deny delegates from the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic permission to remain, the O.A.U. passed a resolution supporting the Sahrawis.[86] This resolution, passed on July 2, affirmed the right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination and national independence, called for immediate withdrawal of all foreign occupation forces, and invited all concerned parties "to take measures necessary for an acceptable solution to all parties, and in particular, the Sahroui people, within the context of the African unity, and in the interests of peace, friendship and goodwill.[87]

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[85]"Western Sahara," Africa Report, (May-June, 1977), 31.

[86]Organization of African Unity, Resolution on the Convening of an Extra-Ordinary Summit on the Question of Western Sahara [AGH/Res. 81 (XIII), July, 1976].

[87]Organization of African Unity, Resolution of the Question of Western Sahara [AGH/Dec. 114 (XVI), July, 1976].

Since then the O.A.U. has debated the Western Sahara crisis several times in attempts to find a solution. In December 1979, the O.A.U. delegated the "Wise Men"-- Nigeria, Tanzania, Mali, Sudan and Guinea--to find a solution to the conflict. Their deliberations also ended in a failure. They only called on Morocco to withdraw from the Western Sahara.[88] This was quickly rejected by Morocco. At the O.A.U. summit meeting in Freetown on July 26, 1980, Polisario was waiting for the admisison of the SADR as a member of the O.A.U. It was also learned that by July 26, of the O.A.U.'s fifty-member states had recognized the Republic. But Morocco blocked the admission, calling for a definition of an independent and sovereign state.[89]

Assessment of O.A.U.'s Handling of the War in Western Sahara

The issue of Western Sahara has been divisive with the O.A.U. Like Angola, Nigeria and the Congo crisis, the war in Western Sahara produced division in the organization. While Algeria and others support the right of the Sahrawis for self-existence in the region, Morocco and its own supporters deny the people of Western Sahara this principle.

The O.A.U. has not been successful in stopping the fighting. Morocco nominally controls Western Sahara,

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[88]_Tribune_ (Cameroon), Wednesday, July 2, 1980.

[89]"Western Sahara: France Called in to Play Peace Role," _West Africa_, 3311 (January 12, 1981), 89.

while the Sahrawis are continuously fighting for their right to self-determination. The Organization of African Unity has not been able to organize a successful cease-fire in the area. The committee of "Wise-Men" who were asked to mediate met with failure.

The O.A.U. could not find a peaceful settlement to the dispute. It has failed to admit S.A.D.R. to the organization. By refusing to admit SADR, the O.A.U. is missing a diplomatic maneuver that would have placed Morocco in the defensive. Because if Morocco continued to insist on her claim on the Western Sahara, she could be censored by the organization for breaking Article VI of the O.A.U. Charter, in which member states pledge themselves to respect Article III on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, the right to an independent existence, and finally peaceful settlement of disputes.[90] The O.A.U. could not isolate the conflict. Algeria supplies arms to SADR and it is also believed that while the Soviet Union is not directly supplying arms to the Polisario, its arms are provided through Algeria. The United States supplies arms to Morocco. The value of such arms sales in 1980 was $270 million dollars.[91] France also supplies Morocco with arms.

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[90]See O.A.U. Charter.

[91]"Western Sahara," African Research Bulletin, (November 1-30, 1980), pp. 5869-5873.

During the period of struggle for decolonization of Spanish Western Sahara, the U.N. played a significant role. It passed many resolutions calling for respect for the wishes of the people. It sent in a Visiting Misison to ascertain the wishes of the people. It sought an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.

But despite all obstacles, the O.A.U. has not been a total failure in the handling of the war in Western Sahara. By supporting the principle of self-determination, the O.A.U. has given the SADR a diplomatic weapon with which to fight Morocco. Most of the O.A.U. member states have also recognized SADR. It is believed that with twenty-six of the O.A.U. fifty-member states recognizing SADR, thereby meeting the O.A.U. simple majority requirement for admission, SADR will in the not distant future be admitted as a member of the Organization of African Unity.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL EVALUATION

In Chapters Three, Four and Five of this dissertation, eight conflicts handled by the Organization of African Unity were examined. Two of the cases were border disputes, one was an interstate conflict, one an interstate conflict involving the principle of self-determination, while four were intrastate conflicts. Utilizing these cases, this chapter will (a) test the four assumptions already stated in Chapter One of this paper; and (b) examine the following:

1. The impact of the O.A.U. Charter on the Organization's conflict resolution;

2. The apparent causes of the successes and failures of the O.A.U. in the resolution of African conflicts;

3. The role of super powers and the United Nations in resolving or exacerbating African conflicts;

4. Scholarly conclusions about conflict resolution by other international organizations, specifically the U.N., O.A.S., and the Arab League; and,

5. It will compare and contrast conclusions about O.A.U.'s conflict management efforts and that of those other international organizations.

Evaluating the Regionalist Assumptions

In this study, four assumptions were proposed:

1. That regional actions promote settlements by isolating soluble local conflicts from more complex ones;

2. That intrastate conflicts are more difficult to resolve by regional organization than interstate or border disputes;

3. That most of the boundary disputes in Africa are due to the arbitrary colonial boundary demarcation;

4. That most of the causes of the ineffectiveness of the O.A.U. in conflict resolution is as a result of poor administrative set-up, lack of resources, and the failure of its Commissions of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration to operate effectively.

