

The African Group: The Aggregation and Articulation of African Interests in Third World Coalitions

Although pan-Africanism has generated a deep feeling of solidarity among African peoples before independence, and in spite of the perceived necessity to unite their forces, New African states nevertheless split into two major ideological groupings inside the UN in 1960: The Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group.

Undoubtedly the Casablanca Group of which Guinea, Ghana and Mali constitute the sub-Saharan members is more activist, radical, and left-oriented, taking its anticolonialism, its socialism, and its Pan-Africanism a good deal more seriously than the larger and more conservative Monrovia Grouping in which Nigeria and Liberia play leading role and which include the entire Brazzaville community as well as Ethiopia and Somalia from the other side of the continent (Emerson 1970).

However strong may have been the dividing drives of neocolonialism on African States, centripetal forces were even stronger. The leaders of the two competing camps met at Addis Ababa from 25 May 1963, and they established the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). For the late President Sekou Toure, African Unity was made possible by the self-dismantling of the Casablanca and Monrovia Groups which had played the imperialists and neo-colonialists game before (Sekou Toure 1982:7-9).

One of the six resolutions adopted at the Addis Ababa founding summit Conference, 1963, entitled 'Africa and the United Nations', invited all African governments to instruct their United Nations representatives 'to constitute a more effective African Group, with a permanent secretariat to bring about closer cooperation and better coordination in matters of common concern' (Rubin and Weinstein 1974:263).

The African Group was to be formally created in July 1964 with resolution AHS/res. 2 of the OAU Cairo summit of Heads of State and Government. Considered a subsidiary organ of the OAU, this Group was subsequently recognised by the UN.² The Group is endowed with a permanent secretariat and normally meets twice a month. From 1964 to 1977, it held 409 meetings out of which only 184 were convened during the UN General Assembly

2 This was done by a resolution.

sessions. This fact tends to demonstrate that the Group does not behave as an occasional lobby, but rather as a stable, permanent coalition.³ Created inside the UN, the African Group also served as an instrument for interests aggregation inside the TW coalitions.

Before looking at African countries inputs to these groups, it would be instructive to first investigate their role in the formation stage of the NAM and G77.

Africa and the Creation of Third World Coalitions

Africa was present at the launching of both NAM and G77. Among the three founding fathers and emblematic persons of the NAM was an illustrious African: Abdel Gamad Nasser. The 'Spirit of Bandung' so often referred to, became a symbol for Afro-Asian solidarity.

Among the African countries present at Bandung in 1955, were three Arab delegations (Egypt, Sudan and Libya) and three black African delegations (Ethiopia, Liberia, Ghana).⁴ Not only did Africa furnish six out of the twenty-six Bandung participants, generally considered as the 'core group of the future third world coalition', but it has also provided significant inputs to the principles of Non-Alignment. Created at a time when most African countries were still under colonial rule, Non-Alignment was naturally to adopt the claim for independence which became one of its trade marks. As put by Hadsel: 'First, nonalignment was on formulation of an overriding aspiration, that of preserving the independence of African nations' (Hadsel 1970:345).

The support for independence became so important a principle that later it was raised as a criterium for inviting countries to the Non-Aligned Conference. In the final communiqué of the preparatory meeting for the first Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, Cairo, 5-12 June 1961, it was clearly spelt out that, as part of conditions for eligibility to the movement, 'the country concerned should be consistently supporting the Movements for National Independence'.⁵

3 For further details on the creation and functioning of the African Group, see Tshingan Ahuka 1980.

4 Robert A. Mortimer, op. cit., p.8, it is to be noted that Sudan and Ghana were not yet independent.

5 *Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the Gatherings of the Non-Aligned Countries 1961-1982*, published by Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, Printed by G. D. Makhija, 1983, p. 2.

The second contribution or input of African countries to the principles of Non-Alignment was the introduction of racial discrimination and apartheid in the agenda of the first conference of Heads of State or government of Non-Aligned countries.

‘The anti-colonialism and equalitarianism of African Nationalism have been major sources of Non-Alignment (...) As a result of their subjection by the white man, Africans have a highly developed sense of race consciousness’ (Shepherd Jr. 1970:13). It must be added that the then prevailing situation in South Africa was and remains a shame for all Black Africans. It is not surprising that in the final declaration of the first Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned countries (Belgrade, 1-6 September 1991) ‘the participants in the conference resolutely condemned the policy of apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa and demanded the immediate abandonment of this policy. They further stated that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world constitutes a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ (Jankowitsh and Sauvart 1978).