This study supports the idea that regional organization can serve to relieve the universal organization of the burden of dealing with numerous intrastate conflicts, thereby isolating the local conflicts from more complex ones. During the period from 1963-1980, only one intra-systemic conflict (the war in Congo Kinshesa), and one inter-state conflict (Rwanda-Burundi, 1963-1964) were handled by the U.N. Secretary General. The Congo civil war was brought before the U.N. Secretary General as a result of extra-African state involvement in the form of the Belgium-American

parachute drop on Stanleyville. Before the Stanleyville drop, both parties to the conflict seemed satisfied with the efforts at settlement by the regional organization, the O.A.U. Even after the U.N. Security Council resolutions, the issue was referred back to the O.A.U. for handling.

In the event of the Rwanda-Burundi conflict of 1964, in which the U.N. Secretary General sent his representation to the area, the role of the U.N. was minimal. Furthermore, the U.N. Secretary General took action after the O.A.U. had failed to act in the conflict. The O.A.U., which was at its embryonic stage, was engaged with the Algerian-Moroccan conflict--hence the U.N. Secretary General intervened. In the Algerian-Moroccan conflict, the United States and France helped to encourage Morocco to use the O.A.U., rather than the U.N. Security Council, to settle its disputes with Algeria. The Soviet Union acted in a similar way to Somalia in its conflict with Ethiopia and Kenya. In none of the rest of the intrastate conflicts was the U.N. involved.

It is important to note that even though advocates of regionalism perceive action by regional organizations as avoiding the need for action by the global organization, the members of the O.A.U. do not perceive universal organization and regional organization in this way. African leaders

perceive the relationship between the U.N. and the O.A.U. as that of cooperation.[1] This point supports the idea that universal organizations and regional organizations are not in competition but in cooperation in the maintenance of peace. If one principle of the African foreign policy is "try the O.A.U. first," the other has been "go to the Security Council last."

By isolating the conflicts from global organization, the African leaders were avoiding the involvement of major powers. This agrees with the proposition which asserts that regional actions promote easier settlement by isolating local conflicts. Excepting the Congolese war and the Angolan civil war, 1975-1976, none of the intrasystemic conflicts became cold war issue.

The study also supports the second assumption that intrastate conflicts are more difficult to resolve by regional organization than interstate or border disputes. Of the eight conflicts examined, four were intrastate conflicts, two were interstate conflicts, while two were border disputes. In none of the intrastate conflicts was the O.A.U. successful. In the Congo crisis of 1964-1965, the Nigerian civil war, 1967-1970, the Angolan civil war, 1975-1976, and the Chad internal rift, the O.A.U. met with

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[1]Berhanykun Andemicael, The O.A.U. and the U.N., p. 46.

great difficulty in the resolution of these conflicts. In the Congo crisis, the O.A.U. was divided into ideological camps.[2] The pre-O.A.U. ideological groupings in Africa re-emerged. In the Nigerian civil war, two O.A.U. principles were brought to the test:

1. The principle of non-interference in internal affairs; and,

2. Respect for the inalienable right to independence. All the O.A.U. efforts to resolve the Nigerian civil war proved abortive.

The Angolan civil war was not an easy task for the O.A.U. The Organization was sharply divided. Once again the Organization was divided into two ideological groups-- the progressives, and the conservatives. The fourth internal conflict being handled by the O.A.U. is the Chad internal rift. In this conflict, as in the other three internal conflicts, the O.A.U. met with failure. But the O.A.U.'s handling of the interstate conflicts and border disputes were more successful compared to its handling of the intrastate conflicts.

In the Rwanda-Burundi conflict, the O.A.U. met with success. Through the efforts of President Mobutu, the

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[2]Nora McKeon, "The African States and the O.A.U.," International Affairs, 42 (1966), 397.

organization was able to isolate and abate the conflict. The only exception to this assumption is the war in the Spanish Sahara between the Saharawis and Morocco. Here the O.A.U. has met with great difficulty because of the conflicting claims. Morocco claims ownership of the Western Sahara, while the Saharwis claim independence, invoking the principles of "self-determination."

The O.A.U.'s handling of the border disputes has been more successful. In both the Algerian-Moroccan conflict and the Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya disputes, O.A.U. contributed in isolating and abating the conflicts. It succeeded in providing a favorable atmosphere for peaceful negotiations between the disputing parties.

The third assumption "that most of the boundary disputes in Africa are due to the arbitrary colonial boundary demarcation" was fully supported in this paper. All the African border conflicts are the legacies of colonial frontiers drawn up without respect for traditional political, cultural and ethnic devisions.[3] The Algerian-Moroccan border dispute is a product of the French Colonial Administration, which failed to delimit the border lines between Algeria and Morocco.

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[3]Mestin Wolde Meriam, "The Background of the Ethio-Somalian Boundary Dispute," p. 215.

The Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya border dispute also arose as a result of the partition of Somalia by France, Britain, Italy and Ethiopia in 1897. It was divided into five units: French Somaliland, Italian Somalia, and the Northern Region of Kenya. Efforts by the people to erase these colonial divisions and reunite all the people of Somalia into one independent nation met with resistence, and are the source of border disputes between Somalia and her two neighboring countries--Ethiopia and Kenya.

The fourth and last assumption "that most of the causes of the ineffectiveness of the O.A.U. in conflict resolution is as a result of poor administrative set-up, lack of resources, and failures of its Commissions of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration to operate effectively, was also supported in this study.

In the O.A.U., no central institutions are developed which could make enforcement of norms an on-going possibility.[4] The charter does not give a clear definition of the powers and functions of the Secretary-General, hence in none of the conflicts did the O.A.U. central administration play any significant role. In the case of conflicts, the O.A.U. Secretary-General cannot convene the extraordinary meeting of either the Council of Ministers or the Heads

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[4] W. Scott Thompson and Richard Bissell, "Legitimacy and Authority in the O.A.U.," p. 38.

of States summit meeting. The role of the O.A.U. in handling
African conflicts is also inhibited by lack of resources.
The African states are poor and unwilling to fulfill
their financial and other obligations to the O.A.U. The
organization cannot afford to finance any peace-keeping
force to act as a buffer in any African conflict. In the
Chad conflict the organization agreed to set up a peace-
keeping force, but this plan failed to materialize because
of lack of logistics and finance. Furthermore, African
nations lack qualified and skilled manpower to handle
effectively the resolution of African conflicts.

The next factor that has contributed enormously in
hindering the O.A.U.'s conflict resolution effort is the
inability of its Commissions of Mediation, Conciliation, and
Arbitration to operate effectively. The definition of the
duties of the Commissions is unclear. The commissions do
not conform with the African culture. Africans are re-
specters of leaders. That is why instead of utilizing the
Commissions of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration in
the resolution of intre-African conflicts, the O.A.U. has
resorted to the designation of an individual Head of States
or Heads of States as sole intermediaries in the disputes.
Since the establishment of the Commission of Mediation,
Conciliation and Arbitration in 1964, it has only been
used once in the resolution of African conflicts. That

was during the Algerian-Moroccan border dispute. Even in that instance, the comission did not achieve much. Other resolution efforts were carried out in the extraordinary meetings of the Council of Ministers and the O.A.U. summit meeting.

The Impact of the O.A.U. Charter in the Organization's Conflict Resolution Effort

The charter of any organization has a significant role to play toward the success or failure of such an organization. African leaders who assembled at Addis Ababa in May 1963 recognized the importance of a workable charter that would lead to the advancement of the African people, and promote understanding among the peoples of Africa, transcending ethnic and national differences.[5] But the role played by the O.A.U. Charter in the resolution of intra-African conflicts is subject to discussion.

The first four principles of the O.A.U. Charter as embodied in Article III; I) The sovereign equality of all member states; II) Non-interference in the internal affairs of states; III) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independence; and IV) Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration.

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[5] Zdenek Cervenka, The Organization of African Unity and Its Charter, p. 31.

These principles are the bedrocks of the O.A.U.'s peaceful resolution efforts to African conflicts. But as illustrated in some of the cases studied in this paper, the O.A.U. Charter has produced both positive and negative results in the resolution of the conflicts.

On the positive side, the Charter has helped in the maintenance of the status quo of existing colonial boundaries. This is evident in the role of the O.A.U. in the Algeria-Morocco border dispute and the Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya border disputes. In each of these conflicts, the O.A.U. has frowned at claims aimed at redrawing the existing boundaries. In these disputes, the O.A.U. applied the principles of respect for sovereignty as required by paragraph III of Article 3 of the Charter, and peaceful settlement of disputes as required by paragraph IV of Article 3.

Although some scholars criticize the application of the principle of "respect for sovereignty. . ." as a perpetuation of the colonial heritage,[6] it must be recognized that if Africa is allowed to redraw its boundary lines based on ethnic, religious or cultural affinity, there will be more conflicts in the continent. But on the other hand, the O.A.U. Charter had produced negative

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[6]Joseph Wayas, Nigeria's Leadership Role in Africa, (London, 1979), p. 74.

results. In the intrastate conflicts, two principles of
the O.A.U. Charter (non-interference in the internal affairs
and respect for the inalienable right to independence,
Article 3, paragraphs II and III) have produced conflicting
results and helped in complicating the O.A.U.'s conflict
resolution efforts. In the Congo crisis of 1964-1965, the
constant meddling of the O.A.U. in the internal affairs
of that country, contrary to its Charter, helped to reduce
the organization's chances of resolving the conflict. The
O.A.U.'s refusal to allow Moise Tshombe, the legitimate
Prime Minister of Congo (Leopoldville), to attend the
O.A.U. Cairo summit meeting and the organization's sending
of some members to Washington to stop American aid to the
Congolese central government, are all contrary to the
principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of
states.

In the Nigerian civil war, paragraphs II and III of
Article 3 of the O.A.U. Charter were put to the test.
The Federal government used paragraph II of Article 3 (non-
interference in the internal affairs) to support its case,
while the Biafrans used paragraph III of the same article
(respect for the inalienable right of the people to self-
determination) to support its own case. In the war in
Western Sahara, both Morocco and Polisario are using
paragraph III of Article 3 to support their claims.

Morocco uses the opening section of paragraph III (Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity). This claim is based on history. Polisario uses the last section of paragraph III (respect for the inalienable right to independence) to support its own case.

The problem of interpretation of the O.A.U. Charter also affects the organization's conflict resolution efforts. The Charter leaves the door wide open for a great deal of maneuvers which could lead either to the strengthening or the weakening of the O.A.U. and its conflict resolution efforts.[7] Furthermore, the fact that there is no clause in the Charter which allows for the removal or suspension of a member state from the organization, should that state fail to live up to its ideals, creates loopholes in the organization and militates against its conflict resolution efforts.

The Apparent Causes of the Successes and Failures of O.A.U. in the Resolution of African Conflicts

While the O.A.U. has met with difficulties in its conflict resolution efforts, the results have not been a total failure. The organization has met with some successes and some failures.

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[7]Zdenek Cervenka, The Organization of African Unity and Its Charter, p. 46.