It is worth noting that African Diplomacy also contributed to the birth of NAM by hosting the preparatory meeting of Representatives of Non-Aligned countries for the Belgrade Summit, in Cairo between 5-12 June 1961. Incidentally, it is also from Cairo that the movement started leading to the convocation of the First United Nations Conference on Trade and Development within which was born the Group of 77.

After the Belgrade Summit, a conference on the problems of Economic Development was held once again in Cairo from 9-18 July 1962. Among the eleven sponsors of the conference were seven African countries.⁶ Faced with tremendous development problems, African countries very soon laid emphasis on the economic dimension of the NAM. The Cairo Declaration of Developing countries read as follows:

The conference declares itself resolutely in favour of the holding of an international economic conference within the framework of the UN and calls upon developing countries to work for the convening of this conference at an early date in 1963 (...).

6 These were Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Sudan, United Arab Republic: see *Ibid.*, p. 72.

(...) The conference urges the participating countries to keep continuously in touch with each other on all matters relevant to the implementation of the conclusions of the conference.

In particular, consultations should be established whenever appropriate to ensure cooperation between the participating countries in the presentation of the conclusion reached in the Cairo General Assembly and of other international agencies.⁷

It is that Cairo Spirit of solidarity which induced in 1963, the Declaration of seventy-five developing countries annexed to United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1897 (XVIII), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (11 November 1963). Africa massively signed the Declaration.⁸ In 1964, the 75 became the 77 in the joint Declaration issued by Developing Countries at the end of UNCTAD I (March-June 1964). This was the official birth of the Group of 77 among which thirty-two were African.⁹ In this joint Declaration, 'the developing countries regard their own unity, the unity of the seventy-five, as the out-standing feature of this conference. This unity has sprung out of the fact that facing the basic problems of development, they have a common interest in a policy for international trade and development (...). The seventy-five developing countries, on the occasion of this declaration, pledge themselves to maintain, foster and strengthen this unity in the future' (*ECDC Handbook* 1983:107).

Africa was to participate actively towards the achievement of this goal by hosting summits, by its presence, by political and economic inputs to NAM and G 77. This will be seen in the following sections.

The Hosting of Various Meetings and the Participation of African States in Third World Coalition

'After 1955. The number of African States emerging on the world scene increased rapidly and the locus of international conferences of Non-Aligned nations shifted to Africa and the Middle East. The All-African Peoples Organisation met in Accra in 1958, in Tunis in 1960 and in Cairo in 1961'

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 74-75.

⁸ Among the 75 signatories were 31 African Countries: Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Upper Volta, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Uganda, United Arab Republic, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Tanganyika, Chad, Togo, and Tunisia.

⁹ Meanwhile, Kenya became independent and joined the 31 signatories of the 1963 Declaration.

Shepherd Jr. 1970:12). This statement held true all along the life of the NAM and especially during the sixties and early seventies.

After the first NAM summit in Belgrade (1961), the three following summits were held in Africa: Cairo (1964), Lusaka (1970), Algiers (1973). Then followed by Colombo (1976), the Havana (1979) and New Delhi (1983). NAM came back in Africa, with the Harare Summit (1986) before returning to Belgrade in 1989. Thus half of the NAM summits were held in Africa. Given the costs of organising such meetings, it is not exaggerated to say that Africa has made a lot of sacrifices for NAM. If we now turn to other meetings, we also observe that a lot of them took place in Africa: Preparatory meetings of the summits were held in Cairo (1961), Dar-es-Salaam (1970) Algiers (1973). Conferences of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the NAM also took place in Africa (Cairo 1964, Lusaka 1970, Algiers 1973).