On the positive side, many factors contributed toward some of the successes achieved by the organization. One of the factors is its application of African culture in its approach to the conflicts. Africans respect leaders, especially those friendly to them. So the use of African leaders for mediation in African disputes has helped in achieving some measures of success. This is exemplified by the role of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President Modibo Keita of Mali in the Algeria-Morocco border dispute; the role of President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in the Somlia-Ethiopia-Kenya conflict; the role of President Mobutu of Congo in the Rwanda-Burundi conflict; the role of President Kenyatta of Kenya in the Congo crisis and the role of Haile Selassie in the Nigerian civil war. These heads of state through their personal or joint mediation helped in either producing a cease-fire negotiation, a bilateral settlement, or amelioration of the intensity of the conflict.

The second factor was the organization's insistence on the status quo. The need of the majority of African states to define themselves by means of colonial boundaries led them to the realization that they have a mutual interest in establishing respect for the status quo.

But other factors contributed towards the failures of the O.A.U. in its conflict resolution efforts. The

first of these was ideological differences. In the Congo crisis, the Nigerian civil war, the Angolan civil war and the Western Sahara war, the organization was divided into ideological camps. In the Congo crisis, the O.A.U. divided into two camps--the moderates, supporting the Congolese central government, and the radicals, supporting the rebel forces. In the Nigerian civil war, four members recognized the Biafran government, thereby diffusing the O.A.U.'s consensus support for the Federal Government of Nigeria. In the Angolan civil war, African leaders were divided. The so-called moderates supported the M.P.L.A., while the conservatives supported the U.N.I.T.A./F.N.L.A. In the Western Sahara war, Morocco with its supporters among the O.A.U. members are doing everything in their power to block the admission of the S.A.D.R., thereby blocking all efforts for peaceful settlement of the dispute.

The second factor in the failue of the O.A.U. conflict resolution efforts is the principle of non-interference in members' internal affairs which is embodied in paragraph II of Article 3 of the charter. This principle has in-- hibited the O.A.U. and robbed it of an effective role as a mediator. The principle in itself is ambigious. It does not say that members should refrain from taking sides

in civil war situations. This ambiguity has led to members taking sides, which has often weakened the mediation effort of the organization.

In the Congo crisis, the O.A.U. members took sides; some supported the central government while others supported the rebels. In the Nigerian civil war, despite the O.A.U.'s unanimous opposition to secession in the continent, some members still took sides with Biafra and even recognized it. In the Western Sahara dispute, the O.A.U. is also divided.

The third factor is foreign intervention. In the Congo crisis, 1964-1965, the Nigerian civil war, the Angolan crisis, the war in the Chad and the Western Sahara war, foreign involvements have helped in the exacerbation of the conflicts, thereby militating against the O.A.U.'s conflict resolution efforts. The role of foreign intervention in African conflicts will be discussed in detail below.

The fourth factor is lack of resources. The Organization of African Unity has few material means or sources of pressure on its members. It cannot afford the military or financial force to run a real peace-keeping operation. It does not have sufficient trained personnel to coordinate its activities. This is exemplified by the failure of the O.A.U. to organize a successful peace-keeping force in Chad.

The Role of Super Powers and the United Nations in
Resolving or Exacerbating African Conflicts

The role of the super power nations in the African
conflicts since the formation of the O.A.U. in 1963 has
been mixed. At the initial stage of the O.A.U. it seemed
that the existence of the organization would make it easier
for the United States and the Soviet Union to remain un-
involved in African conflicts. They refused requests for
assistance from disputants on the grounds that the conflict
was already being brought toward peaceful settlement within
the framework of the O.A.U. This assumption is correct
when one examines the role of the United States and the
Soviet Union in the Algerian-Moroccan border conflict,
the Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya territorial claims, and the
Rwanda-Burundi conflict. In each of these conflicts, the
super powers applied the principle of "try the O.A.U.
first."

But examination of the more recent conflicts, especially
the internal conflicts, show the opposite. In all the recent
crises, beginning with the Congo, both the United States and
the Soviet Union, but especially the Soviet Union have
greatly involved themselves in the conlfict, not as part-
ners to the O.A.U. in finding a peaceful solution, but as
accelerators of the conflict.

In the Congo crisis, the United States in collaboration
with Belgium and Great Britain, helped in exacerbating the

conflict. They supplied arms and aided the recruitment of the mercenaries to the Congolese Central Government at the time when the O.A.U. was busy trying to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. The operation "Stanleyville drop" organized by the United States, Belgium and Great Britain, in violation of the O.A.U. peace moves in the area, points to the fact that these countries' activities helped in exacerbating the conflict. But the Soviet Union was not free in the exacerbation of the Congolese internal conflict. It supplied arms to the rebel forces, thus perpetuating the conflict.

In the Nigerian civil war, the Soviet Union was the principal exacerbator of the conflict with the aid of Great Britain on the Nigerian side, with France and Portugal on the Biafran side. The Soviet Union supplied arms and logistics to the Nigerian Federal Government. By arming one side of the conflict, the Soviet Union was exacerbating the conflict.

In the Angolan civil war, both the United States and the Soviet Union contributed to a large extent in perpetuating the conflict. The United States and South Africa aided the U.N.I.T.A./F.N.L.A. movements, while the Soviet Union, with the aid of Cuban forces, aided the M.P.L.A. movement. The active involvement of these two super-powers

in the Angolan civil war exacerbated the conflict and
made peaceful negotiations by the O.A.U. impossible.

In the Chad internal rift, neither the United States
nor the Soviet Union has been directly involved in the
conflict. The only extra-African participant in the con-
flict is France. France has directly and indirectly
involved itself in the conflict. In the Western Sahara
war, both the United States and the Soviet Union are
contributing to the exacerbation of the conflict. The
United States is actively arming Morocco while the Soviet
Union is aiding the Polisario Front through Algeria.

The role of the United Nations in African conflicts
since 1963 has been that of cooperation with the organi-
zation. Except the Rwanda-Burundi conflict and the Con-
golese civil war, 1964-1965, the U.N. was not involved
in any of the African conflicts. It has always discouraged
the disputing parties from bringing the conflict to the
U.N. Security Council and has frequently advocated the
principle of "try the O.A.U. first." In the Rwanda-
Burundi conflict, the U.N. got involved when the O.A.U.
failed to act. In the Congo crisis 1964-1965, the U.N.
intervened as a result of extra-African involvement. In
both cases, the U.N. finally handed over the resolution of
the conflict to the O.A.U.

Conclusions about Conflict Resolution by the
U.N., the O.A.S. and the Arab League

Like the Organization of African Unity, the U.N.,

the O.A.S. and the Arab League are all international

organizations aimed at securing peace. While the United

Nations Organization is universalistic, the O.A.S., the

Arab League and the O.A.U. are regional. Both the univer-

sal and regional organizations require the parties to any

dispute, the continuation of which is likely to endanger

the maintenance of international peace and security, to

seek first a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation,

conciliation, arbitration or other peaceful means.[8] But

conflict management efforts by the O.A.U., the O.A.S.,

the Arab League and the U.N. have not been effective on

equal magnitude. First, not all the organizations have

equal material resources to carry out effective conflict

resolution. The United Nations and the O.A.S. have more

material resources than the O.A.U. and the Arab League.

In both the O.A.U. and the Arab League, members are hesitant

in fulfilling their financial obligations, hence both are

plagued by recurrent arrears of dues.

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[8]"Charter of the United Nations," Everyman's United
Nations: A Complete Handbook of the Activities of the
United Nations During Its First Twenty Years, 1945-1965
(New York, 1968), pp. 553-590.

But on the other hand, the O.A.U. has more trust in its members than the U.N. the O.A.S., and the Arab League.[9]

The efforts of the U.N. in conflict resolution has been greatly minimized by the power struggle between the two super powers. Further more, the United Nations is too ambitious and cannot command the allegiance necessary to fulfill its objectives in a world still divided by national sovereignty.[10] Hence it has been incapable of controlling conflicts in the world.

The inability of the permanent members of the Security Council to implement the collective security provisions of the United Nations charter due to general political differences, significantly affects the U.N.'s efforts to maintain international peace and security.[11] The hypothetical and generalized nature of commitment by the United Nations makes conflict resolution efforts by that organization both redundant and less valuable. The U.N.

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[9]J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, p. 134.

[10]Stephen S. Goodspeed, The Nature and Function of International Organization, p. 567.

[11]James R. Jose, An Inter-American Peace Force within the Frame Work of the Organization of American States: Advantages, Impediments, Implications (New Jersey, 1970), p. 18.

resolutions aimed at resolving conflicts demand nothing concrete at the time of acceptance, and people hardly honor it.[12]

Each of the regional organizations (the O.A.S., and Arab League and the O.A.U.) has one factor or the other that inhibits its conflict resolution efforts. The distrust of United States by the members of the O.A.S. has diminished the organization's salience as a third party in the eyes of the larger countries of South America. Saudi Arabia's moderate ideas among the radical members of the Arab League make agreement among its members difficult. The O.A.U. is plagued by the external forces. France, Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union have more power in the O.A.U. than the whole of Africa put together.[13] The role of these intrusive systems in the O.A.U. has diminished the organization's efforts to resolve African conflicts.[14] Military aid from these external powers to the African countries make the recipients a battle ground for conflicts between members of the organization.

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[12]Anwar Syed, Walter Lippmann's Philosophy of International Politics (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 105.

[13]J. S. Nye, Peace in Parts, p. 134.

[14]Louis J. Cantori and Steven L. Spiegel, The International Politics of Regions: A Comparative Approach (New Jersey, 1970), p. 32.

General Assessment of the O.A.U.'s Role
in African Conflicts

The Organization of African Unity has not been an independent force in the solution of intra-African conflicts. Although the O.A.U. succeeded in relieving the universal organization of the burden of dealing with numerous intra-state conflicts, it did not stop foreign involvement in the African disputes. In none of the intra-African conflicts reviewed in this study did the O.A.U. prevent outside involvement.

In the border disputes where the O.A.U. met with some measure of success, such successes were obtained with the aid of external powers. Had the United States, France and Spain not discouraged Morocco from going to the U.N. Security Council in the Algeria-Morocco conflict, the O.A.U. could not have succeeded in dealing with the conflict. In the Somalia-Ethiopia-Kenya border dispute, it was the United States and the Soviet Union that advised the disputing parties to seek a solution through the O.A.U., thereby making it possible for the O.A.U. to handle the conflict. In the Congo crisis of 1964-1965, the Nigerian civil war, the Angolan civil war, the Chad internal conflict, the war in Western Sahara, there were foreign involvements all mitigating against the O.A.U. conflict resolution effort. But while the O.A.U. has not created

islands of peace in world politics, it succeeded in encap-
sulating conflicts. It has been successful in preventing
intra-African conflicts from becoming intertwined with
insolvable global conflicts. For example, in the border
disputes, the existence of the O.A.U. led both the super
power nations and the United Nations to encourage the
resolution of intra-African conflicts through the frame-
work of the O.A.U., thereby preventing the conflicts
from becoming a global concern.

In the Congo crisis of 1964-1965, where the foreign
powers were involved, the existence of the O.A.U. prevented
such foreign involvements from becoming an insolvable
global conflict. In the Nigerian civil war, it was the
unequivocal support of the O.A.U. for a united Nigeria
which made it impossible for any big power to side effec-
tively with Biafra and proliferate the conflict. Such
could have led the war into a global conflict. It is the
existence of the O.A.U. that prevented the Angolan crisis
from becoming an insolvable global conflict.