Table 1: Geographical Distribution of Participants in Non-Aligned Conferences

	Total	Asia	Africa and Caribbean	Latin America	Europe	
1961	Belgrade	25	12	11 (44 per cent)	1	1
1964	Cairo	47	15	29 (61.7 per cent)	1	1
1970	Lusaka	54	16	33 (61.1 per cent)	4	1
1973	Algiers	75	25	40 (53.2 per cent)	6	2
1976	Colombo	86	29	48 (55.7 per cent)	6	3
1979	Havana	92	29	49 (53.26 per cent)	11	3
1986	Harare	73	20	42 (57.5 per cent)	10	1
1989	Belgrade	102	29	52 (50.9 per cent)	18	3

Source: Jankowitsch and Sauvart, 1978, pp. xxxii - xxxvii

Government of India, 1983, *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, pp. 485-489.

For the Harare Summit, see the NAM Document No. NAC/CONF. 8/DOC/3, 3 September 1986.

For the Belgrade Summit, see the NAM Document No. NAC 9/INF.1, 7 September 1989.

Africa also appears as the main recruitment area of the NAM. As shown by the table above, Africa regularly counted more than 50 per cent of the participants after 1961. In such a context, it is obvious that, if the decision-

making rule within the NAM had been that of majority and had Africa acted as a united group, African inputs would have passed automatically. But even with the consensus as the decision-making rule, massive African presence has granted Africa a lot of influence both in the political and economic field.

African Inputs to the NAM: The Political and Ideological Dimension

Non-Alignment emerged from the desire of small and weak states to stay out of the struggle among giants. But not all the members of the NAM agreed on a common definition of the concept. Africa contributed to this debate from the beginning. Later on, African diplomacy was to weigh heavily on the question of what was the main cleavage dividing states in the international arena: was it the division dominating/dominated or the division rich/poor? It exercised a moderate influence on the NAM. African countries made the fight against colonialism and racism one of the main themes of NAM during the past three decades. Finally, the shift from purely political to more economic non-alignment was printed by African countries.

As seen earlier, Africa was divided into two groups at the time of the Belgrade summit. But through some prominent individuals like Presidents Nkrumah, Nasser, Sekou Toure and Nyerere, Africa positively contributed to the definition of Non-Alignment as 'a statement by a particular country that it will determine its policies for itself according to its own judgement about its needs and the merits of the case. It is thus a refusal to be party to any permanent diplomatic or military identification with Great Powers. It is a refusal to take part in any alliances or to allow any military bases by the Great Powers of the world'.¹⁰ For young African nations, the defence of their independence was primordial. Non-Alignment was not only a principle of foreign policy, but also a means of affirming their autonomy on the international arena. Hence, the insistence on self-determination and self-judgement in the elaboration of foreign policy. As seen before, non-alignment responded to an overriding aspiration, that of preserving the independence of the African nation (Hadsel 1970:345). This independence included a refusal of NAM as a new bloc. The Belgrade summit on this matter reads as follows: 'The non-aligned countries represented at this conference do not wish to form a new bloc and cannot form a bloc. They sincerely desire to cooperate with any Government which seeks to contribute

10 H. Hveem and P. Willetto in Tandon and Chandarane *op. cit.*, p. 21.

to the strengthening of confidence and peace in the world'.¹¹ In the charter of the OAU, one of the seven principles also stated as: 'Affirmation of a policy of nonalignment with regard to all blocs'.¹²

The defence of independence is derived from the heavy anti-neocolonialism stand introduced in the NAM ideology by African leaders, namely by Nkrumah. At Belgrade, Indonesia's Sukarno and Ghana's Nkrumah 'saw continuing great power intervention or neocolonialism in Asia and Africa as the greatest obstacle to the full liberation of the new states' (Mortimer 1980:14). In the Cairo Programme for Peace and International Cooperation, point 1 entitled, Concerted Action for the liberation of the countries still dependent, elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, declared that 'imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism constitute a basic source of international tension and conflict because they endanger world peace and security'.¹³

Having introduced the support to liberation movements as a criterion for non-alignment, African countries have maintained the fight against colonialism and racialism as the main theme of Non-alignment throughout its existence. The Lusaka summit marked an important step in this struggle.

The Lusaka conference adopted two important declarations: Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Cooperation and Democratisation of International Relations and Declaration on the Non-Alignment and Economic Progress. In the first declaration, 'NAM countries regret that the practice of interfering in the internal affairs of other states, and the recourse to political and economic pressure, threats of force and subservient are acquiring alarming proportions and dangerous frequency'. Besides, 'the continued oppression and subjugation of the African peoples in South Africa by the racist and colonial minority regimes, apart from being a blot on the conscience of mankind, poses a serious threat to international peace and security'. Neo-colonialism, 'a less obvious, but in no way a less dangerous means of economic and political domination over developing countries' is also denounced (*Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, p. 46).