Conclusion and Recommendations

In assessing the effectiveness of the O.A.U. in
handling differences between its members, it is necessary
to distinguish between the normalization of relations and

the final settlement of disputes. The main achievement
of the O.A.U. has been in regard to the former.

In handling disputes or situations between its member
states, the O.A.U. has utilized a combination of methods,
both direct and indirect, with varying degrees of success.
The direct method involved the establishment or reinforce-
ment of norms for inter-state relations in regard to
specific problems; the channeling of appeals to the states
in dispute to reduce tension between them and to seek
agreement through negotiation, bilaterally, or with the
aid of a mediator; and the establishment of a mediation
commission or the designation of an individual as a
mediator. The indirect method is mainly that of providing
a convenient environment for bilateral diplomatic contacts
and for the development of mediatory initiatives on the
part of African statesmen.

The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbi-
tration remained idle, as no one was inclined to utilize
its machinery; instead the O.A.U. meetings resorted to
the use of flexible ad hoc bodies for the organization's
deliberations. One serious observation concerns the
organization's peace-keeping efforts after the conflict.
In all instances, the organization's organs cease their
efforts once the relations are normalized. This is

unfortunate, because since the O.A.U. hardly ever follows a conflict to a final agreement, tension arises again, culminating in another crisis (e.g., the Ethiopia-Somalia border dispute).

For the Organization of African Unity effectively to fulfill its peaceful settlement role in intra-African conflicts, the following must be done.

First, it will be proper for the O.A.U. to remove those pervasions in its Charter that dispose it to appear inactive and temporizing. Specifically, Article III, paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Charter should be amended. The interpretation of these two paragraphs of Article III, has often created problems in the Organization's conflict resolution efforts. The O.A.U. Charter was modeled on the pattern of the Organization of American States. This reflects entirely a western pattern of conflict diplomacy. On the contrary, African leaders apply African political culture in the resolution of intra-African conflicts.

The conflict between the western pattern of conflict diplomacy, which is based on a follow up of a written constitution and the African conflict diplomacy which is personal and situational, has produced what Ada Bozeman described as inconsistencies in the handling of African conflicts by the O.A.U. If the O.A.U. is to be a true African organization representing African culture and African personality, it must revive its Charter to suit

African environment. It must include in its Charter those elements of African culture that are often used by African leaders in the resolution of intra-African conflicts. Such would include: the utilization of African personalities in the resolution of the conflicts; the examination of situations that lead to the conflicts during the process of mediation; and the application of African norms which make decisions binding.

African political leaders should be impartial in their handling of intra-African conflicts. According to Oran Young, a third party will play a meaningful role in conflict resolution, if it is perceived as an impartial participant in the eyes of the principal protagonists.[15]

These renovations will make the O.A.U. a supranational organization with regard to the settlement of disputes between or within African states.

Second, the O.A.U. should set up an adequate peace-keeping force to help in the enforcement of cease-fire negotiations in intra-African conflicts. The ineffectiveness of the O.A.U. peacemaking efforts in Chad sharply exposed the extent to which the O.A.U. lacks the possibility to maintain peace, stability and security in the region. The challenge posed by its failure in Chad strongly suggests the need to devise a new machinery for conflict

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[15]Cran Young, The Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crises (New Jersey, 1967), p. 81.

management, but strong enough to carry the task of collective security and peace espoused in the organization's Charter.[16]

Third, the O.A.U. should have a built-in machinery for conflict management. Since the inception of the organization in 1963, it has been concerned with conflict management. But the pragmatic ad hoc approach, which mainly relies on persuasion and negotiation for conflict resolution, has become almost useless in the recent times. This has created a need for new and complementary problem-solving procedures by the O.A.U. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation or Arbitration which has been inactive since the creation in 1964, should be reactivated.

Fourth, a permanent fund should be raised for peace-keeping efforts in the continent. Although most of the African countries are so poor that they cannot afford to contribute to the fund, three suggestions are put forward here to help mobilize the fund for peace-keeping operations.

1. The so called rich countries in Africa, such as Nigeria, Algeria, Angola, and Gabon should make responsible sacrifices in the name of peace in Africa and contribute generously to the fund.

2. A special ad hoc body should be constituted to handle the problem of funds for the peace-keeping operations.

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[16]U. Joy Ogwu, "The O.A.U. and the Intra-Regional Conflict Management," p. 110.

3. The ad hoc body should solicit funds for support of O.A.U. peace-keeping from the developed nations, irrespective of blocs or ideological groupings.

Fifth, the O.A.U. should dissuade nations participating in peace-keeping operations from seeking outside military assistance. If not, a situation will arise in which the participating nations in a peace-keeping operation will owe their loyalty first to the foreign powers that are financing efforts. Such a situation will work against discipline, which is the hallmark of any successful military undertaking. Furthermore, to achieve success in peace-keeping efforts, the O.A.U. force must be seen as a neutral body by all the parties involved in the disputes.

Sixth, African nations should stop allowing foreign powers to use their countries as subversive bases against their fellow African countries. Many of the African countries have military bases for foreign powers.

In Sudan, the United States of America has two or more military installations with espionage activities. In Angola, the Cubans occupy the country. In Ethiopia, the Soviets are influential. Cameroon has a French intelligence base focusing greatly on Nigeria. InLibya and Ethiopia moves to join the Warsaw pact are underway. Zimbabwe is controlled by the A.K. 47 of the Russians and the Northern Koreans.