In a Resolution on Apartheid and Racial Discrimination (NAC/ CONF.3/ RES.2), the NAM countries condemned 'Those countries, in particular the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany,

11 *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, p. 6.

12 See Article 2 of the OAU Charter.

13 *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, p. 18.

Italy and Japan, which, by their political, economic and military collaboration with the Government of South Africa, encourage and incite that Government to persist in its racist policy'. Other resolutions were adopted on Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe, Indo-China and Namibia. But as noted by Mortimer, most of the Lusaka resolution reflected its southern African setting.

At Harare (1986), NAM countries judged that the situation in Southern Africa had grown to grave and disgusting proportions. They decided to concretise their solidarity with the people of Southern Africa by creating the Africa Fund, the acronym for Action For Resisting Invasion, Colonialism in Africa. In his report to the Belgrade conference, September 1989, Rajiv Gandhi, Chairman of the Fund, announced that fifty four nations and several international organisations had pledged 476 million dollars in cash, kind and technical assistance to the Fund. Forty per cent of this amount was realised in 1989.¹⁴

Coming back to the Lusaka summit, it was also the occasion of a redefinition of non-alignment itself. Here President Julius Nyerere played a special role. Nyerere reaffirmed a principle dear to Africans: Non-Alignment does not equate to non engagement.

'Our desire for friendship with every other nation does not, however, mean that we should try to buy that friendship with silence on the great issues of world peace and justice. If it is to be meaningful, friendship must be able to withstand honesty in international affairs. Certainly we should refrain from diverse comment on the internal affairs of other states, just as we expect them to do with regard to ourselves. But to stay silent on such issues as Vietnam because one or more powerful nations do not like what we say would be a disgrace' (Nyerere 1968:369). This is an illustration of African 'positive neutrality'.

In this important speech to the Dar-es-Salaam preparatory meeting, President Nyerere, while acknowledging some changes in the international system reaffirmed that 'even while the power blocs became a little less monolithic, the big states remain big states'. He then urged weak nations to unite in order to defend their independence.

The above quotation reveals another important contribution of African Diplomacy to NAM: the moralisation of International relations. It is in this light that African countries insisted on more democratic distribution of power

14 The Africa Fund, Report by Chairman Rajiv Gandhi, Belgrade 4 September 1989.

inside international organisations. All these inputs were endorsed by all the NAM countries.

Finally, African diplomacy has had a moderate influence on the NAM. True, there were some radicals among Africans. But most African states were moderate and they contributed to reduce the anti-imperialistic tune of NAM. They prevented the movement from admitting communist countries as natural allies, even though there was a certain sympathy for them. For them, the main division among states in the international arena was that between poor and rich countries. They resisted Cuban attempts to present the opposition between socialists and capitalists as the most important one.

Their preoccupation with economic matters lead the NAM from political to economic non-alignment. Again, 1970 marked the turning point. In his Dar-es-Salaam speech, President Nyerere affirmed that: 'When we really consider the modern world, and its division between the haves and the have-nots, not one member of this Conference is anything but a pauper. And like paupers, we shall really win a decent and secure livelihood, and maintain our dignity and independence, only if we act together'.¹⁵ Nyerere presented the strengthening of non-alignment by economic cooperation as the objective of the Lusaka Conference. And indeed, the Lusaka summit adopted the important resolution entitled: Declaration on Non-Alignment and Economic Progress' (NAC/CONF.3/RES.14). Among other things they pledge themselves to 'cultivate the spirit of self-reliance and to this end, to adopt a firm policy of organising their own socio-economic progress and to raise it to the level of a priority action programme'.¹⁶

It was, however, the Algiers summit which consecrated the economic orientation of the NAM. 'The IVth summit in Algiers attributed particular importance to economic problems by adopting a declaration, an Action Programme and a series of resolutions on the subject. These constitute a decisive turning point in the aims of the Non-Aligned countries which determined henceforth to work towards the constitution of a New International

15 Julius Nyerere, *Non-Alignment in the 1970s* opening Address given on Monday 13 April 1970 by Julius K. Nyerere, President of United Republic of Tanzania. Preparatory meeting of the Non-Aligned countries, Dar-es-Salaam, 13-17 April 1970.

16 Third Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, Lusaka, *Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence Development, Co-operation and Democratisation of International Relations and Resolutions of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Alignment Countries*, Lusaka, Zambia, 8-10 September 1970, p. 23.

Economic order'.¹⁷ President Boumediene of Algeria was the main initiator of this move.

The Quest for a New International Economic Order (NIEO)

As seen earlier, Africa played an important role in the reorientation of NAM towards economic problems and the creation of G77. Even before the fourth NAM summit in Algiers in 1973, Algiers hosted the First Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77. In his opening address, President Boumediene vehemently condemned the existing political and economic order, 'which he characterised as a system of vast economic disparities bequeathed by the colonial era and defended essentially by US economic and military power' (Mortimer 1980:26).

Considered as 'Estates-General of the Third world', the Algiers Conference which gathered over seventy official delegations, issued an important text: the Algiers Charter (UN Document TD/38), the groupwide plan of action to submit to UNCTAD II. This 'first comprehensive platform on development' (Mortimer 1980:28) accorded a special place for African states, especially in the field of commodities. It called for the creation of buffer stocks in order to avoid extreme price fluctuations. It also stressed on an integrated approach against the case by case approach preferred by developed countries. It arrived at a compromise on a generalised system of preference (GSP) which took into account the special trading arrangements existing between many African countries and the European Economic Community.

It is to be recalled that the Algiers Charter was more or less an endorsement of the 'African Declaration of Algiers' arrived at during a preparatory meeting of African countries in this city, 7-15 October 1967.¹⁸ Among other things, the African declaration included an identification of seven key primary commodities (copper, sisal, oil seed, vegetable oils, sugar, coffee, cocoa) for which urgent international agreements were imperative.

Being the region most dependent on commodity trade, Africa has claimed and obtained the most cogent consideration for this sector in Third World meetings. This was also reflected in the Algiers summit which set the tune for the NIEO. In the Action Programme of Economic Cooperation adopted at

¹⁷ Jankowitsch and Sauvart, 1978, p. xviii.

¹⁸ ECA African Declaration of Algiers: Report of the Preparatory meeting, Algiers, 7-15 October 1967 (UN doc. E/CN.14/UNCTAD II/Pm/Rev.2, 20 November 1967), Annex III and Appendix to Annex III. Circulated as Group of 77 doc. MM. 77/1/misc.9.

this summit, one of the specific goals agreed upon was that 'the developing countries should set up and strengthen associations of producers of the principal products which are important for the world economy, in order to halt the deterioration in their terms of trade, eliminate unhealthy competition, prevent the harmful activities of multinational companies, and strengthen their negotiating positions'.¹⁹ The Algiers economic declaration backed the Algerian claim for sovereignty on natural resources by reaffirming 'the inalienable right of countries to exercise national sovereignty over their natural resources and their internal economic affairs. (...) The Conference unreservedly supports the principles according to which nationalisation carried out by states to safeguard their natural resources, as an expression of their sovereignty, means that each state has the right to determine the sum of eventual indemnities, as well as the mode of their payment, and that every dispute arising therefrom must be settled in accordance with the national legislation of each state'.²⁰ All this was to result in the 'Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States' adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1974.²¹

Acting in his capacity as President of the NAM and in accordance with the mandate bestowed on him by a decision of the Algiers Summit, President Boumedienne wrote to the UN Secretary General on 30 January 1974 to request the convening of an urgent Special Session of the UNGA on the problems of raw materials and development. The Sixth Special Session of UNGA was held from 9 April to 1 May 1974, thanks to Algeria's leadership role and inputs. While it was to deal essentially with commodity issues, the Sixth Special Session came out with the declaration and action programme for a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

African's inputs have been decisive in the launching of the NIEO. Later African diplomacy actively participated in the struggle for this NIEO.

The Seventh Special Session, September 1975, marked a great progress in the field of commodities since it set as a priority of UNCTAD IV, to arrive at decisions on the improvement of market structures in the domains of

19 *ECDC Handbook* Documents of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, Non-Aligned Summit, New Delhi, 1983, p. 20.