Even the African airspace and high seas are not left undisturbed by the super powers. In African airspace, low level flying and undetected radar planes move about daily without any interference. In the Equitorial Guinea, the Russians control the high seas and the fishing rights. In Mauritania the struggle between the Warsaw and N.A.T.O. over Africa's waters continue unabated.

All six of the above items militate against peace in Africa and are sources of both intra- and interstate conflicts in the continent. The Organization can function effectively only if it takes adequate measures to remove the obstacles created by the above mentioned items. Africa is in disarray, and the problem lies with Africans, not in their foreign mentors. The impact of the O.A.U. in resolving African conflicts, has of late been diminishing. If the Organization is to be a successful peace resolution organ in the continent, African countries must be free from external bondage so as to permit them to achieve neutrality, and htus avoid the ideological divisions that have often wrecked the reconciliation efforts of the Organization. There is need for African leaders to speak with one voice. The O.A.U. Charter should be revised and strengthened. If the O.A.U. continues to divide itself ideologically whenever there

is conflict in Africa, the Organization will disintegrate and there will be more problems in the continent.

APPENDIX I

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF

AFRICAN UNITY

We, the Heads of African States and Governments

assembled in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia;

CONVINCED that it is the inalienable right of all people

to control their own identity;

CONSCIOUS of the fact that freedom, equality, justice

and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement

of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

CONSCIOUS of our responsibility to harness the natural

and human resources of our continent for the total advance-

ment of our peoples in spheres of human endeavor;

INSPIRED by a common determination to promote understanding

among our peoples and cooperation among our peoples and

cooperation among our States in response to the aspirations

of our peoples for brotherhood and solidarity, in a larger

unity transcending ethnic and national differences;

CONVINCED that, in order to translate this determination

into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, condi-

tions for peace and security must be established and main-

tained;

DETERMINED to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won

independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our States, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms;

DEDICATED to the general progress of Africa;

PERSUADED that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive cooperation among statse;

DESIROUS to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions:

Have agreed to the present Charter.

Article I

1. The Hogh Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organization to be known as the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

2. The Organization shall include the Continental African States, Madagascar and other Islands surrounding Africa.

PURPOSES

Article II

1. The Organization shall have the following purposes:

   a. to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;

b. to coordinate and intensity their 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; and

e. to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Chartre 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, sanitatino, and nutritional cooperation;

e. scientific and technical cooperation; and

f. cooperation for defense and security.

PRINCIPLES

Article III

The Member States, in pursuit to the purposes stated in Article III, solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

1. the sovereign equality of all Member Statse;

2. non-interference in the intrenal 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 negotiation, mediation, conciliation, or arbitration;

5. unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighboring States or any other State;

6. absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still independent; and

7. affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

MEMBERSHIP

Article IV

Each independent sovereign African State shall be entitled to become a Member of the Organization.

RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBER STATES

Article V

All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

Article VI

The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

INSTITUTIONS

Article VII

The Organization shall accomplish its purposes through the following institutions:

1. the Assembly of Heads of State and Government;

2. the Council of Ministers;

3. the General Secretariat; and

4. the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

Article VIII

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 concren to Africa with view to coordianting and harmonizing the general policy of the Organization. It may in addition review the structure, funcitons and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present charter.

Article IX

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 Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article X

1. Each member shate shall have one vote.

2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thrids majority of the Members of the Organization.

3. 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.

4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organization shall forma quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

Article XI

The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

Article XII

1. The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or such other Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States.

2. The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any Member State and approved by two-thirds of all Member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article XIII

1. The Council of Ministers shall be responsible for the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembhly.

2. It shall take cognizance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decision of the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government. It shall coordinate inter-African cooperation in accordance with the instructors of the Assembly and in conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

Article XIV

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.

2. All resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the members of the Council of Ministers.

3. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council of Ministers shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

Article XV

The Council shall have the power to determine its own rules and procedure.

GENERAL SECRETARIAT

Article XVI

There shall be an Adminsitrative Secretary-General of the Organization, who shall be the Assembly of Heads of State and government. The Administrative Secretary-General shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

Article XVII

There shallbe one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Article XVIII

The functions and conditions of services of the Secretary-General, of 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.

1. In the performance of their duties the Administrative Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any other authority external to the Organization.

2. Each member of the Organization undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Administrative Secretary-General and the Staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

COMMISSION OF MEDIATION, CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION

Article XIX

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 protol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Said Protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.

Article XX

The Assembly shall establish such Specialized Commissions as it may deem necessary, including the following:

1. Economic and Health Commission;

2. Educatoinal and Cultural Commission;

3. Health, Sanitation and Nutrition Commission;

4. Defense Commisison; and

5. Scientific, Technical and Research Commission.

Article XXI

Each Specialized Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of the Member States.

THE BUDGET

Article XXIII

The budget of the Organization prepared by the Administrative Secretary-General shallbe approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contributions from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no Member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty per cent of the yearly regular budget of the Organization. The Member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

SIGNATURE AND RATIFICATION OF CHARTTER

Article XXIV

1. This Charter shall be open for signature to all independent sovereign African States and shall be ratified by the Signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The original instrument, done, if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being

equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent Sovereign African States.

3. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent Sovereign African States.

4. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each such deposit.

ENTRY INTO FORCE

Article XXV

This Charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instruments of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory States.

REGISTRATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVI

This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARTER

Article XXVII

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization.

ADHESION AND ACCESSION

Article XXVIII

1. Any independent Soverieign African State may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter.

2. The Administrative SEcretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be tarnsmitted to the Administrative Secretary-General, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

MISCELLANEOUS

Article XXIX

The working languages of the Organization and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, English and French.