20 *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, p. 102.

21 See Res. 3281(XXIX) of the UN General Assembly.

commodities of interest for developing countries, including decisions related to an integrated programme for commodities (IPC).²² This IPC stood as the main output of UNCTAD IV, the first meeting of this kind to be held in Africa (Nairobi, Kenya) from 5-31 May 1976. Among the elements of the IPC was a Common Fund for the financing of buffer stocks. In 1977, the African Group demanded and obtained the inclusion of a second window meant to help other commodity-related investments, which help such long-run activities as storage, processing, marketing, research and development, and improved productivity....²³ Signed in June 1980, the agreement on the Common Fund eventually entered into effect in June 1980, with its headquarters in the Netherlands, Amsterdam. For the time being only the second window introduced by Africans is to become operational.²⁴

Other African inputs to TW coalitions in the economic field include: The Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance adopted by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the G77, Arusha (Tanzania) 12-16 February 1979.²⁵ This Programme was endorsed by the Sixth NAM Summit, Havana, 3-9 September 1979, in Resolution No. 7 on Policy Guidelines on the Reinforcement of Collective Self-reliance Between Developing Countries.²⁶ Faced with the stalemate of North/South dialogue, the G 77 also tried to enhance South/South cooperation by supporting the following programmes;

- the introduction of the category of Least developed countries (LDCs) among the developing countries (Fontem Nkobenena 1984);
- the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000, which was accepted by the UN;²⁷
- the adoption of the UN Industrial (1980-1990) Decade for Africa by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisations. This was endorsed by UNGA In 1980 in Resolution A/Res/35/66;
- the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa adopted under Cameroonian initiative;

22 Resolution 3362 (S-VII) of the UNGA.

23 See. *OAU on Common Fund* CM/Res. 658 (XXXI) See also Boniface Fontem Nkobenena *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

24 See Zang Laurent (Forthcoming), 'Le démarrage du fonds commun. Epilogue tardif d'un difficile consensus', in *International Geneva Yearbook 1992*

25 The text of this programme is reproduced in *ECDC Handbook*, pp. 128-146.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

27 See UN doc. A/S-11/14.

- the Organisation of a UN Special Assembly devoted to economic problems of Africa;
- a wordy claim for the cancellation of developing countries' debts...

This list is far from being exhaustive. It nevertheless shows how active Africa has been in the economic field.

Overall Evaluation of African Diplomacy's Involvement in Third World Coalitions

In an evaluation made in 1976, A. K. Russell wrote:

In so far as any broad conclusion can be drawn, they are that the African Group:

- * has been increasingly united, confident, and positive in the Group of 77 and non-aligned Conferences; and
- * has participated very selectively, in the light of their own interests in other international negotiations and meetings, i.e., much in UNCTAD and UNIDO, less in the IMF/IBRD and CIEC, and little, in the GATT.²⁸

This paper has shown that the contribution of African diplomacy to TW coalitions has been very positive during the past three decades. Although some cleavages were still present within the OAU during this period (Zang and Sinou 1990:135-181), Africa has often exhibited a united front within TW coalitions. The coalition behaviour has enabled Africa, to reap some results in these groups. Some idiosyncratic factors may also explain the influence of Africa in the NAM and G77. Leaders like Nkrumah, Nasser, Nyerere and Boumedienne have weighed with all their charisma to ensure Africa a leadership role. Very often Africans have acted as initiators, articulators brokers and sometimes as controllers and vetoers during the negotiation. Their number was also a decisive factor of influence. Their hospitality and their commitment ensured the continuity of TW coalitions. We shall end with the latest example of African positive contribution to the NAM. The Tenth Ministerial Conference of the NAM was held in the Ghanaian capital, Accra, on 2-7 September 1991 under the chairmanship of President Jerry Rawlings. At the time when, in the light of the effective ending of 'Cold War many voices rose in favour of a change of the organisation's name or its merger

28 Quoted by B. F. Nkobena, 1984, p. 434.

with G77, the Accra meeting issued a statement affirming NAM countries' commitment to the continuation of the movement.²⁹ In so behaving, does Africa not deserve the label of shield of NAM?

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²⁹ *Keesing's Record of World Events*, Volume 37, Number 9, 1991, pp. 38458-38459.