Article XXX

The Administrative Secretary-General may accept on behalf of the Organization gifts, bequests, and other donations made to the Organization, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article XXXI

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the Member States.

CESSATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Article XXXII

Any State which desire to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General. At the end of one year form the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organization.

AMENDMENT TO THE CHARTER

Article XXXIII

This Charter may be amended or revised if any Member State makes a writtenrequest to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect, provided, however, that

the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two-thirds of all the Member States.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, We the Heads of African State and Government, have signed this Charter.

Done in the Cityof Addis Ababa, Ethiopia this 25th day of May 1963.

Algeria	Mali
Burundi	Mauritania
Cameroon	Morocco
Central African Republic	Niger
Chad	Nigeria
Congo (Brazzaville)	Rwandu
Congo (Leopoldville)	Senegal
Dahomey	Sierre Leone
Ethiopia	Somalia
Gabon	Sudan
Ghana	Tanganyika
guinea	Togo
Ivory Coast	Tunisia
Liberia	Uganda
Libya	United Arab Republic
Madagascar	Upper Volta

APPENDIX II

AFRICA
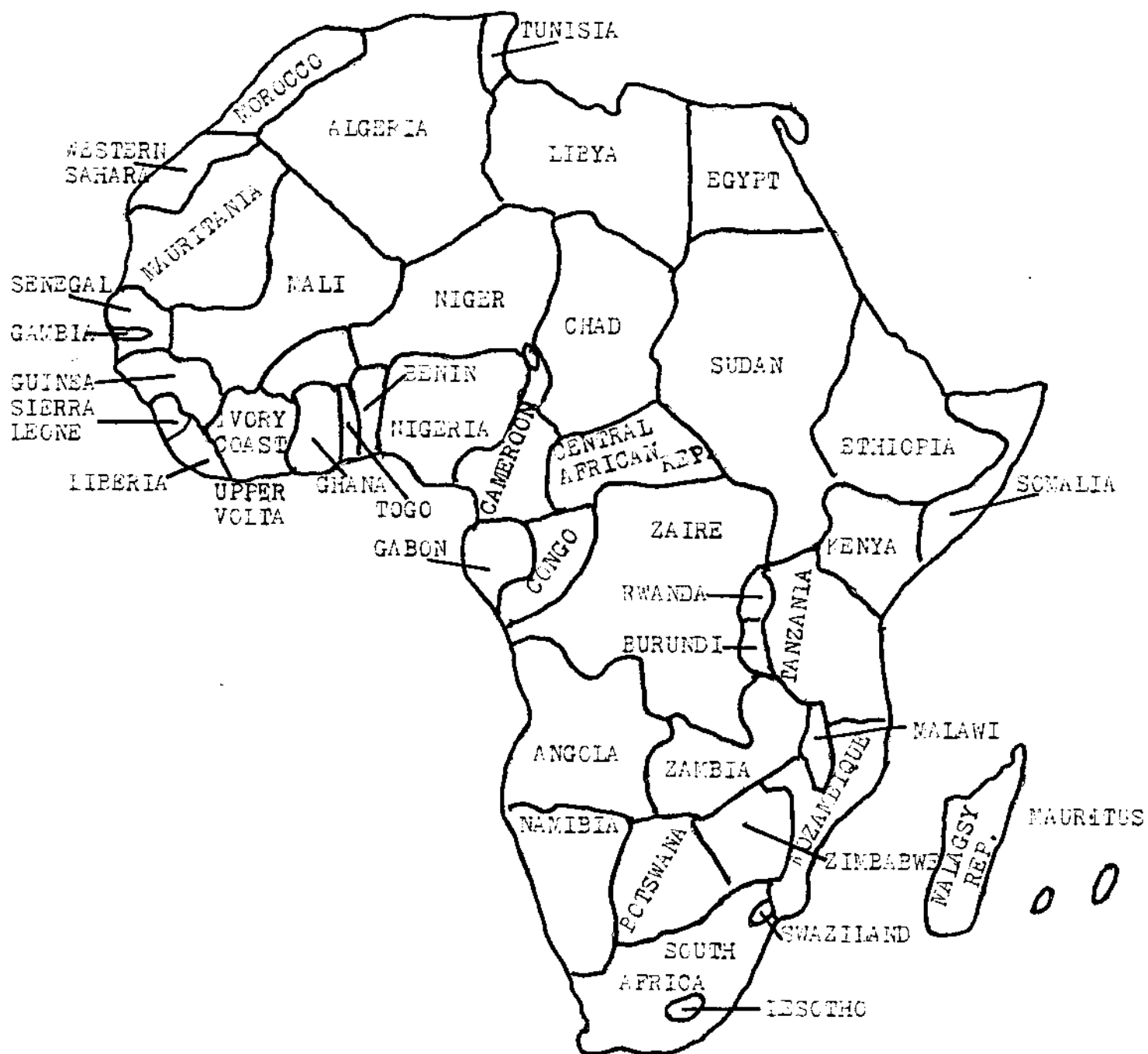
APPENDIX III

TABLE OF O.A.U. CASES, 1963-1980

	Helped Isolate	Helped End Fighting	Helped Abate	Helped Settle	Super Power Intervention
1. Algeria-Morocco, 1963	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
2. Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya, 1964-1980	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
3. Congo, 1964-1965	No	No	No	No	Yes
4. Rwanda-Burundi, 1967	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
5. Nigeria-Biafra, 1967-1970	No	No	No	No	Yes
6. Angola, 1975-1976	No	No	No	No	Yes
7. Chad, 1978-1980	No	No	No	No	No
8. Western Sahara, 1975-1980	No	No	No	No	Yes

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